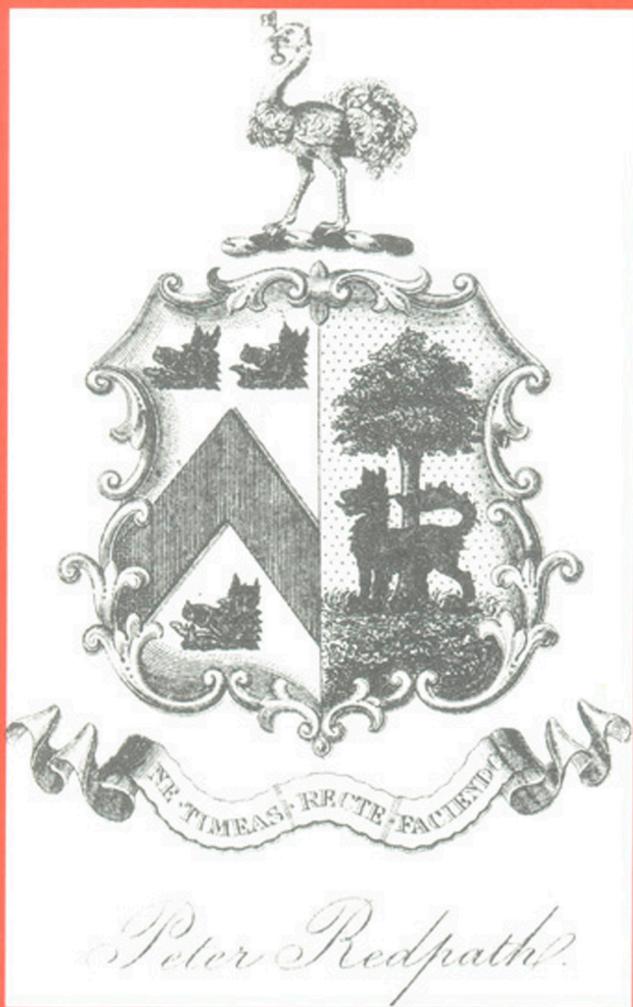


vol. VI 1993

Fontanus

from
the collections of
McGill University



Peter Redpath?

Cover: These arms - of the Redpath family on the left and of the Wood family on the right - were used by Peter and Grace Wood Redpath, and appear with Peter Redpath's name, as here, on a tipped-in-leaf in every book presented to the Library during Peter Redpath's lifetime.

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Introduction

Though the limestone portals of the entrance to the Redpath Library are worn by a century of Montreal winters and have an unexpectedly venerable appearance, one can still clearly discern the word LIBRARY cut into the arch and the somewhat mysterious initials RLB, as well as the Latin motto which remains as apt today as when the Redpath Library first opened its doors, one hundred years ago: *Ne timeas recte faciendo*. The Redpath Library has not served as a library for many years now, serving instead the honourable role, under the jurisdiction of the Faculty of Music, of a ceremonial hall for the University at large. Even so, Redpath Hall remains in certain respects the very embodiment of McGill's libraries, as much for its graceful and dignified exterior, complete with tower and gargoyles (out of which the newer Redpath and McLennan Libraries extend to the south), as for its beautiful interior whose spaciousness and radiance evoke that attitude of respect for learning which has long characterized McGill. In its stately outward appearance and festive, almost indefinable atmosphere within, Redpath Hall seems to epitomize some essential spirit of McGill itself.

It is therefore appropriate that the sixth volume of *Fontanus* focus on Redpath Hall, the doors of which opened on October 31, 1893, almost exactly a century ago. In this centennial compilation, some six articles or notes deal with Redpath Hall, both the building itself as well as some of the exceptionally significant collections which as a library it housed and indeed, attracted. The building and the book collections, most notably the Redpath Tracts, were among the most generous gifts of Peter and Grace Redpath, two extraordinary benefactors to McGill University. It is of particular interest that Grace Redpath, until her death in 1907, actively continued building the Redpath Library's collections, and did so for many years following her husband Peter's sudden death only months after the opening festivities for the library which bore his name.

Fontanus VI includes among its articles a "celebratory anthology" of texts of historical interest on Redpath Hall, beginning with Sir William Dawson's *In Memoriam* for Peter Redpath. There are many interesting, moving and even amusing passages in these texts. The vivid descriptions of the Redpath Library in 1901 and thereafter by Sydney B. Mitchell are especially entertaining; Mitchell makes the place itself, and the people who filled it, come briefly alive again. And for a librarian, the report at half-century by then University Librarian Gerhard Lomer makes fascinating, if at moments melancholy, reading: so many essential problems remain with us!

Fontanus VI contains two important and fascinating essays on subjects not directly linked to Redpath Hall and its centennial - one essay on 17th-century England and another on Quebec in the 1940s - as well as a number of notes and comments of particular significance.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge, with thanks, the indefatigable efforts of Dr. Hans Möller, Research and Development Librarian and Editor of *Fontanus*. Under his editorship, *Fontanus* has grown into an outstanding Canadian scholarly journal which is read with admiration both here and abroad. Special thanks are due as well to Dr. Richard Virr, Curator of Manuscripts in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, for his expert editorial assistance.

As Director of Libraries, I am especially proud to have the honour of introducing this edition of *Fontanus* and thus to see some lasting connection forged between our predecessors - benefactors, administrators, faculty, librarians and students of a century ago, - ourselves today, and those still to come after us.

Dr. Eric Ormsby
Director of Libraries

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

by the Editors

This celebratory anthology brings together a number of previously published texts, now long out of print, about Peter Redpath and the Redpath Library. McGill Principal (1855-1893) Sir William Dawson's In Memoriam is taken from a pamphlet published in 1894 by the University to commemorate one of its greatest benefactors. The extract from Sydney B. Mitchell's autobiography Mitchell of California describes the early years of the Redpath Library through the eyes of a student and librarian. The section reprinted here from the Report of the City of Manchester Libraries Committee provides an interesting comment on the state of libraries in Canada in 1908. Finally, the article by the University Librarian (1920-1947), Dr. Gerhard R. Lomer, on the first half-century of the Redpath Library is a survey of what the University Library has accomplished since its founding and the challenges that it faces. These texts are complemented by photographs of the Redpath Library from various periods of its history

Cette anthologie commémorative réunit un certain nombre de textes déjà publiés, mais depuis longtemps épuisés, écrits à propos de Peter Redpath et de la bibliothèque Redpath. L'article In Memoriam du principal de McGill (1855-1893), Sir William Dawson, est tiré d'un opuscule publié en 1894 par l'Université pour rendre hommage à l'un de ses grands bienfaiteurs. L'extrait de l'autobiographie, intitulée Mitchell of California, par Sydney B. Mitchell relate les premières années de l'existence de la bibliothèque Redpath vues à travers les yeux d'un étudiant et d'un bibliothécaire. La partie réimprimée ici, qui provient du Report of the City of Manchester Libraries Committee (Rapport du Comité des bibliothèques de la ville de Manchester) donne un aperçu intéressant de la situation des bibliothèques au Canada en 1908. Enfin, l'article du D^r Gerhard R. Lomer (1920-1947), bibliothécaire de l'Université, qui parle du premier demi-siècle d'histoire de la bibliothèque Redpath, rend compte des réalisations de cette bibliothèque universitaire intervenues depuis sa fondation et des enjeux auxquels elle fait face. Ces textes sont assortis de photographies représentant la bibliothèque Redpath à différentes périodes de son histoire.

In Memoriam: Peter Redpath

by Sir William Dawson

In a biographical sketch of the founder of McGill University, prepared by the writer many years ago, the remark was made that men of the stamp of James McGill are of rare occurrence in the British colonies. At that time it could not have been anticipated that other benefactors of McGill University, animated by a similar spirit, were so soon to arise, and some of them giving still larger sums in aid of education. We may now reckon among such men the late Mr. William Molson, the late Sir W. E. Logan, the late Major Hiram Mills, the late Mr. David J. Greenshields, the late Mr. Thomas Workman, the Hon. Sir D. A. Smith, Mr. W. C. McDonald, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. R. Molson and many others, as well as the honoured subject of the present memorial, which is to be regarded not as a mere official record, but as a tribute of affectionate esteem and gratitude on the part of all connected with the University, and more

especially of the Committee charged with the care of the Peter Redpath Museum.

Mr. Peter Redpath was born in Montreal, on August 1st, 1821. He was educated in St. Paul's School, Montreal, then one of the best institutions of higher education in his native Province, under the Rev. Dr. Black. He was one of the best pupils of a large class, and, as I am informed by one of his fellow-students, earned the respect and love of his class-mates by his equable and amiable temper and his kindness to the junior boys. After completing his course in St. Paul's School, he spent some time in England in further study and in acquiring business training. On his return to Montreal, and from the time when he first entered on business and public life, he took a leading position as one of the most prominent and honoured citizens of his native place. He was recognized as a man equally remarkable for sterling integrity, sound judgment, refined tastes and a benevolent and kindly disposition; while the possession of wealth enabled him at once to gratify his own higher tastes and to carry out his wise

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and benevolent plans for the welfare of his fellow-men.

His father, Mr. John Redpath, was one of those strong, earnest, pious and clear-headed men of whom Scotland has supplied so many to build up the colonies of the empire. A leader in the Church to which he belonged, and one of its office-bearers, he was a diligent and sagacious man of business, and displayed his ability in this way by founding the first sugar refinery in Canada, and one of the largest on the American continent. He was a valued director of the Bank of Montreal and other business-enterprises, a member of the City Council at a time when it was justly held to be composed of the *élite* of the citizens, and would have been Mayor but for his generous preference of a friend. He was an earnest promoter of the improvement of the city, and set an example by the widening of streets and planting of trees on his own property. While amassing for himself a considerable fortune, and laying out with taste his beautiful property of Terrace Bank, he was ever ready to contribute freely of his means and to give his time and thought to every deserving public object. He was one of the founders of the Educational Institute at Point aux Trembles, and of the Presbyterian College of Montreal, a subscriber to the first endowment-fund of McGill University, and a governor of and liberal contributor to the Montreal General Hospital. In all this his son was a worthy successor, continuing and enlarging the public services and benefactions of his father, and bringing them into relation with the advancing needs and opportunities of a new generation. As an educational benefactor, the name of Mr. Peter Redpath will ever be remembered in connection with the Museum, the Library and the University-chair which bear his name; but he also took part in nearly all the Subscriptions for general and special purposes in the University from 1856 downwards.

Mr. Redpath was married on October 16th, 1847, to Miss Grace Wood, the daughter of a gentleman of Manchester, England, noted among his fellow-citizens as an eminent promoter of philanthropic objects. Mrs. Redpath survives her husband, and is his executrix, not merely in the legal sense, but as one wisely and loyally desirous to carry out his wishes, and herself deeply interested in the educational and benevolent enterprises of her deceased husband. In evidence of this, she contributed to his last great gift of the new Library-

building the two large and elaborate stained glass windows containing portraits of illustrious men in literature, science and art, which adorn the public reading room.

In his connection with the University, as a member of its Governing Board, to which he was appointed in 1864, and of which at the time of his death he was the senior member, Mr. Redpath was invaluable. He regularly attended the meetings, was always interested in the questions under discussion, and ready to give aid, advice and influence in favour of every measure of improvement. In the midst of many other avocations, he was always alive to its interests, and was constantly contributing to its advancement in many quiet and thoughtful ways. He was also a friend on whom every officer of the University could reckon, as kind and helpful in any difficulty or emergency; and he possessed that breadth of view which enabled him to make allowance for the failings of weaker men. One instance of his continued and painstaking liberality was the contribution from year to year of rare and valuable books on English history, selected for him by competent experts, until that Department of the University Library has become noted for its completeness and the treasures which it contains. After his removal to England, in 1880, he continued to take the same lively interest in the University, as was evidenced by his great benefactions after that date. He also kept up a regular correspondence with the Principal and others respecting its affairs, and acted in its behalf whenever necessary. In this respect his presence in England was often of the greatest service, and many members of the University cherish a grateful remembrance of the kindness and hospitality with which he received them in the old Manor House of Chiselhurst, which was his English home.

He acquired this property in 1880 as a permanent English residence, and took great pleasure in restoring and improving the house and grounds, till it became an ideal English country house of the olden type. The place was not only quaint and beautiful in itself, but was full of historic associations. It had been the home of Joan, the "Fair Maid of Kent," the wife of the Black Prince, and was successively in the possession of the Duke of Somerset, of Warwick the "King-maker," and of the Duke of Clarence; and, reverting to the crown in the reign of Henry VIII, was granted by Queen

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Elizabeth as a suburban residence to her great statesman, Sir Francis Walsingham, where she is said to have sometimes visited him. In Mr. Redpath's possession it has opened its hospitable doors to many noted men of our own time. To a man of his tastes it afforded the pleasures of country life and of literary leisure, with ready access to London and all its advantages as well as facilities for extending hospitality to old Canadian friends whom business or pleasure brought to the Metropolis.

Mr. Redpath's life in England was not altogether one of repose. He engaged in serious legal studies, and became a member of the Middle Temple. He was on the London Board of the Bank of Montreal. He was a member of the Council of the Canadian Institute, took much interest in the question of Imperial Federation, and represented the North-West Territories on the Board of the Royal Imperial Institute.

Mr. Redpath visited Canada frequently after his removal to England, the last time being in the autumn of 1893, when he was accompanied by Mrs. Redpath. After a tour in the North-West, they returned to Montreal to be present at the opening of the New Library in October. He was at that time apparently in good health and spirits, appeared to enjoy the society of his old friends, and superintended with the greatest interest the completion of the beautiful new building which he had presented to the University, and the planning of which had occupied much of his thought in the two previous years.

After his return to England, no intimation of any serious illness had reached Montreal, when, on the 1st of February, the news of his sudden and unexpected death, received by cable, fell like a thunder-clap on his many friends. No event, it may be truly said, ever cast a deeper gloom on all connected with the McGill University and the institutions associated with it. For the moment everyone seemed paralyzed, and the only thought seemed to be how it would be possible to express sympathy with the bereaved widow, to take part, by representatives in England, in the obsequies at Chiselhurst, and to engage in a memorial service in Montreal on the 6th of February, the day of the funeral in England. This last tribute, though hastily arranged, was most sincere and impressive. It was held in the reading-room of the New Library, so recently opened

in the presence of its now deceased founder. The service was attended by all connected with the University and by many of the leading citizens of Montreal, and, as it proceeded, many moistened eyes testified to the esteem and affection with which Mr. Redpath was regarded. The following are extracts from the address delivered on the occasion by his friend and former Pastor, Rev. Dr. MacVicar, Principal of the Presbyterian Theological College:-

We unite this morning at the same hour in which his funeral service is being conducted at Chiselhurst, England, in a public tribute of respect and honour to the memory of Mr. Peter Redpath. He was a man of good ability, sound judgment, refined and elevated taste, and excellent culture--a lover of literature and art; and, what is infinitely better, a lover of truth and of the God of Truth. After a long and successful career, having retired from business, he removed to England, and both in this city and the old land was deservedly called to occupy many positions of trust and responsibility. In business he was uniformly characterized by indefatigable diligence and unswerving integrity. His yea was yea, and his nay, nay. Gentle, amiable and considerate of the opinions and feelings of others, ever ready to take a broad and generous view of their actions, and yet, when purity and principle were concerned, he was as firm as a rock. It was vain for those who had sinister ends to serve to attempt to turn him aside from truth and righteousness. In these respects he furnished a notable pattern, which young men and all others may do well to imitate. As a philanthropist he took rank with the foremost in our land. His benefactions in various forms to McGill University and other public institutions bear witness to his unstinted liberality. He had grace and wisdom given him to administer his large resources in his life-time for the good of his fellow men; and this fact deserves to be emphasized. His last public appearance amongst us was in this very

hall, three months ago, in the performance of a crowning act of educational usefulness. But let it not be supposed that all his benevolence took visible forms like those just mentioned. He was naturally unobtrusive, strongly averse to all ostentatious display and vulgar advertising of the good he purposed or accomplished. His unreported charities were numerous and wisely distributed. He sought to do his alms before God, and not before men to be seen of them. The Father who seeth in secret alone knoweth in what abundant measure he gave help and comfort to others. As a Christian he was devout, conscientious, and consistent. His Christianity was a life and character rather than a demonstrative profession. I had opportunities of knowing his views on these matter intimately. For many years he was an exemplary member and office-bearer of the Free Church, Côte Street, now Crescent Street Church. He served with me there most faithfully as a deacon during my entire pastorate, and was twice elected as an elder, the duties of which office, through the modest estimate of his own ability, he judged himself unable to undertake. His simple trust in the word and in the Christ of God was the secret of his meek and quiet spirit, unfailing generosity and sterling worth. And I must add that in all his Christian service and public munificence he was lovingly aided by his partner in life, with whom, in her great bereavement, we to-day deeply sympathize. Finally, in this hour of sorrow over the removal of one of Montreal's noble benefactors, let us seek, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, the help of His Holy Spirit, that we may emulate the example of him whose memory we honour.

Resolutions of condolence were passed by many public bodies with which Mr. Redpath had been connected or to which he had given assistance. The following resolutions of the Corporation of the University and of the Faculty of Arts may be given as

examples:--

The Corporation of McGill University, on occasion of its first meeting after the lamented decease of Mr. Peter Redpath, one of the Governors of this University and one of its leading benefactors, desires to place on record its deep and grateful sense of the benefits conferred by Mr. Redpath on the cause of higher education in Canada, not only by his liberal benefactions, but by his earnest, wise and practical interest in all that concerned the welfare of this University.

In addition to many other acts of liberality, the Corporation recalls his large contributions, extended throughout many years, towards the formation in the University Library of a complete collection of Standard Works and original Records on the subject of English History, and his crowning gifts in the endowment of the Chair of Mathematics, and the erection and equipment of the Museum and Library Buildings which bear his name, together with the contribution of funds for their maintenance.

In connection with these benefactions, the Corporation hails with satisfaction the effort now being made by friends and admirers of Mr. Redpath in England and Canada to provide a suitable monument to be placed in the Library, and desires to commend to the favourable consideration of the Board of Governors the proposal of the Museum Committee that a memorial tablet be placed in the Museum, and that a special number of the Museum Memoirs be prepared, giving the history of this department since the announcement of the benefaction in 1880, with a biographical sketch of Mr. Redpath.

That the expression of the sincere sympathy of the University be conveyed to Mrs. Redpath and to the other relatives of the deceased in this country and in England.

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The members of the Faculty of Arts of McGill College, meeting on the day when the mournful intelligence has arrived of the death of their common friend and benefactor, Mr. Peter Redpath, and remembering his many munificent, wise and thoughtful gifts to this University, and especially to this Faculty, more particularly the Chair of Mathematics, with the costly Museum and the Library which bear his name, desire to express their high appreciation of the qualities of intellect and of heart which led him to set so high a value on sound learning, both in literature and in science, and by which he was prompted, in so many conspicuous ways and with such princely liberality and untiring zeal, to promote the full equipment and efficiency of this Faculty. His efforts in the cause of Higher Education have won a name and place for him among the benefactors, not of this University only, but of his country at large, and have brought him lasting and well-deserved renown. The members of the Faculty further desire to give expression to their heartfelt sorrow and sympathy with her who has for so many years been his partner in life and the true helpmate and sympathizer with him in his many and varied acts of beneficence for the good of his fellow citizens and of mankind. To the members of the family of the deceased residing in Canada the Faculty respectfully desire to tender their condolence in the loss they have sustained.

Many literary and scientific periodicals and leading organs of public opinion in Great Britain and the Colonies noticed his large scientific and educational benefactions and endowments, and paid deserved tribute to his memory. The following from the London *Times* may be quoted in illustration:-

Besides great business aptitude, Mr. Redpath was a man of high culture and wide sympathies. Thus he was President of the General Hospital of Montreal, and took and active interest in the McGill

College and University there, which owes so much to the munificence of individual Canadians. In 1880 Mr. Redpath built, at his sole expense, a museum in connection with the University, intended as a place of deposit and study of specimens in geology, mineralogy, palæontology, zoology, botany and archæology. The foundation stone of this building, a striking architectural ornament to the University, was laid by the Marquis of Lorne, when Governor-General, and was then described by the Principal, Sir William Dawson, as one of the largest and most generous gifts ever made to the University or to the cause of education in Canada. More recently Mr. Redpath made a still more considerable addition to the University buildings in a spacious and handsome Library, for the use of undergraduates in the Faculties of Arts, Applied Science, Medicine and Law, which was opened at Montreal on October 31st, 1893, amid great rejoicings, in the presence of the Governor-General, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lady Aberdeen, and a large gathering of representative Canadians. Mr. and Mrs. Redpath were present on this occasion, and Lord Aberdeen made graceful allusion to the chief gift, as well as to that of some fine stained windows, part of the decorations of the hall, by Mrs. Redpath. Not contented with providing the funds (which did not fall far short of £75,000) for the erection of the Museum and Library, Mr. Redpath devoted much time and study in examining similar structures in England and abroad, with a view to secure the best designs and most convenient equipment for the latter. As a result of his carefully-thought-out plans, the library, for its size (it will hold some 130,000 volumes), affords by its arrangements for readers and the housing of books an accommodation hardly equalled in any other such institution. For some years past Mr. Redpath, though a frequent visitor to Canada, has settled in England,

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where he became a member of the Middle Temple, was elected on the London Board of the Bank of Montreal (of which his father had been a director), and busied himself in helping to furnish the new museum and library in Montreal by frequent contributions of specimens and books purchased in Europe. He also took much interest in the Royal Colonial Institute, serving on the council of that body, and was member of the governing body of the Royal Imperial Institute, being specially appointed to represent the North-West Territories of the Dominion. His death, which took place at his residence, the Manor House, Chiselhurst, in his 73rd year, will be deplored on both sides of the Atlantic by a wide circle of friends, to whom his genial manners, high sense of honour, and active, unobtrusive benevolence had greatly endeared him.

The *Canadian Gazette* of London gives the following testimony to his career and to the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen:-

His memory will be chiefly cherished by reason of his broad and liberal sympathy with the cause of higher education. Though not a resident of Canada for many years past, he never forgot that it was in Canada that his wealth had been acquired, and so long as the name of McGill University survives, Canadians will need no other monument to the wisely-planned munificence of Peter Redpath. As far back as 1871 he devoted \$20,000 to the foundation of a chair of Natural Philosophy,¹ and promised an annual subscription of \$400 for ten years in aid of the Faculty of Applied Science. Nine years later, following in the footsteps of his friend Sir Donald Smith, he marked the semi-jubilee of Sir William Dawson's principalship by announcing his intention to erect a costly and capacious museum building on the college grounds, wherein the large geological collections of the Principal, and the collections of Dr. P. P.

Carpenter, Dr. Holmes, and others, might be fittingly housed. In September of that year the foundation stone was laid by the Governor-General, Lord Lorne, and at the close of 1881 the handsome dressed limestone building, which still remains the finest of its kind in Canada, was completed, at a cost of about \$140,000, besides a large annual sum for the cost of maintenance for ten years.

Subsequently, however, Mr. Redpath made an even more substantial gift to Canada's foremost University, in the form of a new university library. The proceedings at the opening of this library on the last day of October will be fresh in the memory of our readers. The Governor-General was present in his capacity as official Visitor of the College, accompanied by Lady Aberdeen; and the large gathering, representative of all classes of the community, which then assembled, little thought that they were taking part in the last public act of one of the most faithful of McGill's benefactors. Both Mr. and Mrs. Redpath were present, and the Governor-General, when receiving a beautifully-wrought gold key, the presentation of which symbolized the transfer of the building to the University, made graceful reference to the enlightened and generous public spirit which had ever signalized the attitude of the leaders of Montreal commerce, and Mr. Redpath chief among them, towards the cause of higher education. "Many years of a successful and upright career, and of much public usefulness, have," said Lord Aberdeen, "rendered the worth and name of Mr. Peter Redpath so familiar that it is unnecessary, nor would it in his presence be acceptable to himself, to dilate upon his claims to public esteem and good-will." These remarks fittingly describe the appreciation in which Mr. Redpath was held in all parts of Canada. His Excellency also spoke of the share Mrs. Redpath had in the presentation of that day, for the beautiful stained glass

windows at each end of the library were her gift. This was the last public appearance of Mr. Redpath, and he had thus the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of this his final act of educational beneficence.

In England Mr. Redpath was one of the best-known friends of Canada. No Dominion day dinner or Canadian festival was deemed complete without his genial presence, and though his name seldom figured upon toast lists and the like, he was always one of the foremost to advance any worthy Imperial or Anglo-Canadian movement. From its commencement he, together with the late Sir Alex. Galt and Mr. R. R. Dobell, represented Canada upon the general committee of the Imperial Federation League. He took much interest in the Royal Colonial Institute, serving on the council of that body, and he was appointed to represent the North-West Territories upon the governing body of the Imperial Institute. He was, moreover, a member of the London Board of the Bank of Montreal, of which his father had been President, and was upon the directorate of that other well-known Canadian institution, the Canada Company. Thus his thoughts and activities were ever directed to the advancement of the best interests of the country which had given him birth and prosperity, and his shrewd common sense, kindly geniality, and quiet benevolence will be much missed on this side of the Atlantic.

The beautiful oil painting by Sydney Hodges, a gift to the University by citizens of Montreal, in the Hall of the Museum, perpetuates his form and features to successive generations of students and graduates who enjoy the benefits of his bounty, and it is intended to place a memorial tablet in Mexican onyx in the Museum, and a bust, and also a portrait (the gift of the graduates and students), in the Library. These buildings themselves and their valuable and instructive contents will, it is hoped, constitute for ages to come the proper monuments of a man of whom Canada

should be proud--a man who, in his life-time, sought neither personal honours nor distinctions, but whose name will go down to posterity as one of the true nobility of the Empire.

Mitchell of California: I Pick My Rut

by Sydney B. Mitchell

In September, 1901, at the suggestion of my friend, his cousin, I sought and obtained an interview with Dr. Charles H. Gould, Librarian of McGill University, regarding opportunities in his profession. He encouraged me to consider librarianship as my life work and arranged for me to enter the University Library as an unpaid apprentice. I remained in the profession for forty-five years.

My previous interest in and use of this library had been wholly that of an undergraduate student. The building, an attractive one still in use, had been built in the middle 'nineties and like many libraries of the time was in a modified Romanesque style, a heritage of the influence of H. H. Richardson, but was mercifully not constructed of the dull red sandstone popular in the period but in the grey limestone, quarried locally, which is so characteristic of Montreal buildings, even of private houses. As in a good many contemporary American libraries--the old University of Illinois and University of Michigan buildings and that of Cornell University were, I believe, so arranged--the entrance was under a tower on the front, almost on a corner. There were the usual heavy oak outer doors to continually impress the seeker after knowledge in books that the way was hard; then came a vestibule and an inner set of heavy swing doors to keep out some of the cold from the reading room. Beyond these, doors to the right stairs ascended to the women's cloak-room, the faculty reading room, an exhibition gallery which overhung the reading room and was visible--and audible. Beyond it, over the stacks were some other rooms, including the law library. The men's coat-room was on the main floor to the right, and to the left was the large and attractive reading room, with stained glass windows and a lofty vaulted wood ceiling. The great amount of unusable overhead space enclosed worried later librarians, less concerned with impressiveness than

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with their need of seating capacity. Dr. Gerhard Lerner told me that during his administration the possibility of erecting a floor above the original one was considered, something like the two-level stages of early melodramas like 'The Lights of London.' Practically this was possible--in fact I saw it done at the University of Pennsylvania, I believe--but aesthetically it was too much even for my practical mind. It is, however, noticeable that it has taken most architects of university and college libraries half a century to realize that libraries are functional buildings and that lower ceilings can still be sightly, less expensive, and better for artificial lighting.

The walls around the reading room were shelved with books of a reference or cultural character, but those nearest the door were, of malice aforethought, devoted to the current publications of learned societies and to journals in general of little interest to the undergraduates. The adjacent, often drafty tables, currently referred to as the mourners' benches, were resorted to mainly by the faculty and by students watching for the exit of women students with whom they proposed to walk home. By custom the men students used all the north side tables and an established number of those on the south or inner side, but no wooden fence had been erected to divide the sexes as at the University of Toronto Library of that time. On the outer corners of this room were well lighted excrescences something like glorified bay windows, with built-in, uncushioned seats covering the hot water pipes. These were too cold when the library furnace was not operating and too warm when it was going strong. There was also in the western wall an alcove and fake fireplace with cushioned seats and upholstered chairs, an early provision for sleepy students later taken over and developed into the luxuriously furnished browsing rooms of the 'twenties and 'thirties. The oak tables were equipped with green glass reading lamps, an early realistic acknowledgment of the ineffectiveness of overhead lighting in rooms whose lofty ceilings were derived from church or palace architecture. This table lighting was pretty good for those days, or maybe my eyes were just better.

The loan desk was in the south-west corner just opposite the entrance, and access to it did not involve tramping through the reading room, as the end between it and the door was free space. The catalog room and

administration offices were still farther to the west and separated from the reading room by a wall into which the cabinets of the card catalog had been built so that the drawers could be withdrawn by the public in the reading room or by the catalogers on the other side of the partition. By the simple device of a pear-shaped metal drop between the drawers, irritated or over-vigorous public users of the catalog were prevented from hurling them through onto the floor or the catalogers inside, yet by turning this catch to a horizontal position, drawers could be readily withdrawn into the workroom for consultation. Catalogers were not only genteel but gentle, and could be depended on to replace the drawers without danger to the unprotected public. I still think that, in a college library where the catalog will be unlikely to outgrow available space, this is a good arrangement, efficient in time saving and frankly conducive to the desire of many catalogers to remain seated.

The loan desk, a quarter segment of an ellipse, was open on the side nearest the catalog but from the space behind it a door to the west led to the workroom and right ahead was the entrance to the book stack. This five story affair was shut off by a heavy iron door, for fireproofing, I presume, but because of its weight it was often left open to the cold winds from the lower-temperated stack area. The original structure had been equipped with steel stacks with oak shelves which sometimes sagged, like human beings, with the load of years. The metal floors in this section were gridiron, and admirably fitted to remove mud from the soles of visitors shoes, which naturally soon dried and became dust. When I was later in charge of the loan desk a collie dog which always accompanied a bachelor member of the English department to the library one day managed to slip into this stack after him. Soon after he lost his master and became petrified with fear when he found that he could look down through this footing. I was nearly as badly scared, as it devolved on me to carry him out of what he obviously regarded as an untenable position. A decade or so after the building was completed an addition to the stack was made, with steel shelving and those clouded glass floors which were so unpleasant to walk on and so distrusted by the consciously modest. Precursors of the carrels were the alcoves on each floor of the new stack, very pleasant places to study in or view the activities of the adjacent McTavish Street hill. Here, on snowy winter

days, young girls learning to ski could be expected to take a header when they hit the intersection of the lane opposite the windows. As an honor student I had free access to the stack in my junior and senior years, and as I got all my service for myself I had no real knowledge of the machinery or the professional personnel of a college library.

As a student I knew only one member of the staff. Henry Mott had been the Librarian of McGill when it was a much smaller institution. Like others who drifted into libraries in the early days, he had not been particularly successful in business and had been glad to have a nice genteel job for which no professional training was then necessary. His main assets were a reputation as a bookman, a retentive memory and a fine bump of location, quite impressive manners--a bit patronizing to men students and sweet to young ladies--and above all a long white beard, for all of which he was paid one thousand dollars a year. When in the course of time a large library was erected and more came to be required of the librarian, Dr. Gould had been appointed to the headship and Mr. Mott became Assistant Librarian in charge of the reading room, where perhaps his most difficult task was in maintaining what he considered decorum among the cruder men students. Other tasks were to direct readers to the open shelves, get books for those who had no access to the stacks, maintain a charging system of great simplicity and very little effectiveness, and see that all who used the library signed the large register at the loan desk on every occasion of their entering the building. He was reputed among the men to play favorites in keeping desired books for selected women students, and my wife tells me that he always remembered the given names of the girls who were frequent library users and used to refer sentimentally to those having the names of flowers--hers was Rose--as being in his 'garden of posies.'

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**City of Manchester Libraries Committee
Report of a Visit to Libraries
in the United States and Canada
by Representatives of the Committee:
Libraries in Canada**

by City of Manchester Libraries Committee

At Toronto we had the advantage of the guidance of Mr. W. J. T. Lee, a member of the Board of Management, and of Mr. C. E. Ryerson, assistant librarian. The Public Library was opened in 1883 through the exertions of the late Alderman Hallam, a native of Lancashire. Since then the building has become so congested that its work is now carried on under great disadvantages. This condition of things will shortly be remedied by removal to a new and spacious building, now approaching completion, at the cost of Dr. Carnegie, who has also contributed funds for providing three new branches.

The McGill University Library at Montreal is housed in the fine Romanesque building erected in 1893 by the late Mr. Peter Redpath.

Dignified and convenient as originally designed, it was improved and greatly enlarged in 1900 by the late Mrs. Peter Redpath. It now possesses ample accommodation for three hundred and fifty readers, of whom fully one hundred can be provided for in the seminary rooms and special studies.

The main architectural feature of the interior is the general reading room, 110 feet long, 44 feet wide, 34 feet high. It will seat one hundred and fifty readers, and has open shelves for about 4,000 volumes.

The Library is available for use by citizens as well as by professors and students. It has been admirably organised by the librarian, Mr. C. H. Gould, to whom we feel particularly indebted for kindnesses extended to us on our visit to Montreal.

The book stacks are constructed of steel, and painted white. The usual ventilation openings in the gangways have their openings in the centre instead of at the sides, thus preventing dust from settling on the volumes underneath. Each floor of the stack is provided with

recesses or tables for private study. There are cabinets ingeniously constructed for large maps and plates.

The drawers containing the card catalogues are so arranged as to form a screen between the readers and the cataloguing staff, and, opening on either side, are available for use both by the staff and the readers, thus avoiding the necessity for a separate official set of cards.

This Library has an extensive system of travelling libraries, boxes of books being sent on request to any part of Canada. The entire cost of this valuable work is borne by members of the McLennan family, who have in many ways benefited the Library.

A Library School, which forms part of the regular curriculum of McGill University, and a Summer School for librarians, are carried on under the direction of Mr. Gould. The summer course extends over four weeks, seven hours daily, and the teaching is adapted to persons without previous experience who may contemplate entering upon a library career, but it is required that all candidates should have previously acquired a good general education.

We visited also the Fraser Institute at Montreal, which, though not under municipal control, serves as a Free Public Library for the city. It contains 70,000 volumes.

At Westmount, a suburb of Montreal, we inspected a small but exceedingly attractive public library, which has recently been erected.

We visited the Parliament Buildings at Quebec, which contain a valuable library, housed in a large and handsome suite of rooms. It is chiefly intended for the use of officials and members of the Legislature.

The largest library in the city is that of the Laval University. It consists of 150,000 volumes, and is rich in works relating to Canada. The Quebec Literary and Historical Society has another valuable collection of books on the history of the Colony.

* * * * *

The Redpath Library: Half a Century (1892-1942)

by Gerhard R. Lomer

In the autumn of 1942 the Redpath Library will have completed half a century of service to the University and to its graduates. It is appropriate that this semi-centennial provide an occasion for looking backward at what has been accomplished during this period of its existence and for looking forward to the needs and opportunities of the future.

McGill half a century ago was a very different institution from the great and multifarious university that it is to-day. During this period it has had seven principals, six deans in the Faculty of Arts and two librarians. In 1892 the staff of the Faculty of Arts included only fifteen professors and lecturers; the students numbered 106 men and 60 women, then called "Donaldas" in honour of Sir Donald Smith, afterwards Lord Strathcona, one of the great benefactors of the University and at that time its Chancellor.

The library, at that date, was also on a small scale. It had been housed for years in one room, at the west end of the Arts Building, on the ground floor of Molson Hall, the upper floor of which was used for the dual functions of examinations and convocation. The room had a long table for reading running down the centre, and the sides were occupied by high shelves of yellow oak forming alcoves under the windows. There was an enormous register for readers, a card catalogue showing the location of the books, and one librarian and an assistant, both of whom were men. Apparently as an encouragement to patronage, the library regulations contained the statement that "Donors of books or money to the amount of fifty dollars may at any time consult books on application to the librarian." The only persons having direct access to the books were members of the Corporation and professors.

To-day, on another part of the campus, the library is too large and its activities are too numerous to be adequately housed in a large stone building, specially constructed, with reading rooms, work-rooms, six floors of steel stacks, a periodical room, a large card catalogue, an exhibition gallery, a museum, a library

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school, and a book club. The congestion of the present building, so evident and so inconvenient of late years, has resulted in the transference of the Travelling Libraries to Macdonald College and the storage of duplicates, newspapers, and uncatalogued books in the stable of the Faculty Club and in the basement of Douglas Hall. The proposed transfer of books on Commerce and Economics to Purvis Hall this autumn will provide only temporary alleviation. A new building is imperative or a drastic remodelling of the present one, which has now served the university community for half a century. But that is another story. We are at the moment looking backward.

Peter Redpath, as the Hon. J. A. Chapleau, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, said on the occasion of the opening, "donated to this great and noble university a magnificent building for a shelter for its potential knowledge," and it is by his generosity and foresight that generations of students have been benefited in their studies and encouraged to make valuable contributions to Canadian scholarship and public service. To Mrs. Peter Redpath, who added in 1900 to the original building, gratitude is also due, and to the many members of the Redpath family who have continued the tradition of loyalty to McGill. Among these should be mentioned Lady Roddick, Mr. John R. Redpath, and Mr. James B. Redpath. Nor would the list be complete without recording at the same time the names of Dr. Francis McLennan and Miss Isabella C. McLennan, who have done so much for the Travelling Libraries and the Museum of the Library; Dr. and Mrs. A. D. Blackader, and their friends, who donated the Blackader Library of Architecture; Dr. and Mrs. Casey A. Wood, who provided the Wood Library of Ornithology; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Roe Blacker, who established the Blacker Library of Zoology; and that long line of donors, too numerous to mention by name, who, "here a little and there a little" have added to the shelves, filling in gaps and providing books that would otherwise have been unavailable to generation after generation of students. To them the University will ever be grateful, as well as to the thoughtful generosity of those who, like Dr. Helen R. Y. Reid, have bequeathed to McGill their personal collections of books. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

The Library has benefited for many years from gifts of books and funds made by individual graduates, but

it records with particular gratitude the generous assistance provided by the income from the Sir William Dawson Memorial Fund, which was originally collected by the McGill Graduates' Society and has been administered by that body for fifty years for the benefit of the Redpath Library and the Travelling Libraries.

The early history of the Redpath Library coincided with a great period of expansion and enthusiasm in library work in the United States, and McGill was fortunate in having as its librarian, Charles H. Gould, (B.A., 1877), one of her own graduates, whose active interest in library development in Canada was evidenced not only in his effective administration of the Redpath Library but by his establishment of the first Travelling Library system in Canada and the first Library School in Canada. The former, endowed and supported by members of the McLennan family, has brought education and entertainment into isolated communities throughout Canada from British Columbia in the West to Labrador and Newfoundland in the East. Of late years, as its functions have been properly filled by the creation of local agencies, its activities have been concentrated in the Province of Quebec, in the encouragement of school libraries and in the bookpool of the Eastern Townships.

The Library School, begun as a summer course in 1904, became a year course in 1927 and in 1931 granted the first B.L.S. degree in Canada. It now has graduates in all the provinces of Canada, in Government libraries in Ottawa, in most of the special libraries in Montreal, and in some of the best-known libraries in the United States. It has published useful bibliographies, and members of its staff have gone to better teaching and administrative positions in library schools and colleges in the United States. For support, encouragement, and advice, the Library School owes to the Carnegie Corporation and to Miss Sarah C. N. Bogle, of the Board of Education for Librarianship, a debt which it gratefully acknowledges but can never repay.

But Mr. Gould's work was not confined to Travelling Libraries or library instruction. He began a system of scholarly cataloguing that has been the basis of all our later work; he established and administered the Canadian Bureau of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature; he arranged for the local

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depository catalogue of the Library of Congress; and he took such an active part in the work of the American Library Association that he was honoured by election as its president in 1908-1909. His untimely death in 1919 left to his successor an admirably organized library, a number of projects to be completed, and the professional inspiration of a scholarly gentleman devoted to the collection, arrangement, and intelligent use of good books.

The story of the Library during the decade beginning 1920, when the present librarian was appointed, has already been told in THE MCGILL NEWS (V. 2. No. 4. Sept., 1930) and therefore needs only a brief summary here. As was pointed out in 1930, ten years before that date there had been no Library Museum or series of exhibits, no sessional library course, no Wood Library of Ornithology, no Blacker Library of Zoology, no Gest Chinese Research Library, no Periodical Room, no *Catalogue of Scientific Periodicals in Canadian Libraries*, no organization of Departmental Libraries, no Freshman reading-room, and no Bindery. The value of these improvements to the Redpath Library was reflected in the statistics of the use made of the building. The number of readers increased from 30,454 in 1920 to 83,777 in 1929, and the circulation of 27,649 in 1920 increased to 107,466 in 1929. Since that date the figures reached a peak of 139,384 readers in 1935-36 and a circulation of 197,037 books in 1941-42.

During all these years the Librarian had the sympathetic support of a Committee, of which Sir Arthur Currie was an active Chairman, and which included such experienced and far-sighted men as Sir Thomas Roddick, Dr. William Gardner, Professor Paul T. Lafleur, Mr. C. J. Fleet, Dr. R. F. Ruttan, Dr. Francis McLennan, Dr. C. W. Colby, Dr. C. F. Martin, Dr. F. D. Adams, Dr. W. D. Lighthall, Dr. A. S. Eve, Dr. C. E. Fryer, Professor G. W. Latham, Dr. D. L. Ritchie, Dr. W. M. Birks, Dr. W. G. M. Byers, and Mr. F. Cleveland Morgan. This Committee properly regarded itself as advisory and devoted much of its energy to obtaining donations for the Library--a function to which committees subsequent to Sir Arthur's death paid little attention. In fact, under Principal A. Eustace Morgan and Principal Lewis W. Douglas, the committee tended to exaggerate its administrative function. So true, however, is the saying that "Too

many cooks spoil the broth" that the danger of committee interference in library administration was emphasized in a recent work on the college library which referred as follows to the exercise of administrative control by a so-called "Library Committee of the Faculty":

This designation of administrative authority seldom fails to have a seriously harmful effect upon the library. To the librarian, without interference and meddling, however well-intentioned, belongs the administration of the library. The special training required for the exercise of the function is considerable. It is folly of the worst sort to endanger the results by making the decisions and activities of the librarian subservient to a committee of the faculty who may render futile his best efforts.²

Disregard of this principal of administration usually results in dual control, unnecessary red tape, departmental politics, confusion in library routines, and economic waste in not utilising to the full the professional experience and training of the librarian.

Most of the activities of this period noted above have been continued and developed, with the exception of the Gest Chinese Research Library which, under the able and expert supervision of Dr. Nancy Lee Swann, had done admirable and widely-known reference work. Contrary to the advice of the Librarian, this library, which was indubitably the second-best and in some respects the best on the continent, was removed by Principal A. E. Morgan under circumstances which evoked unsympathetic comment in academic circles in the United States.

There were fortunately brighter sides to the Library during this period. Under the able direction of Dr. C. F. Wylde, and his successor, Dr. R. L. Stehle, the Medical Library made great strides forward in acquiring and cataloging new material and in the disposal of duplicates. The outstanding event, however, was the arrival in 1928 of the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, and its singularly appropriate curator, Dr. W. W. Francis. This collection, as noted in its large and erudite catalogue, represents one important aspect of the

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life work of Sir William Osler and will be an enduring testimony to his sympathetic interest in the development of science. Dr. Frank D. Adams' recent (1942) gift of his collection of books on early science is a welcome supplement and adds considerably to the completeness and value of this department of the Library.

A second notable addition to the resources of the Library was the establishment of the Carnegie Library, in 1933, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, specifying its particular field as that of free cultural reading for undergraduates. Under the direction of a sub-committee, a fine and well-balanced collection of books has been provided, at present very inadequately housed in the Arts Building, but carefully kept up-to-date by a conservative use of the funds. The provision of adequate quarters for this admirable collection offers an opportunity to some graduate grateful to his Alma Mater for benefits received.

In addition to these special collections, the needs of teaching staff and students on various parts of an extended campus are supplied by the special libraries in the Engineering, Chemistry, and Physics Buildings, by the small libraries in Biology and the Redpath Museum, and by the inadequately housed Law Library.

The increasing interest of students in the Library has led to the provision of numerous conducted tours during the opening weeks of each session, often "every hour on the hour," to make new students familiar with the arrangement of the building, the use of its catalogue and reference books, and the services available. There would be a distinct gain to students and professors alike if all newcomers were required to take these tours or, better still, if elementary instruction in the use of the library and its books were made a required part of the Freshman course.

The backwardness of Montreal, compared with Toronto or Vancouver, in providing adequate library service for its citizens, led to the formation of two book clubs associated with the Redpath Library. The McGill College Book Club, no longer extant but situated for many years in a local book-store, gave annually a number of valuable books to the Library. The University Book Club, self-supporting and housed in the Redpath Library, supplies both staff and a limited public with books of the current year and gives to the

Library the books which it withdraws from circulation. There is, however, a crying need for a predominantly English public library situated in the residential district between University Street and Atwater Avenue.

The interests of the community, as well as those of students, are served in part by the provision in the Redpath Library, during a score of years, of exhibits of books, manuscripts and pictures relating to topics of current interest or of cultural value in connection with the regular subjects of instruction. The Library Museum is arranged to illustrate the development of the arts of record and the history of the book through the ages as an appropriate background to the contents of the Library and as an attempt at their graphic correlation for educational purposes. Thanks to such generous donors as Lady Roddick, Dr. Francis McLennan, F. Cleveland Morgan, Howard Murray, and others, the Library Museum has so increased in the value of its collections that it has contributed by request to such exhibitions as that on Persian Art held in Burlington House, London in 1931, and in the De Young Memorial Museum at San Francisco in 1937. The small case at the Library entrance has given opportunity to the students of the Faculty of Arts and of the Library School to arrange exhibits of particular interest to themselves. As a precaution against possible air-raids, in pursuance of the University policy of safe-guarding its most valuable possessions, much of the Museum material has been temporarily stored in a specially constructed room in the basement.

The war has also had an effect upon periodicals, as all magazines from enemy countries have ceased to arrive, and efforts to obtain these through government channels have thus far not been successful. It is to be hoped, however, that the same means that filled up gaps after the last war will be similarly successful when peace is again assured.

In other ways, also, the war has affected the activities of the Library. Nine members of the staff have been working all winter with the McGill or other Chapters of the Red Cross; three members of the staff have taken the St. John's Ambulance Course; the Librarian has acted as Warden for the Library in black-outs and practice evacuations of the building, and is Librarian for Military Districts 4 and 5 in supervising the distribution of educational books to aviation centres

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and training camps under the Educational Services of the Canadian Legion. Thus far, a total of 7,656 books have been sent to 53 training centres.

No account of the Redpath Library would be complete without some word of grateful recognition of the efficient and self-sacrificing work of a staff which, in spite of all representations, has an inadequate salary scale, no academic status similar to that customary in the United States, and is too small for the size of the institution it serves. In particular, gratitude is due, for long and efficient service, to Miss Margaret Mackay, who helped install the Redpath Library, served as Head Cataloguer, and was in charge of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature until her retirement in 1925; to Miss Jean Cameron, for many years Assistant-Librarian of the Medical Library; to Miss Elizabeth G. Hall (B.A. McGill '91), who, with sympathy and energy, administered the Travelling Libraries for thirty-five years; and to Miss Laura A. Young (B.A. McGill '97), who retired in 1940 as Head of the Circulation and Reference Department after thirty-three years of friendly and helpful service. Others, too numerous to mention, have also spent years in the Library and have made valuable contributions to its daily routine and to its progress.

Members of the staff have also taken an active part in professional progress. The Quebec Library Association was established through the energy of the staff and has had as president, Miss Laura A. Young, Miss Helen L. Haultain, and Miss Margaret E. Hibbard, and the Librarian, who was subsequently appointed Honourary President for life. Relations with the American Library Association have been close and cordial: members of the staff have served on its Council and committees, and all members of the staff served on local committees when, in 1934, the Association held its annual conference in Montreal. The Librarian is also a member of the newly established Canadian Library Council and is a Fellow of the Library Association (of Great Britain). The graduates of the Library School are carrying on this tradition of service and are contributing, in many Provinces and States, to professional advancement and to the good name of McGill. Experience on the staff of the Redpath Library, and the Library School in particular, has proven that McGill is a good stepping-stone to professional service elsewhere. Mrs. Mary Duncan

Carter later became Director of the Library School of the University of Southern California; Miss Doris A. Lomer was appointed Librarian of Sweet Briar College, Virginia, a position now occupied by Miss Janet Agnew; Miss Nora Bateson established a provincial library system in Prince Edward Island and in Nova Scotia; Mr. R. M. Hamilton joined the Library of Parliament in Ottawa; and Miss M. E. Gore, the Okanagan Valley Union Library at Kelowna, B.C.

The graduates of McGill, fifty classes of them in steady sequence through half a century, will look back upon the Redpath Library with gratitude to Peter Redpath, Mrs. Redpath, and members of the Redpath family, for the foundation and support of the Library. What will the graduates of the next half-century look forward to as they come as Freshmen or look back upon after graduation?

It is no secret that the present building can do no more than any other college library. No other college library building in a live institution has an indefinitely long life. Ideals change, students increase in numbers, methods of teaching alter, book collections grow, and library techniques improve. With these the college library must keep pace. The Redpath Library building is no longer adequate for its readers or its books, so greatly has McGill grown and changed in fifty years. As was noted in the Annual Report of the Library for 1939-40:

With its reading-rooms so overcrowded that there is provision for only 6.93 per cent of the registered students, with entirely insufficient space for graduate students and teaching staff or the books that they use, with a library staff so reduced in numbers that it cannot properly meet the present demands made upon it and so overworked that physical breakdowns have recently resulted, and with Redpath Library funds that this year are \$27,954 less than those provided in 1931-32, when the total amount, even at that date, was lamentably insufficient to fill the gaps left in earlier days or to keep abreast of modern publications--with all these conditions to cope with, the Library cannot be expected to fulfil the functions

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it is eager to put into operation. There can be no doubt in the minds of those who realize the gravity of the situation that, if these conditions are allowed to persist, the Library, as well as the rest of the University, will stagnate and fall behind in the general educational progress of Canada.

The picture is not entirely a gloomy one, however. During the new régime of Principal F. Cyril James, whose intimate association with other libraries makes him sympathetic to the needs of McGill, it is to be hoped that the present inadequate facilities will be improved as soon as the cessation of war renders it possible. A beginning has already been made in the establishment of a library in Purvis Hall to be a centre for books on Commerce, Law, and Public Administration.

In conclusion, what was written in 1930 still holds so true that it deserves to be repeated:

What of the future? The growth of the Library is bound up with that of the University as a whole. No great university can thrive without a great library. The collecting of books, however, is not an end in itself, nor the aim of a university; rather, the *knowledge* of how to use books and the *habit* of using them effectively are two fundamental aims of higher education. No technical training can be acquired and no professional skill can be developed without books as a foundation and background, or as instruments.

To curtail the Library--in space, staff, equipment, or books--is to limit the true activity of the University as a whole, for the Library is not a department but a service, as truly and essentially as are light, heat, and power. The University is the leader, pioneer, and foreseer of things to come in the intellectual life of the community. As such it transfers into the life of the city and the countryside the intellectual light, the emotional glow, and the effective productive power that lie

latent in books, until students are wisely taught to transform this energy into their daily life among men. From this point of view, the University Library becomes one of the great instruments of public service--great in possibilities and, when properly administered and wisely used, great in achievement.

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Notes

The editors would like to thank especially Tom Humphry and Anette McConnell of the Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, and Phebe Chartrand, Archivist, McGill University Archives, for their valuable assistance in preparing the photographic section of this article.

Dawson, John William (1820-1899). Born in Pictou, Nova Scotia, Dawson became Principal of McGill in 1855. Educated in Nova Scotia and in Edinburgh, Dawson was one of Canada's leading nineteenth-century scientists, particularly in the areas of geology and palaeontology. He was also a vigorous opponent of Darwinism. It was during Dawson's principalship that McGill began to develop into a major university and benefactors such as Peter Redpath played an important part in this development. Dawson was knighted in 1884. "In Memoriam: Peter Redpath" is reprinted from 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* (Montreal: For the University, 1894), 5-16.

Mitchell, Sydney Bancroft (1878-1951). Born in Montreal, Mitchell worked in the Redpath Library as a student, and then as a cataloguer for four years. Because he had a congenital hip dislocation, the Library at first was reluctant to hire him, but when he set a record for climbing the stack staircase from bottom to top and back again, his disability was forgotten. In 1908 Mitchell moved to California working first in the Stanford University Library, and then for the rest of his career at the University of California Library, Berkeley. In addition to his library work, Mitchell was a well-known gardener and widely on horticultural subjects. "Mitchell of California: I Pick My Rut" is reprinted, by permission from Sydney B. Mitchell, *Mitchell of California* (Berkeley: California Library Association, 1960), 97-101.

Manchester Libraries Committee. The City of Manchester was planning to erect a new civic building on the site of the Manchester Royal Infirmary. This building would include a library and art gallery. In preparation for the new building, the Libraries

Committee, on 29 January 1908, passed this resolution:

That the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman and Chief Librarian be authorized to inspect such libraries at home and abroad as the Committee may consider desirable for the purpose of obtaining information for the guidance of the Committee in view of the provision of the New Reference Library.

Libraries were visited in London, Oxford and Bristol. On 4 April the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman and Chief Librarian left England for a six weeks tour of libraries in eastern North America including those in New York, Albany, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago and Pittsburgh, and those in Toronto, Montreal and Quebec City. The "Report" of the City of Manchester Libraries Committee appears in *Report of a Visit to Libraries in the United States and Canada by Representatives of the Committee* (Manchester, 1908), 30-32.

Lomer, Gerhard R. (1882-1970). Lomer was born in Montreal and educated at McGill (B.A. 1903, M.A. 1904). In 1910 he received a Ph.D. in Education from Columbia University. In 1920 he returned to McGill as University Librarian, a position he held until 1947. During Lomer's tenure as University Librarian, many important books and collections were added to the Library and this despite the severe financial problems of the 1930s. Lomer was a leader in Canadian library education, and after his retirement in 1947 he taught until his death in the Library School of the University Ottawa. Gerhard R. Lomer's article "The Redpath Library: Half a Century" is reprinted from *The McGill News* (Autumn 1942), 9-13.

Most of the photographs have been provided by the Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, and the McGill University Archives.

1. Subsequently, by permission of Mr. Redpath, transferred to the subject of Mathematics.
2. Randall, W. M. and Goodrich, F. L. D.: *Principles of college library administration*. Chi. 1941. 2 ed. p. 86.



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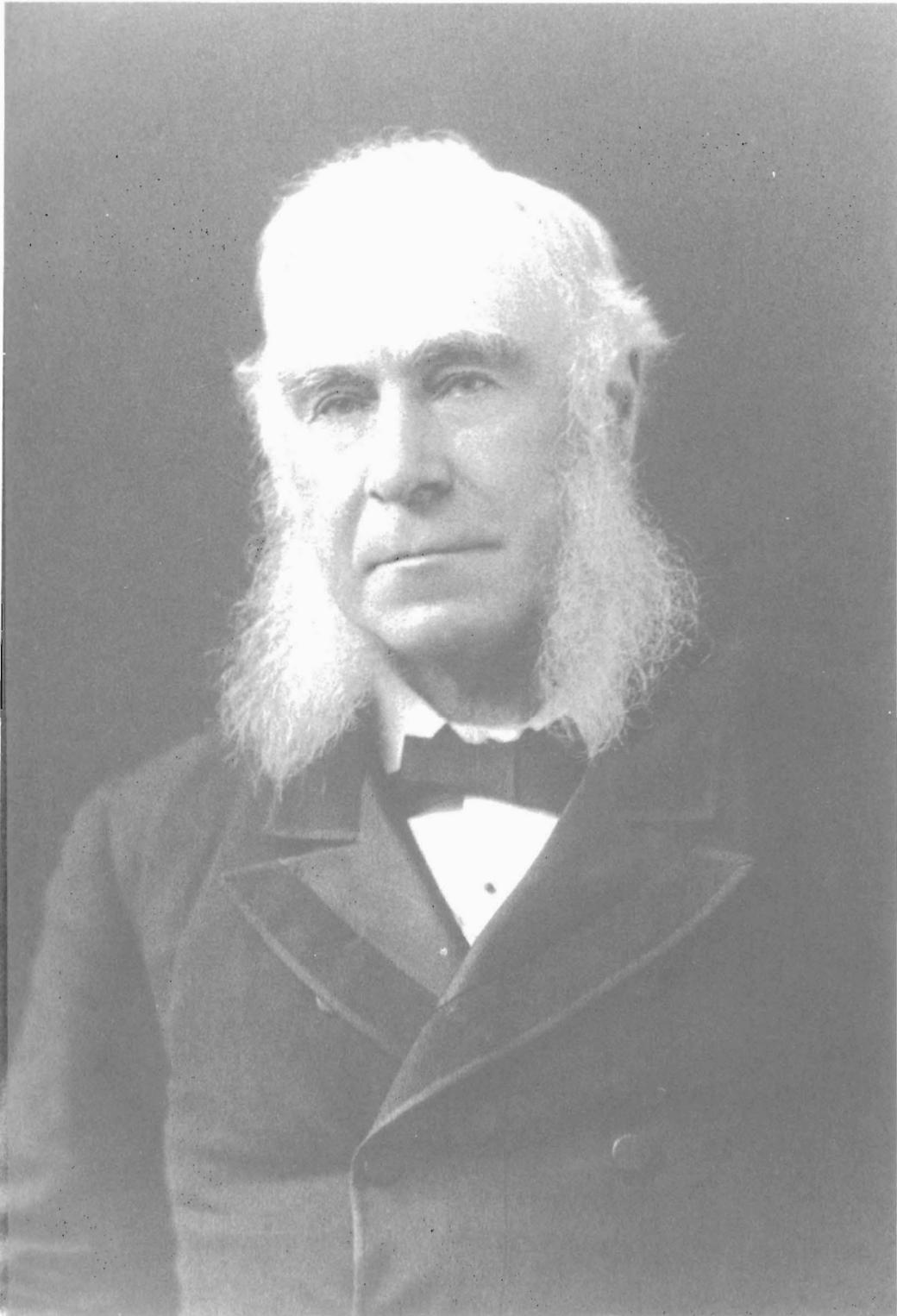
Redpath Library from McTavish Street showing the addition (on the right) built by Mrs. Peter Redpath, 1901. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library



Grace Redpath, ca. 1900. (Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library



Peter Redpath, ca. 1893. (Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)



Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Presentation of the Library by Peter Redpath, 31 October 1893. He is standing at the left. Seated behind the table are the Governor-General and the Countess of Aberdeen and Mrs. Redpath. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Redpath Library from the Campus, showing the original building of 1893. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Reading Room, Redpath Library, 1893. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



Cataloguing Room, Redpath Library, 1893. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library



Delivery Counter, Redpath Library, 1893. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library



Charles Henry Gould

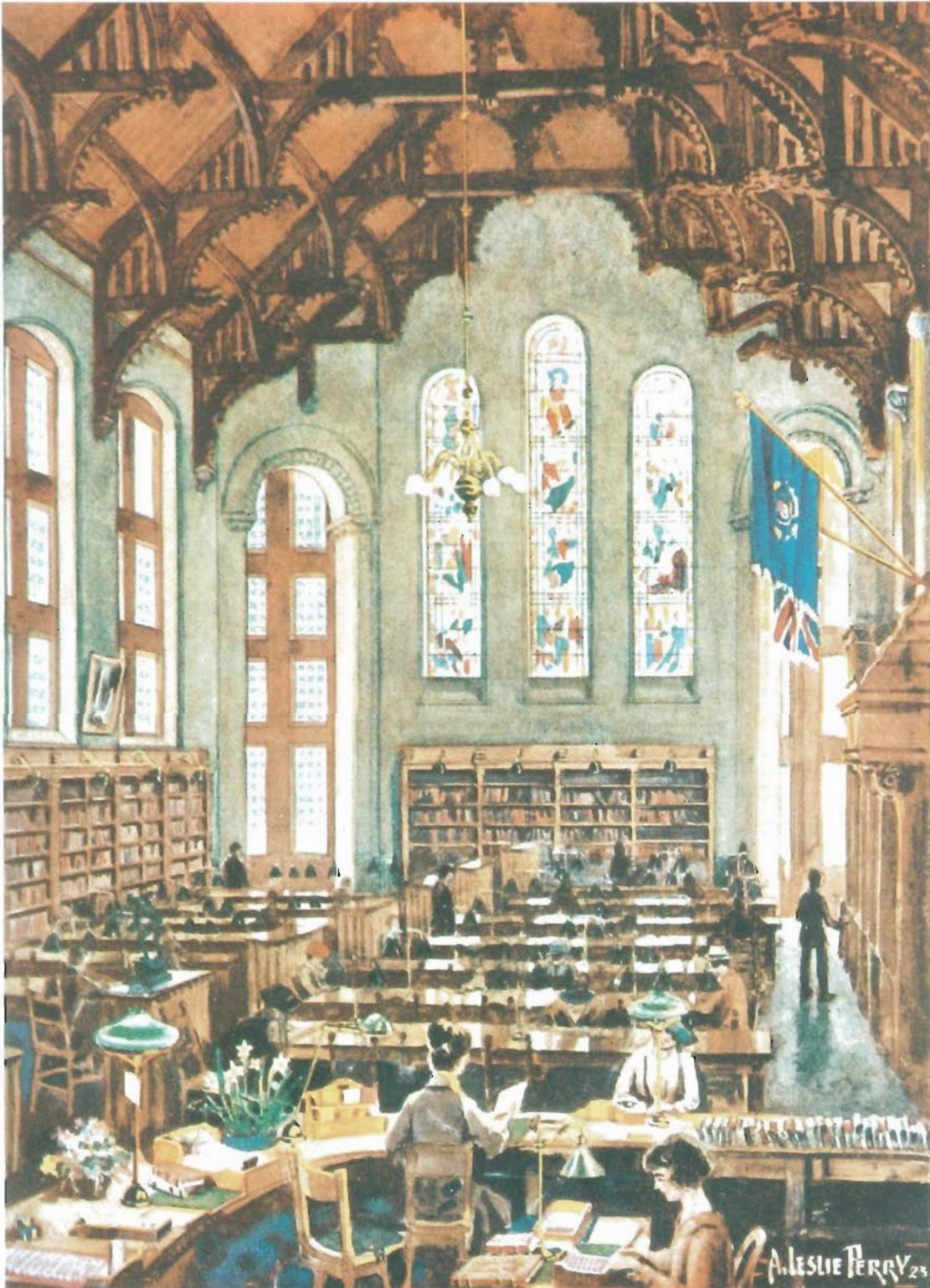
The University Librarian. (F.M.G. Johnson, *People We Meet*, Montreal: McGill Outlook, 1903)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library



The 1921 addition by Percy Nobbs to the Redpath Library. (*Old McGill*, 1923)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

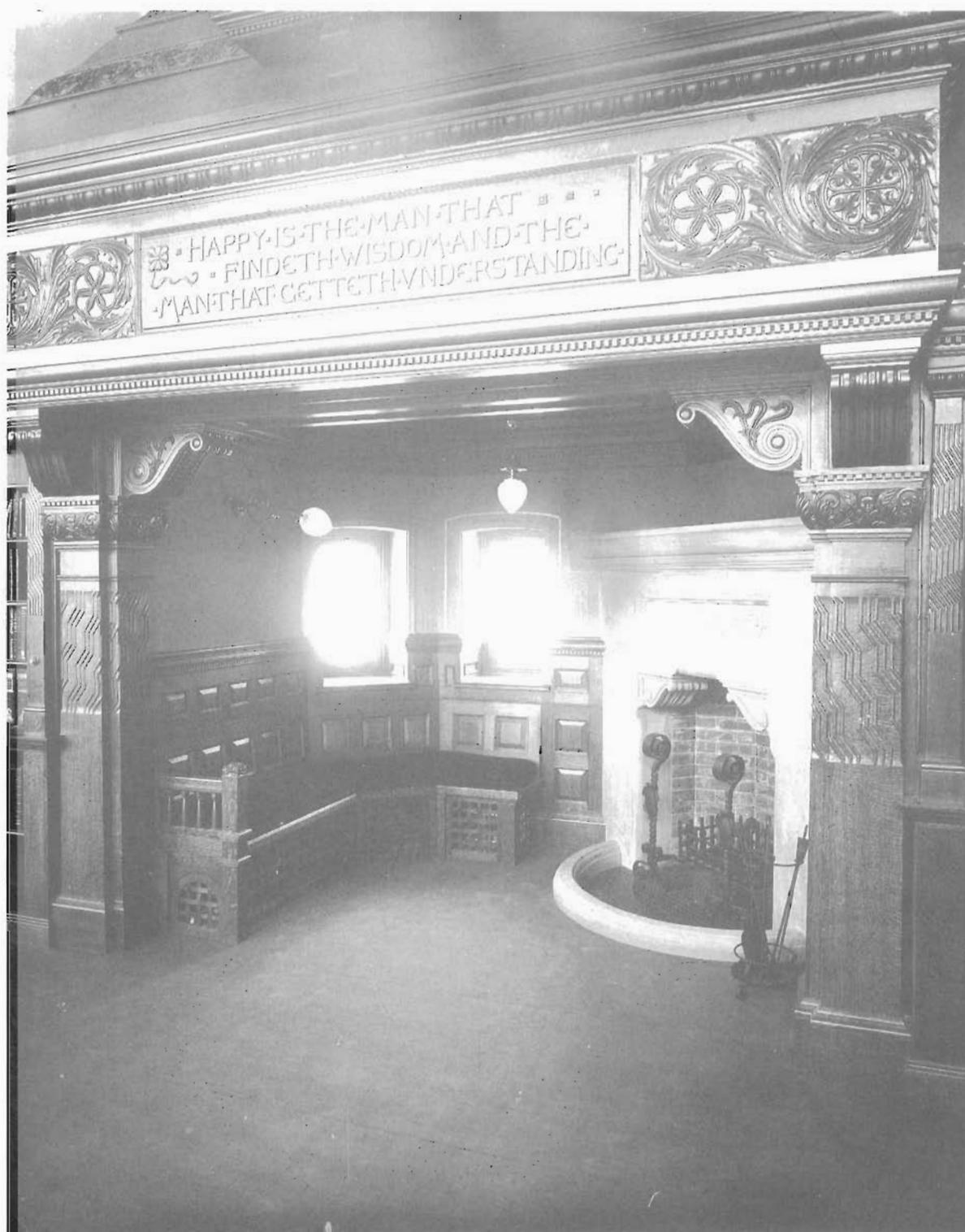


Reading Room, Redpath Library by A. Leslie Perry, 1923. (*Old McGill*, 1924)



Organ, Redpath Hall, 1981.

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library



Fire-place and Mantel, Reading Room, Redpath Library, 1893. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Reading Room, Redpath Library, 1893 (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



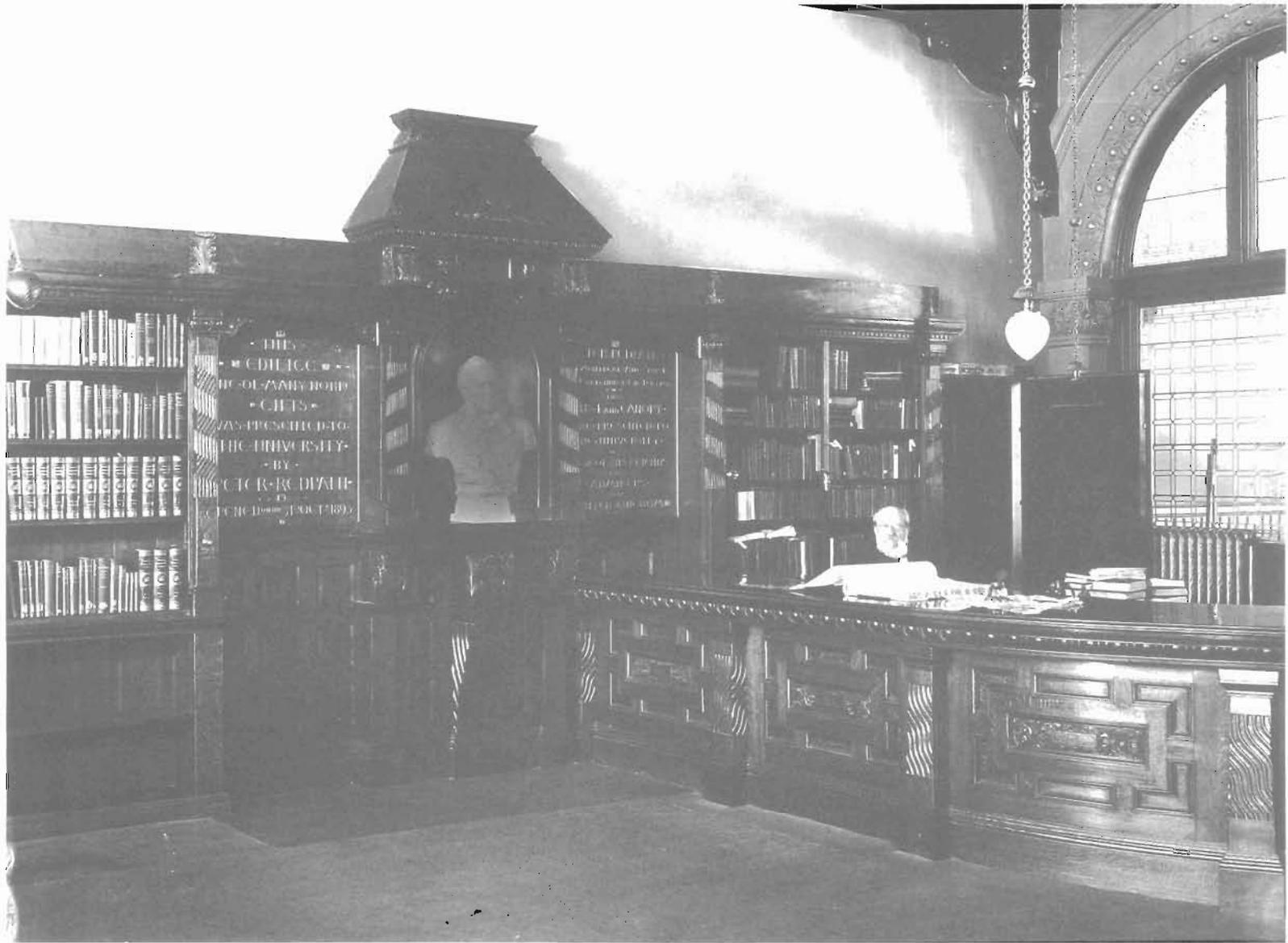
Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Exhibition Gallery. On display are two volumes of the J.J. Audubon double elephant folio *Birds of America* (1826-1838) - in the bottom of the case on the left - and a replica of the Domesday Book chest - on the left behind the Audubon. A facsimile of the Domesday Book and the chest were gifts of Peter Redpath in 1891. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



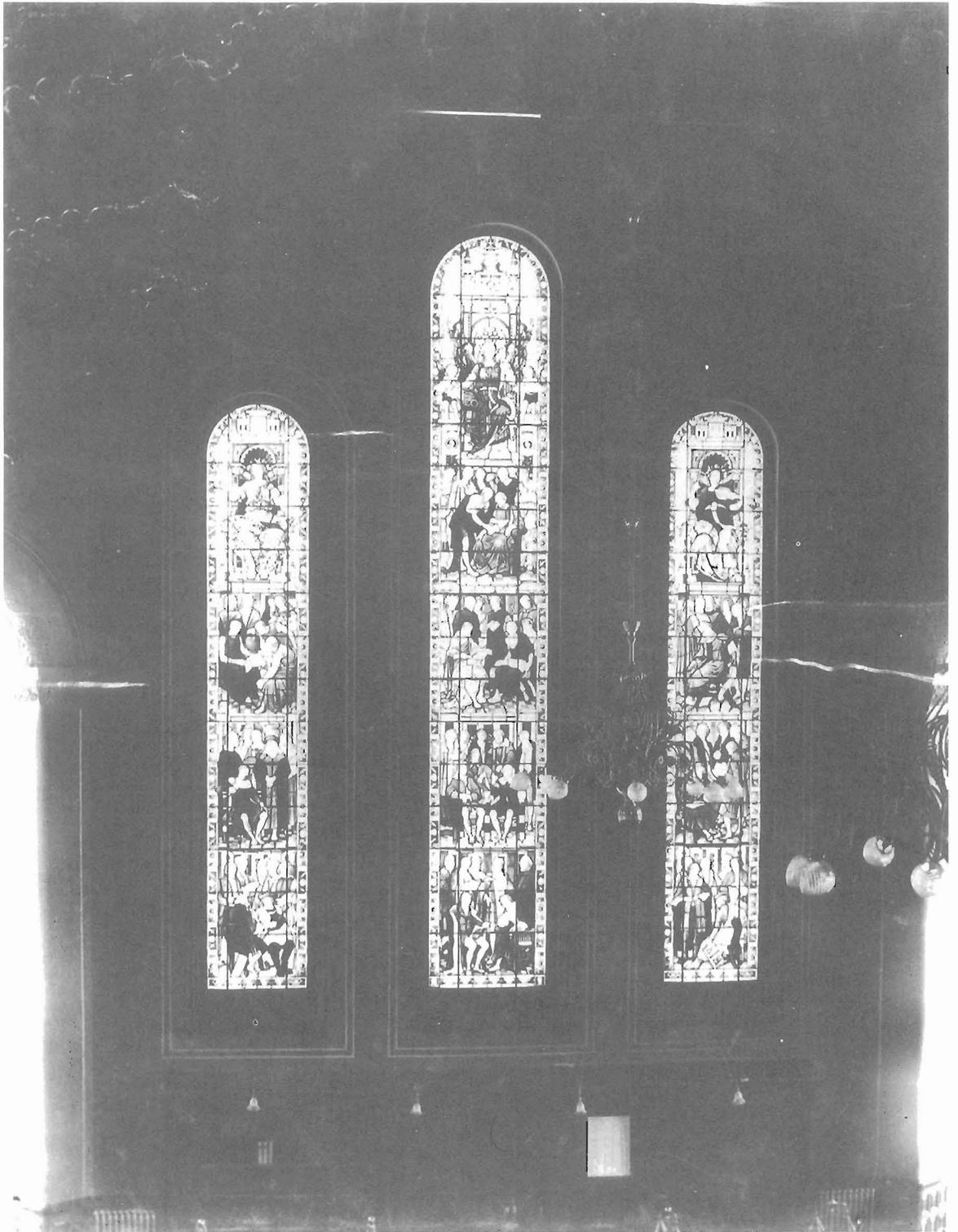
Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Reading Room, Redpath Library, ca. 1930. (McGill University Archives)



Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Circulation Desk, Redpath Library. The seated individual is probably Henry Mott, Assistant Librarian. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



The three-light window, containing figures of great artists, poets and musicians, was the gift of Mrs. Peter Redpath, 1893. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

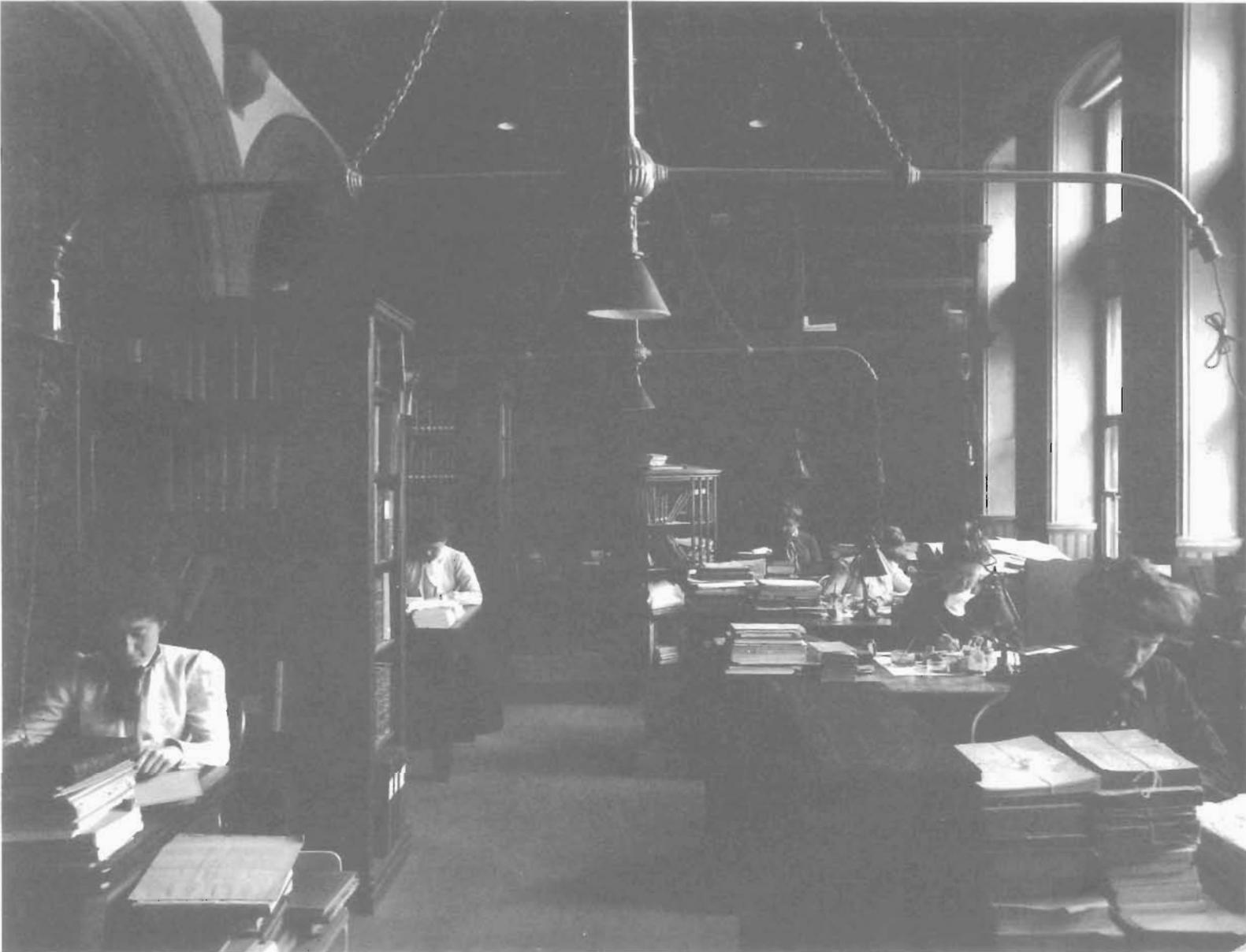


Stacks, Redpath Library, 1893. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History)



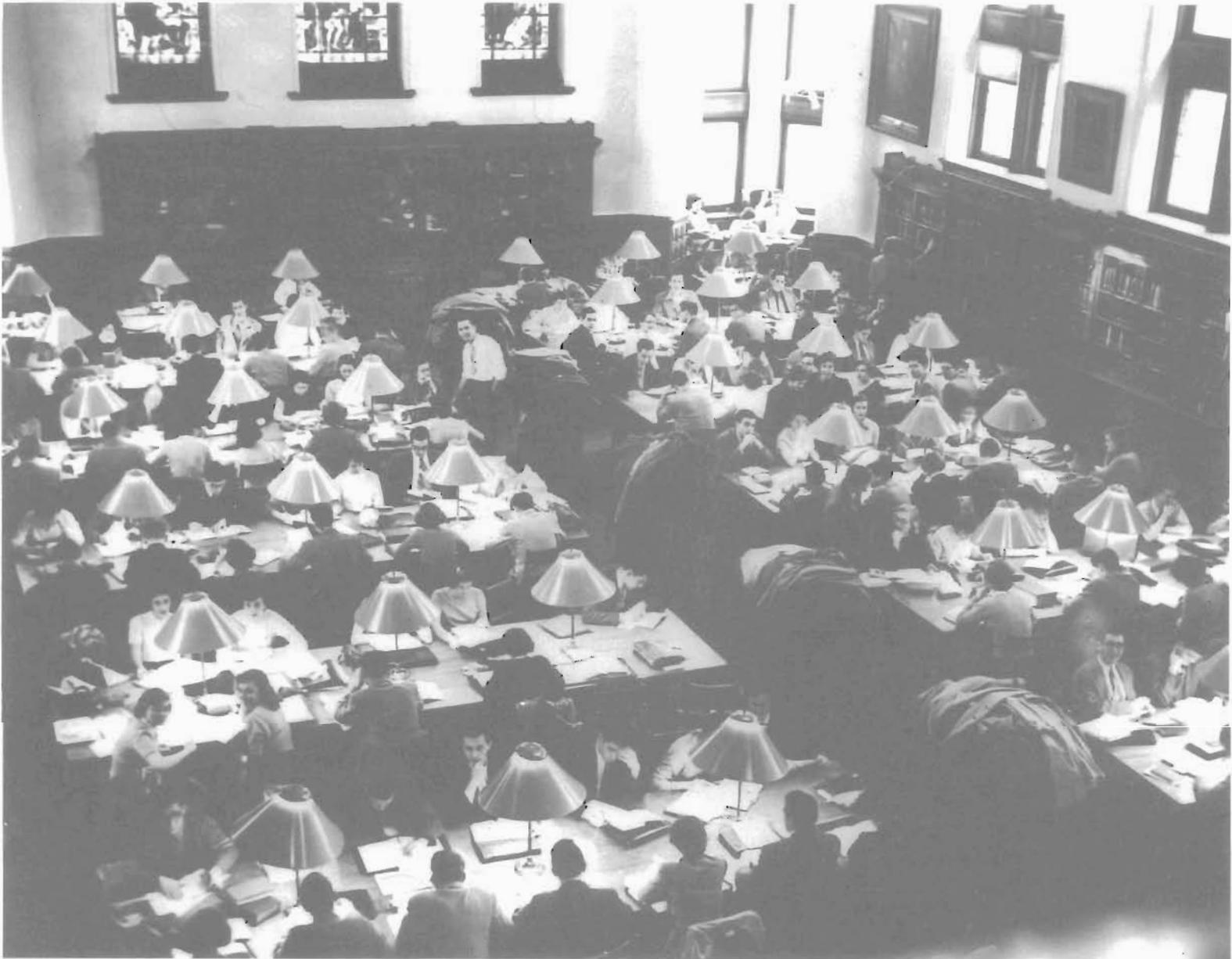
Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library

Cataloguers, Redpath Library ca. 1906. The seated male on the right is possibly Sydney Mitchell. (McGill University Archives)



Cataloguers, Redpath Library ca. 1900. (McGill University Archives)

Celebrating Peter Redpath and His Library



Reading Room, Redpath Library, late 1940s. (McGill University Archives)

Munificent, Wise and Thoughtful Gifts: Grace and Peter Redpath and the Redpath Tracts

by Allan Bell

Shortly after Peter Redpath's election to the Board of Governors in 1864, he began to donate books to the University of McGill College. With these early donations, the Redpath Historical Collection was formed. One of the major facets of the Historical Collection are the Redpath Tracts, the first Series of which was donated by Peter Redpath in 1880. His wife, Grace Redpath, augmented the original donation in 1901 and 1903, and further additions have been made by the McGill University Libraries. This paper presents brief biographies of Grace and Peter Redpath and describes the history of the Redpath Tracts. What would otherwise be merely a history of a collection of tracts is enlivened by the human stories of the Redpaths, their associates, and the librarians caring for the collection.

Peu après que Peter Redpath eut été élu membre du Conseil des gouverneurs en 1864, il commença à faire don d'ouvrages à l'Université de McGill College, lesquels furent à l'origine de la Collection Redpath. L'un des principaux éléments de cette collection est constitué par les Tracts Redpath, dont la première série fut un don de Peter Redpath en 1880. Cette collection initiale fut enrichie ensuite par les dons de son épouse Grace Redpath en 1901 et 1903, puis par d'autres en provenance des bibliothèques universitaires de McGill. Cet article présente une brève biographie de Grace et de Peter Redpath et relate l'historique des Tracts Redpath. C'est ainsi que la simple narration des faits concernant une collection d'opuscules se transforme en un récit fascinant grâce à la dimension humaine donnée aux Redpath, à leurs associés et aux bibliothécaires chargés de la collection.

In *Redpath: The History of a Sugar House*, Richard Feltoe describes the establishment of Peter Redpath's association with the University of McGill College:

Elsewhere during the year [1864], Peter Redpath was honored by his election to the Board of Governors for McGill University, establishing a connection that was to last until Peter's death, and that would greatly benefit the university.¹

The author is primarily concerned with the history of Redpath Sugars, and understates the influence of this beneficiary of McGill. Peter Redpath must be considered one of the greatest benefactors of McGill University, and is certainly one of the most prominent during Sir William Dawson's tenure as Principal (1855-1893). In addition to the endowment of a chair of Natural Philosophy in 1871, the establishment of the Redpath Museum in 1880 and the Redpath Library in 1893 – gifts which “ensure that the name of Mr. Peter Redpath will ever be remembered”² – he also gave the University a considerable number of books.

The Museum and the Library, because of their size and tangible nature, have often overshadowed the seemingly less important gifts of books. However, by the sheer number of books donated, and the historical importance of many of these works, Redpath's influence on the scholarship of the students and faculty of McGill is as significant as the donation of the buildings which bear his name.³ By the time of his death, in 1894, the Peter Redpath Historical Collection had grown to more than 2676 volumes.⁴ Sadly, however, Redpath's philanthropic spirit proved, and in the case of the Redpath Tracts still proves, to be somewhat overwhelming. The exact number of volumes in the Redpath Historical Collection is too often clouded by the phrase “with subsequent additions” to determine the full extent of the man's contributions accurately.

GRACE AND PETER REDPATH

Peter Redpath⁵ was born in Montreal on August 1, 1821. He was the second child and first son of John Redpath and Janet McPhee. John Redpath emigrated from Scotland in 1816, and through his business

ventures in the colony, first as a contractor for such projects as the Lachine Canal, Notre Dame Church, and the Rideau Canal, gained prominence and wealth. Little biographical data is available for Janet McPhee, other than that she was from Glengarry County, Upper Canada.⁶

Peter was educated at St. Paul's School, Montreal, which Sir William Dawson described as "then one of the best institutions of higher education in his native Province." Peter was reportedly "one of the best pupils of a large class, and ... earned the respect and love of his class-mates by his equitable and amiable temper and his kindness to the junior boys."⁷ Although these words of praise must be placed in the context of Sir Dawson's commemoration of Redpath's life, the documents available in the McGill University Archives suggest that these qualities, instilled in the young Redpath, survived until his death.

At the age of sixteen, Redpath was sent to boarding school in Manchester, England. Feltoe suggests that the move to England was a result of his father's recognition "that this [1837] was not the time to keep his family in Montreal, where martial law was in force,"⁸ as a result of the *Patriotes* rebellion. The young man might well have been sent to England in any case, not only to further his liberal education but also to begin training for business, as such opportunities were more developed there.

On October 16, 1847, Peter Redpath married Grace Wood⁹, the daughter of a William Wood of Bowden, England. Wood was "noted among his fellow citizens as an eminent promoter of philanthropic objects."¹⁰ John Redpath's business interests led him to open the John Redpath Canada Sugar Refinery on August 12, 1854, a business that he operated alone for two years and in "1857, 1858 and 1859 in company with his eldest son Peter Redpath under the firm of John Redpath and Son."¹¹ Despite various set-backs, such as unfair tariff structures, the lack of locally available raw sugar and a small local market, the Canada Sugar Refinery, and its various successors, were – and indeed remain – a success.

From these beginnings, Peter Redpath's business

interests took on an ever widening sphere. In 1866 he became a director of the Bank of Montreal, and soon afterwards of the Montreal Rolling Mills, Montreal Telegraph Company, several mining companies, and the Intercolonial Coal Company. In short, Redpath was involved in a wide range of Canadian business concerns. He took special interest in the development of the North-West territories, and his Directorship of the Bank of Montreal embroiled him in the political wrangling over the establishment of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In 1879, he resigned most of his directorates and settled with Mrs. Redpath in England. They purchased Chislehurst Manor in Kent and, with the exception of several visits to Canada, spent the remainder of their lives in England. After 1882 Redpath further limited his business activities, remaining only on the London Board of the Bank of Montreal. However, as Dawson comments, "Mr. Redpath's life in England was not altogether one of repose."¹² At the age of sixty he began the reading of law, and succeeded in being called to the bar as a member of the Middle Temple of London. The fact that Redpath began a new career so late in life may be significant. Also of potential interest is the 1872 partnership agreement between Peter Redpath and his brother-in-law George Alexander Drummond concerning the Redpath Sugar Company Incorporated. The clause stating that "It is probable that Peter Redpath will be absent the greater part of the time"¹³ and the fact that Redpath indeed proved to be "scrupulously absent"¹⁴ leads Feltoe to suggest:

...perhaps it was not that Peter did not care to work, as might be supposed from his travels following his father's death [5 March 1869] but rather that he...merely needed to find his own place in life free from the dominating influence of John Redpath.¹⁵

In his relations with McGill, however, no such qualifications exist: "In his connection with the University...Mr. Redpath was invaluable."¹⁶ Redpath took a keen interest in the University, and regularly corresponded with the Principal and other officials. In a letter dated April 26, 1888, Redpath acted on

The Redpath Tracts

behalf of the University regarding a missing book with Robert Bowes, of McMillan and Bowes, Cambridge. He further offers his opinion on co-education, saying "I do not like the idea." Also in this letter he hints at the gift he planned, remarking that "The Library must be very crowded now."¹⁷ In short, Redpath was greatly concerned with the advancement and the activities of the University, and "in the midst of many other avocations, he was always alive to its interests, and was constantly contributing to its advancement in many quiet and thoughtful ways"¹⁸ In addition to his advice and other activities as a Governor and friend of the University, the tangible and physical contributions of buildings, departmental chairs, and books make his association invaluable indeed.

Shortly after Redpath's return to England following the opening of the Redpath Library in October 1893, he died at the Manor House on the first of February, 1894. As Dawson notes the "news of his sudden and unexpected death, received by cable, fell like a thunder-clap on his many friends."¹⁹

Although neglected by traditional histories, Grace Redpath carried on her husband's philanthropic association with the University of McGill College. As Dawson notes:

Mrs. Redpath survives her husband, and is his executrix, not merely in the legal sense, but as one wisely and loyally desirous to carry out his wishes, and herself deeply interested in the educational and benevolent enterprises of her deceased husband."²⁰

Little is known of her life, other than that she was born at Bowden, Cheshire, England,²¹ perhaps in 1815,²² and died the 29th of January 1907.

The record of her association with McGill after the death of her husband, however, can be partially reconstructed from a small collection of her letters in the University Archives. In addition to contributing two large stained glass windows to the Library, Mrs. Redpath corresponded directly with Charles H. Gould, the first University Librarian.²³ She had a keen interest in the welfare of the Library, arguably

as keen as her late husband's. In an undated letter from 1894 she writes Gould about a donation of books:

I enjoyed looking at them before I sent them to Cambridge to be packed, with the others. My dear husband has had them for some time, he told me he would not send them until [sic] there was a change in the Tariff, immediately on hearing that books were to be free of duty, I sent them away.²⁴

Unfortunately for this study, Charles H. Gould and Mrs. Redpath became friends; thus their correspondence after 1895 did not regularly find its way into the University Archives. However, a misunderstanding between Dawson and Mrs. Redpath concerning the increase of her gift to the Library required official correspondence. As recorded in the Library Letter Book, when Sir William Dawson implied that she wished to increase her contribution by \$10,000 rather than to that amount, Gould was obliged to clear up the matter. After reassuring Mrs. Redpath, Gould closes the letter: "I shall try to write soon, and give you any news that I can. This note is *only for the business [relations intact]*."²⁵ Clearly the two corresponded privately, and Gould visited Mrs. Redpath when in England. Her contributions to McGill, whether motivated by fastidious compliance with her late husband's wishes, or by her own philanthropic interests, or some combination of both, were significant and considerable. Mrs. Redpath,

who from the day when she came as a young bride to Canada to the present moment has been a steadfast friend of every good work in Montreal, has, like her former partner in life, taken an especial interest in the cause of higher education, and both before and since her husband's death, has given largely to McGill University. In 1894 she contributed \$11,500 for museum expenses; in the same year she contributed \$40,500 for the maintenance of the library; and only recently she has completed the building of an additional wing to the Redpath Library.²⁶

The Redpath Tracts

After her death, in a letter to McMillan and Bowes, the English bookdealers, Gould recognised the loss to the University, the Library and himself personally. After the typescript portion of the letter, concerning business matters, he was moved to add the following in his own hand:

The loss of Mrs. Redpath has been indeed a sad blow to the Library, and I feel personally that I have lost one of my kindest and most thoughtful friends.

Will you let me know please, how much money would be needed to keep up and bind all the continuations you have been in the habit of sending the Library for Mrs. Redpath. If I can get somebody here to supply it I shall be glad to ask you to keep on sending them to the Library.²⁷

Although it is often difficult to intermingle personal friendship and the relationship between a benefactor and recipient, there is no evidence to suggest that Gould was not completely sincere in this sentiment. Mrs. Redpath, like her husband, had become a generous friend to McGill, always concerned with the growth and direction of the University. Together, the Redpaths were highly significant forces in the development of McGill University.

THE REDPATH TRACTS: THE HISTORY

In the McGill University Libraries' Department of Rare Books and Special Collections' *Inventory of Special Collections*, the Redpath Tracts are described as being

Donated to McGill in 1888, 1901 and 1903 by Mrs. Peter Redpath. They had been collected for the Redpath family in Britain by a librarian. Additions have been made since.²⁹

The confusion about the Redpath Tracts is clearly demonstrated in this erroneous description. In fact, Series 1, the "1888" donation, was made in 1880, and it was given by *Mr.* Peter Redpath. Series 2 and

3, the 1901 and 1903 donations, were given by Mrs. Redpath; however, they were not collected by a librarian.

The fact that the Tracts are so little understood and used is largely attributable to the insufficient bibliographical control of these materials. Although the collection is referred to as one of the assets of the McGill University Libraries,²⁹ its full extent has not been established because it has not been adequately catalogued. Had the collection been catalogued in *any* year previous to the beginning of Pollard and Redgrave or Wing³⁰, the standard collection of Seventeenth Century British material might well have been the Redpath Tracts. There exists such richness and duplication in the collection that McGill could have taken the lead in the bibliographical identification of Seventeenth Century books. Instead the access to the collection was and is based on, as shall be shown, two faulty printed catalogues and a card catalogue solely dependent on the first editions of Pollard and Redgrave and Wing.

Although this paper answers a number of questions concerning the Redpath Tracts, the history of the collection remains incomplete. Given the origin of the Tracts, more information may be available in the United Kingdom. Most of the information for this paper was gleaned from the McGill University Archives and the collective memories of a number of Library staff, both past and present. This paper, then, is the beginning of the narrative of the Redpath Tracts, as told in the words of the parties concerned from archival records.

If, as according to Gerhard R. Lomer, University Librarian from 1920-1947, the "first selections" for Series One were made by the late Professor Henry Morley,³¹ a finer judge of English books could scarcely be imagined. Morley was an indefatigable populariser of English Literature and the "first Englishman to make the academic teaching of English his full-time profession."³²

Morley³³ was born in London on September 15, 1822 and was educated in Germany and at King's College, London. In 1844 he began to practice medicine, but after four years his partner's dishonesty left him bankrupt. Morley then kept

The Redpath Tracts

school, first in Manchester and then at Liscard, near Liverpool, until 1850. His experiences in Germany strongly influenced his educational philosophies, but he was also an innovator. He abolished all punishment, attempted to 'foster pupils' esteem for their studies, and – in true Victorian style – attempted to form the character of his students by appealing to higher motives. His schools and methods proved to be very successful.

He discovered his skill at public speaking while running his schools and the positive response to his style and rhetoric led him to try his hand at journalism. His submissions were noticed by Charles Dickens who offered Morley a position on the London staff of *Household Words*. He also contributed to *All the Year Round*, and *The Examiner*, becoming the joint editor of the latter in 1856 and sole editor from 1859 to 1864. His writings were not limited to magazine articles, but also included a number of books.

Morley's true vocation became apparent when he was appointed evening lecturer at King's College in 1857, and in 1865 he became professor of English Literature at University College, London. Morley's lectures were not only heard in London; he brought his lectures to other parts of Britain, traveling especially to the north of England. As an academic, he turned his pen to the writing of text-books, notably his *First Sketch of English Literature*, which sold over thirty four thousand copies during his lifetime. He is principally remembered as a popularizer of the English Classics, editing multi-volume series, such as *Cassell's Library of English Literature* (5 volumes. 1875-81), *Morley's Universal Library* (63 volumes. 1883-88), *Cassell's National Library* (214 volumes. 1886-90), *The Carisbrooke Library* (14 volumes. 1889-91), and *Companion Poets* (9 volumes. 1891-92). In 1879 his labours brought him an Honorary LL.D from Edinburgh and in 1882 the principalship of University Hall, London. He retired to Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, to complete *English Writers*, which, by the time of his death on May 14, 1894, remained incomplete at eleven volumes.

From the evidence of bookplates and order books, Series One of the Redpath Tracts was presented to McGill in 1880. Perhaps because of the opening of

the Redpath Museum in the same year, the 307 volumes are not mentioned explicitly in the documents that I perused in the University Archives. Although Peter Redpath was probably thanked for such a significant gift, a letter of thanks, or an acknowledgement in the "Volumes of Donations to the Library," has not been located.

A year after the creation of the Committee of Corporation regarding the affairs of the Library, the committee recognised and reported a problem with the tracts in the *Annual Report* of 1883:

In the Redpath collection there are 307 volumes of very valuable Tracts and Pamphlets, on political and cognate subjects, and extending from the year 1632 to 1860, which have never been catalogued; [sic] so that their contents are practically unknown, and their value for reference is consequently diminished. It would, therefore, be a great boon to students of the political history of the Mother-country were a catalogue of these tracts and pamphlets prepared for their use. But to do this, as it should be done, would be a work involving the expenditure of much time and thought, and of more money than your committee can, under present circumstances, venture to apply for.³⁴

The Committee's attitude characterises the treatment the tracts have received in the intervening one hundred years and more at McGill. While the collection is recognised as a valuable and useful research collection, the library, as we shall see, has been unable to devote the money or the thought to provide bibliographical control equal to the value of the tracts.

One year later, in the *Annual Report* of 1884, the oversight seems to have been addressed, and the committee proudly reports:

A very important and much-needed improvement has been made by the preparation and printing, in a handsome form, of a special Catalogue of the 307

VOL. 39. 1647 (2).

Propositions from Parliament to the King for Peace.
Ordinance. Relieving Weekly Assesments.
Ordinances. Concerning Sequestering.
Declaration of Sir Thomas Fairfax.
Vox Militaris. Declaration of the Army.
Hugh Peters. A Word for the Armie.
A Word to Mr. Peters.
John Saltmarsh. A Letter from the Army.
David Jenkins. An Apology for the Army.
Poisonous Letters of David Jenkins Answered.
The Cordiall of Mr. David Jenkins.
Nine Queries upon the Army against the Eleven Members.
A full answer of the Eleven Members.
A Declaration of the Lord Mayor.
The Declaration of General Massey.
Declaration of Sir John Gaise, Lord Mayor.
Sixteen Propositions concerning Government of a King.
Queries concerning the Negative Oath.
The Assembly Man.
Several Speeches delivered at a Conference concerning the Power of
Parliament to proceed against their King for Misgovernment.

VOL. 40. 1647 (3).

A Religious Retreat sounded to a Religious Army.
Scruples from the Army. (A Dialogue.)
Dudley Diggs. Unlawfulness of Subjects taking Arms against their
King.
Resisting the Lawful Magistrate under colour of Religion.
A Protestation of the King's Supremacie by Non-Conforming Ministers.
Account given to Parliament by Ministers sent to Oxford.
Samuel Richardson. Toleration in matters of Religion.

VOL. 41. 1647 (4).

Propositions concerning Church Government. Edinb.
Queries Touching Ordination of Ministers.
A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ.
Thirty two Articles from Holy Scripture.
"Vindication of Reformed Churches," by L. S.
Answer to Tract, "Vindication of Reformed Churches."
Declaration. Assembly Church of Scotland to brethren in England.
Samuel Torshel. Disposing the Bible into an Harmony.
Character tending to Love.
Samuel Kem, D.D. An Olive Branch, a Sermon.
A Sermon. King's due, People's duty.
Humfry Ellis. Two Sermons.

Figure I. Page 43 from an unannotated copy of the *Catalogue* for Series I. *A Catalogue of Books Chiefly Relating to English and American History and Antiquities, Together with a Collection of Historical, Ecclesiastical, and Political Tracts (from 1624)*. Presented to the University of McGill College, Montreal, by Peter Redpath, Esq. 1864-1884. (Cambridge: MacMillan and Bowes, 1884).

VOL. 39. 1647 (2).

- 1 Propositions from Parliament to the King for Peace.
- 2 Ordinance. Relieving Weekly Assessments.
- 3 Ordinances. Concerning Sequestering. 1648.
- 4 Declaration of Sir Thomas Fairfax.
- 5 Vox Militaris. Declaration of the Army.
- 6 Hugh Peters. A Word for the Armie.
- 7 A Word to Mr. Peters. *and two words for the Parliament*
- 8 John Saltmarsh. A Letter from the Army.
- 9 David Jenkins. An Apology for the Army.
- 10 Poisonous Letters of David Jenkins Answered. *by W. P.*
- 11 The Cordiall of Mr. David Jenkins. - *Reply to W. P.*
- 12 Nine Queries upon the Army against the Eleven Members. 1647.
- 13 A full answer of the Eleven ^{Members} Members.
- 14 A Declaration of the Lord Mayor. *and Aldermen of London 1647*
- 15 The Declaration of General Massey. *and Colonel Paynter*
- 16 Declaration of Sir John Gaise, Lord Mayor. *and others.*
- 17 Sixteen Propositions concerning Government of a King.
- 18 Queries concerning the Negative Oath.
- 19 The Assembly Man. *by J. B. 1647.*
- 20 Several Speeches delivered at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliament to proceed against their King for Misgovernment. 1648

VOL. 40. 1647 (3).

- 1 A Religious Retreat sounded to a Religious Army.
- 2 Scruples from the Army. (A Dialogue.)
- 3 Dudley Diggs. Unlawfulness of Subjects taking Arms against their King.
- 4 Resisting the Lawful Magistrate under colour of Religion.
- 5 A Protestation of the King's Supremacie by Non-Conforming Ministers.
- 6 Account given to Parliament by Ministers sent to Oxford.
- 7 Samuel Richardson. Toleration in matters of Religion.
- 8 *Declaration by Congregational Societies in the City of London. 1647.*
- 9 *The Impunity of the Two Sects Presbyterian and Independent, or a Serpent in the*

VOL. 41. 1647 (4).

- 1 Propositions concerning Church Government. Edinb.
- 4 Queries Touching Ordination of Ministers.
- 5 A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ.
- 6 Thirty two Articles from Holy Scripture.
- 7 "Vindication of Reformed Churches," by L. S. Lazarus Seaman
- 8 Answer to Tract, "Vindication of Reformed Churches."
- 9 Declaration. Assembly Church of Scotland to brethren in England.
- 10 Samuel Torshel. Disposing the Bible into an Harmony.
- 11 True Character tending to Love.
- 12 Samuel Kem, D.D. An Olive Branch, a Sermon.
- 13 A Sermon. King's due, People's duty. by P. J.
- 14 Humfry Ellis. Two Sermons.
- 2- *A Form for Church Government and Ordination of Ministers. 1647.*
- 3- *Propositions concerning the Ministrie and Government of the Church.*

Figure 2. Page 43 from the annotated copy of the Catalogue for Series I.

vols. of very valuable Tracts and Pamphlets in the Redpath Collection, to which reference was made in the last Annual Report. For this service the University is indebted to Mr. Peter Redpath, the Donor of the Collection, who defrayed the entire cost of the preparation and printing of the Catalogue. Much credit is also due to Mr. Taylor, the Assistant Librarian, who was charged by Mr. Redpath with the preparation of the Catalogue, for the very careful and satisfactory manner in which he did his part of this important work.³⁵

Unfortunately, however, the Catalogue was soon found to be lacking entries for several pamphlets. There is an annotated copy, which Stuart J. Reid, who collected Series 2 and Series 3 for Mrs. Redpath, is said to have used to avoid duplication (Figures 1 and 2). To date, the best listing of the pamphlets in this and the other Series – excluding Series 3, which has brief cataloguing records on MUSE – is the card catalogue in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, but, as will be discussed below, its adequacy is also open to question.

Series Two, or the *Grace Redpath Collection*, was presented to the Library in 1901. (Figure 3) “The Report of the Library Committee”, June 10 to Oct. 5, 1901, states:

One of the most important gifts of books that the Library has ever received has come from [sic] from Mrs. Peter Redpath, in the form of some 5,000 tracts, handsomely bound in about 580 volumes. These tracts have been collected for Mrs. Redpath by Mr. Stuart J. Reid, editor of the series “Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria”, and author of a life of Lord John Russell, a life of Sidney Smith and other works. Mr. Reid has been actively engaged upon this task during the last five years, and the basis of the present collection is a group of state pamphlets

gathered by Sir John Bramston (1611-1700), Chairman of the Committee in the House of Commons in the early years of Charles II's reign. The whole collection is intended to supplement the Redpath Historical Tracts given by Mr. Peter Redpath some years ago, and illustrates the growth of opinion in matters religious, political literary and social, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the dawn of the 19th century.³⁶

The text of this report has been “borrowed” from Stuart J. Reid's introduction to the collection, bound in each volume and in its printed catalogue, and this description has not been substantially changed since 1901.

Biographical data on Stuart Johnson Reid is difficult to find; however, his compilation of both Series 2 and Series 3 makes him integral to the story of the Redpath Tracts. Reid³⁷ was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, probably in the year 1849, and was the son of Alexander Reid, who died in 1887. He was the brother of Sir Thomas Wemyss Reid, who is listed in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, and the father of Thomas Wemyss Reid (born 1886).

Nothing is known of his early education. Reid was, however, a student at Cheshunt College from 1871 to 1875 and he bequeathed the College a marble bust of John Milton and one thousand volumes from his library in “acknowledgement of the reduced fees accepted by the Committee from him on account of his father's narrow means . . . when the testator was a student at the College.”³⁸

His chosen profession was that of a minister, and it is through this occupation that he and his wife probably met the Redpaths. He was Congregational Minister at Higher Broughton, Manchester, 1875 to 1880; at Wilmslow, Cheshire, 1880 to 1887; at Chistlehurst, 1888 to 1895³⁹, and at East Grinstead in (and around) 1905. It would seem that the Redpaths and the Reids became acquainted while Reid was at Chistlehurst. The couples appear to have become friends, and remained so even after Reid's move to East Grinstead. Grace Redpath mentions the Reids in fond terms in two letters. In a letter to Gould dated

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November 2, 1895, Mrs. Redpath states that she "has just returned from a few days visit to Mr. & Mrs. Reid in their new home in East Grinstead, I am hoping that they will be better for the change;" in the second letter, dated January 25, 1896, she states that she has "been to see them once, & Mrs. Reid has been here, but I do not see them as frequently as I formerly did."⁴⁰

Stuart J. Reid also had a great deal of interest in literary work. He is "said to have been on the staff of Cassell's the publishers," and was for "14 years the chief reviewer of the *Leeds Mercury* and for 30 years on the literary staff of the old *Standard*."⁴¹ He contributed to the *Spectator*, *Speaker*, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, and other periodicals. In his own words, he wrote "constantly, & often under [his] name and initials for the *Weekly Survey*".⁴² He also had business interests, and was a director of the London publishing concerns Sampson Low and Company, and of Isbister and Company.⁴³ Mr. Reid died in East Grinstead on the 27th or 28th of August, 1927.

Reid, however, was neither a librarian nor a bibliographer;⁴⁴ he was probably recruited by his friend Mrs. Redpath to augment the 1880 donation of Peter Redpath because of his literary interests. The first mention of these "new Tracts" came in a letter dated July 29, 1895 from Reid to Gould which was written and posted to the Librarian while he was visiting Great Britain. The two had discussed the proposed Tracts, among other matters, and Reid, perhaps optimistically at this early date, is already wondering about the University die for the binding. Reid also mentions that he

shall look forwarded [sic] to the annotated copy of the Redpath History Tracts Catalogue with pencil notes showing the omissions [sic] in the printed book.⁴⁵

Although in a letter to Gould on January 25 1896, Mrs. Redpath is speaking of a particular moment in time, her words probably encapsulate Reid's work for the next six years; Mr. Reid became "busy at work with some valuable Tracts he has met with."⁴⁶

Gould and Reid carried on a brief and factual correspondence from September 1899 to November 1901 concerning the tracts. On September 18, 1899, Reid requested that Gould send "a sample volume of the Peter Redpath Historical Tracts, as the time is rapidly approaching when I hope to bind up the companion Grace Redpath Series." Mrs. Redpath and Reid wished "to keep the [two] works as far as possible uniform."

Reid continues with an apology:

I am sorry that the work has taken so long, – but there have been real difficulties in the way – tedious to relate, though none the less actual.

I think that the new collection will be a real & great acquisition to the Library. It certainly represents a vast amount of search & I have taken care by an appeal to your annotated catalogue to prevent repetitions, & to make the collection strong in years and in subjects in which its predecessor was weak.

Reid concludes the letter with an offer to Gould: "If there is any point you wish to raise with me about the books, let me hear."⁴⁷

Unfortunately, the "real difficulties," too "tedious to relate," would have been most valuable to this study. Where and how Reid bought the Tracts can only be surmised. Given his occupation and interests, it is unlikely that he went to auctions personally. He could have hired "pickers" to locate and buy the material, but his most probable course of action would have been to tell various booksellers that he was looking for this type of material. The collection was clearly expensive; Robert Bowes of McMillan and Bowes wrote Gould on November 2, 1900 that "Mrs. Redpath spoke to [Bowes] some time since about cutting down the continuations [for McGill], as she had been spending a good deal on the Historical pamphlets selected by Mr. Stuart Reid."⁴⁸

Gould, when he answered Reid on October 20, 1899, did indeed have some suggestions as to the presentation of the Tracts. After acknowledging that he had sent a Volume of the Redpath Historical

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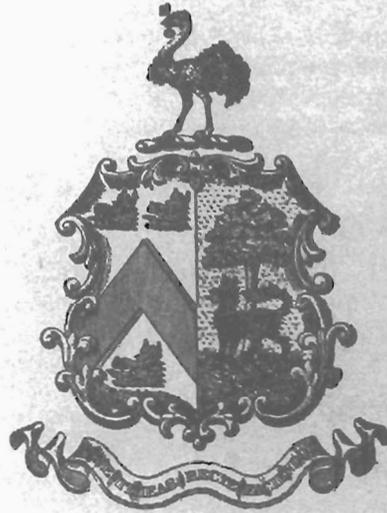
Catalogue
OF A COLLECTION OF
Historical Tracts

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

M C M I

Figure 3. The title page of the Printed catalogue for Series 2. *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).

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Tracts, he expresses his certainty that “the new collection will be most valuable and we shall be very glad, indeed, to get it in the Library.” He then offered Reid a reasonable opinion; an opinion so reasonable, in fact, that one could wish that it had been followed:

I think it would be well to bind the Tracts so far as possible in very thin volumes. It is much more convenient to catalogue them when this is done.⁴⁹

Upon receiving the volume from Gould, however, Mr. Reid found himself with a problem. In his letter dated November 2, 1899 he writes

I should much prefer to have one of the Earlier volumes, say vols XIV - XV - or XVI & anyhow not later than the middle of the seventeenth century. The Tracts you send relate to the middle of XIX Century, & I have none anywhere near that in date. The strength of the new collection is in the seventeenth century.

In his post script he made his request more explicit: “I should like to see in the fresh volume sent how old tracts of various sizes have been treated. What I want in fact is a typical difficult small quarto volume.”⁵⁰

On November 13, 1899, Gould acquiesced to Reid's request with reservations: “I cannot see, however, that [the new volume] will be of any assistance to you, as the binding of the whole series is absolutely uniform.” The volume that Reid was first mailed would not differ in outward appearance from the next one sent. The difference would be the handling of different formats within one volume. As Series I is bound for the most part by date, octavos, quartos and even sixteenmos find themselves in the same volume. Gould remarked quite correctly “that the binding of these is by no means a model which I should wish to see followed.” He continued:

In the first place, it is a great pity and, as you know, detracts seriously from the value of the pamphlets to remove the original covers before binding. In the

next place, trimming of the edges is fatal, and this has been done to a surprising extent in the collection we now have. I should therefore recommend that the volumes sent you be used solely to preserve uniformity in outward appearance, and I would also recommend, as in my former letter, most strongly, that the number of pamphlets in each volume be restricted as far as possible. This will save a great deal of time and money in the cataloguing.⁵¹

Again, Gould had given sound advice, but unfortunately it was not followed. Reid did bind together different formats. Further, in volume DLXXX, the bottom three centimeters of the pages of one of the pamphlets is folded over to fit into the codex. This volume is not only cropped, as are the other volumes, but also gilded. While Reid took more pains to bind items of similar size together, he nonetheless bound and cropped the tracts of Series 2.

Clearly, the Tracts were being bound by the end of 1899, and yet they did not arrive in Montreal until the middle of 1901. For the year and a half between these two dates, it appears that Reid decided to take on the cataloguing of the tracts himself. (Figure 4)

After the Tracts had been received by McGill, Reid wrote to Gould a significant letter dealing with the the reception of the *Catalogue*:

I was glad to learn of the safe arrival of the Tracts and Mrs. Redpath sent me Lord Strathcona's letter of thanks the other day.

I want to tell you that Mrs. Redpath denies [that] copies of the Catalogue [were] sent to the Parliament Library, Ottawa, & also to Quebec and Toronto. I told her that you probably had sent these, but if any [sic] of the three is not on your narrow list will you kindly let me know, & I will forward the volume with explanatory letter.

I am sure you will be pleased to learn that Sir Maunde Thompson, Sir William

Muir (Edinburgh) Principal Donaldson (St. Andrews) Mr. Clark (Cambridge Registrar) & others have expressed in warm and emphatic terms the sense of value of the gift. Mrs. Redpath singled out two great Nonconformist Colleges Mansfield Oxford [,] Westminster Cambridge for the gift, & both Dr. Fairbairn & Dr. Oswald Dykes have written in most appreciative terms. The former describes the volume as a sound & valuable bit of work & likely to prove of the utmost value to students engaged in historical research. At Cambridge they were particularly glad to get the book because they are making a collection of Tracts themselves. Maunde Thompson – 2 copies have gone to the British Museum – wants three to go to Australia, but I am not sure that they can all be spared; especially as Sir William Muir is anxious that the same number should be sent to India & a claim has been put in for South Africa. No copies – beyond one or two reserved by Mrs. Redpath – have gone to private hands, but 2 have been sent to the press *Athenæum* and *Literature*.

Mrs. Redpath was anxious that her life-long friend Sir Charles Tupper should at all events see the book & in the end we arranged that he should carry out to Canada a copy to Manitoba University. Besides this a special copy has gone to Dr. McVicar at the Presbyterian College in your city at Mrs. Redpath's request. One has gone to the University of Wales & another to that of Dublin, & Glasgow & Durham[added] have not been forgotten.

I thought you would like these details & if you will tell me about the reception on your side I shall be pleased.⁵²

If Gould reported the “reception” of the *Catalogue*⁵³ at Canadian and American institutions, his letter appears not to have survived. It seems likely, however, that the same positive review would be

elicited from the institutions that were given a copy. A gift is not likely to be harshly criticised by recipients.

The copy sent to the *Athenæum* however was objectively reviewed. The anonymous reviewer's conclusion concerning the *Catalogue* remains as valid today as when the review was written: “the catalogue is of little use as a work of reference.” The criticisms are many, and sound:

Although the catalogue is clearly not the work of a trained bibliographer, Mr. Reid has performed his task with zeal and industry. His method, however, leaves much to be desired. The books have been bound up, as a rule, according to the date of publication when this is known, but sometimes according to subject. ... For this Mr. Reid may not be responsible, but for the extraordinary omission of all publishers' or printers' imprints and of all descriptions of size he must surely be answerable. With an arrangement and omissions [sic] of this sort it becomes hard to use or check the catalogue. Notes to titles are appended, giving a brief biography of the author; when the name is familiar this seems superfluous, but when the name is less familiar the note is often omitted, although the 'Dictionary of National Biography' might have supplied materials. This would not matter much were it not for the fact that the only index provided is an index to these haphazard annotations. ... If a student happen to know the date of publication of the work he seeks, he may possibly find it, by looking through all the titles of tracts printed in that year; other clue to its place in the collection there is none. There is an occasional note to the number of the edition, but as the numbering of editions was not the practice of the early printers, an attempt to describe an old book in this way is wholly unscientific. Repeated reference to a work styled

6. A Sovereigne Antidote to Prevent, Appease, and Determine our Unnaturall and Destructive Civill Wars and Dissentions. . . .

7. Two Speeches by the Earl of Holland and Mr Jo: Pym, Esquire. Concerning a Petition to His Majestie for Peace. Spoken in Guild-Hall, 10 Novemb., to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

8. Scotland's Thanks-giving for the Returne of their Armie. . . .

9. The Kings Majesties Desires and Propositions to all his Subjects in Scotland. . . .

10. A Famous and Joyful Victory obtained by the Earl of Stamford's Forces neere Stratford . . . against Prince Rupert . . . also another happy Victory by Lord Brooks. . . .

11. Newes from Yorke . . . Sept. 1, 1642. [A Letter from Henry Dickenson.]

12. An Answerable Remonstrance of His Majesties Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the principality of Wales to the Parliament.

13. The Appendix Containing many Particulars specified in the First Part of this Discourse. [Speeches by the Earl of Bristol.]

George Digby, second Earl of Bristol (1612-1677).
Sat for Dorsetshire in the Long Parliament. Took sides against Strafford, but afterwards went over to

the side of the Court, and was one of the chief instigators of the scheme for the arrest of the Five Members.

14. His Majesties Letter of Instruction directed and sent to the Judges of Assize. . . .

15. His Majesties Declaration to All His Loving Subjects. Of the 12 of August 1642.

16. The Answer of both Houses of Parliament to the King's Message. Sent to His Most Excellent Majesty, the 16th of March, 1641. . . .

17. The Declaration and Petition of both Houses of Parliament. Presented to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, June 22. . . .

18. A Petition or Declaration, Humbly desired to be presented to the view of His most Excellent Majestie. . . . [The 'danger' &c. of the King 'deserting' Parliament.]

19. Edward Morgan, a Priest, His Letter to the Kings most excellent Majesty, and High Court of Parliament . . . who was drawne, hanged, and quartered, April 26, 1642. . . .

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1642 (3)

I. A True Copy of His Majesty's Letter to the Generall Assembly of Scotland.

Figure 4. Pages 36-37 of the Series 2 printed catalogue.

'Wood's Athenoxon' betrays weakness. Mr. Reid has worked hard to identify the authors of anonymous tracts, and, since his experience in this line is not great, his labours are worthy of all praise, but many further identifications could be added.⁵⁴

The review is clearly judicious. Although it seems very critical, the analyses are backed up with evidence and alternatives. The Bibliographic Society was begun in Great Britain just before this time; the anonymous reviewer of the *Catalogue* brings up points which identify him, if not as a "trained bibliographer," as a person who at least understood some of the intricacies of Seventeenth Century books.

Perhaps ironically, the harshest criticism of the catalogue – and of Series 2 – came from McGill Professor Charles W. Colby,⁵⁵ in a memorandum dated April 22, 1904:

Mr. Stuart Reid's *Catalogue of the Redpath Tracts*' [sic] must be called a slight and unscholarly performance. The collection itself contains a good deal that is valuable together with a good deal that is padding. But why such a catalogue should have been printed and put in circulation, one can hardly imagine. Mr. Reid gives the titles of his tracts, arranged chronologically, and furnishes various annotations which are almost wholly biographical. The work of transcription has been done either with little care or without the least knowledge of bibliographical method. No Librarian could think of taking this book as the basis for a set of catalogue cards. The annotations are even worse. With trivial exceptions they relate merely to the author or the edition. No attempt is made to determine the authorship where the tract is anonymous or where the author's name does not occur in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I should say that more than three-fourths of the tracts are quite unannotated. The notes when given, are often inaccurate or [sic] puerile – sometimes both. ... Mr Reid does not

attempt to clear up difficulties but devotes long notes of the most commonplace character to celebrities like Bolingbroke, Fielding and Dr Johnson. A catalogue of historical tracts is destitute of value unless addressed to scholars. Such notes as Mr Reid supplies might be addressed more properly to schoolboys.⁵⁶

In the University Archives with this memorandum is a typed transcription of "Correspondence" marked "Private," dated February 27 to April 21, 1904. The first letter is from A.E. Fairbairn, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford to Sir William Peterson⁵⁷ with Peterson's response second, a cablegram from Mrs. Redpath to Peterson next, followed by a letter from Peterson to Mrs. Redpath, another letter from Mrs. Redpath, a cablegram from Lord Strathcona,⁵⁸ and a cabled reply from Peterson to Lord Strathcona. This carefully transcribed group of communications deals with the possibility of conferring an honorary degree on Stuart J. Reid. As early as 1901, Reid was dropping hints as to his suitability:

Sir Charles Tupper thinks that McGill should give me the LL.D, and says Lord Strathcona ought to be approached. You [Gould] were good enough to say something of the same sort + if you can bring my claims forward directly or indirectly, I shall be immensely obliged.⁵⁹

Sir William Peterson's first reaction to the proposal – "Has he no connection with any Scotch University to which it might be at least as natural for him to look as to us?"⁶⁰ – illustrates a certain reluctance. This, coupled with the context of this transcribed correspondence and the Colby memorandum,⁶¹ makes it possible to conclude that Peterson was documenting a case *against* an honorarium for Reid. Strong justification would be needed given Reid's influential supporters, Mrs. Redpath and Principal Fairbairn.⁶²

Despite these noted shortcomings – both objective and subjective – the printed catalogues (with a main entry card file) continue to be the only access to Series 1 and 2. Rosemary Haddad, the Print Curator and Assistant in the Department of Rare Books and

Special Collections, wrote to Professor J.N. Buchanan in Cambridge that the "chronological listing for series 1-3 is to be found with the tracts in bound volumes which you no doubt saw when you were here." This letter is dated 5 June 1970.⁶³ Not only researchers, however, would be affected by the imperfections of the *Catalogues*. McGill's collection development librarians would be adversely affected by the failings as well.

No systematic collection development policy seems to have been developed for the Tracts since their arrival at McGill. This deficiency is not entirely to be disparaged, as the later additions of Series 4 to 9 include a number of "duplications" which are necessary for descriptive bibliographers. However, considering that McGill was *given* a collection of tracts recognised as significant, researchers would have been greatly served had the collection been enlarged systematically, rather than in such a haphazard manner. To add to the collections in the 1990s may be prohibitively expensive.

Although the numbering of the first three series is straightforward, for the later series, that order appears to be lost. The assumption has been that the numbers were based on successive acquisition.⁶⁴ But series 4 was acquired in 1934, series 5, 6 and 7 in 1925, and series 8 in 1926. Perhaps the disbinding of the original volumes of Series 4 and the later additions made it comparable in size, scope and content to the original three series. Other British historical materials acquired have not been designated "Redpath Tracts." The funds used do not help either, as series 7 was not purchased with Redpath endowment funds, but with general funds. The later acquisitions were separate, not successive, and the criteria necessary to be labelled a "Redpath Tract" are unclear.

In the middle 1960s, however, the problems of access to the Redpath Tracts, appeared on the verge of resolution. Elizabeth Lewis, Head of the Rare Book Department, reported to John Archer, Director of University Libraries, on 1 August 1966, under the heading "Work done on the Redpath Tracts:"

Last year Mrs. Carroll and I [Mrs. Lewis] completed the chronological list

on cards of all eight series of the Redpath Tracts (an estimated 25,000 items).

This summer ... a library school student, began the author listing on cards of the first bound series [Series 1]; *in the first month she catalogued 650 pamphlets*. She will be working for another month this summer and will presumably do a considerable number more than the first month.⁶⁵

Later on, another Library school student worked on the Tracts. His report is dated 23 May 1968:

Series I contains 1424 tracts which fall into the Wing period, 1641-1700. All are catalogued, checked and filed with the exception of 340 folio size items. (Of these, 158 [(folios), added] are catalogued but the cards have not been checked. 182 [(folios), added] remain to be catalogued. I have checked corrected, and filed 534 items.)

Series II. Volumes XXXVII-CCXXXVIII cover the Wing period, 1641-1700. These 201 volumes contain 1505 items. Of these, I have catalogued 719 items in volumes XLIX-CLXXIII. The cards are checked and filed.

Cataloguing follows the Wing STC style with minor variations. Main entry is author, if known, otherwise short title. I estimate that see references, generally from title to author, are required for half the main entries.

Of the 1253 items I have handled, 18 tracts are not mentioned in the bibliographic sources that I consulted.⁶⁶

What can be immediately ascertained from these reports is that the word "bibliography" is not the only word that is used in a variety of ways by a variety of people; "catalogue" here is minimal indeed, referring to copying from either the Pollard and Redgrave or Wing STC catalogues. Clearly, this is better than nothing. However, the problem inherent with relying solely on Short Title Catalogues for an entry is obvious indeed, especially as second editions with

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conspicuously more entries have appeared for both Short Title Catalogues. The second report, asserting that eighteen of the tracts are not in any reference source, states the problem explicitly. Each new edition of the STCs will be a little more complete and give a slightly better representation of the output of English presses. But will each of the entries in the card catalogue be checked against these newer editions?

Also, the fact that the "cataloguer" of Series 1 was able to complete 650 entries in a month is troubling. Assume that she was full-time, worked eight hour days, did not work weekends, and further that she did not take a break, but worked for a full eight hours every day. The student *completed* one entry every 14.7 minutes. She could have done very little more than look at the tract, or even worse the *Catalogue* entry⁶⁷, refer to the appropriate Short Title Catalogue and copy the information onto a card.

Serious problems with the card catalogue became apparent in the course of research on the William Prynne material (1600-1669) in McGill collections. For instance – considering the mere sixty-six items of Prynne's owned by McGill – one pamphlet, and *one complete volume* of pamphlets were not represented in the listings for Series 2. Also in Series 2, there are six supplementary volumes that have been "catalogued" on one card as "A Collection of fifty-three political and ecclesiastical Tracts." Further, in the *unbound* Series 4, a pamphlet that has *never* been recorded was located.

Granted, there are several real difficulties that the Redpath Tracts present to the would-be cataloguer. In the bound series, since they have been cropped, there is no convenient way of locating where one tract ends and the other begins. In the unbound series, the pamphlets stick together, or perhaps have been previously bound together and not subsequently separated; it is quite understandable that a pamphlet can be missed. The result is that the bibliographical control provided by the either the published or card catalogues is insufficient.

The need for a true catalogue of the tracts looked as if it would be met at the end of 1966. On December 7, 1966, the Dean of the Graduate

Faculty, Dr. Stanley Frost, wrote the following memorandum to Professor Donald Theall in the Department of English:

The University Libraries Committee agreed to request the Committee on Research for the sum of \$5,000 for two years in order to complete the cataloguing of the Redpath Library Tracts by January 1st, 1969. It was also agreed that a subsidy should be sought from the Canada Council to enable us to publish a catalogue when completed in the not too distant future.

I have every hope, therefore, that we shall be able to achieve what should have been done long since for this valuable collection.⁶⁸

This hope, as the Rare Book Librarian, Elizabeth Lewis pointed out to Archer, was optimistic given the available resources:

I believe that the cost of cataloguing is about \$5.00 per title, with an average of about 7-10 titles per day. Which means, that the cost will be between \$100,000 and \$150,000. It will take (10 titles per day) between 7 and 9 years to finish, at this rate.

Obviously the \$10,000 is unrealistic, as is the two-year limit.

Lewis' realism is further evidenced by her suggestion that "experienced cataloguers" should be found, and "when this money was used up, more would be required." Her postscript to this same memorandum is also interesting:

Assuming the Redpath Tract Collection to be worth a million dollars (30,000 tracts at \$30.00 each) it would seem well worth while to begin serious work to make them available.⁶⁹

Archer responded to Lewis' concerns quickly, on February 6, 1967:

While I appreciate your memorandum

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of January 26th re the cataloguing of the Redpath Tracts this is not quite the nub of the matter under review.

The \$5,000 is available per year for two years for a specific purpose – to list (not to catalogue) the Tracts in the manner many of the are already listed in Wing.

If the Library cannot undertake this, or if the Library does not wish to oversee the work on this project, then the money will be offered to a department. We are not in a position to say “no” to a departmental attempt at listing. And if the cataloguing is to take seven to nine years – and I think this to be a reasonable estimate – then the Library Committee undoubtedly will opt for a bibliographical listing. After all \$10,000 is well spent if the users get seven or eight years use of the Tracts under a sufficient listing. And the cataloguing can go on at the same time or when staff is available.

We must think in terms of the work a non-professional can do. I am in sympathy with the immediate needs of the users and can readily differentiate between the work done for \$10,000 and the much more detailed and professional job to be done later. The former is a working tool – the latter will be a bibliographical tool. May I have your view on the \$10,000 matter.⁷⁰

By April 1970, \$1,500 remained in the account. A person was to be found for the fall “to complete as much of the project as the funds at our disposal will permit.”⁷¹ And so the matter remains. The report of the Library Committee in 1883, it seems, remains as applicable for the entire Redpath Tracts as it had been for Series 1 alone; a catalogue is needed, “but to do this, as it should be done, would be a work involving the expenditure of much time and thought, and of more money than your committee can, under present circumstances, venture to apply for.”

One bright spot in the history of the bibliographic control of the Redpath Tracts is that the first 235

volumes of Series 3 is now available in MUSE. Between 1985 and 1987 brief records, without subject headings, were added to the Public Access Catalogue. Only Siemen's collection of scientific pamphlets (volumes 238-280, 1848-1881), and the eight tracts in volumes 236 and 237, remain uncataloged. This Series was selected because a “database” such as STC or Wing did not exist for 19th Century materials. Not surprisingly, of all the Redpath Tracts those with minimal cataloguing on MUSE get significantly more use, as patrons can access them through the Public Access Catalogue.

In the end, then, it is very difficult to evaluate the Redpath Tracts as a scholarly collection. Although the collection is valuable, the bibliographic control makes it difficult to use. Ironically, the lack of bibliographic control is both a positive and negative aspect of the collection. Bibliographers will find a degree of duplication convenient for their research; however, literary and historical researchers could have expected a richer and more complete source had the Library been able to systematically add to the collection. The Tracts probably are one of the finest records of British history outside of the British Library; but there could be – and probably are – hidden jewels that have not been brought to light.

THE REDPATH TRACTS: A SUMMARY DESCRIPTION

Approximately 25,000 pamphlets and tracts illustrating the religious, political, scientific, and social history of the British Isles during the period 1561 to 1900, with emphasis on the Seventeenth Century. Divided into 9 series based on separate acquisition. Reportedly one of the finest collection of its kind outside the British Library. Representative of the collection's contents are the extensive holdings on the Popish plots in Series 5 and other series (1678-1700); the twenty volumes of marine tracts of Series 6 (1703-1862); the forty-two volumes of the Siemens collection of scientific pamphlets in Series 3 (1848-1881); and the six volumes of tracts by William Prynne in Series 2 (1629-1668) and other series. There is some Nineteenth Century North American and European material in the collection.⁷²

The Redpath Tracts

Series 1

307 Volumes

1624-1860.

Bound chronologically

Selected by Professor Henry Morley.

Presented by Peter Redpath in 1880.

Chronological printed list: *A Catalogue of Books Chiefly Relating to English and American History and Antiquities, Together with a Collection of Historical, Ecclesiastical, and Political Tracts (from 1624). Presented to the University of McGill College, Montreal, by Peter Redpath, Esq. 1864-1884.* (Cambridge: MacMillan and Bowes, 1884).

Card File in Rare Book Department

Series 2

582 Volumes

1561-1800

Bound chronologically

Selected by Stuart J. Reid.

Presented by Grace Redpath in 1901.

Chronological printed list: *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, MCM1).

Card File in Rare Book Department

Series 3

280 Volumes

1800-1900

Bound chronologically

Selected by Stuart J. Reid.

Presented by Grace Redpath in 1903.

Chronological printed list: *Catalogue of a Collection of Historical, Political, Economic and Other Tracts and Brochures, in 280 Volumes, 1800-1900, arranged 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, 1903).

Typed index by broad subject or title: *Index to 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.

(London: Printed by the donor for private circulation, 1903).

Volumes 1 to 235, 1807 records, are represented on MUSE,⁷³ without subject headings.

Series 4

103 boxes

1603-1897 (mostly XVIII Century)

Original volumes disbound and boxed; a few bound volumes

38 Volumes of Tracts acquired from Bowes and Bowes, Cambridge in September 1934. Order 67211, £72, charged to P.W. and J.C. Redpath endowment fund. Other material added.

Card File in Rare Book Department. Chronological arrangement. "Cards have been checked with Pollard & Redgrave, and Wing; entries agree with the *first* edition of both works, and the corresponding number is cited."

Series 5

4 Volumes

1678-1700

Popish Plots

Bound, but not chronologically

4 Volumes of Tracts acquired from Henry Sothorn and Company, London in September 1925. Order 25817, £ 10.0.0, charged to P.W. and J.C. Redpath endowment fund.

Chronological typed list: Mrs. Beryl M. Parker and Mrs. Caroline M. Riddel. *A Catalogue of the Pamphlets Relating to the Popish Plot in the Tracts of the Redpath Library of McGill University.* Jan. 31. 1964. Note: this catalogue lists items in the first eight Series of the Redpath Tracts.

Card File in Rare Book Department. Chronological arrangement.

Series 6

29 Volumes

1703-1862

British Marine Tracts

Bound, but not chronologically

29 Volumes of Tracts acquired from Henry Sothorn and Company, London in September 1925. Order 25815, £ 18.18.0, charged to P.W. and J.C. Redpath

endowment fund.

Card File in Rare Book Department. Chronological arrangement.

Series 7

11 Volumes

1604-1750

Theological Tracts

Bound, but not chronologically

11 Volumes of Tracts acquired from P.J. and A.E. Dobell, London in September 1925. Order 23148, £3.10.-, charged to general funds.

Card File in Rare Book Department. Chronological arrangement. First editions of Pollard & Redgrave, and Wing checked.

Series 8

12 Volumes

1751-1842

Scottish Tracts

Bound, but not chronologically

12 Volumes of Tracts acquired from Reyniold Atkinson, London in April/June 1926. Order 28065, £7.0.0, charged to W.W. Redpath endowment fund.

Card File in Rare Book Department. Chronological arrangement.

Series 9

Not bound

1585-1816

Around 400 Tracts acquired from Laurie Hill, Montreal in April-June 1966. Order 47286, \$1778.00 charged to Alice Redpath endowment fund; and 43560, \$1710.00 charged to Alice Redpath endowment fund.

Card File in Rare Book Department. Arranged in two alphabetical lists as acquired.

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Notes

1. Richard Feltoe, *Redpath: The History of a Sugar House* (Toronto: Natural History/ Natural Heritage, Redpath Sugars, 1991), 63. Henceforth cited as "Feltoe"

2. Sir. J. William Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath* (Montreal: For the University, "Witness" Printing House, 1894), 7. Henceforth cited as "Dawson"

3. To illustrate this assertion, it can be noted that Edward Arber's, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers' of London, 1554-1640 A.D.* 5 vols (London : s.n., 1875-1894), which remains in the Reference Collection, was donated by Peter Redpath.

4. McGill University, *Annual Calendar, 1894-95* (Montreal, 1896), 244.

5. The following sketch of Redpath's life is derived from three main sources. Sir Stephen Leslie and Sir Sidney Lee, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume XVI, (London: Oxford UP, 1959), 827-828; Richard Feltoe, *Redpath: The History of a Sugar House* (*op. cit.*); and Sir. J. William Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath* (*op. cit.*).

6. Feltoe, 23.

7. Dawson, 5-6.

8. Feltoe, 34.

9. The Redpaths left no children.

10. Dawson, 7.

11. Feltoe, 55.

12. Dawson, 9.

13. *Ibid.*, 83.

14. *Ibid.*, 112.

15. *Ibid.*, 124.

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16. *Ibid.*, 7.
17. Sir William Dawson to Peter Redpath, April 26, 1888, McGill University Archives (MUA), Principal's Papers, Sir William Dawson, Record Group 2.
18. *Dawson*, 8.
19. *Ibid.*, 9.
20. *Ibid.*, 7.
21. Henry James Morgan, *Types of Canadian Women and of Women Who Are or Have Been Connected with Canada*. Vol 1 (of 1). (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), 279. Henceforth cited as "*Morgan*"
22. *Feltoe*, 290.
23. See Peter F. McNally, "Scholar Librarians: Gould, Lomer and Pennington," *Fontanus*. 1 (1988), 96-97.
24. Grace Redpath to Charles H. Gould, 1894, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Charles H. Gould - Correspondence, Container 3, R - 1894.
25. Library Letter Book, Volume 7, p. 804, Aug. 18 1903, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries Container 57, file 1598. The letter is very badly faded, and I can not be sure of the words in brackets []. Emphasis mine.
26. *Morgan*, 279. The addition was completed in 1900.
27. Library Letter Book, Volume 12, p. 40, March 18, 1907, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries,
28. McGill University Libraries, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections *Inventory of Special Collections*, "Redpath Tracts."
29. "The Tracts were, for example referred to in Robert B. Downs' *Resources of Canadian Academic and Research Libraries* (Ottawa, 1967) 232, Lee Ash's *Subject Collections*, 6th ed. (1985) 1: 813, and Edwin E. Williams' *Resources of Canadian University Libraries* (Ottawa, 1962) 29." Cited from A. J. Hobbins, "Sources for Tudor and Stuart History: The William Clarke Papers," *Fontanus* 1 (1988), 64. Also cited in *Directory of Special Collections of Research Value in Canadian Libraries* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada/ Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1992), 51.
30. Alfred William Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1926) Henceforth cited as "*P&R 1*"
_____, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*. 2nd ed. rev & enlarged. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer. 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991) Henceforth cited as "*P&R 2*"
Donald Goddard Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*. 3 vols. (New York: Printed for the Index Society by Columbia UP., 1945-52) Henceforth cited as "*Wing 1*"
_____, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*. 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged. 3 vols. (New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association, 1972-88) Henceforth cited as "*Wing 2*"
31. Gerhard Lomer, "The Development of the Redpath Library," *The McGill News*, 3:3 (June 1922), 4.
32. John Gross, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: a Study of the Idiosyncratic and the Humane in Modern Literature* (New York: MacMillan, 1969), 171.
33. The biographical information for this portrait is drawn from John Gross, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: a Study of the Idiosyncratic and the Humane in Modern Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography, Containing Many Thousand Concise Memoirs of*

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Persons who have Died Between the Years 1851-1900, With an Index of the Most Interesting Matter (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1965)

34. University of McGill College, *Annual Report* 1883, p. 12.
35. University of McGill College, *Annual Report* 1884, p. 20. MUA, Scrapbook 1-a, p. 91.
36. Library Committee Meeting Minutes, June 10 to Oct. 5, 1901, p. 171, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries.
37. The scant biographical information for this portrait is drawn from *The Times* (London) August 30, 1927, *Who Was Who in Literature*, and from information very kindly provided by The Reverend W. J. Houston, M.A., D.Phil., Librarian, Westminster College, Cambridge, and Professor Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Cambridge University Archives. I corresponded with Professor Leedham-Green via Electronic Mail, and she very kindly directed my questions to the Reverend Mr. Houston.
38. Extract from the will of Stuart Johnson Reid, dated 28 March 1923, proved London 18 Nov. 1927.
39. Stuart J. Reid to Charles H. Gould, July 29th, 1895, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 3, 1895 -.
40. Grace Redpath to Charles H. Gould, November 2nd, 1895 and January 25th, 1896, MUA, Record Group 40 Libraries, Correspondence, Container 3, 1895 - and 1896 -.
41. *The Times* (London) August 30, 1927.
42. Stuart J. Reid to Charles H. Gould, November 13th, 1901, MUA, Record Group 40 Libraries, Correspondence, 1901 M-Z -.
43. *The Times* (London) August 30, 1927.
44. The confusion as to the profession of the collector of the Tracts is probably due to the fact that Sir J. William Dawson states in *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath* (*op. cit.*) that the Redpath Historical

Collection was "selected for him [Peter Redpath] by competent experts" (Dawson 8), a phrase that after time was transformed to "Librarian."

45. Stuart J. Reid to Charles H. Gould, July 29th, 1895, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 3, 1895 -.
46. Grace Redpath to Charles H. Gould, January 25th, 1896, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 3, 1896 - Q-R.
47. Stuart J. Reid to Charles H. Gould, September 18th, 1899, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 4, 1899 - Mc-R.
48. Robert Bowes to Charles H. Gould, November 2nd, 1900, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 4, 1900.
49. Library Letter Book, Volume 7, p. 533, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Container 57, file 1598.
50. Stuart J. Reid to Charles H. Gould, November 2nd, 1900, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 4, 1899 - Mc-R.
51. Library Letter Book, Volume 7, p. 597, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Container 57, file 1598.
52. Stuart J. Reid to Charles H. Gould, November 13th, 1901, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 4, 1901 - M-Z.
53. *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)
54. *Athenæum*, Number 3874 (January 1902), 114.
55. For a discussion of Colby see Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning*. 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980-1984): vol 1: 31.
56. Charles W. Colby memorandum, unaddressed,

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April 22nd, 1904. MUA, Record Group 2, Principal Peterson, Container, D-G.

57. Sir William Peterson was Principal from 1895-1919.

58. Formerly Sir Donald Smith.

59. Stuart J. Reid to Charles H. Gould, November 13th, 1901, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Correspondence, Container 4, 1901 - M-Z.

60. Charles W. Colby memorandum, unaddressed, April 22nd, 1904. MUA, Record Group 2, Principal Peterson, Container, D-G.

61. Proximity in an archive is by no means conclusive evidence. However, the Colby memorandum to Peterson would be badly misfiled to find its way into this file (D-G), unless there was some connection with the two documents.

62. Sir William Peterson admitted to Principal Fairbairn that "Your reference to Mrs. Redpath has of course great weight with me." Sir William Peterson to Principal Fairbairn, March 14, 1904, MUA, Record Group 2, Principal Peterson, Container, D-G. Reid received a D.C.L. from Durham in 1907. Gould wrote a letter to Reid in late 1907 stating, "My heartiest congratulations on the DCL from Durham, which you received in the Summer." Charles H. Gould to Stuart J. Reid, December 20, 1907, MUA, "Library Letter Book," Volume 12, Record Group 40, Libraries, Container 57, file 1603.

63. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections to J. N. Buchanan, June 5th, 1970, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Area Libraries: Rare Book Department - Redpath Tracts, Container 161.

64. This assumption continues to be current, see *Directory of Special Collections of Research Value in Canadian Libraries* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada/ Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1992): XX.

65. Elizabeth Lewis, Report, August 1st, 1966,

MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Area Libraries: Rare Book Department - Redpath Tracts, Container 161. *Emphasis mine.*

66. Student's Report, May 23rd, 1968, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Area Libraries: Rare Book Department - Redpath Tracts, Container 159. *Emphasis mine.*

67. It seems that the Tracts were not looked at individually. In the card catalogue for Series 2 there is an entry under Prynne, William for "A Collection of fifty-three political and ecclesiastical Tracts." Since the same wording is used in the *Catalogue* it would appear that the printed catalogues were used and the individual volumes of tracts were not consulted.

68. Dean S.B. Frost to Prof. D.F. Theall, Memorandum dated December 2nd, 1966, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Area Libraries: Rare Book Department - Redpath Tracts, Container 161.

69. Elizabeth Lewis to John Archer, Memorandum dated January 26, 1967, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Area Libraries: Rare Book Department - Redpath Tracts, Container 161.

70. John Archer to Elizabeth Lewis, Memorandum, dated February 6th, 1967. MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Area Libraries: Rare Book Department - Redpath Tracts, Container 159.

71. Keith Crouch to Elizabeth Lewis, Memorandum dated July 13, 1970, MUA, Record Group 40, Libraries, Area Libraries: Rare Book Department - Redpath Tracts, Container 161.

72. Based on *Special Collections List*, p. 19, McGill University Archives, Record Group 40, Area Libraries: RBD - Redpath Tracts, Container 161: McGill University Libraries, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, "Redpath Tracts," the predecessor to *Inventory of Special Collections*; and *Directory of Special Collections of Research Value in Canadian Libraries* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada/ Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1992), 51. The description is taken directly from this work, with the correction of Series 2 for Series 3

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pertaining to the William Prynne tracts. The holdings of McGill has not been established, and the reported "20090" pamphlets seems precise, yet conservative.

73. MUSE is McGill's Online Public Access Catalogue.

Dignified and Picturesque: Redpath Library in 1893

by Peter F. McNally

Redpath Library figures prominently in the history of both McGill University and Canadian librarianship. When it opened on October 31, 1893 it was only the second free-standing academic library in the country and one of the half-dozen buildings on the University's campus. Through the generosity and wisdom of its benefactor, Peter Redpath, and the taste and talent of its architect, Andrew Taylor, the building is a masterpiece of late Victorian design and an outstanding example of contemporary library planning. Redpath and Taylor are placed within their historical contexts to show how their collaboration resulted in a library which is a remarkable blend of Canadian, British, French and American elements. Particular attention is paid to the building's design and decoration, which are a blending of Romanesque, Gothic, and Arts and Crafts styles. Similarities and dissimilarities to Richardsonian Romanesque are noted. Note is also made of there being a co-benefactor of the library, Grace Redpath, who gave material support to her husband's efforts.

La bibliothèque Redpath occupe une place à part dans l'histoire de l'Université McGill et de la bibliothéconomie canadienne. À son ouverture le 31 octobre 1893, elle était le deuxième pavillon universitaire autonome conçu tout spécialement comme bibliothèque au Canada et l'un des six pavillons parsemant le campus de l'Université. Grâce à la générosité et à la sagesse de son bienfaiteur, Peter Redpath, et au goût exquis et au talent de son architecte, Andrew Taylor, la bibliothèque est un chef d'oeuvre de la fin de l'époque victorienne et un remarquable exemple de planification d'une bibliothèque contemporaine. L'auteur situe Redpath et Taylor dans leur contexte historique pour illustrer la façon dont leur collaboration s'est soldée par une bibliothèque qui est un amalgame remarquable d'éléments canadiens, britanniques, français et américains. L'auteur décrit longuement la conception et la décoration de l'édifice qui allie les styles roman, gothique et "Arts and Crafts". Il fait ressortir les ressemblances et les dissemblances avec le style roman richardsonien. Il nous fait découvrir également que la bibliothèque a eu une cobienfaitrice en la personne de Grace Redpath, qui a appuyé matériellement les efforts de son mari.

"The Redpath Library one of the many gifts presented to McGill University by Peter Redpath 1893"

Of the generations of students and countless people who have walked past this memorial incised in stone on the north wall of Redpath Library, to mark its opening one hundred years ago, few have paid anymore heed to it than they have to the building and the man it commemorates. The grey limestone and exuberant romanese architecture of the building bespeak another age with which few people today can relate. The original reading room is now a concert and reception hall. The old stack wing stretching to the south along McTavish Street is only a shell, its interior gutted and rebuilt with new floor levels which don't quite correspond with those of the windows. Overall, the building seems strangely out of place and dwarfed by the new wing of Redpath Library which was grafted on to its south and east walls in 1953, and by the concrete bulk of the 1969 McLennan Library, a bit farther south again.¹

In addition to being ignored and not understood, the old structure - like other library buildings of its generation - has been criticized and castigated by later generations of writers: a 1931 article referred to its lack of space and defects in plan²; a 1951 study declared that the building's exterior "could not have encouraged honest architectural expression in Montreal"³; a 1953 article referred to academic libraries of the 1893 to 1917 period as "eclectic"⁴; and a 1977 study considered any academic library built before 1900 to be "primitive"⁵.

Rather than dismissing the 1893 Redpath Library out-of-hand or treating with smug condescension its various conversions as the inevitable fate of quaint old buildings, we should consider its important role in the life of McGill University, and in the development of Canadian, American and European librarianship. Like the 1953 wing and the 1969 McLennan Library, the

1893 building is an important document and case-study in architectural form and function which brings us face-to-face with architectural imperatives generally and changing principles of library activity specifically.

Despite certain gaps in our knowledge, an amazing amount is known about the original Redpath Library - its design and context - due partly to a number of studies of McGill buildings and of other Canadian and American libraries and partly to surviving archival and journal sources but mostly to a book commemorating its opening⁶. Taken together they permit the presentation of a precise and coherent narrative of the library's inception and historical role. This article will attempt, therefore, to place the people and circumstances surrounding its design, construction, and opening within an historical context. A description and evaluation of the building itself is given at the end of the article.

On November 12, 1891 Peter Redpath a wealthy Montreal businessman and senior governor of the University, sent a letter to the Chancellor, Sir Donald Smith, offering to construct a library for McGill.⁷ It would be on the land purchased recently at \$50,000 by J.H.R. Molson for the University along the east side of McTavish Street to the south of the Presbyterian College (Morrice Hall). As Molson and Redpath were old friends and as the letter specified that the new library's plans had already been prepared by the architect, Andrew T. Taylor, to fit on the purchased land, it can safely be assumed that the planning of the library had begun well in advance of the letter. Needless to say, the University accepted the offer quickly and gratefully.

Of Peter Redpath, very little is known beyond the main outlines of his life⁸. Born in Montreal on August 1, 1821 and educated in England, he worked in his family's sugar refinery and other Montreal businesses for many years before retiring to England in 1879 to devote the rest of his life to various personal pursuits. His strong attachment to McGill University remained undiminished, however, as can be seen in his many generous benefactions and active membership on the Board of Governors.

Although no formal statement survives of why Redpath gave the library to McGill, the reasons for his doing so can be largely deduced from surrounding

circumstances. First, the Principal, Sir William Dawson, was greatly admired by Redpath who built Redpath Museum (1882), as the first university museum building in Canada, to house the Principal's extensive palaeontological collections and to keep him from leaving McGill for another university⁹. A separate library building for McGill had long been a goal of Dawson. Second, Redpath may well have wanted to ensure a suitable home for the great historical collections he was giving the University and which would be added to significantly by his widow. Third, there was a virtual vogue of benefactors building libraries for universities in the United States¹⁰. In an 1889 article on library architecture, ten academic libraries were reported to have been recently built or to be in the process of construction. Fourth, McGill's great rival, the University of Toronto, was on the verge of opening a separate library building, having lost its entire collection in a disastrous fire on February 14, 1890¹¹. Fifth, the curricular priorities of Canadian and American universities were changing. Undergraduate education was moving towards the liberal arts and graduate and professional programmes were being created¹². This German-American approach to higher education required strong library resources. Sixth, McGill was in desperate need of a library¹³. Although there is evidence of medical and general libraries dating back to the 1840s, Dawson was convinced that upon his arrival at the University in 1855 there was no library and that only through his personal efforts was one begun. It is certainly beyond doubt that a direct line of succession exists from Dawson's library of 1855 in the High School on Dorchester Street to its next home with 1,500 volumes in his office in the Arts Building in 1860, to the library room provided by William Molson in the West-wing of the Arts Building in 1862. Molson's library had a capacity of 20,000 volumes which was reached around 1880. With the library holding approximately 35,000 volumes by 1893, additional rooms and shelving were needed to contain the overflow.

The official opening of the Redpath Library, on October 31, 1893, was clearly a grand occasion¹⁴. Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Aberdeen were the guests of honour and were surrounded by other dignitaries on a platform at the east end of the reading-room with the audience seated in rows before them. Speeches were delivered by the

Redpath Library in 1893

Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, (J.A. Chapleau), Peter Redpath, Sir William Dawson, J.H.R. Molson (representing the Chancellor, Sir Donald A. Smith), Vice-Principal Alexander Johnson, the President of the Royal Society of Canada, (J.G. Bourinot) and by the Treasurer of Quebec (J.S. Hall), as a representative of the alumni. In his speech, Redpath made it clear that he was offering no deed of gift for the library as, by virtue of building it on University ground, he recognized that McGill now owned it. The Governor-General, after accepting a model in gold of the library's front door key, declared open a building whose exterior, except for its subsequent additions, looks much the same now as it did then.

Why does Redpath Library look the way it does? How was its interior organized? Was its grandiose exterior balanced by any concern for internal function, or was it built simply as a monument to the architect and donor? To these questions there are no easy or straightforward answers but rather a series of explanations whose relevance lies largely in the context of the times in which it was built. To begin with, it must be understood that when it opened in 1893, Redpath Library was one of scarcely a dozen free-standing library buildings in all of Canada. The others were the Parliamentary Library in Ottawa (1876)¹⁵, the University of Toronto (1892) and a handful of public and other libraries, concentrated mostly in Ontario. Only in the twentieth century would library buildings become a typical part of the Canadian urban-landscape, beginning with the 125 Carnegie Public Libraries built in the first two decades of the century¹⁶. Even as late as 1922 it is estimated that there were less than 600 libraries in the entire country with holdings of 5 million volumes¹⁷. Of these libraries, less than one-half would have been housed in separate buildings.

By comparison, in the United States the development of separately housed libraries - public, academic, and other types - took root more quickly and widely¹⁸. By 1900, dozens of academic library buildings had been constructed, although the large majority of institutions of higher learning still housed their collections in buildings used primarily for other purposes. The first American academic library buildings were opened at the University of South Carolina in 1840 and Harvard in 1841. Harvard's Gore Hall was modelled after King's

College Chapel, Cambridge; typical of other academic libraries at the time, the books were shelved in alcoves around the circumference of the walls. Tables and seating for users were placed in the alcoves, but no separate work areas would be available for staff aside from a space in the middle of the library from which to supervise readers. Even though Harvard's chapel design was reinterpreted in star, cruciform, or octagonal shapes at various institutions, alcove shelving and seating would still be used and staff space neglected except to supervise readers. Another weakness of these early designs, perhaps the most serious, was the incapacity of expansion for shelving, seating, or any other activities. To judge from early photographs, the library in the West-wing of the Arts Building subscribed to the alcove shelving and seating of the first type of academic library architecture. The Parliamentary Library in Ottawa and the reading room of the Presbyterian College (Morrice Hall) at McGill were designed on the star plan with alcove shelving and seating.

During the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s under the pressure of increasing enrolments, collections and users - along with evolving social, teaching and research needs - academic libraries in the United States entered a second phase and began experimenting with different solutions to space problems. In particular, there was a growing realization that library buildings had multi-functional uses. The public library movement, which had made enormous strides since the 1850s, contributed greatly to this realization. Three components were specifically identified: collections, users, and staff. Rather than having them all jumbled together in one open space, it was realized that they must all be given separate areas with the possibility of coming together at specific points.

Various ideas presented themselves both in Europe and in the United States¹⁹. One approach was balconied stacks around open reading rooms topped by skylights²⁰. These "cathedral" libraries were impressive to look at, but inefficient and wasteful of space. Two outstanding examples are the Peabody Institute (1875-1878) in Baltimore, Maryland and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (1972) at the University of Toronto²¹. Another approach was collections housed in separate rooms, each devoted to separate subjects. Its finest nineteenth century exemplification occurred under the direction of

William Frederick Poole at the Newberry Library (1888-1893) in Chicago²². Despite the difficulties involved in making such a system work effectively, it has proven very appealing in the academic milieu and made periodic comebacks in the form of subject divided libraries. In truth, however, these approaches were neither widely imitated nor universally embraced.

Two of the most significant clues to the future came from Europe, specifically Britain and France. One European contribution was the development of separate stack areas, closed to the public, distinct from reading rooms and placed behind, below or above them²³. The best known nineteenth-century examples were the stack wings built adjacent to the reading rooms at the British Museum (1854-1857) in London and the Bibliothèque nationale (1858-1868) in Paris. These stacks were constructed as metal frameworks, independent of the outer masonry walls, supporting both the shelves and walkways between them; the shelving could be of either metal or wood. The first example in the Americas was the stack wing appended to Harvard's Gore Hall in 1877. Soon it was imitated by academic libraries everywhere. The other European contribution, which was imitated only later, came from la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (1844-1850) in Paris²⁴. Its reading room was placed on the second floor away from street noise and congestion, and lighted by large windows close together along the wall. A separate, closed stack area was located on the first floor, not in a separate stack wing. This approach would provide the inspiration for Charles McKim's Boston Public Library (1888-1895) and for many early twentieth-century Canadian academic libraries²⁵ such as those at Queen's (1923-1924), Western Ontario (1934)²⁶, and British Columbia (1925) as well as for the Saint-Sulpice Library (1915) in Montreal.

The third significant clue to the future was American and also concerned the internal functioning of libraries but even more their external appearance and perception: the designs of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886)²⁷. Richardson, who received his architectural training in France, is sometimes credited with developing the first original American architectural style - Richardsonian Romanesque - which was notable for its exuberant and generous reinterpretation of Romanesque architecture: strong massing, round arches, short pillars, imposing roof lines unbroken along the ridge, roofs decorated

with eye-brow windows, rock-faced masonry usually in pink or red granite, tower-gable-arch entrances on an axis with the long side of the building, a nave-transept-apse arrangement of interiors, lavish use of fine materials and architectural details like fireplaces. Trinity Church, on Copley Square in Boston, is considered to be his masterpiece. These imposing buildings were usually designed with maximum attention paid to their decoration and to their exteriors. As for their interiors, they have elicited a wide range of reactions from detractors who consider them totally unfunctional and from supporters who consider them an important stepping-stone to twentieth century efficiency.

Although Richardson built only six libraries - one academic and five public - and designed several others, they best exemplified his style in the minds of many people. All of them are remarkably handsome and charming, have survived to the present, and would exert an enormous influence upon the public and contemporary architects. They revealed his characteristic romanesque elements, his use of L-shaped design and his controversial interiors. Critics have argued that the alcove stacks were too dark and inconvenient, that staff space was inadequate and badly placed, and that the building designs did not lend themselves easily to expansion; others have argued that by virtue of distinguishing various library activities from one another and assigning them separate areas, no matter how inadequate they now seem, Richardson was providing the path for the future.

The influence of Richardson upon library architecture was crucial. The fact of the leading architect of the United States undertaking library commissions at the very time that the public library movement was in its first wave of success, and when academic libraries were assuming a new prominence did much to enhance their prestige. This prestige was assisted by the beauty of his structures, despite questions about their functionality. That Richardson should have emerged during the second, experimental, phase of American academic library architecture when librarians were themselves highly uncertain of the type of architecture and interior design best suited for libraries, placed him and other architects in the position of being able to do almost anything they wished. It is significant that in the years following upon Richardson's death, the library profession in the United States would

pay much greater heed to standards and appropriate procedures for building libraries²⁸.

The reality of American academic library architecture during this experimental second stage is that it compromised. Monumental Richardsonian exteriors were married to increasingly functional interiors based upon the tripartite division of users, collections, and staff. As the Victorian love of decoration and the picturesque died hard, impressive reading rooms and visual details such as artwork and fireplaces would be included. At the same time, however, separate fireproof stack wings, and indeed fireproof construction throughout were increasingly common. The two most important academic libraries built in the United States at this time were Cornell (1889) and Pennsylvania (1891)²⁹. Both had Richardsonian Romanesque exteriors arranged in a basilica style with a nave, transepts, and apse. Their interiors included monumental reading rooms, separate steel stacks, entry ways with separate men's and women's cloak rooms, prominent circulation areas, separate staff work areas, periodical reading rooms, seminar rooms, and rooms for special collections. By today's standards, the deployment of space must be considered arcane, but by the standards of the time it was very good. More importantly, this functional division of space no matter how simplistic, led directly to twentieth century ideas of efficiency and functionalism.

If McGill was fortunate in having such a generous benefactor in Peter Redpath, it was equally fortunate in having as gifted an architect as Andrew Thomas Taylor³⁰. Born in Edinburgh in 1850, Taylor displayed an early aptitude for architecture which he learned both at the apprenticeship and academic levels. In 1878 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects for which he wrote two prize essays "Architecture in London in the Sixteenth Century" (1874) and "The Towers and Steeples Designed by Sir Christopher Wren" (1881). After working briefly in London he immigrated to Montreal in 1883 where he enjoyed a brilliant career until 1904 when he retired to England. The rest of his life was devoted to public service, and he became in time Mayor of Hampstead and Vice-chairman of the London County Council for which he was knighted in 1926. Upon his death in 1937 it was stated that he brought to bear in his public

life an aesthetic perception and a sense of tradition - qualities which are also observable in his architecture.

The nature of Taylor's Canadian architectural career was determined by two significant factors³¹: his taste and training and his family connections with notable Montreal and McGill figures. His mother, Agnes, was the sister of Sir George Drummond, a future President of the Bank of Montreal, whose first wife, Helen, was the sister of Peter Redpath. Redpath's father, John, took as his second wife Jane Drummond, another sister of Sir George. As a result Drummond and the elder Redpath enjoyed a father-in-law and son-in-law relationship as well as a brother-in-law relationship, with Taylor and Peter Redpath thereby becoming cousins. In 1891, Taylor married Mary Elliott whose sister, Florence, was the wife of William Bell Dawson³² - son of McGill's principal of the day, Sir John William Dawson. Of themselves these connections might have counted for nothing, but taken together with Taylor's obvious taste and talent they did much to assist his career. Of course, he received numerous commissions from the Bank of Montreal and for buildings on the McGill campus. In addition, however, he built many private homes as well as commercial and non-commercial structures for other clients. During his twenty-one years in this country, between 1883 and 1904, he and his firm, Taylor and Gordon, became leading lights of Canadian architecture.

Concerning his architectural style and preference, we have the evidence of both Taylor's buildings and discourses. Although his journal articles and public lectures are far too numerous and diverse to be discussed here, two books should be mentioned: *The Towers and Steeples Designed by Sir Christopher Wren...* (1881)³³ and his "appreciation" and other contributions to Alexander Galletley's *Ancient Towers and Doorways...in Scotland* (1896)³⁴. As for his buildings they reflected the following styles: Romanesque, Gothic, Tudor, Flemish, Renaissance, Palladian, and Queen Anne.

The predominant artistic and design ideas of British nineteenth-century art and architecture embraced decoration and historicism - an eclectic approach which found inspiration in the styles of earlier ages and adopted them to contemporary use³⁵. A repudiation of eighteenth-century neoclassicism in favour of what were

considered to be vernacular styles, such as Romanesque and Gothic, became hallmarks. Pugin's Gothic revival buildings and the writings of Ruskin fuelled the ideologies and the designs. At the same time, however, there were three significant minority movements within this mainstream approach: Pre-Raphaelitism, the Aesthetic Movement, and the Arts and Crafts Movement of William Morris. While sharing a love of the decorative and historical, they deplored the excessive opulence and crassness of the mainstream. They were also motivated by a social consciousness which was concerned with raising the level of public taste, thereby improving people's conditions of life. While these three minority movements shared certain themes and decorative motifs, their true bonds were a way of working and an attitude to life rather than a style; design and its execution were seen as a unified whole. A fundamental dichotomy in their thinking revolved on whether inspiration should come primarily from the historical or from the observation of nature. In their architecture, a characteristic design feature was an L-shaped building. All three movements were composed of individualistic reformers and missionaries. The successor to these movements, in the 1890's, was Art Nouveau - a popular style - which was led by non-missionary individualists, who embraced mass production techniques, and looked to a highly-stylized nature, not history, for inspiration. Its most notable design characteristic was the whiplash motif. A variety of influences could be seen in its architecture, one significant style of which was Beaux-Arts - a reworking of classicism.

Within this context, Taylor emerges as a member of the eclectic mainstream, with an enthusiasm for historically inspired architecture. At the same time, he was influenced by the minority movements, particularly the decorative ideas of Aestheticism and of Arts and Crafts and their concern that construction and decoration be seen as a unified whole. Taylor's dual background of family and McGill connections and of architectural and social ideas are nicely captured in two small gifts he made shortly before and after his arrival in Montreal³⁶. In 1881 he gave a copy of his *The Tower and Steeples* to Peter Redpath with a note expressing the hope that "it may not be altogether without interest". In 1886 he sent another copy to the McGill library with the following note:

It may have some little interest from the fact that these towers and spires are disappearing year by year before the insidious demands of commerce and a stern utilitarianism.

Taylor is neither the first nor the last person to combine within himself scholarship, ambition, artistic sensibility, personal advantage, and a sincere desire to better the world. In his work both at McGill and elsewhere these qualities became manifest.

Of his buildings a sufficiently large number survive, or have surviving pictorial records, for one to appreciate both their range of styles and quality of design. Four were built adjacent to the McGill campus, of which three survive, that are of particular interest³⁷. On Milton Street, just east of the campus, is the Marlborough Apartments (1900) built of red brick in a Queen Anne Style - much beloved of the Aesthetic and the Arts and Crafts movements. Around the corner on University Street is the Diocesan College (1895-1896) built in red brick and stone in a Gothic style with a Flemish tower. On the south-west corner of St. Catherine and Mansfield Streets is the red stone West End Branch of the Bank of Montreal (1888), in a Romanesque style. Standing formerly at the south-east corner of Sherbrooke and Metcalfe Streets, where the Scotia Tower is now, was Sir George Drummond's red stone mansion (1889-1930), generally considered to have been the grandest private residence on Sherbrooke Street during its golden era³⁸. Its design was an interesting blend of Gothic and Romanesque; contemporary photographs suggest that its windows were neither pointed nor rounded, but rectangular.

Concerning his McGill career, Taylor is probably the single most important architect in the University's history. By 1896, he was responsible for six of the eight buildings on the campus, the exceptions being the Arts Building, constructed in stages between 1839-1843 and 1860-1862 to the design of John Ostell³⁹, and Redpath Museum built by A.C. Hutchison and A.D. Steele between 1880 and 1882⁴⁰. Between 1890 and 1896 Taylor built: Macdonald Engineering (1890), Workman (1891), Macdonald Physics (1892), Redpath Library (1893), Medical (1894), and Macdonald Chemistry and Mining (1896). The Engineering Building and much of the Medical Building were destroyed by fire in 1907; the Workman Building has

Redpath Library in 1893

been so modified as to prevent easy appreciation. All were constructed of Montreal limestone, cut usually in a plain or dressed fashion. The Medical, Workman, Engineering and Chemistry buildings were all more or less symmetrical in style and showed distinct Renaissance influences. By comparison, Physics and Redpath - one designed to be a library and the other subsequently converted to one - are romanesque and asymmetrical. A book published to commemorate the opening of the Engineering and Physics buildings on February 24, 1893 provides a detailed analysis of both buildings, complete with photographs⁴¹. Unlike the similar book published to commemorate Redpath Library's opening, there was no article by Taylor, and no attempt to justify or explain the aesthetic and design qualities of the two buildings. This suggests that neither Taylor nor Sir William Macdonald, the benefactor, either wished or felt it necessary to justify these aspects of the buildings.

Writing in 1925, Ramsay Traquair dismissed Taylor's buildings as American compared with the British Georgian style of those constructed on the campus before and after him.⁴² Such dismissal seems most inappropriate, as architectural historicism and the rejection of neo-classicism were equally prevalent at this time in both Britain and the United States. Indeed, Percy Nobbs and Bruce Price who succeeded Taylor as McGill's most notable architects were also influenced by historicism.⁴³ It may be that Traquair was referring to the supposedly Richardson Romanesque styles of the Macdonald Physics and Redpath Library buildings. Caution is advisable, however, as there is evidence to suggest that Richardson was as much influenced by British neo-Romanesque architects - such as E. W. Godwin and William Burges - as he was by the French proponents under whom he studied.⁴⁴ Nor should it be forgotten that even for Ruskin, the Romanesque architecture of Pisa was his favoured style⁴⁵. Within Canada itself there were many examples of Romanesque architecture dating from at least the 1870s: St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Toronto (1874-1875)⁴⁶, Windsor Station in Montreal (1887-1889)⁴⁷, and Taylor's own West End Branch in Montreal (1888). Finally, one should not overlook the close collaboration between 1889 and 1896, with Henry Beaumont (b. 1853), the Arts and Crafts sculptor and carver whose work in stone, wood, and plaster decorated many of Taylor's buildings including those on the McGill

campus⁴⁸.

While 1893 was the peak year of Taylor's McGill career with the opening of three of his buildings, it was also the year which marked the beginning of his decline. The Chicago World's Fair occurred that year which with its "White City" architecture heralded the arrival of Beaux-Arts architecture into the America⁴⁹. This new style, with its links to Art Nouveau, held little interest for him. It is significant that he did not accept the inspiration of Charles McKim's Boston Public Library (1888-1895) which, with its Beaux-Arts expression, sits resolutely across Boston's Copley Square from Richardson's Trinity Church⁵⁰. It is ironic, therefore, that one of Taylor's last commissions, and the one that some people think may have led him to give up his architectural practice, was the reconstruction of the Head Office building, on Place d'Armes, of the Bank of Montreal. In the end, however, he served only as the contractor carrying out the Beaux-Arts designs of McKim, Mead, and White. Appreciating that the time for his combination of historicism linked to an Aesthetic and an Arts and Crafts sensibility was now over, Taylor retired to England.

Peter Redpath and Andrew Taylor, as donor and architect, were both fully aware that their new library was highly decorated and both were equally anxious to avoid any possible criticism because of it. They were also quite concerned to demonstrate that they had taken into account all the new ideas on library architecture relating to functionalism and efficiency. Their concern, not only to do the right thing but to show that they had done so, may well have been motivated by their having planned and supervised the design and construction of the new library themselves. Of course, they did request suggestions from the university community, solicit advice from individuals, consult with a committee of the Board, and visit some libraries. But in fact, Redpath did not actually give the university money to build a library using its own architectural and contracting procedures as would normally occur in the late twentieth century. Rather Redpath with his architect, in the manner of benefactors of the day, designed and built the library according to their ideas, turning it over to McGill only upon completion.

In his short memoir of the benefactor, Sir John

William Dawson quotes approvingly from an obituary, which appeared in the *Times* (London), that Redpath spent £75,000 building a library and museum for McGill⁵¹. As this would have been the equivalent of \$375,000 (Canadian) - the pound then being worth \$5.00 - and as in a quotation from the *Canadian Gazette* (London) Redpath Museum was said to have cost \$140,000, the Library may be assumed to have cost \$235,000. Certainly, Dawson says nothing to dispute such an assumption. If this figure is true, Redpath Library would have been, at the time, the most expensive academic library of its size in either the United States or Canada. It had a stack capacity of 140,000 volumes. The University of Toronto's library, opened the year before, cost approximately \$70,000 for a building of similar size, design, and stack capacity.⁵² The major differences are that its Romanesque style was that of a basilica - nave, transepts and apse - and that it is relatively free of internal or external decoration and carving. In the United States, academic libraries of comparable and even larger size cost less: Yale, with a stack capacity of 200,000 volumes, cost \$125,000; Cornell, with a stack capacity of 475,000 volumes, cost \$225,000; and Pennsylvania, with a stack capacity of 85,000 volumes which would rise to 512,000 volumes when the stacks were completed, cost \$200,000.⁵³ Unless there is some error in the amounts quoted, or unless the building cost also included the capitalization for the endowments, it must be assumed that the reason for Redpath Library being so expensive was due to its elaborate decoration. Indeed, it is difficult not to think that the decoration accounted for a significant proportion of the cost of the building .

It is in this light, therefore, that Redpath's thoughts on the library, spoken at its opening, should probably be considered:

It is the result of as much care and attention as the architect and myself knew how to bestow upon it. The plans of many other libraries were examined, and many other libraries were visited both by myself and the architect, with a view to arriving at the best possible plan for this building on this site. The newly appointed librarian, too, gave many valuable suggestions in matters of detail. I know that we have not attained perfection; but experience will show how

far we have advanced towards that end. In no case has utility been sacrificed to architectural or aesthetical effect, yet I believe that the architectural design and the aesthetical effects have met with the general approbation of the comparatively few persons who have hitherto had an opportunity of studying them.⁵⁴

In a complementary way Andrew Taylor expressed the architect's task when he mused:

How to obtain on the site a commodious, convenient, well planned, well lit library, which would also allow of easy expansion, and be at once collegiate, dignified, monumental and beautiful. There are many magnificent, hoary and time-honoured library buildings in the Old World, in which the precious legacies of the past have been preserved and treasured up; but wants change with the ages, and in the altered and special circumstances of today some other arrangements than these old buildings afford seemed desirable. In the United States, great interest has recently been taken in the planning and fitting up of library buildings, and considerable ingenuity and skill have been displayed in the designing of such... Convenience of arrangement and suitability for its purpose, combined with substantiality and solidity of construction were the desiderata; afterwards came in the elements of beauty, proportion and grace, and it is hoped that in some measure, all of these have been attained without the sacrifice of one to the other.⁵⁵

This circumstance of the architect and donor assuming full responsibility and authority for the design and construction of the new library along with their concern lest its aesthetic qualities overshadow its functional and practical convenience deserves much closer scrutiny. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the documentary evidence for further analysis is highly incomplete. There is no indication of the libraries visited, the people consulted, or the results of consultation with the committee of the Board of Governors. In one of his articles, however, Taylor did

speak of the assistance received by various unnamed American librarians.⁵⁶ He also spoke of the help and co-operation of Charles H. Gould (1855-1919) who had been appointed University Librarian in 1892 and who, because of his lack of library experience, spent his first year studying and visiting libraries. The qualities that would make him such an outstanding librarian were apparently evident from the beginning.⁵⁷

How then did Redpath and Taylor get their ideas on building a new library? According to Redpath they examined plans and visited libraries; according to Taylor they found inspiration not in European but in American examples. In the years following upon the death of H.H. Richardson - which coincide with the period when Redpath Library was being designed - American librarianship engaged in a very public debate on library architecture. Of course, in this as in any debate, there were acrimonious personal and ideological confrontations, but in addition some very sane and sensible enunciations of principles and procedures were to emerge. Although there is no evidence of the donor and architect reading or hearing any specific debates or discussions, it is quite clear that directly or indirectly they were exposed to them and were able to reap much positive benefit as a result. In two articles from 1890 and 1891 issues of *Library Journal*, then as now a leading publication, comments appeared which are reflected in the completed building and in the writings of Redpath and Taylor. The first article presented principles of library architecture agreed upon generally by librarians⁵⁸:

- "A library building should be planned for library work."
- "Every library building should be planned especially for the kind of work to be done and community to be served."
- "The interior arrangement ought to be planned before the exterior is considered."
- "No convenience of arrangement should ever be sacrificed for mere architectural effect."
- "The plan should be adapted to probabilities of growth and development."
- "Simplicity of decoration is essential in the working-rooms and reading-rooms."
- "A library should be planned with a view to economical administration."
- "The rooms for public use should be so arranged

as to allow complete supervision with the fewest possible attendants."

- "There should be as much natural light as possible in all parts of the building."
- "Windows should extend up to the ceiling, to light thoroughly the upper part of every room."
- "Windows in a book room should be placed opposite the intervals between bookcases."

Aside from the fact that Redpath Library was obviously designed both internally and externally to be a showcase, the various principles of efficiency and functionality were all observed, in particular the last three recommendations on natural lighting. The windows both in the reading room and the stack wing are very prominent and rise to the ceiling.

In the second article, the author in one paragraph outlines "current ideas" on library architecture and design which conform remarkably to Redpath Library⁵⁹; it should be designed in a modified romanesque style, with reading and seminar rooms, exhibition areas, a separate stack wing which can be extended, and a basement mail room connected with a cataloguing room above adjacent to which is the head librarian's office. His advocacy of fireproof construction throughout and a stack capacity five times greater than the current size of the collection also found expression in the building. Although there is no evidence that these specific articles were read, it is clear that their message was received and translated into the planning of McGill's new library.

Peter Redpath survived the opening of his library by only a few months, dying on February 1, 1894. His last great exertions had occurred the previous fall when he had overseen the completion and opening of his library. The minute book of the Committee to organize the opening ceremonies speaks of the various postponements, of Taylor racing into meetings directly from the construction site, and of Redpath chairing the meetings and making virtually all major and minor decisions.⁶⁰ On the evening of October 31, 1893 - following the opening ceremonies - a *conversazione*, or entertainment, was held in the reading room, presided over by the Governor-General and Vice-Reine and by Peter and Grace Redpath. Tickets for the event were eagerly sought. It should be mentioned that the event was held despite the architect's insistence that the great

hall was not meant for evening events⁶¹. It is ironic that in the forty years since 1953, its use has been largely in the evening.

A memorial service for Peter Redpath was held in the library reading room on February 6, 1894⁶². One hundred year later, in 1993, we feel shy about the expression of religious faith and are inclined to dismiss it as either cant or, worse still, hypocrisy. The eulogy by the Rev. Dr. MacVicar, minister of the Montreal church attended by Redpath, and the prayer by the Rev. George Cornish reflect the firm belief that Peter Redpath was a good, kind, and philanthropic man. In fact, religion plays a key role in understanding Redpath, his contemporaries, and the library itself. Peter Redpath, Sir John William Dawson⁶³, and Andrew Taylor - benefactor, principal, and architect - were all Presbyterians whose community so influenced McGill and English-speaking Montreal one hundred years ago. Dawson was almost as notable for his religious as for his scientific publications; Taylor began his career in England as a church architect and taught ecclesiastical architecture at Montreal's Presbyterian College. Redpath's kindness and philanthropy - including the building of Redpath Library - were religiously motivated. His humility - also religiously based - showed itself in his insistence that the library not be called Redpath Library but the University Library⁶⁴. Only after his death was it officially named after him.

In many ways the library's great reading room - the Redpath Hall of today - can be seen as an outstanding piece of ecclesiastical architecture. Many commentators, including those of the 1890s, have discussed the links between the design of churches and libraries⁶⁵. In the case of Redpath Hall, it is eastward facing with great windows to let in the morning sunlight - in the European tradition of church architecture. Carved in stone, on the capitals of the buttresses at the east end, are the four Evangelists. The stone carvings around the main entrance are clearly patterned after those of medieval Scottish churches. The new organ in the gallery at the hall's west end, behind which is another great set of windows, continues the ecclesiastical theme. The aesthetic, academic, and religious elements of the interior are perhaps best exemplified in the verse from the Bible carved in wood with raised letters in an Arts and Crafts style by Henry Beaumont, which used to hang at the entrance to the

recessed fireplace but now hangs at the east end below the windows: "Happy Is The Man That Findeth Wisdom and The Man That Getteth Understanding."⁶⁶ Redpath and Taylor built better than they realized and provided McGill University with a great hall which, at one and the same time, possesses the qualities of a library reading room, a concert hall, a reception room, and a university chapel.

Given this context and the wide range of influences, how does one evaluate the aesthetic and design qualities of Peter Redpath's 1893 library? That its exterior is Romanesque is beyond question as even the architect, Andrew T. Taylor, was prepared to admit:

The style adopted is a free treatment of Romanesque, which lends itself to the requirements of such a building, as being at once dignified and yet picturesque.⁶⁷

As Taylor, like architects of every age, adapted and reinterpreted the prevailing styles of the day in his own vocabulary, the question becomes how closely does the library conform or not conform to the principles of Richardsonian Romanesque. Not surprisingly, strong similarities and disimilarities can be observed. Like Richardson, Taylor favoured a massive effect of stone and an L-shaped building comprising the reading room and stack wing. The arrangement of the three windows on the reading-room's east wall is remarkably similar to the window arrangement in the transepts of Trinity Church, Boston. The roof line is imposing and unbroken along its ridges. Eyebrow windows were placed on the roof of both wings. There is a tower-gable-arch entrance on the building's long side leading into the middle of the reading room. The interior also revealed certain distinctively Richardsonian touches. There was a very large reading room whose nave-like quality was balanced by tiny transepts: a bay-window to the east of the main entrance and a large recessed fireplace - an inglenook - facing it on the south wall which was removed when the 1953 extension was built.⁶⁸

There were, however, many variations from the Richardsonian style - some minor and some major. The building's L-shaped design reflects the Arts and Crafts style as much as it does Richardson's. Although the chapel-like nave and transepts were present, there

Redpath Library in 1893

was no apse - a semi-circular recess at the end of a building - but then not all of Richardson's libraries possessed one. The gable over the main entrance was a very meagre affair; indeed the main entrance-way was really a porch which was not entirely in sympathy with Richardsonianism. The tower was to the right of the door, not the left as in Richardson's libraries; and the turrets were long and angular not short and round. The outer stone-walls were of Montreal grey limestone not Richardson's pink granite; and except for the basement level, the stones were of dressed-work, not rock-faced. Perhaps the most striking external variation from Richardson are the windows which, rather than being designed as ribbons or slits, were quite large and admitted a great deal of light into the stacks and the reading room. The reading room windows on the north and south walls are rectangular, rather than rounded, and are placed between buttresses which suggest not the Romanesque but rather the Gothic. Nor is there a discernible Richardsonian influence in the towers at the east end of the reading room, whose purpose is obviously to admit additional light into the hall.

It is in the interior, however, that the greatest variation from Richardson occurred and where the library's adherence to the professional ideas and practices of the time is most visible. A tripartite division of space for collections, users, and staff similar in concept, if not in detail, to that employed at the Cornell and Pennsylvania libraries was used for Redpath Library. This division of space, which designates separate areas for the three components but brings them together at salient points, and which had been hinted at by Richardson, represented a fundamental break with the past and maintains important theoretical links with much twentieth-century library architecture. At the core of this new approach was the separation of the users from the books which were placed in a four-storey fire-proof stack wing with a capacity of 140,000 volumes. It was designed to permit southward expansion towards Sherbrooke Street; the first extension completed in 1901 was also designed by Taylor, the second in 1922 was by Percy Nobbs⁶⁹. The steel stack wing, complete with a book-lift, its own staircases, polished oak shelving, and floors of iron-grating and rough plate glass had levels seven to eight feet high. It was made to McGill's specifications by the Library Bureau of Boston, a commercial firm, and

was inspired by the stacks of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque nationale, and Harvard's Gore Hall. A "special muniment vault for the care of precious books and muniments" was also provided, the exact location of which is not indicated.

Separate space for users was provided in many ways. The main floor contained a periodicals reading room and cloak rooms. In the basement, which was mostly above ground, there were five studies or seminar rooms, as well as lavatories. On the upper floor there was a gallery for displays, overlooking the west end of the reading room. It was flanked on the north side by a "Professors' room", or faculty reading room, and on the south side - over the stack wing - by a large hall whose ceiling was the inside of the peaked roof. There was uncertainty as to the use to which this latter room would be put, except to suggest it could be used for displays and exhibitions. The centrepiece for users was clearly meant to be the "great reading room" with its east to west axis and windows on all four sides which was 110 feet long, 43 feet wide, and 44 feet high. Although it had book cases built flush against the wall to accommodate reference books, it was spared both the alcove and cathedral stacks of previous ages.

Separate space for staff was also provided. In the basement there was a caretaker's apartment, and a mail delivery room which was connected by both a lift and staircase to the cataloguing room above. Located on the library's main floor at the west end below the gallery, the cataloguing area was separated from the main reading room by an ornamental glass screen and by card catalogue cases whose drawers opened either into the staff area or into the reading room. The University Librarian's office was adjacent to the cataloguing room. Outside these staff areas, at the southwest corner of the reading room and adjacent to the stack entrance, was the circulation desk referred to as "the attendant's counter for the distribution of books". This was the magical point, where collections, users, and staff were expected to come together. By the standards of the late twentieth-century, these provisions for books, readers, and librarians may seem quaint, simplistic, or even inadequate. But in fact, compared with previous ways of organizing library interiors these provisions represented a great leap forward and placed the Redpath Library in the vanguard of progressive thinking. A direct ancestral link with

late twentieth-century library architecture can clearly be discerned. A marked advance upon the interiors of Richardson and his predecessors had been accomplished.

The architect was particularly proud of the technical sophistication of the new library. In addition to the stacks being entirely fire-proof, the rest of the building was nearly so:

The whole of the main floor is of steel beams and porous terra cotta arching. The other floors and the roofs, where not of this material, are of solid oak beams, and flooring on the slow combustion principle. The stairs are of iron and slate... The roofs are of blue Rockland slates and copper.⁷⁰

The building was heated by hot water radiators which, in the main reading room, ran lengthwise down the middle forming a natural boundary between the men's and women's study tables. The library was wired for electricity with the original brass chandeliers still hanging from the reading-room ceiling. In addition the study tables had lamps with double green shades. The floors were covered with cork carpeting to deaden the sound.

A significant topic of concern in any study of the building must be its decoration, both interior and exterior. A profusion of carvings enliven the outside limestone walls and can still be discerned despite the soot from Montreal's polluted atmosphere: gargoyles and tracery abound everywhere. Carved above the main entrance are Peter Redpath's motto and crest: *Ne timeas recte faciendo* and an ostrich with a key proper in its beak. Carved also at the entrance, on the left, is a lion holding a book to represent the strength of knowledge, and on the right the McGill arms. The double doors, of polished oak with wrought-iron grill work and fittings, have carved in the middle bottom section of each the letters RLB - Redpath Library Building. All the sculpting and carving for the building - inside and outside whether on stone, wood or plaster - were Celtic in style and done by Henry Beaumont in an Arts and Crafts manner.

Inside the library, more decoration awaits the eye.

Attractive plaster mouldings abound. The reading room was painted in soft green with gold trim, and the entrance hall and staircase in soft red. Two decorative features dominate the reading room. The first is the high open timber roof with its double hammer beams ornamented by grotesque animals and a few carved heads one of whom looks like Peter Redpath and the others are suspected to be portraits of the architect and the carver. The second is its windows. Those at the side are glazed and leaded in geometrical patterns. Panels were left in them for quotations and inscriptions such as "reading furnishes the mind only with the materials of knowledge, it is thinking makes what we read ours". Much more vivid are the windows, by Clayton and Bell of London England, at either end of the room, the gifts of Grace Redpath, the donor's wife.⁷¹ Painted on them were the medallion portraits of the great masters, or secular saints, of various subjects. The five windows at the west end are dedicated to law, history, philosophy, astronomy, and medicine. The three at the east end are dedicated to art, poetry, and music. Taken in toto, these interior and exterior decorations are completely in sympathy with nineteenth-century attitudes and aesthetic values.

What then do all of these diverse influences and styles add up to? Although the exterior of the building can be superficially designated Richardsonian Romanesque, the real designation is more properly Taylorian Romanesque/Gothic. Taylor's architecture was too sophisticated and too influenced by a wide variety of aesthetic and practical considerations for his buildings ever to be in any style other than his own. As for the library's interior organization and arrangement, they were very much within the mainstream of leading American professional opinion on how the inside of a library should look in 1893; by the standards of the day, it was practical and functional. In its decoration, there reigned both inside and outside the building an Arts and Crafts reworking of Celtic designs. In short Redpath Library is an admirable example of late Victorian eclecticism, historicism, aestheticism, and functionalism. Its blending of Canadian, British, French, and American influences makes it distinctly Canadian. It can even be seen as a precursor of Canada's Chateau Hotel architecture.

As a final note, it should be pointed out that the interior of Redpath Hall contains two memorials

commemorating its benefaction. The first, placed originally in the great reading room beside the circulation desk but now in the foyer facing the main door, is a marble bust of Peter Redpath by the noted British sculptor, Sir William Reynolds-Stephens.⁷² Flanking either side of it is an inscription carved in wood with raised letters in the Arts and Crafts style of Henry Beaumont, which reads: "Peter Redpath Born Montreal Augt. 1 1821 Died Chislehurst Eng. Feb. 1, 1894 This Bust And Canopy Were Presented To The University By A Few Of His Friends And Admirers In The United Kingdom. This Edifice One Of Many Noble Gifts Was Presented To The University By Peter Redpath Opened On The 31st Octr. 1893."

The second memorial is much more subtle and less easily noticed. Along the bottom of the great east windows there was later added a strip of stained glass containing the portraits of Peter and Grace Redpath, which reminds us that Redpath Library has not one but two benefactors. For Grace Redpath, as much as her husband Peter, deserves credit for the library.⁷³ She supplied the money for the great windows at the east and west ends of the hall and for the 1901 stack wing. She increased the endowment for the building's maintenance, and added significantly to the Redpath Tracts collection. The inscription in glass accompanying the portraits seems particularly appropriate and reminds us that as long as Redpath Hall endures, it will serve as a monument to the love that Peter and Grace Redpath shared with one another: "Vitream Istam Cura Sua Pictam Collegio Mariti Gratia Amato Dono Dedit Gratia Redpath": "Grace Redpath gave this painted glass window to the College at her own expense in commemoration of her beloved husband."

* * * * *

Notes

1. The author acknowledges with gratitude the assistance received from the Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library, McGill University; the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, particularly Renata Guttman; Prof. Rhodri W. Liscombe, University of British Columbia; and Professor Faith Wallis, McGill University.
2. Philip J. Turner, *University and College Libraries of Canada; Their Planning and Equipment* (Montreal: McGill University Publications, 1931), 8.
3. David H. Molson, "The Redpath Library, McGill University, Montreal, P.Q.," (Undergraduate term paper). McGill University. Blackader-Lauterman Library. Canadian Architectural Collection. File on Redpath Library.
4. H. M. Reynolds, "University library buildings in the United States, 1890-1939" *College and Research Libraries*, v. 14, no. 2 (April 1953), 149-157, 166.
5. Jerrold Orne, "Academic library buildings: a century in review," *Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research: Essays for a Century*, ed. by R. D. Johnson. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1977), 146.
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10. Addison Van Name, "Report on library architecture," *Library Journal* (Conference Issue), v. 14 (1889), 162-164.
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15. Kenneth Binks, *Library of Parliament, Canada* ([Ottawa] KCB, 1979), 27.
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19. W. Jordy, *American Buildings and Their Architecture: v. 3, Progressive and Academic Ideals of the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Doubleday, 1976), v. 3, Chapter 7 "The Beaux-Arts Renaissance: Charles McKim's Boston Public Library." This chapter is essential reading for the topic.
20. *Ibid.*, 321-323.
21. Blackburn, 223.
22. Jordy, 324-325.
23. *Ibid.*, 326-327, and Kaser, 64.
24. Jordy, 333-344.
25. Turner, 12, 20, 24.
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28. Orne, 142-143.
29. Kaser, 66-70. "Andrew Thomas Taylor," *The Canadian Men and Women of the Day*, ed. by H. J. Morgan. (Toronto, Briggs, 1912), 1086.
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36. Both copies are in the Blackader-Lauterman Library, McGill University. Photocopies of the dedications are in the Taylor file at the Canadian Centre for Architecture.

37. Andrew Thomas Taylor (in the file at the Canadian Centre for Architecture).

38. Mackay, 133-138.

39. Ellen James, *John Ostell; Architect, Surveyor* (Montreal: McCord Museum, McGill University, 1985), 35.

40. Rhodri W. Liscombe, "The Peter Redpath

Museum, an Architectural Analysis" *Fontanus; from the Collections of McGill University*, v. 1 (1988), 49-58.

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50. Jordy, 314.

51. Sir J. William Dawson, *In Memoriam Peter Redpath, Governor and Benefactor of McGill University...* (Montreal: "Witness," 1894), 13-16.

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53. George W. Harris, "The new library building of Cornell University," *Library Journal*, v. 14, no. 4 (April 1889), 121-124. Van Name, 167, 168, 171.

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56. Andrew T. Taylor, "The new library building," *McGill Fortnightly*, v. II, no. 3 (November 10, 1893), 51-52.
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58. Charles C. Soule, "Points of Agreement among librarians as to library architecture," *Library Journal* (Conference Issue), v. 16 (1891), 17-19.
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63. Peter R. Eakins, "Sir John William Dawson," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), v. XII, 230-237.
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66. Proverbs 3:13.
67. *Opening of the New Library*, 28.
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70. *Opening of the New Library*, 28.
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The Redpath Hall: The Portraits

by Stanley Brice Frost

The Redpath Library opened in 1893 conformed closely to current notions of appropriate facilities by providing a large open reading room. The donors, Peter and Grace Redpath, conspired closely with the architect, Andrew Taylor, to produce for this purpose a 'Great Hall,' equipped with a lofty timber roof, and adorned with many carvings and much painted glass of unusual quality. When the 1952 extensions provided readers with alternative facilities, the Great Hall was taken over by the University as its aula or Hall of Honour. On its walls the portraits of generous benefactors, influential chancellors and masterful principals were hung to convey and conserve the University's awareness of its eventful past. Quirks of personality, the fickleness of administrative interest and the subjective nature of artistic judgments, have combined to produce a somewhat fortuitous and uneven collection of paintings, which nevertheless give the Redpath Hall its unique character, and confirm its significance in the life of the University, if not as the shrine of lares et penates certainly as the grand salon of alma mater.

La bibliothèque Redpath, qui ouvrit ses portes en 1893, était d'une conception très proche de l'idée que l'on se fait aujourd'hui d'un tel établissement; elle contenait en effet une salle de lecture vaste et ouverte. Les donateurs, Peter et Grace Redpath, collaborèrent étroitement avec l'architecte, Andrew Taylor, pour créer ce «Great Hall» doté d'un haut plafond à poutres apparentes et orné de nombreuses sculptures et verres colorés d'une qualité exceptionnelle. Lorsque les travaux d'agrandissement de 1952 fournirent aux lecteurs le choix d'autres locaux, l'Université s'empara du «Great Hall» pour lui servir d'aula, c'est-à-dire de salle d'honneur. Sur ses murs furent accrochés les portraits de généreux bienfaiteurs, de chanceliers influents et de principaux autoritaires pour témoigner de la fierté que l'Université montre à l'égard d'un passé riche en événements. L'excentricité des personnalités, l'intérêt capricieux de l'administration et la subjectivité des jugements artistiques ont concouru à réunir une collection de tableaux quelque peu fantasque et inégale qui confère toutefois à la salle Redpath un cachet unique et confirme son importance dans la vie de l'Université, sinon en tant que lieu saint consacré aux lares et pénates du moins à titre de grand salon pour l'alma mater.

Most universities have a ceremonial centre, an akademische aula, as the older German universities term it, a salle d'honneur in the francophone universities, or in plain English a hall of honour. It is usually a place of considerable dignity, of more than ordinary architectural pretensions, a place if not of reverential awe nevertheless one where the *lares et penates* of the university communicate themselves to the receptive spirit with persuasive force. At McGill, that place is the Redpath Hall.

It certainly has the architectural pretensions: its spacious proportions, its great hammer-beam roof, its painted glass windows, and its magnificent organ combine with its east-west orientation to give it, as Peter McNally so rightly points out, a basilican grandeur. To complete and reinforce the analogy, the saints who fought the university's good fight in earlier

years look down from the walls to encourage those who now guide and support the great endeavour, to rebuke the faint hearted, and to inspire the new generations. This impressive procession of ikons stretches along the walls on either side. Whenever your attention falters from the speaker or the music, and your gaze wanders aside to left or right, one or another of those composed, resolute faces will catch your eye and call you back to high thinking and noble resolve.

But when one enters the hall alone, and looks at the framed paintings singly, they resolve into portraits of a very diverse collection of men and women and if one then recalls their personalities, their diverse careers and achievements, one begins to be captured by the memorable personality of the subject, or by the expertise of the artist, or by a fascinating chapter of McGill history. All three interests are present in each portrait, but the longer we gaze at any one of them the

more one or the other element begins to predominate.

In one short article, one cannot attempt to do justice to all (by my count) thirty-one portraits presently displayed in the Redpath Hall. All the portraits are within the purview of the Visual Arts Committee¹, who nevertheless, one presumes, cannot feel that they have complete freedom to implement their preferences: they are constrained by custom, by the status quo and by the impossibility of satisfying all artistic tastes and university interest groups. Trekkies would vote for William Shatner and biochemists for David Thomson. So the committee wisely stays within the general rule 'Benefactors, Principals and Chancellors'. The committee of recent years has cautiously made some eliminatory decisions, but there are still some who, in my opinion, would be better honoured elsewhere, and there are, as we shall see, some surprising omissions. We can begin, rather mean-spiritedly, by questioning the location of five of the portraits.

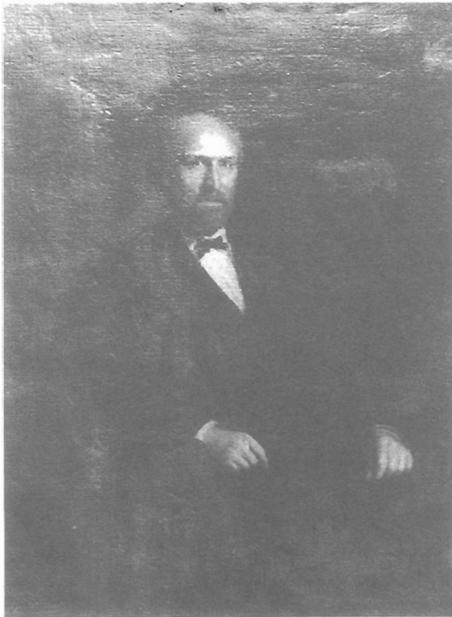
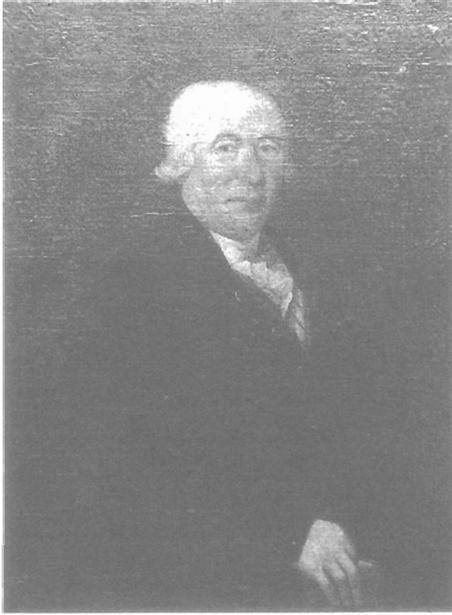
At the back of the Hall there is an ante-room, inevitably cluttered with a good deal of mobile furniture, sometimes required, sometimes needing storage only. The Hall undoubtedly requires such a space. But some portraits have been banished to this anteroom and now hang in obscurity, for the light is dim and often furniture is stacked so high that one must clamber even to catch a glimpse. Two are by the most acclaimed Canadian portrait painter of the late-Victorian, Edwardian period, Robert Harris², and therefore have some claim to respect on that score. The first, that of Sampson Paul Robins³ honours the third Principal of the McGill Normal School, who introduced into its program many significant educational advances. He surely is of sufficient importance in the history of English schooling in Quebec for our Faculty of Education to want to rescue him from his present obscurity and to hang him decently and with honour on their own walls. The second Harris portrait is of John Clark Murray, a pioneer social philosopher who struck an early blow for women's education: woman, he declared (and this in 1870!) was immorally subjected to man, because she was deliberately deprived of the means to support herself economically.⁴ Such a man should not be left to languish behind stacked tables, but should be proudly displayed in the Department of Philosophy or, if the philosophers will not honour one of their own, prominently in the Royal Victoria

College. The third ante-room portrait was painted by Wyatt Eaton⁵, another highly regarded late-Victorian artist, and the subject is William Turnbull Leach⁶. When the disaster that was McGill College was salvaged by James Ferrier and his colleagues in 1852, Leach was the one person they considered worth saving from the wreck; indeed, they thought so highly of him that they would have made him principal in preference to John William Dawson, if only he had not been a parson! As it was, he taught at McGill as professor of English for over thirty years, and served the major part of that time as Dean of Arts and Vice-Principal. Surely he should adorn the Arts Council Chamber. Our fourth hidden celebrity was an important person in his own day, William Craig Baynes, Bursar, Registrar and Secretary, 1856-1887, McGill's man of business throughout that formative period. He served diligently and faithfully, and was Dawson's reliable, trusted right-hand man. Should he not hang highly honoured in the Secretary General's office or in the Registrar's department? The artist is unknown, but in the gloom of the ante-room we can at least see that Baynes had a noble head - he deserves better than he now endures.

At the other end of the ante-room, over a marble fireplace hangs a large portrait of a Victorian lady, adopting (this is my uninformed guess) the pose and style of the tragic Dido, Queen of Carthage. The occasion, the sitter and the artist are unknown. But the lady innocuously covers a large, blank wall-space, and until someone discovers more about her, she may very well stay where she is.⁷

There is, however, one more of these banished portraits - banished, that is, from the Hall of Honour and left to languish in some place of lesser rank - and this particular portrait must be approached with some delicacy. The portrait is of Queen Elizabeth II, and it is by Margaret Lindsay Williams, an English artist about whom I know nothing. It was painted in 1953, the coronation year, and was hung in accordance with the then prevailing notions of political correctness prominently in our Hall of Honour - at the Convocation Luncheon, for the toast to the Queen we would rise, raise our glasses, bow to her Majesty and loyally drink her health. That would not be done today; it would be considered 'a provocative gesture', to whom and of what unspecified. The portrait of the Queen has been quietly and sensibly removed from its place of

The Redpath Hall: The Portraits



BENEFACTORS

James McGill, 1744-1813
after Louis du Longpré, 1754-1843
n.d.

Sir William Macdonald, 1831-1917
Robert Harris, 1849-1919
n.d.

William Molson, 1793-1875
John Phillips, 1822-?
1861

John W. McConnell, 1877-1963
after Alphonse Jongers, 1872-1945
n.d.

prominence - but need it have been derogated to a mere stairwell leading to the organ loft? Would it not be better to find it some other home entirely? For it is in my judgment, a portrait of considerable merit: it is a reasonable likeness, but more than that, it is the portrait not of a figure-head but of a lively young woman who is looking out on life with intelligence, good will and hope. Some would say, I am sure, that the picture is too pretty, but when we recall the wholesome dedication of the young Elizabeth, and her avowed intention to use her position for good and noble endeavours, we may judge that the artist has done well to let that personal courage and hope shine through the trappings of an official likeness. We look at her today through the mists engendered by the economic woes of Britain during her forty-year reign, and the blight which has fallen on royal fortunes this past year and I, at least, find this portrait poignant and moving. To hang it in a stairwell now looks like a callous dismissal - something which, of course, was never intended. Would the Faculty Club be a proper place to express a more generous assessment of forty years of faithful service? The tower room, perhaps, off the Maude Abbott room? Her hostess, I am sure, would afford Elizabeth a generous welcome, for Maude also knew the undeserved unhappiness that family troubles can load upon the human spirit⁸.

So now we move into the *aula* itself, and view the twenty-five portraits which are displayed there. They are in general well hung, allowing for the exigencies of windows and doorways, attractively varied in size and style, and now, thanks to the Visual Arts Committee's diligence, correctly and permanently identified. To use the old expression, collectively 'they grace the walls of Redpath Hall'.

The twenty-five portraits divide almost neatly into two groups, the Victorians and the moderns - that is, post World War II. By the same token, they divide into formal business or equally formal family memorials in the earlier period, and academic tributes in the later grouping. For the most part, the Victorians are on the north wall and the moderns on the south. Robert Harris sets the tone for the Victorians with no less than five large, heavily-framed oils. In general he relies on a dark background, a minimum of distracting details, such as clothing or furniture, and concentrates strongly on the face. With Peter Redpath and with Grace

Redpath, les personnages d'honneur les plus distingués,⁹ he succeeds very well: Peter is looking up from scanning the drawings of the Hall, but the papers are not allowed to draw our gaze from his face; he emerges from the dark background a warm-hearted, intelligent, interesting person. Grace expresses matronly capability, good sense and mature self-confidence - we are allowed in this instance to see her rich but very subdued dress and light falls on her strong, efficient hands in order to underline the qualities of the face. For William Dawson¹⁰, Principal and scientist, the academic architect and creator of McGill, we have very much the same approach but here the success of the portrait is in the force and intellect expressed in and around and above the eyes; this is a man of thought and contemplation, as well as of strong action. But with others, Harris cannot escape slipping into cliché - James Ferrier¹¹, for example, is 'Calm Old Age'. The most extraordinary portrait by Harris is that of William Macdonald¹², who peers out of the gloomy background with a defensive, almost apprehensive appearance. He was, we know, a very hard man to pin down. Did the fact that there was no wife or children to raise objections give Harris a freedom with this subject which ordinarily he did not enjoy?

Lord Strathcona¹³, who is Donald Smith painted by Alphonse Jongers in old age, is another cliché - Noble Old Lion - but Wyatt Eaton, employing much the same artistic approach, nevertheless scores a success with J.H.R. Molson¹⁴, the man who thoughtfully bought the land for Redpath to build his library on, and who comes across as a strong, competent, benevolent man - which indeed he truly was. James McGill, of course, missed being a Victorian by a score of years, and we have in the Redpath only a rather poor copy of an original which used to hang in the Principal's office. The portrait is in the same formal memorial style as that favoured by the Victorians, but artist Dulongpré has captured a strong face with fine arched eyebrows, a rather large nose and shrewd, observant eyes. James McGill had learned in a hard school to be self-reliant. He also looks as if he knew what he was about when he founded a university.

A poor thing artistically of one whose service to McGill deserves much more, is a profile of George Jehoshaphat Mountain. As a young man, a mere archdeacon, he was McGill's first principal, back in

The Redpath Hall: The Portraits

1825 when in order to secure the founder's bequest, we had to have a college in being, at least on paper. He was also significantly helpful in middle-age, when his clerical colleagues nearly destroyed the whole enterprise in the 1840s; now become a bishop, he secured 'the royal disapprobation' of the problem principal, and so saved the struggling institution from an ignominious end. But the so-called portrait of George Jehoshaphat we now possess is a Notman photograph, coloured by an unknown artist, of the bishop in extreme old age, when he had terminated his interest in McGill. Moreover, it is a profile; profiles are useful on coins because they can be easily stamped, but they cannot convey much of personality. This one is simply that of any very old man. The McCord Museum has a splendid full-face portrait of Mountain as a young man, alert and visionary, as he was when he was fighting McGill's battles. It is that portrait which should hang in the Redpath, to enliven us all¹⁵.

Most of these older portraits are, as we have said, on the north wall. On the south wall are the larger number of paintings, mostly of the post-war moderns. Again, the dating-divide is not quite exact; Currie¹⁶ and Geddes¹⁷, for example, are First World War vintage, but the former in particular is to be grouped stylistically with the moderns. These are the University's formal academic portraits - to hang here is the McGill equivalent of achieving hockey's Hall of Fame or the Order of Canada.

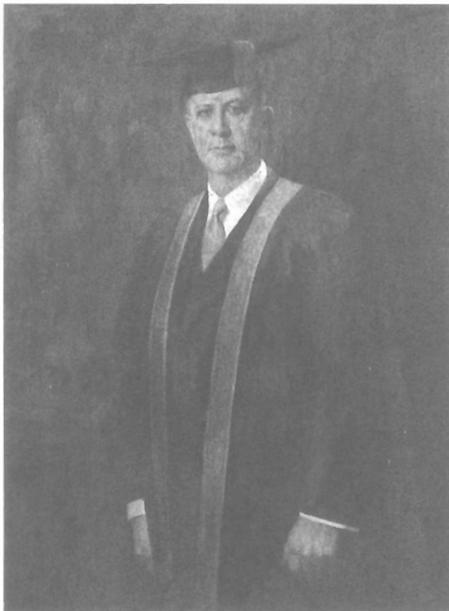
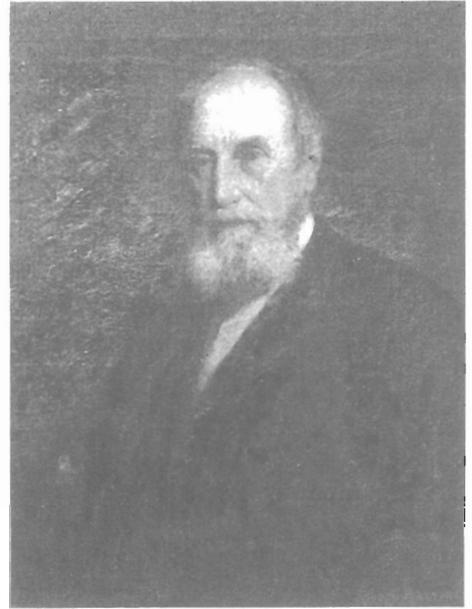
The task of the academic portrait artist must be peculiarly difficult, in that almost invariably the request is for a set piece: the academic robes, a calm, dignified mien, a forceful but restrained personality. Currie stands there (in a rather dark location) nobly resolute - but one thinks wistfully of Lismer's charcoal sketch of him in full military uniform and academic cap and gown bestriding the Flander's battlefield¹⁸. Above him is yet another Harris, and both the painter and the subject are anachronisms on this wall: Thomas Workman, the great president of the Sun Life Company in its glory days, and donor in 1893 of much-needed Engineering Workshops, just at the time when William Macdonald was giving McGill its first Engineering Building. Room for this portrait should be found on the north wall near the Macdonald portrait. The two together would then offer an interesting comment on Harris' accomplishments: Workman is again a face

emerging from gloom, but this time it is that of a kindly, warm-hearted, rather whimsical person, not the hard-driving captain of industry one might expect, and the result is certainly very different from the ambiguity of the Macdonald portrait.

William Molson¹⁹, however, early though he was, truly belongs here because he gives us the clue to what this wall is all about - McGill history. This Molson was the first major benefactor of McGill College after the initial bequest of James McGill himself: in 1862 he built the West Wing and the connecting structures which completed the vista of the Arts Building. The university's characteristic appearance, its visual hallmark, the Arts terrace and facade from Dawson Hall through the Arts steps and portico to the West Wing (originally rightly named Molson Hall), had hitherto existed only in the architect's vision and in a few drawings. After Molson's gift, McGill College was a solid visible presence just as architect Ostell and the institution's backers had always dreamed it would be, and as it has remained ever since. Yes, Molson, a shy, deferential, humourously self-deprecating person, but one obviously pleased to be receiving recognition, deserves his place on this wall - all the more because he and his two brothers had previously endowed McGill's first named chair.

William may thus be said to have started McGill's history in the way it was to go so successfully for the next century, that is by attracting the benevolence of generous benefactors. To underline the point there is a rather non-descript portrait of an unremarkable figure in a business suit, discreetly framed yet hanging prominently amongst the most memorable in the McGill pantheon. The identification plate tells us that the portrait is a 'copy after Alphonse Jongers', which itself is a broad hint that the subject did not cooperate in its production. Few can put a name to him when challenged, but he was and through his family foundation has continued to be one of McGill's most generous benefactors. J.W.McConnell²⁰ was a truly modest man. He was invited and strongly urged to follow Sir Edward Beatty as chancellor in 1943, but steadfastly declined the honour. As a Governor he served the university long and faithfully, but he preferred to give his many benefactions anonymously. It is characteristic of him that his portrait should be visually so modest. But he certainly deserves his place

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PRINCIPALS

G.J. Mountain, 1789-1863
W. Notman and Edward Sharpe
ca. 1870

Sir Arthur Currie, 1875-1933
B. Gordon
n.d.

Sir William Dawson, 1820-1899
Robert Harris, 1849-1919
1889

Frank Cyril James, 1903-1973
John Gilroy
ca. 1959

The Redpath Hall: The Portraits

with Strathcona and Macdonald as the outstanding names in the tradition started so beneficently by William Molson in 1862.

The south wall reads from left to right in telling the McGill story but you have to know the history fairly well to trace the connecting thread, for from this point on the portraits seem to be hung for visual effect rather than with regard to chronological sequence. Here, for example, comes the first group of modern chancellors: Bertie Gardner²¹, rightly shown as McGill's most kindhearted, most jovial chancellor; Stuart Finlayson²², depicted as a peasant version of Rodin's 'Thinker', who has somehow acquired an academic cap and gown two sizes too large for him - not at all, the solid, indefatigable, unflappable chairman of the Board of Governors on whom we relied so heavily in the 1970's and the years of institutional change; and Conrad Harrington²³, well portrayed by Michael John Angel as the paterfamilias of 'the McGill family', as Maxwell Cohen used to term it: the loyal graduates, the dedicated support staff, the academics committed to their vocation and the lively, mercurial students, who would mature with astonishing alacrity into one or other of the older groups : all these Conrad Harrington welcomes from his portrait into McGill's service as warmly as he did during his term of office and has continued to do in the succeeding years.

These three are followed by Howard Ross²⁴, who in life preceded them. He was Principal Roche Robertson's *alter ego* in the trying years of the student unrest, and no man ever served the university more courageously or devotedly. His strange career from Chancellor to Dean of the Faculty of Management to Professor of Accounting to beloved Emeritus Professor was the *cursus honorum* run in reverse, but run so well and to such good effect that he won the goodwill of all who knew him. None of this, however, emerges in his portrait which is best passed over in silence: Next to Ross hangs one of the VAC's few stumbles - Auckland Geddes²⁵, in profile, reading a book. Geddes was professor of pathology at McGill for two years, absent five years fighting World War I, then absent one further year as principal-on-leave, and then he very sensibly resigned to serve as Britain's ambassador to the United States - a most interesting man and not unimportant in British history, but of little significance to McGill. But the VAC, one suspects, could not resist

the relief of a smaller, modest picture-frame and an equally modest change from academic formality. After all, here is someone actually doing something academic - he is reading a book! But we must be stern - Geddes on this wall remains a stumble. Pathology should be glad to give him a home.

With Principal Robertson, Chancellor Donald Hebb and Principal Bell²⁶ we return to the official set pieces, and none of the three in my opinion does justice to its subject. Robertson with the support of Howard Ross bore the brunt of the turbulent sixties, by strength of character, by patience and by uncommonly good sense; he met his troubles bravely and overcame them, mostly with a rare good humour. Hebb was a sharp-minded, outspoken psychologist whose work set the goals for his academic discipline and characterised its achievements in his generation. His colleagues wanting to reassert the academic character of the institution after the confusion of the 1960s elected him to be Chancellor and Robert Bell, a brilliant, pioneering professor of Physics to be Principal. Hebb was not required to be outstandingly efficient as Chancellor; he had only to be himself and hold the office. Bell on the other hand had to prove himself as efficient in social affairs and in administration as in science, and with the whole-hearted support of his wife and his colleagues, he succeeded remarkably well. He brought the university out of great tribulation into the calmer waters of the 1980s. But his portrait reduces him to a very handsome, well-polished stereotype - 'the very model of a modern major principal'. I do not fault the painters; I merely observe that their task was indeed extremely difficult.

The Cyril James²⁷ portrait by John Gilroy, a little further along the wall and three decades back in time, illustrates the problem: Gilroy uses a library setting, the books, and the gown and even a globe (James was a great traveller) to bring considerable interest into the picture, but the face itself conveys little of the complex character of Cyril James. The Cleve Horne portrait in the Board Room of the Administration Building, showing James relaxed and working at his desk, speaks volumes; the formal Redpath portrait reminds us of his administrative skills and his love of books but beyond that very little.

And yet the task of the memorial, academic set-piece portrait painter is not wholly impossible. There are on

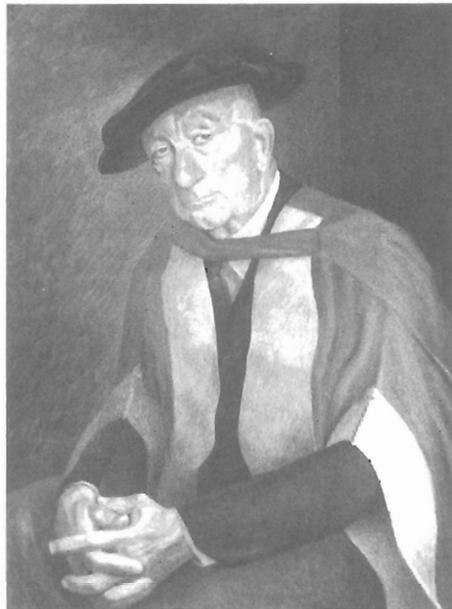
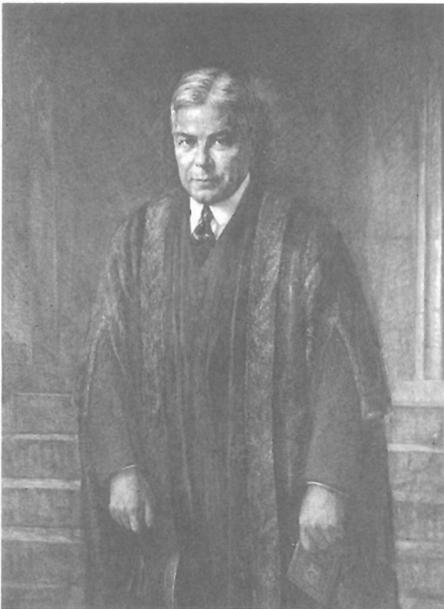
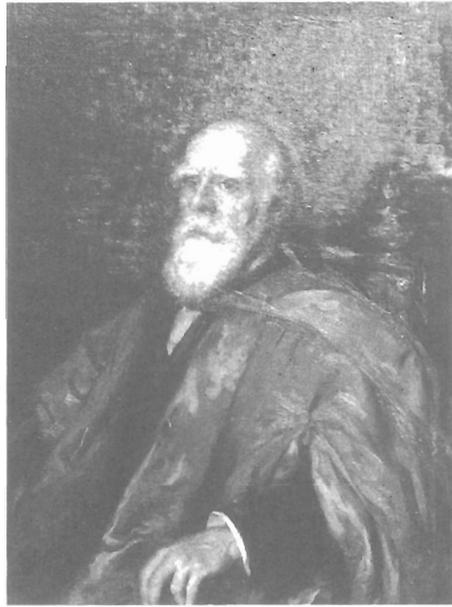
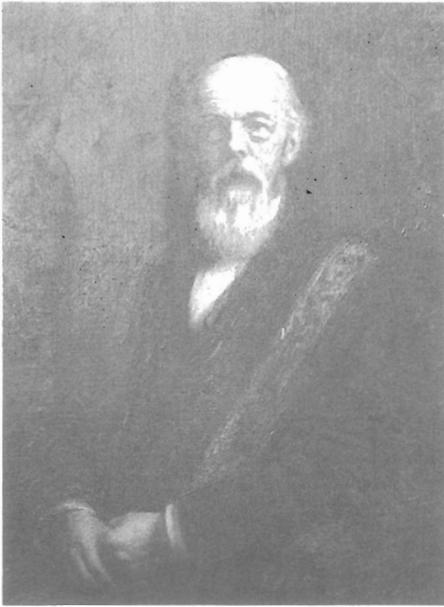
this wall three notable examples of chancellors whose personality pushes past the problems and makes itself powerfully felt as the subject returns the viewer's gaze. There is Sir Edward Beatty²⁸, the masterful ruler of the C.P.R. and for twenty years between the wars the dominant force in McGill affairs; his strong shoulders are in no way hidden by his academic gown, and his unwavering, direct stare accords well with his square jaw and strongly featured face; R.E. Powell²⁹, who in the early 1960s demanded that McGill acquire a proper business bureaucracy rather than be run by a single typewriter out of the principal's office, and who demonstrated in the Board of Governors why he earned the nickname 'Rip' at Alcan, looks out of his portrait from underneath beetling brows, and looks as if he is just about to bark one of his famous one-line questions which would take hours of research and twenty pages of manuscript to answer; and finally the latest of our former chancellors, Jean de Grandpré³⁰. Here the artist has boldly gone for a bright, uneven background³¹ with a tatter of vaguely McGill flag straggling down one side of the frame, to increase the general air of gaiety. He then presents a three-quarter figure which shows off the cap and gown without too much fuss, and concentrates on the poise of the figure and the expression of the face. This is the portrait of a man-on-the-go, a man of business and action, but one who finds enjoyment and humour in what he is about. He has accomplished great things and is happy about what he has done - including having been Chancellor of McGill. Muli Tang is in my opinion to be congratulated on having produced one of the best in the long series of McGill academic portraits.

Here then are the McGill walls of honour, north and south, leading us from James McGill to Jean de Grandpré. The milestones of university history are presented in visual presentation. But there are some surprising gaps. We miss the medical chapter from the 1830s; Dean Andrew Fernando Holmes, the first Dean of Medicine³², would have made a worthy representative, but the Medical Faculty would never part with him. Even Charles Dewey Day³³, the eighth President of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning and the first Chancellor of McGill University, is not present; yet he gave academic credibility and wise governance to the university for thirty-two years, at a truly critical period. No doubt he is ensconced with his fellow lawyers in Chancellor Day

Hall - but the lawyers should be content with a copy, and Day should be here, *primus inter pares*. An equally serious omission is Principal William Peterson³⁴, the Scottish classical scholar who for twenty-five years promoted McGill's international reputation in science, the Edinburgh-Oxford graduate who brought McGill into the twentieth century, abreast of current educational advances, and carried the university virtually unscathed through the horrors of World War I. No doubt he adorns a wall somewhere in Peterson Hall, but again the French Department should be given a good photograph or a bust, and Peterson should join his peers.

I have a personal regret for one other missing portrait. James Ferrier's story of service to McGill rivals even that of Howard Ross³⁵. It began in 1845, when McGill College was a shambles, and the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning (RIAL) a useless anachronism. Some Montreal businessmen, led by Ferrier, first persuaded the Governor General to appoint them to the board of the Institution and then used their influence to begin the rehabilitation of the College. Ferrier was appointed President of RIAL in 1847. They had accomplished the initial stages of their task by 1852, by securing a new charter for the college, and at that time Ferrier decided that a mere businessman like himself had not the social or intellectual stature to be the head of a serious academic institution, so he persuaded Mr. Justice Charles Dewey Day to succeed him - but when Day resigned thirty two years later, Ferrier was still there, and was the unanimous choice to succeed him as ninth President of RIAL and second Chancellor of McGill University! This strange piece of McGill history was vividly symbolized by two portraits, one of James Ferrier as a young businessman aged 28, and the other of him aged 84 as Chancellor of McGill. The older portrait, taken alone, runs the risk, as I have said, of being dismissed rather summarily as a stereotype of 'calm, old age', but confronted as it used to be by the young, fresh and eager Ferrier of fifty years earlier it gained more interest and significance. But the younger Ferrier has disappeared - perhaps to the McCord Museum, seeing that, as we learned from the last number of *Fontanus*, the Museum has just purchased Mrs. Ferrier at a Sotheby auction. One is glad to think they are now happily reunited after a century of separation, but I at least miss the one young man to gain a place - and

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CHANCELLORS

James Ferrier, 1800-1888
Robert Harris, 1849-1919
1893

Sir Edward Beatty, 1877-1943
Francis J. Haxby, ca. 1905-1976
1949

Lord Strathcona (Sir Donald Smith), 1820-1914
Alphonse Jongers, 1872-1945
n.d.

Stuart Finlayson, 1901-1981
Harry Mayerovitch
1978

justifiably - on McGill's wall of history.

My colleague Peter McNally has recounted the story of the Redpath Hall - its intended function as a library reading room, its architectural features, its rich imagery and symbolism. He has demonstrated the thought, the care, the love - the word is not too strong - which went into its conceiving, planning and execution. Peter Redpath was a man who loved books and wanted to provide a home for them, worthy of their unique values. Grace Redpath shared his enthusiasm and sought to embellish his concept with images and quotations and portraits. What finally emerged was, as we have seen, something very like a shrine. The lines of Wordsworth come to mind unbidden: 'Tax not the royal saint with vain expense, with ill-matched aims the architect who planned, albeit labouring for a band of white-robed scholars only, this immense and glorious work of fine intelligence'³⁶. True, the Redpath Hall is not King's College Chapel, but remembering the one helps us better to understand the other. To some in 1893, the size, dignity and furnishings of the Library Reading Room must indeed have seemed excessive, but together Peter and Grace gave succeeding generations a finished work of art -- which has paradoxically only come into its full glory since it was given a new and greater role, embellished with a magnificent organ, adorned with the portraits of McGill's rich history, and filled day by day with the many sounds of music. In the windows for which Grace Redpath was responsible, the great names and faces of world art and science and music look down upon the gathered audiences. From either side, nearest the east end, Peter and Grace look across to each other and rejoice greatly in the success of their shared endeavour. And far above, from the beam-end of one of the trusses of the great arching roof, the face of the master-carver looks down from among the gargoyles and strange beasts and the muses and all the other representations lost up there in the shadows, surveys the splendid achievement, hears the music arising, and he too, we think, is mightily content.

* * * * *

Notes

Since this paper combines factual report with artistic judgments, the author gratefully acknowledges the help of Norma Morgan, Curator of the University's Art Collection, with regard to the facts, but takes full responsibility for the judgments, which represent no one's opinions but his own.

1. The Visual Arts Committee (VAC) is appointed by and reports to the Vice-Principal (Planning and Resources).

2. Robert Harris, 1849-1919, portrayed over 200 leading personalities of his day.

3. Sampson Paul Robins joined the staff of the McGill Normal School when it opened in 1857, became the third principal in 1884 and continued until he retired in 1907, thus completing fifty years of distinguished service.

4. He served at McGill as professor of moral philosophy from 1872 until well into the 20th century. In his campaign for women's education at McGill he declared; 'It is but a cruel jest to preserve social usages by which vast numbers of women must either marry or starve, and then jeer at them for the eagerness with which they choose the more tolerable of these fates'. See D.F. Norton's paper read to the Canadian Historical Association, 1977: 'The Scottish Enlightenment: John Clark Murray, 1836-1917'. Also, S.B.Frost, *McGill University*, Vol. 1 (1801-1893), 253-59.

5. 1849-1896.

6. William Turnbull Leach (1805-1886) taught at McGill and held office as Vice-Principal 1846-81; in particular he held the college together in the crisis years 1850-52. *McGill University*, Vol.1, 118-20.

7. Norma Morgan tells me that the figure in the portrait has been tentatively identified as Lady Elgin, wife of the former Governor General, and is coveted by the McCord Museum, whence no doubt she will speedily remove.

8. See S.B.Frost, 'The Abbotts of McGill', *McGill*

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Journal of Education, XIII, 3 (Fall 1978), 253-70.

9. Although they are rightly given prominence, we in fact know every little about them. Peter was born in Montreal in 1821, the son of John Redpath, and continued his father's sugar refinery. He served long and generously as a Governor, and donated not only the Library but also, a decade earlier, the Redpath Museum. He died in England in 1894, soon after the Library was opened. Grace was the daughter of William Wood, of Bowden, Manchester, England, and was obviously a lady of great refinement. She continued to support the Library with benefactions after her husband's death. Professor McNally drew my attention to the modest reproductions of the Harris portraits in the painted glass windows honouring the Muses—but those windows are a subject in themselves.

10. Sir John William Dawson, 1820-99, principal 1855-93.

11. See note 34 below.

12. Sir William Christopher Macdonald, 1831-1917, chancellor 1914-17; perhaps the most significant of all McGill benefactors.

13. Donald Smith, 1820-1914; chancellor, 1888-1914; best known at McGill for his donations to medicine and his interest in women's education, culminating in the Royal Victoria College.

14. John Henry Robinson Molson, 1826-1897, the most library-minded of a gifted and generous family.

15. It is reproduced in *McGill University*, Vol 1 (1801-95), 59.

16. General Sir Arthur Currie, 1875-1933; Principal 1920-33.

17. Sir Auckland Geddes, Principal *in absentia*, 1919.

18. For the story of this sketch (which existed for twenty-four hours only) see S.B. Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower, F. Cyril James of McGill* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1991), 155. The only reproduction is in Dorothy Murray's *Four Principals of McGill*, Graduates Society, 1974.

19. William Molson, the third of the sons of the first John Molson. As a young man he probably knew James McGill.

20. John Wilson McConnell, 1877-1963; newspaper magnate and financier.

21. Bertie C. Gardner, chancellor 1952-57.

22. Stuart Finlayson, chairman of the Board 1970-75, chancellor 1975.

23. Conrad Featherstonhaugh Harrington, chancellor 1976-84.

24. Chancellor 1964-69.

25. Sir Auckland Geddes, principal *in absentia* 1919-20.

26. Harold Rocke Robertson, principal 1962-70; Donald Olding Hebb, chancellor 1970-75; Robert Edward Bell, principal 1970-79.

27. F. Cyril James, principal 1940-62.

28. Sir Edward Beatty, chancellor 1920-43.

29. Ray Edwin Powell, chancellor, 1957-64.

30. A. Jean de Grandpré, chancellor 1984-91.

31. Norma Morgan has shown me what I had not previously seen, that faintly discernible in that background are the sculpture figures on Lower Campus generally known as 'the Three Bares' -- another clever touch.

32. He was the first Dean, in office from 1854 until his sudden death in 1860. But the school had been functioning as McGill's medical faculty since 1829. See *McGill University*, vol 1, (1801-1895), 124-30.

33. Mr. Justice Charles Dewey Day, President of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning (RIAL), 1852-84; first chancellor of McGill University, 1864-84.

34. Sir William Peterson, principal 1895-1919.

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35. The Hon. James Ferrier, 1800-1888, immigrant from Scotland, dry goods merchant, railway promoter, banker, elected Mayor of Montreal 1845.

36. William Wordsworth, Sonnet on King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

Pseudochristus: A Religious Romance, 1649-1650

by Robert Michel

Prophets and messiahs have appeared throughout European history, often at times of crisis. An unusually well-documented case occurred in 1649 in Hampshire, England, during the religious and social upheavals accompanying the Civil Wars. William Franklin, a craftsman suffering from mental distractions, claimed to be Christ. He was abetted by his companion Mary Gadbury; she assumed the various roles of Christ's bride, the Virgin Mary, and Franklin's Precursor. Legally married to others, the couple lived together, preached, and attracted followers. Outraged, the local magistrates charged Franklin and Gadbury with adultery, bigamy, and blasphemy and suppressed their disciples as a threat to public order. Humphrey Ellis, a minister, set down the events and trial in an admonitory tract: Pseudochristus (1650). He listened to Gadbury's confession in court, visited the couple in prison, and collected facts from witnesses, giving an account of their backgrounds, possible motives, and strange illicit attraction. Ellis suggested natural and supernatural explanations for their behaviour and delusions (or frauds). He described in detail Gadbury's symptoms of religious possession - visions of blazing lights, voices from God, and false birth pangs. Pseudochristus is the story of a man and woman who cast aside their unhappy marriages and their social anonymity for a joyful but doomed adventure of religion and romance.

L'apparition de prophètes et de messies a ponctué l'histoire européenne, et ce souvent en période de crise. Un cas particulièrement bien documenté survint en 1649 à Hampshire, en Angleterre, durant les bouleversements sociaux et religieux qui accompagnèrent les guerres civiles. William Franklin, un artisan qui souffrait de troubles mentaux, déclara être le Christ. Il fut solidement appuyé par sa compagne, Mary Gadbury, qui assuma les divers rôles de l'épouse du Christ, de la Vierge Marie et de l'annonciatrice de Franklin. Légalement marié à d'autres, le couple vécut ensemble, prêcha et s'attira des disciples. Outragés, les magistrats locaux accusèrent Franklin et Gadbury d'adultère, de bigamie et de blasphème et mirent fin aux activités de leurs disciples, jugeant qu'ils présentaient une menace pour l'ordre public. Un pasteur, Humphrey Ellis nota par écrit les événements et le déroulement du procès dans le cadre d'un tract de mise en garde intitulé Pseudochristus (1650). Il écouta la confession de Gadbury devant le tribunal, rendit visite au couple en prison et recueillit des renseignements auprès de témoins, rendant compte de leurs antécédents, de leurs motifs possibles et de leur étrange attirance illicite. Ellis proposa des explications naturelles et surnaturelles de leur comportement et de leurs fantasmes (ou fraudes). Il décrivit en détail les symptômes de possession religieuse exhibés par Gadbury : visions de lumières éblouissantes, voix de Dieu et douleurs d'enfantement imaginaires. Pseudochristus est l'histoire d'un homme et d'une femme qui rejetèrent leurs mariages ratés et leur anonymat social pour vivre une aventure romanesque et religieuse qui, bien que joyeuse, était vouée à l'échec.

In November 1649 William Franklin, a London rope-maker aged about forty, left his wife and children to travel into Hampshire. Posing as Christ, he lived with his partner in visions, his spiritual bride, Mary Gadbury. For two months they attracted followers as well as charges of bigamy, blasphemy and adultery. Their bravado and religious extremism seemed to embody the worst excesses of their troubled times. While traces of most ordinary people of their time have vanished, Franklin and Gadbury live on in a sixty-two page tract, *Pseudochristus*, published in London in late May 1650

by a Puritan minister, Humphrey Ellis. A copy is among the Redpath Tracts in McGill's Library. Ellis gave a full, eye witness account of this messianic delusion; surviving court testimony corroborates his facts.¹ False messiahs and prophets crop up in mediaeval and reformation Europe but most documentation is scanty and second hand. Franklin and Gadbury are mentioned briefly by several historians but have eluded detailed attention.² Their story of free love and free religion is timeless yet also reveals the strains and social crisis of their own society.

P S E U D O C H R I S T U S :
Or, A true and faithful
R E L A T I O N
OF THE
*Grand Impostures, & Abominable Practises
Horrid Blasphemies, & Gross Deceits;*
Lately spread abroad and acted in the County of
Southampton, by *William Frankelin* and *Mary Gadbury*,
and their Companions.
The one most blasphemously professing and asserting
himself to be *The Christ, The Messiah, The Son of God, who dyed
and was crucified at Jerusalem for the sins of the People of God.*
The other as wickedly professing and asserting her
self to be *The Spouse of Christ, called, The Lady Mary, the Queen,
and Bride, the Lambs Wife.*
Together with the Visions and Revelations, to
which they did pretend their ways of deceiving, with the Names
and Actions of sundry Persons deceived by them.
As also their Examinations and Confessions before the Justices of the Peace,
their Imprisonment, and their Tryal before the Judg of Assize, at the
last Assize holden at *Winchester, March 7. 1649.*
Published for a publique Benefit and Warning to every one to take heed
to himself, that he be not deceived by the Errors and Deceits of
these present times.
BY HUMPHRY ELLIS, Minister of the Word in the City of *Winton.*
*Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe
it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets. Behold,
I have told you before: Mat. 24. 23, 24, 25.*
London, Printed by *John Macock*, for *Luke Fawc*, and are to be sold at his shop
at the sign of the Parrot in *Pauls Churchyard.* 1650.

Title page of Humphry Ellis's *Pseudochristus* (1650). Redpath Tracts, I, 1650.
(Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)

THE SETTING

In 1649 England was recovering from the Civil War between Parliament and the Royalists (1642-1648), ending in the execution of King Charles I, and facing an Interregnum (1649-1660) under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell. The Puritan reformers had abolished the established church and its courts which regulated marriage and immorality (punishing the latter mildly with penances in church). The breakdown of traditional restraints promoted religious freedom and unleashed millenarian sects proclaiming the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth. Opponents traced these sects to Baptist congregations, which besides insisting on adult baptism seemed to have anarchical leanings. These sectaries - many of them craftsman or of the lower classes - joyfully expected a new Jerusalem on earth.

In addition to Christ's rule on earth, some reformers advocated communal ownership of land, women's right to preach, and extension of the franchise. The most radical ones allegedly used religious pretexts to invent new rules of marriage and practise free love and divorce.³ The most notorious, the Ranters, were active from 1649 to 1651. Lower class, footloose and sexually promiscuous, Ranters considered themselves reborn and no longer subject to earthly laws and mores. While several historians mention the couple when discussing Ranters, A.L. Morton points out that Franklin differed from the Ranters by claiming to be a messiah and leading his own distinct group.⁴ Ellis treated Franklin and Gadbury and their followers as a distinct group, ultimately rooted in the Baptists and the Familists.⁵ A continental sect, the Family of Love had defined the doctrine of free grace by which the elect were exempt from moral law and could sin without losing their sainthood; they supposedly divorced and married at will. The Ranters adopted similar doctrines.⁶ While Franklin thought and acted like a Ranter, his claim to be Christ and Gadbury's paraphernalia of fits and visions set them apart.

As a category, Messiahs cross boundaries and centuries. Christian societies offer many examples of unstable people who have thought they embodied Christ, Mary or the Prophets. Franklin's imposture is a well-documented case of a phenomenon which occurred most often during crisis and violent change of

the kind that England experienced in the 1640s and 1650s. There were similar cases: in 1644 a labourer Rowland Bateman claimed to be the son of God; Arise Evans proclaimed himself to be Christ in 1647; and in 1651 John Robins was acclaimed as a messiah, his wife as a Mary. As well several women claimed to be with child by the Holy Ghost, including Mary Adams, a Ranter. Active in the sects, women followers had heady effects on messiahs like Franklin and James Naylor; in 1656 Martha Simmonds and her women friends persuaded Naylor to act as if he were Christ and adopted the habit of kissing his feet. Parliament, infuriated, debated executing Naylor but finally ordered him whipped and branded.⁷ During the revolutionary decades 1640-1660, the authorities put down radicals quickly, using the established court system. While Oliver Cromwell and many of the Puritan leaders sympathized with millenarian views, they repressed threats to order, property, and the natural rule of gentleman over common man, master over servant, and man over woman.

Whatever their religion or politics, men in authority agreed sexual misconduct must be punished, especially among the lower orders, whose bastards might need community support. Drawing on scripture, Puritan ministers advocated companionate marriages and strict sexual morality. In May 1650 the Puritan Rump Parliament passed a law punishing adultery with death. (Almost never enforced, it died with the restoration in 1660 of Charles II and his permissive court.) By supposedly practising divorce or free love, the sectaries appeared to threaten public decency and the stability of marriages and households on which social order rested. None did so more dramatically than Mary Gadbury and William Franklin.

Their chronicler Humphrey Ellis had done well in the Civil War. After Winchester fell to Cromwell in 1645, the bishop and clergy of the established church were thrown out. Ellis, Rector of Millbrook, was appointed in their place as a preacher at Winchester Cathedral in January 1646. He may have been fairly young at the time as he lived until 1687. His county Parliamentary Committee stoutly supported him when members of the Assembly of Divines challenged his appointment (probably because he was Independent rather than Presbyterian). He received one of the highest grants, £150 in 1649, from the fund created by

the sale of the lands of the established church in 1648. A strong opponent of religious radicalism, Ellis published *Two sermons* in 1647, which attacked Baptists, extremists and, in a general way, antichrists. Two years later, Franklin and Gadbury provided him with an irresistible case study of what he had warned against. And in November 1649, at the very time Franklin and Gadbury travelled from London to disturb his county, Ellis took part in a public debate on behalf of infant baptism against the Baptists at Basing Stoke, Hampshire. There he first encountered Edward Spradbury, a cloth worker speaking for the Baptists, and heard that a Mrs. Woodward privately encouraged them. Both would shortly fall under Mary Gadbury's enchantment.⁸

Like most seventeenth century writers, Ellis justified his publishing: he wrote to warn against the "Errors and Deceits of the present times", to set the facts straight, and to prove the danger of allowing unlimited religious liberty. Ellis witnessed some of the events, interviewed people involved in the case, and corresponded with others. He based much of his report on Mary Gadbury's long confession, which he took down almost word for word. He tried to discover the couple's motives and the causes of their visions in order to make sense of puzzling realities. He adopted a historical, analytical method, arguing that in order to understand how this deception occurred, he must give an account of the people involved, their callings, way of life and pasts. Since so much of his evidence depended on Gadbury's confession, she comes across more vividly than Franklin.⁹

THE MEETING

William Franklin was a rope-maker, aged about forty: a craftsman like many sectaries. He had been born and bred in Overton, Hampshire - not far from Andover where he returned as Christ. He had been married for sixteen years and lived in Stepney, a London parish, with his wife and three children. As his religious zeal grew, he experienced doubts. In 1646 he suffered from distraction of the brain (a mental breakdown). He claimed to be God and Christ. His surgeon, Charles Stamford, bled him and used other (unspecified) means to cure him. Franklin returned to his trade and his gathered (Baptist) congregation. After

some time, Franklin reverted to private discussions with God. Using "Gospel-expressions" he heard in sermons, he began to prophesy and speak in incomprehensible tongues. He also became entangled with people who denied worldly and divine law (perhaps Ranters, though Ellis did not specify). His spiritual obsessions changed his character. He beat his wife, denied she was his wife, and kept company with other women. Some of his symptoms might now be called midlife crisis. His congregation excluded him for this behaviour.

Mary Gadbury was thirty and legally married to a husband, James, who had deserted her about seven years before and gone to Holland. Gadbury had visited him two years later but soon returned with her daughter (of whom no more is said) to live in London. Selling laces, pins, and trifles for her living, she lived alone and moved often. These habits made her suspect since it was considered morally and economically desirable that single people be attached to households, where as family members or servants they would be supervised. Passionately religious like Franklin, she apparently attended sermons by the Independent John Goodwin and the Baptist Henry Jessey, both famous preachers. She could not sign her name but had heard enough sermons to debate and twist scripture.

In late summer of 1649 Gadbury lived in London, sharing her room and bed with another woman - a common economical necessity. This woman told her about William Franklin. She had visited his house and thought she saw him embracing the Devil. Franklin had convinced her that God had singled him out. Intrigued, Gadbury asked to meet Franklin. He visited her. As they met, he spoke words which Gadbury could not understand but sounded so godly and sweet "that an Echo sounded in her to what he said". When he left, she said to him; "*My love is with me*" and he answered: "*My Peace be with you*". After he left, she went to bed. Waking, she felt so joyful that she and her woman friend burst into song - loudly enough to disturb a neighbour who burst in, calling them witches.¹⁰

THE REVELATION

Ellis attributed the couple's deep and immediate bond



Portrait of a young woman by Wenceslaus Holler, 1645. Pennington, 1918. (Print Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)

to the voices, visions and fits which Gadbury now experienced. He described Gadbury's experience as she confessed it later (she used phrases from the prophet Isaiah):

she declared, that she hath had certain Fits, which she cannot call Convulsion Fits, nor knows how to express them, which could set her whole body in a trembling, and shake the bed wherein she lay, and continue upon her some times from two a clock at night, to seven in the morning. Her first taking with such a fit was upon a Sabbath day, about twelve a clock at night, which came so violently, as it set her whole body on trembling, working to her fingers ends, and that so strongly, as if she should have been strangled by it, at which time a voyce spake forth from her, and said, *It is the Lord, it is the Lord*; but she could not say it was her own voyce: At which time clapping her

hands together, she had brought to her remembrance a Scripture, which she never heard before, as she can remember; *The trees shall clap their hands for joy*: Then the voyce that spake within her before, spake again, *Babylon is fallen, is fallen*: and then it said further, *There shall be no King, but the King of Kings...*¹¹

The voice also declared that the saints would judge the earth. The fit had visual aspects; a light half the size of the full moon - so bright that it pierced the sheet and blanket she used to shield her eyes. In great pain, she cried out the words of Christ from the cross "*My God, why hast thou forsaken me?*" Then the pain left and the voice - God's she assumed - promised to deal with her more gently thereafter and to send his Son in the form of a man. She heard trumpets now as well. These supernatural sights and sounds convinced her that Christ would reign on earth in the person of her new acquaintance. Some physical cause may account for

her trembling and convulsions, if not the voices and revelations. If she was epileptic, as Christopher Hill suggested, she may have mistaken her fits for divine interventions or creatively used them to authenticate her revelations.¹²

Franklin visited Gadbury frequently. Soon he told her he was Christ. At first she laughed. Soon he convinced her of his extreme form of the doctrine of spiritual rebirth. He claimed he had a new body and nature and that his wife and children, belonging to his former sinful self, no longer meant anything to him. He declared he had not slept with his wife for three years. Gadbury accepted all this. Ellis found her as gullible as Eve. Eventually Franklin told her God had commanded him to forsake his wife. God also told him Gadbury was the woman set apart for him. At that Gadbury went to Franklin's house and tactlessly told his wife that he must now accompany the one for whom he been reborn - herself. Ellis heard this episode from Franklin's tearful wife.

If Gadbury had lived in a Catholic country, she might have fulfilled her ambition to be a bride of Christ by becoming a nun. It is difficult to tell if Gadbury's and Franklin's religious delusions served as deliberate or unconscious channels for sexual feelings. Ellis assumed some of their heresy stemmed from their attraction to each other. Whether they wanted to live together for religious or sexual reasons or both, Franklin and Gadbury ran up against law and custom. Their marriages trapped them. They could not solemnize new marriages; this was bigamy, a capital offence. Nor could they divorce their legal spouses. The dominant Puritans had long advocated divorce for adultery and desertion (and even for religious differences). Milton had recently urged divorce for incompatibility. Yet Parliament refused to pass a divorce law, fearing it would undermine marriage and the household economy on which order and prosperity depended. Couples like Franklin and Gadbury had only one advantage; the destruction of the Church courts had taken away the chief mechanism for punishing adultery. Secular courts, however, could also deal with immorality.

Franklin spent a night in Gadbury's house on the pretext that she was troubled. Ellis as well as some of Gadbury's observant neighbours assumed Franklin had

shared her bed as well as her roof. These neighbours charged her with keeping a naughty house. She spent a night in prison and got out on bail the next day. When she appeared at Guild Hall, the charge was dismissed. Court records show how important neighbours were as accusers and defenders in morals charges. While some neighbours accused Gadbury of immorality, others later petitioned her judges on her behalf.

By November 1649, Gadbury and Franklin had both gone through religious experiences. Each claimed to have been told to accompany the other. Gadbury's voice told her to sell all she had and follow Franklin as Christ. Deluded or not, she sold her goods and may have given some of the money to the poor. Ellis ridiculed her recklessness and suspected Gadbury had needed a pious excuse to leave London to avoid the uproar which Franklin's wife began to make. The couple may well have felt it was safer to leave.¹³

THE MISSION

Franklin and Gadbury chose the place where they were most likely to get into trouble - Hampshire, where Franklin grew up and was known to be married. Perhaps Franklin wished to triumph as Christ in his former home. Yet Gadbury seems to have been the one to choose Hampshire as their theatre. She dreamed that she saw a man fleeing to Hampshire closely followed by a lamb. She told this travel vision to Franklin. He had received the same revelations. Muddling scripture, they took Hampshire for the land of Ham, meaning Egypt - their trip would be a Flight into Egypt. Claiming God directed them, Gadbury and Franklin took the weekly coach to Hampshire in November 1649 as man and wife. Relating this, Ellis denounced couples who claimed their visions freed them from marital ties and justified living in adultery with new partners.

The pair lodged quietly at an inn, the Star, in Andover. All the time, said Ellis, they shared the same bed as husband and wife. As she confessed later, Gadbury soon had a new experience; she went into a seizure similar to labour, but more painful. The voice sustained her. The next day was the Sabbath and many came to speak to her and Franklin. Then Franklin had

to return to London to find money to support them. He may have left and returned several times. Gadbury stayed at the inn about a month. There she played the role of John the Baptist. Ellis declared they plotted to deceive the credulous: while Franklin was gone, Gadbury would tell everyone she had seen Christ. This she did persuasively. Since Andover was a market town, many people heard her story or visited her at the inn. Most people asked what Christ had said or what he looked like. She described a Christ who looked like Franklin. Those who called her a liar she called Satan.

Gadbury experienced false birth pains several times while at the inn. Once she thought she was giving birth to Christ. Ellis could not tell if these travails were feigned or involuntary. He repeated a rumour that she had given birth to a dragon or serpent. A constable testified later that one of Gadbury's converts, Edward Spradbury, had told him that Gadbury had borne a dragon which Christ then had slain on the bed. Gadbury apparently went into some of these labours deliberately to convert people. She would give birth to the spirit of Christ which entered the convert who became spiritually reborn. Her use of the physical symptoms of childbirth to symbolize or impel spiritual rebirth seems to have been effective.

Gadbury attracted some converts, including the ones who would prove the most devoted, William Woodward, a minister, and his wife as well as Edward Spradbury, the cloth worker who had argued against infant baptism at Basingstoke. Gadbury told the Woodwards and Spradbury of her spiritual birth pains. Mrs. Woodward doubted her at first but then had a vision of her own, inspired by Gadbury's birth effects, in which Gadbury appeared as the woman in Revelation (12:1,2) often interpreted as the Virgin Mary: clothed with the Sun, the Moon at her feet, "travailing in pain". While Franklin was still away, the Woodwards and Spradbury supped with Gadbury in her chamber at the inn. After eating, she felt something painful rising inside her. She begged her companions to cut the laces of her jacket, at which the pain left and she laughed in a transport of joy. The episode helped make Mrs. Woodward and Spradbury "proselites of this seducing deceitfull strumpet." On 8 December 1649, Franklin returned to the Inn. A voice had told him that people were treating Gadbury badly because they had heard that both of them were married to others. This

scandalous information seeped in from nearby Overton where Franklin had grown up. It was also reported by Goodman Hunt, the waggoner between London and Andover; Franklin's wife told him how she had been deserted and left without support. Though Gadbury defended their relations on the grounds of their rebirth, the Star's keeper Michael Rutlie and his wife told them to leave.¹⁴

The Woodwards invited Gadbury and Franklin to live with them at the minister's home in Crookes Easton (Crux Easton), Hampshire. The couple stayed at the Woodwards from 11 December 1649 until their arrest six weeks later. Apropos of lodging, Christopher Hill observes that peripatetic religious enthusiasts like Franklin and Gadbury often boarded with friends and that an increase in mobility during the 1640s and 1650s furthered sexual freedom.¹⁵ Mrs. Woodward easily accepted that the couple's new life dispensed them from their former marital obligations. Ellis objected that sinners like Gadbury and Franklin thought nothing of desertion and adultery if they could be justified by visions and revelations. While at the Woodwards Gadbury's voice, never silent for long, told her to try to convert some of her opponents, such as the Rutlies. The voice also told her to dress in the white of innocence. She cajoled some valuable linen out of the Woodwards to make a gown. From this, Ellis concluded, she learned she could get whatever she wanted out of her followers as long as she pretended her voices or vision commanded it.

Ellis recorded some of the strange phenomena which Gadbury claimed to have experienced. One night at the Woodwards while Franklin was absent, Gadbury saw a vision of a white foot. The voice commanded the foot to rest on her shoulder. Next a bright light appeared inside the bed curtains. The voice spoke aloud in her: "*Arise all ye that sleep*". Usually only Gadbury heard the voice. This time William Woodward heard it, looked in her room, and later declared he had seen a bright light at her feet and heard the voice declaim that the whole power of heaven gathered for the moment in that room. Presumably Gadbury had spoken but with her voice altered. This vision with its voice and light resembled the one Gadbury had just after meeting Franklin. Her contemporaries (and subsequent historians) found it hard to tell if these visions and the false births pains were faked or involuntary. Besides

being a lightning rod for divine fits, Gadbury was credited with witch-like powers. When Goody (Goodwife) Waterman told the Woodwards that Franklin had been born in Overton and was a seducer, she soon found herself forced against her will to visit the Woodwards' house. She arrived sweating and could not leave. Gadbury won her over. Ellis asked if this did not look like witchcraft. (Later charges against Gadbury did not include witchcraft, however.)

Returning from London, Franklin preached at least two or three times in Woodward's house to increasing multitudes. Witnesses, whose affidavits Ellis copied, revealed a few glimpses of Franklin's behaviour. Fortunatus Wats declared that Franklin had affirmed that he was Christ, slain at Jerusalem, "*and had the wound yet on his body unhealed*". He claimed he could forgive sins and forgave Wats his. Mrs Woodward would testify later that Franklin kept up his religious discourse most of the time, even when not preaching. The little heresy approached the stage of organisation and Franklin's close followers received titles. John Noyes became John the Baptist; Henry Dixon and John Holmes became destroying angels. Mr. Burre, a minister in Houghton Parish, wrote Ellis an account of how Holmes with a gun in hand had talked blasphemously to two men working for him. By January 1650, Gadbury and Franklin had become notorious - for their religious claims, their followers' behaviour, and for living together so openly.¹⁶

THE DEFIANCE

Many complaints against the pair were alleged at the County Quarter Sessions held in early January 1650 in Winchester.¹⁷ The Justices issued warrants to the constables to arrest Franklin and his more dangerous disciples, William Woodward, Spradbury and Dixon. At this point, only men were arrested. The Justices perhaps took the women, including Gadbury, less seriously or felt the women were less responsible since supposedly their husbands controlled them. The Bailiff of Andover brought the prisoners to Winchester on 27 January 1650 to appear before the local Justices of the Peace. This was a hearing; if the Justices found sufficient grounds, the accused would be held for trial.

Others not in the warrant came of their own accord: Mary Gadbury, Mrs. Woodward and Goody Waterman. The Justices were Thomas Bettesworth and Richard Cobbe. The examinations took place on 28 January 1650 (near the cathedral where Ellis preached) in Bettesworth's house. Many people crowded inside to see the events. At first Franklin's crew asserted themselves confidently. Goody Waterman, whom Ellis termed a very talkative woman, addressed those around her cryptically, declaring that if the witnesses did not speak the stones would speak. To a man who told her to stand further away as her breath stank, she retorted that her breath was of the Lord. Waterman referred to another woman as a babe a week old; Ellis explained that Franklin's followers recalculated their ages from the date of their rebirth. Indeed the idea of rebirth, so evident in chiliastic religion, is especially pronounced in this case, since Gadbury used birth simulations to effect conversions.

Gadbury became enraged when someone called Franklin "fellow", demanding how he dared address his saviour thus. The little group was still heady and bold as the proceedings began. When Mrs. Woodward came in to be examined by the Justices, Mary Gadbury called out "*Come in my Elect Lady*". Goody Waterman referred to herself as the King's daughter, all glorious within. The Justices had various signed testimonies that Franklin had claimed to be Christ and that Spradbury and Woodward had declared him to be Christ. According to other witnesses, Dixon had claimed to be God himself; yet at other times he had denied God's existence.¹⁸

Blasphemy, the most obvious charge, was difficult to define or prove. In 1648 Parliament had passed an ordinance punishing with death those who maintained such heresies as atheism, obstinately without recantation. The law did not specifically prohibit posing as Christ but in defining Christ's nature in orthodox terms left Franklin and Gadbury open to prosecution.¹⁹ As testimony accumulated, other charges fell into place. William Woodward admitted that Gadbury and Franklin called themselves husband and wife and slept together in one bed in his house. This opened the way for a charge of bigamy. Mrs. Woodward declared that Gadbury had given birth to the spirit of Franklin, which she received as her saviour. The Justices pounced on this, thinking they might



Southampton (Hampshire) from John Speed's *England Wales Scotland and Ireland Described* (1627 but 1646?). Redpath Tracts, II, LXXCIII, 1649.
(Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)

discover an infanticide, a capital crime. Nothing could be proved from this, however, except that Gadbury went through birth pains as a device to express spiritual rebirth and to convert people.

At first none of those arrested would give their names, callings or habitations, since these belonged to their fleshly past. The Justices threatened that if they refused to identify themselves they could be sent to the House of Correction as rogues. Scared, Franklin testified but stuck to his story. He admitted he had a wife and three children according to the flesh; he had gone to Woodward's house with a woman he called his spouse; a vision had told him Gadbury was appointed for him and that he must leave his former wife; Gadbury had believed in his integrity and followed him; he had preached to groups of twenty or more affirming he was the son of God, crucified at Jerusalem; and he had assumed this fleshly body three years earlier (when his experiences began). When told that Scripture placed Christ not on earth but in Heaven at right hand of God, Franklin replied that scripture was nothing but "*types and shadows*" - a catch phrase among the reborn.²⁰

Less cautious, Mary Gadbury refused to give her name, claiming that she no longer had a husband according to the flesh; that her Maker was her husband - the Lord of Hosts his name; and that he was within her. She had been in Jerusalem a week ago and seen Franklin crucified; Jerusalem was every where. She admitted sleeping with Franklin but, perhaps out of caution, affirmed "that it was without pollution or defilement, and denied that there had been any carnal copulation between them." She claimed that she and Franklin shared the innocence of Adam and Eve before the Fall; in this she unconsciously echoed mediaeval heretics.²¹ Gadbury implied that they would have been justified in having sexual relations but had not done so. The Woodwards also testified that Franklin and Gadbury had shared a single bed in their house. Persons of the same sex shared beds; however, contemporaries assumed the worst if men and women shared the same bed or spent the night under the same roof when they belonged to different households. Ellis thought their reckless cohabitation must be condemned whether or not they had actually committed adultery.

The Justices assumed they were guilty of adultery

and perhaps had married bigamously. Bigamy was punished by death. Most authorities treated adultery among the lower orders as a kind of breach of the peace which might result in illegitimate children and the destruction of households, leaving all members dependent on public charity. Proof of such misconduct would discredit Franklin's and Gadbury's religious pretensions and increase the grounds for punishing them. The court found it easier to enquire into Gadbury's sexual misconduct than to pursue her muddled heresies. Her defiance galled them. Ellis recounted an incident which, he claimed, proved Mary Gadbury's impudence (it also proved her quick wit). Many of the women present thought that her complexion was so fresh and beautiful that she must be painted. Holding up a candle (by now it was dark), one of the Justices told her:

that she looked so fair, that he did scarce believe it to be natural; whereupon she stept forth presently, and very boldly put her face very near to the candle and said, That she was glad, that the glory of God did shine so bright in her face, that they were forced to admire it.²²

Her beauty proved natural. Use of cosmetics would have damaged Gadbury's reputation further as a sign of lewdness. Typically, the Justices focused on immorality when dealing with a troublesome, bold woman.

THE RECANTATIONS

The preliminary examinations ended, and so far Franklin's followers had braved the onslaught of authority. However, the hearing was not over. The Justices decided that the best way to shock Franklin's followers and stop his religious movement was to make him recant. Probably citing the capital terms of the 1648 law on blasphemy, they warned him that he stood in great danger and that the only way to save himself was to admit his wickedness. Ellis noted that they held out the hope of gentle treatment if he would recant immediately. At this point the little heresy collapsed. Its Christ decided to save his skin, unlike the true fanatic who forces his opponent to martyr him. Franklin agreed to sign whatever recantation the

Justices prepared. So Justice Bettesworth drew one up quickly, in which Franklin disavowed being Christ and declared repentance. Franklin signed it. Ellis did not offer an opinion as to Franklin's sincerity.

As the Justices had intended, Franklin's recantation threw his followers into confusion. Horrified, Mary Gadbury watched her idol fall and took it hard. When the Justices showed Mary Gadbury the recantation, she looked at Franklin with "a very angry countenance" and demanded, "*Hast thou done this? is this thy hand?*" Downcast, Franklin remained silent for a time. At last he answered, "*you see what the times are*" or "*you see what condition we are fallen into*" or words to that effect. Betrayed as both accomplice and follower, Gadbury was shocked by his collapse. Obviously the two had not rehearsed how to deal with arrest and prosecution. At this point (or perhaps later), Gadbury declared she would never have believed Franklin's confession if she had not seen it herself; she would have laid down her life for the truth of what Franklin had told her; she had lived with him because she had believed he was Christ not Franklin; now she realized he had abused her. Spradbury made as if to strike Franklin, denouncing him for deceiving them. Thus, said Ellis, was their Christ soon reckoned a deceiving villain: "So uncertain, so changeable, are these giddy people, and upon such sandy foundations is their whole salvation layd by them."

Now that the Justices had deflated the heresy, they disposed of the people before them. William Woodward, Spradbury and Dixon had to give security to appear before the next Assizes, a circuit court. Its judges dealt with serious or capital crimes and examined the cases of suspected felons held in gaols. Franklin and Gadbury, the instigators, were a more serious matter. Since the blasphemy charges seemed difficult to define, the Justices imprisoned Gadbury and Franklin on suspicion of the capital crime of bigamy. Ellis declared that the Justices had good and just grounds to assume that they had married each other bigamously. After all, they had been sleeping in the same bed and calling each other husband and wife. Furthermore, Franklin had confessed to having a wife, while it was reported that Gadbury had a husband.

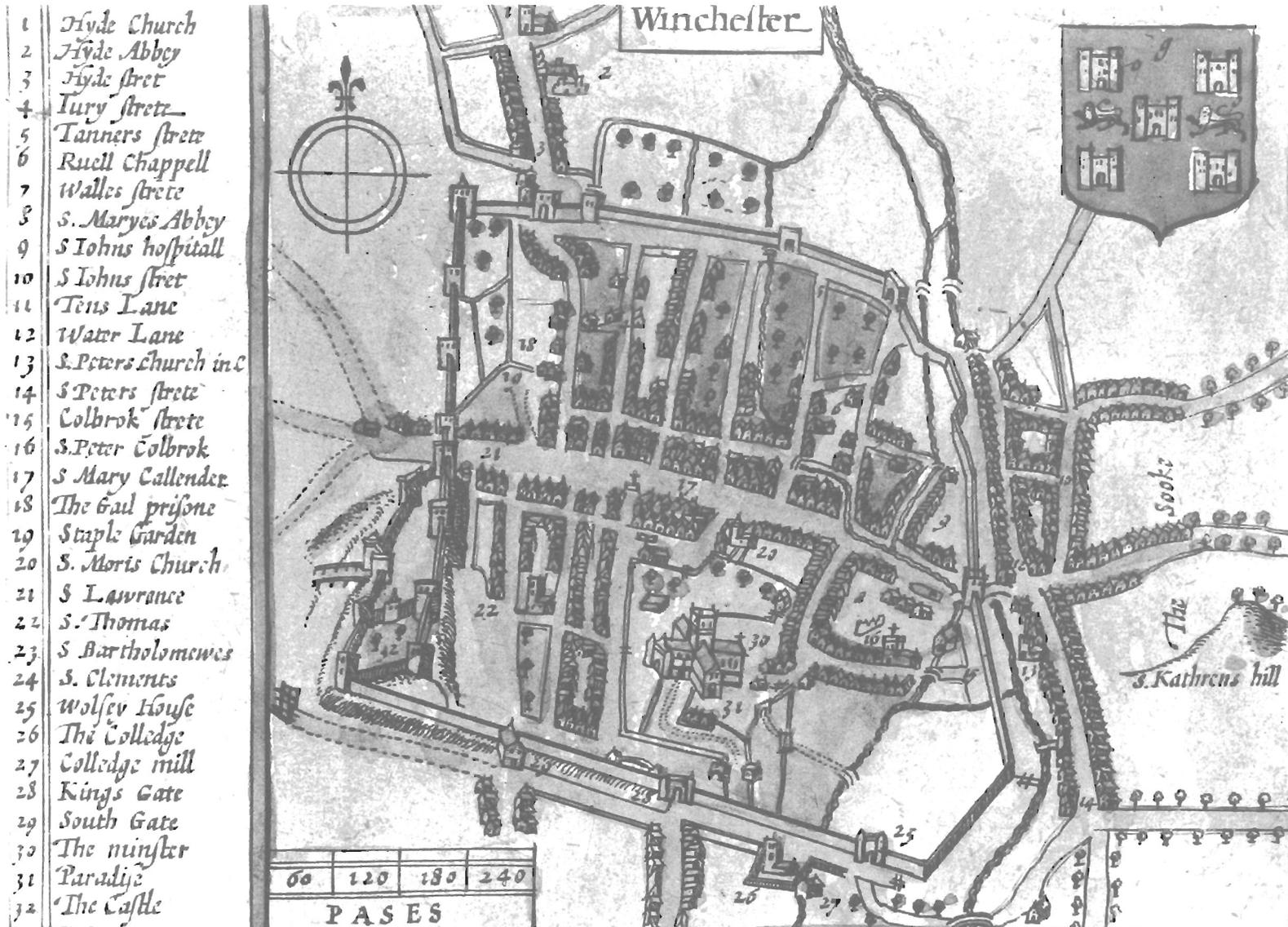
Franklin was sent to the gaol where as a felony suspect he was chained by the legs until the Assizes.

He may have confessed immediately in order to avoid worse. Mary Gadbury received harsher treatment because in addition to the suspicion of bigamy and adultery, she had refused to divulge her name, place of origin, or marital status - hoping perhaps to make it harder to charge her. Her refusal meant the Justices declared her to be a "lewd woman and rogue at law". They committed her to the Winchester House of Correction where she was whipped several times "according to the custom of it".²³ The gaols, often located in castles in the county towns, were intended chiefly to hold prisoners awaiting trial. Houses of Correction or bridewells had been set up in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to reform and punish rogues by giving them a steady routine of work as well as whipping or wearing of fetters.²⁴

On 4 February 1650 after a week of imprisonment, Gadbury was brought back before the Justices alone and downcast. Like most of his contemporaries, Ellis found it natural that contrition must sometimes be extracted with the savage force that had been brought to bear on Mary Gadbury:

And having now suffered a little hardship, and tasted somewhat of the smart of the whip, the height of her spirit becomes to be somewhat abated; now she with abundance of tears laments her condition wherein she is, and desires all favour that may be from the Justices.²⁵

Gadbury now revealed her name, admitted she had a husband and children, and made a rambling confession lasting two hours, hoping to win her release from the House of Correction. Ellis used this testimony as the basis of his narrative. He noticed that Gadbury told much more than the Justices wanted. She talked about her voices, revelations and visions, to which the Justices did not listen attentively. But Ellis paid close attention: "what she spake, I writ from her own mouth, being willing to learn somewhat of the wiles of *Satan*, whereby she and others by her had been deceived". This eye and ear witness testimony made Ellis's account more dependable and detailed than most other writers inveighing against the reported crimes of Ranters, Seekers, and the like. The Justices had hinted at milder treatment if she recanted. Like Franklin, she signed a recantation regretting her heresy. In it she



Map of Winchester from John Speed's Map of Hampshire, ca. 1720?
 (Map Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)

admitted that she had been deceived by the devil to sinfully accompany William Franklin, attributing to him what should only be attributed to Christ. Though a skilful speaker, she had to sign her recantation with a mark as she could not write.

THE IMPRISONMENT

Now that Gadbury had cooperated, confessed, and recanted, the Justices sent her to the easier conditions of Winchester gaol. There she and Franklin awaited the Assizes, which would hear the charge of bigamy. Ellis complained that after a week or so apart these companions in wickedness now spent the next five weeks waiting for the Assizes in the same place. Conditions in gaols were fairly lax, although prisoners depended on outside friends for subsistence and comforts. At the gaol, crowds of curious people visited Gadbury and Franklin. Many visited the imprisoned couple to savour the scandal or to confute their errors. Some visitors believed them saints. Others sympathized with them and believed they had been wronged or persecuted. Some brought them daily provisions. Ellis noted that Gadbury was as well supplied as she would have been at liberty. Her attractiveness and dramatic talk probably helped. The numbers who supported the couple then or previously cannot be known, although Ellis feared they had several hundred adherents - a Royalist soldier turned sectary put the number at five or six hundred. His evidence was suspect as he also reported that Franklin continued to appear freely among his followers while his body was in prison.

Ellis visited both Franklin and Gadbury. He found Franklin difficult to deal with since he was wary, avoided speaking in front of third parties, and spoke slowly and carefully, apparently fearing entrapment. Ellis found that Franklin feared the trouble he had got into but did not seem to understand the enormity or consequences of impersonating Christ. Franklin blamed his followers, claiming they had been the ones to affirm he was Christ. He repented but only in generalities: "*If I have deceived any one, I shall be sorry for it*". He avoided admitting to specific blasphemies or heresies; a good tactic as he might face charges under the blasphemy law. Ellis found that Franklin though uneducated had the gift of many lower class preachers of the times. Ignorant of the fine points of religious

theory, he spoke plausibly and could easily convince simple people. Ellis called his speech typical of the Familists, from whom Ellis assumed Franklin had "sucked in all these wicked Principles" (presumably, the belief that free grace put him above moral law). His talk perverted scripture with "Allegorical fancies". At a time when sermons provided many people with their chief intellectual stimulation, enthusiasts like Franklin and Gadbury easily absorbed the concepts, phraseology, and cadences of their preachers.

Ellis found Gadbury talked freely but inconsistently. Occasionally she defended her actions. She claimed dispensation from scripture for lying with Franklin in apparent adultery. A minister asked if she felt ashamed. She replied that sin had brought shame into the world but when people "*come to be in Christ*" the shame was taken away. She sometimes complained that Franklin had undone her and was to blame for everything. Other times she seemed to excuse him. Ellis thought that Gadbury had left her fears and contrition behind her at the House of Correction; now that she was in gaol, she became too familiar with Franklin, whom she saw regularly. Like Franklin, she back-tracked somewhat from her recantation. Freer conditions, the influence of visitors, and proximity to Franklin may have encouraged Gadbury to reaffirm her revelations. She admitted that she had been deceived - that Franklin was not Christ - but vowed the voice came from Jehovah not the devil: "she would stand it out even to the death those visions to be of God". Though triggered by meeting Franklin, the voice may have meant more to her than he did. Ellis and others argued that her recantation could not be taken seriously, since if she clung to her voices she might return to her evil ways.²⁶

THE ASSIZES

In March 1650 after two months in gaol, Franklin and Gadbury appeared together before the Winchester Assizes on bigamy charges. The two judges of the Western Circuit were Robert Nicholas (1595-1667) and Henry Rolle (1589?-1656). Rolle judged the couple by himself. Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, Rolle helped settle the Western Circuit during disorderly times. He was a conservative who opposed changing the fundamental laws. His influential law reports and

abridgements were published in the 1660s and 1670s.²⁷ Franklin was presented at the bar first. He renounced any claim to being Christ; declared he hoped to be saved by Christ; declared himself sorry for his errors (but in general terms, evasively, Ellis noted); and subscribed to his earlier recantation. He presented certificates testifying to his distempers in 1646, perhaps to claim that what he had done was in distracted fits (rather like an insanity defence today). Ellis found no proof of illness since 1646 and thought Franklin rational. Franklin's testimony ended before Ellis arrived but he gave a full account of the proceedings as Gadbury joined Franklin standing before the judge.

The information given to the Justices in January was read; witnesses gave their testimony *viva voce*. The constable who had arrested the couple testified that he found them in bed. They had upbraided him for his boldness, demanded how dared he come into the presence of the Lord, and told him to take off his shoes as he stood on holy ground. Gadbury, often more reckless than Franklin, had claimed she was the mother of Christ and had borne Franklin. The constable added that William Woodward tried to win him over to them.

Gadbury admitted that she had taken Franklin for something she now realized he was not. Rolle repeatedly demanded if she had had sexual relations with Franklin and why she had shared his bed. Gadbury defended herself against the charge of bigamy by testifying that Franklin had denied having a wife and children. Denying bigamy and adultery, she declared that she accompanied him as a spiritual not carnal man and that she had had no carnal relations with him. Instead, she lived with him "as a fellow-feeler of her misery". At this, the whole court room laughed uproariously. Some said, "*Yea, We think you companied with him as a fellow-feeler indeed.*" The language of religious enthusiasm often invited such vulgarities. Judge Rolle angrily denounced their actions. Their opinions were so ridiculous he could not believe anyone of sound mind could take them seriously. He was shocked that Woodward, a minister, could have been seduced by their opinions. As for Gadbury's claim that she shared Franklin's bed spiritually, not carnally, he retorted that any whore might use this excuse to cover up her adulteries.²⁸

The Assizes' business with Franklin and Gadbury had been bigamy. However, Rolle had to drop the charge. They had not gone through a marriage ceremony nor even admitted to adulterous sexual relations. Still they were a public nuisance and could be detained. He sentenced Franklin to remain in Winchester gaol until he could find bonds for good behaviour. No guiltier than Franklin, Gadbury was once again treated more punitively - probably because she seemed to mix promiscuity with her other crimes. Rolle sent her to the House of Correction rather than the gaol to await the next County Quarter Sessions Court to be judged for unspecified misbehaviour rather than bigamy (unproven) or blasphemy (recanted). Gadbury pleaded not to be sent to the House of Correction. She argued that she had been there already (for refusing to identify herself) and should not be punished twice for the same offence. Rolle told her the punishment was too light for so lewd a woman; her offence, presumably adultery, was all the greater because it was done under religious pretences, and the House of Correction was too good for her. To most men of the time, such an offence was also all the greater because she was a woman. Transferring her from gaol to the House of Correction appears to have been vindictive on the judge's part, since she had not yet been found guilty of any charge. In effect, she was treated as a rogue needing reform rather than as a prisoner awaiting trial.

William Woodward, Spradbury and Dixon also had to appear. At first Woodward denied that he had owned Franklin to be Christ. Then a witness, Thomas Muspratt, testified that Woodward had accepted Franklin as Christ. Reluctantly, Woodward confessed that he had been taken in by the couple's voices and revelations. Finally he alleged he had been duped. Turning against the couple, he said he supposed they were witches. The judges did not pursue the possibility of witchcraft. Rolle sentenced him like Franklin to gaol until he found security for good behaviour. (Later, Woodward would also lose his ecclesiastical living.) And since it had been proven that the Woodwards knew Franklin and Gadbury were adulterers and entertained them nonetheless, the judge ordered that Mrs. Woodward be indicted as a bawd, and be brought to answer at the next Assizes. Like Gadbury, Mrs. Woodward was treated worse because she was a woman suspected of sexual misconduct. William Woodward,



Henry Rolle. Frontispiece from his *Abridgment des Plusieurs Cases et Resolutions del Common Ley*. London: 1668.

(Courtesy Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.)

Dixon and Spradbury acknowledged their errors but were imprisoned until they found security for good behaviour; having friends, they found securities the same day and were released.²⁹

THE OUTCOME

Gadbury petitioned the Assize judges to remit her sentence to the House of Correction. Her petition blamed Franklin: he had falsely pretended to be Christ; his "*vehement perswasions*" and showing her scripture for his false purposes had won her over; he had forcibly persuaded her to believe in him, sell her goods and follow him. Having lost all, she now suffered in the House of Correction, contrite for her errors. She declared she had always lived honestly; several London neighbours signed her petition.

Chief Justice Rolle had shifted the case down to the Quarter Sessions, since it involved lewdness rather than bigamy. He also made sure that Gadbury would be punished until her appearance in court. The authorities had separated Gadbury's case from Franklin's. Gadbury went to the House of Correction where she was whipped regularly until the Easter Quarter Sessions. There her distress resembled that of her previous appearance after a term in the House of Correction. Tearfully petitioning for mercy and admitting her errors and evil behaviour, Gadbury won her discharge. The Justices held great arbitrary power over prisoners of Gadbury's low social status. Consequently, if she had not made a convincing show of penitence, she might have been imprisoned longer. Gadbury's friends may have been some help in getting her released. On 22 April 1650 Gadbury left Winchester by the weekly coach to London, six months after setting forth with Franklin as the bride of Christ. Franklin, who had escaped more lightly until now, suffered longer. His notoriety was so great that no one would come forward to sponsor his release with monetary security. Ellis thought his supporters were too ashamed to help him. Franklin was still in gaol in May when Ellis's tract came out.³⁰

Ellis placed the Franklin and Gadbury episode in context by citing the excesses and blasphemies of such earlier sects as the Anabaptists of Munster in Germany. He declared that to avoid chiliastic errors one must stick closely to scripture and avoid intuition and strange

influences. He traced Franklin's and Gadbury's errors to their involvement with the Baptists - the nursery of all the errors recently disturbing England. He noted that many of the couple's followers were Baptists. While some Baptists might be godly, they should take warning from the fact that their congregations never survived long; God always scattered them. Ellis found that the Baptist belief that Christ would reign on earth provided fertile ground for false messiahs. Thus Mary Gadbury had believed Christ would come in the flesh to reign in England; she asked Franklin whether this had been revealed to him; he seized the opportunity to declare he was Christ - and the Baptist belief came to blasphemous life.

Ellis tackled a difficult question: had Franklin and Gadbury really seen visions and heard voices to the effect that Franklin was Christ? If so, had they been deceived by the devil? Or had they made the voice and visions up to deceive others? Ellis balanced his evidence rationally. He found Gadbury and Franklin more fraudulent than deluded but he also accepted that Gadbury's fits, voices, and visions may have been involuntary. He attempted no blanket explanation for Franklin's strange spiritual frenzy.³¹ As a minister, Ellis must have realized that many instances of religious enthusiasm could not be set aside as mere frauds. Yet he feared that Franklin and Gadbury posed a real threat to religion and public order. Ellis argued that, even if they had seen and heard what they claimed, they should have realized that God did not deal in this way. They remained guilty, since the purport of the phenomena was so obviously wicked that they should have known the devil caused it. Ellis had no doubt that the devil might intervene in daily life in this way. Concluding, he warned that the story of Franklin and Gadbury showed that his readers must shun strange innovations, and thus, "We may be preserved from the deceits of the many Antichrists which are now abroad in the world. Amen."³²

Given the seriousness of the initial charges against Franklin and Gadbury - blasphemy and bigamy - the authorities reacted in a fairly reasonable and restrained way. They let them recant the blasphemy (as the law of 1648 provided) and found insufficient evidence of bigamy. The authorities squelched the Christ imposture, imposed brief punishments, secured sureties for good behaviour, and sent the miscreants home. The

magistrates assumed the couple was guilty of adultery but they lacked a statutory remedy beyond the brief imprisonments they had imposed. The church courts had prescribed public penances for adultery but the courts had been abolished by 1645. Since then Parliament had been drafting laws to punish sexual immorality and other vices; on 10 May 1650 it finally passed a law punishing adultery with death. Things might have gone harder for Franklin and Gadbury if this law had been in effect a few months earlier - although as it turned out, juries nearly always refused to find those charged guilty.

The case - and the publication in late May 1650 of *Pseudochristus* - probably influenced the terms of a new act against blasphemy. The Presbyterian-influenced blasphemy act of 1648 had failed to foresee messianic deceptions. Now controlled by the Independents, Parliament brought in a new act against blasphemy and atheism on 21 June 1650, which passed less than three weeks later. Aimed at Ranters and their like who had been active during the past year, the terms of the act may have been written with Franklin and Gadbury in mind, since the first heresy condemned was that of declaring oneself or another to be God. Six months in prison was the punishment for this heresy or for maintaining that sins of the flesh were righteous instead of sinful. Lunatics were exempted.³³

Convinced that gross indecencies were being practised under the cloak of religion, Parliament particularly wanted to crack down on the Ranters, detested as anarchists and libertines.³⁴ The act's preamble declared that many men and women lately had been rejecting not only the doctrines of the gospel but also civil and moral laws to such an extent that they threatened the dissolution of society. Unlike the act of 1648, which had been restricted to purely theological questions, the act of 1650 reveals great concern over the social disruption caused when people put heretical doctrines into practice. Parliament lumped impersonating God with earthy Ranter-like sins: swearing, drunkenness, cheating, theft, sodomy, fornication, adultery, filthy speaking, and the like. The act demonstrated the contemporary belief that attacks on morals, property, and scripture were all related and that social and religious heresies tended to amalgamate. Although originally planned to carry the death penalty like the act of 1648, the law of 1650 carried the far milder penalty of six months imprisonment.³⁵

Religious enthusiasm gave Franklin and Gadbury the excuse and idiom to reinvent their drab unhappy lives, find exciting new partners, and take over the chief roles in the Christian religious drama that dominated their imaginations. Yet Franklin and Gadbury and the sectaries left no lasting legacy of increased sexual freedom. The research of Hill and of Thomas indicates, however, that the sectarian insistence on the importance of the individual's direct relationship with God encouraged greater democracy in church, state, and family.³⁶ The sects' most direct contribution in this regard was their claim that wives might worship apart from their husbands - that in the matter of worship if in nothing else, wives had a higher duty than obedience to husbands.

It is striking how voices and visions obsessed and justified the Franklin group. Franklin, Gadbury, both Woodwards, and perhaps others claimed to have seen visions or heard voices. They assumed God and the Devil actively intervened in their lives. Did they really have revelations? Did they make them up? Did they do both? When we ask this, we must remember that their truth and experience is not ours. We may see a manic depressive and his possibly epileptic mistress; their converts saw Christ and his queen. Ellis had few doubts. He knew their heresy was false; he granted that they may have believed their revelations, though Devil-inspired; and he charged that they used visions and religion to cloak their desire to run away together.

THE AFTERMATH

Franklin and Gadbury served as a brush to tar other religious enthusiasts, particularly the Quakers. In 1678 Thomas Comber, an Anglican minister cited *Pseudochristus* in a tract directed against the Quakers and their claims to experience revelations. In a chapter on the "Partners and Competitours in Revelation" of the Quakers, Comber described Ranters, Seekers, ancient heresies, and Franklin and Gadbury, naming the Woodwards and Spradbury as their followers. Not knowing whether the little sect had had a name, he retroactively baptised them "Revealers" in his index. Admitting the Quakers probably would not have accepted Franklin and Gadbury, Comber used the pair to prove that those who claimed revelations were

usually deluded. Following Ellis's terminology closely, he described Franklin's prophecies and Gadbury's fits and visions, calling her Franklin's whore.³⁷ Comber hoped their excesses would persuade moderate Quakers to abandon personal revelation and visions in favour of traditional scripture study and Anglican doctrine. Aside from Comber, by 1678 most English tract writers detested Catholics more than Quakers.

Something is known about the later lives of the people whose paths crossed Franklin's and Gadbury's. Humphrey Ellis, like many other Puritan ministers, lost his living in the ejections of 1662. Proving true, perhaps, to the rationalism demonstrated in his search for the truth behind the Franklin and Gadbury case, he soon conformed to the established church. In December 1664 he became Rector of Mottistone on the Isle of Wight, dying there in April 1687.³⁸ On 12 March 1655, at Salisbury on their Western Circuit, Judges Rolle and Nicholas narrowly escaped dying like the felons they condemned. They were caught by rebellious Royalists who wanted to hang them, but the leader John Penruddock let them go. When Penruddock and others were tried (and condemned) for treason soon afterwards, Rolle angered Cromwell by refusing to serve as one of the judges - perhaps because he (Rolle) was a party concerned in the events or because Penruddock had been promised his life in return for surrendering. Rolle had scruples about another case, resigned as Chief Justice, and died in 1656.³⁹

The *Pseudochristus* episode had a startling sequel. William Woodward renewed his faith in Franklin in 1660, as the monarchy came back and the Church of England and its bishops regained authority. Although Woodward had recanted his belief in Franklin at the Assizes (under threat of punishment), by 1660 he seems to have revived or reiterated his belief in the man he and his wife had sheltered ten years earlier. By then Woodward had left Hampshire and become Rector of Trottescliffe in Kent. There, on several occasions, Woodward repeated his blasphemous belief in Franklin. His foolhardy words and deeds once more caught up with him. Shocked members of his flock brought charges against him or cooperated with church authorities to oust him. His past adherence to Woodward and Gadbury played a major part in discrediting him. Woodward probably lost his living

some time before August 1662, the date when 1000 or so Nonconformist ministers were ejected under the terms of the Act of Uniformity. His case appears to have gone to the ecclesiastical Court of Delegates on appeal from the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury during the latter's visitation of the diocese of Rochester. The depositions about Woodward's indiscretions were taken down between 9 July and 16 November 1663. The records of the earlier ecclesiastical case against him as well as the final sentence of the Court of Delegates in 1666 have not survived.⁴⁰ However, the sentence of 1666 probably confirmed the deprivation of Woodward's Trottescliffe living.

The witnesses' depositions give a fairly good idea of the charges against Woodward. They also confirm Ellis's earlier depiction of Woodward as an unstable enthusiast. Woodward was charged in the church courts with publicly denouncing the Lord's Prayer, the teachings of the Church of England and the Bible. Moreover, his wife and children were reputed to be Quakers. Particularly damaging was his involvement with Franklin and Gadbury, made notorious by gossip and his own admission - or boasting - to many acquaintances. The church authorities dug up Woodward's old foe Thomas Muspratt of Winchester, who had testified against Woodward in 1650. In his tract, Ellis had reported that Muspratt testified before both the Justices and the Assizes that Woodward had declared that Franklin was Christ. Muspratt's words had helped force Woodward to confess and then retract his belief in Franklin.⁴¹ Now Muspratt gave evidence against Woodward again. His testimony of November 1663 firmly identified the William Woodward of Trottescliffe, Kent as the same William Woodward who had been the heretical minister of Crux Easton, Hampshire and who had harboured Franklin and Gadbury when they had been arrested. Muspratt repeated his testimony of 1650: that Woodward had told him Franklin was Christ.

Witnesses told the Court of Delegates of Woodward's more recent offences: that in the spring of 1660 he had ranted against orthodox doctrine and repeated his belief that Franklin was Christ or at least possessed of the spirit of Christ. Whether he had seen Franklin since the events of 1650 is unknown. Woodward may have been provoked by the impending restoration in May 1660 of Charles II and the

established church. In 1659 he had remarked to one witness, John Bewley, that if Charles II attempted to regain his throne, 40,000 armed men would oppose him. Bewley's was the fullest testimony given against Woodward; much of what he said was repeated by others. Bewley declared (in March 1663) that Woodward had often spoken of lodging Franklin and Gadbury at his house in 1649, while they claimed to be Christ and his spouse. The church officials made Woodward's earlier support of Franklin and Gadbury one of the chief points in their case against him.

Bewley and other witnesses portrayed Woodward as unruly and outspoken as well as heretical. Bewley declared that around spring 1660 Woodward had denied doctrines of the Church of England; asserted the Church of England "might bee as well called the Church of Rome"; and said that "a man might profit as much by reading a play-booke as by reading the holy scripture".⁴² In 1660 or 1661 Bewley had given Woodward "a booke of service", probably the Book of Common Prayer (not used by most Presbyterians and Independents), which had been ordered to be read in church on 29 May to celebrate the restoration of Charles II. Woodward refused to read the service. He later told Bewley to "keepe his booke and stopp his breech with it".⁴³ Further discrediting Woodward, other witnesses - perhaps once his friends - William Scudder and William Coward reported that in October 1661 they had drunk five pints of canary wine with Woodward at the Globe Tavern in London. Woodward had drunk "excessively till he was much overtaken in wine and much distemper'd thereby".⁴⁴ At some point, Scudder and a minister threatened to turn Woodward out of his living. Woodward replied that a vision had assured him he would keep his living. Other witnesses repeated their recollections of Woodward's belief in Franklin and his declaration that Franklin was a better saviour than any of them would ever have.

An obvious affront to the orthodox authorities, Woodward had been deprived of his living of Trottescliffe before the testimony of 1663 cited here. He had resisted the loss of his place and income. He had laid "violent hands" on John Stacey, minister of Ridley, who had been ordered to announce the sequestration of Woodward's tithes for the use of the next incumbent. He prevented Stacey from going into the pulpit to make this announcement. In front of

Bewley and others in February 1663, Woodward broke the windows of his former church.⁴⁵ It may be presumed he did not regain a church living. Like many other deprived clerics, he may have continued to minister to Nonconformists, taught school or sunk to some craft or labour.

The court records of 1663 prove that Franklin had cast a spell over Woodward as well as Gadbury, and a longer lasting one at that. It is unclear whether Woodward was still in touch with Franklin when he revived his praises in 1660. Surviving evidence indicates that Woodward was Franklin's most enduring and last disciple, keeping his vision of Christ on earth alive while the Restoration church blighted the religious freedom so briefly won.

Nothing more is heard of Mary Gadbury, returning in 1650 to London and her daughter after her heady, magnetic reign as the bride of Christ. While discarding Franklin, she had clung to her voice as Joan of Arc had. Whether it spoke to her again or if she rejoined her husband may only be guessed. Was she an unfortunate madwoman led astray by the man she loved and worshipped? Or was she the main instigator? Her visions, voices, and false births converted acolytes to the quieter, often absent Franklin. As his Precursor, she created him as much as he imposed his story on her. Far more than Franklin, Gadbury is preserved in Ellis's compelling portrait. Across 350 years, she speaks from Justice Bettsworth's parlour court, facing her accusers in candle light, full of her adventure, her visions and her love for the man who seemed to be Christ. Then he recanted, she raged, and the romance died.

* * * * *

Notes

The original spelling is retained in quotations. In preparing this article, I have been assisted by comments from Dr. Richard Virr (McGill University), Prof. Stuart Juzda (Vanier College, Montreal), Dr. William Feindel (Montreal Neurological Hospital), and Carol Wiens (Montreal Neurological Institute/Hospital Library). For information on surviving court records, I am indebted to A.H. Lawes (Public Record Office). For reporting a lack of records on the Franklin/Gadbury case, I owe thanks to P.M. White (Hampshire Record Office), Melanie Barber (Lambeth Palace Library), Anne M. Oakley (Cathedral Archives, Canterbury), and the Senior Research Archivist of the Centre for Kentish Studies.

1. The narrative is among the Redpath Tracts in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries: Humphrey Ellis, *Pseudochristus: or, a true and faithful relation of the grand impostures, horrid blasphemies, abominable practices, gross deceits lately spread abroad and acted in the County of Southampton, by William Frankelin and Mary Gadbury, and their companions* (London 1650). RT, I, 1650, 2, 13. Hereafter *Pseudochristus*. The Wing Catalogue reference is E 579. The Thomason Tracts (British Library) reference is E.602 (12). Ellis's preface to the reader was dated 14 May 1650; the imprimatur by Joseph Caryl was dated 18 May 1650; and George Thomason, who collected most publications of the day, acquired his copy on 27 May 1650. Wing (E 578) locates another edition at the Universities of Cambridge and Harvard. Depositions in the records of the Court of Delegates at the Public Record Office (DEL 3/7) confirm the main outline of Ellis's account: see below.

2. The tract is summarized briefly in Norman Cohn, *The pursuit of the millennium* (2nd ed. New York 1961), 336-339 and referred to by C.E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688* (London 1931), 320; A.L. Morton, *The world of the Ranters* (London 1970), 92; Christopher Hill, *The world turned upside down* (London 1972), 40, 137, 200, 255; Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy men* (London 1972), 42-3; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic* (Penguin

1973), 161, 203; and J.F. McGregor and B. Reay, eds., *Radical religion in the English revolution* (Oxford 1984), 133, 185, 204-205.

3. See Hill, *World turned upside down* and K. Thomas, "Women and the Civil War sects", *Past and Present*, no. 13 (April 1958), 42-62.

4. Morton, *Ranters*, 92-3. On Robins, see *Dictionary of National biography*, xvi.1323-24; McGregor and Reay, *Radical religion*, 133.

5. *Pseudochristus*, 48.

6. See McGregor and Reay, *Radical religion*, 58-60, 121-39.

7. Ronald Matthews, *English messiahs* (London 1936), 3-42; Hill, *World turned upside down*, chapter 10; Capp, *Fifth Monarchy men*, 42; Thomas, "Women and the Civil War sects"; Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic*, 162.

8. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 6 vols. (London: 1903-14), ii. 90; William A. Shaw, *A history of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660*, 2 vols. (London: 1900), ii, 543; Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist's memorial*, ed. Samuel Palmer. 2 vols. (London 1775-78), ii, 29; A.G. Matthews, *Calamy revised* (Oxford 1934), 182; Ellis, *Two sermons* (1647), "Address"; *Pseudochristus*, 60. He is not found in the published registers of Oxford or Cambridge graduates. He was not the Catholic Humphrey Ellis (d.1676) in the *D.N.B.*, vi, 700-701.

9. Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, 4.

10. *Ibid.*, 5-9. On Goodwin and Jessey, see *D.N.B.*, viii, 145-148; x.807-809.

11. Isaiah 21:9 "Babylon is fallen, is fallen" and Isaiah 55:12 "For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."

12. Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, 9-10. Hill, *World turned*

- upside down, 255 n.56.
13. Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, 8-16.
14. *Ibid.*, 17-26.
15. Hill, *World turned upside down*, 40, 255.
16. *Pseudochristus*, 26-31, 36.
17. Quarter Sessions records at the Hampshire Record Office lack Calendars of Prisoners for this date. The indictment book for 1646-1660 does not contain entries for Franklin and Gadbury. Ellis's account appears to be the unique record of the proceeding and gives far more detail than most court records.
18. *Pseudochristus*, 31-40.
19. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*. 3 vols., (London: 1911) i. 1133-6: "An Ordinance for the punishing of Blasphemies and Heresies, with the several penalties therein expressed" (2 May 1648).
20. *Pseudochristus*, 38-41.
21. Cohn, *Millennium*, 337.
22. *Pseudochristus*, 42.
23. *Ibid.*, 41-44.
24. 7 *Jac.* I *cap.* 4; Donald Veall, *The popular movement for law reform* (Oxford 1970), 12-17.
25. *Pseudochristus*, 44.
26. *Ibid.*, 44-49.
27. *D.N.B.*, xiv, 431-2, xvii, 162-3; J.S. Cockburn, *A history of English Assizes 1558-1714* (Cambridge 1972), 272-4.
28. *Pseudochristus*, 49-50.
29. *Ibid.*, 51-52.
30. *Ibid.*, 51-53.
31. *Ibid.*, 7-18.
32. *Ibid.*, 62.
33. Ellis's tract was out by late May 1650; the Imprimatur's date is 18 May 1650 and the Thomason copy is annotated 27 May (1650). The act was ordered on 21 June 1650: *Commons' Journal*, vi, 427. Committed, vi, 430. Clauses added, vi, 437. Amendment rejected, vi, 440. Clause added, vi, 444. Passed, vi, 454, 9 August 1650; Firth & Rait, *Acts and ordinances*, ii, 409-12: "An Act against several Atheistical, Blasphemous and Execrable Opinions." The probable influence of the Franklin case is suggested in McGregor and Reay, *Radical religion*, 133.
34. The Ranters were named in the original title of the act (*Commons' Journal*, vi, 427) but were afterwards dropped, probably to broaden the act's effect.
35. As originally envisaged, the 1650 act would have imposed the death penalty rather than imprisonment; see *Commons' Journal*, vi, 427 and the general index to the *Commons' Journals*. As passed, the punishment for a second offence was banishment, while returning from banishment without licence was made a felony.
36. See especially, Thomas, "Women and the Civil War sects", 44.
37. Thomas Comber, *Christianity no enthusiasm: or, the several kinds of inspirations and revelations pretended to by the Quakers* (London 1678), 94, O2v (index). *D.N.B.*, iv, 891-3: "Thomas Comber". Comber's summary is cited by Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism*, 320.
38. Matthews, *Calamy revised*, 182.
39. *D.N.B.*, xiv, 431-432; xvii, 162-163; xv, 790-791; Edward Foss, *The judges of England* 9 vols. (London 1848-64), vi, 474; Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (7 vols. Oxford 1849), v.414-417 (Book XIV, Paragraphs 132-134). The Royalist Clarendon, not a friendly witness, observed that Rolle "who had so luckily scaped at Salisbury, had not recovered the fright, and would no more look those men in the face who had dealt so kindly with him, but expressly refused

to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of law whether the men could be legally condemned:" *Ibid.*, v, 417 (XIV, 134).

40. Public Record Office, London. Records of the High Court of Delegates, Examinations. DEL 3/7: 9 July 1663 - 16 Nov. 1663. My discussion is based on photocopies of the depositions by various witnesses in this set of Examinations. I am indebted to A.H. Lawes of the PRO for a summary of these records and for checking the relevant Act Books (DEL 4), the Cause Papers (DEL 2), and the Repertory Book (DEL 8/71), which yield no further details. Woodward was sentenced on 19 June 1666 but the sentence itself is missing from the records of sentences (DEL 5/18) In noting Woodward's recidivism, Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic*, 161, cites a published reference to the records in the Woodward case: "Return of all Appeals in Causes of Doctrine or Discipline made to the High Court of Delegates, 1533-1832", *British Sessional Papers. House of Commons. 1867-68*, vol. 57, xxi-xxii.

41. Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, 38, 51-52.

42. P.R.O. Court of Delegates. DEL 3/7: 9 July 1663.

43. *Ibid.* Bewley said the incident took place in 1660 or 1661. Returning from exile, Charles II celebrated his thirtieth birthday and entered London on 29 May 1660. Authorities of the restored Church of England pushed to restore the Book of Common Prayer from May 1660 onwards; the Act of Uniformity (April 1662) finally imposed the revised Prayer Book among other conditions.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.* Estimates of the numbers of ejected ministers differ greatly; a conservative estimate of 1000 represents roughly 10% of total livings: Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration* (Oxford 1985), 175-177. Clergy ejected under the Act of Uniformity in August 1662 missed the September tithe and often had difficulty in getting their share of the earlier part of the year from their successors: Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism*, 19-20. This may account for some of Woodward's violence.

Canadian Unity and Quebec in 1942: A Roundtable Discussion among John Humphrey, Hugh MacLennan and Émile Vaillancourt

by A. J. Hobbins

In November, 1942, the CBC broadcast a programme entitled "Canadian Unity and Quebec" across the national network. Set during the divisive background of the Conscription Crisis, this programme was a discussion between three Montrealers - John Humphrey, Hugh MacLennan, and Émile Vaillancourt - who attempted to explain the position, problems and aspirations of Quebec within Canada. Vaillancourt subsequently published the final text of the broadcast, based on the script that the CBC regulations required for such a broadcast. John Humphrey presented McGill University Libraries with an earlier, much lengthier, version of the script which he found amongst his papers and it is published in this article for the first time. The script and annotations, along with other evidence, provide new insights into how the broadcast came about and how the script was developed. In fact, Hugh MacLennan wrote the entire script, based in large part on the ideas of the other protagonists, almost in the form of a one-act play complete with some stage directions. The ideas expressed are important for an understanding of the Canadian unity problem in the mid-century, and still have some relevance after fifty years.

En novembre 1942 la CBC diffusa à l'échelon national, une émission radiophonique intitulée «l'Unité canadienne et le Québec». Avec pour toile de fond la crise de la conscription, cette émission consistait en une discussion entre trois Montréalais, John Humphrey, Hugh MacLennan et Émile Vaillancourt, qui tentaient d'expliquer la position, les problèmes et les aspirations du Québec au sein du Canada. Vaillancourt publia peu après le texte définitif de l'émission, basé sur le script exigé par les règlements de la CBC visant une telle émission. John Humphrey fit don aux bibliothèques de l'Université McGill d'une version antérieure du script, nettement plus détaillée, qu'il découvrit parmi ses papiers et qui est publiée dans le cadre de cet article pour la première fois. Le script et les annotations qu'il comprend, alliés à d'autres renseignements, montrent sous un jour nouveau la genèse de l'émission et l'élaboration du script. En fait Hugh MacLennan, en se fondant en grande partie sur les idées de ses opposants, écrivit seul le script auquel il donna pratiquement la présentation d'une pièce en un acte, allant jusqu'à fournir quelques indications scéniques. Les idées qu'il contient sont importantes pour saisir la nature du problème de l'unité canadienne au milieu du siècle; cinquante ans plus tard, elles sont d'ailleurs toujours d'actualité.

Elspeth Cameron, in her notable biography of Hugh MacLennan, devotes some attention to a radio broadcast the author made prior to writing *Two Solitudes*.¹ Cameron describes this episode as follows:

Canadians who tuned their radios to the national network at five p.m. on Sunday, 29 November 1942, heard a roundtable discussion called 'Canadian unity and Quebec.' In a flat, somewhat nasal voice, coloured by the remnants of an Oxford accent, Hugh MacLennan aired his views on what was popularly called 'the French problem' with John P. Humphrey, a professor of international

law from McGill University, and the French-Canadian author and lecturer Emile Vaillancourt. As the discussion got under way, he found himself more or less in the middle, sympathetic to both English and French points of view: like Humphrey, he was obviously part of the English-speaking élite in Quebec, but because of his loyalty to his Nova Scotian background he also identified with the underdog position expressed by Vaillancourt.

Cameron goes on to draw a variety of conclusions about the debate and its influence on MacLennan.



Hugh MacLennan
Photograph of the portrait by John Lyman, 1946
(Hugh MacLennan Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University
Libraries)

Cameron argues that MacLennan had, a few months previously, developed the thesis that Canada had to become a real nation if it were to have a national literature, that provincial loyalties appeared to supersede national allegiance, and that Canadians were naturally cautious because of the military defeats of the three founding peoples - English, French and the Scottish Highlanders. He used the dialogue with Humphrey and Vaillancourt, the three of them apparently representing these three founding peoples, to further his ideas, to suggest that Canada's national purposes would be "to provide proper social security for our people".² Cameron also notes MacLennan listened to and learned from the ideas of the other two participants, in particular Vaillancourt, about French Canadian perceptions of the rest of Canada, and the difficulties they experienced therein. He was able to incorporate some of these ideas in his projected novel.

Judging from what Cameron wrote, it is uncertain whether she listened to a tape of the broadcast, read a transcript, or both. She mentions the sound of MacLennan's voice, while in the footnotes she refers to a written transcript.³ Cameron's conclusions are supportable were one to assume, as is strongly implied in the transcript, that the radio broadcast was a form of debate between three residents of Quebec, of dissimilar ethnic backgrounds and of differing opinions. Indeed, since this episode represented only a tiny slice of Cameron's immense piece of research, it is not surprising that she took the transcript at face value. Yet to accept this assumption would be to view the broadcast in isolation and ignore the circumstances that surrounded it. A closer examination of these circumstances, and access to certain unpublished manuscripts, would reveal, in fact, that the broadcast was a carefully choreographed and well-rehearsed performance, designed for a specific purpose. Its evolution, from inception to performance, makes a fascinating history.

THE PARTICIPANTS

Some background on the three protagonists is essential to understanding the story. At this time Hugh MacLennan (1907-1990), later a Professor of English at McGill University and a renowned novelist, was a high school teacher who had just seen his first novel,

Barometer Rising, published the previous year. He had spent the first twenty-two years of his life in Nova Scotia, before going to Oxford in 1929 as a Rhodes Scholar and then to Princeton, completing his PhD in 1935. Though clearly MacLennan was academically exceptional, the only position he could find upon completion of his studies was head of the Latin Department at Lower Canada College, a private school in Montreal. He held this post from 1935 until the publication of *Two Solitudes* in 1945. In 1936 he had married Dorothy Duncan (1903-1957), an author of some note, who, in 1942, had more publications than her husband. There is little doubt that MacLennan resented his situation at Lower Canada College, basically then a school for wealthy anglophones, when he felt, with much justice, that his talents suited him for so much more.⁴ His inability to speak French, which he considered his severest educational handicap⁵, restricted him socially to the English side of Montreal and, other than Vaillancourt, he knew only two French-Canadians.⁶ The first, a colleague at Lower Canada College, S.E.H. Peron, was a Protestant working in an anglophone environment and thus scarcely typical of the average French-Canadian. The second was a retired farmer, who helped with odd jobs at MacLennan's North Hatley cottage.⁷ MacLennan spent much of his spare time discussing current events, principally with people from McGill University, or playing tennis, at which he excelled, at the Montreal Indoor Tennis Club on Atwater Avenue.⁸ For Hugh MacLennan in 1942, life could be said to be both limiting and frustrating.

Cameron described Émile Vaillancourt (1889-1968) as an author and lecturer, using the modest description he himself had placed on the published transcript of the broadcast. In fact, he was much more than this. Vaillancourt was an eighth generation Canadian, a descendant of Robert Villancourt who came to Canada from his native Normandy in the mid-seventeenth century. His father, Janvier-Arthur Vaillancourt, was President of La Banque de Hochelaga (later La Banque Canadienne Nationale) for eighteen years, as well as a director of the Imperial Munitions Board in the First World War. Vaillancourt received a Jesuit education in Montreal, a doctorate from the University of Caen and became a Laureate of the L'Academie française. Fluently bilingual, his somewhat varied career included the following: journalist with *La Patrie* in 1907, director of Thomas Cook and Sons (1921-1927),



Émile Vaillancourt, ca. 1940. (Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec)

professor at the University of Montreal and L'École des Beaux-Arts. He then joined the Tourist Section of the Quebec Department of Roads, and subsequently managed the Montreal Tourist and Convention Bureau (1936-1940), in which his duties included being the chief organizer for the state visit of King George VI. He was a prolific author and pamphleteer on a number of subjects, although his most passionate interest was the contribution of the French-Canadian to North America prior to the British conquest. By 1942, his prodigious activities had been recognized by many honours and awards from the academic and public spheres. After the Second World War he was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Cuba (1945-1948), Yugoslavia (1948-1950), and Peru (1950-1955). While his diplomatic career can be viewed as an appropriate governmental acknowledgement of his contributions to the country, it has also been suggested⁹ that his penetrating criticisms of the record of those in power made it desirable to have him exercise his energies and talents abroad for a decade. At the time of the broadcast he appears to have been engaged in working, possibly as Executive Director, with the Quebec Division (which he founded) of the Health League of Canada.¹⁰

John Humphrey (1905-) was born in Hampton, New Brunswick. His early years were marred by tragedy: when he was a year old his father died, his left arm had to be amputated when he was six, and his mother died when he was eleven. He was sent to boarding school at Rothesay Collegiate, not far from Hampton, by his guardians. It was intended that, following the standard curriculum, he would take the McGill examinations at seventeen years of age. Humphrey disliked Rothesay so much that he studied in secret for the provincial matriculation examinations, gaining acceptance at Mount Allison University when only fifteen years old. His two years in Sackville were not academically successful but a visit to his older sister, Ruth, then teaching at Baron Byng High School in Montreal, convinced him to try McGill University. In the next six years Humphrey obtained three degrees from three different faculties¹¹ at McGill, subsequently obtaining a position as a lawyer with Wainwright, Elder and McDougall. In 1936, Humphrey joined the McGill Faculty of Law at the suggestion of his mentor, Percy Corbett¹², teaching first Roman Law and then International Law. He became fully bilingual during

several study leaves in France, on one of which (1929) he met and married Jeanne Godreau, a French-Canadian from the Gaspé. The Humphreys had two principal social circles. First Humphrey was active in the pioneer socialist circles of the day, being a member of the League for Social Reconstruction, which included F.R. Scott¹³, David Lewis¹⁴, Frank Underhill¹⁵, Eugene Forsey¹⁶ and their like, and Jacques Biéler¹⁷, at whose Laurentian cottage they often met. Secondly there was the Montreal artistic community which flourished under the guidance of John Lyman¹⁸ and eventually formed the Contemporary Art Society of Montreal. This was a remarkable group of anti-Academy painters and friends, that included Goodridge Roberts¹⁹, André-Charles Biéler²⁰, Jori Smith²¹, Philip Surrey²² and Marian Dale Scott²³. Many couples in the Lyman circle were, like the Humphreys and Lymans, an alliance between French and English, and the group existed in a happy climate of bilingualism and biculturalism. Indeed, in this "somewhat Bohemian group", Humphrey noted, "there were no 'two solitudes'".²⁴ After the Second World War, Humphrey became the first Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights, in which role he was one of the architects of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. After his retirement in 1966, he returned to the McGill Faculty of Law where he still teaches.

It can be seen even from these brief biographical sketches of three exceptional and distinguished Canadians that they probably did not quite fit the roles that they ostensibly took in the broadcast. The wealthy, well-educated, bilingual and sophisticated Vaillancourt could never have experienced the difficulties that all too often faced the majority of French-Canadians in the rest of Canada. At ease with captains of industry and kings alike, Vaillancourt would have been accepted anywhere. The guise of an arrogant, unilingual, English-speaking Quebecer, living in Westmount and working on St. James Street, heedless of the French about him, seems scarcely appropriate for Humphrey, a leftist lawyer and academic, bilingual, married to a French-Canadian, and thoroughly immersed in the culture of both societies. Finally how could Hugh MacLennan, descendant of the third group of "defeated" peoples, the Scottish Highlanders, show a greater understanding and sympathy for the French position than the English Quebecer merely because he grew up in Nova Scotia? Ironically the "English Quebec" representative,

Humphrey, was born and spent about the same amount of time in the Maritimes as MacLennan had, the difference being that Humphrey became bilingual after he came to reside in Quebec. Since the backgrounds of all three were so different from the roles they played in the broadcast, it becomes apparent that they did not meet by happenstance at the CBC, expressing their views spontaneously. Something of a more contrived nature must have taken place that day.

THE BACKGROUND

In 1940, Humphrey published an article in the *Canadian Forum* entitled "Whither Canada?".²⁵ Vaillancourt was so impressed with the content that he contacted the author.²⁶ Despite their difference in age, they quickly became firm friends, having many ideas in common. Above all they shared a vision of a bilingual and bicultural Canada, in which both founding races would be full participants. They were both federalists, believing their vision could only be achieved by a strong central government, and disliked the parochial attitudes created by regionalism. They discussed and elaborated their ideas many times in each other's homes, agreeing that the low opinion in which Quebecers were held by the rest of Canada was ill-conceived, and that French-Canadians were inappropriately and unjustly treated outside their province. The antagonism between the English and French was especially evident during the conscription crisis of the Second World War. In April, 1942, the Canadian government held a plebiscite asking the electorate to release it from its previous promise not to introduce conscription for overseas service. In English Canada 80% of the voters said "yes", while in Quebec over 70% said "no". As a result Quebec was considered a hot-bed of disloyalty by some Anglophones and, at the time of the broadcast, there were greater than ever impediments to the vision that Humphrey and Vaillancourt shared.

Humphrey and MacLennan became acquainted under different circumstances. Humphrey never considered himself handicapped, possibly because his amputation came so early in life. He was very self-sufficient and was never deterred from attempting and mastering activities one might initially consider required two arms. To this day, he believes that his greatest feat of

"unidexterity" was learning to tie a bow-tie, after which everything else was relatively easy. Amongst other things he played both golf and tennis, developing in the latter a "fast and tricky" serve. He first met MacLennan as a rival across the net at the Montreal Indoor Tennis Club, where a friendship quickly blossomed. It was not long before Humphrey introduced MacLennan and Vaillancourt to each other, and soon all three were discussing their ideas.

THE BROADCAST

In 1942, the CBC broadcast a series of programmes called "Discussion Club" on Sunday evenings on the national network. The programmes originated from the various CBC studios around the country. In November, the Discussion Club was focusing on the question of provincial problems. The emission of Sunday, November 22, had come from Vancouver and was called "The B.C. Problem". Montreal was scheduled to host "The Quebec Problem" on the following Sunday. Humphrey, MacLennan and Vaillancourt, all veterans of local broadcasts, were asked to form the Round Table for the Montreal broadcast. They accepted with alacrity, seeing it as a wonderful opportunity to get their message across to English Quebecers and the rest of the country. At this time producers insisted on a written script, which was checked before the broadcast was aired. Speakers were expected to stick to their scripts.²⁷

The three protagonists met in Humphrey's apartment to discuss how they would handle the half-hour broadcast and the production of the script. They discussed their ideas and it fell, naturally enough, to MacLennan to take notes and subsequently write the script. This he had typed and mimeographed, and the three met again to discuss the draft. Changes were made by hand, but there was not time to produce further typed drafts. Thus what the listeners heard were the ideas of the three men, rewritten and packaged for dramatic or other effect by Hugh MacLennan. Some of Humphrey's parts even contained instructions to state something "(With indignation)" (in support of one of Vaillancourt's home truths) and "(Seriously)" (after MacLennan had made a joke), while Vaillancourt was told to "(Pause)" on occasion. Possibly MacLennan felt such stage direction necessary, fearing



John Humphrey
Drawing by Marjorie Smith, 1934.

that his collaborators lacked the thespian talents to pull this off without such instructions. The time frame within which all this work was done is evidently less than a week. The mimeograph refers to the broadcast of the previous week and seems to be the only one produced. The three men, therefore, went to the studio with hand-corrected copies of their script.

One at least of the mimeographs survived amongst Humphrey's papers, annotated in his hand. Vaillancourt's was evidently used for the production of a pamphlet, which he had published by the Canadian Printing and Lithographing Company. Vaillancourt later bound this pamphlet with a reprint of an article by F.R. Scott and the text of one of his own speeches, publishing them as a booklet entitled *The Canadian Problem* (Montreal, 1942). The three friends had entitled their broadcast "Canadian Unity and Quebec", and Vaillancourt used the same title for the pamphlet. Cameron almost certainly used this pamphlet, guessing understandably but erroneously from the rather obscure title page information, that it was a publication of the CBC. MacLennan's copy does not appear to have survived.²⁸

Vaillancourt produced the pamphlet from the script that he had amended, but it differs very little from the changes that Humphrey had made to his. The pamphlet is rare, but photocopies are easily obtainable from libraries which hold it. Humphrey's script is, however, unique and important for a number of reasons. First, MacLennan's original draft is significantly longer than the final text, and thus included more of the three men's ideas and concerns. There would be a number of reasons for the cutting back the original, as follows: time constraints of a half-hour broadcast; disagreement with MacLennan's interpretation of what they felt; second thoughts about the wisdom of making certain statements; and possibly even because a statement may have been perceived to be too dishonest to the listener. Secondly, it could be said to be an undiscovered literary manuscript, a one-act play by one of Canada's foremost novelists. Thirdly, it sheds some light on the relationship among the three men that is lost in the final version. In the broadcast it was apparently decided that they would address each other by surname only, possibly because it was deemed professional or perhaps to demonstrate a greater distance between themselves than actually existed. In the original script Humphrey

is called "John" by the others, and uses their forenames "Hugh" and "Émile" - in exchanges between the others it is always "Mr. MacLennan" and "Mr. Vaillancourt". This would surely show Humphrey to be the link between the unilingual English Quebecer and the bilingual Francophone, and that the latter two did not yet know each other well. In the broadcast, Humphrey, if he were playing the part of the English Quebecer, was only playing the role MacLennan assigned to him. Perhaps the role was felt to be a dramatic necessity for the English, French and Highland Scottish analogy MacLennan introduced. Finally, it shows MacLennan to be the source of the mimeograph, as the misspelled name "Humphry" appears on the front in the novelist's handwriting.

It is quite clear that, regardless of the roles MacLennan appears to have assigned to Vaillancourt and Humphrey, or the words he might have put in their mouths, both were delighted with the final product and felt that it represented the essence of what they wished to communicate. The fact that Vaillancourt went to the trouble and expense of publishing and distributing the script is an obvious indication of his satisfaction.²⁹ Humphrey's view can be found in another source, which also provides corroboration of MacLennan's role in the production of the script. Eight years after the broadcast, he confided to his diary:

October 2 [1950, Great Neck, N.Y.]

I picked up this evening the little book in which Emile Vaillancourt had printed the text of a radio talk which he, Hugh MacLennan [and I] gave over the C.B.C. in November, 1942. The subject was Canadian Unity and Quebec. We had a preliminary talk in my flat; but it was Hugh who wrote the script. The result is pure MacLennan; for while I would have said the things which I did, had it not been for Hugh, I would never have said them in the way I did. I must say after eight years, that the broadcast reads reasonably well and that the things we said needed to be said.

It was not until many years later that Humphrey came across the original script.³⁰

There is further evidence that the role of writing radio scripts was not unfamiliar to MacLennan. In the

Canadian Unity and Quebec in 1942

summer of 1942 he and his wife had purchased their summer cottage in North Hatley. Dorothy Duncan remained there even on occasions when her husband had to go to Montreal, and so listened to some of his broadcasts from afar. On September 8, 1942, she wrote³¹ to him:

I heard your programme last night.³² Didn't know what time it came on, and my only radio programme time-table didn't show it, so I just kept CBM on all evening. And then suddenly I heard a fine voice reading your unmistakeable words. Swell way to open it. Your own voice was pretty well distorted, however. Not bad, but not as good as your previous broadcasts, because the engineers had their instruments set for the announcer's tones, and even Alex Sim³³ sounded not too good. I thought it was a very good introduction to the series, and certainly you got a lot of publicity out of it. Also... it is very wise indeed for someone else to act what you write. Otherwise, it would be too much of your own personal opinions leading people... or it would seem to be that. Eileen [sic] Ross³⁴ sounded best, incidently. She has a fine voice for the radio.

THE SCRIPT

In view of the importance of the script and, indeed, its cogency to contemporary events, it will be reproduced here in full. This is made problematical by the fact that there are really three documents: the original mimeographed script, the handwritten annotations, and the published version. The following editorial techniques are employed: the original material that remained untouched will be given as straight text; text that was crossed out will be left in its original position but shadowed; handwritten annotations will appear in *italic print*; if the handwritten material replaces crossed out text the *italic print* will immediately follow the shadowed text; distinctions between the final script and the printed version will be footnoted only if they appear to be significant. Using these guidelines it should be easy for scholars to reproduce both MacLennan's original text and the hand-corrected version, although it will not, of course, read

easily. In the printed text, surnames with no designation are used without exception, but this usage is only reflected in this transcription where Humphrey made the change by hand.

* * * * *

Humphry CANADIAN UNITY AND QUEBEC

November 29th, 1942.

Announcer's Introduction:

Speakers: Mr. Emile Vaillancourt
 Professor John Humphrey
 Hugh MacLennan

Time: Sunday, November 29, 5 P.M.

-
- H. Well, gentlemen --- before we get down to this discussion -- I think we'd better remind ourselves that we're talking to the rest of Canada this afternoon. And if for three men from the Province of Quebec to try to do anything like that -- especially at the present time -- it pretty well puts pen them on the spot.
- M. After listening to the broadcast in this series from British Columbia last Sunday afternoon, I gathered we were on the spot even before we came down to the studio. How did you feel about that, Mr. Vaillancourt?
- V. Oh, I'm a native French-speaking citizen of Quebec -- and of Canada. So being put on the spot by the other provinces is hardly a new experience for me.
- M. Well -- I grew up in Nova Scotia -- so perhaps I can understand how you feel.
- V. Yes.. perhaps you understand a little how I feel. But your case is different, just the same. A good many of the other eight³⁵ provinces of Canada seem to us French-speaking Canadians to have a very special spot reserved to put us on. So when you from the Maritimes, Mr. MacLennan -- and

- when you, John -- an English-speaking citizen of Quebec -- hear people in Ontario or in British Columbia speaking about what they call "The Quebec Problem" you don't feel it in your hearts the way we do, and I don't see how it can hurt in quite the same way.
- H. No, Emile Vaillancourt, perhaps it doesn't. But it's beginning to hurt. It makes me thoroughly angry when I Nothing annoys me more than to hear loose talk about the so-called "Quebec Problem". And it's been my experience to discover that those who use the words the most, understand the least what they're talking about, and what they mean by them.
- M. I completely agree with you, John. As a born Nova Scotian I [am] able to know that sectionalism has been the curse of this whole country. If there's a separate "Quebec Problem", there's also a separate "Ontario Problem". And if we keep harping on this point of view, it won't be long before we've invented for ourselves an "Eskimo Problem". So let's at least talk about a Canadian Problem. Let's think about Canadian unity. Can we say it's ever existed in the past? Can we say it's ever likely to exist in the future?
- V. You mean -- is Canada a nation?
- M. That's about as simply as the question can be put. The amount of honest doubt at large in the Dominion right now proves that the nationhood of Canada is not something everyone takes for granted. If it were, we wouldn't be on the air right now. After all, people don't argue about established facts?
- V. I know a lot of people who spend all day arguing about established facts.
- M. So do I, Mr. Vaillancourt --- But the CBC doesn't use the tax-payers money to let them do it over the air.
- H. Well -- before we begin arguing about anything - - we'd better do some defining of terms first...
- M & V. By all means.. That's essential... etc.
- H. First of all -- let's agree on what we mean when we use the term "nation". Would you venture a definition, Emile?
- V. There are obviously several definitions possible. Perhaps if we look at them all, we can finally agree on what we're talking about. So -- to begin with -- some people might say that a nation is an independent body of people living within defined boundaries under a law accepted throughout all their territories.
- H. On that definition, Canada would certainly be a nation. But I would never accept that as describing a nation at all. That's the definition of a state.
- V. Exactly -- for the law doesn't necessarily touch the spirit of a people at all. Surely "nation" is a sociological term, not a legal one? What's your idea on this, Mr. Maclennan.
- M. Well -- a nation seems to me a body of people, living together, with what might be called a collective point of view. In great issues, that point of view tends to become unified. It's what gives a people its national personality. For instance -- the figure of John Bull contains something of the personality of England.
- H. And in Canada our cartoonists have nothing better to fall back on than pictures of Mounted Policemen --No, Then I'm afraid we've got to admit that no one has a clear picture in his mind when he uses the term "Canadian". And because there is no clear picture -- because to date Canadians have never seen themselves clearly in the glass -- our country lacks a clear-cut personality. You can see that lack of a personality in our politics.
- V. The tragedy -- if I may use so strong a word -- is that the provinces understand themselves, but they have never been willing to go very far towards understanding each other. But you haven't given us your definition, John!

- H. Some say that for a country to be a real nation -- and not merely a geographical expression -- it's necessary for it to have a common language and a common race. But I believe that's wrong. Certainly it would rule out Canada.
- V. You're right .. that definition is too narrow. Look at Switzerland - with three, even four, languages and three distinct races. And yet Switzerland is the oldest and soundest democracy in Europe. Look at the Soviet Union. --³⁶
- H. Yes .. to limit "nationhood" to a common language and race makes the definition far too narrow. But what of a common history? Don't you think that might be nearer the truth?
- M. It would be nearer, John, but it wouldn't be the whole truth. And applied to Canada it doesn't get us very far. The races that make up Canada have something of a common history³⁷, but Wolfe and Montcalm hadn't much in common at the Plains of Abraham. And since the Quebec Act there hasn't been much time for our national history to solidify into a genuine national legend.
- V. I don't entirely agree with you there, Mr. MacLennan. Our Canadian history goes back at least as far as the history of the United States. And in French-Canada, it goes back a lot further.
- M. Yes, but with a difference. The United States found its nationhood through a successful revolution in the late Eighteenth Century. We Canadians pride ourselves on our loyalty at that period -- which means loyalty to a colonial status. Besides that, the three principal races which formed the original Canada -- the French, English and Highland Scotch -- had all been defeated in war. The French-speaking Canadian has never forgotten the Plains of Abraham, but the English and Scotch have often forgotten that their ancestors became Canadian on account of military defeats, too.
- H. Well, I suppose the Empire Loyalists were defeated. At least, their side lost the American Revolutionary War. And after the Battle of Culloden the Highlanders pretty well had to leave Scotland or starve. Are you suggesting that the only thing that the original Canadians had in common was the fact of their all having been on the losing side in war?
- M. At least it's one of the things they had in common. And we too easily overlook the way that background affects our actions today. So far as I can see, it's the only thing that explains why all of us know what we're against before we know what we're for. In elections we usually prefer to vote against someone, instead of for someone.
- V. But in spite of these defeats, Canada was settled. And now Well I'd like to say something that we in Quebec feel the other provinces too readily forget. I'd like to repeat what Stanley Baldwin said in Toronto, in April, 1939. This is what he said: "Let Canada never forget that it was the loyalty of Quebec in the American War of Independence .. and subsequently .. that settled the future destiny of Canada, and makes her nationhood a reality today. Two languages.. two cultures.. two great religious branches.. united to form Canada.. and she found unity and freedom".³⁸
- H. The original part of Lord Baldwin's statement -- that Canada would not even have had a chance of becoming a nation had it not been for the part played by Quebec -- is obviously true. But Emile -- do you really accept the latter part of his statement?
- V. I wish I could -- But no, it's not possible to accept that. We haven't found true unity yet. And it does our country no good to pretend we have. I believe we're making progress towards finding it. But I must say this .. To many French-speaking Canadians it doesn't look as though we'd all found equal rights and freedom. And if we're ever going to have that grand union of races that the orators like to talk about in Canada .. both races must have equal rights!
- M. I'm glad you've made that point, Mr. Vaillancourt.

Canadian Unity and Quebec in 1942

- H. Yes, Emile -- the rest of Canada has got to realize that at the present moment the French-speaking Canadian simply doesn't believe he gets a square deal.
- V. Perhaps that's putting it a little strongly. In the Province of Quebec -- in our old home -- we are content enough. But in the other provinces -- (PAUSE) gentlemen, if you were a French-speaking Canadian -- a poor man -- looking for a job in Ontario -- I'm afraid you would soon understand that your race -- in itself -- would make it hard for you to get the kind of work you wanted. I'm sorry to have to say this over the air, but ..
- H. (With indignation) Every honest man knows it's true. And the reverse of the picture doesn't hold good in Quebec, either. Look at the English minority in Montreal and other parts of Quebec itself -- Nobody who walked down St. James Street lives in Westmount as I do could say that the English-speaking minority in Quebec doesn't get a fair chance to earn a living.
- M. Well, John Humphrey -- to get you away from St. James Street Westmount for a moment -- I'd like to go back to this matter of definition of nationality. You know, at the present moment Canada is like a woman with two men courting her. Both those men think their future wife should be just like themselves. But she the two men happen to belong to different races, they have different values in life, and they go to different churches. And because they are so different -- well the woman hasn't made up her mind yet, and the marriage hasn't taken place.
- H. If that sums up the situation we're at a total impasse. Now I think...
- M. Don't push me too far with that metaphor or you'll have me recommending a design for living, and then the engineer will cut the lot of us off the air.
- H. (Seriously) I think I've hit on the only definition of nationhood that can possibly apply to Canada. Here it is, and you can tell me what you think of it. Canada can become a true nation -- a real unity -- on one condition only. That is, if we -- in Canada -- achieve something of a common national purpose.
- V: That's splendid, John.³⁹ That's what I've been hoping and working for to produce for years.⁴⁰ A common national purpose. The future can be better than the past only if we have the will to make it so. In Canada we've looked at the past too often and too long.
- M: It's certainly not an accident that most of our Canadian novels are historical novels.
- H: Or that the motto of Quebec is "Je me souviens".
- M: But what about the war?... Haven't we perhaps a common purpose now in the war?
- H: A common purpose to defeat the Axis? Of course. Except for a very small minority of very noisy people -- all Canada is Canadians agreed on that. And they also agree that this war is not an imperialistic war ...
- V: In spite of what some people in other provinces seem to think, Quebec knows that this is not an imperialistic war. Quebec is in this war -- and her purpose is and her contribution are is far greater than the rest of Canada realizes.
- H: You're right about that, Emile, and I'm glad you've said that it. But to return -- the winning of the war is not the kind of common purpose I had in mind. After all, we share that purpose with every one of our allies among the United Nations.⁴¹ And we in Quebec have to face this fact... the way the war propaganda has been handled in Canada has not strengthened our national unity at all. In fact, last year it nearly strained it beyond endurance. Speaking of the war, the reason it has not become the common purpose that it could have been is that our psychology has been all wrong from the beginning.
- M: Wasn't that because the war was presented to the Province of Quebec in the worst way possible?

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- Wasn't that because Of course, for the government is still presenting the war to us in terms of commercial advertising. Therefore they acted as though the war had to be sold in Quebec. Quebec was made to feel that the moment war broke out as though the rest of the other provinces acted as though they expected Quebec to oppose participation.
- H: It goes deeper than that. The original Not only that. We never adopted a national point of view. Our war posters were bad. Our pageantry was all imported. There were no new Canadian slogans or Canadian songs. We had no Canadian songs, for example.⁴²
- M: There were no new slogans or songs of any kind. I returned to Canada from the United States the day after war was declared. Within ten minutes of being back on Canadian soil I heard a recruiting band playing "Oh, it's a lovely war".⁴³
- H: But to return to the point... When I speak of a Canadian purpose I mean a purpose of our own. I mean a vision of what sort of nation we want Canada to become.
- M: During the last twenty years whatever vision the Fathers of Confederation had has become badly blurred. The trouble is, all visions need renewing. You can't serve the same old thing -- warmed-up -- year after year and have it mean much.
- V: You're right about that, Mr. MacLennan. In spite of our great achievements -- in spite of building the railroads -- of opening up the west and the northland -- even in spite of the wars we've gone through together -- to us in the Province of Quebec it often seems as though the other provinces of Canada preferred to feel a prior loyalty to England. And for any country to feel a prior loyalty to another land makes a true nationhood impossible.
- M: Some Canadians make such an issue out of that prior loyalty to Great Britain, Mr. Vaillancourt, that through their misguided efforts we're the only one of the self-governing dominions without a flag of our own.
- V: And a flag of our own would mean a great deal -- far more than words can express -- to the Province of Quebec.
- M: It's part of the hangover from colonialism. Too many Canadians behave as though no purpose we would possibly have in Canada could ever be important.
- H: Or as though loyalty to Canada -- and pride in Canadian nationhood -- and insistence that we discover a true Canadian purpose -- were disloyal to Great Britain -- which is ridiculous.
- M: As ridiculous as to consider a boy disloyal to his father for putting on long pants and setting up a home of his own!⁴⁴
- V: Now, gentlemen -- I'm going to say something I fear some of my fellow-citizens aren't going to like. But it's got to be said. French-Canada admires and respects Great Britain. She honours the British people and is loyal to their king -- and her own. She is giving to this war more than most Canadians credit her with giving. (Pause) But the emotions of French-Canada towards Great Britain cannot be the same as the emotions of *some* people descended from the British Isles, who live in Canada today. Therefore it is neither fair nor sensible for anyone to expect French-speaking Canadians to feel it necessary to fight merely because Great Britain happens to be at war. There will never be a Canadian national understanding until that fact is accepted and respected. But -- let no one forget this -- Quebec fights now because she believes that England's cause is her own cause *and because of humanity*. I beg my fellow-Canadians not to believe that the voices of the small group of trouble-makers -- those voices which are so eagerly picked up by the equally small handful of trouble-makers in other provinces who want to put Quebec in the wrong -- I ask you not to believe that those voices represent the spirit of my province. If French-speaking Canadians give such men an audience, it's mainly because they feel defiant to people in other provinces who slander Quebec.

So I say again... French-Canada is behind this war now because the great majority of French-speaking Canadians know that their cause is also the cause of England... and of the United Nations... and of all humanity. And, in my opinion, no lesser cause is worthy of a war such as the one we fight now.

H: *Emile Vaillancourt*... you've put the case of Quebec and the war as clearly as I've ever heard it put. Do you agree with that, Hugh?

M: Yes... I think I do. I agree with the statement that the Province of Quebec is behind this war more than the rest of Canada realizes. And it also seems to me that the other provinces overrate the importance of the isolationists here. But Mr. Vaillancourt -- I don't think that mere anger at rude people in other provinces is entirely the only cause of the isolationism that certainly does exist in Quebec.

V: I'm interested in that statement, Mr. MacLennan. Tell me frankly when you first came to Montreal to live... what did you feel was the greatest weakness in the Province of Quebec?

M: The educational system. The other provinces have little to boast about in their educational systems, but in Quebec I think education is relatively weaker than elsewhere.

V: It has been weaker in the past, but at the present moment much is being done to improve it. I suppose you mean that too little attention is paid to a practical curriculum.

M: I mean more besides that. Quebec educators encourage their pupils to dwell too much on the past. I don't mean by that merely an excessive study of history. History can be a modern study... if you use it for guidance in your own affairs. I simply refer to an attitude of mind.

H: As a matter of fact, Hugh MacLennan, Senator Athanase David⁴⁵ made the same point only a few days ago. I'd meant to bring up that point myself and I've made a note of it. "In school books and elsewhere," Senator David said,

"Quebec lives in the past. Why," he went on, "Does the school, the college, the convent, still live the life of yesterday, and not make contact with today's life and that which will soon be upon us?" Now, I admit that's a sweeping statement, but I think there's a great deal of truth in it just the same. What would you say to that, *Emile Vaillancourt*?

V: It's the gospel I've been preaching for years.

H: But the fault in education is not all Quebec's. Every province tends to be isolationist in some respects to some degree... and the educational system is largely responsible for that isolationism. After all, it. What do you expect with education entirely in the hands of the individual provinces -- some degree of isolationism is an inevitable result.

M: But in Quebec isolationism provincialism is mainly the result of her a traditional point of view. Isolationism in the other provinces is somewhat different. In most of them it's in other provinces it is chiefly the result of plain ignorance. Quebec may brood too much over the past, but it's a singular fact that she knows the rest of Canada better than the rest of Canada knows her. Ignorance, as Karl Hambro⁴⁶ said in Montreal recently is the privilege of the majority. But if Quebec could realize that half the time what appears to be dislike of herself is really ignorance -- perhaps we would have less friction.

V: I have an interesting little story to illustrate the point. Some years ago I instituted cooperated in the institution of a system whereby I -- and certain other French-speaking Canadians of Quebec -- arranged that sons and daughters of ours should spend their vacations as guests of citizens in Ontario. In return the families who received our children sent theirs to us... The scheme worked out splendidly. But when the children came home, we in Quebec discovered that while our sons and daughters had spent a delightful summer, they had not been surprised by anything they discovered in Ontario. The children from Ontario -- on the other hand -- had their eyes opened by what they discovered in

Quebec.

M: I can well believe it, Mr. Vaillancourt. And -- speaking as a native of another province -- I can very truly say that Quebec is so different in its way of life from the rest of Canada that it isn't an easy province to understand. I think it would help if Quebec realized that, for it's certainly a fact.

H: Now, gentlemen -- let's try to wind up this discussion -- Let's get back to the problem of Canadian unity. We've agreed that it is only through a common purpose that Canada can become a unified nation. Now -- Emile Vaillancourt -- could you outline for us what you -- as a representative citizen of Quebec -- have in mind when you speak of a common purpose for Canada to follow after the war.

V: That's a big question, John... Let me see... Well, the first thing necessary is to give the world peace after the war, and Canada must have some views on that. I give you four fundamental principles for the establishment of an enduring peace. The first is to secure the withering away of frontiers, military, economic and social, which divide the states from one another today.

H: At least Canada and the United States have made a beginning of that through our joint-defence board and the Canadian-Alaska Highway.

V: The next point is to I suggest is a restriction in the absolute sovereignty of individual states. The third point is a revision of all Imperialisms and exploitations in all colonies all over the world. The fourth is the establishment of a living peace in constant evolution.

H: These points are very well taken, Emile -- but it seems to me that Canada, by herself, can't have the same influence as the great powers. And in the near future, we may find ourselves with little to say in the establishment of the international post-war settlements. But when I spoke of a common purpose, I was thinking more in domestic terms -- a common purpose which is peculiarly Canadian, if such a thing is possible.

V: Then Humphrey. Therefore I'll say nothing about the international aspects of the problem... for that a common purpose to be created ... certain preliminary steps must first be taken⁴⁷. First... Canada must have her own national flag.⁴⁸ Secondly Also, I would like to see an end to the use of the term "Dominion." According to the old articles of the Church of England, the word "Dominion" was synonymous with colony, possession, or plantation. Canada is not a plantation.

H: But that the term *Dominion* was not originally intended to signify inferiority.

V: To many French Canadians -- perhaps owing to the suggestion the word gives in the French language -- it does signify inferiority... or at least, colonialism now.⁴⁹

H: But surely, Emile -- those are only symbols. Symbols hardly seem to me so important that...

V: That's just the point the other provinces overlook. They don't realize that the refusal to have a national flag is a slap in the face to the French-speaking Canadian. You speak of symbols -- rightly or wrongly to the French-Canadian, The refusal to have a national flag of our own is a symbol symptom of a subservient state of mind and this province will never fully believe that Canada intends wants to become a nation in her own right until the [sic - 'she' intended] symbolizes that intention by adopting a flag of her own.

M: You mean, Mr. Vaillancourt -- that if Quebec could really believe that the other provinces desired to make Canada a nation in her own right... that a great flood of new energy would be released from here?

H: Do you mind, Emile, if I answer that question. I certainly think that would happen. At present there is a great evolution underway in Quebec. The old, established spokesmen of Quebec have always been professional men⁵⁰. But now we see a change beginning... Engineers, business men, and technicians, and industrial workers are

- beginning to make their voices heard. There's a lot of new energy to be tapped in Quebec. But **Emile Vaillancourt** -- I think those symbols you spoke of **soon** will *soon* be changed... can you give me something more positive to go with? Something that will give us a real practical purpose?
- V: Yes, I can. Any nation is as good as its educational system. I say.. let Canada spend as freely in peace as she does in war. Let Canada spend the money necessary to make good education open to all classes...
- M: And to all provinces... Education is starved all over Canada, not just in Quebec.
- V: I would say further... **Let us teach, in all our schools, the greatness of England and of France. Let us teach the weakness and mistakes of England and France as well.** Let us so build our educational system that **a boy in Canada Canadian youth** may hope to become, not merely a citizens of Canada, but also a citizens of the world.
- H: That would be wonderful, Emile--- but it would take many years ... **to produce a state of affairs like that.**
- V: The work of a generations ... But you asked me for a purpose. There would be no point in giving you a purpose that could be accomplished in a few years.
- M: And in hard fact, **Mr. Vaillancourt** -- it would come down first to educating the general public to be willing to spend money on education. You've recognized that of course. But in a country which prides itself -- as Canada does -- on the educational system it already has -- and still pays the average teacher less than the minimum wage for unskilled factory labour ... well -- you see how far we've got to go.⁵¹
- H: **Emile Vaillancourt** has given us his idea of a purpose for Canada. Can you give yours, **Hugh Maclellman**?
- M: **What I have to say is an expansion of what Mr. Vaillancourt has said already.** Well probably both of you , **gentlemen**, have pretty much the same idea as the one I'm now going to give you. Canada's **individual national** purpose after the war has to be very similar to the **individual national** purpose of every country in the world. In a word, we've got to provide proper social security for our people.
- H: We talk about the People's War --- but **the talk a People's War** is meaningless unless it **ends in the a People's Peace.**
- M: President Roosevelt, with his four freedoms, has given us a lead already. Now, of those Four Freedoms -- how many do you think the people of Canada enjoy now, or, have ever enjoyed?
- H: Certainly we enjoy Freedom of Religion. Freedom of Speech we enjoy legally except for limitations in war-time. But freedom of speech in peace is curtailed by the fact that the privileged classes generally control the newspapers and the jobs, and apply economic pressure to anyone who talks out of turn.
- M: But the last two freedoms freedom from want and freedom from fear --- those are things only a small proportion of Canadians have ever enjoyed. **We were have been** no worse than some other countries, but notwithstanding, our record in social security is **bad something we ought to be ashamed of.**
- H: **An English visitor said recently in the Labour Forum that some of our labour conditions in Canada were medieval -- but social security is an enormous problem, Hugh.** In fact, **the lack of Social security all over the world is conditions everywhere were** the basic cause of the present war. **But** I don't see how we can **settle that discuss an issue of that magnitude** this afternoon.⁵²
- M: **We can't possibly settle this issue just by talking about it at any time.** But it so happens that in Canada we have something of a blue-print for Social Security already.

Canadian Unity and Quebec in 1942

H: You mean the Rowell-Sirois Report?⁵³ Do you call that a blue-print?

M: At least its the next best thing to a blue-print. To obtain social security means blood, sweat and tears, and when I say that I mean blood, sweat and tears. Privilege never has, and never will, relinquish its grip from the people's throat without pretty strong social pressure being applied to it. In The Rowell-Sirois report did lay laid the groundwork for the beginning of a social security system in Canada.

H: Yes, I think it did, even though it didn't go *may not have gone* far enough. It certainly made one vital statement. It said there would never be a satisfactory federal union in Canada *it clear that there can be no Canadian unity* until we have a proper standard of wages right across the country... A proper Canadian standard in wages, hours, old-age pensions, health, housing, and security generally.

V: And if I may interrupt, John Humphrey, --- it is the lack of a Canadian standard which at present lies at the very root of the difficulty between Quebec and the other provinces.

M: Absolutely true!

V: The average citizen of Quebec sees *We know in Quebec* that the workers in Ontario gets higher wages than he receives are paid here. He sees *We also know* that most of the factories in Quebec are owned by English-speaking citizens Canadians. The result is inevitable. He *The Quebec worker* feels himself exploited.

H: But wouldn't the other provinces say at once that *Quebec is the chief obstacle to the achievement [of] social security in Canada is the lower standard of living in Quebec?*

M: Perhaps I can try to answer that, John. The other provinces would say that and they would be right there would be something in it. But... the other provinces forget the vital point Mr. Vaillancourt just made. They put the blame for this condition entirely on Quebec... on her

educational system, on her faith, on her isolation and obsession with the past. But they over-look the fact that privileged men of their own Anglo-Saxon race have actually acquired a vested interest in the lower wage rates of Quebec. Isn't that what you mean, Mr. Vaillancourt?

V: It's absolutely what I mean, Mr. Maclennan.

H: Well, gentlemen, our time is nearly up. I find myself left with a great many things I've not been able to say. As a matter of fact -- at one time or another -- you have both said a lot of them for me. We came here, perhaps, thinking we were going to get into an argument. As it's turned out, we've agreed on nearly every single issue we've raised. So before leaving the air... I'd like to⁵⁴ *Let me* sum up the most important points the discussion revealed our discussion:
First:- Canada can become a nation only if she achieves a common purpose in peace time.

Second:- For that purpose to be achieved, the other provinces must try to understand Quebec at least as well as Quebec understands them. And Quebec, for her part, must be willing to realize that, as things stand, she is the most difficult part of Canada to understand.

Third:- French-speaking Canadians must be granted equality of opportunity all over Canada.

Fourth:- We must show that our colonial dependence is ended by adopting a national flag flag of our own. This does not mean dropping the Union Jack. It means appending a Canadian emblem to the Jack, as the other Dominions append their emblems to the flag of Great Britain.

Lastly: We must translate President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms into action in Canada. If we do so, we shall be on the way to attaining Social Security in Canada.

M: And it is my contention that If we have even the legitimate hope of social security in Canada, our sectional differences will wither away.

V: If Canada lacks anything today, it is a clear vision of what she wishes to become. I believe firmly that a genuine vision of social security would not only unify Canada, but would release such a flood of energy from all nine provinces that discussions like ours this afternoon would become meaningless unnecessary.

CONCLUSIONS

Cameron concluded, as noted earlier, that MacLennan used the views expressed by Humphrey and Vaillancourt to further his understanding of the French-Canadian perception of English Canada, an understanding he used in writing *Two Solitudes*. She is undoubtedly correct in this, although it is clear that the relationships went far further than a half-hour debate in a radio studio. Indeed, had Cameron access to the first draft, she could scarcely have failed to note the coincidence between the two French forenames appearing in the text, Emile (Vaillancourt) and Athanase (David), and those used by MacLennan for the two main protagonists of the first part of *Two Solitudes*, Emile Beaubien and Athanase Tallard. Yet to draw conclusions from two sets of established facts can be dangerous.

This danger can be established by examining, for example, what Humphrey heard during the broadcast and relating this to his later activities. Within less than five years of the broadcast, Humphrey was preparing the first draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the preamble to this draft he stressed the importance of Roosevelt's four freedoms and he included many articles on social and economic rights. These were both issues raised by MacLennan in the script.⁵⁵ Yet there was no causal relationship between MacLennan's broaching of the issues and Humphrey's subsequent use of them. Nor, given the way the script was developed, can it be concluded with any certainty that the introduction of these concepts was originally MacLennan's idea, merely because he gave himself the lines to speak. These were themes already deeply rooted in Humphrey's beliefs, as were many other issues raised during the broadcast regardless of who the speaker was. In the article that brought Vaillancourt and Humphrey together, the latter had written:

Canadian independence is only possible if we are prepared to think and act in national rather than provincial terms.

. . . This [the need for central authority] is true, particularly, of all activities which react on the standards of living; for it is essential that standards of living should be maintained approximately equal in all parts of the country.

. . . It is not only the *séparatiste* who is suspicious of English Canada. The suspicion is shared to some extent by all French-Canadians. Nor are the reasons difficult to find. The colossal ignorance which most English Canadians have of French Canada, the obstinate refusal of many of them to recognize the implications which result from the dual culture and the fact that approximately one third of the population is French, the undisguised desire of many to have done with this dual culture, their snobbish attitude of superiority, . . . all these and others have been anything but reassuring to French-Canadians. Nor has any effort ever been made to make the latter feel at home outside of Quebec.

. . . The problem is largely one of obtaining their [French Canadians] whole-hearted confidence; and this can only be done by energetic measures. The first essential is to make the French-Canadians feel at home in every part of Canada. This means that French-Canadians must have *the same rights* in the rest of Canada as they have in Quebec, and that Canada must eventually become a bilingual country. . . They [French-Canadians] must be given the right to speak French in the legislatures and courts of every province of Canada; and civil servants, where possible, should be required to speak both languages. More important still, French-Canadians, wherever resident in Canada, should have the right to educate their children in their native tongue. And these

rights must be protected by adequate constitutional guarantees. Add to this a little understanding and good manners, and the attitude of the great majority of French-Canadians towards confederation and the federal powers will change as if by enchantment. Then, perhaps, we can get on with the business of nation building.³⁶

and Vaillancourt had envisioned the metamorphosis.

* * * * *

In fact, the friendship with Vaillancourt, which stemmed from this article, had a significantly greater impact on Humphrey's international career than any of the ideas that were exchanged during the broadcast. Although Humphrey met Henri Laugier⁵⁷ through Louise Gadbois⁵⁸, an acquaintance from the Lyman circle, it was during many meetings at Vaillancourt's home that they became really close friends. After the war, Laugier became Assistant Secretary-General for Social Affairs at the United Nations and persuaded Humphrey to accept the position of first Director of the Division of Human Rights. It is clear, therefore, that for Humphrey and Vaillancourt the broadcast was not an opportunity to learn from others, but rather a pulpit from which to preach to a large audience a creed in which they both believed. For MacLennan, it may have provided an occasion for both preaching and learning.

Fifty years ago it seems that Canada was in crisis. English Canada appeared to mistrust and exploit Quebec, while French Canadians apparently resented these attitudes and believed they were treated as second class citizens. Unity seemed far away. Three gifted and intellectual Montrealers, committed to a bilingual, bicultural Canada and to a just society, studied this problem and proposed solutions to the rest of Canada. In brief, they proposed that Canada develop a national purpose, one part of which would be to bring social security to its citizens, that Canada throw away the symbolic trappings of colonial dependence, that French-speaking Canadians be granted equality of opportunity all over Canada, and that Roosevelt's four freedoms be translated into action in Canada. Now, after two generations, it would appear that all these things have come to pass, except that any sense of national purpose still appears to lack clarity and universal acceptance. Did the attitudes of Quebecers change towards confederation "as if by enchantment"? Possibly, although not perhaps in the way Humphrey, MacLennan

Notes

The author is grateful to Professors Alec Lucas, Brian Young and John Humphrey, as well as my colleague, Kathleen Toomey, for their comments on this article.

1. Elspeth Cameron, *Hugh MacLennan: a Writer's Life* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, [1981]), Chapter 6, 165-175.

2. Cameron, 166.

3. Cameron, 390. Cameron lists the transcript as *Canadian Unity and Quebec* (Montreal: CBC Pamphlet, 1942), 1-16. However, while the transcript accurately reflects what was said, it was privately printed by Émile Vaillancourt and the imprint should read Montreal: Canadian Printing and Lithographing Co., 1942.

4. Cameron, 101 ff. Cameron wrote:

In almost every mention of this job he was later to make, his despair at having to take it is apparent. Given his qualifications and the tremendous effort that had been necessary to acquire them, to teach in such a school was far beneath him. (p. 101).

Despite the fact that he hated the place, felt the job was beneath his dignity, and resented the long hours of work required of him for so little money, he did not do a bare minimum of work as he might have. (p. 106).

Cameron does not, however, provide much in the way of documentation to support her assertions regarding MacLennan's feelings for Lower Canada College, beyond quoting his satire of Waterloo School in *The Watch that Ends the Night*. (p. 104). Her sources are presumably the reminiscences of the novelist and his acquaintances.

5. Hugh MacLennan, "French is a *Must* for Canadians," *Imperial Oil Review* (June, 1960), 2-5.

6. Cameron, 169.

7. Cameron's suggestion that MacLennan knew only three French-Canadians is presumably exaggerated. According to Humphrey, for example, the novelist

knew Humphrey's wife, Jeanne Godreau, very well.

8. Cameron, 169.

9. By Humphrey.

10. The facts concerning Vaillancourt's life are taken principally from the *Canadian Who's Who*, but he remains an unusual and enigmatic figure. A career as a travel agent and municipal civil servant would not ordinarily be the background for an Ambassador. Vaillancourt does not appear to have strong political connections, but one may speculate that he was probably both independently wealthy and socially well connected.

11. He was to obtain his fourth from yet another faculty, his doctorate in 1945.

12. Percy Ellwood Corbett (1892-1983) joined the McGill Faculty of Law in 1924, after two years as Legal Advisor to the International Labour Organization. He served as Dean from 1928-1936 and retired for health reasons in 1942. Recovering, he taught at Yale University from 1943 until his retirement in 1958.

13. Francis (Frank) Reginald Scott (1899-1985), Constitutional lawyer and poet, had been on the McGill Faculty of Law from 1928. He was introduced to Frank Underhill by Percy Corbett in 1931, and with Underhill founded the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, precursor of the New Democratic Party. See Michiel Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

14. David Lewis (1901-1981) went on to become a Member of Parliament and national leader of the New Democratic Party.

15. Frank Underhill (1889-1971), historian and educator, was a co-founder of the League for Social Reconstruction. His attempted dismissal from the University of Toronto for his leftist opinions and activities was a *cause célèbre* in the annals of academic freedom in Canada.

16. Eugene Alfred Forsey (1904-1991) was a Faculty Lecturer in the Department of Economics and Political

Science at McGill University from 1929-1941. When he failed to get tenure, he became Director of Research at the Canadian Congress of Labour (later the Canadian Labour Congress) from 1942-1966. In 1970 he was appointed to the Canadian Senate.

17. Jacques Louis Biéler (1901-) was an engineer and great friend of Forsey. While not a leader in the socialist movement, he provided a link to the Lyman group (see below) through his brother, André-Charles Biéler (1896-1989), a noted Quebec artist. His wife was Zöe Browne-Clayton (1915-1991), a journalist and administrator with both the *Montreal Standard* and *Montreal Star*.

18. John Goodwin Lyman (1886-1967) was an enormously influential figure on the mid-century Montreal art scene. Of independent means, he was not only an artist himself but did much to help other artists through holding exhibitions and forming associations. From 1948-1957 he taught Fine Art at McGill University. His wife was Marie Corinne Georgette St. Pierre. In 1945 the Lymans began to spend their summers in North Hatley, and the following year Lyman painted his portrait of Hugh MacLennan.

19. (William) Goodridge Roberts (1904-1974) was, with Humphrey's cousin, Jack Weldon Humphrey, considered the most talented of Lyman's Eastern Group of Painters. Roberts taught art and served as official RCAF artist until he was able to support himself from his work.

20. André-Charles Biéler (1896-1989), older brother of Jacques Biéler, was a renowned artist who concluded his career succeeding Goodridge Roberts as Artist in Residence at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

21. Marjorie (Jori) Smith was at this time married to Joseph Jean Albert Palardy (1905-), an American-born artist whose family moved to Quebec in 1908. Professionally, Smith, who still lives in Montreal, was always known by her maiden name. Her ex-husband, who became better known as a film director, lives in Paris.

22. Philip Henry Surrey (1910-1990) was a prolific painter, and there have been over one hundred individual or group exhibitions of his work. He was Instructor of Drawing at Sir George Williams (later

Concordia) University from 1965-1975.

23. Marian Dale Scott (1906-) is a prolific artist, whose works have been exhibited from 1941 until the present day. In 1928, she married F.R. Scott.

24. Ronald St. J. Macdonald, "Leadership in Law: John P. Humphrey and the Development of the International Law of Human Rights," *Canadian Yearbook of International Law*, Vol. 29 (1991), 27, citing Humphrey's unpublished autobiographical manuscript.

25. J.P. Humphrey, "Whither Canada?" *Canadian Forum* Vol. 20 (April, 1940), 43-45.

26. This was more than just lip service. When Humphrey wrote his next article in the series "Recipe for Canadian Unity", *Canadian Forum* Vol. 22 (March, 1943), 345-346, Vaillancourt ensured that it appeared simultaneously in French translation as "Formule pour l'unité Canadienne", *Relations* Vol. 3 (1943), 34-35. This article, which must have been written before the broadcast even though it was published soon afterwards, contained an elaboration of many of the ideas promulgated in the broadcast.

27. It is unclear whether this requirement was standard policy, or because of wartime censorship restrictions.

28. There is an entry for this title in the MacLennan Papers housed in the McGill University Libraries Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. It was disappointing to discover that this was merely a photocopy of the Humphrey script, which he had sent to MacLennan when he rediscovered it in 1990.

29. Vaillancourt also ensured a French text appeared quickly as "Le Québec devant l'unité Canadienne," *Relations* Vol. 3 (1943), 16-19.

30. In 1990, Humphrey found the original script amongst his papers. At this time he sent photocopies to both Hugh MacLennan and this writer.

31. Dorothy Duncan, Letter to Hugh MacLennan, September 8, 1942. McGill University Libraries. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Ms 466. Correspondence - 1942. File 13, 47.

32. "Free Lands", the first in the Interamerican University Drama Series, was broadcast at 10.30 p.m., Monday, September 7, 1942, on CBM.
33. Alex Sim was secretary of the Rural Adult Education Service, established in 1938 under the auspices of Macdonald College of McGill University with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. By 1941, the Service had established seven community schools in the Eastern Townships with nearly a thousand students enrolled from sixty-six communities. The Rural Adult Education Service also sponsored Farm Radio Forums to stimulate interest in further study. See Aileen Ross "A Pattern for Adult Education", *Canadian Forum* Vol. 22 (May, 1942), 50-53.
34. Aileen Dansken Ross (1902-) is the daughter of J.W. Ross, then a senior partner in the accounting firm of P.S. Ross and Sons. In 1942 Ross had just completed her Master's degree at the University of Chicago. She was a professor of Sociology at McGill University from 1945-1970. Humphrey formed a close friendship with Ross and her brother, Howard Irwin Ross (1907-1974), during his days as an undergraduate in the Faculty of Commerce.
35. Newfoundland was not to join Canada for another seven years.
36. It is perhaps fortunate the participants did not pursue this particular analogy.
37. "... something in common in their history, ..." in the published text.
38. Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947) was in Canada to receive an honorary degree from the University of Toronto, at which time he delivered the Falconer lectures from April 20th to April 22nd. These lectures were published as Stanley Baldwin, *The Falconer lectures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939), and Vaillancourt is quoting from the first lecture (pp. 11-12).
39. "That's very good, Humphrey." in the published text.
40. "That's what I've been hoping for and working to produce for years" in the published text.
41. The term United Nations came into common parlance early in the war referring to the Allied powers opposing the Axis. The United Nations Organization, which replaced the League of Nations, drew its name from this usage only in 1945.
42. This was put rather more elegantly in the published text as "... point of view. Our war posters, for example, were bad. There were no Canadian slogans, no Canadian songs."
43. MacLennan is presumably referring to the 1917 music-hall song *Oh, Oh, Oh, It's a Lovely War*, see John Brophy and Eric Partridge, *The Long Trail: What the British Soldier Sang and Said in the Great War of 1914-1918* (London: Deutsch, 1965), 219. He was perhaps optimistic to expect something more current and Canadian only two days after hostilities started.
44. Putting on long pants was then idiomatic for growing up. In the published text the sentence was ended after the word 'pants'.
45. Louis Athanase David (1882-1953) was a lawyer, Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec (1916-1936), and Provincial Secretary (1919-1936). He was summoned to the Senate in 1940. Although David lived very close to Humphrey in Westmount, the extract is presumably from a speech.
46. Carl Joachim Hambro (1885-1964), Norwegian politician, diplomat and author, was part of the Norwegian government in exile from 1940-1945. He was President of the League of Nations General Assembly in 1939 and, during its last sessions, in 1946. Earlier in the year his book *How to win the Peace* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1942) had been published.
47. This phrase did appear in the printed text and was possibly never deleted in Vaillancourt's script.
48. Canada's official flag from 1867-1964 was in fact the Union Jack, not the Red Ensign. However, the Red Ensign with the Canadian badge was allowed to be employed in certain circumstances. Mackenzie King tried twice, in 1925 and 1946, to introduce a national flag, but it was only in 1965 the Maple Leaf became Canada's official flag under Lester Pearson's premiership.

49. Vaillancourt would provide further details concerning this somewhat esoteric argument in *Is Canada a Plantation* (Montreal: author, 1944). He asserts the term "Dominion" is synonymous with colony, possession or plantation based on a judgement of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield (Court of King's Bench, English Reports, vol. 98, pp. 848, 1045, Campbell versus Hall, 1774) and Article XXXVII of the Articles of Religion of the Church of England. It is, however, hard to imagine the average French-Canadians being conversant with the nuances in meaning of either of these sources. It is generally agreed that the word "Dominion" in reference to Canada was actually coined by a Canadian, Humphrey's first cousin twice removed and Father of Confederation, Samuel Leonard Tilley (1818-1896), because Great Britain objected to the original proposal of Kingdom of Canada as potentially offensive to the U.S. Tilley took the word from the phrase in Psalm 72: "He shall have dominion from sea to sea. . .". There is, however, no question but that the Fathers of Confederation intended the term as a mark of respect to the British monarchy, and this caused resentments in Quebec. Although the term has largely been dropped from everyday speech and Canada Day replaces Dominion Day as the national holiday, the Dominion of Canada remains Canada's official name in the Constitution Act of 1982. See Eugene Forsey in the *Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988), 612.

50. Although the traditional definition of "professional men" was doctor, lawyer and clergyman, my colleague Brian Young suggests in the Quebec context notary would have replaced clergyman.

51. This was clearly a sore point with the struggling novelist, who considered his work as a teacher undervalued. His ambition at this time was to make sufficient money to become a full-time author. He subsequently termed teachers "the most exploited, neglected and underprivileged class in Canada" in "The Thankless Profession," *Canadian Home Journal* (November, 1949), 29.

52. The published text differs significantly from the script at this point. Evidently Vaillancourt became confused by the erasures and was unsure of who said what. He attached this sentence and the four entries following to the preceding remarks of MacLennan. Thus MacLennan's intervention in the published text

was as follows:

M: ". . . We have been no worse than some other countries; but notwithstanding, our record in social security is something we ought to be ashamed of. Social conditions the world over were the basic causes of the present war, and I don't see how we can settle an issue of that magnitude this afternoon. However, it so happens that in Canada we have already something of a blue-print for Social Security. The Rowell-Sirois Report laid the groundwork for the *beginning* of a social security system in Canada:

H: Yes, I think it did . . .".

53. The *Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations*, known as the Rowell-Sirois Report, was published in 1940.

54. It is quite likely that Humphrey could not bring himself to make this clearly false indication that the participants had come expecting to disagree, when they were working with a script. Despite the obvious staging he may have found it hypocritical to deliberately mislead listeners.

55. A.J. Hobbins, "René Cassin and the Daughter of Time," *Fontanus* Vol. II (1989), 7-26.

56. J.P. Humphrey, "Whither Canada?", 44-45.

57. Henri Laugier (1883-1973) had been a pre-war Professor of Physiology at the Sorbonne. When France was overrun he went to the U.S., although he spoke no English. A teaching position was found for him at the Université de Montréal. In 1943, after the liberation of North Africa, he became Recteur at the University of Algiers, returning to France the following year.

58. Marie Marguerite Louise Landry (1896-1985) had studied art under Edwin Holgate and then Lyman. She held a number of exhibitions, including one with her daughter, Denyse. In 1919, she married a prominent lawyer, Émilien Gadbois.

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The Redpath Family and the McGill Libraries' Collections

By Martin Cohen

Assistant Technical Services Librarian, McGill University

In celebrating the centenary of the Redpath Library, we also celebrate the role of Peter Redpath as benefactor, since it was his donation of money that made the construction of the building possible. However, it behoves us at this time as well to mark the Redpath family's donations and influence upon the subsequent growth of the McGill collections - both Peter Redpath's donation of over 3,000 carefully selected books purchased by him on McGill's behalf, together with another 2,000 plus bequeathed to McGill by his widow, and the subsequent creation of the Peter Whiteford and Jocelyn Clifford Redpath Memorial Fund, an endowment existing for the benefit of the McGill Libraries which has enabled the purchase of a number of fine and scarce items since its establishment in 1903; the W.W. Redpath Fund, which was used for much of the early building up of McGill's engineering collections; and the Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick Fund, used from its establishment in 1954 until today for the purchase of rare books.

Peter Redpath began donating books to McGill in 1866. His method of donation then, in which he persevered in subsequent years, was not to give McGill a sum of money earmarked for the purchase of books; rather, what he did was to choose volumes from his own shelves, and to add to them large quantities of books that he had purchased for the express purpose of donation (mostly from the firm of Macmillan & Bowes in Cambridge), and have them shipped to McGill. His first major donation, in 1866, was of 544 volumes, concentrating at that point on history;¹ later in the year, he had printed a catalogue, eight pages long and in pamphlet form, to serve as a finding-aid for (and probably also to publicize) his donation.² This catalogue is here reproduced as Figure 1.

It must be conceded that, for all his concentration on British history, Redpath cast his net pretty wide. Works in French, Italian³ and German take their places in the "Redpath Historical Collection;" and, in a gift which antedated the major donation by a year, a selection of classical authors is listed, witness no doubt Redpath's feelings that McGill should be able to provide a good, sound middle-class education. In later shipments, the diversity becomes even greater; a shipment from Macmillan & Bowes, detailed on an invoice found in file RG40 c15 1711 in the McGill Archives (shown here as Figure 2), shows Redpath as donating in 1893 a couple of hundred volumes ranging from a complete Rousseau to the publications of the Chaucer Society to a number of reference works that are standard even today. In the meantime, with the aid of the distinguished historian Henry Morley, Redpath was building up a magnificent collection of historical tracts and pamphlets which he also donated over the years (these are treated in Allan Bell's article in this volume). The accessions books of the McGill University Library⁴ show that number 1 to 2,608, let alone others further on, all represent titles donated by Redpath. The value of his gifts was estimated at about \$12,000 in 1894 dollars.⁵

The P.W. and J.C. Redpath Memorial Fund, thus named in memory of two nephews of Peter Redpath, was established in 1903 by the agreement of Grace Redpath, Peter's widow, to donate an initial \$5,000, then an annual sum of \$4,000 - very substantial at that time - for the purchase of books for what was then the Redpath Library.⁶ These donations continued for six years. At her death in 1908, Mrs. Redpath left no money for books, but instead "such books and manuscripts as the librarian of the University of McGill College, Montreal, shall choose to said library"⁷ from her late husband's shelves. These consisted of over 2,000 volumes, largely of English literature - such things as sets of Thackeray, Irving, Scott, Macaulay, and Carlyle, and also of Bullen's edition of the British dramatists and Bell's of the British poets - two omnium-gatherum sets which enjoyed a reputation for completeness, if not for scholarly accuracy, in their day.

From then on, the donations of books obviously ceased, and the Redpath Fund lay dormant, collecting interest, until it was revived by Lady Roddick, Peter Redpath's niece and the sister of Peter W. and Jocelyn Redpath, in

A CATALOGUE OF
HISTORICAL WORKS

Presented to the University of McGill College, Montreal.

By PETER REDPATH, Esq.

1866.

COLLECTIONS, &c.

Annual Register, from the beginning in 1758 to the year 1865.
With Index. 109 vols.

ENGLISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS, 29 vols.
bound in 27:—

Adami Murimuthensis Chronicon, ed. T. Hog.

Chronicon Florentii Wigorniensis, ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols.

Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh, ed. H. C. Hamilton.
2 vols.

Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux, ed. B.
Williams.

Codex Diplomaticus Anglo-Saxonum, ed. J. M. Kemble. 6 vols.
Henrici Quinti Gesta, ed. B. Williams.

Nennii Historia Britonum, ed. J. Stevenson. Gildas de Excidio
Britanniae, ed. J. Stevenson.

Nicholai Triveti Annales, ed. T. Hog.

Ricardi Divisiensis Chronicon, ed. J. Stevenson. Gesta Stephani.

Rogeri de Wendover Chronica, ed. H. O. Coxe. 5 vols.

Ven. Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. J. Stevenson.

Ven. Bedae Opera Historica minora, ed. J. Stevenson.

Willelmi Malmesburiensis Gesta Regum Anglorum, ed. T. D.
Hardy. 2 vols.

Willelmi de Newburgh Historia, ed. H. C. Hamilton. 2 vols.

Figure 1. The first catalogue of the Redpath Historical Collection, 1866. (Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)

1927. The only highlight of that nineteen-year interval was the publication in the *McGill News* in 1922 of the following comment on the collection:

The Redpath Historical Collection was begun by the late Mr. Peter Redpath soon after he became a Governor of the University. It received substantial yearly additions from him up to the year of his death. It is now large and valuable, and affords excellent opportunities for the study of history. Its most striking feature - a series of political, religious, and social tracts, for which the first selections were made by the late Professor Henry Morley - was greatly enriched by the late Mrs. Redpath, and at present comprises about 10,000 brochures, dating from 1600 A.D. to the end of the nineteenth century.⁸

The tale resumes in 1927. In that year, Lady Roddick embarked upon an active plan of increasing the amount of the P.W. and J.C. Redpath Memorial Fund; her gifts were of varying sizes, but added up, from 1927 to her death in 1954, to \$43,100 plus an "anonymous" \$8,000 in Victory Bonds. Simultaneously, over the period 1930-1951, John R. Redpath donated \$14,850 in cash and bequeathed \$25,000 in bonds upon his death. All this money was designated for the purchase of books. Upon her death in 1954, Lady Roddick's will provided for a bequest of \$125,000, distributed between the Redpath Memorial Fund and the Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick Fund, and more gifts were subsequently given by Mr. James B. Redpath, starting in 1956 and ending with his death in 1992. The total capital of the P.W. and J.C. Redpath Memorial Fund (April 1993) now stands at about \$280,000.⁹

In accordance with what were known to be Lady Roddick's stated wishes, the Redpath Fund has been used largely for the purchase of rare and fine books. For example, in 1935, funds were drawn from it toward the purchase of Luther's *Enarrationes epistolarum et evangeliorum* (1521); some sixteenth-century (i.e. first) editions of Italian *novelle* were purchased in 1951, as were the three sets of the *Lettres cabalistiques* (7 vols.), *Lettres juives* (8 vols.), and *Lettres chinoises* (6 vols.) of the Marquis de Boyer d'Argens, dating from 1766-69, and Rousseau's *Correspondence originale et inédite de J. J. Rousseau avec Mme Latour de Franqueville et M. de Peyrou*, 2 vols. (1803). The cost of the Boyer d'Argens and Rousseau sets together totaled FF 10,000 - no mean sum in 1951.¹⁰ This is not to say that smaller pieces, which can only be described as general antiquarian purchases, were not paid for out of the Redpath Fund.

The scope widened yet further in the 1960s, with the fund being used to purchase material for the Rare Book Department that extended beyond the traditional book with two covers. Thus, in 1961 we find that a collection of twenty-eight "photographs of Napoleon," priced at "approximately \$25" - a bargain indeed! - was bought from R. Viollet, 6, rue de Seine, Paris, and that two Japanese prints were bought only days later from a New York dealer, the Redpath Fund paying for both acquisitions. A Mercator map of the Greater Antilles (Amsterdam, 1607), together with a collection of English-made maps of roughly the same period, were acquired thanks to Redpath money in 1966; and so it goes in this vein. The current use of the Redpath fund is, as mentioned, as supplementary funding for the purchase of rare books and examples of fine printing.

It would be invidious to single out one "major contributor" to the collections of McGill University Libraries. However, if we count his own personal donations together with his "posthumous" ones bought out of the funds established by his family, Peter Redpath would certainly have to be a very strong contender. On this hundredth anniversary of the Library that was his major gift to McGill, we can contemplate with pride his actions, and those of his descendants, in providing materials to fill that library and its successors.

Notes

1. *Scrapbooks*, McGill University Archives, no. 1, p. 22. Provenance not indicated, but probably from *The Gazette* at some time in 1866.
2. McGill University Archives, file RG40 c2 1452.
3. For an interesting example, see Dionysios Hatzopoulos and Richard Virr, "The Voyage of Giovanni da Verrazzano: A Newly Discovered Manuscript," *Fontanus V* (1992), 7-32.
4. Preserved in the Retrospective Conversion Unit, Central Technical Services, McGill University Libraries.
5. *Scrapbooks*, no. 1, p. 220, (*Gazette*, 7th July 1894).
6. *Scrapbooks*, no. 2, p. 34 (*Gazette*, 4th July, 1903).
7. *Scrapbooks*, no. 2, p. 261 (*Montreal Star*, 28 May 1908).
8. *McGill News*, 3, 3 (1921/22), 4.
9. Financial information from the files of the Secretariat of McGill University now lodged in the University Archives, and oral information from Mr. Calvin D. Evans, Area Librarian, Humanities and Social Sciences Area Library, and Mr. Matthew Collier, Treasurer's Department.
10. Information from the order books of the Redpath and McLennan Libraries, now housed in the Monograph Acquisitions Unit, Central Technical Services. Further order information provided is drawn from the same source.

Redpath Hall and the Faculty of Music

By John Grew

Dean, Faculty of Music

Over the years Redpath Hall has played a major role in the life of the Faculty of Music, and prior to the construction of Pollack Concert Hall it served as the Faculty's main concert hall. The sixties were especially significant for the growth of the Faculty of Music, and under the leadership of Dean Helmut Blume the concert life in Redpath Hall took on a new dimension. Hundreds of CBC broadcasts originated from this hall, and the "Faculty Fridays" were heard from coast to coast.

With the opening of Pollack Concert Hall in the spring of 1975, Redpath Hall was temporarily lost to the Faculty of Music. However, the gift of the University Organ gave new life to this great hall, and eventually returned it to the Faculty of Music as a concert venue. As part of our academic exercise the Faculty presents over 400 concerts a year, and well over 100 of these take place in Redpath Hall. In addition, the organ is the main teaching instrument for what has become one of the most flourishing programmes of organ study in North America. And the concert-going public of Montreal has rediscovered the splendid acoustics of this hall as it has become home to organizations such as Musica Camerata, Allegra, Le Clavier d'autrefois, and Ensemble Arion.

The University Organ (see illustration on page 34) was inaugurated in May 1981 with a four day symposium entitled "The Organ in Our Time." Subsequently, the papers and proceedings of this symposium were edited by

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STOPLIST					
POSITIF (C-g^{'''})		GRAND-ORGUE (C-g^{'''})		RÉCIT (f-d^{'''})	
Dessus de flûte	8	Bourdon	16	Bourdon	8
Bourdon	8	Montre	8	Prestant	4
Prestant	4	Bourdon	8	Cornet	III
Nazard	2 ² / ₃	Prestant	4	Hautbois	8
Quarte de nazard	2	Grosse tierce	3 ¹ / ₅		
Tierce	1 ³ / ₅	Nazard	2 ² / ₃		
Larigot	1 ¹ / ₃	Doublette	2		
Fourniture 1	III	Tierce	1 ³ / ₅		
Cymbale ¹ / ₃	II	Fourniture 2	IV/III	PÉDALE (C-f, reeds AA-f)	
Cromorne	8	Cymbale ¹ / ₂	III	Bourdon	16
		Cornet (c'-d ^{'''})	V	Flûte	8
		Trompette	8	Gros nazard	5 ¹ / ₃
		Clairon	4	Flûte	4
		Voix humaine	8	Grosse tierce	3 ¹ / ₅
				Flûte	2
				Bombarde	16
				Trompette	8
				Clairon	4
ACCESSORIES					
POS/GO, GO/PED, POS/PED					
Tremblant fort					
Tremblant doux					
Rossignol					
Plein-vent					
		Unequal temperament according to d'Alembert: A=415			

the late Professor Donald Mackey and published at McGill. Over four hundred scholars, organ builders, and players of the instrument from every corner of the globe came together for this occasion. Reviews of the conference in scholarly journals praised it as quite possibly one of the finest ever on organological matters.

The donor of the organ had a vision of adding something beautiful to this splendid hall. Certainly the organ case itself, modeled as it is after that of St. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris, complements well the architecture of the room as it tends to draw the eye towards the intricacies of the hammer beam ceiling. Also, being in a university allowed us to entertain a pedagogical purpose, thus the decision to create a twentieth century organ in the French classical tradition - the goal being to play the music of DeGrigny and Couperin with the appropriate colours and correct accent. Although this organ is not a slavish copy of a particular instrument, the builder had as a resource that great 18th century treatise *L'Art du facture d'orgue* written by the Benedictine scholar Dom Bédos de Celis. Most of the pipe scales and other details of construction are based on information contained in this treatise. However, during the four year planning period, solutions had to be found to such problems as pitch, tuning system, winding system, and placement of the pedal division.

Again the architecture of Redpath Hall played a decisive role. Owing to the shape of the roof it was impossible to house the pedal division in the main case as would have been the tradition. It was decided to opt for the Asian solution by placing the pedal division behind the main case as did Andreas Silbermann at Marmoutier and Ebersmunster. This placement of the pedal also allowed us to build a larger division (notably the 16' reed), which thereby extended the repertoire possibilities. This is just one example of the organ builder's creative solution to a problem which produced salutary effects for the music.

As Redpath Hall celebrates its 100th Anniversary the builder of the University Organ, Hellmuth Wolff, celebrates the 25th anniversary of his firm. Mr. Wolff is of Swiss origin and he established his organ building business in 1968 in Laval, Quebec. The Redpath Hall organ stands at mid-point in his career and he is widely recognized today as one of the world's leading organ builders. It would be no exaggeration to say that decisions made during the Redpath Hall installation have informed all his subsequent work. But all creation begins with a vision, and as Hellmuth Wolff wrote in the inaugural programme, "The opportunity to build an organ in French classical style and the chance to install it in such a marvellous building as Redpath Hall has surely been a rewarding experience for all who have collaborated in the project. For once we have been permitted to realize a dream and we owe the realization of that dream to a benefactor without whose generosity the gallery of this hall would still be empty."

The Austin "Dink" Carroll Papers in the University Archives

By Robert Michel

Archivist, McGill University Archives

The papers of Austin "Dink" Carroll (1899-1991) in the University Archives document the career of one of Montreal's best known sports editors and reveal a talented author of fiction.¹ They include articles on sports as well as letters from hockey and baseball figures, and from readers of Carroll's columns, commenting on issues such as the riot that followed the suspension of Montreal Canadiens hockey player Maurice Richard in 1955. Most important, the papers also contain unpublished short stories and novel fragments as well as letters from Carroll's close friend, writer Morley Callaghan (1903-1990). What follows will offer a glimpse of Carroll's literary side.

Carroll played football at McGill University, where he received his law degree in 1923. He never practised law; instead he made sports and writing his vocation. He was a travelling road secretary for the Toronto Maple Leafs of the International Baseball League, worked in advertising for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and wrote freelance before establishing himself as a sports journalist at the Montreal *Gazette* from 1941 until 1987.² He boxed, fly-fished, and golfed and wrote on these sports as well as on hockey, football and baseball. Other reporters admired Carroll for his literacy, honesty, refusal to accept gifts from team promoters, and tactful omission from his column of things blurted out by athletes drinking too long into the night in Montreal bars.³ According to Peggy Carroll, her husband never took notes, relying wholly on his memory. This encouraged the athletes and managers he interviewed to speak freely. Carroll would track down some of the players he wanted to interview with the help of tipsters. Other athletes would drop into his *Gazette* office - among them was Maxie Berger, a leading Montreal boxer in the 1940s and 1950s. Once they were talking about books and Carroll asked what he'd read lately. Berger replied: "No novels but I have been dipping into Spinoza".⁴

While other sports writers may have dreamed of being athletes, Carroll probably dreamed of being a novelist like his friends Morley Callaghan, Hugh McLennan and Mordecai Richler (Figure 1). At ninety Carroll advised young journalists: "Use simple words. But use them in a fresh way - the way Churchill did."⁵ His *Gazette* columns and his stories show he followed his rule. McLennan told his McGill classes to read Carroll's column for prose style,⁶ while Callaghan gave stories to Carroll for comment before sending them to the publisher.⁷

The Carroll Papers include about thirty letters from Callaghan to Dink and Margaret Carroll from the 1930s to the 1980s, with news about friends and writing projects, comments on sports, and occasional gossip about writers. Writing to Carroll in December 1935 from New York, Callaghan related the story of a fight a year or two earlier between Ernest Hemmingway and his ex-publisher Robert McAlmon. Callaghan seems to have picked up McAlmon's version after running into him in New York. Callaghan wrote:

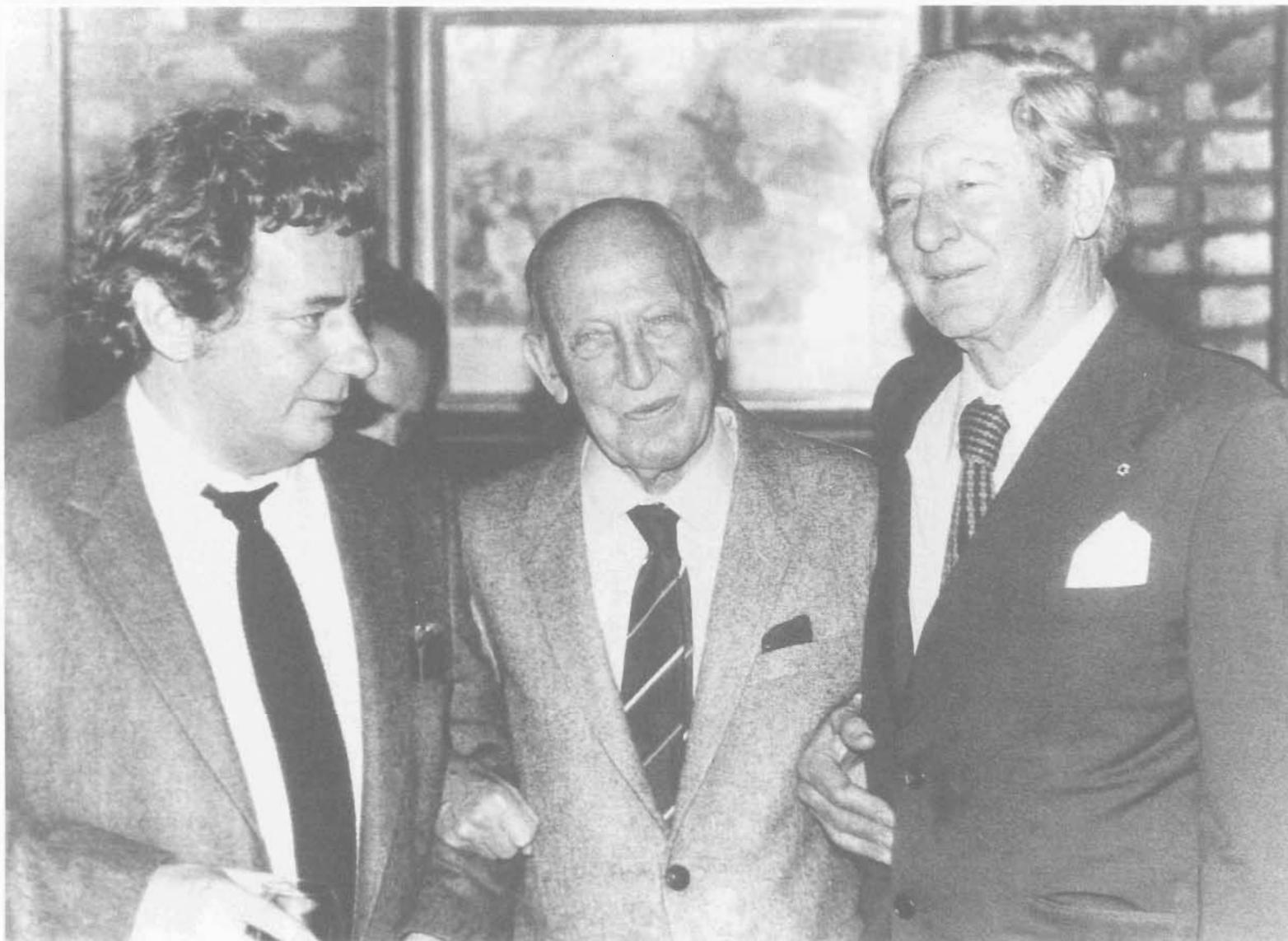


Figure 1. Carroll with Mordecai Richler and Hugh MacLennan at his 80th (really 81st) birthday party.
(Photograph: George Cree, *Montreal Gazette*, 15 November 1980.)

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I've seen Bob McAlmon a couple of time[s]. Do you remember me speaking of him a lot? We knew him in Paris and he first published Hemingway and has written enough books himself to cover the wall of heaven, but they won't publish them. Do you remember the guy I mean? Well, he's written the story of his wanderings and the grand old days in Paris with too intimate and too personal opinions about every body, including the Scandinavian Callaghan. It seems that when Hemingway was on his way to Africa, about two years or a year and a half ago, he ran into McAlmon, his old pal, and ups to him and says ["] I hear you've written a book and said some lousy things about me and my wife, Well, anybody knows you're trying to get a little cheap publicity". Them was hard words from an old crony, so McAlmon ups t[o] him and says "You should talk about me trying to get publicity out of you. You who have used your wife and child and God knows what else for publicity". So Hemingway smacks him. He falls back against the wall and a couple of guys part them and are talking and Hemingway says, "You've always been telling dirty stories about me. You told them to Callaghan and Fitzgerald". The next step I can't get clear. But McAlmon says he said something about my stories being better than Hem's and Hemingway said of my aforementioned stories, "That Chicken shit" and suddenly reached over and smacked Macalmon a whopper on the mouth cutting the mouth so badly it required stitches. The mark is still on the lip.

Now that story is all right, and I'm willing to believe Mr. Hemingway alluded to my masterpieces as chicken shit, but I don't think he hit him out of professional envy of my work. It just doesn't ring true. He hit him because of the stories Bob had been telling.

Still my candid opinion is that it was pretty lousy of uncle Ernest to smack him, when McAlmon had no luck and had helped Hemingway in the beginning.⁸

McAlmon had helped Hemingway publish and become famous. Stories about this falling out vary. Callaghan's letter to Carroll adds to the canon of stories about this famous quarrel between writers, which began with creative insults and ended illiterately with blows.⁹

For many writers of the 1920s and 1930s writing and sports went together; good writing resembled athletic prowess; writers and athletes both conquered obstacles and proved their skills. Sports such as bull-fighting or football provided a ready made arena for suspense and heroism. Callaghan's letter about the Hemingway-McAlmon fight went on to describe a football game between the New York Giants and the Chicago Cardinals, probably that played on 27 October 1935.¹⁰ Callaghan enclosed a diagram of the spectacular play he described (Figure 2):

I saw a funny and very pretty pass in the pro game which may not have been deliberate, but certainly looked as if it was. The half takes the ball and starts to fade to the left to pass, they come in on him and he starts to run even further to the left taking up more time, and everybody sees that he intends to pass the ball way down the left, not only because he's going to that side but because the receivers by this time are all grouped way down on the left waiting for the ball to turn up. Then when the passer is way over to the left he suddenly passes at a diagonal across the field way over to the right, where there is absolutely no one, but just as he starts to pass, the end who has been badly covered down on the left side suddenly shoots out heading fo[r] the right side as if someone had told him his grandmother was dying over there, and he takes the ball on the dead run, absolutely uncovered. It sounds simple but it certainly looked swell, I'll enclose a diagram. Maybe it was just an accident and would never happen again, but that Cardinal team could sure pass the ball.¹¹

The Carrolls and the Callaghans visited and wrote back and forth between Montreal and Toronto for fifty years.

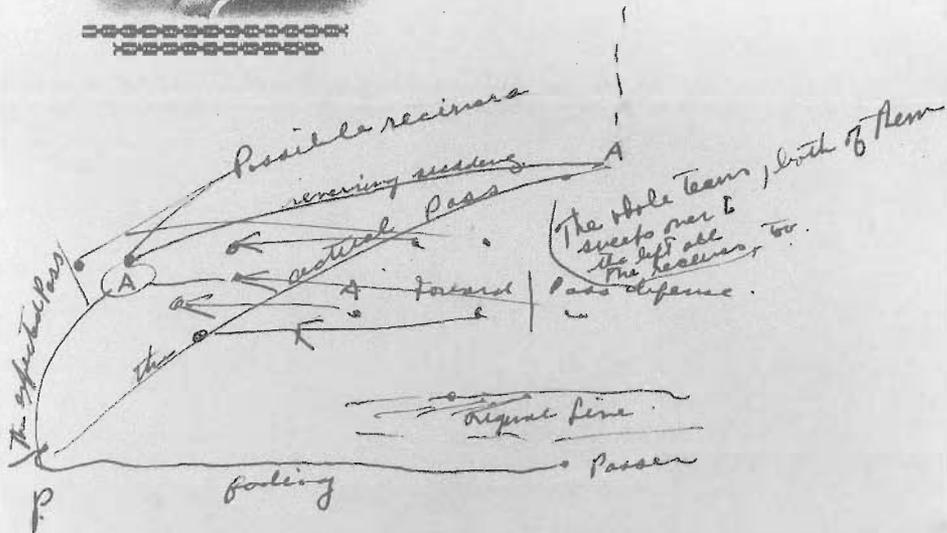


THE MADISON SQUARE

"An Address of Distinction"

37 MADISON AVENUE
FACING MADISON SQUARE PARK

NEW YORK CITY



A who has been waiting with everybody to get on the street corner at the left while the passer takes so long fading, suddenly tears like mad as soon as he sees the passer winding up to throw it and has the whole right side of the field to himself; and of course he has to take the high pass on the level run.

Figure 2. Morley Callaghan to "Dink" Carroll, ca. 2 December 1935. The diagram probably refers to the New York Giants and Chicago Cardinals football game of 27 October 1935.

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In 1949 Mrs. Loretto Callaghan typed a note from Toronto to Margaret Carroll, referring to one of the hazards of being married to a writer:

"Life right now is just the same old round. Morley has gone down to the C.B.C. to do his program. When I asked him where the typewriter was, I wanted to use it, he thought I was going to do some typing for him. He has been working on his Montreal book and has been trying to interest me in typing it. I told him I was completely out of practice, as you can see, and that anyway I didn't like typing.¹²

Callaghan's example must have helped inspire Carroll to write fiction. In what may be an autobiographical reflection, Carroll speaks through one of his fictional characters, a Montreal advertising man and would-be novelist:

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. Then I could have had my picture in the rotogravure sections of the Sunday papers and gone to live in a Hollywood Hotel, or a Paris flat, or maybe in a pent house in New York. That is what I should have done all right. Now it is too late, I have been out of college too long.¹³

Carroll started a novel on his life at McGill; he also wrote at least twenty short stories (probably from the 1930s to the 1950s) and part of an autobiographical novel set in advertising.¹⁴ He always wrote about what he knew - sports, student life at McGill, Montreal nightlife, romance, and the perils of the business world. His story titles include: "The Second Year Jinx", "The White-haired Boy", "Supreme Sport Judge", and "The Old Lady Moves". Carroll's style is always clear, hard-boiled, often humorous. While most of the stories were never published, one, "The Amateur", narrated by the manager of a professional hockey team, appeared in *Esquire* in January 1936. Here is part of an unpublished narrative told by a rookie hockey player in the International League, in a story set in 1907:

We were winning the game, 3-1, and I had scored two of the goals, and I couldn't resist making grandstand play. I wasn't hurt and I could have gotten up alright, but I allowed the other players to carry me to the bench. The applause of the crowd was music in my ears. Our trainer was John Hammond, an old handler of fighters, and he knew only two ways to treat a tired or injured athlete: one was to give him a whiff of the ammonia bottle, and the other was to give him a shot of brandy.

"Here, kid, drink this!" he said, and he handed me a bottle.

I took a gulp from the bottle and then I really was in agony. Old John had handed me the wrong bottle and the spirits of ammonia had set fire to the inside of my mouth. They lugged me off to a doctor, who put me [on] a strict diet of cream for the next 10 days. That cured me for all time of playing to the grandstand.¹⁵

Other stories and sketches were drawn from Carroll's early stints in the business world. Among his sketches for the advertising man novel (set in the 1930s), he describes an office party:

The annual office party is an event I look forward to because something always happens to make it memorable. People you have been working alongside day in, day out for a year or more have a habit of stepping out of their characters at this kind of frolic.

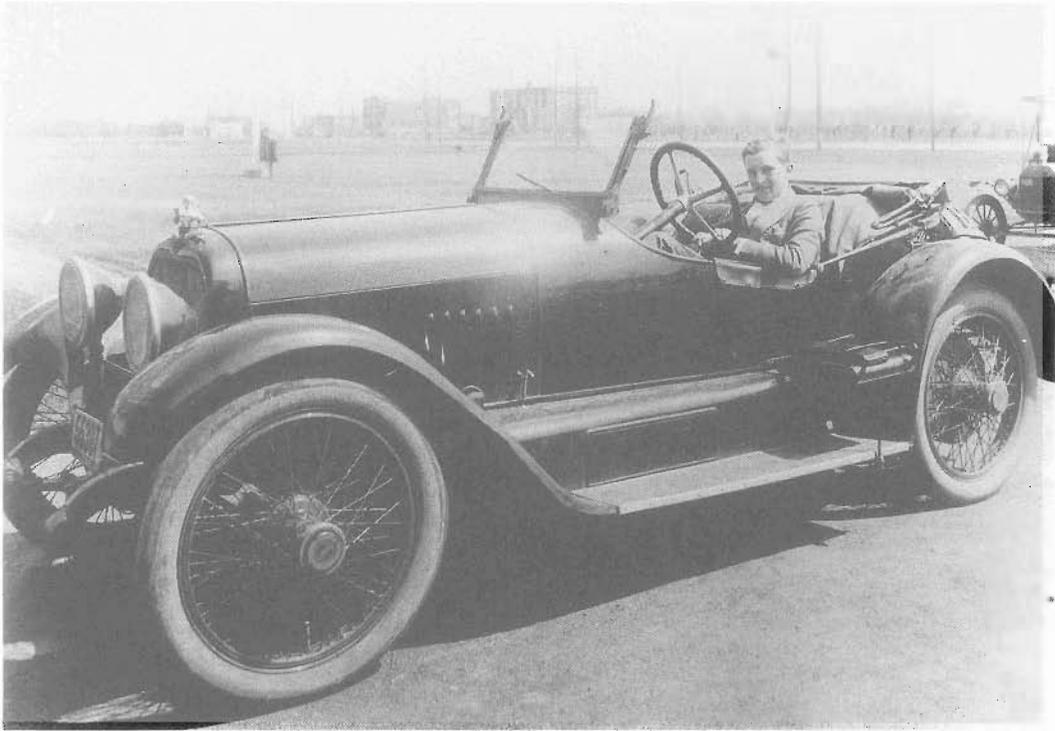


Figure 3. Carroll in sports car, 1920s.

Many firms make their annual get-together a summer picnic. Then they do not have to pay for the damage. A forest fire or a drowning come cheap. It is something else, though, when an hotel sends in a bill of damages.... Our party always takes the form of a dinner dance at one of the hotels. True, the hotel may be somewhat obscure, but anyone who would object to that is a little too choosy.¹⁶

After this gentle introduction, the story takes wing. A friend of the narrator hopes to make a good impression on a secretary, Miss Holiday, but gets very drunk before the office party begins. Wondering if he can make himself presentable, he realizes he "must have a breath like a swordfish". Smiling at a mirror, he realizes something worse: he has lost his false teeth down a drain. He suspects the good impression on Miss Holiday will not be made.

Like many writers between the two world wars, Carroll explored the themes of money and social mobility, the business of writing, sports, emancipated women, and changing sexual mores (Figure 3). He grafted the themes explored by Fitzgerald and Hemingway on to simply, deftly portrayed Montreal settings. His characters reflect the attitudes of their times. Writing in the 1930s (probably), he described Joe, recently graduated from McGill, thinking about his girlfriend (the time is the late 1920s):

Many girls, he [Joe] knew from his own experience, could not be trusted out of sight. But with Kay he knew where he stood and so did everybody else. When they went with a crowd on a party, to a night club or to the country over a weekend, there was never any doubt about whose girl she was. The chisellers soon saw it was no use, that she was a square-shooter, and passed

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on to continue the search elsewhere. It gave Joe such a feeling of confidence that he thought more than once if he were in a position to marry he had found the right girl.... Whenever he thought of her, he saw her first always in sports clothes; a slender blonde girl who would be willowy if she were taller, driving a golf ball a surprising distance, swimming better than most men, no dead weight in a dinghy, dancing tirelessly, knowing when to stop drinking, as agreeable as a man but with the other interest always there.¹⁷

Kay is a moderate Canadian version of the New Woman - free, unconventional, athletic, tomboyish or masculine, who fascinated many writers of the 1920s and 1930s, and was personified by such heroines as Hemingway's Brett Ashley in *The Sun Also Rises*.¹⁸

While Carroll's published sports journalism is preserved in the *Gazette* and other periodicals, his unpublished fiction and letters from Callaghan in the Archives are an important literary legacy. The stories tell of football games and pocket flasks, roadsters and fraternities, emancipated women, office hi-jinks, and legends of prowess on the sports field and in the bar room. Carroll's papers offer readers interesting stories, lively correspondence, and memories of Montreal when it was the unchallenged Canadian metropolis - the gleanings of a long and well-enjoyed life.

Notes

1. McGill University Archives. Austin "Dink" Carroll Papers, MG 4151, originals, ca. 1920-1991, one linear metre. The bulk of the papers are incoming correspondence and writings by Carroll; there are also photographs, taped radio interviews, autographed programmes and other memorabilia. The papers were donated by Carroll's wife Margaret (Peggy) Carroll, who worked as a reference librarian in the Redpath and McLennan Libraries and later at the McCord Museum.
2. He published in *The Montrealer*, *Esquire*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *The Reader's Digest*, *Liberty*, and the *Toronto Star Weekly*.
3. Carroll's supposed 80th birthday - he really was 81 - occasioned a large party and several articles in the press providing some biographical information used here: see David Sherman, *Montreal Gazette* (15 Nov. 1980); Tim Burke, *Montreal Gazette* (7 Nov. 1980); Paul Rimstead, *Toronto Sun* (10 Nov. 1980). According to Sherman, Carroll was nicknamed "Dink" as a child, when he could not pronounce Rs and would ask for a "dink" of water.
4. Letter, Margaret Carroll to Robert Michel, 3 July 1991 in Archives accession file 91-028.
5. Bob Morrissey "Carroll is never far from the words that have been his life", *Montrealers* column, *Montreal Gazette*, 12 Nov. 1989.
6. Sherman, *Montreal Gazette* (10 Nov. 1980).
7. Letter, Margaret Carroll to Robert Michel, 3 July 1991 in Archives accession file 91-028.
8. Letter, Morley Callaghan to Dink Carroll, undated (accompanying envelope postmarked 2 Dec. 1935), MG 4151, c.4, file: "Letters from Morley Callaghan".
9. Callaghan's *That Summer in Paris* (New York 1964), pp 76-78 gives McAlmon credit for using his money to publish writers he believed in. The fight is mentioned in several biographical works. Robert McAlmon and Kay Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together 1920-1930* (New York 1968), p.352, notes that at the time "Hemingway weighed over two hundred pounds...and Bob about a hundred and fifteen soaking wet." Denis Brian, *The True Gen* (New

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York 1988), p. 194 reports that they exchanged charges of homosexuality and mistreatment of wives. According to Kenneth S. Lynn, *Hemingway* (New York 1987), p.417, Hemingway heard McAlmond planned to write unpleasant things about him in his reminiscences (returning Hemingway's uncomplimentary portrayal of McAlmond in *Death in the Afternoon*) and beat him up without waiting for confirmation or denial.

10. The match took place on Sunday, 27 Oct. 1935 in New York before a crowd of 32,000 including the Postmaster-General James Farley. The *New York Times*, 28 Oct. 1935 and 3 Nov. 1935 reports the game, noting that Chicago had won the game from behind (14-13) through a strong running attack and a wide-spread passing formation, particularly a forward pass from Ike Peterson to Bill Smith which gained 46 yards and a touchdown. Perhaps, that was the play Callaghan meant but the columnists do not mention the strategy in Callaghan's terms.

11. Letter, Morley Callaghan to Dink Carroll, undated (accompanying envelope postmarked 2 Dec. 1935), MG 4151, c.4, file: "Letters from Morley Callaghan".

12. Letter, Loretto Callaghan to Margaret Carroll, 18 March 1949, MG 4151, c.4, File: "Letters from L. Callaghan". The Montreal novel was *The Loved and the Lost* (1951).

13. MG 4151, c.1, untitled.

14. Archives MATCH Volunteer Elizabeth Shapiro, who helped arrange and describe the Carroll Papers, undertook the daunting task of identifying and piecing together the often-disordered works of fiction.

15. MG 4151, c.1, untitled story.

16. MG 4151, c.1, file 4: drafts for an untitled novel(?)

17. MG 4151, c.1, untitled.

18. Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), chapter 3: "Brett was damned good looking. She wore a slipover jersey sweater and a tweed skirt, and her hair was brushed back like a boy's. She started all that."

History of the Polish Institute Library in Montreal

By Hanna M. Pappius, Ph.D.

Director of the Library, Polish Institute

In 1943 a group of Polish academics who had found refuge in Montreal, together with a number of their Canadian colleagues and with the enthusiastic support of the eminent Polish historian Professor Oskar Halencki, then at Columbia University, established the Canadian Section of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. One of the first decisions of the new section was to start a library. Subsequently, the Canadian Section became the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in Canada (PIASC). As PIASC approaches its 50th anniversary the Polish Library at McGill University can be considered as its most important and enduring achievement.

In 1943 the library consisted of a small collection of books for the use of members of PIASC. By the end of World War II its character had changed with a readership extending to the whole Polish community in Montreal and beyond, although it continued to be run exclusively by volunteers. It was only in 1982 that PIASC obtained a grant from the City of Montreal for the services of a professional librarian. This was a crucial development for the Polish Library as its operation without professional staff was beginning to seriously impair its growth. In the last decade the Polish Library has steadily increased its holdings and its activities.



The Polish Institute Library

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From its inception the Polish Library was a special concern of Mrs. Wanda Stachiewicz its founder, for many years its Director and to this day its Curator. While over the years many individuals have contributed to the growth of the library under the leadership of Mrs. Stachiewicz, it is she who must be credited with its development over the decades into an important Polish cultural institution in North America. In appreciation of her invaluable contributions, at the annual meeting in 1984, members of PIASC voted to name the library The Wanda Stachiewicz Polish Library.

Polish Library Holdings

The Polish Library collections consist primarily of the humanities divided (approximately) between literature (35%), history and social studies (35%), arts (15%), religion (5%), and children's literature (10%). The majority of the books are in Polish, but both English and French publications on Polish subjects or by Polish authors are included.

The total number of items in our inventory book, which lists acquisitions since the Library's inception, is 40,000 as of July 1992. This, however, includes duplicates and does not account for losses in the intervening years. The actual total of books currently in the library is estimated as between 30,000-35,000. About 1,000 books are now added to the holdings each year, partly by purchase, partly from private donations and as gifts from various publishers.

About 15,000 of the books in the Polish Library can be considered as part of our "academic" collection, as defined by our agreement with the McGill University Libraries, and these are included in the MUSE on-line catalogue. The remaining 20,000 books are translations into Polish from other languages and material for our popular lending library. The Polish Library also contains several hundred periodical titles and a valuable collection of old maps and graphics.

Activities of the Polish Library

The Polish Library is a reference library for staff and students of McGill University and other Montreal universities. Items already listed in the McGill on-line catalogue and hence in the UTLAS database are available to users of most university libraries in Canada and some in the United States.

The Polish Library in Montreal is also a community lending library open to interested individuals on payment of a modest fee. Currently the library has over 1,300 registered regular users who in the academic year 1991-92 borrowed 16,500 books. The library operates a reading room with a large number of periodicals and newspapers published both in Poland and in North America. The Polish Library receives daily from Warsaw via electronic mail a bulletin of latest events in Poland, called DONOSY.

Support

From the beginning of its existence PIASC and its library have found their home at McGill. After a modest beginning in a single room, the Polish Library is now housed in a University building on Peel Street. Without this very substantial support by McGill, the Polish Library could not have developed and prospered as it has. The Polish Library is a unique institution in that it is an independent library owned and operated by a Polish-Canadian cultural organization but closely associated with a prestigious North American university.

While the financial situation of the Polish Library has sometimes been difficult, in recent years the support of the Polish community in Canada has made it possible for the Library not only to maintain the level of its services but also to grow substantially and initiate its modernization by the computerization of its catalogue. Currently the

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Library's operating funds come from several sources. Since 1982 the Library receives an annual grant from the City of Montreal towards the salary of a professional librarian. During the last ten years the Library has received annual support from the Polish Cultural Foundation of Quebec and the Millenium Fund of Toronto. Finally, since 1988 the Library has organized an annual public appeal for funds, directed to the Polish community in Canada.

Personnel

Since 1985 Mr. Stefan Wladysiuk, M.L.S., graduate in Library Science of University of Gdansk, has been the Polish Library Librarian. He is responsible for all aspects of library activities. In 1988 Ms. Sophie Bogdanski, M.L.S., graduate in Library Science from University of Toronto joined the library staff as Librarian Cataloguer.

From its inception the Polish Library has relied on the work of a dedicated group of volunteers. At present, under the guidance of the Librarian, 18 persons are responsible for the operation of the lending library, internal on-line cataloguing of acquisitions, binding and general maintenance of the holdings.

Currently the position of the Director of the Polish Library is held by Dr. Hanna M. Pappius, Ph.D., Professor in the Department of Neurology and Neurosurgery, Montreal Neurological Institute, McGill University and, since 1988, Vice-President of PIASC.

Modernization of the Polish Library

In 1989 a decision was made to modernize the Polish Library. Discussions were initiated with Dr. Eric Ormsby, Director of McGill University Libraries to have the Polish Library holdings incorporated into the McGill on-line catalogue in order to make them more widely known and used, and to connect the Polish Library to the MUSE system. A 1989 review of the Polish Library holdings by McGill Library representatives showed that approximately 13,000 volumes of monographs (history of Poland 4,500; Polish literature 2,400; social sciences 1,700; biography 1,500, fine arts 1,200; religion and philosophy 950; reference 1,000) represented a "valuable, unique collection of material relating to one country" whose "growth and preservation was very much of interest." Subsequently, it was agreed that material meeting McGill University criteria would be incorporated in the MUSE on-line catalogue with the Polish Institute Library as the "location." Briefly, it was decided that books on Polish history and culture in the widest sense and classics of Polish literature would all be included in MUSE, while translations from other languages into Polish and material obviously suitable only for the general public would be excluded.

The decision to include the Polish Library material, previously catalogued according to the Dewey classification, in the MUSE catalogue necessitated its recataloguing according to the Library of Congress classification into UTLAS database in use at McGill. It was agreed that this would be done in the Technical Services Department of McGill Libraries by a cataloguer hired by the Polish Library.

As a part of the modernization process it was decided that Polish Library's internal catalogue would also be computerized.

Since September 1989 all new "academic" acquisitions have been catalogued by Ms. Sophie Bogdanski from Technical Services at McGill with some help from a part-time library technician and all acquisitions have been incorporated into our internal computerized catalogue by two volunteers under the supervision of the librarian. During the intervening three years the mechanisms for the cataloguing of the Polish Library material were developed according to our rather unique needs and fine-tuned for efficient operation. They were shown to be workable and can now be considered as fully operative. The Polish Library is totally committed to re-cataloguing its entire "academic" collection and funds are being sought currently for this purpose.



The Reading Room of the Polish Institute Library.

Highlights of the Polish Library Collection

The most important items of the Polish Library collection are found in its reference section of approximately 1,500 volumes. Of particular interest are *The Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Kingdom and other Slavic Countries*,¹ by Filip Sulimierski and others (1880-1914) in 16 v.; *Polish Armorial*,² by Kasper Niesiecki (1839-1846) in 10 v. and another³ by Adam Boniecki (1899-1913) in 16 v.; *The Polish Bibliography*⁴ started by Karol Estreicher in 1872 and *The Polish Bibliographical Dictionary*⁵ beginning with 1935 vol. 1. The Polish Library also has numerous statistical annuals and language dictionaries.

An unusual item in our collection is a facsimile of the manuscript popularly known as the Codex of Behem, 1505. The manuscript contains the privileges and statutes of the city of Cracow. The twenty-seven anonymous miniatures, inspired by Flemish and south German art, are an integral part of the manuscript. These depict Christ on the Cross, the coat of arms of the city of Cracow, the emblems of certain guilds, and above all, scenes from the daily lives of merchants and artisans. The Codex of Behem, with its miniatures, is a unique source of history of municipal law, economics, culture and customs of a 16th century Polish city. The original belongs to the Jagiellonian Library of Cracow.

Sources pertaining to Polish history and jurisdiction in the Polish Library deserve special attention. The Polish Library owns an English edition of the 3rd of May Constitution of 1791 and a four-volume "Annals of Law" passed by the Duchy of Warsaw (1807-1815) published in both Polish and French. There is also a 6-volume "Annals of Law" of the Kingdom of Poland, as the country was known between 1815-1918 under the Russian occupation. It

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is of interest that these *ukases* (decrees) were published in Polish and Russian. Finally, the Polish Library has copies of the two constitutions of Poland and the "Annals of Law" for the period between World Wars I and II, as well as a number of commentaries on Polish constitutional and legal matters. All these provide a valuable and in-depth material for research on the history of the Polish parliamentary system that had been in existence in one form or other for nearly 500 years.

During the post-war period when writing in Poland was under strict censorship, the Polish Library developed a unique collection of materials dealing with Polish history and culture published clandestinely in Poland and openly in the West.

Conclusion

The Polish Library at McGill owes its continuing development to the generosity of the enlightened members of the Polish-Canadian community, to efforts of its devoted volunteers and last, but not least, to the support of McGill University.

During almost half a century the library contributed to preserving independent Polish thought and culture. With the recent political changes in Central Europe it is possible to establish uncensored contacts with academic institutions in Poland, where currently western advances in library technology are being implemented. This will allow the Polish Library to take advantage of a variety of resources available in Poland, for example on-line access to the Polish National Bibliography and catalogues of various university libraries. These contacts with sources in Poland will make them more accessible to interested users in Canada. At the same time, researchers in Poland will be able to make full use of the unique holdings of the Polish Library. Thus the future of the Polish Library is bright.

The Polish Library is located at 3479 Peel Street, Montreal, Quebec, H3A 1W7. Telephone: [514] 398-6978. Fax: [514] 398-8184. E-mail: CXSW@MUSICA.McGILL.CA

Notes

1. *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i Innych Krajów Słowiańskich* (Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Kingdom and other Slavic Countries), by Filip Sulimierski and others 1880-1914 (facsimile reprint) in sixteen volumes.
2. *Herbarz Polski* (Polish Armorial), by Kasper Niesiecki, 1839-1846 (reprint) in ten volumes.
3. *Herbarz Polski* by Adam Boniecki, 1899-1913 (reprint) in sixteen volumes.
4. *Bibliografica Polska* (Polish Bibliography) started by Karol Estreicher in 1872.
5. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Polish Biographical Dictionary) begun in 1935.

Important Addition to the McCord's Furniture Collection

by **Conrad E. W. Graham**

Curator of Decorative Arts, McCord Museum of Canadian History

Art Cabinet

Ebonized wood, marquetry, tropical woods

Made by Herter Brothers, N.Y., about 1875

Handpainted panel by Anna Eliza Hardy (1839-1934)

Gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis

McCord Museum of Canadian History:M992.70.3.1-3

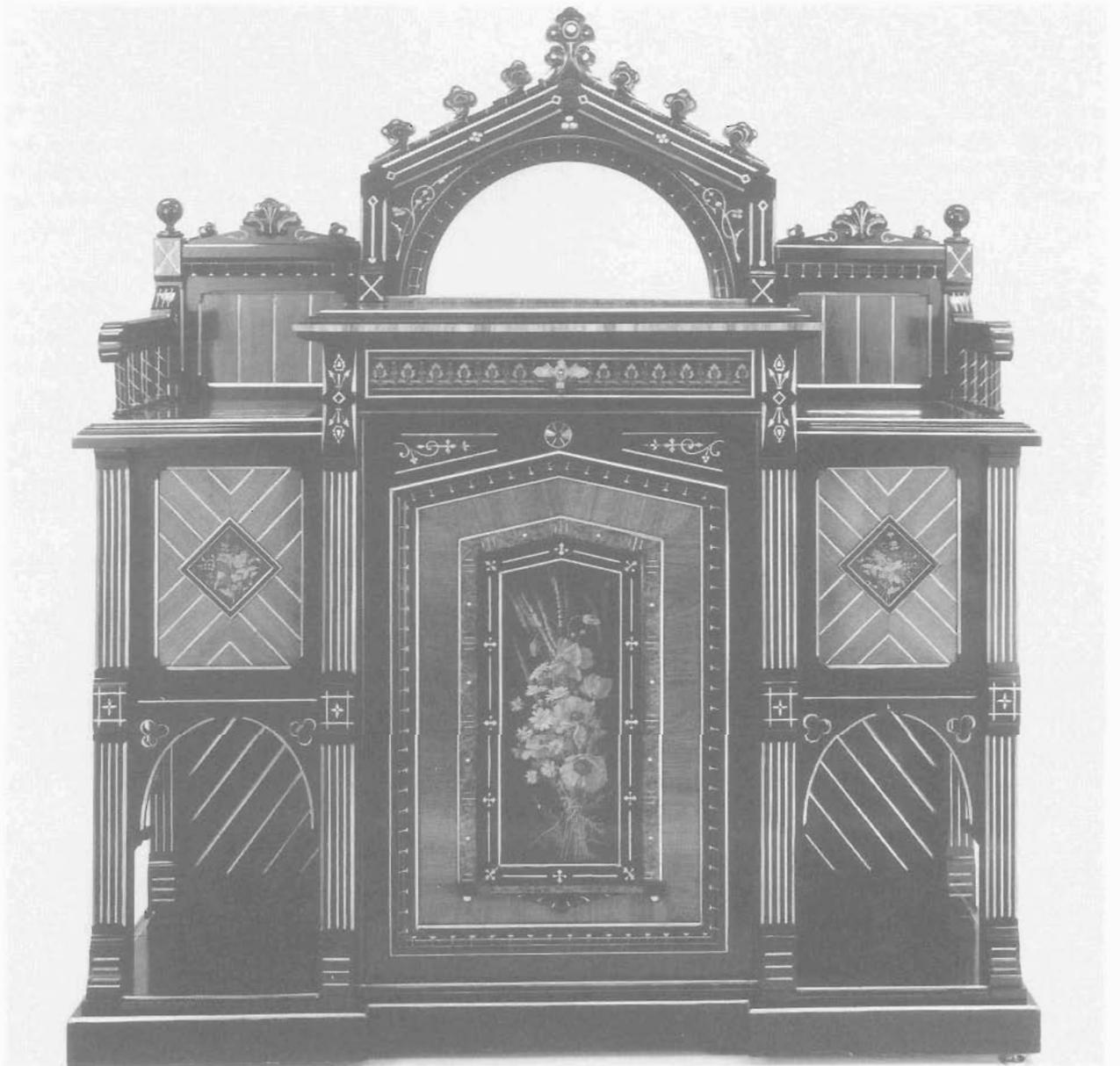
The McCord Museum as a museum of Canadian history is interested in furniture that was made or used in Canada and which reflects the evolving stylistic changes that have taken place over the centuries. The art cabinet was made in New York by the firm of Christian Herter (1840-1883),¹ known as Herter Brothers which produced some of the finest furniture in the Aesthetic manner during the 1870s. The floral panel was painted by one of the most well-known floral artists in the United States, Anna Eliza Hardy (1839-1934).² Anna Hardy living in Bangor, Maine painted with almost photographic precision and clarity, and her biographer in *Leaflets of Artists*³ described her work as "portraits of her friends"

The cabinet was purchased at the time of its construction by a Montrealer, Lieutenant-Colonel William Kennedy, and remained within the family until its recent donation to the museum. William Kennedy began his career as a cabinet-maker and eventually became an architect, who according to Lovell's *Montreal Directory* was responsible for the building of a number of houses on Dorchester Street. His early knowledge of wood may have been one of the reasons he acquired this piece. Cabinets of this quality were never mass-produced. It reflects the High Victorian taste for elaborate embellishments, and was originally intended to display decorative or sculptural objects. The cabinet compliments the museum's large collection of Victorian furniture from the 1840s until the turn of the century.

Notes

1. *Bulletin*, Cleveland Museum of Art (Dec. 1982), 331.
2. Vatne, Diane and Kaiser Pauline. *The Hardy Connection: Bangor Women Artists 1830-1900* (Bangor Historical Society, Bangor, Maine, 1992).
3. Mrs. A.L. Simpson, *Leaflets of Artists* (Bangor, Maine, 1893), 11.

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Chronicle

Library acquisitions are made possible by funds from many and varied sources, first of all the University book and serials budgets, which these years enjoy vigorous support from the McGill administration and the entire academic community. In addition, endowed funds from many sources and special grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and other agencies represent an essential and substantial portion of the entire acquisitions budget.

Throughout the year, individual donors presented rare and valuable gifts of books to our libraries. These donations in kind, which are detailed below, represented a total cash value of \$360,000. The gifts ranged from the second shipment of material in the continuing Moshe Safdie gift to the Canadian Architecture Collection from the architect's archives in Cambridge and Jerusalem, to original drawings by Roger Tory Peterson to the Blacker-Wood Library of Biology, to major collections and individual titles in Education, Islamic Studies, Life Sciences, Physical Sciences, and Rare Books and Special Collections.

The following list represents merely a selection of significant and unusual items acquired by McGill libraries, archives and museums, mostly during 1992.

Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art

Notable Acquisitions by purchase:

Ruth Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements in Israel: Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987.

Andreas Linfert, *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit: Studien an Weiblichen Gewandfiguren*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976.

Peter Klaus Schuster, *Melancholia I: Dürers Denkbild*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1991.

Felice Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Library*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Monika Biershenk, *Glasmalereien der Elisabethkirche in Marburg: die figürlichen Fenster um 1240*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1991.

Helmut Borsch-Supan, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bühnenentwürfe = Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Stage Designs*. Berlin: Ernst and Sohn, 1990.

Notable Reference Acquisitions:

Giovanni Fanelli, *Dizionario degli Illustratori Simbolisti e Art Nouveau*. Firenze: Cantini, 1990.

The Worldwide Bibliography of Art Exhibition Catalogues, 1963-1987. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus International Publications; Ithaca, N.Y.: Worldwide Books, 1992.

The Mies Van der Rohe Archives. Part II: 1938-1969. New York: Garland Publishing, 1986-

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Jacques Dupin, *Miro Engraver*. New York: Rizzoli, 1989-

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Acquisitions assisted by funds from the SSHRC Specialized Collections Grant:

Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*. Berlin: G. Grote, 1920.

Jacopo Bellini, *Les Dessins de Jacopo Bellini au Louvre et au British Museum*. Bruxelles: G. Van Oest, 1908-12.

Donatello Studien. München: Bruckmann, 1989.

René Lesuisse, *Le Sculpteur Jean del Cour: Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre, Son Évolution, Son Style, Son Influence, Étude Historique, Esthétique et Critique* <S.L.: S.N.> 1953 (Couillet, Belgium: Presses de la Maison d'Édition.)

Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*. Florenz: Giunti, 1989-

Gifts:

World's Columbian Exposition. (1893: Chicago III.) Official Catalogue. Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893.

Erich Mendelsohn, *Neues Haus Neue Welt*. Berlin: Rudolf Mosse Buch Verlag, 1932.

Charles Yriarte, *Venise: Histoire, Art, Industrie, la Ville, la Vie*. 2nd ed. Paris: Rothschild, 1878.

Felix Cardellach, *Philosophie des Structures*. Paris: H. Dunod et E. Pinat, 1914.

The Safdie Project

Irena Murray was recently awarded a three-year, \$160,000 grant by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the organization of the Safdie Archive, and the publication of its contents. The archive is part of the Canadian Architecture Collection of the Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. It was donated to the University by the architect and McGill graduate Moshe Safdie in 1990.

Canadian Architecture Collection: a guide to the archives

The most recent publication of the Canadian Architecture Collection series is a guide to over 60 different archives of architects and urban planners that are part of the collection of the Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. The preparation and publication of the guide was made possible by a grant from the Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec.

Blacker-Wood Library of Biology

To the rare books collection was added:

1. *The zoological works of Samuel Richard Tickell* on colour microfiche (52 fiches). 1987
2. *Baudin in Australian waters: the artwork of the French voyage of discovery*. 1988

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3. *The Hunter sketchbook: birds and flowers of New South Wales drawn on the spot in 1788, 89 and 90*. 1989 facsimile
4. *Van Someren's birds: the paintings of Linda van Someren*. 1989
5. Two original pen and pastel sketches of birds by Roger Tory Peterson were bequeathed by Louise de Kiriline Lawrence, a Swedish-Canadian natural history author.
6. Mr. David Lank donated a set of audio cassettes of an interview he held with Roger Tory Peterson.
7. In honour of the Columbus quincennial, the Spanish government donated a copy of *La expedicion Malaspina en la costa noroeste de America 1789-1794*.

Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

1. Acquisitions supported by SSHRC

A collections grant was awarded to acquire eighteenth-century works by and about Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

A Fleeting Opportunities grant was awarded to purchase a two-volume work entitled *Recueil philosophique* (1770) which contains the first printing of David Hume's essay on suicide.

2. Acquisition supported by the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board

A grant was awarded to acquire a bound volume of 100 manuscripts and printed maps formerly owned by Colonel John Oldfield (1789-1863), a British military man who spent several periods of time in Canada and was involved in the Rebellion of 1837.

3. Acquisitions by purchase

Agnes Strickland, *The Buxton Diamonds* (1823).

Jean Baptiste d'Anville, *mémoire sur la carte intitulée Canada. Louisiane et terres anglaises* (1756).

E. Mather Powys, *Procreant Hymn* (1926).

Susan Musgrave, *The Spiritualization of Cruelty* (1992).

A collection of 175 books and 50 autograph letters by English poet Walter de la Mare.

David Hume, *Pensées philosophiques* (1767) and *Dialogues sur la religion naturelle* (1780).

E. Whitefield, a large print of Kingston, Canada West (1855).

Norman Levine, *The Beat & The Still: St. Ives, Cornwall, England* (1990).

A collection of 58 eighteenth-century French plays.

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A two-volume collection of bound pamphlets relating to Palissot's comedy, *Les philosophes* (1780s).

Censure de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris du livre qui a pour titre Émile, ou de l'éducation (1776), the official denunciation of Rousseau's famous work on education.

4. Donations

Mr. Sam Lefebvre donated a collection of papers relating to Charles Chiniguy, the nineteenth-century temperance leader and writer.

Mr. Allan Raymond donated a collection of papers of Stanley Lewis, the Montreal printmaker and sculptor, Mr. Raymond also donated a print by Mr. Lewis.

Ms. Irena Murray donated a pochoir-illustrated book entitled *Du moins soyez discret!* (1919).

Mr. Michael Harris made a second donation of his literary papers.

Mr. Paul Duval donated two linocuts by A.J. Casson.

Ms. Linda McDougall donated the literary papers of her father, Montreal writer Joseph Easton McDougall.

Mr. Peter Sindell donated a collection of manuscripts relating to the city of Montreal, mainly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Ms. Sheila K. Dwyer donated a collection of papers of Maurice Casey, including a number of letters from poet William Henry Drummond.

Mr. Asher Joram donated a copy of *The Art of Glen Loates*, with an original Loates print.

Mrs. Regina Slatkin donated four eighteenth-century prints.

Mr. C.M. Lapointe donated a collection of Canadian books and manuscripts.

Mr. John Mappin donated the funds to acquire two manuscripts by Susannah Moodie, the nineteenth-century Canadian writer and author of *Roughing it in the Bush*.

Mrs. Frances MacLennan donated the remaining literary papers of Hugh MacLennan and Dorothy Duncan.

Mr. Bob Hilderley donated a further installment of the records of Quarry Press.

Dr. Martin Cohen donated a further collection of books published by Insel-Bucherei.

Mr. E.G. Hodsoll donated a collection of manuscript maps of the Grand Trunk Railway.

Mr. Tom McKendry donated three sixteenth-century books.

Mr. Marc Perrault donated two nineteenth-century atlases of the City of Montreal.

The Estate of J.B. Redpath donated books and family photographs of the Redpaths.

Chronicle

Ms. Mary Mason donated a copy of Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (mixed editions).

Mr. Tabu Millons donated the funds (in memory of his mother) to acquire three early poetry pamphlets by Canadian writer George Woodcock.

Walter Hitschfeld Environmental Earth Sciences Library

This year one of the great supporters of the McGill Libraries has retired, Professor Theo Hills. Professor Hills was honored at a special ceremony in Hitschfeld where both a photograph of Professor Hills and a plaque noting some of his accomplishments were unveiled. Professor Hills has been a professor in the Department of Geography 1968-1992, Director of the Centre for Developing Area Studies, 1971-1975, Chairman of the Humid Tropics Commission, International Geographical Union 1961-1968. Professor Hills has also played an important role in developing library collections.

The ceremony was an occasion to display many of the special gifts that were presented to the library in Professor Hills' name. A poster series on the environment was presented by Unesco's Man and the Biosphere Program. Professor Meredith donated a Quebec map series on environmental stresses. Professor Parry donated several Australian series - Csiro's Natural Resources Series, Land Research Series, and Soil Mechanics Section Technical Papers. He also filled in library runs of CCRS's Spot Imagery and Landsat Imagery Catalogues and presented many of his terrain analysis projects from northern Canada to the Library. Professor Hills himself donated a handsome new atlas on desertification. The McGill Undergraduate Society raffled a McGill ring, donated by Paula Kestelman of the Geography Department, and presented the proceeds to Hitschfeld. Many other gifts, too numerous to mention in this report, have had the new bookplate attached, which reads "Presented to the Walter Hitschfeld Environmental Earth Sciences Library by _____. The T.L. Hills Collection in Environmental Geography, T.L. Hills Professor of Geography 1968-1992."

Professor Norman Drummond, who retired last year, saw that approximately \$1200 was put into the Hitschfeld accounts for the purchase of automated cartography. One recent major purchase of these funds in the Digital Chart of the World, a digital map at the scale of 1:1,000,000 on 4 CD-ROMs, based on the ONC map series published by the Defense Mapping Agency of the United States. DCW will serve as a platform on which to mount global data sets such as the EPA/NDAA set on global change, funded by Professor John Lewis off his NSERC grant. Earlier in the year Professor Lewis also bought the World Weatherdisc on CD-ROM, containing data dating from 1790 to the present.

Professors Mysak, Dunbar and Ingram of Atmospheric and Oceanic Sciences continue to contribute oceanographic data, government documents and satellite imagery (on CD-ROM), as well as journals to Hitschfeld. The Geography Department donated a run of 4500 air photos, from southern Quebec and various parts of northern Canada. The towns of Quebec responded magnificently to our plea last summer for city plans. Recently Professor Don Francis, chairman of the Geology Department, has offered us some much needed map cabinets. It seems we can never have enough of these! The cabinets will enable us to finally interfile all of our Canadian superceded topographic series.

The Geological Survey of Canada informed many map collections in Canada, ours among them, of the cancellation of the exchange program whereby we had been receiving all of their major Canadian federal geological series. The Departments of Geology, Geography, Mining and Metallurgical Engineering, in particular the Mining Program, the Centre for Climate and Global Change Research, and the Canadian Association of Geographers immediately offered gifts to keep this important exchange alive and well - theses, research papers and a run of the

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Canadian Geographer. And recently we received a donation from Mrs. Irma Hitschfeld for \$1200 and another from Mr. Charles Hitschfeld, to use at our discretion. It is anticipated that part of this will be spent to produce a much needed guide to the Library.

McLennan-Redpath Libraries

A Selective List of the Most Important Acquisitions of 1992-93

Reference

French Quebec Imprints in French from Quebec 1764-1990 in the British Library 1992. 2v. Imasco fund

Canadian Encyclopedia CD-ROM edition. 1992. Imasco Fund

Oxford English Dictionary CD-ROM edition. 1992. Imasco Fund

Der Yidisher Katalog un oyoritetn-kartotek fun der Yivo-bibliotek. 1990. 5v. Donation by faculty and students of Dr. Ruth Wisse in her honour and endowed funds.

Government Documents

Canada

CRTC Broadcasting Decisions and Public Policy Notices 1984-1992. Endowed Funds. National Archives of Canada. *Strikes and Lockouts files, 1907-1977*. Webster Fund

Statistics Canada. *Publications 1981-83*. Microfiche Imasco

United States

Bureau of the Census. *1990 Census*. Microfiche. Endowed Funds

Subject Collections

Monographs etc.

Akten zur Vorgeschichte des Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945-1949. Webster Fund

Canadian Performing Arts. Toronto, Metro Toronto Library, 199?. Microfiche collection. Imasco Fund

Parliamentary History. Part 1 Manuscript Minutes, Committee Books and Voting Records of the House of Lords, c 1620-1714. Microfilm. Webster Fund.

The Slave Trade. 1858-1892. British Foreign Office. Confidential Print Series. Microfilm. Hampson Donation to the History Department.

State Papers (Foreign) of Edward VI. Microfilm. Hampson Donation to the History Department.

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State Papers (Foreign) of Mary I. Microfilm. Hampson Donation to the History Department.

Lope de Vega. *Collection de las obras sueltas.* Madrid, Arco, 1989. Facsimile of 1776-1779 edition. Operating and endowed funds.

Serials backfiles

Canadian Woman Studies, v. 1-7, Imasco.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service. 1992. CD-ROM. Endowed funds.

Kahtou. (Native Communications Society of B.C.) 1983-1992. Northern Studies Funds.

Nation (1935-1952). Microfilm replacement of deteriorated backfile. Webster Fund.

Ottawa Citizen (1911-1939). Microfilm. Imasco Fund.

Standing Orders

ADMYTE: Archivo digital de manuscritos y textos espanoles. Madrid, Micronet, 1992

Center for Editing Early Canadian Texts, v. 9+

Collected works of Stanislavski, v. 1+

New Canadian Drama. v. 6+

Philosophy in Literature, v. 1+

Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print. Editors Kenneth Bourne and C. Cameron Watt. University Publications of America. Europe 1848-1914 and Latin America 1845-1914 & 1914-1939

Roman Provincial Coinage by A. Burnett et al, 1992-

Les textes poétiques du Canada Français v. 1+

La vie littéraire au Québec v. 1+

Women and Literature, New Series v. 5+

Gifts

Professor Paul Austin donated 190 volumes largely relating to Russian literature.

Mrs. E. Delafield donated over 1000 books on art, literature and history.

Desbaillets Donation: Includes much material of interest for historical research on Canada and Western Europe and some books from the Papineau library.

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Olga and Ludwig Grabowski donated over 200 items largely on World War II.

Dr. Eleanor McGarry donated some very fine books from her library, including rare volumes of Canadian poetry, children's literature and topography.

The McCord Museum Library donated over 600 volumes, mostly Canadian history, literature and art.

The Consul General of Mexico donated a substantial collection (1470 volumes) of Mexican books on a wide array of subjects.

Nomik Donation: A very beautiful collection of books on Art, mythology, and culture willed to us by Dr. S. Nomik.

Phelan Donation: Over a thousand books in lovely condition with some notable military history titles.

Osler Library of the History of Medicine

One of the most important additions during 1992 was the facsimile edition of the *DIOSCURIDES Codex Neapolitanus*. The pharmacologist, Pedanius Dioscurides, (military physician under the Emperors Claudius and Nero) was one of the most famous specialists in ancient medicine. His *Codex Neapolitanus*--an illustrated herbal--was written between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. This major acquisition will join ranks with its "twin" the *DIOSCURIDES Codex Vindobonensis* which the Library had acquired in 1986. Together, through their rich iconography, they represent two precious and impressive works of not only art history, but, most importantly, are significant documents in the history of ancient and medieval medicine.

In July 1992, the Library was awarded a \$20,000.00 grant (for a 2 year period at \$10,000.00 per year) by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). This grant was received to allow the Library to purchase primary works on the etiology, prophylaxis and control of communicable diseases in Western Europe and North America between 1600-1900. Some of the interesting titles purchased so far are:

Johannes Schlegelius. *Dissertatio medica de phthisi*. Jenae: Wertherianis, 1667.

Heinrich Bass. *Tractatus de morbis venereis*. Francofurti: (s.n.), 1763.

Antoine Andrieu. *Conte rendu au public, sur des nouveaux moyens de guérir les maladies vénériennes...* Paris: Morin, 1786.

Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland. *Ueber die Natur, Erkenntnismittel und Heilart der Skrofelkrankheit*. Wien: von Gelenschen, 1798.

René LaRoche. *Pneumonia: its supposed connection pathological and etiological, with autumnal fevers; including an inquiry into the existence and morbid agency of malaria*. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1854.

Thomas M. Dolan. *The nature and treatment of rabies or hydrophobia*. London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox, 1879.

F. Kapper. *Il colera dal punto di vista della sua etiologia, profilassi e cura con speciale riguardo al risultati delle piu recenti indagini*. Napoli: Jovene, 1887.

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George M. Sternberg. *Report on the etiology and prevention of yellow fever*. Washington: GPO, 1890.

The Library was also the recipient of many gifts from private donors during 1992. The following is a selective list of publications received and the names of the donors (...):

Lorenz Heister. *Institutions de chirurgie, ou l'on traite...de tout ce qui a rapport a cet art....* Paris: Didot, 1771. (Dr. H.R. Robertson)

Denis Goulet and André Paradis. *Trois siècles d'histoire médicale au Québec: chronologie des institutions et des pratiques (1639-1939)*. Montréal: VLB éditeur, 1992. (André Paradis)

George Henry Fox. *Photographic illustrations of skin diseases*. New York: E.B. Treat, 1889. (Dr. Sydney Segall)

Soeurs dominicaines de l'Enfant-Jésus. *L'Hôpital de l'Enfant-Jésus, 1923-1963*. Quebec: Imp. Vitray, 1964. (Helene Guay)

Willaim MacEwen. *Pyogenic infective diseases of the brain and spinal cord: meningitis, abscess of brain, infective sinus thrombosis*. Glasgow: MacLehose & Sons, 1893. (Dr. E. McGarry)

H. C. Wood. *A treatise on therapeutics comprising materia medica and toxicology...* Philadelphia:: Lippincott, 1883. (Dr. D.E. Douglas)

Sleim Ammar. *Poème de la médecine Arabe*. Tunis: Alif, 1990. (The author)

Joannes Scultetus. *Het nieuwe wapen-huys der chirurgie...* Amsterdam: van Someren, 1671. (Dr. J. Miller)

Redpath Museum

The museum obtained a skeleton of the dinosaur, *Albertosaurus libratus*, through the generosity of the Friends of the Redpath Museum Association, visitors of all ages from the Montreal Community and The Zeller Family Foundation, the Hylcan Foundation, and the EJLB Foundation.

University Archives

The records of several McGill staff members were given to the University Archives. Maxwell Dunbar, Emeritus Professor of Oceanography, added the draft of his memoirs with notes to the diaries and papers he has previously given the Archives. Margaret Austin donated the papers of Alice Johannsen, some of which relate to her direction of the Redpath Museum during the 1950s and 1960s and of the Nature Centre at Mont St-Hilaire (1970-1979); the papers include private correspondence and extensive files on subjects such as nature education, handicrafts and natural history. Margaret Austin also donated correspondence on skiing and other papers, including a scrapbook, of H.S. "Jackrabbit" Johannsen (1875-1987), the pioneer of skiing and other outdoor sports in Quebec. Mrs. Austin also donated the Law Area librarian deposited papers of Gerald Fitzgerald, BA 1935, MA 1937 (McGill), former Senior Legal Officer at the International Civil Aviation Organization and lecturer in the Faculty of Law's Institute of Air and Space Law. The papers consist mainly of notes and course materials ca. 1959-1986 for lectures on aviation law, hijacking and the role of ICAO. Mrs. Allison Andreassen gave additions to the papers of John C.L. Andreassen, University Archivist, 1968-1977; they include correspondence (mainly 1980s) and photographs, ca. 1920-1990. The Archivist of Trinity College, Toronto transferred course notes and correspondence (ca.

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1970-1976) of Dr. Elizabeth Rowlinson, lecturer in Mathematics and Associate Dean of Students at McGill.

Graduates' papers acquired by the Archives included a copy of a typescript (from T. Volk and C. Cromwell) by Dr. Lincoln W. Cromwell, MD 1938 (McGill) titled: "Letters to Spence: letters to Spencer Tracy from his medical student" (1980). Tracy paid for Cromwell's medical schooling at McGill, 1933-1938. In return Cromwell was to write him weekly letters telling his experiences. The letters give a lively picture of medical student life. The typescript includes some responses from Tracy.

Maysie MacSporran gave papers of Elizabeth C. Monk, BA 1919, BCL 1923, consisting of two student essays (1915), letters of congratulation at her appointment as Montreal's first woman City Councillor, and correspondence (1915, 1962-1975).

Records documenting McGill's Montreal milieu were also acquired. They include papers of Sophie L. Elliott, Montreal lecturer, community activist, and author and illustrator of *The women pioneers of North America*, 1941 based on Montreal History. The papers include correspondence, notes, sketch books and scrapbooks, the latter relating to the Women's Volunteer Reserve Corps in Montreal, 1940. Diana MacNeish donated a small amount of records originating from the Family Welfare Association of Montreal, 1920-1956, including reports, correspondence and other documents.

McGill Library Publications

Fontanus: From the Collections of McGill University, vol. V, Montreal, 1992.

Søren Kierkegaard Bibliographies. Remnants. 1944-1980 and Multimedia. 1925-1991. Compiled by Calvin D. Evans. Fontanus Monograph Series II, Montreal, 1993.

Canadian Architecture Collection/Collection d'architecture Canadienne: A Guide to the Archives/guide des fonds. Kathryn A. Jackson. General Editor, Irena Zantovska Murray. Editor, Françoise Roux. Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, Montreal, 1993.

Oslerian Verse: An Annotated Anthology, edited and annotated by Richard L. Golden. Osler Library, Montreal, 1992.

From Dürer to Dumier: European Prints from the Collection of McGill University. Edited by Carol Solomon-Kiefer. McLennan Library, Montreal, 1993.

Contributors

Allan Bell has a B.A. (Honours) in English Language and Literature from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario and an M.L.I.S. from McGill University (1992). He is the Assistant Computer Services Librarian in the Humanities and Social Sciences Library, McGill University.

Stanley Bruce Frost joined McGill University in 1956 as Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature and during the next two decades became intimately concerned with the administration and direction of the University. He was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in 1957, Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in 1963, and Vice-Principal (Administration) in 1970. For ten years, he was chairman of the University Libraries Committee. Named Director of the History of McGill Project in 1974, he has been the moving spirit in the organization of the popular James McGill Society, serving first as its executive secretary and now as Honorary President. His publications include *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, 1952, *Standing and Understanding*, 1969 and the two volumes of the McGill history, 1980 and 1984. A biography of Cyril James was published in 1991 and a *Life of James McGill* is scheduled for 1994.

John Hobbins obtained his B.A. (Hons. History, 1966) and his M.L.S. (1968) from McGill University. Since then he has worked for the McGill University Libraries as Reference Librarian, Instructional Services Librarian, Head of Interlibrary Loan, Head of Acquisitions, Central Technical Services and Acting Law Area Librarian. He is currently Associate Director of Libraries with a special responsibility for Systems and Technical Services. He is a former contributor to *Fontanus*, including two articles based on the Humphrey papers.

Peter F. McNally is an Associate Professor in McGill University's Graduate School of Library and Information Studies where he lectures and publishes extensively in Reference, Bibliography, and the History of Books, Printing and Libraries. Before joining the School's faculty he was a librarian in the McGill University Libraries where he held the position, among others, of Librarian of the Lawrence Lande Canadiana Collection. His degrees are in History and Librarianship from McGill and the University of Western Ontario. He is Convenor of the Library History Interest Group of the Canadian Library Association.

Robert H. Michel is an archivist in the McGill University Archives and a faculty lecturer in the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies for the team-taught archives course. He holds a doctorate in history from McGill University. He is a member of the Acquisition Committee of the Canadian Council of Archives, established to help preserve Canada's documentary heritage. He serves on the executive of the James McGill Society, which presents lectures on McGill's history.

Errata

The Editors would like to correct the following errors that appeared in *Fontanus V* (1992).

The caption for the cover illustration should read:

Lawren Harris, 1885-1970
Red Sleigh, House Winter, 1919
oil on canvas, 116.8 x 132.1 cm
signed lower left: LAWREN/HARRIS/1919
purchased Blair Lang, Toronto 1962
66.001 (Dawes Collection)

The illustrations on pages 165 and 166 of the article by Reinhard Pummer "A Samaritan Manuscript in McGill University" are upside down.

The Editors regret these errors.

Guidelines for Authors

Fontanus is an annual publication devoted to scholarly research based principally upon McGill University collections. The term 'collections' is interpreted in the broadest sense, to include books, archives, specimens, artifacts, buildings and other forms of documentary evidence. Contributions derived from all aspects of McGill collections will be considered. Submission of a contribution is understood to imply that no paper containing essentially the same material has been published previously and that the manuscript is not under editorial consideration elsewhere. All submissions will be reviewed by members of the Editorial Board and refereed by experts in the appropriate field. Any substantial changes will be cleared with the author before publication. Send submissions, prepared according to the instructions below, to:

Dr. Hans Möller
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Montreal, Quebec, H3A 1Y1

Form of Manuscript

All manuscripts (in two copies) must be typewritten and double-spaced. Articles may also be submitted on computer disk, using WordPerfect 4.2, 5.0 or 5.1 software. Notes should be numbered consecutively and follow the text of the article. Author's name should appear after the title and before the text of the article. A short biographical note of no more than 100 words should be included. Degrees, current and previous positions and major publications should be listed.

Abstracts

A brief abstract (of no more than 200 words) of the content of the article should be prepared by the author.

Form of Citation

Manuscripts should conform to the standards outlined in *The Canadian Style: a guide to writing and editing* (by the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada) Toronto, London: Dundurn, 1985. Translation of passages in other than French or English should be provided in the text.

Illustrations

Photocopies of visual material (with brief captions) must be submitted for initial evaluation. Once an article has been accepted, the author is responsible for supplying clear black and white glossy photos and for securing the permission to publish copyright material if necessary.

Fontanus is published in the early part of each calendar year. Articles submitted before September 15 are eligible for consideration for the following year's issue. Authors will have the opportunity to review their manuscripts after editing has been completed.

