vol. VIII 1995

Fontanus

from
the collections of
McGill University

Cover: *David in Penitence*, tempera and gold on vellum. Book of Hours, Medieval MS 109, McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections.

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Editorial

During 1995, we lost two eminent academic colleagues of ours. Maxwell John Dunbar and John Peters Humphrey sadly passed away. Both were faithful friends of McGill Libraries. both contributed greatly to the contents of *Fontanus* publications and both were strong supporters of the entire *Fontanus* project.

John Humphrey's papers and correspondence gave materials for three articles in *Fontanus*, volumes II, IV and VI, and one *Fontanus* Monograph IV (1994): *On the Edge of Greatness vol. I.* Two more volumes in preparation will complete this major contribution to the study of human rights.

In 1991, Max Dunbar published an account of his first scientific expedition in *Fontanus* volume IV under the title "Greenland Adventure 1935: Diary of a very young man, age 20," illustrated by his own photographs from that year. Earlier this year, 1995, he authored *Essays from a Life: Scotland, Canada, Greenland, Denmark*, which came out as *Fontanus* Monograph V (1995). I was able to give him a copy of this book just hours before he passed away on February 14th.

Generous contributions to *Fontanus* publications were made by friends, colleagues and relatives in memory of these two remarkable men to whom this volume VIII of *Fontanus* is dedicated.

It is heartening to me as editor to experience that in the eighth year of publication of *Fontanus*, articles and manuscripts continue to be offered by librarians, professors and other academics. The publications are beginning to be reviewed in scholarly journals, as they become better known in Canada and abroad. We are grateful that McGill-Queen's University Press has now assumed responsibility for all marketing and sales in Canada, the United States and overseas. This should ensure a wider circulation than before.

This volume contains eight articles and some notes on a variety of topics related to the very rich McGill collections in libraries, archives and museums. It is interesting to note that the articles, directly or indirectly, and in addition to various historical topics, also touch on current and much debated issues such as equality of women, human rights, and individual rights vs. collective rights.

Hans Möller
Editor

In Memoriam

Max Dunbar
(1914-1995)

Max Dunbar, O.C., F.R.S.C., Professor Emeritus, Oceanography, McGill University, died in Montreal on St. Valentine's Day, February 14, 1995 at the age of 80. Max Dunbar was born in Edinburgh, where he received a classical and liberal education. At Oxford University he studied—or as Max always stressed "read"—Zoology. In 1935 he made his first research trip to Greenland and the year after to Spitzbergen, Norway. His diary from this expedition to Greenland was published in *Fontanus* volume 4 (1991). At Yale University his studies took him in the direction of marine biology. After completing his M.A. at Oxford he enrolled at McGill University where he took his Ph.D. in 1941. Max joined several Canadian Government research expeditions through which he became keenly aware of the fragility of the northern ecosystems and signs of climatic changes. He pioneered research on plankton in Arctic Sea water. Much of this research was done in Greenland where, incidentally, he served as Canadian Consul during 1941-42 and 1943-44 and learned to speak Danish fluently with a slight Scottish accent.

In 1946, Max Dunbar returned to McGill, this time as professor in the Department of Zoology: the beginning of a long and distinguished career that never really ended although he officially "retired" in 1982. His research was often done in collaboration with his own students. Few professors have fostered so many scholarly scientists from among his students. He was a dedicated and deeply committed teacher believing that undergraduate students are a university's prime concern. He authored an exceptionally long list of publications. Max Dunbar was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, received the Order of Canada and was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Copenhagen in 1991.

Max also saw himself as a musician who sang, played and recorded traditional Scottish ballads. His last book of autobiographical essays, titled *Essays from a Life: Scotland, Canada, Greenland, Denmark* was published as *Fontanus* Monograph V and was edited by Hans Möller. It came out just before Max Dunbar passed away and in fact was given to him only six hours before he died peacefully, content to hold the book in his hand.

A lover of books, from scientific journals to poetry, Max often said he could never leave McGill University because "it has one of the finest libraries in the world." Before his death he and his family asked that in lieu of flowers, donations be given to *Fontanus* publications. He remained to the end a staunch supporter of *Fontanus*.

Human Rights
& the United Nations:
a great adventure
John P. Humphrey
Human Rights
Humphrey

In Memoriam

John Peters Humphrey
(1905-1995)

John Peters Humphrey was born in Hampton, New Brunswick. His childhood was marked by tragedy and subsequent tribulation. His father died before he was a year old and his mother, like her husband, of cancer when he was eleven. After an accident at age six, his left arm was amputated at the shoulder. After his mother's death, the executors of his father's estate sent him to a boarding school run on the British model. This was not a happy experience as many of the masters were martinets and his fellow pupils acted with predictable cruelty to the one-armed orphan. So desperate was Humphrey to leave this environment that he privately studied an alternative curriculum so he could gain acceptance to Mount Allison Academy two years before normal matriculation. The two years that he spent in Sackville were not an academic success, but he was not ready to enter business as his guardian wished. He finally got approval to enter the Commerce programme at McGill, which began an association with the institution which lasted over seventy years.

The Commerce curriculum and several summer jobs convinced Humphrey, by the time he got his degree in 1925, that a business career was not for him and he decided to become a lawyer. Since a B.A. was a prerequisite for the McGill faculty, he applied to and was accepted by Osgood Hall. He went to Toronto, found an apartment and obtained a job articling in a Bay Street firm. Within a week, however, he decided that he could not live in Toronto and returned to Montreal. His Economics professor, Stephen Leacock, told him how he could obtain the B.A. while taking some courses towards his law degree. Over the next four years he was awarded his B.A. (1927) and his B.C.L. (1929). Some years later he took a doctorate (1945), giving him the possibly unique distinction of graduating from four different faculties.

After six years working in a Montreal law firm, again an experience that he did not enjoy, Humphrey was delighted when his old professor, Percy Corbett, asked him to join the Faculty of Law. The agreement was that Humphrey would teach Roman Law but take over the international law course, his real interest, when Corbett retired in a few years. Humphrey found his true vocation in teaching and, apart from a twenty-year hiatus when he worked for the United Nations Secretariat from 1946-1966, he was on the Faculty until 1993-94. His U.N. activities, particularly in the field of human rights, have been well documented both in his own writings, the published editions of his diaries, and the articles based on his papers which have appeared in *Fontanus*. The leadership role that he took in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and his lifelong commitment to the promotion of these rights are now receiving the recognition that they deserve.

In March, 1995, the Faculty of Law sponsored a public lecture and private party to mark Humphrey's retirement from teaching nine months previously. He was, however, still active in the advocacy of individual causes, in particular the questions of compensation for the Canadian Hong Kong veterans and the Korean comfort women. The evening gave him a great deal of pleasure, but the next day he went to hospital with cardiac problems. Within a week he died of pneumonia, not knowing that the Japanese would shortly issue a formal apology for its wartime treatment of Korean women. He left the bulk of his large estate to the promotion of scholarship in the field of human rights at major Canadian law schools, but made a significant contribution to the new McGill law library. His large collection of books and manuscripts were also left to McGill and these will prove an important resource for future scholars. He was a great friend to the libraries and, in recognition of this, his family asked that donations in lieu of flowers be given to *Fontanus*.

Women in the University: The Fourth Phase

by Margaret Gillett

Following is the text of the 7th annual F. R. Scott Lecture, part of the Friends of the Library 1994-95 programme, delivered on Wednesday, 5 April, 1995, in Redpath Hall, McGill University.

Le texte de la 7e conférence annuelle F.R. Scott qui fait partie du programme des Amis de la bibliothèque 1994-95 est reproduit ci-dessous. La conférence a été donnée le mercredi 5 avril 1995, dans la salle Redpath de l'Université McGill.

I want to thank the Friends of the Library for having invited me to give the lecture named for one of McGill's most famous professors, a man of courage as well as intellect, a man whom we now all admire--though in his own day he had many opponents, even at McGill. We take this occasion to celebrate his multiple contributions to Canadian life: his poetry, his teaching, and his championing of civil liberties, especially his fight against Maurice Duplessis' infamous Padlock Law of 1937 and his advocacy of freedom of expression in the case of the ban on Lady Chatterley's Lover. We also remember him for his humanity and his wit. I know there are people here who still recall the note he left on the door of his McGill office when he went to court in that case. It read, "Gone to bat for Lady Chatt." I would like to have had Frank Scott on my side today as I "go to bat" for one of my favorite topics, "Women in the University."

As we all know, universities are extraordinarily complex institutions. No two are identical. All have different histories, all are the products of their culture and their time, but there are some general things we can say about them. As I have thought about the history of the university as an institution, I have identified four distinct, albeit overlapping, phases as far as women are concerned.

PHASE I

Quite simply, the universities of Phase I were characterized by the exclusion of women. They grew out of the monastic tradition and were essentially elite institutions with male students and teachers, patriarchal values, hierarchical structures and curricula strongly influenced by the writings of the church fathers, Aristotle and neo-Platonism. Phase I was long and slow, dating roughly from the late 11th century to the early 19th. It spans the time from when informal congregations of students (*universitas*) clustered around noted scholars became institutionalized as universities, from this formalization down to the development of separate, secular, post-secondary institutions for women.

The ancient foundations were based on an ideological dichotomy where male and female were opposites: man was strong, powerful, intelligent; woman was weak, dependant, emotional. From this view, higher learning would fit men into appropriate public or leadership positions but was unnecessary for women. Nature and experience would suffice for them in their supportive, domestic and child-bearing roles. These ideas may sound like very familiar clichés, but it is important to realize how they seeped into the very stones of the universities and could not easily or quickly be eradicated.

The general acceptance of male intellectual dominance obscured even the possibility that there could actually be intelligent women of scholarly bent. Yet intelligent women certainly did exist and some of them could find spiritual satisfaction, refuge from forced marriages and access to learning in the nunneries. Throughout the ages there have also been some few exceptional women who attained fame for their intellect. One was Trotula, who was said to have held a chair in medicine at Salerno in the 11th century, another was the redoubtable Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179). In the 12th century, Hildegard founded a Benedictine abbey, wrote treatises on medicine and theology, composed poetry and music (which we still

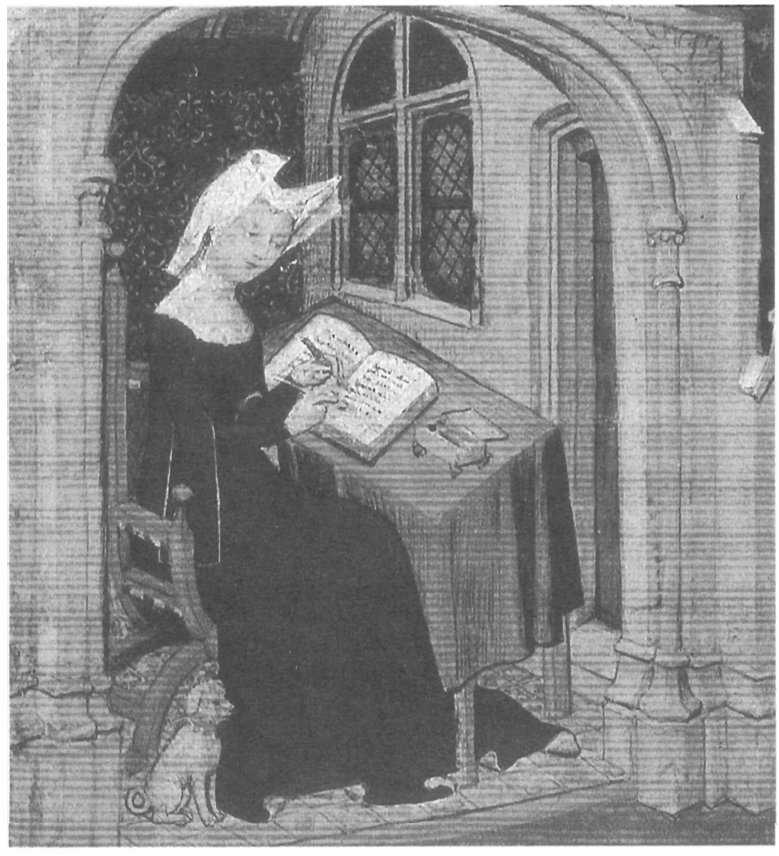


Figure 1. Christine de Pizan at her desk. (Reproduced by courtesy of the British Library Board)

hear today), and commanded respect from princes and prelates. There have also been intelligent women who protested their exclusion from the world of learning. At the beginning of the 15th century, Christine de Pizan (Fig. 1) (1365-c. 1429) wrote in her remarkable work, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (1405):

> If it were the custom to send daughters to schools like sons and to teach them the sciences properly, they would learn as thoroughly and understand the subtleties of all the arts and sciences as well as the sons.[1]

But for centuries, it was not the usual custom to send girls to school and women remained locked out of the academy. So Phase I, the purely patriarchal and masculine era of the university, lasted almost 800 years. That was a very long time indeed, a time in which traditions became entrenched and very difficult to change.

PHASE II

The second phase of the life of the university began in the 19th century and was the product of fundamental intellectual and social upheavals. The old hierarchies which had been undermined by the ideas of the Enlightenment and the American and French Revolutions, were further weakened by the forces of science, industrialization and urbanization. The university itself began to change. Largely through American influence, it became more secular, more broadly based with a wider clientele and a more practical curriculum. Through German influence, the academy became more concerned with research and graduate level teaching. Phase II was a period when, in the wider sphere, demands were being made for social reforms such as the abolition of slavery, property rights for married women and the female franchise. In this context, there was at last a chance for the women who had protested their exclusion to be taken more seriously. A nascent belief that women might be

entrusted with higher learning was reinforced by the argument that the welfare of future generations depended on educated mothers.

Of course, there were countervailing ideas--some of them spread by "scientific experts" of various kinds--that the education of women would be both individually detrimental and socially harmful. For example, Dr. Edward Clarke of Harvard in his book *Sex in Education or A Fair Chance for the Girls* (1873), drawing on an idea from classical physics that the amount of energy is finite, argued that because women's delicate bodies had only a fixed amount of energy, rigorous studying would divert that energy toward the brain and away from the essential female reproductive organs. Higher education for women would thus result in madness, or the birth of deformed offspring, or produce a generation of barren women leading, ultimately, to the demise of the race.

For men of Dr. Clarke's persuasion, the idea of women in the university was an abomination. Yet the growing clamour for female education was partly satisfied by the appearance of separate colleges for women. Some of these "female academies," seminaries and finishing schools had what were thought to be appropriately "ladylike curricula" offering literature, music, deportment and the like; others (Vassar, for example) considered themselves "real" colleges with rigorous, intellectual fare emulating the men's colleges. Both kinds of colleges flourished, especially in the United States, and they, along with normal schools for the training of elementary teachers, also gave opportunities for the employment of educated women. It might be noted, though, that the presidents of these institutions were quite often men--even if the Lady Principal did all the work.

It was just a matter of time before co-education in colleges was introduced. It is common to date the trend from about 1837 when women were first admitted to Oberlin, then a small residential college in the U.S. Midwest. However, this was not quite as enlightened as it might seem. It was not so much an idealistic acknowledgement of women's intellectual worth as unvarnished expediency. The trustees realized that the extra fees women would bring would help defray operating costs, and the women themselves would help with the domestic chores that male students could not be expected to perform.

In the well-established institutions for men, hostility and skepticism still greeted the idea of higher education for women and "the gentle sex" was kept at bay by one excuse or another--down to the lack of toilet facilities. Among those given in the 1870s by McGill's Principal Dawson was not that women were not good enough for McGill, but that McGill was not good enough for them![2]

Yet those few exceptional women who had appeared throughout the ages still existed and their voices were now being heard. In Montreal, courageous, intelligent, and ambitious young women like Grace Ritchie (Fig. 2), Rosalie McLea and Nellie Reid who won top marks in the matriculation examinations wanted access to McGill. Their mothers and other women supported them, encouraging them to approach the formidable Principal Dawson. Their cause was also supported by broadminded men in high places--some idealistic, some generous--who used their power to change the rules that excluded women. Lord Strathcona's offer to Principal Dawson of $50,000 for the higher education of women was what made the crucial difference at McGill.[3]

This second phase was one where women were gradually and rather grudgingly allowed to enter the traditional male sanctum. It lasted for about 150 years and has not entirely played itself out. It was notable for its "firsts"--the first women to be admitted to established universities, the first woman to get a bachelor's degree (the first one in Canada was Grace Annie Lockhart, B.Sc. Mount Allison, 1875), the first M.A., the first Ph.D., the first M.D., the first professor, the first dean, the first Chancellor... the first to give the Frank Scott lecture! (And coming soon to a university near you, the first Vice-Principal).

McGill has the distinction of appointing the first woman full Professor in Canada. In 1912, Carrie Derick (Fig. 3) became Professor of Morphological Botany, but there were certain reservations that take some of the gloss off that story. Her promotion, which involved no salary increase but included the expectation that she should set up her male colleague's demonstrations, was really only a consolation prize and this was made excruciatingly clear to her.[4]

That was typical of Phase II, which was a period of peculiar ambivalence, characterized by "cat and mouse"

Figure 2. Grace Ritchie; valedictorian of the first class of women, 1888. (Photo: Notman)

Figure 3. Carrie Derik; first woman full professor in Canada, 1912. (Photo: Notman)

strategies. For example, after two separate colleges for women were first established at Oxford (Lady Margaret Hall, 1878 and Somerville, 1879), women were allowed to attend University lectures but they were "unofficially present" and did not count as students. Chancellor Lord Curzon who headed an inquiry into university reform, admitted in 1909 that "Oxford yielded to the reality while withholding the name."[5] At Oxford, women gradually won the right to take examinations but were not accorded degrees until 1920. At the University of Toronto, the game was even more astounding. In the early 1880s, women were allowed to take exams but were not allowed to attend the lectures. Until 1884 when they were officially admitted, they were forced to eavesdrop on the lectures from the corridors. That year, 1884, was also the one in which women were admitted to McGill--but only to the Faculty of Arts and on the basis of separate classes, the accompaniment of a chaperone, and limited library privileges. Women were in but not of the university. This had nothing to do with their abilities, for they proved themselves to be very able scholars; it had everything to do with traditional attitudes.

A constant theme found in the writings of the women students of Phase II was loneliness. Pioneer women, for all their courage and determination, were distressed by innumerable petty humiliations including booby traps placed in their seats, graffiti scrawled on classroom walls, and bawdy stories told by instructors. Elizabeth Smith, one of Canada's first female medical students at Queen's, wrote in 1880, "No one knows or can know what a furnace we are passing through these days at college. We suffer torment, we shrink inwardly, we are hurt cruelly."[6] She said, "It was so unbearable that on one occasion that one of the ladies went to the lecturer afterwards and asked him to desist from that sort of persecution or she would go and tell his wife exactly what he had said." The male medical students had a much stronger counter-threat. They warned that if the women remained in the Queen's Medical School, they would migrate *en masse*. The administration succumbed to this threat, so women had to go.

If the female students of Phase II were uncomfortable, early women instructors did not have an easy time of it either. They were faced with salary differences, few prospects of advancement, no power but much patronizing which was humiliating even when, or especially when, it came from some of the most respected "gentlemen" on campus. For example, Dr. Alice Hamilton, who was an acknowledged expert in industrial diseases, became the first women appointed to the Harvard School of Public Health. So that her appointment would not be considered as a precedent, three ridiculous limitations were placed upon it: Dr. Hamilton was not to participate in the academic procession at convocation; she was not eligible for faculty tickets to the football games; and she was not allowed into the faculty club. Initially, women were not eligible for the McGill Faculty Club, either. In the history of the club, Frank Scott has described "The Great Circle" of discussion around the fire in the lounge enjoyed by men exclusively.[7] In 1936, when Dr. Maude Abbott (Fig. 4) became the first female member, she was subject to restrictions and for many years the *Faculty Club Handbook* instructed ladies not to loiter in the entrance but to go quickly upstairs. It informed them that they could not ride in the elevator unless accompanied by a [male] member, that they could not enter the main lounge nor, except for special circumstances, the main dining room.

Women only achieved full membership in the Club after a referendum in 1966. One woman academic who participated in this told me that she voted "No" because she thought it was nice for the men to have a place for themselves. She represented those Phase II women who humbly felt they were intruders in academia and who still revered male authority, no matter what limitations were placed upon them.

PHASE III

Phase III roughly covers the second half of the 20th century. (You notice the phases are becoming significantly shorter as change accelerates.) One of the most obvious characteristics of Phase III was the significant increase in the number of female students at universities--the apparent demise of the exceptional few. From the 1970s, women students began to approach half, then more than half of the overall undergraduate population. This was true in North America and many other parts of the world. Currently in Canada, women constitute about 55% of the undergraduates. This growth has been sustained and, even though it has been unevenly distributed, women can now be found

Figure 4. Maud Abbott (1869-1940); first woman member of the McGill Faculty Club. (Photo. Notman)

studying or teaching in virtually every discipline The numbers of female faculty also rose in Phase III but did not match the proportions of the students. In Canada it hovered between 15% and 20% in this period. At present, about 23% of the tenured faculty at McGill are female, but just under 10% of the full professors.[8] This is an improvement over Phase II, but does not really constitute a critical mass--a proportion so significant that it must be taken into consideration when all important decisions are being made and can itself affect the decision-making process.

Another Phase III development was that single-sex colleges began to "go co-ed." In the late 1960s, even elite women's colleges such as the "Seven Sisters" in the U.S. and those at Oxford and Cambridge, began to accept male students. There was also a change in the demographic composition of the female population at most institutions. In the previous phase, university women in countries like Canada were usually white and middle-class; now there were gradually increasing numbers of women from other social strata and ethnic backgrounds. These developments were obviously reflections of changes in the general intellectual, social, economic and political climates of the second half of our century. Movements such as civil rights, the "second wave" of feminism, human rights and multi-culturalism have all made a difference in women's aspirations, opportunities, achievements, and even the way we dress. I recall a minor incident that is symbolic of the early part of Phase III. One wet Saturday in 1964, a woman member of the faculty tried to enter the Macdonald College library wearing slacks discreetly covered by her raincoat. Her dress was deemed inappropriate and she was politely asked to leave. You know it wasn't the raincoat that was objectionable, it was the pants.

The problem, perhaps, was that woman was ahead of her time. From about the mid-sixties on, women not only dared to wear pants on campus, in restaurants and other respectable public places, they started to speak out. Great numbers of North American women felt liberated from the isolation of suburban domesticity and male dominance by the ideas in Simone de Beauvoir's *La Deuxième Sexe* (1952) and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). In 1967, McGill graduate, Laura Sabia, then president of the Canadian Federation of University Women, threatened Prime Minister Lester Pearson that, unless he approved a royal commission on the status of women in Canada, she would march on Ottawa with 2,000 women. She was bluffing, but we got the Royal Commission.

In the 70s, McGill students brought in radical feminists like Kate Millett to stir things up on campus (Millett gave her view of it in her book called *Flying*, 1974) and later Gloria Steinem, on a visit to Concordia, advocated that women abandon the lady-like demeanor of Phase II in favour of "outrageous acts and every-day rebellions."

Especially in the early days of Phase III, there was much talk of "sisterhood." This was clearly manifest in the flourishing of women's conferences. They had a special aura, one tinged with the glamour of forbidden fruit--women talking to women about things that mattered apart from the personal and the familial. Women academics of the era converted time-worn clichés like: "Behind every successful man there is a woman" to "In front of every successful woman there is a man--in her way" and "Woman's place is in the home" became "Woman's place is in the home and in the House of Commons."

The strength of the movement can be gauged by the fact that 1975 was declared International Women's Year and 1976-85, International Women's Decade. In 1975 at McGill, we celebrated in several ways, including a special issue of the *McGill Journal of Education*,[9] a campus-wide survey of academic interest in research and teaching on women which led to the establishment of the Senate Committee on Women and ultimately to the Centre for Research and Teaching on Women, and a very well supported public lecture series. We were honoured that one of our speakers was Mme Thérèse Casgrain who had done so much to achieve the vote for the women of Quebec in 1940. We celebrated again in 1984 to mark the centenary of women's admission to McGill. One of our forceful speakers that year was Mary Daly, author of *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (1973) and other radical books. She shocked many members of her audience when, instead of congratulating us, she chastised the women of McGill for so humbly and gratefully applauding the fact that we were allowed in. She thought we should have stormed our way through the barriers and not just waited for men to let us in at their convenience.

Mary Daly was one of the many determined people of Phase III who helped raise women's awareness of their suppressed status and of their unrealized potential. As a result of their work, there was a proliferation of conscious-raising or "CR" groups, the development of networks, and the articulation of fresh ideas about women's role in academia and their place in the curriculum. Of particular note was the coining of new words such as "sexism" and expressions such as "sexual harassment." Once these phenomena had been named, the Establishment had to acknowledge that they existed, moreover, that they existed in the gentle groves of academe and not just out in the cruel "real world." Universities then appointed administrative officers or units with particular responsibility for the welfare of women students and members of staff. It is true that officials such as Deans of Women existed in Phase II when the university stood *in loco parentis* for its students, but in Phase III these positions tended to be based more on notions of social justice than on paternalism or protective motherliness.

Phase III was also a period of open demands for things that could only have been whispered in Phase II (and not even thought of in Phase I): affirmative action, salary equity, and child care; objections to macho publications like *The Plumbers' Pot* at McGill and the Lady Godiva rides at U.B.C.; maternity leave, paternity leave, and job sharing arrangements; the appointment of a few women to senior academic positions (again, those exceptional few); and the publication of a seemingly endless stream of reports, papers and books on women, including a history of women at McGill (1981). Phase III was infused with action, excitement, change and achievement. It was a good time to be a woman on campus.

However, as positive as all this was, the patriarchal heritage persisted in many forms including superior male power, inferior status for women and condescending attitudes. The voices of some Phase III women still echoed the discomforts of Phase II. In the 1980s one young woman reported, much as Virginia Woolf had in the 1920s, that when she walked into an Oxford library she felt that the knowledge contained there did not and could not belong to her.[10] As for taking a Ph.D. at that ancient foundation, it was almost a subversive act. In 1989, Mary Catherine Bateson, former dean of Faculty at Amherst College, Mass. (and daughter of anthropologist Margaret Mead), wrote about the enduring double standard and "the steady drag of disparagement and prejudice pulling [women] toward the acceptance of subordinate roles." She said, "Nowadays, prejudice is relative, not absolute. There is no fixed rule that excludes, just a different probability....There is always that slight stacking of the deck, the extra stress, the waiting prejudice that amplifies every problem."[11] Although bias was now more subtle, overt of violent examples of hostility toward women were still evident in occurrences of gang rape on campus and exhibitions like the "No means Yes" banners that "boys just being boys" hung out their dorm windows at Queen's about three years ago. The depths of misogyny were reached in December, 1988, when Marc Lepine at the École Polytechnique murdered 14 students because they were women. Feminists absolutely refused to believe that the massacre was merely the work of an individual psychopath. It was pure misogyny still active in society and academe.

PHASE IV

We are entering Phase IV right now. Just as the other phases have overlapped each other, so Phase IV is emerging out of Phase III and will probably last well into the next century. You may wonder what it will be like? Since we have seen a progressive movement through Phases II and III, it might be reasonable to suppose that Phase IV might just keep advancing and become a period in which we consolidate our gains. It might be a time when we take gender equity as an uncontroversial given, one that is reflected in all academic policies and practices. Now that enlightened academic leaders are well aware of the harmful and wasteful effects of past prejudices, they might make wholehearted efforts to bring about the just academic society. Recently, Principal Shapiro actively encouraged women to apply for senior positions at McGill and, believe it or not, there is even a hopeful sign in the stark preliminary budget for 1995-96 where Vice-Principal Armour recognises that "provision for pay equity adjustments" is one of the important demands for the future that cannot be neglected.[12] So it might happen that Phase IV will turn out to be characterized by women's full integration into all aspects of the academic community (Figs. 5-8).

This is something devoutly to be wished, but there are both present and potential problems. Dangers might be a better word. After all, we live in what seems to be an increasingly violent and constraining world where the media report many discouraging items such as the elimination of the federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women and the alleged demise of the National Action Committee. Even on International Women's Day, 1995, the Montreal *Gazette* quoted a Canadian woman Senator as saying women are responsible for rearing the men who abuse women. Also on that day, the Toronto *Globe and Mail* headlined, "Women shunted aside in China" and detailed how, at a news conference for the major forthcoming UN World Conference on Women, eight out of nine people at the head table were men because, they said, "We cannot have women organize this work just because they are women..."!

These current examples of regression could be multiplied endlessly, both at home and abroad, giving the impression that our progress in Phase III may have been only a thin veneer. Paula Caplan's recent *Lifting a Ton of Feathers* (1993), showed that despite 110 formal inquiries about the status of women in Canadian universities in the last three decades, patriarchal attitudes have not changed much. The academic context is still infused with a residual belief in male superiority and, even if we achieve what is considered to be a critical mass of women, we have to remember that numbers are not as important as ideology. This is not just a problem for women in universities, as another recent book shows. Sydney Sharpe's *The Gilded Ghetto: Women and Political Power in Canada* (1994) concluded that, despite the record number of 53 women (18%) in our present parliament of 295, female politicians still "do not rate." They are still routinely mistaken by attendants for secretaries, wives or visitors, considered fair game for sexist remarks by other MPs, and criticized by the press if they indulge in the rowdy badinage that passes muster for debate among the men. Sharpe's picture shows that we still have a "relentlessly male institution" on the Hill, as Caplan's does for academia.

On the other hand, we no longer have the advantage of having a clearly discernable common enemy so we may, paradoxically, become complacent and even victims of our own success. While we are very glad to have Women's Studies classes, which in Phase III were joys to teach, we now find them increasingly difficult and are distressed when some students try, in the name of female solidarity, to impose "guilt trips" on female professors if they give low grades.[13] Phase IV may actually be a more dangerous time for women as we adjust more comfortably to the male norms and the male establishment becomes more accepting of women. Some women now have become "honorary males."

To become an "honorary male" was a response for some newcomers of Phase II and a strategy of others in Phase III, especially those who wanted to be known as scholars and did not want to be categorized as "women" or "women-professors" or other hyphenated terms. Some of these--perhaps another "exceptional few"--seem to have been immune from any sense of exclusion or loneliness. Whether it is a question of their particular personalities, or their good fortune to have had strong mentors and especially sympathetic colleagues, they have been able to ignore what has been identified as "the chilly climate"[14] for women in academe. Some of them contemptuously reject the idea of affirmative action because they see it as both an unnecessary and demeaning form of special pleading. About two years ago the McGill Association of University Teachers was considering a moderate resolution to recommend the making of 25 merit-based appointments of women in an attempt to achieve gradually parity of numbers of male and female professors at McGill. It produced a long and stormy meeting in which two of the most strenuous objectors were a young woman in a male-stereotyped discipline and a senior woman in a humanities area. The senior woman, who seemed completely to misunderstand the ideal of equity, stridently objected to what she called "the cuntification" of the university. Her extraordinary word startled everyone, and whether it was that word or not I don't know, but the resolution was finally turned down. No recommendation about gender equity went forward then and parity remains a long way off.

In Phase IV, however, women will have at least two other options besides becoming honorary males. One is, again paradoxically, to acknowledge that women, their opinions, and their research interests tend to be marginalized and to accept this marginalization as an inherent part of a valuable but flawed institution. Some women now voluntarily withdraw from the struggle and

Figure 5. Greta Chambers; first woman Chancellor, 1992. (Photo: Norman Blouin)

Figure 6. Phyllis Heaphy; first woman Vice-Principal, 1995. (Photo: Jonas Papuretis)

Figure 7. Victoria Lees; first woman Secretary-General, 1995. (Photo: Owen Egan)

Figure 8. Rosalie Jukier, first woman Dean of Students, 1995. (Photo: Owen Egan)

go about their own scholarly affairs. Dr. Ruth Hubbard, a Professor of Biology at Harvard and the first Muriel V. Roscoe Lecturer at McGill (1989), chose this "disidentifying" path. In her book, *The Shape of Red* (1989), she wrote that she actually found strength in the feeling that she was an outsider. Surprisingly, this is an option that Virginia Woolf may have supported. She said in *Three Guineas* (1938) that women must have enough education and power to be able to remain outsiders in order to retain their identities. However, as Ruth Hubbard recognized, there is a serious disadvantage with this option. She said, "I have jeopardized my effectiveness in departmental politics and virtually eliminated myself from the decision-making process."[15]

Apart from becoming "honorary males" or remaining outsiders, there is another choice for women in Phase IV. This third option is to recognize that, over time, we have positively changed the nature of the university and can continue to do so. We have successfully managed to make changes to the curriculum, to get some long-neglected women rewritten into our disciplines; we have challenged the notion that scientific research is necessarily objective, showing that gender bias has lain hidden in the questions asked, the interpretations made, and the funds available; we have chipped away at male complacency and shown that we can do teaching, conduct research and contribute to the academic community. Many would agree with the McGill woman who wrote recently:

> Women reflect and react differently from men in certain situations--not necessarily more wisely, but differently...[and] it makes many of us impatient when men pretend that their way of thinking is inclusive.[16]

Women who choose the third option want to retain the difference, want it accepted and respected. They do not want to be made over.

Yet, even if they do not want to become "old boys" they would like the privileges accorded to the members of "the old boys' network." They want to be fully admitted to the scholarly community as a whole and to have this acknowledged; to be given major responsibilities; to have, for example, an all-female Ph.D. committee as respected as an all-male one; and to have research on women be taken seriously. Yet, under the pressures of the new entrepreneurial university with larger classes, fewer professors, and less security, some of the very things that women have held most dear will be threatened. These are things that not only permitted the development of individual scholars, but also held promise of humanizing academia--personal qualities like caring in our dealings with students, qualitative methodologies in the quest for truth, co-operation rather than competition in dealings with colleagues. No one would ever wish to restore the biases and restrictions of Phase II just for the sake of preserving "difference." However, it must be recognized that differences may not only be endangered by overt discrimination, they may be obliterated by stress, fatigue and economic expediency.

As we make our way through the "Nasty Nineties," the third option for women seems to offer most. But women are still vulnerable and we must see to it that institutions do not put their relatively few women on endless, exhausting committees as tokens to "political correctness." At McGill we must be concerned about other women as well as ourselves and inquire into how much a hostile cultural climate contributed to the tragic death last year of Dr. Justine Sergent and her husband; and we must watch closely the effects of the recent collapsing of the position of Equity Officer into the double job of Assistant to the Principal and Equity Officer.

Phase IV is not going to be easy. That much is obvious. But it will also have marvellous potential that university women must realize. It will truly be the Information Age, in which the current conveniences of the internet, CD-Roms and all the advances of science and technology will expand exponentially. Digital concordance will bring all scholars of the world much closer together. Women can end their isolation by joining in the work to be done on campus as well as by joining e-mail groups. These range from the new, very general International Women's Policy, Action and Research List, established by the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, to very specialized networks like the Jane Austen E-mail Group, which was begun by Dr. Jacqueline Reid-Walsh of McGill. It would be a big mistake to think that women will automatically be accorded a fair share of the future. We have to stake our claim for it actively.

While we learn from the past, appreciate the accomplishments of our foremothers and all those who helped us, I hope we will take up the challenge issued to academic women by Caroline Heilbrun when she said:

> I do not believe death should be allowed to find us seated comfortably in our tenured positions... Instead, we should make use of our security, our seniority, to take risks, to make noise, to be courageous, to become unpopular.[17]

I think this is the kind of advice of which Frank Scott would have approved and before I step off the stage, I should like to remind you of his poem, "On Saying Goodbye to my Room in Chancellor Day Hall" which begins: "Rude and rough men are invading my sanctuary." As Frank Scott packed to leave McGill, he contemplated the books, files, memorabilia that "cry out [his] history," he said:

> These are all cells to my brain, a part of my total.
> Each filament thought feeds them into the process
> By which we pursue the absolute truth that eludes us.[18]

As I leave you to rejoin your own quests for the elusive truth, I remind you of Scott's opening line:

> Rude and rough men are invading my sanctuary.

And I say to the women of McGill, "Don't let them!"

Notes

1. Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1985).
2. Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), 33-4.
3. *Ital.*, 70.
4. Margaret Gillett, "Carrie Derick and the Chair of Botany at McGill," in Marianne G. Ainley, ed., *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1990), 74-83.
5. Lord Curzon of Kedleston, *Principles and Methods of University Reform* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1909).
6. Elizabeth Shortt Smith, *Historical Sketch of Medical Education, Kingston, Canada* (Ottawa, Private Printing, 1916), 1.
7. Carman Miller, ed. *A History of the McGill Faculty Club* (Montreal: The Club, 1975).
8. Honora Shaughnessy, Director, *Annual Report, 1993/94* (Montreal, McGill University Employment Equity Office), *passim.*
9. *McGill Journal of Education*, Spring, 1975.
10. Ann Beer, "On Being Lucky," in Margaret Gillett and Ann Beer, eds., *Our Own Agendas: Autobiographical Essays by Women Associated With McGill University* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
11. Mary Catherine Bateson, *Composing a Life* (New York: Plume, 1990), 37.
12. "1995-96 Preliminary Budget," *The McGill Reporter*, February 23, 1995, 10.
13. For example, Lynn Pearce, "Gender and the Classroom Climate: Overstepping the Boundaries. Student Demands on Female Staff" (Montreal: McGill Centre for Research and Teaching on Women: Unpublished paper, 1995).
14. "Chilly climate" was probably first used by the American Association for University Women to describe unfriendly attitudes and limited opportunities form women on campus. It has been used frequently in Canada, for example, in 1992 a "Climate Committee" was set up at the University of Victoria "in response to the concerns raised...regarding the discouraging and unsupportive environment experienced by graduate and undergraduate women students" in the Department of Political Science (Report of the Climate Committee, March 23, 1993, p. 1); and in June 1993 the Canadian Association for Women's Studies struck a sub-committee to investigate how "chilly climate" reports have been received on campuses across Canada.
15. Ruth Hubbard, *The Shape of Red: Insider/Outsider Reflections* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1989).
16. Kate Williams, "Split Infinitives" in Gillett and Beer, *op. cit.*
17. Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: Ballantine, 1988), 131.
18. F.R. Scott, "On Saying Goodbye to my Room in Chancellor Day Hall" in *The Collected Poems of F.R. Scott* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), 218-9.

Isabella Christine McLennan

by Rosemary Turpin

This is a brief biography of Isabella Christine McLennan, who, in spite of the fact that she never attended McGill, was a most generous benefactor. She was born in 1870, the youngest of thirteen children of the highly successful industrialist, Hugh McLennan. Although she never married or chose a career, she managed her inheritances so well that she was able to will McGill University about one million dollars, enough to build the new McLennan Library, which was named after her at its inauguration in 1969.

She died in 1960, at the age of eighty-nine, after a fairly quiet life which focused largely on her family and philanthropic pursuits which included the McLennan Travelling Libraries, and McGill University, where she set up several scholarships. Others included the Montreal General Hospital, the Royal Victoria Hospital and the Royal Victoria College, all affiliated with McGill.

Il s'agit d'une brève biographie d'Isabella Christine McLennan qui, sans jamais avoir fait d'études à McGill, a su se montrer extrêmement généreuse envers l'Université. Née en 1870, Isabella est la plus jeune des treize enfants du riche industriel Hugh McLennan. Même si elle ne s'est jamais mariée et n'a embrassé aucune carrière, elle a su si bien gérer sa fortune qu'elle a pu léguer à l'Université McGill près d'un million de dollars, suffisamment pour construire la nouvelle bibliothèque McLennan dont l'inauguration remonte à 1969.

Isabelle Mclennan est décédée en 1960 à l'âge de quatre-vingt-neuf ans après une vie relativement sereine, principalement consacrée à sa famille et à ses oeuvres philanthropique comme les bibliothèques itinérantes McLennan et diverses bourses à l'Université McGill. Elle a également fait des dons à l'Hôpital général de Montréal, à l'Hôpital Royal Victoria et au Collège Royal Victoria qui sont tous affiliés à l'Université.

Isabella McLennan lived a long, full and busy life. She never had a professional career, which was not unusual for a woman of her class and time, but she never married, which was somewhat unusual. However, she was a member of a close and loving family, and was a busy socialite and a generous donor to many different charitable organizations and institutions.

Researching the early part of Isabella's life (1870-1904) was comparatively easy because McGill's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections has a wonderful document file on her family. Her brother, John Stewart McLennan, had recorded her birth and described other members of their family in his privately published book about his industrialist father, Hugh McLennan.[1] Her other brother Hugh Stewart had copied small sections of letters she wrote as an adolescent into his Commonplace Book,[2] which unfortunately was terminated when he died in 1892. Also, the McCord Museum had a number of very interesting photographs of her and her family on file.

The latter part of her life, (1905-1960) however, is sparsely documented. John's book provided a complete family chronology which extended thirty-four years beyond the death of his father. However, Isabella was a very shy person who apparently neither assumed any club offices nor had any desire to shine publicly. Only a very few personal letters have yet been found in the McGill Archives. She was almost certainly present at most family occasions, as well as many social events; she travelled to Europe for a social season once every year or so, and moved to the family's country home during most summers until 1924.

ISABELLA MCLENNAN: TO AGE 18 (1870-1888)

Isabella Christine McLennan was barely a postscript in her brother's biography about their father, Hugh McLennan. John Stewart McLennan wrote:

> And to complete the family growth it may be noted here that Bartlett was born on 10th

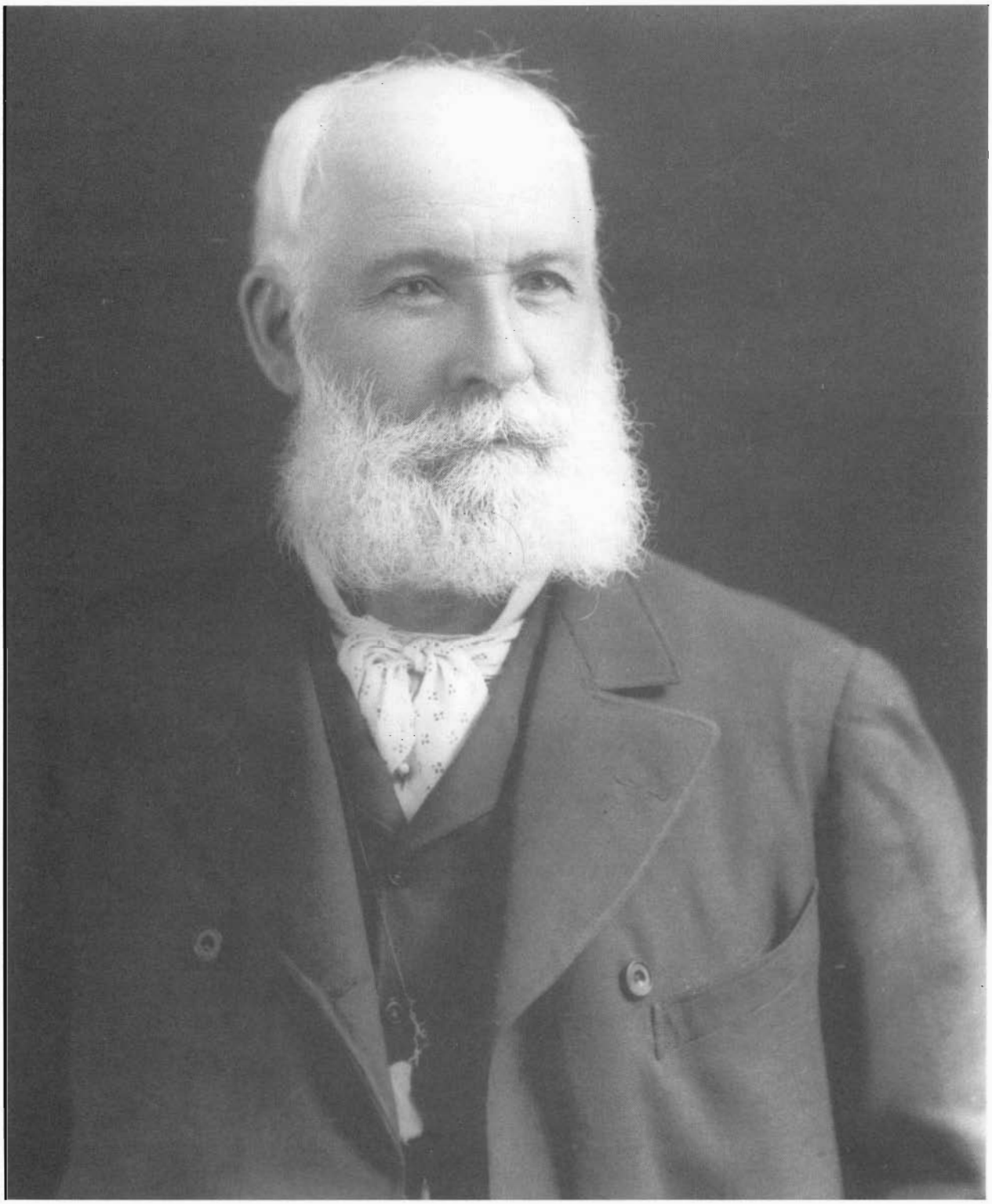


Figure 1. Hugh McLennan, 1890. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Figure 2. Isabella (née Stewart) McLennan, 1890. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

> November, 1868, and Belle on 30th November, 1870.[3]

In a letter written when Belle was three days old, her father describes her fondly thus:

> ...the centre of interest in such cases being the baby—she is well and matured already to a degree of wakefulness more active than agreeable.—has a good appetite, and her personal appearance suggests that the babies of this year are above the average of good looks.[4]

Sometime over the next eighty-nine years, Isabella (Belle) became a woman of such substance that she was able to bequeath McGill University over a million dollars in 1960, which was then enough to establish the new McLennan Library; yet very little was publicly known about either her or her family.

Isabella was the thirteenth child and fourth daughter of Hugh McLennan and Isabella Stewart (Figs. 1 & 2). Two of her older brothers and two older sisters had died in infancy before she was born.[5]

Her eldest brother, John Stewart McLennan, was 17 when Isabella was born. There would have been anywhere up to nine children or young adults living in their Drummond Street home when Isabella was growing up[6] (Fig. 3). In those days, children usually lived with their parents until they married.

They were a very close family, corresponding with one another, and visiting one another frequently.[7] Isabella's ancestors were Scots on both sides. There are Stewarts, McLeods and McCanns on her mother's side and Mackenzies and Mackays on the McLennan side. John McLennan's book gives all the historical information he could find going back several generations.

Information about Isabella's early schooling is sparse or non-existent, except for the following possibility. Her sister Alice and her brothers Neil, Hugh and Alec, went to Mrs. Watson's School on McGill College Avenue.[8] It is likely that Isabella went there too, if the family kept up the established tradition.

It appears that she learned at least some German, played the piano nicely and learned the etiquette and social graces that a young lady of her class and period were required to know.

On July 13, 1888, when she was 17 1/2, she wrote to her cousin Alice (Charles Ronald Stewart's daughter) at The Lindens, Ottawa:

> What did the storm for you? Ours was a most demoralized looking place. One of our fine (five?) evergreens was beheaded—and five or six of our trees destroyed. It was terrific and there has (sic) been high winds ever since till this evening without ... rain. Our garden is almost as bad as last year—the buds are drying up on the stalks and there was promise of a great show of flowers.[9]

On August 24, 1888, Isabella's mother wrote that

> Belle is having a fine visit with Miss [Alma] Stuart. It has rained every day but she doesn't mind as she sits by a wood fire and Miss Stuart and she read German and moralize over men and things...[10]

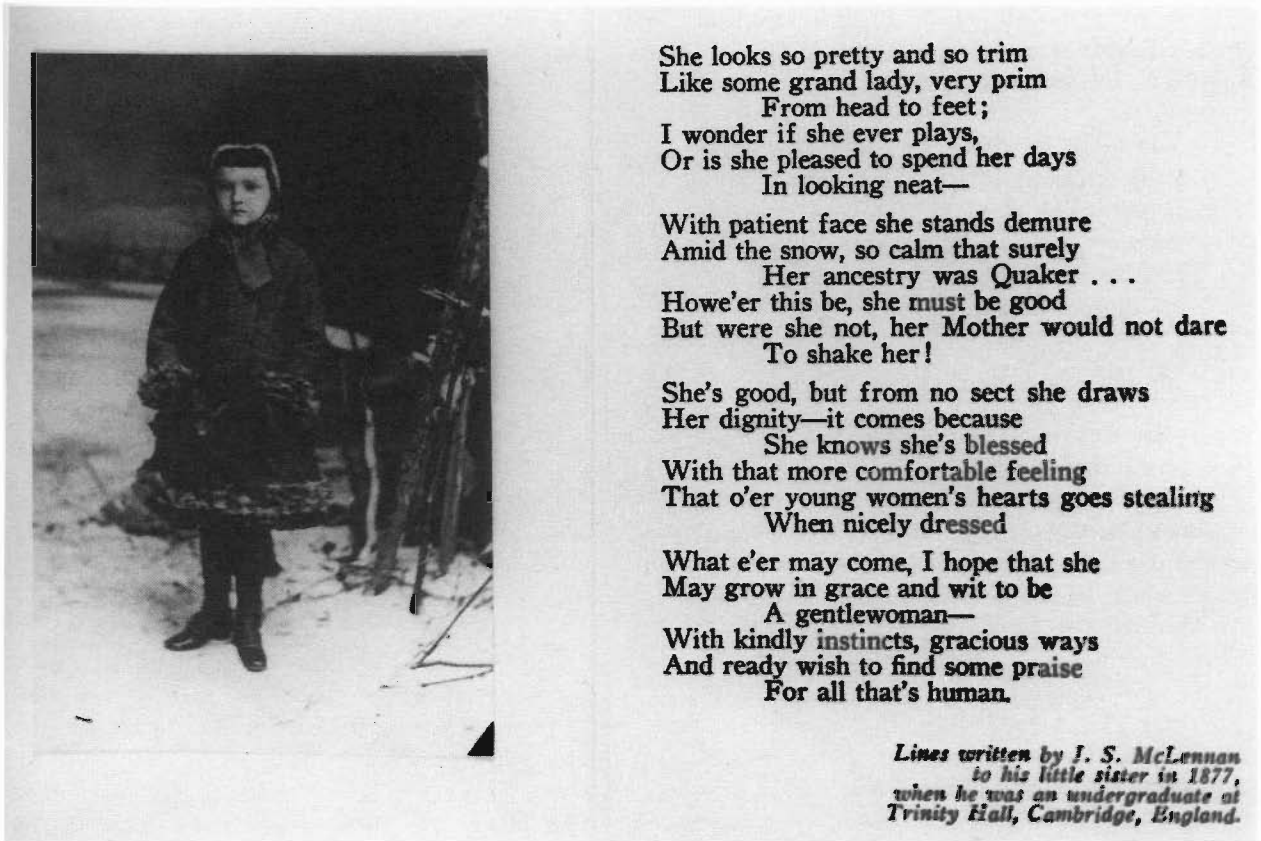
(Alma Stuart married Isabella's brother Francis eight years later.)

In a letter Alma wrote in September 1888, she reveals that she had learned to know and appreciate Belle's many attractive qualities of mind and heart.[11]

Alice wrote to her brother Hugh (Hugo) on September 28, 1888, saying:

> I wish you could hear Belle play and she loves to be at the piano—won't we miss her.[12]

Isabella went to Meadowbrook, a finishing school in Boston for a year in 1888-89. Alma Stuart noted in a letter dated November 8, 1888, that Belle had a year for study in Boston.[13] This year included cultural education and probably training in household management and social graces. When she left for Boston, she would have been almost eighteen, and probably just ready to "come out" in society.



She looks so pretty and so trim
Like some grand lady, very prim
From head to feet;
I wonder if she ever plays,
Or is she pleased to spend her days
In looking neat—

With patient face she stands demure
Amid the snow, so calm that surely
Her ancestry was Quaker . . .
Howe'er this be, she must be good
But were she not, her Mother would not dare
To shake her!

She's good, but from no sect she draws
Her dignity—it comes because
She knows she's blessed
With that more comfortable feeling
That o'er young women's hearts goes stealing
When nicely dressed

What e'er may come, I hope that she
May grow in grace and wit to be
A gentlewoman—
With kindly instincts, gracious ways
And ready wish to find some praise
For all that's human.

Lines written by J. S. McLennan to his little sister in 1877, when he was an undergraduate at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, England.

Figure 3. Isabella Christine McLennan, age 7 from an image accompanying a poem written by her brother John Stewart McLennan. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

In a letter written October 28, 1888 from Boston, Isabella says that she had been to a Chopin concert the night before. She found the music at Trinity Church "delightful" and marvelled that "the effect of the afternoon sun coming through the beautiful windows is most soothing and comforting." Later she confesses her passion for music recitals:

> Next Wednesday night we go to hear Coquelin[14] and on Tuesday afternoon to a recital which Mr. Foote[15] and Adamowski[16] give. I am anxious to hear all the good music that I can this winter.[17]

On November 5, 1888, she wrote home to her sister Alice, using plenty of the schoolgirl language of her day:

> My poor little 'housewife', you mustn't wear yourself out with your domestics. There is great excitement over the Elections tomorrow, all the girls are intensely interested and know so much about politics. I am a perfect buster, chronically hungry [and] ready to go to bed at eight.

And, in the same letter, a delicately phrased request for money:

> Someday not too distant, when you happen to be in a pathetic vien [sic] of thought regarding me you can send me some filthy lucre—this is not an urgent call but only a suggestion. It is so much nicer to get money 'without writing for it', as the poet remarks.[18]

After seeing Isabella at Christmas in Montreal, her brother Francis wrote to their mother in Ottawa about Isabella on December 30, 1888:

> You would be charmed with the growth of Belle in character, mind and manner—she is unusually clear headed, has a good memory and a considerable power of expression of ideas by no means ordinary among school girls.[19]

A mysterious letter addressed to "my darling Mamma" dated January 16th, 1889 has been firmly expurgated from the Commonplace Book. Isabella was in Boston at that date.[20]

Education for young women was considered appropriate only up to a point, and so far there is no record of her having attended college, so it is unlikely that she had any formal schooling after her year in Boston.

Neither she nor her sister Alice married. Richard Pennington, former University Librarian, McGill University, said that Isabella had been told in her youth that her health was delicate and that was one reason why she did not marry.[21] As the daughter of a wealthy industrialist, there was no economic or social necessity for her to marry, and it seems probable that she was stronger in character than many potential husbands might have preferred at that time (Fig. 4). While it seems that she respected the customs of her class and time, there seems to be no doubt that her very erudite family encouraged her to have a mind of her own. Her sister Alice was considerably more frail and shy than she, and it is possible that Isabella chose to keep her company in the big family home after the death of her parents.

ISABELLA McLENNAN: AGE FROM 19 - 34 (1889-1904)

In the summer of 1890, Isabella's father sold the house at 317 Drummond Street that had been bought for him by his brother John upon his father's second return from Chicago in 1867. Family reaction to this sale was very emotional as they had been very attached to the old house and nobody liked the prospective buyer.

Alice wrote to her brother Hugh on September 28, 1888:

> Father sold our lovely lovely house.... and to that horrid old McInytre. Papa only asked him 50 cents a foot ... Papa thinks he did it in too much of hurry so we must try to cheer him up. Poor Mamma is in the depths. Fortunately, he doesn't want in for a year or more. When do you ever suppose we will get a house big enough to hold our precious things, too! 'Tis loathsome to think of Mr. McIntyre going to Egypt and feel he will be sure to have a sunstroke out there.

Almost immediately, Hugh McLennan Sr. bought the house at 50 Ontario Street. It was occupied by the McLennan family until Isabella gave it to McGill University in 1942.[22]

Between the years 1881 and 1897, the only five of her brothers to marry did so, and three of them (John, William and Alexander) produced eight daughters and three sons. However, during those years, one little niece died and her brother Hugh finally succumbed to tuberculosis, after being sick for many years[23] (Fig. 5).

The seven years between July 1, 1897 to July 28, 1904 must have been wrenching ones for Isabella and her family, as both parents and three more brothers died in that period. There were no marriages or births (on her paternal side) to alleviate this sadness.[24] Her father died just before the family was to go to Cape Breton on November 21, 1899. Her mother died on March 16, 1902 after a lengthy illness—she had not been healthy or pain-free since 1882. Four lines were considered sufficient to inform the citizenry about her death.[25] Isabella's brother William (Willie) died on July 28, 1904 and was buried in Florence, Italy. Her brother Alexander (Alex) died in a driving accident near Pincher Creek, Alberta on July 1, 1897 and was buried in Kentucky. Her brother Neil, the black sheep of the family, died in a shipping accident on December 13, 1897 and was buried in Namur in Belgium.[26]

In the relatively brief span of 17 years, sometime between her 31st birthday in 1901 and her 47th birthday in 1917, Isabella's hair turned completely white. She may have had a genetic predisposition to this, but it

Figure 4. Isabella Christine McLennan, 1892. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

also seems possible that those harrowing years that included so many family deaths, with all the worry and unhappiness associated with them, might have contributed to the early change of hair colour (Figs. 6 & 7).

ISABELLA McLENNAN: AGE 34 TO 59 (1904-1929)

After Isabella's mother died in 1902, "the two sisters and Bart kept on the house." Bartlett (Bart) was a businessman and a golf enthusiast and equestrian. (Fig. 8) He hunted regularly at Montreal and spent two seasons in the south of Ireland. He loved polo and had a small but well-chosen racing stable.[27] He was annually listed as a member of several clubs—anywhere up to seven per year. His profession is not known, but Lovell's Street Directory listed him as the President of the Montreal Transportation Company in 1914-15.[28]

Isabella's brother, John S. McLennan, reports that

> Alice became its [the McLennan house] guiding spirit, although the unit of these three people, each of them of strong individuality, was remarkable. She had early shown her capacity and with great devotion had been the guardian and, as far as might be, the deputy of our mother. The combination of extreme shyness, and lack of strength, made it impossible for her to take any part in the general social life of our circle, yet so great were her wisdom, justice and sympathy, that we all came to accept as final her decisions, even on matters foreign to her personal experience. Her position among us may be summed up in the phrase of a Scottish friend when she first visited us: 'I see that Alice is the hinge of this household.' Years only added to the supremacy accorded to her character and her capacity."[29]

It seems, then, that Isabella and Bart both deferred to the wishes of their sister Alice at home. Isabella was often lumped together as a unit with Alice, as they were variously referred to as "the girls," "the Misses McLennan," and later as "the aunts."[30]

The McLennan family occupied the house until Isabella gave it to McGill University in 1942. Sometime during that period, its civic number was changed to 3480, and the street name became du Musée. Bart used the house as a home base until his death in 1918, Alice lived there until she died in 1923, and Isabella did so until she moved to the Linton Apartments on Sherbrooke Street, probably around 1942. Isabel Durie a relative on their maternal side, lived there with the three around 1905-06 and was possibly absent in 1907 but returned in 1909. Their nephew, Hugh McLennan (born 1887, died 1915 at Yprès), lived there probably from 1907 until 1909 while he was at McGill. Around this time, John S. McLennan reported,

> The house in Ontario Avenue was open to [Willie's children]. Hugh [John's son] and John Harrison McLennan [Alec's son] lived there during their McGill periods. They and Durie had the use of Bart's fine stable; and the visiting nieces had the advantage of the thoughtful and constant hospitality and entertainment of Bart and his sisters as they were entering society.[31]

The apparent omission of the girls' names from those who could use Bart's stable suggests that Alice and Isabella did not ride horses.

From 1911 until about 1928, there came a rather more eventful period for the family, as eight of Isabella's nieces and nephews married and produced sixteen children; among them, Isabella's great-nieces and nephews.[32]

Isabella's sister-in-law, John's wife Louise, died of appendicitis on January 27, 1912. John reported in his book that, barely seven weeks later,

> we went to Europe, joining Bart and 'the aunts' on the 'George Washington' on March 23rd, a large party of seven—for Hugh (John's son) joined us at Tours—and a very happy one.[33]

In 1915, Bart, Isabella and Alice were present at the second marriage of their brother, John Stewart McLennan, to Grace Seeley Henop Tytus. That wedding took place in Sydney, Nova Scotia on January

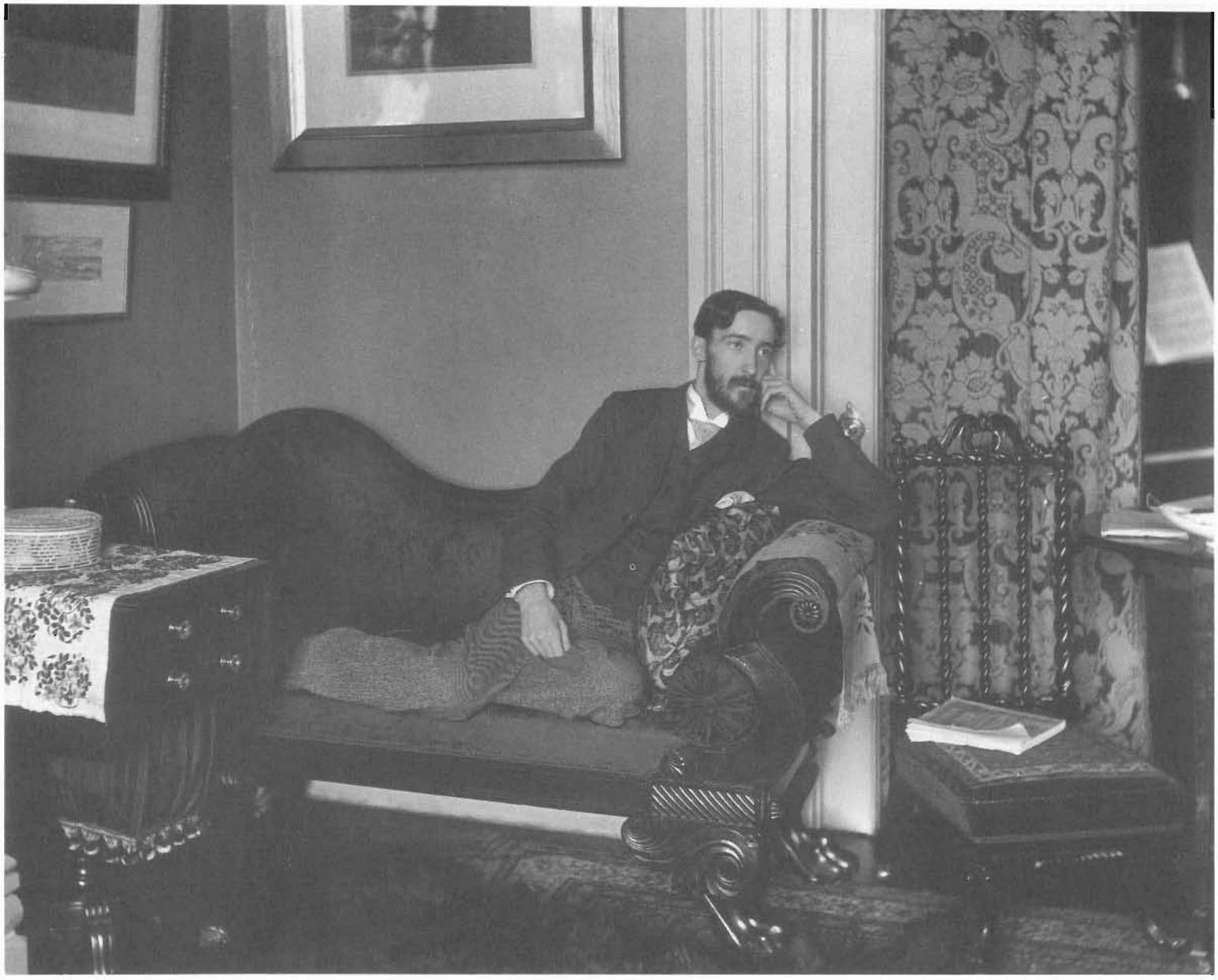


Figure 5. Hugh McLennan, 1892. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Figure 6. Isabella Christine McLennan, 1901. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Figure 7. Isabella Christine McLennan, 1917. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

7, 1915. Grace was from Boston, and the wedding was reported in about 12 papers—in Boston, New York, Nova Scotia and Montreal occupying about 6-8 column inches per article. Notable in the description was that the bride wore a black waist-length veil with a floral border! (This was probably because her previous husband had died only five months before.)[34]

Lt.-Col. Bartlett McLennan, D.S.O., Isabella's closest brother in age, was killed at Amiens on August 3, 1918; he was a member of the 42nd Battalion, R.H.C. (Black Watch). A granite monolith was erected to his memory at Longeau and in 1926 it was brought back to Mount Royal Cemetery to stand among the memorials of his family. A beautiful stained glass window was installed over the communion table in the present Church of St. Andrew & St. Paul, between 1921-24. It commemorates Bart particularly and those other members of his regiment who were killed during that War.[35]

In his Will made in 1915, Bart bequeathed the house at 3480 Ontario Avenue to Alice and Isabella. Alice died on June 3rd, 1923, at the age of 64 and bequeathed her share of the house and any other possession to Isabella.[36]

Isabella was always comfortable financially, largely as a result of careful family investment of her share of her father's considerable fortune, and particularly as a result of a sort of inbred frugality encouraged by her Scots forebears and practised by the entire family. A letter from one J.G. Cowan of Royal Trust dated November 7th, 1929 says that Isabella's net taxable income for 1928, surely the first year that such figures were calculated, was $83,553,23.[37]

It was only toward the end of her life that Isabella began writing her own cheques. Prior to that, she would write to the Royal Trust Company and ask them to issue a cheque and they would do the paperwork.

ISABELLA McLENNAN: AGE 60-89 (1930-1960)

In 1927 and 1930, Isabella was listed as living alone at 3480 Ontario Avenue. She would have been aged 60 then.[38]

It is probable that her closest friend, outside her family, was Ethel Hurlblatt, once Warden of the Royal Victoria College, who died before she did. There are no indications as to how long they were friends, but they were friends towards the ends of their lives.[39]

The widow of Isabella's great grandnephew, William H. Woodward, informed the author that Isabella, William Durie McLennan and his wife Gyneth Wanklyn, William H. Woodward and his parents all went on a trip to Atlantic City, New Jersey, sometime in the nineteen-thirties. She also said that her husband had visited his "Auntie Belle" many times in Montreal, and specially noted that he was there for the U.S. Thanksgiving in 1940.[40]

Sometime between January 17, 1940 and November 11, 1942, Isabella moved from her Ontario Street home to apartment 81, The Linton Apartments at 1509 Sherbrooke Street West.[41]

Isabella took every opportunity to spend at least the months of July and August of every year outside the city. After her family sold their summer residence in Cartierville, sometime between 1924 and 1930, Isabella began visiting friends or travelling alone to various places not terribly far from Montreal. In the summer of August 1939, she was at Pecketts-on-Sugar in Franconia, New Hampshire, from where she mailed a picture postcard. In 1945, she was planning to spend the summer in North Hatley, Quebec. In 1948, she told Dr. Lomer of McGill in a letter that she was going to Old Hill, Lac Echo, Lesage, Quebec from June 30th until the fall.[42] In the summer of 1955, she stayed at Northeast Harbour, Maine and in Maine again the following year.[43]

For the last sixteen years of her life (i.e. from sometime in 1944 until her death), Miss McLennan needed the care and companionship of a private duty nurse named Kathryn B. Neaves, who graduated from the Royal Victoria Hospital School of Nursing in 1923 and was from Nova Scotia.[44]

The Montreal Gazette reports that Isabella Christine McLennan died on Monday, April 4, 1960. The Royal Trust and *The Montreal Star* agree that she died on Tuesday, April 5, 1960. She died in her 89th year at

Figure 8. Bartlett McLennan, 1892. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

the Royal Victoria Hospital and was buried in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul on April 7th, 1960.[45]

ISABELLA McLENNAN: CONTRIBUTIONS TO McGILL

McLennan Travelling Libraries

Isabella's father, Hugh McLennan, started the McLennan Travelling Libraries in 1899, and this was to remain a chief interest of hers for over fifty years after his death. They were first conceived by former McGill Librarian, Charles Gould, a great friend of her father's.[46]

Under this library system, boxes of about thirty varied books were shipped all over Canada to places where no libraries and few books of any kind existed. In these remote areas, books were seized eagerly by many of the residents, and passed from one to the other until most people had read all they had wanted to, then they were shipped back, to be replaced by a new selection.

The Travelling Libraries operated initially in rural Quebec, but in *McGill University*, vol. II, Dr. Stanley Frost says,

> ...The service proved so popular that it soon went far beyond provincial boundaries. In the Yukon, Dawson City was supplied by rail; in Newfoundland, Battle Harbour by rail and sea; northern Ontario, the Gaspé Peninsula, and the area north of Ottawa were regular beneficiaries. A local church, a Woman's Institute, a rural school, were typical recipients of the boxes... From the Magdalen Islands to the far west, the travelling library service reflected McGill's sense of responsibility for all of Canada, and of its role as a national institution.[47]

On January 11, 1911, Isabella, her brothers John, Francis and Bart, her sister Alice, her niece Alice and her nephew William Durie McLennan met with Governor John Fleet of Nova Scotia and Notary Public John Fair of Montreal, to establish the Hugh McLennan Fund for the McLennan Travelling Libraries. The McLennans donated capital stock shares and cash to a value of $20,000, given "unto the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning."[48]

The Travelling Libraries were first supported by the McLennan family and administered by McGill University, and later supported to a large extent by Isabella herself. She funded the McLennan Travelling Libraries on semi-annual basis and occasionally by special request. This included paying the salary of its first Director, Miss Elizabeth G. Hall, which was then $480.00 per year.[49]

The Travelling Libraries were run almost exclusively by women. Elizabeth G. Hall ran it from 1901 to 1936; Miss Dorothy Bizzey until 1940; Adele de G. Languedoc from 1940 to 1945; Frances Maunsell in 1952 and Kathleen Clynes from 1954 to 1969.[50]

In May 1933, Isabella wrote to Dr. Lomer that she and her brothers would have to reduce expenditures on the Libraries, curtailing work with the schools.[51]

She gave the Travelling Libraries $5,000 for its first Bookmobile in 1950, and paid over $1,600 to have it fixed after it was in an accident in 1952. She donated $7,500 for another Bookmobile in 1956.[52] Throughout almost two-thirds of her life, she kept the Travelling Libraries running almost single-handedly through her donations.

The outreach libraries were able to continue, with contributions from the Quebec government until about 1976, but in 1978, the functions of the Libraries were absorbed by the programme of the Bibliothèque centrale de l'Estrie. They inherited the books and the historical material was left with the McGill Archives.[53]

Other McGill Contributions

At least two and perhaps four of Isabella's brothers had graduated from McGill, William had been a librarian and her father had had good friends there. Consequently, Isabella established a lifelong attachment to the university, the libraries, their directors and staff. She maintained close ties with the McGill Libraries and their directors and staff. When Miss Elizabeth G. Hall

retired as Director of the McLennan Travelling Libraries in June 1936, Isabella sent a financial donation for the purchase of a farewell present. She also attended the afternoon tea given in Miss Hall's honour and planned to send some fresh flowers from her garden for the occasion. In February 1937, she invited all twenty members of the McGill Library staff to tea on a Saturday afternoon, and sixteen of them accepted.[54] There is a suggestion that this was an annual event for a number of years.

The McLennans were a very generous family but not one to broadcast their philanthropy. They never appeared in public handing over six-foot cheques to their beneficiaries, and Isabella was never photographed with any of the library vans she donated.

In 1928, when the McLennan family established the Hugh McLennan Memorial Scholarship in Architecture in memory of their nephew who was killed at Yprès during the First World War, a sufficient sum of money was donated to yield an income of $1,000 for a travelling scholarship to be awarded annually to "that student who, during his course, has shown the greatest capacity in the solution of problems and promise of creative ability, rather than in draughtsmanship."[55]

There were several conditions to winning this scholarship, some official and some unofficial. The official ones included submitting sketches and studies after at least six months in Europe. An unofficial one was to have tea with Miss McLennan at her apartment at The Linton before and after the trip.

David Bourke, now McGill's Secretary-General and Architect of the McLennan Library, who won the Travelling Scholarship in 1954, said that his bride accompanied him on the six-month trip. He was required to take photographs on his trip rather than do sketches. When he had tea with Miss McLennan, she explained that this was because she had learned that some previous winners had been doing their sketches from postcards and reference books on board the ship coming home, which rather defeated the purpose of the scholarship! He remembered that Miss McLennan had spent some time in Venice and described her as "a lively lady and sharp as a tack." He had kept in touch with her after he came home and recalls her open and generous nature. She would often give him tickets to a ball or some other event she could not attend.[56]

In October 1942, Isabella donated the family home at 3480 Ontario Avenue to McGill University, "for any academic use which the University wishes to make of it."[57] The house lay idle for a few months, and then was used as a residence for male civilian students. Beginning in the fall of 1944, it was used as an annex to the Royal Victoria College, as a women's residence.

> Located just behind the Art Gallery on Sherbrooke Street, the house is situated on spacious gardened grounds. It has ivy-covered stone walls, a sunken garden and a fountain.[58]

In addition to the house, she gave McGill a small collection of paintings and other artwork. She also made arrangements to give the McGill library a large and varied collection of books and furniture which included clocks, bronzes, a marble statue, tables, a sofa, chandeliers, curtains, chairs, maps, rugs, bookcases and pictures.[59]

Other areas of McGill benefitted substantially from Miss McLennan's generosity. She established the Isabella McLennan Prize in the School of Architecture, the Isabella McLennan Scholarship Fund in Library Science, the Elizabeth G. Hall Memorial Scholarship Endowment and also donated generously to the Friends of the Library Fund.[60]

In May of 1947, Isabella established "The Gould Lecture Fund" with a cheque for $5,000 in honour of Mr. Charles Henry Gould, who was the McGill Librarian from 1893-1919 and a good friend of her father. It was he who inspired Hugh McLennan to start the Travelling Libraries in 1899, and he who inaugurated professional library training in Canada in 1904. The fund provided $500 a year until the fund was exhausted to give students the opportunity to hear outstanding librarians speak.[61]

The McLennan family were great readers and collectors of books. William was a writer and McGill Librarian; Francis eventually willed a large collection of his books to McGill University.[62]

In a June 1956 letter, the then current University Librarian described for Miss McLennan four treasures of Canadiana which the University had acquired with

funds from the Friends of the Library, which was one of her regular beneficiaries. They were:

> The original Proclamation of Canadian Federation (it came from Lord Harmsworth's collection); the first edition of the first book about the discovery of Hudson's Bay (published in 1611); the earliest book about the boundary problem of Acadia which was so long a dispute between France and England; and the first English translation of the first Spanish work that described the conquest of Mexico.[63]

The 1960-61 McGill Annual Report says that her estate endowed the McLennan wing of the Redpath Library with $573,655.73 as "funds for restricted purposes." The Auditor's report in the same Annual Report says that her bequest was $703,655.53.[64] Dr. Stanley Frost says that she "bequeathed McGill over $1 million for library purposes."[65]

Richard Pennington, McGill's Librarian from 1947 to 1965, has indicated that Miss McLennan had told him that "she intended to remember the Redpath Library in her will, and she added, 'It will be to buy books. Not for bricks and mortar.' A remark I remembered when the University diverted her bequest to bricks and mortar."[66]

ISABELLA McLENNAN: A PRIVATE PERSON

What was Isabella McLennan like as a person? When Richard Pennington was University Librarian at McGill, he used to have tea with Miss McLennan about once a year. He described her apartment at The Lintons as very elegant and in excellent taste, "quite unlike the apartment of a 'vieille dame.'" When he was being escorted out after one of their teas, she would give him, as unobtrusively as possible, a cheque to be used for library books. He said she would have preferred that her entire bequest be used for books, but at the time, space to display and store books was far more urgent and she was eventually persuaded to permit McGill to handle the bequest as it wished within certain less confining parameters.[67] The McLennan Library, which was officially inaugurated on June 6th, 1969, was the result.

Miss Alison Cole was a junior librarian at McGill in the late 1940s and early 1950s. She remembers having tea once with Miss McLennan and Richard Pennington at The Linton apartments. She says that Miss McLennan was a very private person, very dignified and proper, but terribly shy and there was not much conversation at that tea. During such visits, Miss McLennan would examine some of the more interesting book acquisitions the Library had made. One of her interests was the Commedia dell'Arte, a history of which was the subject of one book Miss Cole remembers. McGill has an exceptional collection of books about the Commedia dell'Arte, one of which is a collection of pictures created entirely out of coloured feathers; these books are displayed annually for students in the Department of Italian. Occasionally, Miss McLennan would come to the Redpath Library in a chauffeured car with her companion to examine a special acquisition. Miss Cole said that Miss McLennan would sometimes have spare tickets to a theatre performance, which she would give to the Librarian's secretary and say she would like some of the staff members to use them. She always made sure that they went out for a good dinner first, sometimes with her companion, but Miss McLennan only went once.[68]

One great nephew, Hugh McLennan, now a professor in British Columbia, remembers her from his youth as "a somewhat aloof, very kindly lady who was definitely the head of the local clan."[69]

John Stewart McLennan, a nephew born in 1915, was the only child of Isabella's brother John's second marriage, to Grace Seeley Henop Tytus, which eventually ended in divorce. As a boy, John Stewart stayed with his mother in the United States and only saw his father occasionally for an afternoon. He came to know his father better in Montreal and Nova Scotia when he was eighteen years old. He has recalled that his relationship with Isabella had been extraordinarily complicated because of the difficult and sad proceedings between Grace and his father.

He felt that there was no love lost between his Auntie Belle and his mother and that Isabella had only abided him on sufferance. Therefore, while his physical descriptions of her match those of other people who knew her, the love and affection that she apparently showed others was lacking in their relationship. He said

Figure 9. From left to right: Isabella Christine McLennan, Isabella McLennan McMeekin Dulaney Todd; Isabella's great-niece; and Isabella Stewart McLennan McMeekin; her niece; Centre: Isabella McMeekin Dulaney; great-great niece. 1952 (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

she was extremely beautiful, severe, almost icy, formidable, and extraordinarily loyal to his father, John Stewart McLennan. She was always politely kind to him and hospitable to him when he visited the house on Ontario Street and he retains many happy memories of the house. She didn't honestly intimidate him, he said, but she was physically compelling and he felt unswervably on his good behaviour when he was near her. When he saw her, she was small, and immaculately but severely dressed. He felt she had been repressed by the position she'd held in her family. When he knew her, she held acid opinion on various family matters.[70]

The men in Isabella's life were many and strong. Her father was a respected and successful industrialist in the grain trade who ran a firm but loving home.

Her four older brothers were well respected members of their professions by the time she was old enough to be considering the search for a suitable husband, if indeed she ever did. Men around her own age may have considered her a trifle daunting with such men to emulate. Her mother was not really well enough to orchestrate a proper and serious courtship for her, although her sister Alice might have attempted that, being eleven years older. There may have been an unspoken agreement to stay single and keep her sister company, since they were such a closeknit family. If there was any romance or courtship in Isabella's life, it is lost to us thus far.

Margaret W. Westley says of Montreal women of the period:

> The women of prominent families were neither trained nor expected to do anything useful, except to organize the household servants. Having a large number of servants, they had a great deal of time on their hands. Lady Drummond, Lady Hingston, Mrs. Herbert Molson, and many others used this time to organize and run more than a hundred and fifty church, social, and charitable organizations. Others devoted it to the social whirl, which became the centre of their lives.[71]

The McLennan family was involved in Montreal society life to the extent of having Tuesdays assigned as their Visiting Day until at least 1913. The only known early photographs of Isabella were taken by William Notman for her engraved visiting cards, which she would have left at every home she visited. The visiting system meant that a family (mostly the ladies) would stay at home between 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. on their designated days (once, twice or four times a month) and various friends and acquaintances would visit them. On the remaining days, the family members would visit the other people of their set. In the absence of ubiquitous telephones, this was a reliable way of assuring that people would be where they were expected to be at a given time. Sherry and other light refreshments were served during these visits.[72]

What did Isabella do with her time? It seems likely that she enjoyed reading, especially about artistic subjects, as well as collecting art of various kinds, but there is no evidence that she enjoyed doing any kind of handwork, with the possible exception of gardening.

Isabella's social life would have varied according to when and where she was travelling, family illness or worries, the demands and events of the First World War (which had many society ladies' energies placed in volunteer work) and time constraints.

According to the Dau Blue Books for Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec City, Isabella, her mother, her sister Alice and her brother Bartlett belonged to several different Montreal clubs between 1899 and 1930. However, Isabella's shyness seems to have dictated that she would assume only honorary positions because of her generous financial donations to them. These clubs included the St. Andrew's Society, the Ladies' Morning Musical Club and the Women's Canadian Club.[73]

Her family was a very close one. One brother, John, lived part of his life in Nova Scotia and was a Canadian Senator. Another brother, Hugh, lived in various sanatoria and rest homes because of his tuberculosis. Much of her mother's family was in Ottawa. Since the various members of the family travelled frequently, both in Canada and abroad, it is safe to assume that Isabella visited back and forth between her local relatives, and we know that she went to Europe fairly

frequently. These trips would not, however, have been the two-to-three week brief excursions to one or another country that we do now. Rather, since a steamship ocean trip took up to a week, these trips would more likely have taken two to four months, possibly once a year, or at least every couple of years. These trips probably included an opera, theatre or social "season" in a popular cultural centre such as Venice.

Attendant on any such long-term trip would have been the acquisition of a suitable wardrobe, with all the necessary choices of fabric, styles and accessories, and all the fittings and packing. Even the annual removal to the summer residence of the family and staff would have been a major undertaking. Any single day required three or four changes of clothing.

The family did have gardeners and inside servants to do most of the heavy work such as cleaning, cooking and laundry. But there would still have been plenty of planning and organization to do, as well as the general management of a 12-room house and household, which would naturally do a fair amount of entertainment of both family and friends. Isabella had a secretary from time to time in her life.

There are sixty-one births, marriages and deaths on record in Isabella's immediate family during her lifetime. Add an equal amount for friends, acquaintances and staff, and it adds up to a sizeable number of special occasions. For each birth there would have been a christening, for each wedding several parties and for each death a funeral, each of which required suitable clothing and occasional travel. Then there were the usual annual celebrations, birthdays, farewells and other special occasions, for which arrangements were necessary. Then there were the weekly "At home" days and regular and special visits, as well as the annual St. Andrew's and Hunt Balls, theatre and orchestral presentations and some church life.

Given all this potential for social life, it is likely that Isabella was kept quite busy keeping up with all of it. She was interested in various hospitals and other social concerns, but does not seem to have worked on any Boards or committees for them, but rather is listed as a regular financial donor.

There seems to be little doubt that Isabella was a strong character, for everything we know about her, from her father's affectionate description of her expressive powers after her year in Boston, to the way that she later firmly managed her money and other assets, to her great nephew's comment that was "the head of her local clan," points to this.

We can see from her photographs that she was attractive, even beautiful. It is not fair to judge her by the expressions she wore in some early photographs, which sometimes appear a little pouty or even supercilious; people were not given to grinning broadly for photographs in those days quite as much as we do now. Having a photo taken was a momentous and serious as having a passport picture taken is today, and the acceptable facial expressions were about as sombre. There may be other photographs of her, but the only other known one was taken when she was 82 as the eldest of four generations of her family (Fig. 9).

From various correspondence and conversations, it seems evident that Isabella was a well-loved and greatly respected sister, aunt, great-aunt and a little-known supporter of many public and private charities. She was a strong character but a rather shy and reclusive person except where her family was concerned. She was generous, but gave judiciously and where the money was most needed, to both men and women. She had a definite preference for rewarding creative rather than technical ability in scholarship, and preferred books over buildings.

Notes

1. McLennan, John Stewart, *Hugh McLennan, 1825-1899*, Montreal: privately published, 1936, p. 57.
2. McLennan, Hugh Stewart, *Commonplace Book*, 1883-1889, found in Rare Books Department of McGill's McLennan Library, with McLennan family papers.
3. McLennan, John Stewart, 1936, p. 57.
4. Letter from father to unknown correspondent, probably a Durie in-law, dated December 3, 1870. McGill Rare Books Department, MS 238/3.
5. McLennan, John Stewart, 1936, p. 56 & 57.
6. McLennan, John Stewart, 1936, p. 57.
7. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, and McLennan, John Stewart (1936), *passim*.
8. McLennan, John Stewart, 1936, p. 62.
9. McLennan, Hugh Stewart, *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Isabella dated July 13th, 1888.

10. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Isabella Stewart McLennan dated August 24th, 1888.
11. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Alma Stuart written in September 1888.
12. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Alice to their brother Hugh (Hugo) dated September 28th, 1888.
13. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Alma Stuart dated November 8th, 1888.
14. Constant-Benoit Coquelin was a French actor who started at the Comédie Française, and went on a long tour to Europe and America which ended in 1892. In 1900 he toured with Sarah Bernhardt. He was a "big man with a fine voice and presence." (*The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, ed. Phyllis Hartnell, 4th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
15. Arthur (William) Foote was an American organist and composer who was organist at the First Unitarian Church in Boston at the time that Isabella saw him. He composed the work that Isabella might have heard that day, "The Wreck of the Hesperus" by Longfellow, an adaptation for chorus and orchestra, which was new in 1888 (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, Vols. I, p. 51 & VI, p. 424, London: MacMillan Publishers Limited, 1980).
16. Tymoteusz Adamowski was a Polish violinist and composer who emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1879, where he was a member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra when Isabella saw him. No information is available on Madame Utassi (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, Vols. I p. 51 & VI, p. 424, London: MacMillan Publishers, 1980).
17. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Isabella dated October 28th, 1888.
18. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Isabella dated November 5th, 1888.
19. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter from Francis to his mother dated December 30th, 1888.
20. *Commonplace Book, 1883-1889*, Letter dated January 16th, 1889.
21. Letter from Richard Pennington to Prof. Peter F. McNally, April 11, 1995.
22. McLennan, John Stewart (1936). pp. 59, 69-72.
23. McLennan, John Stewart (1936). pp. 95-99.
24. McLennan, John Stewart (1936). pp. 73, 95-99; also McLennan Family tombstones, Cote des Neiges Cemetery, Montreal.
25. *Montreal Daily Star*, March 19, 1902, p. 9.
26. McLennan, John Stewart (1936), *passim*.
27. McLennan, John Stewart (1936), p. 85-87.
28. *Lovell's Street Guide*, Montreal, 1914-15, (Montreal: Lovell's, 1915), p. 1616.
29. McLennan, John Stewart (1936), p. 87.
30. McLennan, John Stewart (1936), p. 88; McLennan/Tytus newspaper wedding reports, McLennan family scrapbooks, McGill Rare Books Department.
31. *Dau's Society Blue Book for Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec: A Social Directory*, Vol. V, VI & VII, 1905-06, 1907 and 1909, and McLennan, John Stewart (1936), p. 91.
32. McLennan, John Stewart, (1936), pp. 95-99 & *passim*.
33. McLennan, John Stewart, (1936), p. 87, 93.
34. Photocopy of McLennan family scrapbook, McGill Rare Books Department (Cutter 149, +M222m).
35. McLennan, John Stewart (1936), p. 99-100; McLennan family plot, Cote des Neiges Cemetery and the Church of St. Andrew & St. Paul; Notman photo 20,162.
36. McGill Archives, Record Group 4, Container 0493, file 06856. Also, McLennan family plot, Côte des Neiges Cemetery.
37. McGill Rare Books Department, McLennan Family records, MS 238/7.
38. *Dau's Montreal & Ottawa Blue Book*, 1927 & 1930.
39. Isabella C. McLennan, *Last Will & Testament*, dated April 8, 1952, p. 3.
40. Letter from Mrs. William H. Woodward to R. Turpin dated December 31, 1994.
41. Originals and copies of letters to and from I.C. McLennan at both addresses, McGill Archives, Record Group 4, Container 0248, file 4004.
42. McGill Archives, Isabella McLennan's letter of June 30, 1948 to Dr. Lomer, in Record Group 4, Container 0248, Box 1209A, file 4004 and 4006.
43. Letter from E. Bancroft of McDonald, Currie dated June 20th, 1955 in McGill Archives, Record Group 40, Container C-1, Box 2063C, File 522-3, and letter from H.R.C. Avison dated September 28, 1956, in which Isabella invited him to visit her in Maine, in same location, file 522-2.
44. McGill Archives, Record Group 4, Container 0263-2068C, File No. 7401.
45. *Montreal Star*, Thursday, April 7th, 1960, Obituaries. Neither of the hospitals could be persuaded to let me browse in their archives for further information as they both complained of being short-staffed in that department. McGill Archives, Record Group 4, Container 263-2068C, File 7401, and *Montreal Gazette*, Friday, April 8th, 1960.
46. Hall, Elizabeth G., The McGill Travelling Libraries, *The McGill News*, June 1925, p. 19.
47. Frost, Stanley Brice, *McGill University for the Advancement of Learning, Vol II, 1985-1971*, p. 73 and Note 29 for that chapter.
48. McGill Archives, McLennan Travelling Libraries Microfilm, film MF-1652, reel 2, *passim*.
49. McGill Archives, Letter from Isabella McLennan to Dr. G.R. Lomer dated May 29th, 1933 in Record Group 4, Container No. 248, file 4004, "H. McLennan, Travelling Libraries."
50. Letter in *McGill News* "Letters," Vol. 48, no. 2, May 1967, p. 2, and McLennan Travelling Library records, *passim*, and McGill University Archives, Microfilm M/F 1652, reel 1.

51. McGill Archives, Letter from Isabella McLennan to Dr. G.R. Lomer dated May 29th, 1933 in Record Group 4, Container No. 0248, file 4004, "H. McLennan, Travelling Libraries."
52. McGill Archives, Record Group 40, Container 2063C, File 522-2 and Record Group 4, Container 0248, file 4004.
53. Letter from Normand Bernier, recteur général, bibliothèque centrale de prêt de l'estrie, inc. to R. Turpin dated November 21st, 1994.
54. McGill Archives, Record Group 40, Container 21, Box 20, file 1935/R - 1937/Carnegie, T. Lomer's 1936 file, and Record Group 40, Container 22, box 21, 1937/ Chancellor - 1937/Z.
55. McLennan, John Stewart, Francis and Isabella, copy of letter dated March 1st, 1928, addressed to Principal Sir Arthur Currie of McGill and found in the files of the School of Architecture.
56. Conversation, R. Turpin with Mr. David Bourke on February 15, 1995.
57. *The Montreal Gazette*, October 6, 1942.
58. *The Montreal Star*, July 25, 1944 & *The Montreal Gazette*, Sept. 26th, 1944.
59. Typed list dated November 11, 1942, found in McGill Archives, Record Group 40, Container 25, Box 24, File "Letters of G. Lomer (1936-48) and F.C. James (1943) to I.C. McLennan."
60. McGill Archives, Record Group 4, Container No. 248-1209A, file 4006.
61. McGill Archives, McLennan Travelling Libraries Microfilm, film MF-1652, reel 2 and Record Group 4, Container No. 248-1209A, file 4006.
62. Sixty-four of the books Francis donated to McGill are currently listed on MUSE under his name.
63. McGill Archives, Letter to I.C. McLennan from University Librarian dated June 15, 1956, Record Group 40, Container C-1, Box 42. Most of her letters at that time were addressed to Professor Henry Reade Charles (H.R.C.) Avison, but in May 1953, she began to address him as "Dr."
64. *McGill University Annual Report*, Auditor's Report pp. 232 & 234.
65. Frost, Stanley Brice, McGill University for the Advancement of Learning, Vol. II, 1895-1971, p. 73 and Note 29 for that chapter.
66. Letter to R. Turpin from Richard Pennington dated 17 February 1995.
67. Richard Pennington letter to R. Turpin dated February 17th, 1995.
68. R. Turpin's phone conversation with Miss Allison Cole of October 20th, 1994. The Commedia dell'Arte was "the name usually given to the popular Italian improvised comedy first recorded in 1545, which flourished from the 16th to the early 18th centuries." The actors were trained professionals who collaborated in groups, improvising dialogue and situations around a previously agreed synopsis. Each member of a company "had his or her own character or 'mask'" (*The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, ed. Phyllis Hartnell, 4th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
69. Letter of Professor Hugh McLennan to R. Turpin dated September 12, 1994.
70. R. Turpin's telephone conversation with John Stewart McLennan (né 1915) of Tyringham, Mass. on July 21st, 1995.
71. Westley, Margaret W., *Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900-1950*, p. 34.
72. Collard, Edgar Andrew, Call Back Yesterdays, (Don Mills: Longmans Canada Limited, 1965), p. 224.
73. Dau Blue Books for Montreal, Ottawa & Quebec, published by Dau Publishing Company and various others, in Montreal or New York, between 1897 and 1930; found in McGill Rare Books Department, Fraser-Hickson Library and the Periodicals Section of the Quebec Archives. The Ladies Morning Musical Club, which is still operating, but now does so only in the afternoons, was founded in 1892 by a group of women amateur musicians. (R. Turpin's phonecall with P.R. person at L.M.M.C. on October 12 and 13, 1994). The St. Andrew's Society was founded in 1816, and had its first Ball in 1835. It admitted its first women to full membership in 1902; prior to this they could only serve on the women's committees. (R. Turpin's phonecalls in August and September 1994 with two secretaries of the St. Andrew's Society, Margaret Fordham (former secretary) and Norma King (present secretary).

Gertrude Mudge, 1886-1958

"That Best Portion of a Good Woman's Life": Gertrude Mudge, 1886-1958

by Peter Hanlon

While the prestige of McGill rests primarily upon the high caliber of its academic staff, McGill's good name and fame also derive from the dedication and integrity of its administrative and technical officers who have helped to give the university "cohesiveness and unity of purpose." The story of these dedicated men and women remains largely untold but it is an important part of the history of McGill. One such person was Miss Gertrude Mudge who, from 1923 to 1953, served as the virtually indispensable right-hand of the Faculty of Medicine. Miss Mudge's discernment and understanding determined the essential character of her office as a vital, positive and motivating force in the lives of the medical students. Her generous spirit and quiet influence were famous through two generations of aspiring physicians. Following her retirement, Miss Mudge set out on a long pilgrimage across the United States and Canada to visit her scattered medical family. Her sentimental journey received wide publicity, and the renown of McGill grew as a result. In 1955, McGill awarded Miss Mudge an honorary Master of Arts in recognition of her years of devoted service which helped to sustain the university's pre-eminent position in medical education.

Même si le prestige de McGill repose essentiellement sur le très haut calibre de son personnel enseignant, l'Université tire également une bonne part de sa réputation et de sa célébrité du dévouement et de l'intégrité des membres de son personnel administratif et technique qui ont contribué à lui donner «cohésion et unité». Quoiqu'elle fasse partie intégrante de l'histoire de l'Université, la vie de ces hommes et de ces femmes est très souvent passée sous silence. Celle de Miss Gertrude Mudge qui, de 1923 à 1953, a été le bras droit quasi indipensable de la faculté de médecine fera toutefois exception à cette règle. Par son discernement et sa compréhension, Miss Mudge a joué un rôle vital, positif et motivant dans la vie des étudiants de médecine. Sa générosité et son influence tranquille ont marqué deux générations d'aspirants médecins. Suite à sa retraite, Miss Mudge a entrepris un long pélerinage à travers les États-Unis et le Canada pour rendre visite à tous les anciens étudiants de médecine qu'elle avait connus. Ce voyage sentimental a bénéficié d'une grande publicité, ce qui a contribué à accroître la renommée de McGill. En 1955, McGill lui a attribué une maîtrise ès arts honoris causa *en hommage à ce dévouement largement responsable de la prééminence de la faculté de médecine de l'Université McGill.*

For wisdom is better than rubies;
and all the things that may be desired
are not to be compared to it.
Proverbs, 8:11

The highest form of wisdom is kindness.
Talmud: Berakoth, 17a

A kind heart is a fountain of sunshine which raises the spirits and binds the human family together. Such was the person of Miss Gertrude Dupuy Mudge whose life was marked by faithful toil and a keen sense of the golden rule. Loved and esteemed by all who knew her at McGill University, Miss Mudge brought her special gift of service to the Faculty of Medicine where from 1923 to 1953, as the Assistant Secretary, she discharged her responsibilities with a gladness of spirit born of quiet self-possession. But it was her ability to enter sympathetically into the experiences of the medical students that earned her a niche in the pantheon of McGill notables who have brought distinction to the University. Revered for her kindly, sympathetic deeds and the wisdom of her counsels, she let charity measure all her actions. Miss Mudge's life is worthy of examination because there were, and are, other Mudges

at McGill and other institutions of higher education who "in the comparative obscurity of administrative departments... help to give a university... cohesiveness and unity of purpose."[1] By overlooking these "lesser lights,"[2] we miss opportunities for broadening our understanding of the formation of character and acquiring new insights into how everyday social contexts shape and direct moral selfhood and right action.

Born into a moderately prosperous middle class family, Miss Mudge was the youngest of five surviving children. Her birth on 13 September 1886 came at a distressful time in the family's fortunes for only a month or so earlier, creditors had forced her father into bankruptcy with the resultant loss of his founders' supplies business.[3] At 52 years of age when most men are securely ensconced in comfortable circumstances, Nicholas Richard Mudge found himself facing an uncertain future. But Nicholas was not one to let adversity pull him down. Soon he was back in business as an insurance broker and eventually became manager of the Montreal branch of the Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company of Canada. As a prominent lay leader in St. George's Anglican Church, his connections there may have helped him get back on his feet.

Sometime during this transition, Nicholas moved his family from their comfortable greystone row house on Coursol Street to an attractive 12-room single family dwelling on Lorne Avenue near McGill University. The spacious, tree-lined grounds of the McGill Campus were a favorite spot for the unrestricted activity—when they could get away with it—of the neighborhood children. As a young girl, Miss Mudge tried to play on the grounds "only to be chased out," as she recalled, "by 'Jimney the Spider,' Tom Graydon's assistant, for in those days only Professors' children were allowed to play on the Campus."[4]

When she was 6 years old, her mother died of pneumonia and her oldest sister, Isobel, and her aunt, Laura Mudge, who had been living with the family since at least 1891,[5] assumed the management of the household and helped her over this difficult emotional crisis. It would not be the first time that Miss Mudge understood death. In 1906, her sister, Helen, died of chronic endocarditis at 29 years of age.[6] Two years earlier her father had suffered a severe stroke from which he never recovered.[7] For the next six years she continued at home to help her two remaining sisters, Isobel and Maude, and her aunt care for him while her brother carried on at the Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company.

The death of her father in March 1910[8] finally freed her for a life of her own. She was never really interested in marriage for she apparently saw no way of reconciling personal growth within the bounds of matrimony. While she appreciated the claims of family, she preferred the path of individual self-development within the context of a career. Her courageous decision, however, carried a penalty, for a working woman of breeding was deemed unworthy of her station, and some of Miss Mudge's friends snubbed her. It was a bitter experience.[9]

When Miss Mudge stepped out on her own, she carried with her an unswerving commitment to the idea of service which was a characteristic of the Mudge women. Her sister, Maude, for example, was closely associated with the activities of the Anglican Diocese of Montreal and was for a number of years secretary to Bishop John Cragg Farthing.[10] Her aunt, Laura, was "the leading figure" in the Girls' Friendly Society from its inception in the Diocese in 1885.[11] And her cousin, Nora, was Secretary-Treasurer of the St. George's Women's Auxiliary and a member of the Dorcas Society.[12] Although Miss Mudge was never connected with these types of endeavour, the same sense of responsibility and duty was an energizing factor in the realization of her own womanhood.

Miss Mudge's first position was as a secretary for Atkinson, Glassco and Lawrence, consulting engineers, where Archibald Patrick Stinson Glassco, later Bursar at McGill, was the chief engineer. Subsequently, she found employment with the law firm of Thomas Shearer Stewart and his younger brother, William. One of her tasks at Stewart and Stewart was the typing and filing of the correspondence and other papers of the Graduates' Society of McGill of which William was the secretary.[13]

In one way or another, McGill had always been a part of Miss Mudge's life and so on 1 May 1915 when she joined the university as a clerk in the Registrar's Office, the progression seemed perfectly natural. A

conscientious worker, her earnest attention to all aspects of her job and her kindly disposition soon got her promoted to the Assistant to the Registrar. When the Dean of Medicine, Dr. Charles Ferdinand Martin, sought to fill the position of Assistant Secretary of the Faculty, left vacant in 1923 by the tragic loss to cancer of Miss Mary Eadie Brand, he looked no further than the central office where Miss Mudge's worth was warrant for her welcome.[14] And so her long and distinguished career with the Faculty of Medicine began when Principal Sir Arthur Currie informed her that the Dean had requested that she be transferred to that Faculty. "I was not anxious to make the change," she recalled, "but who could say 'no' to Sir Arthur?"[15] Thus began an association with the University's senior faculty that was to mark the happiest years of her life.

At the time of Miss Mudge's transfer, the medical office consisted of the Dean, Dr. Martin, and the Secretary, Dr. James Crawford Simpson. Both men had only recently been appointed to their respective positions. Dr. Martin was McGill's first full-time Dean of Medicine and charged with the responsibility of reorganizing and expanding the faculty. To help ease the burden of deanship, Dr. Simpson devoted most of his time to the secretarial work of the faculty. But the heart and pulse of the administration was Miss Mudge. While matters of policy were always the responsibility of the Dean, the day to day decisions which allow things to get done was the area where she played such an important role in enabling the Secretary to get on with his work.

In mind and character, Miss Mudge was a worthy partner of this triumvirate, and Dr. Simpson, as did his successors, relied on her to manage the office and to furnish administrative services.[16] His opening remark to her was, "I'm a terrible procrastinator and you'll have to keep after me," which she did for over seventeen years.[17] The immediate task which confronted them was the reorganization of the entire filing and record keeping system. This challenging assignment required many long hours back at the office in the evenings. If the work was arduous, it was also satisfying. "With such a kindly and understanding man," recalled Miss Mudge, "we were always able to find a solution for even the most abstruse problem and he was almost too ready to take the blame for any mistakes, whether his or mine. I can still hear him say, 'We must have a policy,' emphasizing his remark by an energetic right forefinger on his left palm."[18] The reorganization was so successful that it was recognized by the American Medical Association as a model of efficiency.

When Dr. Simpson died on 20 April 1944 (only three years into his retirement), Miss Mudge was asked if she would write an appreciation of his life and work. At first she did not feel equal to the task but with Dr. Martin's encouragement, she decided to try. The result was an exceptionally fine tribute that could only have been written by one who knew and shared his work. She wrote with great sensitivity and perception, exquisitely capturing the essential spirit of this remarkably gentle man who was an inspiration not only to his students but to his colleagues. She received many congratulatory letters for writing about him as she did, but the finest compliment came from Dr. Simpson's staunch friend and admirer, Professor Roy Fraser of the Department of Biology and Bacteriology at Mount Allison University:

> You wrote of Dr. Simpson as it should be done, and all who held him in affection and respect (and who did not?) will be very greatly in your debt. No one could have done it so well, for you knew his work and his gentle, sunny, friendly, helpful nature better than any one. I valued his friendship, and although men are mostly very shy about speaking their feelings to each other, he knew the measure of my admiration. Only those of us (and you are of that number) who know and love science and medicine can really understand the intense admiration that is always felt for fine teaching by those who profit by it, either as students or as colleagues. By all the gods, J.C. could teach![19]

Miss Mudge replied that some people thought her article was too personal, but "how could I write otherwise," she said, "about one who had meant so much to me. You can get statistics out of Who's Who."[20] Dr. William Willoughby Francis, curator of the Osler Library, summed it up with this comment: "Leacock says that the best writing is done with the pen—he's wrong, the best is done with the heart."[21]

In the death of Dr. Simpson, Miss Mudge lost not simply a "considerate" team mate but a "wonderful friend." What she cherished in their relationship, in addition to his kindliness, was his high regard for her capabilities and his readiness to combine his special talents with hers in the pursuit of common objectives. Her affection for him, one suspects, bordered on love but her strong sense of the proprieties never allowed her even so much as to intimate such feelings. When Dr. Simpson died, a part of Miss Mudge died, too,[22] and the shock of his passing cast a pall of weariness over her which intensified her uneasy awareness of the many changes she had lived through at McGill. The distress and suffering caused by her chronic rheumatism and the interminable brutality of the Second World War only heightened her sense of the brevity of life.[23] But her well disciplined temperament dismissed these morbid thoughts in dutiful regard to her vocation.

Guided solely by her devotion to the school, she "constantly added to her tasks over the years."[24] These included responsibilities as diverse as registration, drafting examination timetables, maintenance of student records, printing the examinations and compiling the results, ensuring that hospitals had completed the intern report forms and entering their comments on the student record cards, making arrangements for the Way of Life Ceremony, ensuring that prizes were ready for presentation, keeping the notice boards up-to-date, and performing various clerical functions for the McGill chapter of the Alpha Omega Alpha Society. In addition to her ramified and broad administrative responsibilities, Miss Mudge was the information hub of the faculty. In the course of a typical working day, she answered countless telephone enquiries from various university departments, the hospitals, the students and the public. As well, she attended to a seemingly endless string of enquiries over the counter which usually began first thing in the morning.[25] Despite the constant interruptions, Miss Mudge's patience and systematic work habits allowed her to accomplish her multifarious responsibilities with facility.

When Dr. Martin offered Miss Mudge the job of Assistant Secretary, she asked him what her duties would be. His reply clearly indicated that mothering skills would be an integral part of the job and vital to her success. "'Your principal duty is to be a friend to the students. If they want to cry on your shoulder, you'll be there; and if they're happy and want to laugh, then you can laugh with them.'"[26] The maternal role suited her perfectly, and her sympathetic personality soon transformed the office into a center of domesticity as she demonstrated a "surprisingly rapid understanding of the needs of the average medical student."[27] Thereafter, Dr. Martin referred to Miss Mudge as "our Secretary in charge of students."[28]

A valued friend and confidante to two generations of medical students, Miss Mudge maintained an open door policy for their benefit. She acted as the faculty spokesperson on many matters directly affecting the students and dealt promptly with all their questions. As a result, it was seldom necessary for them to see the Dean or the Secretary. Keenly aware of how precious time was to these hopeful young men and women, Miss Mudge made it a point of pride that they were never turned away empty-handed or told to come back later.[29] Her ready smile and obliging manner gave encouragement to those who sought her advice and counsel. She instinctively knew the right thing to say and "always seemed to be able to build their confidence with ... a ray of sunshine."[30] But when the occasion demanded, observed Dr. Martin, Miss Mudge could "dress them down in a way nobody else could."[31] Reginald E.L. Watson (Med. '34) recalls that "she encouraged, advised and reprimanded us all as she saw fit, and her opinions ... carried great weight ... and were highly valued."[32] She expected these aspiring physicians to conduct themselves in a manner befitting the dignity of their chosen profession and to apply themselves diligently to their studies. "My very first recollection of Gertrude Mudge," reminisced Mark R. Marshall (Med. '26), "is the occasion when she suggested in the kindliest of tones, to one of my class-mates that perhaps it would be to his advantage to devote more time to his studies and less to dances and other social activities: an unexpected comment, but with most beneficial effects."[33] An accurate observer of people and a shrewd judge of character, she knew a great deal about the personal lives and affairs of the students, and both the Dean and the Secretary made good use of her knowledge when scholarships and jobs were being considered.[34] Their trust in her qualities of reason and calm judgment was implicit.

Women were fairly recent arrivals to the medical student body when she joined the faculty. Some of the professors took a dim view of women in medicine, but Miss Mudge did not accept the division of the world into male and female spheres. She admired the pluck and determination of these young women who sought to fashion their own lives in the face of ancient prejudice and soon became their "staunch friend and champion."[35] Evidence of female inequality and male resistance to medical co-education was the lack of suitable toilet arrangements for women in the Medical Building. Miss Mudge quietly took them under her wing and successfully pleaded their cause for better facilities. She also assisted them in finding suitable lodgings for as semi-graduate students, they were ineligible to apply for accommodations in Royal Victoria College.[36]

Aside from the McGill Women's Medical Society, there were no associations open to women in medicine which aimed simply at good fellowship. They were expected to organize their own social activities, and Miss Mudge did much to encourage them in this way. Occasionally she would entertain them herself on weekends. She was always a great favorite with the women students who affectionately called her "Mudgy" and automatically included her in their official activities. Honor M. Kidd (Med. '47) writes:

> Before my time as President of the Medical Women's Undergraduate Society, the annual dinner was a rather dull affair, with a serious after dinner speaker, and poorly attended. We livened things up by substituting a quiz programme for the speaker. The prizes were a weird and wonderful assortment, but our best was a rather moth-eaten moose's head of such an enormous size that it was quite a problem getting it into the Windsor Hotel where the dinner was held. Since you can only have fun with your friends, we decided that come what may Mudgy was going to win the moose's head. Her quiz question was "How do you make a chocolate moose?" If she knew, she got the moose, if she didn't know, she still got the moose as a booby prize! Have forgotten now whether she knew or not, but she flatly refused to accept her trophy, even though we assured her that its moth-eaten character would never show if it were hung high in the halls of the medical building. This evening is one of my happiest memories of Mudgy—she thoroughly enjoyed our fun, and thought it was a huge joke that the dinner organizers were left to dispose of her ungainly prize![37]

Clearly Miss Mudge owed much of her success to a genuine sense of humour which revealed itself in her alertness and breadth of mind, in her keen sense of proportion, in her faculty of quick observation and in the charity of her judgements. She delighted in the company of others and appreciated the whimsicalities and contradictions of life.

Not only was she a staunch friend of women in medicine, she was also a staunch friend of the wives of men in medicine. According to one of the wives, Miss Mudge started a "Wives' Club" which met periodically for conviviality.

> Each term, the presiding club president would appear at Miss Mudge's office for the new list of 'marrieds,' and from then on, it was all 'fun.' She ... got us invitations to things ... given by Lady this or that, in a lovely home, or memberships in groups such as the Needlework Guild of Canada. Dr. Lyman Duff, at that time a Professor of Pathology, perhaps at her instigation entertained us beautifully one Sunday lunch.[38]

The club provided these lonely young wives, whose husbands were "too preoccupied with studies to have much time for entertainment,"[39] with much needed companionship and an opportunity to let their hair down.

The outstanding quality of her character was kindness. Interestingly the word 'kindness' originally meant 'kinship' and the warm feelings associated with family ties. The Faculty of Medicine was like home to Miss Mudge, and she looked upon the students with the same affection and sense of responsibility which find natural expression in the bond between parent and child. They were her "boys" and "girls." Her warmhearted readiness to assist needy students was well known and in one instance, she acted as surety for a

student by putting some securities in pledge against a loan he had received from a bank.[40] Miss Mudge's "musical Sunday nights" were a refreshing uplift after a long, hard week of study. Before she moved into Lehman's guest house on Mountain Street, she would invite several of the students and their wives over to her suite in the Somerset Apartments on Sherbrooke Street each Sunday for dinner and an evening of music. Sometimes the students would bring their own instruments. And every Christmas she saw to it that those out-of-town students who were unable to get home for the holidays enjoyed a home-cooked turkey dinner with her.[41]

As her "boys" and "girls" graduated and scattered around the world, she never lost touch with them. Every Christmas she exchanged hundreds of cards and greetings with her "students."[42] She was also a familiar figure at class reunions, and it was her presence that made these gathering such memorable occasions. The former registrar, Thomas Henry Matthews, noted that "those who have wondered why medical reunions are so successful might discover, by tactful questions, that the doctors really come back to Montreal to see Miss Mudge. They appreciate her qualities and she appreciates theirs."[43] At the celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the class of 1924, one physician remembered the "thrill " of being "recognized at once" by Miss Mudge after the lapse of so many years.[44] Clearly her remarkable memory for names was an extension of her native kindliness and her genuine interest in people.

When she retired at the end of 1953, Miss Mudge had served McGill for thirty-eight years with untiring and selfless devotion, and for thirty years had gently and sometimes firmly guided the fortunes of over 3,000 medical undergraduates. During that year, she was the recipient of many honours. In March she was the guest of honour at the annual Medical Ball—the first person ever to be accorded such recognition—with the largest attendance ever. During the supper hour, James H. Duxbury (Med. '53) presented her with a combination radio and phonograph on behalf of the Undergraduate Medical Society.[45] She was also made Permanent Honorary Editor of the *McGill Medical Journal*.[46] In June a committee was formed to solicit contributions to The Gertrude Mudge Fund.[47] The response was immediate. McGill medical graduates from many parts of the world tangibly expressed their great affection for her in the form of a 'purse' which amounted to over $5,000. They felt privileged and honoured to be asked to pay this small tribute to one to whom they owed so much. There was not one contribution that was not accompanied by at least a short note of appreciation recalling her friendly interest and ready helpfulness.

The committee set a limit of $5.00 per person, but some donated more than this. One physician, construing this limit to mean the lower limit, gave $50.00 with the explanation: "It's the least I can do for someone who has done so much for McGill medical students."[48] Another, in contributing $25.00, reasoned, "It is ... more than you asked for, but some cannot send any because of recent graduation and others may not send any and the addition is sent so Miss Mudge's fund will be somewhat nearer the figure that you had hoped to get for her."[49] Richard Jamieson (Med. '42) probably expressed the sentiments of all when he wrote, "I know of no other fund—large or small—to which I have contributed that gives me such great personal pleasure as this."[50] The presentation took place in December and consisted of a suitably engraved sterling silver quaich bowl and a handsome check which she later used to finance a long-planned sentimental journey across the United States and Canada to honour a promise in answer to repeated invitations from "her former students" that she would visit them on her retirement.[51]

In early March 1954, at 68 years of age, Miss Mudge departed Montreal in her Plymouth sedan to see her medical family. Armed with the names of more than one thousand doctors, she spent the next eight months on the road renewing old friendships. She never stayed more than a few days in any place. There were so many people to visit, and as she said, "I've got to get around and see how the rest of my boys are."[52] Wherever she went, McGill doctors plied her with questions, particularly about former professors. "They were grateful," she said, "for what they considered the more individual method of instruction based on the bedside method of teaching made famous by Sir William Osler."[53] It gave her tremendous satisfaction to see these men, whom she had guided through their years at medical school, now with families of their own, so successfully established in their respective communities. Miss Mudge's extensive tour was more than just a promise kept; it was also an unofficial

goodwill mission for the university and as such received wide publicity through the offices of the Graduates' Society of McGill and many of its branches.[54] Dean Donald H. Fleming noted that her tour "served to strengthen the links binding our graduates in Medicine to the University."[55]

We do not know if Miss Mudge got to visit any of her "girls." There were very few of them anyway. Of the 3,072 medical students who graduated during her 30 years with the faculty, only 139 or 4.5 per cent were women.[56] In an interview with a reporter from *The Vancouver Sun*, she noted that women were still not fully welcomed into medicine at McGill. "Of the 116 potential doctors who will be admitted this Fall," she observed, "only eight will be women. And approximately 180 will seek admission," she added with telling effect.[57] The explanation, said Miss Mudge, lay in the age old problem of trying to combine marriage and a medical career.

> It is not that women make poor doctors. On the contrary, they usually do extremely well. But women so often get married during their training, or, after it, have babies, that we keep our women students down.[58]

It was a matter of regret with Miss Mudge that men were perceived as taking medicine more seriously than women.[59]

When Miss Mudge opened her mail on Friday, 25 February 1955, she was "astounded" to find a letter from Principal F. Cyril James inviting her to the Spring Convocation in order that Chancellor Bertie Charles Gardner might confer on her the degree of Master of Arts, *honoris causa*.[60] The honour capped an outstanding career of a remarkable women whose "faithful and efficient service" as Assistant Secretary of the Faculty of Medicine was distinguished by the "warm human qualities" which she brought to that position.[61] Dr. Harold Willis Dodds, President of Princeton University, who delivered the convocation address, could have had Miss Mudge in mind when he stressed the absolute importance of wisdom in the "complex interrelations of life."[62]

On 21 January 1958, Miss Mudge died in her 72nd year at the Royal Victoria Hospital.[63] That same year the *Gertrude Mudge Memorial Student Aid Fund* was begun to help medical undergraduates in need of financial assistance, thus continuing a thing which she did unofficially during her lifetime.[64] The story is told by her personal physician and former lecturer in the Faculty of Medicine, Walter de Mouilpied Scriver, of an incident which took place in her office prior to her retirement. Noting a memorial plaque which had been erected to her predecessor, Miss Brand,[65] he jestingly remarked that a larger one would be required to fit her qualities. "If anybody puts up a plaque for me," Miss Mudge quickly replied, "I'll come and haunt them." Dr. Scriver commented that the committee "used this [remark] with good effect in launching our campaign for funds."[66]

Miss Mudge's death was the occasion of an exceptionally fine editorial in *The Montreal Star* in tribute to her "grand qualities of heart and mind,"[67] an honour accorded only to those rare persons of uncommon character.

> There is mourning today that spreads far beyond the halls of the faculty of medicine at McGill University. Miss Mudge's "boys" are grieving. Even though they are doctors and so more insulated against the shock of death, the passing of Miss Gertrude D. Mudge carries a greater sting. For her boys—and girls, too—will reflect on Miss Mudge not so much from their contacts of maturer years, but from their deeper memories of her in their student days.[68]

In the gladness of remembrance, her reassuring presence lives again. "My student days at McGill were the happiest of my life," recalls one graduate. "This was due, in no small part, to association with such wonderful persons as Miss Mudge. Thoughts of the Faculty of Medicine are thoughts of her."[69]

Notes

The title "That Best Portion of a Good Woman's Life" was adapted from Wordsworth's *Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey*.

The documents referred to below originally belonged to the author who donated them to the McGill University Archives in May 1994:

GDM Gertrude D. Mudge Papers, M.G. 4180, McGill University Archives.
MUA McGill University Archives

1. "McGill Convocation" (Editorial), *The Montreal Star*, 25 May 1955, p. 10.
2. T.H. Matthews, "Stars of the Second Magnitude—but Stars," *The McGill News*, 31 (Summer 1950): 28.
3. *Gazette officielle de Québec*, 1886, pp. 1703, 1786; "By the Way," *The Gazette* (Montreal), 16 Aug 1886, p. 3; "City and District News," *The Gazette* (Montreal), 18 Aug 1886, p. 3; *The Montreal Daily Star*, 6 Sep 1886, p. [2].
4. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 7, autobiographical notes intended for a speech in reply to receiving her honorary degree [never read].
5. 1891 Federal census, MF reel T-6407, Montreal, St. Antoine Ward, Division 29, p. 16, *U.* 20-25 and p. 17 *U.* 1-3.
6. Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, files.
7. The Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company of Canada, Toronto, ON, Harold Mudge, "Montreal Story: Backgrounder no. 13" in *Background to Centennial, bi&i, 1875-1975*.
8. "Mr. Nicholas Mudge Has Passed Away," *The Montreal Daily Herald*, 23 Mar 1910, p. 2.
9. As told to the author by his mother.
10. "Miss Maud [sic] Mudge Borne to Grave: Private Secretary of Bishop Farthing Mourned by Many Friends," *The Gazette* (Montreal), 21 Mar 1929, p. 11.
11. John Irwin Cooper, *The Blessed Communion: The Origins and History of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960*, [Montreal] The Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960), p. 127.
12. St. George's Anglican Church, Montreal, Women's Auxiliary, *Minute Book*, 10 Nov 1913 - 28 Apr 1930.
13. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 7, autobiographical notes intended for a speech in reply to receiving her honourary degree [never read].
14. Osler Library, MS 277, Shelf 1, C.F. Martin, "Dinner [speech] for Dr. J.C. Simpson - 3rd June, 1941," p. 4.
15. Gertrude Mudge, "J.C. Simpson," *The McGill News*, 25 (Summer 1944): 18.
16. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 5, Ethel Simpson to Gertrude Mudge, 27 May [1944].
17. Gertrude Mudge, "J.C. Simpson," *The McGill News*, 25 (Summer 1944): 18.
18. *Ibid.*
19. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 5, Roy Fraser to Gertrude Mudge, 21 Jul 1944.
20. *Ibid.*, Gertrude Mudge to Roy Fraser, 24 July 1944.
21. *Ibid.*, Gertrude Mudge to Teck [Harold Cedrick] Alward, 13 Jun 1944.
22. As told to the author by his mother.
23. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 5, *passim*.
24. Donald H. Fleming, "In memoriam: Miss Gertrude D. Mudge," *McGill Medical Journal*, 27 (Feb 1958): 1. This memorial is recorded in the *Minutes* of the Faculty of Medicine.
25. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 3, *passim*. MUA, RG 38, Container 5, file 117, Howard L. Elliot to Gertrude Mudge, 10 Oct 1928; Gertrude Mudge to Howard L. Elliot, 11 Oct 1928; Circular letter signed by Howard L. Elliot, 10 Dec 1928.
26. Mary McAlpine, "Cupid Hinders Women Doctors," *The Vancouver Sun*, 18 Aug 1954, p. 24.
27. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 8, Charles Ferdinand Martin, "Miss Gertrude Mudge, An Appreciation," in Medical Undergraduate Society, McGill University, *Medical Ball in Honour of Miss Gertrude D. Mudge, Montreal, 20 Mar 1953*.
28. MUA, RG 38, Container 3, file 426, Charles Ferdinand Martin to Dr. Willard Cole Rappleye.
29. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 3, *passim*.
30. *Ibid.*, file 1, Allan J. Fleming to the author, 11 Jan 1966.
31. *Ibid.*, Charles Ferdinand Martin to the author, 3 Aug 1964.
32. *Ibid.*, Reginald E.L. Watson to the author, 5 Jan 1966.
33. *Ibid.*, file 4, Mark R. Marshall to G. Earle Wight, 30 Jun 1953.
34. *Ibid.*, file 1, Mrs. Hill H. Cheney to the author, 16 Aug 1964 and C.P. Martin to the author, 3 Aug 1964.
35. MUA, RG 7, Container 103, file 383, "Presentation of Miss Gertrude D. Mudge," 25 May 1955.
36. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 1, Mrs. Hill H. Cheney to the author, 16 Aug 1964; Donald Fleming, M.D., to the author, 24 Aug 1964; Walter de M. Scriver, M.D., to the author, 31 Jul 1964.
37. *Ibid.*, Honor M. Kidd to the author, 10 Sep 1964.
38. *Ibid.*, file 2, June B. Everett to the author, 16 Aug 1993.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, file 1, Charles H. Borsman to the author, 21 Apr 1965; MUA, RG 38, Container 76, file 1074, Walter de M. Scriver to Alumnus, [May or Jun 1958].
41. Hilda Meehan, "McGill's 'Mother Confessor' Will Be Missed after 38 Years," *The Gazette* (Montreal), 24 Jul 1953, p. 10.
42. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 8, Dorothy Gale, "Miss Mudge of Montreal Comes Here the Long Way," in unidentified Honolulu newspaper [1954].
43. T.H. Matthews, "Stars of the Second Magnitude—but Stars," *The McGill News*, 31 (Summer 1950): 81.
44. "Returning '24 Graduates Find McGill 'Bigger and Better'," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 22 Oct 1949, p. 3.
45. "Record Crowd at Annual Med. Ball," *The Montreal Star*, 21 Mar 1953, p. 11 and 23 March 1953, p. 13.

46. See encomium entitled "Our Miss Mudge" in *McGill Medical Journal*, 22 (Apr 1953): [59]-60.
47. The Gertrude Mudge Fund Committee consisted of G. Earle Wight (med. '25), S.J. Martin (Med '28), J.F. Meakins (Med. '36) and G.E. Craig (med. '43).
48. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 4, Lew A. Hochberg to G. Earle Wight, n.d. [1953].
49. *Ibid.*, J. Conrad Gemeroy to G. Earle Wight, 20 July 1953.
50. *Ibid.*, Richard B. Jamieson to G. Earle Wight, 2 July 1953.
51. "Doctors Honor Miss G. Mudge," *The Montreal Star and Herald*, 23 Dec 1953, p. 8; "12,320-Mile Trip Honors Promise," *The Montreal Star*, 11 Nov 1954, p. 3.

The author donated the quaich bowl to the Faculty of Medicine in 1993. It is now on permanent display in the dean's office. The bowl sits on a wooden base with a plaque which reads:

> Miss Mudge's contributions to the Faculty of Medicine were extraordinary and encompassed areas of activities now requiring a group of individuals. This display is in honour of all the administrative staff members who support the many functions of this faculty.

Behind and above the bowl stands a framed, colored portrait photograph of Miss Mudge. The whole is encased in an acrylic box.

52. Tom Gilliland, "Retired University Secretary Visiting Many of Graduates," *Chattanooga News-Free Press*, 24 Mar 1954, p. 7.
53. "12,320-Mile Trip Honors Promise," *The Montreal Star*, 11 Nov 1954, p. 3.
54. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 8, "Secretary to Visit 1,000 McGill Grads," *The Montreal Star*, 2 Mar 1954, p. 3; Tom Gilliland, "Retired University Secretary Visiting Many of Graduates," *Chattanooga News-Free Press*, 24 Mar 1954, p. 7; Dorothy Gale, "Miss Mudge of Montreal Comes Here the Long Way," in unidentified Honolulu newspaper [1954]; Miss Mudge Visits the Richerts," in unidentified Honolulu newspaper [1954]; Dee Lavoie, "Long Visiting List for Quebec Woman," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria, B.C.), 11 Aug 1954, p. 11; "McGill Doctors Honor Visitor," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria, B.C.), 11 Aug 1954, p. 11; Mary McAlpine, "Cupid Hinders Women Doctors," *The Vancouver Sun*, 18 Aug 1954, p. 24; "12,320-Mile Trip Honors Promise," *The Montreal Star*, 11 Nov 1954, p. 3; "What the Martlet Hears," *The McGill News*, 36 (Summer 1955): 7.
55. Donald H. Fleming, "In Memoriam: Miss Gertrude D. Mudge," *McGill Medical Journal*, 27 (Feb 1958): 2. This memorial is recorded in the *Minutes* of the Faculty of Medicine.
56. C. Turnbull, Medical Library, McGill University, to the author, 25 Mar 1976.
57. Mary McAlpine, "Cupid Hinders Women Doctors," *The Vancouver Sun*, 18 Aug 1954, p. 24.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Even women physicians of the time were of the opinion that a professional women's identity was to be found first and foremost in her success as a wife and mother. See Hulda E. Thelander and Helen B. Weyrauch, "Women in Medicine," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 148 (16 Feb 1952): 531-535.
60. MUA, RG 7, Container 103, file 383, F. Cyril James to Gertrude Mudge, 23 Feb 1955, MUA, RG 2, Container 170, file 5911, Gertrude Mudge to F. Cyril James, 26 Feb 1955.
61. MUA, RG 7, Container 103, file 383, "Presentation of Miss Gertrude D. Mudge for the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts..."
62. *The Montreal Star*, 25 May 1955, p. 8, col. 2.
63. "Miss Gertrude Mudge," *The Montreal Star and Herald*, 22 Jan 1958, p. 32.
64. The Gertrude Mudge Memorial Student Aid Fund Committee was co-chaired by Dr. Walter de M. Scriver (Med '21) and Dr. G. Earle Wight (Med '25), both of Montreal, and Dr. Douglas MacKinnon (Med '27) of Los Angeles.

When the fund closed its books on 30 June 1960, the committee had collected over $32,000 which, at that time, made it "by far the largest student loan fund in the Medical Faculty—and by far the most generous." See MUA, RG 76, Container 65, files 1071 and 1074. As of April 1993, the fund had a value of $48,468.

According to the terms set out in the circular letters soliciting funds, the money was to be used for student aid at the discretion of the Faculty of Medicine. At its meeting of 16 September 1958, the faculty decided that it would like to open a rotating loan fund whereby the loans would be interest free for the first three years and then bear interest at 2 per cent per year. The maximum amount to be lent to any student is the amount of the annual fees. See MUA, RG 4, Container 246, file 3934, Lloyd G. Stevenson to J.H. Holton, 22 Sep 1958; also A.B.C. Schlichter to Mrs. Derouchie, 7 Oct 1958; and J.H. Holton to D.C. Bain and R. Kuranoff, 5 Jun 1959.
65. MUA, McGill University, *Annual Report*, 1924-1925, p. 119. Regrettably the memorial tablet to Miss Brand no longer exists, and nobody on campus today has any recollection of it. According to Dr. M.F. Lalli, superintendent of the Strathcona Anatomy and Dentistry Building, the tablet was never a part of the inventory of the building's collection of art works and memorials.
66. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 1, Walter de M. Scriver to the author, 31 Jul 1964.
67. *Ibid.*, file 8, Charles Ferdinand Martin, "Miss Gertrude Mudge, an Appreciation," in Medical Undergraduate Society, McGill University, *Medical Ball in Honor of Miss Gertrude D. Mudge, Montreal, 20 Mar 1953.*
68. "Miss Gertrude Mudge" (Editorial), *The Montreal Star and Herald*, 23 Jan 1958, p. 10.
69. GDM, M.G. 4180, file 4, Milton Greenberg to G. Earle Wight, 3 Jul 1953.

William Macdonald, ca. 1870? (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Sir William Macdonald: An Unfinished Portrait

by Stanley Frost and Robert Michel

Probably the richest Canadian of his day, tobacco manufacturer Sir William Macdonald (1831-1917) poured much of his fortune into education, mainly in expanding McGill University. Many anecdotes about Macdonald survive but the inner man remains shrouded in mystery. Besides incorporating published information, this article focusses on archival and legal records and attempts to portray Macdonald more broadly than previously done, as a business man as well as a philanthropist and unique figure.

Selon toute probabilité le Canadien le plus riche de son époque, le fabricant de tabac Sir William Macdonald (1931-1917) a consacré une grande partie de sa fortune à l'éducation et principalement à l'Université McGill. Si l'on connaît beaucoup d'anecdotes sur Macdonald, l'homme n'en reste pas moins entouré de mystère. En plus d'analyser des documents publiés, cet article a puisé dans des dossiers archivistiques et juridiques pour brosser un portrait plus précis de l'homme d'affaires, du philanthrope et d'une personnalité unique.

Sir William Macdonald (1831-1917)[1] was a great capitalist turned philanthropist—a Canadian counterpart of Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie. Unlike most great men of his era, Macdonald must be seen through the eyes of others. He left educational institutions, buildings and endowments but (apparently) few writings beyond routine business vouchers. Fortunately, this mysterious benefactor who funded both atomic discovery and better crops inspired a wealth of memories and anecdotes. Many of them are recorded in the publications and papers of Professor J.F. Snell, preserved in the McGill University Archives. Snell interviewed and corresponded with Macdonald's family, McGill colleagues and many others, mainly in the 1940s, when he was writing his carefully researched *Macdonald College*.[2] The present authors have tried to examine Macdonald in a new light and in historical context by looking at his tobacco business and by drawing not only on Snell's papers but those of McGill Principal Sir William Dawson and other archival sources. Nevertheless, this is an unfinished, tentative portrait. More about Macdonald remains to be discovered in letters to contemporaries, diaries, business records, and American legal records dealing with his brother Augustine. Such untapped sources might yield a full scale biography of the greatest educational benefactor of his time.

ORIGINS AND YOUTH

William Christopher Macdonald was born on the tenth day of February, 1831, in Prince Edward Island, the former Ile St. Jean of the French regime. When the British took control of the island after the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, they did not wait for the Treaty of Paris in 1763 before driving out most of the 5000 or so French settlers and encouraging immigration from Britain. As it turned out, the new immigrants came mostly from Scotland and Ireland, with Catholics and Protestants in fairly equal numbers. But political power still resided in the hands of the Crown-grant Protestant landowners. Largely because of absentee landlord neglect, farming was slow to develop. Among the peasantry there was considerable hardship and dissatisfaction, which recognition as a separate Province in 1769 did little to allay. The community was left somewhat unhappy and divided. In his own home, William benefited from his family's degree of affluence and social importance, but outside the home he was early acquainted with rural poverty and lack of educational and cultural opportunities.

Even in his own family, some of the island's tensions were present. William was the third son and sixth child of the Hon. Donald McDonald (1795-1854) and Anna Matilda Brecken. A fourth daughter was born later. Until 1898, William spelled his name "McDonald" like the rest of his family but afterwards he used the spelling "Macdonald", a gesture of some considerable significance, as will become apparent. His

grandfather, John McDonald (1742-1811), a staunch Catholic, was the last of a line of Scottish chieftains bearing the title Glenaladale. In 1772, because of the continuing harsh treatment suffered by Highlanders after the Stuart risings of 1715 and 1745, the grandfather transferred his lands to a cousin and transported over 200 of his clansmen to Prince Edward Island, where he had purchased 40,000 acres of land. His own house and estate he named Glenaladale, after his former home. However, before he could organize the settlement efficiently, he was called away to join the British forces engaged in the American War of Independence. During his absence, his estate was ably run by his sister, the redoubtable Helen McDonald but suffering from the twin disabilities of being a woman and a Catholic she could not prevent title to the greater part of her brother's lands falling into the possession of the island's Protestant politicians. After the conclusion of the war, John returned to the task of transforming his Highland shepherds and cattle drovers into a settled farming community; he only regained possession of his lands after long legal battles. Although the family remained strongly Catholic (John is said to have declined the governorship of Prince Edward Island because he could not accept the spiritual supremacy of the Crown), his son Donald married Anna Brecken, the daughter of a prominent Protestant landowner and Speaker of the provincial House of Assembly.

William grew up therefore in a locally important but religiously divided family. His mother remained Protestant while his father and the children were Catholic. Three of the daughters became Ursuline nuns and William himself as a boy served as an acolyte; his father may have hoped he would become a priest. The remaining daughter, however, converted to her mother's faith. At about his sixteenth birthday, William suddenly renounced Catholicism and, while he did not disavow Christianity, he declared himself free of sectarian loyalties. Whether this renunciation was part of a rebellion against his father or was caused by a rejection of Catholic practices is unknown; certainly, his subsequent life-long alienation from organized religion strongly influenced his attitudes and actions.

William may have quarrelled with his father over the manner of his education. Unlike his older brothers John and Augustine, who were sent to England to the family's Catholic alma mater, Stonyhurst College, William went to the Central Academy in Charlottetown. He resented this unequal treatment all the more because he believed himself to be intellectually superior to his brothers. Nor it seems did he appreciate being apprenticed after his schooling to his mother's cousin, who kept a general store in Charlottetown but he may have discovered his interest in business there. Not surprisingly, by the age of eighteen, William had left home; in 1849 he and Augustine were clerking for George H. Gray and Co. in Boston. Soon William began to engage in commerce on his own account. He asked his father for financial backing, failing which he threatened to join the California gold rush. Whether or not his father complied, William raised capital somehow, for in 1851 he persuaded John, his eldest brother, to turn from farming to storekeeping in Charlottetown—William would be the "off-shore" partner. Ambitiously, he declared that now that he had launched his commercial career he would not stop until his signature was "GOLD wherever it may go". But a shipload of goods to the Island was mostly lost when the vessel was wrecked and the partnership ended.

Meanwhile William and Augustine had moved on from Boston to New York, where they were embarrassed by rumours of debts unpaid in New England—rumours they denied in the newspapers. By 1852 they had moved to Montreal, where William would make his fortune and live the remaining sixty-five years of his life.[3]

THE TOBACCO COMPANY

In Montreal, William and Augustine set up as oil merchants. Since the petroleum era was a few years in the future, they presumably traded in vegetable, fish or coal oil. At this point Macdonald (as we shall call him hereafter), aged twenty-one, appears to have been cocky and brash—the rising young man incarnate. In a letter of 1852, he advised his eldest brother John in bombastic terms, far different from his laconic style of later years:

> You must assert yourself and push on, let nothing stop you—not even your bald head, ha! ha! ha! If you must loose [sic] all, stop not to grieve, it is unbecoming in a man as well as useless—but stop only to plan,

> continue and devise means to meet your ends. Let your aim next to Heaven be Superiority, let Onward and Upward be your motto—never be second when it is in your power to be first....Read Franklin's Life—see how he rose from a poor printer boy... to be second only to the immortal Washington—how he persevered in his studies as well as his business—losing no time late or early—not only being industrious but endeavouring to appear so. Study, my dear brother, you require much....[4]

In 1854, Donald Macdonald visited his sons in Montreal on his way to induct his youngest daughter into the Ursulines in Quebec City. Son and father were quickly reconciled; Donald wrote his son John that the brothers were doing business at the rate of $40,000 a year, and reckoned in five years to make half that in profits. Just afterwards, the father died suddenly in Quebec, probably of cholera. So the quarrel of father and son, dear to Greek myth and Victorian novels, resolved itself but without time for a healing sequel.

By 1857 Montreal directories listed the brothers as "importers and general commission merchants," a description covering many activities. They started the tobacco company in 1858 and appear simply as "tobacco manufacturers" from that date. They bought the tobacco in leaf from Kentucky and elsewhere, cured it and processed it. They made chewing and pipe tobacco; the company did not make cigarettes on a large scale until 1922. In 1866 the company was listed as "W.C. McDonald, Tobacco Merchant and Manufacturer"; Augustine had left the partnership.[5] As early as 1863 he had become involved in cotton trading in the American South. According to Snell, President Lincoln commissioned Augustine to negotiate a secret agreement enabling traders to buy cotton from Southern factors; the cotton would be protected from destruction by either army. Augustine held a large amount of cotton for himself as well as in trust, placing it under the protection of the British flag. However, Union troops burned his cotton in January 1865. Augustine won compensation after the Civil War. He later clashed with his lawyers, suffered legal reverses, faced charges of contempt of court and appears to have been imprisoned in New York between 1879 and 1885. Relations between William and Augustine during those years are unknown. Snell suggested that the brothers may have fallen out by the mid-1860s. As of 1895, Augustine appears to have been living in New York City; his story may be as fascinating as his brother's.[6]

His first seventeen years in Montreal, William Macdonald boarded at hotels. By 1868 the handsome bachelor of thirty-seven had still no intention or prospect of marriage. Yet he yearned for a stabler domestic life and in August 1868 he invited his mother and sister Helen, to come and keep house for him. Characteristically making a carefully detailed proposition, he listed the advantages of living together, and promised gas lighting (a very modern convenience), hot and cold running water, servants, covered and open carriages and sleighs, and (knowing their religious concerns) the proximity of churches.[7] For Helen and her mother the proposal must have sounded attractive indeed. In 1869 the three Macdonalds moved into a townhouse, No. 3, Prince of Wales Terrace, facing Sherbrooke Street and at that time Montreal's most up-to-date housing development. This domestic menage was to continue comfortably for twenty years, until both his mother and sister died. Fatefully, the Macdonald home stood almost next door to McGill University.

Macdonald's first tobacco factory was at 163 Water Street in Montreal (see colour illustration p. 81). The business grew quickly. By 1871 his factory employed 500 hands and Macdonald was reputed to be a millionaire. Women and adolescents, hired cheaply, made up at least half the work force at Macdonald's as at other tobacco makers. They did much of the preliminary work: stripping, sorting, and drying the tobacco plants. From the outset, Macdonald exploited a popular product; he had a secret recipe, probably molasses-based, to sweeten his chewing tobacco. He had an eye for marketing; his tobacco plugs came with a distinctive heart-shaped label made of tin, pressed into the tobacco, bearing the catching motto "the tobacco with a heart". In the mid-1860s, Macdonald appears to have been producing eleven brands of tobacco products, according to the advertisements of Forester Moir and Co. who acted as his agents. Macdonald does not appear to have made cigars—at least he was not listed among cigar makers by the Labour Commission of 1888. Outdoorsmen across the expanding country liked Macdonald's plugs; trappers, Indians and Inuit all recognized the heart-shaped label.

Living Room, Macdonald's house in Prince of Wales Terrace, n.d. (Photographer is probably Notman)

As industrialization increased, Montreal became an important centre for manufacturing chewing and pipe tobacco as well as cigars. According to Bettina Bradbury, the number of Montreal tobacco workers grew from about 1000 in 1871 to about 3000 by 1891. Canadian cultivation of tobacco also increased. In 1870-1871 Quebec produced 542,208 kg of tobacco while Ontario produced 181,381 kg. By 1910 Canadian production reached 7,938,000 kg, with Quebec still the greater producer. In the 1860s and 1870s, Macdonald actively ran his own business. Ironically, he disliked the use of tobacco, but was said to have prided himself on a good nose and feel for a leaf.[8]

In 1875 Macdonald built a new tobacco factory, the largest in Canada, in east Montreal on Ontario Street at Iberville Street. The factory still operates (as RJR-Macdonald), its old brick recently covered by modern siding. Almost nothing was published about the company. As sole owner Macdonald owed no reports to shareholders. He and his managers, however, gave detailed information about the company on at least two occasions—in testimony to the Labour Commission in 1888 and after a fire in 1895. Running the company with only a few assistants, Macdonald kept administrative and overhead costs to the bare minimum, with a wide profit margin as the result. He kept the ratio of office to production workers incredibly low—perhaps 1 to 200. He avoided all unnecessary expense, including impressive offices, correspondence and costly advertising. Customers had to produce cash or a certified cheque for their last consignment of goods before any new order would be accepted. The authorized order form then would be taken to the Custom House for payment of charges and, after being stamped, to Macdonald's warehouse to take delivery of the goods. Customers also had to arrange transportation to their own premises. Macdonald had no wish to impress; he loved the utilitarian. For forty years he operated out of a small, notoriously plain office on Notre Dame Street two miles away from his factory. Finally, in 1910, nearing eighty, he moved to an office on the seventh floor of the Guardian Building on St. James St. and conceded to taking the elevator.

In February 1888 in Montreal, Macdonald and many other manufacturers and employees testified before the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada.[9] The Commission had been set up to investigate female and child labour, morals, sanitary conditions, fire and other hazards, wages, hours of work, treatment of employees, exercise of monopolies, activities of unions, and compliance with Factory Laws. Current law allowed girls of fourteen and boys of twelve to work in factories; however, witnesses testified that numerous boys and girls as young as ten worked in the Montreal tobacco and cigar factories. "Sweating" or payment by the piece was legal in Quebec. Tobacco workers' wages were regularly reduced in winter on the grounds that there was a seasonal surplus of hands.

Macdonald Tobacco was run by a superintendent, Samuel Wells, and about a dozen foremen. There were about 180 sub-contractors or bench-hands, each of whom could recruit three or four workers, often women or children, as stumpers, stringers and coverers. In all, Macdonald employed about 1100 hands, a slight majority being female. Most were aged fifteen to twenty-five. Macdonald's testimony on 24 Feb. 1888 offers a unique chance to hear his own words—if only a similar transcript existed for his quiet announcements of his great educational projects! By this date, his trusted assistant David Stewart dealt with daily business; Macdonald did not appear to be involved in the direct management of the factory. When the Commission pressed for information about child labour, legal and illegal, Macdonald could not say how many boys or men were on his payroll. Questioned if the factory employed children under twelve, he replied: "Not knowingly. We are greatly deceived about the children....a person can deceive or mistake the age of children and I may say they are sometimes brought in surreptitiously under age by those occupying benches". Asked if he was familiar with the details of the work in the factory, he answered, "To a certain extent. I do not attend so closely to it as I used to do, but I understand the whole of the operation thoroughly."[10]

The commission enquired whether the trade practice of reducing wages in winter was hard on the workers or not. He replied: "That will depend upon how they provide for rainy days. When they have good wages they should save for the short period." Asked if he got much competition from American manufacturers, he replied proudly, "Well, we can scarcely call it competition. There is a certain amount imported....It is very small." When a commissioner suggested he could pay higher wages than his competitors, he observed:

> I have to follow the course of the labour market, and if I pay more wages than other competitors, I have that much disadvantage, and in the course of years I may dry up. I have to have sufficient business ability to run my factory, which, I need hardly explain, is run solely on business principles ....it is a matter of supply and demand.

The chairman prompted: "You do not work for charity?" Reply: "I do not, sir. I am in business for the purpose of business." "For the purpose of making money?" "Yes." A less friendly commissioner asked if he had considered any system to let the employees share in the profits. The $200,000 he paid them was part of the profits, Macdonald observed. "You must have considered doing more", pressed his questioner. "I have," declared Macdonald, "and I have really been very desirous to do it, but cannot see how it is going to be brought about with any degree of safety to the capitalist." He pointed out that he sometimes gave bonuses, as a matter of choice, when he could afford it.

Macdonald's factory appears to have been fairly run by the standards of the time. It resembled other tobacco factories as to hours, wages, and the employment of children under twelve (deliberate or unknowing). Like others, it fined employees for minor infractions; however the fines were given to charity. And unlike some cigar factories, Macdonald's company did not have to defend itself from charges of poor sanitation, tolerance of immorality, unseparated toilets, or corporal punishment (one cigar maker was accused of beating young women employees). Like other manufacturers, Macdonald defended the capitalist's right to run his business as he pleased within the law. He evidently separated his imaginative gift-giving from his business operations; he saw no contradiction between working his French-speaking urban employees at market pay rates and giving his profits away as he saw fit to benefit English speaking youth.

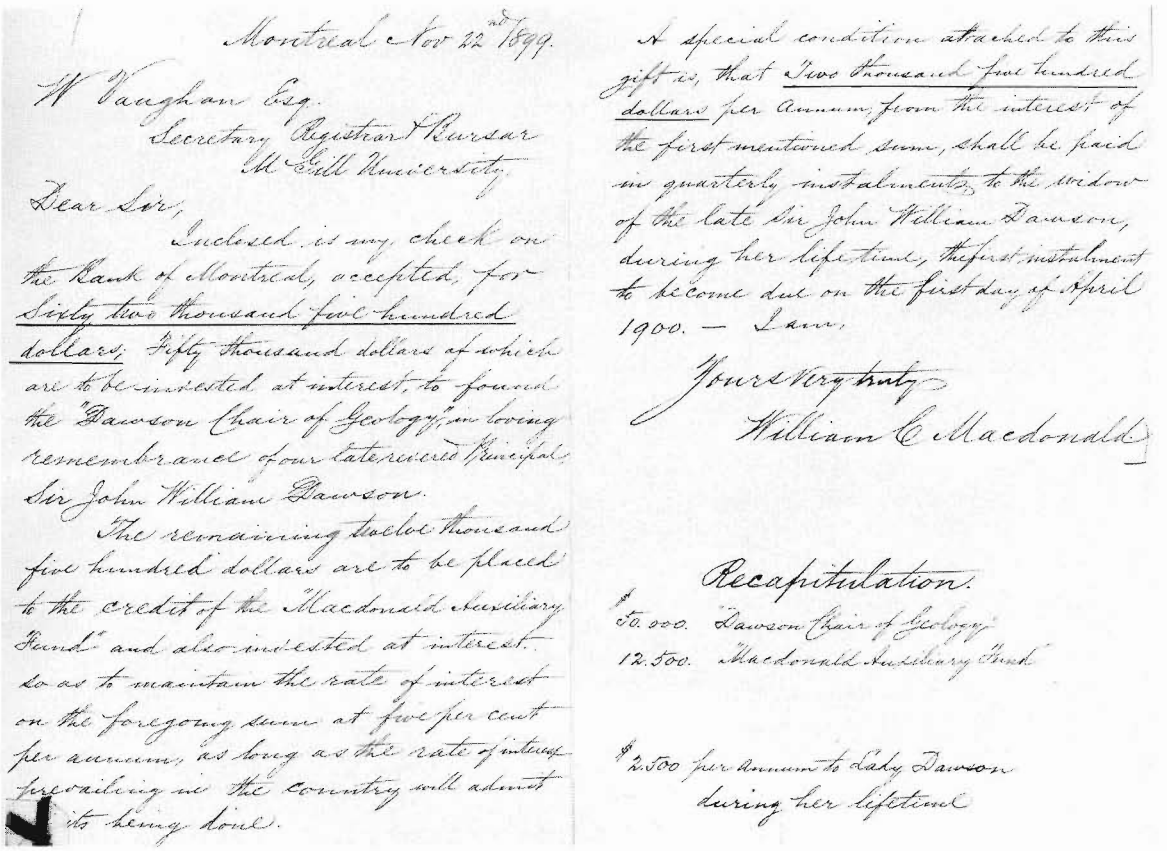
Significantly, Macdonald's testimony shows that by 1888 he had lost interest in the daily working of his company and valued it only as a source of wealth to be used for higher purposes. His often-expressed dislike of his company's product may have impelled his philanthropy. Macdonald College Principal Francis C. Harrison once asked to see the factory which had paid for the College. Macdonald refused, replying: "I am not proud of my business, and that feeling, perhaps, has been the reason for my donations."[11]

In late 1894 and in April 1895 Macdonald, went through traumatic experiences; his domestic life was upset and his factory burned half way down. Not long after, he suffered a serious fall from his horse. Approaching old age he must have felt lonely and vulnerable; perhaps he found refuge in the tidal wave of philanthropy with which he practically refounded McGill.

Testimony about the fire reveals the care with which Macdonald had built his factory. On 25 April 1895, fire broke out by accident in a drying room at the factory. The two upper floors of the four story brick structure burned out. At the time, about 800 to 900 people were employed. The supervisors tried to keep the evacuation orderly but many workers panicked and three women and one man died. The fire and individual escapes and tragedies were documented by Montreal newspapers over the following two weeks.[12]

The fire highlighted the French-English, religious, and economic division of Montreal. The workers were mostly French-speaking Catholics from the east-end Montreal district in which the factory stood. The owner, managers, and several supervisors were English-speaking Protestants. The French language newspapers hinted, politely enough, that while Macdonald earned his fortunes with French Canadian labour he gave his charity mainly to English Protestant institutions. *La Presse* criticised the fire precautions and behaviour of supervisors during the fire more closely than did the English newspapers. A committee of city aldermen looked into the safety precautions and determined that there had been no negligence or wrongdoing by Macdonald or his supervisors. Not surprisingly, the French Canadian aldermen were more critical of the fire escape system than the English members.

Although the factory had a water supply and hoses for fighting fire, and the various supervisors, including David Stewart's son Howard (who with his brother Walter worked for Macdonald) managed the evacuation courageously, there was confusion as well as delay in ordering workers to leave the upper floors, and some



Montreal Nov 22nd 1899.

W Vaughan Esq.
Secretary Registrar & Bursar
McGill University

Dear Sir,

Inclosed is my check on the Bank of Montreal, accepted, for Sixty two thousand five hundred dollars. Fifty thousand dollars of which are to be invested at interest, to found the "Dawson Chair of Geology", in loving remembrance of our late revered Principal Sir John William Dawson.

The remaining twelve thousand five hundred dollars are to be placed to the credit of the "Macdonald Auxiliary Fund" and also invested at interest so as to maintain the rate of interest on the foregoing sums at five per cent per annum, as long as the rate of interest prevailing in the country will admit of its being done.

A special condition attached to this gift is, that Two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, from the interest of the first mentioned sum, shall be paid in quarterly instalments, to the widow of the late Sir John William Dawson, during her lifetime, the first instalment to become due on the first day of April 1900. — I am,

Yours very truly
William C Macdonald

Recapitulation.

$50.000. Dawson Chair of Geology
12.500. Macdonald Auxiliary Fund

$2.500 per Annum to Lady Dawson during her lifetime

Macdonald's letter creating the Dawson Professorship of Geology, 22 Nov. 1899. (McGill University Archives)

panic among the workers, mainly women. At the Coroner's inquest into the deaths of the workers, Macdonald testified that his building had been carefully designed and equipped to defend itself against fire and had passed the city inspection of factories. However, the Coroner's jury found that the company had not sufficiently drilled staff to work the fire apparatus, leaving Macdonald open to civil lawsuits for damages by relatives of the deceased workers. A representative of the Knights of Labor, John Brennan, attended the inquest; whether some of Macdonald's workers belonged to or planned a union is unclear.

Macdonald voluntarily gave pensions to some of those injured in the fire. One of three sisters employed at the factory, Alphonsine Thibaudeau, had died in the fire. In 1897 her parents sued Macdonald and were awarded $1999.[13] Macdonald's appeal in Queen's Bench dates from 1899.[14] The testimony taken in 1897 provides much information about the factory. Macdonald was represented in 1897 by Donald McMaster, Q.C. and the case heard by Justice Pagnuelo (incidentally, a former critic of McGill's Law Faculty, which had benefitted from Macdonald's philanthropy) on 11 January 1897.[15] Finding against Macdonald, Pagnuelo had judged that the supervisors had delayed too long in raising the alarm and that the foreman had erred by preventing the women from leaving immediately by the central tower stairway.

Macdonald's defense had pleaded that escape facilities were adequate, warning had been raised in proper time and that Alphonsine Thibaudeau had escaped from the burning factory and then recklessly re-entered it to look for her sisters, panicked, and thrown herself from a window. Macdonald had feared fire when he had built the factory in 1875. The factory's architect Alexander Hutchison[16] (who would later design Macdonald College) testified that Macdonald had been "most anxious to have a

thoroughly safe building"; he had encouraged Hutchison to introduce a new method of slowing the spread of fire by isolating important beams with plaster of Paris.[17] The factory had been built in brick and wood to the best slow burning standards, with the special feature of a wide staircase in a central tower, meant to serve as a fire escape.

These farsighted precautions undoubtedly saved lives but the legal issues were whether the evacuation had been properly managed and whether Alphonsine had escaped and then gone back. Much testimony revolved around the similar dress and appearance of the ill-fated Alphonsine and her sister Hermina and which of the two had been identified by witnesses as among those who had escaped the building. The transcript becomes not just a detective story but a tragedy as Alphonsine and her sister Maria are described pressed against the grilled windows, trying to breathe, saying their acts of contrition.[18] The outcome of Macdonald's appeal has not yet been determined.

The fire and lawsuits may have reinforced Macdonald's detachment from his business and confirmed his ambition to become the nation's outstanding benefactor. Although losses from the fire amounted to about $500,000, Macdonald rebuilt at once and business quickly recovered. According to the press, Macdonald's business for many years was worth $10,000,000 and made profits of $750,000 per year. Although he had lost interest in running his company, he could not bring himself to sell it—at least not to a disliked rival. In 1904 he was offered $6,500,000. At first he entertained the offer, but only to find out who the real principals were. The moment he suspected the offer came from the American Tobacco Company, he stopped the negotiations.[19] Only in his eighties did Macdonald lose some of his energy and strength. He remarked in about 1912 that he was used up in "mind, body and estate." When his right hand man, David Stewart, suffered a stroke in 1914, he seems to have had little more to do with his business.[20]

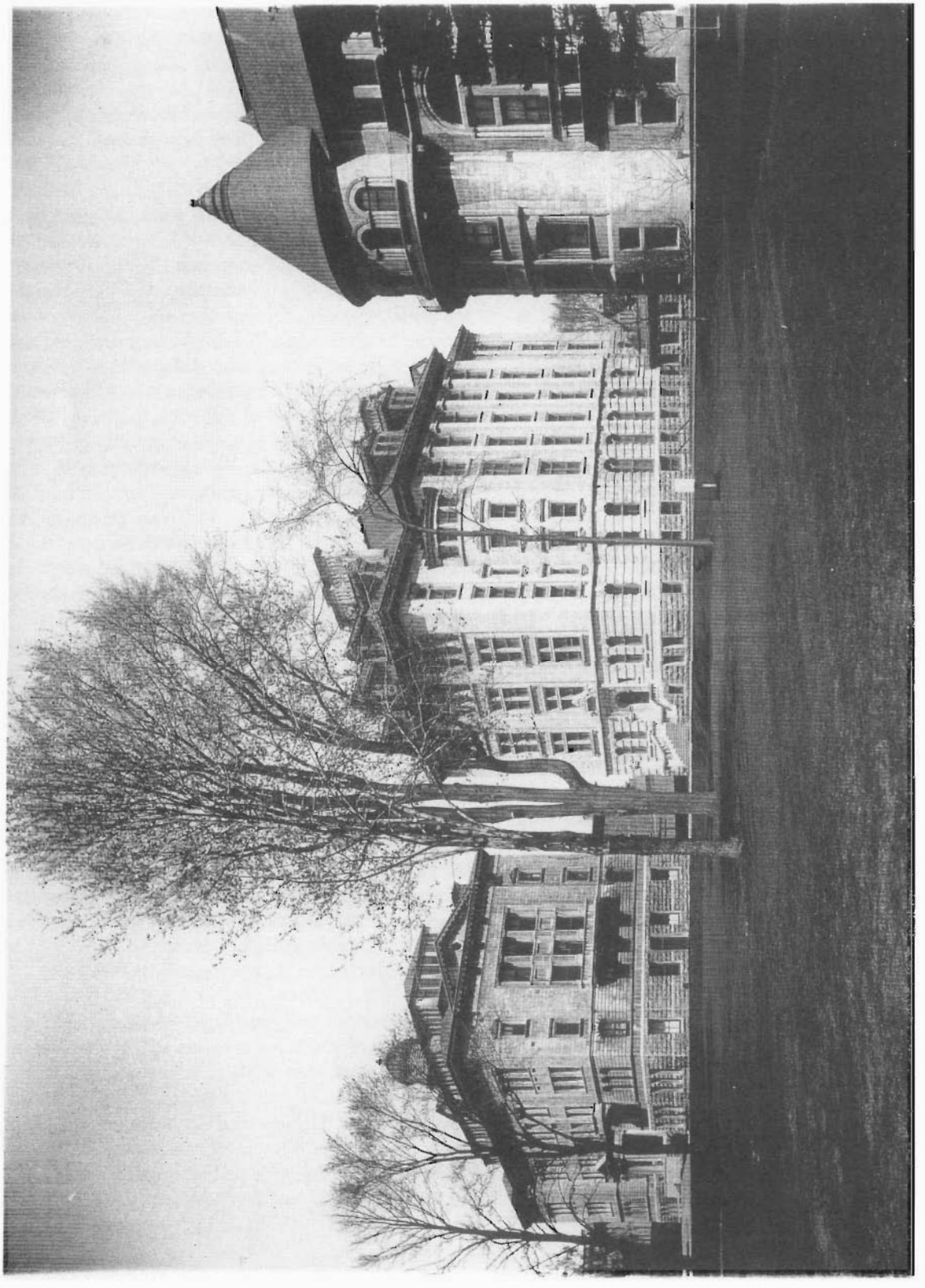
BENEFACTOR OF MCGILL

How Macdonald first became interested in McGill might inspire today's hard pressed fund raisers, once again relying on private wealth. As mentioned earlier, Macdonald and his mother and sister had lived next to the campus since 1869; thus he would have had every opportunity to become McGill-conscious. According to one story, Macdonald became interested in McGill when student canvassers for a financial campaign boldly visited him at his office.[21] Another story recalled a meeting of friends of McGill at the Fraser Institute around 1870. "Away in a back seat, looking as if his greatest desire in life was to escape observation, sat Mr. William C. Macdonald....reported to be enormously rich." After McGill's needs had been aired, the chairman approached Principal Dawson:

> ...do you see that gentleman sitting on one of the back benches near the door....That is Mr. William Macdonald, the wealthy tobacconist. If you could only interest him in the University there is no telling what he might do for it. Acting upon this hint the man of education asked to be introduced to the man of wealth. Dr. Dawson appealed with such effect to Mr. Macdonald, that the heart of the millionaire warmed and his purse opened.[22]

Whatever the cause, the records confirm that by the late 1860s Macdonald took his first tentative steps as educational benefactor. McGill was just beginning to emerge into local and provincial prominence under Dawson's vigorous leadership. Macdonald and Dawson quickly became natural allies; both distrusted Roman Catholicism and both favoured practical, scientific educational programs. Indeed, Dawson's first publication had been a slim textbook on "agricultural chemistry". Macdonald, free of the dynastic ambitions, social preoccupations and art collecting passions of his fellow Montreal millionaires, found his life's mission in promoting his educational ideas. In the process, he was to transform McGill from a medical school-cum-arts college into a full scale university with particular strengths in the new expanding fields of science.

The McGill Governors' minutes from 1866 onward document the University's strategy of raising funds from the Montreal English business elite for endowments and operating costs. Petitions to the provincial government and the crown had failed to win funding. Under Dawson, McGill had become viable—and visible as the anchor of the fashionable "Golden



The first Macdonald Engineering Building and the Macdonald Chemistry and Physics Buildings (L to R), ca. 1900 (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Mile" district, just being built. Perhaps inspired by the unifying spirit of Confederation in 1867 and the new Dominion's need for national institutions, such wealthy Montrealers as Peter Redpath and Donald Smith (later Lord Strathcona) joined James Ferrier, J.H.R. Molson, and Sir Francis Hincks in supporting McGill. They served on the Board and used their financial expertise on the Estate Committee which handled property sales, rentals and the other few sources of revenue. By 1868 Macdonald joined this group of wealthy, largely Scots descended businessmen supporting McGill. He gave instruments, endowed scholarships, and in 1870 along with William Molson, Thomas Workman, and John Frothingham each gave $5000 for the General Endowment but lagged behind Redpath, the leading benefactor of the 1870s and 80s, who gave $20,000 to endow a Chair of Natural Philosophy.[23] Redpath and Macdonald brought similar concerns to their philanthropy: neither had children and so diverted their wealth to charity; both became interested in McGill around Confederation; and both (following Dawson's lead) supported education in the scientific and practical subjects the young country needed rather than classics or philosophy.[24]

In the early stages of his educational philanthropy, Macdonald relied on Dawson to decide the best use of his charity. Writing to Dawson in March 1870 regarding his scholarships, Macdonald declared: "I shall be content with any distribution of them you may make, satisfied that it will be for the greatest good. Education being your specialty, your judgement in all such matters will be superior to mine."[25] By 1885, keenly involved in educational philanthropy, Macdonald had firmer ideas. Responding, apparently, to Dawson's suggestion that some of his scholarships be diverted to the newly admitted women students, he replied:

> With regard to the Scholarships, my preference would be not to make any changes. It appears to me that to transfer any of the existing Scholarships to the "Womens department" would be likely to shut off contributions, that in all probability, would be made towards supplying that aid to the Womens classes when the public became aware that such was required. The new department will be a fresh attraction to the generously inclined and the pupils more likely to be effective in securing attention in that way, if the opportunity is given them....[26]

Here he showed a canny sense of fund raising as well, perhaps, as his feeling that women students were Donald Smith's territory.

By the 1890s, after twenty years of steady gift giving, Macdonald plunged wholeheartedly into his educational vocation and surpassed Redpath and Smith. In the decade of the nineties, for three major disciplines, Physics, Engineering, and Chemistry with Mining, he gave whole buildings, fully equipped and staffed by professors in endowed chairs, and funded by their own operational endowments. He had a committee of management appointed for each building, which included the department head, the Principal, the Bursar, another member of the Board and himself. The committees oversaw expenditures and Macdonald required close accounting. He was proud of the research done in his laboratories. When the Royal Society awarded Rutherford the Rumford medal, he gave a university dinner in his honour but modestly did not attend himself.

But he knew better than to confine his benefactions to the sciences alone. During his fifty year association with McGill, he gave substantial grants to other disciplines, including Arts, Law, Education, Architecture, Music, and by bequest a major gift to Medicine, an area he had previously left to the generosity of his fellow Governor and rival benefactor, Smith-Strathcona. It is particularly noteworthy that over the years he donated some 10,000 books, all in designated subject areas and many of them individually chosen, to the university library. Macdonald had educated himself through wide-ranging reading to become a discriminating and knowledgeable giver.

These benefactions greatly enlarged the campus with distinctive greystone buildings designed by Andrew Taylor, an architect whose professional skills and business methods Macdonald had carefully vetted and approved. The Physics and Engineering buildings opened in 1893, the Chemistry and Mining Building in 1898. When the Engineering building burned in 1907, Macdonald immediately funded its replacement.

Macdonald's interest in McGill led to friendship with the Dawsons and their son-in-law, Chemistry Professor Bernard Harrington. Dawson and Harrington quietly nudged their campus neighbour to support science buildings, laboratories, and professorships. In July 1891 Harrington wrote his wife Anna (Dawson's daughter) that Macdonald had as good as told him he had a chemistry building in view and might combine it with a mining building. Macdonald planned such gifts carefully, taking his time. In June 1896 he took Harrington and the architect Taylor on an inspection tour of American chemistry buildings. Now things moved quickly. Harrington wrote Anna in July 1896 that Macdonald came to see him and Taylor "and went over the details of each floor most carefully. Evidently he is just longing to see the walls go up. He walked home with me and this morning I breakfasted with him."[27] Macdonald enjoyed participating in the family lives of the Dawsons and Harringtons; he called after the births of all nine Harrington children, predicting one girl would become a judge. He declared that Lady Dawson was "more than half of the University", as she administered many of its social functions. On her fiftieth wedding anniversary, he gave her a pendant of diamonds and pearls. He also may have visited the Harrington's cottage at Little Metis.[28]

After retiring as Principal, Dawson sought Macdonald's support for his incoming successor William Peterson and pushed liberal rather than professional education as the University's highest function. Writing in August 1895, he hoped that Macdonald and the other Governors would give Peterson

> a free hand in his work. The Principal of a University like the General of an army, should not be too much controlled by the government he serves, else he will have small chance of being victorious. Even small things may determine the loss of great battles, and only the man who is actually superintending the fight can know what their effect will be.

Dawson added that the needs of the arts and sciences had been neglected relative to the professional faculties and broadly hinted how Macdonald might help:

> Quite a large sum might now be profitably employed in augmentation of staff... introducing advanced courses of study and other improvements that would give a new impetus to the faculty of Arts, not to speak of enlargement of its class-rooms and other accommodation.[29]

As Dawson hoped, Macdonald continued to support the arts, which included science as well. Dawson sent Macdonald his writings, including a copy of *Eden Won and Lost* (1896) which aimed to reconcile scripture with nature and human history. Macdonald replied cautiously that he hoped to be "interested and instructed" in reading it.[30]

Dawson died on 19 November 1899; within three days Macdonald sent a cheque for $62,500 to McGill Bursar Walter Vaughan, establishing the Dawson Chair of Geology, with the provision that the interest ($2,500 per year) be paid to Lady Dawson for life.[31] In this way Macdonald both memorialized his mentor in educational benefaction and tactfully helped Lady Dawson. Anna Dawson Harrington wrote her brother Rankine that Macdonald's gift would make their mother "thoroughly comfortable & is a great blessing".[32] The incident illustrates Macdonald's style of quiet, graceful giving and the symbiotic relation between wealth and education personified by Macdonald and the Dawson-Harrington family.

Where his university was concerned, Macdonald was both foreseeing and protective. He provided for future expansion by purchasing and donating twenty-five acres of land on the lower slopes of the mountain, above James McGill's original farm. In so doing, he restored the campus to the size of the McGill bequest. A few years earlier, he had stopped a syndicate from building the Ritz-Carleton Hotel on the southwest corner of the campus; he told the speculators to sell the land to him at $500 profit or he would ruin them all. Then he gave the site to McGill, saying he would not have his university become the backyard of an hotel. McLennan Library stands there now. Although he led an austere life himself, he built a splendidly equipped Student Union for the male students, undoubtedly motivated in part by the fact that his friendly rival in philanthropy, Lord Strathcona, had already provided the lavishly furnished Royal Victoria College for the women.

Macdonald's gifts and bequests to McGill were to exceed $13,000,000, a largesse then unparalled in Canada or any other country.[33]

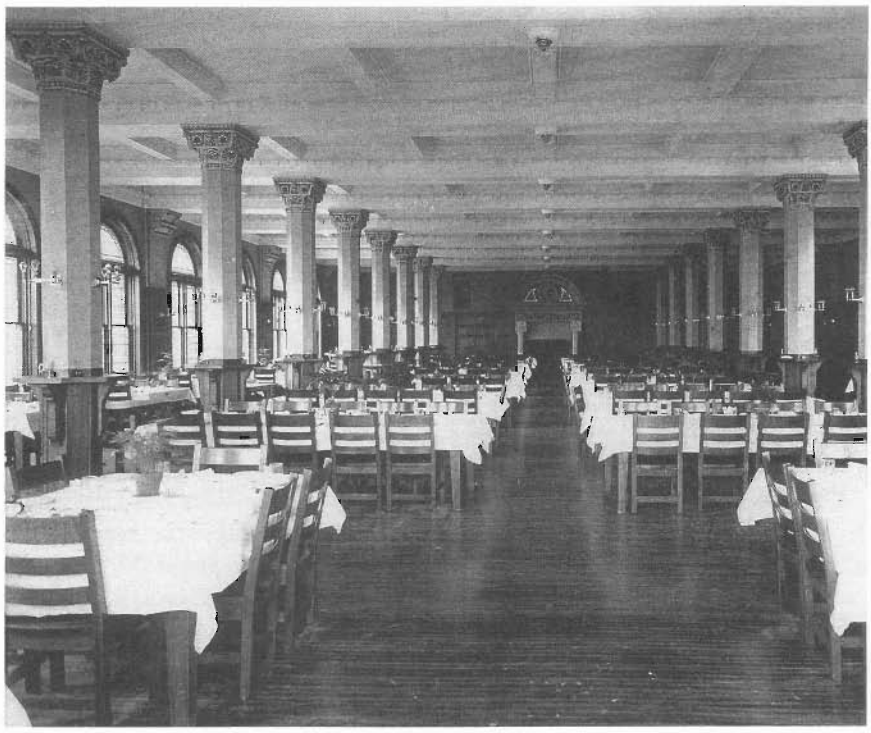
RURAL EDUCATION AND MACDONALD COLLEGE

Mindful of his own rural background and still resentful that his own education had been skimped, Macdonald became interested in rural education in the late 1880s, after he was elected to the board of the Bank of Montreal.[34] In the Bank's reports, he read of the success of the pioneering educational efforts of James W. Robertson, a school teacher who was to become a member of the staff (1890-1895) of the Dominion Experimental Farms outside Ottawa and later Commissioner of Agriculture and Dairying (1895-1904). Robertson interested Macdonald in simple schemes to improve field crops (for example, he offered small prizes to school children for the biggest heads of their fathers' grains) and to encourage "practical" education—carpentry and gardening—in rural elementary schools. The Macdonald Rural Training Fund was established in 1899 to contribute (in at least one year as much as $40,000) to the procurement and payment for three years of specialist teachers in various locations in eastern Canada, including Prince Edward Island, on condition that normal funding would continue the program thereafter. But since Macdonald's concern was with English-speaking, rural populations, which typically were widely scattered across a countryside, the scheme was re-oriented towards the consolidation of small rural schools into one larger, central school where "practical" training could be a regular part of the curriculum. The Macdonald Fund would provide for the building of the new schools and their operation for three years, after which, again, it was presumed that traditional funding would take over. In the five eastern provinces, as late as 1907, schools initiated by the Fund, and other consolidated schools organized independently but assisted by it, were continuing to receive help and demonstrating their value.

Yet another initiative which attracted Macdonald's attention was that of Adelaide Hoodless in Ontario. Hoodless had founded the rural Women's Institute movement, and by 1891 was promoting training classes in household management through the Young Women's Christian Association in Hamilton, Ontario. In 1900, largely through her efforts, a Normal School of Domestic Science and Art was established. In 1903 the School was moved to become part of the Ontario Agricultural College and, with a broader curriculum designed specifically for rural students, renamed the Macdonald Institute. The building was provided by the Macdonald Fund, together with a residence for the women students. The Ontario government undertook to operate the buildings and supply the teaching staff.

This venture inspired William Macdonald's major educational experiment. He conceived the idea of a rural education college which would provide practical instruction for young people who would live and work in English-language rural communities in Quebec and the nearer parts of Eastern Canada. Macdonald had no animus against their francophone counterparts, either in Quebec or New Brunswick, but his interest, born of his P.E.I. upbringing, was firmly in English-speaking rural society. He designed his college to be a truly rural institution giving practical instruction for future farmers, farmers' wives and the teachers of farmers' children. So, it had three divisions, Agriculture, Domestic Economy, and Teacher Training. Macdonald intended to build it at Ormstown, Quebec, but when site and transportation difficulties arose, the location was changed to Ste. Anne de Bellevue, at the western end of Montreal island. He intended the College to be fully independent of any government or academic control. However, by 1906 Macdonald had already enjoyed some thirty-five years of benevolent association with McGill University, and had established a cordial relationship with his next-door neighbour on Prince of Wales Terrace, William Peterson, Dawson's successor as principal. Peterson persuaded him to modify his intention and to name the University's Board of Governors as the governing body of the new college. To increase the viability of the project, the University agreed to move the McGill Normal School for Teachers out to St. Anne's, as a constituent part of the program. This move turned out to be extremely important, for the agricultural and domestic economy programs had at first only limited appeal. Macdonald not only provided all the buildings (designed to conform with the founder's ideas by Hutchison and Wood) but he also endowed them with a capital fund of $2,000,000. The Macdonald College opened in 1907 with 115 teachers

Macdonald College, Main Building, ca. 1910? (Photographer unknown, McGill University Archives)



Macdonald College Dining Room, ca. 1910? (Photographer unknown, McGill University Archives)

in training, 62 students in household science and 38 in Agriculture. There were 37 members of staff, and J.W. Robertson was the first principal. Since 1907 the College has formed a strong, integral part of McGill University. Macdonald paid many visits of inspection, during and after construction; he even watched the chickens lay eggs. The tobacco company had orders to supply the college regularly with tobacco ashes for fertilizer and insecticide experiments.[35]

LATER LIFE

While Macdonald's business and philanthropy are well documented, relatively little is known about his private life. In family affairs, Macdonald found both contentment and conflict. Only one of Macdonald's six brothers and sisters married: in 1866 the eldest, John Archibald, then forty married a girl of eighteen. William Macdonald paid for some of the education of the nine children. He also paid for improvements at Glenaladale, the family farm in Prince Edward Island. Macdonald's mother died in 1877 and his sister Helen died in 1889 on a trip to Italy. Soon afterwards his eldest niece, Anna Rebecca, came to keep house for him. Against his wishes, however, she left his home to marry a distant, Catholic relative, Alain Chartier Macdonald on 29 November 1894.

Anna's defiance of her uncle's wishes may have scandalized Montreal's English-speaking society, although no one could deny her right to marry as she chose. B.J. Harrington wrote his wife the news:

> "If you have not heard of it already you will be surprised to know that Anna McD. has been married to that fellow who has been running after her so long. He went down to P. Ed. Id. [Prince Edward Island—home of Anna McDonald's family] and they were married by an R.C. priest! Fancy Mr. W. C's feelings. I am told that he knew nothing about it until the whole thing was over. She has not a home of her own, but is living with his mother and sisters.[36]

Macdonald cast her off, refusing to speak to her; his family had failed him for the last time. He could adopt thousands of young people through charity; he could not accept what he probably saw as disloyalty in his immediate clan. As Snell writes,

> The separation was absolute, the uncle not only refusing to admit his niece to his house but also discontinuing all assistance to his brother's family. It was only on his deathbed when, unable to speak, he affectionately pressed her hand, that the breach with his niece was closed....There can be no doubt that this separation from his beloved niece cost the sixty-three year old uncle an agony of spirit similar to that suffered by the adolescent youth when incompatible loyalties separated him from his father. Servants present in the house after the young lady's departure tell of his pacing the floor in a passion of resentment and grief.[37]

Fifty years later, Snell contacted the niece, now Anna Walsh. Disinherited, she bore no grudges. She told Snell: "I still have a feeling of disloyalty to my Uncle....He suffered much—& had great disappointments."[38] She added to the story in a letter of 16 Sept. 1943:

> You asked why my Uncle should have objected to my marriage with Alain. This is a question I often asked him,—his answer invariably being "I do not wish it." My father & Mother, Brothers & Sisters all loved Alain—& there was nothing in his character but what was kind & loveable....[39]

Macdonald probably disliked losing his last close relative and housekeeper. Suggesting that Macdonald saw the marriage as his final failure to turn his family away from Catholicism, Snell attributed Macdonald's estrangements from his relatives to "a determined adherence to principle or set policy which cost him much agony of spirit."[40] Once he had taken a decision on a personal, business or charitable issue, he seldom changed his mind.

It was an unhappy time for Macdonald. A few months later, in April 1895, his factory burned and in September, as B.J. Harrington reported, "his horse

stumbled and fell, throwing him heavily upon the road."[41] He was laid up some days and when his injuries healed he may have found solace in planning the Chemistry Building with Harrington.

In 1898 Macdonald reluctantly accepted a knighthood. From that time on, he signed his name "Macdonald". The change in spelling had obvious motivations: he disliked the product on which his name appeared and with the defection of his niece he had cut off his family. In 1914 he followed Strathcona as Chancellor of McGill. David Stewart was stricken with paralysis on 11 March 1914; his sons Howard and Walter would now run the business. By this time Macdonald's own health was failing. He took occasional drives around the campus but was confined to his bed for the last six months of his life. He died peacefully on 9 June 1917; the obituaries recited the quaint stories that clung to him and declared him Canada's greatest benefactor.

His neighbour for twenty-one years, Principal Peterson eulogized him at a simple gathering in Macdonald's house. Avoiding platitudes, Peterson tried to express what had made Macdonald so remarkable:

> Anything that savours of eulogy would have been distasteful to him. You know how modest he was, with a kind of shy diffidence about him that led him almost to shrink from public notice....And yet he had a sort of pride about him, too. Solitude had made him self-reliant; I doubt if there ever was a man who was less dependent upon others. His philosophy of life rendered him absolutely detached, independent, and self-contained....He was the architect of his own fortune...when success had fully crowned his arduous efforts, he settled down to use the wealth that came to him for the benefit of his fellow men. To be of service to others, on lines of his own choosing, was with him a passion. It inspired all his solitary thinking, all his careful planning and farsighted calculations.[42]

In a character sketch in 1923, architect Percy Nobbs found the same qualities of independence and generosity. He regretted that at the recent unveiling of Macdonald's bust,[43] not enough had been said of Macdonald's spiritual attributes and added

> What is not so generally realized, as it might be, is that he was also a very kind, a very enthusiastic, a very punctilious, and a very modest old gentleman; in a word, that he had warm blood in his veins.

Nobbs declared that Macdonald was the students' best friend; that the motive for his philanthropy had not been fame or even the advancement of learning so much as his "simple and sympathetic affection, strongly felt, for all young men entering the battle of life with serious intent."[44] Nobbs may have been right. Macdonald did not give abstractly but out of personal interest in the cause or recipient. Lacking children, the students became his family. Anonymously, he paid the tuitions of many needy students. After his death, the *Montreal Gazette* noted how Macdonald had enjoyed walking around the campus he had befriended,

> surveying the stately buildings which will remain for generations as a living monument to his memory, and enjoying the sight of the young men at play....For, although he lived very quietly, he had warm social instincts. He loved the young, which was the secret of his giving in many directions....[45]

The *McGill Daily* added: "Especially was it his delight to walk into the Union unexpectedly, watch the students at billiards and enquire into the success of the operations of the building."[46] W.D. Howell pictured Macdonald standing at the lectern in his reading room piled high with books and reports, tirelessly pursuing many subjects, dreaming how "to turn gold into happiness, not for himself but for young people."[47]

Macdonald left his own record of his concerns and friendships near the end of his life—his will. Probably taking warning from Stewart's stroke and his own declining health, Macdonald made his will on 25 August 1914. It specified that he be cremated in the Crematorium he had built on Mount Royal. He left legacies to his faithful employees: his coachman and three maids, and Superintendent Wells and two book keepers at his business. He left nothing to his relatives

but singled out two McGill friends, Walter Vaughan[48] and Principal William Peterson for legacies of $25,000. Among the legacies he left to McGill was $20,000 to establish a travelling scholarship to enable English speaking law students to study in France "as I deem it of great importance that the English speaking members of the legal profession should be proficient in the French language." He left $1,000,000 to Macdonald College, $500,000 to the Medical Faculty, $300,000 to the Conservatorium of Music, $500,000 to the Montreal General Hospital, $100,000 to the Montreal Maternity Hospital, and $100,000 to the Crematorium Company.

Most striking of all, he left his business and fortune estimated by the press at $20,000,000 to Howard and Walter Stewart, the sons of David Stewart.[49] In doing this, he recognized the crucial part the Stewarts had played in his success. David Stewart died soon after Macdonald at the beginning of December 1917 at the age of seventy-three. Surprisingly little has been written about this man, who ran the company well, especially after Macdonald began to lose interest in it. Indeed, he freed Macdonald for philanthropy. Born in Edinburgh, Stewart came to Montreal around 1865 and worked with his brother James for the Penny-Wilson Company, owner of the *Montreal Herald*. Working for Macdonald since 1867, Stewart became closely identified with Macdonald, becoming his "confidential manager" and close advisor. In character and taste, he resembled Macdonald closely; he preferred a few close friends to fashionable society, collected books and loved to read Carlyle.[50] His two sons worked for Macdonald as well. That Macdonald left his company to the men who had built up his business was generous and characteristic. His spiritual as well as financial heirs, the Stewarts continued Macdonald's support of McGill, particularly Macdonald College. They maintained the company successfully; in 1922 they mechanised the manufacture of cigarettes and won 15% of the Canadian market. The popular EXPORT marque appeared in 1928 and the trademark Macdonald lassie in 1935. In 1974 David Stewart, grandson of Macdonald's assistant, sold the company to R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. of Winston Salem, North Carolina and set up the Macdonald-Stewart Foundation—perpetuating the philanthropy of William Macdonald and his Stewart heirs.

THE MACDONALD LEGEND

Anecdotes offer a consistent picture of Macdonald's character. They confirm his personal frugality, generosity to others, insistence on business accountability, dislike of religion, faith in education, dry humour, individualism, old fashioned tastes, loyalty to clan and country, pride, dislike of public notice, modesty, pleasure in friendship, and voracious reading. His photographs show that he had dark, handsome features when young, and a piercing glance and strong presence at all ages.

The first character sketch of Macdonald, lively though embroidered, was published by Augustus Bridle in 1916 as Macdonald lay ill and old. Calling Macdonald "a paragon of paradoxes", Bridle saw the dramatic possibilities of Macdonald's story: "There never was a Canadian Dickens to transcribe this man to a charactership in a novel, or he would have become one of the monuments of literature." Bridle made much of Macdonald's frugal life style, contrasting his "plain old terrace in Sherbrooke Street" with the "Modern castles at Westmount" built by the "other money barons". Van Horne and Strathcona had tried in vain to interest Macdonald in collecting paintings but Macdonald stuck to reality—his books. Exaggerating Macdonald's eccentricities, Bridle lauded his greatness, suggesting that James McGill himself might agree that "the name of the big Anglo-Canadian University in bi-lingual Montreal should be changed to Macdonald University."[51] (We doubt very much if James would have concurred!)

The image of Macdonald as a small, reserved, unassuming man has persisted, although his professors and others remembered Macdonald as bold and forthright. After all, he had threatened his fellow millionaires with ruin if they built the Ritz-Carleton with its bar next to McGill.[52] He sometimes took direct action on behalf of all Montrealers; when the City would not pay for vaccinations during the smallpox epidemic of 1885, he stepped in with $25,000 for the purpose. He also gave financial support to a civic investigation of charges against the police.[53] Some anecdotes about Macdonald tend to be along the lines of the canny Scots businessman who wore his clothes until threadbare and saved string. Other stories stress his

generosity—carefully planned to institutions but puckish and spontaneous to individuals. He enjoyed giving surprise gifts to women. A bride found the necklace she had coveted in a store on her plate at Macdonald's table; a young lady relative was told she might take the pictures in a cupboard drawer: the "pictures" were on hundred-dollar banknotes.[54]

Susan Vaughan, whose husband Walter received a bequest of $25,000 in Macdonald's will, remembered his "fine democratic friendliness, which included in its circles not only statesmen and financiers but also women and children, to whom his gentle manners and sense of fun endeared him". She defined his charity as "mingled shrewdness and generosity":

> He was not interested in supporting weakness and had no wish to assume responsibilities which belonged to others, but, once convinced that he had found a promising field, he poured out his irrigating wealth with a hand as lavish as it was unpretentious.[55]

He took great interest in his professors—from Rutherford and Harrington to the horticulturalist Saxby Blair. Blair recalled Macdonald's unannounced visits to Macdonald College and the staff's curiosity to meet him. Macdonald refused to take up staff time but enjoyed watching the horticultural work and would ask questions if assured he was not interrupting. Blair sent him "the finest Montreal melon I ever saw from our planting at the College." Macdonald told him that all produce should be sold and added to the college funds. Once Macdonald sent the College carloads of tobacco stems to be plowed under; visiting, he noticed that some had been wasted. Blair and others observed that Macdonald hated waste and wanted materials that were considered useless saved for future use (an ecologist before his time). When Blair left the College, Macdonald wished him well but "was apparently annoyed at my decision....he seemed to think I should have talked to him first." Blair felt that Macdonald " expected more than it was possible to accomplish quickly. I think he expected in this educational venture more instant and outstanding results such as were so evident in all the business undertakings he was associated with...."[56]

Although shy, Macdonald could be lively and witty in company with those who interested him. Unpretentious, mocking his modest height, he pointed out his Macdonald College buildings, saying "not bad for a little fellow". Agile, he climbed up on tables to inspect leaking ceilings and led the Principal of Macdonald College across a high beam in an unfinished building. He slept in an iron bed; he begrudged having a telephone because the public would have him by the ear; getting no answer at the door of Royal Victoria College, he climbed through the window; and he enjoyed watching the chicks hatch in the Macdonald College incubator.[57]

Proud of his Scottish ancestry, Macdonald had a memorable meeting with an even better known Scots-descended philanthropist. When McGill gave Andrew Carnegie an honorary degree in 1906, Macdonald was sitting on the platform with Principal Peterson. According to J.C. Simpson, Carnegie had lunched too well and

> rambled on about the inherent merits of the Scots. He spoke of the accomplishments of James McGill, William Macdonald and Andrew Carnegie, and wound up his remarks by saying "It takes a Scotchman to show them, eh Mac?"—at the same time planting a resounding whack between the shoulders of Sir William Macdonald.[58]

Above all, religion divided Macdonald from his peers. Though disdaining denominations, he saw a divine direction behind the workings of nature and perhaps believed in a broad Supreme Being kind of religion.[59] Harrington found it curious that the irreligious Macdonald attended lectures by religious speakers such as Dwight Moody and Mrs. Carus-Wilson (wife of John Carus-Wilson, Macdonald's Prof. of Electrical Engineering).[60] Obviously Macdonald liked to be provoked intellectually; he sought diversion. He enjoyed discussions and Latin tagging with two Jesuit relatives, Alain and Alastair Macdonald.[61] He objected less to Protestantism than Catholicism, probably because at sixteen he had reacted against his Catholic upbringing. His quarrel with his father, his preference for his Protestant mother, or something else may have uprooted his ancestral faith. Whatever the cause, his non-sectarianism was rare among his Montreal peers.

Macdonald and Peterson on the McGill campus, by Percy Nobbs; painting in Student Union Building which was designed by Nobbs and donated by Macdonald. (McGill University Archives)

Macdonald has escaped analysis by the interdisciplinary approaches typical of modern biography. An economic or marxist historian might blame him for selling what we now know to have been an unhealthy product, made by low-paid workers, or charge that his generosity to education entrenched a middle class of managers, teachers and farmers. A French-Canadian historian might notice that his workers were French, his objects of charity mainly English. A feminist would point out that over half his workers were females, paid less and managed by males, that his educational beneficiaries were mostly males, and that he tried to dominate his niece. A psychological historian might dwell on his rejection of father, religion and marriage. Such one-issue approaches would be ridiculously incomplete; Macdonald must be seen in a broad context and recognized for the wild card that he was.

He was an original, lonely, very successful man who grew with his wealth. He may have started out trying to regain his lost social status or making money for its own sake but by middle age he found himself bored with business, without children, and disdaining wealthy display. A reader when alone, he found he enjoyed building educational institutions and helping students. Like other capitalists, he ran his company on "business principles"; unlike them he gave much of his profit to the self-helping cause of education and at last gave the business away to his manager's sons. His accomplishments are well known; our knowledge of the inner Macdonald remains provocatively incomplete—an invitation to further exploration.

PORTRAITS

Portraits of Macdonald by Robert Harris, Wyatt Eaton, R.S. Newton, and a bronze bust by H.P. MacCarthy, as well as the Nobbs painting with Peterson, are at McGill or Macdonald College. There are photographs at various ages by Notman.

Acknowledgements

For insights into Macdonald's personality and other information, we are indebted to Victoria Stewart. We have also been helped by Clayton Gray, Professor Peter McNally, Carol Wiens, and Emile Edgett, Superviseur, Relations Publiques, RJR-Macdonald Inc.

Abbreviations

MUA	McGill University Archives
RG	Record Group
RG 4	McGill Board of Governors Records
MG	Manuscript Group
MG 1022	Dawson Family Papers
MG 2007	J.F. Snell Papers
C	Container

Notes

1. He changed his signature from "McDonald" to "Macdonald" after his knighthood in 1898. The latter spelling is used here; both spellings occur in documents after 1898.
2. John Ferguson Snell, *Macdonald College of McGill University* (Montreal 1963). Pages 1-34, 201-207 of this work together with Snell's "Sir William Macdonald and his kin", *Dalhousie Review* (Oct. 1943) provide important information on Macdonald's background, youth, and relations with his family as well as many brief anecdotes illustrating his character and humour. Snell's papers include information about Sir William collected ca. 1937 by S.R.N. Hodgins, Assist. Prof. of English, Macdonald College. Memories of Macdonald are also found in various articles in the *McGill News*, press obituaries (June 1917), and E. A. Collard, "Sir William Christopher Macdonald", Montreal *Gazette*, 4 & 6 Mar. 1946.
3. Snell, "Sir William Macdonald" is the source for most information on Macdonald's youth.
4. Snell, "Sir William Macdonald", 10-11.
5. *Mackay's Montreal Directory, for 1866-67*, 281.
6. Snell, *Macdonald College*, 226.
7. *Ibid.*, 13-14.
8. Snell, *Macdonald College*, 225-226; New York *Sun*, *Herald*, *Telegraph*, *World*, 29 Oct. 1885; *RJR-Macdonald Inc, 1858-1993* (publicity folder); *Macdonald Tobacco Inc.* (publicity pamphlet, ca. 1977); Bettina Bradbury, *Working families* (1993), 27-28; Lyal Tait, *Tobacco in Canada* (1968), 60-73; and see entries under "Tobacco" in the editions of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.
9. The Commission consisted mostly of Tories in business, representatives of labour, and journalists; they split and presented two reports in 1889. They agreed, however in condemning child labour and called for legislation by all

provinces to prohibit the employment of children under fourteen. Although the Commission's recommendations were largely ignored, increasing mechanization and need for skilled workers eventually cut the demand for child labour. See Desmond Morton with Terry Copp, *Working People* (Ottawa 1980), 43-44; Lorna F. Hurl, "Restricting Child Factory Labour in late Nineteenth Century Ontario", *Labour/Le Travail* 21 (Spring 1988), 96.

10. *Report of the Royal Commission on the relations of capital and labor in Canada* (Ottawa 1889), 529.

11. F.C. Harrison, "Reminiscences of the Founder of Macdonald College", *Old McGill*, 1927, 102, 341.

12. *Montreal Daily Star*, *Montreal Gazette*, *La Patrie*, *La Presse*, 26 April-10 May, 1895.

13. This sum may have been set to prevent an appeal to the Supreme Court.

14. Canada: Province of Quebec, District of Montreal. In the Court of Queen's Bench (Appeal Side). William C. McDonald, (Defendant in the Superior Court), Appellant; and Désiré Thibaudeau, *et uxor*, (Plaintiffs in the Superior Court), Respondents.

-Appellant's Factum. 72pp. 1899.

-Appellant's Appendix. Judgement in the Superior Court [in 1897]. No. 1557. 173pp.

These two documents were printed in limited quantities as was customary in such cases. Citations here are to the Appellant's Factum (1899).

15. Samuel Pagnuelo had led attacks ca. 1887-1890 on the quality of McGill's law training, advocated the supremacy of the Bar over admission to the legal profession, and had a controversy with McGill's Principal which had French-Catholic vs. English-Protestant overtones. Without prejudice, it may be pointed out that Justice Pagnuelo may have known in 1897 that Macdonald had become McGill's chief benefactor and had given the Faculty of Law $150,000 in 1895. The Thibaudeau case, pitting French Canadian working class plaintiffs against a Scottish-Canadian millionaire had a certain archetypal drama.

16. Born in Montreal in 1838, Hutchison supervised stone cutting for Christ Church Cathedral (Montreal) and the East Block, Parliament (Ottawa). He practised until 1890 with O. Steele, then with George Wood. He designed several Montreal churches including the Erskine and American on Sherbrooke St., business buildings and residences including that of Lord Strathcona. He submitted a plan crossing the McGill campus with a row of buildings in the style of his Redpath Museum, blotting out the Arts Building to the rear. See John Bland, "In advance of all others", *McGill News* (Summer 1962), 9. The drawing, "Design for new buildings, McGill University" is held by the National Gallery of Canada (no. 235, 63 X 150cm). The University would not have had the resources to construct Hutchison's scheme and it is unclear whether he got any encouragement or whether it was an enjoyable pipe dream; Principal Dawson may have been thinking of Hutchison's plan when he drew two proposed buildings on to a copy of the published plan of the campus (1888): see the MUA information file on Hutchison, letter by John King, 19 Jan. 1981.

17. *Appellant's Factum*, 53.

18. *Appellant's Appendix*, 4.

19. *McGill Daily*, 1 Oct. 1917.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Montreal Herald*, 11 June 1917.

22. *McGill Daily*, 1 Oct 1917.

23. MUA, RG 4, C 3, file 9003, Board of Governors' minute book, 14 Nov. 1870, 496-7; RG 4, C 289, files 9035-9037, Estate Committee's minute books, 1869-1894. Macdonald was enlisted for the Estate Committee by 29 June 1885 and appears to have left it by mid 1891.

24. Prof. Peter McNally points out that Peter Redpath's father John earlier had supported the Mechanics' Institute—which had a library and museum—the very areas Redpath created for McGill.

25. MUA, MG 1022, C 41, J.W. Dawson correspondence [Administrative] 1870, WCM to JWD, 30 March 1870.

26. MUA, RG 4, C 504, file 6794: "Sir William Macdonald", letter, Macdonald to Dawson, 9 April 1885.

27. MUA, MG 1022, C 62, letter, B.J. Harrington to Anna D. Harrington, 2 July 1896.

28. MUA, MG 1022, C 62, letter, B.J. Harrington to Anna D. Harrington, 17 July 1898; Snell, *Macdonald College*, 30-31.

29. MUA, MG 1022, C 17, J.W. Dawson letters, July-Sept. 1895, Dawson to Macdonald, 31 Aug. 1895 (presumably a draft or copy).

30. MUA, MG 1022, C 17, file "January 1896", letter, W.C. Macdonald to J.W. Dawson, 16 Jan. 1896.

31. MUA, RG 4, C 504, file 6793: "Sir William Macdonald Donations for McGill", letter W.C. Macdonald to W. Vaughan, 22 Nov. 1899.

32. MUA, MG 1022, C 68, letter, Anna D. Harrington to R. Dawson, 28 Nov. 1899.

33. Maurry Epstein, "Sir William Macdonald: benefactor to education", M.A. Thesis, McGill University (1969), 107.

34. Like his fellow merchants, Macdonald sat on a few boards—the leading stockholder in Bank of Montreal, he was a governor of Montreal General Hospital and of Royal Trust Co.; a director of the Montreal Citizen's Association and of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association; governor of the Lady Stanley Institute, Ottawa; member of the Protestant Committee of the Quebec Provincial Council of Public Instruction; and a vice president of the St. John Ambulance Association. He spent little time in his clubs: the Mount Royal Club and the St. James Club.

35. Snell, *Macdonald College*, chapter 4.

36. MUA, MG 1022, C 62, letter, B.J. Harrington to Anna D. Harrington, 9 Dec. 1894. If more were known, the affair might take shape as a great Canadian romance, flavouring the

antagonisms of French and English, and Catholic and Protestant, against the background of universal conflicts between youth and age and men and women. Harrington added that he feared Macdonald was avoiding him, fearing his lobbying for a Chemistry Building: "Whether he is afraid that I will talk laboratory to him or not I do not know. Certainly he seems to have given up all idea of doing anything in that line for the present."

37. Snell, *Macdonald College*, 12.

38. MUA, MG 2007, letter, Anna M. Walsh to J.F. Snell, marked by him as 2 May 1943.

39. MUA, MG 2007, letter, Anna M. Walsh to J.F. Snell, 16 Sept. 1943.

40. Snell, *Macdonald College*, 31-2.

41. MUA, MG 1022, C 62, letter, B.J.Harrington to Anna D. Harrington, 13 Sept 1895.

42. Peterson's speech was transcribed in the *Montreal Star* and *Montreal Gazette*, 13 June 1917, and Snell, *Macdonald College*, 15-17.

43. In 1940 Nobbs told Snell: "Thank God I had nothing to do with the dreadful bust....The only good portrait of him is in the McGill Union (by me). It was based on two very lucky snapshots which I think I have." MUA, MG 2007, Snell Papers, file: "Sir William Macdonald: Ontario and Quebec letters", letter, P. Nobbs to J.F. Snell, 7 July 1940. Nobbs probably painted the dual portrait in about 1921, perhaps hoping to be paid for it, but donated it to the Students' Union in 1925: McGill University Libraries, Canadian Architecture Collection, Percy Nobbs Papers, Architectural Operations, Box 2, file on the painting.

44. Percy Nobbs, "Sir William Macdonald: some reminiscences by P.E. Nobbs", *McGill News* (June 1923), IV, no. 3, 1-2,4.

45. *Montreal Gazette*, 11 June 1917.

46. *McGill Daily*, 1 Oct. 1917.

47. W.D. Howell, "William Christopher Macdonald", *McGill News*, 13, no. 3 (June 1932), 32.

48. Vaughan had been William Van Horne's secretary; Macdonald had persuaded Van Horne to release Vaughan to serve McGill as Bursar. Macdonald frequently dealt with Vaughan as the University's financial manager.

49. MUA, RG 4, Board of Governors, C 504, file 6797: "Sir William Macdonald, donations" (copy of Macdonald's will).

50. *Montreal Star*, 3 Dec. 1917.

51. Augustus Bridle, *Sons of Canada* (Toronto 1916), 3-10. Bridle, presumably a tobacco smoker or chewer gave a lyrical description of Macdonald's source of wealth: "... tobacco was a Canadian institution. Lumber camps were as much in need of tobacco as a modern army....[the tobacco was used in] Lumber camps, mining camps, capital Eskimo igloos, prospector's tents, and Indian teepees; in half-breed shacks and factory yards; on trains and steamships and trails; in the outer-most marches of the Arctic here the hip-pocket and its plug are a constant joy; on the soft-blowing Pacific where the weed from Montreal is as common as canned salmon; on the cod-banks of the Atlantic where the fisherman's pipe is the joy of living; and even in down-town clubs of Canadian cities you will find men who, scorning the fine-cut and the patent package, discreetly haul out from the hip pocket a plug of Macdonald tobacco and proceed to demonstrate the joy that comes from the art of getting ready to smoke....There was great stimulus to the imagination in one of those plugs of tobacco. Molasses laden, gummy and black, it told the story of the tobacco plant growing like weeds, packed and baled and ported to the wharves of Montreal, whopped with fragrant emphasis into the warehouses of Macdonald, ripped and torn loose, sorted and stripped, flavoured and pressed, stamped and ready for the case, the counter, and the camp." Bridle claimed that Macdonald had taken a personal interest in the manufacture of his plugs; that he had impressed plantation owners in the American South as a hard buyer; that he had closely supervised his factory; that he had taken paternal care of his factory hands; that he kept up with manufacturing trends and faced labour commissions by himself rather than through his managers.

52. Snell, *Macdonald College*, 204.

53. *Montreal Star*,11 June 1917.

54. *Ibid.*, 30.

55. *Ibid.*, 30.

56. MUA, MG 2007, Snell Papers, file: "Anecdotes of Sir William Macdonald", letter, W. Saxby Blair to S.R.N. Hodgins, 19 March 1937.

57. Snell, *Macdonald College*, 18-34.

58. MUA, MG 2007, Snell Papers, file: "Anecdotes of Sir William Macdonald", letter, J. C. Simpson to S.R.N. Hodgins, 16 May 1937.

59. Snell, *Macdonald College*, 33-34.

60. MUA, MG 1022, C 62, letter, B.J. Harrington to Anna D. Harrington, 9 Dec. 1894.

61. *Montreal Gazette*, 11 June 1917. On Macdonald and religion, see Snell, *Macdonald College*, 194-195.

TOBACCO WORKS

20 Water Street.

Messrs. FORESTER, MOIR & CO.,

17 St. HELEN STREET,

Are Agents for the sale in Canada, of all our Tobaccos.

We manufacture the following WELL KNOWN and FAVOURITE BRANDS:

Lion,	5's & 10's.	Henrico,	12's.
Crown,	5's & 10's.	Britannia,	4's.
Union,	10's.	Royal Arms,	4's.
Diamond,	12's.	Victoria,	4's.
Anderson,	12's.	Forget-me-not,	4's.
Huberton,	12's.	&c. &c.	

A large assortment of Leaf Tobacco constantly in Stock.

Shippers and other large buyers can purchase from us with unusual advantage, our Tobaccos being made to keep in any climate.

CAUTION.

As several manufacturers have imitated our "CROWN" and "DIAMOND" brands, our card an *Trade Mark*, as above, will be hereafter stencilled upon every Box, for protection to the Trade as buyers, and to ourselves as manufacturers.

Macdonald Bros. Tobacco advertisement in Mackay's 1864-65 Montreal Directory. (McGill University Libraries, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

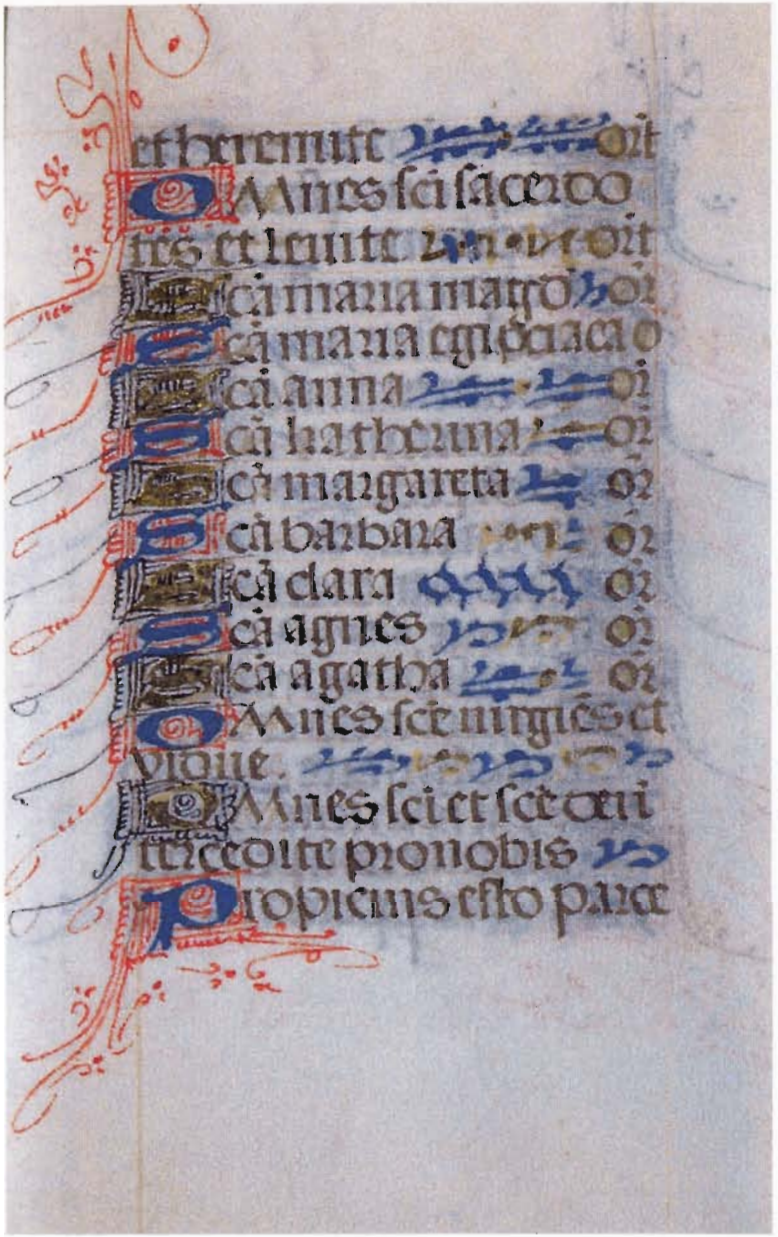


Figure 1. Litany to the Saints, gold and black, red and blue ink on vellum.

Figure 2. 'Historical Capital' with St. Athanasius, tempera and gold on vellum.

Figure 3. *David in Penitence*, tempera and gold on vellum.

Figure 4. *Presentation in the Temple*, tempera and gold on vellum.

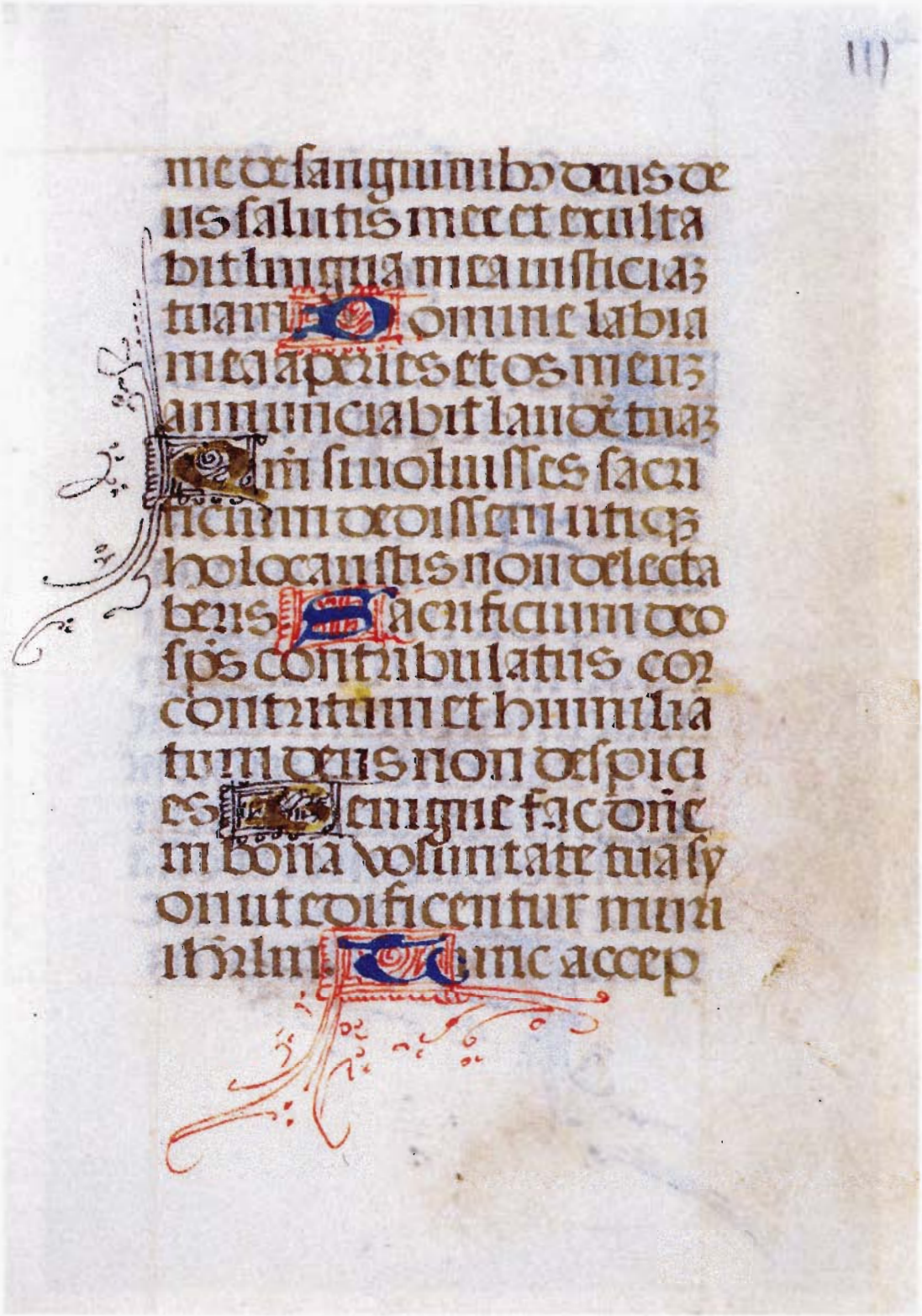


Figure 5. 'Calligraphic Embellishments,' tempera and gold on vellum.

Figure 6. *The Annunciation*, tempera and gold on vellum.

Figure 7. *Massacre of the Innocents*, tempera and gold on vellum.

Figure 8. *The Visitation*, tempera and gold on vellum.

Figure 9. *Coronation of the Virgin*, tempera and gold on vellum.

Figure 10. Folio 13^{r}, tempera and gold on vellum.

April 9, 1940 - German occupation troops in central Copenhagen.

King Christian X on his daily ride through the streets of Copenhagen, guarded only by bicycle escort.

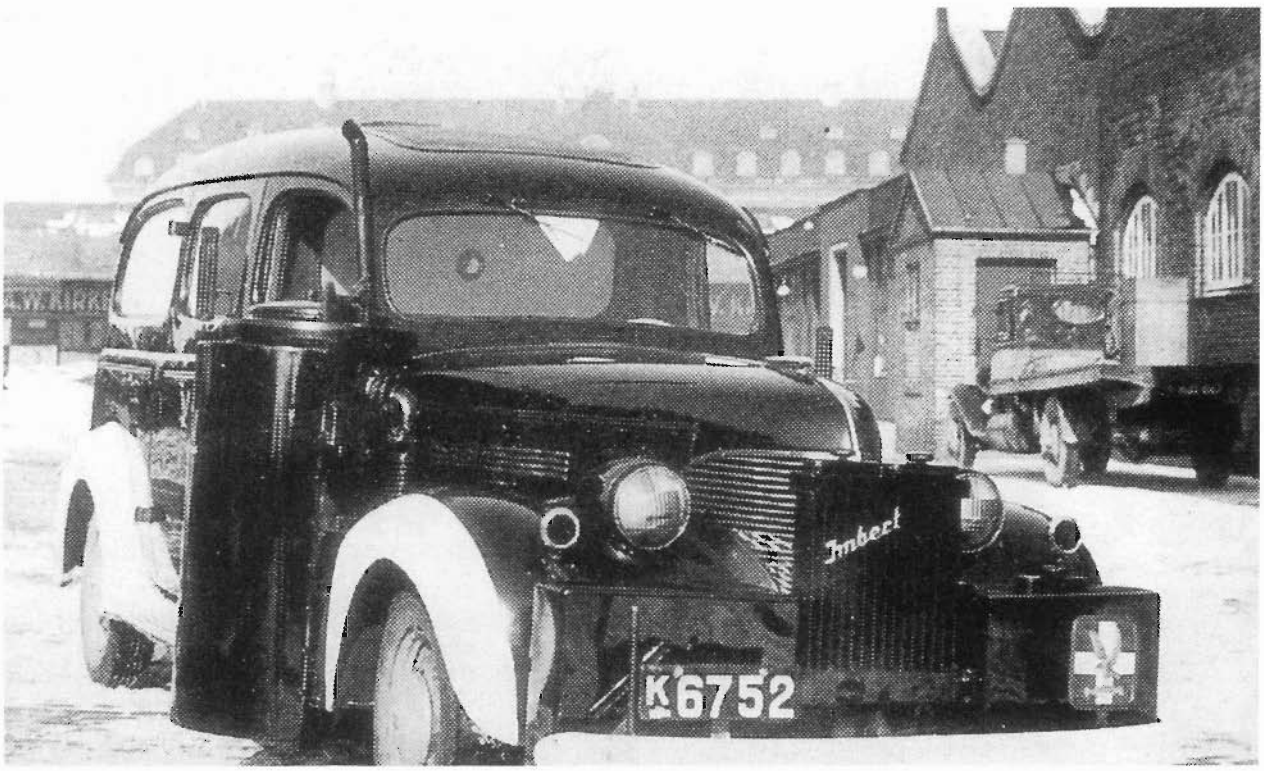
Students attending lectures by Professor Hal Koch, University of Copenhagen, on democratic principles, Christian ideals, and rights of minorities.

Werner Best (r.), SS-general and the German Reich's Plenipotentiary in Denmark, with Danish Prime Minister Erik Scavenius.

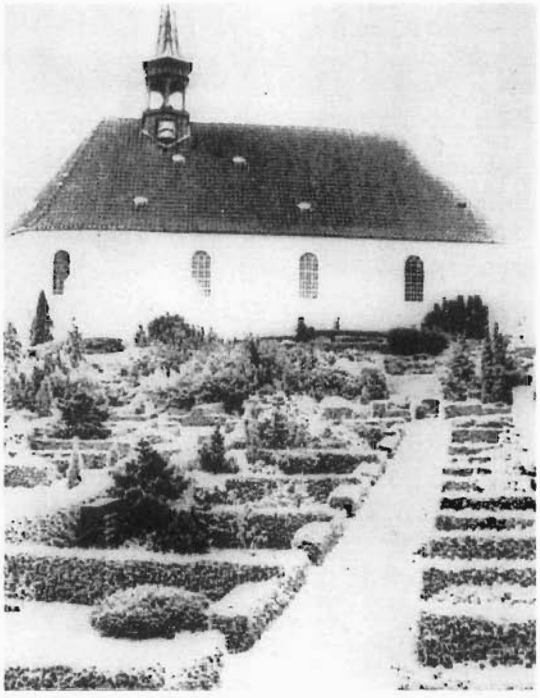
G.F. Duckwitz, official at the German embassy in Copenhagen, who in September 1943 courageously leaked the plans for deportation of the Jews. In the 1950s he returned as German ambassador to Denmark.

Two Danish Jews being arrested by Gestapo: a rare picture taken secretly by members of the Resistance.

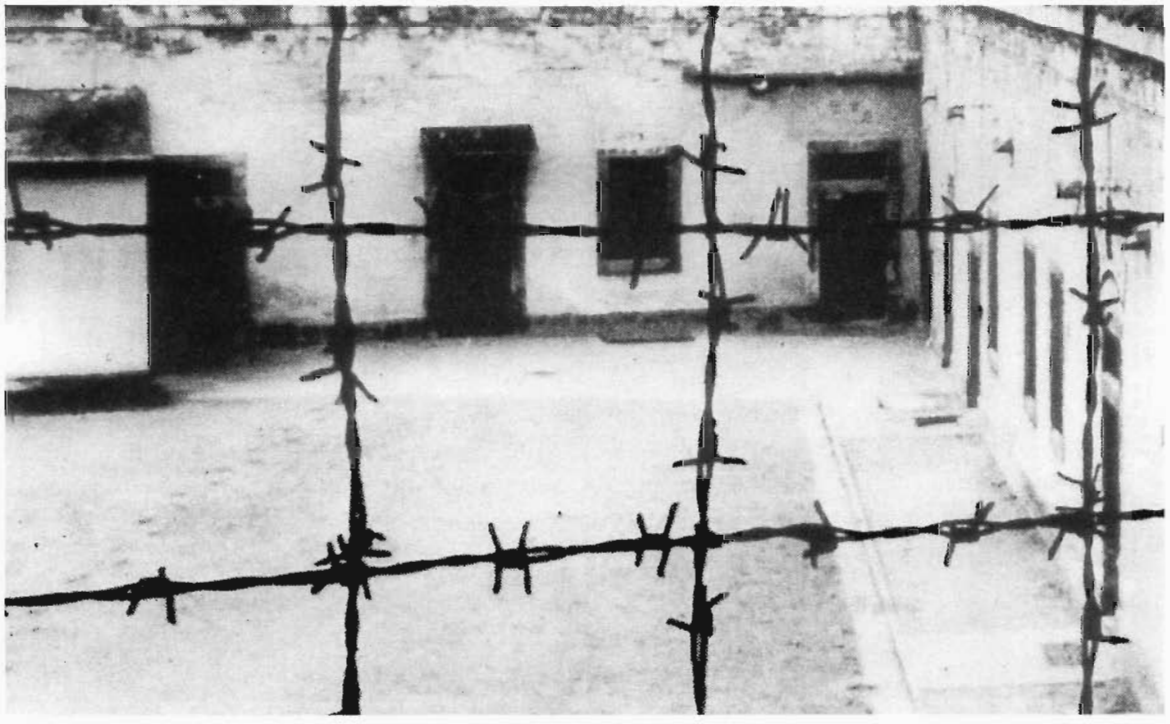
Jewish escapees had to be hidden under deck and often under a layer of ice.



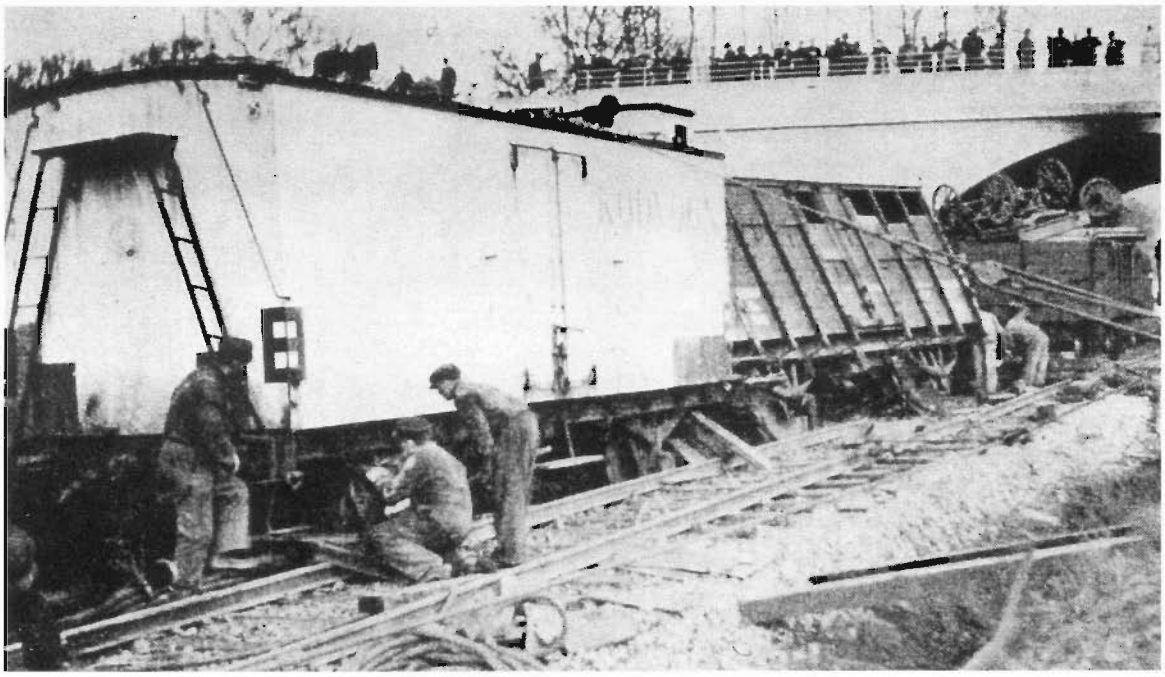
Ambulances served for undercover transportation of Danish Jews to escape boats.



On October 5, the Gestapo arrested 80 Danish Jews in the loft of the Gilleleje Church in Northern Zealand. This was one of the worst tragedies during the rescue operations.



Theresienstadt Concentration Camp, north of Prague, where 481 Danish Jews were kept until the end of the war. Not one Danish Jew was sent to death camps, a unique arrangement demanded by the Danish authorities.



After Nazi action against the Jews, the Danish Resistance stepped up sabotage actions all over Denmark.

Chief Rabbi, Max Friediger rescued by the Swedish Red Cross, returns from Theresienstadt to Copenhagen on May 28, 1945.

Rescue of Jews from Annihilation: Resistance and Responsibility in Nazi-Occupied Denmark

by Hans Möller

During World War II, Nazi Germany occupied Denmark. In October 1943, the Nazis staged a surprise raid on the Jews in Denmark in an effort to deport them to death camps. The entire Danish population reacted angrily and spontaneously and succeeded in rescuing almost all Danish Jews by helping them escape to neutral Sweden. This article, written in part as an eyewitness account, describes the events and attempts to explain the philosophy and political reality behind the unique reaction by the Danish people.

The text was given as a lecture with slides at the meeting of Friends of the Library, McGill University, on November 8, 1994.

Pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, les Nazis occupent le Danemark et en octobre 1943, ils effectuent une rafle surprise contre les Juifs du Danemark en vue de les déporter vers les camps de la mort. La population danoise dans toute son intégralité réagit avec colère et spontanéité à cette rafle et parvient à sauver presque tous les Juifs danois en les aidant à s'enfuir en Suède, qui était neutre. Cet article, écrit par un témoin oculaire, décrit ce moment fort de l'histoire danoise et tente d'expliquer la philosophie et la réalité politique de cette réaction singulière du peuple danois.

Ce texte est celui d'une conférence accompagnée de diapositives prononcée dans le cadre du programme des Amis de la bibliothèque de l'Université McGill, le 8 novembre 1994.

ILLUSTRATIONS, pages 91-96.

DEDICATION

This article is dedicated to the memory of Leo Israel who passed away in Montreal, October 7th, 1995. As a young Danish Jew born in Copenhagen, Leo actively participated in the rescue until he himself had to be rescued and delivered into neutral Sweden. Later, he served bravely in the British Army helping to liberate Europe from Nazi occupation.

Copenhagen, Denmark, October 1st, 1943. German police raided homes suspected of housing Jews. Similar raids occurred all over Denmark which since April 1940 had been occupied by Germany.

This frightening event shook the entire Danish population into a near unanimous effort to rescue the Danish Jewry. A tiny nation in the grip of an all-powerful conqueror rose in fury against the occupation forces. Two Nordic peoples—conquered Denmark and neutral Sweden—turned to rapid and effective action against the Nazis.

The events became a legend even as they occurred. I hope by this presentation to convey the reality of the happenings by summarizing the main facts, by describing a few of the episodes and the reaction and feelings held by people involved, and finally, by attempting to explain how it happened as it did and what the reasons behind it all may have been.

I am doing this partly on the basis of personal experience. I was a 25 year old student then at Copenhagen University. Some of my family were inter-married with Jews.

APRIL 9, 1940

A surprise occupation of Denmark by German troops one early morning in April, 1940 began the chain of events that so shocked the Danes and deeply affected the future of their country.

To understand the events of 1943 we need to look back to the preceding years, and find out how Jews in Denmark responded to the tragic events from that fatal day and the special dangers they as Jews faced during that time.

After centuries of sovereignty and independence Denmark found herself occupied in a flash during the early morning hours of April 9th. Jews in Denmark saw this event as a Danish catastrophe and not just a Jewish one. Many are the sincere testimonies by rabbis and the leaders of the Danish-Jewish community expressing shock and horror at what happened to Denmark, "our quiet and happy fatherland and what about the King?" (Dr. Marcus Melchior). The eminent lawyer and jurist, Carl Bertel Henriques, said on that morning: "they have taken our beautiful country." A feeling of despair and uncertainty seized all Danish people. The Jews in Denmark felt themselves to be Danish, and Denmark considered them Danish citizens; they made no distinction.

How many Jews lived in Denmark in 1940? The statistics show 6450 Jews plus Jews in mixed marriages. Most of these belonged to old families, who had been in Denmark for very long, together with immigrants from Russia who came after 1903 and some 1500 Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Some 2200 of these were actually not Danish citizens.

Two well defined groups of Jews had recently come to Denmark: 350 agricultural students (HECHALUZ) and 270 Jewish children (ALIJAH) from Austria and Germany on their way through Denmark to Palestine on British visas. They were unhappily stuck in Denmark.

The Danish government made no distinction between the 6000 plus established Jews in Denmark, mostly settled in Copenhagen, and the young Zionist oriented recent arrivals. Officially, the Danish government firmly maintained that "Danish Jews" were the same as "Jews in Denmark."

The Germans from the beginning maintained that the occupation of Denmark was entirely and solely a protective measure and that they never had any intention of touching "the Kingdom's territorial or political independence."

The Danish minister of external affairs, Peter Munch, stressed this in his official note of protest over the occupation and held to that concept in subsequent negotiations with the German occupation forces. Nobody had any illusions as to the power relationship resulting from an occupation. Yet for a long time the Danish government insisted that the German officials in Denmark could not interfere with internal Danish matters. Thus, the fate of Danish Jews was intimately tied to the fate of all other Danish citizens and to the success of the Danish government in refusing German demands that would interfere with the Danish political and democratic system.

In the long run, however, could the Danish government maintain that the status of Jews in Denmark was an internal Danish matter not open to negotiations? Jews in Denmark had no other choice than to rely on the Danish government for their protection and do nothing to weaken the position of the government in its negotiations. While Jews were nervous and anxious, there was no panic. The minutes of meetings in the Congress of Jews in Denmark say nothing about the events; there was calm and life went on as before. C.B. Henriques had a deep rooted confidence in the Danish system of justice and believed that the government had the will and ability to shield the Jewish community in Denmark. "Keep calm" he advised all members of the Jewish community. Even among the Zionists in Denmark, especially the farm students (HECHALUZ), was this directive respected. After all, Denmark was their fatherland and the old Jewish families who since 1814 had enjoyed total equality with all other Danes had no desire to leave their country.

Incidentally, during the beginning of the German occupation the whole Danish population supported the government's policy and the demand for political independence. The Germans however soon began to

make their demands. They objected for instance to the Jewish committees designed to assist Jewish refugees. As a result Jewish association activities were obliged to disguise themselves as study groups behind closed doors. This was in fact a condition common to most Danish associations in the country during 1940-41.

The Danish government insisted upon three conditions for "cooperation" with the Germans:

- no discrimination against the Jews
- maintenance of neutrality towards the nazi-fascist axis: Germany-Italy-Japan
- refusal to send a regular Danish army to fight on the eastern front

The German political and military administration, initially headed by non-Nazis with little interest in Nazification of free Danish institutions, agreed to these conditions, which were also accepted in the Foreign Office in Berlin.

THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF OCCUPATION

As the war intensified German pressure mounted. Heinrich Himmler, the Chief of the Gestapo visited Copenhagen in April 1941 and met with the Danish chief of police Thune Jacobsen. Himmler insisted that there was "a Jewish problem in Denmark" to which Thune Jacobsen replied that the entire Danish population agreed that there "is no Jewish problem in Denmark." For the next year this became the firm and consistent position held by all Danish officials. The Germans noticed this and discussed this situation in contemporary Nazi journals deploring the fact that the subject of Danish Jews could not even be discussed and that it was considered un-Danish to raise such a non-issue. As far as the Danes were concerned you could not discuss something that did not exist in Danish democratic thinking. All political parties in Denmark agreed to this policy.

Even the German ambassador to Denmark, Cecil von Renthe-Fink, kept the subject of Jews in Denmark out of every report going to Berlin. This was clearly due to a desire on the part of the Germans to maintain a so-called "normal Danish-German relationship," which at that time was in their own interest. Germany depended to a large extent upon Denmark for food supplies.

In June 1941 an alarming event occurred. The Danish government gave in to German pressure to arrest and intern Danish Communists. This was indeed a blow to the Danish policy of protecting Danish citizen. The communists were not deported but interned in a camp in Denmark (Horserod). They were in fact sacrificed on the altar of negotiation. Danish Jews were shocked as they realized that the Danish Government was losing ground.

In November 1941 another alarming event occurred. The government signed the Anticomintern (Anti-Communist) Pact. The minister of External Affairs, Eric Scavenius, went to Berlin for the signing during which he met the Nazi leaders von Ribbentrop, Göring and Hitler. During this encounter they brought up the "problem of Jews in Denmark." When he returned to Copenhagen and reported, the Danish government and all political parties agreed that any talk of special legislation for Jews in Denmark was unthinkable and completely unacceptable.

An anti-semitic hate newspaper cropped up in Copenhagen and there was an attempt at burning down the Synagogue. The guilty person was tried by Danish court and given a very stiff sentence and the two publishers of the anti-semitic newspaper were jailed and fined. After an appeal to the Supreme Court the sentence was even sharpened. Anxiety among the Jews was calmed down for now.

Political leaders of the powerful Social Democratic party and the Federation of Labour Unions declared repeatedly that the Danish Government would fall if the Germans pressed for a "solution of the Jewish problem." Lutheran church leaders agreed. The entire Danish population was united on this issue.

Some argued though that a Danish legislation for the Danish Jews might be easier to control than German interference, but government leaders passionately rejected any such legislation as being totally opposed to the Danish concept of citizens' rights and personal freedom. The protection of Jews in Denmark was firmly anchored in the Danish constitution and Danish democracy.

Adolf Hitler was frustrated by the Danish manner of evading collaboration with Nazi occupation forces. Like all Nazi officials he was taken aback by the cool Danish form of limited cooperation and angry at the German military lack of response to Nazi (Gestapo) imperatives. So he replaced his military staff in Denmark with an SS Officer, Dr. Werner Best, who became Plenipotentiary of occupied Denmark, November 1942.

A severe political crisis evolved in November-December 1942. A new Danish government was formed under the leadership of Erik Scavenius, who was immediately called to Berlin. Again the Jewish issue was avoided in Berlin, indeed it was not even discussed, and Scavenius agreed in Copenhagen to stand firm on this issue under any circumstances.

1943 THE YEAR OF CATASTROPHE

The Spring of 1943 was relatively calm. A parliamentary election demonstrated the relative independence of Denmark and the small Danish Nazi party (NDSAP) lost votes compared to their standing in the 1939 election. Against all expectations Dr. Best took a moderate line. Danish underground resistance was becoming a strong factor in the opposition to the Nazis, and sabotage became very effective. An underground, illegal press now reached almost everybody (all over the country) giving more accurate information about the war events in Stalingrad, Africa and the Pacific.

The summer of 1943 saw wide-spread general strikes and open clashes between Danish demonstrators and German soldiers. More Danes became frustrated by the cooperative posture of the Danish government. Danish Jews kept calm and clung to the belief that only this very posture and its continued success was a guarantee against the dreaded German action. Jewish support of the King of Denmark, Christian X symbolized this belief and their trust in the government.

On August 28, 1943 the government was faced with an unacceptable ultimatum delivered by Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. After a series of widespread popular demonstrations, the Germans introduced on August 29 emergency conditions and a curfew; they captured Danish military establishments, disarmed the armed forces, and took hostage a number of Danes including Jewish leaders such as chief rabbi Dr. M. Friediger, the supreme court attorney, C.B. Henriques and Axel Margolinsky. The deputy ministers now attempted to carry on a measure of Danish administration without political control.

For the Jews as for all Danes this was catastrophic, but especially of course for Jews. Many now considered fleeing to Sweden. On August 31 the offices of the Jewish Congress in Copenhagen were raided and the deputy minister of external affairs, Nils Svenninges, protested to Dr. Best who was evasive and denied any knowledge of the raid. In his denial he reiterated that "the Jewish problem has so far not been touched at all." We were all concerned about the words "so far."

Even worse, on September 17, a German police car brought German soldiers to the offices of the Jewish congregation, arrested the librarian, Josef Fischer, and confiscated books and archives. Luckily the main registers had on September 8 been transferred to the National Archives. Again the Nazi authorities brushed the matter aside and described it as a minor, unimportant episode insisting that this was not a real raid.

We know now that on September 8 Best had in fact cabled Berlin and asked for action against Jews in Denmark. This released the disaster; 10 days later, September 18, Adolf Hitler gave order to action. Dr. Best set the date to the night between October 1 and 2.

Details of events from September 18 to October 1 are confusing and messages flew back and forth within the complex German bureaucracy. Later, everybody denied responsibility, but Dr. Best's cable was no doubt the action that released the horror.

Werner Best, who instigated the deportation of the Jews, played a curious double game, taking steps to block the execution of the order despite the fact that he himself had suggested it to SS Reichsführer Himmler. Double play and double dealing are, I believe, a common characteristic of Nazism. Dr. Best had long been an active Nazi before coming to Denmark. He demanded an SS police battalion to carry it out, but it is now believed that it was meant to further his own career and obtain a source of power against the German

army, which opposed him under the leadership of Hermann von Hanneken, Commander-in-Chief of the German Armed Forces in Copenhagen.

Curiously, Best himself told Georg F. Duckwitz, a German shipping agent in the German Embassy in Copenhagen, about the impending plans to arrest the Jews. Duckwitz tried to dissuade Best and even flew to Berlin to try to stop the telegram from reaching Hitler, and later to Sweden to investigate Swedish intervention. When Best told him that raids would be executed Oct. 1-2, Duckwitz informed the leaders of the Danish Social Democratic party whom he knew personally. Duckwitz spoke Danish and had intimate knowledge of Denmark from before the war. He took a great personal risk in his actions.

One more episode is of considerable interest. Helmuth von Moltke, one of the most prominent leaders of the German resistance movement against Hitler, heard of the action planned in the German High Command of the Armed Forces when he worked in the department of international law and relations with foreign countries. He rushed to Copenhagen where he arrived on October 1st and talked to both Best and von Hanneken and warned them of the consequences of action against the Jews. He had personal contacts in Denmark. The warning came too late. Duckwitz's warning was decisive, not Moltke's. [I might just add that Moltke was jailed in 1944 and hanged on January 23, 1945, after the aborted coup against Hitler in July 1944.][1]

Rumours flew in Copenhagen but the Jewish leaders gave no warning, relying as always on the protection of the Danish government. The Bishop of Copenhagen as well as the Director-General of Danish Foreign Affairs, Nils Svenningsen, had both gone to Best, who "declared that persecution of the Jews in Denmark would take place only over my dead body." They related this to the Chairman of the Jewish Community C.B. Henriques.

So in fact, the Jews knew nothing and the Danish administration knew nothing. When the Social Democratic leaders, Hans Hedtoft and H.C. Hansen, visited Mr. Henriques in his home late at night during curfew and said what Duckwitz had told them, the Jewish leader spoke only two words: "You're lying." It took a long time to convince Henriques of the truth. He repeated despairingly that he just could not understand how it could be true. This was September 28. Now the warning went out in all directions with the speed of lightning. This warning became the salvation for thousands of Jews and Georg Duckwitz will forever deserve credit for his quick and courageous action.

Now all hopes for protection from Danish authorities, political or administrative, were crushed. The only solution now was illegal action and the Danish general population swung into immediate action by urging every Jew to go underground and wait for illegal transportation over the water to Sweden. The Swedish ambassador, von Dardell, had on October 3 informed Henriques that Sweden was ready to receive all Jewish refugees. The Danish Police was ready to assist and help dodge the German coast patrols.

On September 29, Rabbi Melchior publicly warned the Jews at the morning service before the eve of the Jewish New Year to hide and flee. There would be no service held this New Year.

Warnings were systematically spread by the Social Democrats, priests, politicians, journalists, members of countless Danish associations, university students, doctors, lawyers and business people.

The King, Christian X, formally protested to Best, unaware that Best had instigated it. The underground Freedom Council appealed to all Danes to help directly. The Bishop of Copenhagen, Hans Fuglsang-Damgaard sent out a denunciation of the Lutheran Church of Denmark which was read from every pulpit across the land: "The persecution of Jews conflicts with the humanitarian concept of neighborly love and the message which Christ's Church set out to preach. We shall fight to preserve for our Jewish brothers and sisters the same freedom which we ourselves value more than life."

The raid was carried out while the state of emergency was still in effect during the night between October 1 and 2 by Gestapo troops, who apparently were instructed not to force the door if there was no response to the doorbell. 202 Jews were caught that night in Copenhagen including 30 people in a Jewish old people's home next to the synagogue who received

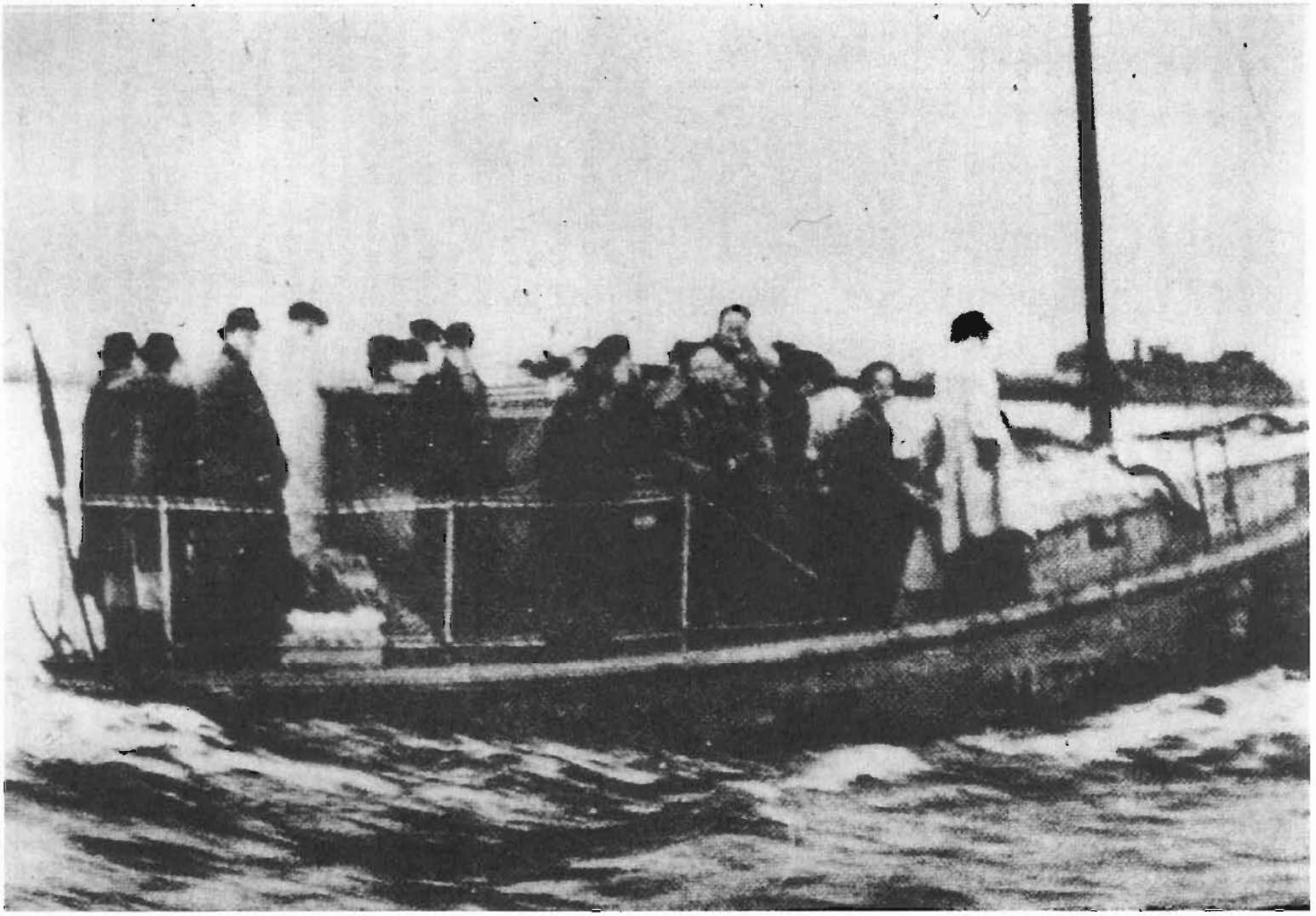


Figure 1. When approaching the coast of Sweden, Jewish refugees could come on deck of the fishing boat to sight the "land of freedom."

especially brutal treatment. The Danes were not aware of the existence of this. From the Nazi point of view, the operation was a fiasco. Ultimately, 481 were seized and transported to Theresienstadt in Bohemia (Czechoslovakia), a transportation camp rather than a death camp. 51 Danish Jews, mostly elderly persons, died en route to this camp or after arrival.

RESCUE AND FLIGHT

What happened to the Jews that escaped capture that fateful night? Miraculously, we managed to hide over 6000 Jews mostly in Copenhagen and the surrounding area. Then started the difficult and dangerous task of organizing transports to Sweden during the cold and damp October nights. Rescue rings were based on existing organizations. There were teachers' rings, priests' rings, journalists' rings, doctors' rings and of course the underground resistance organizations. All diverted spontaneously and quickly their functions to total mobilization for flight. Hospital staffs held conferences daily to delegate duties for conveying Jews to the fishing boats waiting at the coast and transporting them in ambulances. Students closed down Copenhagen University and schools to help retrieve Jews hidden in the countryside. Buses, taxis and bicycles were used for transport. There was much unorganized collective helpfulness: cooperation of anonymous strangers in giving keys to Jews, boarding them in boats without payments etc. This was a collective social movement, simultaneously, spontaneous and without structures, both tolerated and supported by Danish officials at different levels.

There was much haste, much improvisation, much imagination, daring and courage. Fishermen were enlisted for the perilous trips. Money had to be raised every day to pay them reasonably for their risk. Only rarely did people take advantage of the situation. A few scoundrels did but never at the risk of the lives of the refugees. Nobody was ever left behind because of lack of funds. It was more typical to encounter touching willingness and courage by very ordinary people who did not personally know Jews.

There was an army of helpers, couriers, chauffeurs and guides. The actual coordinating of arrangements for sailing and for hiding the Jews was done by several groups near the departure sites at Lynby, Humlebaek, Helsingor. There were neighbours united by mutual interest and trust. Tens of thousands of Danes were involved. It is estimated that every Jew had 10-25 contacts with Danes helping so that at the very least 70,000 persons were involved. A united population stood behind the action.

Sadly, 190 Jews were arrested during the risky efforts to escape but 7,750 made it to Sweden of whom 686 had fled because of Jewish spouses (Fig. 1).

I am often asked what it was like be involved in this rescue effort. Well, it was dangerous and the Germans were vigilant enough and ever present. It gave you a chill in the spine and a sensation in the stomach when you saw the Germans or feared that they would turn up around the next corner and question you or that they were watching you from a hide-out.

Yet, the urgency drove you, the terrible responsibility for human lives, the need to be calm and to calm the people who felt hunted like dogs. There was no question about doing it; it would have been harder to decide not to participate. It was indeed a duty to do it and one did not expect to be thanked for it. It took 4 to 6 weeks, and it seemed long; it was exhausting because the days were needed to organize and the nights for action. There were long hours of waiting in hiding in woods in the dark and cold nights. When the moment came you struck fast or aborted the action if it seemed unsafe.

There are no archives left to record these actions, no reports, no shipping registers, no letters, no diaries, no receipts for payments! Of course not. All was done verbally. All we have is individual reports made later from rescue workers and refugees. There are in fact 120 such reports. Some are printed up in book form.

They read like detective novels; they may not be as well structured as novels, but the thrill and chill is real and totally true.

Many are the anecdotes, sad, scary and at times, yes even funny. What is typical is how much imagination and cunning is needed, not only strength and courage. Many a time all seemed lost—unless one could act very fast and very calmly.

What happened after October/November 1943? The experience of acting outside the law in liberating the Jews also liberated the Danes from their previous deep-rooted respect of authority and fear of provoking reprisals. Sabotage and other resistance actions mounted rapidly. The resistance movement became very powerful. The Germans responded with anonymous assassinations and executions of saboteurs.

The Nazis stood astounded and to some extent helpless before the strange phenomenon of the rescue operation. They did not grasp the profound motives which led the Danish people to its energetic deed, nor did they, I think, understand the way it was carried out. How could this calm, friendly, easygoing nation have changed overnight? They could not comprehend what was clear to every Dane, from the simplest to the most brilliant intellectual. It was now time to act. The majority of men and women now sided with the resistance movement. The Nazis themselves gave the signal! They tried to put the actions and behaviour of the Danes in a ridiculous light: "This ridiculous little country" as Dr. Best called it.

The Danes had a real talent for exploiting the psychological weaknesses of the Nazis, such as their blind faith in a piece of official looking paper, their respect for authority, their certain haughtiness. I think many Germans never fully understood the Danes, who did not mind playing the fools vis-à-vis haughty Nazis. Danes learned to play on the need of even the Gestapo agents to appear as decent people in Danish eyes. As a result the "stupid" Danes carried out a most dangerous and daring operation and got away with it. They demonstrated a strange audacity and toughness, surprising for the Danes who more often appear smiling, mild-mannered and even meek. The audacity seemed to spring from coolness and realistic imagination guided by alert observation—these were the hallmarks of Danish underground fighters. It first became clear in October 1943 that these were the preserves of many Danes among all sections of the population. The professor and the fisherman, the doctor and the taxi driver, the priest and the policeman—all understood each other without as much as saying a word.

There were many difficulties to overcome and not just the Gestapo police and patrol boats—there was the weather, there was the mechanical breakdown of motors in the boats, there were difficulties in organization and communication. What made it work on the whole, with relatively few arrests, was a united people from whose ranks rose leaders unknown a day or two before, a people determined to prevent the Nazis from carrying out their evil plans, a whole nation—volunteers in body, soul and mind. Difficulties were overcome and a mass rescue operation succeeded.

There were tragic accidents; some boats capsized. On the night of October 5-6 two boats sank, one with nine aboard. Some committed suicide, some even after safe arrival in Sweden, such as a celebrated Danish author, Henri Nathansen. The flight caused great anxiety and fright among the Jews; the rescuers often had to spend time, imagination and cunning in helping to calm down the emotions. Sedatives were needed, especially for small children.

NATIONAL UNITY AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

What were the results and how was it that Danes acted as they did?

The state of emergency declared by the occupation forces August 19, 1943 provoked the Danish resistance and annulled Danish self-government. The defense of the Jews was governed by a total consensus among both Danish authorities and the Freedom Council.

There was not the slightest disagreement with the view that the rights and the lives of the Jews had to be protected.

It was not just a question of altruism or benevolent paternalism toward a minority but rather one of self-defense. What is significant here is that for Danes national consciousness and democratic consciousness are one and the same. The struggle for national existence included the struggle for equal rights of the Jewish people.

I was, as many other university students at the time, deeply moved and influenced by a series of public lectures given in 1940 by a young theologian at the University of Copenhagen, Hal Koch. He wanted to renew the belief in the democratic principles underlying Danish society and political life. Later in January 1942,

Hal Koch tied these principles to the defense of Jewish people. He said, for instance, that "the country's fate will be decided by our ability to maintain truth, justice and freedom and pay the price."

The Danish conscience was a product of the positive obligations of Christians towards Jews. The Danish National Lutheran Church had long formally denounced anti-Semitism. The attitude of the King was symbolic, and immortalized by the legend that he donned or threatened to wear the yellow star. The fact that Denmark is blessed with a harmonious, homogeneous society and has been for centuries is yet another factor but not in itself a satisfactory explanation.

It may be well worth looking deeper into this consensus of views and the particular form of democracy found in Denmark. Without going into an elaborate review of Danish political history I would prefer here to relate for you a chapter of Danish literature which I believe is at the root of all this.

The 19th century Danish literature is incredibly rich and flourishing. It gave us Danes wonderful and original prose and poetry, it gave the world such famous writers as Hans Christian Andersen, Søren Kierkegaard and the literary critic George Brandes, who incidentally was Jewish.

First Andersen (1805-75), the world famous story teller and author of hundreds of fairy tales. His dual theme is the ultimate victory of good and the innocent over the evil and the calculating. His writing is true poetry combining tragedy, comedy and humour. His philosophy and values are simple but sincere. He maintained to the end of his life an unswerving faith in life's fundamental goodness, its wealth and beauty. He maintained that "every living being is privileged to live in his own way." He disliked people who would not recognize how many different kinds of values there are in life. Each man lives his own way. He had a profound respect for the rights of the individual and created as an artist a world of individuals, all so full of real life.

A contemporary of Andersen was Søren Kierkegaard (1813-55), internationally famous philosopher and religious thinker. His philosophy is in part hard to comprehend and still the object of lively debate. His writing style is brilliant even in translation. He is one of the very great writers of the western world. His thoughts exerted a great influence in Denmark and still do. He stressed in all his philosophy the value of individualism and the freedom of the individual to decide. As he said "the subjective is truth."

Yet another contemporary of these two renowned authors was Grundtvig (1783-1872). Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, perhaps less known to you, although some of you may have heard his name in connection with Danish folk high schools. He was a giant of a writer, religious leader and politician. He too stressed the rights of the individual including the right of all to have their own version of Lutheran belief within the church. One of his famous statements is "first man, then Christian." Human life is a way to Christian life or as Grundtvig puts it "a living sinner is better than a dead saint."

What is interesting about Grundtvig as a politician is not his views on specific matters but his uncompromising struggle for intellectual freedom in all contexts, unlimited. To him freedom itself was more important than democracy. He fought what he called "the majesty of numbers." He feared the influence of powerful groups in debating the new democratic Constitution in Denmark (1849). He insisted that an opinion does not at all get better from the fact that the majority adheres to it. An encroachment on freedom is bad, no matter whether it is a majority, a minority or a tyrant who enforces it. The individual must be protected against the group and the majority.

I have briefly here described three giants in Danish literature, Andersen, Grundtvig and Kierkegaard.

Is there a relation between literature and politics or does literature reflect political and philosophical ideas? I believe the literature reflects and even develops values of life, the meaning of life and ideals, and that these make political action possible. My belief is that 19th century literature in Denmark laid the foundation for the political and social movements including the type of democratic government, the type of Welfare State you find in that country. I believe 19th century literature laid the theoretical cornerstones for the 20th century evolution of public and personal life in Denmark.

While Andersen and Kierkegaard focused on the rights and responsibilities of the private individual, Grundtvig carried this out into public life, whether in Church, Parliament or School. Grundtvig stressed the value of debate and emphasized the importance of the Opposition and public opinion. He always belonged to the Opposition. Grundtvig's views were radical-liberal and he demanded freedom in every civic field. He deeply influenced Danish political thought and legislation.

Today, Danish politics is coloured by the fact that there are many political parties represented in parliament, not just two or three. These parties flourish, change, and move up and down as a reflection of numerous and changing facets of public opinions. In contrast, in North America we are used to a system that only allows for very few and general opinions. Here a sharp viewpoint tends to shock or embarrass people. In Denmark, the rights of the individual go very deep in all public life. You see it reflected in every newspaper —and there are many newspapers in Denmark. You see it reflected in the manner in which the welfare program is administered. They tend to stress universality, but there is also generous allowance for individual differences and individual treatment.

I believe all this is the legacy of Andersen, Grundtvig and Kierkegaard. Probably Kierkegaard's influence on present day values in Denmark is mostly indirect but I cannot help thinking of him when I hear (and remember) Danes argue and question everything in sharp, provocative ways. Denmark is one of the countries in the world where dislike of regulations and prohibitions of any kind is most pronounced.

I believe all this formed the basis for attitudes to citizens' rights within the Danish democracy, concepts that came to the test during those fateful years in Denmark's history 1940-45 and that were polarized in the events of October 1943.

What happened then after the war? Denmark was liberated by British troops on May 5, 1945. Even before then, in fact in April of 1945, the Danish Jews were brought back from Theresienstadt thanks to the efforts of the Red Cross and the personal interventions by the famous Swede, Count Folke Bernadotte. The cortege of white buses going through Denmark en route to Sweden was a heartening sight for us all.

It is well worth noting that the Danish administration from October 1943 to April 1945 never left the Jews deported to Theresienstadt alone. There was not one week that they did not pressure the German authorities in Copenhagen and Berlin to let them return to Denmark, demand the right to visit and inspect the camp, request reports on the conditions of health, whereabouts etc. All received parcels from Denmark and none of the Danish Jews was transported out of Theresienstadt to a death camp. The Danish authorities continued to consider the fate of the deported Jews a Danish responsibility to the very end.

After May 5, 1945, the Danish Jews could return to Denmark and most did, although some stayed in Sweden, and some went overseas to the USA and Canada.

What finally happened to Dr. Werner Best? He was tried in Nüremberg and Copenhagen and condemned to death in 1948. Yet his sentence was commuted to jail. He was released from jail in 1951. In October 1985 it was reported that a Düsseldorf Court (in Germany) dropped all charges for war crimes due to his age (over 80). He died in 1989.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Professor Peter C. Hoffmann, McGill University, for information about Helmuth von Moltke.

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Documentary material regarding underground resistance during the Nazi occupation of Denmark (1940-1945) is very sparse due to the very nature of such activities. This includes all actions related to the 1943 rescue of Danish Jews; documents such as lists of names, schedules for transport and other records were either not prepared in writing or routinely destroyed. Consequently, historians have largely relied on personal, eyewitness accounts, prepared after the liberation of Denmark in May 1945.

McGill Libraries has in its possession a collection of books and pictures as well as samples of illegal newspapers printed by resistance workers underground during the occupation. The literature is mostly in Danish and English. Further information may be obtained from Frihedsmuseet, Churchillparken, 1263 Copenhagen K, Denmark, the museum of the Danish Resistance. In collaboration with the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs this museum prepared a

panel exhibition of pictures and texts titled *October 1943: The Rescue of the Danish Jews from Annihilation* (1993). A Danish historian, Therel Straede prepared the exhibition and wrote an accompanying booklet in English with the above title and in French with the title *Octobre 1943: Le Sauvetage des Juifs Danois Menacés d'Extermination* (Copenhague 1993).

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Deluxe Devotional Prayer Books: A McGill Book of Hours

by Maria L. Brendel

Books of Hours are the most common and the most popular of medieval manuscripts. In the McGill University Libraries' Department of Rare Books and Special Collections there is a particularly fine example of a Book of Hours—Medieval MS 109. *This Manuscript is unusually small and has exquisite illuminations. This article will introduce* MS 109 *and its genre, the Book of Hours.*

Les livres d'Heures sont les manuscrits médiévaux les plus courants et les mieux connus. Le Département de livres rares et de collections spéciales des bibliothèques de l'Université McGill possède un exemplaire particulièrement remarquable de livre d'Heures—Médiéval MS 109. Ce manuscrit est exceptionellement petit et comporte des enluminures d'une rare beauté. Cet article présente MS 109 et son genre, le livre d'Heures.

ILLUSTRATIONS, pages 82-90.

In McGill's Rare Books Collection there is a gem of a manuscript known as Medieval MS 109.[1] It is described in the De Ricci *Census*[2] as follows:

> **109. Officium B.**[eate] **V.**[irginis] **Mariae.** Ve.[ellum], ca. 1510, 170 ff., 8 x 6 cm. Written in Flanders. Illum. borders, 6 large miniat., Italian Russia leather, ca. 1830, (bound for G.S.). Given by Dr. Casey A. Wood.

In light of the scarcity of documentation on this manuscript its pictures serve as a guide to locate a place of origin. In a memorable phrase the English 'art critic' John Ruskin, in the last century, affirmed that "illumination is only writing made beautiful." To this he added "the moment illumination passes into picture making it has lost its ... function."[3] The pictures in this manuscript refute Ruskin's claim.

MS 109 belongs to those manuscripts, small and detailed, aesthetic masterpieces, of which one monk exclaimed "it is a killing work," to produce.[4] And a scribe left the following words: "Dear reader in turning over these pages with your fingers, take care not to damage the writing; no one who is not a calligrapher can have an idea of the labour involved."[5]

Devotion and hard labour it was. Every step was carried out manually. This included the preparation of vellum, collation of folios, ruling of pages, the script, illumination and binding. In the early stages writing and decorations may have been done by the same person. With ever increasing demand for manuscripts in the later part of the Middle Ages labour was divided among scribes and illuminators (illustrators). Initially, book production was exclusively monastic. Scriptoria were attached to the large monasteries of Monte Cassino, St. Martin of Tours, Echternach, Winchester and St. Albans.[6] However, from the thirteenth century onwards the manufacture of books became increasingly secularized and independent of monastic control. Workshops were set up in the larger towns where scribes and painters organized themselves into guilds.[7] The formation of town *ateliers* was in parallel with the increasing demand for the Book of Hours (*Horae*).

When *MS 109* was created, illumination was in its last *flowering* as a competitor claimed its stake: the printing press. But interestingly, just when movable type made economical the mechanical production of books, a Flemish painter revolutionized manuscript illumination by introducing a painting technique never seen before: *trompe l'œil*, illusionistic borders and a window-like treatment of space, done in particularly lustrous colours.[8] This new development replaced the borders of earlier manuscripts in which wire thin plants appeared, in matte colours and restrained modelling. The effect was largely two-dimensional in contrast to the new three-dimensional borders.[9] Manuscript production was prolonged.

The innovator—whose name remains so far unknown —was the Master of Mary of Burgundy who created

between 1475 and 1477 two Books of Hours for Mary of Burgundy and her husband the Archduke Maximilian (MS 78 B 12, Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett, Staatsbibliothek; and cod. 1857, Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).[10] In these two books he introduced the new painting technique. *MS 109* features these novelties. Here the painted motifs give the illusion of opened windows surrounded by borders of fruit, birds, flowers and insects. The effect is that of a bee crawling over the page or a flowerhead or strawberry just having been dropped on it. Naturalism at its best. This type of page construction was also adapted in secular manuscripts: the *Roman de la Rose* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 948).[11]

From the pictorial evidence, *MS 109* was produced after the Hours of Mary of Burgundy, most likely in the early years of the sixteenth century, by a workshop that produced very small Books of Hours.[12]

BEST-SELLER

Books of Hours are considered by some twentieth century scholars to be medieval best-sellers,[13] due to their popularity all over Europe. Significantly, almost all exemplars independent of their place of origin, feature one common language: Latin. They are prayerbooks—a composite of texts—owned by men and women living secular lives, of different social standings. Even those who were unable to read, aspired to own one.[14] Not all *Horae* included pictures, there are humble versions. They were referred to as *Primers* of which an English grocer said: "my prymer with gilt clasps, whereupon I am wont to say my service."[15] The Book of Hours with its prayers and hymns, provided a link on a personal level to God, the Virgin, Angels, Prophets, Saints and Patron Saints.

P. Ganz claims that despite the manuscript's use as a private devotional book, illuminated versions were luxury objects. They existed on a scale such that the book moved back and forth from being a *Wertobjekt* (valuable object) to a useful prayerbook.[16]

The popularity was such that Books of Hours form the largest category of illuminated manuscripts now extant. Even after the Middle Ages, when *Horae* fell out of popular use as religious sentiments changed, Books of Hours were collected by bibliophiles. The Flemish painter-diplomat Peter Paul Rubens, for example, had one in his library[17]—likely an inheritance. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some collectors, after purchasing a Book of Hours on the art market, had pictures painted of themselves while in the act of reading (Auguste de Chatillon: *Leopoldine au Livre d'Heures*, 1835, Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris).[18]

CHEMISETTE

Some Books of Hours give information about the date and place they were made, occasionally about the scribe, the miniaturist and owner in ways of diary entries and coats of arms. In *MS 109* these opening pages are missing. The book, in its current state, starts with the Calendar pages. Possibly, folios containing a name of the owner or user were lost or discarded when the book was rebound over the centuries for a new owner. The current binding of 'Russia leather,' was added in the nineteenth century and was surely preceded by others. Initially, Books of Hours, especially small ones, were not covered with thick leather to stabilize the outer pages for placement on a shelf. Rather, the covers were bound in silk or velvet to be carried in the users pocket or purse. The spine, known as the *pippe* was most often decorated with pearls to which bookmarks were attached.[19] The book, when completed was usually sewn into a covering, the *chemisette*, which was either of kid-leather, silk-fabric or velvet. When picked up by the corners the *chemisette* formed a bag.[20] When laid open on a prayer table, or held in the supplicant's hands, the *chemisette* functioned like a napkin to protect the pages.[21] This reconstruction is possible with the aid of panel pictures and folios from *Horae* (Robert Campin: *Triptych of the Annunciation*, fifteenth century, Metropolitan Museum, New York: and the *Hours* of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, Cod. 1857, folios: "The Virgin and Child Worshipped," and "Christ being Nailed to the Cross").[22]

INCOMPLETE

Despite loss and destruction during the centuries a substantial number survive today in public and private collections still in book format, some in fragments—in leaves, often torn out on grounds of their aesthetic

appeal and separated from the text to which the pictures belong. One such horrible deed was carried out by none other than Ruskin who recorded in his diary: "Spent the day cutting up a missal, hard work. ... Put two pages of missals in frame."[23]

That the luxurious *MS 109* came down to us with its pictures—of tempera[24] on folios covered with gold leaf—is no small feat. The book includes six leaves with miniatures and sixteen folios featuring elaborate border decorations and painted initials. In addition, it also includes two leaves with pictorial capitals, and a large number of folios with extraordinary calligraphic embellishments and numerous initials written in 'pure' liquid gold (giving letters a sculptural effect). (Fig. 1) Surely, the book's small size (8.5 x 6.5 cm) allowed it to be tucked away, safely, over the centuries by bibliophiles who, unlike Ruskin, were receptive to the manuscript's historical significance as a whole. The book format itself shielded the light-sensitive illuminations, which in manuscripts are not covered by the protective layers of varnish that panel paintings have.

'OBSECRO TE'

Despite *MS 109*'s good state of preservation the manuscript has not reached us complete in terms of its prayers and miniatures. Eight folios have been removed of which four were most likely texts, the rest miniatures. A leisurely browsing through the book does not show this loss. But, a careful examination of the quires (collations of folios) shows stubs left behind of the cut-out or torn-out pages. Also, a close look at the text reveals missing folios.

Almost all Books of Hours include the two long and special prayers to the Virgin beginning respectively with *Obsecro te, domina* (I implore thee) and *O intemerata* (O matchless one).[25] In some *Horae* they are placed before the *Hours of the Virgin*, although the content of the book could be arranged freely. In *MS 109* the prayers appear after the *Office of the Dead*. Unfortunately, the folio commencing *Obsecro te* is no longer there. But since folio 162 starts *O intemerata*, the prayer *Obsecro te* was also included. Without a doubt, *Obsecro te* commenced after folio 157, where the stub indicates a torn out leaf. The following textual leaves are part of this prayer. A reconstruction of the missing miniatures will follow below. Despite this loss, *MS 109*, with its one hundred and seventy folios of which nearly all are used recto and verso—except the miniatures—delights the beholder with its illumination and consistent script on such small scale, which is surprisingly easy to read.

Unlike earlier and larger manuscripts written in the angular Gothic script, *MS 109* features the Italianate rounded lettering, the *rotunda*, developed by scribes in the Papal chancellery and by humanist scholars.[26] This script was preferred for small manuscripts to facilitate reading. The same script, for example, is used in the slightly larger *Horae*, a Flemish manuscript attributed to Simon Bening (*Book of Hours*, MS. L. 39-1981, London, Victoria and Albert Museum).[27]

ILLUMINARE

Illumination refers to the pictorial aspects of a manuscript. The word derives from the Latin *illuminare* to 'brighten' or 'light up' the text.[28] This comprises the fancy penwork of initials, versets (decorative line endings), border decorations and miniatures. The materials used are precious metals, gold, often valuable pigments (indigo blue and azurite as seen in the Virgin's mantle) and different coloured inks.[29]

Miniatures are pictures in manuscripts. They can be full page or they can take the form of a picture set into elaborate border ornamentations as in *MS 109*. The word 'miniature' does not mean 'small.' It derives from the Latin word *minimum*, the red pigment (lead oxide) used by scribes in the Middle Ages to emphasize letter initials on folios.[30] And *miniare* meant to write or paint in vermilion (red); the artist doing so was called the miniaturist.[31] Hence the word miniature.

Historiated or pictorial capitals are enlarged initials into which a small picture, often figurative, the *ystorie*, is painted. On the last leaves of *MS 109* two such historiated initials—using the letter O—are included on folios with border decorations. The first one depicts the Christ child enthroned, flanked by a kneeling John the Baptist.[32] The other shows a standing St. Athanasius to whom the prayer on this page is directed. St. Athanasius may have been the patron Saint of the owner

whose birthday, perhaps, was May second, the Saint's feast day.[33] These folios, however, hold a surprise: their border decorations are left incomplete, a sudden interruption? (Fig. 2)

The embellishments—miniatures, borders, historiated capitals and pen-flourishes—produce a sparkling effect which makes the act of praying, at least on the pictorial level, a devotional luxury.

HORAE

Until the Book of Hours came into existence, in the thirteenth century, there were beside the *Bible*, service-books used in the celebration of the mass. These manuscripts, some of which had pictures, of which Ruskin's deed informs us, were the *Breviary*, *Missal* and the *libri corali*, books for musical chants.[34] One text that may have been available to the laity were the Psalms.[35]

Horae developed from the texts of the *Breviary* and *Missal* both of which were part of the liturgy. The *Breviary* included the *Hours of the Virgin*, also called the 'Little Office of the Virgin'—*Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis*. But, unlike the *Breviary* or the *Missal* (the latter containing the texts necessary for the Mass) which were used by priests or persons in religious orders, the Book of Hours was for the laity, for personal devotions, independent of the liturgy.[36]

The origin of the Marian prayers, is not sufficiently clear. Services to the Virgin took form among the Benedictines, in the tenth century, and spread from the monasteries to the laity.[37] This increase in worship was parallel to the re-assessment of the Virgin's role within the established hagiography.[38] Especially during the later part of the Middle Ages her position changed from a mere intercessor to Queen of Heaven, "*co-redemptrix*" with Christ.[39] By the time the Book of Hours was formed the devotions to her and her role in the redemption of one's soul was fully established. However, the inclusion of the *Little Office* in the *Breviary* and its official recitation in church proved insufficient. There was a need among lay people for a prayerbook to be used in one's private sphere—in which images could be included—that would allow a relation to the Virgin on a personal level.[40] This need generated the Book of Hours.

Yet, while the *Hours of the Virgin* forms the centre of the Book it included from the beginning secondary texts (some extracted from the *Missal*). These are the *Calendar* pages, reminding the user of important feast days, holidays, anniversaries and the consecration of local churches.[41] They include Saints venerated in the region in which the Book was produced. The entries were in black and red ink to distinguish the more important (red letter days) from the less important ones. The Calendar is followed by the *Sequentiae of the Gospels*; the seven *Penitential Psalms*; the *Litany* to Prophets, Angels and Saints; the *Office of the Dead* and the *Memoriae* to various Saints (including patron and local Saints).[42] All of these Offices are included in *MS 109*.

The *Hours of the Virgin* were modelled after the canonical hours and divided into daily prayer services which, in illuminated versions, as in *MS 109*, include miniatures and elaborate border decorations at the beginning of each Hour. The following is a breakdown of this arrangement. Parallel to the hours are the miniatures with their themes (indicating also the missing folios):[43]

Matins	(said between midnight and 6 a.m.)	*Annunciation*
Lauds	(also midnight to 6 a.m.)	*Visitation*
Prime	(6 - 9 .am.)	*Nativity*
	missing in MS 109	
Tierce	(9 a.m. - noon)	*Annunciation to*
	missing in MS 109	*the Shepherds*
Sext	(noon - 3 p.m.)	*Adoration of the*
	missing in MS 109	*Magi*
Nones	(3 - 6 p.m.)	*Presentation in the Temple*
Vespers	(6 - 9 p.m.)	*Massacre of the Innocents*
Compline	(9 p.m. - midnight)	*Coronation of the Virgin*

The forth miniature cut out of *MS 109*, was at the beginning of the *Office of the Dead*, as the remaining stub near the string indicates. The facing folio is intact commencing the *Office of the Dead* with the habitual prayer *Placebo domino in regione vivorum* (I will praise the Lord in the land of the living).[44] In a comparative *Horae* the miniature shows the interior of a church, candles lit, where this 'Office' is being celebrated by several ecclesiastics with a small attending crowd, dressed in black (Simon Bening (attributed): *Book of Hours*, MS. L. 39-1981).[45]

The *Office of the Dead* was to be said every night, which for a postmodern beholder may appear to be a morbid occupation. Considering the traumatic experience, recurrent plagues and the memory of the Black Death, a pre-occupation with death becomes more understandable. It was important to know how to die well.[46]

Saints were instrumental as intercessors and their names appear prominently. But before discussing the local Saints included in *MS 109* the Use of the Book of Hours needs mentioning. In liturgiology, a Use is a distinctive form of prayer and ritual followed in a particular church or diocese.[47] Most Flemish Books are of Roman Use. Some French exemplars have Parisian Use (in France there are others as well). In England Books of Hours are usually of the Sarum Use.[48] The variations that make these distinctions are rather minor: the order of prayers, arrangements of hymns, variations in text among others. *MS 109* is of Roman Use.

SAINTS

The Calendar pages in *MS 109* include local and English Saints: St. Amandus of Maastricht (584-679), feast day February sixth) was a missionary bishop who preached in Flanders and found several religious houses, most notably in Ghent. St. Juliana (born ca. 309, feast day February sixteenth) is a martyr, whose bones are in the church of Lady of Sablon, in Brussels. St. Gertrude (626-659, feast day March seventeenth) was an abbess of Nevilles and venerated in the Lowlands. Her feast day is celebrated at Louvain and in the duchy of Brabant.

The English Saints include St. Augustine of Canterbury (died 605, feast day May twenty sixth). He was a missionary bishop establishing his see at Canterbury where he founded a monastery. Of St. Leonard there are two, one whose date is unknown (feast day is November sixth). He was a hermit honoured in France, Germany and England. The other lived around 559 (with the same feast day) venerated in Yorkshire. St. Machar (sixth century, feast day November thirteenth) preached in Aberdeenshire.[49]

ATELIERS

The inclusion of Saints honoured in the Lowlands and the painting techniques used in *MS 109* point to Flanders as a place of origin. This is confirmed by yet another feature. Characteristic of Flemish Books of Hours is a miniature at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms of *David in Penitence*.[50] (cover image, Fig. 3) Significantly, *MS 109* also includes such a picture which depicts David kneeling, with his lyre beside him. Distinctly Flemish, also, is the use of symbolism: objects (flowers for example) have meaning going beyond formal appearance.

The artists who produced *MS 109* were from the Ghent-Bruges school of painting, known as the Ghent-Bruges Associates.[51] An illuminator from this late period of manuscript production, whose name we know among the many anonymous masters, is Simon Bening (1483-1561).[52] He was active in the early decades of the sixteenth century and the last leading artist of the Ghent-Bruges School. The painting techniques of the Master of Mary of Burgundy were equally characteristic of him and his workshop.[53] To him and his *atelier* several manuscripts have been ascribed among them the *Grimany Breviary* (c. 1520, Venice: Biblioteca Marciana)[54] and a fragmented Book of Hours (MS. L. 39-1981, London: Victoria and Albert Museum); its script (rotunda) and miniature—*Office of the Dead*—we have mentioned above.[55] Both of these books vary greatly in size from each other yet both incorporate, *trompe l'œil* and symbolism. It is possible that *MS 109* is the product of this *atelier* made by illuminators who specialized in small manuscripts.

There are observations that support this attribution. The church interior of *MS 109*'s *Presentation* (Fig. 4) miniature is similar to that of the *Office of the Dead* of 'MS. L 39-1981.' Both have detailed Gothic windows, and both include the same stout man (strikingly similar) who in the *Presentation* stands to the right of the Virgin, likely Joseph or possibly Simeon. One could argue that illuminators copied from one another or used model books which existed.[56] However, *MS 109* features a complex pictorial scheme and a stylistic luxury—a product of a learned workshop.

The attribution of *MS 109* to a foremost *atelier* can be suggested by another observation. The elaborate pen flourishes in red and black ink on initials throughout the text are almost identical—albeit in a smaller version—to those in the *Hours of Philip the Good*, Duke of Burgundy, 1454-55 (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, f. 2,).[57] The fact that such embellishments are featured in *MS 109* is indicative of an *atelier* where illuminators/scribes not only knew about the decorations of princely commissions but were experienced well enough to do them themselves. (Fig. 5)

The illluminations in *MS 109* were carried out by different hands. It appears that the borders were painted by one artist, the miniatures by another, and the painted initials likely by a third, something not unusual in Books of Hours (several hands are detected in the *Grimany Breviary*).[58] Interestingly, the miniatures are the only leaves not used on both sides which indicate that they must have been inserted when the text pages (and their design) were complete. Yet, the miniature leaves are in close relation with their facing folios: for their borders include the same select objects. When read symbolically a complex iconographic scheme is revealed.

MINIATURES

The six miniatures of *MS 109* are set in arched frames which extend to the top of the pages. They are surrounded by illuminated borders of which the outer side is wider then the inner. The writing is surrounded by border illustrations on all sides. Yet, in contrast to the miniatures the text is arranged in a rectangular shape and appears to be visually closer to the border. This effect is especially apparent in the *Annunciation* (Fig. 6), *Massacre* (Fig. 7) and *David* miniatures where the gold round of the border expands into the text onto which large initials are painted. As well, these text-pages appear flat throughout. Even the illuminated borders are flat, for the flowers and animals have a three dimensional quality extending towards the beholder. Here, the painted reality of insects, birds and flowers are projected into the space of the reader. This illusion is achieved through the use of shadows, opaque colours and thick applications of paint, and the use of highlights to delineate and decorate. It is the illuminator's device to involve the beholder/reader.

The miniatures, by contrast, are visually separated from the borders by a thin, dark line, conveying the effect of a panel picture. Both the painted realm of the pictures and border illuminations have no relation in terms of proportion. In fact there is a disparity in scale between the borders and miniatures (although this disparity breaks down for a reader/beholder familiar with both the visual symbolism and the text). The miniatures have a concave effect and recede into space, away from the beholder. They are windows which open either into a bedchamber and church—*Annunciation* and *Presentation*—or onto a northern European landscape—*Visitation*, *Massacre* and *David*.

It is interesting how the Flemish illuminator used a northern setting for the biblical narrative. This is seen in the minutely rendered particulars: the Gothic windows of the church interior, and the priest's gold vestments with a fur collar, seen in the *Presentation*. A most tender gesture occurs in the *Visitation* picture when Elizabeth touches the belly of the Virgin as the two women stand near an archway outside a medieval town.[59] (Fig. 8) This tender scene contrasts with the horrific subject of the *Massacre of the Innocents* where a young mother's anguish is so effectively rendered—her howl becomes almost audible[60]—as she bemoans her dead child. As she stands looking at the beholder communicating her grief to us, while tearing her hair, the murderers retreat on a winding road into the distance. In contrast to these emotional 'earthly,' events the *Coronation of the Virgin* takes place in an undefined space—a heavenly sphere—where an angel holds a crown over the kneeling Mother of God. (Fig. 9)

In the last miniature, *David* wears what appears to be a monk's habit. But since his vestment has gold highlights a royal garb is signified. Beside him, on the ground is a fur hat, a delightful inclusion by the illuminator who was concerned to the keep the king warm in a northern climate. This picture also includes an accurately painted 'wattle fence,' typical of the Lowlands. This became the subject of a study for Rubens, a century later (*Landscape with a Wattle Fence*, ink drawing London: British Museum, No. 75).[61] The subject of *David in Penitence* challenged the painter to turn this miniature into a landscape scene—a fascinating one on such small scale—which extends far into the distance with its winding river and bridge beside a row of houses, a forest and a brooding sky.

This cloudy sky befits the penitent mood of the scene.

Interestingly, the *Annunciation* is the only miniature in *MS 109* in which details, mostly the face of the Virgin, are no longer visible. The picture is worn on this particular spot, perhaps from touching or from kissing by a devout user.

EMBLEMATIC READING

An emblematic reading of the borders buttresses the narrative contents of the miniature. In some instances the objets are uniconic, 'stand ins' for a religious *persona.*

The first illuminated page, and the only one, to include red carnations, is folio 13^{r}. (Fig. 10) This page commences the prayer *Domine labia mea* (Lord open my mouth) leading into the *Sequentiae* of the Gospels which comprise the Passion. Carnations in late medieval symbolism were the flowers of the Passion of Christ. In its flower and bud the nail of the crucifixion were seen.[62]

This folio, like all others with illustrated borders, has references to the Virgin. The border includes violets and small, wild strawberries. In *Partheneia Sacra*—a seventeenth century book based on earlier texts describing the select inhabitants of the garden of the Incomparable Virgin Marie Mother of God—the violet is spoken of as being "truly the Hermitesse of flowers ... a lowlie humilitie mixed with solicitude. Behold the violet who grows wel in Our Ladyes Garden, an excellent Type or Symbol of her."[63] Strawberries, like violets, grow humbly in the underbrush. When represented together they bespeak humility and true righteousness. The violet and strawberry are symbols of the fruit of the spirit.[64]

On folios 32^{v} and 33^{r} Matins begins with a miniature of the *Annunciation*. Each folio includes in its borders white roses, violets, and strawberries and peacocks. Since the peacocks are not repeated in any subsequent page their representation is 'place-specific.' The peacock is the bird of paradise, symbolic of the immortality of the soul, the ever vigilant.[65] In its tail all colours blend with which the idea of totality is expressed.[66] Read in association with the miniature in which Christ is announced, the peacock is the emblem of Christ, salvation, hence paradise.

White roses in *MS 109* appear always plain, unlike the red rose, which are decorated with gold. White roses refer to the Virgin's purity and appear, likewise, unadorned in a comparative *Horae* (Soane Hours, Ghent-Bruges School, ms. 4, ff. 97v-98r, London: Sir John Soane's Museum).[67] The *Partheneia Sacra* in poetic form provides a contemporary meaning of both the white and red rose:

> The Virgin spring even from the barren earth,
> A pure white Rose was in her happie birth,
> Conceav'd without a thorne. This onlie flower
> The Father rays'd by His Almighty power.
> When th'Angel said, she should conceave a Sonne,
> She blused, and asked, how it should be donne?
> The Holie Ghost inflam'd, and so the white
> By him was made a Damask firie-bright.
> Lastly her Sonne made her purple red,
> No Faith of Mortals then but had a staine,
> Excepting hers; for she was died in graine.[68]

The bee, included in the large initial, is also a symbol of the Virgin. "The Bee ... feeds no worse then of the deaw, that falls from Heaven.... Just so our Ladie, not taken by the bayts and allurements of this world, for spiritual life, lived of the heavenlie deaw of Divine grace."[69] Further, the Mother of God is likened to the insect for "she was the Bee, the Hive her Sacred Womb."[70] There is yet another parallel. Bees were believed to be parthenogenic and so signified virginity and chastity.[71]

The borders of the Visitation miniature and those on the facing folio 51^{r} feature the pea flower prominently. This lesser known motif recurs in the borders of the *Massacre* and *David* miniatures as well, although in smaller numbers. The pea flower has several meanings including modesty and humility signified by the flower's plainness. The pea flower is emblematic of fertility, as pointed out by J. Plummer in his discussion of the *Hour Book of Catherine of Cleves* (MS. 917, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library).[72] The flower also symbolizes wisdom (the pea is featured at the Hour of Wisdom—Matins—Ms. 782, Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery).[73] In the Middle Ages peas and similar legumes were the 'bread' of the poor, and thus the pea, as

bread, symbolized the Eucharist.[74] The pea flower, then, is a parallel to Christ as life-giving force, and renewal.[75] The pea can also be interpreted as a symbol of the spirituality of a prophet. A medieval commentator on Daniel's refusal to eat meat in favour of legumes sees this as a metaphor of the prophet's spirituality.[76] David, in the biblical narrative has prophetic functions. The pea flower surrounding the miniature of *David in Penitence* may, therefore, symbolize his spirituality.[77]

Red roses with elaborate gold delineations are included in the borders of the *Presentation* and *Massacre* miniatures, with one, also, in the border of the *Coronation*. Here, the gold decorations alone indicate a higher rank. The red rose's symbolic meaning is partly made clear in the verses above. Significantly, each time the rose appears the flower is in full bloom. This parallels the appearance of Christ in the pictures. Just as Christ is being presented to the high priest, so is the red rose to the beholder. This flower is also symbolic of martyrs, the 'massacred innocent children,' who like the gold covered roses, have reached a heavenly position. In an altarpiece by Jan van Eyck (*Ghent Altarpiece*, 1432) red roses grow under the martyrs.[78]

The rose grows in the Virgin's garden, too, of which is said: "the odour she gave-forth of her Sanctitie ... [is] the odour of thy garments."[79] The rose is also the flower of eternity, the queen of flowers emblematic of the Virgin who in the *Coronation* is becoming: *regina coeli* (queen of heaven).[80]

The columbine, selected for the borders of the *Presentation* and *Coronation* is rendered almost scientifically, like a botanical specimen, to ensure recognition. In *MS 109* the columbine is distinguished by one aspect: gold delineations—real gold—which raise the flower to a higher level of meaning. The columbine is emblematic of the Holy Spirit, and its seven blooms are the gifts thereof.[81]

Acanthus leaves surround only one miniature: the *Coronation*. But unlike the red rose or the columbine, acanthus leaves are not decorated with gold. But they claim their presence in boldness and quantity. Acanthus is the plant of the garden of heaven, an emblem of immortality.[82] This plant, then in its supporting role to the miniatures clarifies for the reader/beholder that the *Coronation of the Virgin* takes place in a heavenly sphere.

Birds, as well, are inhabitants in the Virgin's garden, particularly the male nightingale who sings in the night. Judging from the engraving in the *Partheneia Sacra*, the bird positioned in the borders of the *David* miniature, at the height of the fence, is the nightingale.[83] This bird can be linked to David. "The Nightingale is the little Orpheus of the woods, ... that hath for Lyre the litle Clarigal, or Organ of his throat."[84] It "sings his Anthems and prettie Alleluyas," like David. It is .. a "Hermit for the most part ... and contemplative.[85] The Virgin too, is likened to a nightingale:

> For Marie arising went into the mountains, and so became
> the Nightingale... She inhabited not the
> fens or marshes or marishes of dissolute lubricitie,
> abode not in the playnes of an ordinarie vertue, but left
> the vallies of baser cogitations, aspired to the tops
> of Heroical vertues, placed the nest in the sublimitie of
> Divine contemplations and dwelt in the top of the mount of
> Perfection; whence proceeded that sweet voice,
> more sweet then anie mortal harmonie...[86]

EFFECT

The initial visual disparity between border and miniature, and the layers of spatial reality break down entirely. The reader/beholder, at first attracted aesthetically, is now set up for a dialogue that takes place on several levels. Once raised to a symbolic level, the objects of the borders are in dialogue with the text, by which, ultimately, a dialogue with the reader/beholder is established.

It remains to be asked how illuminations affected the contemporary beholder. What were the images' functions? Of course, religious sensibilities were different when compared to our technological age. And the mystique which the Book of Hours held for each

devout user is hard to juxtapose into our own time. Yet it is worth trying to situate the pictures vis à vis a late medieval supplicant.

As recent writers have reminded us, pictures in medieval books performed a range of functions.[87] On the one hand they sharpened the visual interest of the page by interrupting the flow of the written word.[88] And on the other hand they highlighted important places (functioning as bookmarks) and ranked the prayers and Offices. They served to mark the canonical divisions. Illumination helped to clarify the hierarchical ordering of the prayers, especially the Marian prayers.[89] Those with pictures clearly indicated the importance they had to the patron in relation to the other devotional texts without images.[90]

Picture and word were in conversation with one another collaborating in intricate ways,[91] which *MS 109* confirms. But could the image function independently of its textual accompaniments? J. Naughton answered this question in the following way: "The rubric of the prayers always refer to the efficacy of saying the prayer itself" for which an emotional state is suggested.[92] The "rubrics merely state that the prayer should be said ... *buono et puro cordo*"(well and with a pure heart), which indicates a certain devotional state.[93] The pictures were not the cleansing agents to gain a pure heart, although they could function as a stimulus. Thomas of Canterbury recited prayers *cum magna devotione* (with great devotion).[94] It would seem that for the actual recitation of the prayers pictures were not necessarily needed.[95] But they provided devotional exemplars. Miniatures with their figurative content facilitated access to the religious *personae*. As well, pictures were able to draw the supplicant into the painted realm through narrative content, and technique. A tranquil scene stretching into the distance provided a quiet mood needed for devotion.[96] Most of all, the—Marian—pictures triggered a physical presence of a tenderly accessible Mother and Child, inviting the supplicant to shared intimacy.[97]

Would Ruskin have changed his mind?

Notes

1. Thanks are due to Professor Rosemarie Bergmann who pointed me to McGill's manuscript collection and ultimately to *MS 109*; Dr. Richard Virr who freely gave of his time, answering questions and who allowed me to use his research file; and to Maurene White Elliot and Akram Faizer whose suggestions I included.
2. Seymour De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript in the United States and Canada* (reissued New York: Klaus Reprint, 1961), 2213.
3. 'Lectures on Art V,' cited: John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson), 1977, 19, henceforth referred to as Harthan, *Owners*.
4. He belonged to the monastery of St Aignan of Orleans: P. D'Ancona & E. Aeschlimann, *The Art of Illumination. An Anthology of Manuscripts from the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Phaidon, 1069), 1969, 11.
5. *Ibid.*, 11.
6. John Harthan, *An Introduction to Illuminated Manuscript* (Owings Mills, Maryland), 1983, 7; henceforth referred to as Harthan, *Introduction*.
7. *Ibid.*, 7.
8. Otto Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London: Faber and Faber Limited), 1948, 24.
9. T. Kren, ed. *Renaissance Paintings in Manuscripts. Treasures from the British Library* (New York: Hudson Hill Press), 1963, 3.
10. Pächt, 24.
11. M. Voelkle, ed., *Masterpieces of Medieval Painting. The Art of Illumination* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 1980, see microfiche included in this book.
12. Thomas Kren in an unpublished MA thesis attributed ten Books of Hours to a workshop specializing in the production of very small manuscripts. "A Book of Hours in the Beinecke Library (ms. 287) and an Atelier from the Ghent-Bruges School," Yale University, 1974. Roger S. Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts 1350-1525 in the Houghton Library* (Cambridge Mass.,: Harvard College Library), 1983, 58. There must have been several *ateliers* producing small books. *De Ricci 109* does not stem from this workshop because its miniatures employ 'windows' with a greater spatial illusionism.
13. Among them is the late L.M.J. Delaissé one of the first scholars together with the Abbé Leroquais to research Books of Hours. Harthan, *Owners*, 19, 175.
14. *Ibid.*, 31.
15. From an English Archive, *Ibid.*, 34.
16. Peter Ganz, ed., *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, Proceedings of the 1982 Oxford International Symposium, *Series Bibliologia Elementa AD Librorum Studia Pertinentia*, vol. III (Brepols: Turnhout), 1986, 196.
17. Sigrid Macrae, "Rubens' Library," *MA Thesis*, New York: Columbia University, 1971 (books are listed in alphabetical order).

18. For collectors and art dealers see A.M.L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1972, fig. 1. An 'Heures de la Vierge, Flamande,' ca. 1480, strikingly similar to *MS 109*, is listed in a sales catalogue in, 1986, for 250.000 Franc, circa CND $47,500, *Manuscrit Livres anciens et contemporains Autograph*, de Paul Schrag de New York et de Deux Autres Collectionneurs vente aux enchères publiques a Paris, 1986; information taken from R. Virr, Research File.
19. Harthan, *Owners*, 36-37.
20. *Ibid.*, 39.
21. *Ibid.*, 37.
22. Pächt, figs. 12-13.
23. J. Ruskin, Collector," *The Library*, xxi, 1966, 125 ff: Harthan, *Owners*, 36, 177.
24. Tempera is egg yolk mixed with pigments.
25. M.R. James, "Points to be observed in the Description and collation of manuscripts, particularly Books of Hours," *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: 1895), xix-xli, xxiv; R. Virr provided me with this article. Harthan, Owners, 15.
26. Harthan, *Introduction*, 7.
27. *Ibid.*, fig. 36.
28. *Ibid.*, 6.
29. Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro del Arte*, trans. D.V. Thompson (New York: Dover Publications), 1960, 35.
30. Harthan, *Owners*, 20.
31. *Ibid.*, 20.
32. R. Virr, Research File.
33. He was bishop of Alexandria from 328-373. *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York), 1967, 996.
34. Harthan, *Introduction*, 12.
35. M.R. James xxv. For other medieval texts see: Pamela Gehrke, *Saints and Scribes. Medieval Hagiography in its Manuscript Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1993, 12 ff.
36. Harthan, *Introduction*, 12 and *Owners*, 13 ff.
37. M.R. James, xxv.
38. "Chapter IV: "Die lehrhafte Weiterbildung des Marienglaubens im Mittelalter,' *Marienbild* (Exhibition catalogue, Essen: Villa Hügel), 1968, 25 ff.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Harthan, *Owner*, 14.
41. *Ibid.*, 15-16.
42. *Ibid.*, 14, 18.
43. M.R. James, xxvi.
44. Harthan, *Owners*, 18.
45. Harthan, *Introduction*, fig. 20, p. 36.
46. Harthan, *Owners*, 17.
47. *Ibid.*, 19.
48. The variations by which a Use can be determined are given by M.R. James, xxvi ff.
49. The information of the Saints given here was taken in part from an unpublished paper: J.M. Samson, "Book of Hours in the Redpath Library, de Ricci 109," McGill University, 1969, 2-3; and R. Virr, Research File. Part of the information stems also from: D.H. Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1978) and *Reclams Lexikon der Heiligen und der biblischen Gestalten. Legende und Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun.) 1984.
50. Kren, *Renaissance*, 6.
51. Wieck, 50. The founder of this school was, of course, the Master of Mary of Burgundy, Pächt, 24.
52. Harthan, *Introduction*, 36.
53. *Ibid.*, 34.
54. D'Ancona & Aeschlimann, 228, fig. 123.
55. Harthan, *Introduction*, 36.
56. An incomplete manual is the '*Göttingen Model Book*' of the fifteenth century which has written instructions and painted specimen, Harthan, *Owners*, 23.
57. Harthan, *Owners*, 104, fig. 102-3.
58. D'Ancona & Aeschlimann, 228.
59. A similar *Visitation* miniature is included in: MS Richardson, f.9, *Book of Hours* (Houghton Library, Harvard University), Wieck, p. 56.
60. James, unpublished paper, R. Virr, Research File.
61. W. Adler, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Landscapes* (Oxford: University Press), 1982, fig. 161.
62. "In Blatt und Frucht der Nelke erkannte man die Nägel der Kreuzigung Christi." G. Heinz-Mohr, *Bilder und Zeichen der Christlichen Kunst* (Cologne), 1971, 221.
63. John Cousturier, *Partheneia Sacra or The Mysterious Garden ... Al to the Honovr of the Incomparable Virgin Marie Mother of God for the Pleasure and Devotion*, 1633 (reissued by Aldington Kent), 1950, 38, 42.
64. Heinz-Mohr, 9; Steven Olderr, *Symbolism* (London: McFarland), 1986, 131; J.C. Cooper, *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of traditional Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson), 1978, 162.
65. Ad De Vries, *Dictionary of Symbols* (Amsterdam), 1974, 360.
66. J.E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1984, 233.
67. Harthan, *Owners*, 153.
68. Cousturier, 25.
69. *Ibid.*, 74, 78.
70. *Ibid.*, 78.
71. Cooper, 19.
72. J. Plummer, *Liturgical Manuscripts for the Mass of the Dead and the Divine Office* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library), 1964, 45 ff.
73. Lillian Randall, "Pea-Pods and Molluscs from the Master of Catherine of Cleves Workshop," *Apollo*, (November), 1974, 372.
74. Rosemarie Bergmann, "Sicut lillium inter spinas: Pflanzen als Symbolträger," *Mittelalter Rezeption Symposium* (Stuttgart: date?), 455 ff.
75. *Ibid.*, 456-457.

76. *Ibid.*, 457.
77. Interestingly, some folio's of the *Roman de la Rose* include pea flowers in their border decorations.
78. Bergmann, 455.
79. Cousturier, 24.
80. De Vries, 391.
81. Olderr, 91.
82. De Vries, 3.
83. The other birds included in this border need to be dealt with in a subsequent study.
84. Cousturier, 139.
85. *Ibid.*, 140.
86. *Ibid.*, 145.
87. Vera F. Vines, "Reading Medieval Images," in *Medieval Texts and Images. Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Manion and B. Muir (Sydney: Craftsman House), 1991, 127.
88. *Ibid.*, 127.
89. Joan Naughton, "A Minimally Intrusive Presence: Portraits in Illustrations for Prayers to the Virgin," *Ibid.*, 117.
90. *Ibid.*, 112.
91. Vines, 127.
92. *Ibid.*, 113.
93. *Ibid.*, 113.
94. Naughton, 112.
95. *Ibid.*, 112.
96. Naughton, 117. Vines, 128.
97. Naughton, 111.

Humphrey and the Old Revolution: Human Rights in the Age of Mistrust[1]

by A.J. Hobbins

John P. Humphrey wrote the first draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and was one of the key United Nations Secretariat figures in the post-war human rights programme. Humphrey was a socialist and the Universal Declaration contained social and economic rights from its very beginnings. The inclusion of these rights made the Universal Declaration an object of attack from the American right as an instrument to introduce state socialism. Humphrey by and large escaped any public attack as an individual, but a few of his friends and a number of his acquaintances were alleged to be Soviet agents. This article investigates Humphrey's associations from the 1930s to the 1950s, based in part on his diaries and other unpublished materials, in order to analyze how those associations might have affected the U.N. Human Rights programme.

John P. Humphrey a rédigé la première version de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et a joué un rôle capital dans le programme des droits de l'homme du Secrétariat des Nations Unies. Humphrey était socialiste et à ce titre, il a veillé à ce que la Déclaration universelle tienne toujours compte des droits économiques et sociaux. L'inclusion de ces droits a conduit la droite américaine à ne voir dans la Déclaration universelle qu'un instrument du socialisme d'État. Humphrey a personnellement échappé à la vindicte publique mais quelques-uns de ses amis et plusieurs de ses connaissances ont été accusés d'être des agents soviétiques. S'appuyant sur ses journaux intimes et d'autres documents non publiés, cet article s'intéresse aux sympathies de Humphrey entre les années 1930 et 1950 pour détérminer comment elles ont modulé le programme des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies.

When the United Nations decided there would be an international bill of human rights, two immediate problems faced those charged with responsibility for its production. First, international law up to this juncture had essentially been the law of nations, recognizing states but having no precedents or provisions concerning individuals. Therefore any declaration or covenant recognizing individuals meant a radical departure from the past, such departures being inherently controversial. Second, the United Nations and, indeed, the world was dominated by two antithetical ideologies. The capitalist West—in particular powerful, conservative elements within the U.S.A.—believed most firmly in the sanctity of civil and political rights, while rejecting social, economic and cultural rights as an insidious form of socialism, or worse. Conversely the Soviet bloc stressed, at least publicly, the importance of social and economic rights but were strenuously opposed to those civil and political rights which might favour the individual over the collective.

In January 1947, the executive of the Human Rights Commission—Eleanor Roosevelt (Chairman), P.C. Chang (Vice-Chairman) and Charles Malik (Rapporteur)—asked John Humphrey (Director of the U.N. Division of Human Rights) to prepare a first draft for an international bill. He realized the extreme difficulty of satisfying all factions. He determined that such a bill must include provisions for both civil and political, as well as social and economic rights. This duality was retained from the first Humphrey draft to the final text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The basic strategy through hundreds of meetings involving thousands of individuals was to generate a text that was both meaningful and acceptable to nations of differing philosophies. When the Universal Declaration was ultimately presented to the General Assembly on December 10, 1948, no member state voted against its adoption, although there were a number of abstentions. South Africa, on the threshold of implementing the policy of Apartheid, was not interested in giving certain rights to its Black subjects. Saudi Arabia could not accept the concept of the right to change religion, apostasy from Islam being

proscribed in the Koran.[1] The six nations of the Soviet bloc also abstained. Canada had abstained two days earlier during the vote in the Third Committee but, possibly not liking the company it was in, voted positively in the General Assembly.

Humphrey's duties included the need to explain the Secretariat's role in human rights issues to the public in a low profile and apolitical fashion. It was important that he should appear relatively neutral in terms of ideology since obvious partisanship would reflect negatively on the programmes of his division, including the Universal Declaration. In July 1947, he addressed the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Ann Arbor. In his speech to this gathering of scholars he described the U.N.'s effort to create a body of international law that pertained to the individual as "revolutionary in character". When the speech was published in 1948[2] this innocuous phrase was seized upon by the North American right as a reason to attack the Declaration. In his diary for September 21, 1948, Humphrey noted:

> My attention has been drawn to a speech by the President of the American Bar Association, Frank E. Holman, as reported in the N.Y. Times of Sept. 18. He says that the U.N. human rights programme is an attempt to establish State socialism "if not communism". Dolivet[3] tells me that in another N.Y. paper he is reported as having mentioned me personally as having admitted the "revolutionary" character of the programme. Of course it will be revolutionary if we succeed; but there is nothing particularly revolutionary in what we have done up until now.[4]

Frank E. Holman (1886-1967) was an influential Seattle lawyer who, in addition to being President of the American Bar Association, had been on the American Bar Committee for Peace and Law through the United Nations (1946-1947). He was joined in his attacks by John T. Hackett (1884-1956), a Montreal lawyer and politician, who was President of the Canadian Bar Association from 1947-1948. Hackett was a Progressive Conservative M.P. (1945-1949) and Parliamentary Advisor to the Canadian Delegation to the General Assembly. Indeed Holman and Hackett met on several occasions in 1948 to discuss joint opposition to the Declaration,[5] and there is some evidence that Hackett may have been responsible in part for the Canadian abstention in the Third Committee. Humphrey noted in his diary:

> Miss Carlisle[6] is an information officer in the Canadian Department of External Affairs and was with the Canadian Delegation at Paris. She tells me it was John T. Hackett, president of the Canadian Bar Association, who led the campaign against the Declaration in Canada. I would like to know whether and to what extent the Canadian Bar Association was influenced by the American Bar Association which has, of course, fought the project for months.[7]

And a few days later:

> Jack Angevin has sent me an editorial entitled "Human Rights on Pink Paper" which appeared in the Montreal Gazette of January 17th. It quotes my now famous statement at Ann Arbor that what the United nations is trying to do in the field of human rights is revolutionary in character. It also quotes Mr. Holman, the President of the American Bar Association, who it seems had a lot to do with the Canadian abstention on the vote in the committee stage in Paris. I read in this connection a statement written by Mr. Holman in a recent issue of the organ published by the American Bar Association where he refers to a trip to Montreal last August to attend a meeting of the Canadian Bar Association and his talks with Mr. John T. Hackett.[8]

The *Montreal Gazette* editorial termed the Declaration "Human Rights on Pink Paper" because it failed to enshrine the right to own private property. What the editorial overlooked was that a declaration attempting to be universal could scarcely enshrine such a right when the Soviet states, and a number of other societies, had no concept of private property. Thus the Declaration had powerful foes whose enmity continued long after its adoption. Joseph McCarthy considered the U.N. as little more than a nest of spies and Soviet

propagandists, and even as late as 1962 Barry Goldwater was quoting Humphrey's "admission" that the human rights programme was revolutionary to prove a point about the socialist nature of the Declaration.[9]

It was evident that there existed a great fear of the left in the U.S. and Canada at this time. The least fact, such as the use of the word "revolutionary" to describe a new approach, was used out of all proportion to its significance. Certainly in hindsight Humphrey regretted using the word in his address. This was, however, a relatively minor issue and most reasonable people would understand the term in the context it was made. It would be far more problematic if Humphrey could have been personally attacked for strong socialist sympathies, for membership in left-wing organizations, or for the beliefs of those people with whom he associated. Guilt by association was a favourite tactic of the American right when launching its attacks on individuals during this period. In this regard Humphrey was extremely fortunate that certain aspects of his past and his acquaintances never came to light.

THE CANADIAN LEFT

As a young man Humphrey was a socialist. He was a member of the League for Social Reconstruction[10] with other left-wing intellectuals such as Frank Scott,[11] David Lewis,[12] Frank Underhill,[13] Eugene Forsey[14] and King Gordon.[15] While the League was initially a general socialist discussion group, it began to focus on Canadian rather than international issues. This direction was not to Humphrey's taste. As he noted in his diary:

> My experience, even in Canada, has been that socialists are so preoccupied with domestic questions that they had no energy and time left for what is happening in the international community. This is true even of as enlightened and intelligent [a] person as Frank Scott.[16]

When Scott and Underhill determined the time was right for concrete political action, the League evolved into the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's first socialist political party. Candidates were fielded in the 1935 federal election, including Gordon who was defeated in Victoria, B.C. Humphrey was no longer active when the transition to the C.C.F. took place. However, he remained sympathetic to the League's ideals and friendly with the members, and he continued to advocate the need for social security. His association with Canadian socialism was not generally known because he had dropped out before the CCF raised the socialist profile. By the time he went to the U.N., his political views had evolved, although he remained basically a socialist. On September 8, 1948, he confided to his diary:

> Surely a world that can achieve the atomic bomb but fail in the creation of the United Nations is morally bankrupt. And this moral bankruptcy is the reason for our failure to organize peace. I once thought that socialism could fill this moral gap; but now, although I still remain a socialist, I know better. For Socialism is a technique and nothing more. What we need is something like the Christian morality without the tommyrot.[17]

Even in Canada Humphrey's connection to the socialist movement appears to have remained obscure. In 1950, the Canadian Senate began hearings into the possibility of drafting a Canadian Bill of Rights. Humphrey was invited by Senator Roebuck[18] to testify. He wrote back to say that he would be in South America at the relevant time but would send one of his staff, King Gordon, instead. Irving Himel, the Secretary of the Toronto Civil Liberties Association, begged him to reconsider.

> Mr. Himel wrote to me objecting to my designation of King Gordon as the man to represent me at the Canadian Senate Committee meeting. Says that King Gordon is too closely connected with the C.C.F. that F.R. Scott will appear, etc. I rejected the objection and King will go.[19]

Ironically, although Humphrey had been Gordon's fellow traveller, he was politically acceptable to the centre when Gordon was not.

It is quite usual, even expected, for young people to have left-wing leanings. Even had his socialist sympathies been well known, Humphrey, like so many

others, could probably have lived down his leftist past, cloaking it in the shadow of middle-aged respectability. However, he would have had considerably greater difficulty living down the suspicion that some of his acquaintanceships would have engendered.

THE CANADIAN SPY RING

Before joining the Faculty of Law, Humphrey practised law at Wainwright, Elder and McDougall (1930-1936). He and his wife, Jeanne, lived in an apartment building on Cote des Neiges and became friendly with another young couple, Eric and Josepha Adams.[20] Eric Adams (1907-) had graduated from McGill in 1929 with a degree in Engineering, and then took an M.B.A. (1931) at Harvard. He returned to Montreal to work for the advertising agency, Cockfield-Brown, for four years. Although he had met Humphrey as an undergraduate, they became friends only after Adams' return to Montreal. During visits to one another's apartments, they used to argue about politics, Adams being far to the left of Humphrey's socialism. Humphrey's theory regarding Adams' political orientation was that as an engineer Adams expected mathematically precise answers to problems, and so, when he switched his field to economics, he naturally gravitated towards Marxism—the one philosophy that claimed to offer precise answers. The discussions between Humphrey and Adams were usually quite heated, so much so that Jeanne Humphrey became disturbed by them and suggested the couples see less of one another. The visits became less frequent and then ceased altogether shortly before the Adams moved away. Adams visited Russia (1934) and then moved to the U.S. until 1939. During the war he returned to Ottawa and worked for the Wartime Requirements Board (1940), the Foreign Exchange Control Board and Bank of Canada (1941-1944), and, moving to Montreal, for the Industrial Development Bank (1945).

Soviet cypher clerk Igor Gouzenko's dramatic defection from the Soviet embassy in Ottawa was to change Adams' life. On September 5, 1945, Gouzenko took a number of papers relating to the existence of a Soviet spy ring in Canada from the embassy safe. He went to the *Ottawa Journal* where he was told to come back in the morning or go to the R.C.M.P. The city editor was too busy to see him, thereby missing the scoop of a lifetime. He then tried the Minister of Justice, Louis St. Laurent, but was also told to come back the following day. The next day he again visited the Minister of Justice and was once more rebuffed, although he told the secretary to whom he spoke that he was left with no alternative but suicide. Returning home with his wife, he noticed that two men were watching the apartment and assumed they were Soviet agents. In fact these were Canadian agents sent by Prime Minister Mackenzie King. King had been informed about Gouzenko that morning by Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and wrote in his diary:

> We learned later that the Russian man had left saying he was going to his own flat; that there was nothing but suicide ahead of him. Again, Robertson thought of getting the police to seize the papers, I suggested that a Secret Service man in plain clothes watch the premises. If suicide took place let the city police take charge and this man to follow in and secure what there was in the way of documents, but on no account for us to take the initiative.[21]

King was anxious to avoid any diplomatic confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Gouzenko hid in a neighbour's apartment, while he tried to decide his next step. At this point four members of the Soviet staff broke into Gouzenko's apartment. The Ottawa city police were called by the neighbour and when they tried to make an arrest, all four Soviets claimed diplomatic immunity. When the police heard the story, they contacted the R.C.M.P. who, on instructions from Robertson, placed Gouzenko and the papers under their protection. Gouzenko's defection was safely completed despite the callousness and indifference he had encountered.

The Gouzenko papers showed the existence of an extensive spy ring in Canada. Justices Taschereau and Kellock of the Supreme Court were appointed to a Royal Commission to inquire into the matter. In his subsequent testimony before the Royal Commission on February 13, 1946, Gouzenko identified the Soviet agent with the codename "Ernst" as "Eric Adams". Unlike some of his other identifications, he was unable

to provide more information than the name. The identification was based on having seen a file compiled by Lieutenant-Technical Gouseev, but the file was not amongst the papers Gouzenko took. The following day one of the Counsel for the Commission, Gérald Fauteux, ordered Adams' arrest. Adams was in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, when the officers came to his house in Montreal. After they had left, Josepha Adams sent him a telegram that read "Helen's baby dying. Will send you further word. Sally".[22] When Adams was arrested in Saskatchewan, she contacted Humphrey for the name of a lawyer and he provided a referral to a local criminal practitioner.

Adams was held in detention by the Commission under the War Measures Act for over a month without the benefit of habeas corpus or legal advice. Another witness, Kathleen Willsher, assistant registrar in the British High Commission who was subsequently found guilty of espionage, identified Adams as the leader of a communist cell, or study group, in Ottawa to whom she had passed information. Adams first appeared before the Commission on March 15th, 1946, and showed himself to be a shrewd individual, to the evident exasperation of the Commissioners and their Counsels. He refused to take the oath until it had been modified to his satisfaction and then refused to testify without access to counsel. The Commissioners explained that he was merely a witness and that they would decide when it was appropriate for him to be represented by a lawyer. Adams remained adamant. When he finally received counsel he proved a difficult and evasive witness, with poor powers of recall. Had the issue been less serious, some of the exchanges between Adams and the Commission's Counsels (who usually came off second best) could be viewed as quite amusing. Adams refused to convict himself by his own testimony, and the Commissioners became frustrated with his evasiveness. In their report they used harsh words for Adams and concluded: "We are satisfied on the evidence that Adams was an important unit in Zabotin's organization".[23]

On the Commission's recommendation, Adams was subsequently tried in Federal Court on a charge of conspiracy to communicate information. The court was less impressed than the Commission with the evidence, which consisted essentially of some cryptic papers stolen from an embassy, a vague identification, and the fact that he owned some books about Communism. Nor apparently was the prosecution able to use all the witnesses that the Commission had heard in camera. While there was plenty of evidence about Adams' Marxist leanings, this in itself was not a crime. Adams categorically denied that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party or that he had passed along secret information. He was acquitted on October 23rd, 1946.

Indeed, most of those who refused to co-operate fully with the Royal Commission secured acquittals, while those who co-operated, like McGill Chemistry Professor Raymond Boyer, were generally convicted. In the final analysis nothing in the treatment of the suspects from the suspension of their civil liberties through their cavalier handling before the Commission to the use of their testimony against themselves in criminal court would encourage anyone to co-operate with such a process. Even Mackenzie King was distressed at the process, writing in his diary:

> It is an immense relief to have the Order in Council [allowing the Commission to detain suspects sine die] cancelled. I feel the Commissioners have thought more of themselves and doing a fine bit and of the report they are making than of the position in which they have placed the Government and our party. It will always be held against us and the Liberal party that we sanctioned anything that meant so much in the way of deprivation of liberty for a number of people. Moreover, as I saw at the start, it has raised an issue in the minds of the people even more important than that of the espionage and will probably result in several of the persons being freed altogether when they come before the Court, or given trifling sentences. It will be an interesting study in the power of public opinion and the preservation of freedom.[24]

After his acquittal Adams expressed the hope he could return to his job at the bank, but this was not to be. Shortly thereafter he left with his wife for an extended tour of Eastern Europe.

The usual conclusion of the general public to proceedings such as these is that the defendant is guilty

but managed to get off in court through some technicality or superior legal advice. Eric Adams has never publicly discussed the matter over the last fifty years.[25] However, not everyone was certain of Adams' guilt. Humphrey, who knew many of the participants such as Fauteux and Robertson quite well, clearly had his doubts. When Eric and Josepha Adams returned to Canada in August, 1949, from their European visit, Humphrey was also a passenger on the R.M.S. *Aquitania*. He confided to his diary:

> Last night I had a long talk with Eric and Jo Adams. The conversation gradually drifted to world politics. Perhaps I shouldn't have been surprised to discover that notwithstanding the experiences that Eric has gone through his ideas are apparently unchanged. There was the same incompatibility between us as there was, it must be over fifteen years ago, when in spite of this incompatibility we were close friends. Last night however there was a bitterness in his remarks which he nevertheless seemed at pains to hide. He has a good mind but it is rigid and, I suspect, totally without warmth. That he is still a marxist I have no doubt whatsoever. Was he really a Soviet spy? I doubt it; but [he] would probably be capable of it if intellectual consistency pushed him far enough. Of such stuff are fanatics made.[26]

TROUBLES IN THE SECRETARIAT

After the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, right wing opposition to the United Nations did not slowly diminish. Indeed, the higher profile that the Declaration gave the U.N. served to accentuate the hysteria. While the Truman State department was the principal target of Republican attacks, the U.N. served as the main example of State Department failings. The State Department was, in theory, responsible for security clearances of American nationals employed by the U.N., as well as providing accreditation for American representatives on various U.N. bodies. In fact, the only clearances given were for Assistant Secretary-General for Administrative and Financial Services, Byron Price, and U.N. General Counsel, Abraham Feller. Secretary of State James Byrnes did not want to give the appearance of unduly influencing Trygve Lie in his choice of employees.[27] In the late 1940s and early 1950s scores of these individuals were denounced in Congress and subject to investigations by Congressional committee and Grand Jury hearings for actual or potential disloyalty. The cases of a handful of these individuals are examined below. They share the common bond of being mentioned by Humphrey in his diaries or autobiography. A few he knew well, others he worked closely with, while the large majority were casual acquaintances with whom he came in contact during the exercise of his duties.

The disloyalty investigations went through three principal phases. The Tydings Commission, a Senate body controlled by the Democrats, was appointed to give a formal hearing to Joseph McCarthy's early allegations in 1950. A Federal Grand Jury was impanelled to investigate Communist activities in the New York area in 1952, focusing a great deal of attention on U.N. employees. Finally there were the ongoing investigations of various Congressional committees into un-American activities.

Many international servants, including Phyllis Chait, Humphrey's administrative assistant in the Division of Human Rights, were called to testify in these processes, and some pleaded the Fifth Amendment. For Humphrey, whose bitter opposition to McCarthyism and all it stood for is recorded elsewhere,[28] this was the low point of his life in the Secretariat. Trygve Lie ultimately suspended, or dismissed in the case of temporary employees, any U.S. nationals who either refused to testify or testified unsatisfactorily before the Grand Jury hearings. He rationalized this on the grounds that pleading the Fifth Amendment was a breach of the staff regulations.[29] Chait did testify before the Grand Jury and was able to retain her job.

Another employee of the Division on Human Rights, Ben Carruthers, lost his job apparently on moral, rather than ideological, grounds. Although there was no suspicion of left-wing leanings in his case, it was apparently felt that his lifestyle left him open to blackmail by those who had such leanings.[30] The U.N. legal counsel, Abe Feller, deeply disturbed over the suspension of his colleagues' civil rights, committed

suicide in November, 1952. Humphrey noted in his diary:

> Abe Feller committed suicide today. While nothing certain is yet known the tragedy apparently had its roots in a combination of over-work and implication in the current anti-red enquiries. His death is a tremendous loss to the Secretariat. I have always thought that he had one of the best minds in the High Command to which he most certainly belonged. And on the whole I had great respect for him although I was not always in agreement with him.[31]

An Appeals Board was put in place to hear the cases of officers who had been dismissed. Humphrey had some hope of saving Carruthers' job and appeared before the board. This hope was vain as his diary for February 4, 1953, noted:

> The Bureau of Personnel will apparently stoop to any depth in order to win its cases against dismissed officers who have gone before Appeals Board. Thus, after hearing my evidence in the Carruthers case, Krac[z]kiewicz[32] (apparently acting under instructions) reopened the case to say that when the S.G. decided to terminate Carruthers he had in mind budgetary factors and also his opinion that the work on which C. was engaged should be done in the D.P.I. This, of course, is an ex post facto rationalization and, what is worse, a damned lie: for K. was in my office only the other day discussing candidates for the Carruthers post.[33]

THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

American delegates to the U.N. were also subject to scrutiny as McCarthy attempted to disgrace the Truman State Department. His first target was Dorothy Kenyon (1888-1972), the American representative on the Commission on the Status of Women from 1947-1949. In the early days, Humphrey's relations with this body were not altogether smooth but he noted that he did make a friend of Kenyon.[34] She was a lawyer and former judge, as well as a civil libertarian who espoused a number of causes. When the U.S. Senate established the Tydings Committee to hear McCarthy's charges against State Department employees in March, 1950, the first person he accused was Kenyon whom he said was "affiliated with at least twenty-eight Communist-front organizations". He further stated that: "The Communist activities of Miss Kenyon were not only deep-rooted but extend back through the years" and

> It is inconceivable that this woman could collaborate with a score of organizations dedicated to the overthrow of our form of government by force and violence, participate in their activities, lend her name to their nefarious purposes, and be ignorant of the whole sordid and un-American aspect of their work.[35]

Kenyon answered the charges quickly and emphatically. She called McCarthy an "unmitigated liar", challenged him to repeat his charges in a forum where congressional immunity did not apply, and demanded and received a hearing before the Tydings Committee. She expressed the hope that she could meet McCarthy face to face at the hearing, but McCarthy, perhaps wisely, found it "simply impossible for him to attend" that session.[36] Kenyon's appearance resulted in her complete vindication and highlighted the totally insubstantial nature of many of McCarthy's allegations. Even McCarthy's ally on the Committee, Republican Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, agreed there was not the least evidence that Kenyon had ever been in any way subversive or disloyal.[37] She was not even an employee of the State Department (although it had approved her appointment to the Commission), and so was never subject to the loyalty review process of which McCarthy was so critical. The final report of the Tydings Committee was extremely critical of McCarthy, almost to the point of using unacceptable language, and exonerated all of those about whom allegations were made.

McCarthy proved to be resilient. The Tydings Committee findings were dismissed in many quarters as a partisan attack on the junior Senator from Wisconsin. William F. Buckley's eloquent defense of McCarthy[38] suggested that, while his methods were sometimes

crude and his facts not always accurate, he had brought to the public attention genuine problems in the State Department security clearance system. With the change to a Republican administration in 1952, McCarthy was once more in the ascendant. One of Humphrey's State Department acquaintances, Esther Brunauer (1901-1959),[39] whose responsibility was UNESCO liaison, had been named by McCarthy in the Tydings Committee hearings. She was alleged to belong to a number of Communist front organizations and there was a suggestion of guilt by association in that her husband, Stephen Brunauer, a Navy department scientist, had been a member of a Communist organization—the Young Workers' League—prior to 1927. McCarthy made the further preposterous claim that as an executive of the American Association of University Women, she steered that group towards pro-Communist consumer activities. Although she was cleared by the Tydings Committee, she was forced to undergo a series of loyalty and security checks over the next two years.

She could never refute the principal allegation of maintaining "close and habitual association " with her husband.[40] In 1952, she was suspended, then fired, from the State Department as a security risk.[41] Her husband had earlier lost his job, resigning while under suspension prior to what seemed an inevitable dismissal. The same thing happened to a number of others who had been named before the Tydings Committee. Buckley uses these subsequent dismissals as proof of the accuracy of McCarthy's original allegations. Others would argue that the security clearance procedure became increasingly more rigorous to the point of extreme unfairness because of the climate of hysteria McCarthy had created.

GUSTAVO DURÁN

Humphrey enjoyed friendly relations and socialized with a number of his U.N. colleagues, including Gustavo Durán[42] and his wife. He seems to have been unaware of Durán's colourful past, not even mentioning him in his autobiography of the U.N. years while the diary records only social meetings. Durán (1906-1969) was a musician and composer in Madrid when the Spanish Civil War broke out, a man of culture and something of a playboy. A reserve officer, he joined the army and was rapidly promoted, eventually becoming a Divisional Commander. He knew Hemingway, was mentioned by name in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*,[43] and was a hero to the those who supported the loyalist cause.

After Valencia collapsed and the war was lost, Durán sought asylum at the U.S. consulate but was refused. He was subsequently granted asylum by the British consul and escaped to England on HMS *Galatea*. He was invited by the military historian, B.H. Liddel Hart, to Dartington Hall, home of American Dorothy Straight Elmhirst, the owner of the *New Republic* and widow of American diplomat and businessman, Willard Straight. Her son, Michael Straight, observed about Durán that: "His taste was impeccable, his knowledge formidable, his talent overwhelming".[44] Straight had married Belinda Crompton and her sister, Bonte, was visiting the Hall. Within three months Durán married Bonte Crompton.[45] He moved to the U.S. in 1940, becoming a naturalized citizen in two years instead of the usual seven. He held a number of jobs in New York and Washington, as well as attempting to help Hemingway, whom he had known in Paris in the 1920s as well as during the Spanish Civil War, on the draft of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.[46]

In 1943 Durán moved to Havana where he helped run the Crook Factory, Hemingway's private anti-fascist counter-intelligence organization. The Crook Factory basically spied on Cuban Falangists and searched for U-boats during fishing trips on Hemingway's boat. He did not work well with Hemingway and soon began spending most of his time directing the intelligence activities of Spruille Braden, the American ambassador to Cuba. He moved back to the U.S. in 1945, working in the State Department as an expert on Latin America. In 1946 he joined the U.N. as a Social Affairs Officer in the Refugee Division. It was at approximately this time that rumours began circulating that he was a communist agent. Juan Perón, President of Argentina, mentioned this in a book and Durán was attacked in *Arriba*, a Madrid newspaper of the Falangist Party.[47] The Spanish Intelligence Service provided the essence of the *Arriba* article to the U.S. Military Attaché in Madrid, Colonel Wendall Johnson. Johnson's report was forwarded to Washington "for general use by any U.S. Intelligence Agency".[48] In 1947, Representative Alvin O'Konski started a vehement attack on Durán in Congress:

> I want to talk to you about how a notorious international Communist duped our State Department. It is the life story of Gustavo Duran... We had as an Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State ... one of the most notorious international Communists the world ever knew...
>
> I wish I had time to tell you the full import of the story in detail—his record step by step; his Communist connections; his connections with the International Communist Organization with its headquarters in Havana...; how he worked with the notorious CIO Communists in this country; how they started out on a campaign of smear against one of our southern neighbours, Argentina, and how that campaign of smear worked out...[49]

McCarthy himself renewed the attack during the Tydings Committee hearings in 1950.

Durán was well able to defend himself. He did not appear before the Tydings Committee, suggesting that to do so would be inconsistent with his role as an international servant under article 100 of the U.N. Charter. He did, however, provide a written response, demonstrating that the allegations were based on old Fascist propaganda and the ill-will of Juan Perón. He provided documentation to show that the State Department had investigated all these allegations in 1945. At that time he had testified before the loyalty board of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, explaining his Civil War relationship with the Communists as follows:

> I must add in this connection, even at the risk of being misunderstood, that during the first years of the Spanish Civil War all I saw of Communist behaviour was the performance on the front line of those individual Communists who were among the military units that I commanded, and that from the point of view of courage and discipline their performance was in accordance with recognized military standards. As a result (a natural result in times of war), my attitude towards them, like the attitude of practically all the Republican military leaders at the time, was friendly. It became increasingly hostile as I gradually learned of the ruthless methods and duplicity of the Communists, of their attempt at complete control of any situation in which they happened to participate, of the fact that their primary allegiance went not to the Government they professed to serve but to their party, and finally that the instructions that that party received were not founded in any idealism but in very specific interests which were far from identical with those of the Spanish people.[50]

The Tydings Committee concluded that McCarthy had perpetrated "a fraud and a hoax" and "perhaps the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruths in the history of this Republic". Durán was exonerated with all the others McCarthy had named. As with the others, the persecution continued after the change in administration. He was obliged to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953. Unlike those who were still employed by the State Department, he did not lose his job.

Despite the foregoing, during his time in Spain at least, Durán was certainly a Communist.[51] When Indalecio Prieto, the Republican Minister of Defense, created SIM, the military intelligence service, in August, 1938, he appointed Durán to take charge of the Madrid zone. The appointment was urged on him by Alexander Orlov, the chief NKVD agent in Spain. Prieto told the Socialist national committee that "It was not concealed from me that he was a Communist. I knew that he was, but I nevertheless appointed him". When Prieto dismissed Durán, apparently because he was appointing too many Communists to SIM, Orlov threatened to break off relations with Prieto unless he was reinstated. Durán was not reinstated and the incident caused a major split between the Socialists and the Communists. The Spanish Communist Party, in its official history of the Civil War published in Moscow in 1977, clearly identifies Durán as a member of the Party. Prieto wrote to Durán that he had never accused him of being "an agent of the Russian police nor a member of the Comintern".[52] There appears to be no evidence that he continued to be a communist sympathizer after the Civil War and it is understandable

that he should deny that he was ever one in the U.S. in the 1950s. He went on to have a distinguished U.N. career in New York, Chile, the Congo and Greece, where he died in 1969. He is revered in the Greek village where he is buried not for his more newsworthy activities but rather as the man who brought running water to the community.

LEO MALANIA

Attacks by the American right on non-American international servants were quite common, although less career-threatening than to their American colleagues. Another colleague of Humphrey's was Leo Malania, a Russian-born naturalized Canadian. He began his U.N. career as an Executive Officer in the Department of Economic Affairs and, by 1949, was Chief Administrative Officer of the U.N. Palestine Commission. An anonymous witness, testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee, stated Malania conspired with Secretary-General Trygve Lie to enact a Communist inspired reign of terror in the Secretariat. This was to be achieved by hiring Communists into key posts. Malania "has very close ties with the Soviet delegates" and was responsible for most of the hiring in the Economic Department. Lie was in Europe and Assistant Secretary-General Byron Price replied to the accusation:

> This is the nuttiest story I have heard yet.
>
> I am in a position to know that the charges relating to the administrative policies of Secretary-General Trygve Lie and the personnel policies of the United Nations are fantastically untrue.
>
> I am sure no fair-minded person will attach significance to the statement of a mysterious so-called "official" who attempts wild character assassination of his colleagues, but refuses to gives his name.[53]

Price's denial is especially convincing since he apparently approved of and cooperated fully with the un-American activity investigations, although it is possible that he was following Lie's instructions. Humphrey was disgusted with the ongoing investigations and the Secretary-General's response. He wrote in his diary:

> The Americans have begun to finger print their compatriots in the Secretariat; and Byron Price proudly presented himself to be the first victim. The thing that makes this crowning indignity most objectionable is that it is being done with Lie's approval and by U.N. officials and on U.N. premises.[54]

Basically Trygve Lie caved in under the pressure and his attempt at justification for his actions seems unconvincing.[55] In general, Americans accused in the "witch hunt" lost their jobs, although most won financial compensation on appeal. Non-Americans were left, after the investigation lost its momentum, to pursue their careers in relative peace. Malania subsequently became Chief Editor in the U.N. Publications Division. He retired in 1965, taking the post of Minister at St. David's Episcopal Church in Queens, N.Y.

LOUIS DOLIVET

Malania's anonymous accusor named another Humphrey acquaintance as being involved in Trygve Lie's "reign of terror". Louis Dolivet[56] was stated to have used his position as Editor of *United Nations World* (a commercial publication unconnected with the U.N.) to act as liaison between the Secretariat and the Russian delegation.

Dolivet was the Director of the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix in Paris in the 1930s. He joined the French Air Force during the war, escaping to the U.S. when his unit surrendered. In 1941 he met and subsequently married American actress, Beatrice Straight, daughter of Dorothy Straight Elmhirst. A passionate believer in the U.N. and its role in achieving world peace, he wrote the first handbook[57] on the organization and dedicated it *To those who live as citizens of one world and who act as members of one humanity*. He edited *Free World* and later, with the financial assistance of his mother-in-law and other wealthy investors including Nelson Rockefeller and Max Ascoli, the *United Nations World*. Dolivet's best friend was Humphrey's immediate superior and good friend, Assistant Secretary-General Henri Laugier. It

was inevitable that Humphrey and Dolivet would see a lot of each other in New York and in Europe. Humphrey's diaries give an insight into the relationship:

> Antibes, Sun. 23 Sept. [1951]
>
> Great talk today about the United Nations with Laugier and also Louis Dolivet who is another house guest here...
>
> In the evening after dinner we, Jeanne and I, went for a long walk with Dolivet. Extremely well informed and intelligent but his conclusions sometimes lack weight. Is his judgement sound? Is he a wishful thinker?
>
> Tue. 25 Sept.
>
> We drove to Vallauris this morning where we met Picasso. Marie[58] went in first after which P's young wife, Françoise, invited Laugier to come in, indicating that Dolivet, Jeanne and I might possibly come in later. We idled away our time stealing and eating P's grapes which were very good. Finally P. came down the steps and greeted us most cordially. I was impressed by the vitality of this man of 71 years. His black eyes shine with intelligence and the vigour of a twenty year old. Even if one did not know he is a great painter one would nevertheless put him down as a remarkable man.

Dolivet's fortunes began to turn in 1946, when all his investors except the Straight family withdrew, and the *United Nations World* began to experience some economic difficulty. His wife, who had left the theatre to have a son, Willard, now wished to return to acting. This eventually led to a split with Dolivet, who refused to consent to a divorce. The family was told by its lawyer that an annulment could be gained if it could be proved that Dolivet had concealed important truths about himself from his wife. Dolivet had told his wife nothing about his childhood and life in Europe, saying only that it was too painful to talk about. A former Naval Intelligence officer and international investigator, Ladislas Farago, was hired to enquire into Dolivet's past.

In April, 1947, the Washington *Evening Star* published an article by Constance Brown which stated Dolivet was not French, but a Rumanian named Ludovico Brecher, an important agent of the Communist International. The well-connected Farago was able to gain access to the intelligence files of four countries, as well as the U.S. He brought back a great deal of material "all of which was defamatory and most of which was unverifiable".[59] After examining this documentation Farago concluded Dolivet had been born in Galicia and his parents had moved to Rumania. He had gone to France, via Switzerland, on his own as a teenager. The family checked the marriage certificate to see how Dolivet had signed it, thinking it might support their case if he had used a false name. Dolivet had added "L.B." beside his signature.

Dolivet eventually agreed to a divorce and joint custody agreement. The divorce was granted in May, 1949, and Dolivet returned to France, since he had no further financial backing, intending to return shortly. Dolivet's trips to the U.S. had been on a visitor's visa and, from 1947, with U.N. accreditation, although he had applied for U.S. citizenship in 1946. In May, 1950, Representative Jenison of Illinois, a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee addressed Congress on the question of Dolivet's visa and request for citizenship.[60] He added to the previous allegations by presenting "facts" about Dolivet's activities in the 1930s "documented by sources of unquestioned integrity". Jenison's principal source was a translation of a French magazine article by one of Dolivet's opponents, identified as A. Rossi, "a man whose integrity has been vouched for". As a result of the debate in Congress, the State Department bowed to the pressure and Dolivet's visa was revoked.

Living in France, Dolivet became Secretary-General of Democratie Combattante, an international organization devoted to the promotion of peace through the United Nations. The organization had been formed by Socialist leader and Nobel laureate Leon Jouhaux as a non-Communist workers' party after he broke with the Communists. Laugier had helped him in the establishment of the organization. In 1952, Dolivet's son Willard was drowned. He applied for an emergency visa which, after appeal to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, was denied. The reasons given were that Dolivet had been a communist since 1933 and that

Democratie Combattante was a Communist front. Laugier represented him at the funeral.

Humphrey remained friendly with Dolivet and continued to see him in his new role. He was aware, at least partially, of the nature of the allegations about Dolivet, but clearly did not give them much credence. On December 13, 1951, he noted in his diary:

> King Gordon is disturbed about plans to have Dolivet do some work for us. But what can I do? Apart from any personal desire I might have to help this man, the pressure to do something for him comes from sources that are most influential —the S.G. himself, Cassin, Laugier ... Moreover Dolivet has brains and I don't believe the scandal about him.

Dolivet had always been one of the U.N.'s great promoters and so, in his adversity, the U.N. continued to employ him in a consulting capacity. Humphrey had frequently resisted pressure from above to hire people he considered unsuitable, but it is clear that his sympathy was with Dolivet in this case. Dolivet eventually remarried and became a successful entrepreneur. When the London *Sunday Times* decided to do an exposé of him in 1981, rehashing the old stories based on newly released FBI files, Dolivet was able to stop them with a court injunction.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Humphrey was also acquainted with Michael Straight,[61] related by marriage to both Durán and Dolivet. Straight was a peace activist who used his role as editor of the *New Republic* to promote these ideas. He occasionally met Humphrey for lunch to keep up with U.N. activity in the area of human rights, and wrote a number of articles on this topic. Humphrey's relationship seemed purely professional and there is no evidence in the diaries that he even knew of Straight's connection with Durán and Dolivet. Straight is not even mentioned in Humphrey's autobiography of the U.N. years. Yet Straight kept the deepest and darkest secret of all. Whatever the truth may be about Durán, Dolivet and Adams, Straight had certainly been clandestinely recruited as a Soviet agent.

Straight was born on Long Island in 1916 to a well-connected and, on his mother's side, wealthy family. His father died two years later of disease in Europe after the First World War. In 1925 his mother married an Englishman, Leonard Elmhirst, and subsequently established Dartington Hall in Devon as a utopian community. Straight attended school at Dartington and then went to Cambridge University in 1934. As an undergraduate, like so many others at the time, he had Marxist leanings and was committed to world peace through Communism. He visited Russia in 1935 where he met Anthony Blunt, a recent graduate of Cambridge. He was admitted to the Apostles, a leftist secret society, where he met Guy Burgess and became reacquainted with Blunt. Blunt recruited him as an agent of the Communist International while he was emotionally disturbed after his friend, John Cornford, was killed in the Spanish Civil War.

It had always been Straight's intention to remain in England. However, in 1937, Blunt informed him that it had been decided he should return to the U.S. and wait to be contacted. Straight made some half-hearted attempts to escape from his commitment, but ultimately accepted this directive after graduating from Cambridge. He worked for the State Department, securing a job on the recommendation of his mother's friend, Eleanor Roosevelt. He later worked for the Department of the Interior before moving in 1940 to the *New Republic*, which had been founded by his father and was still owned by his mother.

Straight was approached several times during his government service by "Michael Green", a Soviet agent who was his controller. Straight maintains that he never passed on secret information (or even possessed any) and that all he gave was his opinion on various matters. He told Green he would help him no further when he joined the USAF in 1942, and never saw him again. He continued to see Guy Burgess, then with the Foreign Office, from time to time but refused to co-operate with him. After one such meeting, when Straight became convinced that Burgess was also a Soviet agent, he confessed his past to his wife, Belinda Crompton, whom he had married in 1939. Burgess and Donald Maclean subsequently defected to the Soviet Union in 1951, just before action was to be taken against Maclean. Kim Philby, also part of the espionage network, defected in 1963 after confessing that he had helped warn Maclean.

A few months after Philby's defection and Burgess's death in 1963, Straight was offered the chairmanship of President Kennedy's Advisory Council on the Arts. As with all such nominations, there would be a routine FBI investigation of his past. Straight feared that his past might not stand up to rigorous scrutiny, and decided to "come in from the cold". He went to Presidential Advisor Arthur Schlesinger and told him the story. At Straight's request, Schlesinger called the Attorney-General, Robert Kennedy, who arranged for Straight to meet with William Sullivan, Deputy Director of the FBI. The information that Straight gave to Sullivan about Blunt, as well as his suspicions about Leo Long, another Cambridge undergraduate, was given to MI5 in January, 1964. Faced with Straight's evidence both Blunt, with the promise of immunity, and Long confessed to their wartime espionage role. The British government decided to keep the whole matter quiet, believing that immunity also implied anonymity.

In the long term, however, there is little anonymity from the British press. Broader and broader hints were dropped that there were other moles in British intelligence. Eventually, in 1979, Prime Minister Thatcher acknowledged in Parliament that Blunt had recruited for Soviet intelligence while he was at Cambridge and "passed information regularly to the Russians while he was a member of the Secret Service between 1940 and 1945".[62] Blunt, by then Sir Anthony Blunt, Surveyor of the Queen's pictures, was stripped of his honours. In 1981, Straight was interviewed by the *Sunday Times* and gave the name of Leo Long. After the publication of that article, Thatcher answered another question in the House as follows:

> Early in 1964, Leonard Henry Long was named to the Security Service by Mr. Michael Whitney Straight, the United States citizen who identified Anthony Blunt, as someone else Mr. Blunt might have attempted to recruit as an agent for the Russian Intelligence Service. When Mr. Blunt made his confession in April 1964, he admitted to having recruited Mr. Long before the war and controlled him during it.[63]

Later Straight, who felt he was wrongly identified in the newspapers as an American who spied for the Russians, gave his side of the story in an autobiography.

THE IMPACT OF HUMPHREY'S ASSOCIATIONS

At first glance Humphrey's circle of acquaintances seems to have an unusually high proportion of admitted or alleged Soviet agents, but in retrospect this is not surprising for at least two reasons. First, the McCarthyite allegations were so widespread and all-inclusive that they were made against virtually anyone who was left of centre or who espoused liberal causes. Second, Humphrey felt most at home in left-wing intellectual circles, where world peace and just societies were matters of the greatest concern. The NKVD did much of its recruitment in such circles. Had Humphrey been ten years younger, he might himself been the object of such recruitment during his university years.

While Humphrey's relationship with Adams probably escaped official scrutiny, it is virtually inconceivable that the same would be true of his relationships with people such as Durán and Dolivet. Since they were the object of investigation by the FBI and other intelligence agencies and since Humphrey himself held a high-level diplomatic post, dossiers would certainly have been created on him. While these dossiers probably still exist, and access could be gained to them under freedom of information legislation, nothing was made public about Humphrey's relationships with suspected individuals during the crucial first few years of his twenty-year tenure as Director of the Division on Human Rights. It is difficult to imagine how Humphrey could have remained in his position and been effective if he had been the subject of public attacks by the American right. An early resignation by Humphrey would have clearly affected the directions taken by the U.N. human rights programme, given Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld's desire to close it down for all practical purposes,[64] and might have retarded the slow acceptance of the Declaration.

The fact that Humphrey knew these individuals who fell under suspicion seems to have had no negative affect on his career, probably because, with the exception of Dolivet and Durán, his acquaintance with them was so very slight.[65] Humphrey's career was probably more impeded by his criticisms of Canadian

activities within the United Nations. He was shocked by the Canadian abstention on the adoption of the Universal Declaration in the Third Committee on December 8, 1948. Two days later, when Canada voted for the adoption in the General Assembly, he categorized Pearson's speech as "one of the worst contributions" and a "niggardly acceptance".[66] Thereafter the diaries abound with criticisms of the positions taken by Canada, some of which he conveyed to officials, such as his discussions with Paul Martin about Canada's refusal to repatriate evacuated Polish children and treasure.[67] On another occasion he confided to his diary:

> Thur. 16 November [1950, Great Neck]
>
> The Committee adopted a very good resolution today on Human Rights Day. I had a good deal to do with the drafting and am also partly responsible for the initiative. I was disgusted with the Canadian delegation which voted with the Soviet bloc in favour of a suggestion which would have combined the day with U.N. Day on 24 October. Nothing could be less imaginative than the Canadian record in the U.N. in relation to human rights. One would think that the delegation would have learned a lesson in Paris.

Viewed objectively, Humphrey's criticisms of Canada's record seemed a trifle unfair when that record is compared to those of some other countries. He appeared to use a double standard. When other nations took actions of which he personally disapproved—and they frequently did—he accepted this fact as only to be expected. When Canada did the same, he became far more critical because his expectations of his beloved homeland were far higher. An international servant is expected to remain neutral in such circumstances but the diaries make it clear that Humphrey let his feelings show from time to time.

It is speculative to judge what affect this may have had on Humphrey's career. Nevertheless, by 1950 the Human Rights Division was riding the crest of the wave created by the success of its work on the Universal Declaration and other considerable activities. There was talk of elevating the Division to the rank of Department with an Assistant Secretary-General in charge. Humphrey hoped that Henri Laugier would be that Assistant Secretary-General, but Laugier had by this time determined to leave the United Nations. Laugier endorsed the principle of a Human Rights Department, but felt that Humphrey should be the A.S.G. The diaries show, however, that Humphrey knew the cost of his actions:

> Wed. 1 March [1950, Great Neck]
>
> .....
>
> Had a long talk with Laugier this afternoon about his successor. He wants very much a Department of Human Rights and says that I should be its A.S.G. He has even made quite a campaign for this amongst delegations. But I have no illusions. I could only become A.S.G. if I had the energetic and enthusiastic support of Ottawa—and that I never expect to have.

In the event, this opportunity was lost and the Division slowly lost influence when the Departments of Social Affairs and Economic Affairs were merged and the programme fell out of favour with Secretary-General Hammarskjöld. It was not until 1982, long after Humphrey's retirement, that the Division was made the Centre for Human Rights and its Head reclassified as an Assistant Secretary-General.

CONCLUSIONS

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has evolved from a resolution of the General Assembly, which imparted no binding obligation to any state, to the point where it is, in the view of many authorities, part of the customary law of nations. While the two covenants on civil and political and on social and economic rights do impart binding obligation, neither has been signed by a majority of member states. Conversely, articles from the Declaration are frequently cited in litigation and petitions, and are accepted as precedents by international tribunals. It has an impressive moral authority. Indeed, after almost half a century, the world is slowly catching up with the far-sighted vision of its drafters. Social security has been accepted in the West, while civil and political rights are now enjoyed in the former Soviet empire and South Africa.

One is forced to wonder whether the Declaration could have achieved this stature if, in its early days, Humphrey, who wrote the first draft, had been hounded into resignation because of leftist connections. Would Holman's view—that it was an attempt to establish State socialism if not Communism—have gained greater credence resulting in a rejection of the Declaration in the West? Such questions can never be answered. The Declaration is considered by many to represent the high point of what the U.N. has achieved. Solzhenitsyn, in his Nobel acceptance speech, called it the "best document" produced by the U.N. in all its history.[68] Holman's view, on the other hand, has been relegated to the status of an illustration of a dark period of American history. Rights triumphed over the right, and this is as it should be.

Notes

1. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (1893-1985), Pakistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs and leader of its delegation to the U.N., was able to convince other Islamic nations not to abstain with an eloquent defence of the Declaration in the plenary.
2. American Academy of Political and Social Science. *Annals*, v. 255 (1948), 21.
3. Louis Dolivet was a friend of Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary-General for Social Affairs and Humphrey's immediate superior. He will be dealt with at length later in this article.
4. John P. Humphrey, *On the Edge of Greatness: the Diaries of John Humphrey, First Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights*. Ed. by A.J. Hobbins. (Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1994). Vol. I, 1948-1949, 45. References are made to this edition for the diaries of 1948 and 1949. For 1950-1966 the citations are to the manuscripts, held in McGill University Archives.
5. American Bar Association. *Journal*, v. 34 (October, 1948), 881-885.
6. Humphrey met Frances Carlisle (1917-) by chance on the S.S. Excambion in December, 1948. During her service with External Affairs she met and married her colleague, Herbert Owen Moran, in 1952. Moran served as Canadian Ambassador or High Commissioner to a number of countries before he retired in 1972.
7. Humphrey, *On the Edge of Greatness*, 99.
8. Humphrey, *On the Edge of Greatness*, 105
9. Barry Goldwater, *Why not Victory?* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 102.
10. For an excellent history of the League see Michiel Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).
11. Frank R. Scott (1899-1983), Canadian constitutional lawyer and poet, was Humphrey's colleague on the McGill Faculty of Law.
12. David Lewis (1901-1981) later became an M.P. and leader of the League's descendant, the New Democratic Party.
13. Frank Underhill (1889-1971) was a noted historian and educator. The University of Toronto attempted unsuccessfully to dismiss him for his political views in the 1950s.
14. Eugene Forsey (1904-1991) was at this time a lecturer in the McGill Department of Economics and Political Science. When he failed to obtain tenure, he became Director of Research for the Canadian Labour Congress.
15. (John) King Gordon (b. 1901) was a United Church Minister and educator. He worked for Humphrey in the Division of Human Rights from 1949-1954.
16. Humphrey, Diary, September 20, 1951.
17. Humphrey, *On the Edge of Greatness*, 39.
18. Arthur Wentworth Roebuck (b. 1878) was a Canadian lawyer, newspaperman and politician, who was summoned to Senate in 1945.
19. Humphrey, Diary, April 20, 1950.
20. The facts concerning Adams and Igor Gouzenko are mainly taken from J.W. Pickersgill and D.F. Foster, *The Mackenzie King Record* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) Vol. III, Robert Bothwell and J.L. Granatstein, *The Gouzenko Transcripts* (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1982) and the Royal Commission to investigate the Facts Relating to and the Circumstances Surrounding the Communication, by Public Officials and Other Persons in Positions of Trust of Secret and Confidential Information to Agents of a Foreign Power, *Report* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1946).
21. Pickersgill, 9.
22. Royal Commission, *Report*, 226. In this regard the transcript of Adams' cross-examination reads in part:

Q. Would you care to explain that telegram?

A. Sure. Ever since I have started travelling, which is a good many years ago, my wife and I have had an arrangement whereby if she is ever in trouble and wants to see me come home, and does not want to talk about the whole thing in a telegram, she simply sends me a telegram that Helen's baby is sick.

The Commissioners added: "Needless to say we do not believe his explanation".

23. *Ibid.* The Soviet Military Attaché, Colonel Nicolai Zabotin, ran the spy ring.
24. Pickersgill, 157-158.
25. When I spoke to Adams on a completely unrelated matter he said he never talked about the issue because all it did was stir up a lot of unwanted publicity.
26. Humphrey, *On the edge of Greatness*, 209.
27. Trygve Lie, *In the Cause of Peace* (N.Y.: MacMillan, 1954), 387.

28. A.J. Hobbins "Human Rights inside the United Nations" *Fontanus* v. 4 (1991), 156-163.
29. Lie, 395.
30. Hobbins, 160-162.
31. *Ibid.*, 160.
32. Karol Kraczkiewicz was a Personnel Officer in the Office of Personnel, Department of Administrative and Financial Services.
33. Hobbins, 162.
34. John P. Humphrey, *Human Rights and the United Nations: a Great Adventure* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Transnational Publishers, 1984), 30.
35. Fred Cook, *The Nightmare Decade: the Life and Times of Senator Joe McCarthy* (New York: Random House, 1971), 188-189.
36. *Ibid.*, 190.
37. *Ibid.*, 194.
38. William F. Buckley and L. Brent Bozell, *McCarthy and his Enemies: the Record and its meaning* (Chicago: Regnery, 1954).
39. For details on the Brunauer case, see also Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: the McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press) and *Notable American Women: the Modern Period* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980). Humphrey met Brunauer in connection with his attendance at the second Conference of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO in Cleveland.
40. Fried, 26.
41. For the remainder of her career, Brunauer worked briefly for the Library of Congress and then as an editor for the Rand McNally and Follet companies.
42. The majority of facts concerning Durán are taken from Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 547-549, Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: a Biography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 369-378, Robert Griffith, *The Politics of fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate*, (Lexington: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 39, 71, Richard M. Fried, *Men Against McCarthy,* (New York: Columbia University press, 1976), 44 ff., and Michael Straight, *After Long Silence*, (New York: Norton, 1983), 265-272. Humphrey first met Durán and his wife at the same UNESCO conference where he met Brunauer.
43. Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (New York: Scribner, 1940), 335.

"Just remember Durán, who never had any military training and who was a composer and lad about town before the movement and is now a damned good general commanding a brigade. It was all as simple and easy to learn and understand to Durán as chess to a child chess prodigy."
44. Straight, 268.
45. Meyers, 371. Straight, 268, has a somewhat different version, saying Durán went to Dartington at the invitation of a mutual friend, Michael Young, and that Straight's mother acted as matchmaker.
46. It was too late to incorporate Durán's suggested changes into the galleys.
47. Griffith, 71. The *Arriba* article appeared in the issue for April 9, 1946.
48. Buckley, 142.
49. *Congressional Record*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, March 13, 1947, 2046.
50. Bolloten, 548-549.
51. Bolloten's carefully documented study leaves no possible doubt about this.
52. Buckley, 144.
53. *New York Times*, July 24, 1949, 10.
54. Humphrey, Diary, January 29, 1953.
55. For Lie's side of the story see his *In the Cause of Peace* (New York: Macmillan, 1954). James Barros provides a telling analysis of Lie's role in *Trygve Lie and the Cold War* (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1989). Humphrey's view is found in Hobbins, 156-163.
56. The facts concerning Dolivet are largely based on Straight, *After Long Silence*, 252-258, the Humphrey Diaries, newspaper articles and speeches.
57. Louis Dolivet, *The United Nations: a Handbook on the New World Organization* (London: Phoenix House, 1946).
58. Marie Cuttoli, Laugier's companion.
59. Straight, 255.
60. *Congressional Record,* 81st Congress, 2nd Session, May 25, 1950, 7764-7767.
61. The facts about Michael Straight are taken from his autobiography (see above), Barrie Penrose and Simon Freeman, *Conspiracy of Silence: the Secret Life of Anthony Blunt* (London: Grafton, 1986), and Andrew Sinclair *The Red and the Blue: Cambridge, Treason and Intelligence* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986).
62. *Times* (London) November 16, 1979, 2.
63. *Times* (London) November 10, 1981, 8.
64. Hobbins, 163-165. Humphrey considers his greatest contribution to the human rights programme had nothing to do with the Declaration, but rather keeping the programme going at all in the face of Hammarskjöld's hostility.
65. So slight that Humphrey, reading an earlier draft of this paper two weeks before his death, could not recall the majority of people mentioned at all. Indeed, he felt that their histories had no relevance to a discussion of himself whatsoever. Certainly neither they, nor their views, influenced him in any way, and he questioned the point of the latter part of the article and the wisdom of publishing it. Had he lived, the article would not have been submitted for publication until we could have resolved this issue as we had always done before. I hope that the final draft would have satisfied his concerns.
66. Humphrey, *On the Edge of Greatness*, 90.
67. *Ibid.*, 238.
68. Alexander Solzhenitsyn *One Word of truth...* (London: Bodley Head, 1972), 21.

John Stephenson's Secret

by Martin A. Entin

John Stephenson was born in 1797, the youngest son of a Scottish merchant who immigrated to Canada in the late 1700s. He was given a classical education at a Catholic seminary in Montreal, where he achieved scholastic distinction. Stephenson was enrolled in Edinburgh Medical College in 1817. He wrote the graduating thesis in Latin and received his M.D. degree in 1820. On his return to Montreal, he came on staff of the Montreal General Hospital and set up a medical course for training of physicians. In 1829, the Medical Institution was "transferred" to McGill University as the Medical College with Stephenson and three of his colleagues as members of the faculty. Stephenson became a distinguished lecturer in Anatomy, Surgery and Obstetrics. He died in 1843.

When his Latin thesis was translated by Dr. W.W. Francis into English in 1963, it became known that Stephenson was born with cleft of soft palate. He managed to get along during childhood and adolescence with this speech defect. In 1819, he was operated on by Dr. Philibert Roux in Paris who repaired his defect; this enabled Stephenson to attain normal speech. Eventually, he became the respected lecturer at McGill Medical School.

Né en 1798, John Stephenson est le plus jeune fils d'un négociant écossais qui immigre au Canada à la fin des années 1700. Il fait des études classiques remarquées dans un séminaire catholique de Montréal et entre au Edinburgh Medical College *en 1817. Il rédige sa thèse en latin et obtient son doctorat en médecine en 1820. À son retour à Montréal, il entre au service de l'Hôpital général de Montréal. Le Medical Institution est «transférée» à l'Université McGill en 1829. Stephenson et trois de ses collègues se joignent au corps professoral de l'Université. Stephenson devient alors un éminent professeur d'anatomie, de chirurgie et d'obstétrique. Il meurt en 1843.*

La traduction de la thèse de Stephenson en anglais par le docteur W.W. Francis en 1963, révèle que Stephenson avait une fente palatine et qu'il a été affligé d'un défaut de prononciation pendant toute son enfance et son adolescence. En 1819, il est opéré par le docteur Philibert Roux à Paris qui corrige son infirmité, et lui permet de retrouver une élocution normale. Plus tard, il devient un professeur très respecté à McGill.

John Stephenson, a Scottish merchant, arrived in Canada and established a tobacco mill and small brewery in Montreal one year after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (1759). His enterprises grew, he prospered and before he died in 1819 he sold the brewery to Thomas Dunn and William Dow who developed it into the exceedingly successful Dow Brewery.[1]

John, the youngest of his five sons, was born in the winter of 1797. Although of Presbyterian faith, Stephenson's parents enrolled him in the Collège de Montréal, a Catholic seminary where he received a traditional classical education in French. The Sulpician Brothers, directors of the Collège, were so impressed with his ability that it came as no surprise to them when he decided to become a physician. The Collège willingly provided the requisite letter of recommendation stressing his diligence and scholastic competence.[2]

At the end of the 18th century there were no medical schools for the internship training of doctors in Canada and only a few in the United States. Naturally, the type of training that individual doctors received before they started to practice varied tremendously, but a graduating certificate from a medical school was accepted, at this time, as sufficient license to practice medicine.

The Edinburgh Medical School had an excellent reputation during the 18th and early 19th century. Students were taught the current theories as well as the more traditional and accepted concepts of medical

practice. An M.D. degree from Edinburgh gave a distinct advantage to young graduates and assured them a successful career.[3]

On return to their own country, the Edinburgh graduates were often influential in establishing private instruction for the training of aspiring doctors, utilizing methods learned at Edinburgh to establish high standards of practice. (Appendix)

At this time the usual procedure for becoming a doctor was, upon completion of high school, to take up an apprenticeship with a respectable local medical practitioner and subsequently enroll in a medical college, the one at Edinburgh being the most respected and traditionally popular.

In 1815, John Stephenson (Fig. 1) was apprenticed to Dr. William Robertson, a former Army doctor and graduate of Edinburgh. After two years of study, Robertson recommended that Stephenson enroll in the Edinburgh Medical College.[4] He attended Edinburgh University in 1817 where he encountered a childhood friend, Andrew Holmes, who was also pursuing a career in medicine. Stephenson attended to his medical studies with great diligence for the next couple of years. Toward the end of the third year, he and Holmes spent a few weeks studying with Professor P.J. Roux, the renowned surgeon at La Charité Hospital in Paris. One year later, Stephenson fulfilled the graduation requirements of Edinburgh Medical College—he completed and submitted a thesis[5] and passed his final exams (Fig. 2). Having decided to specialize in surgery, he was now eager to return to Montreal and, in the best Edinburgh tradition, contribute to the education and training of Canadian doctors.

During this period, hospital facilities for the English community of Montreal were inadequate. A small rented building on Craig Street was a temporary measure while the Protestant citizens of Montreal were collecting donations for the establishment of a new hospital on Dorchester Street East scheduled to open in the Spring of 1822.

Stephenson persuaded Andrew Holmes, his mentor William Robertson and another former Army doctor, William Caldwell, all Edinburgh graduates, to serve on the staff of the temporary hospital. Stephenson assumed the duties of a house surgeon.[6]

The new hospital, named the Montreal General Hospital, was opened in May 1822. It accommodated, without religious discrimination, one hundred patients and it was dedicated to "the relief of the distressed poor".[7] Its Medical Board was comprised of the four Edinburgh graduates who staffed the former hospital on Craig Street. Following the Edinburgh model, the Board proposed that the hospital also serve as a "medical school". Student physicians would be admitted to the wards in order to take advantage of on-site teaching and study.[8] Within three months of the opening of the new hospital, Stephenson placed a notice in the Montreal Gazette announcing that he would begin lectures in Anatomy and Physiology on October 1, 1822 and in Surgery on March 1, 1823.

The Montreal General Hospital medical staff appointed Holmes and Stephenson to draw up a document justifying the establishment of a medical school and setting forth its curriculum.[9] The subsequent document recommending the establishment of a "Medical Seminary" in the style and tradition of the Edinburgh Medical School and requesting a Royal Charter was forwarded to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-in Chief. In October, 1822 Stephenson established the Medical Institution (Fig. 3), a facility for the training of prospective doctors.

There was a lengthy delay in the granting of the Charter since the Medical Institution could claim no association or affiliation with a university and had no long-term financial support.

Coincidentally, in 1813, James McGill, a Glaswegian who had emigrated to Canada in 1766, willed his fortune toward the establishment of a university to be named after him. A Royal Charter was granted on March 21, 1824. One of the conditions of the will was that a functioning college be established by 1829 otherwise the legacy would revert back to the estate.[10]

In 1829, a compromise was reached between the Board of the Montreal General Hospital and the estate of James McGill. The Medical Institution acquired both a charter and foundation while McGill University received a prestigious, functioning Medical Faculty. William Robertson was appointed Professor of Medicine and the other three members were listed as lecturers in the new McGill Medical Faculty.[11]

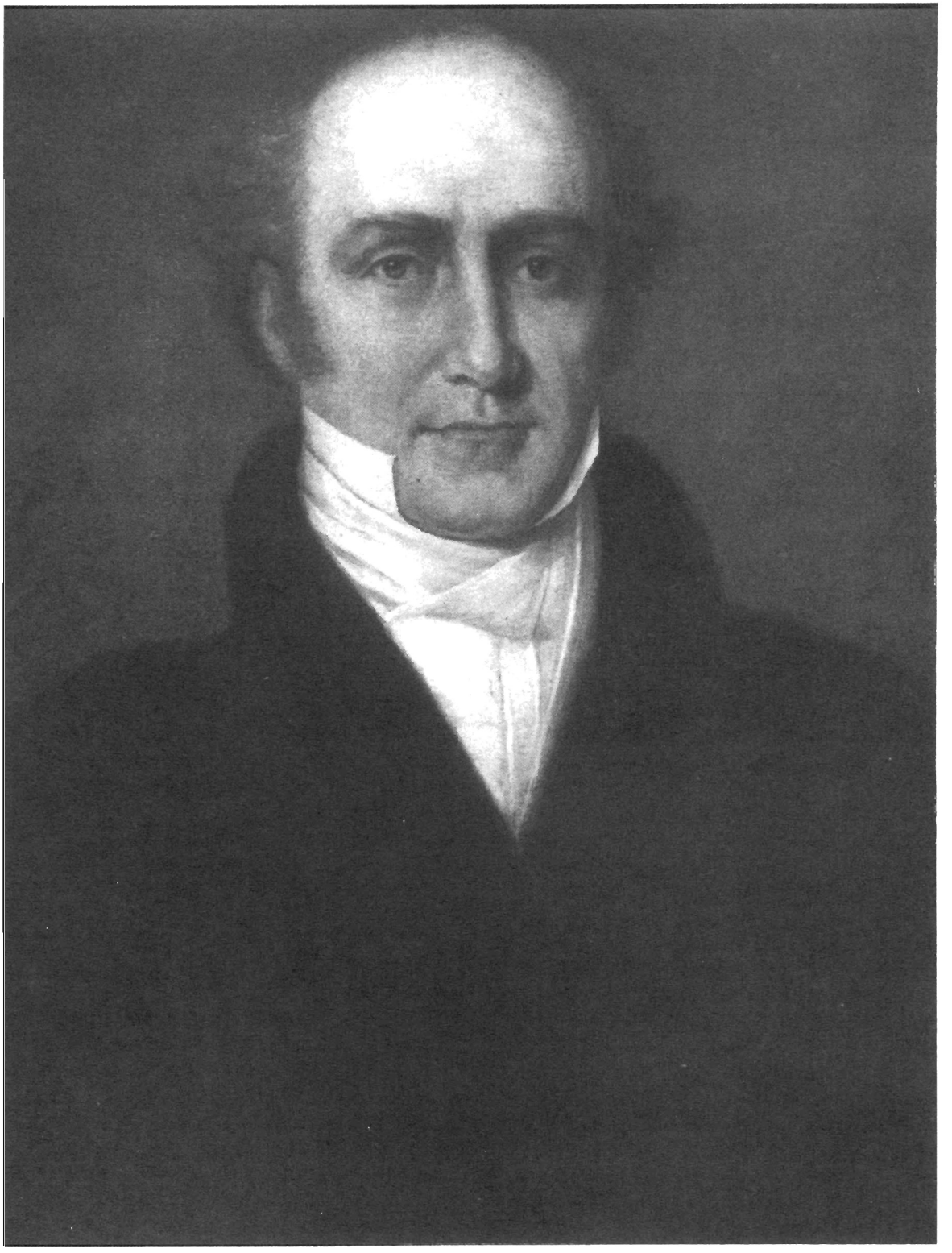


Figure 1. John Stephenson 1797-1842.

This historic event occurred on June 29, 1829 in Burnside House, the country residence of James McGill. The occasion was the first meeting of the Governors of the Corporation of McGill College and it assured the survival of the Medical Faculty and of McGill University.[12] Stephenson's participation in the Medical Institution and its subsequent "engrafting" to McGill has been historically acknowledged and has become a prominent event in the history of McGill University. (Fig. 4) Yet, only a few were aware of the harsh physical and psychological trauma that Stephenson had recently overcome. Stephenson had been born with a severe speech defect which had frustrated his childhood, adolescence and early adulthood.

Only years later when William Willoughby Francis, custodian of the Osler Library, translated Stephenson's thesis (1820) from the Latin, did the details of Stephenson's congenital deformity come to light. Francis' English translation was published in 1963.[13]

By curious coincidence, Alistaire B. Wallace, a leading plastic surgeon at the University of Edinburgh, stumbled upon another copy of Stephenson's thesis in the Old College Library of the university. Referring to a translation of the thesis by W. McLean Dewar, Wallace presented a paper to the British Association of Plastic Surgeons in London in December 1963.[14]

These two independent discoveries, continents apart, helped to illuminate curious events in Stephenson's childhood and adolescence: Stephenson's parents' insistence in enrolling their son in the Roman Catholic Collège de Montréal became more understandable; references to the nasal quality of Stephenson's speech, especially when he was excited, became more comprehensible;[15] and Stephenson's energetic drive to establish the Montreal Medical Institution and his compulsion to train Canadian doctors when he returned to Montreal, took on added psychological significance.

Stephenson's thesis had presented the details of his congenital anomaly and of the sequelae in the form of a clinical report giving a thorough account of his struggle to communicate during his childhood and adolescence.[16]

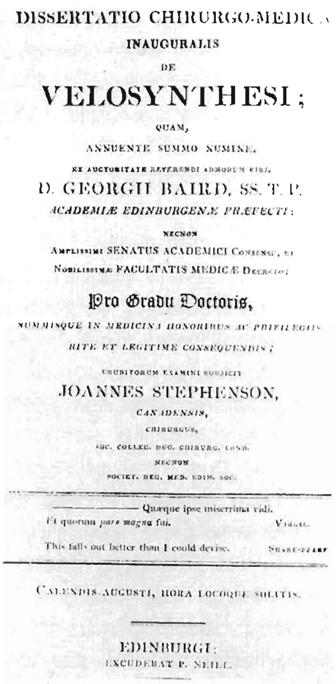
He had been born with a cleft of the soft palate which is characterized by the inability to swallow fluid while in a horizontal position. His mother's ingenuity in holding her son up-right while breast feeding was crucial to his survival. He was very late in talking and his speech was difficult to understand. During these traumatic years, Stephenson had always hoped that some means could be found to repair the damage. Eventually, he accepted his lot with resignation.[17]

Stephenson's account of his studies at the Edinburgh Medical School stressed the facilitating presence of his friend Andrew Holmes. Stephenson had panicked at the thought of confronting his professors who would question him in Latin and expect a response in kind. It was Holmes who made contact with the professors alerting them to Stephenson's speech impediment. He also helped Stephenson find lodging near the university. Stephenson passed two years of his medical studies without difficulty. He projected an easy-going disposition which permitted him to make friends easily in spite of his imperfect speech. Faced with the prospect of oral examinations, he became concerned about matriculation. Holmes made inquiries at the Registrar's office and was told that Stephenson could make arrangements to take his examination in writing.

During his course of study in Paris with Dr. Roux, Stephenson consciously refrained from asking questions. However, towards the end of the course, Dr. Roux became aware of his student's distorted speech and Stephenson revealed that he was suffering from a congenital anomaly of the soft palate. Dr. Roux quickly offered to surgically correct it. Stephenson's hope of attaining normal speech was re-awakened and he accepted the offer with alacrity. The operation, which lasted one hour, without anaesthetic, strained Stephenson's stoicism. However, he made a great effort to help Roux complete the repair without mishap.

The serendipitous encounter with Dr. Roux in 1819 wrought a metamorphosis. Within a fortnight Stephenson's speech was almost normal.[18] He was able to present an account of his operation to the Academy of Science in Paris at Dr. Roux's request.[19] While training his palate and voice to attain normal articulation in English, Stephenson acquired fluency in Latin as well.

The main object in surgical repair of cleft of soft palate is to restore normal speech. Abnormal speech is



DISSERTATIO CHIRURGO-MEDICA
INAUGURALIS
DE
VELOSYNTHESI;
QUAM,
ANNUENTE SUMMO NUMINE,
EX AUCTORITATE REVERENDI ADMODUM VIRI,
D. GEORGII BAIRD, SS. T. P.
ACADEMIÆ EDINBURGENÆ PRÆFECTI;
NECNON
Amplissimi SENATUS ACADEMICI Consensu, et
Nobilissimæ FACULTATIS MEDICÆ Decreto;
Pro Gradu Doctoris,
SUMMISQUE IN MEDICINA HONORIBUS AC PRIVILEGIIS
RITE ET LEGITIME CONSEQUENDIS;
ERUDITORUM EXAMINI SUBJICIT
JOANNES STEPHENSON,
CANADENSIS,
CHIRURGUS,
SOC. COLLEG. REG. CHIRURG. LOND.
NECNON
SOCIET. REG. MED. EDIN. SOC.

——— Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui. — Virgil.
This falls out better than I could devise. — Shakespeare.

Calendis Augusti, hora locoque solitis.

EDINBURGI:
EXCUDEBAT P. NEILL.

Figure 2. Stephenson's Graduation Thesis, 1820.

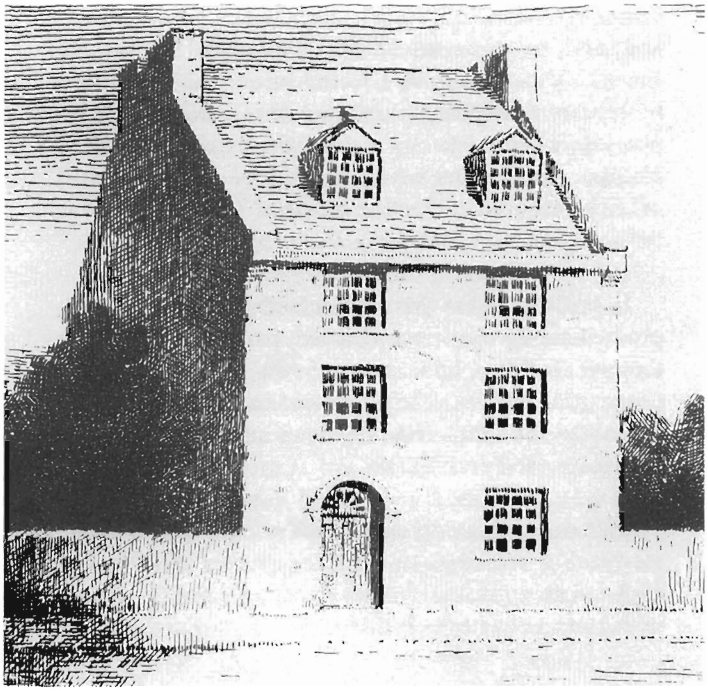
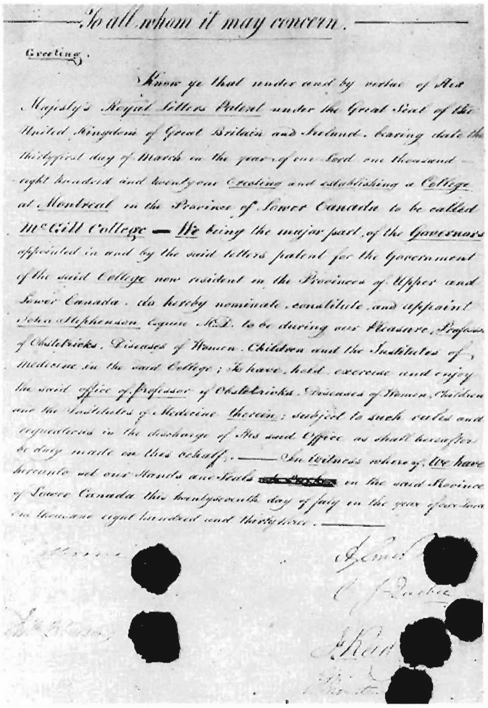


Figure 3. Montreal Medical Institution, 20 St. James Street, Montreal (ca. 1824).



To all whom it may concern.

Greeting.

Know ye that under and by virtue of His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date the thirty first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty one erecting and establishing a College at Montreal in the Province of Lower Canada to be called McGill College — We being the major part of the Governors appointed in and by the said letters patent for the Government of the said College now resident in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint John Stephenson Esquire M.D. to be during our Pleasure, Professor of Obstetricks, Diseases of Women, Children and the Institutes of Medicine in the said College; to have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said office of Professor of Obstetricks, Diseases of Women, Children and the Institutes of Medicine therein; subject to such rules and regulations in the discharge of His said Office as shall hereafter be duly made on this behalf. — In witness whereof We have hereunto set our Hands and Seals [illegible] in the said Province of Lower Canada this twenty seventh day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty three.

Figure 4. Royal Letters Patent mentions the establishment of McGill College on March 31, 1821, and certifies the appointment of John Stephenson, M.D., as Professor of Medicine at McGill College on July 27, 1833.

caused by the inability to produce closure between nasal and oral cavities, an action mandatory for normal speech. This closure is effected in normal individuals by two mechanisms: the soft palate is elevated and the pharynx is constricted by synergistic muscle action. The result is that the oral cavity and nasal cavity are closed off from each other for that moment. Obviously, when the soft palate is split (cleft), that action is impossible.[20]

In addition to the closure mechanism, normal speech production involves coordinated participation of the tongue, larynx, lips, and of the nasal and oro-pharyngeal cavities. The process of speech also requires a subtle coordination of respiration, phonation, resonance, and articulation.

Patients with unoperated cleft of soft palate make predictable articulation errors known as the "typical cleft palate speech", characterized by nasality and, in extreme cases, a speech that is difficult to understand.

In persistent attempts to improve their speech, these patients acquire certain speech habits which involve the use of auxiliary neck muscles and the muscles of the pharynx. After surgical repair of the soft palate, speech habits tend to persist although they are no longer appropriate. It requires assiduous training to overcome these long standing habits.[21]

Stephenson was Dr. Roux's first patient to undergo repair of the cleft of soft palate. The first recorded surgical attempt to do so had been carried out by Louis-Guillaume Le Monnier in 1766.[22] Le Monnier was a practising dentist who carried out an ingenious repair of his patient's soft palate by inserting several sutures into the separated halves of the split palate. He "freshened" the margins with thermal cautery. This process of freshening inevitably left residual "cooked" tissue along the margins. There is no record of the success of this procedure.[23] The first successful closure of the soft palate was described by German surgeon Dr. Carl Ferdinand von Graefe in 1817.[24]

Roux was unfamiliar with both Le Monnier's or von Graefe's reports. His surgical procedure was similar to that of Le Monnier's, but he used a scalpel to produce a freshened bleeding surface of the two margins of the split palate. This procedure permitted accurate junction and subsequently good healing of the split palate.

When Stephenson returned to the Medical School in Edinburgh, he not only had to re-educate his repaired soft palate to articulate more normally, but he also had to eliminate the acquired mannerisms and undesirable patterns of speech, which had inevitably developed in his effort to speak more normally.[25]

Stephenson cogently summarized the problematic situation in his thesis: "The repaired instrument (i.e. soft palate) is not yet fulfilling its proper duties nor giving the help it should to my vocal faculty. Who can deny the all-importance of habit?"[26]

His thesis also understates the amount of discipline and of the effort that this required. Anyone who has had to supervise such patients is well aware of the Herculean effort involved.[27]

Progress was slow but he gradually overcame many previous handicaps: he could play a wind instrument which he could not before and to his great relief, when he had to expel the stomach contents, the vomitus did not come through the nostrils. For the first time in his life he was able to experience the joy of drinking from a brook prostrate on his stomach and was also able to inflate a balloon.[28]

Stephenson received permission to write his thesis on the repair of his soft palate. Having gone through the experience, he felt that he was justified in making certain suggestions regarding the operative procedure. He made several comments about improving the needle drivers; interposing a hard, rubbery substance under the sutures to prevent getting buried into the tissue; avoiding talking and eating during the first few days. Other remarks included the rate of incidence of this condition.

Stephenson's description of his operation preceded his surgeon's report by six years (1825). Stephenson called his procedure *Velosynthesis*, from the Latin for, "soft palate" (velum) and from the Greek for, "repair" (synthesis). Roux's own account favoured the term *staphyloraphie*.[29]

It is interesting to note that Stephenson's Latin Graduation Thesis, Velosynthesis, was acquired by McGill University but remained unread for 135 years. Its unusual contents did not become public knowledge

until Dr. William Francis decided to translate it into English.

Stephenson's account presented in his Thesis is somewhat different from the recounting of events after his return from Edinburgh Medical School to Montreal as presented by several commentators.[30] In 1821, Stephenson was a transformed person; he was outgoing, became a popular surgeon, founded the Medical School, and became a teacher and administrator.

When he returned to Montreal, only his family, Andrew Holmes, and Dr. Robertson had been aware of his speech handicap. It had been a well-kept secret for fear of embarrassing him.

It is extraordinary that, at the end of the 18th century, an infant, born with a cleft of the soft palate managed to live and thrive, overcoming the odds against his survival due to infection and malnutrition. Stephenson's perseverance and eventual success as a physician can be attributed to his parents' constant encouragement and their choice of the Collège de Montréal which helped create a sense of confidence and self-esteem in the afflicted young man.[31]

His Edinburgh years, sustained by the aid and friendship of Andrew Holmes, further contributed to his self-confidence and optimism. It is to Stephenson's credit that after his cleft palate operation he single-handedly overcame his speech defects and improved his articulations.

It is a unique event when both surgeon and patient relate their impression of the same surgical procedure. Stephenson's account of his operation in 1819 was complemented by Roux's published report of this procedure in 1825[32] and by Roux's later reflections on this subject in 1854.

> You know also that it was on a young Canadian physician (his name was Stephenson) on whom I did for the first time the repair procedure. He was the first man to benefit from the advantages of this surgical procedure. I have described in my report on staphylorhaphy (published in 1825). I have never seen a cleft of the palate alone and now (since this first case) I have seen several hundreds of this type. I recognised it from the few descriptions in scientific literature under the name of bifid uvula. Mr. Stephenson and myself were able to experience a success that we had little expected. The continuity of the two parts of the palate was so complete and so perfect and the speech was so improved (later it became still better) that Mr. Stephenson, eleven days following surgery, was able to read to our Academy of Science a short description of the new repair of which he was the subject. You also know that Mr. Stephenson, having left me for his graduation in Edinburgh, came back to Paris after several months and stayed some time with me before going back to his native land. Already at that time his speech was modified and improved. As I learned later, time led to further progress in the education of his palate and his speech became more and more perfect. This must have been so, since Mr. Stephenson chose a teaching career and wrote a few years later that he had been elected Professor of Anatomy of the Faculty of Medicine."[33]

At the time of writing these reminiscences, Roux had done 140 repairs of soft palate in 30 years. One interesting comment that Roux made was as follows:

> The name of Mr. Stephenson is associated with staphylorhaphy (repair of soft palate) and it will probably never be forgotten in the history of this operation...[34]

Now, without a speech handicap, Stephenson was able to devote himself to his practice and to medical education with all the energy and zeal of a man with a mission.

Stephenson died February 2, 1842 at the age of 45, yet in those 22 years in Montreal "he had achieved more than most men achieve in a long lifetime".[35]

APPENDIX

EDINBURGH GRADUATES WHO PRACTICED IN LOWER CANADA: 1800-1828

NAME	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (Span of life)	APRENTICESHIP OR ARMY SERVICE	YEAR GRADUATED FROM EDINBURGH	LICENCE GRANTED	MGH STAFF MEDICAL INSTITUTION	MCGILL MEDICAL FACULTY	PRIVATE PRACTICE IN QUEBEC
Pierre Beaubien	Lower Canada		?	1828			
Charles Blake		Surgeon to Garrison till 1781	?				
Hugh Bone			?				
William Caldwell	Scotland (-1833)	13 Regiment Dragoons	?	?	1821 1823	St. Andrew Montreal 1819	1829
Peter Diehl	Lower Canada	with Dr. Charles Blake 1800-1807	1809	1809		Partner with Dr. C. Arnoldi 1819	
James Douglas	Scotland (1800 -)		1820 classmate of J. Stephenson	1826		Quebec 1828	
Thomas Fargues			1813	1814			1823-29
Andrew Holmes	Cadiz, Spain (English Parents)	Dr. C. Arnoldi 1811-1816	1819	1818	1822 1823	Partner with Dr. Arnoldi 1820	1829 1842 Professor 1860 Dean
Jacque Labrie	French, from Lower Canada (~ 1883)		1808 (First French Canadian)			St. Eustache Quebec	
Archibald Rae			?	1823			
Racy			?			Practice with Dr. Douglas 1846	
William Robertson	Scotland (1784-)	48th Regiment	1804	1828	1823	Montreal 1815	1829
John Stephenson	Montreal (1797-1842)	Dr. W. Robertson (1815-1817)	1820	1821	1820 1823		1829
J.B.C. Tressler			?	1822			

Notes

1. Whiteford, W.M. "Reminiscences of Dr. John Stephenson, One of the Founders of McGill Medical Faculty". *Canadian Medical and Surgical Journal* v.11 (1883):728-31.
2. Whiteford (1883), p.728.
3. Rendall, J. "The Influence of Edinburgh Medical School in America in the 18th Century". *Edinburgh Medical Journal* (April, 1923):95-124.
4. Abbott, M.E. "The Faculty of Medicine of McGill University". *Surgery, Gynaecology and Obstetrics* v.60 (1935):242-53.
5. Stephenson, John. *De Velosynthesis*; a Graduation Thesis in Latin, submitted to the Edinburgh Medical College, August 1, 1820.
6. Abbott, M.E. "A Historical Sketch of the Medical Faculty of McGill University". *Montreal Medical Journal* v.31 (1902):563.
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8. Abbott (1902), p. 571.
9. Abbott (1935), p. 243.
10. Abbott, M.E. *History of Medicine in the Province of Quebec*. Montreal: McGill University, 1931, p.60.
11. Abbott, M.E. (1931), pp. 55, 59.
12. Abbott (1931), p. 60.
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17. Stephenson, John. "Repair of Cleft Palate by Philibert Roux in 1819". *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery* v.47 (1971):281. (Comments by Dr. Martin Entin)
18. Stephenson (1971), p.280.
19. Roux, P.J. "Observation sur une division congenital du voile du palais et de une luette guerie du moyen d'une operation". *Journal Universel de Science Medicale* v.15 (1819):356.
20. Johnson, W. et al. *Diagnostic Methods of Speech Pathology*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963, pp. 50ff.
21. Wallace (1966), p.8.
22. Stark, Richard. "Cleft Palate." In Reconstructive Plastic Surgery, edited by J. Converse. v. 3. Philadelphia: Saunders, 1968, p. 1416. Stark refers to Louis-Guillaume Le Monnier's Traité des principaux objets de médecine avec un sommaire. Paris: Lacombe, 1766.
23. Stark, Richard (1968), p. 1416.
24. Von Graefe, Dr. Carl Ferdinand. "Kurze Nachrichten une Auszuge". *Journal der Practischen Arzneykunde und Wundarzneykunst* v.44 pt.1 (1817):116.
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26. Stephenson (1971), p.281.
27. Stephenson (1971), p.282. Dr. Entin has had extensive experience in post-operative management of patients with cleft palate at the Royal Victoria Hospital and at the Shriners Hospital, Montreal during the 1960s and 1970s.
28. Stephenson (1971), p.281.
29. Roux, P.J. "Mémoire sur la staphyloraphie, ou il suture a voile du palais". *Archives des Sciences Medicales* v.7 (1825):516-538.
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32. Roux (1825).
33. Roux (1825).
34. Letters dedicated to Mr. William Lawrence, Surgeon Bartholomew's Hospital, London. (Letter no.7). In Roux, P.J. *Quarante Années de Pratique Chirurgicale*, v.1: Reparative Surgery. Paris: Librairie de Victor Masson, 1854. Cited in Wallace, A.B. (1966), p.13.
35. Frost, Stanley B. *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning, V.1:1801-1895*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1980, p.127.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to express his appreciation to Mrs. Jo Currie, Assistant Librarian, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library for ferreting out the valuable material reflecting on John Stephenson's life and studies while in Edinburgh Medical College. To Dr. and Mrs. Charles Cahn and to Dr. Annmarie Adams, for reading the manuscript and their suggestions.

Notes and Comments

A Russian Diplomat in China: The Papers of Petr Genrikhovich Tiedemann at McGill

By Alexander Berdnikov
Archivist, Tobol'sk Pedagogical University

translated and introduced by Helen Anderson
Slavic Bibliographer, McLennan Library

Introduction

Petr Genrikhovich Tidemann (1873-1941) worked as a diplomat for the Russian Imperial government in various cities in China from 1898 until diplomatic relations were severed in 1920. He remained in China for some years, working for the Russian and British Concessions helping to resettle Russians passing through China as a result of White Russian immigration.

The archive consists of personal and official documents and photographs dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is supplemented by a collection of rare books and newspapers published in Russian and English largely in China.

Until now, this archive has not been the subject of any scholarly study. The material it contains provides a unique view of the life and times of the Russian community in China during a turbulent period of history through the eyes of a Russian diplomat and his family. Official reports and personal letters reflect detailed descriptions of many historical events. In addition, a small collection of material relates to the affairs of Mikhail Skriabin, Vice-Governor of Lublin, father of Petr Tiedemann's wife, Adelaida Mikhailovna.

The archive of Petr Genrikhovich Tiedemann was donated to the Department of Russian and Slavic Studies in the late 1970's by his son Dmitrii Petrovich Tiedemann. The Department deposited the collection with the Libraries in May, 1995, at which time it was organized and catalogued by visiting archivist Alexander Berdnikov. Before his death in 1941, Petr Tiedemann himself began generally to organize his papers. Professor Berdnikov has preserved and refined the original order of the documents which now fill forty boxes. A catalogue of the material is under preparation. It will soon be made available for study in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries.

Concise Biography

Petr Genrikhovich Tiedemann was born on the 14th of October 1842 in Kazan, Russia to a noble family of German Lutheran heritage. His father, Genrikh Ottonovich Tiedemann (1839-1889), was made a nobleman and held the rank of Full State Councillor. His mother, Tat'iana Petrovna, nee Savel'eva, (??-1877) was from a Russian Orthodox family, the daughter of a doctor. Besides Petr they had six other children: Ekaterina (born 1868), Anna (born 1870), Maks (1875-1917), Boris (born 1879), Tat'iana (born 1881), and Vadim (1888-1926).

Petr graduated from the Third Classical Gymnasium and then from the Department of Oriental Languages of the University of Saint Petersburg in 1894. From 1895, he served in the diplomatic service at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; from 1896-1898 as a student stagiaire with the Imperial Russian Diplomatic Mission in Peking. From 1898 through 1899 he was in charge of the Russian Consulate in Foochow; from 1900 through 1901 he was a secretary and translator with the Diplomatic office in Port Arthur under the Director of the Kwantun Region, Adjutant General

E. A. Alekseev; from 1902 through 1905 he served as Vice Consul in Chefoo; from 1906 through 1907 as Consul in Mukden; from 1907 through 1908 as a civil servant with the Diplomatic office in Khabarovsk under the Governor General of Priamur; from 1908 through 1910 as Russian Consul in Hong Kong; from 1911 through 1913 as Consul in Niuchjan; from 1914 as Consul and from 1915 through 1920 as Consul General in Tientsin on the staff of the Russian Imperial Diplomatic Mission. From 1921 through 1934 he was Municipal Consul of the Russian Concession in Tientsin and from 1934-1937 a servant of the Municipal Consul of the British Concession in Han'kou. In 1934 he received permission from the British authorities for temporary residency in England. In 1937 he moved to Montreal, Canada where his son Dmitrii (born 1906) lived. Petr Genrikhovich was married to Adelaida Mikhailovna Skriabin (??-1925). She was from a Russian Orthodox background, the daughter of Full State Councillor M.D. Skriabin who served his last years as Vice Governor of Lublin. He died in 1907. Besides their son Dmitrii, Petr and Adelaida had two daughters: Tat'iana (born 1903) and Anna (born 1905).

Petr Genrikhovich died in Montreal on 25 June, 1941. A memorial service was held at the Cathedral of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at noon on 26 June. The resting place of his ashes is unknown.

Itemized List of Selected Documents

Code K-5/1 Category IF (Iconographic Fond)

File 1: photographs - 17 (of which 3 are on documents);
File 2: drawings - 11 (of which 1 is on a document);
File 3: postcards and postal envelopes - 36;
File 4: works of Chinese applied art - 3;
File 5: photographs clipped from newspapers - 3;
File 6: Miscellaneous - 11 documents.

Some Rare Photographs (from File 1):

1 - Petr Genrikhovich Tiedemann and Konstantin Vladimirovich Snegirev (an ophthalmologist from Moscow);

2 - Mother and brothers of Adelaida Mikhailovna Tiedemann (nee Skriabina), near a Russian church in Riga (photograph on a postcard; also contains the text of a letter by M.D. Skriabin, Vice-Governor of Lublin and Full State Councillor); inscription: "[To] A.M. Tiedemann, Port Arthur, c/o General Bazilevskii";

5 - P.G. Tiedemann, Consul General A.N. Timchenko-Ostroverkhov and others (all inscriptions on this photograph were made by Dmitrii Tiedemann);

10 - P.G. Tiedemann (in his sixtieth year) with some members of the Chefoo Club, China, 1932;

11 - Feofil Iosifovich Girtman, railroad engineer, known for the construction of the southern portion of the East China Railroad from In'kou (Niuchjan) to Port Arthur; photo taken in 1901;

12 - Dmitrii Petrovich Tiedemann wearing a Russian Scout uniform; a form with the Provisional Government letterhead, with seals of the Consulate in Dalian and the text of his personal identification of 9 May 1923 for the move from China to America; and the letter from his father (28 March 1934) and a poem by his grandfather Genrikh Tiedemann, dated 1889;

15 - Photograph of the family of Petr Genrikhovich Tiedemann: his wife Adelaida Mikhailovna and children

Adelaida Mikhailovna and Petr Genrikhovich around the time of their marriage on the 6th October, 1902. (Photo: O.F. German)

Tatiana, Anna and Dmitrii, on the passport of 14 April 1920, issued by the Russian Consulate in Tientsin for a trip to Harbin (with translations into Chinese and English); also here is a later letter to Dmitrii of 22 March 1934;

17 - Petr Prokudin, with a gift inscription of 24 November 1923; mailed to China from Seattle, U.S.A.

Code K-5/2 Category ROD (Rare Official Document)

1 - Notice of the funeral service in the Kresto-Vozdvizhenskii Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Lublin for Vice-Governor and Full State Councillor Mikhail Dmitrievich Skriabin (the father of Adelaida Mikhailovna Tiedemann), held on 15 May 1907;

2 - Text of an Imperial Manifesto of the Russian Emperor Nicholas II on his abdication (a clipping from the newspaper *Kharbinskii Viestnik* signed by the editor P. Tishchenko); from a letter by Uspenskii of 4 March 1917;

3 - "The list of persons who offered their greetings in the Naval Assembly [of Port Arthur] on the Day of Holy Easter, 9 April 1900", among them Vice Admiral E.I. Alekseev, Rear Admiral M.G. Veselago, Count V.I. Golovin, Prince A.A. Dolgorukov, Hieromonk Innokentii (later Metropolitan and Head of the Russian Church Mission in China), Count A.G. Kankrin, Baron A.K. Kaul'bars, Prince D.P. Maksutov, Major General I.K. MacDonald, Rear Admiral O.V. Stark, Major General A.M. Stessel, Baron B.A. von Taube, Baron G.N. von Taube, P.G. Tiedemann and others; also a mess list of 14 Russian naval ships and a list of women;

4 - The original Certificate issued to P.G. Tiedemann authorizing the holder "to search for and develop gold deposits in the Kwantun Region and the neighbouring islands, based on Order... number 36 of 1 June 1901...", sealed and personally signed by the Chief Officer and Adjutant General Ev. Alekseev (issued on 10 July 1901, registration number 164);

5 - A copy of a telegram from the Council of Elders of the Russian Colony in Tientsin to the Russian Foreign Minister of 19 May 1917 with a request to remove Consul Tiedemann. Here is an excerpt from the text: "...A Russian clerk Kovalev, who decorated public buildings with red banners for Easter, was fired by Tiedemann under a petty formalistic pretext. In addition, he demonstratively refused to pay the bill for the red banners, amounting to no more than nine rubles."

6 - Original manuscript of *Review of the Negotiations Between Russia and Japan Aimed at Concluding a Treaty on Trade and Navigation*, 30 pp.

7 - *Collected Laws and Decrees of the Government [of Russia] Published by the Ruling Senate*, issue 154 of 3 July 1914, 16 pp.; part 1 reproduces "The Bill on Establishing New Departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Their Personnel...". Paragraph 3 in Chapter 1 reads: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs keeps... the State Seal which, according to the Main Laws of the Empire, is applied to [all] state acts as proof of their final approval by the Highest Imperial Authority...". Paragraph 4: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is composed of: 1 - the Minister; 2- two Deputy Ministers; 3 - central departments; and 4 - foreign departments. Paragraph 5: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also includes... 3 - diplomatic officials attached to the Irkutsk and Amur Governors General" (the latter is important for compiling a new biography of Petr Genrikhovich Tiedemann);

8 - Text of Decrees: No. 1 of 30 January and no. 2 of 1 March, 1922 for the Semirechensk Cossack Army, signed by its Army Ataman and Major General of the General Staff Ionov: "...Thrown together with a handful

of Semirechensk Cossacks to a faraway land, living in an accidental yet difficult exile...I am with you with all my heart, and in my thoughts I share your fate and your destiny... Our great country has been reduced to a savage desert. Amidst the ruins of burned-down Russia, alarmed Soviet wise men are sounding a retreat, and their actions betray attempts to return to capitalism...Bolshevism...is dying the death it bears in itself...Enough of our brothers' blood... of firing squads... of executions and new graves..., of widows and orphans...Russian people, come to your senses!";

9 - Filled-out form for the "Classification of the Number of Refugees Without Specific Occupations" (the document bears no date, signature, or any mention of the geographical area where it was compiled), includes 336 persons classified by profession, gender, religion, and family status;

10 - "Announcement" by the Russian Imperial Consulate General in Shanghai of 7 February 1905, signed by Consul General Kleimenov, concerning the creation of special commissions to review the cases of "Russian citizens arriving from Port Arthur and Japan...",

11 - original manuscript by P.G. Tiedemann, containing his comments on the Portsmouth Treaty between Russia and Japan, 21 pp.;

12 - comments on the Russo-Japanese Trade Treaty, an article clipped from the newspaper *Novoe Vremia* (St.Petersburg) of 13 September 19??;

13 - a clipping from an unknown publication satirizing Soviet life in the 1920s, entitled "The Battle Song of a Bolshevik". It mocks absurd documents issued by Revolutionary Military Councils, such as that given to Comrade Evdokimov by the Tagil Military Commissar: "...the bearer is authorized to acquire a young lady. And nobody... should resist him...";

14 - full text of the "Proposed Consular Judicial Code" of 1919, "manuscript copyright", Shanghai, Russian Book Publishers, 91 pp.; reproduces 566 articles, two appendices, and "personnel Lists of Russian Consular Court Chambers in Constantinople, Peking and Teheran; Consular Courts in Jerusalem, Constantinople, Meshed, Tabriz, Teheran, Rasht, Harbin, Urge, and Kashgar".

Code K-5/3 Category RD (Rare Document)

1 - original personal letter from the Russian Ambassador to China Prince N. Kudashev to P.G. Tiedemann of 30 June (Old Style) 1920;

2 - original personal letter from General Dm. L. Khorvat to P.G. Tiedemann of 31 December 1921, from Peking; the letter praises the *Commercial and Industrial Business Directory* published by Tiedemann;

3 - original personal letter from Prince Meshcherskii of 12 August 1905 from Peking; the letter informs us that P. Tiedemann was awarded the Order of St. Stanislaw of the 3rd degree;

4 - official letter from E.K. Nozhkin, military correspondent for the newspapers *Novosti* and *Novyi Krai* of 9 October 1904 from Port Arthur to Chefoo, addressed to Vice Consul P.G. Tiedemann;

5 - original personal letter from A. Bel'chenko (formerly Consul General) of 17 January 1922 from Han'kou;

6 - original personal letter from K. Annenkov of 18 October 1923;

7 - typewritten copy of an article from the evening newspaper *Rupor* of 4 March 1922, issue 157 (published in Harbin since 1912);

8 - typewritten literary work "A Song of Hatred Toward England", 5 pp. (author unknown);

9 - several personal invitations from Vice Admiral E.Alekseev, Chief Administrator of the Kwantun Region (the first is dated 14 March 1900);

10 - personal letter from M.D. Skriabin, Vice-Governor of Lublin, of 1 May 1906;

11 - part of the original letter from relatives in the USSR (Leningrad) of 8 November 1926 and 6 May 1929 (diary notes, author unknown);

12 - typewritten copies of official bulletins on the action on the Western Front (World War I), June-July 1916, 5 pp.;

13 - nine original personal letters from General A. Ionov, 1922;

14 - original official letter from General N.V. Nikonov, No.1 of 20 March 1923; the letter mentions the power of attorney given by Lieutenant General Grigorii Mikhailovich Semenov, Ataman of the Transbaikal Cossack Army (registered in the Russian Consulate General in Nagasaki as No.14 on 9 March 1923). It aims at recovering from Citizen P.S. Nakhabov the amount of $138,000 and appeals to P.G.Tiedemann to facilitate the case;

15 - original personal letter from General B.P. Vasil'ev of the 25 July 1922 with a request for help in finding employment;

16 - original letter of reference for General K.V. Lovtsov, of 10 October 1922 from Mukden;

17 - personal letter from an unknown person dated 13 November 1923 from Shanghai telling of the upcoming 25th anniversary of Andrei Terent'evich Bel'chenko's service at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

18 - typewritten lyrics to the song "March of Siberian Troops" (author unknown);

19 - typewritten Agreement between the Russian Consulate and Citizen S.M. Viazigin on a 10-year lease of government land belonging to the Russian Concession in Tientsin;

20 - original handwritten revolutionary appeal (or a flyer) "On the Meeting at the St.Petersburg University", of 2 February 1902;

21 - text of the revolutionary appeal "Comrades!" with demands for political freedom, published by the "Radicals' Credit Union", signed by "a group of St.Petersburg University students";

22 - text of the revolutionary appeal "To Society", published by the Radicals' Credit Union, 3 February 1902;

23 - resolution of a student meeting at the Kiev University held on 24 January 1902 published by the Radicals' Credit Union, St. Petersburg, 3 February 1902; contains demands of autonomy for all institutions of higher learning in Russia.

Code K-5/4 Category DP (Diplomatic Correspondence)

1 - report by Consul General P.G. Tiedemann to the First Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, numbered 660 of 16 August 1919; mentions the fact that at the time, he was Doyen of the Consular Corps;

2 - copy of a letter to the Russo-Chinese Bank branch director in Hong Kong, numbered 13, of 13 January 1910, on a letterhead of the Russian Imperial Consulate, 3 pp.;

3 - two copies of a letter to the Chief Director of the Russo-Chinese bank in Shanghai, numbered 14, of 13 January 1910, 3 pp.;

4 - copy of a report to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London; No.27 of 29 January 1910, from Hong Kong, signed by Consul Tiedemann, 4 pp.;

5 - report to the Russian Imperial Mission on Peking from Hong Kong, No.32 of 4 February 1910, 13 pp. (copy); contains important information concerning the military riot in Canton on 28-31 January, mentions the new Viceroy Iuan-su-shun, names of the Chinese peoples Hakka and Punti from Kwang-si Province, reports on the emergence of a new clandestine society "of the Small Knife" in Canton and of the persecution of those belonging to it by the Chinese authorities;

6 - report by the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking (copy) from Hong Kong, No.41 of 4 March 1910, 4 pp.; mentions the steamer Cleveland which sailed around the world for the Hamburg-American Line Society, as well as flyers issued by the Canton Society to Protect Chinese Borders on the subject of Macao borders;

7 - report to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London, No. 42 of 6 March 1910 and to the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking, No. 43 of the same date, 11 pp.; reports on the stone-laying ceremony at the future university building site in Hong Kong on 3/16 March in the presence of 2000 guests; construction was funded by the stockbroker Hormasji Mody, a Parsee; also mentions T'ao tai Wei Han, head of the delegation representing the Viceroys of Lian-guan and Lian-jian and the Colony's Governor Sir Frederick Lugard;

8 - report to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London, No.49 of 15/28 March, 5 pp. on the opium market conditions, speculations, and monopolies; mentions that the opium trade was particularly important as one of the main revenue producers for the colony.

9 - copy of a letter to the Volunteer Fleet Agency in Vladivostok, No.44 of 25 February 1909, on the establishment of a regular postal and passenger steamship line between Shanghai and Dalian, which changed some of the postal routings between Hong Kong and Europe via Manchuria and Siberia; also contains the Consul's request for statistical data on the Volunteer Fleet cargo, postal and passenger traffic on all Far Eastern lines;

10 - report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs First Department, No.51 of 4 March 1901, 3 pp.; on the transfer of Vice-Consular duties in Chefoo to Collegiate Assessor Kristi in September 1905;

11 - copy of the report by the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking, No.75 of 6 April 1909, 3 pp., on the cargo traffic on the steamer line between Hong Kong and Haiphong and on the Chinese skill in protecting their economic interests by exploiting the competition among Europeans;

12 - copy of a letter to General V.E. Flug, No.117 of 13 May 1909, 4 pp.; requests information on the status of foreign consular representatives in Vladivostok;

13 - copy of a report by the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking, No. 191 of 7 September 1909, 16 pp., stating that on 20 August (old style) the Governor of Hong Kong signed a new bill closing opium dens and that the local press was highly critical of this move by the Colony's Legislative Council;

14 - reports to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London, No.197 of 18 September 1909, and to the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking, No.198 of the same date (copies), 10 pp., reporting that Hong Kong introduced new taxes on the sale of alcoholic beverages effective 4/17 September, with tax rates included;

15 - report to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London, No.202 of 22 September, 4 pp., stating that the deadline set by the Hong Kong administration for applications for the opium monopoly buyouts had expired. Also predicts no deficit in the Colony's budget for the next several years due to the taxation of trade in alcoholic beverages;

16 - report to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London, No.220 of 13 October, 12 pp., on the construction of a new Kowloon-Canton Railroad through the British Colony's territory and on the concession obtained by the Chinese Government in 1898 for these purposes; also on the views of Governor Sir Matthew Nathan (1904) regarding the unification of Hong Kong and Canton;

17 - copy of a report by the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking, No.224 of 19 October 1909, 7 p., on the increase of anti-foreigner activities by the "Self-Rule Society" in Canton (after declarations by several foreign Ambassadors to the Chinese Government); on the strong revival of the anti-Japanese boycott triggered by the Sino-Japanese agreement on the TSian'-dao area and the railroads in Manchuria; and on the meeting of the "Society for the Protection of Chinese Borders" in Canton on 4 October to discuss the border with Macao;

18 - copy of a report by the Imperial Russian Mission in Peking, No.231 of 2 November 1909, 4 pp., on the 9th meeting of the Sino-Portuguese Commission on the Borders of the Portuguese Colony of Macao;

19 - copy of a report by the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking, No.233 of 3 November, 4 pp., on the postponement of His Majesty's Birthday celebrations in Hong Kong, which was considered humiliating to all Britons;

20 - copy of a report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Personnel Department, No.240 of 20 November 1909, 10 pp., on the condition of the office space occupied by the Russian Consulate in Hong Kong (in response to the request No.9057 of 8 October);

21 - report to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London, No.179 of 22 December 1908, 7 pp., on the lifting of martial law in Hong Kong, which the Governor had introduced in response to anti-Japanese rioting, and on the deportation of riot leaders from the Colony without trial;

22 - copy of *Report of The Russian Imperial Consulate in Hong Kong for 1908*, 26 pp.; analyses information on this British Colony in the following fields: industry, trade, merchant navigation, shipbuilding, the ties of the Consulates with various organizations, preparation and issuance of documents (appeals and complaints from private citizens, deaths, inheritance cases, etc.);

23 - copy of *Report on the Current Political and Economic Situation in Canton, in Connection with Desirability to Establish a Full Russian Consulate in This City*, 34 pp.;

24 - copy of the telegram from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Amur Governor General in Khabarovsk, of 14 March 1908, "on assigning the diplomatic official Tiedemann to Hong Kong to direct the Consulate";

25 - copy of a telegram from the Amur Governor General to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of 15 March 1909: "...I have no objections to assigning Tiedemann to Hong Kong, although I sincerely regret the loss of such an excellent and capable official", signed personally by General Unterberger;

26 - original letter from the Amur Governor General, No.9302 of 12 November 1908, expressing gratitude to Petr Genrikhovich Tiedemann for his useful service in Khabarovsk;

27 - copy of the report by the Russian Imperial Mission in Peking, No. 974 of 23 December 1920, 4 pp. It is one of the last official documents signed by P.G. Tiedemann as Consul General in Tientsin and reports on depositing the Consulate's monetary funds in a branch of the Russo-Asian Bank with a postulation "...that withdrawals can be made only on orders from the legally recognized Government of All Russia" (the letter bears a special marking "Under the Terms of Closure").

Chronicle

Library acquisitions are made possible by funds from many different sources, first and foremost the University book and serials budget, which in recent years and at the present time continues to enjoy vigorous support from the McGill administration and the entire academic community. In addition, endowed funds from many sources, public and private, represent an essential and substantial portion of the total acquisitions budget.

The McGill University Twenty-First Century Fund Campaign is designed to strengthen and modernize this unique institution as it enters the new century. This major campaign includes the Libraries with an emphasis on their collections. The Libraries do not have alumni to approach for substantial funding, yet in the past two years we have successfully attracted close to $8 million in private support. The figure is quite remarkable, but the Libraries are far from their goal needed to fund special priorities. Following are some of the highlights in recent donations to the McGill Libraries:

Seymour Schulich	$1,000,000
Birks Family Foundation	250,000
The Joan and Clifford Hatch Family Foundation	150,000

Many of the larger donations gratefully accepted by the Libraries are recognized for all future by placing special bookplates in the books acquired by funds from such gifts.

Private donations in the form of books, new and old, have for over 150 yeras been another valuable source of acquisitions. In the early years of the history of McGill Libraries such gifts in kind were in fact the major source of new books. Now such gifts represent a relatively small portion of additions to the collections, yet very important indeed, because they often represent rare and unique books or works that are not easily acquired through mormal channels. The Libraries are, therefore, very grateful for such gifts in kind from individuals and estates.

The following list represents merely a selection of some of the significant and unusual items acquired by McGill Libraries, mostly during 1994 and 1995.

Library Purchases from the Seagram Fund

Government Documents:

Unpublished House of Commons *Sessional Papers*, 34th Parliament. 107 reels of microfilm. $12,000.

Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada. On microfiche. (Replacement of worn out set.)

Humanities and Social Sciences:

Orders for some eighty new books about Canada, published both here and abroad have been placed on Seagram funds. These were items for which the regular book budget could not stretch. The goal was to provide a good selection of material to help elucidate Canadian culture. We acquired more regional history than we would otherwise have obtained. A special effort was made to identify books relating to local issues in the maritimes and British Columbia. We also chose a number of biographies and auto-biographies (often self-published) of relatively minor politicians, retired civil servants etc. The library was able to acquire some quite interesting titles published by local historical societies, churches and other civic organizations.

The Seagram book fund was used for replacement of lost books and to purchase additional copies of books on topics on issues of particular interest to our readers at present: native peoples, the referendum, multiculturalism and other social issues.

Canadian Military History:

Thirty-four books were ordered and a backfile of the *Military Gazette* was acquired.

Art and Architecture:

Twenty-four books at a cost of approximately $1300 were ordered, consisting largely of books on material cultura of Canada to support the new course being given this year.

Education:

Four thousand dollars were allocated to update curriculum laboratory holdings for the teaching of Canadian literature and social studies and for improving Canadian aspects of the library's reference collection. To date approximately $1500 has been committed, largely for education videos.

New Serial Subscriptions:

Note: location is McLennan unless otherwise indicated.

Année politique au Québec
Arc
Blood and Aphorisms
Borde Crossings: a Magazine of the Arts
Border/Lines; Culture, Contexts, Canada
Building (Blackader)
Cahiers des dix (subscription to the revived version)
Cap aux diamants
Cinémas
DLI (Data Liberation Initiative) ongoing membership
Energy Studies Review
Environments: a Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies
Fireweed, a Feminist Quarterly
Globe & Mail (duplicate subscription for Howard Ross Management Library)
Herizons
Journal of Professional Studies (Education Library)
Liaison
LittérRealité
Musicworks (Music Library)
The New Quarterly
Nuit Blanche
Nunatsiaq News
Paragraph, the Fiction Magazine
Possibles
Prairie Fire, a Canadian Magazine of New Writing
Quill and Quire (microform subscription)

Quill and Quire (duplicate paper subscription for the Education Library)
Raddle Moon
Stop
Sub-Terrain Magazine
Tangence
Textual Studies in Canada
Trois
Women and Environments

New Standing Orders (selective listing):

C.D. Howe Institute
- British North America Committee. Publications
- Canadian-American Committee. Publications
- Policy Review and Outlook
- Social Policy Challenge Series
- Western Studies in Economic Policy

Caledon Institute of Social Policy
- Papers

Canada West Foundation
- Consitutional Reform Series
- Economic Development Series
- Program in Economic Growth Series
- Program in Population Health Series

Canadian Centre for Global Security
- Aurora Papers, Issue Briefs, Special Reports

Canadian Institute for Advanced Research
- Documents, Publications, Working Papers

Couchiching Institute on Public Affairs
- Conference Proceedings

Dalhousie University Lester Pearson Institute
- Publications

Mount Allison University Centre for Canadian Studies
- Winthrop Packard Bell Lectures in Maritime Studies
- Proceedings of the Anchorage Series

Norman Patterson School of International Affairs (Ottawa-Carleton)
- Occasional Papers

Queens University. Centre for International Relations
- Occasional Papers

Queens University. Institute of Intergovernmental Relations
- Aboriginal Peoples and Consitutional Reform
- Reflections Series

Queens University. John Deutsch Institute
- Bell Canada Papers on Economic and Public Policy
- Policy Forum Series
- Round Table on Economic Policy

Queens University. School of Policy Studies
- Government and Competitiveness Series

University of Ottawa. Centre for Trade Policy and Law
Lecture Series, Seminar Series
York University. Institute for Social Research.
Publications

Backfiles of Newspapers and Periodicals:

Calgary Herald, 1970-1982
Canadian Folklore, vols. 6, 10-15
Canadian Journal of Native Studies (replacement issues)
Canadian Papers in Business History, vol. 2
Chatelaine 1935-1975
Country Guide 1928-1978 microfilm
Country Guide (special edition) 1945-1978
Grain Growers Guide, 1908-28
Material History Bulletin vol 3, 1977
Military History Review, vol. 17
Nor'Wes Farmer, 1886-1928 microfilm
On Balance: media treatment of public policy issues, 1988-1991
Oregon Historical Quarterly, 1901-1956
Le Soleil, Quebec, 1962-1975 microfilm
Vancouver Sun, July 1960-Dec. 1965
XYZ, la revue de la nouvelle, 1985-1988

Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art

A generous contribution from the Webster Fund made it possible to acquire retroactively a number of important *catalogues raisonnés* of the work of 19th and 20th century artists as well as other exceptional additions to the literature of art and architecture. A selective list includes the following titles:

Ceroni, Ambrogio. *Amedeo Modigliani: dessin et sculpture*. Milan: Ed. del Milione, 1965.

Czwiklitzer, Christophe. *Suprematisme de Nadia Khodossievitch - Leger*. Paris: Editions Art - c.c., 1972.

Dora, Henri. *Seurat*. Paris: Les Beaux Arts, 1959.

Ede, Harold Stanley. *A Life of Gaudier - Brzeska*. London: William Heinemann, 1930.

Garrison, Edward. *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*. 4 vols. London: Pindar, 1993.

Grillot de Givry, Emilie Angelo. *Le Musée des Sorciers*. Paris: Librairie de France, 1929.

Hammacher, Abraham. *Le Monde de Henry Van de Velde*. Anvers/Paris: Fond Mercator/Hachette, 1967.

L'oeuvre gravé de Vuillard. Monte Carlo: Sauret, 1948.

Moore, Henry. *Catalogue of Graphic Work Vols 3 & 4*. Geneva: Cramer, 1980-1986.

Pétridès, Paul. *L'oeuvre complet de Suzanne Valadon*. Paris: Compagnie française des arts graphiques, 1971.

Pyle, Hilary. *Jack B. Yeats. A Catalogue Raisonne of the Oil Paintings*. London: André Deutsch, 1992.

Raimondi, Giuseppe and Luigi Cavallo. *Ardegno Soffici*. Florence: Vallecchi, 1967.

Sanchez Camargo, Manuel. *La Muerte y la Pintura Espanola*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1954.

Sauvage, Henri. *The Architectural Drawings of Henri Sauvage*. Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture, Archives de la Ville de Paris, 1993.

Schindler, R.M. *The Architectural Drawings of R.M. Schindler*. 4 volumes Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California, 1993.

Springfield, George. *Some New Forms of Beauty 1909 - 1936*. Springfield, MA: Smith Art Gallery, 1939.

Talmini, Lito. *Il Canal Grande Il Rilievo*. Italy: Annaldo Forni Editore, 1990.

Vacherot, Jules. *Parc et Jardins*. Paris: Doin, 1925.

Watson, F.J.B. *The Wrightsman Collection*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 1966.

Wilton - Ely, John. *Piranesi, the Complete Etchings*. San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1992.

Significant donations included a collection of hundred exhibition catalogues of modern and contemporary art, by Montreal artist Jana Sterbak, a collection of books on Mexican art donated by the Mexican government and a donation of a dozen artists' monographs by Abbeville Press.

Other important donations were directed towards the Canadian Architecture Collection, an archival component of the Blackader-Lauterman Library.

The Sigrun Bülow-Hübe collection represents the work of a noted Canadian architect and industrial designer of Swedish origin. It was given to the University by Montreal literary historian, Dr. Judith Adamson, together with a donation of $2,500 towards the organization of the archive and the preparation of a guide to its contents.

The papers of France Gagnon-Pratte, Présidente du Conseil des Monuments Historiques du Québec, were donated by the Quebec City-based architectural historian and long-time collaborator of CAC. A sum of $10,000 was contributed by Mme. Pratte towards the description of the archive and towards CAC conservation needs.

Support for CAC archives was also shown in the course of the CAC Auction held as a fundraiser in December 1994. This event contributed $38,371.50 towards the preservation and description of over 60 CAC *fonds*.

Blacker-Wood Library of Biology

Twelve titles were added to the rare books collection this year. Because of limited budget, only 4 of these were purchases. The other eight additions were gifts:

Trense, Warner. *The Big Game of the World*, 1989. Copy 162 of 250, autographed. Purchased from the Blacker Fund.

Filkins, Kenn. *A Bond with the Wild: a Celebration of American Falconry*, 1993. Purchased from the Wood Fund.

Beebe, Frank. *Frank L. Beebe, the Artist*, 1992. Purchased from the Wood Fund.

Silva, Tony. *A Monograph of Macaws and Conures*, 1993. Purchased from the Wood Fund.

Portmann, Adolf. *The Beauty of Butterflies*, 1945. Gift.

Boulger, George S. *British Flowering Plants*, 1914. 4 vols., copy 66 of 1,000. Gift.

Kippis, Andrew. *Narrative of James Cook's Voyages Around the World*, 1841. Gift.

McLean, Olive. *Flowers of Hawaii*, 1938. Gift.

Gould, John. *Gould's Australia*, 1977. Gift from Dr. E. McGarry.

Tunnicliffe, Charles. *Shorelands Winter Diary*, 1992. Gift from Mr. David Lank.

Harris-Ching, Raymond. *Voice from the Wilderness: Paintings and Drawings*, 1994. Gift from Mr. David Lank.

Buffon, Georges. *Oeuvres complètes de M. le comte de Buffon, 1775-1789.* Claude Gosselin donated 40 (of hte 45) volumes in this edition.

Dr. Max Dunbar, a longtime friend of the library died and bequeathed a large collection of materials on marine biology and the arctic. Dr. Wayne Frair of King's College, New York donated a collection of materials on creationism.

A total of $11,676.78 was received for the Kafer Boothroyd Endowment Fund, the interest on which is used to buy books. This included substantial gifts from:

Mr. Federick Anderson	$ 300.00
Dr. R. Boothroyd	500.00
Class of 1991	1,503.36
Mrs. Mary Finlay	250.00
Ms. I. Sils & Mrs. P. Schmookler	1,000.00
Twenty-First Century Fund	5,899.06

Ms. Sils and Mr. Schmookler made substantial use of the original drawings and early printed books on ornithology in the rare books collection to illustrate a book they are writing on the fur and feathers used in making salmon flies.

Miss Eleanor MacLean donated $1,084 in order to restore E. Neale's painting of a Golden Eagle, which had a large tear in it.

Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

Acquisitions by Purchase

Brown, Robert. *Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland.* Edinburgh: 1806.

Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de la Vallière. Paris: 1783.

Geoffry Gag-'Em-Am [*pseud.*] *The Free-born Englishman Deprived of his Seven Senses...* Illustrated by George Cruikshank. London: 1819.

Mayhew, Henry. *1851, or the Adventures of Mr. and Mrs. Sandboys and Family Who Came Up to London to "Enjoy Themselves," and to See the Great Exhibition.* Illustrated by George Cruikshandk. London: 1851.

Gordon, R.K. *A Canadian Child's ABC.* Illustrated by Thoreau MacDonald. Toronto: 1931.

Henry, John. *An Enquiry Into the Evils of General Suffrage and Frequent Elections in Lower Canada.* Montreal: 1810.

Hobson, R.L. *A Catalogue of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain in the Collection of Sir Percival David, Bt., F.S.A.* London: 1934. (In the Aries type designed by Eric Gill).

Hume, David. *Saggi morali e politici.* Amsterdam: 1764.

Kotzebue, Otto von. *A Voyage of Discovery Into the South Sea and Beering's Straits.* London: 1821.

Larmessin, Nicolas de. *Habit d'imprimeur en lettres.* Paris: 1695 (From his Les costumes grotesques).

Le livre des jeunes braves. Paris: 1823. (In an unusual Canadian binding of c. 1860).

Marsh, Robert. *Seven Years of My Life.* Buffalo: 1848. (One of the exile narratives of men who were banished to Tasmania after the 1837 Rebellions).

Mayhew, Horace. *The Tooth-Ache.* Illustrated by George Cruikshank. Philadelphia: 1849?

Mercier, Louis-Sébastien. *L'Observateur de Paris et du royaume.* Londres: 1785.

Morgan, Henry J. Papers. Including correspondence, scrapbooks, and an interleaved copy of his *Bibliotheca canadensis* with additions in holograph, clippings, letters, etc.

Pickthall, Marjorie. *The Naiad and Five Other Poems.* Toronto: 1931. (One of fourteen copies printed).

Rolewinck, Werner. *Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectans.* Strassburg: Prüss, 1488.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile.* London: 1763.

---. *Eloisa, or A Series of Original Letters.* London: 1795.

---. *Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle de M. L'Abbée de Saint-Pierre.* Amsterdam: 1761.

---. *A Dissertation on Political Economy.* Albany, N.Y.: 1797.

---. *Del contratto sociale.* Venice: 1797.

Rules and Regulations of the House of Assembly, Lower-Canada. Quebec: John Neilson, 1796.

Saugrain, Claude Marin. *Code de la librairie et imprimerie de Paris.* Paris: 1744.

Torrentinus, Hermannus. *Textus sequentiarum cum commento.* Reitlingen: Michael Gryff, 1490. [Bound with:] Expositio hymnorum. Reitlingen: Michael Gryff, c. 1490.

Virgil. *Opera.* Venice: Bartholomeus de Zanis, 1491.

Warburton, William and Richard Hurd. *Remarks on David Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion.* London: 1757.

Gifts

Cathy Arthur, of Toronot, has donated her literary papers, including manuscripts and some material relating to the little magazine *Here and Now.*

Mary W. Brierley, of Montreal, has donated first editions of Charlotte Bronte's *The Professor* (1857) and Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Bronte* (1857).

Phyllis Buchanan, of Montreal, has donated papers relating to the Canadian children's writer Palmer Cox, including a sketchbook, drawings, and personal material.

Barbara Caruso, a Paris, Ontario based artist, has given a collection of her complete output as a printmaker. Most of the prints (there are 117 in all) are serigraphs from the 1970s. There are also prints that were published in limited edition books, mainly poetry.

Martin Cohen, of the McGill Libraries staff, has continued to donate copies of all recently published books issued by Insel Verlag, the "German Penguin."

Brian Colgate, of Brighton, Ontario, has donated papers and books of his grandfather, William Colgate, the Canadian art and printing historian after whom the Department's Colgate Room and Colgate Collection on the History of the Book are named.

Glynn Davies has donated some books and papers relating to the Canadian poet and artist Rikki Ducornet.

Peter Desbarats, of London, Ontario, has donated a scrapbook that belonged to his grandfather, the printer Georges Desbarats. The scrapbook contains original drawings, photographs, and clippings, and was evidently a sample book made up for customers of the *Canadian Illustrated News.*

Tom Edwards, of Montreal, has given a copy of Walter J. Phillip's *Complete Graphic Work.*

John Fieldhouse and Elizabeth Bowes donated the funds to acquire a copy of William Hickman's *Sketches on the Nipisaguit* (Halifax and London: 1860), a scarce and remarkable plate book. The gift is in memory of their mother, Grace Tinning Fieldhouse.

Alice Fisher, of Montreal, donated a copy of Voltaire's *Candide* (1759).

Lilli Greiner, of Montreal, has given some manuscripts and other papers of the Quebec poet Myrtle Boa Armstrong.

Mireille Kermoyan, of Montreal, has donated the production archive relating to Pierre Berton's *Steel and Steam*, a limited edition book published in 1985.

Judith and John Mappin, of Montreal, have given a collection of Canadian poetry books, many from the library of F.R. Scott.

Richard Pennington, of Blanzac, France, has given some small press books produced by Will Cheney.

Macdonald Campus Library

The library will be the beneficiary of a new endowment fund established in May 1995 with a $100,000 gift from the Ritchie family; Frederick H. Ritchie, George D. Ritchie and Janet Ritchie Smith, in memory of their father, Thomas Frederick Ritchie, who graduated from Macdonald College with a B.S.A. in 1914. The donors are also Macdonald College graduates. The income from the fund is to be used to purchase books on horticulture.

McLennan-Redpath Libraries

M. Laurel Buck. *Stream of Memory: Reflections of Megantic County*, 1994

Mrs Rysia Epstein. Donation of books on the history and description of the city of Wilno (aka Vilnius), in Lithuania. There were 39 individual titles, a 14 volume set, *Cuda Polski*, and, *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach*. t. 1-2. Warsawa, 1931 which includes 1446 photographs of historical monuments and landscapes by well known photographers.

Professor Alexander Fodor. One hundred and seventy-six volumes of material on Russian language and literature.

Professor John Fossey. *Study of Ancient Greek Prosopography; Ancient and Classicising Finger-Rings and Gems; Boeotia Antinqua*, III and IV; *Drevnii Vani, khozistvennyi kvartal*.

Ms Claude Gosselin. *A History of Québec: its Resources and People*, 2 volumes. Montreal; Toronto. The Canada History Company, 1908.

Mr Ludwig Grabowski and Mrs Olga Grabowska. Donated *Zeutung der 10. Armee*, 95 issues in a bound set Nos. 377-566, a local army newspaper dated 1917-1918; *Offizielle Kriegs-Nachrichten*, nos. 1-54, 73-98, 117-188 (1870-1871).

Dr Peter I. Hidas. Seventy-nine Hungarian legal books.

Mrs Alexine Joubert. *Offizielle Kriegs-Nachrichten*, nos. 55-72 and 99-116 (1870-1871).

Rolande Lamarche. Infolingua, Inc.'s bibliographies on computational linguistics, nos. 1,2,3,4,5,6, 10,13,14,15,16,17.

Jean Lamontagne. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed.

Professor Philip Longworth. *Vecherniaia Zaria : Ezhemiesiachoe Izdanie. Parts I-III, 1782*; *Bumagi Kabineta Ministrov Imperatritsy Anny Ioannovny,* Bibliotheca Musei Oeconomiale Ruralis Regni Hungariae. *Bibliographia Oeconomica Hungariae*. Budapest: Typis Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1938. 2 vols; *Bibljograficznych Ksiag Dwoje*. Warsaw: Nakladem Hieronima Wildera, 1927. 2 vols. *Polska Wiekow Srednich*. Poznan: Nakladem N. Kamienskiego i Spolki, 1847. 4 vols. *Glavinyia techeniia russkoi istorichesskoi mysl';* *Reise in Sud-Serbien und Nord-Bulgarien;* and *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*.

Dr. Hans Möller, 117 assorted titles either in Danish or on the subject of Danish travel, history and literature, this included a number of books by Isak Dinesen (Karen Blixen). He also donated a 10 volume series of the *Works of Odd Eidem*, and *Norske Dikt,* 6 volumes, plus a cassette of Norwegian poetry. Dr. Möller also donated a set of catalogues, v. 1-6, of incunabula in the Royal Library of Denmark.

Professor Paul Noble, 14 complete volumes and 11 partial volumes of *The Middle East Reporter*, the daily edition, and individual numbers of the weekly of the same publication.

From Hedwig Ring's estate, a collection of 314 books, mostly Danish literature, history, dictionaries and history of religion as well as some Finnish literature.

Prof. Jerome Rousseau. 18 years of *Asiaweek*.

Professor F. Sabetti. *Il Politico*, 1965-1972.

Conrad Sabourin. Infolingua, Inc.'s bibliographies on computational linguistics, nos. 6,7,9,11,12.

Principal Bernard Shapiro. A 12-volume Chinese encyclopedic dictionary.

Professor William Shea. Europe 1700-1992: Vol. 1, Decay of the Ancien Régime; Storia del disegno industriale 1750-1850; *Le Forme del Sapere e il Messaggio dell'intenzione; 200 let České Společnosti nauk 1784-1984; Actas del v Congreso Internacional de Filosofia Medieval;Le Même et lautre; Philosphie Physik Wissenschaftsgeschichte; Les Communications de masse; Scritti religiosi; Zweisprachig durch die Schule*; *La Justice Vertu Courtisane et Bourreau*; *Una Filosofica Milizia : Tre studî sull' Accademia dei Lincei*.

Ushinsky donation. 816 books on language and literature in Russian.

From the Royal Danish Embassy in Ottawa a donation of $500 for the purchase of Danish books and books in English about Denmark.

Contributors

Maria L. Brendel is a Ph.D. candidate at McGill University. She holds an M.A. in Art History from McGill and a Diploma in Museum Studies from the University of Southern California (USC), Los Angeles. Last year she curated the exhibition *In Search of ... USC's Baroque Masterworks from the Armand Hammer Collection*, for the Fisher Gallery (USC's Art Museum), Los Angeles. Recent publications include essays for the exhibition catalogue *Isaac Cruikshank and The Politics of Parody: Watercolors from the Huntington Collection*, Huntington Library and Art Collection, San Marino (1994).

Martin A. Entin grew up in Montreal and graduated from McGill Medical School in 1945. He served as a Resident at the three McGill Teaching Hospitals and spent six months in neurosurgery at the Montreal Neurological Institute on Dr. Penfield's service. Entin decided to specialize in surgery of the hand which was emerging as a new and challenging field and spent one year of study with Dr. Sterling Bunnell in San Francisco in 1950. He developed the Hand Clinic at the Royal Victoria Hospital and pursued reconstructive work in congenital anomalies of the upper limbs at the Shriners' Hospital in Montreal. He hosted periodic workshops as part of graduate education in Surgery of the Hand. He edited 5 volumes of *Surgical Clinics of North America* published by W.B. Saunders, Philadelphia. Dr. Entin is Associate Professor of Surgery at McGill University and has had long-term experience in medical writing which encompasses over ninety articles in medical journals and several chapters in textbooks. He served as member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery* for seven years. He has a sustained interest in the History of Medicine and has written numerous biographical sketches and historical articles that have been published in the *McGill Medical Journal*, *Speculum*, *McGill News*, *Surgical Clinics of North America*, *Annales de Chirurgie Plastique* (Paris), *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery*, *Montreal Med-Chi News*, *Canadian Journal of Surgery*, *McGill Sigma Xi Newsletter*, and *Annals of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada*. For the past five years, Entin has been working on the biography of Dr. Edward W. Archibald—McGill Professor of Surgery, 1923-1935, considered one of the surgical scientists who based the practice of surgery on basic science. Entin was appointed Chairman of the Editorial Committee charged with producing a Centennial Volume for the 100th Anniversary of the Royal Victoria Hospital celebrated in June, 1994. In 1993, he was elected President of the Montreal Branch of Canadian Authors' Associates.

Stanley Brice Frost joined McGill University is 1956 as Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature and during the next two decades became intimately concerned with the administration and direction of the University. He was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in 1957, Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in 1963, and Vice Principal (Administration) in 1970. For ten years, he was chairman of the University Libraries Committee. Named Director of the History of McGill Project in 1974, he has been the moving spirit in the organization of the popular James McGill Society, serving first as its executive secretary and now as Honorary President. His publications include *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, 1952, *Standing and Understanding*, 1969 and the two volumes of the McGill history, 1980 and 1984. A biography of Cyril James was published in 1991 and *James McGill of Montreal* in September 1995.

Margaret Gillett has spent a good proportion of her thirty years at McGill University helping to advance the status of women on campus. She was the Founding Director of the McGill Centre for Research and Teaching on Women, former Macdonald Professor of Education and member of the Board of Governors, and now holds the rank of Professor Emerita. She was also Founding Editor of the *McGill Journal of Education* and has written or edited ten books, including a history of women at McGill. Her most recent work, co-edited with Dr. Ann Beer, is *Our Own Agendas: Autobiographical Essays by Women Associated with McGill* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

Peter Hanlon is the grandnephew of Miss Gertrude Mudge. He holds a B.A. from Sir George Williams University, a B.L.S. and M.L.S. from McGill University, and an M.A. in history from McMaster University. He has written a number of biographical studies which have appeared in the *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography* (Volumes II, 1876-1924 and III, 1925-1939) and in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Volumes XII, 1891-1900 and XIII, 1901-1910). He is also a contributor to the forthcoming Volume XIV (1911-1920) of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

John Hobbins obtained his B.A. (Hons. History, 1966) and his M.L.S. (1968) from McGill University. Since then he has worked for the McGill University Libraries as Reference Librarian, Instructional Services Librarian, Head of Interlibrary Loan, Head of Acquisitions, Central Technical Services and Acting Law Librarian. He is currently Associate Director of Libraries with a special responsibility for Systems and Technical Services. He is a former contributor to *Fontanus*, including two articles based on the Humphrey papers, and has edited the first volume of the Humphrey diaries.

Robert H. Michel holds a doctorate from McGill University. He worked as archivist for historical records and reference services at the McGill University Archives from 1974 to 1995. A contributor to recent issues of *Fontanus*, he is undertaking several research and writing projects, including a study of seventeenth-century marriage theory. Continuing his archival work, he is currently a project archivist at the Canadian Centre for Architecture.

Hans Möller was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, where in 1945 he acquired a Ph.D. in Danish Language and Literature (University of Copenhagen). After working as a librarian at the Royal Library (National Library of Denmark) from 1948-1955, he immigrated to Canada to take up a position as executive producer at the National Film Board of Canada (1956-1969). In 1974 he became Chief Librarian at University of Ottawa and in 1977 he took a position as librarian at McGill University. From 1984-86 he served as Director of McGill Libraries and presently functions as Research and Development Librarian. He also holds an appointment as Associate Professor of Danish Language and Scandinavian Literature in the Department of German Studies. In 1988 he created the *Fontanus* journal and monograph series, of which he is the general editor.

Rosemary Turpin is a recent (1992) graduate of Concordia's Library Studies and Science and Human Affairs Departments. Before finishing that degree, she worked as a secretary, usually on a temporary basis, for about twenty-five years. This is her first academic publication. She is now pursuing an M.L.I.S. at McGill. Her other interests include various non-profit organizations: she is on the Board of Directors of Teninform, a housing advocacy group, and recording secretary of Les Habitations Sherbrooke Forest, where she lives. In her spare time she belongs to the Society for Creative Anachronism, La Société des Calligraphes and the National Puzzlers' League.

Fontanus Publications

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Fontanus (journal)

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v. 3	1990	
v. 4	1991	
v. 5	1992	Montreal 350th Anniversary Issue
v. 6	1993	Redpath Issue
v. 7	1994	Stephen Leacock Issue
v. 8	1995	

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A brief abstract (of no more than 200 words) of the content of the article should be prepared by the author.

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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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