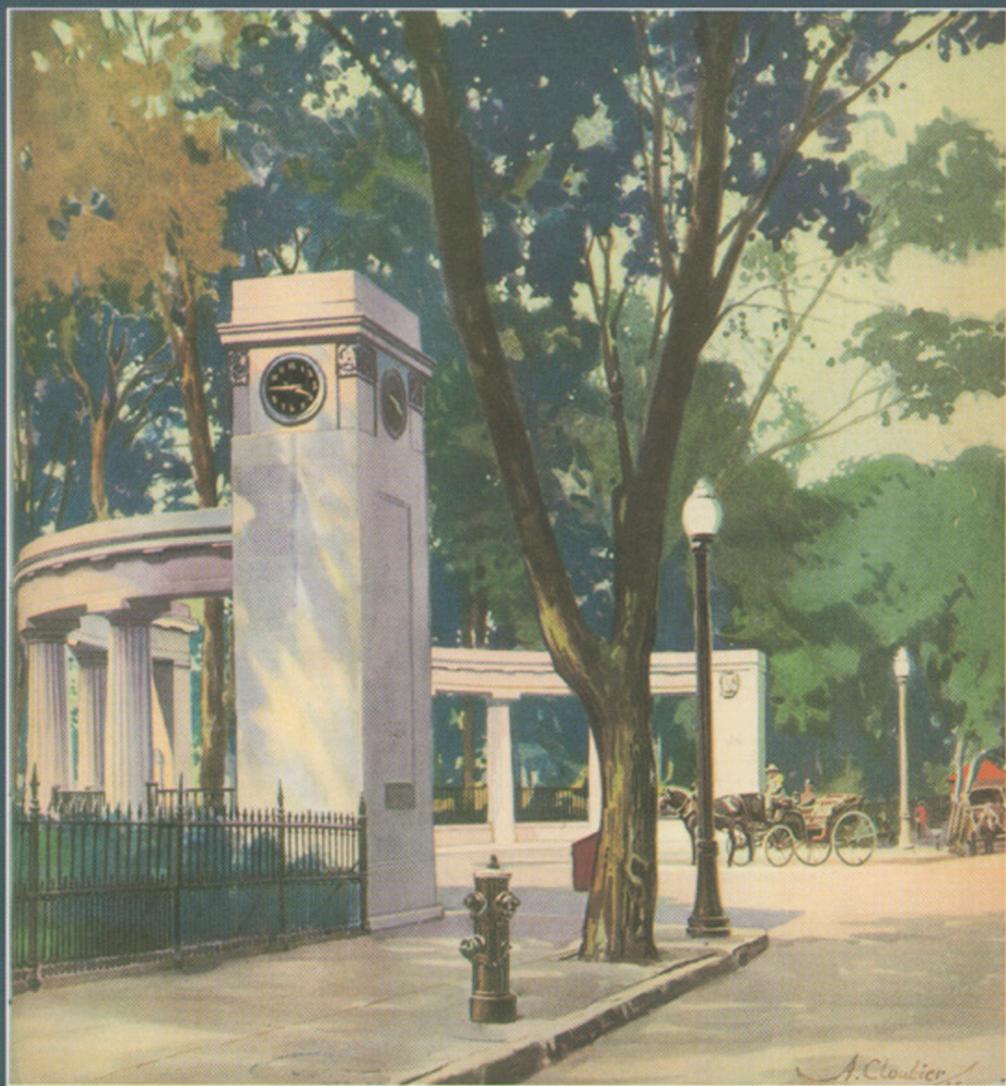


vol. XI 2003

# Fontanus

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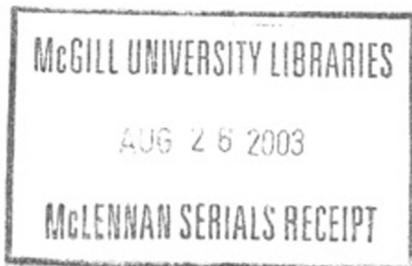
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# Fontanus

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FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY  
VOLUME XI • 2003



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Printing:  
AGMV-Marquis Inc.

Paper:  
(acid-free) Plainfield, 70lb.

Subscription prices 2003:  
Institutions: \$35.00  
Individuals: \$25.00

©McGill University Libraries 2003  
ISSN 0838-2026

*The publication of this volume of*  
**FONTANUS**  
*was made possible through a generous*  
*donation by Margery Trenholme*

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## CALL FOR PAPERS

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What do Arabic manuscripts, John Humphrey, Hugh MacLennan, James McGill, and Ernest Rutherford have in common? They have all been the subject of scholarly articles based on McGill University's many fine collections.

The editors of *Fontanus* are currently seeking articles for the next issue (November 2003) and future issues of the journal. The deadline for submission is June 30, 2003.

*Fontanus* is an annual publication devoted to scholarly research based principally upon McGill University collections. The term "collections" is interpreted in the broadest sense, to include books, archives, specimens, artifacts, buildings and other forms of documentary evidence.

For more information regarding the submission of manuscripts please see Guidelines for Authors on page 213 of this issue.

Editor, *Fontanus*  
c/o Director of Libraries  
McLennan Library Building  
3459 McTavish St.  
Montreal, QC H3A 1Y1  
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## EDITORIAL

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*Fontanus* was created as a result of the initiative of Dr. Hans Möller, who edited the first nine volumes. Dr. Montague Cohen of the McGill Physics Department took over as editor for the tenth. This eleventh volume was delayed owing to Dr. Cohen's final illness. I was asked to take over as Acting Editor in February 2002 to bring Dr. Cohen's work to publication. This was complicated by difficulties in assembling all the material in Dr. Cohen's office and assessing its completeness. I am grateful to Elizabeth Shearon of Dr. Cohen's department for all her efforts in finding documentation. I am equally grateful to the group of 'rescuers', who agreed to help me in this endeavour and whose names appear as members of the Editorial Committee. This issue includes the seven complete articles that we found and prepared for publication, as well as an index to the first ten volumes and tributes to Dr. Cohen and a benefactress, Miss Margery Trenholme. One fragment that could not be included here is Dr. Cohen's fourth and last article in a series on the Sir Ernest Rutherford correspondence, which we hope may be finished and published in a later issue of *Fontanus*. Dr. Cohen's name appears as Editor for this issue and we hope it will stand in tribute to his memory.

John Hobbins



Dora "Dolly" Cohen and Dr. "Monty" Cohen.

## DR. MONTAGUE COHEN

---

By Marika Asimakopulos and Frances Groen

Dr. Montague Cohen (1925-2002) was editing volume eleven of *Fontanus* when he died on January 28, 2002. This was the second issue that Monty had edited, and he had worked diligently, despite increasingly poor health, to bring this volume to fruition. It is fitting that the Management and Editorial Boards of *Fontanus* dedicate this volume in his honour. In doing so, we are acknowledging not only his devotion to *Fontanus* but also his dedication to all that is of value in libraries and academic culture.

Monty was foremost a scientist, and he continued to work actively in his chosen field of radiology and medical physics until he died. Following a B.Sc. and Ph.D. at London University, Imperial College, he held positions in research physics and as a medical physicist of the London Hospital (1948-1961), the International Atomic Energy Agency (1961-1966), the London Hospital and London Medical College (1966-1975). In 1975, McGill managed to attract Monty to a professorship in the Departments of Radiation Oncology and Physics, and in 1979 he was appointed Director of the Medical Physics Unit. He held memberships in many professional societies in several countries, received various awards, including the prestigious Röntgen Prize of the British Institute of Radiology. He authored more than 100 papers, and several books and was frequently interviewed regarding radiation and radiation hazards – as a scientist he was devoted to increasing knowledge and understanding of science within the general population. For Monty the understanding of science was a joy, and he wished to share that joy with others.

Monty was a precise and demanding library user, concerned with the development of the collections in his field of medical and radiation physics and with the inadequacies of the library classification and cataloguing system to deal effectively with his specialty. He enlightened librarians on many aspects of our system, in the best interests of the Library. He further supported the Libraries of McGill University through his work as a member of the Mossman Lectures Committee, where he was a most active member. He and his gracious wife, Dolly, played host to a series of distinguished Mossman lecturers, such as Richard S. Westfall, Historian and Professor Emeritus, Indiana University; Geoffrey Lloyd, Master of Darwin College, Cambridge; Edwin Krupp, Director, Griffith Observatory, Los Angeles, and the Rev. Stanley Jaki, Distinguished Professor, Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ. At the dinners Monty and Dolly so graciously hosted, the conversation was stimulating and witty, with Monty's keen questioning and social grace always at play.

In 1998 Monty was appointed the editor of *Fontanus* following the resignation of Dr. Hans Möller, and he approached this new and unknown volunteer effort with his characteristic enthusiasm, diligence, and intellectual rigour. These efforts – the Mossman Committee, the editorship of *Fontanus* and his continuing commitment to libraries – were part of his devotion to intellectual and cultural values.

Monty was a devoted scholar on the subject of Ernest Rutherford and served as Curator of the Physics Department's Rutherford Museum from 1984 until his death. The Museum houses original research apparatus designed and used by Ernest Rutherford during his nine years at McGill, 1898-1907. As its able Curator,

he would give visitors fascinating talks about Rutherford and the displays. In 1996 he published a *Guide to the Museum* detailing the contents of the display cabinets and their use.

In 2001, the Department of Physics created the virtual Ernest Rutherford Museum site, where visitors can view digital facsimiles of the surviving Rutherford artifacts online (<http://www.physics.mcgill.ca/museum/>). Valuing the importance of the collection, the Department of Physics appointed Professor S.K. Mark to succeed Dr. Cohen as curator of the Rutherford Museum (and the McPherson Collection displaying scientific instruments for teaching and research).

Along with Dr. Denis Melançon and Mr. Clifford Williamson, he was involved in the McCord Museum's exhibition *The Inside Story: One Hundred Years of X-Rays*, Montreal, May 12 to November 12, 1995. As consultant and contributor, he provided the historical and scientific background for the exhibition. He also gave the X-Ray Centennial Lectures at the University of Saskatchewan, lectured at the British Institute of Radiology and at McGill as the Mossman lecturer.

The members of the Management and Editorial Boards of *Fontanus* and of the Mossman Committee extend their deepest sympathy to Monty's wife, Dolly and their children Laurence, Robert and Andrew.

## A TRIBUTE TO MARGERY WYNNE TRENHOLME, BA'35, BLS '46 LIBRARIAN AND BENEFACTRESS

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**In honour of the donor who supported this issue of *Fontanus*  
Margery W. Trenholme**

It is indeed both a pleasure and an honour to recognize the generosity of the late Margery W. Trenholme whose gift to the University is making possible the publication of this issue of *Fontanus*. Many readers of *Fontanus* may be interested to learn more about this exceptional person whose generous recognition of her alma mater has created the Margery Trenholme Chair in University Libraries, the first of its kind in Canada. Her bequest encouraged the Blachford family, in particular her nephews John and Norman, to provide additional support for this Chair. Principal Bernard Shapiro worked with anonymous donors to establish the full endowment necessary to support this unique Chair. These gifts and Principal Shapiro's leadership in the endeavour are providing one of the best funded chairs in McGill University and are helping McGill respond to the challenge of keeping pace with library resources development. The creation of the Trenholme Chair indicates the strong support that the McGill administration is providing to the Libraries in adapting to the information age. On a personal basis, I may, I hope, be permitted to add that it is a great honour and privilege to be the first recipient of the Trenholme Chair.

Margery Trenholme completed her B.A. at McGill on scholarships and took first class honours in classics. She later observed "My ambition was to be a lawyer but women were not admitted to the bar until 1941." Instead, following graduation, she took a year of teacher training, spent several years teaching in the Montreal elementary school system and then took her degree in Library Science. In 1946, she was appointed Librarian at the Law Library at Harvard, but soon returned to McGill to become Librarian at the Commerce Library, where she spent the next three years. "During that period, the nurses returning from the war were being trained as administrators for schools of nursing" she explained. "As the Librarian at the Commerce Library, I was able to organize and establish the library of the McGill School for Graduate Nurses and Physiotherapists under a special grant from the Kellogg Foundation."

The association of Margery's family with McGill extends over five generations. Both her parents were graduates, her father, Norman MacLaren Trenholme (B.A. 1895), was made Chairman of the Department of History at the University of Missouri in Columbia, and her mother, Ethel Ida Hurst graduated B.A. 1896. Following the death of her mother, Margery first came to Montreal in 1921, four years before the death of her father, and was brought up by her maternal aunt, Isabel Maude Hurst (B.A. 1899), a Montreal school teacher. She first attended Victoria Elementary School and then was a scholarship student at the High School for Girls, where her aunt taught for many years, prior to entering McGill. Her grandfather, the Hon. Justice Norman William Trenholme (B.A. 1863, B.C.L. '65, M.A. '67, D.C.L. '87) was Dean of Law at McGill from 1889 to 1897 and later became a judge of the Superior Court of Quebec. Margery Trenholme's aunt, Katherine Torrance Trenholme (B.A. 1910, Emeritus Member of the Graduates Society), was the formidable Circulation and Reference Librarian at the old Redpath Library of McGill for many years. A daughter, son and grandson of Grace Isabel Blachford née Trenholme (Dip. Ed. 1925), Margery's elder sister, continued the McGill tradition: Nancy Cynthia Clark née Blachford (B.A. 1956), John Blachford (B.Eng. 1959, Ph.D. 1963) and Ian Savage Blachford (B.A. 1993).



Margery Wynne Trenholme.

In 1950 Margery assumed the position of Chief Librarian at the Fraser Institute, Montreal's first free public library, an association which was to last 33 years. At that time the Institute was limited to providing reference library services, and her challenge was to re-establish a circulation department. This wish was fulfilled in 1959 when the newly named Fraser-Hickson Institute moved to new quarters at its present location in Notre-Dame-de-Grace. Margery instituted many innovations, incorporating a children's library, a music appreciation room and a rare book room. Her successful endeavours were recognized by the Board of Trustees in May 1959: "The Institute... gratefully acknowledges the energy, efficiency and leadership of Miss Margery Trenholme, its Chief Librarian, in organizing and directing so thoroughly and quickly the preparation of the new building and its contents for wider services to the public". For

Margery, this meant especially children and the elderly, and she impressed on her staff that its prime duty was to serve: "Libraries should be more people than books; never be too busy to do a kindness. I am glad our library provides large print books and has a shut-in service, that serves the old and the handicapped who so often are forgotten."

She was later to observe "I have found it possible to help in a small way, many older people, whether to find help in the home for them, nursing services or in other ways". Margery was elected a Life Governor of the Montreal General Hospital for her generosity and active association with the mission of this institution.

Margery was an active member of the Canadian Federation of University Women for many years and served as a member of the executive. She was a blue stocking, and her concern for women's rights no doubt dated from the time when she saw herself as a budding lawyer but became a librarian when this aspiration was frustrated by discrimination. She was always sensitive to existing inequalities in the law concerning women, and welcomed the establishment in Canada of a Human Rights Commission. Staunchly independent, she was also an inveterate traveler on behalf of her feminist interests and principles. "Since I first became interested in the CFUW, I have attended conferences from Halifax to Vancouver, usually on university campuses, and I have made many friends over the years. The larger organization, the International Organization of University Women, has enabled me to meet professional women from around the world."

She was also an active member of the University Woman's Club of Montreal (her aunt Isabel was a charter member of the organization) and Margery was twice elected president. She was also a member of the Montreal Special Libraries Association, the Quebec Library Association as well as the Canadian Library Association.

Frances Groen  
Trenholme Director of Libraries

The text of part of this paper is based in part on an unpublished tribute to Margery Trenholme prepared by Nancy Cynthia Clarke, niece of Margery Trenholme.



Figure 1. Procession at Roddick Gates, ca. 1930.

# THE GATES OF MCGILL: AN UNPUBLISHED NOVEL OF THE 1920'S BY "DINK" CARROLL

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By Robert H. Michel

*Austen (Dink) Carroll (McGill Law 1923) was a well-known Montreal sportswriter from the 1940s to the 1980s. Early in his career, he also wrote fiction. This article quotes and summarizes Carroll's unpublished novel about student life at McGill University in the 1920s, placing the story within its McGill context and the college novel genre. In his novel of a McGill student's rites of passage, Carroll combined experience with invention. Against a realistically drawn McGill and Montreal background, Peter, the novel's protagonist, goes through the archetypal experiences of many North American university students in the 1920s. He plays football, lives in a fraternity, cuts classes, discovers campus intellectuals and the world of ideas, and Montreal's taverns, brothels and bustling international port. Carroll left his partly autobiographical novel unfinished; this article suggests a nonfictional conclusion in the form of a postscript about Dink Carroll's career after graduation.*

*L'Université d'il y a soixante-quinze ans reprend vie dans un roman inachevé et non-publié du rédacteur sportif montréalais, Austen (Dink) Carroll. Le roman suit son héros, Peter Rice, durant sa première année d'études en arts à McGill tandis qu'il joue au football, devient membre d'une fraternité, lit les écrivains modernes, découvre Montréal et apprécie la liberté de la vie étudiante dans les années 1920. Cet article permet de découvrir ce roman non publié sous une forme abrégée et éditée dans laquelle on trouve la citation de passages mémorables, un résumé assez précis de la trame du roman, qui le situe dans son contexte historique mcgillien, et un post-scriptum de Carroll lui-même.*

## INTRODUCTION

**M**CGILL SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS ago comes back to life in an unpublished, unfinished novel by Montreal sports writer, Austen "Dink" Carroll. The novel follows its protagonist, Peter Rice, during his first year in Arts at McGill as he plays football, joins a fraternity, reads modern writers, explores Montreal, and enjoys the free life of students in the 1920s. The strength of this unknown work lies in its atmospheric descriptions of the McGill campus, Montreal, football practice, and a freshman's exposure to diverse influences. The purpose of this article is to let this unpublished novel speak for itself, in an edited, shortened form, by quoting some memo-

orable passages, closely summarizing its plot, placing it in its McGill historical context, and rounding out the unfinished story with a postscript on Carroll himself. Quotations have been chosen for their McGill or Montreal interest and importance to the plot; they generally follow the order in which they appear in the narrative so that Carroll's story unfolds at the same time. Since the novel lacks a title, one is proposed here: "The Gates of McGill," evoking McGill's trademark Roddick Gates (built in 1925, which Peter sees on arrival, Fig. 1) as well as the novel's perception of the University as a place apart – deliberately chosen, entered, and one day left. To bring

Carroll's McGill alive in images as well as words, places and people in the novel (real and imaginary) are illustrated by contemporary photographs and art. It seemed appropriate to complement a novel about a McGill student in the 1920s with student artwork of the same era in issues of *Old McGill*.

This unfinished novel consists of 114 type-written pages; it is held among Carroll's papers in the McGill University Archives. In 1920, after a year at the University of Toronto, Carroll came to McGill, where he played football brilliantly, joined a fraternity, Zeta Psi, and took his degree in Law in 1923, but did not practise. From the 1930s to the 1980s, he wrote about hockey, football, baseball, boxing, golf, salmon fishing, and sports characters, mainly for the *Montreal Gazette*, but also for the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Liberty*, and *Maclean's*. He had played the sports he wrote about; admired Hemingway, the prototype novelist-athlete-journalist; and was friends with writer Morley Callaghan. After graduating from McGill, Carroll may have hoped to be a novelist rather than a journalist. In one of his unpublished stories, Joe, a recent graduate of McGill, boards at his old fraternity one summer and tries to write short stories or a novel but has trouble getting started. In the 1930s, and probably the 1940s, Carroll wrote many short stories, mainly depicting Montreal or sports. One, "The Amateur," was published by *Esquire* in January 1936;

his other fiction, mainly unpublished, is in his archive.<sup>1</sup>

In one of Carroll's stories (ca. 1930s), a character declared: "What I really should have done instead of becoming a copywriter was to have written a novel based on undergraduate life. This I should have done the first year I was out of college, like F. Scott Fitzgerald."<sup>2</sup> As it turned out, Carroll began just such a work – a McGill novel – before he found his destiny as a sports journalist with a novelist's eye. Carroll could draw on his own McGill past for Peter Rice's football and fraternity life. But like most writers, Carroll extended his protagonist's experiences beyond his own. Peter, unlike Carroll, an Arts student, plunges into all the archetypal university activities: bull-sessions, drinking bouts, and the discovery of new ideas and friends. Inspired by Montreal's steamy reputation, Peter and his friends go to a brothel, exposing the alluring degradation of this rite of passage in the days of the double standard. Carroll set his novel around 1927 or 1928, several years after his own student days. He probably wrote it in the 1930s. (The typescript's dating is discussed with other details in the Note at the end.)

Carroll's story, and this summary, may appeal mainly to McGill's community, but the novel also stakes a modest claim for McGill in the Fitzgeraldesque college novel genre, which offered an ideal

1 The novel is in the McGill University Archives, Austin "Dink" Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C2, file 1. There are also about 20 short stories. Some of Carroll's papers, focusing on correspondence with Morley Callaghan, were described in Robert Michel, "The Austin 'Dink' Carroll Papers in the University Archives," *Fontanus*, VI (1993): 149-56. In addition to Carroll's unpublished literary manuscripts, which include vignettes of the Montreal advertising business, the McGill Archives holds sporadic runs of Carroll's correspondence, usually about sports. The papers include some photographs, but mainly they consist of original textual records, ca. 1930-1990; about 1.5 metres in extent. The Trent University Archives holds correspondence from Carroll in the A.J.M. Smith Fonds (78-007, Correspondence "C" 1963-1977). A sample of Carroll's magazine articles includes: *Liberty*, 5 Mar. 1938; *The Saturday Evening Post*, 8 Jan. 1938 ("The Hard Harrys of Hockey"); and *Maclean's*, 1 July 1943 (on Montreal fighter Johnny Greco). The story about Joe is in the Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C.1, file 2, untitled.

2 Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C.2, file 4, untitled vignettes, possibly for a novel set in advertising. Carroll meant Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise* (1920), set autobiographically at Princeton. Carroll might also have been influenced by Fitzgerald's later writing on college life in the Basil and Josephine stories published in the *Saturday Evening Post* around 1930-1931, which enshrined scenes of football and courting at Princeton and Yale, republished in Fitzgerald, *The Basil and Josephine Stories*, ed. J. Bryer and J. Kuehl, 1973. In Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925), the character Tom Buchanan had been "one of the most powerful ends that ever played football at New Haven – a national figure in a way, one of those men who reach such an acute limited excellence at twenty-one that everything afterwards savours of the anticlimax" (Macmillan Publishing Co., New York, 1988), 6. Football as life's high point is also enshrined in Irwin Shaw's classic "The Eighty-Yard Run," (*Esquire*, January 1941); its protagonist recalls a football practice in the 1920s as the high point of his life, which has gone down hill ever since.

forum to discuss ideas, sports, ambition, social mobility, and romantic trials. "College" as used here comprises the American sense of post-secondary education – what Canadians call "university." College novels show how their authors experienced or imagined student life. Not all such authors actually attended college. Those who, like Carroll, had gone to the institutions they portrayed brought authenticity to their stories. From 1900 to 1940 (the period influencing Carroll), many writers fed the public's avid interest in college life, as philanthropy, state funding, prosperity, and an increasing demand for technological training multiplied colleges and students in the United States and Canada. Among others, Thomas Wolfe, Willa Cather, Carl van Doren, George Santayana, Dorothy Canfield, Irving Stone, and S.V. Benet wrote college novels. Compiling a bibliography of American college novels through 1979, John Kramer defined college novels as those in which colleges and universities were a crucial part of the setting and included students or staff as main characters.<sup>3</sup> Hundreds of novels have been set at Harvard, Yale, Princeton and other actual or fictional American colleges. Likewise, British writers have made an industry out of the Oxbridge genre since the days of Tom Brown, Verdant Green, and Julian Home, 140 years ago. For their part, as American authors do with

Harvard, Canadian writers attach the recognisable McGill label to any off-the-rack character who can read and write, litigate or heal. But while McGill probably appears in fiction more often than any other Canadian university, it rarely does so in much detail. In contrast, Carroll's work fulfils Kramer's definition of a college novel; McGill provides the setting and main characters. Moreover, Peter Rice's odyssey offers a realist counterpart to two satires of McGill by McGill professors: Stephen Leacock's famous *Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich* (1914) and Regis Messac's unknown *Smith Conundrum* (1942). Messac's novel, like Carroll's, is set at late-1920s McGill, but from the point of view of a professor vainly trying to teach dim, frivolous students. Coincidentally, the fullest nonfictional memoir of McGill student life – *Campus Shadows* (1946) by Harold Trott (M.D. McGill, 1924) – also is set around the same time, 1920.<sup>4</sup>

Carroll wrote Peter Rice's story in the third person past tense, revealing Peter's thoughts, but no one else's. For emphasis, quotations of Carroll's text are given in italics, (followed by their source pages within parentheses). For clear differentiation between Carroll's text (phrased in the past tense) and the rest of the article, editorial summary of the plot is phrased in the present tense.

3 The genre of novels set at universities and colleges is examined by John O. Lyons, *The College Novel in America* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962); Ben Siegel, ed., *The American Writer and the University* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989); Mortimer R. Proctor, *The English University Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957). John E. Kramer, Jr., *The American College Novel: an Annotated Bibliography*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981), is a valuable reference work covering novels published up to 1979. Kramer excluded works with sexual themes as their main rationale – the college novel subculture of luridly-covered paperbacks popular from the 1940s to the 1970s about stuffy profs learning from sexy students, which confirmed the worst fears of those who did not attend university. Accordingly, he left out the best seller, *Harrad Experiment*, by Robert Rimmer, 1966 – about free love at an imaginary offshoot of Harvard.

4 Leacock and Messac are discussed in Robert Michel, "Floreat Plutoria: Satirical Fiction about McGill," *Fontanus*, IX (1996): 29-45, 81-86; Harold W. Trott, *Campus Shadows* (Hemlock, New York: Crosset and Williams, 1946). Shorter recollections by 1920s students are included in E. A. Collard, ed., *The McGill You Knew* (Toronto: Longman, Canada, 1975), including "The immortal 'Shag'", 89-94. For historical background see Stanley B. Frost, *McGill University, for the Advancement of Learning*, 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980-1984); Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily* (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981); Ian Pilarczyk, *A Noble Roster: 150 Years of Law at McGill* (Montreal: McGill University Faculty of Law, 1999). A notable socialist attack on every aspect of American college culture, ca. 1920 – sports, capitalist control, lack of academic freedom, even pseudo-medieval college architecture, is Upton Sinclair's *The Goose-step*, rev. ed., (Pasadena: California, 1923).

### FALL: FOOTBALL AND FRATERNITY

The story starts with Peter, still a Toronto-area high school student, resolving to attend McGill after he watches McGill's football team beat Toronto.<sup>5</sup> After the game, he meets the McGill coach, "Frank Connelly," modelled on McGill's real coach, the legendary Frank "Shag" Shaughnessy. Both wear soft hats and long overcoats, are big and tanned, have huge hands, huge voices, invent new plays and coach unbeatable teams. Three years later, Peter comes to McGill. By now he is attracted not just by football, but by Montreal; he rejects humdrum Toronto:

*In his schoolboy world of quickly shifting values, the emphasis was not now entirely on football. He had been too long already in Toronto. The place was familiar and unexciting. Even with the new liberty he would have as an undergraduate, the city held little appeal for him. Whole sections of it were beautiful, but its life was uninteresting. After eleven o'clock at night, its streets were as deserted as the main street of a boom town when the gold fever has passed. 'A big bush town' someone had called it, describing its sprawling regularity. It was a city of homes and quiet friendships, a city for settled, mature people, not for the 20th Century young who can exist on excitement alone. Wasn't Montreal the most romantic, as well as the largest city in the Dominion? Weren't its inhabitants an entirely different variety of the genus homo? Wasn't it an ocean port, with a floating, cosmopolitan population? (prologue, pp. 3-4)*

Peter arrives by berth car, dreaming of football. Since most Montrealers were French, he decides he will learn French. He looks out as his train approaches Windsor Station:

*He saw the smoke of factories against the leaden sky. Then the horizon grew abruptly attenuated, and the backs of houses appeared; they were passing through the cross-section of slum district that greets travellers entering any large city. Curious speculations about the next four years stirred in his mind. He guessed he expected a great deal from them. The tendency of older men to speak with scarcely concealed sentimentality about college had not escaped him. There must be a reason for it. (p.2)*

Peter takes a taxi to McGill, his new home, impeded by nearly as much traffic as we have today.

*He had his first eager glimpse of the city. He was sensitive to colour and, in the slanting rain, the city's tone appeared to be grey. There were varying shades, but that was the basic colour. They circled around a square [Dominion], bordered by huge sandstone edifices: cathedrals [St. James the Great] and hotels [the Windsor] by the look of them. On all sides of the square were the picturesque hansom cabs of another era, now disappeared from the streets of most cities. The patient horses looked shrunken in the rain. They were in the middle of heavy traffic, and at a corner where the tram lines intersected, they halted momentarily. Straight ahead, back of the city, stood the mountain. It dominated the whole scene... The life of the city seemed to struggle up towards the huge hill. They moved again, past a smart hotel [The Mount Royal, opened in 1922], and up to a wide street [Sherbrooke], where the driver made a right turn. All the houses were built of the same coloured stone, very close together, giving the effect of terraces that extended for solid blocks. He had never seen anything like it except in pictures of some parts of New York and certain European cities. (p.3)*

<sup>5</sup> Peter Rice's attraction to McGill for its football is paralleled in real life by the remark of Norman Levine (who like Carroll studied at McGill and set several stories at McGill) that seeing the McGill Redmen play football helped him choose McGill: "Why I am an expatriate," *Canadian Literature* 5 (Summer 1960): 52. An early, gory encounter between McGill and Toronto appears in Ralph Connor's *The Prospector* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1904). However, this was a case of the McGill name being useful for novelists. In his autobiography, Connor declared the bloody match was based on one his Toronto rugby football team had played in the 1880s, not against McGill, but "with a band of savage Irishmen from Ottawa College who played to win regardless of rules and regulations and reckless of life and limb, their own or their enemy's." See Charles W. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure: the Autobiography of Ralph Connor*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938), 43. Thus reality traduces art.



Figure 2. Field House and Molson Stadium, ca. 1921.

Peter's taxi drops him at the Student Union [now the McCord Museum of Canadian History]. Across the road was the University with its old greystone buildings and huge elms: the campus in September.

*At first, he was conscious only of its beautiful site—nesting at the base of the mountain. Then he noticed the lush green turf of the campus, the red clay tennis courts and the towering elms [planted by Principal Dawson sixty years before]. Elaborate semi-circular gates of stone, with a small clock tower at one end stood at the entrance to the grounds, and the spreading branches of the elms on either side of the road leading up from the gates formed a green canopy overhead. The dignity of age, the solidity of stone and the perpetual youth of green grass and green trees were elements that somehow harmonized in the picture. (p.3)*

The Roddick Gates, which Peter has just seen, were a crescent of modernized Doric columns built in 1925 in memory of Medical Professor Sir Thomas Roddick. The Gates immediately became the campus symbol.

As the main entry to the campus, they still notify those walking or driving through them that they are entering a separate kingdom of knowledge.

Peter goes into the Student Union and immediately sees a McGill notable: a stocky, bald-headed man with a livid scar across one cheek. This is Major Coles [in real life, Major Stuart Forbes, manager of athletics, former star of football and other sports at McGill, 1907-1911, war hero and exemplar of sports as the training ground for life and the battlefield].<sup>6</sup> Next, Peter sees Coach Connelly at breakfast reading a paper. Connelly tells him to get a tray of breakfast and join him. How much does he weigh? One hundred and fifty pounds. What position did he play? Backfield. Connelly advises Peter to get a room in one of the rooming houses on University Street and not to tell the landlady he will not stay long. He assumes Peter will join a fraternity soon. (As yet McGill had no men's residence, although its Royal Victoria College provided sumptuous lodgings for women students.) Peter finds a house with a "Chambre à louer" sign and takes a room for five

6 See E.M. Orlick, "The Major" – Salute to Stuart", *The McGill News* (Spring 1949): 14-16, 50, 52, 54, 56-57.

dollars a week. Later he climbs the hill for his first football practice. The field is above the campus, on the mountain's shoulder:

*He thought the Molson Stadium was the most beautiful thing of its kind he had ever seen (Fig. 2). It seemed to be carved right out of the side of the mountain, the concrete stands rising sheer against it at the same violent angle. Back of the field house... were the massive buildings of Royal Victoria Hospital (Fig. 3). Many an injured hero was wheeled to the window of his sickroom of a Saturday afternoon, from which vantage point he watched sadly and impotently the tide of battle as it ebbed and flowed. Through the wooden fabric of the bleachers on the open side of the field, he could see the city below – flat rooftops, avenues of trees, the bare network of electric signs, curved church domes and jutting spires, and the isolated superstructures of half a dozen skyscrapers. But there was something in the crisp, clear altitude of the field, in its glorious setting, that made him think vaguely of the Greek stadia of the old Olympiads.... This was the proper setting for football heroics. (pp.6-7)*

The spectators' stands were on the north side of the playing field, looking south across McGill and the city to the St. Lawrence River, a view later largely blocked by a south stand and high rise buildings. Molson Stadium had opened in 1919, a memorial to McGill graduate Percival Molson (B.A. 1901), who had excelled at sports, won the Military Cross, fell in battle in 1917, and like Major Forbes symbolized the blood ties between prowess and courage in sports and war – ties re-enforced again in 1939, when the long-awaited gymnasium, built to serve as an armoury as well, was dedicated to the memory of McGill's war dead and McGill Principal Sir Arthur Currie, Canadian Commander in the First World War. It was first used as a drill hall, as the Second War began; a war memorial room was added after 1945. To return to the gym-less 1920s: Peter practices with the team, under Coach Connelly's gentle encouragement:

*'Football's a driving game and you gotta drive them,' declares Connelly. Practices would be tough, Peter realizes. The routine included a turn at the bucking machines, heavy box-like structures loaded down with blocks of cement and mounted on coasters. The linemen pushed these up and down the field in short, hard charges. Then came the bucking straps, held on each side by a player, with a padded noose in the centre just large enough to allow a plunging back to thrust his head through. The sandbags followed. A dozen of these bags stood in a line about five yards apart and the player threw himself across the first bag, scrambled to his feet, picked up speed and hurled himself at the next bag. Then, dizzy and reeling, he had the privilege of setting them up for the next man. The tackling dummy was another delight. Standing next to the dummy, Connelly roared: 'Hit it! don't pet it! Stay on your feet and tear into it! Hurt it! Knock it cock-eyed!' Assisted by former players, he supervises every exercise: 'Good God, you couldn't break into a conservatory with that sort of a charge,' he chided a sweating aspirant at the bucking machine. 'Get some leg drive! Push! Now – go!' Practice finishes with some start-and-stop sprinting. Connelly encourages an exhausted, slow-responding player: 'Careful there, Buster. You'll step on a shoelace and break your neck!.' (p.8)*

Connelly's famous original, "Shag" Shaughnessy, had captained the Notre Dame football team in 1904 and was a non-practicing law graduate like Carroll. McGill hired him in 1912 to give professional coaching. He was Canadian football's first American import. The first Canadian university to use professional coaching, McGill, like other universities, used football to win prestige and alumni support. Shaughnessy always argued that team sports inspired the entire University; he introduced the training table, where athletes ate together and built team spirit. Shaughnessy not only coached but also publicized and interpreted football to the McGill audience by writing in the student annuals and the *McGill News*. To students and the public, he was better known than any other McGill staff member, except Political

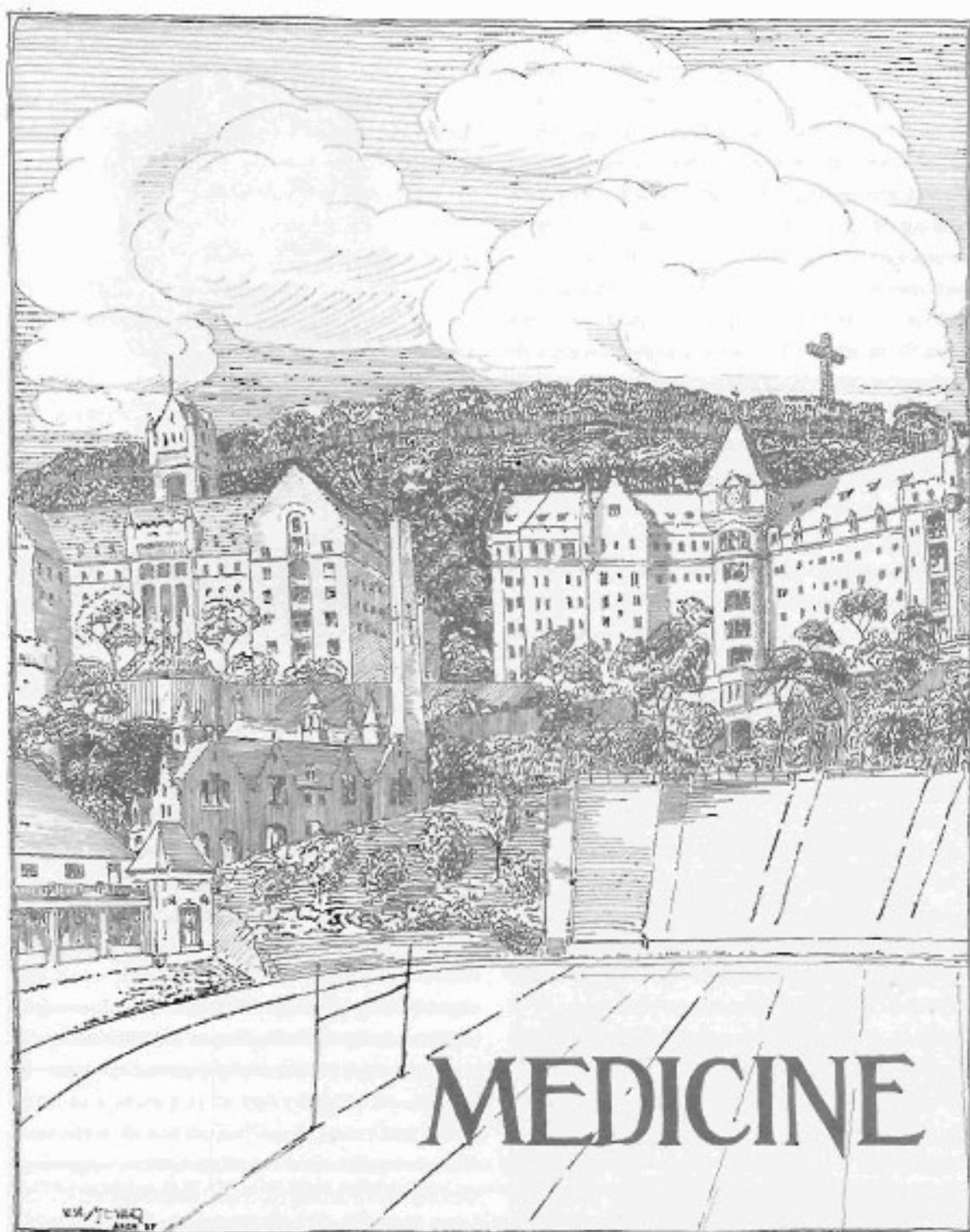


Figure 3. *This was the proper setting for football heroics.* Football field, Molson Stadium, Royal Victoria Hospital and Mount Royal, by N.M. Stewart, Arch. 1927.

Economy Professor Stephen Leacock and Principal Sir Arthur Currie. While Leacock was known for his peculiar but gentle wit, Shaughnessy was famous for sarcasm. In 1921 a McGill law student, Frank Genest, (LL.B 1921), published a little book about a McGill student just off the farm called Si Whiffletree; on meeting Si in the Union, Shag says: "Greetings haystack, when did you get in – on the last load of huckleberries?" Covering football for the *McGill Daily*, Whiffletree watches Shag coaching: "puttin' his bevy of retirin' young society buds through the hoops. He was handin' out so dum many compliments that the hull team was blushin' up like a burlesque queen on bein' asted what was her age by the Census man."<sup>7</sup>

Shaughnessy and Carroll (Figs. 4, 5) became life-long friends. Besides the portrait rendered through Connelly, Carroll wrote about Shaughnessy's techniques in nonfictional articles: "If he thought a player was dogging it, he didn't hesitate to give him a tongue lashing and order him to do a few extra laps around the track...." Dissidents complained this might be all right for professional sports, but college football was supposed to be fun. In the 1920s, Canadian football kept some features of English Rugby; it also differed from American football. Shaughnessy described the Canadian game as "a combination of bucks, passing runs and lots of kicking." Besides introducing innovations in blocking and other strategies, Shaughnessy long advocated the forward pass, which had opened up and enlivened American football. Shaughnessy introduced the forward pass in an exhibition match with University of Syracuse at McGill in 1921; it revolutionized the Canadian game when it was finally adopted in 1931.<sup>8</sup>



Figure 4. Coach Frank "Shag" Shaughnessy.

Meanwhile, Peter and his teammates would be required to learn how to exploit the existing rules effectively. After practice, Peter and the other players relax in the clubby atmosphere of the locker room:

*If the field was solemn with serious purpose, the field house was mad with the spirit of fun. It was a natural letdown after the strain of practice. There was a great shouting, laughing and whistling. Men, their muddy uniforms dumped in a heap before their lockers, spined with each other in their birthday suits. Steam from the*

<sup>7</sup> Frank Genest, *The Letters of Si Whiffletree – Freshman*, preface by Stephen Leacock, (Montreal: s.n., 1921), 8, 26. It is written in hazy-see style, about the life of "stooidents," in letters home to Pa. Genest was Associate Editor, *McGill Daily*, 1919-1920, and *Old McGill* 1921.

<sup>8</sup> Dink Carroll, "Frank Shaughnessy – Football Pioneer," *The McGill News*, (Fall 1951), 19; Frank Shaughnessy, "Football: English-Canadian – American," *Old McGill*, 1925: 225-226; Frank Shaughnessy, "The Forward Pass in Canadian Football," *The McGill News*, 12, no. 4 (September 1931): 19-20. The continuing differences between American and Canadian football were discussed by Ted Moorhouse (pseudonym for T.E.M. Newton, M.A., McGill, 1927), "Touchdown Torpor: a Comparison Between American and Canadian Football and Some Suggestions for Each," *The McGill News*, 19, no. 2 (Spring 1938): 35-39, 63-64. See also Frank Consentino, *Canadian Football* (Mussion: Toronto, 1969); Leslie Roberts, "The Forward Pass is Here," *The Canadian Magazine* (September 1931), 12, 32; Roberts, "Americanizing Canadian Sport," *The Canadian Magazine* (November 1931), 8, 41.

hot showers clouded the mirrors and cloaked the room in a mist. Someone threw a glass of cold water over the top of a shower and the irate occupant emerged and pulled the bench out from under three or four innocent onlookers. One chap, anxious to get away, had progressed in his dressing to the point where he stood combing his hair before a spot he had carefully wiped in the frosted mirror. Several times, men passing to and from the showers had run devastating hands over the parted hair. With a philosopher's patience, he rammed his hat down on the wet, tangled mass and departed. Even Connelly unbent. Smiling, he went from man to man, inquiring how they felt. He instructed the trainer to take particular care with the men who had been scrimmaging. He seemed to have a private word for everyone. (pp.9-10)

Connelly (like the real coach, Shaughnessy) wants the players to build up loyalties and friendships; he makes sure Peter meets the other men. Peter becomes friendly with his teammate Don Horwill, who lives in a flat west of McGill; soon they will join the same fraternity. We learn Peter is taking Arts. He wanders down to St. Catherine's Street to eat at the popular chain restaurant, Chld's. (While not wealthy, he never seems to lack funds.) Back at his boarding house, he ponders his future apprehensively and writes his mother that he has found a room (his father is dead, we learn later; there is nothing more about Peter's family). Later he reads Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (foreshadowing his later fascination with novels):

*As he read the account of Carrie's strange flight with Hurstwood to Montreal, and of her bewilderment in that alien city, his own feeling of unreality deepened. Lying on his back, staring at the high ceiling in the old-fashioned house, he had the half-scared feeling that he was beginning an entirely new life in which nothing was familiar.... A few weeks later, when the fall term had officially begun, he looked back with wonder at his frightened uncertainty during those first few days.* (p.12)

Peter makes the football team easily. He excels (as Carroll had) at punting. He can kick the ball farther,

higher, and more accurately than any man on the squad (p.14). His picture appears in the *McGill Daily*; he is already a celebrity. He eats supper at the football training table, which features steaks, milk, toast and high calories for energy. There are detailed descriptions of football practice and Connelly's chalk talks at the blackboard in the dining room for an hour and a half, after training dinners, shooting questions at half-asleep players. Peter realizes Connelly lives for football, corresponding far and wide to keep up with developments across the continent. If a new play was introduced in, say, California, he would be explaining it a week later to his own team. The first game approaches. Former players, now distinguished in the City, begin to show up at the training table, urging the players to uphold their traditions. Practices attract spectators. There is a rumour that a stranger is taking notes on the plays. Connelly and Major Coles close the stadium to keep out spies. To open the season, McGill will meet Queen's (Toronto



Figure 5. Austin "Dink" Carroll on the McGill Football Team ca. 1921.

is the other great rival). The night before the game, Connelly gives a pep talk:

*If you don't know the plays by now, you'll never know 'em. We've only gotta few. I kept 'em simple purposely... plays don't mean much. Fundamentals mean everything.... Make your own breaks and watch for 'em!... About blocking – if every man takes the man he's supposed to take outta the play – well, we're long gone!* (pp.17-18)

Pep talks like Shaughnessy's may have doubled in importance after 1921, when the Canadian rules banned coaching from the sidelines during games in order to force the players to decide their own tactics. The Queen's students are already on the campus; their team stays at the glamorous new Mount Royal Hotel. The press waits to see Connelly; McGill football is big news in Montreal. A pep rally is in swing in the Student Union. Peter has trouble sleeping, afraid he will fumble. The next day, the team gathers at the Student Union before the game. Connelly sees Peter is nervous:

*'Come over here, son.' He put a kindly arm around his shoulders and led him to the window.' Listen. I know how you feel. You're that type – temperamental. The other kind you gotta kick awake. There'll be another game tomorrow and the day after that and the day after that. Lots more games, see? I'm not expectin' miracles. All I want is for you to gimme your best.... A crowd's memory is damn short. You're a hero today if yuh win – and a bum tomorrow if yuh lose. So to hell with 'em all. Go out there and play the best game you know how.'* (pp.21-22)

Then the team walks up University Street past the old greystone houses, up the hill to the stadium, past police at every corner, cars jammed together, girls in tams with streamers flying, boys carrying rugs, fraternity men on their door steps. *The air was as light and heady as wine.* Connelly gives them a final speech: *'A team that won't be beaten can't be beaten,' Connelly said grimly. 'There's only one way you can*

*disgrace the university, disgrace yourselves and disgrace me. That's by goin' out there and layin' down.'* (p.23) (It sounds like marching into battle, with Connelly taking over the role of the Spartan mothers who told their sons to return with their shields or upon them.) On field, the referee says something about the new rules (the rules were constantly changing and debated in Canada and the United States), the band plays God Save the King, and the kick-off comes straight at Peter:

*At the right moment, he made a mechanical movement with his hands, the ball nestled in the basket formed by his arms and ribs, and he started forward. Impelled solely by instinct, he evaded the first two tacklers and sped along until an end, cutting across the field, lifted him clear off the ground in a crashing tackle.... That tackle was like a dive in a clear, cool lake. He came up, his head clear as a bell, his nervousness miraculously gone.* (p.24)

Although Connelly had doubted that Peter could stand up to heavy tackling, Peter now establishes himself as a ball carrier as well as a punter. McGill scores in the second quarter. At half-time the men lie on blankets sucking oranges while Connelly points out their mistakes; they are lucky Queen's is so terrible! But McGill goes on to win. *There was jubilation in the field house. Everyone was absurdly light-hearted and light-headed. It was a luxury to be able to undress deliberately, step under the warm shower, stretch out on the rubbing table and have the soothing fingers of a trainer knead liniment into tired muscles. Peter had had his baptism of fire and had come through nobly* (p.26). The team gets a night off the training table. Connelly warns them not to go wild. Peter and some others go to the Mount Royal Cafeteria for steaks. On the way home Peter reads about his punting in glorious terms in the late papers.

\* \* \* \* \*

Besides making the football team (Fig. 6), Peter chooses a fraternity. Peter's picture and biographi-

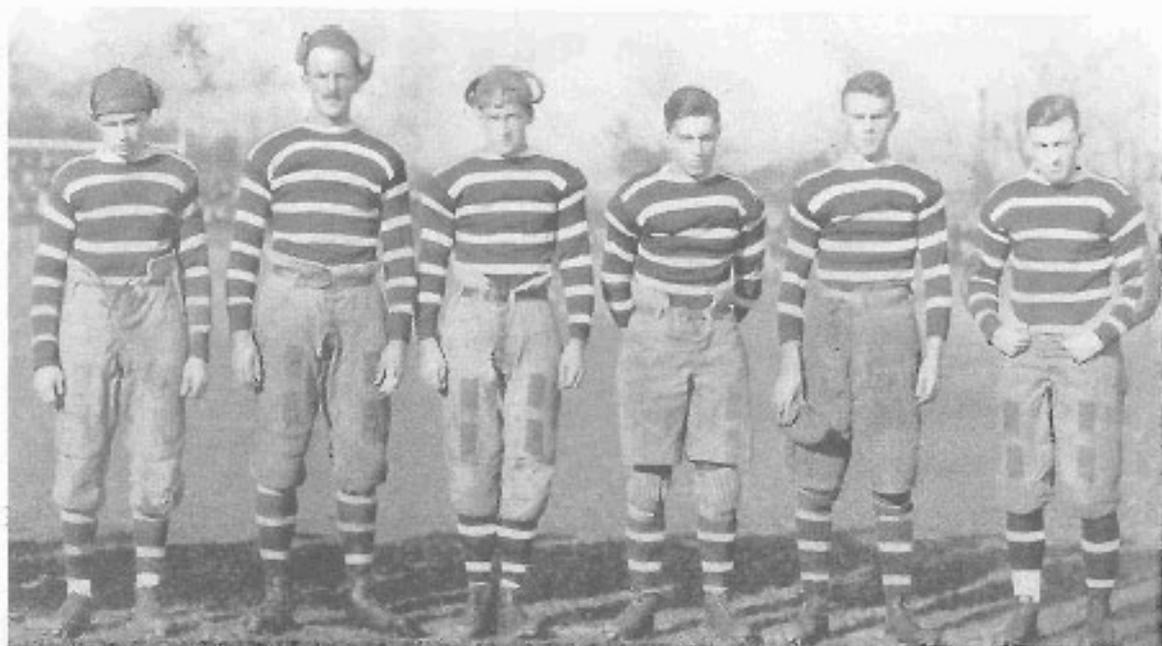


Figure 6. McGill Football team (partial), Dink Carroll at far right, 1921.

cal sketch had already appeared in the *McGill Daily* (Canada's oldest student daily, founded in 1911). As one of the celebrities in his class, Peter is rushed by several fraternities. At McGill as elsewhere, the athlete, especially the football player, was hailed as a B.M.O.C. (Big Man On Campus). Though Peter eats at the football training table in the evening, he breakfasts and lunches at the various fraternity houses:

*He met so many men he couldn't hope to remember names. Gradually, he came to identify certain frats with one or two individuals, for in the confusion of faces one or two always stood out. There were six or seven freshmen like himself, who were being rushed by the same frats, and he became more familiar with them than with his hosts. (p.13)*

Fraternities usually sought graduates of the private preparatory schools. Although Peter's schooling was less posh, his football prowess conquers all:

*The fellows most sought after were those who had come up from the RMC [Royal Military College, Kingston] or the preparatory schools: St. Andrews, Upper Canada College, Trinity College Schools, Bishop Ridley College,*

*Ashbury and Lennoxville. All of them had someone ahead of them, school friends of former years, who were taking care of their social futures. The bulk of the high school element, ambitious but bewildered, didn't have a chance. An occasional one of their number, and Peter fell into this category, early displayed some special talent that augured prominence. Then they became part of the charmed circle considered the elite of the class. (p.13)*

Indeed, football could be the key to increased social status, gaining admission to prestigious fraternities and assisting one's future career. Peter would note later that *Football had opened doors to him and had given him a place in the life of the university he could never have achieved without it...* The Inter-Fraternity Council forbade offering memberships until enough time had passed to let prospects and houses get to know each other and so avoid mismatches. The fraternities got around this by telling their favourite prospects beforehand that they would be bid. Choice could be treacherous; it was important to learn as much about one's potential fraternity brothers as possible:



# FRATERNITIES

Figure 7. *Every fraternity had a legendary reputation.* Drawing by N.A. Fellowes, Arch. 1927.

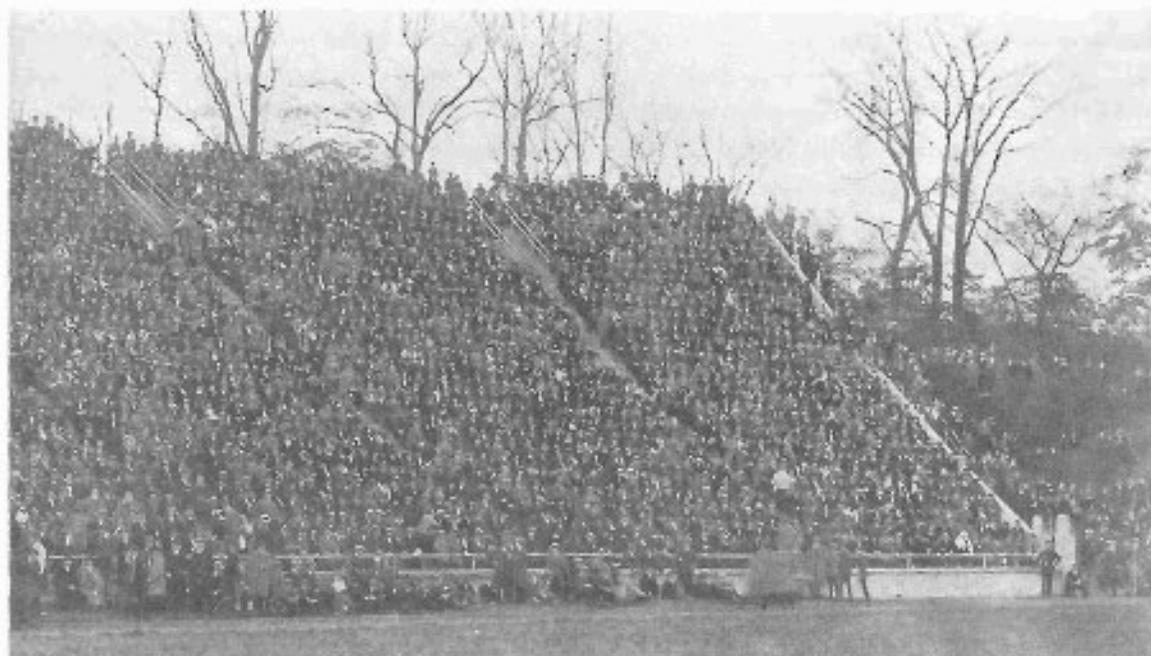


Figure 8. Spectators at football match, Molson Stadium, ca. 1921.

*Every fraternity had a legendary reputation (Fig. 7), partly founded upon truth, but in most instances the result of the exaggeration of a quality into a fault by rival fraternities. Thus one fraternity was a house of snobs; another a house of grinds; another a crowd of alcoholics; another an organization of thick-skinned athletes; and still another a club for rich men's sons. (p.14)*

In late October, the fraternities make their bids. They compete sharply for the desirable students, often helped by graduate members as advocates. One graduate tells Peter that the choice of a fraternity would be more important than the choice of a profession, religion, business partner or wife. The final week of rushing is tense. Amusing stories circulate. One popular freshman was dining at one house but was supposed to go to a show right after with another crowd. The first fraternity set the clock back an hour; the student missed his appointment; and the second crowd, which he had preferred, soured on him. Peter accepts the Rho Delta bid; their friendliness seems more sincere than most. Peter hears how the prospects are discussed:

*During the next few days he saw men he considered decent fellows 'piled' [blackballed] because they 'couldn't hold their liquor,' because their 'father was in trade,' because they didn't 'dress like gentlemen,' because their 'brother had a bum war record,' and for personal vagaries and antipathies explicable only to Freud and the brothers who cast the pills. (p.30)*

One prospect is turned down after his Rho Delta uncle has argued in his favour and pointed out he would be rich someday – this is a fraternity not a banker's trust, replies a member and the prospect is unanimously black-balled, as members uphold their gentlemanly indifference to money and their privilege to refuse membership on any grounds they chose, down to the colour of the candidate's socks.

Carroll invented "Rho Delta." He had joined Zeta Psi, a prestigious house with chapters at important American universities. The McGill chapter, founded in 1883, was McGill's first fraternity. At first, McGill administrators and many students opposed fraternities as secret societies. In vain: they were firmly established by the 1920s. The Zetas had many distin-

guished members in Toronto or McGill, including John McCrae and Stephen Leacock as well as Percival Molson, who had endowed the football stadium in which Peter [and Carroll] played (Fig. 8). Drawing many of their members from the medical faculty, the Zetas had staffed the McGill Hospital in World War One. After occupying other quarters, Zeta Psi built an elegant house on University Street in 1925. In Peter's time, McGill still lacked men's residences, and fraternities offered members an attractive, prestigious alternative to rooming houses.<sup>9</sup>

Fraternity initiations are secret but similar. Peter must wait on a street corner in old clothes with two dollars in his pocket. He is picked up by a horse cab. Two men, hats down over their eyes, blindfold him. He ends up on Mount Royal, is told to climb a tree, realizes his captors are drunk, is told to jump off the edge of something (still blindfolded) and does. Though it is only a foot drop, Peter worries that they may bung him up for football. Now they ride a while; he feels sure he's in the country. A rope around his waist pulls him off his feet. He is put in a bed and realizes he's probably in the fraternity house. In the next part of the ritual, he hears himself on trial with his candidacy about to fail. Then his friends speak up for him, the blindfold is removed and he is surrounded by his new brothers. In the concluding part of the ceremony, Peter learns the secret hand grip, is told the secrets of the society and declared a full-fledged member. His two dollars is missing – it paid the cab (pp.31-35).

Out-of-towners are expected to live in the fraternity and Peter moves in. He shares a double room with Eric Mowat, an Englishman. Eric finds Canada disap-

pointing; there are no cowboys and Indians as the cinema and Canadian Pacific Railway posters had led him to expect. He asks Peter where are the Indians? On reservations mostly. Where are the cowboys? Well, there are some in Alberta. Is that far? About 72 hours by train. For his part, Peter is amazed at Eric's gear: clothes for every possible climate, pictures, tobacco jars and pipes, teapots and books. Peter blames motion pictures and the C.P.R. publicity for distorting Canada's image for people like Eric:

*They gave people on the other side a wrong idea of this country. Peter gradually came to understand that he [Eric] had looked forward to Canada as a great adventure, though it was hard to conceive how the product of an English public school could be so misinformed; probably because pictorial art registered more graphically on the mind than the printed or spoken word. He had expected a life like the romantic one depicted in the films of the old west, which had a great vogue abroad. Bucking broncos, cowboys in chaps, six shooters, picturesque and cunning Redskins, hellish saloons and dog teams on Main Street – all the props of the pioneer west – had filled his imagination for weeks. Instead he had found Montreal, which was just another large city, smaller and less amusing than his own London and the Paris he had frequently visited. (p.37)*

Meanwhile, the football team nears the end of the season undefeated. Connelly's solid basic training succeeded. The team needed no more than a dozen plays. When plays failed, it was generally because the opponent had a defence for them. To counteract this, Connelly had reverses for all his plays.

9 The spectacular new McGill chapter house of Zeta Psi was built as a memorial to its war dead – the first building in Canada designed to be a fraternity house and valued at \$80,000. It opened in 1925 after Carroll graduated. Previously Zeta Psi occupied a rented house on University Street (No. 635 in the old numbering system) and, in the closing years of World War I, a house at 297 Prince Arthur Street. The latter may be the house Carroll knew. See Howard Bement and Douglas Bement, *The Story of Zeta Psi*, (New York: Zeta Psi Fraternity, 1928), 168-74, 469-82. In the 1920s, McGill had about 14 fraternities. The history of fraternities at McGill is an untapped source for student history. The archives of individual fraternity chapters are usually held by the local chapters or the national headquarters. However, the McGill University Archives holds some documentation in the records of the Principal and other offices dealing with students or real estate. Entries for each McGill fraternity, listing its branches at other universities, appeared in the annual *Old McGill*.

*If the straight plays didn't work, then the reverses would, because it was physically impossible for a man to be in more than one place at the same time. When the opposing team shifted its defence to stop the reverses, then straight power plays were effective.... A season of football under Connelly was like any other course in the curriculum. You learned first principles and were taught how to apply them. Connelly was learned in his subject, was conscientious, knew how to impart his knowledge and his salary was on a parity with that of most of the professors. Under his tutelage, a game that had been largely guesswork and luck became regular and ordered ... attendance at practice was more obligatory than attendance at a course of lectures and there was too much strain. [Peter] had no control whatever over his imagination... He forgot that football was primarily fun and recreation. It took on a seriousness out of all proportion to its importance. The thing to do was to win. The things that he might do which would bring about a defeat were always present in his mind.... By Friday night he could think of nothing else. He became grave-faced and detached, paralysed with nervous excitement, waiting for the whistle and the first fierce contact that would snap the awful tension. (pp.37-38)*

Here, Peter seems to admit that McGill let sports be over emphasized to the neglect of studies. He wishes that instead of suffering pre-game jitters he could stay cool the way Don Horwill always did. *Don was the season's sensation... it was uncanny the way he could slice through a line, needle-thread his way through the secondaries and find the open field like a crazy colt. (p.30)*

The season is ending and McGill's team must conquer one last opponent: *The final game was played against the traditional enemy, Toronto University, from two o'clock of a cold November day until after the sulky sun went down behind the mountain and the long shadows of the stands and the flagpole dissolved in the twilight blur. The weather was snappy and the big, prosperous-looking crowd, bundled in expensive furs, beat out a rhythmic tattoo with tapping feet and slapping hands. (p.42)*

Neither team scores in the first half, but *scornfully denounced* at half time by Connelly, the McGill players win the game and the intercollegiate championship. The season ends in glory. Carroll notes that this would be Peter's only championship team. (In reality, McGill won the championship Yates Cup in 1919 and again in 1928 – perhaps Peter is meant to have played in the 1928 season.) A celebration dinner at the Windsor Hotel is attended by the Principal [Sir Arthur Currie, not characterized]. Heavy drinking follows; every second man seemed to have brought a bottle of whisky. Quebec, it will be remembered, was spared Prohibition, still in force in the States. Toasts are given. Connelly gives a modest, emotional speech and is pelted with bread rolls, butter pats, and celery sticks in revenge for all his sentences of extra laps and verbal encouragement. When the Principal and older men leave, the party cuts loose. They sing "Alouette". For the first time Peter is tight. He leaves with teammate, Don Horwill; they go on to crash a supper dance at the Ritz-Carleton Hotel. Peter wakes up the next day at the fraternity, with a headache and his dinner clothes flung all over. He recalls sitting down at a strange table at the Ritz-Carleton and talking to a girl called Anne Somers, engaged to someone else, one of the prettiest girls he has ever seen. He vaguely remembers talking to her long and earnestly, although he can't remember what it was about. He suspects he has made a fool of himself, but his friend Don reassures him that he has not. Indeed, she has told Don to bring Peter around sometime. (pp.44-45)

\* \* \* \* \*

All Fall, Peter had been obsessed with football. As the season ends, the story's focus changes. He notices the rest of the University: both the range of its learning and the students' casual approach to lectures:

*At luncheon at the house, or over the bridge table, you heard a little of everything: the exact amount of tension on the cables of a famous suspension bridge; how much it was going to cost to operate the government this year...*



Figure 9.  
The professors were sympathetic  
and approachable...  
Principal Sir Arthur Currie  
and Stephen Leacock.  
Cartoon by F.S. Lemessurier, 1923.

*the current make-up of the Reichstag... what was wrong about the architecture of the Royal Bank Building... a world of ideas, stimulating enough, and everyone had the right to speak or listen, as he chose. The sense of absolute freedom, of complete independence, was new and thrilling. If you chose to sleep in rather than turn up at a lecture, that was your own lookout. You were presumed to have enough sense to feel responsible. Students came to lectures and acted as they pleased. Brazenly they went to sleep right under the lecturer's nose, if they felt he was being dull and they could afford to miss what was being said. Or they heckled him with absurd questions, or stalked out while the lecture was still in progress. It was good-natured protest and accepted in that spirit. (pp. 39-40)*

In contrast to students at many American universities, McGill students could cut classes and make their own boarding arrangements. In 1925 Principal Currie's assistant asserted that in Canada "the general policy has always been to interfere as little as possible with the undergraduate."<sup>10</sup> The professors were sympathetic and approachable and often drank with students in taverns; no subject was taboo (Fig 9). Peter notices that McGill students argue excitedly about every subject on the curriculum – history, economics, and psychology, with an intensity he had reserved for football.

Peter discovers that, unlike some other universities, McGill does not turn out a standard, identifiable product: *The university did not produce any specific type, perhaps because its student body was so cosmopolitan and exposed to too many influences to allow any one to predominate* (p.40). (In Peter's day, about 1927, there were 2772 students at McGill, including 1038 in Arts, 757 women, 229 Americans, 59 Englishmen, and one Englishwoman.) A student's expenses for an academic year – tuition fees, lodging, board and books – were estimated to cost about \$800.<sup>11</sup> Rather than take on a standard veneer, students tended to keep their original identities:

*The Medical Faculty, with Sir William Osler its prize product and still animated by his ideals, was famous all over America. The Faculty of Science was not far behind. These two schools attracted students from everywhere, who managed to keep their identity. Bare-headed Englishmen, in flannel bags and sports coats, roamed the campus no matter what the condition of the weather. In the halls, one saw American youths in polo shirts and crew sweaters, heard American accents varying all the way from New England to California. There was a liberal sprinkling of West Indians, looking like Negroes and employing the voices of Old Country Englishmen. In Peter's faculty there*

10. Letter from Assistant to the Principal (Wilfrid Bowey) to Leslie H. Allen, Editor, *The Liberal*, 15 January 1925, McGill University Archives, Principal's Office, RG 2, C.46, file 469, U-1k 1921-1938.

11. *McGill University. Annual Report of the Corporation for the year 1926-1927* (Montreal: McGill University, 1927), 3-4; on expenses: Letter from Wilfrid Bowey to C.A. Magrath, 30 Oct. 1925, McGill University Archives, Principal's Office, RG 2, C.47, file 478, McGill 1922-1939.

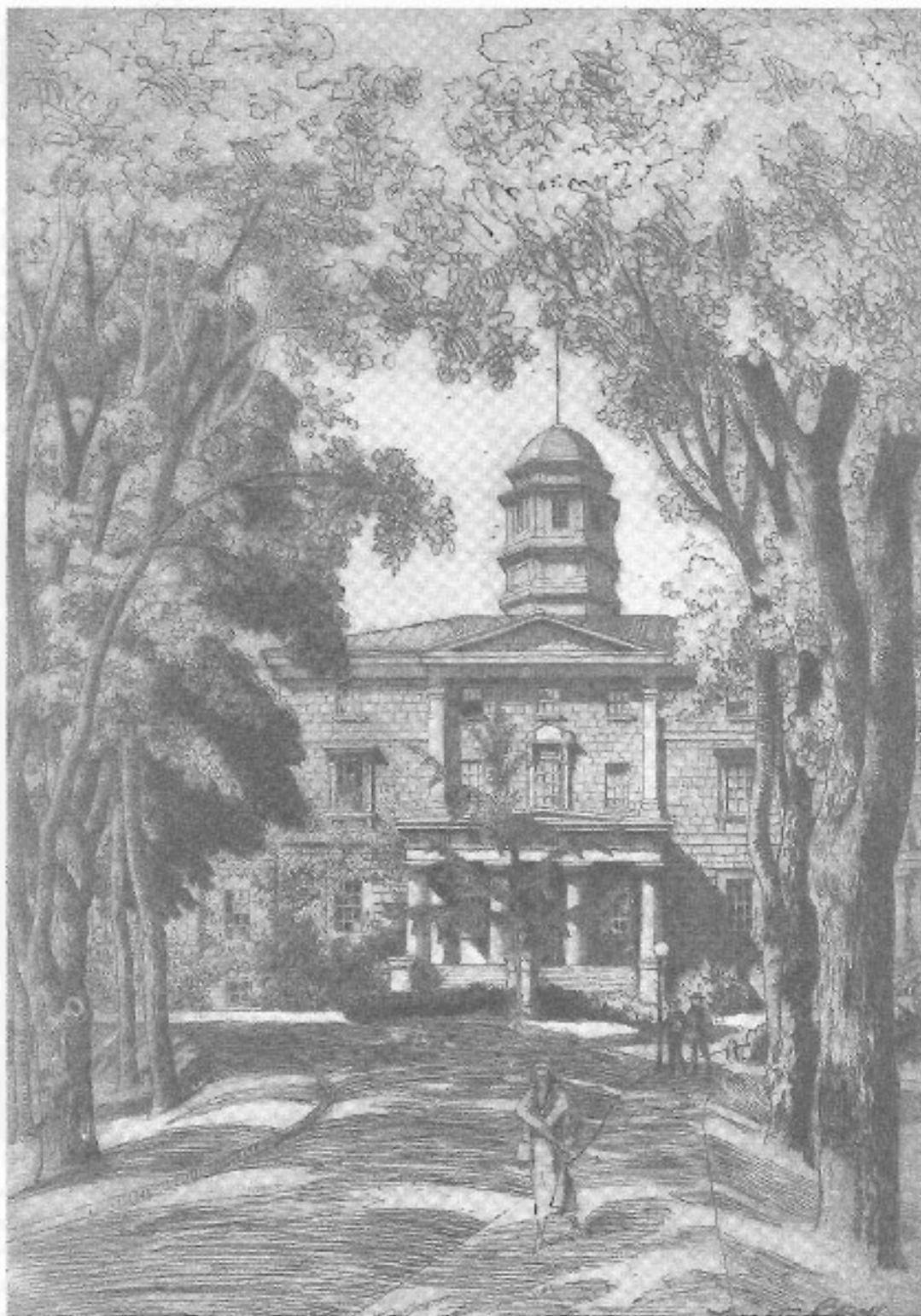


Figure 10. *The Arts Building, refurbished a number of times, was the original building of the University. Drawing by Walter R. Duff, 1924.*

was a genuine Chinese prince. But by far the bulk of the student body consisted of Canadian born lads from every province in the Dominion. There were many French-Canadians, and Peter found their oddly accented manner of speaking extremely droll, though the fact remained that they could all speak English and only a small percentage of the English born population could speak French. It gave him an odd sensation to hear the roll called: Lachance, Lafleur, Lafontaine, Laliberté, Lamont, Lemoine. Examination papers could be written in French or English. He began to develop an ear for French and he thought he could distinguish those who had studied abroad, as many of the French-Canadian students had. (pp. 40-41)

Peter looks at the campus architecture, the stately old buildings facing Sherbrooke Street, Montreal's equivalent of New York's Fifth Avenue, and notes that McGill was built not by government but by private benefactors:

The university had celebrated its centennial anniversary six or seven years before [in 1921], and the Arts Building, refurbished a number of times, was the original building of the university (Fig. 10). Long and low and darkened by more than a century's dust, it stood at the very end of the driveway that lead up from the gates. There the road split, the two new sections curving away on either side. To the right of the main road were the science buildings, of a newer vintage, the contribution of a great tobacco fortune [Sir William Macdonald's]. To the left were the moss-covered library... and the Museum, whose donor [Peter Redpath] had made millions in sugar. The Medical buildings [gift of Lord Strathcona], newer still, were in back of the Arts Building, further up the hill and closer to the Royal Victoria Hospital (Fig. 11). The city's capitalists had given both money and affection in large gobs to the university. (p.41)

Novels and memoirs referring to McGill often focus on the campus's architecture: the horseshoe of greystone buildings, in a hodgepodge of decorated nineteenth-century styles, facing the mansion-

lined boulevard of Sherbrooke Street; and its imposing gates and elm-treed road. At the road's end is the weathered greystone icon, the original Arts Building, dating from the 1840s, long before the little college was transformed by Dawson, Osler, and Rutherford into Canada's national university, renowned for medicine and science. And always looming above is Mount Royal. Writers focus on the tall ancient trees and odd grey buildings. Carroll's friend Hugh MacLennan wrote about McGill's campus poetically in *The Watch That Ends the Night* (1959), as did Harold Trott in his memoir. Carroll described its atmosphere in the 1920s:

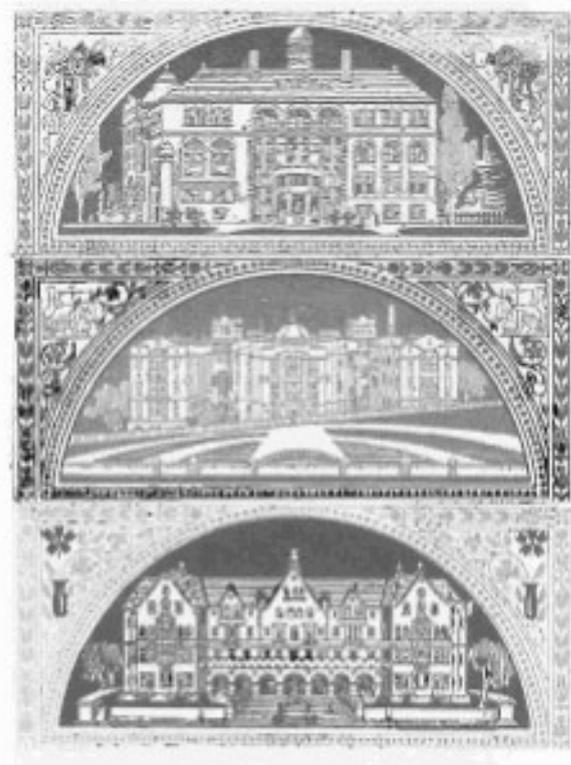


Figure 11.

*The city's capitalists had given both money and affection in large gobs to the university. (The Macdonald Physics Building, the Strathcona Medical Building, and Royal Victoria College.)*

*The campus, fringed with giant elms, was a magnet for old and young. White-flannelled cricketers set up their wickets on its green turf. Tennis players dashed about its red clay courts. Bearded old men walked reflectively under its trees and children, under the watchful eyes of governesses, played about on its grassy slopes. Late at night, undergraduate revellers lurched along its narrow sidewalks. (pp. 41-42)*

With football over, Peter becomes an ordinary mortal. During football season, the fraternity had excused him from the duties new members, known as "babies," carried out in the house. They had to answer the doorbell and the telephone, keep the common room tidy, prepare the chapter room for meetings, mail letters to the alumni, and do odd jobs. Peter and his roommate Eric resent the chores and are censured for their apathetic attitudes at house meetings, not realizing such criticism was routine and not meant personally. Eric complains, *When I was first introduced here I was given the impression that it was a gentleman's club.... Then after one is persuaded to join, one is treated like a steward* (pp.45-46). When Eric talks this way, Peter thinks of the pompous stage Englishman. Yet he enjoys Eric's mannerisms:

*Eric had so much more dignity than Canadian youths of his age that it sometimes appealed to him as ridiculous. He was, in appearance, the clean-looking type of English public school boy you see in the illustrated London papers. He looked tall because he was slender and long in the legs, but in reality he was only a fraction of an inch taller than Peter. He had a long, thin English head and narrow face, skin like a girl, pleasant blue eyes and hair the colour and quality of corn silk. (p.46)*

Eventually Peter and Eric get into trouble. Assigned to polish the common room floor, they begin after breakfast, when the house is empty *except for the servants*. Soon Eric suggests they hire someone to do it. So a *derelict from an employment agency* finishes the job for them. Unfortunately the house president, Ken Hyde, returns and sees what has

happened. At the next Saturday meeting, Hyde announces that two of the new brothers have refused to perform a menial task assigned to them and will be disciplined after the meeting. The whole chapter seems to know about it and two brothers are sent to *prepare the freezing mixture*.

*When the meeting adjourned, they were escorted upstairs, stripped of their clothes and conducted to the bathroom. Then they saw the freezing mixture: snow and ice and salt and water filled the tub. The bathroom and the hall outside were jammed with grinning brothers, eager spectators at the first bath party of the year. Eric was grabbed by the feet and the hands and hoisted into the air. Once, twice, three times they dipped him in the icy tub and, each time as he was lowered, a mock cheer rent the air. A bath towel was flung over his shivering shoulders and he was led away, while Peter was subjected to the same treatment. (pp.47-48)*

Afterwards, Don Horwill says not to take it too seriously. It happens to someone every year, means nothing, and is good for discipline. Eric feels insulted and thinks of resigning his membership. However, he is persuaded that if they do not laugh it off, their lives might be made unpleasant – each assigned chore could provoke a crisis. Resigning could spoil one's university career; the individual not the fraternity would be blamed. Peter notices more things he does not like. Freshmen are discouraged from full participation in house politics. Another "baby," Tim Manson, who had grown up on an Alberta cattle ranch and who was taken in only because his brother had belonged, naively suggests at a meeting that the fraternity reform its treatment of new members. After an ominous silence, the president declared that the traditions of the chapter had stood for nearly fifty years, and it was presumptuous of a "baby" to criticize – so presumptuous that Tim is subjected to the same freezing immersion meted out to Peter and Eric. Peter begins to find the fraternity too like an army barracks. He is also disconcerted that his brothers

ridicule the dances and potential romances that are part of life at co-ed campuses like McGill's by the 1920s.

### WINTER: BOOKS AND BEER

The term has ended. It is January and exams loom. Peter had brought notes and books home to Ontario to study over the Christmas vacation. But he had goofed off, gone to parties, and basked in the admiration of local girls impressed by his football feats. Back at McGill, he realizes he knows nothing about the four Arts subjects he's taking – *He had neglected the primary, academic side of college for football and fraternity activities* (p.51). We hear nothing about Peter's courses. Carroll like most college novel writers, concentrated on sports and extra-curricular socializing. As everyone crams for exams, the fraternity house becomes quiet: *the threat of examinations muzzled the radio and the victrola, dimmed bright lights into student lamps, gagged the garrulous and drove the bridge players away from the tables* (p.51).

Peter now pays the price for exercising his freedom to cut classes. He makes a last-ditch attempt to catch up on his studies, living on sandwiches from a restaurant, coffee and caffeine tablets. When the results of the January exams are posted, he finds he has failed two courses. His prestige in the fraternity drops, since failures lower the chapter's status on campus. The fraternity president starts to keep an eye on him. Then he hears Coach Connelly is off him: *He says you're the kind of guy who makes all that overemphasis talk possible* (p.53). Throughout the 1920s, the professionalization of college sports caused controversy. Indeed, the 1928 *Old McGill* carried an article, "The Over-Emphasis of Athletics," warning that Canadian universities were in danger of falling into the American practices of dropping academic standards, commercializing sports, and even paying players.<sup>12</sup>

To recoup academically, on Don's advice, Peter prescribes a new routine for himself. He finds he can attend his lectures, spend two hours in the library and still have free time (Fig 12). Football seems long past, as Peter's interests turn more cerebral. He discovers a passion for books and ideas; indeed his reading of novels appears to be his private alternative to McGill's formal curriculum. After lectures, he starts going to the Student Union where he meets students talking from table to table about literature, theatre, campus affairs, and Professor Leacock's latest *bon mot* (p.55)

*'Have you heard Stevie's latest?' someone cried with a burst of preliminary laughter.*

*'Let's have it.'*

*'He says O. Henry is the great master of modern literature.'*

*'No! Did he mean it?'*

*'Who can tell?'*

*'He's probably just living up to his reputation as a funny man.'*

Peter learns that because students in Arts and Law have easy courses, they can drop into the Union cafeteria for both morning and afternoon sessions, over tea, coffee and pipes – *students never seemed to be able to talk without eating or drinking at the same time* (p.55). Peter discovers the "Aesthetes" – the theatre and literary crowd. They know about literature and drama, even music and painting, and argue hotly over the latest play by O'Neill. Some write for the *McGill Daily* or for the "Literary Review." Those too superior to write talk. Carroll probably modelled the Aesthetes on the students who wrote for the *McGill Daily Literary Supplement* in the early 1920s, and more particularly for the *McGill Fortnightly Review*, which came out to acclaim from 1925 to 1927. Known as the "McGill Group" or "Montreal Group", the students included E.R. Scott, A.J.M. Smith, Leon Edel, Leo Kennedy, and A.M. Klein. Many of the McGill group went on to distinguished literary careers. At McGill they

12 Duncan A. L. MacDonald, *Old McGill* (1928), 234, 348.

espoused modernist poetry, admired Eliot and Yeats, and reviled the lingering Victorianism of Canadian letters. Edel recalled that the McGill Fortnightly group would talk in the McGill Union with others of similar interests like Graeme Taylor and John Glassco. Unlike the other McGill writers, Glassco would also write erotica of the governess genre.<sup>13</sup>

Peter meets Tony Dodds, a friend of the Aesthetes. Tony plays the piano in the Union, writes music for the student Red and White Revue, and plays the faded guide to the naive Peter. One afternoon, Peter and Tony desert the Union for the student haunt, the Prince of Wales Tavern, known as the Pig and Whistle, on McGill College Avenue. This (real-life) tavern played a large part in student life for decades. For McGill students:

*When you said beer, you meant the Pig.... The Pig was smoky, noisy and cheerful. Peter and Tony sit down in one of the cubicles that lined the wall. Two men worked feverishly behind the counter supplying the waiters with bottles of ale, drawing steins of draft beer and relaying food orders to the kitchen.... When they weren't busy, the four waiters loafed at the end of the ram... swallowing occasional beers with prodigious speed. They were extremely good natured, took a lot of kidding, cashed students' cheques without hesitation and even lent them money. They were all French Canadians: Armand, fat and jolly; Albert, thin, short and bespectacled; Big Romeo, as lankly, loose-jointed and soft-spoken as a Negro; and Little Romeo, with a falsetto voice and liquid black eyes as soft as a woman's. (p.57)*

The boys order two Molsons, which the waiter Armand calls "moleskins," an untiring joke. After a

few drinks, Peter feels like skipping supper at the fraternity: *He had a feeling he wanted to do something to-night, have a little excitement, see a little life* (pp.58-59). Peter and Tony move on from the Pig to Krausman's in Phillips Square. Krausman's had a four piece orchestra which played Viennese waltzes. It had lost its popularity because of the War, but it still served excellent hocks and kraut and Pilsner beer.<sup>14</sup> Tony asks Peter how he likes the Aesthetes. Peter says he likes listening to them. When Tony grins slyly, Peter adds,

*Oh, I know what they say about them... but you can't believe that stuff. Tony broke into a laugh. 'I don't know... A couple of those guys look a little delicate to me. I wouldn't like to go on any long canoe trips with them.' For a fleeting moment, Peter was wary; then he almost laughed out loud at the absurdity of his suspicions. Why was it that whenever a man appeared ready to dilate on that topic you invariably suspected him? Looking Tony over, he decided that he certainly didn't display any of the badges of the order. There was no preciousness in his manner. He let his bushy hair grow longer than was usual, but so did Paderewski. And he had a rugged face without a trace of femininity in it. For the rest, his suit was well cut though unpressed, and he was addicted to polo shirts with soft comfortable collars. The ensemble was careless, but it had a quality of deliberateness about it pardonable in a youth with a facile talent for musical composition. (p.60)*

Changing the subject from the love that knew no name, especially at McGill, they talk about the goal of education. We are told it's not to teach us to make a living, but to make us cultured, says Tony. Then the education system fails, declares Peter. He

13 Leon Edel, "When McGill Modernized Canadian Literature," in E. A. Collard, ed., *The McGill You Knew* (Don Mills, Ont., Longman Canada, 1975), 12-27. Among Glassco's works was *Harriet Marwood, Governess*, first published in 1960 under the title, *English Governess*.

14 Most of the restaurants and nightclubs Peter visited existed. According to *Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1926-1927*, Krausman's Lorraine Cafe was on Phillips Place and the Venetian Gardens was at 602 St. Catherine St. West. The Pig and Whistle Restaurant also existed, of course. The hotels where the dinners and balls took place were real, too: the Ritz Carleton is still a hotel while the Windsor is now converted to offices and the Mount Royal to shops and condominium dwellings. However, "Chez Sol" and the "Moonlight Gardens," where Peter and Tony go after Krausman's, are not in *Lovell's, 1926-1927*.



 ARTS   
BETTS  
JUNIORS

Figure 12. Peter spends two hours a day in the (Redpath) Library.  
Drawing by R.C. Betts, Arch. 1928.

criticizes McGill for its lack of courses in the arts, music, and painting. He knows nothing about painting or any of the arts; he has a sketchy idea of literature only because he was curious: *Why couldn't they give us the rudiments?... enough to stimulate our interest. They manage to in European schools* (pp. 60-61). Contemporary critics shared Peter's frustration that Canadian Universities failed to instil culture in their students. In 1930 A.F.B. Clark singled out McGill and Toronto when decrying sterile literary scholarship for concentrating on dry philology instead of great ideas.<sup>15</sup> Playing devil's advocate, Tony argues that history is made by warriors and statesmen. But they don't teach us anything, says Peter. They mix their conversation with lots of Pilsner. Tony spouts about the lives and loves of famous composers: *Dvorak's drunkenness, the evidences of homosexuality in Wagner's work... the Vienna of Franz Schubert and Richard Strauss* (p.61). Tony wants to visit Austria and Germany, where good food and good music come first; *and the women over there, he was sure, even the professionals, were more sympathetic and less mercenary than the bags in this man's town, with whom he was entirely fed up* (p.61).

By three in the morning, they find themselves in Chez Soi via the Moonlight Gardens, in the east, French-speaking part of town, exotic to English-speaking Montrealers:

*far past the boundary line fixed by nice people as the farthest you could go in an easterly direction after night-fall. The women were obvious enough: different versions of the same type. The men were more heterogeneous: people employed in the amusement business – jazz band players, vaudevillians and waiters – who came down here for relaxation after their own establishments closed; respectable business men, a little the worse for liquor, making a night*

*of it; one or two undergraduates like themselves thinking they were exploring the depths; and the usual number of touts and pimps indigenous to the place.* (p.62)

Peter tells Tony he is curious to see "a house." Until civic reforms in the 1950s, brothels were kept fairly openly in some seedy downtown districts and, according to fiction and memoirs, sometimes were visited by the more venturesome students. Actor Hume Cronyn recalled that when he was a McGill student in 1931 he frequented Flo's on Milton Street and caught the clap.<sup>16</sup> Tony knows where the houses are, in spite of the efforts to eradicate them by the "Committee of Sixteen" (a Montreal reform group active around 1920). He takes Peter uptown to a row of ancient, red brick, two-story houses. A panel in a door is slid back. They are admitted to a front room. The madame has a heavy accent, tawny, wine-coloured skin, and something of a moustache. She reminded Peter of the madames of stage and fiction. The madame rings a bell for the girls. While they wait, Tony puts a nickel in the piano slot; it plays like *breaking glass*. (p.63)

*Peter wasn't prepared for the ghastly half-dozen 'girls' who filed into the room in various stages of dishabille.... They were grotesque – caricatures of women. Their make-up was as thick as a circus-clown's and, when they smiled, they showed hideous gold teeth. He stared at them for a moment, fascinated. From the depths of his chair, Tony laughed. The madame looked from one to the other of them with concern. 'Come on,' she urged, 'choose your girl.' Tony laughed still harder. Peter leaped nervously to his feet. He wanted to get out of the place – at once! If he stayed there another minute he would be contaminated...* (pp. 63-64)

The boys leave. Amused, Tony says that it is the worst place in the city; he just took Peter there for

15 A.F.B. Clark, "Literary Scholarship in Canadian Universities," *The Canadian Forum* 10, no. 115 (April 1930): 244-48. In similar vein: H. Steinhauer, "Why We Have No Great Canadian Scholars," *The Canadian Forum* 10, no. 117 (June 1930): 321-23.

16 Hume Cronyn, *A Terrible Liar: A Memoir*, (Toronto: Key Porter Books, Toronto, 1991), 81-83.

a lark. Peter retorts that it was awful: *Those women weren't human – they were like ghosts.... How could anybody ever have anything to do with them?* (p.64).

Tony replies that the customers are sailors or long-shoremen, not very particular. He assures Peter most houses are better; this is the worst.<sup>17</sup> Home in bed, Peter imagines those painted faces grinning at him. Writers of the time often portrayed prostitutes as garishly made up, disease ridden and aging. The clients seem to be re-enacting their older brothers' harrowing war experiences – they go over the top to face, not German guns, but venereal disease and police raids. Pleasure is all but forgotten.

After this misadventure, Peter happily returns his attention to the campus, now frozen in Montreal's winter, unforgettable for students from gentler climates:

*Winter laid determined siege to the land, sending icy blasts roaring down out of the northwest in consecutive waves (Fig. 13). Layer after layer of snow brilliantly redecorated the old summerhouse in the neighbour's yard and, in the mornings, the kitchen maid struggled with the milk bottles, frozen to the doorstep. Golf bags and sweaters disappeared from the cloakroom of the Rho Delt house and skates, skis and windbreakers appeared in their stead.... At night, under the arc lights, forms moved jerkily, like dancing marionettes, about the campus rinks, and the mountain was black with flying figures in the moonlight, their hazardous flights propelled and guided by a pair of frail poles. The transportation companies advertised special excursion week-end trains up north, and the display*

*windows of the big departmental stores looked like miniatures of St. Moritz.* (p.65)

Peter cares nothing for skiing. He enjoys watching his English roommate Eric Mowat piling coats high on his bed at night against Montreal's winter. Peter is amazed at how methodically the Englishman sorts his clothes: dress shirts, collars, socks, gloves, pajamas all carefully sorted into separate drawers; formal clothes (which Peter will borrow before the story ends) hung carefully in a bag. At first, Eric has been disappointed with Canada, but now he begins to study the differences between Canada and the Old Country. He follows professional hockey rabidly, keeping a notebook on Les Canadiens, the Maroons, and other clubs. Eric also studies North American slang: *Peter told him that, so far as he knew, it originated with the sports writers, the Broadway stage and the underworld.* So Eric reads the sports pages and grades Peter on his knowledge about the gangsters in the headlines: *Where is Cook County? What is a stool? What is a gorilla? Who is the pay-off man for the Capone mob?* The "Talkies" come in [ca. 1927] and Eric loves them (pp. 65-67). He sees "Broadway Melody" seven times, while American gangster films make up for the Canadian cowboys and Indians he will never see.

Peter pursues his reading and attends a lecture by G.K. Chesterton, in town on a tour of North America:<sup>18</sup>

*He was disappointed in the enormous man with the long*

17 While this house presumably was imaginary, Al Palmer referred to a real Maggie's far east, on Clark Street, when describing the red-light district in the decades before 1950 in *Montreal Confidential*, (Toronto: Export Publishing Enterprises, 1950), 12. On the brothel milieu, see also Ronald J. Cooke's novel set in Montreal in the 1930s, *The House on Craig Street* (Toronto: Publishing Enterprises Ltd., 1949). The Committee of Sixteen was a private watchdog body, consisting mainly of English speaking Montrealers, including Lady Hingston and J. Howard Falk, Director, Social Service Department, McGill University. The Committee of Sixteen cited sociological and moral arguments for suppressing prostitution in *Some facts regarding toleration, regulation, segregation and repression of commercialized vice*, Montreal, 1919. Avowing that Montreal was a strategic point in international white slavery, Evanston I. Hart also advocated teetotalism and denounced Stephen Leacock for defending the freedom to drink; Leacock's attitude (wrote Hart) should deter parents from entrusting their children to McGill: Evanston I. Hart, *Wake Up! Montreal: Commercialized Vice and Its Contributors* (Montreal: the Witness Press, 1919), 24-25, 32.

18 Carroll himself may have heard Chesterton when he toured North America, including Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, in 1921. Chesterton described his impressions, ignoring Canada, in *What I Saw in America* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923).

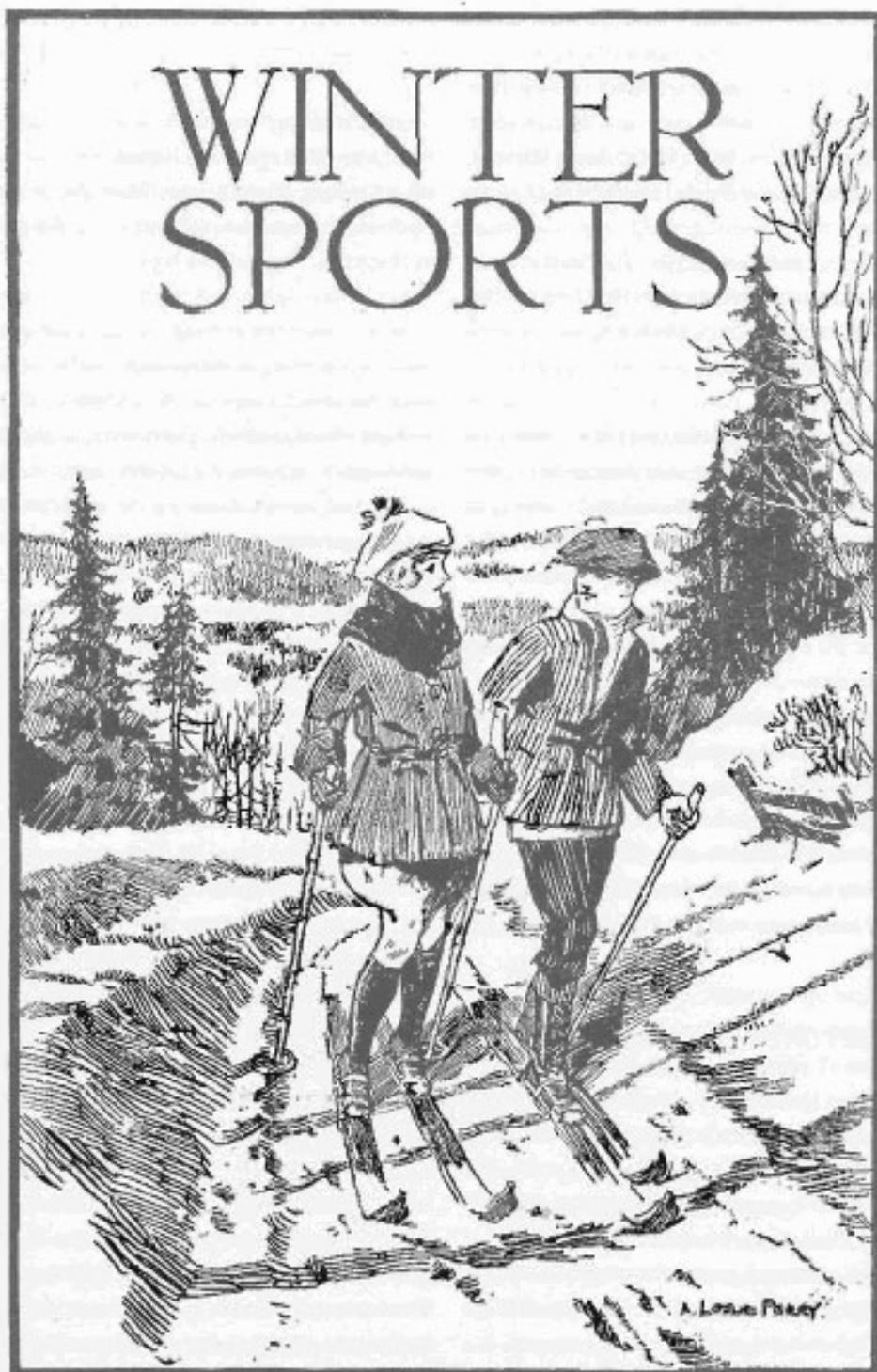


Figure 13. *Winter laid determined siege to the land...  
The transportation companies advertized special excursion trains  
up north.* Drawing by A.L. Perry, Arch. 1923.

hair, baggy clothes, tortoise-shell glasses and lightning repartee possibly because his subject was not one in which he was particularly interested. He would have liked it better if it had been more exclusively literary, though there were many references to Wells, Shaw, Barry, Bennett, Galsworthy, Walpole and Huxley. (pp.67-68)

For a while, Peter switches allegiance from American to British novelists, lured by their greater sophistication and their ancient society, where families had lived on the same land for centuries:

*They seemed to know so much more than the American writers he had been reading and to be surer of themselves (with the possible exception of Dreiser). But it was difficult for him to identify himself with their world. He tried to analyse the trouble and came to the conclusion that it was because the families they wrote about had lived a long time in the same place. Their backgrounds were firm, fixed and secure. In Canada, as in the United States, it was unusual to find a family that had lived in the same house for more than one generation. The children grew up, the boys went to the big cities or to another place where business opportunities were better, and the girls married and adopted their husbands' domiciles. There wasn't much in them [British novels] either about the struggle to make a living; their battles were mostly in the mind. (pp.67-68)*

## SPRING: BEYOND THE GATES

Winter recedes. Having played football, adapted to his fraternity, drunk tea at the Union and beer at the Pig, and read more novels, Peter further explores the city beyond the campus. Through his fraternity brother and team mate, Don Horwill, Peter meets Neil Richards, visiting from his New England boarding school. Peter is invited to Neil's family house on Upper Drummond Street. It is another step in his education: how the rich live.

*The house was enormous . . . . Peter was impressed by everything he saw: the rich rugs, the period furniture, the books*

*in the library, the oil paintings under their individual lights and the quiet efficiency of the servants. (p.70)*

Neil looks up to Don as a role model, and tells Peter how Don once had leaped into Lac St-Louis to save a power plant worker from drowning. While Neil talks about Don, Peter, too, muses about Don as the solid, dependable type:

*... he was remembering things about Don during the past year: his enthusiasm for football and his utter fearlessness; his concern over his own [Peter's] failure in the mid-term examinations; Don joining in the chorus of a lewd song at the house one Saturday night in such a spirit of fun that the viciousness of the words was somehow neutralized.... the secret of his charm, of course, lay in his abundant good health, his natural optimism and his total lack of affectation.... He doubted if Don had even the average amount of imagination, or if he ever took time for reflection. He was first and foremost a man of action, whereas Peter was not at all sure that he fell even remotely into that classification. (p.71)*

Neil is different from both the forthright Don and the cautious Peter. He is more elegant than most Canadians, privately tutored, and reads French novels. His American father had married a French Canadian Montrealer and become a broker in Montreal. Peter is impressed by Neil, the upper class boy, as he had been by Eric's Britishness and Tony's sophistication. Neil regales Peter with his travels: getting tight in Paris when he was fourteen and the like. Peter thinks that Neil's upbringing sounds like something out of a novel. He guesses that Neil is no stranger to sexual adventure: *The French all seemed precocious that way, which probably accounted for it since he was French on his mother's side (p.73).* (Peter wrongly assumes French Canadian attitudes are the same as those of Paris.) At Neil's house, Peter notices numerous French novels. Peter knew little about French literature *but he understood that the French treated sex as of no more importance than food, clothing, or any other feature of day to day*

existence. In that case, early familiarity with it was not so shocking (p.73).

Peter, Neil and Don attend a new McGill tradition, the Red and White Revue. The boys have prepared by having a well-lubricated dinner at the Ritz-Carleton Hotel. Tony Dodds conducts the overture:

*It was medley of many things, half-recognizable suggestions of college airs... Scene followed scene – sketch, chorus, blackout – with bewildering rapidity.... The star comedian that year had genius. He ambled all over the stage, over the footlights, on to the piano and into the body of the theatre, ad-libbing his way with a Broadway virtuosity. The co-eds were comely and the wit plentiful.... (Fig. 14). The writers played no favourites: the weaknesses of the Prime Minister at Ottawa, the Mayor of the city, the Principal and the professors were lampooned in satirical sketches; but the satire was kindly and the kidding had a merciful quality. There were occasional bright spots that momentarily stopped the show, as when the Principal, irate, rang for a certain professor, a mathematical wizard with a well-known taste for nut-brown ale, who was momentarily not to be found.*

*'Find out where he is!' the Principal thundered into the phone. A moment later the instrument tinkled.*

*'Hello,' he said gruffly.*

*'Where?' His voice took on a dulcet quality. 'With the Prince of Wales?'*

*More words on the other end of the wire and the Principal's perceptibly changing expression.*

*'Oh!' he said frigidly. 'AT the Prince of Wales'. (pp.74-75)*

Carroll may have invented this skit, but Principal Sir Arthur Currie and many professors indeed attended McGill Theatre Nights. In March 1923 (Carroll's graduation year), the *Montreal Herald* reported that the audience, including the Principal

and most of the staff, were kept in convulsions of laughter and applauded every act enthusiastically.<sup>19</sup>

After two hours, the Revue winds up with "Hail Alma Mater" and the University cheer. Peter, Don and Neil drive in Neil's Cadillac to the cabaret sequel at the Mount Royal Hotel. To keep damages by unruly students down, it is performed in a lower level room with stucco walls, not in the ballrooms. The crockery is solid here. Even the champagne glasses were durable enough to hold ice-cream sundaes. The crowd swelled rapidly, smoke hovered thickly under the low ceiling and the heavy fragrance of perfume and powder mingled with the scent of tobacco (Fig. 15) [p.76]. People order champagne, others drink from bottles and flasks discreetly hidden under tables. A second bottle of Mumm's is deftly substituted for the empty in the wine-bucket under their table. Girls are at a premium; stags look for vulnerable mixed parties. Between the cabaret pieces, there is dancing:

*Suddenly Don, who had been searching the crowd with speculative eyes, bounded precipitately to his feet and bore down on a couple dancing in a corner. The girl was smiling encouragement, unknown to her partner, whose back was to the intruder. The cut-in was accomplished with easy dexterity; her crestfallen ex-partner looked dumbly after them... (p.77)*

Don does not return. Neil must go back to Groton soon. He complains that it's no fun without girls and tells Peter they'll go somewhere else. Peter asks where. Neil tells him to get in the car and leave it to him. Peter had had a lot to drink and his judgment had waned with the evening; he goes along. Neil drives south of the Mount Royal Hotel and turns west on Dorchester to a decayed, once elegant neighbourhood, between Guy and Atwater Streets. *A few decades previous this had been the most elegant section of the city, before fashion had pushed on seeking the heights [up the Mountain]. Some old families still dwelt in the vicin-*

19 *The Montreal Herald*, 23 March 1923.



Figure 14. It was a medley of many things...  
The co-eds were comely and the wit plentiful.

ity, in those huge, dark houses well back from the street (p.77). [One of them, the Shaughnessy house, would survive to become part of the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 1989]. A row of smaller houses stood nearer the sidewalk and Neil leads them to one with a rounded facade. They knock and Neil flicks his cigarette lighter to show his face. The madam recognizes him, opens the door, and complains he should have telephoned ahead.

*She was a rather stout middle-aged woman, with an ugly face and a kitten in her arms. She had a great deal of hair, not too tidily done; but when she smiled her fleshy features were momentarily transformed and you did not think of her as being ugly. Peter was reminded of certain photographs of celebrated French women he had seen: Bernhardt or Colette or somebody.* (p.78)

Neil introduces Peter. They order champagne, brought by a maid. The madam leaves to telephone some girls. At this point, Peter realizes he is in a brothel. Before he can get upset, Neil assures him that it is the most exclusive house in town. While they wait, Peter admires their respectable surroundings:

*It was a generously proportioned room and the upright piano, the victrola, the chesterfields back to back, the comfortable chairs and the rich rug might have decorated any bougeoise living room. For a brothel it was on an elaborate scale, vastly different from the houses in the old segregated district [further east, visited earlier by Peter and Tony Dodds]. 'This is where the big shots have their fun,' Neil continued. 'She's very particular and she knows everybody. She doesn't even let the girls stay here. She telephones.'*

While they wait, Peter enjoys his champagne: *As the new wine sent its giddy vapours spiralling up into his head, Peter experienced a simultaneous volte-face of spirit. Now I'm beginning to see life, he thought, developing enthusiasm for the adventure. This is life. This is why I came to a large city. This is experience. I don't have to go all the way and yet I can learn something.* (p.80)

The girls arrive. Both are French Canadian. Neil has met Anette before; she sits on his knee and they talk in French. The second girl is dark-haired, quietly dressed, pretty, like the office girls Peter sees in the trams. Her girl-next-door attractiveness is fatal to Peter's resolve merely to window shop. They warm up on champagne. Neil and his girl disappear upstairs. Peter's girl is named Jeanne. They speak English. She asks:

*'You like me?' Her soft dark eyes regarded him anxiously. His blood was in a tumult. He tried to answer, but his heart beat hollowly in his throat and he didn't dare speak. As he nodded his head, she gave a little sigh of satisfaction and laid her dark head on his shoulder .... Only half-protestingly, he allowed her to lead him by the hand, like a small boy, up the stairs. He stood in the darkness just inside the door, shaken by the fierceness of his own desire, as she fumbled for the lamp on the bed table. When she turned up the light, he lay down shivering on the bed. She lay down beside him, laughing a little, and put solicitous arms around him.... Years of repressed emotions welled up in him, shaking him like a reed in a strong breeze. A long sigh escaped him and his arms tightened around her. He was gone now. He couldn't think coherently in the grip of something stronger than reason. It was delicious to yield.* (pp.81-82)

Peter wakes up in the house alone, hungover, filled with loathing ... for everything that had happened (p.82). He creeps out of the silent house, terrified he may have caught a venereal disease. Fortunately, he has not.<sup>20</sup> The episode amounts to a critique, however unconscious, of society's consignment of sex to the extremes of marriage, illicit affairs and brothels. The consequent division of women into respectable and loose in turn fostered the attitudes which Peter had noticed among his fraternity brothers. They pursued (or pretended to pursue) women of uncertain reputation, but scorned (or at least pretended to scorn) encounters with respectable girls from their own milieu.



Figure 15. The heavy fragrance of perfume and powder mingled with the scent of tobacco.

*There was a tradition around the house against 'softing.' Going to debutante dances or to social affairs of any kind that were eminently respectable came under this general heading. Rho Delta was the only fraternity on the campus that did not give an annual dance, and it took pride in its reputation of never having had a female cross its threshold. Other fraternities were ridiculed on this score. 'Fancy guys,' the Rho Delts said in disgust.... Let a man put on evening clothes and he was immediately the target for catcalls and raspberries. But the fact remained that they did put on evening clothes.*

Reluctantly, they accepted invitations to dances, but always proclaimed they had no choice; the hostess was a family friend, or married to a business associate of their fathers or summered in the same place.

*However, let it be known that one of their number had been seen with the dancer from the Venetian Gardens, or some other girl of racy reputation or such status in life that his intentions could not be mistaken, then his conduct was generally commended (Figs. 16,17). He was a 'smooth performer', 'a card', or 'a terrible man.' It was pose clear through, yet some of the younger and more impressionable lads were taken in by it. It was, too, the kind of pose that was very easy to adopt after being exposed to it every day for months, as Peter discovered.... Later, he found that decent girls were attracted by men who were known to cultivate questionable women. That was a problem that constantly stumped him.... he could never quite make up his mind whether it was because they offered a certain amount of danger and were therefore exciting companions, or because they were almost always men with easy, pleasant manners who knew how to be agreeable and entertaining. (pp.50-51)*

These contemporary attitudes, with their contradictions, were about to change, to some extent. This change is reflected in novels after 1940, including some set in Montreal, which drop the double standard. Brothel episodes give way to premarital sexual relations between equal partners, who usually plan to marry eventually. For example, in the best seller *Earth and High Heaven* (1944), Gwethalyn Graham's heroine (incidentally, a McGill graduate) slips up north to the Laurentian mountains (the preferred getaway spot for such encounters) for a romantic interlude with the man she intends to marry.<sup>21</sup> This evolution may reflect the uncertainties of the Second World War, spurring people to experience life to the full while they could.

\* \* \* \* \*

Meanwhile, the snow runs off the mountain; April rains are over and spring exams await. Students occupy every chair in the Redpath Library (its stacks expanded in 1922 to hold an ever-growing collection). The students are distracted by a thousand sounds and smells which float *through the open windows to distract the brain-straining seekers after knowledge and degrees. A fife-and-drum corps passing on Sherbrooke Street lifted weary eyes from the printed pages, and the medley of automobile klaxons, snatches of laughter under the windows and shouted conversation across McTavish Street broke in on three hundred reveries.... Spring is not the best time of the year for mental concentration.* (pp.85-86)

The fraternity studies and sunbathes. Peter and his English roommate Eric wake to steamship whistles in the harbour. Ever ready for a break from studying, Peter walks with Eric down Beaver Hall Hill

20 Hume Cronyn's description of his first experience closely resembles Peter's. Cronyn, *A Terrible Liar*, 79-80.

21 Gwethalyn Graham, *Earth and High Heaven*, (Philadelphia & New York: J.P. Lippincott Company 1944) in which a Montreal couple, Gentile and Jew, successfully confront anti-Semitism.



Figure 16. *Seen with the dancer from the Venetian Gardens...*  
Drawing by R.A. Montgomery, Arch. 1931.

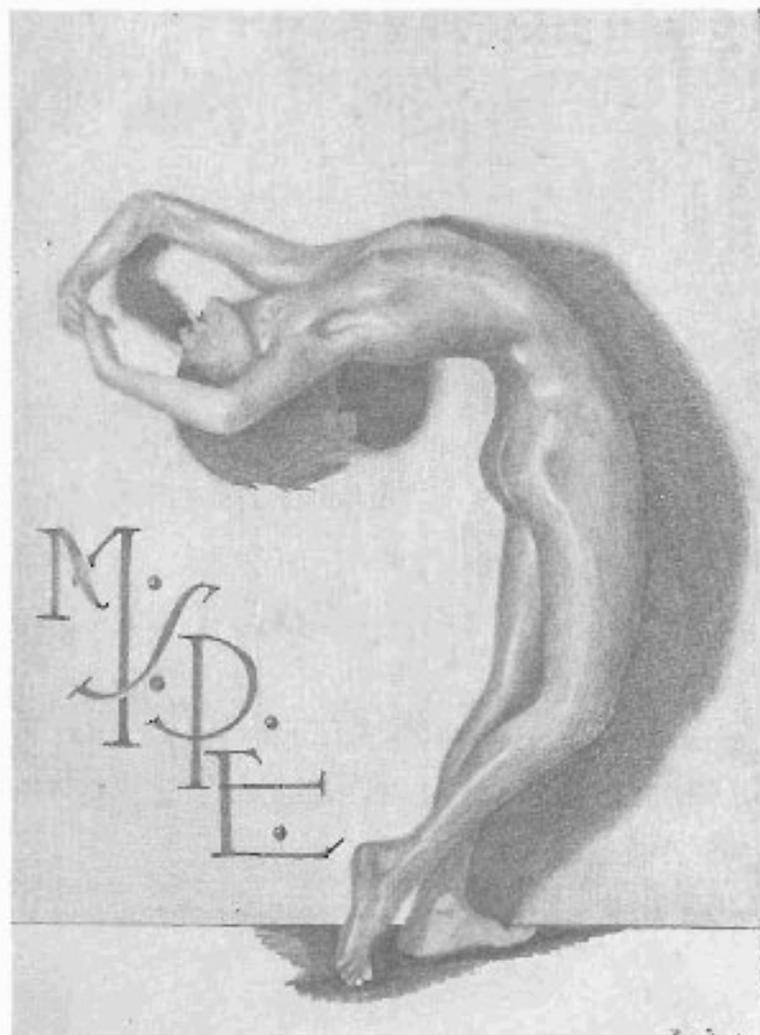


Figure 17. *... or some other girl of racy reputation.*  
Drawing by Pic Ross, late 1920's.

to the heart of the city to the port to see the newly arrived ships. In the 1920s, Montreal was still the main shipping and commercial city of Canada. It is Peter's first visit to the old mercantile part of the city, by the St. Lawrence River, a mile or so from McGill.

*He was amazed by its solidity and compactness. It was like another city entirely. The streets were narrow and the traffic all flowed in one direction. The imposing structures of banks rose sheer from the sidewalks. Flat-topped limousines, businessmen's cars, were drawn up along the curbs. (p.86)*

They walk from Place d'Armes towards the waterfront. They can smell the spices in the warehouses:

*Heavy trays bumped noisily along the cobblestones on Common Street [rue de la Commune]. Men stood in knots before the taverns and cafes and a crowd swarmed in front of the Sailors' Institute. They heard overseas dialects on all sides. Above the cement wall that cut off the wharves from the street were the shipping companies' signs: Cunard Line, White Star Line, Canadian Pacific Steamships. (p. 87)*

Eric suggests going to the Canadian Pacific ship dock, where he had landed last fall. They cross through the tracks with their freight cars, go around massive concrete grain elevators and into a long shed.

*The place was a hive of activity. A passenger liner and two small freighters were in and men were busy unloading cargo. Boxes slid smoothly down chutes and were arranged in neat piles along the walls. Winches dipped suddenly like gulls into holds and came up with their catch. The stevedores shouted and sweated... Eric and Peter slowed down and peered at the printing on the casings. Crockery and textiles from England. Matches from Sweden. Anchovies from Norway. Soap from France. They sauntered on to a pile of domestic freight waiting to be taken aboard. Automotive parts and breakfast cereals from Ontario. Cheese and aluminum products from Quebec.*

*Peter felt his economics course coming magically to life (Fig. 18). [p.87]*

Eric sees the ship, The Montcalm, on which he had crossed to Montreal. They go aboard. The purser, Murdoch, remembers Eric and lets him show Peter over the ship. Murdoch pours them gins and bitters and spouts on international affairs with all the confidence of the literate seaman.

*Murdoch... discussed the world as if it were his own backyard, while they sat and marvelled. To him, Africa was the fascinating continent. It was so big it presented every imaginable phase of life. Europe, he said, was finished. It was over-crowded, its countries too self-conscious and its politicians too unscrupulous. Ghandi was going to make a mess of trouble for the British in India. Australia was wonderful, but the people were lazy and luxury loving. China was a hellhole. Disease and ignorance were rampant, you never knew when you were going to find yourself in the middle of an earthquake or a flood, and the interior was flooded with bandits. The Japs were clean and progressive, though not always trustworthy. Their main object now was to replace their old civilization with a western one and they aped the Americans in everything. That was funny when you considered how much Japan hated the United States. Canada, he thought, was a fine young country with a great future – the exact antithesis, so to speak, of European countries. South Africa, Canada and the Argentine were the three countries that impressed him as having the most promise. (pp. 89-90)*

Peter asks Murdoch what he reads and Murdoch declares for Pope, Kipling, Masefield and W.W. Jacobs; he feels that Conrad *doesn't write about the sea as I know it* (p.91). Afterwards, Peter and Eric look longingly at a Cunarder making dock, its band playing, while passengers crowd the rails.

*Peter thought if he ever made any money he'd stop work, pack his bag and go on a non-stop journey that would take him in and out of strange ports forever, preferably*

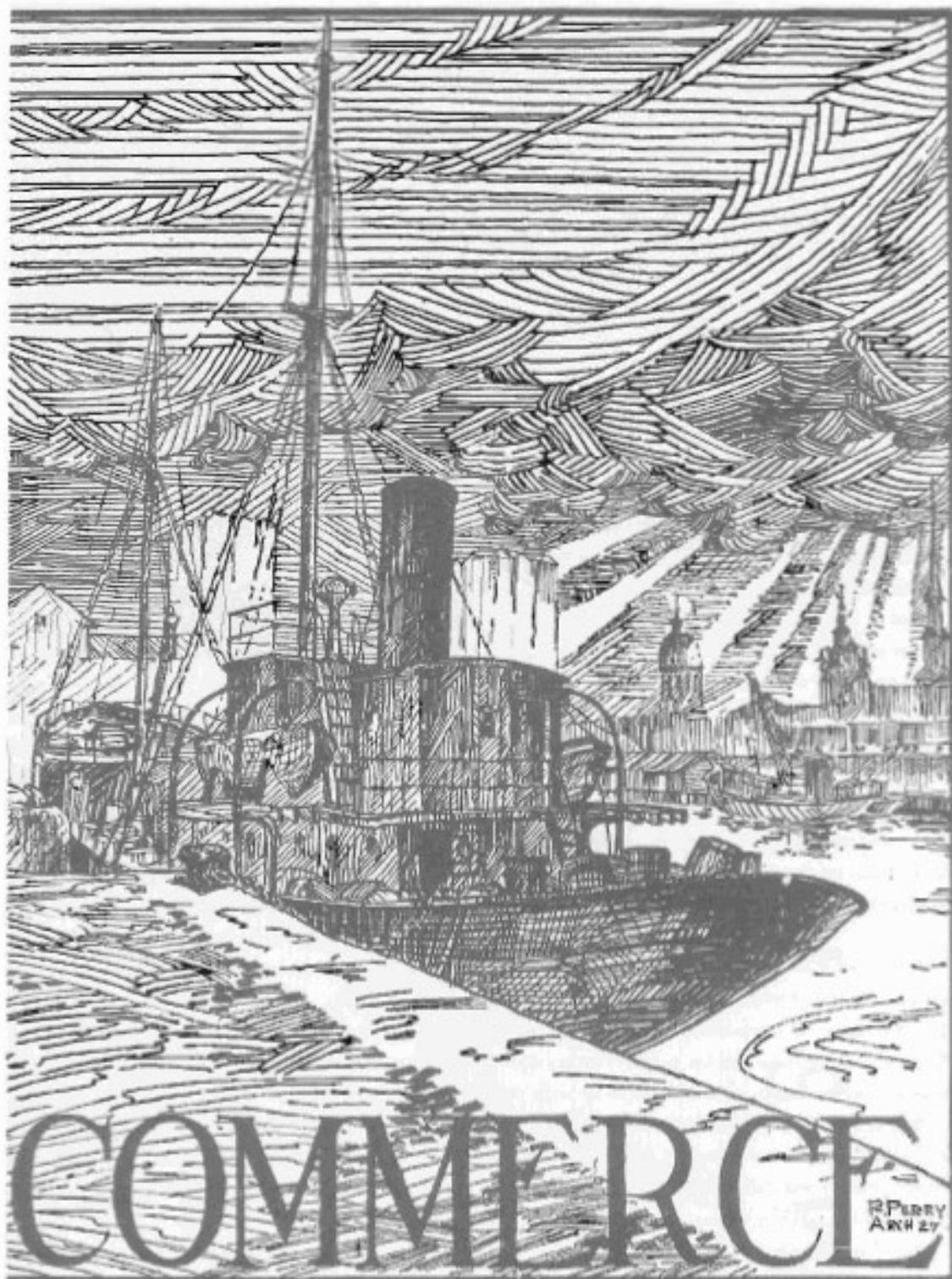


Figure 18. Peter felt his economics course coming magically to life.  
Drawing by R. Perry, Arch. 1927.

*in the company of a man like Mr. Murdoch, from whom the world withheld few secrets. It was the most pleasing method of acquiring an education and was, at the same time, a clean and satisfying way of spending money. It was a wonderful world, packed with beauty and adventure for the imaginative; only the dull found it humdrum and oppressive. The spirit of spring was like wine in his blood, giving a lift to his imagination and colour to anything his mind played upon. (p.92)*

Murdoch's ship will return soon and Eric plans to take it back to Europe for the summer break. Peter and Eric drop into the Neptune Cafe, full of sailors and riffraff out of a Dos Passos novel who, Peter thinks, have more fun than people chained to a desk. What does Peter want to do this summer? *I don't know. Travel – or fall in love – anything but lie in a hammock with a book all summer.* Peter wonders if reading is a poor substitute for living. *A woman would be preferable, of course,* Eric agrees dryly (p.93). Eric and Peter agree to move into digs together next year; they have had enough fraternity regimentation.

A little later, sure he's done adequately on his exams, Peter drops into the Pig and ends up drinking with Tim Manson, the fraternity brother from the Canadian West, who had been dumped in the freezing tub for suggesting that new men be treated better. Tim is fed up with the east, McGill, the Rho Deltas and the whole snobby outfit.... *'I come from a part of the country where people are honest and straight-forward – at least I think they are. They don't say one thing and think another.... I understand now,'* Tim went on with an extravagant gesture, *'why our public men out there are so bitter against the east. The bastards are so slick you never know where you stand with them. Promises mean nothing. If you take them seriously the joke's on you. Look at the fraternity's initiation ceremony. Do you know I was fool enough to be impressed by it?'* (p.96)

In spite of Tim's disillusionment, when Tim parts for the West, they use the fraternity's secret handshake. Peter contemplates this outburst of Canadian regionalism; he realizes Tim hates the lack of ideal-

ism as well as the competitiveness and opportunism students pick up at McGill and pursue for success in later life. Tim reinforces Peter's scepticism towards his world at McGill yet, at the same time, he is annoyed at Tim for disturbing his complacency. Peter admits to himself that he wants to join the successful crowd, whatever their faults may be.

Celebrating the end of exams, Peter is picked up by Don Horwill and some girls in a car. Among them is Anne Somers, whose table at the Ritz-Carlton he had crashed after the football dinner. She is to marry the next week, but meanwhile is bent on a good time and specially asked Don to bring Peter. She says, laughing at his surprise, *'I ordered you, Mr. Rice, so you'd better ride with me.'* Peter asks where the groom is. *'In Atlantic City – resting.'* They drive to the rather passé Venetian Gardens rather than a fashionable hotel where Anne's crowd might recognize her partying sans fiancé. They have a bottle of wine. Don was



Figure 19.

*Peter confined his attentions almost exclusively to Anne...*

Drawing by R.C. Bettes, B.Arch. 1928.

giving the girl with him a mild rush. They were friends of long standing, and she had come up from Toronto to be one of Anne's bridesmaids. Peter confined his attentions almost exclusively to Anne (p.100) [Fig. 19]. On this elusive note the story of Peter's first year ends.

### SEQUEL: PETER'S SECOND YEAR

The novel continues with a fragment of Peter's second year, mainly his date with a beautiful American college girl. Peter and Eric have moved into a flat. The sequel hints that Peter's life will be less McGill- and fraternity-oriented, possibly romantic. It is already November; Peter can relax now that football and training tables have ended. Peter has time to read, loaf and have fun. He continues the successful strategy he adopted after his disaster in his exams the previous year. By spending two hours a day in the library, he can pass his courses and keep his evenings free to read or go out.

A friend, Bill Bjalkie, invites him to a charity ball, preceded by dinner at the Blakies' grand house. It is a last minute thing; an extra man is needed to escort a visiting American girl to the ball. Peter asks what she looks like; Blakie does not know. Peter recalls that most American girls he has met have been attractive and accepts. Luckily, Eric has gone out to a film so Peter helps himself to Eric's evening clothes, making a mental note to have them copied by his own tailor. His girl, Betty Parker, turns out to be a real beauty: *She combined, with startling effect, dark skin and yellow brown eyes with her fair hair. It gave her a peculiar and erotic distinction. Her face was oval and when she smiled he caught glimpses of flashing, even teeth.* There follows an elegant meal of soup, oysters and chablis, chicken and white burgundy, a salad and champagne, and cheese.... *In the shadowy candle-lit room, the light gleamed brightly on their starched shirt fronts, the bare arms and shoulders of the girls and the shining silver* (sequel, p.4). Peter decides there is a lot to be said for the formal side of gentility.

Betty pleases Peter by saying she has heard that he is not only a football hero, but intelligent as well.

After they have discussed modern writers, Peter flatters Betty by telling her she is not only beautiful, but so intelligent she is almost a blue stocking. They depart for the ball at ten. Peter feels strongly attracted to Betty. *She has brains and beauty. They dance:*

*Like other American girls he had known, she was an extremely competent dancer.... She was slim and almost his own height and their movements synchronized perfectly. He was conscious of the strange, illusive scent she used, and the occasional touch of her temple on his cheek as she looked about. Their immediate intimacy, legitimized by the modern dance forms, almost took his breath away* (Fig. 20). [sequel, pp.7-8]

Betty enjoys being Peter's date. She is gratified by how many people greet Peter—and then notice her. After the ball, at midnight supper at an unnamed hotel, she discovers that Peter would like to write some day. He learns she is nineteen, goes to Smith College in Massachusetts, and is interested in books, the theatre and travel. She thinks Canadians speak



Figure 20. *Their immediate intimacy, legitimized by the modern dance forms, almost took his breath away.*  
Drawing by S.E. Root.

with an English accent and that the men are more mature than their American counterparts – more like Englishmen:

*Back home all the men seemed to be interested in was finishing everything that was in the bottle, driving fast cars and reducing their golf scores. Every party was spoiled because the men all gathered in a room and drank, and talked about golf or the stock market. She guessed that prohibition [still in effect in the States until 1933] might have had something to do with it. Civilized society seemed to have disappeared with the introduction of the Eighteenth Amendment. (sequel, pp.8-9)*

Looking at the other supper tables, she asks Peter to point out the celebrities. The Governor General, who is also the Visitor of McGill, is there [Viscount Willingdon, G.G., 1926-1931]. Betty says, *He's a knockout, isn't he? He looks awfully distinguished (Fig 21)*. She thinks the McGill Chancellor [Edward Beatty] has a nice, strong face (Fig. 22). Peter points out equestrians on the Governor General's staff: *Some of them have titles and enterprising young Canadian girls often marry them. Betty hopes Canadian society is based on titles or at least something more glamorous than money making: In Boston or New York it's always Mr. So and So, the Buckwheat King, or the Steel Magnate or the Motor Manufacturer. Peter disillusiones her; money runs Canada as much as it does the United States. Betty persists: That may be true, but when I'm anywhere in the British Empire I can't help but think of its traditions. I can feel the difference. Tell me, what's Quebec City like? (Sequel, pp. 9-10)*

Betty is headed to Quebec City the next day. The manuscript ends here. Had it been completed, a romance might have budded or Peter might have met some of McGill's women students on the steps of the Arts Building, a popular gathering place. We leave Peter, one hopes, with a life as long as his creator's, the Depression and war ahead, but good times too, in the vibrant city of Montreal.



Figure 21. *He's a knockout isn't he?  
He looks awfully distinguished.*  
Viscount Willingdon, Visitor of McGill,  
by Kathleen Shackleton, late 1920s.

.....

While Carroll excelled at short pieces, he may have found a novel too long or did not know where he wanted his story to go. Still, he serves as McGill's Scott Fitzgerald, its chronicler of football, fraternities and student social life in the 1920s. Carroll touches on most other traditional college novel themes: studies and ideas, student diversity, yearning for travel, and exposure to sex and wealth. While some college novels avoid identifiable settings in an attempt to

be universal, the best-known ones are set in real places and times. Peter Rice's story is inextricable from its snapshots of the McGill campus, Montreal's port, the Student Union (Fig. 23), the Pig and Whistle and the Red and White Revue. His enthusiasm for Montreal reminds us that students choose McGill partly for its location. The story touches specifically Canadian themes: Montreal's importance as a port and its nightlife, Toronto's dowdiness, Canadian regional alienation, Montreal's French-English chasm, British and American misconceptions of Canada, and the Anglophone belief that the French were experts in matters sexual. And in its unique fictional portrayal of Coach Shaughnessy and football practices and matches, the novel foreshadows Carroll's nonfiction writing about sports and sports characters.

Peter's friends were McGill types of the 1920s: Don Howell – football player, fraternity man, regular guy and role model; Tony Dodds – subversive intellectual and tempter; and Eric Mowat – British, amiable, with an outsider's view of Canada. While Tony was Canadian, the three other characters symbolizing sophistication, Eric, Neil and Betty were brought up outside Canada. The deepest study is of Peter himself – very Canadian, the easy-going, enigmatic observer, athlete, partygoer, and aspiring writer. Peter and his friends disprove the idea, found in many college novels, that college makes the man. McGill offers learning, experience and Montreal, without the lifelong molding attributed to Harvard and Oxford. While Peter loves McGill, he criticizes its weakness in literature and the arts and his fraternity's hazing and contempt for dances.

Carroll's novel reveals both the American influences on old Scots-inspired McGill and the growing similarities of college culture across the continent at the time. By the 1920s, McGill aspired to a huge, American-style physical plant, extending beyond basic classrooms and labs to all aspects of student life – gymnasiums and stadiums, theatres, convo-



Figure 22. Betty says McGill Chancellor Sir Edward Beatty has a nice strong face.

cation halls and grand residential quads. Percy Nobbs, McGill Architecture professor, unsuccessfully proposed plans to transform the haphazard campus of the 1920s into a Shangri-La of collegiate monumentality. (Instead, it would be the French-speaking Université de Montréal on the other side of the Mountain which would build the city's utopian campus, designed in yellow brick Deco by Ernest Cormier.) Like American universities, McGill expanded its curriculum of courses in arts and science and the traditional professions, law and medicine, in response to utilitarian demands for training in such developing professions as commerce, nursing, librarianship, teaching, home economics, and scientific



Figure 23. The McGill Union (now the McCord Museum of Canadian History) in the mid 20s.

agriculture. The most obvious American influence was McGill's American Greek letter fraternity system. McGill also had adopted the American football ethos as good for alumni relations, fund-raising, and for the players themselves. Carroll noted of football's spokesman, Shaughnessy: "Many of the young men he coached at McGill went on to become leaders in their chosen fields: industry, finance and the professions. He never forgot any of them and it's safe to say that none of them ever forgot him."<sup>22</sup>

Traditionally, university experiences have been similar the world over; students attend lectures in specific places, whether surrounded by meadows or taverns. Democratically, distance learning and night school extended the university beyond its old constituency of youth and the leisured or wealthy. Now the Internet seems poised to compete with, even replace, the university (which is a geographically and physically defined place with its storehouse of books and professors) with quick, free knowledge from everywhere on earth. If economics can be learned electronically, anytime, anyplace, will there still be a need for a Leacock in his tattered gown in room such-and-such in the Arts Building at 11 A.M.? Technology may threaten traditional campus-based learning but the university coming-of-age experience celebrated in college novels and by Carroll will probably survive – not only in front of computer screens, but also inside the old grey buildings of McGill, where Peter, Eric, and Tony went to classes and dreamed of their lives to come.

## POSTSCRIPT: DINK CARROLL

Carroll put his passion for sport, literature and quiet

observation into Peter Rice. The novel was unfinished, but Carroll's life offers a denouement to Peter's literary ambitions, the life Peter might have led had he existed. Austen Joseph Carroll (nicknamed "Dink") was born in Guelph, Ontario on 12 November 1899 and died in Montreal on 8 April 1991. His father was a teacher and lawyer from County Cork, Ireland. As a youth, Carroll played golf, baseball, football and boxed. He played backfield for the Guelph Collegiate Institute in the Dominion Finals in 1918 against the University of Toronto. After a year at Toronto, he came to McGill in 1920, right after McGill under Shaughnessy won the Canadian university football championship (Fig. 24). In 1987 Carroll recalled this 1919 team which opened Molson Stadium as "unbeaten, untied, and its goal line never crossed." Though McGill teams did not win the championship during his own years, Carroll was a star player. The *McGill Daily* (7 Nov. 1922) described Carroll, who played, as required, quarterback and halfback: "by far the outstanding player on the McGill team.... His punting was steady, and his return of kicks nothing short of sensational at times, but the department in which he excelled was in running through broken fields for long gains...." Carroll's football episodes at McGill were long remembered; in 1969 Judge Hank Gaboury suggested: "Have Dink relate how he saved the day for Old McGill back in 1924 [1922?] when he made a running catch of a 75 yard boot by Warren Snyder that would make Hal Patterson look like a rookie." Quiet, Carroll was called the "Whispering quarterback" and a "phlegmatic phenomenon." He was light for a player, weighing so little (140 pounds) that "If I was going anywhere, I had to get there in a hurry. I needed acceleration."<sup>23</sup> After graduating in Law in

23 Dink Carroll, "McGill win stirs ghosts of 1919 team," *The Montreal Gazette*, 31 Dec. 1987 (on McGill's winning the 1987 collegiate championship Vanier Cup, coached by Charlie Baillie, whose father Don was on the 1919 team). On Carroll's playing, see also *McGill Daily*, 28 April 1923, 3; Gaboury to Mr. Moss, undated, file of letters on the occasion of Gazette retirement dinner for Carroll, 16 Dec. 1969, Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C.4. A third-year law student, M. Gaboury, wrote a skit for the 1925 Red and White Revue; *Old McGill* 1923, 93; Tim Burke's column, *The Montreal Gazette*, 7 Nov. 1980.

24 Letter from Victor F. Obeck to Carroll, 10 Sept. 1949, Correspondence, 1945-1949, Carroll Papers, McGill University Archives, MG 4151, C.5; Zeta Psi House Account bill, 27 May 1937, Correspondence 1935-1939, Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C.5

1923, Carroll kept in touch with McGill and occasionally boarded at Zeta Psi's elegant new house, opened in 1925, designed by A.T. Galt Durnford. He helped Vic Obeck get the job of McGill's Director of Athletics in 1949 (and with other journalists) promoted Obeck's program.<sup>24</sup>

Instead of practising law, Carroll worked in sports organizations, including, apparently, the Toronto Maple Leafs Baseball Club, and possibly in advertising and investing as well; his early working life is not documented in his archive. According to his author's blurb in *Esquire* for his story "The Amateur," (January 1936, p.14), following graduation, he had worked in the publicity department of the Canadian Pacific Railway, then for an advertising agency, and more recently as a sports journalist. (The McGill novel includes a dig at the CPR's Indians-and-cowboys advertising of Canada, swallowed by Eric; Carroll also wrote unpublished fiction set in advertising.) *Montreal Gazette* sportswriter Tim Burke recalled that Carroll had always been lured by the romance of writing: "I guess if you read a lot, like I did, you want to start putting something down yourself" (said Carroll). According to Burke, until the Depression, Carroll led a carefree life in Montreal, writing advertising copy "and having a roaring good time around town with his pals from McGill." Carroll observed that he found the Depression traumatic but educational, uprooting him, delaying his marriage, and teaching him that almost everyone needs help some time or another. At the Depression, Carroll set out for Toronto and wrote freelance.<sup>25</sup>

Carroll came into his own as sports editor at the *Montreal Gazette* from 1942 to 1969; he contributed articles until 1987. In his maiden column on 13 July

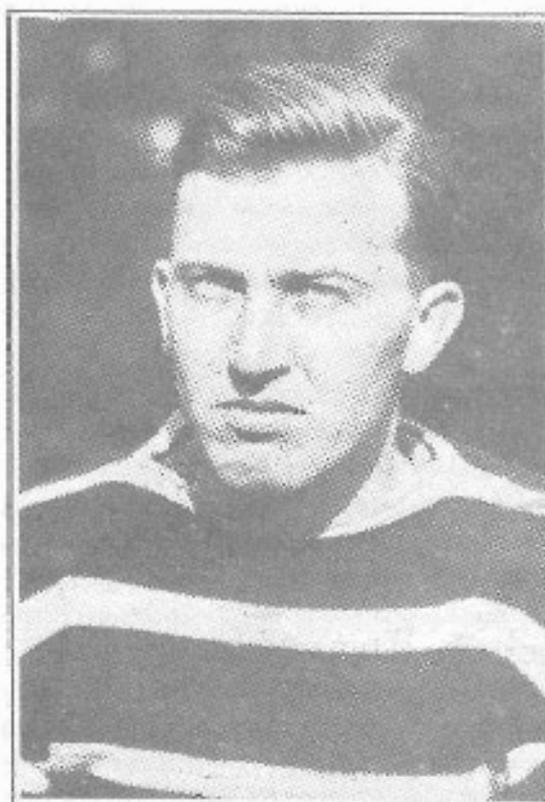


Figure 24. Dink Carroll, McGill Football Team, ca. 1921.

1942, Carroll told how right after graduating from McGill, he had nearly gotten a job on the *Gazette*—until he was asked if he had worked on the *McGill Daily*. Carroll replied, no, he'd been too busy, once football seasons were over, trying to catch up with his class work. So a *McGill Daily* alumnus got the job instead. Carroll added that despite this setback, he never strayed far from the sports field, which fascinated him: "The sports world is an exact replica of the great world, only smaller."<sup>26</sup> As *Gazette* sports editor,

25 *Esquire*, Jan. 1936, 14. Biographical information is from the columns of Tim Burke, *The Montreal Gazette*, 7 Nov. 1980; Paul Rimstead, *The Toronto Sun*, 10 Nov. 1980; and Bob Morrissey, *The Montreal Gazette*, 12 Nov. 1989; Mark Thibault, *The Montreal Daily News*, 11 Nov. 1988. The 1980 articles arise from an 80th birthday party for Carroll, when he was really 81; Morrissey's for the 90th birthday. David Sherman, "Sports scribe Dink Carroll 'rediscovered' at age 80," *The Montreal Gazette*, 10 Nov. 1980, notes that Carroll acquired the nickname "Dink" when as a child he could not pronounce it and asked for a "dink" of water. Coincidentally, G.M. Johnson's *Stover at Yale* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1912) has as protagonist a football player nicknamed "Dink," who critiques Yale's curriculum and its clubs and social customs as Peter does at McGill.

26 Carroll's column, *The Montreal Gazette*, 13 July 1942.

Carroll flourished in the Montreal of the 1940s and 1950s, eloquently exhumed by William Weintraub in *City Unique* (1996), who describes late-night dining after hockey games at Slitkin's and Slotkin's, a sports and journalists' hangout where "Morley Callaghan, in town from Toronto, would sit for hours, drinking with his pal Dink Carroll ... and avidly absorbing local colour for use in the novel he was writing about Montreal."<sup>27</sup> Carroll and Callaghan talked about their writing; perhaps they discussed Carroll's McGill story or Callaghan's own university novel, set at Toronto (*The Varsity Story*, 1948).

Carroll's colleagues admired not only his clear writing but his gentlemanly attitudes. His obituary calls him "a warm-hearted columnist who wrote with clarity and avoided embarrassing a fumbling athlete." It had an anecdote from Brodie Snyder about one of the few times Carroll's column caused offence – something about wrestling. Two "huge and ugly" wrestlers showed up in the sports department of the *Montreal Gazette*, late in the day when Dink was working alone: "One of the guys inquired: 'Dink Carroll?' Dink sized up the situation in a moment and said: 'Sorry, he left for Florida on vacation this morning.'"<sup>28</sup>

Carroll married Margaret (Peggy) Porter, from Fredericton, N.B. She would later be a reference librarian at McGill, guiding generations of students (including the present writer) through mazes of catalogues and bibliographical aids. Carroll's letters to her in 1935, before they married, mentioned that he had been writing articles and stories and showing them to Morley Callaghan: "Do you realize that, at the rate I'm going, I'm doing almost a piece a week,

either an article or a story?"<sup>29</sup> Peggy Carroll wrote about her husband and his sportswriting methods in 1991, not long after his death:

"He had a fantastic memory... the athletes, their managers, etc. spoke freely before Dink & he did not take notes. For example usually on Saturdays when teams arrived for the weekend games and often stayed at the Mount Royal Hotel, they talked to Dink quite freely. No tape recorders then. He was often alerted to their comings & goings by a character 'Jockey Fleming' who loved the athletes because they often gave him a tip. He in turn would alert Dink (no tipping there). I can remember him interviewing such memorable characters as Jack Adams, the Manager of the Detroit Red Wings – and many others. These interviews would be used in his daily columns. When Dink covered baseball for the Royals International League team in Montreal, he sat up in the box & kept the official score.... Dink was naturally a wit & a story teller & there were so many odd characters around Montreal in those days. That was one reason Morley Callaghan loved Montreal.... He and Dink were friends in Toronto of course & Dink used to read Morley's stories over before he sent them out & sometimes made suggestions for alterations." As did his fellow journalists, she notes that her husband had the same literary spirit as the authors in his library: Graham Greene, Hemingway, Sherwood Anderson, Dos Passos and Fitzgerald.<sup>30</sup>

David Sherman's account in 1980 of Carroll complements Peggy Carroll's. Besides noting that

27 William Weintraub, *City Unique: Montreal Days and Nights in the 1940s and '50s* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1996), 133. Callaghan's Montreal novels were *The Loved and the Lost* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1951) and *The Many Colored Coat* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1960); the latter depicts Slitkins and Slotkins, about which see also Al Palmer, *Montreal Confidential*, 33-34; and Ken Johnstone, "Slotkin Rides Again," *The Montrealer*, 37, no. 5 (May 1963): 24-8.

28 Dick Bacon, "Clarity, fairness Carroll's fortes" (obituary), *The Montreal Gazette*, 9 April 1991.

29 Letter from Carroll to Margaret Porter, postmarked 28 Aug. 1935; letter from Carroll to Margaret Porter (undated); and correspondence with Peggy Carroll née Porter, Carroll Papers, McGill University Archives, MG 4151, C.4.

30 Letter from Peggy Carroll to Robert Michel (then archivist for historical records, McGill), ca. 3 July 1991, in McGill University Archives Accession file 91-028. Jockey Fleming's exploits as a Montreal character, who sang at stags and inveigled himself into most sports events, are described in Al Palmer, *Montreal Confidential*, 19-21.

Hugh MacLennan and Mordecai Richler admired Carroll's style and literacy, he pointed out that Carroll turned down the usual sportswriter's perks:

"What set him apart from many of his colleagues was his rejection of the little brown envelopes and the out-and-out pay cheques many teams routinely issued to keep the reporters happy.... Athletes and coaches sought him out as a drinking buddy and confidant, knowing if something compromising slipped out between the fifth and sixth round of drinks at a hangout like Slitkins & Slotkins on Dorchester Blvd., Dink could be trusted not to print it. 'Sometimes I tried to protect the players from themselves,' he says. Sherman noted that Canadiens coach Toe Blake called Carroll 'the most honest newspaperman I've ever seen.' He avoided office politics and the office – 'You can't learn anything at the office,' he says."<sup>31</sup>

Carroll may have been inspired to start a novel about McGill by Fitzgerald's example. But during his later career of nonfictional writing, he admired Hemingway for his natural style which turned sports into literature. For both men, sports, like writing, meant overcoming obstacles with skill and valour. Carroll's papers include several Hemingway short stories, including "Cat in the rain" and "Big Two-Hearted River" torn out of Hemingway's 1925 collection *In Our Time*, as well as *Life* and *Time* issues with cover stories on Hemingway. When Hemingway died in 1962, Carroll wrote admiringly of Hemingway's "fresh and original" style as well as his interest in sports. Carroll remarked that: "We met him only

once and that in the Cafe Floridita in Havana four or five years ago. It was disappointing because it was three in the morning, he was tired after an evening with some U.S. naval officers and was on his way home. It's a matter of even greater regret that we can no longer look forward to reading more of his work, which gave us so much enjoyment."<sup>32</sup>

Carroll was the rare sports writer who could hold forth on literature. A.J.M. Smith (one of the McGill "Aesthetes") congratulated him for his articles on Hemingway and Faulkner "as among the very best of the many things written on the deaths of those guys." Carroll's colleagues still recall his casual confidence; *Gazette* columnist L. Ian Macdonald recently referred to Carroll's "gift of the gentle putdown." Once Macdonald had argued "the case for Fitzgerald v. Ernest Hemingway" and Carroll pointed out he had discussed this subject with Hemingway himself, in Havana.<sup>33</sup> Carroll's lifestyle may have had a touch of Hemingway's: a correspondent in 1940 asks "Who is the chap you knocked down in Toronto and made him call quits?" Carroll boxed in his youth and continued in a Montreal athletic club after graduation. When covering Canadiens vs. Rangers hockey in New York, Carroll would stop by Stillman's Gym and talk to the characters who hung about, sometimes putting them in his columns.<sup>34</sup>

At Carroll's eightieth birthday, columnist Paul Rimstead pointed out that unlike many sportswriters, who are frustrated athletes, Carroll would have liked to be a novelist like MacLennan or Richler. MacLennan praised Carroll's *Gazette* columns to his students for their concise, clear style and thanked Carroll for praising him in a column in April 1950

31 David Sherman, "Sports scribe Dink Carroll 'rediscovered' at age 80," *The Montreal Gazette*, 10 Nov. 1980.

32 Carroll's *Montreal Gazette* column "The Playing Field," subtitled "The Late Ernest Hemingway" (clipping, no date, ca. 1962); Hemingway stories: Carroll Papers, MG4151, C.2 file 5.

33 Carroll Papers, MG4151, C.6, Correspondence 1960-1964; L. Ian Macdonald's column, *The Montreal Gazette*, 5 May 2000.

34 Letter from Theo (no surname) to Carroll, 10 Sept. 1940, Correspondence 1940-1945, Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C.5. Rimstead, *The Montreal Gazette*, 12 Nov. 1989.

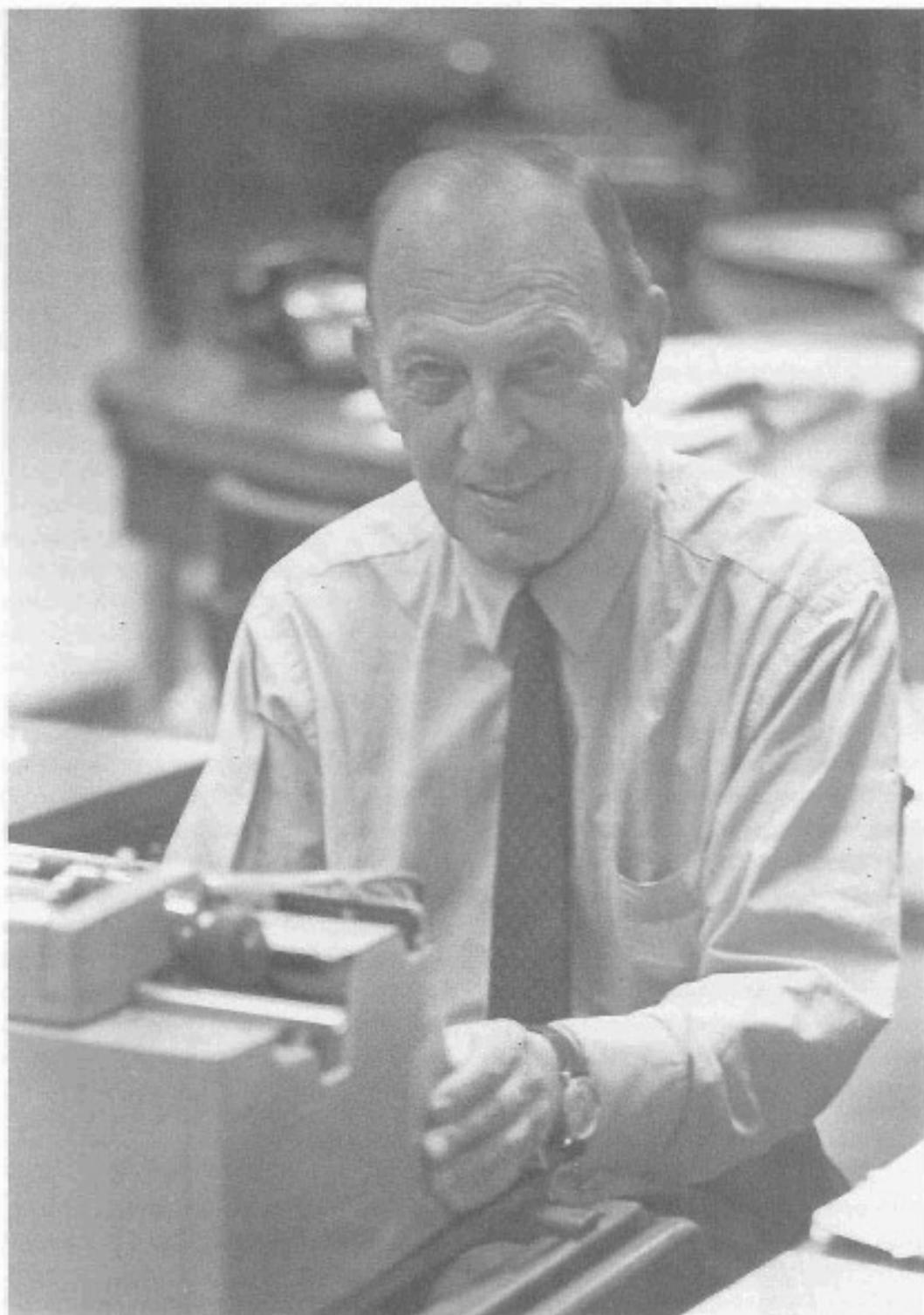


Figure 25. Carroll at his desk at the Montreal Gazette, late 1950s.

(Fig. 25). Once in a while, Carroll got MacLennan hockey tickets. Another McGill friend, Professor Raymond Boyer, wrote asking him to resolve a question about baseball rules. When Carroll retired as sports editor in 1969, a reader praised his "informative articles; your tolerant outlook; your comfortable English," which avoided the emotional verbosity of most sports writers.<sup>35</sup>

Carroll's avocations of journalism, fiction and sports fused in his McGill novel, particularly in Coach Connelly, the only important character obviously drawn from life, based on Shag Shaughnessy. Carroll immortalized Shaughnessy nonfictionally as well. In 1951 he tabulated Shaughnessy's contributions to Canadian and McGill football: how Shaughnessy had taught McGill players organized line play instead of haphazard blocking to open a hole for the ball carrier; taught two on one blocking; established a two man secondary defence line; and introduced the split buck, and formations which were "simple devices for putting

into effect Napoleon's theory of winning battles: 'Get the most men at the right place at the right time.'<sup>36</sup> At Shaughnessy's death in 1969, Carroll summed up his profound influence on Canadian football: "He was the first coach in Canada to use linebackers, the huddle and the unbalanced line. He persuaded the rule makers to drop the side-scrims and reduce the number of players on a team from 14 to 12, to adopt the direct pass from centre instead of heeling the ball out, and to open up the game by extending the blocking zone ... 'Football is a team game and any rule that prevents a player from helping a teammate advance the ball is a bad rule, he [Shaughnessy] pointed out .... Any rule that opens up the game and reduces the risk of injury is a good rule.'<sup>37</sup>

In Carroll's love of football and impressions of Shaughnessy lie the beginnings of this McGill novel and Carroll's sports writing career. Carroll might have liked the idea that his life imitated his fiction and vice versa.

35 Paul Rimstead's column, *The Toronto Sun*, 10 Nov. 1980, 5; several items, 1950s, file 10, "MacLennan", Carroll Papers, MG4151, C4 – MacLennan mentions, 15 April 1950, that he is busy finishing a novel, but suggests lunch in a few weeks; undated letter, file 12, "Boyer", MG 4151, C4; letter from E.B. Anderson to Carroll, 11 November 1969, Correspondence, MG4151, C.6.

36 Dink Carroll, "Frank Shaughnessy – Football Pioneer," *The McGill News* (Fall 1951), 18-19, 21. Cameo real characters in Carroll's novel include Major Forbes, Leacock, and perhaps the waiters at the Pig; and – unnamed – Currie, Beatty, and Willingdon.

37 Carroll, Obituary for Shaughnessy, *The McGill News*, July 1969, 32. Besides inventing new strategies, Shaughnessy wanted a controlled environment for players during the season. During Carroll's McGill days, Shaughnessy advocated not only a training table but also a team residence. Writing about the 1922 season (in *Old McGill* 1924, 79) Shaughnessy lamented: "We have no dormitories at McGill. Therefore a college spirit brought about by constant association is lost. The greatest incentive to development of college spirit is to have men eat and sleep together.... A fighting Won't-be-beaten football team is a wonderful inspiration to any college. We can have that team at McGill and it is worth every sacrifice to obtain it." By the 1923 season, just after Carroll left, Shaughnessy established a "Dormitory" for the football squad in the new addition to the field house and declared: "It was apparent that there was a better feeling in the squad than had existed in a long time. The men slept and ate together, played together, were able to talk football at all times, and I know would have fought for each other" (*Old McGill* 1925, 221). Their duties on the football field done, his players would go on to win the battles of life.

## NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPT OF CARROLL'S MCGILL NOVEL

### PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

This untitled, undated, unfinished, unpublished typescript novel set at McGill is held by the McGill University Archives in the Austin "Dink" Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C2. It was received from Carroll's widow Peggy Carroll with other papers of Carroll's, including correspondence from Morley Callaghan, in 1991, under the Archives' mandate to acquire private records from McGill's staff, graduates and English-Montreal milieu. While extensive (114 pages), the novel is incomplete with no denouement. It was more likely unfinished than partly lost, as Carroll saved his unpublished fiction. In the brief prologue and sequel, Carroll called his protagonist Peter Rush; the protagonist of the 100 page main body is called Peter Rice. The sequential order of the manuscript is as follows. The prologue "Chapter 1" describes protagonist "Peter Rush" at school in Ontario, hoping to attend McGill; it consists of 4 pages paginated 1 to 4. "Chapter 2" (with the protagonist's name changed to Peter Rice) begins with a new page 1. At page 6, there begins chapter "II." Thence pagination continues consecutively from page 6 to page 100, which concludes chapter "XII" and the narrative of Peter Rice's first year at McGill. There follows an additional 10 pages, paginated 1 to 10, of a second year sequel (with the protagonist's name back to Peter Rush). The prologue and sequel fragments may have been written together to flesh out the narrative of Peter's first year.

The manuscript at McGill Archives is typed (original, top copy), apparently a first draft, with handwritten revisions, on one side of standard 28 X 22.5 cm paper, 114 pages in total. There seems little or no variation in the typeface so presumably the typescript was not typed over long intervals. Carroll composed it with his other work at a typewriter. Excusing a handwritten letter, ca. 1935, to Peggy Porter, he notes it is the first time he's used a pen in

months – "the typewriter has a way of making long-hand a painful exercise." (undated, Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C.5). Carroll inscribed about 300 minor handwritten revisions, changing words or phrases but rarely the purport and never the plot. In the few quotations where a choice had to be made between the original or the amended phrase, I chose the version which best expressed Carroll's direct style. This article quotes about 18 to 20 per cent of the manuscript.

### DATE OF PLOT AND DATE OF WRITING

The typescript and story itself contain no dates. Internal evidence places the plot over either the academic year September 1927 to May 1928 or 1928 to 1929. This is later than 1920-1923, when Carroll attended McGill. The main clues for the date are that Peter Rice, arriving at McGill, sees the Roddick Gates (not put up until 1925). A 1927-1928 date is suggested by Peter's reference to the "talkies" in the cinema as just introduced (1927); either 1927-1928 or 1928-1929 are indicated by the McGill Centennial of 1921 having been "six or seven years" earlier; but 1928-1929 is indicated if emphasis is given to Peter's team winning the championship, which McGill actually won in 1928 (pp.3, 67,41-43).

Consequently, the novel could not have been written until after 1927. More likely, Carroll wrote it in the mid-1930s when he wrote much of his other fiction. To hazard a guess, it may have been written before most of his other surviving fiction; while perhaps more ambitious, the style is less succinct and confident than that of his short stories. The Carroll archive includes a few short fiction typescripts that appear to have been sent to publications or agents (Maxim Lieber, for one, in 1935) and later stored in envelopes, mostly with 1930s postmarks. In letters in 1935 to his future wife Margaret Porter, Carroll mentioned that he was writing stories and articles and showing some of them to Morley Callaghan. Carroll may have been thinking of his own college novel when he suggested (ca. 1935?) that an acquaint-

tance who wants to be a writer might profit by going to university: "he might even write undergraduate stories." (Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C4, file 9: several letters lacking year-dates, preserved in envelopes post-marked 1935). The attitudes expressed in the novel seem to date from no later than the 1930s. The world affairs discussion about the Empire, Canada's youthfulness, and Japan's hatred of the U.S. sound like they predate the Second World War – as does Tony Dodds's longing for the food and women of Germany and Austria (p.61). The simplest explanation for Carroll's setting his novel in 1927 or 1928 may be that he wrote it about then. In any event, it was almost certainly written before the outbreak of war in 1939, given the rest of the indications.

Carroll had several reasons to shift the date from his own early 1920s at McGill to the later 1920s. Like many writers, he may have wanted to distance his own experiences from his protagonist's invented ones. As well, McGill itself became more imposing after the reconstruction in 1925 of the Arts Building and the building of the Roddick Gates (and a few other buildings as well as Zeta Psi's new house). More important, a later time let Carroll introduce his current ideas rather than remembered ones. He also could use the "Aesthetes," modelled on the McGill Group, active from 1925 to 1927. In sum, the late 1920s may have looked like a richer, more interesting time, as McGill absorbed the Fitzgerald college ethos of parties and prosperity, before the Crash and Depression hit in 1929.

## SOURCES OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. *Old McGill* 1930: 3. Another image of the Gates of McGill – the Roddick Gates – appears on the cover of this issue of *Fontanus*: by A. Cloutier, for the cover of *The Passing Show* (Montreal), 3, no. 12, September 1929.

Figure 2. Published McGill football programme, undated, with Sir Arthur Currie's photograph on the cover. Artist: Percy Nobbs? Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C3, file 8: booklets.

Figure 3. *Old McGill* 1928: 103.

Figure 4. Published McGill football programme, undated, with Sir Arthur Currie's photograph on the cover. Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C3, file 8: booklets.

Figure 5. McGill University Archives Photograph Collection, PR008963, cropped, photographer unknown, ca. 1921. Published in *Old McGill* 1924: 176; a published print is also in the Carroll Papers, MG4151, C5, file: correspondence 1950-54.

Figure 6. Published photograph, provenance unclear. Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C3, file 6: clippings.

Figure 7. *Old McGill* 1927: 301.

Figure 8. Published photograph (twinned with that of Figure 6), provenance unclear. Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C3, file 6: clippings.

Figure 9. *The Listening Post* (Montreal), 1, no. 1, February 1923: 7.

Figure 10. Wilfrid Bovey, "McGill and her Builders", *Canadian Magazine*, 63, no. 7, November 1924: 388.

Figure 11. McGill Centennial Endowment brochures, ca. 1921. Artist unknown, McGill University Archives, RG 49, C111.

Figure 12. *Old McGill* 1928: 23.

Figure 13. *Old McGill* 1923: 155.

Figure 14. Programme cover, *Red and White Revue*, 1926. Artist unknown, McGill University Archives, RG 75, C91.

Figure 15. Programme cover, Mount Royal Hotel/McGill Night at the St. Denis Theatre, 1924. Artist unknown, McGill University Archives, RG 75, C91.

Figure 16. *Old McGill* 1931: facing 166.

Figure 17. *Old McGill* 1929: 163.

Figure 18. *Old McGill* 1928: 47.

Figure 19. *Old McGill* 1923: 109.

Figure 20. *Old McGill* 1921: 284.

Figure 21. *Old McGill* 1928: 6.

Figure 22. *Old McGill: a Year Book of Undergraduate Activities at the University*, Vol. XXXII, MCMXXIX: frontispiece. Photographer's name illegible (Jas. Bacon?). This book is not to be confused with *Old McGill* 1929, published by the Junior Year, MCMXXVIII, Vol. XXXI.

Figure 23. *Old McGill* 1928: 252.

Figure 24. Published McGill football programme with Currie's photograph on the cover, Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C3, file 6: clippings.

Figure 25. B&W photograph, photographer unknown, Carroll Papers, MG 4151, C2, file 8: photos.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe thanks to the late Peggy Carroll for giving the papers of her husband Dink Carroll to the McGill University Archives in 1991 (where I was archivist for historical records); to Michael Carroll, QC, Carroll's son, for permission to quote from his father's unpublished novel; to Ann Carroll (Mrs. Michael Carroll); Carol Wiens, Librarian, Montreal Neurological Institute/Hospital; Michael Porritt, *The Montreal Gazette*; Judith Nefsky, Archivist, Canadian Pacific, Montreal; David Rose, Montreal architectural writer; Pamela Miller of the Osier Library and Earl Zukerman of McGill's Department of Athletics; and Gordon Burr of the McGill University Archives and Johanne Pelletier, David Poliak, Glenn Brown, Gerry Castleman and all the Archives staff, Elizabeth Shearon and Montague Cohen, Editor, *Fontanus*, and Lonnie Weatherby and David McKnight of the McGill Libraries. For biographical information on Carroll, I have relied mainly on the accounts by Carroll's fellow journalists cited in the notes. I have profited from artworks and photographs to illustrate this article; the creators are identified where possible. The illustrations, many by McGill architecture students, offer a sample of the fine drawings to be found in issues of *Old McGill*, especially between 1920 and 1940.

## THE LEGACY OF WILLIAM BELL MALLOCH, M.D.: THE MCGILL, MOOSE FACTORY AND McCORD CONNECTION

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By Cath Oberholtzer

*In 1870, McGill graduate Dr. William Bell Malloch responded to an urgent request for a Medical Officer to serve at Moose Factory. Travelling the last five hundred miles on snow shoes through severe winter conditions, Malloch demonstrated a tenacity, which stood him in good stead for living in the North. His eight years at this remote post allow us to gain an insight into a period seldom covered in fur trade history and an important chapter in Canadian history. Of great importance to a number of research areas, the respect for Malloch and his young family is reflected by the quality of the artifacts given to them by the Cree. Now in the McCord Museum of Canadian History, these objects, along with photographs, archival material, and a few of Malloch's personal possessions, form an invaluable collection of Cree material culture and a native perspective of their past. As such, the collection stands as concrete evidence connecting McGill University, Moose Factory and the McCord Museum.*

*Le docteur William Bell Malloch, diplômé de McGill, acceptait en 1870 de se rendre à Moose Factory pour combler le poste de médecin du village. Parcourant les derniers 500 milles en raquette, le Dr. Malloch à vite démontré sa ténacité et ses aptitudes pour survivre aux rudes conditions du Grand Nord. Ses huit années dans ce village isolé nous offrent aujourd'hui une perspective sur une période mal connue de la traite des fourrures qui présente un chapitre important de l'histoire du Canada. Le nombre et la qualité des artefacts offerts par les Cris démontrent le respect des autochtones pour le Dr. Malloch et sa jeune famille. L'ensemble des artefacts crés, auxquels s'ajoutent des photos, des archives et des articles personnels du Dr. Malloch, forment une impressionnante collection à caractère culturel et historique, déposée au Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne. Cette collection, d'une grande importance pour plusieurs domaines de recherche, démontre le lien étroit qui unit l'université McGill, Moose Factory et le Musée McCord.*

**I**N 1935, THE McCORD MUSEUM of Canadian History received a small, well-provenanced collection donated by its owner. This collection, comprised of native and non-native ethnographic items, textual documents, and archival photographs, yields valuable historical glimpses of nineteenth century Euro-Canadian society, a relatively unknown decade of life at Moose Factory, and the nexus of native and non-native cultures during that period. Supported by archival records and illus-

trated by both studio and amateur photographs, this definitively dated collection possesses great significance for numerous areas of enquiry. For a researcher interested in Cree ethnology and material culture, the importance of this collection cannot be surpassed. Not only does it provide tangible evidence of the technical expertise, aesthetics and material culture of the Cree in this James Bay community, it also serves as a much-needed comparative source for Cree items lacking dates and community origins.

Acquired by William Bell Malloch, physician for the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter HBC) at Moose Factory from 1870 to 1878, the ethnographic component of the collection comprises a child's outfit, pairs of moccasins, a model tikanagan (cradle board), a model paddle and miscellaneous items all meticulously handcrafted by the Cree (see Appendix I and Figs. 7-14). Complementing these are several items used or created by Malloch which allow us to gain a wider perspective of life in the North. The skill exhibited in the sewing, embroidery and beading of the Cree items is superlative, the preparation of the indigenous materials expertly done, and the attention to detail impressive. Furthermore, certain construction and stitchery details indicate that the woman – or women – who made these items also possessed precise knowledge of European dress-making techniques.<sup>1</sup> The tiny tikanagan, made to hold its owner's "baby" doll, is as exact as one made for a much-loved infant. Indisputable provenance is validated through the studio portrait of Malloch's three-year-old daughter, Alice, who was photographed wearing these very same items with the tiny tikanagan at her feet (Fig. 1). Corresponding portraits of Dr. Malloch (Fig. 2) and his son, Stewart (Fig. 3), illustrate other Cree-made items which are not included in the McCord collection.

Who was this William Bell Malloch, M.D., C.M. who had walked 500 miles on snow shoes to take up his position at Moose Factory, who was deeply involved in all aspects of life at the trading posts, and who shared numerous interests such as a pioneering amateur photographer with post personnel, yet received so little mention in the Hudson Bay Company records of Moose Factory? Certainly this small collection, donated by his daughter Alice, and now housed in the McCord Museum, sheds light on the man who obviously had engendered profound respect and affection at this northerly post.

### WILLIAM BELL MALLOCH

William Bell Malloch, born March 1, 1845, was a member of two of the most prominent families in Perth, Ontario, considered the capital<sup>2</sup> of the heavily Scots-colonized areas of eastern Ontario. His maternal grandfather, the classically-educated Reverend William Bell, M.A. was a respected clergyman, educator and a devoted promoter of further Scottish immigration to Canada West, but who was also renowned as a self-proclaimed fighting minister often settling an issue with his fists.<sup>3</sup> Representing the judicial side of the community, Malloch's father, Scottish-born John Glass Malloch, was a lawyer who

1 Carol Judd speculates that the chief officers at Moose Factory probably lived with their native wives within the confines of the post almost from the beginning. From this we can extrapolate that from 1730 (and earlier at older posts) a certain group of native women learned about European ways. Carol Judd, "Housing the Homeguard at Moose Factory: 1730-1982," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 23-37.

2 As noted by the Rev. William Bell in his treatise *Hints to Emigrants, in a Series of Letters from Upper Canada* (Edinburgh: Printed for Waugh and Innes, 1824).

3 William Bell, Diary, vol. V, p. 74, Queen's University Archives #2402.

4 William Bell, Diary, vol. X, p. 63, Queen's University Archives #2402.

5 George Malloch, a paternal uncle, was a judge of the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville, another uncle, Edward Malloch, was a member of the Provincial Parliament, and cousin Archibald Malloch graduated from McGill as a physician in 1878. Two of Bell's sons, Ebenezer and Robert were, respectively, a lawyer and an elected government representative. (William Bell, Diary, vol. XVI, p.13, Queen's University Archives #2402).

6 William Bell, Diary, vol. XV, p.30, Queen's University Archives #2402.

7 William Bell, Diary, vol. XV, p.107, Queen's University Archives #2402.

8 *Ibid.*, 152.

“had succeeded beyond expectation.”<sup>4</sup> The August 1835 marriage of Bell’s daughter, Isabella, to John Malloch, united these two leading families<sup>5</sup> each governed by strong Presbyterian principles, close family ties, and coloured by Scottish highlander blood.

Less than two years after his birth, Malloch’s mother died, leaving his father with five young children to raise. His father married again in 1848 to Mary Stewart, who died in 1851 leaving another child. His third and last marriage was to Margaret Gillies Wylie, who would survive her husband by twenty years. While William may have been too young to remember his mother’s funeral – “the largest ever seen in Perth”<sup>6</sup> – and his father’s remarriages, we can only imagine how wide his eyes, as a five-year old, must have opened in wonderment when von Amberg’s collection of elephants and other wild beasts visited Perth in July of 1850.<sup>7</sup> At age seven, excitement prevailed when one thousand people participated in celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Sons of Temperance, complete with a new brass band which performed in “Malloch’s grove.”<sup>8</sup> This is all we know about William’s formative years other than what can be surmised of early years spent in a small<sup>9</sup> community surrounded by a large and loving family. And, probably, like most mid-nineteenth century boys, simple pleasures filled his days and prepared him for his later sojourn in the north:

boating, cricket, quoits, swimming, fishing, and shooting during summer days; while in winter activities included shinny, skating, coasting and snow shoeing.<sup>10</sup> He was certainly old enough on 26 May 1854 to appreciate the chilling drama of the complete eclipse of the sun.<sup>11</sup> By 1858, when young William was thirteen, his father’s stature as an influential and respected Judge became manifested in a newly-built seventeen-room mansion, “Victoria Hall,” considered one of the finest private residences in eastern Canada West.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, this grand mansion became the favoured venue for lively family dinners complete with aunts, uncles and cousins,<sup>13</sup> and attests to a way of life followed by the privileged class. The Malloch family would have been among the crowd of excited Perth citizens gathered on a bitterly cold February day in 1859 to witness the arrival of the first railway train from Brockville, marking the strong ties between these two communities.<sup>14</sup> And quite possibly, William took part in, or at least observed, Perth’s first regatta held in the summer of 1863.

Malloch’s attendance at McGill’s Medical School presupposes that he had completed a secondary education, a luxury available only to the sons of wealthy families of that period.<sup>15</sup> According to McGill Records,<sup>16</sup> he registered in 1863 as a student in the Faculty of Medicine under the patronage of kinsman, Dr. James Alexander Grant,<sup>17</sup> and signed the Gradu-

9 The population of Perth in 1851 was 1916. By 1871, after Malloch had left for the north, the population was 2375 (Edward Shortt, ed. *Perth Remembered* (Perth, Ont.: Mortimer, 1967), 159.

10 Shortt, *Perth Remembered*, 71.

11 William Bell, *Diary*, vol. XVI, p.7, Queen’s University Archives #2402.

12 Howard Morton Brown, *Lanark Legacy: Nineteenth Century Glimpses of an Ontario County* (Perth: The Corporation of the County of Lanark, 1984): 75; Shortt, *Perth Remembered*, 84; Larry Turner, *Perth: Tradition and Style in Eastern Ontario* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/ Natural History Inc. 1992), 76.

13 These family occasions may well have included first cousins Robert Bell who later became renowned as a geographer, and a physician in the Canadian north, Maria Malloch (second daughter of Edward Malloch, M.P.P.) who later became the wife of Malloch’s sponsor, Sir James Grant, and Mary Stewart Malloch who became Malloch’s wife. (William Bell, *Diary*, vols. III-XVI, Queen’s University Archives #2402).

14 Shortt, *Perth Remembered*, 80.

15 *Ibid.*, 71.

16 Letter from the Assistant University Archivist to Stanley Triggs, 9 December 1970, Notman Archives, McCord Museum.

ates' Register in 1867. However, Malloch's activities while attending McGill, and for the period between graduation and his acceptance of the position with the HBC are unknown.

### CALL TO THE NORTH

Malloch's position with the HBC was initiated by a letter dated 20 September 1869 sent by Chief Factor James Anderson to the Company's Secretary in London requesting a medical doctor for the Moose Factory post.<sup>18</sup> The previous doctor, sent out from England in 1869, had proven unsuitable and had returned by the same Company vessel in September of that year. As a consequence of this urgent request for a replacement having been forwarded to Montreal,<sup>19</sup> Chief Factor Dugald Mactavish wrote from Montreal on January 4, 1870 to instruct Dr. William Bell Malloch at Sand Point (Ottawa) of the procedures and route he was to undertake from Ottawa to Moose Factory.<sup>20</sup> Malloch, having telegraphed his acceptance<sup>21</sup> to sign-on for three years as Surgeon & Clerk at £120 per annum,<sup>22</sup> left early on the morning of January 7, 1870<sup>23</sup> to begin his arduous

journey from Ottawa northward to the Post<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 4). His first letters home recount a lively chronicle of this trip and provide our first glimpses of the northern "metropolis of this vast wooded country."<sup>25</sup>

Travelling by stage coach, Malloch left Ottawa behind and went as far as Mattawa before it was necessary to strap on snow shoes for the remainder of the trip. Travelling from Mattawa with Thomas, a half-breed<sup>26</sup> cook and servant, two Indian guides and packeteers by the names of Jean Baptiste and Cannanassay, and his faithful dog, Busco, they followed the same route the canoes took in the summer. Details of Malloch's tale begin only after leaving Abitibi behind on their trek further north. Writing from his final destination at Moose Factory, he relates how heavy snow, extreme cold, and the need for a replacement guide slowed progress and severely diminished their provisions. According to Malloch, the cold was so intense that, "If we put down our tin basin of boiling tea for a moment it was frozen into solid ice. Between every bite I had to put my fork in the fire, as it would stick to my mouth... We dared not sleep as we knew it would have been the sleep of death."<sup>27</sup>

17 Dr. James Alexander Grant (later Sir James), himself a graduate of McGill's Faculty of Medicine, married Maria, second daughter of Edward Malloch, M.P.P. in January of 1856. (Henry James Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912): 468. Grant's sponsoring of his wife's first cousin was an accepted – and indeed, expected – behaviour at that time.

18 Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), Correspondence, A.11/46, fo.668-9. Prior to 1905 when the Canadian government made medical services available to indigenous populations within reach of transportation, medical care fell to the HBC (Percy E. Moore, "Health for Indians and Eskimos," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 48, no.6 (1954): 216-21. See also, Jennifer Blythe, Peggy Martin Brizinski, and Sarah Preston, "*I Was Never Idle*": *Women and Work in Moosonee and Moose Factory*, TASSO Report No.21, (Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster University, 1985): 31. Certainly the missionaries also supplied medical care. Prior to Malloch's arrival Rev. John Horden, writing on January 24, 1868 to Rev. J. Mee, the Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, bemoaned that "In addition to this [his religious and educational duties] I have likewise the duties of "doctor" to attend to there being no medical man here this winter, and we have had a great deal of sickness..." (Church Missionary Society, Mg 17, vol.B2; Reel A-80 1868-1878, p.22; microfilm).

19 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Correspondence, A.6/43, fo.162.

20 HBCA, Correspondence, B.134/b/29, fo.745.

21 Ibid.

22 HBCA, Correspondence, A.6/43, fo.190.

23 HBCA, Correspondence, B.134/c/117, fo.22.

24 There is no information indicating why Malloch chose to take this northern posting. However, given the strong ties with family in Brockville, one of the retirement capitals for Hudson Bay Company personnel, and with relatives in Hamilton, another favoured

Undaunted, they persevered, slowed only by the unmitigated pain of mal de raquette.<sup>28</sup> Their depleted rations, however, reached the point when the men had to steep the flour bag, turn it inside out to scrape off any edible flour adhering to the cloth, and then drink this broth. When some “squaws” brought Malloch boiled fish roe in a dirty tin dish, he ate it with a dirty iron spoon, assuring his readers that he “never enjoyed anything more in my life.” A chance encounter with Indian hunters provided a welcome supply of frozen moose meat, and like starving men in similar situations, they gorged themselves until they became sick. The cold continued, and on the last stretch into Moose Factory biting winds froze Malloch’s nose, cheek and one ear solid. And Busco, now so thin that his bones were “almost sticking through his skin,” had to be revived at one point with a piece of venison doused with the last of Malloch’s brandy. Together they reached Moose Factory on the 19th of February 1870. This tenacity exhibited by Malloch – and by his canine companion – were indicative of the inherent strengths of character and physical endurance which were to be called upon during his tenure at Moose Factory.<sup>29</sup>

## MOOSE FACTORY: METROPOLIS OF THE NORTH

After 22 days on snow shoes through the cold, Malloch’s first impression of Moose Factory (Fig. 4) had a lasting impact: “Every man, woman and child at Moose factory [sic] came out to have a look at the new-comer, and soon made me forget my late sufferings from, cold, hunger and fatigue.”<sup>30</sup> His initial response was to write a detailed description of “Hazy Island,” his new home.<sup>31</sup> Thus from his early letters of 1870, we are given glimpses of Moose Factory, often providing details which HBC and missionary reports lack or which remain buried in obscurity. For example, just after his arrival Malloch wrote rather cryptically:

The population of Moose in the winter is about 150, and from 300 to 400 in summer. The company employs about 60 servants... They keep about 70 head of cattle here. There is a nice little church which boasts of a harmonium, and a stained glass window. There are blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, boat-builders, cooper and other shops.<sup>32</sup>

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HBC retirement location, Malloch may have been lured by stories about life in the north. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that he had heard tales of Dr. John Rae, who spent ten years at Moose Factory and then travelled to the Arctic in search of the Franklin Expedition. Rae, too, had close family ties in Hamilton including a nephew who became an Indian Agent in 1880. (Compiled from records of the Leeds & Grenville Branch [Brockville, Ontario] of the Ontario Genealogy Society, Harrow Early Immigrant Research Society [Harrow, Ontario], Scott Polar Research Institute [Cambridge, England], and Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); especially pages 186 and 194. As a McGill graduate, Malloch would have been aware that the University’s benefactor, James McGill, had been a prominent fur trader.

25 Malloch’s 1870 manuscript letters are in the McCord Archives, M18604 (hereafter M18604).

26 I use here the language of Malloch’s own account without apology.

27 William Bell Malloch, Letters, McCord Archives M18604, p.10.

28 In Malloch’s letter dated February 28, 1879 to Charles Stuart, he wrote that he had suffered badly from “Mal de Rackette” for four days (Letter from William Bell Malloch to Charles Stuart, Aesculapian Hall 28 February 1870, Archives of Ontario, MU 1399, Box 7, HBC Papers – Temiscamingue District #6541; envelope 11 Moose Factory Fur Trade Records C-7-11). Mal de raquette is the term used to describe the intense pain caused by straining the leg muscles while snow shoeing.

29 William Bell Malloch, Letters, McCord Archives, M18604.

30 Ibid.

31 Although Malloch called Hazy Island his new home (Letters, McCord, M18604, p.11), his description of Moose states that between the island [that is, Moose] and the east shore there were three islands Called “Petawanaka,” “Hazy” and the “Hats” as well as a peninsula called “Mansey.” On the east and south side were the islands “Charles, Saw-pit and Poplar” and “Jack’s Swamp.” Beyond those were islands named “Bull’s Gateway, South Bluff and Bill of Portland” (Ibid., 12).

Malloch appears to have been impressed by the presence of three bells (the church bell, the officers' and the men's bells) and the role they played in structuring community life, alternately separating the social classes and then bringing them together. The men's bell rang five times: as reveillé at 6 a.m., at 7 a.m. as a signal to go to work, at noon for dinner and again at one to return to work, and ultimately at 6 p.m. to announce the end of the work day. However, in accordance with their elevated status, the officers' bell rang only three times: at 8 a.m. for breakfast, at 1 p.m. for dinner, and at 6:30 p.m. for tea. But it was the "clear sounding" church bell calling all the worshippers together which impressed him the most.<sup>33</sup>

A further instalment, revealing his now more intimate knowledge of the island, provides a detailed "walking-tour" description of Moose Factory's Upper and Lower Towns, separated by the factory itself. Beginning this imaginary tour by having his readers land at the head of Moose Island, Malloch leads them through "a pretty little grove of poplar and evergreens" to a "few scattered log cabins belonging to the resident Indians." From there we are led to the "parson's house, with gardens surrounded by a fence," and close by is the large new school house, "which," as Malloch writes, "would do credit to a place of greater importance than our humble town." The rest of Upper Town contains about a dozen detached houses complete with gardens, built for the married men.

Following the road along the river bank and past two fields, "we come to the neat little church with its shining tin spire." The church, with its stained glass window, was large enough to seat 200 worship-

pers. Past this, the first house we encounter, with "every window fully occupied by choice flowers," is that of Chief Factor James Anderson. Here the officers ate their meals in the Mess Room, overseen by a "life size painting of the late Governor, Sir George Simpson, hung in a massive gilt frame." Next to Anderson's house was a tall dark building divided into three sections: offices at one end, Trader James Cotter's home in the middle, and the Guard Room and officers' quarters at the other end. Opening off the guard room was Malloch's quarters which he promptly named "Aesculapian Hall" derived from Aesculapius, the Roman god of medicine and healing. Continuing our tour past the workshops and shipyard, the unmarried men's house with attached bake- and store-houses, the barnyard and stables, and finally, the sawpit, we enter Lower Town. Located here are the houses for the married men, set back about 50 yards from the shore. According to Malloch, "The houses are all boarded on the outside and painted white, with red or green around the windows. Every house has a gallery and a garden, so that it is quite a pretty little town."

The carpenters and boat building shops with the shipyard beside them were bustling enterprises involved in building and repairing all sizes and types of boats from pleasure craft to large vessels. At the joiners' shop men were busy making window frames and doors in preparation for the new buildings to be erected during the summer. However, as Malloch mentions neither the construction of the New Factory begun in 1870 nor the removal of Old Factory, we must presume that these took place after this particular letter was written. Certainly the magni-

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32 Much of what Malloch included in his manuscript appeared in at least the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Carleton Herald* in 1870 and 1871 as printed letters. He notes in a letter to Charles Stuart that, "Unfortunately some of my friends in Canada have published some of my private letters, and it is not at all liked by the people in the Country. I am sorry that this has happened, as it will do me no good; but I have cautioned my friends not to publish anymore." (Letter from William Bell Malloch to Charles Stuart, 22 February 1871, Archives of Ontario, MU 1399, Box 7, HBC Papers – Temiscamingue District #6541; envelope 11 Moose Factory Fur Trade Records C-7-11 "Moose Factory").

33 Ibid.

34 A photograph showing the erection of this building was published in an article by Cotter's son. H.M.S. Cotter, "Venerable Buildings at Moose Factory," *The Beaver* 259 (December 1928): 121-22.

tude of the framework – described as twelve- by-twelve timbers all solidly bolted together and photographed by James Cotter – would have overshadowed the older building.<sup>34</sup> While Chief Factor James Anderson was both the architect and the contractor, its solid construction served as a long lasting tribute to the craftsmanship of the local English, Scottish and native carpenters. Such men as Angus Faries, Alexander King, John King, George Linklater and William McBean may have been among the carpenters working towards completion in 1871. The subsequent demolition of the Old Factory with its lead roof, embattlements and brass cannon marked the end of an era when protection against French incursions was no longer needed.

On August 25, 1870, presumably in response to queries from readers and/or relatives in Canada, Malloch composed a brief overview of the climate, the soil, and mineralogy of the area. Much as we would like an insight into his own reactions to the extremes of temperature, he speaks quite impartially about the winter of 1870 when the weather had been unusually cold with a low of 48°F below zero. This severe cold was followed by an early spring whereby “the river broke up on April 21st” instead of the first week in May as was normal. By June the thermometer had hit 100°F in the shade and this hot dry weather continued until the beginning of July when rain and cooler temperatures brought some relief. Violent storms throughout the territory left at least five dead and others injured at Mistassini.<sup>35</sup> Had we been privileged to read his later letters, we might have been told of the distant shock of an earthquake felt on the forenoon of October 20, 1871.<sup>36</sup>

The native inhabitants of the community were described as being fond of flour, oatmeal and quantities of tea, and as willing workers evidenced by voluntarily cutting timbers and laying the foundations of the new school house.<sup>37</sup> Nominally Christian, and at that time, exclusively members of the Church of England (Anglican), they were decorous and regular in their attendance at church. However, there remained a few who clung to their ancient beliefs. The names found in the Parish records<sup>38</sup> for deaths and baptisms provide the composition of the Christian community. Many of the names, both British and Cree, and with variant spellings, still occur in the Moose Factory region: Turner, Checho, Linklater, Job, Morrison, Smallboy, Hunter, Sailor, Anderson and Faries. Baptismal records, established under the patriarchal and hierarchical system of the Church of England, register the “Quality, Trade or Profession” of the infants’ fathers. Carpenter, cooper, servant (that is, HBC employee), doctor, labourer or “Indian” fall equally within this category.

During the 1870s, the non-native men in charge of Moose Factory included Chief Factor James Anderson who was there when Malloch arrived. Anderson was replaced first by James Stewart Clouston (1870-73) and then George Simpson McTavish (1873-74) with his wife. Subsequently, Factor Alexander McDonald served during 1874-75 until his death at which time the position was assumed by Chief Trader (later, ‘Factor’) Samuel K. Parson (1875-1879).<sup>39</sup> In charge of the religious life at Moose, The Rev. (later, ‘Bishop’) John Horden and family had been there since 1851 and through their

35 Letter from Rev. John Horden to CMS Lay Secretary, 8 September 1870, Church Missionary Society, Mg17, vol.B2; reel A-80 1868-1876, p 217 (microfilm).

36 McMillan James Goldie, *Investigations at James Bay During 1912*, Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway Commission Report No.3 (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1913), 59.

37 Letter from Rev. John Horden to E. Hutchison, Esq., 28 January 1870, Church Missionary Society, Mg17, vol.B2; reel A-80 1868-1876, p 161 (microfilm).

38 Anglican Church, Diocese of Ontario, National Archives of Canada, MG17,B6, 1864-1916, reels M3697-M3704 (microfilm).

efforts other young missionaries were introduced to the field, among them the Reverends J.H. Keen, who arrived in 1875 and E.J. Peck in 1876. Numerous outside visitors, such as Robert Bell, Fleming's survey team, and Governor James Grahame, arrived during the summer months while men from other posts came throughout the year, often unidentified and unrecorded in the diaries and letters of the Moose Factory residents.

### MOOSE FACTORY AND CANADA

Long an important HBC trading post, Moose Factory also served as a major port in the exportation of furs to England and the import of goods and company personnel. From 1751 to 1880, at least one ship arrived at Moose Factory every single year without failure.<sup>40</sup> After the amalgamation of the two major fur trading companies – the HBC and the North West Company – in 1821, Moose Factory served as the HBC headquarters and supply base for the Southern Department encompassing the area drained by the rivers flowing into eastern and south-eastern James Bay. Although the HBC's "exclusive right of trade" terminated and Rupert's Land was surrendered to the British Crown, which in turn transferred the land to the Dominion in 1870, the Company retained ownership of its trading posts and adjoining lands. Consequently, trade during the 1870s continued as completely in the hands of the Company as it was before<sup>41</sup> and the HBC's annual ship still served as

the most practical access to Moose Factory. Further disputes between the Ontario and the Dominion governments focussed on the Moose Factory district as the "largest, most advanced settlement in the eastern portion of the territory"<sup>42</sup> with the district awarded to Ontario by arbitration in 1872. Coupled with these political changes, Moose Factory also became the episcopal seat of an immense diocese extending some two to three hundred miles to the east, south and west. The Rev. John Horden was consecrated as the first Bishop of Moosonee in 1872.

Both these changes brought disturbing concerns. On September 21, 1875, Canadian Customs increased costs considerably by adding 17% to cost price. By February 8, 1876 tariffs levied on goods brought in from Canada had risen to a monumental 50%. As this sorely affected the community, Horden requested a reduction. With success in that quarter Horden then became concerned about the impact of Roman Catholics at Michipicoten and Temiskamingue, worrying that "both gates leading from Hudson's Bay to Canada are in the enemy's hand."<sup>43</sup> Without addressing specifics, Chief Factor Alexander MacDonald of Albany mused about the changes brought about by the Canadian Government in a letter dated 28 January 1872<sup>44</sup> to Charles Stuart at Temiskamingue and asked Stuart what he thought of the New Venture:

*Well what do you think of it? for [sic] by this time you have been posted up fully in the program & know what we shall all be about – I cannot say that I am very anxious,*

39 Eric Arthur, Howard Chapman and Hart Massey, *Moose Factory 1673-1947* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949).

40 J.B. Tyrrell, "Arrivals and Departures of Ships. Moose Factory, Hudson Bay, Province of Ontario," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 14 (1916): 163-68. While Malloch was at Moose Factory the ships were the *Lady Head*, captained sequentially by John James, G.B. Galbraith and Henry Bishop; the *Ocean Nymph*, captained by Henry Bishop; and the *Prince of Wales*, captained by Henry Bishop.

41 E.B. Borron, *Report on the Basin of the Moose River* (Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1890), 74.

42 Morris Zaslow, "Rendezvous at Moose Factory, 1882," *Ontario History* 53, no.2 (1961): 81.

43 Letter from Rev. John Horden to CMS Lay Secretary, May 2, 1876, Church Missionary Society, Mg17, vol.B2, reel A-80 1868-1876 (microfilm).

44 Letter from Alexander MacDonald to Charles Stuart, Albany January 28, 1872, Archives of Ontario, MU 1399; Box 7; H.B.C. Paper – Temiskamingue District #6541, envelope 2, Albany Fur Trade Records C-7-2.

*but at the same time I am not at all [sic] sanguine that our circumstances will be very materially improved by the change; a change however even though it be for the worse is better than the doubt & uncertainty we were labouring under while "running the old machine."*

During Malloch's tenure in Moose Factory during the 1870s, a number of other national events took place which ultimately had some effect on those in isolated areas: the fur-trading district of Assiniboia became the Province of Manitoba on July 15, 1870; British Columbia became Canada's sixth province in 1871;<sup>45</sup> closer to home, one of Sandford Fleming's survey parties, exploring the country along the Abitibi and Moose Rivers for a northern route for a railroad, went as far as Moose Factory in the summer of 1871; the transcontinental railway was being built to link the new nation together and to provide easier access to remote areas; the North-West Mounted Police came into being in 1873; in 1873 Prince Edward Island also agreed to join the Dominion; and the fall of 1873 witnessed the forced retirement of Sir John A. MacDonald and Liberal leader Alexander Mackenzie replaced him as prime minister. These changes exacerbated an already declining fur trade. Despite the political and economic changes which inevitably occurred once Rupert's Land became a part of Canada, the effects of nature on subsistence practices, health, and travelling remained relatively unchanged during the 1870s.

## MALLOCH'S LIFE AT MOOSE FACTORY

Life in the north, far from the academic stimulation of McGill, the cultural exhilaration of urban Montreal, and the warmth and support of a close-knit family in eastern Ontario demanded a strength of character which Malloch had already demonstrated in coping with the trials and tribulations of his trip to Moose Factory. Isolation from southern amenities on one hand and the insularity of the small northern communities on the other impose tensions at both the individual and group levels. Thus, pleasures derived from earlier pastimes and the development of new ones, along with new contacts and shared interests ameliorate these stresses. Malloch, for one, demonstrated a lively enthusiasm, an eagerness to participate in Moose activities, and a repertoire of interests suitable for dispelling boredom and anxiety. As early as 28 February 1870, Malloch wrote to Charles Stuart at Temisamingue, thanking Stuart for his recent kindness and remarking that, "I like Moose very well, and think I will get on very well here."<sup>46</sup> A second letter to Stuart relates the pleasure of goose hunting at Albany and although the hunt was poor, he enjoyed the camaraderie of Thomas Vincent and Mr. Broughton.<sup>47</sup> His marriage in 1872 and the subsequent births of his children added immense pleasure to his life at Moose.

Outside his medical practice, his additional duties as a "very efficient officer, [with] sound judgement and regular business habits,"<sup>48</sup> and his social

45 As Chief Survey of the continental railway, Sandford Fleming's request to the officers of the HBC for a letter of introduction for the members of his surveying expedition to James Bay was granted by James Bissett in a letter dated Montreal 19th June 1871 (Letter from James Bissett to Sanford Fleming, 19 June 1871, HBCA B.134/b/30, fo.641). See also Fleming's *Report on Surveys and Preliminary operations on the Canadian Pacific Railway up to January 1877* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1877), 47-48.

46 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Charles Stuart, Aesculapian Hall February 28, 1870, Archives of Ontario, MU 1399; Box 7; H.B.C. Paper – Temisamingue District #6541, envelope 2, Moose Factory Fur Trade Records C-7-2 0.

47 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Charles Stuart, Moose Factory February 22, 1871, Archives of Ontario, MU 1399; Box 7; H.B.C. Paper – Temisamingue District #6541, envelope 2, Moose Factory Fur Trade Records C-7-2.

48 As cited in a four-page account from the Search File of the HBCA as compiled by Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Archives.

obligations, Malloch delighted in a number of interests and activities. A nascent interest in horticultural becomes apparent with discussions about the fertility of the soil, detailed accounts of crop yields and several references to the abundance of flowers, both wild and domestic, annual and perennial. About these he writes: "I have never seen finer house flowers in a green house. They seem never to stop blooming, and the flowers are in large numbers."<sup>49</sup> The summer of 1876 was particularly pleasant and fruitful: "early rose potatoes in one of our fields gave a return of 23 for 1 of seed planted [and] we had a very fine show of both garden and house flowers."<sup>50</sup> That summer was also the first time Malloch had succeeded in "bringing tomatoes to perfection."<sup>51</sup> According to curt notes recorded by James R. Nason, HBC accountant and meteorological officer at Moose,<sup>52</sup> this interest in growing things developed into botanical exchanges between the two men from digging flower gardens in May to the presentation of a lily to Nason from the doctor. Interest in growing things also encompassed detailed observations concerning the collecting and transporting of wild water hay for the cattle, oxen, and horses.<sup>53</sup>

During the winter of 1876, the "mania for working on the turning lathe" enthralled Malloch as it

did his friends in the community. Using a "very fine little lathe, made by Fenn, [I] have been able to turn out some very fair work in ivory."<sup>54</sup> By 1878, he and Samuel Parson were doing "a great deal of turning and have had great success."<sup>55</sup> Although many of the ivory pieces in the collection appear to be Inuit in form and material, and are identified as having been made by the Cree, they may, in fact, be examples of Malloch's work.

Malloch's second published letter discloses his interest in, and proficiency at, photography by expressing regret that he was not able to send good photographs of Moose Factory as it was "too early in the season to take good negatives in the open air." Furthermore, he hoped "to take a panoramic view from one of the islands" in a week or two (Fig. 5). The few views of Moose Factory which he did send with that second letter were printed on ordinary notepaper which he "albuminized" himself as there was a shortage of commercially-prepared albumen photographic paper.<sup>56</sup> Much later, in writing from Ottawa to Robert Bell, Malloch mentioned that he had "a large collection of photographs in the Indian and Esquimaux country" which Sydney Hall of the Graphic sent to that paper.<sup>57</sup> At the time of his letter, Malloch was still waiting to see them in print, but reflected

49 William Bell Malloch, Letters, McCord Archives, M18604.

50 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 20 January 1877, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: "Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79".

51 Ibid.

52 Anonymous, "William Nason of Weston, 1818-1890," *York Pioneer*, 1964, p.62-69. As well, biographical information from the Papers of the Borough of York, York University Archives (on Search File "James R. Nason"), states that James Randle Nason matriculated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario in July of 1872. The following year (1872-73) he spent at McGill Medical Faculty. Nason, it seems, preferred conducting meteorological observations rather than practicing medicine.

53 Malloch, Letters, McCord, M18604.

54 Ibid.

55 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 15 August 1878, National Archives of Canada, MG 29,B15, vol. 26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: "Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79".

56 M18604.

57 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 20 January 1877, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: "Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79".

that “with two wars, Royal marriages, etc., they [the Graphic] have as much as they can manage.”<sup>58</sup>

This early interest in photography led him to be included as one of the members of what is now known as the “Moose Factory Group” comprised primarily of Malloch, Bernard Rogan Ross, James Anderson, Charles George Horetzky, James Cotter and George Simpson McTavish.<sup>59</sup> Certainly, this photographic interest was shared with Cotter and possibly McTavish, as all three men were resident at Moose Factory together. As it was not a common practice to sign photographic prints and there was much sharing of prints, attribution for many of the photographs remains unclear. Many photographs in the Malloch collection in the Notman Photographic Archives appear to have been taken by Cotter. Indeed, the current catalogue description for the photographs (AppM64/36) notes that the “portraits of Esquimaux and views in Hudson’s Bay are from the collection of Dr. W.B. Malloch ... [but were] taken by an Officer in the Hudson’s Bay Company’s service.”

Hints of Malloch’s impending marriage are noted first in Malloch’s letter to Charles Stuart<sup>60</sup> at Temiskamingue requesting lodging and then transportation from Mattawa on his trip back to Canada and confirmed in A. MacDonald’s letter of 28

January 1872, also addressed to Charles Stuart, in which he mentions that the doctor was going back to Canada that winter “for the purpose of getting married.”<sup>61</sup> At “Beech Grove” in Ottawa on 25 April 1872 Malloch married his first cousin, Mary Stewart Malloch, youngest daughter of the late Edward Malloch M.P.<sup>62</sup> Prior to leaving for their trip northward by canoe, the Mallochs sat for several photographic portraits (Fig. 6) at the Notman Studios in Montreal, including one of Dr. Malloch resplendent in Cree clothing and posed with Cree snow shoes (Fig. 2).

Marital bliss was cruelly interrupted by the premature birth on 24 November 1872 of a daughter who lived a mere 14 hours. In the absence of Reverend Horden, the infant was laid to rest by Chief Factor James Clouston. Happily, any prolonged mourning was quickly dispelled by the birth of a son on 3 August 1874 and a daughter on 3 September 1875.<sup>63</sup> Bishop Horden baptized each of the infants.<sup>64</sup> While disclaiming any partiality, Malloch’s obvious pride in his own children contradicts such an assertion. In a letter to Bell dated 14 January 1875, he writes:<sup>65</sup>

*Stewart Ernest Malloch is now nearly 6 months old, and with out [sic] speaking of him with the partiality of a*

58 Ibid.

59 A. J. Birrell, “The Early Years, 1839-1885,” in *Private realms of Light: Amateur photography in Canada, 1839-1940*, ed. Lilly Koltun (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 1-15.

60 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Charles Stuart, Moose Factory 17 July 1871, Archives of Ontario MU 1399; Box 7; H.B.C. Papers, Temiskaming District #6541, Envelope 11 Moose Factory. Fur Trade Records C-7-11.

61 Letter from Alexander MacDonald to Charles Stuart, Albany 28 January 1872, Archives of Ontario MU 1399; Box 7; H.B.C. Papers, Temiskaming District #6541, Envelope 2 Albany. Fur Trade Records C-7-2.

62 As recorded W.B. Malloch’s Bible under the heading “Register of Marriage.”

63 The births of the Malloch children were recorded in Malloch’s Bible under the heading “Register of Berths [sic]” and the infant’s death under “Register of Deaths.”

64 Stewart’s August 23rd baptism was “solemnized in the Parish of St. Thomas in the Diocese of Moosonee in the year One thousand eight hundred and Seventy four [sic]” by “John Moosonee.” Anglican Church. Diocese of Ontario. National Archives of Canada, MG17,B6, 1864-1916, Mf reels M3697-M3704 (microfilm).

65 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 17 January 1875, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”.

*father, I can say he is as fine a boy as I ever saw – strong, healthy, rosy cheeked, and full of mischief at his present age. When he laughs he is a miniature of what my father was when enjoying a hearty laugh.*

Then, exactly thirteen months later, Mrs. Malloch made him “proprietor of a little daughter... called Alice Muriel [who] is now nearly 5 months old, and is a bright laughing little thing.”<sup>66</sup> In the same letter, Malloch notes with certain pride that Stewart began to walk shortly after Bell’s visit to Moose Factory, and can now say “almost any word, and is beginning to form sentences.” Just short of two years, Stewart’s precociousness in speaking is duly noted: “I never knew a child of his age talk as distinctly as he does. He can give you a dissertation on Barometers and Thermometers.”<sup>67</sup> “Mrs. Malloch always has her hands full looking after the house and the children.”<sup>68</sup>

Stewart’s inquisitiveness is evident at an early age. At eighteen months he was not to be deterred from entering his father’s surgery where he delighted in “eating spermaceti ointment, cold cream, and such like.”<sup>69</sup> This same curiosity led to burnt fingers at age two-and-a-half years. From Nason’s cryptic notes we are apprised of Stewart’s mishap in burning his

fingers but are given no details how this came about. None of this undermines Malloch’s delight in his children for later, as one father to another upon learning of the birth of the Bells’ daughter, he confides to Bell that “It is only in children that married people have true happiness.”<sup>70</sup>

The presence of the Church of England in Moose Factory played an instrumental role in the social life of the non-Native community. Not only did the mission provide sacred education and guidance to the entire community, both native and non-native, it was the locus of virtually all secular social activities for the class-conscious elite, both religious and lay persons. So strong was the influence, and so solid was this group that it is not surprising to find mention of James Nason taking Communion for the first time nor that both Dr. and Mrs. Malloch forsook their staunch Presbyterian upbringing to become confirmed as Anglicans. On July 23, 1873, Dr. Malloch became one of the first group confirmed by Horden’s as Bishop of Moosonee. Bishop Horden noted at that time that, of the sixteen confirmed at the English service, all were “half-castes with one exception, our medical man, a gentleman from Canada, originally a Presbyterian, who had for some time a strong desire to be connected with the English Church.”<sup>71</sup> Mrs.

66 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 1 January 1875, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”.

67 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 22 July 1876, National Archives of Canada, MG 29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”. Malloch also notes in this same letter that Alice, at nearly 11 months, neither walks nor talks yet, and is far less trouble than Stewart was at the same age.

68 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 20 January 1877, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”.

69 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 25 January 1876, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”.

70 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, Ottawa, 19 April 1879, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”.

71 Rev. John Horden, Journal, Church Missionary Society, National Archives of Canada, Church Missionary Society, MG17,B2; reel A-99 (microfilm).

72 James Nason noted in Moose Factory Mission Church Records, 25 December 1877, Trent University Archives, SET 10; B-74-015. Dr. Malloch was confirmed on 7 September 1873 by “the Rt. Rev. Dr. Horden, First Bishop of Moosonee, this being his first Confirmation.” At the English Service on 20 January 1878 Mrs. Malloch was confirmed. Moose Factory Mission Church Records; Trent University Archives, SET 10; B-74-015.

Malloch was confirmed later at a special English service on 20 January 1878.<sup>72</sup> Religious texts in the form of Watt's First Catechism in Eskimo, a prayer Book, a Hymn Book belonging to Bishop Horden, and a book entitled Lectures in Rhetoric, once the property of Dr. and Mrs Malloch and now in the McCord, attest to their devotion (see Appendix II).

The social life in Moose Factory ranged from a companionable smoking of cigars and pipes and week-long hunting and fishing trips with male friends to joyous celebrations of weddings, birthdays, and probably baptisms.<sup>73</sup> Both Beatrice Horden's fourteenth, and Stewart Malloch's third, birthday parties included James Nason as one of the guests.<sup>74</sup> Certainly, the marriage of the Hordens' second daughter Chrissie (Christina) to HBC Trader, William R. Broughton on September 14, 1876, was a social highlight in this small community. The presence of Mrs. Malloch, Mrs. McTavish (wife of Chief Factor George Simpson McTavish), and the Horden's daughter led Bishop Horden to comment:

*There was formerly no Society here, now we have some European or Canadian ladies; and my house is the only one to which they can resort from the Barrack sort of life they have [at] the H.B.C's [sic] establishment; and seeing*

*how much I am dependent on the H.B.C's [sic] Gentlemen throughout the country: I cannot refuse either to them or the members of the Moose staff occasional hospitality. I may add that every gentlemen [sic] and lady here is a Communicant of our Church.*<sup>75</sup>

Fortunately, Mrs. Malloch and Mrs. McTavish became close friends, so close in fact, that when the McTavishes went to [Colborne, Ontario] Canada on sick leave<sup>76</sup> in the Autumn of 1874, Malloch commented that his wife "misses Mrs. McTavish very much as they were almost like sisters."<sup>77</sup> Sadly, for Mrs. Malloch, the new Chief Factor, Alexander MacDonald, was a bachelor.

Lesser "celebrations" occurred in recognition of "firsts": first goose of the season; first eggs; first tea without having to use a lamp; first peas for dinner; the first strawberries of the season; first tomatoes; first arrival of ships; and so on.<sup>78</sup> Other small pleasures included skating, sleigh rides, "bull hunting" (the chasing down of cattle who became wild after a summer of pasturing undisturbed on an island), whist parties, reading books held by the James Bay Library,<sup>79</sup> boarding the visiting ships, making natural history collections, and meteorological observations.<sup>80</sup> As well, contact with the world outside the socially-

73 Malloch smoked both cigars (Notman Archives, McCord Museum, App M 65/36) and a buttonhole pipe (McCord Archives, M18583). Nason regularly records that there was 'good' skating.

74 James Nason, Diary, 16 November 1876; 3 August 1877, Papers of the Borough of York, File "James R. Nason", York University Archives.

75 Letter from Rev. J. Horden to Lay Secretary, 11 September 1872, National Archives of Canada, Church Missionary Society, MG17,B2; reel A-80, p. 228 (microfilm).

76 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, A.11/47, fos.96, 97; Letter from Alexander MacDonald to Armit, 3 September 1874, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/g/56; D.13/8, p.40.

77 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 1 January 1875, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, v.26, Correspondence to Robert Bell: "Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79".

78 Most of these examples are taken from James Nason's diary; op. cit. note 74.

79 Letter from Georgie Parsons to Armit, 7 February, 1877, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, A.11/47, fo.133.

80 Leisure activities recall similar ones enjoyed at York Factory and discussed at length by Michael Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory: Everyday Life in Hudson's Bay Company Service York Factory, 1788-1870* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1989), 65-92.

isolated community necessitated copious letter writing, at times considered a chore by many but the only way to ensure an influx of letters in return.

### HEALTH AND WELFARE AT MOOSE FACTORY

Moose Factory was the only Hudson's Bay post to have a Medical Officer during this time period.<sup>81</sup> Having been without a doctor for a year or two, compounded by the hasty departure of the previous doctor, a certain urgency can be detected in the letters leading up to Malloch's appointment. Although an appointment for a medical officer had to be initiated by the HBC, it was certainly Rev. John Horden's letters to the Lay Secretary of the England-based Church Missionary Society (hereafter CMS) which demonstrated the need. In his letter of 1868, Horden laments that he was "very busy as 'doctor' for there was a great deal of sickness and no medical man."<sup>82</sup> The summer of 1869 saw an epidemic of typhus fever at Abitibi to the south, when about 60 natives died and the others dispersed in fear. In the January 28th letter for 1870, he noted "sickness abounding"<sup>83</sup> without identifying either the actual illnesses or whether the patients were native or non-native. However, from the cause of death listed in the records for Moose Factory for 1868 and 1869,

there is strong likelihood that tuberculosis was a prevalent cause as slightly more than 50 percent of the deaths are listed as being from various forms of that disease.<sup>84</sup> While cause of death, of course, does not reveal short-lived or seasonal illnesses, the large number of tubercular deaths suggests that people were suffering from contagious respiratory infections and/or climatic fluctuations.<sup>85</sup> However, Horden's reports to the Home Secretary of the CMS for 1872 and 1873, stating that the community had been free of illness "to a wonderful degree" and deaths were few, gave credit to God, not to Malloch.<sup>86</sup>

The high number of deaths (that is, 19) occurring at Moose Factory in 1869 was never repeated while Malloch was in residence there. Certainly the demographics during that period do not suggest any serious epidemics or lowered birth-rate resulting from reduced diets. Compiled from the Church Records of St. Thomas Anglican Church in Moose Factory, there were 70 deaths in the community over the nine-year span from 1870 to 1878. The years 1873 and 1876 each had twelve deaths with consumption and fever being the leading causes and others being from accident, old age, and drowning. Further sampling of these records reveals that during the last three years (that is, 1876-1878) there were 49 baptisms which, in general terms, corresponds to the birth rate, but

81 E.B. Borron, *Report on the Basin of the Moose River* (Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1890), 83.

82 Letter from Rev. John Horden to Rev. J. Mee, Secretary, 24 January 1868, Church Missionary Society, C.I/M Mission Books (Incoming Letters) 1868-1876, National Archives of Canada, MG 17, B2; Reel A-80 (microfilm).

83 *Ibid.*

84 Of the eight deaths in 1868, at least four were from consumption (that is, tuberculosis). Similarly, of the nineteen deaths in 1869, nine were attributed to consumption. Ontario Archives, Vital Statistics, RG 80-10, Deaths.

85 A lengthy discussion of the causes, symptoms and treatment for consumption (pulmonary tuberculosis) is given in an early publication, *The Practical Home Physician and Encyclopedia of Medicine*, by Henry M. Lyman, Christian Finger, H. Webster Jones, and W.T. Belfield, (Guelph, Ontario: The World Publishing Co., n.d.): 141-160. Further information is provided by R.V. Pierce, *The People's Common Sense Medical Adviser*, (Buffalo, N.Y.: The World's Dispensary Printing-Office and Bindery, 1877), 468, 487, 490.

86 Letter from Rev. John Horden to Lay Secretary, 1872, Church Missionary Society, C.I/M Mission Books (Incoming Letters) 1868-1876, National Archives of Canada, MG17,B2; Reel A-80 (microfilm). Also, we must keep in mind that Horden was reporting to the CMS, the source of his own livelihood.

which also reflects the swelling of the population as the inland natives came into the community during the summer months.

The references to Malloch's role as a physician at Moose and in the other coastal posts are rather scant, leaving an obvious lacuna in our knowledge of medical practices in the north. His duties have not been spelled out in the written evidence, and must be compiled from scattered sources. His first patient was Mrs. Charles Stuart whose tooth he extracted during his visit at Temiscamingue on his initial trip in 1870.<sup>87</sup> In January of 1872 he accompanied Mr. McTavish back from Albany to attend to Mrs. McTavish's undisclosed illness, and he was the attending physician when Chief Factor Alexander MacDonald died at age 45 from "softening of the brain" in 1875. From Malloch's letters to Bell, we are informed that James Cotter suffered from sore eyes (later identified as *ophthalmia tarsis*) which, presumably, was contagious as Malloch noted that he, too, suffered an attack.<sup>88</sup> Apparently Stewart was very sick at Christmas time with an intermittent fever similar to that which Georgie Parson was recovering from at the time of the correspondence. As all these patients were HBC people, it is not clear whether or not he went beyond company policy attending to the medical needs of the Cree as well as those of HBC

officers and servants.<sup>89</sup> During the first month or so of 1877 Malloch noted that "nearly every child has been through my hands."<sup>90</sup> Given the small size of the community, most, if not all of these children would be Cree and/or of mixed ancestry. An incident recorded in Malloch's letter to Bell dated 15th February 1878, describes at length an amputation he had performed on an Indian who had been shot accidentally just above the elbow. With great haste and a team of four dogs Malloch travelled due south for 25 miles until he reached their temporary camp on the second day. After moving the man to Moose, Malloch was assisted in the amputation of the shattered arm by Dr. Horden (Bishop Horden's son) who administered the chloroform while the Bishop, Mr. Spencer, and Tom Morrison threaded needles, handed knives, scissors, sponges, and so on.<sup>91</sup> Another of Malloch's duties was to write certificates for HBC men requiring leave or release from service. Accordingly, in 1875, Thomas Flett, suffering from an Inguinal Hernia, was deemed "unfit for the duties of this country."<sup>92</sup> Similarly, Malloch wrote that Angus McDonald, Donald McMillan, and Ralph Goodwin were unfit for service due to medical reasons.<sup>93</sup>

Even if Malloch did not provide medical care for the natives, he certainly observed their illnesses and diseases,<sup>94</sup> for in a paper read before the Bathurst and

87 Malloch extracted Mrs. Charles Stuart's tooth while he was staying with them at Temiskamingue. (Letter from Aesculapian Hall 28 February 1870, Archives of Ontario, MU 1399; Box 7; H.B.C. Paper – Temiscamingue District #6541, envelope 2, Moose Factory Fur Trade Records C-7-2.

88 Letters from William Bell Malloch to Dr. Robert Bell, 22 January 1877; 13 February 1877, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, vol.26, Correspondence, "Malloch, W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79". Apparently ophthalmia was common among Indians further west (Jody Decker, "Surgeons' Stories: The Reports of the First Doctors of the NWMP," *The Beaver* 78, no.3 (1998): 24-27.

89 According to Blythe, Brizinski and Preston, although the HBC retained medical officers, they may have provided little health care to the Native population. (Blythe et al, "*I Was Never Idle*", see note 26).

90 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 20 January 1877, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, vol.26, "Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79".

91 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 15 January 1878, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, vol.26, "Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79".

92 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/z/4, folder 3, fo.23.

93 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/z/4, folder 3, fos.24,25, 26.

94 See also Payne, *The Most Respectable Place*, 99.

Rideau Medical Association in 1885, Dr. Robert Bell provided greater detail about these diseases having drawn upon his own lengthy “exposure to the diseases of Indians and Eskimos” coupled with that of other medical men including “the late Dr. Wm. Malloch, who resided some 8 years at Moose Factory.” In this paper Bell revealed that various respiratory diseases such as pleuro-pneumonia, capillary bronchitis, “inlanders cold,” and whooping cough were common, often running “rapidly through the whole settlement.”<sup>95</sup> Whooping cough, in particular, was rampant at Albany and Moose on more than one occasion, being especially fatal to the Indian children. For the most part, there was little that the physician could do. Bell further noted relatively few occurrences of circulatory or urinary problems, scrofula – a form of tuberculosis which “manifests itself in many ways,”<sup>96</sup> fevers, small pox, scurvy and syphilis, but greater frequencies of decayed teeth and toothaches in the native populations. As for their general well-being, physical deformities, life-span, and reproduction, Bell remarked that there were few old Indians, still fewer cases of spinal curvature, and that extensive walking and other fresh-air activities made gestation and parturition an easy matter for the women. Most ailments, both physical and mental, were healed through a reliance on herbal remedies and/or the spiritual intervention of shamans.<sup>97</sup>

Medical practice in the Bay area, as provided by the HBC, would have been no better than, and per-

haps not as good as, that found throughout Canada. According to our standards of today, medical practice during the 1870s could be considered rather primitive with staggering infant mortality from diphtheria, whooping cough, measles, typhoid, smallpox and polio. Despite the 1867 introduction of sterile conditions in surgery and the use of carbolic acid to disinfect wounds, it took a decade for this practice to be accepted universally. Even late in the 1870s doctors would carry out operations without gloves, with barely washed hands, and by holding their scalpels in their teeth when their hands were busy with something else.<sup>98</sup> Although we do know that Dr. Bell was sending Malloch both vaccines and current medical reports,<sup>99</sup> Malloch’s actual practices remain shrouded in mystery.

The only known report on Malloch is one made by his superior, Factor Alexander Macdonald in 1875 in which he writes that, “Doctor Malloch is peculiarly qualified to fill the post he holds at this place, viz [sic] – that of clerk & surgeon, he caring little for his professional duties & having a decided taste for store work.” This is a provocative footnote to Malloch’s career as the writer is the same Alexander MacDonald who died from softening of the brain, and whom Horden had labeled in 1874 as being “hot, hasty, and headstrong.”<sup>100</sup> Regardless of Malloch’s interests and capabilities, it is only after his retirement to Canada that Malloch himself reveals in his last letter to Bell insights and testimonials not provided elsewhere. Derived from “a great packet of letters from Moose”

95 Dr. Robert Bell, “Notes on Diseases among the Indians,” Address to the Bathurst and Rideau Medical Association, January 1885, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, vol. 2, file 25.

96 Ibid.

97 Bell also wrote a treatise – *The “Medicine-Man”; or, Indian and Eskimo Notions of Medicine* (Archives of Ontario, Pamphlet No. 31; Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1886). Bell notes that “...the common Indian notion of disease is that it is caused by some evil influence, which must be removed...” (p.7). Bell illustrates this with an anecdote (p.8) about an Indian canoe-man who fell ill. Bell nursed him for several days and when nearly better, the patient secretly called in a reputed medicine man. Following the latter’s visit, the man pronounced himself cured.

98 Peter Waite, “Between Three Oceans: Challenges of a Continental Destiny (1840-1900),” In *The Illustrated History of Canada*, ed. Craig Brown (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennis, 1987), 279-374.

99 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 15 February 1878, National Archives of Canada, MG29,B15, vol.26, Correspondence “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”.

it was apparent that “the new Doctor was not very well, and it is said he is not very sociable, and does not play Whist.” The common people say “he does not give the right kind of medicine, and wish the old Doctor back.” Furthermore, “I had the warmest feelings of kindness from all, and I flatter myself that all, from the officer in charge to the poorest Indian, would be glad to see me back once more.”<sup>101</sup> This respect is tangibly recorded in the beautifully-made items acquired by the Mallochs and now part of the ethnographic collection in the McCord Museum.

### THE END OF A BRIEF LIFE

On 19 August 1878, at the expiration of Malloch’s second contract,<sup>102</sup> the family left Moose Factory to return to southern Ontario by way of Michipicoten. After staying at “a beautiful country residence belonging to our family” in Perth, the young family then settled on Maria Street in Ottawa.<sup>103</sup> Although they enjoyed several visits to Rideau Hall, it was not sufficient enticement to keep them in Ottawa. Before moving elsewhere, they planned to visit the Orkney Isles and then travel southward, perhaps as far as the Holy Land. The plans, however, came to naught, perhaps due to Dr. Malloch’s illness during the autumn. Rather, they moved to Smith’s Falls, and ultimately settled at Brockville, “that El Dorado of retired H.B. Officers” with Mr. Christie on one side and Mr. Crawford at a little distance on the other side.<sup>104</sup> To add to their pleasure, the Mallochs antic-

ipated a visit from the McTavishes.<sup>105</sup> And it was in Brockville on 13 March 1881, that Dr. William Bell Malloch, at the young age of 36 years and 13 days, succumbed to tuberculosis, possibly contracted while at Moose Factory. His final resting place is with other family members in Elmwood Cemetery at Perth, Ontario.

His widow, Mary Stewart Malloch (néé Malloch) married another first cousin, Francis Stewart Malloch and moved to Hamilton, Ontario. His son, Stewart, also died at an early age, being merely 31 years old at the time of death, and was interred in Hamilton in 1905. His daughter Alice, who married Mr. W. Angus Murray, was the generous donor of the Malloch collection which has proven to be so valuable.

### MALLOCH’S LEGACY

William Bell Malloch left a wonderful legacy: to Stewart the gold pocket watch, chain and seal he had received from his own father as well as a turning lathe, other tools and a double barrelled gun; to Alice whatever items his widow chose to select from his personal and/or medical professional books and instruments to be equivalent to the goods bequeathed to Stewart; money, property and goods to his widow Mary Stewart Malloch.<sup>106</sup> His will also contained explicit directions that both children were to receive as liberal an education as possible. It was his express wish that his son enter a profession, while his daughter was

100 Letter from John Horden to Wright, 5 May 1874, National Archives of Canada, Church Missionary Society, C.I/M Mission Books (Incoming Letters) 1868-1876, vol. B2; Reel A-80.

101 Letter from William Bell Malloch to Robert Bell, 19 April 1879, National Archives of Canada, MG 29,815, vol. 26 Correspondence to Robert Bell: “Malloch W.B. [Moose Factory] 1875-79”.

102 HBCA B.135/g/60.

103 Letter from William Bell Malloch to James Bissett, 19 October 1878, HBCA B.134/c/139, fo.221.

104 Letter from William Bell Malloch to James Bissett, 24 November 1879, HBCA B.134/c/142.

105 Ibid.

106 William Bell Malloch’s last will and testament was drawn up and signed in Smith Falls, Lanark County on 29 May 1879. Upon Malloch’s death his executors, Mary Stewart Malloch and Edward Crookshank Malloch, made application for probate which was granted 28 April 1881 pursuant to an amendment to the inventory of goods and monies by Mary Malloch.

to be sent to England or Scotland for her education.

Unbeknownst to Malloch when the will was drawn up, these bequests had far-reaching effects when the artifacts, photographs and papers became available to the public through the donation to the McCord Museum. This latter legacy, passed on primarily by Malloch's daughter, yields glimpses into an earlier time in Canadian history: the Scots immigrant settlement with its emphasis on Presbyterian principles and strong family values; the intertwining connections of a social elite, many of whom gained their education at McGill University; the nexus of native and non-native cultures; vignettes of life at Moose Factory in the 1870s, and the marvellous substantive evidence of Cree material culture in Moose Factory at that time. Certainly, of these legacies, the most significant are these latter artifacts.

These few, but exquisite, items made at Moose Factory by Cree women and men during the 1870s represent one of the very few documented collections of James Bay Cree material. From it we can ascertain what was worn, the materials used, the techniques employed, the level of expertise of the makers, and most significantly, specific motifs, colour choices, and styles in that region at that time (Figs. 7-12). A number of features are particularly important. For example, the presence of both silk embroidery and beadwork to decorate finely scraped, brain-tanned caribou hide demonstrates the overlapping of these decorative techniques. As well, illustrated in the photograph of young Stewart (Fig. 3) is a panel bag with a loom-woven bead panel which establishes Moose Factory as one community of origin

for this type of bag. Alice's mittens (Fig. 8) reflect European influence in their cut and two-button closure. In contrast, Stewart's fur-trimmed and ornamented pair is more typical of the James Bay region. The photograph of Dr. Malloch (Fig. 2) shows him wearing what has been assumed to be a male-style of legging with a deep-notched ankle area (similar to two pairs held by the McCord). This photograph is the only known example corroborating this assumption.<sup>107</sup> As well, his painted Cree snow shoes recall a decorated pair collected prior to 1800 and now in the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin (Germany). A second painted pair of a different shape remains unidentified in the Bristol City Museum (England).

The tikanagan (cradle board) provides a wealth of information. Made in the traditional manner, the wooden frame is presumed to have been shaped and decorated by a man (Figs. 9, 10). Decorated with a scalloped upper edge and a cut-out heart, we can draw comparisons with it to one collected by Alanson Skinner in 1908<sup>108</sup> which bears a similar cut-out. These same features, which occur on a cradle board held by the Manchester Museum (0.8627), suggest that the community of origin for this otherwise unprovenanced tikanagan is also Moose Factory.<sup>109</sup> The floral beadwork on the laced tikanagan cover, while not as elaborate as that found on full-size examples, does provide evidence of colour choice and motifs. Drawing upon the premise that decorative rosebuds can be considered a Cree woman's "signature,"<sup>110</sup> isolation of the beaded rosebuds on this cradle board cover allows comparison with unidentified material to identify the maker, at least at the community level.

107 Cath Oberholtzer, "Cree Leggings: A Sign of Identity," in *Papers of the Twenty-fifth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1994), 347-72.

108 American Museum of Natural History 50-6943. See also a photograph of the miniature tikanagan which Ellen Smallboy made for anthropologist Regina Flannery in 1933. Regina Flannery, *Ellen Smallboy: Glimpses of a Cree Woman's Life* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 6. Ellen Smallboy, the central figure in Flannery's book, was at Moose Factory when Malloch was there.

109 Cath Oberholtzer, "Womb With A View": Cree Moss Bags and Cradle Boards," in *Papers of the Twenty-eighth Algonquian Conference*, ed. David Pentland (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1997), 258-73.

110 Cath Oberholtzer, "A Thorny Identification: Rosebuds as Symbols of Native Identity," *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* 8 (1998): 13-27.

Of particular interest is the glimpse of the tartan moss bag (Fig. 11) under the lacing. From birth babies were surrounded with moss and then wrapped into moss bags. However, not only is this the only museum example indicating that moss bags were then placed inside tikanagan covers, but also the only evidence we have that tartan (plaid) and floral beadwork were used at the same time.

Other comparisons can be extrapolated from these documented Moose Factory pieces: the shirts (catalogued as "tunics") worn by both Alice and Stewart (Figs. 1, 3, 12) in the studio portraits allow us to provide a provenance for two virtually identical shirts owned and illustrated by a private collector in Montana.<sup>111</sup> A model canoe (Fig. 13) "made by the Cree Indians" which looks like a cross between an Inuit kayak and a Cree canoe is strikingly similar to a flotilla of unidentified ones in the Leeds Museum in England. As well, the moccasins (10/28a,d; 10/30a,b,c,d) and a "wall pocket" (bag; 10/89) accessioned in 1879 by the American Museum of Natural History in New York City were donated by Robert Bell but otherwise lack any mention of origins. However, comparisons with items in the Malloch collection suggest that Bell likely collected them during visits to Moose Factory when his cousin, William Malloch was there. Alternatively, Malloch may have forwarded the items to Bell. Nonetheless, the quality of the work echoes that of the Malloch pieces, all of which are certainly of a higher standard than one would expect for mere tourist pieces.

Included in the collection is a miniature, or model, canoe paddle (Fig. 14) painted and decorated with

a typical meandering line accentuated with a scattering of attached flowers. On one side of the handle the name "Alice" is written in pencil and painted on the blade is "Ness." A note tied to the handle states that: "The design, painted on the paddle, was one taught to the Indians by Bishop John Horden." This is doubtful. When John Horden made a sketch of Hannah Che-ah-pun at Moose Factory in 1852, he depicted her wearing a beaded-cloth hood ornamented with a very similar design.<sup>112</sup> As the Hordens had only arrived the year before, as the hood in question indicates a familiarity and expertise in rendering the design, and as the usual transmission of sewing techniques was passed on from woman to woman, it does not seem probable that Horden could have introduced the design that quickly.

Although I have compiled lists<sup>113</sup> of men and women who were at Moose Factory during the eight years that Malloch was engaged as a surgeon and clerk,<sup>114</sup> there is absolutely no indication in the records assessed which of these people may have made the items. Not only do we not know who made these items, we do not know whether Malloch bought them, commissioned them, received them from grateful patients, or if they were outright gifts. We do know from the articles themselves that each of the Cree-made items was made expertly reflecting the pride of artistry, and was intended to show the deep respect which the doctor and his family engendered.

Today this collection forms a material basis for knowledge of the Cree past. These cultural artifacts comprise a record through which native peoples,

111 Douglas Ewing, *Pleasing the Spirits: A Catalogue of a Collection of American Indian Art* (New York: Ghylen Press, 1982), 189; catalogue numbers X/9 and X/10; plate 173.

112 For an illustration see Cath Oberholtzer, "Embedded Symbolism: The James Bay Beaded Hoods," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1991): 18-27.

113 These lists were compiled from all archival sources assessed, but especially from baptismal records which give the parents' names and the fathers' occupations.

114 After 1821, surgeons were hired to serve as both clerks and doctors; see Payne, *The Most Respectable Place*, 104.

scholars, and the public can gain access to this chapter of the native past, and of Canadian history.

Thank you, Dr. Malloch, for that legacy.

## APPENDIX I: CONTENTS OF THE COLLECTION

- 18536 Sled (model): wood, bone runners, and harness for one dog.
- M18537 Kayak (model): skin, wood.
- M18538 Cradle board (miniature): wood, paint, cotton, linen, moss, buttons, caribou thongs, silk ribbon, wool broad-cloth, seam binding, beads, thread.
- M18559 Moccasins (child's): caribou hide, silk floss, sinew.
- M18560 Slipper moccasins (child's): caribou hide, cotton, sinew, silk floss.
- M18562 Moccasins (doll's): caribou hide, woollen cloth, silk floss, sinew.
- M18563.1-2 Mittens: caribou hide, silk ribbon, sinew, buttons.
- M18564 "Tunic" [shirt] (child's): caribou hide, thread, silk floss, silk ribbon, fur, buttons.
- M18564.1 Belt (child's): caribou hide, thread, silk floss, fur, buttons.
- M18572 Canoe and paddles (model): birch bark, wood.
- M18573 Bow drill. Cree.
- M18574 Harpoon head: ivory.
- M18575 Arrow shaft: wood, steel.
- M18576 Arrow shaft: wood, steel.
- M18577 Paddle (model): wood, paint. An accompanying note states that the design on the paddle was one taught to the Indians by Bishop John Horden. On one side of the handle is "Alice" written in pencil; painted on same side of blade is "Ness".
- M18578.1-27 Case and medical instruments. Case is marked "G. Tiemann & Co., 63 Chatham St., New York".
- M18579 Pipe, button hole type: Used by Dr. W.B. Malloch.
- M18580 Epaulettes: caribou hide, silk floss.
- ME935.6 Bible cover: caribou hide, silk lining, silk floss, thread.
- M18582 Harpoon (model): wood, ivory, hide.
- M18584 Piece of walrus ivory.
- M18585 Ivory object.
- M18586 Needle case: ivory.
- M18587 Needle case: ivory.
- M18588 Ajaqaq (game): ivory; polar bear shape.
- M18589 Needle case: ivory.
- M18589.2 Needle case: ivory, bone. One side drilled to form out-line of whale.
- M18590 Pendants, part of necklace: ivory.
- M18591 Miniature: "Knife"; ivory; suspension hole, part of necklace.
- M18592 Miniature: "Knife"; Ivory; suspension hole, part of necklace.
- M18593 Ornament: ivory.
- M18594 Miniature: "Knife"; ivory, part of necklace.
- M18595 Necklace: ivory. (Composed of various miniature items including M18590, M18591, M18592, M18594).
- M18596 Ornament: ivory; suspension hole.
- M18597 Toggle: ivory.
- M18598 Toggle: ivory.
- M18599 Spoon (model): wood.
- M18600 Toggle: ivory.
- M18601 Figure: wood; crudely carved.
- M18602 Gun pins: metal; two nipple pins for gun.
- M18603 Moccasins (child's): caribou hide, wool cloth, sinew, silk floss.

**APPENDIX II: ARCHIVAL MATERIAL**

M18604 manuscript (title: "Six Hundred Miles on Snowshoes") written by Dr. William Bell Malloch, appointed by the HBC, as doctor at their establishment at Moose Factory, in 1870. This is an account of Dr. Malloch's journey in winter from Montreal, to his post in the North West in that year, and includes a description of Moose Island. Comprising 14 typewritten pages.

PHA0254 Almanac.

App M 49/36 New Testament.

RB1440 Catechism: Watt's first, in Eskimo. Printed by F. Arnold, 86 Fleet St. E.C.

App M 51/36 Prayer Book.

App M 52/36 Hymn Book: Bishop John Horden's. 1864.

App M 53/36 Book: Lectures on Rhetoric, circa 1860.

App M 54/36 Book: Nautical Almanac, 1772.

MP-0000.391 Photographs (33): Life and surroundings in North-West. 1-33 and near Moose Factory.

MP-0000.391 Photograph of Dr. William Bell Malloch ca. 1865. 34.

MP-0000.391 Photograph of Stewart Ernest Malloch. 1878. 35.

MP-0000.391 Photograph of Alice Muriel Malloch 1878. 36.

App M 64/36 MS notes on photographs in Dr. Malloch's collection.

M936.15.1.1-5 Cigar Case: 1878; containing 4 of the original cigars.

I-42589.1 Photograph of Dr. William Bell Malloch. 1872.

I-73515.1 Photograph of Mrs. William Bell Malloch. 1872.

I-73516.1 Photograph of Dr. and Mrs. William Bell Malloch. 1872.

I-73517.1 Photograph of Dr. and Mrs. William Bell Malloch. 1872.

I-73518.1 Photograph of Dr. William Bell Malloch posed with snowshoes.

I-73519.1 Photograph of Dr. William Bell Malloch posed wearing snow shoes.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The financial support provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for this research is gratefully acknowledged. And, as with any research there is always a debt of gratitude accrued which must be noted. In particular I would like to thank Judith Beattie of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Bill Russell of the National Archives of Canada, Guislaine Lemay of the McCord Museum, Dr. Toby Morantz, Dr. John S. Long, David Crawford, and Dr. A.E. Malloch of the Osler Library at McGill University. While it was through the encouragement of the McCord's Moira McCaffrey, Director, Research and Exhibitions, that this article reached fruition, I take full responsibility for any errors, omissions, or any unintentional misconstruing of facts. Thanks go as well to John Hobbins and David McKnight, the capable acting editors who took over the reins for this volume.





Figure 1. Photograph of Alice Muriel Malloch, 1878.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-000.391).



Figure 2. Photograph of Dr. William Bell Malloch posed with snowshoes.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, I-73518.1).



Figure 3. Photograph of Stewart Ernest Malloch, 1878.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, MP-0000.391).

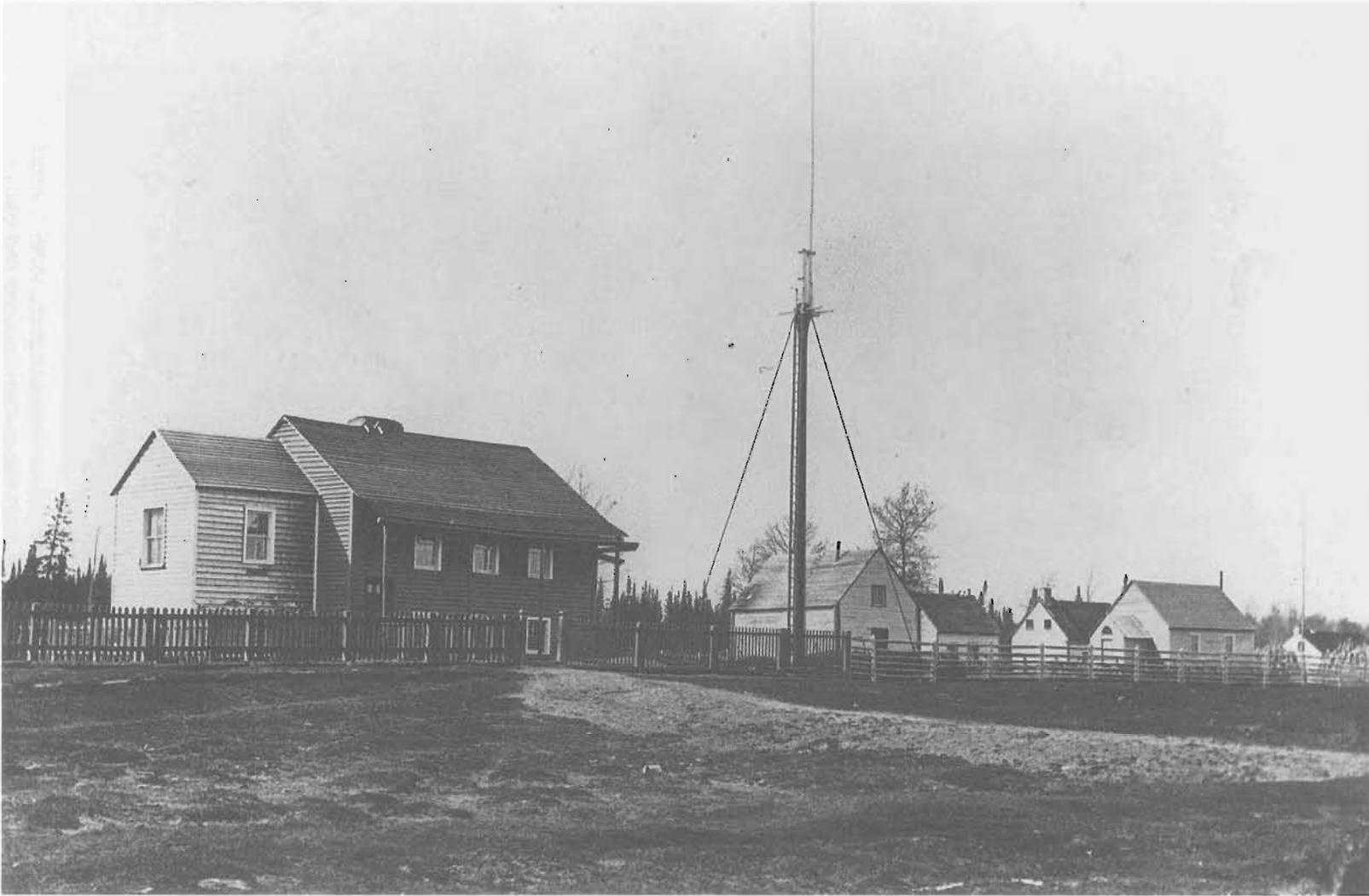


Figure 4. Life and surroundings in North-West and near Moose Factory.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, MP-0000.391.1-33).



Figure 5. Life and surroundings in North-West and near Moose Factory.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, MP-0000.391.1-33).



Figure 6. Photograph of Dr. and Mrs. William Bell Malloch, 1872.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, I-73516.1).



Figure 7. Moccasins.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18559).

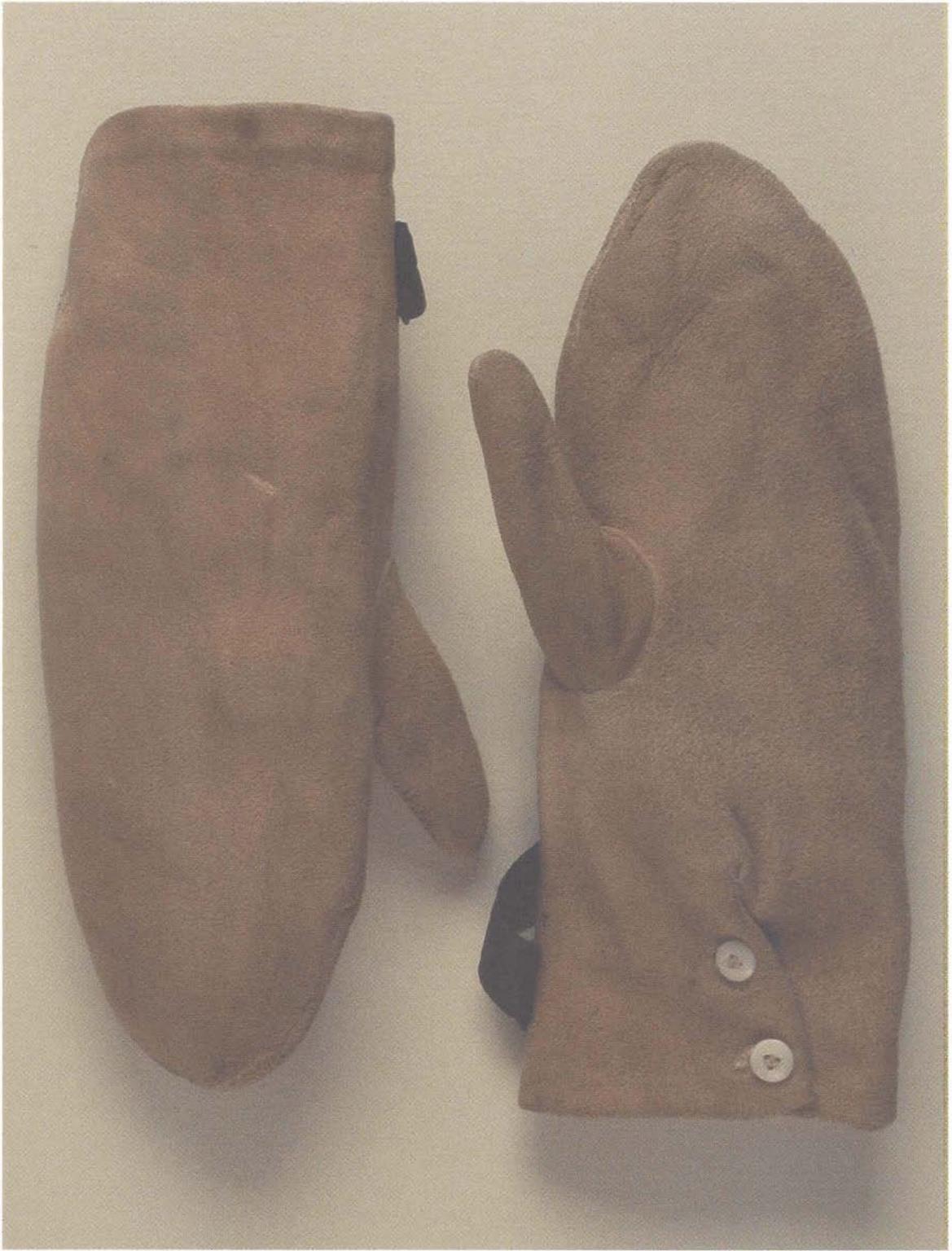


Figure 8. Mittens.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18563.1-2).



Figure 9. Cradle board (tikanagan) front.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18538).



Figure 10. Cradle board (tikanagan) back.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18538).



Figure 11. Moss bag.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18538).



Figure 12. "Tunic" [shirt] (child's) and belt (child's).  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18564).



Figure 12a. Detail of a child's belt.  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M18564.1).



Figure 13. Canoe and paddles (model).  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18572).

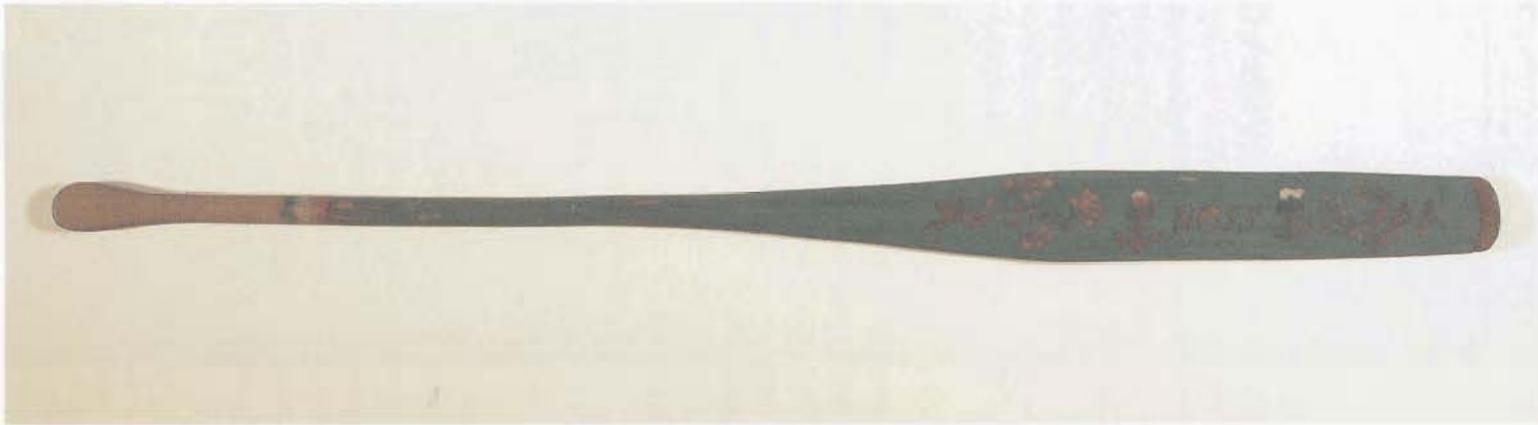


Figure 14. Paddle (model).  
(McCord Museum, William Bell Malloch Collection, M-18577).

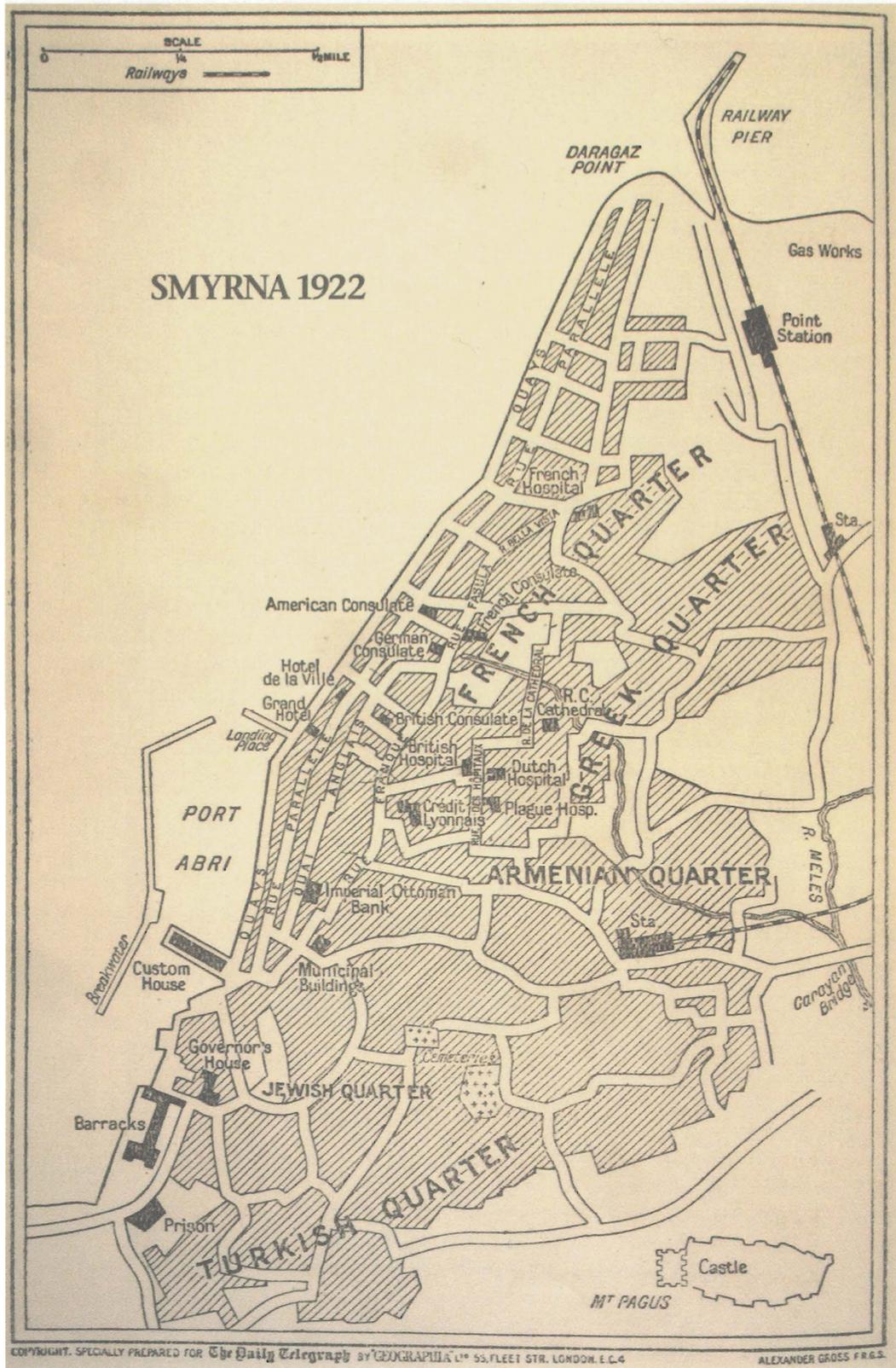


Figure 1. As in the Daily Telegraph, September 6, 1922.

## PARADISE LOST: THE MERCHANT PRINCES AND THE DESTRUCTION OF SMYRNA, 1922

By A.J. Hobbins

*Throughout the Nineteenth Century European merchants built trading empires under the Ottoman Turks in Western Anatolia. Even the least of these merchants could afford a lifestyle that included servants and a house in the better suburbs of Smyrna (Izmir). This idyllic existence came to an end after the First World War following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, an annexation of Anatolia by Greek forces and, ultimately, the military triumph of the resurgent Turkish nationalist forces led by Mustafa Kemal. These actions resulted in the burning of Smyrna in 1922 and a dramatic change in the lives of all inhabitants, including the foreign merchants. This article presents some views of the European colony in Bournabat (Bornova), a Smyrna suburb, of the events of 1922, based on principally on unpublished letters, diaries and other documents.*

*Sous le l'empire Ottoman, des marchands européens ont bâti au cours du XIXe siècle des empires commerciaux en Anatolie occidentale. Le plus petit de ces marchands pouvait alors s'offrir une maison avec domestiques dans les plus beaux quartiers de Smyrne (Izmir). Cette existence idyllique a brusquement pris fin en 1922 avec l'incendie de Smyrne, dans la foulée de la Première Guerre mondiale, de la chute de l'empire Ottoman, de l'annexion de l'Anatolie par les Grecs qui a été suivie de la recrudescence des forces nationalistes turques sous Moustapha Kemal. Cet article présente différentes analyses sur cette colonie européenne de Bournabat (Bornova), banlieue de Smyrne, des événements tragiques de 1922, tirées de documents inédits comme des lettres, des mémoires et autre documents d'archives.*

For three millennia Smyrna, the Ornament of Asia, was one of the great cities of the Mediterranean world.<sup>1</sup> Located on the Turkish coast of the Aegean Sea and boasting one of the world's great harbours, she prospered despite war, conquest and natural disaster. Under Aeolian, Ionian, Roman, and Byzantine rule, Smyrna grew

as a commercial centre until conquest came from the east. The city was sacked by the Seljuk Turks in 1084, by the Crusaders in 1344, by Tamerlane in 1402, before becoming part of the Ottoman Empire in 1422. Despite these military disasters and severe damage from earthquakes in 1688 and 1778, Smyrna was rebuilt and grew richer and more popu-

<sup>1</sup> The primary materials used in this article, originals and/or transcriptions, will be donated to McGill University Libraries when the article is published. A number of sources have been consulted for background on the rise of modern Turkey and the Greco-Turkish War: in particular Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Visions: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), Patrick Balfour (Baron Kinross), *Ataturk: a Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey* (N.Y.: Morrow, 1965), Harry Howard, *The Partition of Turkey: a Diplomatic History, 1913-1923* (N.Y.: Fertig, 1966), Briton Busch, *Mudros to Lausanne: Britain's Frontier in West Asia, 1918-1923* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976) and Arnold Toynbee and Kenneth Kirkwood, *Turkey* (N.Y.: Scribner, 1927) have been generally useful. Marjorie Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair* (N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971) is a definitive and well-documented work on the destruction of Smyrna.

lous. By the end of the nineteenth century the cosmopolitan city was home not only to Turks and a sizable Jewish<sup>2</sup> community, but also a majority Christian population of Greeks,<sup>3</sup> Armenians and other Europeans who worked together in relative amity and in contrast to much of the rest of the Ottoman Empire. The large Greek, Armenian and "Frankish" quarters gave the name *Giaour Izmir*, infidel Smyrna, to the city. The fashionable suburbs of *Bournabat* and *Boudja*<sup>4</sup> were also home to rich Western European merchants, who exported silks, dyes, spices and tobacco to their homelands. Exports from Smyrna surpassed those of all other Near Eastern seaports, including Constantinople, until 1914. During the First World War in 1915, the Armenian population of Smyrna escaped the mass deportations that led to the genocide of their people in other areas of the Ottoman Empire. This was due in general to Smyrna's multicultural uniqueness and its closeness to the West, and, in particular, to the attitude of the local German army commander, *Liman von Sanders* (1855-1929), who threatened to use his troops to protect the Armenians if the Turkish authorities attempted to molest them. Smyrna emerged from the war as strong as ever, still one of the most desirable residences in the world. Yet the curious would search in vain for Smyrna on modern maps for in 1922 she, who had survived so much and for so long, ceased to exist.

### THE GRECO-TURKISH WAR, 1919-1922

In 1918 the First World War ended for most of the central powers, but not for Turkey. The Allies began to make claims on the territory of the Ottoman

Empire without waiting for a peace treaty. *Enver Pasha*, Turkey's wartime leader, had fled to Germany leaving the weak Sultan *Mehmed VI* (*Vahid-ed-Din*) as nominal head of state, while *Mustafa Kemal* (later *Kemal Atatürk*), Turkey's most successful military commander, was in enforced retirement. In 1919, to Kemal's disgust, he had witnessed French general *Louis Franchet d'Espèrey* riding into Constantinople at the head of his troops on a white horse, as *Mehmed the Conqueror* was reputed to have done in 1453. While the allies discussed plans for an independent Armenian state in eastern Anatolia, the French advanced into Cilicia, and both Italy and Greece made claims on southwestern Anatolia. There was general approval in the West for the action of the Allies. Turkey was held in low esteem not only because of recent atrocities and the German alliance, but also because such action represented a continuation of a conflict that predated the Crusades. The occupation of Ottoman territory was largely symbolic for most countries, representing a negotiating point in the future settlement. Other than the British concern for keeping the Dardanelles open, the Allies were interested in gaining economic concessions especially in the petroleum industry. Greece, however, was intent on the permanent occupation of Smyrna and western Anatolia. The Greek army landed at Smyrna, the presumed birthplace of *Homer*, on May 15, 1919 and quickly marched into the interior of Anatolia as far as the Allied Supreme Council allowed. Although Turkish forces had been ordered by the Ottoman authorities not to resist the Greek invasion, violence did break out in Smyrna involving both soldiers and civilians. A thunderstorm halted the rampage but only after some 200-300 Turks and 100

2 The Jewish population was descended from Sephardic Jews who had been expelled from Spain, or had fled, as a result of persecution by the Spanish Inquisition under the first Inquisitor General, *Tomás de Torquemada*, at the close of the fifteenth century.

3 The Greeks of Smyrna were Byzantine Greeks or *Romanos*, having become distinct over the previous century from the Greeks, or *Hellenes*, who lived in Greece.

4 Also spelled *Burnabat* and *Buja* in English sources. The original name of *Bournabat* was from the Persian *Birunabad* meaning 'outside a town or city'. The name is difficult to pronounce in Turkish and was changed to *Bornova*. Source: *Yildiz Belger*, "Burnabat," 13 January, 2000, personal email (13 January, 2000).

Greeks had been killed.<sup>5</sup> After the initial trauma and excitement of the takeover, life in Smyrna went on relatively unchanged although different warships were in the harbour and different flags flew on the public buildings.

Mustafa Kemal was eventually recalled to active service by the Sultan and sent to Anatolia with wide-ranging powers as Inspector General of the 3rd Army. Modern Turkish history is said to begin on May 19, 1919, the date of Kemal's landing at Samsun in northern Anatolia. Soon after landing he told the Anatolians that the Sultan was a prisoner of the Allies and he began the process of establishing a provisional government based at Angora (now Ankara), headed by the Great National Assembly of which he was first President. He resigned from the army in July to avoid dismissal, having ignored all orders from the Sultan recalling him. The Ottoman Empire eventually signed a peace treaty in July 1920. By the Treaty of Sèvres Armenia was declared independent, while Greece was given land in western Anatolia, centered around Smyrna, and control of a number of offshore islands. Kemal refused to accept this treaty and determined to create a modern, secular Turkey, with its borders at the 1918 status.

Although France and Italy (both of whom had also occupied parts of southwestern Anatolia) maintained a military presence on the coast, Greece alone had ideas of an offensive against Ankara. It was clear to Kemal that, to accomplish his objective of restoring the borders, he would have to negotiate with France and Italy while defeating the Greeks in the west and the new Armenian state to the east. He began with an attack on Armenia. With the duplicitous military assistance of the Russian Bolsheviks, he conquered that country in October and November of 1920.<sup>6</sup> By the treaties of Alexandropol (1920) and Moscow (1921), Turkey's eastern borders were

secured and the Soviet Union became the first country to recognize the new Turkish nationalist regime. The state of Armenia ceased to exist after four brief months and Kemal was then free to turn his attention to the west.

Encouraged by the Supreme Council the Greek Army began a major offensive in June 1920 aimed at the capture of Ankara. Kemal replaced his western commander, Ali Fuat, with Ismet Pasha, who would later succeed Kemal as president of Turkey. Ismet stopped the Greek advance at the İnönü River on January 10, 1921. He met them again at the same place when the offensive resumed in March and the battle raged for days before the Greeks broke off the engagement. The Greeks began a third major offensive in July, forcing Ismet back to the Sakarya River, close to Ankara. Kemal's enemies in the Great National Assembly, sensing a Greek victory, invited Kemal to take over the command of the army. Kemal accepted under the condition that he be given total authority, and assumed the role of commander in chief on August 4. He stopped the Greek advance for the last time at the Battle of the Sakarya River (August 23-September 13) and, a year later, began his own offensive on August 26, 1922. The year's grace heralded a significant change in Allied solidarity. Italy, on March 21 1921, had signed a separate treaty with the Ankara government, and France followed suit with a secret agreement on October 20 1921. Both countries withdrew their forces from Anatolia in exchange for promised post-war economic concessions.<sup>7</sup> Greece was left alone in Anatolia to face Kemal and no longer had the backing of the Supreme Council. The agreement with France not only released 80,000 Turkish troops from watching Cilicia, but also French munitions and supplies sufficient for 40,000 men were given to Kemal. Greece may have pondered that Byron's words of a century

5 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 50.

6 Norman Itzkowitz, "Atatürk, Kemal" in *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <<http://www.eb.com/eb/article?eu=117163>>

7 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 79.

earlier about the quality of French support – But Turkish force, and Latin fraud, Would break your shield, however broad – were indeed prophetic.<sup>8</sup> Great Britain continued to provide Greece with financial support but, possibly because of the return of the presumed pro-German King Constantine to the Greek throne, became officially neutral.

### THE LIBERATION AND DESTRUCTION OF SMYRNA

It had taken the Greek Army three years to advance to the Sakarya River but Kemal's offensive took only two weeks to push it back to the sea at Smyrna. The initial attack, catching the enemy by surprise, destroyed five Greek divisions and took 50,000 prisoners. The retreat quickly became a rout as the disorganized remnants of the Greek army fell back on Smyrna. As it retreated, the Greek army razed the countryside and destroyed the villages, forcing the surviving civilians, Greek and Turkish, to follow them. On the first of September the Greek wounded began arriving in the city, seizing whatever means of transportation were available. For eight more days the fleeing soldiers came in, desperate to reach the Greek warships in the harbour, followed by some 30,000 civilian refugees a day. Despite this influx of wretched humanity there was evidence that Smyrna remained quiet and peaceful until the Greek general staff and civil administration left on September 8. The British, French and Italian consuls had given formal assurances to the Armenian and Greek populations that their lives were not in danger. These assurances were

to some extent believed, perhaps because Smyrna had been spared the deportations in 1915 and had remained relatively peaceful under the Greek administration. However, the wealthier members of these communities had already prudently left the city. The last Greek ship left the harbour on the early morning of September 9, a few hours before advance elements of Kemal's pursuing army, Şerefeddin's cavalry, entered the city. The harbour remained full of ships, including twenty-one British, French, Italian, and American warships and flotillas of smaller boats. They hoped to preserve order until the Turkish takeover and to protect the lives and property of their nationals.

As it transpired the Turkish takeover did not bring order. At the time Şerefeddin is reported to have told an American intelligence officer, using French as a common language, that Armenian fanatics had made three attacks on his cavalry as they rode into Smyrna.<sup>9</sup> However, something may have been lost in the translation. Two years later he stated under oath that the first two attackers were unknown and the last was a Greek soldier in uniform.<sup>10</sup> Kemal entered the town on September 10, issuing an order that any Turkish soldier found molesting civilians of any nationality would be summarily executed. Nonetheless, the following morning Turkish troops surrounded the Armenian quarter and Turkish inhabitants were advised to leave. Shortly thereafter the Turks, soldiers and civilians, began a systematic orgy of murder, rape and looting. Within a very short time all the Armenian inhabitants had been

8 Lord Byron, *Don Juan*, Canto III, verse LXXXVI, "The Isles of Greece", verse 14.

9 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 104.

10 In 1924 Şerefeddin was called as a witness in a lawsuit between the Guardian Assurance Company and the American Tobacco Company in London. This was a test case to see if insurance companies, who refused to pay for damages suffered in the destruction of Smyrna because they claimed a state of war existed, were liable or not. The tobacco company maintained that the war was over and the fire was a natural disaster. The case was decided in favour of the insurance company. Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 220-23. This judgement was unsuccessfully appealed. *Lloyd's List Law Reports*, 22 (May 21 1925): 37-49.

11 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 119. Housepian suggests that Chrystomon's French military escort was powerless to help him. Smith, *Ionian Visions*, 308, states that Chrystomon was escorted by Turkish troops but that his murder was witnessed by helpless French troops. Others do not mention a French presence at all, e.g. George Horton, *The Blight of Asia* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926), 135-36. Smith's version is confirmed by a number of eyewitness accounts. See René Puaux, *Les derniers jours de Smyrne* (Paris: 1923), 21 and Lysimacos Œconomos, *The Martyrdom of Smyrna and Eastern Christendom* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922), 110-13.

murdered, were in hiding or were crushed in the mass of other refugees on the docks. Vengeance was also visited on the Greeks. The Metropolitan, Chrysostom, was murdered by the mob at the instance of 1st Army Commander Nureddin Pasha, named that day governor and military commandant of Smyrna.<sup>11</sup> Nureddin also arrested Greeks, Armenians and even Turks who were alleged to have cooperated with the Greek administration. These individuals were subject to court martial and summary execution. The international press reported that the looting and unrest in Smyrna was caused by Greeks, Armenians and Turks before the entry of the Turkish troops, and emphasized the discipline of the Turkish troops to reassure their readers. Nonetheless the European consulates began to advise their subjects to stay near the ships in the harbour.

In the morning of September 13 the wind from the Armenian quarter of Smyrna shifted away from the Muslim quarter and blew north towards the sea. Within an hour several fires had broken out. The fire spread rapidly and blazed for days, destroying large sections of the city. Many perished both in the conflagration and in encounters with the military. Survivors were driven down to the quays, where they huddled hoping to be taken off by the ships. Nationality played a large role in who was saved at this early juncture, since the neutral powers could not legally evacuate Turkish citizens. The result of the fire was that large sections of the old city – the Armenian, Greek and Frankish quarters – were destroyed and the non-

Turkish population was virtually eliminated through death or flight. Only the Turkish and Jewish quarters remained untouched.<sup>12</sup> When a new, modern and wholly Turkish city was built, beginning in 1924, on the ruins of Smyrna, it was known only by its Turkish name of Izmir. Smyrna was no more.

The question of who was responsible for the great fire has been debated for decades. At the time the Turks stated that it was the Greeks or Armenians, whom they often referred collectively to as Christians. Kemal told the French commander, Admiral Dumesnil, that Armenian incendiaries started it.<sup>13</sup> These explanations had some plausibility since the Greek army had been ordered to destroy towns and villages as they retreated rather than let them fall into Turkish hands. Many commentaries of an inferential or deductive nature were published showing the improbability of Turkish responsibility.<sup>14</sup> The general theme of these commentaries was that Turks would have no interest in destroying what was their own property and that Turkey had always been tolerant to non-Turkish Ottoman citizens. These views naively overlooked both the extreme anger that the Greek occupation had aroused in the Turkish populations and the enormous differences between the large multi-cultural Ottoman Empire and the ethnic nationalism of the new modern Turkey of the Kemalists.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time credible and contrary independent eyewitness accounts were published asserting that Turks started the fire and committed many other

Puax was himself a refugee while Economos' book is extracts from dozens of newspapers, chiefly British, including eyewitness reports and interviews.

12 The bulk of the Jewish population left Smyrna subsequently as a result of post-World War II discriminatory taxation measures, aimed at non-Turkish residents, as well as cultural pressures and the desire to live in the new Jewish homeland. Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 117.

13 Patrick Balfour (Baron Kinross), *Ataturk: a Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey* (New York: Morrow, 1965), 370.

14 For example, see Abdullah Hamdi, "The burning of Smyrna", *Current History* (November, 1922): 317; Rachid Galib, "Smyrna during the Greek Occupation", *Current History* (May, 1923): 319, and James A. Sproule, "Who burned Smyrna?" *Islamic Review* XI (1923): 280-84.

15 Resat Kasaba, "Izmir 1922: A Port City Unravels", in *European Modernity and Cultural Difference from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean, 1890's-1920's*, ed. J.H. Clarke (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, forthcoming): Typescript, 28. Citing speeches from the Grand National Assembly Kasaba makes it clear that the Greeks, Armenians and other foreigners were outsiders in terms of the nationalist movement, and that the new state was for Turks. See also Kemal's own view infra note 157.

atrocities. René Puaux, after being evacuated to Malta, met with six other European survivors – “M. Herbert Whittall [sic] senior,<sup>16</sup> Robert Hadkinson et son fils, I. Epstein, et les trois chapelains anglais de Smyrne, Bournabat et Boudja<sup>17</sup>” – in the Lieutenant-Governor’s house and prepared depositions, subsequently published,<sup>18</sup> that clearly showed in their view that the Turkish military was responsible for the fire. Puaux later published a pamphlet including even more comprehensive testimony gathered from eyewitnesses. One of these “certifie avoir personnellement vu des Turcs soldats et civils [sic] mettre le feu au moyen de benzine, pétrole et dynamite” and everywhere the story was the same.<sup>19</sup> George Horton, the American consul in Smyrna, wrote a memoir from his own observations and testimony he gathered in which he concluded “the destruction of Smyrna was but the closing act in a consistent program of exterminating Christianity throughout the length and breadth of the old Byzantine Empire.”<sup>20</sup> Horton was a reliable witness to events, but his interpretations were always reduced to the religious terms of Islam versus Christianity. He seems to have misunderstood the nature of Kemalist nationalism, and been unaware that, at this time, Kemal was planning a secular state and the end of the Caliphate. Another American observer ascribed a gentler motive suggesting that

the Turks burned Smyrna as a result of Armenian resistance and refusal to hand over arms.<sup>21</sup>

Despite these eyewitness accounts, the people and governments of the West did not criticize Turkey for the tragedy of Smyrna in the same way that they had castigated the Ottoman government for the destruction of Chios exactly a century earlier. So great was western admiration for Kemal and the new Turkey that it seemed people wanted to believe in some other cause of the fire. One over-written and under-researched biography of Kemal had the Gazi coming too late to prevent the Greeks destroying Smyrna, finding the city in flames as he arrived in the hills above it.<sup>22</sup> Until relatively recently even the more scholarly and reliable sources suggested that the fire’s origins have never been satisfactorily explained.<sup>23</sup> The western governments, seeking for economic concessions and trade advantages, had no interest in embarrassing Kemal. The destruction of Smyrna was forgotten after a while in the shadow of greater events. The silence ended in the 1970s when carefully documented studies opened the question again. One modern historian described this re-opening of the case as follows:

*Most spectacular (and subject to the most careful cover-up) was the Kemalist conquest of Smyrna (Izmir), on 9 September 1922, which was followed by looting, rape*

16 Herbert Octavius Whittall (1858-1929), a partner in C. Whittall and Co.

17 The British chaplain of St. John’s, Smyrna was Charles James Hamilton Dobson, a New Zealander who had served with the N.Z.E.F. (1914-1920). He was transferred from New Zealand to Smyrna in 1922. Lucius George Pownall Fry had been the chaplain of St. Mary Magdalene’s, Bournabat from 1919. Robert Pickering Ashe had been chaplain of All Souls’, Boudjah from 1898. While Dobson and Fry never came back to Turkey, Ashe did return to Boudjah (1924-1925). Source: *Crockford’s Clerical Directory*, 1923 and 1927.

18 *Gibraltar Diocese Gazette*, VI, no. 2 (November, 1922).

19 Puaux, *Les derniers jours de Smyrne*, 15-23. See also the harrowing account in the diary of Armenian doctor Garabed Hatcherian, *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey: Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922*, edited by Dora Sakayan (Montreal: Arod Books, 1997).

20 George Horton, introduction to *The Blight of Asia* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926).

21 Oran Raber, “New light on the destruction of Smyrna,” *Current History* (May, 1923): 312-18.

22 Ray Brock, *Ghost on Horseback: the Incredible Atatürk* (N.Y.: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1954): 271-74.

23 Kinross, *Atatürk*, 370.

*and murder by the Turkish forces, and by setting fire to the Greek and Armenian quarters. For decades afterwards the myth was fostered that the Greeks and Armenians had set fire to their own areas before quitting them – an untruth, recently (and finally) exploded in a book by Marjorie Housepian.<sup>24</sup>*

Housepian's book, based largely on eyewitness accounts and unpublished primary sources, certainly seems definitive in proving that uniformed soldiers were involved in setting the initial fire. However, it should be noted that Kemal's army had a significant number of irregular soldiers recruited largely from Anatolian bandit groups. The irregulars traveled and fought with Kemal's armies, but were less disciplined and far harder to control than the regular troops.<sup>25</sup> Housepian, amongst others, makes no distinction between the regular and irregular soldiers assuming they should all have been under military discipline and orders. None of these modern sources appear to mention the fact that, three days before the fire started, the irregular troops were disbanded in Smyrna by a proclamation of September 10 that stated:

*The patriotic volunteers, who participated by action during the march on Smyrna, must immediately leave for their respective normal occupations... All the people who joined the army voluntarily, for love of country, shall return to their homes.<sup>26</sup>*

It is quite clear that the irregular troops remained in Smyrna and its environs for a considerable period

of time. It is possible they may have been responsible for some of the incendiary activity while not under military discipline. Therefore, while the fire almost certainly started as a result of military activity against targets in the Armenian quarter, the disbanded irregulars and elements of the local Turkish population could well have caused other fires during their looting and pillaging rampages.

### THE WHITTALLS OF BOURNABAT

While many sources have examined what happened to Smyrna, little has been written about the beautiful suburb of Bournabat that was all but destroyed at the same time. Bournabat was a little Turkish village when Europeans, working in Smyrna, began to reside there in the early part of the nineteenth century. It became the prototypical Utopia that the Englishman abroad would build if he had sufficient wealth, a plentiful supply of servants and the ideal climate. It was noted for its large villas and huge walled gardens where many exotic plants bloomed. It was said that in Smyrna one could always tell when the train from Bournabat came in from the smell of jasmine brought by the commuters for their city friends. The European community, largely of English and French extraction, was small and cosmopolitan, with much intermarriage between the various nationalities. The Turkish soccer team for the Intermediate Games of the IV Olympiad in Athens (1906) was made up of young men from Bournabat and their names give a clue to the cultural diversity of the village: Edwin Charnaud

24 Christopher Walker, *Armenia: the Survival of a Nation* (N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1990): 345. Indeed most scholars consider Housepian's work conclusive. Lord Kinross, the biographer of Atatürk who had himself said in 1965 that the fire's origins had never been satisfactorily explained, said of Housepian's work: "A contribution to modern history of distinct value. Only now, 50 years later, does a writer lift the smokescreen from the dead ashes of Smyrna." <<http://ftp.phish.net/herald/issues/111998/smyrna.f.html>>. Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Visions: Greece in Asia Minor* (1998), reached the same conclusion as Housepian apparently independently. Smith, appointed Ambassador to Greece in 1996, based his monograph on his doctoral thesis. Neither the original monograph in 1973 nor the revised edition of 1998 makes any mention of Housepian's work, which was first published in 1966.

25 Kasaba, "Izmir 1922," 25-26.

26 *Lloyds Law List Reports*, 45.

(goal), Zaren Kuyumtzian, Eduard Giraud (fullbacks), Jacques Giraud, Henry Joly, Percy de la Fontaine (half-backs), Donald Whittall, Albert Whittall, Godfrey Whittall, Herbert Whittall, Edward Whittall (forwards).<sup>27</sup> The European community enjoyed special privileges under the Ottoman Empire, including the right to have their own law courts arbitrate disputes. The male-only social centre of Bournabat was the Club (or English Club), a house on the main village square that had a meeting room, card room, and billiard room, and was a place where the gentlemen could drop in for a meal and a drink of an evening.<sup>28</sup> Finally to add an aura of adventure and excitement to this idyllic setting, the roads around Bournabat were "haunted with a suspicion of brigands".<sup>29</sup>

The Whittalls were an important Bournabat family whose members play a major role in this narrative.<sup>30</sup> In 1999 Özdem Sanberk, the Turkish Ambassador to Great Britain, wrote:

*For the last hundred and ninety years, there has been a very special bond linking Britain and Turkey. It is the Whittall family. The history of the Whittalls is more*

*colourful and exciting than many adventure stories and it is the history of Turkey and its advance into the modern world economy.*<sup>31</sup>

Charlton Whittall (1791-1867) first went to Smyrna in 1809 as a representative of Breed & Co.<sup>32</sup> In 1811 he formed C. Whittall & Co., an exporter of a number of commodities especially dried fruit, and the following year he was admitted as a member of the Levant Company. In 1817 his brother James (1798-1836) joined him. Charlton married Magdaleine Giraud, the daughter of his landlady, in the first of many marriages between the families. So successful was Charlton as a businessman that in 1863 he received a visit from the Sultan, unheard of for a foreign merchant at the time, and was awarded the Imperial Order of the Medjidiye (4th class).<sup>33</sup> He built the church of St. Mary Magdalene in 1857, donating it to the Protestant community and taking care of its permanent upkeep in his will.<sup>34</sup> An English traveler visited Whittall in the Big House<sup>35</sup> at Bournabat, and wrote:

27 The players are listed at <<http://www.risc.uni-linz.ac.at/non-official/rsssf/tables/ol1906f.html>>. Giraud was erroneously spelled Girard, and there are other questionable spellings such as Eduard.

28 Ray Turrell, *Scrap-book, 1809-1922* (Englefield Green: Richard Bell, 1987): 145.

29 Emily Pfeiffer, *Flying leaves from East and West* (London: Leadenhall Press, 1885): 4.

30 Sources for information about the Whittalls and Bournabat are the following: I. Richard Wookey, *Fortuna* (Toronto: Macfarlane, Walker and Ross, 1998); *Descendants of the Whittalls of Turkey Family Reunion Programme* (London: Imperial College, 1999), especially "Whittall Family History", 4-6; Mary Whittall, *A Book of Thoughts: Memories of my Childhood in Turkey* (Calgary: 1996); Edmund Giraud, *Family Records: a Record of the Origins and History of the Giraud and Whittall Families of Turkey* (London: Adams and Shardlow, 1934); Betty and Paul McKernan, *The Genealogy of the Whittall Family of Turkey* (Privately printed, 1996); Evelyn Lyle Kalças, *Gateways to the Past: Houses and Gardens of Old Bornova* (Bornova: Bilgehan Matbaasi, 1978; and interviews with Marjorie Close, Mary Whittall and I.R. Wookey .

31 *Descendants of the Whittalls*, 3. The Ambassador was expressing his regrets at being unable to attend this huge reunion.

32 The 1809 date is given in most published sources including Edmund Giraud, *Family Records*. However. Giraud's grandson Brian Giraud claims to have proof that Whittall first came to Smyrna in 1812. Sally Gallia, "Whittall and Smyrna", personal email, 18 May, 2000.

33 "Whittall Family History", in *Descendants*, (supra note 30), 4-5. The sultan's visit is described in some detail by Whittall's son-in-law. Sir Henry F. Woods, *Spunyarn: From the Strands of a Sailor's Life Afloat and Ashore* (London: Hutchinson, 1924), 2: 68-70.

34 Giraud, *Family Records*, 73, 79. The name was chosen because his brother's wife's name was Mary and his own wife's name was Magdaleine. While Giraud states Whittall's will took care of the permanent upkeep, Sally Gallia states that the chaplain is unaware of any such provision.

35 Originally built as a Dutch convent, the Big House still exists and is the residence (Rektölük) of the Rector of Ege University. Kalças, *Gateways to the Past*, 19 (supra note 30). It can be seen on the Ege University webpage: <[http://www.ege.edu.tr/egeweb/binalar/rekorluk\\_ust.jpg](http://www.ege.edu.tr/egeweb/binalar/rekorluk_ust.jpg)>. Sally Gallia reports that the Rektölük is now the administrative headquarters of the University.

*I have been passing the last ten days with a great Merchant Prince and a pleasant little tribe of Wandering Britons at the charming village of Bournabat. We have had laughing rides and moonlight walks; I have been drinking in the words of experience from as noble-hearted and cheery an elderly gentleman as ever did honour to our national name in a far-off land; and who has written his own in indelible characters enough all over the country – now in a road, an hospital, or a college; now in the living, brighter page of poor men's hearts. It does one good sometimes, at least, to meet those hale, happy worthy folk who go about doing good, and are a living blessing to their dwelling place – kind, gentle, warm-hearted people, whom the world has not been able to teach its selfish wisdom, whose minds are as fresh and guileless as at nineteen, and who are all the better for it.<sup>36</sup>*

Charlton's son, James,<sup>37</sup> had thirteen children, including Sir James William Whittall (1838-1910) who became the patriarch of the Constantinople (Moda) branch of the family.<sup>38</sup> Indeed all the Whittalls had large families and by the turn of the century controlled substantial business interests in Anatolia. On March 11 1902, the famed traveler, archaeologist and Arab administrator Gertrude Bell wrote from Smyrna to her stepmother, Lady Florence Bell:

*These are most delightful people. Helen Whittall, the girl I met in the train, came to fetch me at 11 and we journeyed up here together... Mr Whittall<sup>39</sup> joined us and there were also troops of cousins, for they all live out here. The house is a great big place, with high enormous rooms, set in a garden 200 years old across which a line of splendid cypresses runs. The old mother of the tribe, Mr*

*Whittall's mother, lives here, a very old woman who kissed me when I came in. We lunched, after which we walked about in the garden gathering bunches of roses and violets. Mrs Herbert Whittall is a very nice sweet woman, and the girl Helen a dear. It was a stormy day with sudden bursts of rain and bright sun between so we did nothing more until we had had a cheerful schoolroom tea, after which Mr and Mrs Whittall and I went to see a brother of his, Mr Edward Whittall, who is a great botanist and has a most lovely garden. He collects bulbs and sends new varieties to Kew and is well known among gardeners – an interesting man too, for he is the Vali's<sup>40</sup> right hand and is consulted by him on all matters, a thing unknown before they say. But these people get on with the Turks. The old Sultan, uncle of 'Abd ul Hamed stayed in this house; it is the only private house which has received a Sultan. We found Mr E. Whittall tying up his pelargoniums; he took us all round his garden and then out into a big garden above the village where he grows bulbs for the European market and makes experiments with them. There were ranks and ranks of narcissus and daffodils and hyacinths flowering and we came away with a bundle of them. We had a long talk about irises and daffodils and next Tuesday I am to come back here and go with him to the top of a mountain where he has his hill garden for wild bulbs. I think it will be enchanting.... In the dining room here are all the family portraits, bad as pictures, but most interesting as types. On one side the grandfather of Mr Whittall who was the first to come out, a stern old man in a stock, and all his sons and grandsons flanking him. On the other side his wife, a Venetian, one of those Venetians who lived in Constantinople and were driven out by the Turks and settled first in Crete, then in Athens, then here; and her*

36 Eustace Clare Grenville Murray, *Turkey: being Sketches from Life by the Roving Englishman* (London: George Routledge, 1877): pp. 300-301. A footnote identifies the merchant prince as Charlton Whittall.

37 James Whittall (1819-1882), known as James of the Big House, was a well-known collector of Hellenic and pre-Hellenic coins of Asia Minor, and his collection is now in the British Museum.

38 Sir James founded J.W. Whittall & Co. of Constantinople in partnership with Sydney La Fontaine. The company went into voluntary liquidation in 1969, becoming Vitsan A.Ş. Whittall was so well thought of that on his death the street where his business was located was renamed "Whittall Çikmazi". Vitsan A.Ş. homepage <<http://www.yore.com.tr/vitsan/vitsan1.html>>

39 Richard Watson Whittall (1847-1920).

40 Kamil Pasha (1832-1913).

*mother who was an Italian, a Capo d'Istria, both women wearing a semi Oriental costume; and their men folk in 18th century clothes.*<sup>41</sup>

On a subsequent visit, five years later, she wrote:

*My preparations are really all finished but I have to wait and hear about the head man for my diggings whom Mr. Richard Whittall<sup>42</sup> is engaging for me. As this is the most important matter of all I cannot leave without settling it. Then to call on all my Whittall friends. They have the bulk of the English trade in their hands, branch offices all down the southern coast, mines and shooting boxes and properties scattered up and down the S.W. coast of Asia Minor and yachts on the sea. They all have immense quantities of children.<sup>43</sup> The sons, young men now in various Whittall businesses, the daughters very charming, very gay. The big gardens touch on one another and they walk in and out of one another's houses all day long gossiping and laughing. I should think life presents itself nowhere under such easy and pleasant conditions.*<sup>44</sup>

Three of James' eight sons became partners in C. Whittall and Co. – Richard Watson Whittall, Edward

Whittall (1851-1917) and Herbert Octavius Whittall. Edward purchased a fine house standing in a seven-acre walled garden in Bournabat from the Corpi family.<sup>45</sup> He interested himself in local matters of public welfare and built the dam that brought fresh water to the village.<sup>46</sup> He was, as Gertrude Bell noted, a keen amateur botanist who rambled the local hills looking for local flora and regularly sent specimens to Kew Gardens. He hired numerous locals<sup>47</sup> to help him search for botanical specimens and to tend to the special gardens he had built up in the hills to develop new varieties of plants. For this reasons he was as well known to the Turk and Greek villagers as he was to the Europeans and the Smyrna merchant community. His business was the export of dried fruits. Whittall had five sons, – Edgar, Albert, Godfrey, Edward and Walter – and four daughters, – Elsie, Ray and the twins Ruth and Jessie.<sup>48</sup> Like other Whittalls, he remained staunchly English and his sons were sent to England to go to school.

Bandit activity was a feature of Western Anatolian life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the kidnapping of wealthy residents was always a danger. One English visitor to Bournabat was

41 The Robinson Library, University of Newcastle, has published these letters on their website at <<http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letters/1517.htm>>. A number of letters describe Bornova and its major families. Extracts from the 1902 correspondence can be found in Turrell, *Scrap-book, 1809-1922*, 40-41.

42 Possibly Richard Watson Whittall, but more probably his son Richard James Whittall (1869-1919).

43 For example James, of the Big House, had thirteen children and ninety-one grandchildren.

44 Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, edited by Lady Bell (London: Ernest Benn, 1927), I: 228.

45 Giraud, *Family Records*, 82. Although much of the land in Bornova was expropriated to build Ege University, Whittall's property still stands. The family still lives there (currently Godfrey Giraud's widow, Gwynneth Reggio Giraud) on condition they maintain the gardens, considered something of a local treasure. The original owner of the house was an unknown French man who came at the time of the revolution. René Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Napoleon's Chief of Police, lived there from 1816-1819 after his escape from imprisonment in Malta.

46 After the Turkish liberation of Smyrna, the dam was not maintained. It burst in 1928 flooding the village of Bornova. "After the Turks took over, with typical Eastern philosophy of not maintaining anything, the dam finally collapsed and the ensuing flood of water could not be contained by the torrent bed and all the village was flooded. I was away at school at the time so missed the excitement." Mary Whittall, *A Book of Thoughts*, 10.

47 In 1893 he had about fifty locals working for him seeking bulbs. Letter to Kew Gardens quoted by Turrell, *Scrap-book, 1809-1922*, 44. Turrell also cites correspondence (p. 42) from Peter Davies about the very real concern that Whittall's activities would seriously damage local bulb populations. A number of species were named after him including the *Fritillaria Whittallii*. Ray Desmond, *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturalists including Plant Collectors and Botanical Artists* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1977): 657. Wookey, *supra* note 30, p. 18 states that Whittall was the second largest supplier of plants in Kew Gardens' history.

48 Jessie (1884-1928) married Reginald Turrell, and one of her three daughters is Ray Turrell Bell.

appalled that a woodcock shoot was organized on a Sunday, a thing simply not done on the Lord's Day in England, until he understood the hunt was a pretext to carry shotguns while walking in the hills.<sup>49</sup> In 1855 James McCraith (1810-1901), a former Royal Naval doctor who worked at the British Maritime Hospital, Smyrna, spent a week in the hands of brigands until Charlton Whittall paid his ransom.<sup>50</sup> Edward Whittall became involved with Çakici (or Çakircali) Mehmet Efe (1872-1911),<sup>51</sup> the most famous of all the Anatolian bandits. While Çakici robbed trains and small caravans, his preferred practice was to kidnap wealthy merchants and landowners. He concentrated on Albanians, whom he detested, and Greeks.<sup>52</sup> Since he distributed some of the ransom proceeds amongst the poor, he gained the reputation as something of a Robin Hood and was the subject of many songs. Edward Whittall apparently met Çakici through the anglophile governor (or Vali) of Aydin, Kamil Pasha and his son, Sait Pasha, although Whittall had probably employed a number of Çakici's band from time to time.<sup>53</sup> Since Whittall was known and trusted by the bandits and the authorities, he was used as an intermediary in at least one of Çakici's kidnappings, that of Pavli, a

rich Greek landowner. Some sources go so far as to say that Sait Pasha received a percentage of the proceeds from the ransoms and robberies.<sup>54</sup> It is also alleged that the Whittalls and other Levantine families in Bournabat provided Çakici with more modern shotguns, as a result of which he was always better equipped than the Ottoman police forces.

Whittall, at the instigation of Kamil Pasha, also played a key role in a pardon offered to Çakici by the Ottoman government.<sup>55</sup> This was one of three such pardons offered to Çakici during his 15-year career. The offer of free pardons or safe-conduct negotiations was apparently a standard bandit-catching technique of the Ottoman authorities, and was how Çakici's father, Çakici Ahmed Efe (1824-1883) met his end.<sup>56</sup> Given this family history, it is unlikely Çakici would have been tricked into surrendering. One source, evidently from the Perfidious Albion school and unable to believe in Whittall's botanical passion, attributes a more sinister motive to his involvement with Çakici. It is said that the British government, fearful of the collapse of the central Turkish government, determined to seek local allies and used the Whittalls in this endeavour. It continues that an employee of Whittall's went into the

49 John Presland (pseud. of Gladys Skelton), *Deedes Bey: a Study of Sir Wyndham Deedes 1883-1923* (London: Macmillan, 1942): 90-91.

50 James McCraith, *McCraith among the Brigands of Smyrna* (Dublin: Porteous and Gibbs, 1874). Partly reproduced in Turrell, *Scrapbook, 1809-1922*, 165-74.

51 Efe is a title, often given to Anatolian bandits, meaning a brave, strong, generous man. Çakircali means "Blue-green eyed".

52 Seref Üsküp, *Çakici Efe* (Izmir: Hür Efe Matbaası, 1975): 132-34. Summary translation provided by Yildiz Belger. Üsküp, a native of Ödemis, based his work of interviews with those who had known Çakici personally as well as Çakici's children and grandchildren by his three wives. In this context Albanians are Moslem Turks who were displaced during the Turco-Russian War (1877-1878) and, later, in the struggles that preceded Albania's independence in 1912. The Ottoman government employed many of these Albanians in the army, in the police force and as tax collectors. One of the police chiefs, Hasan Cavus, lured Çakici's father to his death. Üsküp, 60-61.

53 Üsküp, *Çakici Efe*, 61.

54 *Ibid.*, 61-62, 94-95, 182. Belger (supra note 52) suggests this allegation is quite implausible since Sait was extremely wealthy in his own right and his family had a long history of public service to the Empire. Yildiz Belger, personal email, 2 December, 1999.

55 Halil Dural, *Bize Derler Cakirca: 19. ve 20. Yuzyilda Ege'de Efeler* [trans. They call us Cakirca: The Efe in the Aegean in the 19th and 20th centuries] (Istanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 1999): 140-142, 151. Summary translation provided by Leyla Neyzi. Leyla Neyzi, "They Call Us Calirca," personal email, 2 December, 1999. Dural, a schoolteacher, now deceased, based his book on documentary research and oral histories.

56 Üsküp, *Çakici Efe*, 10-14.

mountains ostensibly to collect flower bulbs, while his real purpose was to communicate with Çakici. This employee, Kosta from Bornova pretended to be a member of the bandit group using the name Osman, but was in fact a Whittall spy. The Whittalls, while working to secure Çakici's pardon, were attempting to control his activities through this spy.<sup>57</sup>

There are variant versions of how Çakici met his end. Though protected by Kamil and Sait, it is said other Ottoman authorities, rival factions in the local governments, continued to pursue him.<sup>58</sup> One story is that Çakici was captured, killed, skinned, torn to pieces and his decapitated body suspended by one of its feet in front of the governor's mansion in Nazilli, on Nov 17, 1911. This was part of the campaign by the Ottoman government to restore order and to reinstitute state authority in the area. The reason why he was killed so violently was to "prove" to the local populace that he was not invincible.<sup>59</sup> Other versions state that Çakici was shot and killed on Karincali mountain, but vary as to whether this was as a result of a clash with Ottoman police or an accident involving his own men. Identification of the body, which was not found until 1912, was difficult because the hands and head were missing. This was apparently the custom amongst bandits when one, especially a leader, was killed in order to hinder identification and foster the myth of invincibility.<sup>60</sup> Thus the same set of facts, the discovery of a decapitated body, can give rise to totally opposite interpretations, and the truth remains obscure.

During the First World War, the next generation of Whittalls stepped into prominence in Smyrna

affairs. On his own initiative the British Director of Naval Intelligence, Sir William R. Hall, undertook to contact the Turkish authorities in order to purchase their neutrality prior to the Dardanelles campaign. He selected as a messenger a railway engineer, George Griffin Eady, and asked him if he had good contacts with the Turks. Eady replied, though he knew most of the important members of the government, the best person to approach would be Edwin Whittall, son of Sir James William Whittall. Eady and Whittall went to Athens on February 1 1915 and attempted to make contact with a prominent Turkish minister, preferably Mehmet Talaat Pasha (1874-1921) through the pro-British Grand Rabbi of Constantinople.<sup>61</sup> At first Turkey demurred but, after the British began a naval bombardment on the outlying Dardanelles forts, agreed to meet Eady and Whittall at Dedeagatch. Eady offered Talaat £3,000,000 (he had authority to offer one million more) for Turkey to become neutral and open the Dardanelles to British shipping. He could not, however, offer the one thing that most authorities agree Turkey would have accepted – the guarantee that Constantinople would remain Turkish after the war. When Hall reported his initiative to the war cabinet, hoping to get more to offer the Porte, Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, was aghast at the amount of money Hall had offered. Hall stated that he felt it was a small price to offer for the control of the Dardanelles. Churchill turned to the First Sea Lord, Sir John Fisher, who said that they should save the money as his attack on the Dardanelles was imminent and they would gain control for nothing. Hall

57 Dural, *Bize Derler Çakirca*.

58 Ibid.

59 Kasaba, "İzmir 1922," 25, citing *Sabri Yetkin Ege'de Eskiyaclar* (Istanbul: 1996): 172-73.

60 Üsküp, *Çakici Efe*, 311-23.

61 Geoffrey Miller, *Straits: British Policy towards the Ottoman Empire and the Origins of the Dardanelles Campaign* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1997): 470-75.

62 Eric Whittall was the oldest son of Charlton Frank Whittall, thirteenth and last child of James Whittall, and his first wife Ethel Barker.

was ordered to have his agents break off negotiations after a couple more days. Whittall and Eady ended the talks on March 16, arriving at Salonica two days later just as the parsimonious Fisher's great and disastrous attack began.

At the same time as Edwin Whittall went to Athens, the British tried to ensure Smyrna remained an open port and not a threat. The Vali of Smyrna was Rahmi Bey, an anglophile and close associate of Eric Whittall (1887-1932), Edward Whittall's nephew and the Smyrna correspondent of the London Times.<sup>62</sup> The American consul, George Horton, described Rahmi Bey in the following terms:

*I soon discovered that the governor-general had no faith in the final victory of the German-Turkish arms, and that he was extremely anxious to keep an anchor to windward. He was playing a double game; of keeping in at the same time with the authorities in Constantinople and with the prominent British, French and Italians at Smyrna.*<sup>63</sup>

In March 1915, to achieve their aims regarding Smyrna, the British navy threatened to bombard the forts around Smyrna (as they were doing to the Dardanelles forts) and stated that they could not guarantee there would be no damage to the town. This action would be extremely unpopular with the Greek government and destruction of these forts was not a practical military proposition. The Foreign Office persuaded the Admiralty to allow Sir Wyndham

Deedes, a former military attaché at the Constantinople embassy posted to the Smyrna consulate in 1913, to negotiate directly with Rahmi Bey to keep Smyrna a free port and to have the forts dismantled. Deedes knew Rahmi Bey well and had also been a frequent pre-war visitor to Bournabat, where he played golf and enjoyed the shooting.<sup>64</sup> Deedes set up the meeting with Rahmi Bey through Eric Whittall. They met at Urla where Whittall and Charles Karabiber accompanied Rahmi Bey.<sup>65</sup> Deedes' negotiating position was an extremely weak one, since the navy would be unable to carry out the threatened action. Rahmi Bey was not deceived by Deedes but, through the influence of Whittall and because of his own dislike of Enver Pasha's government, agreed that Smyrna would remain a free port for the duration of the war although the forts were not dismantled.<sup>66</sup>

Throughout the war Rahmi Bey continued to play a cautious game. From time to time he had leading Greek and Armenian citizens arrested and deported to the interior simply to satisfy the demands of the central government.<sup>67</sup> However, he was always careful to protect the European residents despite their status as enemy aliens. Edward Whittall spent the last years of his life unmolested at Bournabat, even though he insisted with patriotic foolhardiness on flying the British flag over his house.<sup>68</sup> James La Fontaine reports that he himself was released from internment "thanks to the efforts of Rahami [sic] Bey, the enlightened governor of Smyrna, whose extraor-

63 George Horton, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (N.Y.: 1927): 220-21.

64 Skelton, *Deedes Bey*, 90-91.

65 Nurdogan Tacalan, *Ege'de Kurtulus Savasi Baslarken* (Istanbul: Karacan Yayinlari, 1970): 42-45; summary translation provided by Yildiz Belger. Charles Karabiber was a Romanos and a Turcophile. He was the Foreign Affairs Director in the Governor's Office. After the liberation he went to Paris instead of Greece, and for many years he worked there as a lawyer (p. 32).

66 Skelton, *Deedes Bey*, 152-54. Skelton does not mention Whittall by name in recounting this episode, although Whittall is reputed to be mentioned in Deedes' diaries for the period. Source: Sinan Kunalp, personal email, 30 November, 1999. It is almost certain that Deedes knew Whittall from his Bournabat visits and, given their mutual friendship with Rahmi Bey, highly probable that Whittall was involved.

67 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 110.

68 Wookey, *Fortuna*, 14.

dinary generous and considerate treatment of enemy subjects will ever be remembered by those who lived, during the war, in Smyrna."<sup>69</sup> The gratitude of the European residents for this treatment took tangible form when Cerkez Ethem kidnapped Rahmi Bey's son, Alpaslan, from Miss Florence's school in Bournabat in February 1919. The European community paid the ransom and Alpaslan safely returned after 23 days of high adventure.<sup>70</sup>

From time to time the British would try initiatives to get the Ottoman Empire out of the war, but little interest was shown in these offers in the Porte after the failure of Fisher's offensive. This attitude changed, however, with the collapse of Bulgaria in September 1918. Turkey began to make vague and unauthorized gestures about the possibility of an armistice.<sup>71</sup> Germany made an attempt to halt this process and, suspecting Rahmi Bey of "entente tendencies", persuaded the Porte to name him a Senator on September 25 and recall him to Istanbul.<sup>72</sup> Rahmi Bey declined the honour and, on October 5, sent a three or four person delegation including Edmund Giraud and Charles Karabiber to discuss an armistice with Lord Granville, British Minister in Athens.<sup>73</sup> Although Granville communicated this to his government, it is suggested that the British were trying to complete the Mesopotamian campaign and seize Mosul, with its petroleum industry, before discussing peace.<sup>74</sup> Therefore nothing came of the

initiative and some reports suggest the "Smyrna Commission" was not allowed to land in Athens.<sup>75</sup> A few days later the grand vizier, Ahmed Izzet Pasha, in somewhat unorthodox fashion, sent a high ranking British prisoner-of-war, Major-General Sir Charles Townshend, to Mudros to plead his case.<sup>76</sup> However, the British insisted on an official delegation and, on October 26, the Minister of Marine, Rauf Bey, was sent to negotiate the peace. The armistice of Mudros was signed on October 31.

Rahmi Bey's strategy of "keeping an anchor windward" initially appeared to have availed him little at the war's end. In March 1919 Turkey was startled by an Allied demand for the arrest and apprehension of several dozen war criminals.<sup>77</sup> Rahmi Bey was arrested for war crimes in connection with the Greek and Armenian deportations. Although the trial was a Turkish responsibility the government of Damad Ferid Pasha asked Britain to take care of the convicted prisoners. Rahmi Bey was therefore imprisoned on Malta in April 1920. However, his prudence in the treatment of foreigners and his friendship with the Whittalls continued to be rewarded. Eric's father, Charlton Frank Whittall (1864-1942), interceded on his behalf and secured his release in October 1921.

Edward Whittall's granddaughter, Mary Whittall, described Bournabat and the Whittall house in the following terms:

69 Giraud, *Family Records*, 143.

70 Source: Mary Whittall who was attending this school at the same time. Alpaslan himself stated that the ransom was paid by Alanyalizade Mahmut Bey (who with Rahmi Bey's support had been elected president of the Smyrna Chamber of Commerce in 1909), Nazmi Tocuoglu and Harry Giraud. Tacalan, *Ege'de Kurtulus Savasi Baslarken*, 153. If this information is accurate it is still highly likely that Harry Giraud (1874-1963), older brother of Edmund Giraud and manager of the Oriental Carpet Company, Izmir, acted on behalf of the clan.

71 Busch, *Mudros to Lausanne*, 12-13.

72 *Times* (London), 9 October, 1918, p. 5d.

73 *Ibid.*

74 Tacalan, *Ege'de Kurtulus Savasi Baslarken*, 32.

75 *Times* (London), 23 October, 1918, p. 5d.

76 Busch, *Mudros to Lausanne*, 15.

*Most big houses had their Bezoules or built in gossip circles at the end of the garden, on the square, or main road. The old people would take up their positions (or so it seemed to me) and passers by would join the group of aunts, uncles, cousins or grandparents. A friendly and leisurely procedure in which village gossip was passed from mouth to mouth. Granny Whittall's,<sup>78</sup> whose garden was sheltered from view by a high wall, had a terrace overlooking the road. It was hidden from the house by a clump of bamboos and leading to it were two flights of stairs. Stone lions ornamented the more formal one and iron railings bounded the second one which led to a little bridge over a water way, running into a big pond snaking its way along the front of the house. Grandpa W. was a great gardener and his garden was a place of big and sometimes rare trees, as of formal gardens, kiosks, lawns, greenhouses and hidden corners – just a fairyland for us children. But more about the garden later, for it has had such an influence on my life and lies enshrined in my heart – a pearl of great price.<sup>79</sup>*

Edward Whittall's daughter, Ruth, had married Edmund Giraud (1880-1960), the wealthy owner of a Smyrna textile factory. The war brought some friction between the Whittalls and the Girauds when the latter made uniforms for the Turkish army. There may have been other reasons for this friction since Giraud did not seem an altogether admirable character. Weak, vain and selfish by some accounts, he seduced his children's English governess, making her his mistress. He also enjoyed an unenviable reputation with servant girls.<sup>80</sup> However, such lifestyles

were not uncommon in the Levant. Giraud was certainly an able businessman, inheriting little and becoming a millionaire through his cotton factory and, after he lost everything in 1922, the Oriental Carpet Company. In September 1922 he was in London with his mistress, while his two older children, Godfrey and Edna, were at school in England. It was left to his brother, Charlie,<sup>81</sup> to hire a boat to evacuate what family remained in Bournabat to Athens after the fire started. These included Ruth Giraud and her two small daughters, Mary (1911- ) and Margaret (1917- ). Mary returned to Smyrna after the fire, marrying a cousin Willem "Wem" Whittall, before emigrating to Canada in 1951.<sup>82</sup>

## THE FLIGHT OF THE EUROPEANS

The liberation and destruction of Smyrna caused consternation in the Bournabat European community. Many sought the safety of ships in the harbour when the Greeks left, planning to disembark after the Turkish takeover. Others vowed to stay and protect their property. As the situation worsened more and more residents fled to the ships. The British authorities first advised their approximately 3,000 citizens, centred in Bournabat and Boudja, to seek safety in Smyrna and later, when the fire started, decided to evacuate all citizens at least to Malta. Other residents relied on their own resources to escape. Reginald Turrell spirited his family safely away on a commandeered ferryboat.<sup>83</sup> Mary Whittall described the period ending with her evacuation as follows:

77 Ibid., 166-67.

78 Edward Whittall's wife was Mary Maltass.

79 Mary Whittall, *A Book of Thoughts*, 6-7. (supra note 30) Bezoules comes from the Greek for benches.

80 Ibid., 25-27; Wookey, *Fortuna*, 21. (supra note 30)

81 Charlton James Giraud (1869-1955), founder of C.J. Giraud and Co., Smyrna.

82 Willem Whittall (1915-1989) was the son of Charlton Frank Whittall, last of James' thirteen children, and his only child by his second wife, Anna Van Lennep.

83 Turrell, *Scrap-book, 1809-1922*, 212-14.

The first wave of terror hit us in school one day when we saw the Turkish kids pull off their fezzes and rush back home as if pursued by the Devil. Distant explosions following, we were told that the Greeks had landed and vague rumours were circulated about the mistreatment (to put it mildly) of the local Turkish population. (There) followed two uneasy years of news of war and the revival of Turkish militancy under their vital new leader, Kemal Ataturk.

As a child one didn't realise much of what was happening except as the unspoken anxiety of our elders filtered through into our consciousness. So the climax and the harsh reality of war hit me suddenly as we were finishing the summer holidays at our Long Island home.<sup>84</sup> ... The descent of relatives and friends upon our island solitude was spectacular. Boats kept rolling into the harbour and aunts and cousins arriving up at the house to take temporary refuge from an untenable situation in Smyrna.

....

It was eventually deemed safe to go back to the town although not safe enough to return to the country, so we all settled into isolated little pockets of the town. Mother and us children were parked in the house of an Armenian friend and I remember that Albert Allioti, who was due to stay with us, left in a hurry because he maintained that Armenians were on a priority list for extermination and it wasn't safe to remain in an Armenian house. I wish I could say that I felt courageous at this point, but the truth is I was terrified. The sound of heavy gunfire was perpetual and I visualized graphically the retreat of the Greeks and the panic around me. The uncles would drop in of an evening to post Mother with all the scenes of horror that they had witnessed, with no concern for little ears that were taking it all in. I know that I used to go to bed and shake with fright until Mother joined me in the double bed. Somehow Mother chased away fear

although I can imagine what her state of mind must have been like with Dad away and so much responsibility resting upon her.

The day we finally had to leave, for the town was on fire, Mother elected to have a big wash and all our clothes were strung out in the garden. At dusk Uncle Charlie called to say we must pack a few things and get out on to a boat that he had chartered to take family and friends to Greece. I remember crossing the quay in the dark with four-year old Margaret in tow and thousands of demented people running back and forth. At that point a goat came charging down and butted Margaret, knocking her down, and she was picked up screaming to add to the turmoil and put on our launch, the *Helen May*,<sup>85</sup> which was waiting to take us to the glorified tug on which all the family were parked. What a relief to get to the *Helen May* and steam away from the scenes of panic going on around.

A flaming town in the background, a port full of English warships, doing nothing except load up with refugees, and ourselves far enough away from it all not to have to witness more than an overall picture of the chaotic horror of war. Fortunately the night was calm and warm for we all lay in heaps on deck, our dogs nuzzling up on top of me shivering with nerves.<sup>86</sup>

Not all residents heeded the call of the authorities to leave. The Daily Mail reported that all British residents were evacuated "except a few individuals living in the suburbs who obstinately refused to go. One of these was Miss Woods, 65, who lived at Bûrnabat."<sup>87</sup> Hortense Wood (1844-1924) was actually 78 years old. She was the oldest of seven children of Eugenie Maltass and Dr. Charles Wood, who had been James McCraith's partner in the practice at the British Maritime Hospital, Smyrna. Hortense Wood was a great feminist, as well as a poetess, composer and

84 The Girauds had a summer home on Long Island, a small island a few miles off the Turkish coast.

85 The family boat, the *Helen May*, was oceangoing but, with a small cabin and two berths, not large enough to accommodate all the family. Mary Whittall, *A Book of Thoughts*, 3.

86 *Ibid.*, 29-33.

87 In the issues for September 19 1922 cited by Economos, *The Martyrdom of Smyrna*, 73. (supra note 11)

talented artist. She had studied the piano under Franz Liszt. She was an admirer of Kemal, writing him a number of letters of encouragement and congratulation over the previous three years.<sup>88</sup> She lived in the family mansion with her married sister and brother-in-law, Louisa and Ernest Paterson,<sup>89</sup> and her widowed sister, Lucy de Cramer.<sup>90</sup> A strong, if eccentric, character, Hortense felt she had nothing to fear from the Nationalist army in 1922 and looked forward to its coming. Her decision caused some consternation amongst the family members, most of whom were leaving at the suggestion of the British authorities. Hortense Wood was a faithful diarist<sup>91</sup> and described the events leading up to the evacuation as follows:

*Sept. 3, Sunday*

....

*Panic in town, Armenian and Greek families fleeing. Greek soldiers refused to fight. Up to now five men of war in port.*

*Sept. 4, Monday*

....

*Smyrna is seized with panic, and so is Bournabat, and all its surrounding villages. People of every nationality are running away, even English. We, the Sykes, the Stevenses, Mary, Fred and Jane remain quietly here.<sup>92</sup> All sorts of rumours are afloat, some say 70,000 soldiers*

*have thrown down their arms and refuse to fight. Thousands of deserters have taken to the mountains. People are afraid of the retreating army pillaging and burning towns and houses, destroying everything they come across. They have more than once threatened to do this should they be forced to evacuate Smyrna. We'll see. – There is great excitement, people are constantly arriving from town with the latest news.*

*Sept. 5, Tuesday*

....

*All sorts of rumours going about. Constantine committing suicide, Gounaris assassinated, etc., etc., all unconfirmed. Refugees continue pouring in. A hundred thousand have arrived in Smyrna and are gradually sent off to the islands. The hospitals are full of wounded. The Herbert Whittalls, Charnauds, Charlakis, Reeses, etc., and many French families have left. Many warships expected, and allied troops.*

....

*Sept. 6, Wednesday*

....

*Thousands of soldiers passed down the square, soldiers that have thrown down their arms and refuse to fight. With them were mingling hundreds of refugees, Greeks and Turks, men, women and children. A pitiable sight. Carts loaded with their belongings, mere rags, and broken chairs and boxes. Hundreds of camels and hundreds*

88 Kalças, *Gateways to the Past*, 10-12.

89 John Paterson, a Scottish corn merchant from Leith, came to Smyrna and made a fortune when chromium was discovered in the Fethiye district of Anatolia. He built a huge 38-room mansion on a 130-acre property in Bournabat. In 1922 the patriarch of the family was Douglas Paterson. In 1973 the house was turned into a carpet factory. Giraud, *Family Records*, 76 and Kalças, *Gateways to the Past*, 32-34, Ernest Paterson was Douglas's younger brother.

90 Alphonse von Cramer came to Smyrna in the eighteenth century as Austrian Consul. His son Ambroise Hermann Cramer was raised to the nobility by Holy Roman Emperor Francis II in 1801. Ambroise's grandson, Norbert de Cramer, married Lucy Wood. Their children were Renée, wife of Alfred Lawson, Fernand, and Giselle, wife of American John Bowdwin.

91 Wood's last diary is in the possession of her grandniece Renée Steinbüchel of Bornova while the earlier diaries are with other relatives in London. Extracts from the diary covering August and September 1922 have been partially published in incomplete facsimile and Turkish translation in *Türkmen Parlak, İsgalden Kurtuluşu*, vol.2 (Izmir: Duyal Matbaacılık, 1983), 445-535. Yıldız Belger's comparison of the Turkish text with the facsimile pages indicated significant discrepancies. Therefore she tracked down the original text and permission was obtained to reproduce it. The extracts in this article are from Sally Gallia's transcription. Renée Steinbüchel request that any other use of this diary be with her permission only.

92 "Mary, Fred and Jane." Mary Whittall Giraud (1843-1932), her husband Frederick Giraud (1837-1922) and her sister Jane Whittall Wilkinson (1842-1928).

*of sheep. Where were they going? They themselves told us they did not know. There are sixteen men of war in the harbour and more are expected. – excepting ourselves and a few others all Bournabat has fled, fearing all sorts of dangers threatening them. I am sure nothing will happen.*

Sept. 8, Friday

*The admiral enjoins on all British subjects to take refuge in town if they want protection. So all our people left by the 7 o'clock train with the carriage that took them to the station loaded with valises. Lucy left reluctantly and very much worried with Fernand staying here and joining those who talk of getting arms and defending the place if attacked. She looked pale and had her pain. Louisa was excited and insisted on Ernest going with her to town. They would have preferred remaining here.– Many rumours afloat – that Stergheathi declared to the consuls that he could no longer be responsible for the safety of the town, resigned his post and named a Turk as future Governor of Smyrna. Perfunctory booming of cannon. The army firing on the deserters on the hills.*

*Stergiathi's declaration led the Admiral and the Captains of the Allied warships to land marines and troops, and tomorrow, it is said, some of these will be sent to protect Bournabat.*

Fernand was Hortense Wood's nephew, Fernand de Cramer, who also lived at the Wood house. After evacuating his mother on a British ship, he stayed with his Aunt Hortense throughout the period. He began a lengthy letter to his relations, soon after the Smyrna fire started, to inform them of the happenings in

Bournabat. This letter was not completed until several weeks had passed.

## DE CRAMER'S LETTER

Originally in French the letter was translated into English according to a handwritten note at the top.<sup>93</sup> The identity of the translator is unknown. The casual observer would conclude, from the unusual phraseology and strange tenses, that the translator was not fluently bilingual. The translation seems a literal rather than literary one, and appears to have been made using a small dictionary that may not have included idioms. The letter abounds with examples, sometimes humorous, where it is possible to reconstruct the original French with some accuracy.<sup>94</sup> However, Mary Whittall stated that in her opinion the translation was in idiomatic Levantine English, spoken and written by most Bournabat residents who had not been sent to England to school. This seems quite possible since the French and English residents of Bournabat had been intermarrying for over a century with inevitable effects on both languages. Fernand de Cramer's translated account on the 1922 disaster reads as follows:

*Letter from Fernand de Cramer (Translation from French)*<sup>95</sup>

*How to begin! And How to end!!*

*Friday, September 8th, as tidings became more and more alarming, Mother, the Patersons, Lawson and Mattheys left to spend the night in town;<sup>96</sup> in fact, all Bournabat had already been deserted by our world.*

93 A copy of this translation was donated to McGill University Libraries by another of Edward Whittall's Smyrna-born granddaughters, Marjorie Miller Close (1911 - ). In 1910 Elsie Whittall married American tobacco executive, Gray Miller (1885-1947), who later served as President of Imperial Tobacco in Montreal (1925-1943) and of British American Tobacco in London (1943-1947).

94 For example, *Je me precipite* should be translated 'I rush over' not 'I precipitate myself'. In the transcription square brackets [ ] enclose words inserted for clarity that were not in the original text.

95 The parenthetical Translation from French is handwritten.

96 The individuals who left were Lucy Wood de Cramer (Mother), Ernest and Louisa Paterson (de Cramer's aunt), Alfred Lawson (husband of de Cramer's sister Renée) and Thetis (daughter of Renée Lawson) and her husband Tony Mattheys.

*I remained with Aunt Hortense, swearing to Mother who was already very anxious about me, to join her the next morning and give her my news.*

*The hundreds of thousands of refugees who were traversing Bournabat to go to the sea told us that their brothers, the Greeks, while retreating, were burning everything, obliging them to desert their own homes, and massacring the few Turks who remained, and it was invariably the same story repeated over a period of more than a week.*

*Friday night, far from suspecting that the Turks were only a few miles away, and to save Bournabat from the fate of all the other villages of the Interior, some gentlemen conceived the idea of organizing strong patrols of villagers to prevent the Greeks from annihilating us.*

*In consequence, in two hours' time strong patrols circulated through Bournabat from Havousa to Bozalan,<sup>97</sup> and all the Greek soldiers who passed by the club were disarmed.*

*After having given assistance to the refugees until half past five in the morning, I had gone quietly to bed. At a quarter to eight I was awakened by such a fusillade and such a horrible din that I was led to believe in a battle in the square itself. I inhabited the kiosque.<sup>98</sup>*

*I see from my window a crowd pouring out from the street and running with horrible cries towards Smyrna – What a spectacle! I cross the garden and see Aunt Hortense with all the servants and a few refugees, making signs to me to seek protection from the bullets that were raining in the garden. During a short lull I go out of the door to see by what means I can take Aunt Hortense to town,*

*when I perceived Charlie Wilkinson<sup>99</sup> who was struggling to get into the house of the H.W.'s<sup>100</sup> so as to get back to his own house.*

*I precipitate myself. I catch him, insisting that he had a motor cycle, and I pray him to take my aunt.*

*"Of course", said he, "but it's broken. I will try to mend it." We went together and three quarters of an [hour] after, it was in working order, and the bullets were raining down thicker than ever. I traverse the two gardens to inform Aunt Hortense. Impossible to persuade her to make a decision. Another trip to Charlie's to tell him to go alone. Again I go to Aunt Hortense to try to decide her; again without success.<sup>101</sup>*

*To make a long story short, I said to myself that whether it was a bullet from a rifle here or a cannon ball at Smyrna it mattered little, and that I had better go and quiet Mother, and fortunately, for I arrived in time to prevent her from being overcome.*

*I start then with Charlie, and near the Vrisaki<sup>102</sup> [it was] impossible to go further. The way is entirely blocked by the crowd and animals of all sorts. We decide to go back through the fields, pushing that heavy machine all the way. And the heat! When near the station [I] wait for trains which wait for no man.*

*I had just time to jump on the running board and the train had not made one hundred meters, when a terrible machine gun fire descends on Bournabat!! I spare you the description of the people on the train! Greek soldiers preventing poor maddened women from getting aboard! etc., etc.*

97 Havousa was the pond at the top of the village. Bozalan (Boz Alan or Champs des Emigrés) was the open countryside at the bottom that was used for newer housing construction.

98 De Cramer, in the warm season, was sleeping in the kiosk, or summerhouse, in the Wood garden.

99 Charles Wilkinson (born c. 1878) was the British Consul-General in Smyrna. He was the grandson of James Whittall of the Big House by his third child, Jane. McKernan, p. 33. All the Wilkinsons seemed to be in consular service. His father, Richard, had been Consul General at Manila and his son, Richard Edward, was also Consul General at Izmir.

100 Wilkinson's uncle, Herbert Octavius Whittall, built the Wilkinson house on his own property for his niece Jane when she married Richard Wilkinson. Kalças, *Gateways to the Past*, 30. Wilkinson had to get into Whittall's house to get to his own.

101 In her diary entry for Saturday September 9, Hortense Wood describes these events as follows: "A good deal of firing in the street all the morning. I induced Fernand to accept a seat in the Wilkinson's car to return to town to allay Lucy's anxiety. She felt and looked ill. I felt much relieved when he left. After trying but in vain to persuade me to go too. The shots all round now fell thick and fast. Many people killed, they say. I don't quite believe it." Wood might have been more shocked had she realized de Cramer wanted her to go on a motorcycle, and that he himself had to take the train under harrowing circumstances.

102 The water tap by the road to Smyrna – the consumer end of Edward Whittall's public water supply system.

*At Smyrna at every yard people stopped you by force to obtain news. The Turkish cavalry was passing over the quays forty minutes after my arrival at home!!! Stupefaction, astonishment, amazement of everybody who thought them at least at two days distance!!!*

*I do not believe that any army in all history has ever covered more than 500 kilometres in less than fifteen days, five of which were spent in fighting entirely in one place.*

*You must realize that neither the infantry nor the cavalry found trains at their disposal and that they had to walk over roads, mountain passes, trails which covered more ground than the railway. It was astonishing to see these men – their form on horseback as well as their equipment!*

*Unfortunately between the passing at a gallop of the cavalry and then the infantry and then the bands of terrible irregulars, our beautiful Bournabat has forever been destroyed for us.*

*Later – the troops which followed in a few days penetrated into the houses already gutted, and took what was left, and, alas! for six weeks after it still continued secretly.*

*Not the inhabited houses, of course, and let it be said there were no forced attacks for a long time. The only houses in all Bournabat that remained intact are the Paterson's, Harry and Jim Giraud,<sup>103</sup> Eric Wh.,<sup>104</sup> H. Joly<sup>105</sup> and R. de Cramer (Bebo),<sup>106</sup> as well as that of the Lawsons, where I have installed an Albanian. You would not believe your eyes if you saw the houses of Sydney Lafontaine,<sup>107</sup> Keyser,<sup>108</sup> Richard Whittall,<sup>109</sup> Molinari, Frank Wilkinson, Ed. Lafontaine,<sup>110</sup> H.W. Pagy,<sup>111</sup> Charlaki, W. Charnaud (only partially destroyed, fortunately), Mattheys (completely, alas!), Sunoman, Fritz,<sup>112</sup> Mme. Turrell-Murphy (they killed M. and wounded his wife),<sup>113</sup> Reggio,<sup>114</sup> in short, all the houses so far as the station, and in most of them, without taking into account the total pillaging, a vandalism without name. All the Greek houses large and small as far as the Havousa are but a ruin without name.*

*In the pretty Protestant cemeteries all the monuments and crosses are in rags, broken in fits of rage (the dirty Cretans<sup>115</sup> of this place are largely to blame!) and as far as the Catholic and Greek cemeteries, many of the vaults*

103 James Richard Giraud (1882-1968), youngest brother of Edmund Giraud, worked for Charlton "Charlie" Giraud.

104 Eric Whittall.

105 Herbert Joly worked in Edmund Giraud's cotton factory. Source: Whittall, *A Book of Thoughts*. (supra note 30)

106 Richard "Bebo" de Cramer, father of I.R. Wookey's best friend Richard "Dicko" de Cramer, apparently lived on family wealth inherited from the de Cramer banking business. Source: I.R. Wookey.

107 Sydney James La Fontaine (b. 1846) was married to Edith Amelia Whittall, twelfth child of James Whittall.

108 The Keyzers were originally a Dutch family of merchant bankers who had gone to England with William of Orange. William did not repay the money loaned him resulting in a prolonged law suit against the crown. The bank is now called Keyser Ullman. In the nineteenth century a Keyser came out to start a Turkish branch, called the Bank of Salonica which was later absorbed by the Ottoman bank. Wookey, *Fortuna*, 6.

109 Richard Watson Whittall had died in 1920, one year after his son Richard James Whittall. Their house might still have been called by that name, or it may have been the house of Leonard Richard Whittall (b. 1893), son of Charlton Francis Whittall (1864-1942).

110 Probably Edward Leonard La Fontaine (b. 1890), son of Sydney La Fontaine, supra note 107.

111 Sieur Gabriel Pagy came from Marseilles to Smyrna in the early eighteenth century. His company was involved in cotton handling.

112 Frederick "Fritz" de Cramer was married to Mary, daughter of Richard Watson Whittall. McKernan, *The Geneology of the Whittall Family of Turkey*, 43. (supra note 30)

113 Details of this incident are given below.

114 The Reggio (or Raggio) family came from Genoa to Chios in 1360, moving on to Smyrna before the Chios massacre of 1822 during the Greek War of Independence. Kalças, *Gateways to the Past*, 38; Turrell, *Scrap-book, 1809-1922*, 151.

115 "Cretans" or Turco-Cretans were Greek-speaking Turks who had been forced out of Crete as the Ottoman Empire contracted. They, along with Greeks and Armenians, had formed the domestic servant class in Bournabat. Source: Mary Whittall.

and coffins have been rifled and a mass of dead, known to us all, lamentably exposed. The Protestant church has had all its stained glass windows broken, all the upholstered benches torn apart, and horses were stalled for several days in the altar enclosure.

Finished, finished is Bournabat for us ... In less than three weeks they have expelled all the Greek inhabitants of the city and all the refugees of the interior. Can you picture to yourself this country without one Greek. In no country have I ever felt like such a stranger as in our old Bournabat. Not speaking a word of Turkish!

The houses of Charlie and Ed Giraud in Smyrna<sup>116</sup> have been saved in time for the occupation of the Pashas. The damage is slight. It is, after all, Bournabat that has had the greatest number killed. The minimum is 1,200!<sup>117</sup> As for the Armenians, very few have been able to leave town. I will admit they did all they could to bring it upon themselves, and they succeeded too well, and, alas! how many innocents! I was able to return to Bournabat two days after the occupation to see Aunt Hortense. I saw four arabas<sup>118</sup> over-full of dead, which they were transporting in the direction of D. Paterson's.

Let us come back to town, Wednesday, the 13th, at two, Patersons and Lawsons were leaving with the English, and I stayed alone with Mother, the cook and two servants at the Smyrna house. There was a fire in the direction of Basmahane<sup>119</sup> but no one paid any attention to it.

At about five or six o'clock that day first signs of anxiety. The wind is blowing toward the sea. At ten it became serious and the wind persisted. At eleven I decided that Mother should go to Stepho Psiachi<sup>120</sup> who seemed to be out of the line of smoke. I spare you my anxieties in regard

to Mother! I went back toward the house saying to myself that perhaps, seeing from the ships that the house would surely burn, they would send for her from the consulate which was in communication with the men-of-war. Vain expectation! Seeing that not only our house was going to take fire, but that of Stepho would burn also and that Mother would not survive in a crowd so horrible, atrocious, compact and panic stricken, [we] flew toward the quay resolved to [try] anything. At last I was able to make myself heard by a superior officer. I told him that she was a born English woman and that her life was entirely in his hands. Thank God I was able to take her through the crowds, but at what a cost! And I left her in the boat three-quarters unconscious. Ah, my dears! Never will I be able to describe what I suffered at that moment. I am sure she has already given you all the details in their breadth and length. It was just one month after that that I had news of her and she of me. I went back to the house to find the servants, whom I lost about two in the morning near the pier, a prey to the most atrocious fear that I have ever witnessed. Picture to yourself a crowd so dense that you could scarcely touch the ground with your feet and you turned upon yourself like a grain of sand in a whirlwind. Amid piercing shrieks, blows, people were falling into the sea, a smoke, so hot that upon my word I thought my entrails were on fire. It was under these conditions that towards six o'clock I found myself dragged towards the point.<sup>121</sup>

A second day more terrible still, also what a night! It is not until late the third day that I was able to find myself again at Bournabat near Aunt Hortense and the house occupied by Fevzi Pasha, Marshall in Chief to the Armies

116 Edmund Giraud did not own a house in Smyrna. "Ed" therefore must have been his brother Edgar (1871-1950).

117 The only British nationals reported killed at Bournabat were Dr. Murphy, see *infra*, and Lydia Maltass, a Bible reader. The vast majority of deaths were reported to be the Greek and Armenian servants of the European houses. (Economos, *The Martyrdom of Smyrna*, 138, 143. (*supra* note 11)) De Cramer obviously had no idea of the scope of the disaster in Smyrna.

118 Large wagons or carts, although in Ottoman Turkish the word can mean any wheeled conveyance drawn by animals including carriages for the nobility.

119 The railway station.

120 The Psiachi (or Psiachi) family, Greek merchants, had had a house in Bournabat. Kalças, *supra* note 30, p. 17. The Psiachi appear to have come to Smyrna after the destruction of Chios in 1822.

121 The Point or Daragaz Point at the northern end of the quays.

of Kemal Pasha. The latter<sup>122</sup> came to our house three times, complimenting Aunt Hortense and kissing her hands. He is a real charmer! We know all the great personages of the great national assembly.

Several officers told me afterwards how much they disliked the deeds committed at Bournabat but that unfortunately all the troops during fifteen days had seen nothing but burned villages and all their people had been massacred and burned without exception.

Helas! It was confirmed by international journalists with proofs and corroboration. It was a miracle that they did not kill us all. The fire at Smyrna was undoubtedly started by the Greeks and Armenians. Besides, the Greeks had been saying for five months that [when] they were compelled to leave nothing would be left standing. May the devil take them forever, as well as Lloyd George. And yet without servants and other conveniences we will never be able to stay.

I will give other details soon.

Letters, cheques and telegrams arrived.

Fernand.

The letter raises a number of questions that require context. The vilification of Lloyd George is relatively straightforward. The British and French offered Greece Anatolia as a sphere of influence if they would join the war against the Central Powers in 1915.<sup>123</sup> Eleutherios Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, was most anxious to declare war but King Constantine insisted on a policy of neutrality. Venizelos resigned and established a revolutionary government in his native Crete, declaring war on the Central Powers in November 1915. Since Greece refused to enter the war, the west coast of Turkey was then offered to Italy as an inducement to enter the war against Turkey.

Greece later entered the war in 1917 when King Constantine abdicated and Venizelos returned to power. When the war ended the Allies found them in the unfortunate position of having offered western Anatolia, including Smyrna, to both Italy and Greece. In trying to settle this matter Lloyd George was perceived to have a bias in favour of Greece and his views ultimately prevailed when the Supreme Allied Council authorized the Greek occupation. To most Turks, who might have accepted British rule, this event was an intolerable provocation and became "a clarion call to Turkish nationalism".<sup>124</sup>

In pursuing his policy Lloyd George ignored all the advice proffered by the Foreign Office and the Foreign Secretary and, as early as 1920, the Under-Secretary Lord Hardinge wrote to a colleague:

*Nothing could have been more mismanaged and we are only at the beginning of our trouble with Turkey over the conditions of peace. All those with experience and knowledge of Turkey and of Near Eastern policies have been ignored and the views of cranks and enthusiasts adopted. The merest tyro who has lived in Turkey would know that the Turks would never agree to give up Smyrna and Adrianople to the Greeks whom they both hate and despise.*<sup>125</sup>

Over the next three years Lloyd George continued to support Greece even after the other allies became increasingly nervous about the offensive against Ankara. There can be no doubt that Lloyd George's policies, which ultimately resulted in the destruction of Smyrna and his own fall from power, gained him the bitter enmity of Turkey and, almost certainly, that of the European residents of the affected area.

122 The phraseology is confusing here. In fact "the latter" was Kemal himself who visited the house three times and complimented Hortense Wood. Fevzi Pasha was living in the Wood House with Hortense Wood and de Cramer.

123 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 37.

124 *Ibid.*, 52-53.

125 Quoted in Ephraim Maisel, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1919-1926* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1994): 66.

De Cramer mentions that Mme. Turrell-Murphy was wounded and her husband killed. Colonel Murphy, 81, was a retired army surgeon from the Anglo-Indian Medical Service living on pension at Bournabat. There are various versions of how he met his end. The general consensus is that Turkish soldiers or irregulars entered his house for loot and with the intention of violating the servant girls. A great deal of damage was done and Murphy's family was attacked. Murphy himself had large china vases thrown at him and possibly received other wounds when he tried to protect his servants, his family and his property. Sir Harry Lamb, borrowing two cars from the American consul, evacuated the family but Murphy died that night.<sup>126</sup> Other accounts reported more graphic, unverifiable and improbable detail:

*Among the refugees is the wife of Dr. Murphy. He had formerly been in the Indian service, and for many years had been settled in Smyrna, where he was known for his philanthropy. It is said he met his death at the hands of a Russian Jew, a soldier in the Turkish Army. This man, after receiving from the doctor all the coin there was in the house and a cheque for £2000, struck him down with his sword, and hurled pieces of valuable crockery at him. The soldier then commanded Mrs. Murphy to play the piano. She fled, pursued by the soldier, but was succored by an Allied patrol. The doctor was taken to hospital where he died.<sup>127</sup>*

Turkish sources indicate Murphy's death was as a result of a misunderstanding with military police, trying to enter his house to catch a looter they were following. During the confrontation between the military police and Murphy, one of Murphy's

servants shot at the intruders. Shots were exchanged and Murphy was killed in the crossfire.<sup>128</sup>

Hortense Wood reported the incident somewhat more plausibly than some of these other accounts as follows:

*A young Italian employé at the Italian consulate brought me letters from town. He was extremely nice and slapped a Bashibouzouk<sup>129</sup> in the face before me – an awful looking man. I wondered he was not afraid.*

*Dr Murphy was fired at by Bashibouzouks and is dying, Mrs Murphy was horribly ill treated, beaten and her face covered with wounds. The girls were also ill-treated. Everything has been stolen from them – their money, their silver, all they possessed. They have taken refuge at the Lawson's house. Wrote all about it to Ernest begging of him to apprise the B. Consul.<sup>130</sup>*

The following day she wrote: "I had the opportunity of sending my letter. It produced the desired effect. – Ernest spoke to Sir H Lamb who came out to see Dr Murphy, and on returning to town saw the Vali & informed him of what was going on here."

De Cramer's letter is ostensibly pro-Turkish, rationalizing the excesses of Kemal's forces in exculpatory fashion while blaming the Christian minorities for a variety of ills in almost standard propaganda phrases. Yet these attitudes are seemingly inconsistent with other evidence about de Cramer's beliefs and require closer analysis. Other than family concerns, de Cramer's greatest lament is for the destruction of his beautiful Bournabat which was to lose its name, like Smyrna, and become Bornova. It is clear that the absolute responsibility for this destruction lay with the Turkish military. The local

126 Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 134-35, (supra note 11); Smith, *Ionian Visions*, 307, 307; Daily Telegraph (September 20, 1922) in Economos, *The Martyrdom of Smyrna*, 80. (supra note 11)

127 *Times* (London) (September 20, 1922), reproduced in Economos, *The Martyrdom of Smyrna*, 143.

128 Parlak, *Isgalden Kurtulusu*, vol.2, 453. (supra note 91)

129 Başbozuk are literally 'spoil/broken heads' generally meant bandits or hooligans. Here it refers to irregular troops. See note 25.

130 September 11, 1922.

vigilante militia had succeeded in disarming the retreating Greeks, preventing them from doing any damage. De Cramer was also sympathetic to the refugees, presumably mostly Christian Anatolians who retreated with the Greek army, staying up until 5.30 AM to give assistance – unusual for someone to whom life without “servants and other conveniences” would be insupportable. It was the cavalry, the infantry and the bands of “terrible irregulars” who looted and destroyed the houses. While excesses might be expected in the first few days, problems continued even when Kemal’s staff was headquartered in Bournabat. Every insult seems to have been offered to Christian institutions and symbols from the breaking of crosses and stained glass windows, to the rifling of graves. The villas of Bournabat would have had sufficient actual stables for the horses of the Turkish military, so it would not seem to have been a military necessity to desecrate the altar enclosure of Charlton Whittall’s church. It was the Turkish residents of Bournabat, albeit Greek-speaking ones, who had allegedly fragmented the monuments in the Protestant cemeteries, although the motive for this action is unclear.

Despite the destruction of the victors and persecution of the innocent, de Cramer seems to accept the Turkish justifications for the actions of the military. Though appalled at the slaughter of innocent Armenians, he seems to believe that they brought it upon themselves presumably through the actions of a few resistance fighters and three years of cooperating with the Greek administration. Although it is certainly true that some Armenians welcomed the Greek takeover and a few resisted the Turkish armed forces,<sup>131</sup> this could never justify the subsequent reprisals against civilians. De Cramer also accepts the fact that the Greeks and Armenians started the fire,

although the source for this information is most likely to be the many Turkish staff officers with whom he came in daily contact. Indeed, given the fact that the Greek and Armenian populations had been killed or evacuated by the time the letter was written, de Cramer’s sources could only have been Turkish. At other times, however, de Cramer simply reports what Turkish officers have said without making any judgement regarding the validity of these statements.

There are basically two possible explanations for these contradictory elements in the letter. Most obviously, de Cramer, doubtless influenced by his inimitable Aunt’s opinions and his daily interaction and friendship with the Turkish officers, could simply have believed what he was told about responsibility for the catastrophe. It should be remembered that the Bournabat Europeans had always been pro-Turkish and had viewed the Greek takeover with grave misgivings.<sup>132</sup> Also, his belief could have been strengthened since he was grateful for the “miracle that they did not kill us all”.<sup>133</sup> A more subtle explanation would be that de Cramer felt that he and the other Europeans still had a long-term future in Smyrna. He must have known his letter might receive broader circulation. He knew also there was a possibility that it might be intercepted. In short, he knew that Turkish authorities might read his words at some future time. A prudent man, therefore, might be careful just how he described events and how he assigned blame. It could well be important to appear to accept the Turkish position. It is difficult, of course, to attempt interpretations of de Cramer’s motivation when using a translation since subtle shades of meaning are hard to differentiate. It seems likely that de Cramer wanted to convey a great deal of personal information about friends and their property, while

131 Kinross, *Atatürk*, 370.

132 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 69.

133 This type of identification with the perpetrator that appears to fly in the face of logic can be found in such things as the Stockholm syndrome. While not a kidnap victim, de Cramer was clearly a hostage to fortune.

avoiding potential alienation of the future powers to be. If so, he probably succeeded.

If de Cramer's reason for writing as he did was prudence, then his reaction does not appear unique. Esther Lovejoy, who was president of the Medical Women's International Association (1919-1924), was on the quays of Smyrna in the last week of September, one of three western doctors trying to help the refugees. She was upset by the way the Turkish military treated the refugees and was surprised that a fellow American, a businessman resident in Smyrna, always seemed to find excuses for the Turkish behaviour. Finally, with Lovejoy threatening to publicize these events on her return to the United States, the businessman said plainly: "Dr. Lovejoy, please be careful what you say about all this in the United States. Remember, we have to live here."<sup>134</sup>

#### KEMAL'S BOURNABAT HEADQUARTERS

De Cramer's claim to know all the great people in the nationalist movement was not exaggerated. Bournabat was used as both the military and political headquarters for the Kemalist forces after the liberation of Smyrna, and most prominent members of the movement visited there in September. Many biographies of Kemal tell a charming and romantic story from this time. The day after Kemal entered Smyrna, a young woman came to see him. Latifé Hanum, the twenty year-old daughter of Smyrniot merchant Ushakizade Muammer, was a well-educated nationalist who carried Kemal's picture in a locket. She told him that her parents were in Biarritz and offered their house to the man she admired so much as his headquarters while in Smyrna. Kemal,

finding both her and her offer irresistibly attractive, immediately ordered the transfer of his headquarters to Ushakizade's villa in Bournabat.<sup>135</sup> One source<sup>136</sup> goes so far as to explain that Göztepe is the Turkish name for Bornova. The story continues that Kemal's staff had to find quarters in Bournabat for themselves and their horses. Kemal's desire to consummate an affair with Latifé was not satisfied by the time he left Bournabat for Ankara at the end of September. She told him frankly she would be his wife but never his mistress. Six weeks later Kemal returned to Bournabat and married Latifé in her father's house.<sup>137</sup> Charming and romantic though this story is, it is unfortunately not quite accurate. Kemal did meet Latifé at this juncture, did move his headquarters to the house of a female admirer, did spend some time at the Ushakizade villa in Göztepe, and did return to marry Latifé. However, Göztepe is nowhere near Bournabat.

Kemal prudently transferred his headquarters to Bournabat after the Smyrna fire started, and all his senior staff officers took up residence there. The actual headquarters were placed not in Latifé's father's house, but in that of an older admirer, Hortense Wood. Fevzi Pasha, the Chief of Staff, seems to be the only senior officer who actually resided in the Wood home, while Kemal's other key advisor Ismet Pasha occupied the nearby house of Mary Whittall Giraud, sister of Edward Whittall and mother of Edmund Giraud. Kemal held his staff meetings, planning the last phase of his campaign of liberation, in the Wood house, and allowed Hortense Wood to act as his hostess. In her diary she described the coming of the pashas as follows:

*Sept. 9, Saturday*

134 Esther Lovejoy, *Certain Samaritans* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1933), 161.

135 Kinross, *Atatürk* 372-375. See also Dagobert von Mikusch, *Mustafa Kemal; Between Europe and Asia* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1931): 330-34; H. C. Armstrong, *Grey Wolf: Mustafa Kemal, an Intimate Study of a Dictator* (London: Barker, 1932): 199-204, and Brock, *Ghost on Horseback*, 277-86.

136 Kinross, *Atatürk*, 373.

137 *Ibid.*, 418-19; von Mikusch, *Mustafa Kemal*, 330-34.

A good deal of firing in the street all the morning... I was glad to witness the entry of the Kemalist cavalry from the Kangelakias<sup>138</sup> of the kiosk. Splendid men wearing new, spotless uniforms and circassian caps. Perfect discipline and perfect quiet. The horses were in a very good condition. I wonder what impression they made as they entered Smyrna and rode along the quay. They must have enlisted everybody's admiration and surprise. Not a shot was fired. And thus came the change from Greek to Turkish administration, in perfect tranquility and against all expectations and apprehensions. The Turkish gendarmerie was quickly formed in Bournabat and two gendarmes were sent to each European house to protect it from Greek looting and fire. – Before entering the village the Turks had warned the population that the Kemalist army was coming and that it was advisable every body should keep indoors. The advice was disregarded and Greeks fired on the Kemalist soldiers. These retaliated, hence all the shooting that scared people all the morning. This evening all is quiet.

Sept. 10, Sunday

I was called downstairs to meet the chief of the police, the Co ....<sup>139</sup> of the Kemalist army, a colos...the Mufdi of the village, haim... belonging to the police staff. They asked me whether I could lodge Nouredin Pasha and his adjutant. I said I was sorry we were very numerous in the house and could only spare one room. They said they would see whether they could find another house with more rooms before deciding to take our room. They were very friendly and nice. The chief of the police taking notes all the while. They were accompanied by the Armenian doctor, our neighbour, who was their interpreter. Before them other Turks came, a Bey, another gentleman whose name I don't know, Mr. Baladour, and someone else, a silent member of the party. In the afternoon I was agreeably surprised to see Fernand and Mr Mattheys they came in a car to take some things

kissed me and went off. All our people in town are well.

Moustapha Kemal is in Smyrna!!

Incognito for the present, disguised as a cavalry officer. I am sure he was one of the men of the cavalry that quietly rode along the quay under the very noses of the Allied fleet that fill the harbour, and that the 200 Cavalry men are his bodyguard! What a turn played to the Powers! – As the cavalry passed along the quay the British marines presented arms, not knowing whom they were saluting! – What will Lloyd George say now? Kemal is greater than he. – About 1000 people are reported to have been killed during the firing this morning in Bournabat.

I was dreadfully distressed [to hear] that Edith's house left u[n]attended] and with both doors wide open [was] sacked! How will she bear this misfortune! Dr Denotowitz<sup>140</sup> gave me this news. He came here and was quickly called away and told to go home and keep indoors. The situation was dangerous. P. Pagy's<sup>141</sup> house was also looted and other houses too I am told. – Reggio's, Edith Lawson's, etc.

Later

We were terrified last night when a great fire broke out quite close to us. Manoclo's house was burnt down. Tremendous clouds of smoke, in the midst of which flames leapt sky high and millions of sparks flew over our tiles and fell into the garden. At one time it seemed as if the stables had caught fire. The horses had been stolen that very morning by Bashibouzouks. By midnight the fire had been smothered by soldiers knocking down walls.

Sept. 13, Wednesday

Our people went on board an English ship ... Later on Fernand took his mother on the quay, spoke to an Englishman guarding a boat, told him his mother was

138 Iron railings.

139 "... " indicates corner of pages missing, affecting several letters.

140 Christian Denotovich (1880-1943) was the village general practitioner.

141 Pierre Pagy.

English but married to an Austrian. The officer took Lucy in his boat. She was taken on board a ship, & was probably transferred to the boat where the Patersons and Lawsons were. – We have had no news of them since – neither of Maria, Aphroditi and Atheio.<sup>142</sup> Fernand last saw them in the crowd running to save themselves from the fast coming on of the fire. – Smyrna was then blazing.

Sept. 14, Thursday

Arrival of Fevzi Pasha and his staff. Asks for rooms for himself and eight officers. – I said I expected the return of my people in a day or two, & could not give up my sisters' rooms. I could only place two rooms at his disposal. He sent for the Mudir<sup>143</sup> & told him to find accommodation for his staff in some other house. He did not wish to annoy me he said. – I had to give up Ernest's room, & the two rooms I had already offered him.

Sept. 15, Friday

Richard Abbott comes with a message from the British vice consul waiting outside with a motor car & offering me a seat to take me to town, 'my last chance' he said. I thank & decline, preferring to remain quietly here!

The town set on fire. We can see the red glow illuminating the sky & glowing smoke ascending ever higher. Bombs are constantly exploding & the sound reaches us very distinctly. I am anxious about my people, although I am sure they are safe on board. – No communications whatever with the town. No trains, only military autos. –

Later

Distracted refugees escaping from town, now almost totally destroyed. All the beautiful houses on the quay gone. The Paterson's pied à terre, the British, French and American consulates all in ruins.

Sept. 16, Saturday

Arrival of Kemal Pasha in our house, together with Ismet

Pasha and other generals, & the famous Turkish lady, Halide Edib Hanoum. I received them and expressed my joy at making the acquaintance of Kemal, I so admire. After a quarter of an hour's conversation with me, Kemal with five others went upstairs to discuss the answer to the Allies. The fate of the Empire was being discussed just outside my bedroom door, near the piano. These gentlemen dined here & later on Kemal asked for a bath. He had one, after which we renewed our conversation. He promised to come again.

Halide Edib (1885-1964) was a teacher, novelist and, at this time, Kemal's chief propagandist. Considered Turkey's first liberated woman, she left her first husband in 1910 when he took a second wife. She married again in 1917, to a Turkish politician, Adnan Adivar, and was exiled (1925-1938) when her husband was accused of plotting against Kemal. She returned to Turkey in 1939 after both her husband and Kemal had died, teaching at Istanbul University and serving as a Member of Parliament (1950-1954).

Sept. 17, Sunday

Trains begin to run. Villagers are allowed free circulation, but are still timid and frightened. Most of their belongings have been stolen and their houses wrecked. – When Kemal's cavalry entered Smyrna the Greeks shouted: Zito o Kemals! Zito o Kemals!<sup>144</sup> & an image of the Virgin was kissed & handed from one to the other all down the crowd along the quay!

Kemal, Fevzi, Ismet, Azim Pashas assemble in Ernest's room & discuss the political situation, and leave to visit Nourredin and Emin staying at Ed. Whit. Ismet is staying at Mary G's. Every house is occupied by officers and their men.

September 18, Monday

No news from anywhere, no letters no papers.

142 Greek maids.

143 Mürdür, is Turkish for manager, supervisor or overseer.

144 Long Live Kemal! (Greek)

*Ismet Pasha, Fevzi Pasha and Azim Pasha dine here. & after dinner Ismet and Fernand play several games of chess, Ismet wins one, and Fernand two. – I go to bed at 11. Fevzi retires some time after, but Ismet and Fernand sit up talking until 1 in the morning. A heap of papers are brought to Fevzi Pasha who is Minister of War for him to sign. Azim Pasha and I talk in German. His pronunciation is defective.*

Ismet's son, Erdal İnönü, recalled his father's legendary passion for chess as follows:

*One of my father's most favored past times was to play chess. In his memoirs he says my grandfather loved to play chess and he himself learned to play it at an early age. In his library at home he had lots of chess books. He was also a subscriber to a monthly chess magazine from Germany. He always read them, and he used to say 'I must have read a thousand pages on chess'. He liked to play chess with his close friends.... When we had important guests at night, and after the guests had gone, my father had the habit of playing chess by himself for an hour or so before he went to bed. He enjoyed playing chess but he took it seriously – he always played to win. When he won, he was pleased, when he lost (which was rare) he would sulk or say something like 'Oh, you were so lucky' and in that case he would usually insist on another round – until he won.<sup>145</sup>*

Wood continued her daily account:

*September 19, Tuesday  
A French Admiral has come to see Kemal. Fevzi went to town to meet them. Sari<sup>146</sup> Pasha has arrived from London. – Fernand with a Turkish friend, an old acquaintance, took a turn in the village and was impressed and saddened by all he saw. The gates of houses left wide open, the*

*houses looted & deserted, the streets empty. The village abandoned by all former residents & our friends. – Will they ever return! –*

*Sept. 21, Thurs.*

*Azim Pasha came to fetch Fevzi P. to go to town where they were to meet all the Angora Government Officials just arrived from Angora. – General Pellé is here. – The French, Italian & American Consulates are said to have begun work. Azim told me that Halide Edib Hanoum intended to come and see me probably tomorrow.*

General Maurice Pellé (1863-1924) had been the French High Commissioner on the Allied Supreme Council, Constantinople since 1920. He left Constantinople on a warship for Smyrna without informing his Allied colleagues. He hoped to extricate France from its commitment to support the Allies at Chanak by persuading Kemal to respect the Neutral Zone. Kemal rejected this proposal averring that he did not recognize the Neutral Zone.<sup>147</sup>

*September 22, Friday*

*The Angora Govt. arrived in Smyrna this morning. Ismet Pasha brought them out to the country. Raouf Bey "President du Conseille" Fuad Pasha and others were introduced to me. Then they went upstairs joined Fevzi Pasha and discussed affairs in the hall upstairs.... Fevzi and Ismet fr. town late. I had their dinner brought to them here. I feel tired. Left Fernand and Ismet playing chess.*

Hussein Rauf, an Ottoman naval hero, who, as Minister of Marine, had negotiated the Armistice of Mudros, was Prime Minister in the Grand National Assembly at this time. After breaking with Kemal and Ismet in 1923, he led the opposition until he was tried for treason in 1926 and exiled. Ali Fuat was an

145 Erdal İnönü, *Anılar ve Düşünceler*, vol.1 (Istanbul: Idea İletişim Hizmetleri AS, 1996), 51-52. Summary translation provided by Yıldız Belger.

146 Writing not clear, although Fethy Bey, see infra, had just returned from London.

147 Kinross, *Atatürk*, 378-79.

Ottoman general who joined Kemal's nationalist movement after the war. He served as Ambassador to the Soviet Union after he was replaced by Ismet as commander on the western front. At this time he was the president of Kemal's Defense of Rights party in the Grand National Assembly. He also joined the opposition to Kemal and was tried for treason at the same time. Unlike Rauf, he was acquitted.

*Sept. 23, Saturday*

*In the afternoon Fevzi and Ismet P. came from town with Fethy Bey who looks a dull Turk, but is not probably so. He has just returned from London where Lloyd G refused to see him. Curzon too.*

Ali Fethi, a schoolmate of Kemal's, was Minister of the Interior in the Angora government. He had been sent as a peace emissary to Europe to discuss a Greek evacuation in case the Smyrna campaign did not go well. He later succeeded Rauf as Prime Minister.

At this point in time the Allies, collectively and separately, were trying to find diplomatic solutions to end the hostilities. Kemal's forces were advancing on the Dardanelles at Chanak, where British, French and Italian forces guarded the Neutral Zone established by the Treaty of Sèvres. France especially was intent on an agreement since her own treaty with Kemal, negotiated by Henry Franklin-Boullion (1870-1937), was still secret. Wood's diary gives an interesting backdrop to the Turkish side of the affair. Within a week, however, she noted sadly that her Pashas were all leaving as the locus of the drama shifted north. Smyrna was left to its governor, Nureddin Pasha.

## THE AFTERMATH

For many days some 300,000<sup>148</sup> refugees, caught between the fire and the sea, remained on the quays of Smyrna awaiting word of their fate. On September 16 the Turkish authorities announced that all male Christian refugees between the ages of 18 and 45 were prisoners of war and would be deported to the interior, considered the equivalent of a death sentence. Of this Horton wrote:

*One of the most outrageous features of the Smyrna horror was the carrying away of the men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. These were inoffensive farmers and others, in no wise responsible for the landing of the Hellenic army in Asia Minor. They were the bread winners and their forcible detention left widows and orphans to be supported by the so-called "Christian nations," especially the United States.<sup>149</sup>*

The Turkish authorities also stated that the remaining refugees could be evacuated but, if they were still in Smyrna on October 1, they too would be deported. This Turkish order referred not just to the refugees, but to all Greeks and Armenians in the area as Hortense Wood make clear in her diary:

*Sept. 26, Tuesday*

*Poor Calliopi came to my room sobbing. She went to her house and found it pillaged. Every stick and rag in it stolen. – It is rumoured that all women are to leave the country. It would be a disaster for them and for us. – What are we to do without servants! ... They are pessimistic. – Our pashas looked glum today. Things are not going well probably.*

148 Prior to the disaster the population of Smyrna had only been some 300,000 of whom at least half were Greek. Source: *Encyclopædia Britannica* 11th ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), 25: 284. This number had been significantly swollen by the tide of refugees from the interior. Another population estimate states that before 1922 Smyrna had a cosmopolitan population of 270,000 inhabitants composed of 140,000 Greeks, 80,000 Turks, 12,000 Armenians, 20,000 Jews and 15,000 Europeans including Levantines. The latter were descendants of British, Dutch, and French who had settled some 100 years earlier in the Near East. <<http://www.jetcity.com/~azdarar/smyrna.htm>>

149 Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 165.

Sept. 29, Friday

*Our pasha has been spending all day in town with all the other Pashas discussing the situation with Franklin Bouillon.*

The discussions with Franklin-Bouillon led to the Conference of Mudanya, which opened on October 3 and ended the hostilities. Meanwhile huge efforts were made to meet the Turkish evacuation timetable and success came with six hours to spare. Greek ships, flying no flag, were allowed in the harbour and, with the help of the American and British navies, 180,000 evacuees were taken off. Most were initially transported to Mytilene (Mitilini) on Lesbos, although families were broken up in the chaos and panic, and some ships went to other ports. Turkey was prevailed upon to give a further eight days grace allowing the British and Greek fleets to evacuate another 60,000 refugees from the nearby ports of Urla, Chesme and Ayvalik. The question of the deportees, or prisoners of war, was not considered until the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. In fact the provisions of the Treaty governing the release of deportees were not enacted until January 1924 by which time an estimated two-thirds of them had perished.<sup>150</sup>

Estimates regarding the scope of the Smyrna disaster vary wildly. Admiral Bristol, the American High Commissioner in Constantinople downplayed the "exaggerated and alarming reports" of the disaster.<sup>151</sup> He said: "It is impossible to estimate the number of deaths due to killings, fire, and execution, but the total probably does not exceed 2,000," a number far lower than most other estimates. De Cramer stated

that 1,200 were killed in Bournabat alone. Bristol's estimate was generally accepted in the West, causing one scholar to describe the fire as one "in which, after all, though the loss of property had been vast, the loss of human life had been comparatively small."<sup>152</sup> At the other end of the scale, the American Vice-Consul at Smyrna, George Horton, numbered the deaths at 100,000, or almost a quarter of the swollen population.<sup>153</sup> Comparisons of the population before and after the disaster show some 190,000 people unaccounted for.<sup>154</sup> There is no exact accounting of the number of deportees taken to the interior, but Greek sources place these at 100,000.<sup>155</sup> The types of statistical analysis engaged in by the above sources tend to be crude and unsatisfactory. It is probably wise to treat all figures, high and low, with some degree of caution. After the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey proposed an exchange of remaining populations in a separate convention with Greece. As a result of the Treaty of Exchange, 390,000 Moslems left Greece for Turkey, while 1,250,000 Greeks and 100,000 Armenians came to Greece from Turkish territory (including Eastern Thrace which was ceded in the treaty).<sup>156</sup> However the numbers of dead and relocated are calculated, one thing was certain – after 1924 Turkey no longer had the problem of significant populations of Christian minorities in its territory.

In addition to restoring Turkey's boundaries to the 1918 status, ridding Turkey of its Christian minorities was an important plank of Kemalist nationalism. The destruction of Smyrna, combined with the Treaty of Exchange, did more to accomplish this than any

150 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 207-09.

151 *Ibid.*, 190.

152 Kinross, *Atatürk* 372.

153 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 190,258; Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 173-76.

154 Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair*, 258.

155 U.S. Department of State. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*. 1922, vol. 2 (Washington: U.S. Dept. of State): 941.

156 For an interesting follow up of what happened to the transplanted Ottoman Christians see Renée Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Figures for the numbers exchanged are far more reliable than the estimates of deaths in Smyrna.

other act. Of the fire Kemal told Latifé that it is “a sign that Turkey is purged of traitors, the Christians, and of the foreigners, and that Turkey is for the Turks.”<sup>157</sup> It is not clear whether or not Kemal himself took a Nero-like approach to the question of urban renewal and Christian minorities in Smyrna. At the time of the outbreak, he was either in Bournabat discussing negotiations with the Allies and planning the coming advance on the Dardanelles, or in Göztepe engaged in his pursuit of the fascinating Latifé. Smyrna was under the military control of the cruel and xenophobic Nureddin Pasha, who had both the desire and, as governor, the authority to rid the city of Christians by any means at his disposal.<sup>158</sup> It seems probable that the orders to use fire in the Armenian quarter emanated from him, and not higher up. It is also possible that the conflagration did indeed get out of control and the destruction was greater than intended.

It is likely that, had these events occurred at the close of the twentieth century, special prosecutors would be preparing war crimes indictments against the Turkish commanders before international tribunals. Yet it would be wrong to judge these events from the moral high ground of the new millennium when the world has had to react to far grosser violations of human rights. In 1922 nationalism, even ethnic nationalism, was considered something of a virtue to be admired. Kemal’s provisional government was waging a war of liberation against an enemy that not only occupied its territory but also had persecuted the Turkish inhabitants. Smyrna was seen as a city in which a significant proportion of the inhabitants had committed treason through cooperating or collaboration with a foreign invader. It should also be noted that even if the direst calculations of casu-

alties are accepted, over 85% of the Ottoman Christians survived to be relocated. Tragic though the catastrophe was it cannot compare to many incidents later in the century. Kemal was perhaps wrong to trivialize the fire to Admiral Dumesnil as a disagreeable incident and an “episode of secondary importance.”<sup>159</sup> Kemal’s staff officers, as reported by de Cramer, gave a more acceptable response when they stated that they disapproved of the actions of their troops, but rationalized these activities because of the horrors committed against Turks that those same troops had seen for the previous two weeks in the interior.

After the conquest of Smyrna, Kemal’s armies moved towards the Dardanelles and the allied positions at Chanak. As the Turkish troops arrived, the French and Italian troops pulled out leaving the British surprised and alone. There was an uneasy truce while diplomats tried to find a solution to the impasse. The eventual result was that Kemal was given Constantinople and Eastern Thrace, achieving all of his war aims, while his great opponent Lloyd George fell from power. Kemal was then free to consolidate his own power and begin the task of building a modern, secular state. France’s duplicitous diplomacy availed little in the end since Kemal had seen, and never forgiven, Franchet d’Espèrey’s entry into Constantinople. The economic concessions that France had sought and thought guaranteed were given to Admiral Chester’s American group in April 1923.

In these greater events the fact that Smyrna was destroyed and could never be rebuilt as it had been seemed almost overlooked. As one observer put it: “Nine days before I found it a beautiful Greek city with happy homes and prosperous people. Today I

157 Armstrong, *Grey Wolf: Mustafa Kemal*, 203. Armstrong states (p. 10) that the quotations in his book were either “supplied by Mustafa Kemal or obtained from documentary or verbal sources that had been severely tested and carefully weighed before their veracity and value have been accepted.”

158 Kinross, *Atatürk*, 370.

159 *Ibid.*, 372.

leave it a Turkish city, dead and in ruins."<sup>160</sup> The modern and wholly Turkish city of Izmir was built on the ruins of Smyrna, inherited some of Smyrna's liberal and cosmopolitan outlook, and may itself be a source of pride today. Yet Smyrna was lost, its destruction foreshadowing the fate that was shortly awaiting other great multicultural cities of the twentieth century like Danzig and Beirut.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Professors Steven Davis (Simon Fraser University), Mary Ann Glendon (Harvard Law School), Resat Kasaba (University of Washington) and Bruce Trigger (McGill University) for reading and commenting on the manuscript. Sinan Kunalp (Director of Isis Press, Istanbul), Leyla Neyzi (Sabanci University), Irvin Schick, Zekeriya Turkmen and Gurel Tuzun all provided helpful information over the internet. Warren Dicks (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona) did his usual eagle-eyed proof-reading work. A number of Whittall descendants graciously

granted interviews or responded to correspondence as follows: Sebastian Bell, Barbara Jackson, Paul McKernan, Mary Giraud Whittall and Ian Wookey. Sally Gallia kindly undertook the time-consuming task of transcribing relevant parts of Hortense Wood's diary, with the permission of Wood's great-niece Renée Steinbüchel. She also provided other useful information from her database of the Bornova Anglican Cemetery (now published and available for purchase). My greatest debt is to Yildiz Belger, a freelance artist in Izmir, who not only translated and transmitted to me many Turkish sources related to the history of Anatolia, but also visited local cemeteries and interviewed a variety of people to track down information on the Whittall, Wood and de Cramer families. Mrs. Belger also made the important contact with Renée Steinbüchel and Sally Gallia.

<sup>160</sup> Raber, "New light on the destruction of Smyrna," 317.

## EDWARD BLACK GREENSHIELDS: THE MCGILL CONNECTION

By Gordon Burr

*Edward Black Greenshields, Montreal businessman and art collector, was a wealthy denizen of the Square Mile. The head of Greenshields Ltd., the largest dry goods wholesaler in Canada, he had many links to McGill University as a student, benefactor, member of the Board of Governors and contributor to The University Magazine. This paper is an exploration of Greenshields' benevolent and cultural ties to McGill, primarily during a golden age of University expansion from 1890 to the First World War.*

*Edward Black Greenshields, riche homme d'affaires et collectionneur d'oeuvres d'art montréalais, habitait le Square Mile. Président de Greenshields Ltd., le plus important grossiste de mercerie du Canada, il a entretenu de nombreux rapports avec l'Université McGill comme étudiant, bienfaiteur, membre du Conseil des gouverneurs et collaborateur du The University Magazine. Cet article traite en profondeur des liens culturels et de bénévolat que Edward Black Greenshields a tissés avec l'Université McGill, essentiellement à une époque où l'Université a pris une expansion considérable, soit entre 1890 et la Première Guerre Mondiale.*

**E**DWARD BLACK GREENSHIELDS was born in 1850 into wealth and privilege. A native of Montreal, he was the eldest son of Scottish immigrant John Greenshields, a prominent local dry goods merchant, and Mrs. E. (Elizabeth) Black Greenshields.<sup>1</sup> After reviewing some of the literature on Canadian business men<sup>2</sup> including Montreal's anglo-protestant community<sup>3</sup> or the primarily Scottish business elite that inhabited Montreal's Square Mile,<sup>4,5</sup> it might be supposed that close family, ethnic and religious ties and the pressures of family business interests, would lead

Edward to enter the family firm, to work hard, accumulate even more wealth and to return to the community a certain amount of his gains.

Indeed, while Edward Black Greenshields fits quite comfortably into the business leader and benefactor pattern, what sets him apart from most of his fellow Montreal businessmen and McGill donors, such as Lord Strathcona and William C. Macdonald, was his academic background. Unlike many of his business contemporaries he had a University degree. A McGill graduate actively engaged in the intellectual life of the University and his country, he

1 *Montreal Gazette*, 23 April, 1917; John Lovell, *Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1918-1919*, (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1918): 168. Mrs. E. Greenshields is listed as the widow of John Greenshields.

2 Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978): 308, 505-06.

3 Margaret Westley, introduction to *Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900-1950* (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1990).

4 W. Stanford Reid, ed., *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland-Stewart, 1976): 196.

5 Donald Mackay, introduction to *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987).

published poetry and an article in *The University Magazine*, two volumes of art criticism and a slim tome of poems. He was the literary Renaissance man of the Montreal world of commerce.

Greenshields' burning interest in education and his intellectual engagement came from his background and his own experience as a student. There is a strong sense of rigorous, theological thought and a commitment to community service from his mother's side of the family, in the person of his grandfather and namesake Edward Black. Black, a minister of the Church of Scotland, had immigrated to Montreal in 1822. He served as a minister in the then pre-eminent Presbyterian Church in Montreal, the St. Gabriel St. Church. An evangelical minister, he was no stranger to the fractious and highly charged world of Montreal Presbyterianism. Black was one of three ministers in the church when a squabble erupted over the remuneration, or rather the lack of adequate financing, for the three clergymen. Black's faction occupied the Church and refused entry to their foes. An intervention from the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada led to the formation of two separate churches in 1831. In 1834 Black became the first minister of the St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, a church whose congregation contained many representatives of Montreal's emerging business elite. This church, known by the 1880's as the "richest church" in Canada, was the religious home to many of the wealthy inhabitants of Montreal's Square Mile. St. Paul's remained the family church

throughout Edward Black Greenshields' lifetime. Perhaps even more significantly Edward Black reflected or personified the importance and value of education to the family. In order to supplement the family's income, in the 1830's Edward Black had become a schoolmaster, setting up a short-lived private school in Montreal. A graduate of the University of Edinburgh, he received a Doctor of Divinity degree from the same institution in 1837.<sup>6</sup>

Young Edward Black Greenshields was educated locally in Montreal. He attended the High School Department of McGill College in the 1863-1864 session.<sup>7</sup> The High School, perhaps better known as the High School of Montreal, had been founded in 1845 as a financial investment, with the goal of providing a "liberal course of education" to "enlarge the sphere of human knowledge".<sup>8</sup> It drew inspiration from schools in Edinburgh, as well as from English public schools such as Eton and Harrow. The classics-oriented curriculum was chiefly composed of Latin, Greek and mathematics courses with lesser emphasis on modern languages, history, geography, science, drilling and gymnastics.<sup>9</sup> In 1853 the school became affiliated with McGill University and by 1863 had become a self-financing part of McGill.

The High School, with a staff of five teachers and about 200 students, was located in Burnside Hall, on the corner of Dorchester and University Streets and included a library and museum as well as lecture and meeting halls.<sup>10</sup> The school served as a conduit to the college courses of McGill, supplying over half

6 George Woodcock, "Edward Black," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, 1836-1850, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988): 77.

7 E.I. Rexford, *The History of the High School of Montreal* (Montreal: Old Boys Association of the High School of Montreal, 1950): 44.

8 *Ibid.*, 30.

9 *Ibid.*, 46-49.

10 *Ibid.*, 34-35.

11 *Ibid.*, 54.

12 McGill University, *The McGill University Calendar and Examination Papers, 1865-1866* (Montreal, Lovell and Son, 1865), 11-12, 62-64.

of the University's Arts graduates in the 1850's and 1860's.<sup>11</sup> Both Edward and his younger brother Samuel followed this route to McGill University.

The McGill University which Edward entered in 1865 was a relatively small, even an intimate, institution with 354 students. Arts was the second largest Faculty with a grand total of eighty students spread over the four-year program. Most of the students came from Quebec or Ontario, many from Montreal, while the remainder came from the Maritimes, save for one from New York. Thirty-three staff served the University, mainly in Medicine with only a few in Arts.<sup>12</sup>

When he graduated in 1869, Edward's class totalled fifteen students.<sup>13</sup> His classmates included two future professors of McGill, Francis Shepherd in medicine, who served as the Dean from 1908-1914, and Bernard J. Harrington, Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy, a future son-in-law of the then Principal John William Dawson. Edward was an outstanding student: when he received his B.A. degree in 1869 he was also awarded the Prince of Wales Gold medal, with first rank honours in Mental and Moral Philosophy.<sup>14</sup> Money to fund the prize had been donated by the Prince of Wales during the course of a visit to Montreal in 1860. In order to attain this reward Edward had to sit for a special set of examinations on logic, mental and moral philosophy as well as philosophy, both ancient and modern.

While there is a dearth of information on the exact content of individual University lectures, one can

derive from the reading lists and examination papers a fairly good idea of the subject matter. In this British-inspired curriculum, the classical Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle were quite well represented while more "modern" European philosophers were also present, including John Hobbes, Kant, and Descartes. The textbooks came directly from authors in the British Isles, or indirectly through translations.<sup>15</sup>

Edward's chief tutor was the quietly effective William Turnbull Leach, educated at the University of Edinburgh, and an Anglican rector of St. George's Church. Leach had joined McGill in 1846 and held a variety of posts until his death in 1886. He served a period as a Vice-Principal prior to John William Dawson's arrival as Principal in 1853, Dean of Arts from 1853-1886 and Professor of Philosophy and holder of the Molson Chair in English Language and Literature from 1872-1883.<sup>16</sup> Leach had at one time been a Presbyterian minister but had left this Church over concerns for the legitimacy of the doctrine of pre-destination. Leach was, for John William Dawson, a McGill stalwart who had, through his teaching, greatly aided the University. Leach had an abiding interest in classics of English literature, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope.<sup>17</sup> As a teacher Leach encouraged the young Edward to explore literature and poetry but there is no written evidence of Edward's views on Leach. Leach may or may not have been an inspiring role model for the young Edward. However there are some themes,

13 McGill University, *The McGill University Calendar and Examination Papers, 1869-1870* (Montreal: J. C. Becket, 1869): 74-75.

14 McGill University, *Directory of Graduates, Corrected to July 1913* (Montreal: Dodd-Simpson Press, 1913): 52; McGill University, *The McGill University Calendar and Examination Papers, 1870-1871* (Montreal: John Lovell and Co., 1870): 73-74. The Prince of Wales Gold Medal was for an honours course in Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy. Alfred Sandham, *McGill College and its Medals* (Montreal: D. Bentley and Co., 1872). Unpaginated.

15 McGill University, *The McGill University Calendar and Examination Papers, 1868-1869* (Montreal, John Lovell and Co., 1868): 27-28.

16 Staff Card Index, entry for Edward Leach, n.d., McGill University Archives.

17 Edgar A. Collard, "Edward Turnbull Leach," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 11 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982): 503.

found in his later writings, which can be traced back to some of his undergraduate education: his tendency to reflect on the human condition, a keen interest in history as a set of distinct ages or epochs, and an inclination towards English authors and literature.

For many men of the Anglo-Montreal community, participation in the military formed an important part of their education, sense of societal responsibility as well as power, and Edward was no exception. He joined a local militia unit, the Third Victoria Rifles, and was on active service during the Fenian raids in 1866.<sup>18</sup> In 1868 he attended militia school, received training from British officers, and became a second lieutenant in 1869. He left the militia unit as a captain on February 12, 1875.<sup>19</sup>

This military training occupied Edward only on a part-time basis: his chief occupation was the family business. In 1869 he commenced his apprenticeship in the family wholesale dry-goods business, S. Greenshields, Son and Co.<sup>20</sup> His father and grandfather had founded the business but both had died by 1867. He became a partner in 1876,<sup>21</sup> with his Uncle David Greenshields, who died in 1882. He then carried on the business with his only brother Samuel, who died in 1888. Edward became the head of the company in 1888<sup>22</sup> and the president of Greenshields Ltd. in 1903.<sup>23</sup> He was responsible for the evolution of the company from a partnership to corporate structure. This concentration of day-to-day activities in the hands of employees allowed Edward to devote considerably more time to his benevolent and cultural interests. He, nevertheless,

presided over the expansion of the business across Canada.<sup>24</sup> By 1907 the company was the country's largest supplier of both imported and domestic dry goods.<sup>25</sup>

His views of Canadian political life were coloured by his business experiences. After all, he owned a trans-Canadian company with offices in Montreal and Vancouver. He believed that governments had clearly set-out responsibilities: low taxation, tariff protection, good government based on equitable, honest, tendering practices, and civic improvements, especially in the area of canals and harbours.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, a cultural dimension, as revealed in his poetry, tempered this commercial view of Canada,

*Farther than the eye can see, far north, far west,  
Stretched the prairie land, whose travail yields  
Such precious harvesting...  
But Canada has fairer fields untold,  
Where embryo thoughts and words of fire lie down,  
Resting until the master poet, skilled  
To feed the hungry human heart, shall come God!  
For a ploughman, like the Scot of old  
To draw a furrow through the teeming mould.<sup>27</sup>*

He believed fervently in the 19th century ideal of fostering Canadian national growth through the development of various educational and cultural institutions including universities, libraries and museums. His political ideas had other more conventional elements to it: for example he proclaimed, as President of the Montreal Board of Trade, the Anglo-

18 *Montreal Gazette*, April 27, 1917.

19 Record of Officers Ledger, 1862-1940, Victoria Rifles of Canada, Montreal Fonds, McCord Museum.

20 *Montreal Gazette*, April 23, 1917; C.W. Parker, ed., *Who's Who and Why*, vols. 6 and 7 (Toronto: International Press Ltd., 1914), 642.

21 E. B. Greenshields, *Diary*, vol.5, 1913-1916, November 28, 1915, Greenshields Family Papers, McCord Museum.

22 *Ibid.*

23 Marcel Caya, ed., *Guide to Archival Resources at McGill University* (Montreal: McGill University Archives, 1985), 2: 171.

24 Ernest J. Chambers, *The Book of Montreal* (Montreal: The Book of Montreal, 1907): 175.

25 E.B Greenshields, *Diary*, vol.1, 1894-1900, May 27, 1897, Greenshields Family Papers, McCord Museum.

Saxon Empire to be the “greatest agency for good known to the world”.<sup>28</sup> His imperial ideals put him in good stead with the views of many others at McGill including Principal William Peterson, medical professor Andrew MacPhail and the humorist Stephen Leacock. Like many Canadians he saw no contradiction between his Canadian patriotism and attachment to Empire. The one both enabled and ennobled the other. However, this sense of bonding with the English speaking centres of London, New York and Toronto tended to exclude Montreal Francophones.<sup>29</sup> While he certainly understood the French language, E. B. Greenshields reflected this tendency.

Directorships typify Greenshields’ involvement in the Montreal business community: the Bank of Montreal, Royal Trust Company, and Standard Life Assurance Company, Ocean Accident Assurance Company and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.<sup>30</sup> His own investment habits followed his directorships; his portfolio held mainly the stock of the Bank of Montreal and Royal Trust.<sup>31</sup>

The most time consuming role that Edward fulfilled at McGill was that of a volunteer member of the tightly knit Board of Governors.

Edward was named to the Board of Governors in 1886 and served until his death in 1917.<sup>32</sup> He was a regular attendee of the Board Meetings and served on a variety of committees. His chief area of specialization was real estate or building management. Given that his dry goods business involved the management of land and warehouses on Victoria Square in

Montreal, it was probably a good fit. This benevolent work was often hands-on and wide-ranging: at times he was an executive, at times a manager and at times a supervisor. His tasks ranged from examining the cleanliness of the student union building, to helping to write the financial regulations of the University, to acting as a financial advisor concerning investments and signing deeds on the part of the University.

He was also a long-time member of the estate, or after 1908, the finance committee of the Board of Governors where most of the key economic decisions were made concerning the University’s financial and business affairs, including managing the assets of the University. By 1900 McGill greatly expanded its scientific facilities especially in Engineering or as it was then known as “Applied Science”, and Physics. Since 1893 new Physics, Engineering, Chemistry and Mining, and Library buildings and even more new laboratories were constructed. The development of these facilities was partly a result of the greater influx of gifts to McGill chiefly from two men who became chancellor (titular head) of McGill: the enigmatic tobacco magnate William C. Macdonald and Lord Strathcona (Donald Smith), Governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, President of the Bank of Montreal, and Canadian High Commissioner in London.

E.B. Greenshields regularly attended meetings of the estate committee with three or four other members. The mainstays consisted of Richard B. Angus, president of the Bank of Montreal, a direc-

26 E.B. Greenshields, *Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Montreal Board of Trade* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1893): 11-12, 16.

27 Edward Black Greenshields, “The Fields of Canada”, *The University Magazine* 8, no.1 (1909): 126.

28 Greenshields, *Fiftieth Annual Meeting*, 17, 24.

29 Roderick Macleod, “Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal’s Golden Square Mile, 1840-1895” (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1997): 234.

30 *Montreal Gazette*, April 23, 1917.

31 Estate of E.B. Greenshields File, File 529, Greenshields Family Fonds, McCord Museum.

32 McGill University Archives, Staff Card Index, Entry for Edward Black Greenshields, nd.

tor of the CPR, and art collector, Charles James or C.J. Fleet (BA 1873, Law 1879), solicitor of the Bank of Montreal, and a permanent secretary, usually the Bursar. Both large and small dealings concerning the financial lifeblood of the University passed before this committee.

The investment decisions taken by this committee were quite conservative. The University purchased bonds but seemed to favour loans secured by land, including such clients as a Presbyterian church and a Catholic church.<sup>33</sup> All demands for salary increases (academic and support staff) were set before the committee, including the payments of servants at the newly constructed Royal Victoria College.<sup>34</sup> No event at the University seemed too small to escape the notice of this committee, from the costs incurred during a flood at the Medical Building to the purchase of a few dozen chairs and stools in the Physics Building and the installation of new electric lights for teaching purposes in the Redpath Museum.<sup>35</sup>

In response to the growing administrative complexity of the University the committee carried out a number of reforms for the 1899-1900 year, including an appropriation system for all University expenditures. These new budget regulations allowed for the allocation of specific yearly budgets to the heads of twenty University departments, including seven laboratories.<sup>36</sup> The donor regulations stipulated that there was to be no diversion of any gift or endowment from the purposes or department for which it

was intended.<sup>37</sup> The relationship of the University to the business world was also broached in this committee. By 1900 the McGill labs were being used extensively to do testing for commercial purposes and the benefits to the University of such relationships included receipt of the most up-to-date equipment and materials, charge-back of costs and exposure of staff in the most current practices in the field. However, there was a concern that this might prove to be a potential drain on University resources and the committee wished to see it "limited as much as possible to investigations of scientific interest or teaching value to students".<sup>38</sup> Ultimately this evaluation was left up to the academic staff responsible for the labs.

Greenshields served as Honorary Treasurer of McGill from 1903-1911, and was primarily responsible for the onerous task of managing the finances for the reconstruction of two buildings, the Engineering Building and the Medical Building, which had burned in 1907. By all accounts he did yeoman work in the management of these financial resources.<sup>39</sup> He dealt with suppliers, insurance companies and William C. Macdonald who provided funds for the Engineering Building as well as Lord Strathcona who financed the new Medical Building.

The relationship of academia with businessmen on the Board of Governors was a question that Greenshields touched upon in a humorous speech at a Faculty of Arts dinner in the Faculty Club in 1909. After remarking to professors that he seldom had the

33 Estate Committee minute book, June 13, 1901 McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0289, File 09038.

34 Estate Committee minute book, September 14, 1899, McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0289, File 09038.

35 Estate Committee minute book, December 12, 1901, McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0289, File 09038.

36 Estate Committee minute book, April 1999, McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0289, File 09038.

37 Ibid.

38 Estate Committee minute book, June 13, 1901 McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0289, File 09038.

39 Board of Governor's minute book, 1910-1919, April 23, 1917, McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0008, File 09008.

40 Speech – Health of Andrew MacPhail at a dinner at the Faculty Club, 10 March, 1909, Greenshields Family Fonds, File 519, McCord Museum.

opportunity to talk to academics because he was usually the listener, he explored the differences and associations between academia and merchants.<sup>40</sup> He felt poets and writers were needed, through their “winged words”, to inspire merchants, often holders of prosaic knowledge, to greater intellectual heights. Although poets were not supposed to understand business, Greenshields suggested (quoting Plato) that “Poets utter great and wise thought, which they do not themselves understand”. He postulated that poets are indeed qualified to write about business. Therefore, he asked that poets utter their great and wise thoughts and merchants do the understanding.<sup>41</sup> Lastly, he suggested that merchants too have ideals and dreams beyond their commercial aspirations, “The dreamers rule the world, ever since Joseph (and even before him) dreamed his dreams and cornered the wheat market”.<sup>42</sup>

In a similarly humorous vein, the view of a Faculty member concerning the Board of Governors was read out at another Dean of Arts’ dinner, October 29, 1909:

*First let me voice a wish I must avow,  
The Board of Governors might see us now.  
That we might have to make the tale complete  
An Angus, Greenshields and a Fleet.  
Oh Sirs, this spectacle would make them feel  
That poor professors like a solid meal...  
When next the stream of benefaction starts,  
Pray pour it on the Faculty of Arts.  
Oh, Edward, William, Robert, James and John  
Delay no longer, kindly turn it on!*

This poem was supplied courtesy of McGill professor, and noted Canadian humorist Stephen Leacock.<sup>43</sup>

On a more serious note, Greenshields saw Universities as intellectual centres for teaching and research helped by merchants but run by its Faculty. This balanced view of Universities contrasted sharply with the view expressed to him by his friend William Cornelius Van Horne, “Universities... should not be object of charities .... Higher education should be of the best quality and adequately paid for: indeed I believe that our great schools and universities will never reach the maximum of usefulness until they are run like joint stock companies and on business principles. Then we shall see a struggle to secure the highest class of instructors with the most perfect of equipment and see the end of the middle age traditions which now govern most of the great institutions of learning”<sup>44</sup>.

In his family life as well, Greenshields remained connected to the University. In April 19, 1876 he married Eliza Brodie,<sup>45</sup> youngest daughter of Reverend John Cook, and they had two children, Edward John Moray<sup>46</sup> and Elizabeth Muriel.<sup>47</sup> The Reverend John Cook was the Presbyterian minister of St. Andrew’s Church in Quebec City and the Principal of Morin College from 1860-1892. Morin College was an affiliate of McGill University until its closure in 1900, and presented students in the Faculties of Arts and Divinity (Presbyterian Church).<sup>48</sup> Edward, therefore, had not only been a student of

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Stephen Leacock, Box 2, File 1, Greenshields Family Fonds, McCord Museum.

44 Letter from William C. Van Horne to E.B. Greenshields, December 27, 1909, William C. Van Horne Fonds, MG2013, McGill University Archives.

45 E.B. Greenshields, Diary, vol.5, 1913-1916, November 28, 1915, Greenshields Family Fonds, McCord Museum.

46 *Montreal Gazette*, 23 April 23, 1917.

47 Marcel Caya, ed., *Guide to Archival Resources at McGill University* (Montreal: McGill University Archives, 1985), 3: 324.

48 Ethel L. Gale, “Morin College, Quebec,” *The McGill News* 11, no.4 (September 1930): 12-15.

McGill's High School and University, he had actually married into the institution.

Edward's time given freely to the University through service on various committees, was also supplemented by monetary donations, chiefly through legacies. These activities spanned from the 1880's up to at least the 1960's and it became very much a family tradition. Edward's younger brother Samuel died in 1888, and left a bequest to McGill, as well as to the Montreal General Hospital and St. Paul's Church.<sup>49</sup> Both Edward and his company, Greenshields Ltd. provided generous donations to the Centennial campaign of 1921. Edward's son, Edward John Moray Greenshields, left McGill money to be used for research in the Faculty of Medicine to honour his father's name.<sup>50</sup> The archival records of the family, including Edward Black Greenshields' diaries, were left to the McCord Museum. Edward's daughter, Muriel Drinkwater, donated some of his paintings to McGill in the 1960's.<sup>51</sup>

Aside from these legacies, Edward provided, during his lifetime, sums of money for particular projects, including the E.B. Greenshields Prize for the best summer essay written by a student in Applied Science (1891-1898)<sup>52</sup>; and in 1904-1905 Edward provided money to McGill Librarian Charles H. Gould to aid in the financing of McGill's Library School. Gould specifically thanked Greenshields and four other benefactors who "through their generosity relieved the University of the pecuniary obligations incurred in conducting the school"<sup>53</sup>

Greenshields' pet McGill project was the initiation of a University publication devoted to worthy scientific and literary papers from the University community. With science professors John Cox and Henry Taylor Bovey, he lobbied the University's governing academic body, the Corporation, to set up such a publication in 1896.<sup>54</sup> The result of this lobbying was the *McGill University Magazine*, which ran from 1896 to 1901 until 1906 but there is little information on Greenshields' further involvement with this undertaking. However, Greenshields' relation with its successor, *The University Magazine*, was another matter.

*The University Magazine* was a joint publication of McGill, Dalhousie and the University of Toronto, set up to examine current Canadian issues in science, arts, philosophy, politics and industry. Despite the triumvirate of Universities involved, everyone from S.E.D. Shortt, in his study of Andrew MacPhail, to Stephen Leacock's contemporary assessment, attributes the success and tone of the magazine to the editor and McGill medical professor, Andrew MacPhail.<sup>55</sup> MacPhail was well known for his strong imperialist sentiments, acerbic criticisms, sometimes-polemical writing style, anti-American sentiments, and lack of sympathy for reforms. According to Shortt, MacPhail had a "reverence for tradition and the moral dimension of life, based on the legal, cultural and religious conventions associated with a British heritage and was hostile to the excesses of technological innovation and democracy".<sup>56</sup> As Greenshields pointed out, MacPhail was also famous for his epigrammatic

49 Letter from E.B. Greenshields to J.H.R. Molson, Chair, Estate Committee, McGill University, May 11, 1896 McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0503, File 6771.

50 McGill University Archives, RG 4, Board of Governors, c.0260, file 7272, E.B. Greenshields – Estate file.

51 Ibid.

52 E.B. Greenshields Prize file, McGill University Archives, Board of Governors, RG 4, C 0074, File 10307.

53 McGill University, *Annual Reports of McGill University, Report 1904-1905*, 33.

54 Letter of John Cox to Charles Gould, January 21, 1896, McGill University Archives, RG 40, C 0003, File 01490.

55 S.E.D. Shortt, *The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian Intellectuals and their Convictions in an Age of Transition, 1890-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970): 16-17.

remarks, which were not always encouraging for would-be writers, such as “nothing worth writing between a dictionary and poetry” and “no one can write prose unless he is a poet”.<sup>57</sup>

While Greenshields may have shared some of Macphail’s views on a romantic idealized agricultural past, or certainly some of his imperial sentiment, he shows no signs of ever being critical of technology and he eagerly embraced every new technological innovation from the telephone to the automobile and spent much of his benevolent work at McGill promoting science and technology. Nevertheless, Greenshields became an admirer of Andrew MacPhail and enthusiastically supported *The University Magazine*. At a Dean of Arts Dinner honoring Andrew MacPhail in 1909, he called it one of the best magazines published anywhere praising its “concise and pungent” style.<sup>58</sup> For Greenshields the magazine represented an attempt to bring together the increasingly disparate elements of University life, especially in the area of research. Like most leading research institutions McGill was becoming increasingly specialized employing many experts knowledgeable in particular areas but less concerned with the overall relationship of the parts. Probably recalling his own educational experiences under Edward Leach, Greenshields valued the generalist who could provide a global perspective. Greenshields found in Andrew MacPhail a person who could examine both the work of Principal William Peterson on Cicero and the scientific work of Rutherford and assemble this material for discussion in a literary forum.<sup>59</sup>

Greenshields published at least four poems and one review article in *The University Magazine*. Most of his poetry was then re-published in a volume entitled *Poems* in 1910. The published poetry was imbued with the same sense of romanticism, which guided his analysis of paintings. However, there was much reflection on the vagaries and mysteries of life. His fascination with the power of nature is reflected in poems like “A Summer Day”, through lines such as,

*Oh nature, stay thy wandering here  
While the sea whispers in my ear  
Wrap us in the great calm and rest*<sup>60</sup>

His empathy with the tranquil, often-sad human figures appearing in the Dutch Hague School paintings is reflected in the poem, “A Painting by Matthew Maris” where he envisions what a lonely woman might be contemplating:

*With down-dropt eyes that gaze far, far away  
She pauses in the old cathedral aisle,  
And just the shadow of a lingering smile  
Turns onto troubled thought and will not stay  
Dreams of the future haunt her anxious mind*<sup>61</sup>

The poems submitted to the magazine passed through the eager editorial hands of Andrew MacPhail. As MacPhail wryly noted to Greenshields, he enjoyed the chance to look at poetry before publication because it “compels him to enjoy it” when it is good.

56 Ibid., 20.

57 Speech – Health of Andrew MacPhail at a dinner at the Faculty Club, March 10, 1909, Greenshields Family Fonds, File 519, and McCord Museum.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 E.B. Greenshields, *Poems* (Montreal: s.n., 1910).

61 Ibid.

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Figure 1. *The University Magazine*, 1908 (McGill University Archives).

<sup>62</sup> MacPhail was particularly impressed Greenshield's insights, in particular the verse:

*Life without its dreams? Ah, then  
Senseless is all the work of men  
On a dreamless earth*<sup>63</sup>

Writing to Greenshields about the verse, MacPhail remarked that Greenshields found more freedom through his work than "I (Macphail) have yet seen but also it ironically gave him a new perception on the limits of this freedom."<sup>64</sup>

Greenshields also published an article in *The University Magazine* (Fig. 1) on the English born Canadian poet Charles Heavyssege. Heavyssege (1816-1876) arrived in Montreal in 1853 and supported himself chiefly as a journalist and editor with the *Montreal Daily Witness* newspaper. His most famous work was the long verse drama "Saul" based on the biblical story of King Saul, published in 1857.<sup>65</sup> Greenshields' cogent analysis of Heavyssege as a poet of great insight but hampered by an inconsistent technique, especially evident in "Saul", echoed other later critiques of the poet.<sup>66</sup>

Greenshields was far more enthusiastic about Heavyssege's shorter poems, which echoed Shakespearean sonnets and in which the poet's use of "nature" themes came to the fore, for example in "The Stars":

*And as I gazed on the field sublime  
To watch the bright pulsating stars  
... the horloge of time  
... From the ancient hour of prime*<sup>67</sup>

Greenshields' attraction to Heavyssege as a subject was at least partly based on the poet's connection to romanticism but it also represents a quest to revive, or perhaps preserve for posterity, this forgotten fragment of Canadian culture.

Greenshields' support for *The University Magazine* led him a new career as a fundraiser for this seriously under financed publication. In 1909 he lobbied various members of the Board of Governors and some other supporters to help pay off the mounting debts of the magazine, appealing to these potential benefactors to keep the magazine afloat in the interest of literature and education in Canada.<sup>68</sup> He was fairly successful, save for his fellow art collector and friend William Cornelius Van Horne, the mercurial former President of the CPR, who refused to contribute even more to the magazine that, as he stated quite emphatically, had "a limited circulation, did not charge enough for subscription and should pay for itself." Greenshields wisely cut his losses, told Van Horne he would recommend the rate be increased, that he would not ask Van Horne for more funding but could he not supply the same amount as last year. Van Horne did just that.<sup>69</sup> Typically, Greenshields down-

62 Letter to E.B. Greenshields from Andrew Macphail, ca.1909, Greenshields Family Fonds, File 493, McCord Museum.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 J.C. Stockdale, "Charles Heavyssege," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, 1871-1880 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 347-48.

66 E.B. Greenshields, "The Forgotten Canadian Poet," *The University Magazine*, 7, no. 3 (October, 1908): 353 In discussing Heavyssege's epic work Saul, Greenshield's comments that "Though the drama as a whole is too prolix (tedious) and lacks dramatic power, it contains many passages of remarkable imagination and great poetic beauty". In Stockdale's entry on Heavyssege, (supra, note 65), the poet's works are "grand (mainly) in conception, full of a keen understanding of human nature, but often spoiled by the author's lack of self-criticism, which lead him to beauty to incongruity." (347)

67 E.B. Greenshields, *Poems* (Montreal: n.d., 1910).

68 Letter from E.B. Greenshields to William C. Van Horne, 8 December, 1909, William C. Van Horne Fonds, McGill University Archives, MG 2013.

played his role in helping the magazine and publicly gave all the credit for the temporary financial rescue of the magazine to the Dean of Arts, Charles Moyses. The magazine did fold in 1920 putting an end to its chronic funding problems; according to Greenshields it was “financially speaking... conceived in poverty and nourished in neglect”.<sup>70</sup>

A good deal of Greenshields’ time after 1900 was devoted to his literary career as an art critic, his poetry and to collecting art. There are three main ideas, which run through his concept of art and poetry: firstly, an intense personal romanticism; secondly, an acute sense of the importance of the sublime; and thirdly, a firm belief in the link between poetry and art.

In the last quarter of the 18th century Romanticism, which included a belief in the redeeming qualities of nature, arose in reaction to social conditions of the time. In the arts Romanticism emphasized the individual and the natural, showing less concern with the ideal and the classical form. Value was placed on the artist’s personal, often emotional interpretation of nature. Landscape painting became the means of revealing the artist’s most significant and intense reaction to life. The personal, subjective view of the artist to the tragedies and joys of nature was to be revealed on the canvas for observers to understand.

The fascination with nature included the idea of the sublime. The best known British art critic of the 19th century, John Ruskin, defined the sublime as “anything that elevates the mind. This elevation is caused by the contemplation of greatness. Related to the noblest things”.<sup>71</sup> This re-thinking of the value of art, as more than the contemplation of a beauti-

ful object or classical form was also connected to a re-evaluation of poetry in relation to art.

It is not surprising that these thoughts echo throughout the poetry and art criticism of Edward Black Greenshields, since he knew the work of John Ruskin well and greatly admired the landscape paintings of Turner.<sup>72</sup> A succinct representation of Greenshields’ artistic ideals can be found in his poem entitled “Art”:

*Art is the expression of the inner thought  
In outward beauty of unspoken word  
And man in patient labor must be taught  
The means by which its spirit may be heard.*<sup>73</sup>

This subjective view of art did not merely extend to Turner but was applied by Greenshields to major schools of European landscape art in the 19th century. In the course of his two major works on art, *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting* (1904) and *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* (published in 1906) he rigorously applied the criteria of romantic, landscape and emotional relevance to artistic works of several schools of landscape art.

In his analysis of landscape painting, Greenshields sought works that demonstrated to the observer the beneficial effects of nature, the impact of experiencing the sublime as a type of personal and expressive liberation, or perhaps even a mystical experience. He placed great emphasis on an emotional reaction to the content filtered through more concrete criteria such as form.

In Greenshields’ opinion, great paintings should make their observers stop and reflect upon the work in both a technical and intuitive way. Analysis of a painting went beyond an attraction to its colours or

69 Letter from E.B. Greenshields to William C. Van Horne, December 29, 1909 and Letter from Van Horne to Greenshields, January 2, 1910, William C. Van Horne Fonds, McGill University Archives, MG 2013.

70 Speech – Health of Andrew MacPhail at a dinner at the Faculty Club, March 10, 1909, Greenshields Family Fonds, File 519, McCord Museum.

71 Andrew Wilson, *Turner and the Sublime* (London: Published by British Museum Publications for the Art Gallery of Ontario, the Yale Center for British Art, the Trustees of the British Museum, 1980): 68-69.

72 E.B. Greenshields, *Diary*, vol. 1, 1894-1900, January 15, 1895, Greenshields Family Fonds, McCord Museum.

73 E.B. Greenshields, *Poems* (Montreal: n.d., 1910).

subject: contemplation of a painting comprised two interrelated parts: examination of the techniques through which the form of the painting was presented (use of colour and balance) followed by the personal vision of the artist which inspired the painting's creation. Subjective art in the form of landscape painting should provoke a "feeling of pleasure and content by its beautiful colour and form and its technique, it should reveal the poetry and imagination of the artist's vision, and it should communicate his thought and feeling with those in sympathy with this idea"<sup>74</sup>. The goal of subjective landscape painting was not to imitate nature but to show the effect produced by nature on the artist.

In his two books of criticism, Greenshields traced the development of landscape painting from the Renaissance to the beginning of the twentieth century. He identified Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), as one of the pioneers of landscape art because of his emphasis on landscape over human figures and his focus on nature for its own sake.<sup>75</sup> In Greenshields' opinion, English landscape artists John Constable (1776-1827), and J.W.M. Turner (1775-1851) added an important new dimension to the subjective approach. Constable gave to landscape art the ability to re-create an authoritative out-of-doors atmosphere, but it was the English artist J.W.M. Turner who drew Greenshields' highest praise, calling him the most imaginative landscape painter in the world.<sup>76</sup> He then turned to France in the 1830's. The Barbizon School's revolt against Classicism was exemplified by the work of J.C.C. Corrot, who portrayed the countryside as an "idealised, personal and poetical revelation to the world."<sup>77</sup> The quali-

ties which these artists shared with the most recent (1900) approach to landscape, the Dutch Hague School, was a love of nature and an individualistic expression of their art.<sup>78</sup>

Greenshields portrayed the evolution of landscape painting as a series of progressive steps through history, up to the great artists (ca. 1900) of the Hague School. But the French Impressionists, who painted landscapes in an individualistic and subjective way, did not meet with his approval. While Greenshields praised the quality of Impressionist painting, describing "the mixing of brilliant colours which gave a bright and beautiful quality of vibrating air", he passed quickly over the group, minimizing its importance, and calling their work an "incomplete and transitional form of art".<sup>79</sup>

Although Greenshields never discusses in detail why he did not favour the Impressionists, in his technical analysis of art, he placed a great deal of emphasis on the interplay of light and shadow. In his eyes, perhaps the Impressionists' tendency to ignore this convention diminished their importance.

Greenshields extolled the Hague School of Dutch artists as the finest expression of the subjective view of landscape painting. The seven principal artists of the Dutch Hague School were Johannes Bosboom, Joseph Israels, the Maris brothers James, Matthew and William, along with Anton Mauve and J. H. Weissenbruch. These men revealed "nature and their own feelings unconsciously inspired by nature... with a spark of the divine power of genius."<sup>80</sup> They depicted ships, peasants, canals and farm animals but nature always dominated the scenery. In particular he admired their ability to play with both light and

74 E.B. Greenshields, preface to *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Co. Limited, 1906).

75 Greenshields, *Landscape Painting*, 15.

76 *Ibid.*, 15, 19.

77 *Ibid.*, 21.

78 *Ibid.*, 22.

79 *Ibid.*, 21-22.

80 E. B. Greenshields, *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting* (Montreal: Desbarats and Co., 1904); 37.

atmosphere, mainly in darkish grey and brown tones but at times in brilliant colour.<sup>81</sup>

Josef Israels, the founder and leader of the Hague School specialized in the depiction of peasant life. For Greenshields the simple and spiritual messages of Israel's work were enhanced by a fine use of techniques. For example, in the "Girl in the Cottage" he was fascinated by the effect of diffused light passing through the window into the room but he also emphasized the effect on the observer, "We like to watch the girl sitting quietly there, with the light falling in bright ray: we wonder what were the dreams that were passing through her young mind as she sat there alone."<sup>82</sup>

Some of the group's members specialized in painting particular subjects. Anton Mauve concentrated on tranquil pastoral settings while William Maris focused on cattle in meadows and ducks in river settings. Greenshields' analysis of William Maris' work reveals some of his own underlying attraction to the Hague School; he perceives Maris' life and art as being "free of the stress and fever of modern times" and a "breath of refreshing country air".<sup>83</sup> In a similar vein he envied the greatest Hague school painter J. H. Weissenbruch for his "simple life completely occupied with the art he loves".<sup>84</sup> This yearning for a simpler, more bucolic, tranquility appealed to Greenshields, awash in the hurly burley of industrial Montreal.

Greenshields' preferred painter of the Hague School was J.H. Weissenbruch. He declared him to

be the purest landscape or seascape artist, as someone who could communicate the "mystery solitude and vastness of nature as well as "the littleness of humanity and weary labours of man"<sup>85</sup>. His technical abilities, consisting of the "skilful composition of beautiful forms and graceful lines ... the atmospheric sky. Absolutely right tones throughout."<sup>86</sup> was matched only by his enjoyment of the simple brooding scenes from nature.

Greenshields major work of criticism, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* (1906) was in essence an expanded version of his previous work, *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting*. Both books were written for the general public from a layperson's point of view. Contemporary critics of the book cited his simple unpretentious style, linkage of poetry with art, his obvious sincerity and heartfelt commitment to art and his critical commentary.<sup>87</sup> Writing in 1989 about his books, Janet Brooke stated that Greenshields' overwhelming interest in the Hague School, and lack of interest in works reflecting the aesthetic tastes of other turn of the century Montreal collectors, had created the false impression that all Montreal collectors specialised in the Hague School. In fact, as she points out, Richard B. Angus, George Drummond and William Cornelius Van Horne collected very widely and the latter two held artwork by the Impressionists.<sup>88</sup>

Greenshields' steadfast views on the Dutch Hague School undoubtedly had an impact on the Montreal art milieu. Greenshields and many other collectors

81 Greenshields, *Landscape Painting*, 114-15.82 Ibid., 143.

82 Ibid., 143.

83 bid. , 178.

84 bid. , 182.

85 Greenshields, *Subjective Landscape Painting*, 58.

86 Greenshields, *Landscape Painting*, 186.

87 Greenshields Family Fonds, File 508, Book Reviews, 1906, McCord Museum. The file contains book reviews from several sources in 1906 including *The New York Times*, Professor James MacNaughton and *The Philadelphia Public Ledger*.

acquired the more conservative works emanating from the French and English academic schools, the Barbizon School and the Hague School, and largely ignored the Impressionists.<sup>89</sup> As a prominent member of the Exhibits Committee of the Montreal Art Association he encouraged the exhibition of more traditional works.<sup>90</sup>

Greenshields' enthusiasm can be explained by several factors: firstly, when he wrote about and collected the School's work, its reputation was at its zenith; secondly, as a collector he had a vested interest in the school; and thirdly, and most importantly, he had a deep and profound aesthetic attachment to the works of the school because they appealed to his core intellectual beliefs. While Greenshields wrote a very sympathetic defence of the Hague School, however, his hope that it would be considered as one of the major schools of European art did not come to pass.

Like many of his fellow businessmen, Greenshields was interested in promoting education and cultural institutions. A prominent member of

McGill's Board of Governors from 1887-1917, he was the Honorary Treasurer from 1903-1910 during a period of financial crisis brought on by destructive fires at two buildings, and a member of various financial or management committees. Greenshields' preoccupation with art and literature lead him to be more engaged in the intellectual life of the university than his other, more business-oriented, colleagues on the Board of Governors.

The links to McGill of Edward Black Greenshields are many and varied. He contributed to the life of McGill as a student, benefactor, financial advisor, business executive and intellectual. In 1910 Greenshields was presented with an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree. Nominated by his colleagues on the Board of Governors, Charles J. Fleet and Dean of Arts Charles Moyse, the reasons for this award were cited as "his distinguished position in the community, his services to the University and his interest in Art and Literature".<sup>91</sup> It was a tangible recognition of his multifaceted role within the McGill community and beyond.

88 Janet Brooke, *Le Gout de L'Art: Les collectionneurs Montrealais 1880-1920* (Montréal: Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 1989): 29.

89 Marta H. Hurdalek, *The Hague School: Collecting in Canada at the Turn of the Century* (Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984): 13. Between 1879 and 1914 the Montreal Art Association mounted eighteen exhibits, featuring mainly Old Masters, Barbizon and Modern Dutch painters, including the Hague School. Only William Van Horne and Sir George A. Drummond were collectors of Impressionist painters. (Brooke, *Le Gout de L'Art*, 22,24)

90 Hurdalek, *The Hague School*, 16; Brooke, *Le Gout de L'Art*, 29. In 1900 he was on the organizing committee for the annual exposition. The theme was the Hague School (29). Greenshields held many other posts within the Association including the Art Gallery Committee, from 1887 to 1890, the Finance and House Committee, 1887-1890 and the Treasurer from 1888-1890 (Art Association of Montreal, Report of the Council to the Association, Montreal: D. Bentley and Co., Reports 1887-1890).

91 Board of Governor's minute book, 1910-1919, April, 23 1917, McGill University Archives, RG 4, C 0008, File 09008.



E. Godfrey Burr, circa 1950 (Photo copyright The Gazette, Montreal).

## E. GODFREY BURR AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANADIAN WARTIME RESEARCH: A PROFILE

By Marc Richard

*This paper sketches the life and work of Professor E. Godfrey Burr (1886-1969), of McGill's Department of Electrical Engineering, who made several little-known contributions to Canadian research and development during the First and Second World Wars. Most notably, Burr was the inventor of an imaginative method of concealing Allied surface ships from visual observation by enemy submarines during the Battle of the Atlantic. Although his camouflage technique was never used on a large scale, Burr's work illustrates the role played by numerous McGill scientists and engineers in the Allied R&D effort during both World Wars.*

*Cet article brosse un tableau de la vie et du travail du professeur E. Godfrey Burr (1886-1969), du Département de génie électrique de l'Université McGill, qui fit de nombreuses contributions peu connues à la recherche et au développement au Canada durant la première et la deuxième guerre mondiale. Il inventa tout particulièrement une méthode imaginative d'empêcher la détection visuelle des navires de surface Alliés par les sous-marins ennemis au cours de la bataille de l'Atlantique. Bien que la technique de camouflage qu'il a élaboré n'a jamais été utilisé à grande échelle, le travail de Burr illustre le rôle qui fut joué dans l'effort de recherche et de développement Allié au cours des deux guerres mondiales par de nombreux scientifiques et ingénieurs de McGill.*

ON AUGUST 14, 1945, the president of the National Research Council of Canada, C. J. Mackenzie, wrote to the Principal of McGill University, F. Cyril James, to express his appreciation for the work done at the NRC by a McGill professor during the past four years. Mackenzie's letter, which mistakenly identifies this individual as "Geoffrey" Burr, says in part:

*As you know, Professor Burr is a man of great natural ability, is a most ingenious research worker and has a fertile imagination and practical knowledge. Professor Burr worked on a major project which received a very great deal of attention among Service Headquarters, and it does not detract in any sense from the very fine work he did that the development was not used tactically during this war.<sup>1</sup>*

The work to which Mackenzie alludes so cryptically is a minor but intriguing footnote to the history of the Second World War: the development of diffused-lighting ship camouflage, a system intended to help defend Allied convoys against night-time surface attacks by enemy U-boats. The experimental use that was made of this technique during the Battle of the Atlantic has received scant mention over the years, and its inventor – Professor E. Godfrey Burr, of McGill's Department of Electrical Engineering – likewise remains a little-known figure today. This paper offers a sketch of Burr's life and highlights the various defence-related research projects with which he was involved during both the First and the Second World Wars.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from C.J. Mackenzie to F. Cyril James, August 14, 1945. National Research Council, McGill Contributions, 1945-1946, McGill University Archives RG 2, C 81, File 1617.

## EARLY YEARS

Edmund Godfrey Burr was born in the London borough of Islington on January 22, 1886.<sup>2</sup> He was the youngest son of Herbert Greenwood Burr and Ellen Anne (Herbert) Burr, the fourth of five children who would be born to the couple.<sup>3</sup> His father, a thirty-nine year-old native Londoner, worked as a managing clerk for a coal exporting firm. His thirty-five year-old mother came from Bedworth, Warwickshire – a town located, coincidentally, near the future site of the Civil Defence Camouflage Establishment, at Leamington, to which Burr would travel in 1943 in connection with his diffused-lighting research.<sup>4, 5</sup>

Burr's parents had moved to Islington not long before his birth, having previously lived in nearby Hornsey for over thirteen years. The family's new home, named Terlings, was situated on Orleans Road, which formerly connected the still-extant Sunnyside and Cromartie Roads. Burr would live here up to 1906, the year he moved to Montreal to study at McGill University.<sup>6</sup>

Burr received his early education at the nearby Tollington Park School. Unlike his two eldest brothers, who by their late teens were working as commercial clerks for colliery agents, Burr pursued his studies with a view towards a technical career.

In October 1903, at age seventeen, he enrolled in the Mechanical program at Finsbury Technical College, a school in central London operated by the City and Guilds of London Institute.<sup>7</sup> The two-year program which Burr followed included courses in mathematics, mechanical drawing, geometry, practical chemistry, electrotechnics and machine design, as well as mechanical engineering laboratory work.<sup>8</sup> Burr received a completion certificate in July 1905, then spent another year in the College's second-year Electrical program; he was awarded a certificate for this additional work in July 1906.

On the strength of this training, Burr was admitted directly into the fourth and final year of the Electrical Engineering program offered by McGill University's Faculty of Applied Sciences (as the Faculty of Engineering was called prior to 1931).<sup>9</sup> During the 1906-1907 session, he studied electric lighting and power distribution, dynamo and machine design, mechanical engineering, alternating-current machinery, electrochemistry and hydraulics. He graduated in 1907, receiving a Bachelor of Science degree with honours in Electric Traction and in Electric Lighting and Power Distribution – subjects to which he would return in his subsequent research and consulting activities.

2 Edmund Godfrey Burr's registry of birth at the Office for National Statistics, General Register Office, Great Britain. Copy issued to the author.

3 Census of Population Returns for 1891, Administrative County of London, Civil Parish of St. Mary Islington, Orleans Road, Great Britain, Family Records Centre, RG12-146.

4 Guy Hartcup, *Camouflage: A History of Concealment and Deception in War* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1980), 53.

5 "Inventions, Professor E. G. Burr," National Archives of Canada, RG24, Series D-13, vol. 11751, File CS 297-1.

6 "Finsbury Technical College Registers of Admissions of Day Students, with Analysis of Students' Backgrounds, 1902-03-1909-10," Guildhall Library, London, MS 21,972 (2).

7 The building used by the College has survived intact and presently houses the Shoreditch County Court. The file on Finsbury Technical College is at the Finsbury Library, London.

8 "Finsbury Technical College Volumes Containing Lists of Day Students' Marks for Sessional Exams and Term Work, 1902-03-1910-11," Guildhall Library, London, MS 21,979 (3).

9 McGill University, *Annual Calendar, 1907-1908*. Appendix: "Pass Lists for Session 1906-1907".

10 University Staff Biographical Card File, McGill University Archives.

11 *Victoria Daily Times*, April 12, 1967, 38.

Soon after graduation, Burr began to work as a demonstrator at the Department of Electrical Engineering.<sup>10</sup> He was subsequently granted the position of Senior Demonstrator in 1909, and of Special Lecturer in 1911. In or about 1912, he married thirty year-old Grace Muriel Butler, a native Montrealer.<sup>11, 12</sup> The following year, he was appointed Lecturer in Electrical Engineering. Approval for his appointment to the rank of Assistant Professor, which he would hold for the next thirty years, was given by the Board of Governors on June 24, 1915.<sup>13</sup>

### WARTIME RESEARCH, 1914-1918

Burr's initial interest in research appears to have been fostered by Professor Louis Anthyme Herdt, who served as Head of the Department of Electrical Engineering from 1909 until his death in 1926. The earliest scientific papers on which Burr worked, dealing with high-voltage transmission systems and with current-return systems for electric street railways, were both co-authored with Herdt, and were presented by the two men at meetings of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers in 1915 and 1917.<sup>14, 15</sup> It was also through Herdt that, in those same years, Burr first became involved in secret wartime military research.

Upon the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Herdt had returned to his native France to offer his services to the authorities, despite the fact that he had been granted a permanent military exemption as a young man owing to his partial deafness.<sup>16</sup> He was instructed to go back to Canada, where he was soon put to work securing large orders for electrical cables and wires on behalf of the French Artillery Mission in New York. By 1915, Herdt had been appointed Honorary Technical Adviser to the Mission, and had recruited Burr to assist him with the requests for materials that he was now handling.<sup>17</sup>

Several of the inquiries sent to Herdt concerned a copper-cadmium alloy with unusual electrical and mechanical properties that was required for the manufacture of field-telephone cables.<sup>18, 19</sup> The alloy was unobtainable in North America and could not be produced in large quantities by any conventional process. Burr set to work on the problem of manufacturing this alloy with the help of a McGill lecturer in assaying and metallurgy, S. W. Werner, and apparently with some input from physicist Arthur S. Eve before the latter left for military service in Europe.<sup>20</sup> Burr and Werner eventually developed a method whereby the exact proportions of cadmium required could be distilled into the copper at a controlled rate and without appreciable loss. This breakthrough

12 Copy of Grace Muriel Burr's death registration (issued to the author), Division of Vital Statistics, Province of British Columbia.

13 "McGill University, Governor's Minutes, 1897-1919," McGill University Archives, RG 4, C 7-8, Files 09007-09008, entries May 31, 1909, June 19, 1911, May 12, 1913, June 24, 1915.

14 Louis. A. Herdt and E. Godfrey Burr, "Constant voltage operation of a high voltage transmission system," *Transactions of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers* 29 (1915): 234-63.

15 Louis. A. Herdt and E. Godfrey Burr, "Street railway negative return system for the mitigation of electrolysis," *Transactions of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers* 31, pt. 1 (January-June 1917): 302-22.

16 Arthur S. Eve, "Louis Anthyme Herdt," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 3rd ser., 20 (May 1926): iii, xxi-xxiv.

17 McGill University, *Annual Report, 1915-1916*, (Montreal, McGill University, 1916), 38.

18 R. C. Fetherstonhaugh, *McGill University At War, 1914-1918, 1939-1945* (Montreal: McGill University, 1947), 87-89.

19 Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning*, vol.2, 1895-1971 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 105.

20 Eve, "Louis Anthyme Herdt," xxiii; Frost, *McGill University*, 104.

allowed large-scale production of the alloy to be undertaken in secret in the United States, under Werner's direction, the total output being sufficient for the manufacture of several thousand miles of cable.

The procurement of the cable was considered a triumph of technical achievement by the French Mission, and in due course the government of France showed its appreciation to Herdt by investing him as Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. The process developed by Burr and Werner was, in fact, regarded as so sensitive that the French government arranged to have patents for it withheld in Allied countries until after the end of hostilities in order to keep it out of enemy hands. This intervention caused the United States patent for the technique to be delayed until September 9, 1919, two years after it had first been approved by the U.S. Patent Office.<sup>21</sup>

#### INTERWAR CONSULTATIONS AND AUDIOMETRY WORK

After the Great War, Burr was able to turn his full attention to his teaching duties, to various research projects and to consultation work. The latter activity seems to have been concerned primarily with problems related to electric power plants. He had first acquired experience in this field in 1913-1915, when he had assisted Herdt in consulting for the development of the Bell Falls Hydroelectric Plant.<sup>22</sup> In the late 1920s, Burr served as consulting engineer for the modernization of the Ottawa Electric Company's

distribution system.<sup>23</sup> Closer to home, Burr co-authored a report on the electric power supply situation at McGill University, which was submitted to Principal L. W. Douglas in June 1938.<sup>24</sup>

In the late 1930s, Burr became involved in an audiometry research project which was to be of eventual service to the Canadian Army during the Second World War. The project, conducted jointly with Dr. Hector Mortimer, of the Montreal General Hospital, involved testing the loss of hearing ability in patients. Subjects were seated in a soundproof room and were exposed to pure and warbling tones produced over a loudspeaker by a device which Burr had designed. This "open sound-field" technique was intended to yield more accurate results than audiometry tests which involved the use of earphones, since these could transmit unwanted vibrational stimulus to a subject's ears through direct conduction.<sup>25, 26</sup>

The military application of this work was to come in the closing years of the Second World War, when Canada's armed forces began to pay increased attention to the serious auditory damage that could be caused by prolonged exposure to loud noises such as the sound of aircraft motors, ship engines and artillery fire. The Canadian Army in particular saw a need to test its soldiers for hearing loss at the time of their discharge in order to provide rehabilitative care to those who had suffered ear injury. Hector Mortimer, who was asked to develop suitable audiometric equipment and facilities, recommended the use of Burr's sound-generating device for conduct-

21 Fetherstonhaugh, *McGill University at War*, 88.

22 "Hydro-Electric Plant on Rouge River," *Electrical News* 24, no.13 (July 1, 1915): 24-27.

23 E. Godfrey Burr and S. A. Craig, "Complete installation of feeder reactors, Ottawa Electric Company," *Electrical News and Engineering* 38, no. 22 (November 15, 1929): 37-40.

24 "Electric Power Supply – Burr Report, 1938." McGill University Archives RG 2, C 53, File 705.

25 E. Godfrey Burr and Hector Mortimer, "Improvements in Audiometry at the Montreal General Hospital," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 40, no.1 (January 1939): 22-27.

26 E. Godfrey Burr, "Notes on the 'Warble Tone' Used in an Open Air Field Audiometer," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 3rd ser., 33, (May 1939): 73-81.

ing these tests. Designated the "RCAMC (Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps) Audiometer," it became the standard instrument used at the Aural Rehabilitation Centre that was set up at the Montreal Military Hospital in 1946.<sup>27</sup>

### CAMOUFLAGE AND NIGHT-VISION RESEARCH, 1940-1945

The most notable work which Burr undertook during the course of his career – the development of diffused-lighting (or "D/L") ship camouflage during the Second World War – was an unintended offshoot of a project assigned to him by the National Research Council in the fall of 1940. As part of an endeavour by the NRC to develop improved optical instruments for use by the armed services,<sup>28</sup> Burr and Hector Mortimer had been studying the visibility range of aircraft viewed at night through large-aperture telescopes and binoculars.<sup>29</sup> Burr found that aircraft observed with such instruments could be seen quite distinctly as black silhouettes against the faint background luminescence of the night sky. The observation suggested to him that a reduction of the brightness contrast between the aircraft and the sky could make a plane more difficult to see.

Burr witnessed a spontaneous demonstration of this principle on the night of December 4, 1940, when an aircraft he had been observing suddenly disappeared from sight while approaching to land at the airfield where he was conducting his research. Noting that the disappearance had occurred when

the plane had flown at low altitude over a snow-covered field, he realized that moonlight must have been reflected from the snow onto the underside of the fuselage; this diffused lighting had raised the brightness of the aircraft to the same level as that of the night sky, and the resulting lack of contrast had concealed the plane from observation.

Burr reported this discovery to the NRC, which promptly arranged for him to present his findings to Naval Service Headquarters in Ottawa. NSHQ recognized that diffused-lighting camouflage, if it could be applied to ships in a practical manner, might help defend Allied convoys against the tactic of night-time surface attacks that German U-boats were successfully employing at that time. Because of their small size and low profile, U-boats operating on the surface at night could see merchant and escort vessels at significantly greater ranges than they themselves could be seen. D/L camouflage, it was hoped, could compensate for the visual detection disadvantage under which the convoys operated.

Beginning in early 1941, Burr was granted a series of leaves of absence from McGill which enabled him to spend most of the war working on D/L camouflage at the NRC.<sup>30</sup> During the course of the war, he had the opportunity to disclose his findings to American naval authorities, travel to Britain to assist the Admiralty in developing requirements for an improved D/L system,<sup>31</sup> witness some of the full-scale D/L trials that were conducted, and perform laboratory tests on the technique.<sup>32</sup>

27 National Research Council, Associate Committee on Army Medical Research, *Medical Research and Development in the Canadian Army During World War II, 1942-1946* (Ottawa: National Research Council, 1946), 36-40.

28 File on large field telescope manufactured in Canada. Public Record Office, Great Britain, ADM 1-15111.

29 E. Godfrey Burr, "Illumination for Concealment of Ships at Night," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 3rd ser., 41 (May 1947):45-54.

30 "McGill University, Governor's Minutes, 1935-1944," McGill University Archives, RG 4, C 11, File 09014; entries January 28, 1941, January 28, 1943, February 9, 1944, February 14, 1945.

31 Minutes of meeting on concealment by lighting held at the Admiralty, Whitehall, on August 25, 1943. Public Record Office, Great Britain, ADM 1-15214.

32 E. Godfrey Burr, "Illumination for Concealment of Ships at Night: Some Technical Considerations," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 3rd ser., 42, (May 1948): 19-35.

A detailed analysis of the development work carried out on D/L camouflage during the war is beyond the scope of the present paper.<sup>33</sup> In broad outline, Burr's discovery led to an initial burst of experimentation by Canadian, British and American naval authorities, followed by a gradual decrease of interest as the war progressed. Although the D/L system was extremely effective in reducing the nighttime visibility range of the ships on which it was tested, it remained unsuitable for mass production and large-scale deployment. The prototype equipment took a great deal of time to develop, was cumbersome to install and operate, and was prone to breakdowns in the harsh environment of the North Atlantic. Even more fundamentally, improvements in Allied antisubmarine measures during the latter half of the war – notably the widespread use of centimetric radar and long-range patrol aircraft – ultimately proved effective enough to render D/L camouflage irrelevant to the protection of convoys.<sup>34</sup>

As an extension of his D/L work, Burr also spent time developing equipment and procedures for measuring the nighttime visual acuity of armed forces personnel.<sup>35</sup> It was originally intended to administer such a test to new recruits in order to grade their night vision, so that their ability in this area could be taken into account when they were assigned tasks during active service. In practice, however, the test does not appear to have been widely applied: its systematic use would have been time-consuming, and the large number of grading procedures to which

recruits were already subjected made it difficult to introduce additional criteria for allocating personnel.

## POSTWAR YEARS

With the end of the war in Europe, the NRC terminated its work on D/L camouflage and Burr returned to his full-time duties at McGill. He was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor on June 13, 1945, one month before his special leave of absence to the NRC officially expired.<sup>36</sup>

It is not clear to what extent Burr's promotion was intended to recognize his wartime research, but more direct commendations were soon forthcoming. The congratulatory letter sent by NRC President C. J. Mackenzie to McGill Principal F. Cyril James has already been mentioned; it was followed, on July 1, 1946, by the announcement that Burr was to be made an Officer of the Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire. His OBE investiture by the Governor-General of Canada took place in Ottawa, on December 1, 1948,<sup>37</sup> and was followed two months later by approval of his appointment to the rank of Professor of Electrical Engineering.<sup>38</sup>

Burr remained at McGill for two more years after his final promotion. On April 21, 1950, a few days after the McGill Senate approved the arrangements for his forthcoming retirement, Burr and six other long-serving academics were honoured at a reception at the McGill Faculty Club, of which Burr had served as President in 1940.<sup>39</sup> The special guests that

33 The author is currently preparing a monograph on the subject. Fetherstonhaugh, *McGill University at War*, 337-341, and Burr, 1947 and 1948, for published summaries of the development of D/L camouflage. A description of D/L camouflage's use during a wartime special operation may be found in Michael L. Hadley, *U-Boats Against Canada: German Submarines in Canadian Waters* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985), 178-82.

34 Marc Richard, "Diffused-Lighting Ship Camouflage in the Battle of the Atlantic," Paper presented at the Fourteenth Naval History Symposium, United States Naval Academy, September 25, 1999.

35 *Medical Research and Development*, 5-12. (*supra*, note 27)

36 "McGill University, Governor's Minutes, 1945-1948," McGill University Archives, RG 4, C 12, File 09015, entry February 14, 1945.

37 Correspondence between Lt.-Col. Anthony Mather, Secretary of the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood and the author. Letter dated September 19, 1997.

evening included Professor William D. Woodhead, who was noted for writing humorous verse about his colleagues and who penned one such poem, "Ode to Godfrey Burr," on the occasion of Burr's birthday.<sup>40</sup>

Burr officially left McGill on his sixty-fifth birthday, January 22, 1951, though his actual departure took place on September 1, 1950, owing to a leave of absence he was granted from that date onward.<sup>41</sup> Soon thereafter, he and his wife Grace moved to Victoria, B.C., where they would spend their retirement. He died on April 12, 1969, at the age of 83, two years and one day after Grace's death on April 11, 1967.<sup>42, 43</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In their introduction to the recent book *No Day Long Enough: Canadian Science in World War II*, George R. Lindsey and G. LeRoy Nelms offer the following perspective on the vast number of research and development projects undertaken during the Second World War:

*For every success achieved by Canadian scientists, there were many unfruitful tests and trails, promising leads that turned out to be blind alleys, and even downright failures to find a practicable solution to some pressing wartime problem. This is the nature of research and development, especially when applied to fields in which there has been little previous experience .... But it is also true*

*that, in the arcane world of research, each well-conducted test represents progress, whether or not it yields a solution to a problem.*<sup>44</sup>

While it can be argued that Burr's work on diffused-lighting camouflage had less of a practical impact than the copper-cadmium alloying process he devised during the First World War, his experiments with the technique were nevertheless a positive and imaginative contribution to the Allied research effort during the Second World War – a conflict in which the scientific, technological and industrial capacities of the combatants played a decisive role. A fitting tribute to that contribution is to be found in the text of Burr's OBE citation,<sup>45</sup> which summarizes his work with the elegantly simple phrase:

*"For outstanding service in connection with the development of highly specialized equipment for use by the Armed Forces."*

The author wishes to express his appreciation to the staff of the following institutions for their assistance in researching this paper: the McGill University Libraries, the McGill University Archives, the National Archives of Canada, the National Library of Canada, the Directorate of History and Heritage of the Department of National Defence, the Public Record Office, the Family Records Centre, Guildhall Library and Finsbury Library. Special thanks are extended to Tomás, Pavlásek, Ellison Bishop, Margaret Hume and Alain Vaillancourt for their invaluable help and encouragement.

38 "McGill University, Governor's Minutes, 1948-1950," McGill University Archives, RG 4, C 13, File 09016, entry February 9, 1949.

39 *Montreal Daily Star*, April 22, 1950, 3.

40 Carman Miller, John Bland and Bruce Anderson, eds., *A History of the McGill Faculty Club* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 44-45.

41 "McGill University, Governor's Minutes, 1948-1950," McGill University Archives, RG 4, C 13, File 09016, entry April 12, 1950.

42 *Victoria Daily Times*, April 16, 1969, 38.

43 Copy of Edmund Godfrey Burr's death registration (issued to the author), Division of Vital Statistics, British Columbia.

44 George L. Lindsey, ed. *No Day Long Enough: Canadian Science in World War II* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1997), 6.

45 Correspondence between Mary de Bellefeuille-Percy, Director of Honours, Rideau Hall and the author. Letter dated October 1, 1997.

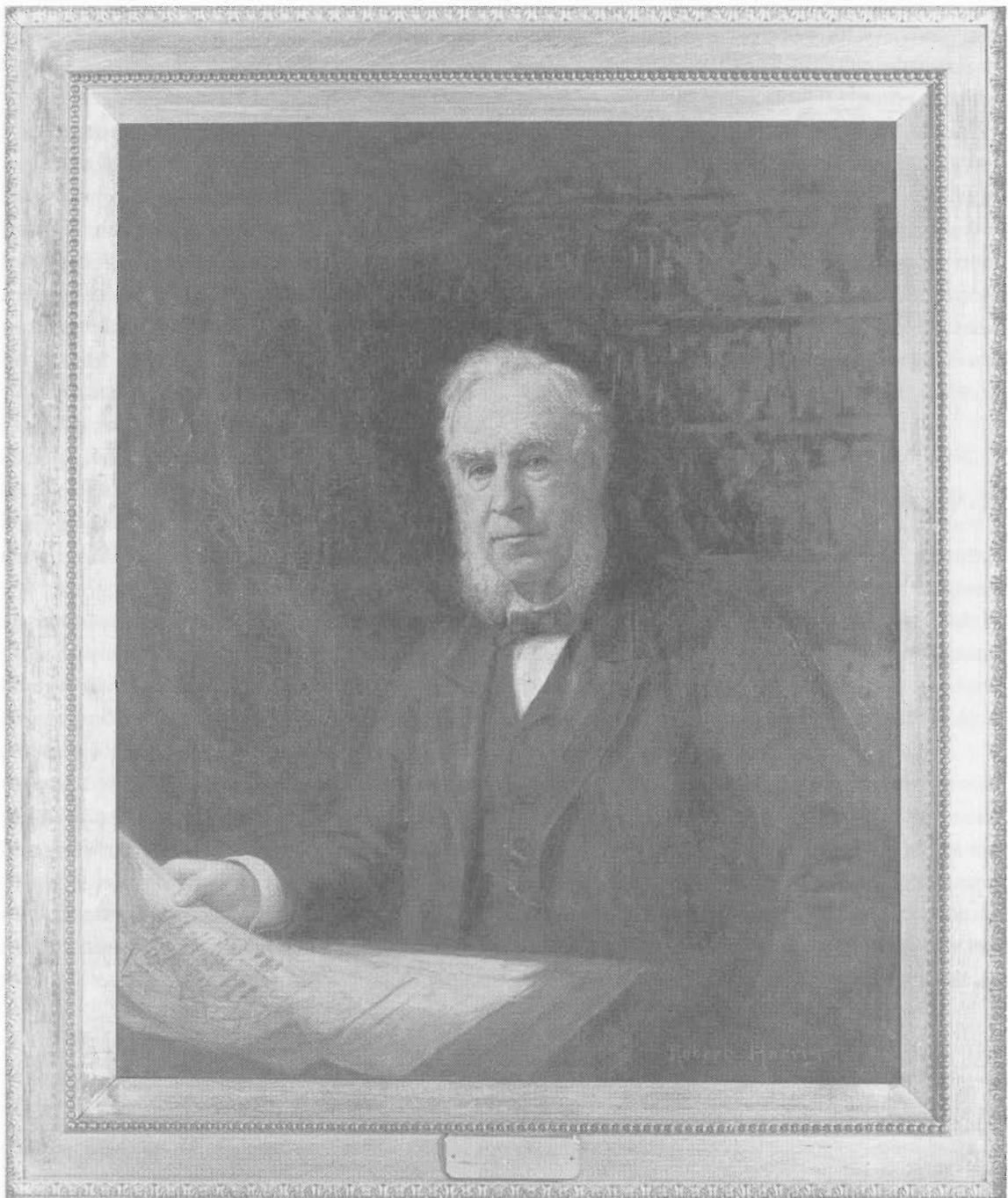


Figure 1. Peter Redpath.

## PETER AND GRACE REDPATH: COLLECTORS AND BENEFACTORS

By Peter F. McNally

*Peter Redpath (1821-1894) and his wife, Grace Wood Redpath (1816-1907), played a significant but largely forgotten role in Canadian cultural development. They were Canada's first major benefactors of libraries and museums and among the country's first benefactors of higher education. Grace was the first woman to be a significant benefactor of a library, museum, or university in Canada. The Redpath Museum and Redpath Library buildings are visible reminders of their contribution to McGill University. The Library was the first specifically-designed library building in Quebec. The Redpaths also made important contributions of books and gave substantial endowments to McGill, whose income continues to benefit students and researchers.*

*Peter Redpath (1821-1894) et sa femme, Grace Wood Redpath (1816-1907), ont joué un rôle notoire, encore que largement oublié dans le développement culturel du Canada. Ils ont été les premiers grands bienfaiteurs des bibliothèques et des musées du Canada et parmi les premiers bienfaiteurs de l'enseignement supérieur au pays. Grace a été la première bienfaitrice d'une bibliothèque, d'un musée ou d'une université au Canada. Les pavillons du Musée et de la Bibliothèque Redpath sont des rappels bien vivants de leurs précieuses contributions à l'Université McGill. La Bibliothèque a été la première bibliothèque expressément conçue comme telle au Québec. Les Redpaths ont également fait don de nombreux livres et d'importantes dotations à l'université, dont les revenus continuent de profiter aux étudiants et aux chercheurs.*

**B**URIED ON THE GROUNDS of St. Nicholas Church, Chislehurst, Kent, in south-east England, are two eminent Canadians: Peter and Grace Redpath. The tall Celtic cross surmounting the flat memorial embedded in the ground, marking their final resting place, is to the right of the lychgate as one enters the churchyard: forty feet from Church Lane and twenty feet from the pathway leading to the church's south porch.

Despite his entry in Britain's *Dictionary of National Biography*, Peter Redpath (Fig. 1) is largely forgotten today;<sup>1</sup> he has not even received an entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. As for Grace

Redpath, she has always been a shadowy figure, about whom little is known. Attempts to reconstruct the details of their lives and provide coherent biographies, fixing their personalities and characters, and establishing their historical contributions, are thwarted by a paucity of surviving records and reminiscences. Concerning their lives in Chislehurst, where they spent their final years, next to nothing is known, least of all their reasons for settling there.

Yet the Redpaths are of continuing importance in Canadian cultural history for having been among the most important collectors and benefactors of their time. The positive benefits of their efforts remain

<sup>1</sup> Charles Alexander Harris, "Peter Redpath," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921-1922), XVI: 827-28; "Peter Redpath (1821-1894)," in *A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, ed. Sir Charles G.D. Roberts (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1938), II: 372-73.

visible today, at McGill University in Montreal, Quebec where Redpath Museum and Redpath Library still stand. Redpath Museum was the first specifically-designed museum building in Canada, while Redpath Library was the first specifically-designed library building in Quebec and the second academic library building in Canada. In addition to constructing these two buildings, the Redpaths made significant contributions of books that rank among the most important research collections of any Canadian academic library. Finally Peter, Grace, and other Redpath family members gave substantial endowments to McGill, whose income continues to benefit students and researchers. These benefactions, however important to McGill University and the Province of Quebec, confer upon Peter and Grace the distinction of being Canada's first significant museum and library benefactors and among the country's first great benefactors of higher education. The purpose of this paper will be, therefore, to give a brief biographical sketch of Peter and Grace Redpath, an indication of how their lives and benefactions intertwined, and some sense of the nature and significance of these benefactions.

If the details of their lives, including their reasons for settling in Chislehurst, are uncertain, the broad outlines are reasonably well known. Peter Redpath was born on August 1, 1821 in Montreal, where he received his early education. In 1837, at the age of sixteen, he was sent by his father to England to complete his education and learn business practice in Manchester. One assumes that this is when he first met Grace Wood, who was born on May 21, 1816 and lived in Bowden (sometimes spelt Bowdon), Cheshire, near Manchester. After marrying on Octo-

ber 16, 1847 they lived in Montreal but travelled widely before buying the Manor House in Chislehurst and settling there permanently in the 1880s. On February 11, 1894 Peter died, and thirteen years later Grace died on January 30, 1907. A number of general characteristics can be ascribed to the Redpaths: they shared a strong patriotic and cultural attachment to Britain; they were profoundly religious; and they compensated for their lack of children by cultivating close relationships with a bevy of nephews and nieces and by becoming collectors and philanthropists.

It is uncertain whether Peter Redpath's values and interests developed in conformity with or in reaction to those of his family. His father was John Redpath (1796-1869) a Scottish stone mason who in 1816, aged twenty, immigrated to Canada as it was entering a period of great economic growth following the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>2</sup> He soon made a fortune as a contractor of great building projects such as the Lachine Canal, the Rideau Canal, and the Church of Notre Dame de Montréal. His fortune made, John Redpath became a leading member of the expatriate Scots community that dominated the economic life of Montreal and transformed it into Canada's metropolis. In 1833 he became a director, and in 1860 a vice-president, of the Bank of Montreal, Canada's oldest bank and also the largest well into the twentieth-century. He also invested heavily in Montreal-based insurance, telegraph, mining, investment, and shipping companies, as well as in property. In the 1850s he introduced the sugar industry into Montreal and Canada. Taken together, these activities placed John Redpath at the centre of the activities that propelled Montreal into becoming the hub of

2 Gerald Tulchinsky, "John Redpath," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 1861 to 1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 654-55; "John Redpath," in *History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal to the Year 1892*, ed. J. D. Borthwick (Montreal: Lovell, 1892), 130.

3 Newton Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicata: the Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal* (Montreal: Greig, 1839; reprint, Toronto, n.p., 1974), 119-20, (page citations are to reprint edition); Elizabeth A. K. McDougall, "Edward Black," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, 1836 to 1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 77-78.

4 Sir John William Dawson, *In Memoriam, Peter Redpath, Governor and Benefactor of McGill University and Founder of the Museum, Library and Chair of Mathematics which Bear His Name with Historical Notice of the Redpath Museum* (Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1894), 5.

manufacturing, transportation, and finance for British North America and eventually all of Canada.

A devout man, the elder Redpath was initially a member of St. Gabriel's, the largest Presbyterian congregation in Montreal. When, in 1832, disputes led to its splitting into separate congregations, he followed one of the ministers – the intensely emotional and evangelical Edward Black (1793-1845) – who established St. Paul's Church.<sup>3</sup> Along with Peter McGill and John Ross, equally eminent Montrealers of the day, Redpath became a trustee of the new congregation which soon built a church in the gothic style. Completed in 1834, for £3,569, St. Paul's vied in size with St. Gabriel's and was the first Presbyterian church in Montreal to be designed by, John Wells, an architect newly-arrived from England. Adjacent to the church, there was constructed for £436, a school, where Edward Black also presided as teacher, and where Peter Redpath received at least some of his early education. Located at the corner of St. Helen and Recollet Streets, in what is now referred to as Old Montreal, St. Paul's School would later be described by McGill's Principal, Sir John William Dawson, as one of the best in Montreal.<sup>4</sup>

John Redpath was noteworthy in other aspects of his life. He served briefly on Montreal city council and on various provincial commissions. As a philanthropist he supported a wide range of activities, particularly those associated with the Presbyterian Church. In addition, he supported other causes and institutions such as the Montreal General Hospital, of which he was president from 1859 to 1868.<sup>5</sup> Of particular interest was his appointment in 1840 as president of the re-established Montreal

Mechanics' Institute.<sup>6</sup> Founded in 1828, it was the second oldest institute in Canada based upon the principles of Sir George Birkbeck (1776-1841), the English educational reformer. In addition to giving courses, Montreal's Institute possessed a library and museum, harbingers of his son Peter's philanthropy. John Redpath married twice and had seven children by his first wife, and ten by his second.<sup>7</sup>

Peter, the first son and second child by the first wife Janet McPhee (1791-1834), was born in Montreal, at the time when his father was engaged in constructing Notre Dame de Montreal and the Lachine Canal. At least part of young Peter's childhood was also spent some distance from Montreal, at the village of Jones Falls in the Ottawa Valley, half-way between Kingston and Smiths Falls, Upper Canada (now Ontario) where John Redpath was constructing the Rideau Canal and "carving out the route from virgin forest, rocky wilderness, swamps, and lakes."<sup>8</sup> The intelligence and force of character, which John Redpath obviously required in accomplishing these great projects, would have been central factors in the lives of Peter and his siblings. The challenge for all the Redpath children would be in developing lives for themselves, while at the same time fulfilling their father's expectations. In the case of Peter, he appears to have developed a knack for dealing with his father and other intelligent, strong-willed people, by deferring to their priorities and assisting them in fulfilling their ambitions, while at the same time carving out for himself a life of personal accomplishment.

With his profit of £20,000 from the Rideau Canal, John moved his growing family back to Montreal in 1831 and built a house costing £5,300 – an immense

5 F. J. Shepherd, *Origin and History of the Montreal General Hospital* (Montreal: Gazette Printing, 1925), 2.

6 *Atwater Library of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal* (n.p., n.d.); Nora Robins, "The Montreal Mechanics' Institute, 1828-1870," *Canadian Library Journal* 38, no. 6 (December, 1981): 272-79.

7 Richard Feltoe, *Redpath: the History of a Sugar House* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 1991), 290-91. There is some confusion among the various sources concerning the number of children by each wife.

8 Feltoe, *Redpath*, 28.

sum at the time.<sup>9</sup> The next few years brought great change to the Redpath family. On July 26, 1834, the year that St. Paul's Church was completed, Janet Redpath died in childbirth leaving her widowed husband with six children.<sup>10</sup> A year later, in September 1835, the 39-year-old widower married the 20-year-old Jane Drummond (1815-1907), younger sister of his deceased partner Robert. The following year, John Redpath purchased an estate from the Desrivières family who were related to Mme Charlotte Desrivières, the wife of James McGill. The 235-acre estate, located on the southern slope of Mount Royal, just west of the McGill University campus, was mostly wilderness or pasture. Stretching from approximately Drummond St. on the east to Redpath or Simpson St. on the west, the estate extended north from below Sherbrooke St., up the slope of the mountain, over its crest, and finished only at the Protestant Cemetery, now Mount Royal Cemetery.<sup>11</sup> The entrance to the estate was the northern corner of Sherbrooke and Mountain streets. For generations, Mountain St. north of Sherbrooke was called either Redpath Lane or Avenue. The centre-piece of the estate was a charming French Canadian house, which was likely used as a country retreat. Situated on the northern side of what is now Penfield Avenue – between Mountain St. and Avenue du Musée, the present site of the Russian consulate – it would eventually be demolished to permit the construction of a large mansion befitting John's wealth and dignity. The estate became a major source of revenue for the family. Well into the twentieth-century building lots were sold-off, as sites for Square Mile mansions and

other residences. Along with portions of other estates, part of the Redpath estate was sold to the city in the 1870s to become Mount Royal Park.<sup>12</sup> As vestigial remains of this once proud estate and a lingering reminder of the family's role in Montreal's urban development, there are Court, Crescent, Place, Row, and Street still bearing the Redpath name in the area west of McGill.

The Rebellions of 1837 precipitated further change in the Redpath family.<sup>13</sup> Although John, who was a strong supporter of the Constitutional Association and the English-speaking-community of Lower Canada, remained in Montreal, he sent his new wife and children, except for Peter, to the rural tranquillity of Jones Falls to protect them from potential violence. As for Peter, he was withdrawn from St. Paul's School and sent to Manchester, England to complete his education and learn about business. This decision reflects the lack of educational opportunities available in early 19th century British North America. Although McGill University had received its charter in 1821, it began its teaching program only in 1829 and then just in medicine.<sup>14</sup> As for the suggestion that Peter was sent briefly to the United States for schooling, no evidence of this has been discovered. More likely, John considered that only in Britain could his eldest son receive the education and training suitable for his destined position in Montreal. Finally, one may legitimately wonder whether Peter, being much closer in age to his new stepmother than she to her middle-aged husband, may not also have played some part in sending him abroad.

9 Ibid., 29.

10 Ibid., 29.

11 James Cane, *Topographical and Pictorial Map of the City of Montreal* (Montreal: MacKay, 1846), [Drawings by J. Duncan]; Roderick MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: the Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, 1840-1895," (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1997). Chapter 3 is particularly helpful, as are the maps.

12 Charles E. Beveridge, *Frederic Law Olmsted, Designing the American Landscape* (New York: Rizzoli, 1995), 88-90.

13 Feltoe, *Redpath*, 29, 34-35.

14 Stanley Frost, *McGill University for the Advancement of Learning*, vol.1 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980), chapters 3-4.

If Montreal in the 1830s and 40s was a city of disturbances, unrest, and fundamental social change, Manchester was equally so. Although we may know little about Peter's life in Manchester, we know much about that city during these years. Synonymous with Victorian industrial might and prosperity, Manchester was a city of exaggerated discrepancies: on the one hand the rich and powerful, with their great public buildings, and on the other hand the poor and weak with their miserable dwellings, including basement housing for 40,000 to 50,000 people. This was in a city whose population grew from 182,000 in 1831 to 303,000 in 1851.<sup>15</sup> Not surprisingly, a variety of responses arose in the face of the city's dynamic and stressful conditions. At the grass-roots level, there was Chartism – a radical working-class movement whose rhetoric was significantly more dangerous than its actions. In fact, its major aim was parliamentary reform and the extension of the franchise. As the site of the infamous 1819 Peterloo Massacre, Manchester's involvement in the Chartist movement is easily understood. The second major response from Manchester was decidedly optimistic and middle-class.<sup>16</sup> The Manchester School was a political movement that aimed to end aristocratic control of the British government and related social-economic institutions; it was associated with laissez-faire economics, the Anti-Corn Law League, free trade, and the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884, which gave Britain universal male suffrage. The third major response of Manchester was to emphasize the importance of educational and cultural activities and institutions. These were exemplified in a wide range of libraries, museums, and

concert halls, and in Owens College, founded in 1851, for the study of science and technology, and the progenitor of the University of Manchester.<sup>17</sup> What impact did Manchester have upon Peter Redpath? Circumstantial evidence suggests that it must have been substantial enough to prompt his proposal to Grace Wood (Fig. 2) in 1845, and their subsequent marriage in Bowden on October 16, 1847.<sup>18</sup>

The Wood family is as notable and little known as the Redpaths.<sup>19</sup> Grace Redpath's father was William Wood, a prominent Manchester businessman, well known for his philanthropy and opposition to the employment of boys as chimney sweeps.<sup>20</sup> Her mother was a member of the Burton family, prominently associated with the Wesleyan revival and the building of the celebrated Oldham Street Wesleyan Church in Manchester. By the 1830s, the Woods were living in Bowden, one of the upper middle-class suburbs surrounding Manchester, well away from its inner city slums. At the age of 29, Grace felt such a strong attachment to England, her family, and religion that she mentioned all three in her reply of July 18, 1845, to Peter Redpath's letter of proposal; she was particularly concerned to know if he would ever consider living in England.<sup>21</sup> Their marriage, which appears to have been very happy, was obviously based upon shared values and interests, which they pursued vigorously and jointly. That she was both strong-willed and intelligent is clear. It is also clear that he did everything possible to permit them to live extended periods of their married life in England. It was well understood within the family that Grace, who was five years older than Peter but only one year younger than his

15 J. F. C. Harrison, *Early Victorian Britain, 1832-51* (London: Fontana, 1988), 26-27, 67-68, 150-57.

16 William D. Grampp, "Manchester School," in *The New Palgrave: a Dictionary of Economics* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 3: 296-97.

17 Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, vol. 5, *Pleasure Wars* (New York: Norton, 1998), 75-89.

18 Dawson, *In Memoriam Peter Redpath*, 7.

19 H. R. Morgan, "Mrs. Peter Redpath: a Generous Donor and Philanthropist," *Saturday Night* 41 (December 19, 1925), 27.

20 "Evidence as to the Violation of the Law Relative to the Employment of Climbing Boys in Sweeping Chimneys" Children's Employment Commission (1862) in *First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Employment and Condition of Children in Mines and Manufactories* (Eyres & Spottiswoode, 1863), 295-97. Included is evidence from Mr. William Wood of Bowden.



Figure 2. Grace Redpath (née Grace Wood).

step-mother, Jane Redpath, did not get along with John's second wife, who now became her mother-in-law. This situation may also account for Peter and Grace spending so much time in England.

Before proceeding further, it is important to appreciate that Peter and Grace shared an important bond other than their upper middle class family backgrounds. They were both religiously non-conforming, which is to say that they were not members of the established Church of England. Peter was a Presbyterian and Grace a Methodist. Much of the leadership for parliamentary reform in Victorian Britain came from people of similar non-conformist backgrounds. In fact some historians have hypothesized that the maintenance of British political stability in the nineteenth century was dependant upon integrating the non-conformist community into the political mainstream. As we will see, Peter and Grace played an important role in memorializing how this process of political reform was accomplished.<sup>22</sup>

Although Peter appears to have held a special place in his father's affections, it is intriguing to note their dissimilarities as well as their similarities. They were both equally devoted to Presbyterianism and their families; they were both collectors; and their activities focused upon philanthropy and business. Yet in these as in other matters they displayed very different approaches. As a business man, Peter seems to have been content to follow in his father's footsteps, even sitting on the board of directors of many of the same companies. Indeed, upon returning to Montreal from Manchester in 1845, he entered the firm of Dougall, Redpath, & Co. There is little evidence of his being an entrepreneur or developing any new business ventures, with the possible exception of some mining and property investments in the Canadian

Prairies, then called the North-West. Peter's ambivalent attitude towards his father's values came to a head in the 1850s and 60s when he joined the sugar company at John's request, while at the same time becoming a book collector and a benefactor of McGill University. In short, John was primarily a businessman who also practiced philanthropy; by contrast, Peter was primarily a philanthropist who also practiced business. John collected money and company directorships; Peter collected books and historical recognition for the family. John made the money and Peter spent it. John was twice married with seventeen children whereas Peter remained childless through one marriage. Yet rather than seeing these variations as points of opposition between father and son, perhaps they should be seen as part of the natural evolution of the Montreal business elite during the nineteenth-century.

Montreal began the century as a town of 9,000 people and ended it as Canada's largest city with a population of 328,172.<sup>23</sup> Although various considerations prevented it from becoming Canada's political capital, it soon emerged as the economic and cultural capital. By the century's end, it is estimated that the city controlled between two-thirds and three-quarters of the wealth of the new nation created by Confederation in 1867.<sup>24</sup> Of this wealth, the bulk was controlled by English-speaking Protestants, a high proportion of whom were Scots Presbyterians. Despite there being an English-speaking majority during the middle decades of the century, the prevailing ethos of Montreal, like that of the Province of Quebec, remained French-speaking and Roman Catholic. Responsibility for the social and educational needs of the Francophone community was assumed by the Church. As for the Anglophone community's social

21 Redpath Sugar Refinery Archives, Toronto.

22 To be amplified in a forthcoming study.

23 G. R. Lomer, "Montreal," in *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Toronto: Grolier, 1972), 7: 138-48.

24 Margaret W. Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900-1950* (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1990), 7.

and educational needs, their responsibility fell to its elite. By century's end, this elite resided primarily on the southern slopes of Mount Royal, on properties surrounding and even carved out of the Redpath estate, in an area referred to as the Square Mile, or sometimes the Golden Mile. In American history, the possessors of such concentrations of wealth are referred to as robber barons; in Canadian history they are referred to as merchant princes.<sup>25</sup> The merchant princes and their descendants soon developed social consciences and aesthetic concerns. Great private collections developed and Canada's first specifically designed public art gallery opened in Montreal in 1879.<sup>26</sup> Support for social and educational institutions became equally generous.

One of the primary institutions to vie for the support of the merchant princes was McGill University. Founded by Royal Charter in 1821 and pedagogically active from 1829, McGill was little more than a struggling backwoods college when John William Dawson (1820-1899) became principal in 1855.<sup>27</sup> One of the great scientists of the century and Canada's leading intellectual, Dawson was later knighted (KCMG) for transforming McGill into the leading Canadian university, with a growing international reputation, during a tenure lasting until 1893. As McGill could never count upon adequate government support from Quebec's Francophone Catholic majority, private benefaction from Anglophone Protestants was the only alternative. Cultivating the support of the Montreal business community became, therefore, an early preoccupation of Dawson. Of all the people whom he cultivated,

Dawson's greatest success was undoubtedly with Peter Redpath. Not only did Peter become one of the most important benefactors of Dawson's principalship, but the two men also developed a close personal friendship. Indeed, Dawson would eventually become Peter Redpath's biographer.<sup>28</sup> Peter was attracted to intelligence and force of character, but would also ensure his own self-fulfillment while assisting Dawson in fulfilling his priorities.

It was within this social, economic, and familial setting that one must attempt to piece together the details of Peter and Grace Redpath's lives and how they became collectors and benefactors. Peter's marriage in 1847 to Grace Wood coincided with a serious depression in the Canadian economy, occurring at the same time as the victory in Britain of the Anti-Corn League in 1845.<sup>29</sup> The League's victory – which was also a Manchester School victory – resulted in British free trade, which ended the preference hitherto given to Canadian wheat. Trade between Britain, Canada, and the other British colonies had previously been regulated by mercantile laws and Navigation Laws, which granted reciprocal privileges and restrictions within the empire: preferential access to markets and the controlled transportation of such trade. Although the mercantile laws granting preference were repealed, the Navigation Laws controlling transportation remained in force until 1849/50. This situation left the Canadian economy momentarily vulnerable to American economic might. The financial losses that these events brought to John Redpath, and other Montreal businessmen, resulted in 1849

25 Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987).

26 Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors, 1880-1920* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1989).

27 Peter R. Eakins, "Sir John William Dawson," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12, 1891 to 1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 230-37; Thomas G. Bonney, "Sir John William Dawson," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921-1922), XXII: 545-47.

28 See footnote #4.

29 W. T. Easterbrook, *Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1956), 368; Gilbert N. Tucker, *The Canadian Commercial Revolution, 1845-1851* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 63-64, 154; Gerald Tulchinsky, *The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

in political unrest and his becoming president of the Montreal Annexation Association that advocated Canada becoming part of the United States.<sup>30</sup> The movement was short-lived, however, and died out a few years later, but not before the burning down of the Parliament buildings in Montreal ended its ambition of retaining permanently its status as Canada's capital. More importantly for our story, these events inspired John Redpath to consider investing in some type of manufacturing that would ensure his family's financial future. In the end he decided upon sugar refining as it lacked any competition within British North America, despite being one of the biggest imports.<sup>31</sup> In 1850, he visited Britain and studied refineries in England and Scotland.<sup>32</sup>

John's decision to open a refinery was critical in many ways: it involved a huge outlay of capital, it was the first permanent sugar refinery in Canada, it spearheaded Montreal's conversion from a trading to an industrial city, and despite periodic setbacks it provided an enormous boost to the family fortune. Throughout its existence, the refinery was notable for several things: its dependence upon protective tariffs, its technological innovation, its strong leadership, and its profitability.

In 1853, John began buying property along the Lachine Canal, which he had helped to build from 1821 to 1826, and which had undergone a major expansion between 1843 and 1848.<sup>33</sup> John Ostell, the architect of McGill's Arts Building, designed a

refinery whose construction began immediately. Also in 1853, Peter and Grace accompanied his father to Britain to purchase the machinery for the new factory, which began production on August 12, 1854.<sup>34</sup> The role played by Peter Redpath in the development, growth and profitability of the sugar refinery was enormous; from the beginning, he worked directly with his father in its planning, organization and operation. After the opening, he worked so diligently that in 1857 the refinery's corporate name was changed to John Redpath & Son, Canada Sugar Refinery. Although other sons and family members became involved in the business, their contribution was never sufficiently large to warrant "Son" becoming "Sons."<sup>35</sup> There was, however, another individual connected with the refinery whose contribution would eventually eclipse Peter's. This was George Alexander Drummond (1829-1910), a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and the son of the man under whom John Redpath had apprenticed as a stone mason.<sup>36</sup> Drummond came to Montreal in 1854 to become the refinery's manager. In addition to his undoubted financial and administrative genius, Drummond's involvement with the business was also familial. He was the brother of Jane, the second wife of John Redpath.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, in 1857 George married Helen Redpath (1827-1883) a sister of Peter and the fifth child of John. In time, Drummond would become a senator of Canada, knighted (KCMG and KCVO) and president of the Bank of Montreal (1905-1910).

30 *The Annexation Manifesto of 1849. Reprinted from the Original Pamphlet with the Names of the Signers* (Montreal: D. English, 1881), (microfiche); Kathleen Jenkins, *Montreal, Island City of the St. Lawrence* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), Chapter 28.

31 Fernand Ouellet, *Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1980), 677.

32 *Redpath: One Hundred Years of Progress, 1854-1954* (n.p., n.d.).

33 Gerald Tulchinsky, "The Construction of the First Lachine Canal, 1815-1826" (Masters thesis, McGill University, 1960), Chapters 7-8, 111.

34 Feltoe, *Redpath*, 39-43.

35 *Ibid.*, 30.

36 Michèle Brassard, "Sir George Alexander Drummond," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, 1901 to 1910 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 283-84.

37 There is confusion among the various sources as to whether George and Jane were brother and sister or nephew and aunt.

He also became a distinguished art collector. George Drummond is the fourth and final person of intelligence and strength of character with whom Peter would have dealings in this story.

Although, in some years, the refinery would show low profits and even occasional losses, the trajectory was generally one of growing profitability, despite the appearance of competitors in Montreal and other parts of the country. By 1859, after only five years of operation, the value of the assets had grown from an initial investment of £40,000 (\$200,000)<sup>38</sup> to \$285,749.72 with profits for the year of \$89,546.98. In 1860, profits rose to \$111,868.06.<sup>39</sup> As the refinery was clearly in need of a more sophisticated administrative structure to cope with its expanding activities, articles of partnership were drawn up that same year giving John sixteen and Peter five of twenty-one shares. Provision was made to admit George Drummond and the younger Redpath sons as partners, should they so wish.<sup>40</sup>

Indicative of the refinery's profitability was John's replacing of the old Desrivières house on his Mount Royal estate in 1861 with an impressive mansion. "Terrace Bank", designed by the local architect J. W. Hopkin, was constructed of undressed limestone in an eclectic and asymmetrical Victorian style, with an imposing tower.<sup>41</sup> In addition to accommodating a large family, the house was clearly intended to impress the world. In 1862, new partnership articles were drawn up dividing the twenty-one shares as follows: John Redpath eight, Peter Redpath five,

George Drummond five and John James Redpath (1834-1884) three.<sup>42</sup> Once again, provision was made for other Redpath sons to become partners, should they so wish. Most revealing was the amount of working capital invested in the refinery by each partner: John Redpath \$207,218.20, George Drummond \$10,228.01, Peter Redpath \$7,879.44, and John James Redpath \$1,415.38. One can only speculate on the reasons for Peter's relatively low level of investment. Did the financial demands of his lifestyle or benefactions drain away his capital? What is clear, however, is the growing strength of George Drummond who would steadily emerge as the dominant partner. The years 1864 to 1866, when Peter joined the McGill Board of Governors and gave the University his first gift of books, coincided with the end of the American Civil War and its attendant economic fluctuations: profits fell but assets increased so that the refinery was able to purchase bonds and stocks in other companies worth \$158,054.37.<sup>43</sup> Symbolic of the delicate relationship between Peter and George Drummond was the naming of the two ships launched by the refinery in 1866 after their wives: the "Grace Redpath" and the "Helen Drummond."<sup>44</sup>

Despite the growing strength of George Drummond, in January 1868 the partners approved John Redpath's proposal that Peter succeed him as president.<sup>45</sup> The elder Redpath's recognition of his advancing age and declining health was justified when, three months later, he suffered a serious stroke from which he never recovered, dying on March 5,

38 Tulchinsky, "John Redpath," 654.

39 Feltoe, *Redpath*, 53, 56.

40 *Ibid.*, 55, 56.

41 MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 37-39.

42 Feltoe, *Redpath*, 59.

43 Feltoe, 71.

44 *Ibid.*, 71.

45 *Ibid.*, 71.

1869.<sup>46</sup> His death marked a fundamental turning point in the life of Peter, and the involvement of the Redpath family in the refinery. Towards the end of the year, Peter and Grace embarked upon a series of overseas tours, while still maintaining Montreal as their residence. Needless to say, this situation placed George Drummond in an awkward position as he was left to carry alone the bulk of the responsibility for running the refinery. As a result, the business underwent two fundamental reorganizations in the space of eight years. In 1871, revised partnership articles divided the shares as follows: George Drummond 50%, Peter Redpath 40% and Francis Redpath (1846-1928) 10%. A clause in the agreement stated: "It is probable that Peter Redpath will be absent the greater part of the time."<sup>47</sup> Even so he continued on as president.

As with so many other aspects of his life, it is difficult to pin down exact details of Peter's activities during these years. Although he appears to have spent a great deal of time abroad, it would be a mistake to dismiss him as a mere dilettante, removed from the activities of his native city. From 1874 to 1881, he served as president of the Montreal General Hospital and, from 1868 to 1882, as a director of the Bank of Montreal,<sup>48</sup> where he occupied himself greatly with early attempts to establish the Canadian Pacific Railway. He also served as a director of the Montreal Rolling Mills, Montreal Telegraph Co., the Inter-colonial Coal Co., and other mining companies, particularly in the Prairies. His unheeded warnings to Dawson to avoid mining speculation may have been motivated by unhappy personal experience.<sup>49</sup> Of course, he contin-

ued serving on the McGill Board of Governors. The real issue appears to have been his unwillingness to participate in the operation of the refinery.

Peter's unwillingness might not have been so serious except that the 1870s were a time of great difficulty for both the sugar industry and the Canadian economy. A major economic depression coincided with the tenure of the Liberal government of Alexander Mackenzie (1873-1878). His doctrinaire insistence upon free trade hit the sugar industry with a vengeance, as the industry required protective tariffs to face the competition of the much larger British, European, and American refineries. When Mackenzie's government reduced tariffs significantly, the Redpath refinery, along with virtually every other sugar refinery in the country, ceased operation in February 1876.<sup>50</sup> It should be pointed out that in that year the value of the plant was \$600,000 with the business requiring \$2 million in direct working capital and \$1.5 million in floating capital.<sup>51</sup> Only with the return to office of Sir John A. MacDonald and the Conservatives, with their National Policy of protective tariffs for Canadian industry, did the refinery reopen in August 1879. At this point Drummond, who had borne the bulk of the responsibility during this nearly catastrophic period, insisted that the business be restructured as a public joint-stock company, which was done in June 1879. Although "Redpath" was retained as a trade label, the company name was changed to the Canada Sugar Refinery Company Limited. At the first meeting of the new company on August 1, Peter Redpath was elected president,

46 Ibid., 73.

47 Ibid., 83.

48 Merrill Dennison, *Canada's First Bank: a History of the Bank of Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 2: 419-21.

49 Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson: Faith, Hope, and Science* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1996), 163.

50 Feltoe, *Redpath*, 105.

51 Ibid., 107.

George Drummond vice-president and Francis Redpath a director.<sup>52</sup>

Not surprisingly, this situation proved untenable since Peter was no more willing to devote time to the refinery now than he had been during the preceding ten years. The advantage of having a Redpath provide continuity by serving as president was eventually outweighed for Drummond by the irritation he felt at doing all the work without gaining any recognition, particularly as real competition was now being faced from Dr. Alfred Baumgarten's St. Lawrence Sugar Refining Co., which began operations in Montreal that same year.<sup>53</sup> In September 1879, Drummond succeeded Peter as president with Francis Redpath becoming vice-president, which position he held until 1883 when he reverted to the role of director.<sup>54</sup> Coincidentally in 1879, Drummond's wife, Helen Redpath, died and he remarried the following year to Grace Parker Hamilton (1860-1942), which would have weakened the link with the Redpath family.<sup>55</sup> By 1888 the annual profit had reached \$773,727.47.<sup>56</sup> In 1890, serious consideration was given to an offer to buy the company's property and plant for \$3 million.<sup>57</sup> Although Redpaths continued to hold positions of responsibility in the company until the First World War, the control remained firmly in the hands of the Drummond family until 1930. Under the impact of the great depression the company then merged with Dominion Sugar Co. to create the Canada and Dominion Sugar Co.<sup>58</sup> Cordial personal relations between Peter Redpath and George Drummond appear to have continued despite their business deal-

ings. After assuming the presidency, George would send annual letters to Peter discussing company business and current events. When Peter stepped down from his directorship of the Bank of Montreal in 1882, George succeeded him. Although Peter gave up his managerial role in the refinery and the bank, he continued owning their stocks.

We must assume that George's willingness to take charge of the refinery was exactly what Peter wanted, as he would now be relieved of its responsibility, and therefore able to develop a new life for himself. By 1882, Peter had divested himself of most of his business responsibilities, except for his directorship of the London board of the Bank of Montreal. Of course, he visited Montreal regularly and continued serving as a governor of McGill University. His real focus in life now became England, however, where he began studying law in London at the Middle Temple, joined the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute in 1886, and helped to found the Imperial Institute. In 1881, he purchased the Manor House in Chislehurst, Kent – a well-to-do community, only a short train ride from London.<sup>59</sup> What were the factors that lead Peter to uproot himself in this way and begin a whole new life for himself in his sixties? One factor was that two of his brothers had also left the refinery to undertake other careers: George (1839-1877) in 1863 to join the Church of England clergy, and John James in 1868 to join the army.<sup>60</sup> Another was the long standing desire of his wife Grace to return to England. Most of all, one suspects that Peter, having fulfilled his duty to his father and the sugar refinery, was now intent upon fulfilling his own goals and

52 Ibid., 121.

53 "Alfred Baumgarten," in *Who's Who and Why; a Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of Canada and Newfoundland*, vol. 5 (Vancouver: International Press, 1914), 54-55.

54 Felton, *Redpath*, 124, 129.

55 Ibid., 128-30.

56 Ibid., 145.

57 Ibid., 151.

58 Ibid., 285.

in the process those of Grace and Sir John William Dawson. Of course, the financial resources were more than sufficient; it seems likely, in the light of his subsequent collecting, benefactions, and life-style, that Peter may well have sold off many of his holdings at this time.

Given these various contexts, Peter Redpath's acceptance of a seat on the McGill Board of Governors in 1864 can be seen as contributing to a wide range of personal and communal agendas. As a wealthy and prominent businessman he was responding to a public responsibility. As an individual, he was satisfying an interest in culture and learning as well as a desire to be associated with an institution which interested him and with which neither his family nor George Drummond had any connection. In being offered a seat on the McGill board, he was receiving recognition of his status in the community. Dawson was particularly adept at enticing potential donors with the allure and prestige of a seat on the board and recognition for significant benefactions, such as named endowments and buildings.<sup>61</sup> Of the major benefactors of his principalship – Peter Redpath, Lord Strathcona, and Sir William Macdonald – all were Scots or of Scottish descent, but had not attended McGill or any other university. In addition, Macdonald and Redpath were childless. Like Dawson, Redpath was also a Presbyterian. That these three, and countless others, were so generous to McGill is a tribute to Dawson's effectiveness in dealing with benefactors, his unostentatious life-style, his charismatic personality and intellect, and his success in identifying the

young institution with the goals of Montreal's anglophone elite.

This elite would have appreciated Dawson's utilitarian approach to higher education which emphasized science, technology, and the professions. Owens College in Manchester was his model for McGill. Also appreciated would have been Dawson's attempts to reconcile science and religion.<sup>62</sup> His strongly voiced opposition to Darwin's theory of evolution, which did much to harm his scientific reputation, would have been welcomed by Peter Redpath and other benefactors whose religious views were generally traditional.

Peter's benefactions to McGill – like his father's – began in 1856, the year after Dawson's arrival at McGill, when they both gave small amounts to the Principal's first subscription.<sup>63</sup> Whereas his father's benefactions to the University remained quite small, Peter's grew steadily; over time his subscriptions to various funds would amount to \$8,000.<sup>64</sup> With his election to the Board in 1865, his benefactions began in earnest and the following year he gave a small collection of books to the library. Gifts of books would continue throughout his and Grace's lifetimes, and indeed, through their endowments, into the future. Peter's major benefactions occurred, however, only after the death of his father in 1869 and his subsequent disengagement from active business. The following year, he donated \$20,000 for a chair of Natural Philosophy – or science – which, in 1893, he agreed to transfer to the Mathematics Department, where it remains to this day.<sup>65</sup> Between 1880-1882, as he concluded his business interests in Montreal and moved to England, he constructed the first of

59 Arthur Battle, *Edwardian Chislehurst: Memories of the Village Baker* (Rainham, Kent: Meresborough, 1988); T. A. Bushell, *Imperial Chislehurst: the Story of a Kent Village*, 3rd ed. Whittlebury, Eng.: Baron, 1997); E.A. Webb, *The History of Chislehurst: Its Church, Manors, and Parish* (London: Allen, 1899).

60 Feltoe, *Redpath*, 63, 71.

61 Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson*, 51, 57-63, 72, 204-05; Allan Bell, "Munificent Wise and Thoughtful Gifts: Peter and Grace Redpath and the Redpath Tracts", *Fontanus; from the Collections of McGill University VI* (1993): 45-67.

62 Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson*, 125-35.

63 Dawson, *In Memoriam Peter Redpath*, 7.

64 *Ibid.*, 38.

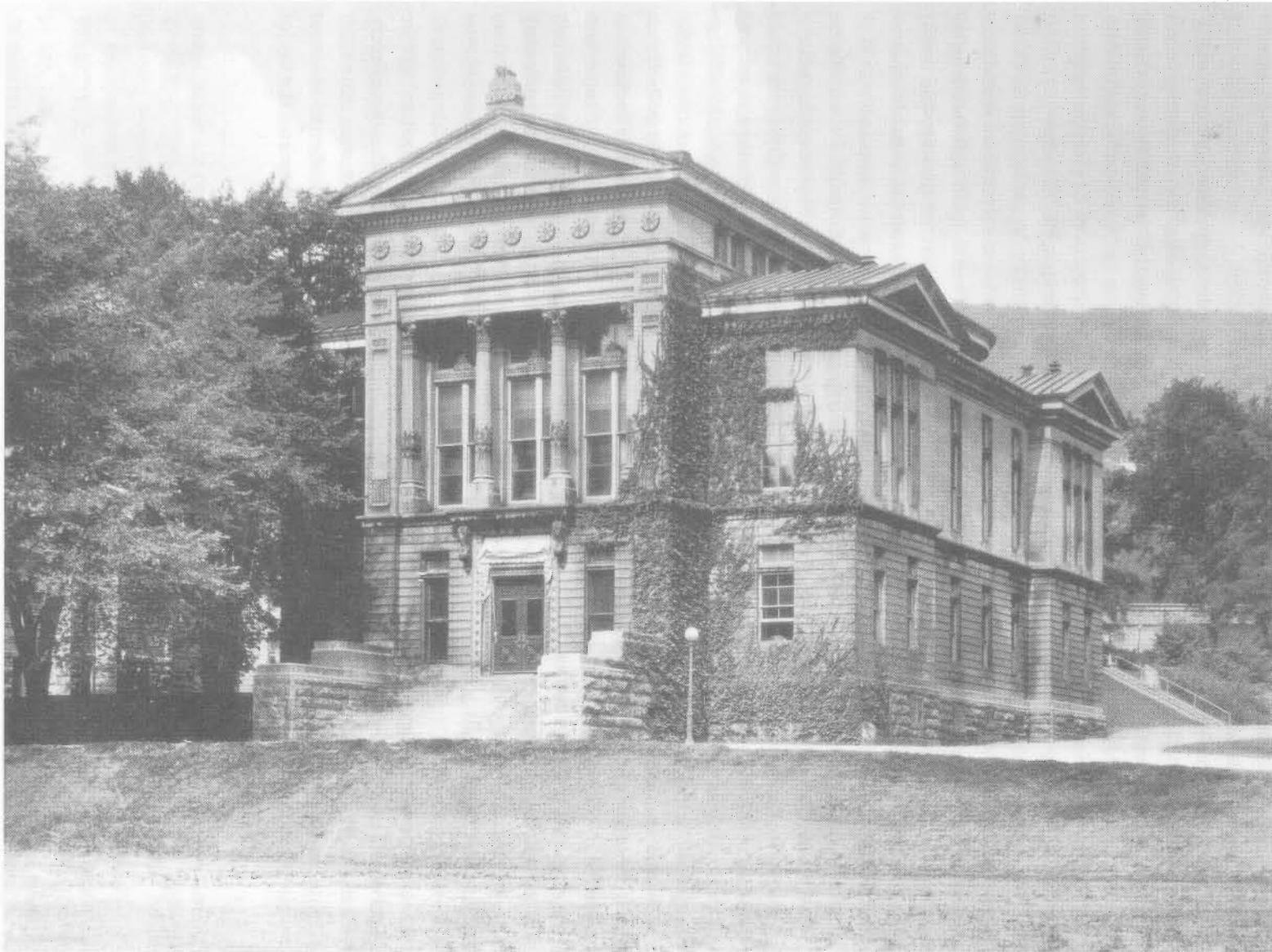


Figure 3. Redpath Museum.

the two buildings that continue to bear his name. Redpath Museum (Fig. 3), designed by Hutchison and Steele and costing \$140,000, was built to house natural science collections and particularly Dawson's famous palaeontological collection.<sup>65</sup> At a banquet on April 2, 1880 celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dawson's principalship, Peter announced his intention of building the Museum – which undoubtedly helped persuade the Principal to remain at McGill at a time when he considered leaving, due to the relocation of the Geological Survey of Canada from Montreal to Ottawa. Peter and Grace along with other members of the family figured prominently at the Museum's inauguration by the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne, during the 1882 Montreal meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Two years later, the British Association for the Advancement of Science was also enticed to meet in Montreal, largely because of the Museum. Peter supported the Museum with gifts of geological specimens and a grant of \$1,000 per year, increased to \$1,500 per year by the time of his death in 1894. This rather modest sum was supplemented by grants that Peter encouraged from other people such as his friends, J. H. R. Molson and his wife.

The Redpaths' gifts of books began in 1864/1865 and can be divided into two major categories: the Redpath Historical Collection and the Redpath Tracts. The initial gifts were to the Historical Collection and described in an eight page catalogue published circa 1867, listing 185 titles in 617 volumes.<sup>67</sup> Although the collection would eventually include books on philosophy, theology, European, World and Canadian

history, the primary focus of the collection would always remain British political and religious history. In 1865 the McGill Library contained only 5,000 volumes; consequently, the Redpath gift of 617 volumes would have been considerable. By 1884, this Historical Collection had grown to 1784 volumes, as described in a catalogue published that year,<sup>68</sup> still significant, since the library's total collection had only grown to 20,000 volumes. Additions to the Historical Collection continued to arrive annually or biannually from Peter and Grace until their deaths. As the books were primarily academic publications of the late nineteenth century, including the Calendars of State Papers and the Historical Manuscript Commission publications, they laid the foundations for McGill's reputation in the study of History, particularly British History.

The second category of books was the Redpath Tracts, considered the finest collection of its kind outside the British Library. Unlike the Historical Collection comprised of scholarly monographs, the Tracts were polemical in nature – pamphlets and brochures – published in Britain from the sixteenth century to 1900. It is perhaps not accidental that the Tracts, so visceral and spontaneous, are counterpoised by an academic and scholarly Historical Collection. The Tracts arrived in three series. The first series – containing 3,401 titles bound in 308 volumes, published between 1624 and 1860 – arrived at McGill in 1880 and is described at the end of the 1884 catalogue of the Historical Collection.<sup>69</sup> The second series – containing 3,587 titles bound in 582 volumes, published between 1558 and 1800 – was presented by

65 Ibid., 15.

66 Susan Bronson, "The Design of the Peter Redpath Museum at McGill University: the Genesis, Expression and Evolution of an Idea about Natural History," (Masters thesis, Université de Montréal, 1992); Rhodri Liscombe, "The Peter Redpath Museum, an Architectural Analysis," *Fontanus, from the Collections of McGill University I* (1988): 49-58; Sheets-Pyenson, John William Dawson, 57-58, 66-67.

67 *A Catalogue of Historical Works Presented to the University of McGill College, Montreal, by Peter Redpath Esq. 1866. Collections, &c* (Cambridge, Printed for Macmillan & Co. by J. Palmer, c. 1867).

68 *A Catalogue of Books Chiefly Relating to English and American History and Antiquities Together with a Collection of Historical, Ecclesiastical and Political Tracts (from 1642) Presented to the University of McGill College, Montreal by Peter Redpath, Esq. 1864-1884* (Cambridge, Eng.: Macmillan Bowes, 1884).

Grace in 1901, coincidentally with the completion of a new wing to Redpath Library that she had funded. The titles are described in a separately published catalogue.<sup>70</sup> The third series – containing 2,852 titles bound in 280 volumes, published between 1800 and 1900 – arrived at McGill two years later in 1903 and is also described in a separately published catalogue.<sup>71</sup> It should be noted that 1,037 titles in 43 volumes of this third series were composed of scientific and engineering papers published or collected by Sir Charles William Siemens (1823-1883), a member of the famous German engineering family.<sup>72</sup> All three series of Tracts were uniformly bound or boxed by the Redpaths in leather or buckram. The 9,840 Tracts are more or less evenly divided into three chronological periods: 1550 to 1700, 1701 to 1800, and 1801 to 1900. McGill has subsequently doubled the size of the collection by acquiring six additional series, many of which have been purchased from Redpath endowments. The Redpath Tracts are today the most important non-Canadian research collection in the McGill Library's Rare Books and Special Collections Division, and one of the most important to be found anywhere in the country. With the Historical Collection and the Tracts numbering between 15,000 and 20,000 books and pamphlets, the

Redpaths must be considered major bibliophiles, or book collectors.

As Peter Redpath's gifts of books continued through the 1880s, he came to realize that the facilities for housing them were certainly inadequate. Since 1862 the library had been quartered in various rooms of the newly built west wing (Molson Hall) of the Arts Building.<sup>73</sup> By the late 1880s these facilities had become insufficient for both books and readers. In fact, in 1887 Peter presented the library with an additional case for the Redpath alcove simply to house his growing gifts of books.<sup>74</sup> As a result, in 1891 Peter offered to build a separate library building for McGill, which was designed by Sir Andrew Taylor and opened with great ceremony on October 30, 1893 by the Governor General, Lord Aberdeen.<sup>75</sup> Redpath Library (Fig. 4) cost \$135,000,<sup>76</sup> had a capacity of 140,000 volumes, and was built on land bought specifically for this purpose by J. H. R. Molson for \$42,500. In 1892, Peter agreed to contribute \$4,000 per year for the upkeep of the library and the librarian's salary, in addition to which he also contributed \$500 towards cataloging the library's collection.<sup>77</sup> Peter also played a decisive role in the appointment of Charles Gould as the first University Librarian.<sup>78</sup> Grace contributed \$8,000 from her own funds for the stained glass windows

69 *A Catalogue of Books...* 1884, 29-133.

70 *Catalogue of a Collection of Historical Tracts, 1561-1800 in DLXXXII Volumes Collected and Annotated by Stuart J. Reid; the Gift of Mrs. Peter Redpath to the Redpath Library, McGill University, Montreal* (London: Printed by the Donor for Private Circulation, 1901).

71 *Catalogue of a Collection of Historical, Political, Economic, and Other Tracts and Brochures in Two Hundred and Eighty Volumes, 1800-1900, Arranged by Stuart J. Reid. the Gift of Mrs. Peter Redpath to the Redpath Library, McGill University, Montreal*, 2 vols. (London: Privately Printed by the Donor, 1903).

72 H. T. Wood, "Sir Charles William Siemens," *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921-1922), XVIII: 240-44.

73 Peter F. McNally, "McGill University Libraries," in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* vol. 17 (New York: Dekker, 1976), 311-20.

74 *McGill University Annual Report, 1887* (Montreal: McGill University, 1888), 18.

75 Peter F. McNally, "Dignified and Picturesque: Redpath Library in 1893," *Fontanus, from the Collections of McGill University VI* (1993): 69-84.

76 McGill University Archives. RG 4, C. 433, File 1351E.

77 *McGill University Annual Report, 1892* (Montreal: McGill University, 1893), 3.



Figure 4. Redpath Library (1893).

installed in the east and west ends of the library's impressive reading room.

These great benefactions proved to be Peter's last gifts to McGill. He died on February 1, 1894, three months after the Library's opening. It is important to note, however, that although he left his entire estate to Grace, he also made full provisions for the disposition of his estate should she have predeceased him.<sup>79</sup> In addition to innumerable family bequests, \$150,000 would have gone to McGill: \$100,000 to the library, \$30,000 to the museum, and \$20,000 to the office of the Principal. As a further point of interest, it was understood within the family that, had he lived a few months longer, Peter's benefactions would have been acknowledged by his being created a baronet in Queen Victoria's birthday honours list.

In any event, Grace continued her husband's work. She maintained the Museum's annual operating grant of \$1,500, but the Library's grant was increased to \$5,000 in 1895, to \$6,000 in 1901/02, and to \$10,000 in 1902/03. By comparison, it is noteworthy that the entire endowment income of the Faculty of Medicine, in 1904/05, was also \$10,000. In 1894 she supplied the funds for purchasing additional steel fixtures for the library stacks; in 1901 she supplied \$52,000 for building an extension to the stack wing.<sup>80</sup> In addition she gave grants for cases, shelves, and tables. Annual gifts of books continued throughout her lifetime. In a small but highly symbolic innovation, she changed the name on the Redpath book-plates, inserted on separate fly-sheets in each volume, from "Peter Redpath" to "Peter and Grace Redpath." On her death, January 30 1907, the value of Grace's Canadian holdings alone was nearly

\$1,000,000; no estimate is available of her British holdings.<sup>81</sup> Although the bulk of her estate was divided among a wide range of Redpath and Wood family members, she left McGill \$150,000 in the form of Bank of Montreal shares: \$120,000 (\$20,000 more than Peter had earmarked) for the library and \$30,000 for the Museum.<sup>82</sup> Elimination of the bequest to the principal's office suggests that Grace had probably not enjoyed the same close, personal relationship with Sir William Peterson (1856-1921) that she and Peter had enjoyed with Dawson. Although the income from these endowments continues to the present, concern was expressed at the time that at a 4.5% return the amount left for the library would yield only \$5,400, or \$4,600 less than her annual grant.<sup>83</sup> Circumstantial evidence suggests that the shortfall was probably made up by Sir William Macdonald.

An intriguing aspect of the will is a sentence stating that, in addition to Grace's inheritance from Peter and money saved since his death, the estate also included what had been "acquired from other sources." An implication of having money of her own always accompanied Grace. To the family's amazement, Grace's mother-in-law Jane Redpath died on the same day. With the death of these two old protagonists, each vowing to outlive the other, a divisive family feud was finally laid to rest. That Peter and Grace enjoyed the support of at least some members of their family is best shown by the other Redpath family endowments given to the Library: Alice E. Redpath, P. W. & J.C. Redpath, William Wood Redpath, and Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick. The

78 McGill University Board of Governors' Minutes. 17 June 1892; 24 June 1892.

79 Peter Redpath. Will, October 28, 1892. Great Britain, Public Record Office.

80 McGill University *Annual Report*, 1895, 6; *Annual Report*, 1897, 18; *Annual Report*, 1898-99, 27; *Annual Report*, 1899-1900, 5, 10; *Annual Report*, 1900-01, 3; *Annual Report*, 1901-02, 22; *Annual Report*, 1902-03, 8, 12; *Annual Report*, 1904-05, 2.

81 "List of assets of the late Mrs. Grace Wood Redpath in Canada, estimated value on 30th of January 1907" [Undated, typed document belonging to Linda Redpath, Victoria, B.C.].

Redpath endowments had a capital value in 1995 of approximately \$1.5 million.<sup>84</sup>

These collections and benefactions beg fundamental questions: why did Peter and Grace Redpath collect and why did they make such substantial gifts to McGill? Of course, the collections might be dismissed as the playthings of wealthy and idle people, who were merely attempting to distinguish themselves from other merchant princes, particularly their rival Sir George Drummond and his art collection. Similarly, their benefactions to McGill might likewise be dismissed as monuments to the conspicuous display of wealth and social prominence of a couple desiring to assert themselves within a small, closed society. Although the elite nature of the collections and benefactions must be fully acknowledged, neither of these interpretations is ultimately satisfying or bears close scrutiny. The books are at once too scholarly in the case of the Historical Collection or too radical in the case of the Tracts to be considered mere playthings. In addition, the various benefactions of money, books, and buildings assumed their monumentality only after 1880, when Peter and Grace had moved to England. If social distinction had been their real aim, they could have made their benefactions in Britain where Peter's baronetcy would have been completely assured.

It would seem instructive, therefore, to consider the motivation of the Redpaths in their own terms. Looked at one way, the collections and benefactions can be placed into three obvious categories: books, buildings, and other. Into the "other" category, can be placed Peter's various monetary subscriptions to McGill and the endowed chair. Into the "building"

category, can be placed Redpath Museum and Redpath Library and their endowments. As for the "books", to this category belong the 15,000 to 20,000 books and pamphlets of the Tracts and Historical Collection, along with their endowments.

Looked at another way, the collections and benefactions can be placed into three broad subject areas – history, religion, and science – with a particular focus upon Britain. Concerning the scientific collections and benefactions – Redpath Museum, the Redpath chair, and the Siemens Collection – a number of motivations suggest themselves. The fact that the Redpath fortune was largely based upon sugar refining, which in turn was highly dependant upon technology, may well have predisposed Peter towards science. Equally important if not more so, however, would have been the Redpaths' friendship with William Dawson. His status as Canada's leading scientist, along with his ambitions for the University, would have been major factors in these benefactions. Finally, there is the enormous prestige paid to science throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>85</sup> In supporting science, the Redpaths were simply identifying themselves and McGill with one of the great intellectual movements of the age. That said, it should be noted that Mrs. Redpath showed relatively little interest in the scientific collections and benefactions. Although she gave the Siemens Tracts, they were not individually listed in the published catalogue of the third series of the Tracts, of which they form a part. As for the Museum, although she treated it in her lifetime and in her will as generously as Peter had, she paid it no particular attention and did not increase the amounts designated by her husband.

82 Grace Redpath. Will, 19 February, 1902. First Codicil, 25 April, 1902; Second Codicil, 30 June, 1902; Third Codicil, 5 January, 1904; Fourth Codicil, 29 April, 1904; Fifth Codicil, 17 January, 1905. Great Britain, Public Record Office.

83 McGill University *Annual Report*, 1906-1907 (Montreal: McGill University), 19.

84 Information supplied by the McGill University Treasury Department.

85 Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 33-36.

Concerning the historical and religious collections and benefactions, one comes face to face with Peter's and Grace's core values and joint concerns. For it is obvious that history and religion were shared passions that engaged their hearts and minds, both as people and as collectors and benefactors. To begin with, it is not clear that these collections were assembled with any particular concern for the academic ambitions of Dawson and McGill. History would be taught as a separate subject only after 1895, and religion only after 1948.<sup>86</sup> What is clear, however, is that after Peter's death the books in these subjects continued coming to McGill in even greater numbers than before. A case in point is the Tracts, the bulk of which came after his death. Grace's role in collecting them is made explicit in their continuing chronologically until 1900, despite Peter's death in 1894. Other indications of Grace's involvement with the Redpath books can be seen in her alteration of the bookplate to include her name along with Peter's, and her continuing gifts to the Historical Collection. Some of the reasons for the Redpath's interest in history and religion can be gleaned from the details of their lives, thereby compensating for the lack of any explicit statements from them about this or most other topics. Their interest in religion is reflected in many ways. Despite being married and buried in the Church of England, they were both from Protestant non-conformist backgrounds: he a Presbyterian and she a Methodist. Both in their public and private lives, the importance of religion can be noted. After Peter's death, Grace supported the establishment of a Presbyterian church near Chislehurst.<sup>87</sup> Beyond these personal considerations, recognition must be paid to the centrality of religion in Victorian England.<sup>88</sup> As for history, one cannot help but think that the collections began as

a way of helping Grace counteract her homesickness for England. Anglophilia is one of the constant elements in their lives. In addition to any personal interest in history, there is the general preoccupation of the Victorian era with historical study.<sup>89</sup> Taking history and religion together, their intertwining role in the political process – in both Britain and Canada – has been pointed out by many commentators. Through their collections, the Redpaths were once again identifying themselves and McGill with the great intellectual movements of the century.

It is with the library that the shared enthusiasm of the Redpaths becomes manifest. Although Peter and Grace may have appreciated the study and research role of the library, its role as a home for their books is probably their real motivation for building it. Whereas the Museum is designed in the style of a Graeco-Roman temple and has few mementos of its benefactors (except for a large portrait of Peter), the Library's reading room is designed in the style of a Christian church and is filled with mementos of both Redpaths. The Christian symbolism of the building is considerable and would have been wholly in conformity with the wishes of the benefactors. Grace's emotional attachment to the Library is evidenced in the construction of the stack wing (1901), the gifts of books, the steadily increasing annual grants, and the increased bequest in her will. Most emblematic of Grace and Peter's commitment to the Library was the gift from her own funds of stained glass windows for the reading room. Following Peter's death, she had added a further band of stained glass across the bottom of the east windows. Along with portraits of the two of them, it contains an inscription in Latin, which reads: "*Vitream Istam Cura Sua Pictam Collegio Mariti Gratia Amato Dono Dedit Gratia*

86 Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University for the Advancement of Learning*, vol. 2 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 30, 289.

87 "The Late Mrs. Redpath," *The Bromley Chronicle*, February 7, 1907, 5.

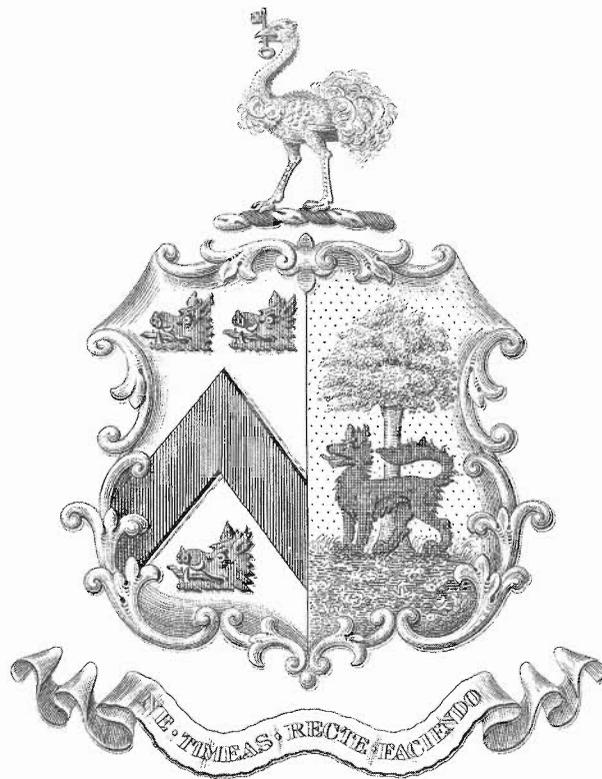
88 Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, 21 n.77.

89 David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture: Perceptions and Introspection in an Age of Change* (London: Fontana, 1998), 142.

*Redpath* ("Grace Redpath Gave This Stained Glass Window to the College at Her Own Expense in Commemoration of Her Beloved Husband").

In the light of this remarkable saga of collecting and benefaction, it seems only right to conclude this story with several general acknowledgements. To begin with, Peter and Grace Redpath deserve acknowledgement as Canada's first great benefactors of libraries and museums as well as being amongst our first great

bibliophiles and benefactors of higher education. Next, Grace Redpath must be acknowledged as the first woman in Canada to be a major benefactor of a library, museum, or university as well as being one of the first Canadian women to be a major bibliophile. Finally, it should be acknowledged that in their collecting and benefactions, the Redpaths allied themselves and McGill University with the three most powerful intellectual movements of the nineteenth century: science, history, and religion.



*Peter & Grace Redpath.*



Figure 1. Anna Dawson Harrington, ca 1890s (McGill University Archives, PR001203).

## ANNA DAWSON HARRINGTON'S MEMOIR OF HER FATHER SIR WILLIAM DAWSON, 1900

By Robert H. Michel

*In 1900 Anna Dawson Harrington (1851-1917) jotted down her vivid memories of her father, Sir William Dawson, geologist and McGill Principal. She hoped to breath life into the stilted, impersonal, MS autobiography that her father had completed before his death in 1899. Her notes, while unfinished, give a unique, intimate record of Sir William's personality, interests, daily routines, and family life. They are transcribed here with an account of their origin in the family dispute which preceded the autobiography's publication as Fifty Years of Work in Canada in 1901. The relevant documents are in the Dawson Family Fonds in the McGill University Archives.*

*C'est en 1900 que Anna Dawson Harrington (1851-1917) écrit ses souvenirs de son père, Sir William Dawson, géologue et recteur de McGill. Elle espérait rendre plus vivante et plus personnel l'autobiographie écrite par son père avant son décès en 1899. Bien qu'incomplet, son récit nous offre un regard unique et intime de la personnalité de Sir William, de sa routine journalière et de sa vie en famille. Cet article présente ses notes dans le contexte de la dispute familiale qui a précédé la publication de cette bibliographie portant le titre Fifty Years of Work in Canada, en 1901. Tous ces documents se trouvent dans le Fond de la famille Dawson aux Archives de l'université McGill.*

### PART I: BACKGROUND

**T**HE SUBJECT OF THIS BRIEF is a short, significant memoir in the McGill University Archives about Sir William Dawson (1820-1899) by his daughter Anna Dawson Harrington (1851-1917) [Fig. 1.] Anna wrote it in 1900 to help flesh out her father's draft autobiography. After a serious illness in 1892 and his retirement as McGill's Principal in 1893, Sir William had written his autobiography, conscious of his roles as builder of McGill University since 1855, creator of Canadian scientific networks, geologist, and anti-Darwinian reconciler

of science and religion. At his death in November 1899, he left a MS autobiography which was published in January 1901 as *Fifty Years of Work in Canada: Scientific and Educational* (Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., London & Edinburgh).<sup>1</sup> The autobiography was edited by Sir William's youngest son, and McGill graduate, physician Rankine Dawson (1858-1913). Its publication sparked controversy among the Dawson children, a lively episode well described by Susan Sheets-Pyenson in her biography *John William Dawson: Faith, Hope, and Science*

<sup>1</sup> This comment follows up one on the Dawson Papers (which briefly referred to Sir William's autobiography and Anna's memoir): Robert H. Michel, "An Archival Testament: the papers of Sir William Dawson," *Fontanus IX* (1996): 125-29. As Susan Sheets-Pyenson remarked to me once, the draft autobiography in the Dawson Fonds differs from the published version; these differences have never been analyzed. Rankine took another draft or copy to England; whether other versions or copies existed is unknown. Anna's notes appear to refer to a draft, which she described as dictated and with different pagination than the McGill copy.



Figure 2. Rankine Dawson, ca 1890  
(McGill University Archives, PR027253).

(McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 1996).<sup>2</sup> Supplementing that work, this account focuses on Anna's role and gives a full transcription of her handwritten memoir to make it more readily available. The controversy over publication of Sir William's autobiography is documented in the Dawson Family correspondence in the McGill University Archives (MG 1022), particularly between George M. Dawson (1849-1901), living in Ottawa, and his sister Anna Dawson Harrington, living in Montreal, and to a lesser extent in the correspondence of their mother Margaret (1836-1907), and brothers Rankine and William (1854-1944) and sister Eva (1864-19??).

The conflict was over whether or not to publish Sir William's MS as he had left it or to substantially improve it. The youngest son Rankine (Fig. 2), living in London, England, maintained (correctly) that their father had wanted his autobiography to be published soon after his death,<sup>3</sup> with a minimum of editing; that he had written it as his own record of his life rather than as the basis for a biography by someone else. Rankine and his father had often been at odds with each other; Rankine's career had ups and downs and, on occasion, Sir William had found Rankine too worldly and concerned with moneymaking schemes. However, in 1899, Rankine had visited his father and had probably promised to help publish the autobiography. Indeed, at the same time, Rankine was already representing his father in London, regarding the possible publication of "The Seer of Patmos" by Hodder and Stoughton.<sup>4</sup> After Sir William's death on November 19, 1899, Rankine

at first deferred to his older brother George's advice but eventually claimed that he, not George, had been entrusted by their father with the task of publication. Over the course of 1900, Rankine, back in London, prepared to publish the MS.

Opposing Rankine were the like-minded George and Anna, Sir William's oldest children and the ones who had been closest to him. As his father's collaborator in geological research and himself an eminent geologist, George would have made a more likely editor than Rankine; in fact George may have suggested his father write the autobiography. But George could spare little time from his duties as Director of the Geological Survey of Canada. Likewise, Anna could do little because of her family responsibilities. Although Anna felt her lack of university training had left her at a disadvantage compared with her brothers,<sup>5</sup> she dealt with them as an equal and did not hesitate to give her opinions on the faults of the autobiography. George and Anna agreed the MS autobiography was too dry, limited, dull, modest, misleading, impersonal, over-burdened with quotations from their father's lectures, and lacking in anecdote and narrative interest. It was not, Anna concluded, a good portrayal of the beauty of his career and life. Written in Sir William's decline, the text did not convey his achievements or character.<sup>6</sup> Ideally, George and Anna would have preferred to commission a full-fledged biography. They considered McGill history professor C.W. Colby as a potential biographer, or at least as someone who might improve the MS autobiography. In October 1900 Anna and her mother lent Colby a MS draft of

2 Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson: Faith, Hope and Science* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 207-11.

3 Five weeks before Sir William died, he wrote George that the autobiography would be turned over to him "at my early demise;" that Rankine had promised to give whatever help might be needed for publishing; and noted "please observe, however that in such matters, *prompt issue* is a vital point...." Letter from Sir William Dawson to George Dawson, October 9, 1899, McGill University Archives, MG1022, C55.

4 Letters from Sir William Dawson to Rankine Dawson, December 21, 1898; January 17, 1899; March 28, 1899, MG1022, C68.

5 Letter from Anna Dawson to Rankine Dawson, November 21, 1898, MG1022, C68.

6 Letters of George Dawson, December 1899 to February 1901, MG1022, C55; *passim*. Letters of Anna Dawson, December 1899 to February 1901, MG1022, C62, C63; *passim*. Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson*, 209-10.



Figure 3. George Dawson, Sir William and Lady Margaret Dawson, Anna Dawson Harrington, B.J. Harrington and their children, ca 1890s, at Little Métis, Québec (McGill University Archives, PR027302).

the autobiography but nothing seems to have come of this.<sup>7</sup> Failing a professional biography, George and Anna aimed, at the very least, to supplement the existing autobiography with letters and anecdotes which would firmly establish their father's contributions to science and education and portray his personal and spiritual qualities.

Accordingly, in the summer and fall of 1900, George and Anna corresponded passionately but vaguely about ways to improve the autobiography. To counteract its dry, impersonal tone, they decided to write down their memories of their father. They

probably intended to forward these notes to Rankine to be incorporated in the book, which they were slowly coming to realize he intended to publish, with or without their collaboration. While this comment focuses on Anna's memoir, George's own brief notes concur with Anna's portrait of a caring, patient, instructive parent.<sup>8</sup> Anna may have been more driven to write than George. She was struck by her father's importance and touched even by his stilted autobiography: "Indeed in reading over details of his life, the beginning always seemed prophetic of his later years, so truly & unswervingly did he pursue the light

7 Letters of Anna Dawson to George Dawson, June 11, 1900; letter of Margaret Dawson to George Dawson, October 10, 1900, MG1022, C55.

8 George Dawson's biographical notes on his father, McGill University Archives, MG 1022, C81.

9 From a separate note with Anna's memoir, McGill University University Archives, MG1022, C64.

10 Letters from Anna Dawson to George Dawson, August 6, 1900; November 6, 1900; November 28, 1900; December 4, 1900, McGill University Archives, MG1022, C55.

given to him."<sup>9</sup> By August 1900 Anna decided to write about her father and was jotting things down as late as November or December 1900, while lamenting she had no leisure to write much.<sup>10</sup> Their mother, Margaret Dawson, wrote to George that she thought Anna could contribute a character sketch of Sir William to the planned book, if only she could spare time from her ceaseless chores.<sup>11</sup>

Yet neither George nor Anna produced enough about their father in the year after his death to alter the autobiography significantly. The editing task and initiative as to publication fell by default to Rankine. While Anna and George tried to think of ways to improve the book and denounced Rankine for ignoring their views, George even threatened legal action to stop publication. Publication rights probably belonged to the widowed Margaret Dawson, who hoped above all to avoid family strife. Rankine quietly brought out the autobiography, *Fifty Years*, in January 1901 in Britain. It was barely a year after Dawson's death. The impractical and rebellious son had defied his more devoted siblings and became the one to memorialize their father. George and Anna decided not to take steps to have the book withdrawn since this would have meant involving and upsetting their mother and tarnishing their father's memory. Almost immediately after publication, the autobiography controversy became irrelevant: George died suddenly in Ottawa on 2 March 1901. In Rankine's defence, he got the job done. It seems unlikely that a comprehensive biography or improved autobiography could have been produced without extensive research. And imperfect as it was, *Fifty Years* was well received by those to whom Rankine presented it<sup>12</sup> and perpetuated Sir William's vision and life across the next

century. Wisely, the family preserved all its papers and, starting in the 1920s, gave them to McGill repositories, where they have been used extensively, especially since the 1970s, with the expansion of research in Canadian history.

Anna did not write her memoir in vain. A century later, its unique information about Sir William's relations with his children and personal routines was mined, not only by Sheets-Pyenson for her biography but also by Cynthia S. Fish, in "Images and Reality of Fatherhood: a case study of Montreal's Protestant Middle Class, 1870-1914," (Ph.D thesis, History, McGill University 1991). Sheets-Pyenson used Anna's memoir as an important source for her discussion of Sir William's family life while Cynthia Fish explored how the memoir revealed him as one of the enlightened Victorian fathers in her study (Fig. 3). Both quoted parts of Anna's memoir and found it shed significant light on Sir William's personal side. With different emphases (and, of course using other sources, mainly correspondence), they noted the memoir's value as a source for family life, attitudes and discipline, and for Sir William's conscientious care for the upbringing, education and entertainment of his sons and daughters.<sup>13</sup>

Because of its documentary value, exemplified by its quotation and use by these two scholars, Anna's memoir is worth publishing in full here. Besides portraying her father, the memoir reflects Anna herself. She deserves notice on her own account and left a sizable documentation of her own life. Her youthful writing indicates she was creative, introspective and romantic. Like George, unlike Rankine, she was close to her father. Her diary of 1865 records her travels with her father to Europe; he carefully

11 Letters from Margaret Dawson to George Dawson, September 4, 1900 and undated letter, McGill University Archives, MG1022, C55.

12 Rankine Dawson, incoming letters, 1901, MG 1022, C68.

13 Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson*, 11, 91-92; Fish, "Images and Reality": 280-281, 286 n. 62, 290, 292 n. 78, 298. Fish noted that Sir William involved himself in his children's spiritual upbringing by the time they were about three, far earlier than the other fathers in the group she studied; as well that in conflicting directly, Sir William and Rankine were unique among the fathers and sons in her sampling: 303-306.

explained all the historical sites to her (and even recorded the trip in his *Fifty Years*).<sup>14</sup> She inherited her father's intelligence and spiritual and rational attributes yet, like many educated women, she had to spend most of her energy looking after her family. A few generations later, she might have become a scientist herself. Instead, while George was his father's chief intellectual ally, Anna was his greatest support at the family level. She also dealt with some of his correspondence and illustrated many of his geological books and articles, assisting in many ways until her father's death. George wrote her that it was a great comfort to know she had been "able to help so much during all father's failing years.... you were able to work with him & help him in a way none of the rest of us could. It has been a sacrifice to you in various ways no doubt, but one which I feel you have no cause to regret."<sup>15</sup>

In 1900, Anna wrote brief notes about Sir William in the face of exhausting daily demands. She was forty-nine years old, married to McGill Professor Bernard Harrington (1848-1907), with seven children ranging from fairly young to early twenties. Two other children had died at ages eleven and seventeen.<sup>16</sup> Running a household on her husband's modest salary and helping her widowed mother sort out her affairs, she emerges from the autobiography conflict as an intelligent, stable influence on her antagonistic brothers George and Rankine – agreeing with George that her father deserved a better memorial than his autobiography but anxious that no public disagreement mar her father's memory and mother's peace of mind.

Anna's memoir, while unfinished, may be the most intimate existing record of her father. Its direct,

informal language and personal point of view sharply contrast with the ponderous, impersonal Victorian style in which Sir William penned his autobiography. From the privacy of the home, she gave a unique view of Sir William, revealing a father who unlocked the doors of knowledge to her as freely as to his sons. Anna's recollections about her father began self-consciously, by referring to images graven on her youthful memory. She had strong early impressions from the early years that the Dawsons lived in the greystone East Wing of the McGill Arts Building, when she was around ten and her father forty. She particularly remembered her father working in the family garden and laying out the grounds of the McGill campus and its avenue in the 1850s and 1860s, still recognizable today. (Sir William improved the grounds partly to make the University more viable and attractive to the Montrealers whose support he needed.) Anna recorded her father's sentimental side – his love of children, as well as his role as parent, teacher, and companion on outings; his story telling, generosity, and rare but effective temper. She also noted his practical and methodical sides; how he left instructions about his worldly affairs before traveling and kept track of his busy life by using a pocket notebook to keep track of appointments and things to be done. Indeed, his secret of success as an administrator foreshadowed modern time-management theory; he dealt with minor questions and details at once as soon as they came up. The memoir concentrates on the years before Anna was an adult; one wishes for the unwritten continuation into later years.

Anna's letters included a few more glimpses of her father, some points of which she would cover

14 Some of Anna's early writing is described briefly in Robert Michel, "Diaries from the McGill University Archives – a Sampling," *Fontanus V* (1992): 42-44.

15 Letter from George Dawson to Anna Dawson, December 3, 1899, McGill University Archives, MG1022, C62.

16 Anna herself would be the subject of a brief memoir by her daughter Lois Winslow-Spragge, who transcribed the correspondence between her parents (1875-1907), wrote about her uncle George Dawson and gave numerous family papers to the McGill University Archives, ca. 1969-1974. Lois Winslow Spragge wrote of her mother: "There were times when sorrow fell heavily upon B.J. (Harrington) and Anna, as it did in 1888 and 1894, when they lost their two oldest children, Eric and Edith. But Anna never gave in, one never saw tears – it seemed as if the words 'I triumph still if Thou abide with me' were always singing in her heart." Introduction to the transcription of Anna's letters to Bernard McGill University Archives, MG 1022, C64.

in her memoir. Writing to George on 6 November 1900, she feared (correctly) that Rankine might already be involved with a publisher and spurred herself and George to write their recollections without delay: "Think of his gardening: his bird-stuffing, (who taught him that?) his *sketching*: I have a hundred recollections of the garden. If I could only get a *day* – to reflect but I am too tired at night & by day I just fly before the gale of life, & to steer and trim the sails seems all I can do – & you are much the same."<sup>17</sup> In a letter to Rankine, Anna argued that any account of Papa would be incomplete without mention of his gardening, of his interest in children, of his always having little books to give away, of his keeping a kind of bank for needy students, of his fatherly relation to his employees, his excursions with students, his pleasant jokes and other attributes which would show him intimately, as the reader would wish to know him.<sup>18</sup> On 9 December 1900 she wrote to George, sadly remembering her father's final days a year earlier: "One misses Papa at Xmas time, he was always so anxious to purchase for everyone & never seemed to find it a bother, or to lose his sense of interest in it until last year. He used to begin quite early & talk about it & what books were to be got. Always books for all the College Janitors, & for all the young people a perennial supply. Last year I said one day by way of starting a pleasant topic.... We must soon begin to think of Xmas. He replied, I have done with Xmas. It started & surprized me so & was indeed the end of his many loving cares for us."<sup>19</sup>

## PART 2: ANNA DAWSON HARRINGTON'S MEMOIR OF SIR WILLIAM DAWSON <sup>20</sup>

[Page 1] Ones early recollections are not of a continuous life, but rather like a series of vignettes picturing a few figures or incidents in clear relief & fading into indefinite spaces. My first clear recollection of my father is one of these. A child of about 8 – [crossed out: "surrounded by an atmosphere"] a day of [illegible word] & preparation – my older brother & myself [illegible word] with others in a sitting room all the features of which are clear to me & our father coming to us through the door[?] a tall thin figure somewhat stooping at the shoulders with clean shaven face & clear sharp features. The little gifts he brought us – raised glass half filled with little coloured sweeties, the opening covered with a seal of red velvet – that is the whole picture.

The next series of remembrances is connected a good deal with "sweeties" & fruit – brought home to us children when my father went to town, & pictures shown us, or little stories told, that were not like other pictures or other stories. In the more than busy life that Papa entered upon in Montreal, he still found time for the children. At an early age he insisted upon us coming to table, which was a great education for us, & he always talked to us or with us so that we fell in the conversation, & we quite understood that any affairs mentioned before us, must not be spoken of out of the family. Papa was fond of jokes & often repeated odd stories, or quotations the source of which I did not recognize, till long years after. One or two passages from *Hudibras* were amongst these,

17 Letter from Anna Dawson to George Dawson, 6 November, 1900, McGill University Archives, MG 1022, C55.

18 An undated copy of this letter to Rankine is among George Dawson's incoming letters for 1900, indicating Anna dealt with Rankine in close alliance with George. McGill University Archives, MG 1022, C55.

19 McGill University Archives, MG 1022, C55.

20 The memoir is among the Anna Dawson Harrington papers, McGill University Archives, MG 1022, C64.

several from Byron, from *Pickwick Papers* – & Scott's novels.

[Page 2] He constantly gave us books, of all kinds from a set of Mrs. Sherwood's somewhat stilted tales<sup>21</sup> to a beautiful illustrated copy of the *Arabian Nights* that illuminated that period of our Childhood.

On Saturday morning he often went to town about little business matters, & I not infrequently was his companion. I used to feel great pride in having him introduce me as "his only daughter," which I was for a number of years & was delighted to see the interior of printing offices, banks, the Post Office & wonderful places, all of which he would explain to me as we went along. On several occasions I spent a morning at his office in the old Burnside Hall & the Normal [School] and examined with much interest a stuffed monkey & a few other curiosities which were the nucleus of the present museum. [Crossed out: "he did not speak much to me"] I remember his explaining an electrical machine which made sparks, & a stool with glass legs in a most satisfactory manner.

He also frequently took short excursions on Saturday to places of interest, geologically or botanically and my brother & I used to go also – when we would be set to hunt for some rare violet to be found in that locality, or to search for snail shells on a hillside or trilobites in the rocks or leda[?] shells in the blue clay. Whatever he was himself searching for or thinking over, he never was too occupied to answer our questions or look at our discoveries, & indeed I think we felt ourselves distinctly members of the expedition: St. Helen's Island with its geraniums and old block house; Brickfields at what used to be called the Glen. Later on, when building excavations disclosed the remains of the old Indian Hochelaga, we went every morning before breakfast to see what had been uncovered, & to look over the remains the workmen were rewarded for carefully preserving.

Another pleasure that stretches over long years was Papa's love of gardening. From his garden in N[ova] S[cotia] he brought roots & plants & seeds of favorite sorts, & not long after he arrived at M [meaning either McGill or Montreal], he was to be seen with muddy boots & turned up trousers measuring out and tracing the form for garden beds in an unsavoury slough that lay at the foot of the terrace on which our home stood. Two Irishmen were at his bidding & were digging an oval trench & removing the boulders that were strewn about. Some of the larger ones were built into a rough garden seat & before long

[Page 3] order came out of chaos. A cinder walk surrounded an oval bed. Shrubs were planted, & next spring, morning after morning, my father was out between six & 7, with us at his heels sowing seeds, carrying water for plants from the pretty little brook that then flowed through the College grounds, covering transplanted treasures & so on. Many will remember the dear old fashioned garden, not trim & precise but full of flowers that might always be liberally picked, while fruit trees stood here & there, & vegetables at the other end. Working in this garden was one of the few recreations of my father for many years, & his early bulbs, green peas & rhubarb were matters of most absorbing interest. For several years he helped us to prepare, [hoe it?], & sow seeds of annuals about April, & they flourished mightily in our sunny hall window & attained great distinction when put in the garden. He never lost his interest in gardens [crossed out: "though for the last few years he"], looking after the making of a little border at the back of his University Street house and even in his last summer at Metis, walking feebly & with support to our Metis garden to see some new poppy, or special rose.

[Crossed out: "In this connection"] The College grounds he gave unremitting care himself, planned

21 Mrs. Mary E. Sherwood (1775-1851) was a prolific English author of moralistic stories for children, collected in various editions, including sets in 1860 and 1861, which Anna might have seen when she was nine or ten. See M. Nancy Cutt, *Mrs. Sherwood and her Books for Children* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

& paced & laid out walks about them, had rustic bridges built, & trees planted. The avenue was leveled under his direction & all the trees planted under his eye. In his occupation he was surveyor, landscape gardener, nurseryman & chief paymaster also. He respected the great natural beauty of the College grounds [~~crossed out: "there was a large boulder with pretty"~~] & made the most of it with an artist's eye [~~crossed out: illegible words~~]. The needs of new buildings have done away with one after another of these. The few fine oaks, the pretty brook running through the hollow, the level places where groups of trees were placed. All considered.

He was always most liberal with money, for us children to ask meant to get, but for that very reason we felt it a point of honour not to ask except on rare occasions, at least not without consulting mother, who required the reasons, pro & con, for the expenditure.

[Page 4] Papa had a quick temper, though there were very few occasions when he let it appear, but he had no sympathy for practical jokes, & several times when something of that nature transpired, he would speak hotly to us, which made the more impression because he was usually so gentle and courteous to us. As to games, he took no interest in them or very little. [~~Crossed out: "They were not the rage of his day when life was taken a little more seriously."~~] He did teach us to play draughts, & used sometimes to play with us when we were quite small. Music he took no interest in. Indeed I think he regarded a musical inclination as rather a hindrance to more serious work, & I am sure he regarded a musical student as one with a drawback to success. He sometimes sang in church but much out of tune. There were however some few tunes which were associated with incidents of his youth, & if one of these was played, it never failed to draw him from his library with some expression of pleasure or approval.

He had little art-training but he did a great deal of drawing & colour in chalk or water colour – sketches of places he had been, usually those required to illustrate some geological or natural fact

for book or lecture. He made endless diagrams for class work or lectures of every kind: zoological, botanical, Geological or of Egypt or the Catacombs. He gave me my first ideas of sketching from nature, in which he much encouraged me. He also drew many illustrations for his books, sometimes on the wood, for engraving.

In common with mother[?] he was rather fond of sweetmeats, & usually had candies of some kind in one of his desk drawers, which was well known to his grandchildren, & after he ceased to be able to shop for himself, he always reminded us to have it replenished. Peppermints he was very fond of.

He always was an early riser, usually downstairs by 7 o'clock & doing a great deal of his daily correspondence before the 8 o'clock breakfast. He was very systematic & regular in his habits & never seemed to put off anything. It was the secret of his never neglecting little things, that he always attended to them at once.

[Page 5] He was never too busy to add the smallest commission for any of us to his town list and anything wanted by mother had only to be hinted at to be accomplished, or ordered. He always kept a memo book & every engagement was noted in it that he had – if this book was missing, it was a calamity, & we all flew to assist in the search for it. All his business matters were kept in perfect order, & if he was leaving home for a time he would give my mother, or if she were going, one of us, exact directives about key of safe, bank book, etc. & a list of any insurance or payment that would fall due within the near future. [~~Crossed out: "This was so much his habit to thus wind up his affairs & give us that"~~] When he was stricken with pneumonia & insisted upon giving directives, & orders as to what should be done if he did not recover, the doctors demurred as to the effect of the effort, but we said it was his habit, and he would be uneasy till he had arranged everything. When my brother came he clearly and rapidly went into every detail, & they were noted down; then with perfect peace & quiet he dismissed all the affairs of life, &

gave himself for life here or life hereafter into God's hands. This illness when he was 72 was the first time I ever remember him being confined to bed [Crossed out: "I never knew him to be in bed from one day to another"] except on one occasion when he had fallen heavily & wounded his head badly, & the Doctor obliged him to spend 8[?] days quietly in bed as a precaution, and very hard work he found it.

He was always much interested in children, never given to much petting or caressing but always so courteous & considerate. He seemed to respond to any want or wish of a child by a turning toward them, & a giving of himself to them, in a kind of fellowship, that only is possible to one whose purity of heart & softness of eye gives

[The MS ends here.]

#### ABOUT THE MANUSCRIPT

The memoir was written on 5 pages of varying sizes, in pencil and ink (the preliminary paragraph quoted below was on an additional page). The handwriting and line-spacing indicate it was probably written in three sittings; in the first sitting, scrawled none too legibly in pencil; in the next two sittings, more legibly and carefully in ink. Anna's letters to George indicate the dates of composition were from about August to December 1900. In this transcription, page breaks are indicated; line breaks are not. There are various cross-outs in the text; they are included between brackets, unless they are merely alternative words which do not alter the sense. Except for ampersands (&), obvious abbreviations, e.g. P (for Papa) are expanded. The text's punctuation and capitalization are uneven. To avoid run-on clauses, commas have been inserted. Where a new sentence seemed indicated, capitalization has been supplied as well.

Words and phrases guessed at are followed by question marks in brackets. Indecipherable or illegible words are noted between brackets as "illegible word." Anna probably sent her memoir to George Dawson in December 1900. Fish cited the memoir as being among George Dawson's papers in McGill's Rare Book Department; when these papers were transferred to the McGill University Archives in the late 1980's, they were classified as a work by Anna Dawson, and placed with her papers (MG 1022, C64). Two brief lists of comments, probably referring to the pages of some draft of Sir William Dawson's autobiography (apparently not the copy in the McGill Archives) are with Anna Dawson's memoir, one list being verso on a page of the memoir. (The list is headed by Anna's comment that much of the work in question was "dictated during months of failing health" – perhaps this refers to a draft dictated by Sir William to Anna.)

Anna appears to have warmed up for her memoir of her father with a mysterious paragraph on her very earliest images – which do not include her father. In pencil, it presumably was written at the same sitting as the first paragraph of the memoir transcribed above. In the absence of parents, she apparently goes outdoors, perhaps by the sea in Nova Scotia, about the age of four or younger, before her parents moved from Pictou, N.S. to Montreal in 1855:

*"My first recollection has for background – a sense of hush & calm. In the house. The absence of parents & [two illegible words]. The going into still streets in care of an unusual guardian. A Sunday morn. For foreground standing on a pier[?] or whery[= quay?]& first consciously looking over a wide, water covered [illegible word] the glittering glory[?] of crisp little scenes[?]. The same track widening to my feet. I can see [?] myself a speck gazing [?] and gazing [?] enchanted & only dimly knew I was being urged to turn homeward."*

## CONTRIBUTORS

GORDON BURR, an archivist in the McGill University Archives, has published several entries in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography including the one on Edward Black Greenshields. He is also a co-author of a book on the management of electronic records, *La Gestion des Archives Informatiques*. A graduate of McGill with a B.A. degree in history and a Master's degree in Library and Information Studies, he is currently a doctoral candidate in the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies.

JOHN HOBBS is Associate Director of Libraries and (Acting) Law Librarian, McGill University. As the literary executor of Canadian human rights advocate John Peters Humphrey, he has published a number of articles, including some in *Fontanus*, based on the Humphrey papers. He has also edited Humphrey's United Nations diaries in the *Fontanus* Monograph Series under the title *On the Edge of Greatness: the Diaries of John Humphrey, First Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights, 1948-1966* in four volumes. The subject of the article in this volume has nothing to do with Humphrey, but is based on papers received through the Humphrey connection.

PETER F. MCNALLY is a Professor in the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies where he lectures and publishes in the areas of Bibliography, Reference Service, and the History of Books, Printing and Libraries. He is President of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, Convenor of the Library History Interest Group of the Canadian Library Association, and Executive-Secretary of the James McGill Society. In addition, he is on the Editorial Committee of the History of the Book in Canada project. Among his publications are, *Readings in Canadian Library History*. (Ottawa, Canadian Library Association, 1986), *Readings in Canadian Library History 2*, (Ottawa, CLA, 1996), and "Charles Henry Gould." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998). He is currently studying the benefactors of the McGill University Libraries.

ROBERT H. MICHEL holds a doctorate in history from McGill. He was archivist for historical records and reference services at the McGill University Archives from 1974 to 1995. He has contributed to *Fontanus* since 1992, with articles on: diaries in the McGill Archives; a seventeenth-century English religious romance; military portraits of Sir Arthur Currie; Sir William Macdonald (co-author Stanley B. Frost); and satirical fiction involving McGill University. His current research topics include seventeenth-century marriage theory as well as various McGill-related topics, such as McGill in fiction, and past McGill personalities, for example, 1890s French lecturer Maxime Ingres.

CATH OBERHOLTZER'S degrees in Anthropology were earned at Trent (B.Sc., M.A.) and at McMaster (Ph.D.) Universities. Her interests in teaching and research include material culture, Aboriginal American art, non-verbal communication, museum collections, symbolism, Aboriginal American ethnology and ethnohistory. Geographical areas of special interest include the eastern Subarctic, Northeast Woodlands, and the Great Lakes region. A primary focus on the historical material culture of the James Bay Cree has involved research in approximately 100 museums and numerous archives in Europe and North America. Recent publications include "L'Art des algonquins" in *L'Art du Grand Nord* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 2001, pp. 357-391); "Silk Ribbon Appliqué: Unravelling the Connections" *Papers of the Thirty-first Algonquian Conference*. John

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MARC RICHARD (B.A., McGill, 1982; M.L.S., McGill, 1984) is an Associate Librarian and Original Cataloguer at McGill University Libraries, where he has worked since 1985. He is a member of the United States Naval Institute, and has presented papers on diffused-lighting ship camouflage at the Canadian Forces Fleet School and at the United States Naval Academy. He is continuing his research into the development and testing of D/L camouflage by the National Research Council of Canada and the Royal Canadian Navy during the Second World War, along with related British and American wartime projects, and is planning to write a monograph on the subject.

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