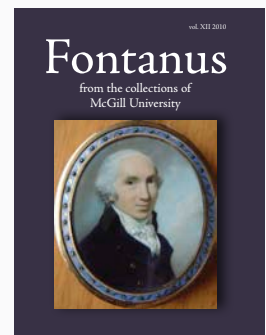
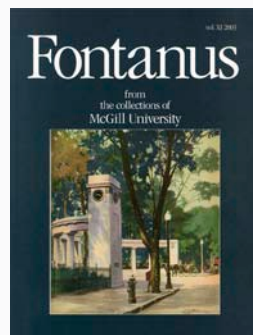
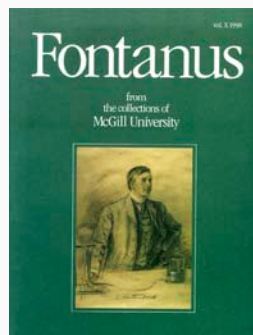
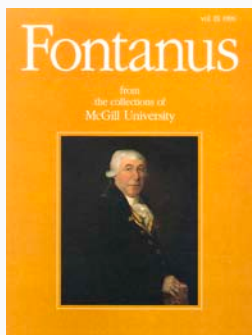
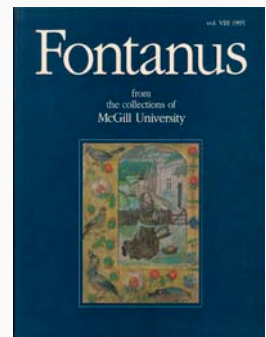
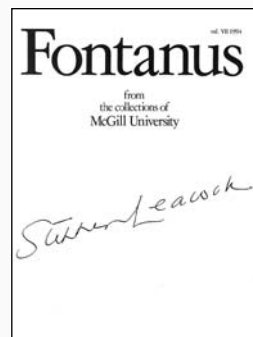
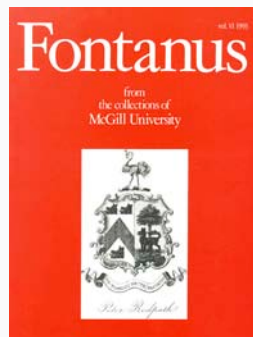
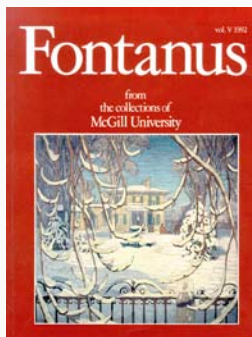
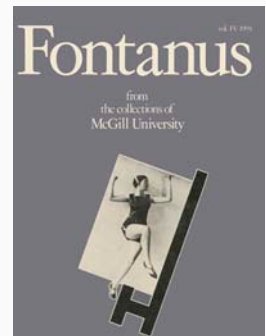
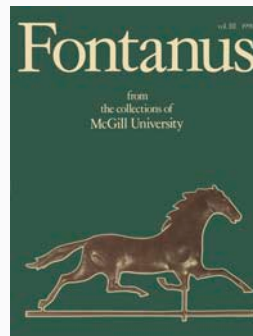
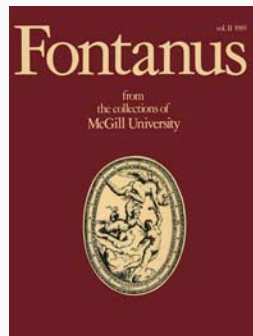
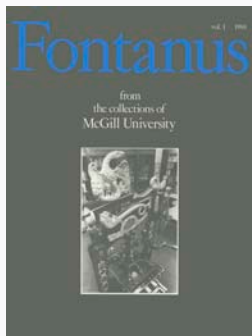


Fontanus

from the collections of
McGill University



Fontanus

FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY
VOLUME XII • 2010

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Contents

iv **Call for Papers**

v **Editorial**

ARTICLES

1 **My Dear Eve...: The Remaining Letters from Eve's Rutherford File**
Montague Cohen and A.J. Hobbins

11 **Adversity Vanquished: Memoirs of a McGill Medical Student,
Harold W. Trott, 1918-1924**
Robert H. Michel

41 **Health Matters: The Dawson and Harrington Families at Home**
Annmarie Adams and Peter Gossage

63 **Fiction, Faction, Autobiography: Norman Levine at McGill University,
1946-1949**
Robert H. Michel

105 **Western Canadiana at McGill University: The Lande and Arkin Collections**
Peter F. McNally

123 **"To go abroad from Scotland..." The South American Travel Diary of
Thomas Wilson**
Marc Richard

129 **Seeking Employment in the British Empire: Three Letters from Rajah
Gobind Ram Bahadur**
Alan M. Guenther

NOTES AND COMMENTS

155 **The Launch of the McGill Historical Collections Web Site**
Pamela Miller

157 **McGill Women's Initiations, 1910 & 1919**
Robert H. Michel

161 **McGill's East Asian Collection – Past and Present**
Macy Zheng

165 **Contributors**

167 **Guidelines for Authors**

168 **Fontanus Publications**

Call for Papers

What do Arabic manuscripts, John Humphrey, Sir Arthur Currie, Hugh McLennan, Peter Redpath, Ernest Rutherford, and James McGill have in common? They have all been the subject of scholarly articles in *Fontanus* based on McGill University's many fine collections. Detailed descriptions of the collections may be accessed from the McGill Historical Collections web site: <http://www.mcgill.ca/historicalcollections/>

The editors of *Fontanus* are currently seeking articles as well as briefer notes and comments, in English or French, for Volume XIII (2011). The deadline for submission is 1 September 2011. Submissions received later will be considered for the following volume.

Fontanus is an annual publication devoted to scholarly research making substantial use of McGill University collections. The term "collections" is interpreted in the broadest sense to include all forms of evidence: books, archives, clay tablets, electronic records, specimens, artifacts, costumes, photographs, films and buildings.

For more information regarding the submission of manuscripts, please see the Guidelines for Authors elsewhere in this issue.

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Dedication

Fontanus: from the Collections of McGill University

Volume XII, 2010

is respectfully dedicated to

Dr. Hans Möller, Founding Editor

Editorial

Fontanus - the Latin name for a god of fountains, springs and sources - was created on the initiative of Dr. Hans Möller, Research and Development Librarian, not long after directing the University Libraries from 1984 to 1986. The first volume appeared in 1988 and was followed by annual volumes during the nine years of Möller's editorship (through Vol. IX, 1996). In the tradition of university library based journals, *Fontanus* offered a forum for scholarly articles based in whole or part on the archival, library, rare book, and museum collections of McGill University. Reflecting the depth and diversity of McGill collections, articles were published on such subjects as Ernest Rutherford and A.S. Eve, Peter Redpath, various aspects of McGill's library history, John Humphrey's drafts of the United Nations Declaration of Human rights, Arabic and Qur'anic manuscripts, the McCord Family, Stephen Leacock, E.B. Greenshields, James McGill, Sir Arthur Currie, W.D. Lighthall, the Wellington-Winchelsea duel, and fiction set at McGill, to name a few. Some authors used the McGill collections as starting points for general discussions while others made close studies of individual documents. The Notes and Comments section offers short, informal discussions of collections development and particular items. Unlike most academic journals, *Fontanus* publishes illustrations to enhance its articles. Articles in English or French are solicited from scholars, librarians, archivists, curators and other researchers from McGill and elsewhere.

The original annual schedule faltered after 1998 (Vol. X) due to such factors as costs and availability of staff time that sometimes beset academic journals. Articles continued to be submitted and the volume of 2003 (Vol. XI) was expansive and included an index to the first 10 volumes of authors, titles, subjects, illustrations, places or scenes, and objects. In addition to the large format printed volumes, the entire run of *Fontanus* was made available in digitized format on its own McGill website (<http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/fontanus>). The present volume (XII) was finalized in December 2010 with the recent help of the McGill Library Technology Services; its in-house technology allows a far faster editing, layout and production process than was available for the previous volumes. We are grateful to Interim Director of Libraries Diane Koen, Amy Buckland, eScholarship, ePublishing & Digitization Coordinator, and the Library staff, particularly Joel Natanblut, Digitization Administrator, for their contribution to reviving *Fontanus*.

Ending his editorial to Volume I of *Fontanus* in 1988, Dr. Möller wrote: "I wish to close by expressing the hope that *Fontanus* will have a very long life. There are certainly hundreds of topics for articles waiting to be written. Such is the richness of the McGill collections." We share that hope and expect that a revived *Fontanus* now will return to annual publication and resume its role in diffusing research based on McGill's Historical Collections. A Note in this volume describes recent initiatives by the Principal's Heritage Advisory Committee in making the McGill Historical Collections more globally available through a web site.

The Editors

My Dear Eve...: The Remaining Letters from Eve's Rutherford File

by Dr. Montague Cohen and A.J. Hobbins

ABSTRACT

Throughout their lives, Ernest Rutherford and his wife Mary wrote and received many letters of a chatty, impersonal nature, many of which have previously been published. This article comprises a number of hitherto unpublished letters written by Mary Rutherford at the time of her husband's terminal illness in 1937, and subsequently. The article also includes the full text of a letter written by Rutherford to his wife in 1914, a condensed version of which was included in Eve's 1939 biography of Rutherford.

RESUMÉ

Tout au long de leurs vies, Ernest Rutherford et son épouse Mary ont écrit et reçu une grande quantité de lettres de nature impersonnelle et pleines de bavardage, dont plusieurs ont déjà été publiées. Cet article présente un certain nombre de lettres inédites écrites par Mary Rutherford à l'époque de la maladie qui allait emporter son mari en 1937, et au cours des années suivantes. L'article comprend également le texte intégral d'une lettre écrite par Ernest Rutherford à sa femme en 1914, dont une version abrégée a été publiée dans la biographie de Rutherford écrite par Eve en 1939.

Dr. Montague Cohen (1925-2002) edited a series of previously unpublished letters from Ernest Rutherford to his friend and biographer, Arthur Stewart Eve¹, in several volumes of *Fontanus*.² These letters, covering the period 1907-1919, had been found in a desk in the basement of the Macdonald Physics building when it was renovated in the 1970s. Copies of other letters were found in Dr. Cohen's papers after his death. Unlike the earlier collection, these letters were not written by Rutherford to Eve. Rather they appear to have been in Eve's possession in 1937, almost certainly to be used in connection with the production of Rutherford's official biography.³ Dr. Cohen was evidently preparing this collection for publication as a companion article to his earlier work at the time of his death. The letters had been transcribed and, in addition to the abstract above and one

other paragraph, he had written the following brief introduction:

Throughout their lives, Ernest Rutherford and his wife Mary wrote and received many letters: perhaps on average one a week. This was not unusual in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: although the telephone existed (it was invented in 1876) its use was minimal compared to today and, in particular, long-distance and overseas calls were virtually unknown. Furthermore, present-day distractions, such as television, were either non-existent or far less persuasive. So people wrote long and chatty letters to their relatives and friends and, furthermore, they tended to keep the letters they themselves received. Ernest and Mary Rutherford were no exception to this rule: they wrote, and

obtained, hundreds of letters, both to each other and to friends, relatives and colleagues. Arthur Eve's biography of Rutherford, published in 1939 consists largely of excerpts of these letters. The correspondence of Rutherford and Eve between 1908 and 1933, comprising 40 letters from Rutherford to Eve and 39 from Eve to Rutherford, has been documented previously in this journal. The present article comprises a number of hitherto unpublished letters written by Mary Rutherford at the time of her husband's terminal illness in 1937, and subsequently. In addition, we publish the full text of a letter written by Rutherford to his wife in 1914: a much-shortened version of this letter was included in Eve's biography of Rutherford.

It is considered a fitting tribute to Dr. Cohen that this last part of his work on the Rutherford letters should be completed and published in *Fontanus*. This work fell to A.J. Hobbins, who took over from Dr. Cohen as acting editor of *Fontanus* XI. The letters are presented here chronologically, with text and biographical notes as appropriate. Except where noted, the text is by Hobbins who is responsible for any shortcomings.

Arthur Stewart Eve (1862-1948) was inspired by some publications of Ernest Rutherford (1871-1937) and came to McGill University in 1903 to undertake research under the latter's guidance. Two years later Eve married Elizabeth Brooks, the sister of Harriet Brooks, Rutherford's first graduate student. Rutherford left McGill in 1907 to take up the post of Langworthy Professor of Physics at the University of Manchester and later moved to the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge (1919-1937). Despite time and distance, Eve and Rutherford maintained a close friendship and lengthy correspondence. Many of these letters had been catalogued and published, but one package had

remained undiscovered until recently and formed the basis for Dr. Cohen's earlier articles. These letters are now in the Rutherford Museum in the McGill Department of Physics. Dr. Cohen's final selection of letters published here is taken from the Eve collection in the McGill University Archives⁵ and appears to have been acquired by Eve as part of his preparation of the official biography of Rutherford.

The first letter is from Rutherford to his wife, Mary Newton Rutherford, and is incomplete. Presumably Lady Rutherford gave it to Eve after her husband's death. Possibly she removed the concluding page(s), which may have been too personal. Eve cited extracts from the letter apparently including one phrase that does not appear the letter reproduced below.⁶ Consistent with his style throughout the biography, however, Eve does not attribute his quotations. Rutherford, recently knighted, was visiting North America to deliver the first William E. Hale lecture to the National Academy of Sciences in Washington.

Hotel Touraine, Boston. April 14, 1914

I have at last got a few minutes free before going in to New Haven, to tell you of my wanderings since my arrival in Halifax on Tuesday at 6 p.m. I found Mackenzie⁷ Principal of Dalhousie and Bronson⁸ down to meet me and we had dinner together and talked over old times. Bronson told his household was upset as his wife had been confined but the youngster was stillborn about five days previously and she was in rather a poor way. We took five hours before the special C.P.R. train got away about 11:30 in the evening. The journey to Montreal through Maine was very tedious and uninteresting, as there was deep snow everywhere. I whiled away the time with sleep and bridge with the youngsters who had the drawing room on the car. We did not arrive at Montreal until 3 a.m. I slept on till 6 and then

got up and telephoned through to Eve about 7 and told them I was coming to breakfast. After collecting baggage, I took a cab and got there at 8. There was snow everywhere in the streets and the weather when I was there was generally about freezing with a good deal of wind. Such conditions were of course exceptional but I thank God I did not have to live in Montreal permanently.⁹ The Eve's house is very comfortable and they looked after me in great style. Joan and Dick are great youngsters and the former is remarkably intelligent and helpful for her years. I got them presents through Mrs. Eve and they were in great form when I left. Mrs. Eve looks very well and their household runs very happily.

As soon as I had settled down for a smoke I had to make ready to set out for the Lab. to prepare for my lecture at 4. I just had time to get things ready before tea when I met a number of old friends. Sir Wm. Macdonald¹⁰, who is now Chancellor of McGill, turned up. He looks much the same as ever. After sending a number of wires for arrangements in the States, we went to dinner at the University Club where about fifty were present with speeches, etc. by Peterson¹¹, Barnes¹², Eve and myself. Eve and I got home about 1.30 in the morning after undressing in the club. Next day I spent in looking over the Lab. and seeing about various things and calls and dined with the Eves. The Porters¹³, Miss Baker¹⁴ and the Harknesses¹⁵ were there — a pleasant affair. Saturday I went to lunch with Harkness and dinner with the Moyses¹⁶ whom I found all flourishing. Sunday I went to lunch with the Pitchers¹⁷ and saw Harriet's three babies (all admirable specimens) and then on to tea with the

Porters and home to a rapid supper before leaving for the station to take the 8 train to Boston. I saw Maclaurin¹⁸ yesterday and had lunch with him. Mrs. Maclaurin had just heard of the sudden death of her mother in London, so I did not see her. In the afternoon I went over to Harvard, saw Richards¹⁹ and the physical people and had a dinner in the club there. Today I leave for Yale and expect to pickup Boltwood²⁰ halfway at Springfield and arrive about 4 there. I am feeling in most

The letter breaks off at this point and is the only one authored by Rutherford in this last group.

The remaining letters date from the period of Rutherford's illness and death in 1937. Dr. Cohen had stated that there was no surviving example of a letter from Mary Rutherford to Eve.²¹ He would not have made this assertion had he known at the time of the Eve collection in the McGill University Archives, which he clearly consulted later. Mary Rutherford wrote to Eve to tell him of Rutherford's sudden medical problem.

October 16, 1937

Dear Mr. Eve,

I know you will be sorry to hear Ernest was operated on last night for strangulated hernia (navel) quite successfully and in good time though they said that in a few hours it would have been gangrenous and much more serious. He felt seedy on Thursday with a lot of flatulence and sick in the night. On Friday at 7:30 am I called the doctor,²² and he diagnosed stoppage, called in Dr. Ryle,²³ Regius Professor of Medicine and they at once put him in the Evelyn Home and got Sir Thomas Dunhill²⁴ up from London, a surgeon. He examined him at 6:30 and operated at 8 pm.

Today he was doing splendidly, rather drowsy all day. He will be 2 weeks in hospital. At present the surgeon says there is no reason why he shouldn't go to India but I feel he will funk it.²⁵ It will be a great disappointment to both of us if we can't go. Don't mention this if you are writing, I don't want to discuss it till he's convalescent. Fortunately, his general health is very good, blood pressure all it should be. How things move! 3 days ago apparently quite well, today in hospital 24 hours after a major operation!

Love to you both.

Yours ever,

Mary Rutherford

Lady Rutherford followed this letter up the next day under the mistaken impression that she had mislaid the first letter.

Sunday (October 17, 1937)

Dear Dr. Eve:

I wrote a letter last night to post today & have lost it! You will be sorry to hear that Ernest has been op. on for strangulated hernia-navel, quite successfully. Everything is all right but he is very miserable today with sickness. It was quite sudden, seedy all Thursday with "indigestion" & flatulence, doctor Friday morning, consultation later, London surgeon Sr Thos Dunhill sent for and op at 8 pm Friday.

I am just rushing to post.

Yours ever

Mary Rutherford

Despite the optimistic prognosis, Rutherford died two days later. The official cause of death was given as heart failure caused by intestinal paralysis following an operation for a Richter's hernia.²⁶

Shortly after Rutherford's death it was announced that Eve would be the official biographer. In this role he received a communication from the artist, Sir William Rothenstein:

5 December 1937

Dear Mr. Eve,

I recently had a letter from Cavendish Laboratory, asking me about a portrait drawing I made of Rutherford.²⁷ I have mislaid the letter — can you tell me to whom I should reply. The drawing itself is in my possession — do you think the Cavendish Laboratory would care to own it — or the Royal Society? I sent a reproduction of the drawing recently to Lady Rutherford, who very kindly wrote to tell me that it is the portrait of her husband which she prefers to all other records of him. I am interested to read that you have been chosen to write the official biography.

Sincerely yours,

Wm Rothenstein

William Rothenstein (1872-1945), was born in Bradford of German parents. He studied in the Slade School of Art under Alphonse Legros and later went to Académie Julian, Paris (1889-1893). During World War I he accepted an offer from Charles Masterman, the head of the government's War Propaganda Bureau (WPB) to become an official war artist with the British and Canadian Expeditionary Forces. Between 1920 and 1935 he served as Principal of the Royal College of Art, where his pupils included Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth. He concluded his career as an unofficial war artist for the Royal Air Force.²⁸

Apparently Eve expressed interest in using the portrait in his biography and Rothenstein was quite willing:

10 December 1937

Dear Mr. Eve — Yes, indeed, when you come here I will gladly show you the

drawing. I shall be quite agreeable to your reproducing it in your biography.

Sincerely yours

Wm. Rothenstein

Ultimately the portrait by Sir Oswald Birley, in the possession of the Royal Society, was used in the biography, although this may not have been Eve's decision. The Rothenstein drawing is now in the National Portrait Gallery.²⁹

In May 1938, Lady Rutherford prepared a memorandum on her early relationship with Rutherford, which reads:

Soon after Rutherford joined the University³⁰, he went to live with Mrs. DeRenzy Newton,³¹ a widow with four children. The eldest, Mary, and Ernest later became deeply attached to one another. She spent many holidays with the Rutherfords, and they were unofficially engaged before he left for Cambridge. Their engagement was announced in 1896, shortly before she came to England to visit relations and break their long separation. She spent a happy May-week with the J.J. Thomsons³² and saw Ernest take the first Research Degree in June 1897. After that they had to possess their souls in patience for 3 years.

The following year Rutherford was appointed to Montreal. First of all, he had to repay money borrowed from his father, and then to save for the great expense of the long journey for two and for setting up of their home. So it was not until June 28, 1900 that they could be married and start on the life in a new country together.

Eve used some, but by no means all, of this memorandum in his biography, using Mary Rutherford's exact wording but not attributing it.³³ It is possible that they had come to some agreement on this point.

Rutherford's favourite recreations were motoring and golf. When playing golf Rutherford's group were known as the 'Talking Foursome', and generally consisted of more than four players.³⁴ The 'talking' usually continued on the 'nineteenth hole' and has been the subject of a short monograph.³⁵ One of the foursome, British physicist Sir Ralph Howard Fowler (1889-1944), had joined the Cavendish Laboratory in 1920 and, the following year, married Rutherford's only child, Eileen (1901-1930). Eve approached Fowler for information on the golf exploits and received the following response:

11th March 1938

Dear Eve,

I have just had a letter from Snow³⁶ of Christ's College, who is now editor of "Discovery", published by the University Press here, that he wants to publish an illustrated article on the Cavendish Laboratory in the first number of the new series. He writes to me that he believes the authorities (not specified) are unwilling for photographs of the high tension apparatus and the cyclotron to appear anywhere until the biography of Rutherford is out. I don't know whose opinion he is quoting, and I expect I shall have to make further enquiries about it. In the meantime I thought I would like to write to you, to hear if you had any feeling in the matter. It does not seem to me at first sight that the publication of Rutherford's biography is relevant to the article proposed, but no doubt there are other points which I have at present overlooked. Anyhow, I should be glad to know whether you have any feeling in the matter. If you have, of course the proposed article can be postponed or modified.

I will try and send you now some notes on the golfing holidays which you asked me for some time ago.

Rutherford's main golfing activities fell into two groups. There were the Sunday morning games on the Gogs,³⁷ which continued regularly from the time he came to Cambridge until a week or so before he died. A large number of people took part in them during the course of those years, and I cannot speak with accuracy of the names of the players recently, since I ceased to be a member of the party some four or five years ago, when the early time of starting on Sunday morning became more than I could bear. I think I may say that I was the only member of that party who breakfasted regularly during the week at eight o'clock.

To start with, the party usually consisted of Aston,³⁸ G.I. Taylor³⁹, myself, Dick Southwell⁴⁰ and from time to time other people, who were not such regular players. We used regularly to play three-ball matches, very often with five or six players, and were known on the course as "The talking Foursome". It didn't speak much, perhaps, for our golf, but it gave the correct impression of the sort of party that it was. In early days Lady Rutherford and Eileen used regularly to walk round. These games were very good fun, and as their name suggests, their golf was not the only form of entertainment.

Aston could tell you about the names of the players in more recent years, those that I can recall or know of include F.G. Mann,⁴¹ of the Chemistry Department, F.J.W. Roughton,⁴² and W.R. Dean⁴³, all members of Trinity, Dean a mathematician, and Roughton a physiologist.

The other group of golfing occasions were all short holidays of two or three days, generally starting immediately

after the Rigger Match, which all the rest of us attended, though Rutherford did not. These were regularly organized by Southwell, and the party consisted usually of Southwell and his wife⁴⁴, Rutherford, sometimes Lady Rutherford, though not often, Geoffrey and Stephanie Taylor⁴⁵, de Navarro⁴⁶, Wimperis,⁴⁷ Belfield⁴⁸, an engineer at Oxford working in Southwell's Laboratory, and myself. We started these parties by a visit to Frilford, though I don't remember the exact date, I think it must have been in 1928. After that we went for two or three years to Brighton, and played on the Dyke course, the Brighton and Hove course, and sometimes at Littlehampton, but after a very pleasant first 2 years there, the next two years we struck terribly cold weather, and didn't go to Brighton again. The last few meetings were at Ashdown Forest, when we played on the very beautiful course there.

These holidays were of course extraordinarily good fun, and in the evenings very frequently Rutherford was absolutely at his best in reminiscing about everything under the sun, and particularly and most indiscreetly about J.J.⁴⁹ and old days in the Cavendish. I remember one year one of the most successful parties at Brighton, when the weather had not been too cold, when I am afraid our party behaved very badly and completely dominated the hotel sitting room after dinner. Rutherford was at his absolute best. I remember that the sitting room there was in two or more sections, and we had ousted everyone except ourselves from one of the them, and then told stories of every sort and description of impropriety, to the great distress of the rest of the inhabitants, who never could hear the

point of the story, because voices were always dropped just in time. Warburton Southwell⁵⁰ that year had been very unwell, and stayed on after the party dispersed, and when alone was tackled by all the other occupants of the hotel in vain attempts to find out who we all were.

I think that covers the main facts that you want. There was a letter to the Times soon after Rutherford died, which was I know actually written by Dick Southwell, which gives an extraordinarily happy and sympathetic short sketch of these golfing parties. You probably could get more and better information out of him than out of anybody else, for I have a wretched sort of memory for these things, which always forgets all the really good points. If however, you would like me to try and amplify what I have said in this letter I will of course make every effort to do so.

I am proposing to cable to Jim Rutherford⁵¹ during the coming weekend. I am quite sure from Lady Rutherford's letter that if the letters had been sent off at the time when the letter to her was written, they must have been here without fail by now.

Yours very sincerely,

R.H. Fowler

As with Mary Rutherford's letter Eve used the information, including direct quotation, without attribution.⁵²

Of the final letter in the collection, Dr. Cohen wrote the following:

The final example in this collection is an undated letter from Mary Rutherford to "Stewart". The content of this letter indicates that it was written after Rutherford's death, in late 1937 or early 1938, when Lady Rutherford was

preparing to move from her Cambridge home. While the identity of "Stewart" is uncertain, the most probable person in Arthur Stewart Eve, colleague and biographer of Rutherford. During Rutherford's lifetime she always addressed Eve as "Mr." or "Dr. Eve" but it seems that, after her husband's death, and especially during the writing of the biography, her relationship with Eve became closer. Furthermore, Eve's wife was indeed *Elizabeth*.

98 Barton Rd.

Cambridge

Tel. 54050 Camb.

Dear Stewart

Here is your kind loan in stamps. I had a busy day, 2-1/2 hrs, with the flats architect & only caught my train by about 1 minute, I hate running for tickets & luggage. Thanks to who ever did the luggage business so kindly for me. The carriage was full, and I tucked my suit case half under seat with my feet on it, in such a position that I ricked a cartilage and arrived home dead lame and my ankle swelled up. I got Waller along and he manipulated it and bandaged it up tight — and today it is nearly well. It was horribly painful last night but not at all today. It was a horrible squeak though & would have been maddening to be tied up just now. I interviewed auctioneer, book valuer, new leaseholder all day. My young nephew came for the weekend & moved furniture all afternoon, & will do lots more tomorrow. I am busy typing letter extracts tonight. Love to Elizabeth.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Rutherford

In fact there can be little doubt the letter was addressed to Eve. In addition to the fact that the

letter was in Eve's papers, he was always known by his middle name, and was generally referred to as "Stew" by his intimates. It transpires that Waller was a local pork butcher to whom the Rutherfords were accustomed to go with aches and pains. He "had a little room at the back of his Victoria Street [sic] butcher's shop from which he practiced a second occupation as a masseur and manipulator. Many people swore by him. He had fixed Ern's knee and regularly massaged Ern's shoulders and neck."⁵³ A. Waller & Son, butchers, still exists at 15 Victoria Avenue, Cambridge.

In his first article Dr. Cohen wrote:

One of the minor mysteries of the Rutherford-Eve correspondence is why Eve made so little use of it in his biography of Rutherford. The volume includes many extracts, some quite extensive, of letters both to and from Rutherford – indeed, as already noted, the title of the biography specifically refers to Rutherford's letters. However, while there are many indirect references to the letters from Rutherford to Eve, there is only one direct quotation, from a letter written by Rutherford shortly before his death in 1937. The omission was no doubt intentional: thus, although Rutherford's description of the Nobel ceremony in his letter to Eve of December 22, 1908 was far more graphic than the corresponding account written to other friends and colleagues, Eve chose to quote from Rutherford's letter to Hahn rather than transcribe the description in his own possession. It may be that Eve considered it "ungentlemanly" to take advantage of correspondence addressed directly to himself.

While Dr. Cohen's suggested solution is no doubt ingenious, the application of Occam's razor provides a readier answer. Eve retired from McGill in 1935 and returned to live in England. In late 1937 he was asked to write the biography.

He did not use his pre-1935 Rutherford correspondence because he had left in a desk in Montreal, to be discovered 40 years later, and probably had no idea what he had done with the letters. One imagines he may have searched long and hard for them when he knew he was to be the biographer, and was doubtless greatly chagrined at having lost them.

This concludes Montague Cohen's work on the unpublished correspondence of Rutherford to Eve, as well as these ancillary letters. The centenary in 2008 of Rutherford's Nobel award has renewed interest in him by historians of science for whom Dr. Cohen hoped this correspondence would prove useful. This article is published as a contribution to seeing that hope realized.

ENDNOTES

¹ Arthur Stewart Eve (1862-1948) was Professor of Physics at McGill University from 1909, Chairman of the Physics Dept. from 1919-1935, and President of the Royal Society of Canada from 1919 to 1930. His biography of Rutherford (see below) was published in 1939.

² Montague Cohen. "My Dear Eve...", Part I (1907-08), *Fontanus*, 1 (1988) 3-37; Part II (1909-11), *Fontanus*, 2 (1989) 111-138; Part III (1912-14) *Fontanus*, 3 (1991), 69-108; Part IV (1915-19), *Fontanus*, 5 (1992), 123-159.

³ A.S. Eve. *Rutherford, Being the Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Lord Rutherford, O.M.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939).

⁴ *Ibid.*, at 230.

⁵ MUA MG 1035.

⁶ Eve states Rutherford dined at the Harvard Club and "gave an informal lecture which went off in great style." Eve, Rutherford, at 231. Since the extant portions of the letter go beyond this dinner and speech it is possible Eve was quoting from another letter.

⁷ Dr. A. Stanley MacKenzie was a Professor of Physics (1905-1910) and President (1911-1931) of Dalhousie University. His research interest was gravitation.

⁸ Howard Logan Bronson, a young American graduate from Yale, had joined Rutherford's team at McGill in 1904, where, a year later, he was credited with solving some radioactivity measurement problems (http://www.physics.mcgill.ca/museum/measurement_techniques.htm). He subsequently moved to Dalhousie University to teach physics. His "Reminiscences of Rutherford at McGill" appeared in the first volume of James Chadwick, *Collected Papers of Lord Rutherford* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962).

⁹ Of course Rutherford did live in Montreal for nearly a decade, including the first seven years of his married life.

¹⁰ Sir William Macdonald, arguably McGill's greatest benefactor, had paid for the construction of the Macdonald Physics Building, where Rutherford had worked. He served as Chancellor from 1914 until his death in 1917.

¹¹ Sir William Peterson (1856-1921) was the Principal of McGill (1895-1919) who appointed Rutherford in 1898.

¹² Howard Turner Barnes (1873-1950), who came to Montreal from Massachusetts as a child, joined the McGill Physics Department in 1900. He subsequently succeeded Rutherford as Macdonald Professor of Physics in 1908. His area of specialty was precision calorimetry, with particular respect to icebergs and the St. Lawrence River ice. His papers, including Rutherford correspondence, are in the McGill University Archives, MG 1016.

¹³ John Bonsall Porter (1861-1944) came to McGill in 1896 as Macdonald Professor of Mining and Metallurgy, a position he held until his retirement in 1927. His wife was Ethel Hardinge. His papers are in the McGill University Archives, MG 1011

¹⁴ Not identified.

¹⁵ James Harkness was appointed Redpath Professor of Pure Mathematics in 1903, after teaching at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bryn Mawr. At the latter institute he directed the graduate work of Harriet Brooks, Eve's sister-in-law. See *infra* note 17.

¹⁶ Charles Ebenezer Moyses (1852-1924) was Molson Professor of English Language and Literature (1882-1919) and held the position of Lecturer in history (1882-1895). In 1904 he became the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and the Vice-Principal of the University. In 1919 he retired as Emeritus Vice-Principal. His papers are in the McGill University Archives, MG 4001.

¹⁷ Harriet Brooks Pitcher (1876-1933) was Rutherford's first graduate student and subsequently joined his research team. Rutherford considered her the most outstanding woman scientist of the day next to Marie Curie, with whom she subsequently worked, and stated that her identification of radon allowed him to propose the theory of transmutation of one element to another. She gave up her brilliant career when she married Frank Pitcher in 1907. Further details can be found in Marlene F. Rayner-Canham and Geoffrey W. Rayner-Canham, *Harriet Brooks: Pioneer Nuclear Scientist* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992). Her sister, Elizabeth Brooks, married A.S. Eve.

¹⁸ Richard Cockburn Maclaurin (1870-1920) was a New Zealander who served as President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1909-1920). He married Margaret Alice Pairman Young in 1904 at Auckland. For further details see Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *Richard Cockburn Maclaurin, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1909-1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1937).

¹⁹ Theodore W. Richards (1868-1928) was appointed Erving Professor of Chemistry and Director of the Wolcott

Gibbs Memorial Laboratory at Harvard in 1912. He was awarded the 1914 Nobel Prize for Chemistry.

²⁰ Bertram Borden Boltwood (1870-1927) was a professor of radiochemistry at Yale (1910-1927), before which he had been a private consultant. Rutherford had a long association with Boltwood and their correspondence was published in Lawrence Badash, ed., *Rutherford and Boltwood: Letters on Radioactivity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

²¹ Cohen, note 2 above, Part I, p. 8.

²² The family doctor was H.E. Nourse. See Eve, Rutherford, at 425.

²³ Sir John Ryle was Regius Professor of Physic (not Medicine) at Cambridge at this time. He later moved to Oxford as the first professor of social medicine.

²⁴ Thomas Peel Dunhill (1876-1957) was an Australian surgeon who specialized in thyroid conditions. In 1920 he accepted an invitation to join the professorial surgical unit at St Bartholomew's Hospital, London. King George V appointed him surgeon to the royal household in 1928, an honorary surgeon to His Majesty in 1930, and elevated him to Knight Commander of the Victorian Order (KCVO) in 1933. King George VI continued with his services, appointing him Serjeant-Surgeon in 1939, and elevating him to Knight Grand Cross of the Victorian Order (GCVO) in the spring of 1949.

²⁵ The Indian Science Congress, on its Silver Jubilee, was meeting jointly with the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Rutherford was invited to give the Presidential Address. Sir James Jeans, who succeeded Rutherford as President, subsequently read this speech in January 1938. Eve, Rutherford, at 420.

²⁶ Eve, Rutherford, pp. 425-427. Most sources stated that Rutherford had suffered from a small umbilical hernia for years (for example David Wilson, *Rutherford: Simple Genius*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983), 598). One source suggested his death was the result of a fall from a tree while gardening. See E.N. Andrade, *Rutherford and the Nature of the Atom*, (New York: Doubleday, 1964), 207.

²⁷ Now in the National Portrait Gallery, NPG 4793 Ernest Rutherford, Baron Rutherford by Sir William Rothenstein, sanguine and pencil, circa 1925.

<http://images.npg.org.uk/OCimg/websm/4/5/mw05545.jpg>, (accessed July 16, 2008).

²⁸ *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, s.v. "Rothstein, Sir William" (by John Rothstein), <http://www.groveart.com> (accessed June 15, 2004).

²⁹ See <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/portrait.asp?LinKID=mp03920&role=sit&rNo=0>

³⁰ Canterbury College, Christchurch, N.Z.

³¹ Mary Derenzy Newton, widow of Arthur Charles Newton, took lodgers in her house in North Belt, Christchurch. Her oldest daughter was Mary Georgina, who became Lady Rutherford.

³² Sir J[oseph] J[ohn] Thomson (1856-1940), British physicist, served as Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics from 1884 to 1918. He married Rose Elisabeth, daughter of Sir George E. Paget in 1890 and was Rutherford's research director. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1906.

³³ For examples see Eve, Rutherford, 11 and 45.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 409-410.

³⁵ Frederick George Mann, *Lord Rutherford on the Golf Course* (Cambridge: privately printed, 1976).

³⁶ C[harles] P[ercy] Snow, Baron Snow (1905-1980) was editor of *Discovery* from 1938-1940. An illustrated article by S. Devons, "The Cavendish Laboratory Today", *Discovery* (April, 1938), pp. 39-44, did appear in the first issue of the new series.

³⁷ Gogmagog was a giant of ancient Cornish legend slain by Corineus. In other versions there were two giants called Gog and Magog. The Gog Magog Golf Club in the Gog Magog hills near Cambridge was known familiarly as the Gogs.

³⁸ Francis William Aston (1877-1945), inventor of the mass spectrograph, had joined J.J. Thomson at the Cavendish Laboratory in 1909. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1922.

³⁹ Sir Geoffrey Ingram Taylor (1886-1975), British mathematician and physicist, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1910-1975).

⁴⁰ Richard Vynne Southwell (1888-1970), British professor of engineering science, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1912-1970). He subsequently taught at Brasenose College, Oxford (1929-1942), before becoming Rector of Imperial College, London (1942-1948).

⁴¹ Frederick George Mann (1898-1982), British organic chemist, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1931-1982).

⁴² F[rancis] J[ohn] W[orsley] Roughton (1899-1972), British physiologist, was a Fellow of Trinity College,

Cambridge (1923-1972) and lecturer in physiology (1927-1947).

⁴³ William Reginald Dean (1896-1973), British mathematician, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1923-1973) and lecturer in mathematics (1929-1952). He later took the position of Goldsmid Professor of Mathematics at University College, London.

⁴⁴ Southwell married Isabella Wilhelmina Warburton Southwell, daughter of William Warburton Wingate, in 1918.

⁴⁵ Taylor, note 39 above, had married Grace Stephanie Ravenhill in 1925.

⁴⁶ José Maria de Navarro, (b. 1893), British archaeologist, was the son of Rutherford's neighbour, former actress Mary Anderson de Navarro (1859-1949). Anderson mentions her son's description of Rutherford's approach to golf in her autobiography *A Few More Memories* (London: Hutchinson, 1936), cited by Eve, Rutherford, 365.

⁴⁷ Harry Egerton Wimperis (1876-1960), was the first Director of Scientific Research for the Air Ministry at this juncture. He is credited with being one of the moving spirits behind the invention of RADAR after he asked Robert Watson Watt about the possibility of creating a death ray (hoping the theory would be disproved). While Watt replied that a wave to disable enemy aircraft was considered impractical, he felt its reflection could be used for location purposes. Wimperis' committee then made this development a priority.

⁴⁸ No further identification.

⁴⁹ J.J. Thomson, see note 32 above.

⁵⁰ Southwell's wife (note 44 above), was evidently not fond of her first two given names.

⁵¹ Rutherford's brother.

⁵² For example, see Eve, Rutherford, 409-10.

⁵³ John Campbell, *Rutherford: Scientist Supreme* (Christchurch, N.Z.: AAS publications, 1999), at 471.

Adversity Vanquished: Memoirs of a McGill Medical Student, Harold W. Trott, 1918-1924

by Robert H. Michel

ABSTRACT

This article examines the first half of the autobiography of Harold Trott (1899-1961), Campus Shadows, which describes his life as a medical student at McGill University between 1918 and 1924. It is one of the most detailed memoirs by a McGill student for any period. Trott wrote about his lectures, dissecting labs, clinics, bull sessions, money problems, professors, classmates, rowdy student initiations, and life at McGill's Strathcona Hall residence and in Montreal rooming houses. His account is augmented and verified by background from student publications and the McGill University Archives. In his first year at McGill, Trott faced poverty, despair, and a paralyzing disease, the Landry-Guillain-Barré-Strohl Syndrome, which he described strikingly from the patient's viewpoint and which he survived with the help of Dr. Colin Russel and the staff of the Royal Victoria Hospital. Trott described his long, painful recovery, including two interim years at University of Western Ontario, his final two years at McGill, and how he used the lessons from his medical training in his later medical practice, advocating natural remedies such as drinking water rather than drugs and pills. Practicing in New York State, he sympathized mildly with the idea of state-funded medical care, which was being advocated in his native Canada.

RESUMÉ

Cet article examine la première moitié de l'autobiographie de Harold Trott (1899-1961), Campus Shadows, qui décrit sa vie à titre d'étudiant en médecine à l'Université McGill entre 1918 et 1924. Les mémoires de Trott sont parmi les œuvres les plus détaillées de ce genre qu'un étudiant de McGill de n'importe quelle époque a rédigé. Il décrit ses cours, ses laboratoires de dissection, ses cliniques, ses discussions entre hommes, ses problèmes d'argent, ses professeurs, des séances bruyantes d'initiation d'étudiants, et sa vie à la résidence Strathcona Hall de McGill et dans des chambres à louer de Montréal. Son compte-rendu est élargi et vérifié à l'aide d'information provenant de publications étudiantes et des Archives de l'Université McGill. Au cours de sa première année à McGill, Trott fut confronté à la pauvreté, au désespoir, et à une maladie paralysante, le syndrome Landry-Guillain-Barré-Strohl, qu'il a décrit vivement du point de vue du patient et qu'il a survécu avec l'aide du docteur Colin Russel et du personnel de l'Hôpital Royal Victoria. Trott décrit sa longue et douloureuse guérison, incluant deux années intérimaires à l'University of Western Ontario, ses deux dernières années à McGill, et raconte comment il a par la suite utilisé les leçons de sa formation médicale dans sa pratique médicale, préférant les remèdes naturels comme la consommation d'eau plutôt que les drogues et les pilules. Pratiquant dans l'état de New York, il avait une certaine sympathie envers l'idée des soins médicaux financés par l'état, dont on faisait la promotion à cette époque dans son Canada natal.

INTRODUCTION

In 1944, as World War II was ending, Harold Williams Trott (M.D.C.M., McGill 1924), a doctor in upstate New York, published his autobiography, *Campus Shadows* (reissued in 1946).¹ Filled with anecdotes, it was half a memoir of McGill (and to lesser extent the University of Western Ontario) and half an attack on medical practices in the United States. Trott's narrative offered a detailed look at the training, social life and concerns of a McGill medical student of modest means between 1918 and 1924. It is a nonfictional counterpart to Dink Carroll's unpublished novel about McGill in the 1920s, described in *Fontanus XI*.² Trott and Carroll both set down striking records of their student experiences. While Carroll wrote an autobiographical novel, Trott wrote an autobiography in the style of a novel, full of dialogue — book sellers' descriptions occasionally mistake his book for fiction. Carroll's novel was about a student from Toronto resembling himself who went to McGill to play football, enjoy fraternity life and expand his mind on the way. Trott's autobiography was a true Horatio Alger story about a South Western Ontario farmer's son going to McGill to fulfil his childhood dream of becoming a physician, while scrabbling constantly for money to pay room, board and tuition. Carroll's alter ego was out for adventure and lucky; Trott was more resourceful than adventurous, and unlucky. In both narratives, the protagonists overcame adversity — Carroll on the football field and at his books, Trott in a hospital bed. A comparison of their narratives raises the usual questions about the differences between truth and fiction, novels and memoirs, memory and invention, which philosophers, critics, historians, psychologists and neurologists have asked since Herodotus and Homer: Which parts are fact? Which are fiction? Is fiction just another form of reality? Or a cover for failing memory? Carroll and Trott did not worry about such questions. Their imagined and remembered student lives still lurk fourth-dimensionally

inside the old Arts Building and the Strathcona Medical Building. While only a few of Carroll's novel's characters can be traced to real life originals, nearly all the people Trott mentioned can be verified as students or staff.



Figure 1. Harold Trott, detail portrait, ca. 1924, from composite group portrait of the Faculty of Medicine, class of 1924. Rice Studio Montreal. McGill University Archives, PL006121.

The medical program took five years. Trott took his first year of medicine, 1918-1919, at McGill; lost the year 1919-1920 to deadly illness; took his second and third years, 1920-1921 and 1921-1922, at the University of Western Ontario; and returned to McGill for his fourth and fifth years, 1922-1923 and 1923-1924, graduating in 1924 (Fig. 1). Since he seldom put dates to events, they are supplied here, with the help of other sources. Trott's title, *Campus Shadows*, reflects the importance he placed on his training at both McGill and Western. However, the drawing on the dust jacket of both the 1944 and 1946 editions confirms his emphasis on McGill, translating the vague title into the unmistakable image of McGill's campus. The jacket drawing is an unsigned sketch of the Roddick Gates, with the old grey stone buildings and elms casting the "campus shadows" that Trott remembered watching from his residence on Sherbrooke Street opposite the lower campus, as the sun set one evening in April 1919, just before paralysis

buried him alive like a victim in an Edgar Allen Poe story. His recollections expose a harsher student life than we experience now in the days of student loans, bursaries and scholarships, rich parents, and the end of hazing and of restrictions on sexual freedom. To pay his way, Trott took hard jobs — furnace stoking, snow shoveling, and waiting tables in restaurants.

Frequent quotations will let Trott speak for himself. The numbers of the pages quoted from *Campus Shadows* (typeset and paginated identically in both editions, 1944, 1946) follow in parentheses. Trott's narrative is supplemented with excerpts from the *McGill Daily* and other information and images from his student years, mainly drawn from the McGill University Archives' holdings.

TROTT'S PRACTICE AND MEDICAL PHILOSOPHY

Campus Shadows had two main subjects — Trott's university training and how he put his lessons into practice as a down-to-earth doctor. While we examine the McGill part here, most people would have read it for its *exposé* of American medical practice from inside the doctors' club. The reviewers' notes on the front flap of the dust jacket of the 1946 edition declare, "At last, the book all honest doctors and people have been waiting for. The book which exposes the pill retailing profession... It champions the cause of socialized medicine," wrote Charlotte Breitmayer. "A tremendously interesting adventure in living," added Marie B. Coffey. "Campus Shadows has a vital message for everyone in the post-war world, for it breathes the triumphant spirit of all that made America great," declared Mary Morse-Bailey. Trott's book attacked pill popping — the over-dependence of doctors and neurotic patients on unnecessary pills and prescription drugs — as well as the army of pharmaceutical salesmen who sold doctors the pills and potions. Patients demanded pills as magical cures; doctors were forced to prescribe them as placebos to calm the

patients; and travelling pharmaceutical salesmen and compliant doctors made money out of them.

In contrast, following his teachers at McGill and Western, Trott tried, not always successfully, to avoid prescribing unproven drugs. Instead, he advocated natural or near-homeopathic approaches, especially the old cure of rest and drinking water to clean out poisons. He complained that too much of his time was wasted by hypochondriacs demanding the latest pills. Criticizing the commercialized side of medical practice, Trott mildly flirted with the idea of "state medicine," which would not be introduced in North America until 1962, in Saskatchewan, by Premier Tommy Douglas. Trott, however, was no social reformer and like most doctors often complained about patients who did not pay their bills. But while he did not advocate full-scale socialized medicine, he suggested that government should distribute remedies for diphtheria and other diseases.

MCGILL, 1918-1919

Trott was born in August, 1899 and died in May, 1961. He was a farmer's son from Mount Brydges, southwest of London, Ontario. He chose his future profession when he was eight, after he had visited an uncle with fatal anemia in hospital. A doctor gave him a fascinating tour; and on the horse buggy going home Trott announced he would be a doctor. The boy began to experiment on rats he trapped, vivisected woodchucks, and read what medical texts he could find. After he graduated from high school, he worked all summer to pay for his first year at McGill, saving a nest egg of \$850, which he deposited, fatefully, at his local bank, which soon would fail.

It is not surprising Trott that chose McGill. Medicine was McGill's pre-eminent Faculty; in 1829 its ancestor, the Montreal Medical Institution, had been engrafted on to the struggling new college as its first faculty. In a speech to the Medical Faculty on 19 March 1921, the recently-appointed Principal, Sir

Arthur Currie, declared: "More than any other department our Medical School has the right to participate in the glories of our college, has a right to claim it has been responsible in a major degree for whatever contribution McGill has made to the welfare, prosperity and happiness of mankind."³

ARRIVAL IN MONTREAL

In Fall 1918 Trott takes the train for Montreal, traveling second class, with \$37 and his lunch in his pocket, and imagines the day when as a successful doctor he will be able to afford lunch in the dining car. How many ambitions have been provoked by the railways' and the airlines' division of passengers into cattle and the elect! He hears the "strange sounding French" of fellow travelers, not like the French he learned in high school. Unlike Dink Carroll's protagonist, arriving on the same line from Toronto, Trott makes no resolve to improve his French. He describes his first taste of Montreal — Canada's metropolis of English money and French romance. At Windsor Station, Trott collects his bags, gets on a street car and asks to get off on the "Main street," since he had heard McGill was near the main business street [St. Catherine Street]. He ends up on St. Lawrence Boulevard, known locally as "the Main." This was the street of restaurants, meat markets, fruit stands, and clothing stores dividing Montreal between the English to the west and the French to the east. As a small town, native English-Canadian, Trott is put off by the shops and the scrambling East European immigrants who ran many of them.

I stepped from the car and found myself in the filthiest, foulest-smelling location I had ever imagined possible. The street was studded with men's cheap clothing shops, pawn-brokers' stores, nauseating restaurants and other similar establishments. Most of the vendors displayed their wares on the sidewalks. I hadn't proceeded twenty feet before a

high-pressure, stout proprietor of one of the clothing emporiums had caught me by the shoulder, and by actual physical force, had pulled me into his store. Before I knew it, I had my coat off and was being pushed into one I was supposed to be buying. I hadn't had time to think until this point, so fast had he "operated." I called upon a bit of applied psychology, told him between jabs I wasn't in the market for any clothing today and began removing the coat while I explained that I was looking for McGill University, and if he could direct me there, perhaps I would call back a little later in regard to some clothing. He held up both his hands. "Oh! McGill University! She's on Mount de Royal. She's long ways off." (p.35)

Ninety years later, McGill students now flock ten blocks east to St. Lawrence — the smelly grocery shops have turned into trendy bars and cyber-cafes.

STRATHCONA HALL

Trott finally arrives at McGill. Someone advises him to spend his first night at Strathcona Hall, on Sherbrooke Street across from McGill. Run by the YMCA, this was McGill's only residence for men (women had the lavishly appointed Royal Victoria College). Besides three floors of bedrooms, Strathcona Hall had lobbies, a reading room, auditorium, and club rooms.⁴ McGill's *Calendar* for Trott's first year, 1918-1919, warned that board and lodging in rooming houses near McGill cost at least \$40 per month, although Trott may have got by more cheaply. Tuition for medical students came to \$147. With annual board and lodging at \$310 to \$380, medical books and instruments at \$53 to \$63, and Union and athletic fees at \$10, and incidentals, a medical student like Trott would need around \$550 to \$650 a year.⁵

At Strathcona Hall, Trott meets other medical students, who make up a large portion of the residents. Indeed, all the students mentioned in *Campus Shadows* are fellow medical students. Trott did not join a fraternity or clubs, had no connections in Montreal, and accordingly drew his friends from his faculty and places of residence. Trott singles out Lester Michael, from a Nova Scotian fishing family, who has saved \$380 from his share of the catches to cover his expenses. Lester Michael does not appear in the directories of students and graduates.⁶ He may have attended so briefly (one year) or registered so irregularly that his name was not recorded. Or Trott may have invented him or extrapolated him from one or more real students. This “ghost” would undermine the believability of the memoir except that Michael is the only McGill student or staff member named by Trott who is not to be found in the *Directories of Students*, the McGill *Calendars* and student annual *Old McGills*. The others existed. Another frequently mentioned friend, “Bobby Waite,” was almost certainly F. Elmer Wait (M.D.C.M. 1923).⁷ And nearly all the other medical students Trott names, including Qui Hin Chan, Louis Chadsey, Victor Mader, John Demaray, Horace Jessup, George Harkin, [Norman] Higinbotham, Harold Mayer and H[orace].O. Wilson can be verified as having been students in Trott’s time; they were listed in the annually published *Directories of Students* (1918-19 to 1925-26) and, except for Harkin, in the cumulative *Directory of Graduates* (1946). Though death or oversight kept him out of the 1946 *Directory of Graduates*, Harkin, like Trott’s other friends, did indeed graduate (in his case 1921).⁸ All this supports the truthfulness of Trott’s sometimes novelistic memoir.

Surprisingly, Trott says nothing about the influenza epidemic of 1918. The McGill term started at the beginning of October 1918 and the *McGill Daily* reported the usual announcements and events. However, on 8 October by order of the Board of Health, McGill was closed and classes cancelled because of the influenza danger.

Just after the Armistice of 11 November 1918, the *McGill Daily* of 13 November trumpeted that the flu was over and the McGill Union open again. A sign of the times, it also listed newly banned communist newspapers — and inevitably Trott would acquire the nickname Trotsky. On 16 November, the *Daily* noted that the students were back after six weeks of holidays, that lectures would begin on 18 November, and that medical students, including the first-years, had helped in the hospitals. It is not clear if Trott was among them. The *Daily* declared that with the war over, students were reviving university activities enthusiastically and that the outlook would be improved by the return of a large group of medical students from the war front.⁹

CAMPUS TOUR

Trott and Lester Michael decide to stay at Strathcona Hall until they can find a cheaper boarding house. The next day, they tour McGill’s campus. Trott observes that “McGill’s grounds were, and still are, beautiful — old and stately buildings, personification of stability and solidity. For years they have symbolized all that is learned and upright in Canada.” (p.39) McGill owed most of its physical plant and endowments not to government support but to capitalist benefactors, notably Peter Redpath, Sir William Macdonald and Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona). Like most visitors, Trott admires the Engineering, Physics, and Chemistry buildings given by Macdonald as well as the Redpath Museum and Redpath Library, all built in Montreal’s signature grey stone. Naturally, he is most interested by the new Strathcona Medical Building (opened in 1911): “It was impressive. Well-equipped and completely up to date, it was at that time the pride of the University.” Its museum fascinated Trott, especially the pathological specimens: “Small embryos in uteri, specimens of babies with extra legs or arms, and one particular specimen with two heads.” (p.40) Trott’s campus description closely resembles that of Dink Carroll’s fictional 1920s student Peter Rice, who

described the science buildings as coming from a great tobacco fortune, the museum from a sugar fortune, and observed: "The city's capitalists had given both money and affection in large gobs to the university."¹⁰

Returning to Strathcona Hall, Trott unpacks his trunk and puts up two framed gifts from his friend Elizabeth, a school teacher. One is an inspirational verse by Edgar Guest, the other a verse by Louise McGrath, "For Him", illustrated by a teenaged girl praying beside her bed in a nightgown. Trott found both verses "alive with courage and inspiration. I never walked into that room thereafter without being as conscious of them as I would have been of another person." (p.41) These simple icons would help him survive the trials ahead.

AN INTERESTING ROOMING HOUSE

Neither Lester nor Trott can afford fancy lodgings. They fear rooms without meals at Strathcona Hall will be too expensive at \$20 a month. Most McGill students who did not live at home lived in boarding houses, which provided meals as well as rooms. These were old row houses to the east and south of the campus, built from the 1870s to the 1890s for prosperous, middle class families. By the 1920s, as these families moved to the west of the city, their homes became rooming houses and flats. (They would be resurrected in the 1970s as heritage condominiums, co-ops and townhouses.)

Near McGill, Trott and Lester see a "Rooms for rent" sign. The door is opened by "a very thin, stately looking lady in a black dress and high collar." In a hall they pass a girl in a dressing gown:

"And how much," [Trott asked], "do you charge for the rooms?"

There was a moment of hesitation. Then the proprietress replied,

"Well, now, that all depends. Would you boys like your rooms with or without?"

"With or without? With or without what?" I enquired.

She folded her arms, brought up her shoulders at least a degree higher and in a crisp, business-like tone informed us, "Well, boys, you see we have some very attractive young ladies living here who work as stenographers or at other office positions. Many of them don't receive as much pay as they should be getting these days, and if you would like to share a room with one of these girls you can have a room for six dollars a week. In addition to this, the girl pays only one dollar." (p.42)

They flee. Perhaps the story is exaggerated, perhaps not.

OUT OF POCKET

Disaster strikes. The cheque drawn on Trott's bank at Melrose, Ontario is no good; the bank has just failed [such failures were rare in Canadian banking]. Trott returns to his room crushed, fearing his medical career is finished. He looks at the framed poem by Edgar Guest:

No one is beat 'til he quits,

No one is through 'til he stops. (p.47)

The picture of the girl kneeling in prayer also inspires him. He draws up a battle plan. He gets his McGill fee deadline extended a few weeks. Now he must find paid work and quickly. He goes to the popular Child's Restaurant, sees the manager, and makes a deal to work three hours a day in return for meals — an hour each in the rush times of breakfast, lunch and supper. His eating problem solved, he places an advertisement in a newspaper: "UNIVERSITY STUDENT MUST HAVE, AT ONCE, WORK FOR SUNDAYS AND NIGHTS, CAN DO ANYTHING." (p.50) Next day he gets offered jobs in two private homes, stoking furnaces and shoveling sidewalks after snowfall in return for lodging and cash. He sublets the rooms with part

of the stoking duties to other students and so is able to keep on at Strathcona Hall with his friend Lester. But he still has the back-breaking job of clearing snow in Montreal winters and needs to use a shovel; he had hoped a broom would do the job! He must delay paying his school fees; he is assured by the Dean's secretary Miss Mary Brand, "friend to every medical student of her time that she would square things for him." (p.54) Mary Brand, who would die of cancer in 1923, and her successor Gertrude Mudge were beloved by generations of medical students.¹¹ Trott and Lester Michael get other odd jobs. By late fall, Trott's earnings exceed his expenses. (pp.51-55)

FIRST INITIATION; 19 NOVEMBER 1918¹²

Hazing of freshmen at McGill followed the North American pattern; on the rise by the 1890s, dying out in the 1960s, although jovial traces survive to this day in "Frosh Week" activities. Trott described his rougher freshmen initiations at length. Traditionally the sophomores, the second year students, fought the new students in a pitched battle known as the "Rush." If the second year won (and they usually did), they humiliated their prisoners in various ways, tying them up and leading them through the streets. On 16 May 1918, the Corporation of McGill (arbiter of academic policy and precursor to McGill's Senate) had banned the organized kidnapping or other violent or objectionable proceedings practised by the first and second year men against one another.¹³ On 13 November 1918, the *McGill Daily's* editorial, "The Last of the Rush," declared that the ancient conflict between the first and second years had ended, given its death blow by Corporation's decision and by the suspension of all activity during the influenza closing. Besides, added the editorial, "the Freshmen, having had far more time for organization than is usually the case, are likely to prove all the more formidable this year."¹⁴ Furthermore, the Rush with its egg battles would seem trivial in view of the Great

War just ended with its real grenades and bombs; the returning soldiers would hardly approve the spectacle of students mimicking the real battles they had gone through! It would, however, have taken more than a World War and the McGill Corporation to end this rite of passage overnight. Six days later, the axe fell on Trott and his friends.

Trott's account of the first of two initiations he underwent may be compared with the *McGill Daily* story of 20 November 1918. Trott's had more detail; they agree on the main events. According to Trott, the first year students in Strathcona Hall were notified one evening that they were invited to a pajama party. At 11:30 pm., on 19 November, about 80 sophomores crowded up the stairs to the bedrooms. They outnumbered the 30 freshmen. The freshmen were told they were going on parade and that this was not the main initiation of freshmen, still to come, but merely an initiation into Strathcona Hall — "just a little get-together." (p.57) The *Daily* account had them taken by surprise: "In response to polite taps upon the doors, the frosh invariably got up out of bed and pulled back the bolts allowing an easy access to their rooms." According to the *Daily*, they put their pajamas on over their street clothes; then their faces were painted with various colours: "Many an innocent who had yet a downy fluff on his cheeks was suddenly adorned with a huge military moustache and chin whiskers."¹⁵ They were tied up in a line as well.

Then the sophomores sold the freshmen safety pins to keep their pajamas fastened and forced them to parade to St. Catherine Street, carrying a banner with the words: "LOOK US OVER GIRLS. IN FIVE MORE YEARS WE'LL BE READY." (pp.58-59) The "Five Years" implies they were all taking the medical program. They stopped on McGill College Street and were taught the freshman yell, added the *Daily*.¹⁶ Trott recalled that at St. Catherine Street they had to parade around the traffic officer on duty and that the cop took their Maypole act and stoppage of traffic with good nature. The police seldom

interfered and consequently the students had a warm spot for them. Next, they were herded to the “Jardin de Danse.” Here the sophomores bartered with the ticket office: “Eventually the manager came to the street accompanied by what must have been half the police force of Montreal.” (p.59) A bargain was struck; the students were to stay for one hour only and deposit \$50 for breakage. The victims were told to get girls and dance. That was not always easy: “You couldn’t blame the girls for feeling a little self-conscious about dancing with a pack of sheepish freshmen in pajamas held together in the front with safety pins! Gradually they broke down, however...” (p.59) The *Daily* added that the freshmen had to sing songs such as “It’s a long way to Tipperary.”

Next they had to commandeer a tramway car and make it take them to the “Palais de Danse” further east towards St. Lawrence Street. At this establishment, they were refused admission; at the entrance “two guards stood by and manned the gates with drawn revolvers.” (p.60) By now allies, the sophomores and freshmen rushed the doormen — in the scuffle Lester got hold of one of the guns. He kept it as a souvenir; later they found it was unloaded. The manager, “with profuse gesticulations and a French vocabulary that was amazing,” called the police, who came but did nothing. When the manager told the orchestra not to play, the students commandeered the instruments. Trott observed, “Nobody got hurt, but in the scuffle, one of the sophomores unfortunately deposited his foot inside the bass drum. The harpist agreed to play even though it cost him his job. That would still be better than having his harp broken.” (p.61) Trott claimed that the patrons enjoyed the diversion and that the orchestra forgave them for using their instruments. Then everyone marched to the Ritz Carlton, where the freshmen took over the shoe-shine parlour to shine the sophomores’ shoes. Next they paid for the sophomores’ dinner at a nearby restaurant, standing at attention while the sophomores ate. The *Daily* added that before returning to Strathcona Hall, they stopped and

serenaded the girls in Royal Victoria College — the girls’ white forms appeared at the windows. At 3 am. the men all returned to Strathcona Hall and shook hands all around. Trott concluded: “All inter-class animosity was forgotten in that moment and not one of us would have missed any part of the evening for three times the cost.” (p.62) The freshmen had paid for meals, safety pins and perhaps breakage. Relieved this first hazing was over, Trott, like most students, appears to have felt no great indignation at the custom; in fact, in most such initiations, persecutors and victims colluded.

BULL SESSIONS, THE INCOMPARABLE CHAN & AN OPIUM DEN

Life in Strathcona Hall was lively; there were 34 men, occupying 22 rooms. Many were medical students and the discussions were free-wheeling:

the heated arguments we had over religion, the slave question, the Irish question, the cause of the Civil War, the advantages and disadvantages of Canada being annexed to the British Empire, marriage, sex, infidelity, prostitution, fame, and the yellow-race situation were such that I felt that, if I ever came to the eve of my graduation, I would be fully as capable of conducting a honeymoon in Shanghai as I would be of removing an appendix or treating a serious case of pneumonia. (pp.54-55)

A Chinese student moves into Strathcona Hall and registers in medicine. Qui Hin Chan, who would graduate in 1925, was born in Vancouver but educated in China. He speaks English well. Trott finds him sophisticated and engaging: “Calm and consistent in every action, slow to speak and very deliberate.” (p.63) With Chan’s photograph in *Old McGill* (1924) is his favorite expression — “Soak the rich and help the sick.”¹⁷ Trott relates verbatim, in novelist’s style, a long matrimonial discussion among his medical

student friends. Chan declares that in China they are more honest about the difference between love and sex appeal; that Americans think they marry for love but it is really for sexual attraction. "We in China are more honest." A Chinese man married a woman because "he liked the shape of her ankles, the lines of her body. He married her because he thought he'd like sleeping with her." (p.64) Another student [Norman Higinbotham] rebuts Chan: "marriage is a business proposition and any darned fool, who marries a girl just because her sex appeal creates a biologic urge, is crazy." (p.64) Harold Mayer declares: "That's not what love means. I mean real love. There is such a thing and I think most of you know it, though for the sake of your argument you choose to ignore it. There is little or no connection between love and ordinary sex appeal, I know." (p.64) Bill Jones¹⁸ opts for practicality: "As far as I'm concerned, when and if I ever get married, I'm going to look around for a girl who can cook, keep house, raise a bunch of kids, play bridge — and maybe a good game of poker once in a while — make contacts to increase my practice. In short, I'll find a business partner, who is willing to help me attain the things that neither could have alone." (pp.65) Vic Mader concludes: "The whole debate is almost pointless. Nobody here can deny that marriage embraces sex appeal, love, self-promotion and all the other things ascribed to it. Where the boundaries fall that mark one from another is a question that won't be decided in a room in Strathcona Hall." (p.65) Chan surprises everyone by revealing that he has been married for three years and has three children.

Chan educates his friends. He takes them out to a restaurant in Montreal's Chinatown and is amused by their attempts to use chop-sticks. Then he shows them through an opium den:

That night my eyes looked upon splendor and extravagant, oriental luxury such as I shall never see again; and I saw the most horrible, nauseating, sodden-looking lot of human derelicts I had

ever imagined existed. It was scarcely to be believed that such human wrecks... could actually remain alive. They lay on beds built like berths in a train, three high, one above the other, each occupant with his inseparable opium pipe.... So labyrinthine were the stairways and halls by which we travelled, that I should never be able to find these opium dens again. (p.67)

Trott believed the friend he called "the incomparable Chan" may have later become a health officer in Hong Kong.

MEDICAL STUDIES

The first task of Trott's lab work at McGill was to dissect a worm. Soon he went on to cadavers, after a lecture on technique by Dr. [A.E.] Orr, lecturer in anatomy. Some of Trott's very broad training in general clinics and ranging from obstetrics to mental disease will be noted later. Here, his description of learning anatomy through long hours of dissecting a cadaver may serve as a sample of his early courses:

A student is required to dissect away every globule of fat and interstitial tissue, to separate and define each nerve, blood-vessel, tendon, muscle, valve, organ, bony prominence and sinew. This is to afford him a complete understanding of the physiology, histology, and pathology of the human body and to build a solid base of the fundamentals on which he must depend... whether it be in the field of medicine or surgery....

A student doesn't usually enjoy his first meal after the initial dissecting room experience. Within a week, however, we were able to discard the dissecting-room from our minds the minute we walked out of its doors to go to lunch. After all, what is dirt and decay except matter out of place? With a little practice in mental control, we were soon able to

discuss a special bit of fine isolation of the foramen ovale, or the anterior striate branch of the middle cerebral artery, the while enjoying a juicy steak. (pp.71-72)

For aesthetic and practical reasons, students hated fat cadavers, whose fat had to be dissected carefully away before the structures may be isolated and studied. However for those occasions when students become obstreperous and a little “pitching contest” gets under way, those with fat cadavers have more ammunition. (p.72)

Much of the teaching went on at McGill's affiliated hospitals. The grand Scots baronial Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH) was just up the hill from McGill. The plainer, older Montreal General Hospital (MGH) was in a grittier downtown location. Trott had the small-town boy's fascination with the good and evil he found in Montreal and was put off by the seamy scenes on the way to the General:

To walk down Cadieux Street (which is beside the Montreal General Hospital's back door, where the medical students pass each day for lectures) will produce a whore hanging out of every window doing her best to call you in for fifty cents or a bottle of gin. It will send you home nauseated with shocking tales of crime and prostitution that will cause you to send your boy to medical school in some white-faced, Godly city where chapel is held each morning in the students' lobby — and modern girls enter by way of the basement each night, instead of hanging out of second-story windows. (p.76)

This was partly tongue-in-cheek. Trott's own son Edward later attended McGill's medical school (M.D., C.M. 1963) and Trott, like Dink Carroll and most others writing about McGill, realized that the University was indivisible from Montreal — for better or for worse — mostly for better.

SECOND INITIATION: 14 DECEMBER 1918

Rushes and hazing thrived and waned in the 1920s and 1930s as the University's administrators sailed a course between toleration and suppression — student pressure reduced hazing by around 1927. Some thought that such outbursts, like sports, prepared men for the battles of life and war. Others did not. In 1924, the year Trott would graduate, Physics Professor Howard T. Barnes voiced his concern to Principal Sir Arthur Currie that the old style rushes were returning to campus and among other evils might turn students away from McGill; he related his own past efforts to replace skirmishes around his Physics Building with athletic contests.¹⁹ Not all disturbances revolved around hazing. Exuberant McGill students stopped traffic, rallied before football games, and threw garbage at Theatre Nights. They provoked such reactions as that of a “Disgusted Graduate” who wrote to the *Daily* on 13 December 1918 deploring “the disgraceful spectacle of a gang of students parading the street [giving the McGill yell].... such an exhibition of bad taste as this can only serve to bring disgrace to Old McGill.”²⁰

As if to provoke its readers, on 6 December 1918, the *Daily* published a snapshot of students in the Rush of 1914 captioned “Is It Gone Forever?”²¹ So far, initiation of the freshmen by their faculties (Arts, Medicine, Law, Applied Science) had not yet taken place. By custom, freshman of each faculty gave a dinner every year to the sophomores. Traditionally the roughhouse initiations preceded the friendlier dinners. Trott noted that since the year had begun late because of the flu, by December there seemed a chance the sophomores would forego initiation. Some dinners were given; the Arts freshmen dined the sophomores at the Ritz on 10 December, where, ominously, one speaker “deplored the passing of the one time ‘rush’ that had been one of the freshmen's introduction to McGill.”²²

The freshmen's hope for reprieve was short-lived. Trott's account conveys the thrill of battle, but he is vague on detail and is supplemented here by the *Daily* account, written, inevitably, in the humorous style of college journalism of the day. The rush probably involved only medical students. It took place on Saturday, 14 December 1918 when, as Trott recalled, about half the medical students were in the biology labs at the north part of campus and the others were in the Chemistry Building. The students in both locations were attacked. In its story titled "Great Doings in Rain on Saturday A.M. — Embryo Meds. Enjoy Novel Slush Bath — Many Casualties," the *Daily* enthused that "On Saturday morning perhaps the greatest battle which has been fought since the signing of the armistice took place.... Suddenly about 11 a.m., some inquisitive frosh in the biology lab made the ghastly discovery that their building was surrounded by a mob..."

Scores of figures clad in sweaters and caps were seen forming a complete circle about the building. Pandemonium reigned in the ranks of the Embryos.... the remaining cohorts, calmly carving holes in dogfish in the Zoology department became aware that they, too, were surrounded. Scalpels were dropped and terror was registered in every eye.²³

The students at the Macdonald Chemistry Building were also surrounded. Students in both buildings came out to do battle but were overwhelmed. The *Daily* continued:

A wild mass of arms and legs, rolling in many centimetres of soft slush, is the most appropriate way of describing it. The next scene was a long line of verdant ones marching off with hands securely fastened behind their backs and florid faces adorned with many brands of shoe polish.²⁴

The techniques of tying up and applying shoe polish differed little from the earlier attack on the

Strathcona Hall freshmen. Things got rougher this time, as Trott remembered — after all it was not just hazing but a battle:

I had tackled a fellow about my own size. Having had a bit of wrestling experience, I managed to get him all tied up with his trouser braces and belt, when he exclaimed, "Why you're a freshman, you darned fool! So am I! Untie me!" Chagrined and apologetic, I freed him. In less than two minutes, he and another sophomore had me all wrapped up like a Christmas gift. (p.74)

Trott laid his class's defeat to the fact that they did not yet know all their classmates and were disorganised. "Freshmen can't win," he concluded. "We got the full force of the rotten eggs, and then were bowled over by the streams from the fire-hoses." (p.74) The *Daily* finished the story. The humiliated freshmen had to parade in front of the fair female students of Royal Victoria College, then march downtown to Phillips Square, where all disbanded. Coyly, the *Daily* concluded that there was no definite information as to the identity of the "miscreants" who carried out the attack. After all, such rushes had been banned by the McGill authorities! And on the following Tuesday, the medical freshmen dutifully dined the medical sophomores — no hard feelings were reported.²⁵

This initiation was rough but no one got killed. Afterwards, Joe, the one-eyed janitor²⁶ at Strathcona Hall assured Trott and his bedraggled classmates that "Initiations ain't what they used ta be!" He reminisced about one in which fighting got out of hand:

The police were involved in the fracas. The sophomores soon felt the necessity to untie the freshmen to augment their own forces in fighting with the cops. Girls from [Royal] Victoria College [McGill's women's college] entered into the fray throwing mud, stones and "what have you" and the battle was in dead

earnest. Janitors and even laboratory technicians got into it. The crowning tribute was the fact that even a professor was accused later of joining forces with the students. (p.75)

To top it off, the French students from Laval's Montreal campus — who normally never mixed with McGill students — heard about the fight and came to McGill's campus to help their McGill confreres fight the police. According to the janitor (possibly named Joe Wilcox) who told Trott the (unverifiable) story, two policemen and one student died from injuries. The janitor said he had lost his left eye when struck by a badly aimed piece of brick thrown by a Royal Victoria College girl at a policeman. "Oh, but it was a great fight," Joe reminisced. "We tied them cops all up in a knot before we was through and I wouldn't 'a' missed it f'r anythin'" (p.75) Whether or not McGill had Canada's best students and professors, it may have had the most sympathetic janitors and building superintendents. In the 1920s, Bill Gentleman, everyone's friend, reigned in the Arts Building, along with Harry Barker, who quoted Shakespeare and wrote verse. Harry Grimsdale looked after Engineering, and Wilcox, Law. As E.H. Collard documented in his *The McGill You Knew* (1975), students long remembered these fatherly figures as friends and founts of news and advice.²⁷

The Medical Faculty's first janitor "King Cook" supposedly had helped the students hide bodies for secret dissections at night. No medical student's memoir would be complete without a reference to the Faculty's most peculiar institution, the ceremony of crowning "King Cook."²⁸ Cook's successors, all christened Cook, were feted each year and given money — sometimes, according to Trott, \$25 in pennies buried in a molasses barrel. Coronations involved a night of carousing, attended by medical students and the braver of their professors. Run by the senior class, it was given over to ridiculing the professors and putting on skits and songs. In Trott's first year,

the final number gives an idea of the rest: "a piano duet by the Rhoeta Sisters — (Gonor and Diar) — following which we sang 'God Save the King.'" (p.77) The *McGill Daily* filled out Trott's description of the crowning of King Cook III, in real life, William Tobin. The *Daily* gave a florid history of past King Cook events, noting that the upcoming April First (1919) celebration would be the last to allow non-medical students to attend, "for, with the war over, pre-war conditions will return to McGill, and this pageant will once more become the unique ceremony of the medicos."²⁹ On the great day, it was announced the procession in honour of Cook would start and finish at the Union that night after marching along Sherbrooke and St. Catherine Streets. There would be a Royal Guard, followed by Cook the Third, His Trusty Henchmen, and the medicine classes of '22 and '23 [Trott at this time expected to graduate in 1923]. Cheered the *Daily*: "We are back to the piping days of peace.... Lots of fun and lots of pep!"³⁰ As reported next day, Cook was crowned King of the Bolsheviks, gave a speech of nonsensical debauchery, preceded by 33 skits in his honour in the Union Hall. The skits were inspired by world affairs, and included appearances by the Czar, Czarina, Rasputin, the Kaiser goose-stepping, speeches by De Valera, Henry Ford, Trotsky, Lenin, a cannibal leader, and Montreal Mayor Martin [?]. There were dances and hymns.³¹ Sadly, such cultural ephemera seldom survives, except in news clippings and foggy memories.

Student dinners, initiations, and rowdy Theatre Nights often resulted in damages, especially to restaurants and dance halls. Claims arising may be traced in Principal Currie's records. A claim by Child's Restaurant (Trott's erstwhile employer) addressed to the McGill Students' Council can serve as an example, though a little after Trott's time. Following a visit by the McGill students on 10 November 1928, the total itemized claim for loss and breakage came to \$297.10. Broken objects included 36 trays, seven pepper shakers and two bottles of H.P. sauce; among items

missing were 21 dessert forks, five dozen tea spoons and assorted cigars and cigarettes.³²

DEATH IN LIFE, APRIL 1919

Trott passes his exams; he has never felt better in his life. It is April 1919 and winter is melting away. He catches a gripe but as he does this every spring, he is not worried. He begins to feel better but, ominously, feels weak in his legs. One Sunday, he sits in the sun looking out the front windows of Strathcona Hall, then goes for a campus walk with a friend, George "Harkins" [presumably George Harkin, who was in 3rd year Medicine]. They stop for a bite at Walton's on St. Catherine Street and Trott takes pity on a crippled boy of ten, hawking newspapers in the restaurant. He buys several. When the boy finishes a doughnut left by a customer on an empty table, he is shooed out by the waiter. (Trott and Harkin met many years later and recalled the boy, whom medical advances by then could have helped.) They go back outside: "The sun was beating in all its summer splendour. Madonna-eyed girls walked the avenues with careless, insouciant grace, gaily dressed in their newest spring finery." (pp.82-83)

Trott returns to the lobby of Strathcona Hall. He is tired; his body seems a dead weight. He looks across to the McGill campus: "I watched the elongating shadows of the Redpath Museum and the Redpath Library as they stretched farther and farther, like tremendous giant fingers, across the beautiful lawns of the campus." (p.84) (Fig. 2)
³³ The next morning, his legs give way under him. His roommate Lester and other friends call Dr. Orr, who sends him to be examined at the Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH), across Pine Avenue from the Medical Faculty. Several neurologists examine him and take blood cultures. The hours pass; his legs and now his arms feel weaker. He demands to know the worst. Dr. Colin Russel tells him what is wrong. He has Landry-Guillain-Barré-Strohl Syndrome, which is an acute disease of the nervous system in which the nerves of the arms and legs stop working due to inflammation.

The cause still appears unknown.³⁴ Trott's symptoms were progressing very quickly. Russel continued:

Either your body will recover - and if it does, it will take a long time - or you will not survive your illness.... You may expect, Trott, that within the next few hours, your arms will become as useless as your legs and presently even the muscles of your face will be affected. By tomorrow your entire body will be paralyzed.... Please try very hard to remain calm and patient. Soon you will have trouble in breathing. We have already arranged with boys of your year to help you to breathe, by pressure and release of your chest, much in the same manner as artificial respiration is administered in cases of drowning or shock. Now, my boy, if you will cooperate with us to the very best of your ability, then with the help of your fellow-students and by the grace of God Almighty, you may still come out of this. (p.88)

Trott asks if other cases have lived. No, but Russel thinks Trott will. In 1919, there was little therapy for neurological diseases. Mechanical respirators were not available. Russel's precaution of lining up classmates to help with artificial respiration was wise, although it may not have been needed in the end. Russel's honest, cautious optimism helped Trott more than anything else. It saved him from despair. Consultant in neurology at the RVH, Russel (1877-1956) was one of McGill Medicine's greats. He had become lecturer in Clinical Neurology at McGill in 1913 and would become Clinical Professor in 1922. After he died in 1956, Wilder Penfield called him "the founder of neurology in the Montreal Neurological Institute, a careful clinician, an inspiring teacher," while F.L. McNaughton's tribute included a summary of Trott's case and



Figure 2. McGill lower campus, with shadows of trees, ca. 1920. McGill University Archives, PR002674.

quoted Trott's appreciation of Russel from *Campus Shadows*.³⁵

Trott's professors assure him he won't lose his year. Dr. Orr brings him a letter from C.F. Martin, Dean of Medicine, granting him his first year pass, even though he will not be able to take his finals. Trott realizes this is to encourage him for the ordeal ahead — "For an institution the size of McGill to take such action within twenty-four hours out of consideration for a lowly first-year student was, and to this day remains to me, a marvel scarcely to be conceived." (p.90)

While he is still strong enough to hold a book, Trott reads what Osler's *Practice of Medicine* says about Landry's Paralysis. He recognizes his symptoms all too well. In the middle of the night, he wakes to realize Russel is standing by his bed. Russel says he is just passing on the way home from a party but Trott realizes Russel has gone to no party and has come in at three in the morning to check on him. There will be no passing him on to mere interns. Soon Trott can no longer talk or make any sign, even with his eyes. Russel continues to visit — he just happens to be passing — and keeps his spirit alive. He arranges for Trott's parents to visit. Although Trott loses his speech, most sensations remain normal. When he cannot breathe, Russel has him given a shot of atropine (a drug beloved of 1920s murder mystery writers such as Agatha Christie). In the following days, Trott lies fully conscious and hears the nursing staff and others talk, thinking he cannot hear. Some remark he'd be better off dead. He loses track of time. He realizes friends like Lester Michael have been visiting. His eyelids are paralyzed, his eyes dry up, and he wishes someone would close them. Over the weeks that follow, he "began to feel aware of increasing carelessness on the part of physicians and nurses alike. I couldn't blame them for despairing of my ever reviving." He wants to tell them he is still alive, still conscious. Russel makes sure Trott is constantly attended. Trott counts the time not by hours but by atropine injections.

Trott cannot praise Russel enough: "Only he, in all those long months of Hell ever really understood. He talked to me directly every time he came into the room. He stood beside my bed and spoke to me as though he knew I could hear him, as though he commanded psychic power to read my thoughts....He told me each day I was doing fine." (p.102)

Almost imperceptibly, Trott comes back from the brink. Russel realizes Trott, recovering, is helping himself to breathe. Russel tells him: "Just hold out a few days longer now and we'll have you through it at last....we will bring you through!" Trott prays for recovery and feels that somehow this brought help. Finally, Trott can begin to communicate with Russel by rolling his eyes for yes or no. He can finally indicate he has heard all Russel's encouragement. Trott believes he is the first RVH case of Landry's Syndrome to survive. He recovers very slowly and needs crutches and braces. He is given massage therapy and electric physiotherapy at the Ross Pavilion of RVH: "Hours on end were spent in applying current to each of the hundreds of paralyzed muscles in my broken-down physical machine." (p.121) His friends give him a surprise party in the hospital for his 20th birthday, on 7 August 1919. The nurses from his ward join in - Misses Black, Parlee, McCallum, Freeze, and McDougall. He is given a birthday book signed by every house physician and nurse who had looked after him since he was admitted. Best of all, since \$10 of his tuition fee had been for hospitalization insurance, he would be billed only for medication. (pp.122-127)

From all his RVH nurses, Trott singled out a student night-nurse, Vivian Freeze, "an angel in white," who cheered him up and encouraged him for months. But her supervisor "Miss X" was a "ferret — cunning, fast, shrewd and despicable" and, as Trott points out with the male attitude of his day, "an old maid, probably about forty-five years of age." She persecuted the young, personable Vivian for doing special favours, such as making a sandwich for a tired doctor who

had had no time to eat. When Trott worried about involuntary contractions in his knees, Miss Freeze said it was natural. She sat on the floor with legs straight out; then as she bent forward her knees rose from the floor. "See?" she said. "All that worrying for nothing." Miss X caught her doing this: "The sight of a nurse sitting on the floor putting on a demonstration for the encouragement of a patient constituted nothing short of a cardinal sin." (pp.122-125) The penalties were usually additional time added to their course, thought Trott. Strict though supervision and routines were, the photographs of RVH nurses in their whites convey a striking sense of pride and elegance — more than did those of the doctors (Fig. 3, Fig. 4, Fig. 5).

Trott's recuperation had lost him a year. His classmates were into their second year and would graduate without him. In the fall of 1919, from the balcony of the RVH, Trott watched sadly as his friends went in and out of the Strathcona Medical Building on the other side of Pine Avenue (Fig. 6). They visited him but could not cheer him up. The RVH had done as much as it could; Trott was alive but his legs were crippled. At Christmas 1919, he left for home. Detouring to cross the campus, the RVH ambulance took him to the Grand Trunk's Central Station (Fig. 7). The company gave him a complimentary sleeper. And the RVH gave him batteries so he could continue galvanic electric treatments for his legs at home. Always resourceful, once home, to get around, Trott got hold of a run-down Saxon car, and repaired it to running order. (pp.128-140)

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO, 1920 -1922

The weakness in Trott's legs would be permanent. For the foreseeable future, he had to use crutches. It was decided that he should do his next year of medicine, starting in September 1920, closer to home and family at the University of Western Ontario, in London, Ontario, with the

understanding that he would return to McGill when he became stronger. The two universities cooperated to help Trott; however, because different subjects were taken at different stages of the two curriculums, Trott had to work hard to keep up. Though not famous for medicine as McGill was, Western was establishing a strong program; its staff included Frederick Banting and J.W. Crane, a character Trott painted nearly as vividly as he did Colin Russel. In *Campus Shadows*, Trott often spelled out how he applied the principles of natural medicine he learned from his McGill and Western professors to his later clinical work at a New York hospital and in private general practice. Crane inspired him as no one had but Russel. Crane's lectures as professor of biochemistry, pharmacology and therapeutics influenced him powerfully: "Forget every drug in the pharmacopoeia, if you wish. Drugs are not so 'hot' anyway. But BE OBSERVANT. You can look up your drugs in a book any old time...I INSIST that you teach yourselves to be observant above all things." (p.144) Trott would carry this advice into his own practice, with a healthy scepticism towards drugs and pills.

Trott also left a brief snapshot of Banting, who was a demonstrator in anatomy and physiology at Western at the time, while carrying out experiments in Toronto. Referring to his old course notes when writing *Campus Shadows*, Trott found a note on Banting's lectures:

Today [no date given] Dr. Banting opined that it might be possible to afford relief in diabetic conditions by the utilization of some type of solution or extract from the pancreas of animals, which could contain sufficient pancreatic (the pancreatic secretion) so that, when given by mouth or injection, it would act in place of the normal secretion, in which the diabetic sufferer is deficient due to the condition of the diseased or worn-out pancreas.



Figure 3. Royal Victoria Hospital Nurses, class of 1918, with statue of Queen Victoria in the hospital. McGill University Archives, PR023817.
(Individual identifications available at the McGill University Archives; none of the names appear in *Campus Shadows*.)

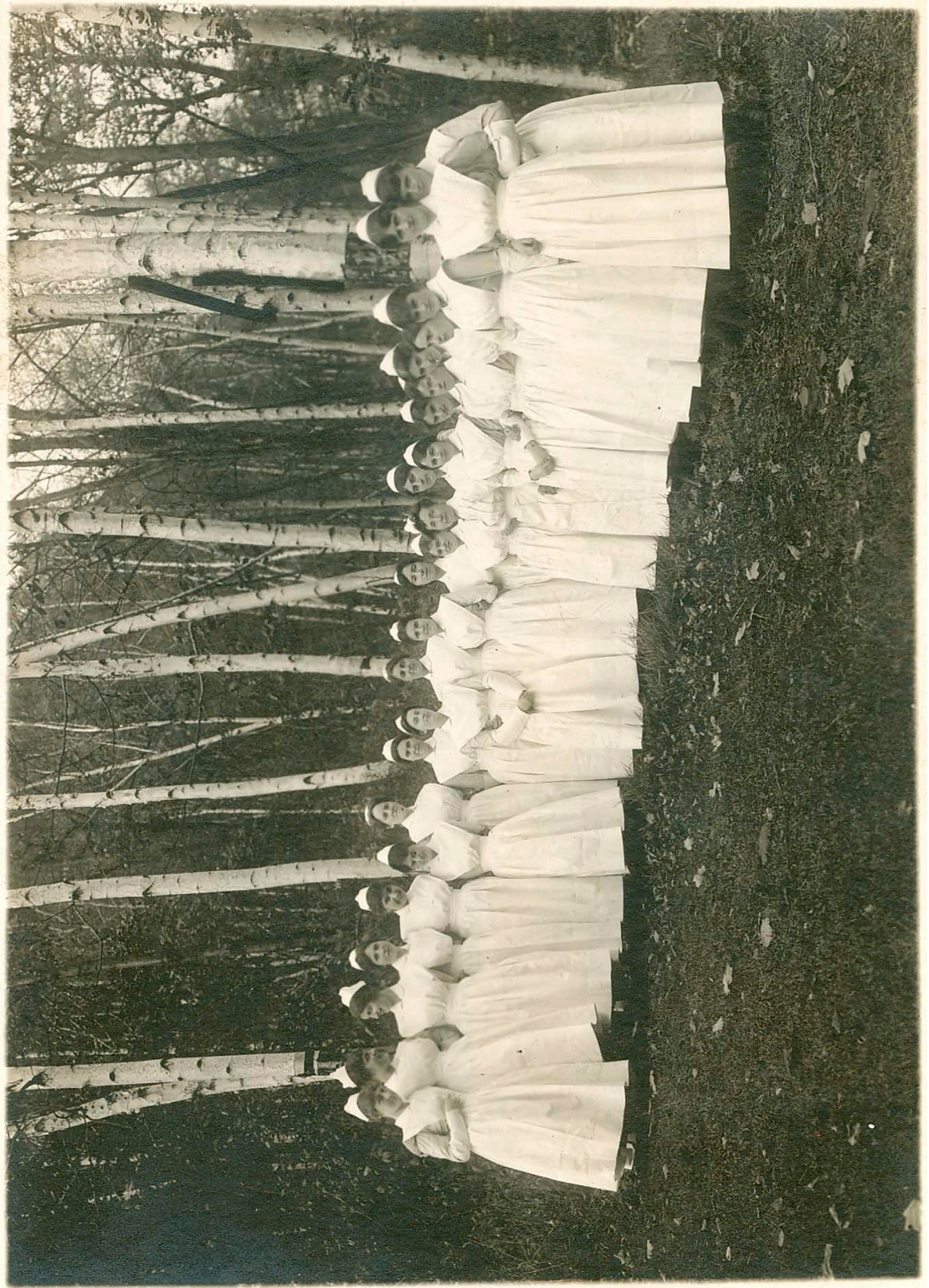


Figure 4. Royal Victoria Hospital Nurses (possibly the night staff), 1918 or 1919, in front of birch trees on grounds. McGill University Archives, PR023565.



Figure 5. Royal Victoria Hospital Medical Staff, 1919-1920, composite group (individual heads attached to form quasi-natural group). Notman & Son, Montreal. McGill University Archives, PL006568. (Individual identifications available at the McGill University Archives; none of the names appear in *Campus Shadows*.)



Figure 6. Strathcona Medical Building, ca. 1918 or later, as seen from Royal Victoria Hospital. McGill University Archives, PR026484.

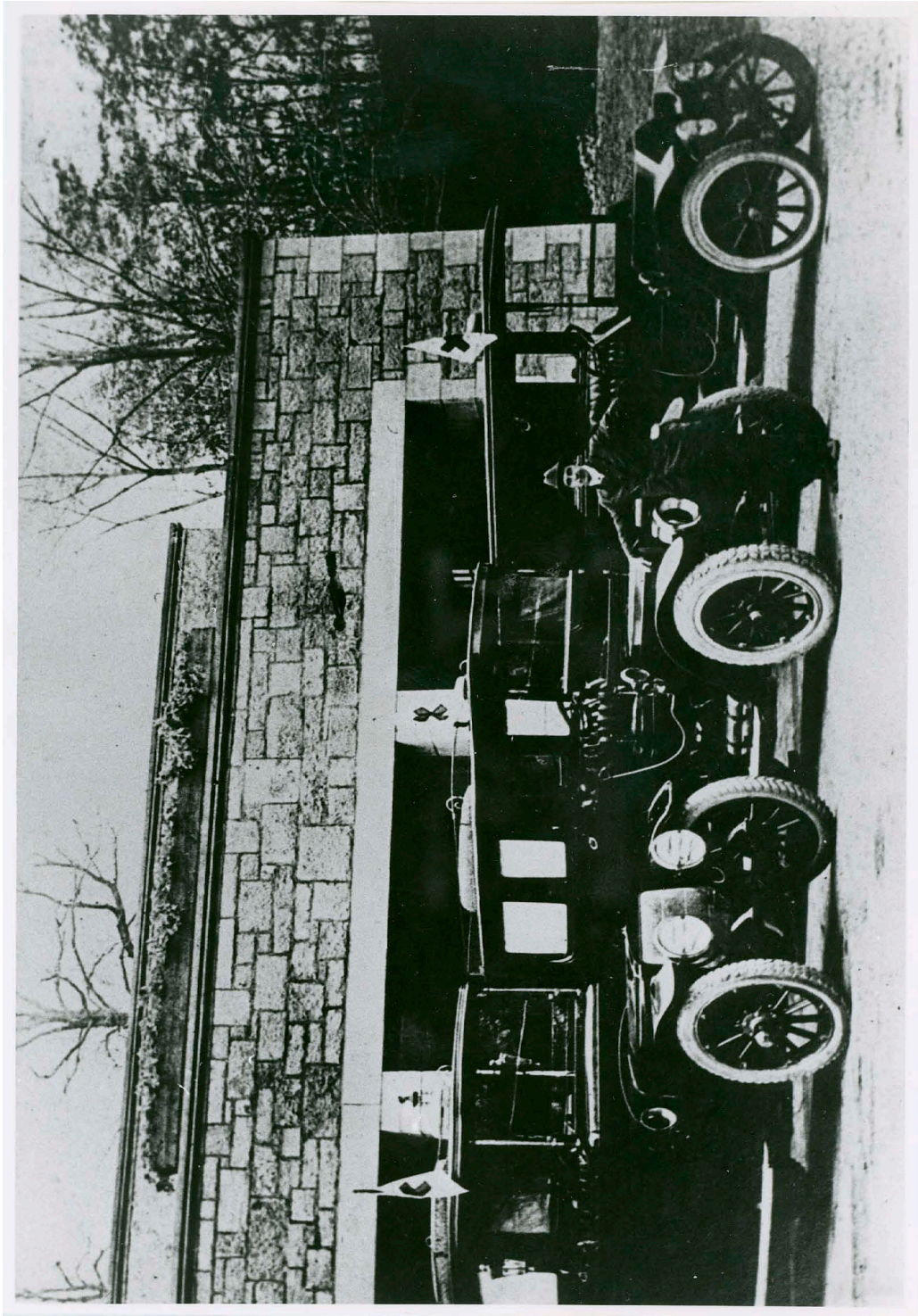


Figure 7. Three Royal Victoria Hospital ambulances, ca. 1913-1918, one of which probably took Trott to the train station.
McGill University Archives, PR023649.

Little did I dream the day I scribbled that note, that what existed in Dr. Banting's mind that morning as a theory would one day be acclaimed by the world of medical science, an all-important discovery. (p.198)

Soon afterwards, in 1923, Banting and J.J.R. Macleod would share the Nobel Prize in Medicine for the discovery of insulin.

When many young physicians had been diverted to the war effort, medical schools finally began to make room for women. Trott left a unique portrait of Kathleen (Kae) Braithwaite, who in 1924 would become Western's first woman medical graduate. Some of the male students resented her. Many were tough, returned soldiers; they decided to give this brazen female a hard time. When the presiding doctor had to leave the dissecting room, the men began tossing pieces of human tissue at one another. Lots of the shots drifted as close as possible to Kae's table. Kae buried her head and seemed to be crying. But when the boys had run out of ammunition she struck back. "Smiles of masculine self-satisfaction were short-lived..." One of her tormenters soon felt his face "smarting from the sharp smack of a generous piece of cadaver number ten, well-directed and thrown as straight as an arrow by a tow-headed, tom-boy girl who had spent the past summer as supervisor of London's playgrounds and who had pitched baseball two hours a day the entire summer." (p.150) After a few more hits, "thrown with machine-gun accuracy," the veterans of the trenches ducked behind their tables. Then, "as nonchalantly as though she had just finished polishing her fingernails, Kae Braithwaite picked up her books, gracefully turned on her heel and sauntered casually out to the corridor, not a tear on her face, but with the faintest suggestion of a self-satisfied smile..." (p.150) From that day, she had the undying admiration of her male classmates (Fig. 8).

It was always assumed that the dissection room could be used to scare women out of medical

school. A parallel may be drawn with McGill, which admitted women to medicine as partial students in 1917 and fully in 1918, the year of influenza and the war's end; the first five women graduated in 1922. Jessie Boyd (later Scriver), one of the first small group to graduate in 1922, recalled that some students declared the dissecting room was no place for ladies and petitioned that they be kept out. The faculty refused. However, there seems to have been relatively little hazing of the sort that Kae Braithwaite had to overcome, although Mary Childs (McGill M.D., C.M. 1922) recalled spleens being thrown at women during anatomy class. Fifty years later, Jessie Boyd Scriver recalled the measures which diffused things at McGill: "For the comfort of all concerned we were ushered into the dissecting room by George Muir, the Curator, through the demonstrators' door to our dissecting table in the corner... [this let them bypass the anteroom where the male students gathered] Thus we avoided intruding upon both privacy and gaiety."³⁶ Not all the men were pleased; the *McGill Daily* of 14 December 1918 published a limerick jab at Jessie Boyd, submitted by "a prominent member of Med. '22":

There was a young lady called Jessie,
Who found dissecting very messy.
Said she to me,
I wish I could be
A Doctor instead of a Freshie.³⁷

Jessie Boyd graduated second out of 126 in her class and became a distinguished professor of pediatrics at McGill.³⁸

BACK TO MCGILL, 1922-1924

Trott works the summers of 1921 and 1922 at Port Stanley as a railway gateman, then ticket seller and occasional assistant for medical emergencies; he also swims to strengthen his legs. Apropos of summer jobs for medical students, correspondence in 1920 between Dean of Medicine H.S. Birkett and Acting Principal F.D. Adams reveals that 80 percent

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
FACULTY OF MEDICINE

*"What! Praise my rosy cheeks and youthful face?
Alas! Such features would my rank disgrace.
Such beauties suit fair ladies of eighteen,
And not a doctor's philosophic mien."* —Santolins.

FROM each convocation brilliant disciples of Hippocrates go forth but never before has a graduation shown anything more brilliant or more fair than our first girl graduate of the Medical School—Kathleen Braithwaite.

The study of medicine requires fortitude and perseverance and few graduates have possessed these qualities to a greater degree. Kae's heart has always been with her classmates, and her kindly disposition and winsomeness has endeared her to one and all—professors and students alike—both at the Medical School and at the College of Arts where she obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Her fellow students, her Alma Mater and the Forest City are justly proud of her achievements and all join in wishing her every success. All who know Kae feel that her interest, her sympathies and her heartiest co-operation will always be with the profession.



KATHLEEN BRAITHWAITE

ONE who remembers this same small disciple sitting upon a high stool in the corner of the Chemistry Lab, at ye olde Collegiate Institute—take a look at her now; or hiding, fearless, under coats in the hall, while the Principal stalked by—take a look at her now. Henceforth you must respectfully call her "Doctor," this walking proof of the old adage that "you never can tell."

And there you have her still—seven University years leave her as dauntless now in great things as she was then in small, yet her subtle appreciation of the incomparable joy of razzing windows on Hallow-eeen undulled.

Really, after all this, the best thing we can say of Kae is that she looks, not like one of those formidable female doctors, but like a nice sweet lady, who wisely and modestly keeps what she knows under her coppery curls.

of medical students worked summers to assist them through the school year — mainly in non-medical jobs, until after their fourth year, when 50 percent found hospital work.³⁹ With two years at Western on top of his first year at McGill, Trott returns to Montreal in Fall 1922 for his last two years. He has burned his crutches and walks with a cane. He rents his old room in Strathcona Hall for the time being. Then he visits Dr. Russel's office, balancing himself in the doorway without his cane. Before Russel can turn to see him, Trott says that he bets Russel does not remember him. But Russel remembers his voice: "I'll never forget you, Trott, but I'll be honest. I never expected to see you come walking into this office again." (p.169) They shake hands emotionally. At Strathcona Hall, Trott relives his past. He must make new friends in the medical class of 1924 (his original class of 1923 is now in its last year). He falls in with several medical students who have done their first three years of medicine under McGill-affiliated University of Alberta and whose last two years are to be done at McGill.⁴⁰ He hears much of one of their number, "Bobby Waite" (presumably F.E. Wait, M.D.,C.M. 1923), who has not yet arrived. Waite is legendary for being late; everyone wonders where he is. He will become a close friend of Trott's and later they will collaborate at times during their medical practices. The Alberta students and Trott resolve to seek lodgings as a group, hoping this might result in lower rates in some boarding house. They all go exploring. Horace "H.O." Wilson finds a good one. A Mrs. Down on St. Famille Street would provide room and board for seven dollars a week each. Trott's group moves in. The meals are: "stew, beans, hash, meat-pies and soups. The routine became, in fact, so standardized that we could prophesy our meals in advance for each day in the week." (p.172) The "late" Bobby Waite shows up and joins Trott's boarding house group. He is sloppy and cool. Trott assumes women must like him. But Waite is in for a fall.

There is an embarrassing episode between the male medical students and a new young woman who has just moved in. Mrs. Down had explained to her that the other boarders were all men from McGill, "but all of them very fine gentlemen." The young woman, a red-haired stenographer named Anna, moves in. H.O. Wilson is the only one to know this and apparently sets up his friends for a prank. H.O. is usually the first to use the bathroom each morning. The morning after Anna moves in, he finds it occupied and guesses it is by the new female resident. He ducks out of sight in a neighboring room (to spare her the embarrassment of seeing him in the hall when she left, so he claims later). Meanwhile, other men arrive, towels over arms, impatient to wash and get to classes on time. They bang and call at the door. No answer. Then they hear bath water running. Assuming it is H.O. Wilson being defiantly inconsiderate, they take the door off the hinges. Bobby Waite has been provided with a pail of cold water. When the door comes down, Bobby charges in, hurling the cold water: "Too late poor Bobby realized there must be some mistake. Wilson didn't have red hair and he didn't have lovely, soft, white shoulders and beautifully moulded, soft white breasts. He tried to scoop up the water in mid-air. If Bobby had been eager to get into that room, he was indescribably frantic to get out of it." (p.177) The embarrassed men replace the door at the speed of light and flee. H.O. is found nearby "in a veritable spasm of suppressed laughter." Anna finishes her bath at leisure. She becomes friendly with the landlady's daughters and takes most of her meals with them. Trott noted sadly: "Our contacts with her thereafter were very few." (p.177)

Education goes on. Trott buys a fake diamond ring (it turns out to be sapphire) from a railway porter but manages to unload it at a profit to another student; it is sold and resold. The ring finally goes to Kingston with the Queen's University rugby team, then reappears at McGill via a University of Toronto student. Trott like other students does stints in various

hospitals, learning to diagnose diseases under the supervision of examining physicians. He comes to believe more and more that diseases are cured 90 percent by nature and 10 percent by drugs; that for most ailments (not all), the main thing is for the patient to go to bed and be given all the water he can take to cleanse the system. Trott spends the summer before his fifth and final year relaxing and building up his strength, especially in his withered legs. His muscles below the knees had atrophied since his illness. He tries to design appliances that would let him walk without using a cane. He even contemplates amputation of his legs as artificial ones would be less floppy at the feet. He tries such devices as wearing spats to cut down the flopping of his feet as he walks. He meets an old acquaintance, the attractive Gladys, but is embarrassed when he stumbles and falls while escorting her. (pp.193-196, 201-204)

Back to McGill for the final year: Mrs. Down has moved to Toronto and Trott rooms with a friend, [Louis] Chadsey. Soon they buy a piano to enliven the place. This is a year of bedside and amphitheatre clinics. At the out-patient clinic at the General, Trott takes a patient, "a girl of eighteen years, a decided blonde with large, innocent-looking eyes." Her fierce mother glares like a tiger at Trott. The mother declares her daughter has an ovarian cyst which must be removed — the mother had the same thing herself about eighteen years before. Alone with the girl, Trott examines her and becomes increasingly certain the cyst "possessed arms and legs" and had a foetal heart beat. The girl tells him she is a virgin. Trott has to report to the mother that there would be no need to operate. Wouldn't it be dangerous not to operate? asks the mother. Trott replies, "I think not. I feel it quite safe to predict that within approximately four months the — tumour — will subside. I even dare say that this is not an ovarian cyst, but a slight touch of pregnancy..." (pp.206-209) The mother whacks him with her umbrella.

Trott described a final-year lecture on "Mental Diseases of the Insane" by the man who saved his life, Colin Russel. Before Russel arrived, a small dog trotted into the lecture room. There was a box-like lectern for speakers' notes on the table at front. A student concealed the dog under the lectern; the dog kept quiet. Russel came in, put his notes on the box and declaimed on "the three most common aberrations of the mind... hallucinations, illusions, and delusions." (p.214) He gave examples of illusions: a patient might see grass waving in the wind and believe each blade of grass was a snake. Writing on the blackboard, Russel out of the corner of his eye saw the box move slightly. It happened several times more; Russel looked worried and his lecture began to falter. Finally the box travelled to the edge of the table, fell off and the dog scrambled out. After admitting he had thought he might be losing his mind, Russel carried on in good humour.

Some of Trott's clinics are at the Verdun Asylum, outside Montreal. He feels sorry for the inmates, many of whom were incurable. They have every kind of physical and mental disease. Many are in the last stage of syphilis. They come from all walks of life; some had been attorneys, business magnates, even physicians. Many of them live in the past: "daily lecturing invisible audiences, men who had been trained, cultured and useful but now, like the sad ruins of some fine old castle, once majestic and eloquent in its grandeur, now rotten, fallen, and sordid to look upon in its downfall." (p.217) One of Trott's patients, a normal looking man, introduces himself as King of the Cannibal Islands. As the year progresses, Trott goes through the letters kept by the Dean's office, offering employment in state hospitals, private institutions and similar institutions. Like some of his classmates, he gravitates to the United States. Trott is impressed by the Lee Private Hospital in Rochester, New York. The hospital is well equipped; Dr. Lee uses radium (with suitable safeguards) to cure cancer. He is also a homeopathic physician who believes in prescribing drugs sparingly — if they did no

good, at least they did no harm. (pp.219-222) Graduation approaches. Trott recalls his class's last lecture from Dr. Walter Chipman, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology. Chipman declares that he realizes the students were well versed in the procedures for difficult births, and competent in the use of forceps when needed. But he maintains that only 5 percent of cases need extreme measures or surgical intervention. In the other 95 percent of the cases doctors should not tamper with nature: To try to improve upon Nature is to presume to substitute your own judgement for a judgement that is far wiser than yours. He tells them to forget everything else they have learned and remember this: "Whenever you're called to a maternity case, LEAVE YOUR FORCEPS AT HOME. If you find that you'll need them, after all, WALK AFTER THEM, and if you have to walk after them, WALK SLOWLY." (pp.222-223)

Trott repeatedly observed that from his training and his own observations on therapeutics, natural treatments such as rest, proper diet, and physiotherapy were effective in most cases, and drugs needed in very few. (The drug industry was far less advanced and less regulated in the his time than today and doctors were right to be sceptical.) At his final lecture on therapeutics, the lecturer (unidentified) quoted Oliver Wendell Holmes's opinion "that if the entire pharmacopoeia were cast into the sea and all its drugs with it, it would be a great thing for humanity but a sad day for the fish." He told the class, according to Trott's old notes: "Remember always — there is no tonic as good as a square meal, no medicine like a drink of water, no other treatment as effective as sleep, and no physician as wise as nature." (p.224) And Trott recalled the words of Dr. Crane at Western: "Forget all you know about drugs, but BE OBSERVANT." (p.224)

Trott graduated on 30 May 1924; his class marched from the Medical school to the Capitol Theatre to receive their diplomas (McGill having no large convocation hall). Trott took his leave in

his characteristic way — solemnly, thoughtfully, and sentimentally:

Now that the time had actually come when I was to leave it for all time, I felt a reluctance to depart from this beautiful city on the slopes of old Mt. Royal. It was like parting from a fine friend. There was sadness in my heart, despite the happiness of knowing that my dreams were at last coming true. I considered how fine had been my years in this genial, old Canadian city of culture and beauty. I recalled my first days here, the lasting friendships I had formed. The long months of torture at Royal Victoria were minimized now as I considered how many and worthwhile were the excellent friendships I had earned there. Prominent among my reminiscences were the old days at Strathcona Hall. On an impulse, I went searching through my packed luggage....until I found what I sought. Placing a flat, wrapped parcel under my arm, I set out for the last time for Strathcona Hall. (pp.229-230)

The old one-eyed janitor Jim (earlier called Joe)⁴¹ lets him in. With Jim's pass-key in hand, Trott climbs four flights of stairs to his old room. Old bull sessions waft back to him. He lets himself into his old room and unwraps his parcel. He puts his pictures of the praying girl in her nightgown and the verse by Edgar Guest in their old places on the wall. They remind him of the dark moment when he looked at them years ago when his school money was lost in the bank failure and his career seemed ended. He looks out the window and once more

watched the evening campus shadows stretch deeper and deeper across the lawns... "Here — in this spot — before this window," I mused, "I must have been presented with the understanding of what life consists, although at that moment I did not realize nor

comprehend the meaning of what had happened. How grateful I am now that I didn't give up! And how close I came to doing so! Save for those two framed inspirations, I doubt whether I could have found the courage to meet that distressing loss."

What truer statement can be made of life than that it takes courage to meet it? And what finer thing can a man hope to possess in life than the inspirational friendships which will provide that courage?

I drew from my pocket my copy of the oath of Hippocrates. I read it — aloud and unrestrainedly. I promised to enter into the world from this room with the will and the determination to repay this magnificent institution for the learning I had received from it. I pledged myself to lead a professional life and career that would reflect credit upon my alma mater.

Slowly the sun descended into an amber west. One by one, the lights in various buildings beyond the campus began to appear. As the outlines of Royal Victoria Hospital grew dim in the gathering twilight and the windows of that great institution looked back at me in inspiring, understanding shafts of light from beyond the campus rim, I took down my poem and my picture... permitted myself one last good-bye to the glorious panorama of deep shadows and darkening lawns and descended the marble stairways for the last time to the lobby of Strathcona Hall.

As I said good-bye to old Jim, he shook his graying head and said, "Didn't I tell you, sir, that first night you came here, that I'd seen you come and I'd see you go as I had many a man before ya?" (pp.231-232)

EPILOGUE

In six years, Trott went through initiations, pranks and dissections, made friends, observed opium addiction and insanity, nearly died, and learned to live with damaged legs. His entry in *Old McGill* (1924, 73) nicknamed him "Trosky," assigned him the caption: "Though college days give memories, Give me the college nights," and declared he has "unlimited initiative, and possesses an optimism of the 'never say die' type." McGill and Western trained him and ignited his thinking about medicine. *Campus Shadows* is a North American doctor's simple *Religio Medici*, with a whiff of doctors' philosophy that seems eternal. Nearly all the people and events in the memoir can be verified by other sources. Some anecdotes may have been improved in retrospect, as often happens in memoirs. But it is a good story and tells us about a McGill we will never see again. Trott's medical adventures continued in upstate New York and are related in the later chapters of *Campus Shadows*. According to his son Dr. Edward Trott, (McGill M.D.,C.M. 1963) after practising as a G.P. in Hemlock, New York, his father went into dermatology, practised in Rochester, and retired in 1959. Trott senior's eventful career included underwriting the building of early Piper Cub planes. He had become interested in private planes and helicopters by 1931, perhaps earlier. The *Livonia Gazette*, 14 September 1931, carries an article and photo of Dr. and Mrs. Trott and an "autogiro" plane, demonstrated on Trott's flying field in Hemlock. His son recalls Trott also was involved with Arthur Godfrey's acquisition of his first plane, after World War II (Fig. 9). In 1946, Trott began editing *Helicopter Digest*. He believed helicopters might someday replace automobiles. The *Digest* was published by Crosset and Williams (Hemlock, New York), Trott's own publishing company, through which he had published *Campus Shadows* and a children's book, *Santa Claus in Santa Land* (1942, second edition 1943) — the latter was written at the request of a little girl who had polio.

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and Christopher Lyons; Theresa Regnier, University of Western Ontario Archives, and Dr. Joseph Hanaway, historian of McGill's Medical Faculty. Also helpful have been John Hobbins and Lonnie Weatherby of Fontanus. I had useful talks with the late Dr. Martin Entin about Trott's medical case and (on the telephone) with Dr. Edward Trott, about his father's interests. Most recently Theresa Rowat, McGill University



Figure 9. Mr. and Mrs. Harold Trott and son Edward, ca. 1944, snapshot which came with a copy of *Campus Shadows* presented by Trott to Colin Russel. McGill University Archives, Accession 2001-0160.

Archivist has provided important information about the photographs used in the figures.

ENDNOTES

¹ Harold W. Trott, *Campus Shadows*, Crosset and Williams, Hemlock, New York, 1944, 2nd ed. 1946. Both editions have identical pagination. About 170 (or 45%) of the 371 pages relate to Trott's years at McGill. A copy of the 1944 edition inscribed to Dr. Colin Russel, with a photograph of Trott and his wife and son, is in the McGill University Archives (Acc. 01-0160). The dust jacket of *Campus Shadows* was reproduced in *Fontanus*, IX, 1996, 82 (illustrations to Robert Michel, "Floreat Plutoria: Satirical Fiction about McGill"). Since 1862, the McGill medical degree has been Doctor of Medicine and Master of Surgery – M.D., C.M – from *Medicinae Doctor et Chirurgiae Magister*: see Stanley B. Frost, *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning*, 2 vols. McGill-Queen's, Montreal, 1980-84, vol. 1, 147, n.10.

² Robert H. Michel, "The Gates of McGill: an Unpublished Novel of the 1920s by 'Dink' Carroll", *Fontanus*, XI, 2003, 12-60.

³ Speech, Sir Arthur Currie to Medical Faculty, 19 March 1921, typed, 12 pages, in McGill University Archives, Principals' Fonds, RG2, C67, file 1246: "Medicine – General – 1918-1926".

⁴ *The Handbook of McGill University 1923-1924*, Issued from Strathcona Hall by the Student Christian Association of McGill University, No. 34, 5. Roomers do not appear to have been subject to any religious test.

⁵ *McGill University Calendar for 1918-1919 with Pass Lists for 1917-1918*, Montreal: McGill University, 1918, 71-72. Detailed descriptions of the medical courses are given, 262-288. Figures are in Canadian dollars.

⁶ These include the annually published *Directories of Students*, the cumulative *Directory of Graduates (1946)* and *Old McGill yearbooks*.

⁷ Wait was listed in the cumulative McGill *Directory of Graduates (1946)*. F. Elmer Wait, like "Bobby Waite," arrived after three years at University of Alberta: *Old McGill (1923)*, 52. Bobby Waite also turns up several times during Trott's account of his practice in New York State: *Campus Shadows*, 294-305, 316-355, *passim*. Wait and Trott shared an interest in aviation.

⁸ These names are mentioned in *Campus Shadows*, mostly between pages 58 and 83 and except for George Harkin are found in McGill University, *Directory of Graduates 1946* (Graduates' Society, Montreal, 1947, which lists only the 15,661 graduates believed to be alive as of 1946). All students, including Harkin, (who is listed in the Programme of Convocation: M.D.,C.M. 1921), appeared as well as in the Registers of Students compiled yearly and published with the Calendars. Most graduated M.D.,C.M. in 1923 or 1924, Chan in 1925. The "Chronicle" of Medicine 1921 in *Old McGill 1921*, 63, noted that in Feb. 1917 the class

visited the dissecting room for the first time and that Harkin had fainted; it also describes kidnappings and street parades similar to those that Trott, who started in the Class of 1923 would go through.

⁹ *McGill Daily*, 1,2,3,4,7, 8 Oct. 1918 & 11, 13 Nov. 1918. There were no *Dailys* from 9 October 1918 until 11 November 1918 because McGill was closed.

¹⁰ Quoted in Michel, "Gates of McGill", *Fontanus*, XI, 30.

¹¹ See Peter Hanlon, "'That best Portion of a Good Woman's Life': Gertrude Mudge 1886-1958", *Fontanus*, VIII, 1995, 48-57.

¹² This date is inferred from press coverage.

¹³ *Montreal Gazette*, 17 May 1918: news clipping in the McGill University Scrapbook, IV, 121, McGill University Archives.

¹⁴ *McGill Daily*, 13 Nov. 1918, 2

¹⁵ *McGill Daily*, 20 Nov. 1918, 1.

¹⁶ "Freshies, freshies, one and all; Soothing syrup when we bawl. Good for nothing, green as grass, McGill freshies, baby class." *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷ *Old McGill (1924)*, 62. The caption under Chan's name, presumably selected by himself, is "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." The entry states Chan was educated in Canton, started education in English in 1912 and graduated from high school in Victoria, British Columbia in 1916. He received his medical degree in 1925, according to the McGill *Directory of Graduates (1946)*, 26.

¹⁸ Trott may mean Frederick Walter Jones, Med. 1923.

¹⁹ E.A. Collard, ed., *The McGill You Knew*, Longman Canada, 1975, 7-9; Letter, H.T. Barnes to Principal Currie, 16 Feb. 1924, McGill University Archives, Principals' Fonds, RG 2, C49, file 583.

²⁰ Published in *McGill Daily*, 16 Dec. 1918, 2.

²¹ *McGill Daily*, 6 Dec. 1918, 4.

²² *McGill Daily*, 11 Dec. 1918, 1. *Montreal Star*, 11 Dec. 1918, news clipping in the McGill Scrapbook, IV, 141, McGill University Archives. The speaker was Marcel Gaboury, President, Arts 1922, BCL 1925.

²³ *McGill Daily*, 16 Dec. 1918 (Monday, reporting on Saturday 14 Dec. 1918), 1.

²⁴ *McGill Daily*, 16 Dec. 1916, 1.

²⁵ *McGill Daily*, 16 Dec. 1916, 2; 18 Dec. 1918, 1.

²⁶ A one-eyed man named Wilcox was janitor of the Law Faculty, located in the East Wing of the Arts Building. Whether he did a stint at Strathcona Hall is uncertain; see Collard, *The McGill You Knew*, 222-223. Trott could be vague about names; he called the Strathcona janitor "Joe" on p. 75 and "Jim" on p. 230 of *Campus Shadows*.

²⁷ Collard, *The McGill You Knew*, devotes a chapter to "The Students' Best Friends: The Janitors", 216-223. Confirming McGill's enthusiasm for its janitors, Regis Messac, who

taught in McGill's French Department from 1924 to 1929 and wrote a satirical novel about his McGill experiences, *Smith Conundrum*, had his autobiographical protagonist complain that McGill's janitors were more important than faculty deans: 1st edition, Querqueville, France, 1942, 2nd edition, Ex Nihilo, Paris, 2010, with preface by Marc Angenot, postface (afterword) by Robert Michel, 158-159 of latter edition.

²⁸ Trott slippingly recalled it as "King Cole." His chronology vague, he implies the crowning was close to Christmas, rather than the actual date of 1 April 1919 and that this was King Cook the Ninth when he was only the Third: *Campus Shadows*, 76-77.

²⁹ *McGill Daily*, 25 March 1919, 1.

³⁰ *McGill Daily*, 1 April 1919, 1.

³¹ *McGill Daily*, 2 April 1919, 1, 2. Montreal Mayor M. Martin was of course the only one on the list who could have attended — if he did...

³² Letter, Robert Langford, Child's Restaurant, to Paul Mallinson, President, Student Council, 13 Nov. 1928, McGill University Archives, Principals' Fonds, RG2, C49, file 583 "Student Activities and Discipline, 1920-1937."

³³ This last moment of health, looking at shadows fall across the campus, is the image in the title *Campus Shadows* and on the book cover (improved retrospectively by the Roddick Gates, unbuilt in 1919; after their construction in 1925, this Greek-columned crescent at the campus entrance came to symbolize McGill): see *Fontanus IX*, 82.

³⁴ Recovery became the rule as clinical treatment and neurological science improved. A history and description of the disease is given by Patricia L. Tikkanen, "Landry-Guillan-Barré-Strohl Syndrome," *Journal of Neurosurgical Nursing*, April 1982, Vol. 14, No. 2, 74-81. Colin K. Russel was Lecturer in Neurology at this time; later Professor, he taught at McGill from 1906 to 1945. A.E. Orr was Lecturer in Anatomy at the time and taught at McGill from 1897 to 1920.

³⁵ On Russel, see W. Penfield, W.W. Francis, and F.L. McNaughton, "Tributes to Colin Kerr Russel 1877-1956 at the Montreal Neurological Institute, October 10, 1956," Reprint, *The Canadian Medical Association Journal*, Oct. 1, 1957, 77,715-723. Noting Trott's grateful praise of Russel in *Campus Shadows*, McNaughton states that artificial respiration turned out to be unnecessary in Trott's

case. Russel served in both World Wars, in the second as a Colonel; Trott occasionally confuses his first name "Colin" with "Colonel" and spelled Russel as "Russell" in his text. Russel's work is summarized in: Joseph Hanaway, Richard Cruess, and James Darragh, *McGill Medicine*, Volume 2, 1885-1936, McGill Queen's Press, Montreal & Kingston, 2006, 164. Trott's case is mentioned in Preston Robb, *The Development of Neurology at McGill* (Montreal, the author, 1989), 24.

³⁶ Jessie Boyd Sriver, "Slowly the Doors Opened", Collard, *The McGill You Knew*, 132-133; on early women medical students, see Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*, Eden Press, Montreal, 1981, 279-303, especially 298: Sriver wrote that the McGill women were treated comparatively well because "We walked very warily."

³⁷ *McGill Daily*, 14 Dec. 1918, 3, in the column "Quips". Apparently a self-appointed group of men visited Jessie Boyd at home in fall 1918 to ask her and the other women to resign: Hanaway, Cruess, and Darragh, *McGill Medicine*, Volume 2, 1885-1936, 109. There is no mention by Trott of the women medical students at McGill.

³⁸ Hanaway, Cruess, and Darragh, *McGill Medicine*, Volume 2, 1885-1936, 109.

³⁹ Letters, F.D. Adams to H.S. Birkett, 4 June 1920, Birkett to Adams, 25 June 1920, McGill University Archives, Principals' Fonds, RG 2, C67, file 1246: "Medicine – General", 1918-1926. It was contemplated to extend the medical year, which would have cut down on summer work.

⁴⁰ In 1913, University of Alberta set up a Faculty of Medicine to train the first three years of the standard Canadian five year program, arranging that the final two years be taken at University of Toronto or McGill. By 1925, partly through Rockefeller Foundation support, Alberta was able to train for all five years, although McGill continued to accept transfers on individual merits. See letters between Augustus Downing, University of the State of New York, Albany, and Principal Currie and the Secretary, Faculty of Medicine, Sept. 1925, McGill University Archives, Principals' Fonds, RG2, C67, file 1246: "Medicine – General – 1918-1926". There is a spoof history of the medical class of 1924 in *Old McGill* (1924), 58, 269. It names no individuals but probably refers to Trott's Alberta friends: "A class hyperplasia occurred due to the influx of a group of Western Brethren..."

⁴¹ Trott called him "Joe" earlier, *Campus Shadows*, 75

Health Matters: The Dawson and Harrington Families at Home¹

by Annmarie Adams and Peter Gossage

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the spaces associated with the extended family of John William and Margaret Dawson, particularly their nine-room, two-storey home at 293 University Street in Montreal. The Dawsons purchased their retirement house in 1893, as well as the house next door for their daughter, Anna, her husband, chemistry professor Bernard Harrington, and their eight children. The two houses are rich sources on how two generations lived together and separately simultaneously. The rich archival legacy of the Dawsons illustrates how Anna Harrington organized her house to regulate her children's health, especially that of her son Eric, who suffered from a series of ailments and died in 1894.

"Health Matters" contributes to our growing understanding of the architecture and material culture of childhood by modeling an interdisciplinary method drawn from architectural and social history. Secondly, it argues that mothers directed their movements according to the condition of children; furthermore, it looks at how children organized household and backyard spaces, completely independently from adults; and finally, it shows how extended families constructed sophisticated boundaries while living in a decidedly fluid, pre-modern way.

RESUMÉ

Ce texte présente une exploration des espaces associés à la famille élargie de John William et Margaret Dawson, dont notamment leur maison de neuf pièces sur deux étages, située au 293, rue University à Montréal. Les Dawson acquièrent cette maison en 1893 pour y vivre pendant leur retraite. Ils achètent en même temps la maison voisine pour héberger leur fille Anna, son mari Bernard Harrington, professeur de chimie, et leurs huit enfants. Les deux maisons constituent une documentation très riche sur la manière dont deux générations peuvent vivre ensemble et séparément en même temps. Le patrimoine archivistique de la famille Dawson fait ressortir la manière dont Anna Harrington organise sa vie domestique afin de réguler la santé de ses enfants et surtout celle de son fils Eric, qui souffre d'une série de maladies avant d'en mourir en 1894.

À partir d'une méthode interdisciplinaire située au carrefour de l'histoire sociale et de l'histoire de l'architecture, "Health Matters" ajoute à nos connaissances de l'architecture et de la culture matérielle de l'enfance. Le texte suggère à quel point les mères agissent en fonction de la condition des enfants et démontre comment les enfants organisent parfois, à l'abri de toute intervention des parents, des espaces de la maison et du jardin. Enfin, il démontre la façon dont la famille élargie peut ériger des frontières internes complexes, tout en vivant d'une manière fluide, définitivement pré-moderne.

Sir John William Dawson was a remarkable man. As a geologist, he is best known for his early fossil plants and his identification (later disproven) of a coral, *Eozoön canadense*

("dawn animal of Canada"), the oldest non-plant fossil known in 1864.² Dawson was the only individual ever to serve as president of both the American and British Associations for the



Figure 1. Anna, Lois, and Constance in bath, at Walbrae Place, with rocking horse, Feb. 1892.
McGill University Archives, PA027196.

Advancement of Science; he was knighted in 1884 and he was the first President of the Royal Society of Canada (founded 1882). As Principal of McGill University from 1855-1893, he is credited with establishing the foundations of modern science in Canada. His administration admitted women to McGill and established the university as a leading research institution. Not surprisingly, he is the subject of several detailed biographies and of numerous scholarly articles.³

The Dawson name and legacy are also ubiquitous on the McGill University campus. The family's residence until the late 1870s was in the East wing of the Arts Building, later renamed Dawson Hall.⁴ Dawson's personal collection of shells, fossils, and other objects still comprises

the core of the Redpath Museum's remarkable inventory. And as a record of the varied accomplishments of its best known principal, the McGill University Archives boast an astonishing 15 linear metres of *Dawsonia*.⁵

This article sidesteps this official, public side of Dawson's life. Instead, we draw on the sheer comprehensiveness of his vast archival legacy to explore a subject only tangentially related to his work as a geologist, collector, and educator: sick children at home. Scholars have paid some attention to Dawson's private life as a young man.⁶ But his retirement years are so thoroughly neglected that when, in the early 1960s, McGill University purchased as an investment property the house in which he had lived his last six years,



Figure 2. Note the upper railing, which may indicate the roof was used as an outdoor living area.
293 University Street 1893. McGill University Archives, PA027196.



Figure 3. University Street (now 3641 University). Note the unusual passageway between the Harrington and Dawson house, leading to the shared back garden. Ricardo Castro. McGill University Archives, PA027196.

university administrators were unaware that it had ever been his home.⁷

With children and their health squarely in the foreground, this article crosses the thresholds of the Dawson family's private spaces in retirement, as well as the photos and extraordinarily detailed letters written by his wife, Lady Margaret Ann Young Mercer Dawson, their children and grandchildren. Both visual and textual sources for this study abound in the McGill collections. Many images reveal the family's life beyond the university. A stunning photograph (Fig. 1) of 1892, for example, extracted from grandson George "Eric" Harrington's photo album, shows Dawson's daughter (and Eric's mother), Anna Harrington, bathing her two daughters Lois and Constance, in February 1892.⁸ Likewise, the archival record and architectural evidence of the Dawsons' life in their nine-room, two-storey townhouse in Montreal, 293 University Street (Fig. 2) is an extraordinarily detailed record of extended family relations in the English Protestant elite of Canada's largest city at the turn of the twentieth century.⁹

Sir William and Lady Dawson commissioned their retirement house from architect Andrew Taylor in 1893 or 1894.¹⁰ Also in 1893, when Dawson retired, the couple purchased the much larger, sixteen-room house next door, at 295 University Street (Fig. 3), which was probably built in 1873 or 1874.¹¹ The building was acquired as a home for Anna, her husband, McGill chemistry professor Bernard Harrington (married 1876), and their eight children.¹² The Dawsons clearly conceived of their purpose-built retirement home as an addition to their daughter's house, a relationship most evident from the design of an unusual outdoor passageway, which probably also linked the houses internally.¹³ Lady Dawson described the proximity of the new house to Anna's in a letter to her son George Mercer Dawson in May 1893: "Papa at the same time has secured a small lot adjoining lest he should decide to add a few rooms for

our use, these wd have a separate entrance from the street and a private door by which we could enter into A's house so that we cd take our meals with her."¹⁴ Today the internal link between the two houses is unclear, and none of the surviving architectural evidence allows us to clarify these spatial relationships any further. In any case, the passageway and the shared garden to which it led make the two houses an especially good spatial source on how three generations lived together and separately simultaneously, even though the plans of both houses were typical, Victorian arrangements, featuring a myriad of isolated, use- and gender-specific rooms accessible from a central hall or corridor.¹⁵

The major arguments of this research stem directly from the fluidity of these household arrangements. This case study of the Dawson-Harrington families showcases the supreme importance of health concerns at this time and the role of privileged mothers like Anna and older children, especially daughters, in translating such concerns into action. Montrealers at the turn of the twentieth century had good reason to be concerned about health, and particularly the health of children. In the first five years of the new century, the city had infant mortality rates of 275 per thousand live births, among the highest on the continent.¹⁶ Congenital and contagious diseases carried off thousands more children each year, leaving a strong sense, at least in the social-history literature, in which children were the most tragic victims of the public health problems linked to rapid urban and industrial development.¹⁷ Without contesting the health risks associated with urban life in Victorian Canada, especially for those less privileged than the Dawsons, our approach places the emphasis elsewhere: on children's active role in the use of spatial strategies to deal with health risks. In so doing, it also calls into question the cultural construction of rural places as necessarily healthier than city houses and the passivity and helplessness of children, even privileged, teenaged children in this period. Was being sick

an opportunity to escape the realm of childhood described by architectural historian Abigail Van Slyck as “the performance of childness”?¹⁸ We will argue that young Clare Harrington, in this case study, acted as a significant bridge between the worlds of children and their parents. She not only cared for her siblings and reported on their health, but also managed servants and acted as a link to other Montreal households. In this respect, Clare was the human complement to the extended family’s remarkably supple living arrangements.

This case study of the Dawson-Harringtons, moreover, is intended to challenge several assumptions expressed in various ways by historians of the family and medicine: that the Victorian house and family were insulated, that children were islanded or separated from their parents, that middle-class mothers with sick children were largely confined at home, and that domestic medicine lagged behind or differed significantly from that practiced in the urban hospital. The study is also intended to confirm and alter some of the hypotheses we and other scholars have made from normative and nominative sources. In her 1992 University of California at Berkeley dissertation and subsequent 1996 book, *Architecture in the Family Way*, Anmarie Adams explored the female regulation of the healthy house, including the special accommodations made for sick family members, and the spatial confinement of women following childbirth.¹⁹ One limitation of the book was that it relied almost exclusively on prescriptive sources, rather than specific accounts of sickness at home, such as the Dawson archives. Detailed letters to and from the Harrington children suggest that late nineteenth-century prescriptive literature in general actually contradicted rather than reflected reality. Were Victorian mothers warned to keep sick children at home, for example, because it was an infrequent practice? New research on hospital architecture, too, shows how sick children were largely invisible rather than segregated or islanded in the general



Figure 4. An undated photo of the library at Walbrae Place, the Harrington family’s home until 1893, shows Bernard Harrington, with his children Eric, Ruth, and Clare. Perhaps because he was so ill throughout his short life, photographs of Eric are quite rare. McGill University Archives, PA027196.

hospital until about World War I. Even purpose-built hospitals for children in the interwar period provided few technologies or medical spaces that differed from those of purpose-built hospitals for adults, reflecting the ambiguous relationship of pediatrics to the scientific ambitions of other medical specialities.²⁰

This research also builds on one of the arguments in Peter Gossage’s book-length study of families in Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec, a small manufacturing and market town located 50 kilometres east of Montreal.²¹ In a chapter built around links from local marriage registers to manuscript census returns from 1871, 1881, and

1891, he found that young married couples, most of them French Canadian, chose to live very near to their parents, without “doubling up” in the same dwelling.²² *Families in Transition*, however, did not move beyond the routinely generated sources of historical demography to explore the spatial contours of this widespread practice (as reflected, for example, in house plans and photographs) or the social and psychological dimensions accessible only through diaries, letters, and other private papers. The richly documented Dawson-Harrington family lends support to those earlier findings, while permitting close attention to the ways in which residential propinquity allowed extended families to cope both with daily tensions and with major crises such as illness and death.

Ultimately, this article represents the second case study in an interdisciplinary, multi-year project by Adams and Gossage to explore the intersection of architectural and family histories in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Quebec. Following the publication of a first example which dealt with the issue of remarriage and focused on the Dessaulles house of 1854-57 in Saint-Hyacinthe, our working hypothesis is that as family tensions rise, girls and women gain control of domestic space. In the wake of her father’s remarriage, the young Henriette Dessaulles took an extremely active part in re-ordering her domestic space, thus predating Virginia Woolf’s emancipatory call for a “room of one’s own” by several decades.²³

THE SICK CHILD AT HOME

Sick children were a constant concern of Anna Harrington’s. Particularly worrisome was the health of her first-born son, Eric, who eventually died at the age of seventeen (fig. 4). Eric had suffered from a number of ailments during his 17 years, and there is strong circumstantial evidence that he died of tuberculosis. But none of the many family letters that speculate on Eric’s prognosis state explicitly that the teenager had the disease. In June and July 1893 he was described as suffering

from rheumatism.²⁴ One letter refers to a “family inheritance” with regards to Eric’s condition, as diagnosed by Anna’s physician-brother Rankine, perhaps an allusion to a genetic condition. In a letter dated July 21, 1894, from Lady Dawson to Anna’s brother George, “Rankine I fear is only too likely to be correct in his opinion of the family inheritance. His diagnosis of Eric’s case is confirmed by Bernard now that he has joined Anna & Eric & has heard the opinion of a nice painstaking, sensible & sincere local medicine man who has made an examination of Eric’s lungs—he finds disease well established & in an advanced stages.”²⁵ A month earlier, George Dawson (not a physician) apparently said Eric had tubercular deposit in the lungs.²⁶ And to confuse things even more, Anna says, “I don’t know what to say about Eric, this whole disease is new to me & I cannot understand what the doctors mean by what they say.”²⁷ The letters also reveal that many individuals offered money to Anna for Eric, including her brother George who offered “unlimited cash,” insisting that Anna get a nurse for Eric, at his expense.²⁸

Much of Anna’s domestic life in the early 1890s was spent away from home due to Eric’s deteriorating condition. The family tension around Eric’s illness affected the way Anna understood the house, and the way she wanted it organized. Her domestic environments, that is, were determined by the decisions made about Eric’s illness and where he should be. Fortunately for us, because Eric’s illness meant Anna was often away from Bernard, she wrote lengthy letters to him about how the Montreal house should be organized to make Eric more comfortable. From an architectural perspective, Anna’s letters also reveal that she believed certain spatial arrangements (mostly separation and fresh air) would mitigate the spread of illness in the house. For example, on October 24, 1894, she worried to Bernard: “I hope dear baby is better, & that he goes out twice a day & his room is well aired. I don’t like his sleeping in the nursery—for I know it mean bad air for all. . . .



Figure 5. The Dawson and Harrington summer houses at Little Metis illustrate a second situation in which the two families lived in close association.

Birkenshaw, Little Metis. McGill University Archives, PA027196.

Please don't forget about Clare's window having a proper ventilator & I think R's suggestion as to a room to herself very useful. They [might?] sleep [better?] open window in any case, if a curtain or shade interposed to prevent draughts."²⁹ The Harrington children also wrote frequently to their absent mother articulating the minutiae of healthful living. Twelve-year-old Ruth wrote to Anna on November 18, 1894: "Was it Grandma that told you that our windows were not open for our window is open all day and Miss Bakers and the boys, and the nursery is open at intervals as often as possible."³⁰ The documentation of daily practices such as room ventilation by children is extremely rare.

In the fall of 1894, Anna's letters to her mother show she anticipated Eric's death. She instructed Lady Dawson: "Will you please have Eric's own blankets & pillows put on our bed & ours on his—I will sleep in the dressing room & I wd like a fire laid ready in my room. If there is lime it ought to have a thorough surfacing to avoid the necessity of its being done soon again. If you cd order a few oysters in the shell & new laid eggs & if your cook is equal to it have her make a little chicken jelly — with no pieces of chicken, or flavoring in it . . . He can swallow the jelly better than fluid or solid . . . Don't make the children realize the sorrow of the home coming."³¹ From Saranac Lake Anna warned her husband to be vigilant about the servants, whom she never relied on to make decisions regarding health: "Do be sure the children are out as much as possible especially baby & the little ones—I don't think Kate is at all so keen about that as Florence was & when the weather changes warn the older ones to be careful about warm clothing."³² In early December 1894, she ordered Eric's room at home thoroughly disinfected ("if the authorities here are right in confining possible infection") and some furniture in the drawing room recovered.

Life outside the house also meant outside the city, and the country. Both the Dawsons and the Harringtons travelled regularly to their adjacent

summer homes in the anglophone summer enclave of Little Metis, on the lower St. Lawrence River, about 340 km downstream from Quebec City.³³ Remarkably, the houses at Little Metis illustrate a second situation in which the two families lived in close association, here separated only by a gate.³⁴ William Dawson was a fervent believer in the health-giving properties of the area, claiming that the ozone was superior.³⁵ He purchased his house, Birkenshaw (Fig. 5), apparently to escape the heat of Montreal in the summers.

The Dawsons purchased the cottage next door to theirs for Anna and Bernard in about 1891.³⁶ Although Anna's strong belief in the healing powers of the rural environment is clear in her letters—this is particularly evident in her letters about her son Conrad's illness after Eric's death—it is equally apparent that the country house acted as an extension of the city situation, rather than in opposition to it. Daily routines and the families' social circles were simply transposed east, confirming the widely held notion that a physical (not social) change was understood as restorative. But in nearly every other way the Dawson-Harrington country houses echoed their urban lives. Family letters suggest, however, that life was neither simple nor slow in Little Metis, although the area's dramatic natural landscape was obviously a significant change from the density of University Street in central Montreal, as was the children's holiday from school.

Anna stayed with Eric for nearly two months in Saranac Lake, New York, in the fall of 1894. That same year, the town saw the construction of the Saranac Laboratory, the first lab for the scientific study of tuberculosis in the United States.³⁷ Five days after she wrote about bad air in the nursery, Anna disclosed to Bernard in a letter that Eric's kidneys were affected; he had albumin in his urine, his liver was enlarged, and there was thickening in his throat. By then, doctors, including the world-famous tuberculosis expert, Edward Livingstone Trudeau, had declared him

a “hopeless case.”³⁸ Since Trudeau’s sanatorium only accepted patients in the early stages of disease, it is unlikely that Eric was ever admitted to this hospital.³⁹ Still, Lady Dawson sent Anna a “fur cloak” for “this sitting out business,” suggesting that he was subject to Trudeau’s famous fresh air cure.⁴⁰ Anna writes, too, about the reasons to come home and how through renovation, their University Street house might be as good as the hospital: “I do believe we cd make as good a sitting out-place on Grandmama’s roof as here, for the price of one week’s board, or perhaps on mother’s little gallery.”⁴¹ These are lessons that Anna may have learned from her stay at Saranac Lake, where hotels and houses sported generous sleeping/cure porches.⁴² She may have imagined the intriguing 40’ x 4’ passageway between the two houses, like Lady Dawson’s rooftop, as a channel of fresh air between the two houses. It led to the all-important and shared back garden. While it is evident from the letters that the two families conceived of the compound as two separate residences—the Harringtons would be invited, for example, to come to tea with Lady Dawson—the two buildings also functioned as a single place. This situation was highlighted when a child was sick. The presence of one sick child might temporarily dislocate the others. Here is Anna’s description of how the two houses—theirs and her parents—functioned as one. “If Eric goes home it seems to me Clare ought to go. Mother wd take her, but that wd only be a half separation.”⁴³

Still, the younger family clearly used the house next door as a space for quarantining both sick and healthy children. In 1906, for example, daughter Lois had the measles and was sent to stay with Lady Dawson. When Eric was gravely ill, however, as in December 1894, this “half separation,” as Anna called it, did not suffice. At that time, the other children were banished from the house altogether. In the letters, there is much discussion of the girls boarding at nearby Trafalgar School for a few weeks; or at the home of Louisa Goddard Frothingham Molson,

a close family friend. This was a common strategy for keeping siblings out of harm’s way in times of crisis, especially for the middle class. Poorer people might use an orphanage for temporary boarding, as historian Bettina Bradbury has shown for Montreal’s working class.⁴⁴ Comparisons between their home and other public institutions abound in the family’s letters. Following Eric’s death, when several of the other Harrington children had high fevers, Lady Dawson referred to her daughter’s house as “a veritable private hospital.”⁴⁵

THE CHILD AS CONNECTION

Important in probing the way the two houses functioned as a health-driven enclave is the ubiquitous figure of Clare (fig. 6), the eldest child of Anna and Bernard Harrington, born in 1880 and a young teenager when her brother died. Clare was the human counterpart to the passageway and an excellent example of how a child might act as a connection between spaces. Like the void between the houses, Clare served as a bridge among the three generations, between the family members and the servants, and from her own extended family to other households. From the perspective of preventive medicine, Clare was also the hub of an information network that kept absent adults, especially her mother, informed as to the health and well-being of Lady Dawson, the Harrington children, and the servants.

Even as a 14 year old, Clare managed the everyday affairs of her younger siblings, as is evident from her charming letters. “Loise’s boots will not nearly meet round her instep or anchel & Eva cannot get hers on. I tried Loise’s on Eva but they are ever so much to long . . . They need new boots very badly at once. . . I think I could teach Ruth music if she would promise to practice & not take it as play.”⁴⁶ She also reported regularly to her mother regarding her siblings’ growth, weight, and eating habits, comparing her younger brother to a sailor: “The children all look very well, Lois is getting too stout for

beauty, but I suppose not for health. Bernard looks like a regular 'Jack-Tar,' as solid as can be. Eva is very well, and rosy, but particular and crab[b]y. She wont eat this or thats to much ect. Poppy is as merry & as well as can be."⁴⁷ Indeed, the younger children frequently reported back to their mother on the effectiveness of Clare, even referring to their sister as a mother or "muddie." In 1900, Clare transcribed a letter from her younger brother: "My own dear Muddie, Hope you be back soon, & hope Grandmama be well too. . . . Dear Muddie we be quite lonely without you. . . . Clare been quite a good Muddie, quite sweet and kind. We love one another & me & Loie never forget to say our prayers—."⁴⁸

As young adults Clare and her sister Ruth (born 1882) served as crucial sources of medical information on their grandmother's situation, describing the condition of the older woman and communicating the advice of Lady Dawson's Montreal-based physicians. On May 18, 1907

Clare listed Lady Dawson's symptoms to Anna: "Grandmama is not well—Yesterday she did not feel herself but had nothing definite the matter with her. She went to bed early. This morning she had a slight pain in her right side."⁴⁹ Three weeks later, Ruth reported: "Just a line to tell you that Dr Blackader finds it absolutely necessary that they should tap Grandmother's lung tomorrow because of the amount of the fluid there is. Dr Findley & Dr Roddick both agree that it must be done."⁵⁰ Clare was clearly a comfort to her grandmother: "I do feel that G.M. really wants me at present. I seem to be the only person that she makes no effort for—She was sat up yesterday in the arm chair for about 20 minutes—Dr Bell insisted on this as he thinks the tube drains better that way, but poor G.M. was very, very tired after it."⁵¹

Clare's remarkable role as an intermediary between physicians and her mother extended to the condition of the other children as well,



Figure 6. This may be the only extant interior photo of the University Street houses. Claire Harrington in livingroom, University Street, Montreal, QC, about 1915. McCord Museum, Montreal, Accession MP-1981.8.5053.

whom she nursed diligently when they were ill: “Dr Browne came to see Eva, when I was at the Hospital, but Ruth saw him. He said she certainly ought not to be at school, & just to have her be out of doors as much as possible, but never to let her overtire. . . . I got a hammock today & I think she will be able to be out most of the time, I sit up on the top veranda too a lot so that is quite nice, especially as we like the same books.”⁵²

Helping her father to manage the house, children, and servants while Anna was away was a general responsibility of Clare’s by age 14, especially taking the younger children to visit other families: “Clare and I have had a great hunt to find the garments, tea, that you wanted and will mail them in an old valise that I found in the attic. . . . All of them [the children] except Clare & Baby were at Sunday School this afternoon. Clare took Baby up to the Molson’s where he seems to have done his best to show what he could do.”⁵³ Clare describes her visit to the Molson household nearly identically to her father’s letter: “I took Baby to see Mrs Molson, she was delighted with him, he was so merry & good.”⁵⁴

Clare’s responsibilities at age 15 extended to the scouting of potential employees: “I do not think there is any chance of getting Millie, as they have succeeded in getting several boarders and she is needed at home. Clare, however, is going to see her to-day. . . . Mrs. J.L. Molson told Clare about some girl who expected to come to town shortly and wanted a housemaids place.”⁵⁵ Frequently Clare communicated general information from the family’s servants to her mother: “Miss Baker asked me to please tell you that if Florence leaves she would much prefer looking after all the children herself—and if the sewing was too much have her sister come up three times a week like last winter. As it is Miss Baker has the baby as much and more than Florence. Miss Baker will not stay after Xmas, she would like to leave before if possible.”⁵⁶

Anna Harrington constantly worried about Clare’s extensive responsibilities, a fact noted by family friends. In August 1898, Louisa Molson comforted Anna from Little Metis: “All goes well at yr cottage. I am watching Clare & have not yet seen the least sign of her being over tired, and I need hardly add she shows great wisdom & kindness to Conrad and the younger children.”⁵⁷ Not surprisingly, when Molson herself fell ill, it was Clare who helped out: “You must see that Clare is not overtaxed,” Anna warned Bernard in a letter concerning the older woman’s recovery.⁵⁸

SHARED SPACES

Clare was the most significant human connection between the Dawsons and the Harringtons. The shared garden, however, like the passageway between the houses, was a crucial spatial link between the grandparents and their grandchildren. The properties were represented as a single compound in a detailed 1907 map (Fig. 7) of the area. The fact that there was no fence, hedge, or other barrier between them is confirmed in a remarkable plan (Fig. 8) drawn by thirteen-year-old Clare on May 23, 1894. It shows a path extending into the shared space from the passageway, defined on the Dawson side by two beds of tulips. The rest is labelled by the young girl as “Grandpa’s garden.” On her own parents’ side, Clare identifies “Con’s little house” (her brother Conrad), a tree and perhaps a swing, and reports that grass seed is coming up. Although the two exterior spaces were somewhat separate, as shown in Clare’s plan, the fact that she drew them together is fascinating and speaks to the conceptual unity of the family garden.

As a model of scientific classification, the gardens had direct links to both Dawson and Harrington’s published work. They also had a connection to Little Metis. In an interesting reversal of the contemporary trend of bringing plants from untouched rural places to the city, the Harringtons sent plants yearly from Montreal to their Little Metis garden. Sometimes the children

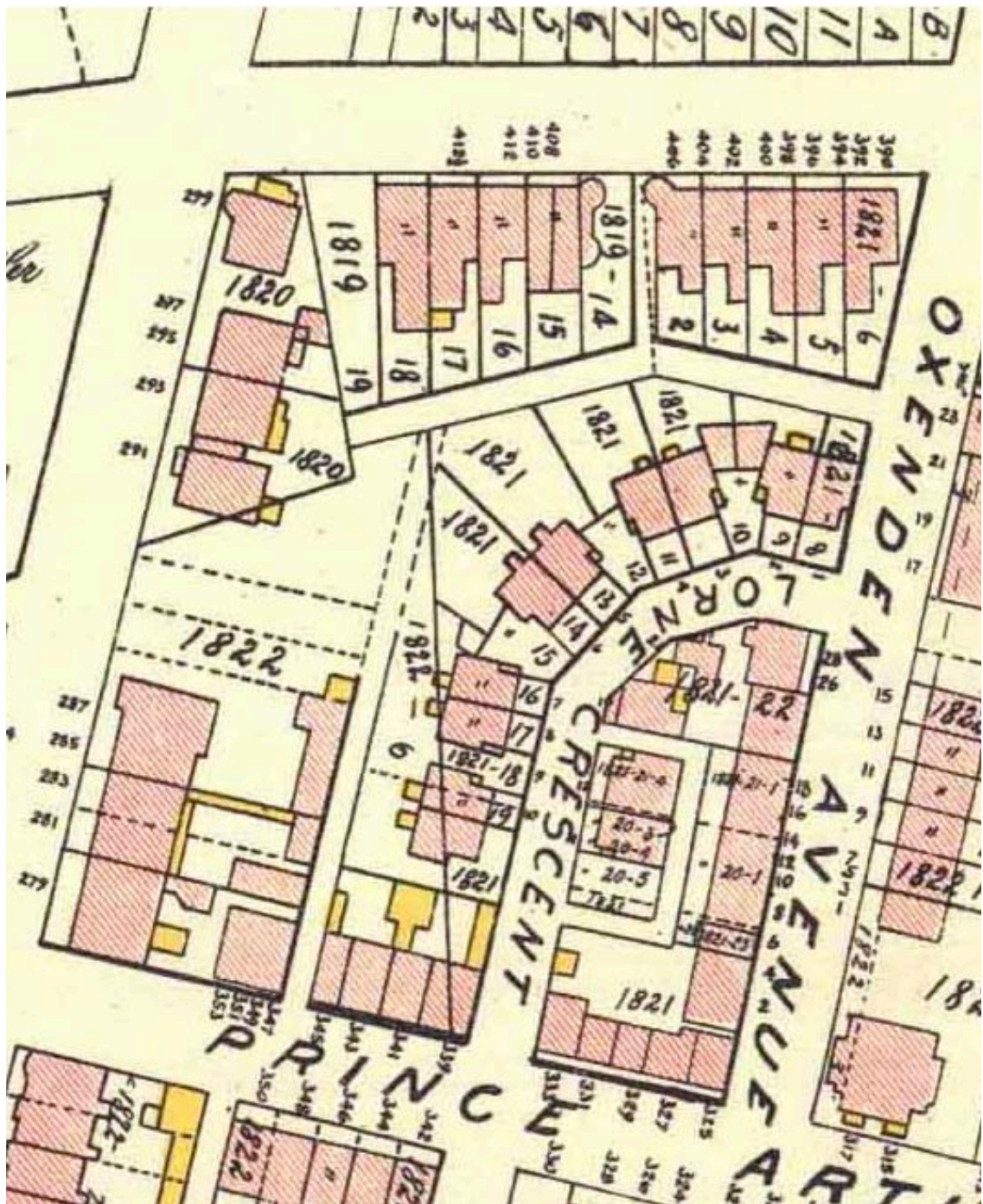


Figure 7. Note that this map lists the addresses incorrectly, as 291 and 293 University Street, rather than 293 and 295 University Street. Pinsonault, A.R. Atlas of the Island and City of Montreal and Ile Bizard: a compilation of the most recent cadastral plans from the book of reference. The Atlas Publishing Co. Ltd, 1907. Detail of plate 19. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

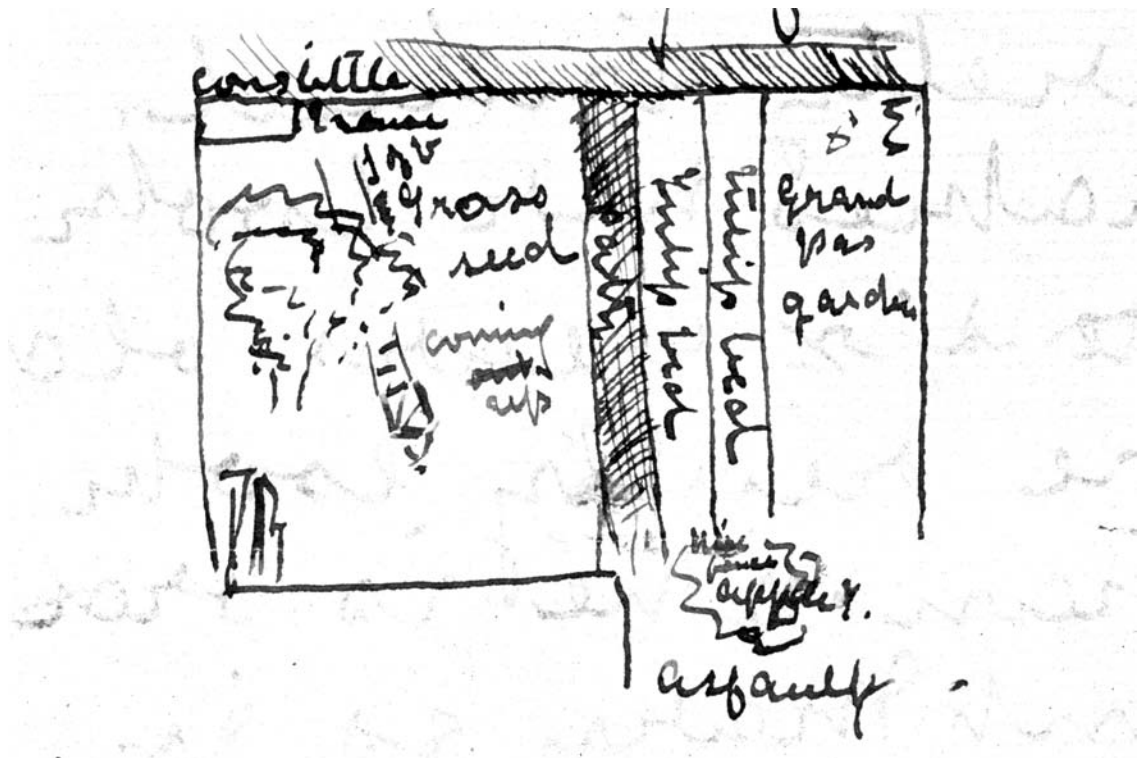


Figure 8. Clare Harrington drew this charming plan of the family garden in a letter to her father, May 23, 1894. Clare Harrington. McGill University Archives, Accession 0000-1211.



Figure 9. Family letters describe how unexpected visits by Rankine Dawson would mean considerable arrangements between the Dawson and Harrington homes. Rankine Dawson leaning on a tree, April 1892. McGill University Archives, PA027196.

sent samples back to Montreal to their father, Bernard, for identification.⁵⁹ Even today, the path between Birkenshaw and the Harrington cottage is well worn.⁶⁰ Both the urban and rural gardens, then, were important spaces of communication and education about health and nature between the children and these father figures, William Dawson and Bernard Harrington.

In addition to its function as an entrance to the shared garden, the passageway and the internal links it likely allowed Lady Dawson, too, to use her daughter's house as a form of "escape," especially when her depressed son, Rankine, would come to visit (Fig. 9). Throughout the letters to Rankine he was assured that there would always be a special room for him in his parents' house. In 1902, however, when he arrived for what was billed as a temporary stay, Lady Dawson moved in with the Harringtons.⁶¹ He also stayed at Little Metis. Clare, who took charge of the family while Anna travelled to Europe in 1902, reported that "one cannot help but notice how they all seem to rub each other up the wrong way," and that Uncle Rankine was "depressed with nothing to do"; Bernard Harrington concurred that his brother-in-law was "giving us a very bad time."⁶²

Although the senior Dawsons were happy with the arrangement, their son-in-law, Bernard Harrington, was sometimes frustrated by the proximity of the two houses. "I wish we did not live so near to your mother," he wrote in 1894. "She seems to think that everything in our home is going to the dogs straight and excites herself greatly over it. The fact of the matter, however, is that all things considered we are getting on very well."⁶³ And again, "I have been in . . . next door and as usual come back cross. My dear Mother-in-law I respect greatly, but I wish she had more tact. She always rubs me the wrong way. Still I know that she does not mean to do so."⁶⁴ Perhaps these domestic tensions were exacerbated, too, by the younger couple's constant financial dependence on the Dawsons. This explanation would not be surprising, given the centrality of

the breadwinner role in Victorian conceptions of fatherhood and masculinity.

The larger lesson of the Dawson-Harrington compounds in both Montreal and Little Metis for historians of childhood and the family is in the considerable overlap they show between the so-called private and public, urban and rural, healthy and unhealthy spheres. The architect Andrew Taylor represents a human connection among some of these seemingly disparate architectures. In addition to the Dawson house, Taylor designed the building for Harrington's university chemistry department, now home to the Schools of Architecture and Urban Planning. All of these buildings were intricately connected to a medicalization of urban space at this time, especially in this corner of the McGill University campus. Walbrae Place was even demolished to make way for a new medical building. The Strathcona Medical Building, constructed in 1907, is directly across the street from the Dawson and Harrington houses.

The magnificent pavilion-plan Royal Victoria Hospital, modelled after the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, opened the same year as the two families moved into their new lodgings. The convenience of the hospital's proximity was not lost on the Dawsons, even though middle-class patients did not frequent the institution until after World War I. "Our new house is only a stone's throw from the Hospital," boasts William Dawson to his son Rankine in 1894.⁶⁵ The hospital and the nearby municipal reservoir (another urban space devoted to health) are featured in a splendid photo (Fig. 10) from Eric Harrington's photo album, perhaps taken by the dying teenager.

As in the Dawson-Harrington homes, young patients were integrated with adults in the general hospital of the 1890s. In the architectural drawings of the Royal Victoria Hospital produced by London-based hospital specialist Henry Saxon Snell, children are accorded no special spaces or attention. In the institution's

first annual report in 1894, there is no separate reporting of children. Few photographs survive of children at the sprawling, castle-inspired hospital. One image (Fig. 11) by famous photographer William Notman shows the end of an open ward with twelve beds and seventeen children. The arrangement of furniture and patients echoes those found in adult wards, except for the inclusion of tiny rocking chairs around a tea table especially scaled for children.⁶⁶ Echoing Anna Harrington's advice to her children to open the windows of their rooms as frequently as possible, three of the four windows in the hospital ward shown in Notman's photograph are propped open.

The ventilated, connected, and fluid spaces for children and adults at the hospital and the home even reached beyond the extended, three-generational family structure. The Harringtons invited Louisa Molson to move into their home in her old age. In 1902, at age 75 years, she commissioned a large extension (Fig. 12) to the Harrington house as her own apartment, but never moved in due to a stroke. This addition, which shows on a 1912 insurance map (Fig. 13), included a breakfast nook, dining room, and "another room," below a large veranda with views of the city and river.⁶⁷ The apartment may have been something like what Sir and Lady Dawson had first imagined for their Taylor-designed retirement home or perhaps what they may have hoped for at the Windsor Hotel—separate sleeping quarters with shared meals.

OUTSIDE THE HOME

Historians have suggested that before sick, middle-class Canadian children were admitted to hospitals in North America, they were cared for by parents, mostly mothers, at home, mostly in bedrooms. What a real-world case study like this one reveals is the sheer extent of healthcare practices that took place beyond the thresholds of the bedroom and the home, where an extended family network was crucial to the regulation of

healthy children. "Home" to Anna Harrington, and presumably to other mothers (though few would have the means or the depth of scientific knowledge she had at her disposal), meant a constellation of city and country houses, health resorts, hospitals, and university buildings. The passageway and garden, as architectural evidence, parallel the important role played by daughter Clare as an agent of domestic change and a hub of medical information. Like Henriette Dessaulles in our earlier study, the teenaged Clare seemed to gain control of her surroundings as family tensions around sickness increased, actively participating in the re-ordering of her domestic spaces. Here is a child, albeit a child of privilege, whose active role in the Victorian drama of maintaining a healthy home should push us to rethink notions of children as passive victims, whether of decisions made by their elders or of the very real public health risks run by young and old alike in this period.

Van Slyck asks whether the intense interest in the material culture of childhood on the part of museum curators and scholars today might arise from anxiety that childhood itself is on the verge of extinction.⁶⁸ Perhaps in the late-Victorian era, when sickness and mortality were seen as normal, inevitable aspects of family life, these distinctions between age groups were less necessary or even conceivable. As childhood illnesses came to be seen as curable or preventable, sick children were increasingly islanded. Along with the emergence of pediatrics came the proliferation of purpose-built hospitals for children, in which distinctive procedures were undertaken by specialist physicians and nurses in the interwar period. Anna and Clare Harrington's detailed communication explains how the Victorian house and family were not separated like islands, but were often connected to other households and institutions in unexpected and scientific ways. In the case of the Dawson-Harringtons, indeed, sick children inspired travel and self-education, reinforcing this family's connection to the worlds outside their homes.



Figure 10. The Royal Victoria Hospital and city reservoir, likely photographed by Eric Harrington two years before his death. McGill University Archives, PA027196.

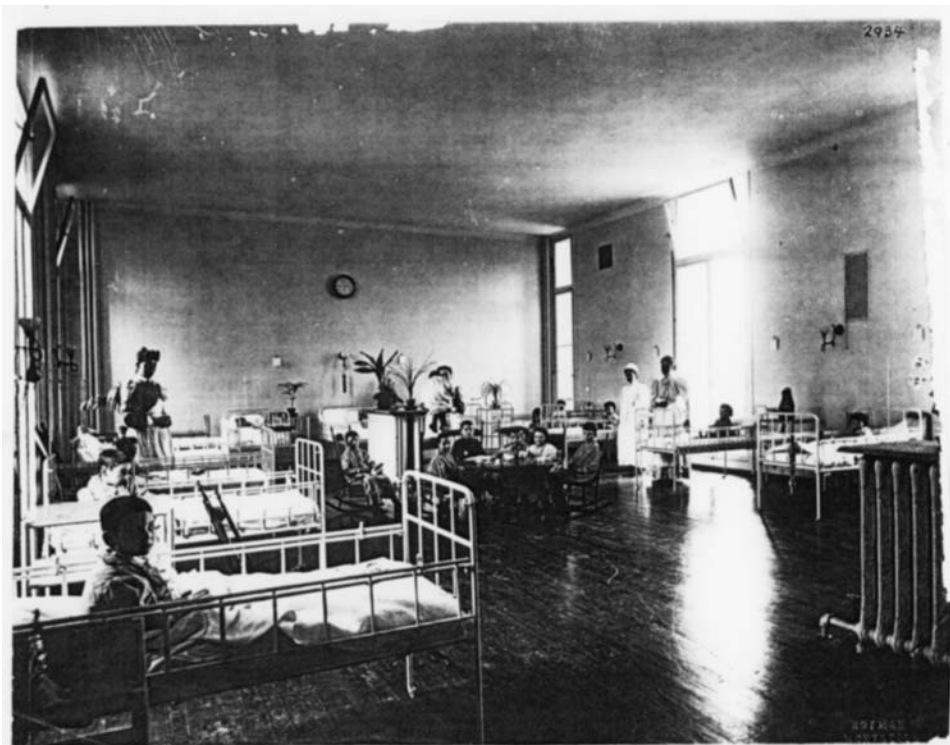


Figure 11. Children's ward, Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal, QC, 1894. Wm. Notman & Son. McCord Museum, Montreal, Accession II-105910.

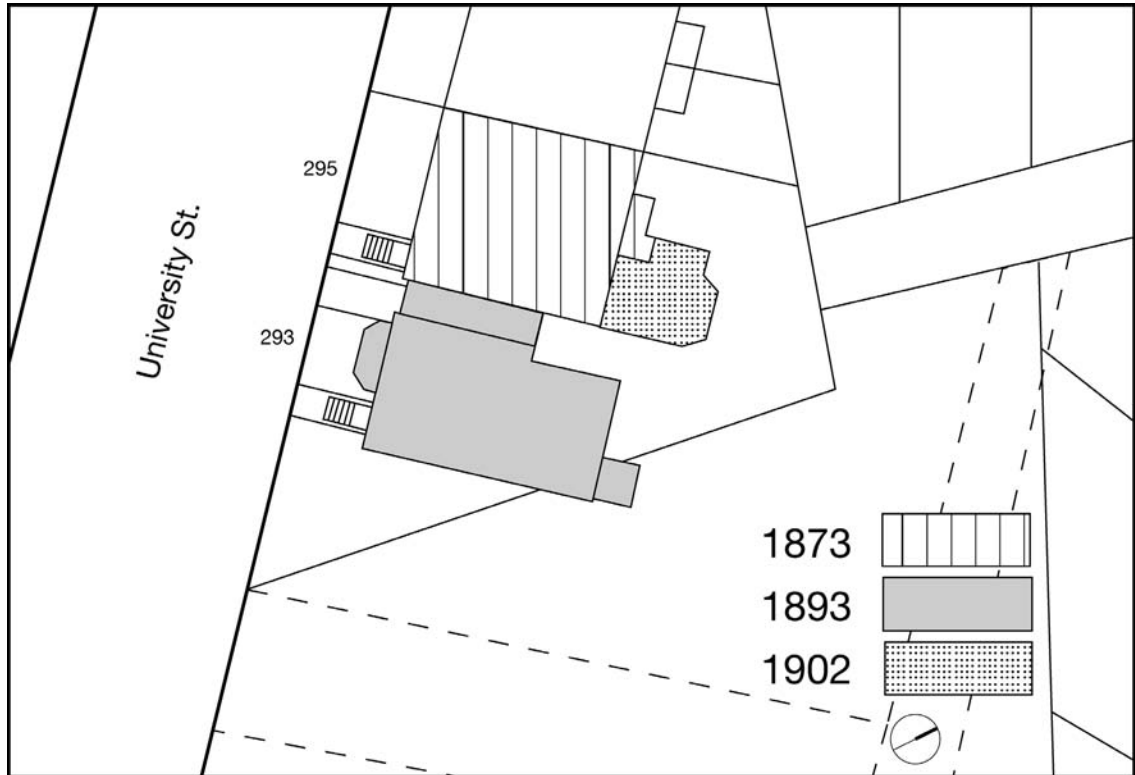


Figure 12. Diagram showing the evolution of the Dawson-Harrington site, including the Molson apartment added in 1902, based on historic maps and on-site fieldwork. Illustration by Ricardo Vera, McGill University School of Architecture student, 2002; redrawn by David Theodore.



Figure 13. This map shows the extension to the Harrington home commissioned by Louisa Molson in 1902. Atlas of the City of Montreal and Vicinity: in four volumes, from official plans — special surveys showing cadastral numbers, building & lots. Chas E. Goad Co. Vol. 1, plate 20, 1912. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

ENDNOTES

¹ Our thanks to the Fonds FCAR (now FQRSC) for its financial support and, for research assistance, to Anna Bradbury, Ricardo Castro, Valerie Minnett, David Theodore, Julia Tischer, Ricardo Vera, Suzanne Williams, and especially Vanessa Reid, who left no Dawson-Harrington source untouched. Thanks also to Gordon Burr, Anne Byers, Derek Drummond, Conrad Graham, Nora Hague, Jill Harrington, and Victoria Solan. Robert McDonald made insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper, presented at the conference of the Canadian Historical Association, Toronto, 2002. Thanks also to Stanley B. Frost for his helpful comments and kind encouragement. A slightly longer version of this article appeared in *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space, and the Material Culture of Children*, edited by Marta Gutman and Ning de Coninck-Smith, (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 61-81.

² *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., ed. James H. Marsh... (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988), s.v. "Sir John William Dawson."

³ See especially Donald J.C. Phillipson's entry on Dawson in the *Canadian Encyclopedia*. The major biography is that of Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson: Faith, Hope and Science* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996). See also Rankine Dawson's edition of his father's memoirs, entitled *Fifty Years of Work in Canada, Scientific and Educational, being Autobiographical Notes by Sir William Dawson* (London and Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1901). Dawson himself wrote more than 400 books and articles. He also figures prominently in histories of women at McGill, of the field of natural history, of the Royal Society of Canada, and of the Geological Society of Canada.

⁴ For Dawson's description of Dawson Hall, see "Dawson, Fifty years," 98-99. A brief history of the building is presented in Stanley B. Frost, "When Rocks Hit the Roof," *McGill News* 83, no. 4 (Winter 2003/04): 52.

⁵ The estimate of 15 linear metres is from Gordon Burr of the McGill University Archives, where John William Dawson's family can be traced through four generations. Anna Dawson Harrington is further represented in the McCord Museum's collections, which include her illustrations and some personal artifacts.

⁶ It is well established, for example, that Dawson met his future wife, Margaret Ann Young Mercer, in Edinburgh in 1840, when Dawson was studying at the University of Edinburgh. The couple married against the wishes of her mother. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 12, general ed. Frances G. Halpenny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), s.v. "Sir John William Dawson." Stanley Frost discusses their early relationship in "A Transatlantic Wooing," *Dalhousie Review* 58, no. 3 (Fall 1978).

⁷ *McGill News* 42, no. 2 (Spring 1961): 20.

⁸ The photo album from which this image was extracted includes many images of the Dawson family, as well as photographs of the Royal Victoria Hospital, and two university buildings under construction (Redpath Library and the Physics Building). The hand-written captions match that of the name and date on the inside cover, "George Eric Harrington, Xmas 1892" (McGill University Archives PA027196). Eric was rarely identified by the name George, although it does appear on his gravestone.

⁹ The current address of the property is 3641 University Street, now the Off-Campus Housing office. In 1944 an apartment building was erected in its rear yard. A good description of the property in 1952 is in the building inspector Alfred Trotter's report, McGill University Archives RG 12 Container 12.

¹⁰ The relations between Taylor and the Dawsons are numerous. He designed at least six buildings at McGill University, and Taylor's wife's sister married William Bell Dawson.

¹¹ 293 University first appears in the Lovell's Street Directory in 1873-74. *Montreal Directory for 1873-74: Containing an Alphabetical Directory of the Citizens, and a Street Directory, with Subscribers and Advertisers, Classified Business Directories and a Miscellaneous Directory...* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1873).

¹² The wedding is described in Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 108. Anna Harrington gave birth to nine children and all but a daughter (Edith, who died in 1890) survived infancy. When they obtained the University St. house on 6 July 1893, she had just given birth to her youngest child, William, born 17 or 19 May 1893.

¹³ The Dawsons also considered the Windsor Hotel and the apartment building The Sherbrooke. Their son George Mercer Dawson offered them a house in Ottawa, but William Dawson felt he needed to remain in Montreal for his work.

¹⁴ Margaret to George, 16 May 1893 (McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 55). Lady Dawson's comment about taking meals together suggests an internal connection was included in the original house as designed by Taylor. Sheets-Pyenson, however, says the link was only added following the death of William Dawson in 1899 (Sheets-Pyenson, 96). George Mercer Dawson became one of Canada's pioneering geologists. See Lois Winslow-Spragge, *No Ordinary Man: George Dawson, 1849-1901* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 1993). His own health was as complex as young Eric Harrington's, as Dawson contracted tuberculosis of the spine, or Pott's disease, at age 9, which stunted his growth and left him hunch-backed.

¹⁵ The house remained in the Dawson family until 1920, at which time Clare and Conrad Harrington sold it to Phi Kappa Pi McGill Limited.

¹⁶ Denyse Baillargeon, *Babies for the Nation: The Medicalization of Motherhood in Quebec, 1910-1970*, trans.

W. Donald Wilson (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 22.

¹⁷ See, for example, Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), and Jean-Claude Robert, "The City of Wealth and Death: Urban Mortality in Montreal, 1821-1871," in *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine*, ed. Wendy Mitchinson and Janice Dickin McGinnis (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 18-38.

¹⁸ Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Kid Size: The Material World of Childhood," *Winterthur Portfolio* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 71.

¹⁹ Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

²⁰ Annmarie Adams and David Theodore, "Designing for 'the Little Convalescents': Children's Hospitals in Toronto and Montreal, 1875-2006," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19 (2002): 201-243.

²¹ Peter Gossage, *Families in Transition: Industry and Population in Nineteenth-Century Saint-Hyacinthe* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

²² This is in contrast to what Howard Chudacoff found in selected New England cities, where young couples did live with their parents. See for example Howard Chudacoff, "New Branches on the Family Tree: Household Structure in Early Stages of the Life Cycle in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1860-1880," in *Themes in the History of the Family*, ed. Tamara K. Hareven (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1978), 55-72.

²³ Annmarie Adams and Peter Gossage, "Chez Fadette: Girlhood, Family, and Private Space in Late Nineteenth-Century Saint-Hyacinthe," *Urban History Review* 26, no. 2 (March 1998): 56-68. On women and privacy in the Victorian home, see also Annmarie Adams and Silvia Spampinato, "Carrollcroft as Women's Space: an Architectural History," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* 35 (2010): 21-48.

²⁴ See Margaret to George, 13 June 1893, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 55, and William to Bernard, 3 July 1893, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66.

²⁵ Margaret to George, 21 July 1894, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 55.

²⁶ Anna to Bernard, 4 June 1894, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66.

²⁷ Anna to Bernard, 8 June 1894, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66.

²⁸ George to Anna, 6 January 1895, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 62. The phrase "unlimited cash" occurs in a letter from Anna to Bernard, [no day] 1894, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66. Jill Harrington, the daughter of Conrad F. Harrington and

Joan Hastings Harrington, also reports that the family lore includes a story that Eric choked on a cherry stone and died. Jill Harrington, personal communication, June 2002.

²⁹ Anna to Bernard, 24 October 1894, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66.

³⁰ Ruth to Anna, 18 November 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.

³¹ Anna to Lady Dawson, [no day] November 1894, from Saranac Lake, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 52.

³² Anna to Bernard, 29 October 1894, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66.

³³ Alice Sharples Baldwin, *Metis wee Scotland of the Gaspé* ([Montreal], privately printed, 1960).

³⁴ All three of the families' houses were, in fact, closely linked. While the older Dawsons lived at Dawson Hall, the Harringtons resided at Walbrae Place, just to the east of Dawson Hall on the McGill campus.

³⁵ Winslow-Spragge, 43.

³⁶ We are grateful to Jill Harrington who reports that Birkenshaw was left by Lady Dawson to Clare, who left it to her surviving sisters (Lois and Eva), and then to a group of nieces and nephews. The Harrington house became the property of Anna's siblings and later, their children. It is still owned by Joan Hastings Harrington, the widow of Conrad Fetherstonhaugh Harrington (1912-2000), the son of Anna's second son, Conrad Dawson Harrington, and Muriel Fetherstonhaugh. Jill Harrington, personal communication, June 2002.

³⁷ "Fate of Trudeau's Saranac Laboratory Uncertain," *Newsletter Adirondack Architectural Heritage* (May 1992): 1.

³⁸ On Trudeau, see "Edward Livingston Trudeau: A Biographical Sketch," *Journal of Outdoor Life* 7, no. 6 (June 1910): 157-178.

³⁹ Anna's letters are quite detailed on their various activities and the therapies tried by doctors there. This should perhaps be the topic of a separate paper.

⁴⁰ The letters reveal that Eric enjoyed photography, sketching, and reading science journals when he felt well.

⁴¹ Anna to Bernard, 7 November 1894, from Saranac Lake, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66.

⁴² Mary B. Hotaling, "Porches That Cured," *Adirondack Life* (December 1986): 11-12, 14.

⁴³ Anna to Bernard, 30 November 1894, from Saranac Lake, McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 66.

⁴⁴ Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, ed. Joy Parr (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 109-28.

- ⁴⁵ Lady Dawson to George Dawson, on mourning paper, 21 February 1895. McGill University Archives MG 1022 Container 55.
- ⁴⁶ Clare to Anna, 16 September 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁴⁷ Clare to Anna, [no day] June 1895, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁴⁸ Poppy to Anna (transcribed by Clare), [no day] March 1900, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 63.
- ⁴⁹ Clare to Anna, 18 May 1907, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 63.
- ⁵⁰ Ruth to Anna, 5 June 1907, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 63.
- ⁵¹ Clare to Anna, 2 July 1907, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 63.
- ⁵² Clare to Anna, [no day] June 1907, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 63.
- ⁵³ Bernard to Anna, 16 September 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁵⁴ Clare to Anna, 16 September 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁵⁵ Bernard to Anna, 23 September 1895, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁵⁶ Clare to Anna, 16 September 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁵⁷ Louisa Molson to Anna, 17 August 1898, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁵⁸ Anna to Bernard, 6 June 1902, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 66.
- ⁵⁹ Bernard [Jr.] to Bernard, [no day] November 1900, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 66.
- ⁶⁰ Jill Harrington, personal communication, June 2002.
- ⁶¹ Anna to Bernard, 2 September 1902, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 66.
- ⁶² The three quotations in the previous sentence are from the following letters: Clare to Anna, 7 July 1902; Clare to Anna, 12 July 1902; Bernard to Anna, 23 August 1902; all are from McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 63.
- ⁶³ Bernard to Anna, 11 November 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁶⁴ Bernard to Anna, 14 December 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 62.
- ⁶⁵ See William to Rankine, 8 April 1894, McGill University Archives, MG 1022 Container 68).
- ⁶⁶ Adams and Theodore, "Designing for 'the Little Convalescents,'" 205.
- ⁶⁷ Alterations were also made to the existing house at this time. See Winslow-Spragge, 9-10.
- ⁶⁸ Van Slyck, "Kid Size," 72

Fiction, Faction, Autobiography: Norman Levine at McGill University, 1946-1949

by Robert H. Michel

ABSTRACT

This article examines Norman Levine's start as a writer while he studied at McGill University from 1946 to 1949 and traces how Levine used his McGill memories afterwards in his writing. We look at Levine's early poetry and prose; his use of his wartime RCAF flying experience in Britain (foreshadowing his autobiographical fiction); his editorship of the literary magazine Forge and McGill Daily Literary Supplement; his mentor Professor Harold Files; and his M.A. thesis on Ezra Pound. We follow him as he drafts his first novel, The Angled Road and sketches another one; searches for his own literary voice; happily leaves Canada for England; and abandons academe after a frustrating year (1949-50) at the University of London. The article also explores how he used McGill friends and professors as starting points for characters in his stories and thinly disguised them in his nonfictional Canada Made Me. Nostalgic and critical, he said he had enjoyed McGill but could not take it seriously, and blamed the University for giving his writing a false start and seducing him into forgetting his Jewish, working-class roots.

RESUMÉ

L'écriture de Norman Levine remonte aux années 1946 à 1949, l'époque à laquelle il étudiait à l'Université McGill. Cet article examine le début de sa carrière d'auteur et trace l'influence que ses souvenirs de McGill ont eu plus tard sur ses œuvres. Nous étudions ses premiers travaux en prose et en poésie; son utilisation de son expérience à titre d'aviateur dans le Corps d'aviation royal canadien (qui anticipe sa fiction autobiographique); ses activités d'éditeur des magazines littéraires Forge et McGill Daily Literary Supplement; son guide, le professeur Harold Files; et sa thèse de maîtrise sur Ezra Pound. Nous le suivons alors qu'il rédige une ébauche de son premier roman, The Angled Road, et trace l'esquisse d'un second; qu'il recherche sa propre voix littéraire; qu'il quitte le Canada avec plaisir pour l'Angleterre; et qu'il abandonne le monde universitaire après une année frustrante (1949-1950) à l'Université de Londres. L'article explore aussi la façon dont il a utilisé ses amis et professeurs à McGill comme point de départ pour les personnages dans ses histoires, et les a légèrement déguisé dans son œuvre non romanesque Canada Made Me. Nostalgique et critique, il a déclaré qu'il a aimé McGill mais qu'il ne pouvait pas la prendre au sérieux, et que c'est à cause de l'Université que son écriture s'est dirigée sur une fausse piste et qu'il a oublié ses racines juives de classe ouvrière.

“I had quite a good time at McGill.”¹

Norman Levine's stories stay with you after you close the book.² In 1980, interviewer Wayne Grady suggested that Levine's stories were like line drawings rather than whole canvasses, with “a touch here

and there to suggest the whole picture.” Levine replied, “You don't have to eat the whole cow to know what steak tastes like.... I like to remove all the other lines and just leave the right one.”³ His style is deceptively simple; his stories are often ironic and complex. John Metcalf observes, “Levine refuses to explain or interpret his scenes

for us, requiring us, in a sense, to *compose* the story for ourselves.”⁴

An expatriate Canadian living in England, Levine reworked the people and memories in his life as stories. He told Alan Twigg that Chekhov taught him that “plot wasn’t that important, providing you could tell enough about a character. And since I don’t use plot I have to use other ways of stitching it together. Often I sense a connection between different human situations – in different places, in different times.”⁵ Levine’s start as a writer while studying at McGill University from 1946 to 1949 has never been examined. Likewise, little attention has been given to his use of McGill and his McGill friends in his later writing. Drawing on sources in McGill’s University Archives and its Library’s Rare Books and Special Collections Division, Part I of this article traces Levine’s writing at McGill while Part II looks at “factual” and “fictional” texts from his stories, nonfiction and interviews to examine his nostalgic, critical memories of student life and to suggest how autobiographically he worked.⁶ Not meant to be a whole canvas, this article is a line drawing of Levine from a McGill angle.

Levine (1923-2005) grew up in Ottawa in an orthodox Jewish home, the son of a fruit seller, Moses Levine, and Annie Levine. He left school at age 16, clerked in a government office, enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) in 1942 and was stationed in England in 1944 and 1945. On his return, he attended McGill, earning his B.A. in 1948 and his M.A. in 1949. Later he said McGill had been fun but too easy and that he had betrayed his working class, Jewish roots there. In 1969, he belittled his student writing: “At McGill, I had some flying war-poems, full of bad alliteration, published in the *McGill Daily*. And for a year I edited *Forge*, the university’s literary magazine.”⁷ He told David McDonald in 1975: “While I was at McGill I was beginning to be interested in writing verse and I did some poems that were published in a chapbook by the Ryerson Press. Terrible lot of poems!”⁸ In

addition to writing poetry and editing *Forge*,⁹ he drafted a novel, *The Angled Road* (published in 1952), wrote a master’s thesis on Ezra Pound, and won a fellowship in 1949 which returned him to England, his heart’s desire.

Writers’ early efforts do not diminish their mature work. Interesting in their own right, they reveal influences and foretell later development: in Levine’s case, his signature fusion of autobiography and fiction. Levine’s writing at McGill was autobiographical from the start, inspired by his wartime flying. For the next fifty years, most of his stories would be told in the first person with narrators or protagonists who were Canadian-born, had flown for the RCAF, attended McGill, moved to England and were writers. The narrators resemble Levine so closely; the stories seem so uninvented and personal, that readers wonder if they are reading fiction or autobiography. In 1983, he explained: “Altogether the stories form a kind of autobiography. But.... it is autobiography written as fiction.”¹⁰ In what follows, the distinction between Levine himself and the narrators of his stories will be observed as strictly as possible. That said, Levine and his narrators were remarkably consistent where McGill is concerned.

PART I: MCGILL STUDENT, 1946-1949

Returned veteran

Levine went overseas in April 1944 and flew on bombing raids in the Lancasters of No. 429 Squadron RCAF over Germany in March and April 1945.¹¹ “I was the bomb-aimer and second pilot. I dropped the bombs. And sometimes took over the controls on the way back.”¹² Days after arriving at McGill, in January 1946, Levine published a poem in the student *McGill Daily* about a day raid over Leipzig on April 16, 1945. It began: “Destructive demons driving down.... Bottled bastards burning.”¹³ Mildly, he said in 1975: “But towards the end of the War, I got very

disillusioned with the whole business. I more than particularly didn't like Hitler, but I didn't think there was any point in dropping bombs."¹⁴ The RCAF gentrified its flyers. In his nonfictional travelogue *Canada Made Me* (1958) Levine recalled, "We were instructed how to use our knives and forks; how to make a toast; how to eat and drink properly."¹⁵ His story "In Quebec City" repeated how the flyers "were instructed how to use knives and forks.... How to eat and drink properly. It was like going to finishing school."¹⁶ He enjoyed his time in England; once back in Canada he longed to return. As he recalled in an article in 1960:

In England I found myself being attended to by a series of batmen, all old enough to be my father. We ate in a fine mess. A string quartet played for us while we had our Sunday dinner. And on the wall above us was the *Rokeby Venus*. We lived well. We had lots of money to spend. The uniform gave us admission to all sorts of places.¹⁷

One of the most striking things about Levine's writing is how similar his fictional and his nonfictional voices are and how he repeated things in nearly the same words in fiction, articles and interviews, especially when they were not too many years apart. He describes the same RCAF experience in a story, "The English Girl" (1964):

I was attended by a series of batmen, all old enough to be my father. We ate in a fine mess. A string quartet played for us while we had our Sunday dinner. We lived well. We had lots of money to spend. The uniform gave us admission to all sorts of places.¹⁸

For the story, he dropped the *Rokeby Venus*; otherwise the fiction and nonfiction texts are virtually the same.¹⁹ Phrases once used stuck in his mind. He repeated himself as few writers dared. He saw no reason to rewrite the same memory just because one was presented as nonfiction and the other as fiction.

At war's end Levine went on a short course to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he discovered psychology, economics, and political science, and became left wing.²⁰ "There a lecturer gave me a thin wartime production of Pound's *Selected Poems*. It was the first modern verse I had read."²¹ Here are the germs of his free verse, his master's thesis on Pound, and his longing for a Cambridge degree. Back in Ottawa by fall 1945, he took courses at Carleton College and then drifted to university, paid for under the Veterans Act. He recalled: "I decided to go to university – mainly to postpone the decision of what to do."²² The narrator of "The English Girl" said: "Going to university was just a means of filling in a few years until one could, somehow, return to England."²³ The protagonist of *The Angled Road* tells his uncle:

Going to university is not going to provide me with a better job. I am going to university because I think I should like my old self to die, completely. I know that going to university is not only to get me away from home, but it will help me in placing the many things that I have done and thought and read in the past years in the right perspective.²⁴

In *The Angled Road*, begun in 1946-1947, Levine's narrator seemed happy to cut his roots and discover himself at university, not suspecting it would be the waste of time and the self-betrayal his author would lament later. Why choose McGill? Levine wrote in *Canada Made Me* (1958): "There is (as Scott Fitzgerald has said about a New England education) in Canada that respect for 'a McGill education' which is the ruin of all provincial places, which drains them yearly of all their most promising young men and women."²⁵ In "Why I am an Expatriate" (1960), he remembered "as a child fruit-peddling with my father, crossing over the small bridge by Lansdowne Park and seeing – when the wagon came up to the rise – the Redmen playing rugby in the stadium. It was only a glimpse, but long enough to decide me on McGill."²⁶ Applying to

McGill in 1945, Levine played up his previous education creatively, filling in whatever grades came into his head, abetted by a kindly Registrar's office which did not check up. "Since then I have always nourished a soft spot for the academic when it deals with human nature," he noted gratefully in 1960 but added that it meant he could not take McGill and the honours he won seriously. In 1966, he repeated to an interviewer how gullible the University had been, noting "after that he could never take McGill very seriously." In 1970, the protagonist of *From a Seaside Town* relates the same deception: "After that it was hard to take McGill seriously."²⁷

Post-war funding opened Canadian, American and British universities to war veterans. Levine arrived at McGill in January 1946 with hundreds of other veterans. Aged 22, his looks changed little with age. Cary Fagan met him around 1980: "I was struck by what a handsome man Norman Levine was; short but debonair, and with a more European than Canadian air about him."²⁸ The vets enjoyed prestige, admired by co-eds and by professors too old to have fought. At a class reunion, Levine's character Gordon Rideau says he had a good time at McGill. "And I was just old enough to know it.... I think what made us different from the other years was because we were all returning veterans. And it was difficult to pretend we were college kids straight from high school...."²⁹ Students fresh from high school felt the same difference. Leonard Ashley, who arrived at age 16, about the same time as Levine, and wrote humour for the *McGill Daily*, recalls: "Though I was a teenager as an undergraduate, many of my class of '49 were much older, back from World War II and more grown up than usual for their age as well, more serious. These were the people who forced the college to give up frosh beanies and be more serious."³⁰

Writing at McGill, 1946-1949: *McGill Daily*, *Forge*, "Angled Road"

Levine sketched later-1940s student life in *Canada Made Me*: "One had to make a name for oneself. There was the playing field, the political clubs, the student council, the literary magazine, the *Daily*." Levine chose the literary magazine (*Forge*) and the *McGill Daily* and made a name for himself. He found life easy: "It was a gay, irresponsible time with few real worries. The going was good. One soon got the hang of the examinations. There were the weekends in the Laurentians; the parties; the dances; the binges; the crap games." Different sets played differently. Intellectuals wrote; many students just had fun; apparently Levine did both. "We went to drink at the 'Shrine' [the Café Andre] or the 'Berkeley' [Berkeley Hotel, more elegant]. The 'Shrine' was round the corner from the Union. You could only drink beer, and if hungry have a steak. It used to be full of students who didn't belong; who took Modern Poetry courses; who worked on the *Daily*." The Berkeley attracted "the fraternity and the sorority crowd, the young alumni, debs, ex-debs, rakes and college boys on the make."³¹ The social round was football at Molson Stadium, night life at the Samovar and Rockhead's Paradise, fraternity parties, proms, formals, Red and White Revues, culminating in spring with a week of parties, dancing, drinking, stags, and the Convocation Ball.

Levine majored in English; his courses ranged from Anglo-Saxon to modern poetry.³² Most important for him, creative writing bloomed at McGill in the late 1940s. McGill's English Department gave writing courses, and the literary magazine *Forge* (1938-1967) and the *McGill Daily* (1911-present) published student verse, stories and essays. Levine's mentor was Professor Harold Files (1895-1982), who came to McGill in 1923 fresh from three Harvard degrees, chaired English from 1947 to 1952, and retired in 1964 (Fig. 1). In addition to 17th- and 18th-century English literature and the English

novel, Files had taught creative writing since the mid-1920s. He tutored student writers, helped them publish, and advised *Forge*.³³ By 1948, just after he became chairman and at his initiative, the English Department began to offer the option of writing a novel (or story or poem collection) instead of a thesis for the master's degree.³⁴ A few students had already written novels but not for credit as M.A. theses. The star was Files's former student Constance Beresford-Howe. She won the Dodd, Mead Intercollegiate Literary Fellowship Prize in 1945 for *The Unreasoning Heart* (published 1946), and published two more novels by 1949. By 1948 she was teaching composition at McGill.³⁵ She recalled Files in 1991 as a mild New Englander who "was not a flamboyant lecturer, but he illustrated with every quiet word, every modestly proffered line of speculation, what a first-rate humanist scholar is."³⁶ Files coached Levine's start as a writer, as Levine's letters and dedication to him of *The Angled Road* attest. Be brief, even mysterious, and avoid ideology, Files told his budding writers. The novel must not be hijacked for didactic or socio-political ends; it must serve art not education or social therapy. Files would have despised most of today's big, significant novels about gender or ethnicity issues, family trauma, and other worthy topics. His teaching notes rail against "the humanitarian novel of social significance:"

Nowadays we have every conceivable kind of axe being ground - race problems, high finance, religion, psycho-analysis etc. and the result is that fiction divides sharply into the kind with a Message and the kind for escape, like *Forever Amber*. All too few write ...an artistically integrated and polished piece of work.... Suggestiveness is a virtue which cannot be overestimated. Nothing delights and intrigues the reader more than to feel that there is more to a character or situation or to a line of dialogue than he is being told.... Leave them speculating.... Shun sentimentalism like the plague....

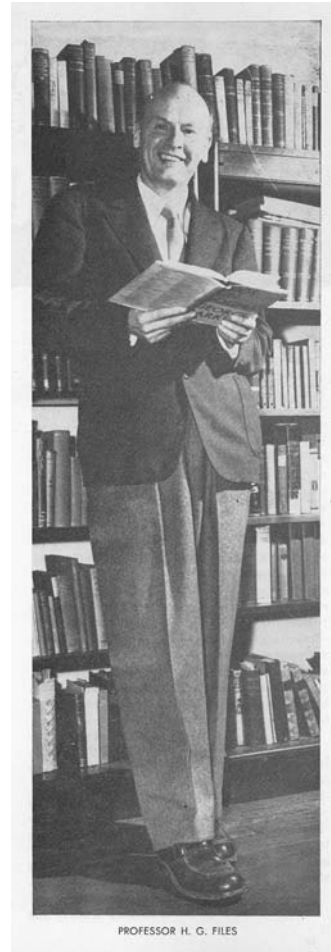


Figure 1. Harold Files, Professor of English. *McGill News*, Autumn, 1949, 9.

Contrariwise; don't adopt the popular pose of grim realism. The garbage school... is a reaction from the syrupy sweetness-and-light group.... Realism in fiction is any recognizable part of human experience, without any one feature of it exaggerated out of proportion and at the expense of other features.... To achieve this realism is the aim of every writer who is not a satirist or a breast-beater in some cause.³⁷

Levine's stories would fulfil all File's criteria. They achieved a balanced realism, did not breast-beat, teach or preach, and were suggestive, leaving readers feeling that there was more than they were being told.

Levine started out as a poet. McGill-based poets who had modernized Canadian poetry since the 1920s included Frank Scott, A.J. M. Smith and Leo Kennedy and by the 1940s Patrick Anderson, A.M. Klein, Louis Dudek, and Irving Layton.³⁸ In a modest way, Levine belongs to this modernist tradition. Within days of arriving at McGill, he began to publish free verse in the *Daily*, some possibly written before he came to McGill. Most of his poems drew on his war experience. His first was "Ode to a flier," a vortex of the flying experience without narrative details. His next, "Fraternization," portrays a parched earth with dirty cities flooded with rain; "Sheffield" a bombed city; "Leipzig, April 16, 1945" a bombing raid. The poems observed flying and destruction in the modernist way without invoking heroism or patriotism. In *Canada Made Me*, Levine thought back to his bombing missions and the feeling of distance "that released us from being involved with the violence below when we dropped the bombs. All we worried about over the target was first ourselves, then getting a good picture, an aiming point. One was taught indifference as a game."³⁹ He also wrote a few whimsical poems such as "The Grey Cat" and "Saturday Night." His poems in the *McGill Daily*, with first lines, dates and signatures are listed in the Appendix, as are his other works written at McGill. Poetry probably sharpened his prose. Lawrence Mathews suggests that "Levine's preoccupation with style may be in part explained by the fact that he began as a poet" and that while his poetry was imitative, Levine also learned "that poetry can be discovered in precise observation of the ordinary."⁴⁰ Levine's narrators do that. In "By a Frozen River," the narrator, holed up in northern Ontario, went for walks after breakfast and then wrote down "whatever things

I happened to notice," such as "the way trees creak in the cold."⁴¹

In February 1946, Levine wrote short articles for the *Daily* on music and existentialism. Jascha Heifetz was in Montreal and talked to Levine about classical music in popular culture, declaring: "The long haired musician is on his way out." Musicians now must be in touch with the masses. The war had benefited music – he had made the troops he had played for discover Schubert and Rimsky-Korsakov. He also had played popular music and had sugar-coated the classics by adding swing. He predicted the new medium of television would never replace concert halls. Levine provoked Heifetz to say he enjoyed poetry – Byronic poetry.⁴² Writing about Sartre's influence, Levine described existentialism as "a movement that is at present appealing to French University Students, youthful eccentric Bohemians, intellectuals and long-haired caricatures." He speculated that "perhaps it is the tonic so necessary for youth in war-torn frustrated Europe, helping them to find a rational vindication for individual life and creative effort."⁴³

In the fall of 1946 Levine became poetry editor of *Forge*. The editors-in-chief for 1944, 1945 and 1946 had been women but men, veterans, took over *Forge's* post-war boards and as contributors. Not until 1950 would a woman regain the editorship. *Forge* usually came out once in spring; however, the editor for 1947, Alan Heuser, a veteran, brought out two issues. Promoting the Winter 1947 issue in the *Daily*, Levine declared *Forge* was "not a vehicle for the popularization of the theory that Art is for Art's Sake – rather it is a reflection of creative writing by McGill students." He enthused that many of the 200 submissions had been by veterans: "The majority of servicemen have been recently exposed to vivid, emotional experiences; but they see them, some for the first time, as writers, and it is not the experience that is important but what they have done with their experiences."⁴⁴ His emphasis on how experience

was used, rather than the experience itself, foreshadowed his own approach to fiction.⁴⁵ Proudly he noted that “poetry is well and ably represented.” Levine signed two contributions. “Prologue” was a poetic prose meditation on an unnamed city which “lived in the rain.” The poem “It was a Dull Day” evoked London’s war damage: “I walked through Whitechapel in silence / Houses I once remembered were gone.” The issue had two poems, “Circles” and “Myssium” signed “W.A. Neville.” This was an anagram for A.N. Levine.⁴⁶ Later Levine submitted “Myssium” for McGill’s 1947 Chester Macnaghten Prize for Creative Writing and published it in a chapbook in 1948 under his own name. As poetry editor, Levine may have feared four contributions by himself might look excessive.⁴⁷

Daily reviewer Karine Collin agreed that the war stories and poems were strong: “They are cold, hard, entirely factual accounts, written by returned servicemen, and are by far the best writing done at McGill in the last four years.” She singled out “Myssium” by “Neville” and Levine’s “It Was a Dull Day”: “These selections show a tremendous contrast to the soft, despondent prose and poetry that students were writing a few years ago.” She assessed Levine’s “Prologue” less kindly: “When a poet writes prose, there is a tendency to making it too lush and too ornamental.” But “Myssium” was “a beautiful haunting piece, a poem about death that is not morbid, not sad, not hopeless.... It has a catching rhythm that is in the lines and in the construction of the poem. At first one notices only the allegory, then the hardness appears, the inevitable coldness that comes with utter truth.”⁴⁸ “Myssium” blended modernist narrative, vaguely classical and anthropological allusions, images of bleached bones and clay rattles, and the inevitable airman. It began:

A picker of stones am I,
Smith by name; and watch empty eyes
Come to me bearing glass beads from
Egypt,
Wood carvings from New Guinea.⁴⁹

In April 1947 the Spring issue of *Forge* carried what was probably Levine’s first published story, “Our Life Is To Be Envied.”⁵⁰ Drawn from his novel in progress, “The Angled Road”, its hazy impressionistic style was far from his mature terseness. It starts: “I was flying indifferently past finger-printed clouds when I noticed a pall of suspended smoke and dirt rise to form a thick canopy of artificial grey.” He liked this line enough to keep it in the published *Angled Road* but it typifies what he later deplored in his McGill writing.⁵¹ The flyer is on a bombing mission. The moment of bombing gets lost in a description of a rainstorm around the plane as Levine made a point about airmen’s detachment and distraction from their deadly tasks – the bombing was one detail among many, including getting back alive. The flyer muses on recent memories including italicized love-making in terms of rolling sea and a new person created out of a double unity [less lushly described in the published *Angled Road*]. He thinks too about a recent course at King’s College, Cambridge, dining at high table, and hearing madrigals sung from punts on the Cam [in real life, Levine’s course came after his flying ended].

After his strong contributions of 1947, Levine became editor-in-chief of the single issue of *Forge* 1948 (Fig. 2).⁵² Veterans dominated this issue even more than they had the 1947 issues; they wrote 13 of the 16 contributions. Only two writers were women. Files, as advisor to *Forge*, wrote an editorial in the *Daily* praising *Forge* for encouraging students from all faculties to write, noting “if there is anything to be gained from our next crop of Canadian writers, it should be showing itself in such ventures as *The Forge*.”⁵³ How hard this Harvard Bostonian worked for Canadian literature! Eight contributors were studying English literature but the others came from law, medicine, graduate nursing, science, sociology, biochemistry, and philosophy-political science. One contributor had poetry and a story, six had poems, four gave stories and five wrote essays. A *Daily* staffer identified only as B.S.

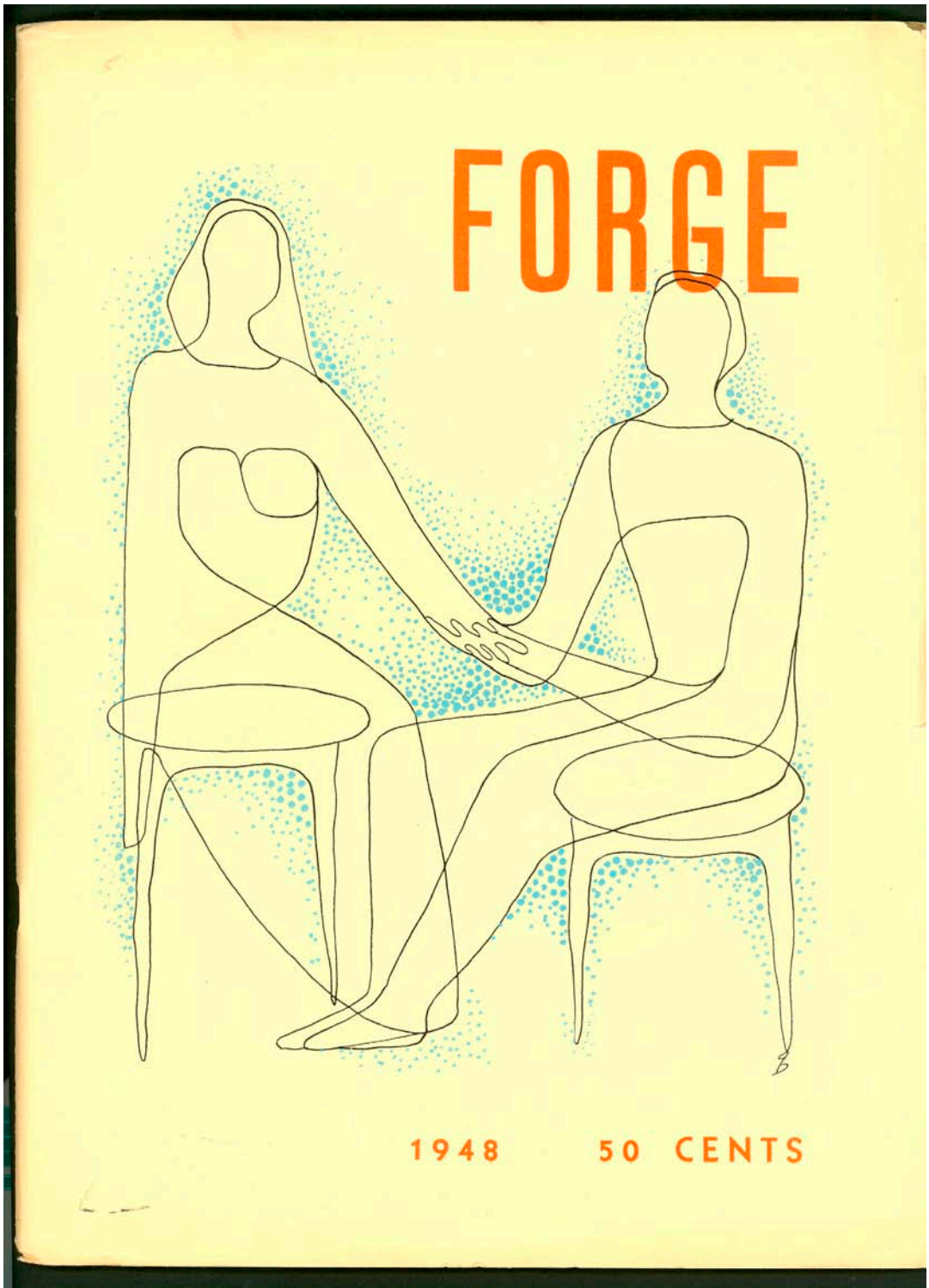


Figure 2. The 1948 issue of *The Forge* edited by Levine, with cover design by Guy Desbarats (B. Arch, 1948).
The Forge: McGill University Magazine. Montreal: McGill University.

[Betty Sinclair?]⁵⁴ interviewed *Forge's* board (Fig. 3), noting that “the guiding spirit of this year’s *Forge* is Norman Levine” and that Levine’s enthusiasm about the issue seemed justified. Levine praised the veterans’ preponderance as he had in 1947: “Norm thinks it significant, however, that thirteen out of the sixteen contributors are student-veterans and that their greater maturity is reflected in the style and subject matter they treat.” He also thought “all writers have to be poets at heart.” Bill Eccles, author of an essay on the historical novel, disagreed, while Christopher Wanklyn, who contributed a story about a mysterious Mexican girl, defended “the place of poetry as a distinct art.” Pat Johnston, the board’s only woman, declared a critical attitude “was the necessary prelude to any writing.” Biochemist Denis Giblin contended that writing “need not be a major occupation.” A decade before C.P. Snow warned against the lack of communication between the “Two Cultures” of science and the humanities, the board optimistically claimed that “science and art are not incompatible.”⁵⁵

Contributors Leo Ciceri, W.D. MacCallan, Wanklyn, and others read *Forge's* poems over the radio.⁵⁶ Later radio would benefit Levine and other writers through Robert Weaver’s commissions for stories for his CBC program,

Anthology. As early as February 1949, Weaver asked Levine if he or other McGill writers might be interested in submitting stories for broadcasts. Levine later credited the CBC commissions with keeping him from starving. In 2004, Weaver told Elaine Kalman Naves that the first *Anthology* program had carried poetry by Levine and a story by Mordecai Richler. He recalled dealing with both men over the years: Richler was brash and charming; “Norman was not as easy. Norman could be easily offended.” And Richler would tease Levine.⁵⁷

Levine contributed only two poems to the 1948 issue of *Forge*. One focused on the war: “A Dead Airman Speaks.” It begins: “Imagine a high-heeled morning / A night with holes in her stockings.”⁵⁸ Thirty years later Levine looked back at his other poem, “Autumn”: “I wasn’t interested in meaning so much as in the sound of the words going.”

The leaves blew trains’ departures and
the sheaves

Blushed a colour the trees never dreamed
of. Speechless

Blackbirds taste the day – smudge-birds.

“I mean, it was just sounds. Then I wrote a novel.”⁵⁹ *Daily* reviewer Peggy Goodin (M.A.



Figure 3. *Forge* Editorial Board, 1948. Standing: Giblin, Eccles, Wanklyn, seated: Levine, Johnston. *Old McGill*, 1948, 216.

1949) found *Forge* obscure, thereby setting off a controversy. Before arriving at McGill, she had already published a novel, *Clementine* [1946], which was being made into a film, *Mickey*. She was writing another, *Take Care of My Little Girl*, as her M.A. thesis in Files's program. Criticizing American college sorority snobbery, it would be a best-seller and be bought by Hollywood for \$30,000 to make a film starring Jeanne Crain.⁶⁰ Goodin's focus on story and social themes and her popular appeal clashed with the abstract, stylistic concerns of the *Forge* set. She declared most contributions lacked "substance, discipline and clarity." She left Levine unscathed – he had a charmed life at McGill: "If it were not for Editor Norman Levine, *Forge's* poetry would be sadly inept." She found "A Dead Airman Speaks" and "Autumn" skilful: "He builds concrete, palpable images to embody concrete, communicable ideas." But even Levine lacked "sufficiently important themes."⁶¹ By 1948 war writing had begun to bore critics, although Hollywood thrived on war movies – and westerns – well into the 1960s.

Forge looked cliquish with its dominance by veterans under Heuser and Levine. Moreover, all 1947 and 1948 board members published themselves in the issues they edited. Satirizing this, a little multilith pamphlet called *Whisper*, dated December 12, 1948 (when Levine was no longer on *Forge's* board), pretended to interview "Mr. Latrine," editor of "Gorge." Latrine admitted that 99.44 percent of "Gorge" was written by himself or his staff. The remaining fraction was by friends or written under assumed names (by then Levine had been unveiled as "Neville," the author of "Myssium").⁶² Perhaps stung by *Whisper* or other critics, the 1949 *Forge* board strongly reacted against self-publishing. Only one board member was published and "the editors decided that if any member of the board wanted to submit a story or a poem, they must do so under an assumed name to avoid any possibility of prejudice in their favour and to assure impartial judgement."⁶³ Obviously Heuser, Levine and the prolific veterans had aroused opposition. By 1949

their self-absorbed reign at *Forge* was ending but they had made the journal tough and modernist.

While editing *Forge*, Levine worked on the manuscript that would become the novel *The Angled Road*. It was inspired by his life in Ottawa and England through 1945. He recalled in 1969 how Files tutored him:

Every second Saturday morning I would go into his office and show him a chapter or part of a chapter. Often I wrote it the night before. And he would go over it, sometimes correcting the grammar of a sentence. Sometimes suggesting parts to leave out.... I am unable to read *The Angled Road* today. But at the time Files' encouragement was vital. He helped to build up confidence on the shakiest of foundations.⁶⁴

Levine was also helped by Professor Algy Noad (1898-1952) who, like Files, had taught at McGill since the 1920s. Noad had written *A Canadian Handbook of English* (1932) that stressed exactness of expression and had exercises to shorten wordy sentences.⁶⁵ Levine inscribed a copy of his *Myssium* chapbook to Noad "for much encouragement & direction."⁶⁶

Until school, his first language had been Yiddish. Levine's travel writer protagonist of *From a Seaside Town* owes his clean prose to having learned English as a second language: "I have a small vocabulary. No long words."⁶⁷ In 2001, Levine recalled a Bar Mitzvah gift, a Pentateuch with Hebrew and Wycliffe's English on facing pages; he had often read the English text for its style.⁶⁸ Levine sent "The Angled Road" to the Dodd, Mead college fiction competition in 1947 and 1948 but did not win. A typescript draft of it, ca. 1948, held in the Rare Books Division of the McGill Libraries was Levine's winning entry for McGill's Macnaghten Prize in 1948.⁶⁹ While the draft differs from the book published in 1952, they share the same autobiographical themes: family tensions, flying, romances in England, alienation on returning to Canada, and leaving

home to attend an unnamed university. There is no description of student life.

The McGill typescript of "The Angled Road" has a telling passage, underlined but eliminated from the published book, in which the protagonist, who wants to write, challenges himself about both his Proustean/Joycean style and his subject matter and settings. Most revealing, he asks himself why he does not write about Canada and Montreal. He replies that doing so would make him self-conscious; Canada lacks the traditions, stability, myths and culture to inspire his writing. His sense of values makes him seek out the old world. Yet he admits how badly he wants to describe Montreal and indeed the beauty of McGill as one enters the campus at the Roddick Gates.⁷⁰ It sounds like a conversation he might have had with Files or his future self. It summarizes his dilemma vividly and foretells how he later solved it – by writing about what he knew. If his writing at McGill served no other purpose, it made him realize his predicament: could he turn his own experiences and background into fiction? In 1975, Levine called *The Angled Road* "a terrible novel," which had reflected his reading of Hemingway, Faulkner, and Proust.⁷¹ After its publication, he stopped dressing up his style and characters: "And the first book to come out after that was *Canada Made Me*. My writing begins with that book."⁷² Most of the texts referring to

McGill cited here date from the 1950s through the 1970s, before his leanest writing, of which Cynthia Flood observed: "To strip out all that plugs up prose: this is Levine's aim."⁷³ And Levine declared: "the leaner the language the more ambiguous it becomes and the more suggestive."⁷⁴

Graduation, Algoma mine, & back to McGill, 1948-1949

Levine graduated B.A. on May 26, 1948 (Fig. 4) with first class honours in English Language and Literature, winning the Peterson Memorial Prize in Literature and the Macnaghten Prize, both for creative writing.⁷⁵ He recalled graduation in *Canada Made Me*; parties, renting gowns, forgettable speeches, honorary degree presentations, and roll call to pick up degrees. "You picked up the red cartridge cases with the sheepskin inside in Latin. And there was the garden party on the other side underneath the trees.... girls in summer dresses and large hats and families taking pictures by the 'Three Bares' [a fountain held up by three Herculean marble nudes]." Levine's description of the 1948 ceremonies was fairly accurate (perhaps he had kept his programme). The physical education students indeed went up first, as he related, although an honorary degree was not given to "a head from another university" but (closely enough) to W.E. Gallie, former medical Dean

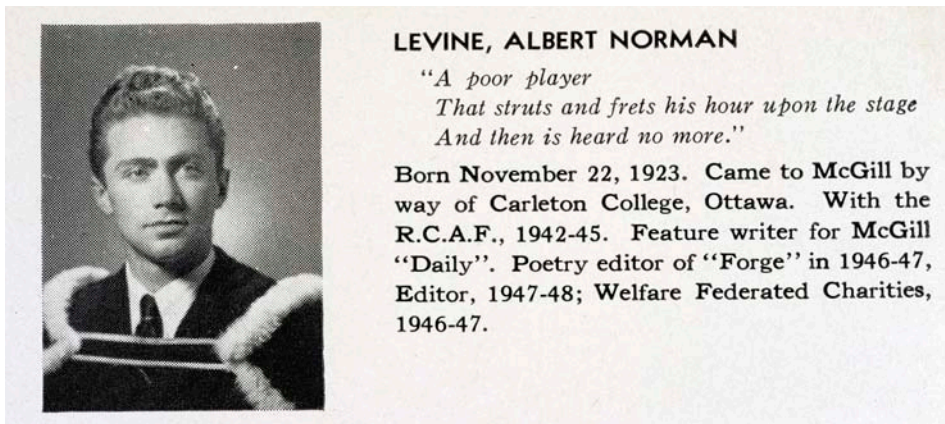


Figure 4. Levine's graduation photograph in *Old McGill*, 1948, 29.

from Toronto. Levine recalled “the guest speaker, the chief of the Boy Scouts, got up and gave a speech; I cannot remember a thing he said.” [An LL.D did indeed go to Lord Rowallan, Chief Scout of the Empire, who gave the main address.] Afterwards, cocktail parties, smuggling bottles into the ball in the Currie Gym, chaperons leaving at midnight, lights darkened, couples necking, “girls and boys whose fathers owned entire villages and towns in Northern Ontario and Quebec were getting quickly plastered.”⁷⁶

Levine had decided to do a master’s degree. He worked in the summer of 1948 at Algoma Ore Properties in Ontario (Helen Mine, Wawa⁷⁷) on the surface, not as a miner, and cleared over \$400.⁷⁸ He was struck by the grim landscape and the workers, many recruited from Europe, hoping for better lives. Three letters to Files record Levine’s passage from the student of 1948 to the expatriate writer of 1950.⁷⁹ Levine wrote Files from the mine on July 17, 1948. Cambridge had not yet replied to his application. He had revised and submitted “The Angled Road” to Dodd, Mead’s contest as he had in 1947. Again they had ranked it among the top ten, again he had not won. They had thought it much improved but still would not publish it. Levine quoted reports from the judges: “E.B.W.” [E.B. White?] found Levine very promising, his novel introspective, apparently autobiographical, and sensitive, though confusing in technique and presentation. A self-study of a young man’s escape from an unhappy home to the RCAF and university, its war content should not be held against it; obviously the war had shaped young writers.⁸⁰ Another judge, “A.T.K.,” noting the conflict between the protagonist’s drab life in Canada and his sensitivity, declared the work accomplished but sometimes unsympathetic. A.T.K. sensed that Levine’s style profited from his being a poet but objected there was too much art for art’s sake. A.T.K. accurately predicted Levine probably would achieve the high standard he sought, although his market might be limited.⁸¹ In 1949, May Ebbitt (later Cutler), reporting in

the *McGill News* on the success of Files’s writing program, noted that Dodd, Mead had called Levine’s “the best written novel we have received from a student” but had declined to publish it, fearing there was no longer a market for war novels.⁸²

Most intriguing, Levine told Files he had started a second novel. He would use archetypal characters (all men) to represent his generation’s struggle of ideals. They would be an immigrant from Poland to Canada, who is disappointed in love, and becomes a fascist; an agnostic science student; an ivory tower Anglican theology student; and, probably closest to Levine’s viewpoint, an introspective artist who rejects religion, lives for the present, and lacks the hatred needed to kill the cold-war enemy. Levine planned to adopt the technique of John Dos Passos in *USA*, following one character a while, then another. He would treat his characters objectively and keep himself out of the book [!]. He had not thought out the plot fully but it would have threads from fairy tales for satire, also the Bible, and end with a prose-poetry monologue. While this unfinished novel was a false start and the direct opposite of his future, autobiographically oriented writing, it probably got another imitative form out of his system – the Great American Novel. In closing, he thanked Files for all he had done for him.⁸³

Cambridge presumably refused him for he returned to McGill for 1948-1949 to write his M.A. thesis under Files. At this point he probably contemplated an academic career combined with writing. A master’s degree would increase his chances for further graduate work in England and a university post. He proposed an M.A. thesis on the controversial American poet Ezra Pound, then confined to an asylum, to analyse Pound’s poetry psychologically and technically. He cited Pound’s innovative approaches to art and culture, and his influence on Auden and Eliot. He found Pound puzzling and paradoxical; he was intrigued too by Pound’s self-imposed exile from America, ending in his being judged innocent of

treason by reason of insanity.⁸⁴ Planning to leave Canada soon, Levine may have seen something of himself in Pound. In 1969 he wrote that “one of the conditions of my being a writer is of living in exile” – exile in Canada as the son of orthodox Jewish parents, at McGill as “the poor boy among the rich,” and in England as a Canadian.⁸⁵ Levine told David McDonald in 1975, “I did Pound deliberately because he was in the loony bin.... I’ve always been attracted to all kinds of people that society frowns upon.”⁸⁶ Titled “Ezra Pound and the Sense of the Past,” the thesis (M.A. McGill, 1949) shows his early thinking about loss of values and identity. It opens:

In an age faced with the prospect of disintegration the course which the individual artist takes depends on his personality and background. He can escape from this age by embracing religion, writing imaginary voyages into the future, or else, look back to what has already happened. The poet who finds little of value in his age is faced with the problem of identification.⁸⁷

Levine knew about imaginary voyages from Professor Noad and had his own identifications to work out, as a Jew, Canadian, ex-RCAF flyer, and successful McGill student. He argued that Pound’s poetry had one thread throughout; “the sense of the past,” which he had pursued as an escape, while science and scepticism killed off the old beliefs people had shared. He examined Pound’s “retreat” to the past by looking at his personality in tandem with his writing, especially the autobiographical poem *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (1920) in which Pound dissected his past life and the emptiness of modern society. As he noted in his thesis, Pound (and Eliot) personified the poet-scholar – the career Levine was preparing himself for.⁸⁸ Levine planned to continue his study of disintegration and the decay of values in a thesis on Hardy, Lawrence, and Eliot that he would propose to University of London in 1949. He later developed these

themes in *Canada Made Me*, portraying the erosion of the values of his parents and other immigrants, in mining camps and universities, musing that “human relationships had become nothing more than a series of brief encounters. In wartime one accepted that.... Now one didn’t even have a war to justify one’s values or decisions.” He envied Graham Green’s characters who had “an established order of values” to rebel against. “One still clung to a morality but without the faith that ruled it. One was like a chicken running around without its head. All that was left was the personal.... One was condemned to feed on personal experience.”⁸⁹

In fall 1948, Levine’s *Myssium: a new book of verse* was published in the Ryerson Chapbook series. Six of its nine poems originally appeared in *Forge* or the *Daily*.⁹⁰ B.S. [Betty Sinclair?], who had admired Levine’s edition of *Forge*, reviewed it favorably in the *McGill Daily* in October 1948, quoting a poem that had a bomb explosion: “...a sheet of red flame. This would surely delight Ezra Pound himself.” B.S. observed that Levine used his war experiences and “eschews regular verse forms and writes in patterned free verse, eminently suited to his subjects.”⁹¹

Levine returned to the *Daily* as Features Editor for the issue of November 10, 1948. More important, he edited an ambitious revival of the *McGill Daily Literary Supplement* which appeared on March 17, 1949. The original *Literary Supplement* (1924-1925), edited by A.J.M. Smith (B.Sc.[Arts] 1925, M.A. 1926), had published poetry, reviews and other work by himself, F.R. Scott (B.C.L. 1927) and other students before it was succeeded by the *McGill Fortnightly*.⁹² First published in 1938, *Forge* had become the main vehicle of McGill’s student writing. Levine wrote only the editorial of the revived 1949 *Literary Supplement*. He praised *Forge* for serving undergraduate writing but found it strange that McGill lacked the kind of literary journals put out at Toronto, Dalhousie and Queen’s, which published staff and graduate

students. Such a more broadly based publication would reach a wider public than *Forge*, and present the University's "fund of intellectual diversity."⁹³ (It would also provide a continued editing forum for Levine now that he was a graduate student.) Levine's issue leaned heavily towards staff; nine of the ten contributors were McGill department heads, professors or lecturers. He thanked his 1948 *Forge* writers Giblin, MacCallan and Heuser and also Patrick Anderson, a lecturer, "who submitted poems but owing to lack of space cannot be included in this issue" – although he included Anderson's prose piece, "Alphabet of prejudice" with brief essays for letters A through M (G-is for Girls; M-is Montreal, etc.).⁹⁴ One cannot help wondering about the reactions of the *Forge* colleagues.

Levine rounded up a unique spectrum of professorial thinking. The *Supplement* concentrated on criticism and intellectual issues. Notably, it had no poems or fiction (perhaps to avoid competing with *Forge*). Levine maintained, however, his concern with modern verse by including essays on poetry and the writing process. The contributors examined literacy, the stultifying influence of the British and French past, the threat posed by American comics and movies to Canadian literature, and the intellectual facing totalitarianism. German chairman Willem Graff wrote on Rilke, French chairman Jean Launay on existentialism. The lone student, S. Lamb (B.A. 1949), wrote on "Metaphysical poetry and the Moderns." Two of Gordon Webber's "Design" paintings, 1948-1950, gave abstract counterpoints to the texts. Files and Noad were among four contributors from the English Department. In "The writer in our society," Files observed that creative writers rarely espoused the rules of truthfulness followed by scientists and philosophers, and so were criticized for being irresponsible. Yet the artist-writer often "shares in the general quest for truth in his time; or is the most memorable voice of that quest."⁹⁵ Files's views may have encouraged Levine's quest for truth in fiction. Similarly Noad

could have nudged Levine towards personal and autobiographical writing. Noad's article was an apologia for his research and teaching interests in diaries, autobiographies, memoirs and correspondence. No one could know an age without knowing "its individual self-revelations; hence an excellent case might be made in justification of such reading as a means to an end, a direct path into the consciousness of nations, culture, or historical period." He gave examples from St. Augustine to Pepys of writings which let us into peoples' lives. Unlike novelists and poets, the diarist and letter writer never knows how his story will end. Noad pointed out the "irrevocability of the word once written," which anyone reading his own old letters will feel and the "inexhaustible variety and perpetually-renewed delight" of personal writing, which rivalled anything novelists or playwrights could dream up, and constantly reminded the reader of "the homely details of everyday life."⁹⁶ This sounded like a challenge to fiction writers. Levine's own story-memoirs, full of homely details, might intrigue some future Noad.

Return to England and the end of academia, 1949-1950

Just as the *Supplement* came out, Levine won a Beaver Club fellowship. These sent Canadian ex-servicemen to British universities, and were worth up to 500 pounds a year, renewable for a second year. The Montreal press noted that Levine hoped to attend University of London or Cambridge.⁹⁷ (He would be accepted by King's College, University of London). He received his McGill M.A. on May 30, 1949 and would be denied England no longer. With his master's degree, the *Supplement*, and the fellowship, he was launched on an academic path. Better yet, he was on his way to being a writer: Jack McClelland agreed to market *The Angled Road* in Canada if Levine could find a London publisher. And like the narrator of "The English Girl," Levine assumed the English girl at McGill

would return to England soon.⁹⁸ In the story “A Canadian Upbringing” (1968), Levine’s narrator said he used to vary his reasons for going to England according to who asked. So he would tell an editor that his Canadian publisher had advised it. Or he would tell someone at a party “it was because of the attractive English girl who sat beside me at college and took the same courses I did, and who was going back when she graduated.”⁹⁹ He gave similar reasons for going to England in “Why I am an Expatriate”- because of the English girl and his happy memories as an officer, when for the first time he had been “living” not “marking time.”¹⁰⁰

He left McGill and Canada with few regrets. In retrospect at least, Levine felt he had forced himself into McGill’s academic and social mould, while there was “another man within me that’s angry with me.” As he stated in “Why I am an Expatriate;”

By the time I left McGill I was pretty confused. Things seemed so far to have fallen into my lap, as long as I continued to play this game – which was, for me, just a series of pretences. The postponement of any decision, which I got by going to university, was now up. The choice I had to make was either to continue the way I had, and it seemed all too easy and attractive to do so – or else try to come to terms. I didn’t think I could do this in Canada, where I would always feel a sense of betrayal..... I had by this time also realized that all I wanted to do was write. And I knew that this would be easier, at the beginning, away from home.¹⁰¹

Levine did not define betrayal but it partly involved his adaptation to McGill where he set aside his working class, Jewish roots. He told John Richmond in 1970 that he had written *Canada Made Me* “as a tribute to a generation of Canadians whose children were forced, by economic or other circumstances, to deny the old

country values of their parents.”¹⁰² He never fully spelled out what these lost values were or what his own were, except for truthfulness in writing – “One of the things a writer finds out is that you don’t lie.”¹⁰³ More cosmically, he reclaimed his Jewish background in *Canada Made Me*. He quoted a letter from a friend in Israel, which praised the Jewish families of their old “near-slum” Ottawa neighbourhood: husbands did not beat their wives or get drunk like their gentile neighbours. The friend recalled “the patriarchal set-up of our tight-knit Jewish family pattern, the religion, festival, synagogue which emphasized our apartness, gave us our values.” Revisiting Ottawa in 1956, Levine enjoyed traditional Sabbath services and “the wonderful food smells of a Friday night.” And in Montreal he enjoyed the Jewish neighbourhoods and food stores but recoiled from an innovative, Americanized reform service at Temple Emmanuel in Westmount: “The whole service was a parody...Gone was the richness of the Hebrew chants, the loudness, the cantor stammering over the ritual... One could believe in that.”¹⁰⁴

That was Levine by the mid-1950s. At McGill he and his narrators had not yet come to terms with their backgrounds. The narrator of *From a Seaside Town* (1970) had avoided “any Jews on the [McGill] campus who stuck together and went to the Hillel Club,” although he had enjoyed going a Jewish restaurant “for gefilte fish, helzel, lutkas, and to watch the others eat.”¹⁰⁵ In a 1969 memoir Levine declared:

At McGill I was running away from being a Jew. It sounds silly now... I made up so many identities. It all depended on who I was with. This helped to give my life there a dangerous edge. But it was to prove near fatal to the writing. For at the time I was writing *The Angled Road*. And in it I cut out the fact that my characters were Jewish. And by doing this, a whole dimension is missing; I made them smaller than they should have been.¹⁰⁶

He told David McDonald in 1975 that he had reacted against Canada and his orthodox Jewish background by marrying an English woman and moving to an isolated part of England “and then I found there that I felt very Canadian and very Jewish.... I think you’re a writer first, and you’re a Jew, a Protestant, a Catholic, a Canadian afterwards.”¹⁰⁷

Levine wrote to Files on 24 September, 1949 from Cornwall, just before starting at King’s College, London (Cambridge apparently had refused him).¹⁰⁸ He mentions McGill friends in England: Chris Wanklyn writing his M.A. thesis on D.H. Lawrence for the University of Sheffield, Leo Ciceri at the Old Vic acting school. He has spent the past summer in St. Ives, Cornwall, swimming, writing and getting to know the fishermen and artist colony there. [This visit was fateful for Levine would settle there for much of the next thirty years and have painter friends. Critics would say he wrote with a painter’s eye.¹⁰⁹] He has made changes to “The Angled Road,” written two stories, a poem, an essay, and book reviews, and hopes to send the *Montreal Star* letters on current English writing, art and drama. He is working on the new novel (it is not clear if it is the same one he started at the mine). England has gone down-hill. While the countryside is still beautiful, the national character has shrunk. The English envy and copy the Americans just as Canadians do the British. Culture and arts do well because of government support. He has thought a lot about Canada and now sees it more clearly. He also mentions he sent Faber and Faber his thesis on Pound. T.S. Eliot as one of the publisher’s chiefs wrote back praising the work but noting that it was hard to turn a thesis into a readable book and that the scope should expand to cover all the Cantos.¹¹⁰ [Levine enjoyed this letter from a poet who had influenced him and was one of the writers he planned to study in his proposed London thesis on the decay of absolute values. Much later he used an Eliot letter in the story “We All Begin in a Little Magazine.” The Levine-like narrator

meets a Levine-like poet “in his late fifties, short and stocky and wearing a shabby raincoat.” The poet wistfully hopes to publish something. “I had a letter from T.S. Eliot,” he said. “I kept it all these years. But I sold it last month to Texas for fifty dollars,” he says proudly. “My daughter was getting married. And I had to get her a present.”¹¹¹ Whether or not Levine himself had a letter from Eliot, he indeed sold the University of Texas the manuscript of *Canada Made Me* after it had been refused as a gift by the McGill Library in 1959.¹¹²

In February 1950 Levine confides in Files again, disillusioned, comparing King’s unfavourably to McGill. It has no campus, just a nondescript building next to a pub. [Fifty years later, he had mellowed: “I liked King’s because it was in the Strand and there was a pub, Mooney’s by its entrance.”¹¹³] He finds most students and lecturers dull, except for Professor Geoffrey Bullough, an authority on Shakespeare and on modern poetry, who is supposed to supervise his thesis on “The Decay of Absolute Values in Modern Society as Shown in the Works of Thomas Hardy, D.H. Lawrence, and T.S. Eliot.” Bullough had been surprised that Levine had chosen his own subject; most British postgraduates chose from a list. Ominously, Levine has not yet been confirmed in the Ph.D. Program as his McGill M.A. is not held equivalent to London’s. So he is doing a qualifying period of six months and negotiating his status. He praises McGill: no library rivals McGill’s except the British Museum’s; McGill Professor Joyce Hemlow prepared him as well in Anglo-Saxon as any course at King’s; and no one teaches modern poetry the way Anderson and Klein had at McGill. He has enjoyed London theatre, Olivier, Gielgud, Leigh, and Richardson. He is still revising “Angled Road.” He thinks his academic and creative work go well together, to the benefit of his second novel. He has begun to see how provincial Canada is, but is getting involved in projects of Canadians in London. He has met many London writers. They fall into two groups: university graduates inspired by Eliot

and Pound and non-grads concerned with social questions [soon to become the Angry Young Men]. Levine cares for neither; poet Kathleen Raine told him that creativity was low because all the men were homosexuals while women wrote the poems and novels.¹¹⁴ Levine hinted at his new life in his poem "Letter from England" (1950); "Then London and the cocktail parties, / And the clever young men and the clever young women."¹¹⁵ Later he came to admire the Angry Young Men; they did not play along with middle class values but wrote "about what they knew" – their working class backgrounds. His essay "A Letter from England" (1958) would praise the Labour government's welfare state and the exciting writing being done by writers from English speaking countries outside England.¹¹⁶

Apparently Levine could not get into the King's Ph.D program unless he took more courses or a second master's degree. So in 1950 he got the admirably flexible Beaver Club Fellowship officials to let him drop his academic course and spend his second year of funding to write.¹¹⁷ Besides revising his novel, he published poetry about Cornwall and analysed his own style in "Portrait of a Poet": "The Poets do not like my 'technique' / The 'other people' hate its plainness." Heine or Villon might have approved but now there was

No one except Pound.

And he is safe in a hospital,

In some other country.¹¹⁸

Pound stayed on his mind. Levine combined scholarship and writing at McGill but once he gave up doctoral studies in London he disowned academia. Already critical of McGill by his *Canada Made Me* tour in 1956, he declared in 1960 that when he had left Montreal (in 1949) he knew he had "no great interest in the academic. It was, mainly, just the means of getting me over."¹¹⁹ The narrator of "A Canadian Upbringing" (1968) recalled, "In London I soon discovered that I didn't care for the academic."¹²⁰ And Levine said in 1970, "The academic tries to separate literature

from life. My job, and I think any writer's job, is to weld them."¹²¹ The blocking of his doctoral hopes at University of London and, perhaps, the end of his McGill romance may have provoked some of his hindsight disillusionment with McGill. But the Beaver Club funding worked out well. It got him back to England, let him discard academia for writing, and discover Cornwall and London's literary life. A little money in time does all.

PART II: MCGILL IN RETROSPECT

Critical memories

Levine often mentioned McGill in his stories, poems, articles, and interviews. Most references were brief but in *Canada Made Me* (1958) and the story "The English Girl" (1964) Levine portrayed the University in strikingly similar terms, recalling parties, restaurants, dances, romance, and friends. In "The English Girl," he reduced what could have made a novel to a few evocative pages. But Levine and his story narrators also looked back at McGill with edgy regret and a sense of [mainly self-] betrayal, lamenting how easy and what a waste of time McGill had been. Levine noted:

At university I was in my element – mainly because I could not take it seriously. I graduated with two degrees, first class honours, various prizes, a scholarship, and the five thousand dollar fellowship. Even at the end, I was unable to take any of this seriously because I considered all along that my presence there was something in the nature of a fraud.¹²²

He seldom mentioned McGill without saying he could not take McGill seriously. Worse, he concluded that McGill had given him a false start as a writer. Presumably he did not include File's help with the basics. In "A Writer's Story," the narrator has an M.A., had edited the literary magazine at university, has recently married (as

Levine had in 1952), lives in Cornwall, has a novel about to come out, and is trying to write but does not know what to write about. "That's the trouble with going to university, I thought. I didn't have to try hard enough. The results for a little effort were too immediate and too great. You think you're a writer because those at university say so and make a fuss."¹²³ In the same vein, Levine said that as a writer he had had to "uneducate" himself, as an antidote to university.¹²⁴

He sold stories but was hard up in the 1950s and 1960s. When the travel-writer protagonist of *From a Seaside Town* (1970) passes through suburbs on the train from Ottawa to Montreal, he looks at the comfortable houses, envying men living there. "Why can't I settle for this? Why isolate myself in a cut-off seaside town in England that I don't even like?" Later, back in Cornwall, trying to think of what to write to make money, he muses, "Perhaps I'm in the wrong job. I could have been a professor in some provincial university in Canada." He would have an office, secretary, colleagues to talk to, students, regular pay, and coffee at the faculty club. "How I wish I was part of a community."¹²⁵ Levine had lost interest in the academic by 1951 and his fictional alter ego was playing "what if" but the story hints that Levine sometimes thought of the academic road started at McGill. He might have turned out like his fellow *Forge* editor, Alan Heuser, who also won prizes and wrote an M.A. at McGill but unlike Levine did a doctorate and taught in McGill's English Department from 1954 to 1992. Professors earned more than writers. Poverty was Levine's frequent theme, sometimes played as satire. In the story "I'll Bring You Back Something Nice" [1968], his protagonist, a McGill graduate living in Cornwall with a wife, children, and overdue bills, borrows money from his McGill classmates at a tenth anniversary reunion in London. They are embarrassed but we suspect he is not. The story's narrator and the real Levine, who tries to borrow money in *Canada Made Me* but is given a suit instead, both

poke fun at the "successful" classmates who have money they should be relieved of.¹²⁶

Levine visited Canada in 1954, described in his "Autobiographical Essay" (2001), and not to be confused with his 1956 *Canada Made Me* visit. Files took him to the McGill Faculty Club for lunch. They ran into the head of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and Levine, who could be a good promoter, persuaded him to put on an exhibition of his St. Ives painter friends. Back in England, he started using a map to inspire stories set in Canada. He got advances from London publisher Putnam and Jack McClelland in Toronto to go across Canada from March to June 1956 to write the travel book *Canada Made Me*.¹²⁷ Published in 1958, it had many McGill references, although of course its chief interest was as a melancholy, original critique of Canada as Levine mused on his past and present. It recreates dialogue and reads like the fiction-which-reads-like-nonfiction of his stories. While accepted by most critics (and here) on Levine's terms as nonfiction¹²⁸ in at least one instance, as John Metcalfe points out, it invents a character, a noseless woman. Inspired by a real woman in England, Levine had used her as a character in his story "A Piece of Blue" (ca. 1955-1956) about a McGill student working, as he had, at Algoma Mines. When Levine revisited the mine on the *Canada Made Me* trip, he pulled the noseless woman from his story into his nonfictional travelogue. Citing this, Metcalf observes: "Clearly, Levine is driven more, by the 'pressure of writing the story' than he is by the obligation to transcribe 'reality.'"¹²⁹ Far less important, Levine may have transposed the timing of his meeting with "P," mentioned below. Fictionalizing real-life people and events has always been accepted; inventing incidents in memoirs has not. One suspects that *Canada Made Me* very occasionally may have improved life into art.

Levine confronted his past in some of the places he revisited, especially the mine, Ottawa, Montreal, and McGill. He knew it would be

harder to write about places where he had lived than those he was seeing for the first time and could describe impressionistically – where there was nothing to feel any loss about or “to destroy, or to betray.”¹³⁰ Ira Nadel saw the book as more autobiography than travel book and Levine as “the autobiographer as survivor.... His 1956 return is not to find the country but himself.”¹³¹ Critics complained *Canada Made Me* focused on Canada’s down and outs. Levine admitted he preferred the poor side of town – perhaps reacting against the prosperous milieu he knew at McGill. Some Canadian booksellers treated the book like pornography. In December 1958, William Weintraub (B.A., McGill, 1947), wrote to Mordecai Richler that the book “will certainly cause some panics around this smiling, beautiful country,” and that the owner of Classics Books in Montreal tried to talk him out of buying it. Weintraub found the writing “really excellent – fine descriptive passages – but he certainly did find a lot of sordid stuff, bleak towns, vapid people.”¹³² Richler agreed, reviewing it in the same tone for the London *Sunday Times*: “It’s a sour, wilfully sordid book, evoking many scenes brilliantly, and far better than any other book I’ve ever read about Canada.”¹³³

Lawrence Mathews called the Levine of *Canada Made Me* “the stereotypical Angry Young Man.”¹³⁴ The book criticized mining camps, the sleazy new rich and the nervous old WASP rich, and McGill, which represented “wealth, snobbery, privilege.” Yet Levine liked the campus with its old grey stone buildings, “the stone tomb of James McGill. And the ghinko tree...A piece of country stuck right in the centre of Montreal” where “in the autumn at a five o’clock lecture you can hear the ship’s horns from the river.” To the west “sweeping upwards with the contour of the mountain, are the fine houses, the Presbyterian churches, the wealth of Westmount. East: the drab sour-smelling boarding-houses; the shabby apartments; one soon came to poverty.”¹³⁵ The charming campus aside, he resented what he had

come to see as the conformity and mediocrity McGill had offered and imposed:

I walked away from McGill with little nostalgia. It was one of those times when, looking back, one can see at what expense the good times were had. At its best it was ‘borrowed time’.... If you wanted to keep on the same way, you could, it was made all too easy. One had without knowing it joined ‘the organization.’ And in those four years it did its work. It sandpapered the personal rough edges while it continued to dangle a carrot in front, as long as one toed the line.¹³⁶

He said the same things not long after in “Why I am an Expatriate,” quoted earlier. T.D. MacLulich suggests that “Levine sees McGill as little more than an arena for social snobbery and social opportunism.”¹³⁷ Except for his sketches of friends such as the “English Girl,” “P,” “M,” and “Victor,” Levine painted the dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant students as superficial, materialistic and fearful for their status, anticipating Mordecai Richler’s raspy treatment of them in *Joshua Then and Now* (1980). In *Canada Made Me*, Levine insisted repeatedly on the conformity demanded from students and the similarity of their upper middle class backgrounds. Students from other backgrounds quickly learned to copy. The students “were all much of a sameness. Not only have they inherited money but Puritanism and guilt as well.” Doomed to dull futures, they lived their best moments at McGill: “I remember W. chartering an airplane to fly him for a weekend with a girl he wanted to see in New York...R. staking the borrowed car he drove up in, on a throw of the dice at a fraternity crap game....the end of an all-night party with the girls in evening dresses and bare feet playing against the boys in a game of softball on the lawn.” Their student years were their last gasp of freedom. They would enter the prisons of their fathers’ professions. They would be worse off than their parents, have less

authority, be ashamed of being Canadian, and copy the British or Americans. They had their country cottages and the Junior League. "But they felt inferior to their parents' achievements, they looked ashamed most of the time as if they carried with them a family guilt, that they could not tell anyone, that was eating away from the inside."¹³⁸

From memories to memoir and fiction: friends, professors, rooms

In 1993 Levine wrote that he was often asked how autobiographical his work was: "Which is very difficult to explain. (It is not as autobiographical as it reads.) And does it matter?"¹³⁹ Michelle Gadpaille cites Levine distinguishing between autobiography and fiction: "Levine says: 'Life once lived, the way you remember it is fiction.'¹⁴⁰ Critics have focused on the mixture of autobiography and invention found in most of Levine's stories.¹⁴¹ Summing up his career in 2001, Levine noted that while friends appeared in his stories, once he started writing he expected the story to change: "And while writing this essay, I realize why this autobiographical material becomes more interesting as a short story or novel. Because only in fiction can I make connections. Between the personal and [something that wasn't there] something larger."¹⁴² He ended one story: "It is hard to write – or live for that matter – without hurting someone."¹⁴³ In "Class of 1949," the narrator says, "People are very generous. They let you into their lives. So you don't want to hurt them by what you write. In any case I write about people I like or have liked. And only about people I know."¹⁴⁴ Similarly, Levine told David McDonald in 1975 that he would tell people "what I think is the truth by saying I only write about people I like. I try to tell them that you take bits and pieces from all different people to make up one character, and that you invent and make up things because of the technical necessities that go into it."¹⁴⁵

But in the case of several McGill friends seen below, he took more than bits and pieces and not from different people. The originals once detected confirm that Levine started from real people but with the caveat that Levine and his narrators were not identical and that the real people became fictional characters once the story got going. Yet Levine kept his story characters far closer to the people who inspired them than do most fiction writers. Conventionally, he disguised individuals in his stories and in *Canada Made Me* with name changes or initials. However, he was so relentlessly truthful that the details he gave about "M," "P," "Victor," and the "English Girl" allow them to be identified, using student directories, yearbooks and other publications. Naming them is unnecessary and following Levine's lead they are not identified here nor their privacy invaded if some are still living [except for Leo Ciceri, the original of "Len Mason" in "Class of 1949," who died in 1970]. On the other hand, the identities of Professors Files and Noad, both long dead, are given because of their importance as Levine's teachers and to show that they match "The Professor" of *Canada Made Me* and Graham Pollack in "A Canadian Upbringing." To understand the situation of the unhappy Professor and Levine's relation to him, one needs to know he is Files; to appreciate the vignette of Pollock, lecturing on Utopias, one should know he is based on Noad, whose lectures on Utopias Levine would have heard.¹⁴⁶

Levine's earliest story using McGill background, "A Small Piece of Blue," (ca. 1955-56), has interested critics looking at how Levine transformed his own experience into fiction.¹⁴⁷ The protagonist is a McGill student working at the Algoma, Ontario mine site as Levine did in summer 1948. Levine had written Files that life at the mine was isolated, dull, and had changed how he looked at working. After the glamour of the RCAF and McGill, he discovered bleakness and dejected wage slaves. The story was written just before the nonfictional recollections in *Canada Made Me*; they shared several similar texts

and both criticize McGill. For the story, Levine invented the key character of the camp doctor, a middle-aged, disillusioned McGill graduate who has rejected the successful world McGill represents, writes poetry, and drinks. Levine later analysed how he had developed the story: starting from wanting to write about his experience, remembering “disconnected memories,” and then creating the doctor “in order to make the story work.”¹⁴⁸ The student admired the doctor’s refusal to follow the McGill path to success. They agreed McGill had been fun but a waste of time; that it instilled conformity and social graces not learning, intuition or individuality. T.D. MacLulich found that the doctor’s – and Levine’s – hostility to McGill “sounds exaggerated” and that the doctor may feel ashamed he did not live up to the ideals of his McGill education. Pointing to inconsistencies in the way Levine handled the mine episode in the “factual” *Canada Made Me* and in the story, MacLulich argued that Levine did not simply tell the truth in his fiction (as he claimed) but like most writers “has selected and arranged his materials to achieve the desired effect.” He also suggested that Levine transposed his disillusionment with Canada in 1956 to the student who had not yet been disillusioned in the story’s time of 1948.¹⁴⁹ MacLulich nearly convinces us, yet Levine probably had begun to be disillusioned as early as 1948. The narrator of his 1948 draft of *Angled Road*, cited earlier, could not force himself to write about Canada and already sounded not only disillusioned but alienated.

Canada Made Me portrayed Professor Files and four classmates: P, M, the English Girl, and through a quoted letter, the classmate he would call Victor in “Class of 1949.” Victor and the English Girl also appeared in stories; Professor Noad and classmate Leo Ciceri only in stories. Levine said he dropped the authorial commenting most writers make within their narratives in his later writing¹⁵⁰ but in *Canada Made Me* and the stories and interviews cited here he occasionally comments, mildly, regretfully, and pityingly. He

often refers to loss of values and betrayals – by himself, his protagonists and his characters. In particular, Levine saw P, and his narrator saw Victor, as having failed their early creative promise. Levine was hard on himself and on his writer-protagonists – they too had their failures – but at least they stayed the course as writers.

We will look at the five student friends first, then the two professors as they appear in stories and *Canada Made Me*. The first student is P, re-encountered on the *Canada Made Me* tour. Levine stated that when he first arrived in Montreal in March 1956, he stayed over just one night (at Mordecai Richler’s mother’s rooming house) before flying to Ottawa the next afternoon. On the day of his flight, he ran into P, whose identity is traceable through Levine’s usual trail of truthful details. His first term at McGill, Levine had shared a room with P in a boarding house. They wrote poetry, studied late for exams kept awake on Benzedrine, and drank at the Shrine. Now they have a brandy at the Press Club in the Mount Royal Hotel and talk about what they have done since graduation. P “had joined the CBC, had put on weight, married, three children, a small house in a suburb, a small car.” P had succumbed to security. They no longer have much in common. Levine recalls how they had talked as students: “The worries, the ambitions, the lies, the things one loved, one hated, one feared, that one confided... and now we had nothing to say to each other.” P had written poetry at McGill; now he said “I don’t even read poetry today.” Levine recalled good things about P. “He was never a phoney. At a time when those who came to McGill after the war, without money or family influence, and ruthlessly began to charm, to sell themselves, P never quite fitted in.” P would have gladly been an academic “with his slippers, the pipe, the glass of beer, the fire going, and books on all the walls: an insignificant lecturer in some provincial university in the States.” However, P had lacked the high marks and support from his professors that he would have needed to win a fellowship and go on for higher degrees. Their

talk dried up: "Both of us were reminders of something we had betrayed in our selves. Or perhaps one had merely become faithful to a new set of experiences."¹⁵¹ On March 12, 1956, Brian Moore wrote William Weintraub that he had just met in the Press Club "with Norman Levine, who is staying here at the home of Mort's mother and who emplanes for Ottawa tonight – I hope. He was full of questions, suggestions, etc."¹⁵² [Moore bears no resemblance to P and did not attend McGill.] Maybe Levine remembered things incorrectly or maybe he actually met both P and Moore at the Press Club the day he left for Ottawa. But one risks making too much of little discrepancies.

On his return to Montreal, Levine visits M, a classmate he likes who belongs to "the Anglo-Scottish elite." Her apartment building overlooks McGill (it was the only high building overlooking the grounds then). He studied for exams with her there and remembered looking down and watching nannies pushing prams on campus; he had used the prams in a poem of 1951, "Letter from McGill University."¹⁵³ M's first memory is of being wheeled on campus by her nanny. Her father, distinguished in his profession, has died recently, his funeral honored by McGill. "M is short, attractive, with a round Dutch-like face that makes her look like a schoolgirl. She looks astonishingly young for thirty." Her graduation photo in *Old McGill* matches Levine's description. They had sat together in English classes, passed notes in lectures. She has been engaged three times but is looking for "somebody that's going somewhere, that I can push." She tells him about their classmates; T committed suicide, J is high up in aluminum, lives in London and has acquired "an immaculate English accent," someone else races cars.¹⁵⁴ Here, they sound a bit like the McGill hearties in London celebrating their class's tenth anniversary in "I'll Bring You Back Something Nice."

In "Class of 1949" (1974), the narrator, who as usual closely resembles Levine, writes about his

friendship with "Victor," who closely resembles a real-life friend of Levine's at McGill. Victor had introduced the narrator to elegant houses, filled with paintings, first editions and butlers: "When Victor came in his car to pick me up for dinner with his parents and saw the basement room I had by the boiler on Dorchester next to the railway tracks, he put it down to some eccentricity on my part."¹⁵⁵ The narrator and Victor both moved to England and spent the summer of 1949 writing in St. Ives, Cornwall. [In *Canada Made Me*, Levine describes sharing a cottage and writing that summer of 1949 with "another Canadian."]¹⁵⁶ They later shared London digs. The narrator, like Levine, planned a thesis on "The Decay of Absolute Values in Modern Society." Victor, like his real-life original, moved to Morocco. In about 1974 Victor visits the narrator in Cornwall accompanied by a young Moroccan man. The narrator recalls Victor used to like girls in their McGill days. Victor confesses to being a dilettante. As with P, it emerges that they have little in common anymore. Victor once wanted to write. The narrator remembers the novel Victor had begun: "The characters were lifeless." In the unpublished passage of "The Angled Road" cited earlier, Levine's narrator had criticized himself for not writing about what he knew. Levine's stories excel at role changing and projecting, and the narrator of "Class of 1949" scolds Victor the way the narrator of "The Angled Road" had scolded himself. "I asked him [Victor] why he didn't write about people he knew. About his family, about Montreal, his private school, McGill. He said he didn't want anything to do with Canada or anything connected with it.... And how can you be a writer if you reject your past? Seeing Victor, I can see the person I was." Indeed, Victor is a sort of bad twin to Levine's narrator. Victor's rejection of his roots is uncomfortably close to that of Levine and a few of his narrators. Victor's abandoned lifeless novel may have alluded to Levine's ghost novel mentioned to Files in 1948-1949. Yet Victor's free, wandering, single life is enviable. Levine's narrator only travels "back to

Canada – to keep in touch with the past.” And he stays uninvolved in Cornwall because he wants to hang on to his past.¹⁵⁷ The story sums up Levine’s own expatriate tensions and those of his characters such as Victor and Alexander Marsden, who is mentioned below. Like “The English Girl,” the story is foreshadowed in *Canada Made Me*, in which Levine quotes from “a letter from Morocco.” The unnamed writer matches Victor. Replying to Levine’s question why he left Canada, he says initially it had been for a change; he had planned to return. He has nothing against Canada, although the climate is atrocious and Canadians touting Canada put him to sleep. He likes learning new languages and customs and escaping Canada’s “dreary” borrowed Anglo-Scotch culture. Now he prefers Morocco [as many wandering Anglos had in fact and literature, 1900-1960]. Canada stands for his childhood which now revolts him.¹⁵⁸

“Class of 1949” also glimpses Levine’s classmate, Len Mason, based on Leo Ciceri (B.A. 1948) who became a distinguished actor and died in a car crash in 1970. At McGill, Ciceri had acted, written on Canadian theatre for Levine’s 1948 *Forge*, and read *Forge*’s poetry over the radio. The narrator asks Victor:

And remember Len Mason? One time the three of us were walking along Sherbrooke Street after a late lecture. It was winter. Lots of snow on the ground. We told him we were going to be writers. And he said he was going to be an actor. So we said we would write plays for him. Len did become an actor. He acted in Canada and over here and in the States. He was killed two years ago while driving a car on a highway.¹⁵⁹

Levine remembered “The English Girl” best; he published her story in 1964.¹⁶⁰ The narrator, a McGill graduate closely resembling Levine, looks back fifteen years after his romance ended. Reviewers disagree over whether Levine portrayed women convincingly but the English girl’s quiet

charm and wit come through.¹⁶¹ She was based on a real-life student whose father was dead, whose mother moved to Canada because she disliked post-war England, who lived in McGill’s Royal Victoria College, took English, and was a year or two behind the narrator (and Levine) at McGill. In real life and the story, they were a match. Both longed for England. She evoked hunt balls and decaying manors [not the Tudorbethan replicas Levine saw in Westmount]. Her picture in the *Old McGills* matches the narrator’s description: “She was tall, a longish face, dark eyes, a nice smile, black unruly hair. She hadn’t made many friends at university. Others thought her quiet, reserved. They put it down to her being English. I found this all very attractive.” The story’s narrator was a “pro-Britisher.... So it was no accident that I was attracted to the English girl.” Moreover, she was interesting in herself, not just because she was English: “I think she changed me as much as anyone is changed by another person.”¹⁶² The real-life girl may have sparked Levine’s writing. As Levine said to David McDonald: “I began to write a novel as an undergraduate, I think to please a girl and myself.”¹⁶³ Levine recreates the same activities in “The English Girl” that he described in *Canada Made Me* – including going to restaurants. The narrator and the English girl would lunch at Ben’s on smoked meat, Pauze’s on oysters, Slitkin and Slotkin on steak or go to Chicken Charlie’s. Supper spots were the Lasalle Hotel, Mother Martin’s, Chinatown and the Bucharest. They would meet under the Arts Building’s clock. She decorated his room and gave him her childhood copy of *Winnie the Pooh*. They skied at Mount Tremblant and nearly capsized a boat at Ile Aux Noix, where the narrator, like Levine, had worked as a family tutor in 1947 (also described in the story “South of Montreal”). The narrator made sure she did not meet his family. They assumed their lives would be together in England; the narrator applied for a fellowship “to make that possible.”¹⁶⁴

More traditional than his later stories (Maupassant, Maugham, and Irwin Shaw would

not have faulted it), “The English Girl” is Levine at his most honest and confessional with a sense of lost past. It must be his closest fusion of fiction and autobiography. Here is part of the real-life version in *Canada Made Me*:

Listening with her to the Messiah. Then back into the thick snow. The cups of coffee and crumpets in the “Honey Dew.” The early morning meetings for breakfast. She waited for me underneath the clock in the Arts building after the last lecture. Then the meal out, the Saturday night film, and at Christmas skiing at Mont Tremblant. Her mother, a widow, had brought her to Montreal after the war, after Labour had come into office.... She told me about an old house in Suffolk with earwigs coming out of the taps, of her nannie, of hunt balls, of being presented at Court.¹⁶⁵

She had brought her childhood icons from England, including *Winnie the Pooh*; she was homesick for Ivor Novello.¹⁶⁶

The fictional “English Girl” and the factual *Canada Made Me* share the same details: their breakfasts at the Honey Dew restaurant; her waiting for him under the Arts Building clock; her mother being a widow who moved to Montreal because she disliked postwar England; Christmas skiing at Mont-Tremblant; her copy of *Winnie the Pooh*; memories of hunt balls; her staying up all night to hear the broadcast of Princess Elizabeth’s marriage; and covering up her absence from Royal Victoria College to go to a hotel after Levine and his narrator’s graduation ceremony and celebrations.¹⁶⁷ The closest link between story and memoir are the descriptions of dawn in their hotel room, where they heard clanging plumbing and a man walking around whom they dubbed the hotel detective. Blue dawn came through the window, birds sang, “And we stood there watching, touched by some understanding that this was the end of something.” This sentence and the ten brief,

preceding sentences describing the hotel scene are identical in both the “nonfictional” *Canada Made Me* and the “fictional” story “The English Girl,” except for an adjective.¹⁶⁸ We read one passage as a memoir, the other as a story, but cannot help comparing them. Fiction or autobiography... perhaps we are meant to ask whether it matters.

The narrator, like Levine, left for England in June 1949. The English girl of the story [and real life] stayed to finish her B.A. at McGill. The story girl wrote often, then less often, once fall 1949 term began. Then she wrote she had met someone. The narrator sat in a pub: “And felt my world had been shattered.”¹⁶⁹ With this stark line, the story becomes more intense, more confessional than the “nonfictional” narrative in *Canada Made Me*. Levine wrote in 1989 that he thought of his stories “as tributes to people and to places that have meant something to me.”¹⁷⁰ Similarly, in 1993, he observed that he would get news of people, think of his connection with them, and write a story “as a kind of tribute” and that “The English Girl” had developed that way.¹⁷¹ The story itself ended this way: the narrator has kept a letter he received from the English girl, a year before the story was written and fifteen years after they broke up. She had heard something by him broadcast and “wanted to know what I was doing after all these years.” She and her husband “were just off for a winter cruise to see the temples at Abu Simbel before they are flooded.”

In spring 1951 Levine published a poem, “Letter from McGill University,” which was his first summing up of McGill. He calls up the same scenes he later sketched in *Canada Made Me* and “The English Girl” – skiing up north, harbour sounds, a place where “we listened / And always believed that the best was yet to come.” And McGill’s campus, with the Roddick Gates, ginkgo tree, and tomb of James McGill: “The children fat as pigeons watched through prams... The late-leave girl kissed surely in the bushes.... Underneath the trees sitting sometimes alone, We dreamt we were rebels.” His use of “we”

probably includes both his classmates and the English girl.

So were we a year, carried for four years
 As a wave starting from somewhere in
 the water
 Pushing its way towards land. We rose
 For a time, hanging there, alone as a
 racer
 With shoulders forward, breaking into
 colours
 Crashing to land. Then hushed to a
 white stillness.¹⁷²

And in 1952 he married a different English girl, Margaret Payne, with whom he had three daughters.

Levine wrote about his professors: Files in *Canada Made Me* and Noad, glancingly, in a story with an expatriate theme. From 1921 to 1951, Noad taught comparative literature, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries and studied diaries and autobiographies. His archive at McGill has notes for a book on Utopias and imaginary voyages he never wrote.¹⁷³ Levine's story "A Canadian Upbringing" (1968) has a fictional pre-incarnation of a Levine-like writer called Alexander Marsden, who had written a book called *A Canadian Upbringing* [obviously a stand-in for *Canada Made Me*] in the 1930s and ended up poor and obscure in Cornwall. The Levine-like Marsden is visited by a young Levine-like narrator. Noad's tangential part is as the model for "Graham Pollack" a McGill English professor then dead [Noad died in 1953]. Pollack's office was piled with books; he had given the narrator a copy of Marsden's book.

I had never heard of Marsden until I went to McGill. In my second year, Graham Pollack, one of the English professors – poor Graham, he's dead now [sic]. No one, apart from the handful of students who took his courses, gave him much credit for the range of his reading,

nor understood the kind of humility he brought into the classroom. He lectured, in a weak voice, on Utopias throughout the ages; on Science fiction; and on Comparative Literature. Wiping away with a large handkerchief the sweat that broke out on his forehead.¹⁷⁴

The narrator reads "A *Canadian Upbringing*" at one sitting and decides Marsden had left Canada not to deny his background but [more respectably] to expand his world view. He realizes he will do the same. In Marsden and the narrator, Levine creates not his usual one but two alter egos.

Canada Made Me has a depressing portrait of "The Professor," another of the defeated people Levine met on his trip. Unnamed, he matches Harold Files. While Levine acknowledged Files's help elsewhere, here he risked hurting feelings. He lunched in 1956 with "my former English professor" at the Faculty Club. Some background may explain why he [Files] may have seemed defeated. The professor complained about departmental quarrels. He had been chairman but not for long, forced out in favour of someone from overseas. Files chaired English from 1947 to 1952 (a respectable but not long term). The overseas displacer matches George Duthie, who had come to McGill from Edinburgh in 1947 and was chairman from 1952 to December 1954, when he suddenly left to teach at Aberdeen. At McGill, Duthie was the Molson Professor of English and issued a book, *Shakespeare*, in 1951.¹⁷⁵ He outshined Files as the "publish or perish" era took hold. Files published no books; his students' writings and his course notes are his monument. In the *McGill News* of Spring 1951, just before he became chairman, Duthie reined in Files's novel-as-M.A. thesis program with subtle aggression:

It should be emphasized strongly that the English Department is not anxious that M.A. work in Creative Writing should be developed at the expense of

critical or historical research. Those members of the Department's staff who are directly concerned with Creative Writing are very clear about that.... The innovation is in no way a threat to our tradition of critical and historical scholarship.¹⁷⁶

Duthie was still chairman when Levine lunched with Files at the Faculty Club in 1954, described in his "Autobiographical Essay," but had been gone a year and a half by their 1956 lunch, described in *Canada Made Me*, with the comment below. Perhaps Files still brooded in 1956 or Levine may have transposed Files's frustrations from 1954 to 1956. As the professor "described a tale of deceit, suspicion, betrayal; and his complete innocence of this sort of thing," Levine thought:

What could one say? That the world never was the way you said it was. You never bothered, or had to bother, to see what it was like. You received your 'experience' of human nature on the cheap side, through literature. And it served you well as long as you were a junior, lecturing, with enough money. But you became a power; and there were others after power even though you were not... He looked beaten, washed out. We could talk no more about writing as we used to. All he could talk about was what had happened to him.¹⁷⁷

He wanted sympathy, so Levine listened, wondering at his naïve outrage. "I remember how he analysed the subtleties of human relationships as he found it in the 'set books'; but now that he was faced with his own, he was at a complete loss." That Files's book learning left him defenceless must have helped to confirm Levine's contempt for academia. Levine recorded Files at a bad moment; we hardly recognize the successful champion of creative writing at McGill.

Levine lived in at least five places during his McGill years.¹⁷⁸ Not surprisingly for a writer so

focused on place, atmosphere and real-life details, he wrote about three of them in his stories. In *Canada Made Me* he recalled sharing a room with P in 1946, east of McGill, in "a dismal, sour-smelling house in Prince Arthur Street run by an untidy ginger-haired woman, a Catholic with a wastrel of a son, on whom she doted, who had the habit of urinating in the kitchen sink whenever he found the toilet occupied." The occupants were students: Sy, sleeping with his physiotherapist; fat Edith seeking a rich husband, and a girl they helped to visit an abortionist.¹⁷⁹ The second room Levine described in *Canada Made Me* was in the basement of a house (now handsomely restored) at 4274 Dorchester Boulevard (Fig. 5), two miles southwest of McGill, where he lived ca. 1947-1948, while he edited *Forge*.

It was down wooden steps in the basement by the boiler. A narrow room, large enough for the plain iron bed and a chair. A tiny window by the ceiling just cleared the level of the ground and let in fresh air, the smoke from the passing trains, grit on the pillow, the walls, the skin. The small light was on all the time. One enjoyed this gesture of protest, for you knew you had control over it and could end it whenever you wanted. One's friends were invited down. They drove up in their father's cars and had a good look.¹⁸⁰

He described the room the same way in "Why I am an Expatriate" and in the story "Class of 1949" [in which Victor drove up in his car and put the room down to eccentricity]. The "gesture" of living in the basement let him play at poverty while he enjoyed the upper middle-class world of his friends M, Victor and the English girl: "It was on the whole very pleasant. I found myself going to magnificent houses."¹⁸¹ He recalled in *Canada Made Me* how he saved peanuts to eat at the end of the month when his veteran's cheque ran out; the narrator of one of his stories did the same.¹⁸² His M.A. year, 1948-1949, Levine moved to what



Figure 5. Levine lived in a basement room here, 4274 Dorchester Blvd. West, Montreal in 1947-48. Photograph: Robert Michel, 2007.



Figure 6. Levine lived in a basement room here, 1617 Sherbrooke St. West, Montreal in 1948-1949. Photograph: Robert Michel, 2007.

he felt was a better basement at 1617 Sherbrooke St. – the house of the (Anglican) Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, which had an ornate facade and an English atmosphere inside (Fig. 6).¹⁸³ This time it was a gesture of confidence, to be nearer the English girl. She lived in McGill's Royal Victoria College, fifteen minutes' walk east. The room rented from the Dean was the scene of two similar book readings, one "fictional," one "real." In the story "A Canadian Upbringing," the narrator took the book of that title to his basement room, where "when I read the last page, I was far too excited and disturbed to go to sleep."¹⁸⁴ Very similarly, in a nonfiction article, "The Girl in the Drugstore," Levine recalled taking a copy of Faulkner's *Sound and Fury* to the same basement room, finishing it and being too excited to sleep. In this case, Levine's nonfictional version of an incident is more dramatic than his story: he went for a walk and inside a drugstore a young woman crossed herself when she saw him. Decades later, Levine remembered little of Faulkner's book but could not forget the girl and her gesture. "Later, I was to find out in writing that this is the way things emerge."¹⁸⁵

Levine had a good time at McGill in all his roles: writer, editor, honours student, veteran, man about town, friend of the British girl, cellar dweller and peanut hoarder. He won literary and social success. Soon he rejected both successes as betraying his roots and giving his writing a false start which he had to unlearn; he may have seen his romance and graduate studies as wrong turns as well. He found his destiny in England – as a writer turning his life into stories, not the professor he had been if unlucky. Nostalgic and critical, he said the same things in practically the same words about McGill for fifty years, in both fiction and nonfiction – he had enjoyed McGill but could not take it seriously and had betrayed his values there. McGill let him get imitation out of his system. He got McGill out of his system

by writing the vignettes of student life seen here, with their melancholic glimpses of remembered love and of classmates eroded by time, failure, and lack of values and staying power. His use of McGill friends as the starting point for his story characters Victor, the English Girl, Graham Pollack, and Len Mason confirms what he said about how he wrote; he started with real people and then the story and connections took over. Like every student, he got good and false starts at university. McGill launched him, praised and prized him. McGill did not make him but gave him writing experience, story characters and a good target.

APPENDIX

1. LEVINE'S WRITINGS AT MCGILL UNIVERSITY IN: *MCGILL DAILY, THE FORGE, MANUSCRIPT, AND MYSSIUM*

(Punctuations of poetry first lines, where they existed, are shown as they were in first publication.)

1.1. Levine's poems in the *McGill Daily*, 1946-1948.

Date	Title / followed by First Line / and Author's Signature or Attribution
11 Jan. 1946	"Ode to a Flier." / I saw Night / A.N.L.
15 Jan. 1946	"Fraternization." / The Earth was still thirsty / A.N. Levine. A variant text of same title was published in <i>McGill Daily</i> , 19 Dec. 1946.
18 Jan. 1946	"Sheffield." / Smoke / A.N.L.
22 Jan. 1946	"Leipzig, April 16, 1945." / Destructive demons driving down / A.N.L. [Includes a 2nd part sub-headed: "Crews report for briefing 2300 hours."] Reprinted in <i>McGill Daily</i> , 6 Oct. 1948.
18 Feb. 1946	"Take-off." / Clipped wings dragging chains of smoke / A.N.L.
28 Feb. 1946	"Saturday Night." / A cat screamed / A.N.L.
25 July 1946	"Dusk." / The smoke leaves the womb. / A.N.L.
25 July 1946	"Poem." / Time measures life's spider netting. / Unattributed, this verse appeared just beneath "Dusk" and presumably is by Levine.
3 Oct. 1946	"The Grey Cat." / The grey cat lay beside the fire / A.N.L.

6 Nov. 1946	"It was a Dull Day." / It was a dull day. / A.N.L. Reprinted in <i>Forge</i> , Winter 1947.
5 Dec. 1946	"Pastel in Snow." / Cold Cotton. / A.N.L.
19 Dec. 1946	"Fraternization." / The Earth was still thirsty / A.N. Levine. Variant text of same title published in <i>McGill Daily</i> , 15 Jan. 1946.
22 Jan. 1947	"1947." / The days of blowing smoke rings. / A.N.L.
6 Oct. 1948	"Leipzig, April 16, 1945." / Destructive demons driving down / A.N.L. [Includes a 2 nd part sub-headed: "Crews report for briefing 2300 hours."] Reprinted, first published in <i>McGill Daily</i> , 22 Jan. 1946.
1 Dec. 1948	"A Dead Airman Speaks." / Imagine a high-heeled morning / N. Levine. Reprinted from <i>Forge</i> , Spring 1948.

1.2. Levine's articles in the *McGill Daily*, 1946-1949

Date	Title and Author's Signature / Attribution
4 Feb. 1946	"The Daily Meets Jascha Heifitz." / Norman Levine.
20 Feb. 1946	"Sketches: Jean-Paul Sartre." / A.N.L.
17 Mar. 1949	"Editorial," <i>McGill Daily Literary Supplement</i> , 17 Mar. 1949. / A.N.L. (Levine was the editor of this issue.)

1.3. Levine's poems and stories in *The Forge*, 1946-1949

Date	Title / followed by First Line / and Author's Signature or Attribution
Winter 1947	"Prologue." [Story] / The clouds extended across the sky in tangled webs. / Norman Levine.
Winter 1947	"It was a Dull Day." / It was a dull day / Norman Levine. First printed in <i>McGill Daily</i> , 6 Nov. 1946.
Winter 1947	"Myssium." / A picker of stones am I / "W.A. Neville" [pseudonym for Norman Levine].
Winter 1947	"Circles." / Design your cheeks with curved lines / "W.A. Neville" [pseudonym for Norman Levine].
Spring 1947	"Our life is to be envied." [Story] / Norman Levine. Opens with verse, first line: "soiled animal skin." First prose line: "I was flying indifferently past finger-printed clouds..." A typescript noted below (in 1.4), same title, is in entries for the Macnaghten Prize, 1947. [Similar to part of the typescript of "Angled Road."]
Spring 1948	"Autumn." / The leaves blew trains' departures and the sheaves / Blushed a colour the trees never dreamed of. / A. Norman Levine.
Spring 1948	"A Dead Airman Speaks." / Imagine a high-heeled morning / A. Norman Levine.

1.4. Levine's manuscript poems and prose at McGill Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections Division.

The Library retained Macnaghten Prize entries which won or which received honorable mention: *McGill University Calendar*, 1948-1949, 518-519. It is not clear which ranking was given to Levine's 1947 entries. According to the Programme, McGill University Annual Convocation, 1948, he won in 1948.

Date	Title / followed by First Line / and Author's Signature or Attribution, with McGill Rare Books and Special Collections Division catalogue reference.
1947	"Myssium." / A picker of stones am I / Albert Norman Levine, B.A. III. PS8235 C6C45 1947 folio. Submitted for the Macnaghten Competition.
1947	"Our Life Is To Be Envied". / Opens with verse, first line: "soiled animal skin." First prose line: "I was flying indifferently past finger-printed clouds..." Albert Norman Levine, B.A. III. [Similar to part of typescript of "Angled Road".] PS8235 C6 C45 1947 folio. Submitted for the Macnaghten Competition.
1948	"The Angled Road" (MS. of novel). Albert Norman Levine, B.A. IV. PS8235 C6 C45 1948 folio. Winner of the Macnaghten Competition; published in 1952 after major changes. An earlier version (not held) was completed in 1947 and submitted for the Dodd, Mead Intercollegiate Literary Fellowship Prize (for novels) as was this one.

1.5. Levine's poems published in *Myssium*, 1948, 8 pages, 250 copies, The Ryerson Poetry Chapbooks, Toronto 1948.

Poems marked with an asterix (*) were first published in *The Forge* or the *McGill Daily*. Punctuation occasionally varied from the original publication.

Date	Title / and where first published.
1948	"Myssium."* <i>Forge</i> , Winter, 1947, by W.A. Neville, pseud.
1948	"Autumn."* <i>Forge</i> , Spring 1948.
1948	"A Dead Airman Speaks."* <i>Forge</i> , Spring 1948.
1947	"It Was A Dull Day"* <i>Forge</i> , Winter 1947.
1948	"Our Life Is To Be Envied." This is a poem, not the prose piece of the same title published in <i>Forge</i> and in typescript in McGill's Rare Books and Special Collections Division.
1948	"The Green Was A Fresh Yellow Green." First line: The green was a fresh yellow green
1946	"Fraternization."* <i>McGill Daily</i> , 15 Jan. 1946, variant 19 Dec. 1946
1948	"I Am Captain Up Above." First line: Dress quietly
1947	"The Days Of Blowing Smoke Rings."* Variant of "1947," <i>McGill Daily</i> , 22 Jan. 1947.

2. PUBLISHED FICTION AND TRAVEL MEMOIR BY LEVINE REFERRING TO MCGILL UNIVERSITY

These are works, listed alphabetically by title, with passages about McGill or in which protagonists or characters are McGill students, graduates or professors. Most references to McGill are brief. Works making substantial use of McGill characters or events are marked with an asterix (*). The list may not be complete and is based on Levine's published story collections. Many of Levine's stories were collected more than once. Dates of first publication are given in brackets where specified (which was rarely) in the various collections. For convenience, two or three collections are given for most stories. There are three large collections of Levine's stories (which include most McGill-related ones): *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984 (23 stories); *By a Frozen River: the short stories of Norman Levine*, foreword by John Metcalf, L&OD, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000 (reprints 18 of the stories in *Champagne Barn* and adds 8 others) and *The Ability to Forget: short stories*, foreword by A. Alexis, L&OD, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2003 (15 stories, none of which appear in *By a Frozen River*; 2 were in *Champagne Barn*).

Works cited

"Because of the War," 82: *Best Canadian Short Stories*, ed. John Metcalf and Leon Rooke, Oberon Press, Toronto, 1982; *Something Happened Here*, Viking, Toronto, 1991.

"By the Richelieu," *I Don't Want to Know Anyone Too Well*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1971; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984. First titled and collected as "The Cocks Are Crowing" [1959], *One Way Ticket*, Martin Secker and Warburg, 1961.

"A Canadian Upbringing: a short story by Norman Levine," *The Montrealer*, April 1968, vol. 42, no. 4; *I Don't Want to Know Anyone Too Well and other stories*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1971;

Champagne Barn, Penguin, 1984; *By a Frozen River*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000.

**"A Small Piece of Blue" [1956], *One Way Ticket*, Martin Secker and Warburg, London, 1961; McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1961; *By a Frozen River*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000.

**"Class of 1949," *Thin Ice*, Deneau and Greenberg, Ottawa 1980; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984; *By a Frozen River*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000. First published as "Class of 1948," *Queen's Quarterly*, Autumn 1974, vol. 81, no.3.

**"Class of 1948." Generally published as "Class of 1949." See above.

**Canada Made Me*, Putnam and Company, Ltd., London & McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1958. Reprinted by Deneau and Greenberg, Ottawa, 1979 and 1982; and by the Porcupine's Quill Press, 1993.

"The Cocks Are Crowing" [1959]. See "By the Richelieu" above.

**"The English Girl" [British *Vogue*, March 1964]; *I Don't Want to Know Anyone Too Well*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1971; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984; *Montreal Mon Amour*, ed. Michael Benazon, Deneau, Toronto, 1989.

"Gifts," *Something Happened Here*, Viking, Toronto, 1991; *The Ability to Forget*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2003.

**"I'll Bring You Back Something Nice"[1968], *Canadian Winter's Tales*, ed. Norman Levine, Macmillan, Toronto, 1968; published (as a self-contained story) as chapter 7:"A Trip to London," in *From a Seaside Town*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1970; *By a Frozen River*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000.

"The Lesson" [1960], *One Way Ticket*, Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1961 and McClelland and Stewart, London, 1961.

"South of Montreal," *I Don't Want to Know Anyone Too Well*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1971; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984; *By a Frozen River*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000.

"We all Begin in a Little Magazine" [1971] *Thin Ice*, Deneau and Greenberg, Ottawa, 1980; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984; *By a Frozen River*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000.

"Why Do You Live So Far Away?" [1965], *Selected Stories*, Oberon, Ottawa, ca. 1975; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984. Published with three added paragraphs as chapter 8 of *From a Seaside Town*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1970.

"A Writer's Story," *Thin Ice*, Deneau and Greenberg, Ottawa, 1980; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984; *By a Frozen River*, Key Porter Books, Toronto, 2000.

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This article owes much to writings by Levine critics, especially Lawrence Mathews, John Metcalf and T.D. MacLulich and to Levine's interviewers, especially David McDonald, and of course to Levine's fiction, travel memoir and published comments about his own writing. Any misinterpretations are mine. While no replies were received to enquiries about Levine's archive at York University, the sources at McGill, particularly student publications, and Levine's writings from 1946 onwards, provided a surplus of information for the purposes of this article. My research, done mainly in 2006, owes much to the reference assistance of Gordon Burr of the McGill University Archives and to staff members David Poliak, Bruce Dolphin, and Jean-Marc Tremblay. Thanks also are due the staff of the Rare Books and Special Collections Division, McGill Libraries, including Richard Virr, Gary Tynski, Donald Hogan, and Raynald Lepage; and to Ann Marie Holland and Kendall Wallis, McGill Libraries; the staff of Westmount Public Library; the Atwater Library and Computer Centre, Westmount; and Barbara McPherson, Archives of the Diocese of Montreal. Various sources were supplied by Carol Wiens, Head, Library, Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital. Leonard Ashley, Patience Wheatley Wanklyn and William Weintraub kindly shared memories

of McGill in the 1940s. I am also grateful to John Hobbins, Lonnie Weatherby, Christopher Lyons and Peter McNally of *Fontanus*.

ENDNOTES

¹ Interview [31 Oct. 1975] by David McDonald: "Simplicity and Sophistication: a Conversation with Norman Levine," *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer, 1976, vol. 83, no. 2, 230. Levine's narrator had the same good time in "I'll Bring You Back Something Nice," *Canadian Winter's Tales*, ed. Norman Levine, Macmillan, Toronto, 1968; reprinted in Levine, *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984, 94.

² He has been acclaimed by writers and critics yet the recent *Penguin Book of Canadian Short Stories* (2007) left him out. See John Metcalf, "Thinking About Penguins," *Canadian Notes & Queries*, no. 74, 2008.

³ Wayne Grady, Interview with Norman Levine, *Books in Canada*, Feb. 1980, vol. 9, no. 2, 24.

⁴ John Metcalf, *Shut Up He Explained: a Literary Memoir, Vol. II*, Biblioasis, Emeryville, Ontario, 2007, 362.

⁵ Alan Twigg, "Norman Levine," *Strong Voices: Conversations with Fifty Canadian Authors*, Harbour Publishing, Madeira Park, B.C., 1988, 175.

⁶ In my title, "Fiction" refers to Levine's stories; "Faction" to literary genres which mix fact and fiction (for example, introducing real-life characters into fiction or presenting nonfiction in the style of a novel) and, to add a twist, to allude to Levine's frequent use of similar texts in both his fiction and nonfiction; and "Autobiography" to Levine's articles and interviews about his writing and life as well as his use of his own experiences in his fiction. This article joins my others in *Fontanus* on McGill's portrayal in fiction and memoir: "Floreat Plutoria: Satirical Fiction about McGill," *Fontanus*, IX (1996); "The Gates of McGill: an Unpublished Novel of the 1920s by Dink Carroll," *Fontanus*, XI (2003) and "Adversity Vanquished: Memoirs of a McGill Medical Student, Harold W. Trott, 1918-1924," *Fontanus*, XII.

⁷ Norman Levine, "The Girl in the Drugstore" [memoir], *The Sixties: Writers and Writing of the Decade*, ed. George Woodcock, University of British Columbia Publications Centre, Vancouver, 1969, 50.

⁸ McDonald: "Simplicity and Sophistication," 219.

⁹ Generally called *Forge*, the official title was *The Forge*.

¹⁰ Levine, Introduction, *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984, xv. Susan Patrick, Review of *Champagne Barn* (1984), *Canadian Book Review Annual*, 1984, 270-271, underlines Levine's autobiographical point, noting that the stories are grouped into 4 stages of Levine's life [youth in Ottawa; RCAF and McGill; struggling writer in England; and recognition].

¹¹ Biographical details are found in Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," *Canadian Literature*, Summer 1960, no. 5, 49-54; "An Autobiographical Essay," *Canadian Notes & Queries*,

2001, no. 60, 7-19, and other articles and interviews cited in this article.

¹² Levine, "Autobiographical Essay," 8.

¹³ Levine, "Leipzig, April 16, 1945," *McGill Daily*, 22 Jan. 1946. He may have written some poems before going to McGill. And he refers to writing a short story about a hangman and to imitating a novel he found, set in Vienna, while he was at high school: "The Girl in the Drugstore," 49; "Why I am an Expatriate," 52.

¹⁴ McDonald: "Simplicity and Sophistication," 218; Levine, "Autobiographical Essay," 8-9.

¹⁵ Levine, *Canada Made Me* [Putnam & Co., London, 1958], Deneau and Greenberg, Ottawa, 1979, 237. All references are to D&G, 1979, which has the same pagination as the 1958 edition. This reprint and later ones (D&G, 1982 and Porcupine's Quill, 1993) have made the scarce 1958 work available. Two paragraphs in the 1958 edition were omitted in the later editions; they do not affect the McGill-related texts discussed here but their significance is argued by Randall Martin, "Norman Levine's *Canada Made Me*," *Canadian Literature*, Spring 1996, vol. 148, 200-203.

¹⁶ Levine, "In Quebec City," *I Don't Want to Know Anyone Too Well and Other Stories*, 1971, Macmillan, Toronto, 1971, 7.

¹⁷ Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 51.

¹⁸ Levine, "The English Girl" [1964], collected in *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984, 50-51.

¹⁹ He had kept the Rokeby Venus (by Valasquez) in his description of the mess hall in *The Angled Road* (Werner Laurie, London, 1952 and McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1952), 59.

²⁰ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 218.

²¹ Levine, "The Girl in the Drugstore," 50.

²² Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 52.

²³ Levine, "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 51.

²⁴ Levine, *Angled Road*, 150.

²⁵ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 220.

²⁶ Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 52. Levine may have meant Canadian football not rugby. The protagonist of Dink Carroll's novel about McGill in the 1920s also chose McGill because he admired its football team: Robert Michel, "The Gates of McGill," *Fontanus*, XI, 2003, 16.

²⁷ Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 52-53; Margaret Flannery, "Wrong Way Immigrants," *The Montrealer*, Oct. 1966, vol. 40, no. 10, 19; Levine, *From a Seaside Town*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1970, 43-44.

²⁸ Cary Fagan, "On Not Collecting Norman Levine," *Canadian Notes & Queries*, no. 60, 2001, 4.

²⁹ Levine, "I'll Bring You Back Something Nice," *Champagne Barn*, 94. First published separately as the story "I'll Bring You Back Something Nice," ca. 1968, the story was used as Chapter 7 ("A Trip to London,") in Levine's novel *From*

a Seaside Town. Likewise, the novel's Chapter 8 (no title), minus its first three paragraphs, also appeared as the story "Why Do You Live So Far Away?"

³⁰ Letter, Leonard R.N. Ashley (B.A. 1949, M.A. 1950) to Robert Michel, 23 Sept. 2006.

³¹ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 222-223.

³² Referred to in Levine's letter to Files from London, Feb. 1950, discussed later.

³³ According to the McGill University *Calendar*, in 1947-1948 Files taught English Composition (advanced); The English Novel, Richardson to the Present; American and Canadian Literature (with A.M. Klein); and offered graduate seminars on mystical and other religious literature in English in the late 17th and the 18th centuries, and Literary Criticism, and Special Studies in 18th century literature.

³⁴ A shelf-read of M.A. theses in the McGill library stacks turned up the following early M.A. thesis-novels: C. W. Gowdey, "Thirty Days Hath September: a novel," 1948; Mary M.M. Geggie, "Inhabit the Garden," 1949; Peggy Goodin, "Take Care of My Little Girl," 1949; Helen R. Leavitt, "Threshold" 1949. Others soon followed, such as May Ebbitt (Cutler), "The Walls of Sense: a novel," 1951. The University *Calendar* first announced the thesis-novel option in the 1949-1950 session, though it was available by 1948. On Files and the creative writing program, see Files, "Sometimes I Am Proud," *McGill Daily*, 1 Dec. 1948, 2, 4; May Ebbitt, "Professor Trains Student Authors," *The Standard* (Montreal), 26 March 1949, 4; Dusty Vineberg, "Of Trying Not To Let Civilization Down," *The Montreal Star*, 9 May 1964, 4.

³⁵ Nora Magid [B.A. 1946], "The Daily Meets Constance Beresford Howe," *McGill Daily*, 18 Jan. 1946, 2.

³⁶ Constance Beresford-Howe, "Stages in an Education," *McGill: a Celebration*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1991, 92. With a Ph.D from Brown University in 1949, she taught at McGill into the late 1960s. She recalled: "In those postwar years, McGill was full of ex-servicemen completing their education on government grants. Many of my creative writing students were men my age or older, and this naturally led to a number of romantic complications very bothersome to all concerned." *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁷ Harold Files Fonds, McGill University Archives (MUA), MG 1037, C7, lecture notes, no date. The Archives acquired the papers (as Accession 289) soon after Files left McGill in 1964, from the English Department, where they had been mingled with the papers (MUA, MG 1063) of Professor Algy S. Noad (B.A., M.A., McGill). Files's papers include professional and personal correspondence and teaching notes as well as records relating to his administrative duties as Chairman, 1947-1952, and service on committees. Files supplied background on these records in a letter to University Archivist John Andreassen, 28 Oct. 1970: MG 1037, C1 (Acc. 1127/1).

- ³⁸ *The McGill Movement: A.J.M. Smith, F.R. Scott, and Leo Kennedy*, ed. Peter Stevens, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1969. The best study of poets around McGill in Levine's time is Brian Trehearne, *The Montreal Forties: Modernist Poetry in Transition*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1999. On Montreal's and McGill's role in modern poetry, see Leon Edel, "Literary Revolution: the Montreal Group," in E.A. Collard, *The McGill You Knew*, Longman Canada, 1975; Louis Dudek, "The Montreal Poets," *Forge*, Feb. 1957, 3-6; and David McKnight, "An Annotated Bibliography of English Canadian Little Magazines: 1940-1980," M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1992, 16.
- ³⁹ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 70.
- ⁴⁰ Lawrence Mathews, "Norman Levine," in Robert Lecker, Jack David, Ellen Quigley, eds., *Canadian Writers and their works*, Fiction Series, Volume Eight, ECW Press, Toronto, 1989, 95-96.
- ⁴¹ Levine, "By a Frozen River," *Champagne Barn*, 155.
- ⁴² Levine, "The Daily Meets Jascha Heifetz," *McGill Daily*, 4 Feb. 1946, 2. Levine free-lanced; he was not a regular *Daily* staffer. He also wrote a few book reviews for the local press.
- ⁴³ A.N.L. [Norman Levine], "Sketches: Jean-Paul Sartre," *McGill Daily*, 20 Feb. 1946, 2.
- ⁴⁴ A.N.L. [Norman Levine], "The Forge," *McGill Daily*, 29 Jan. 1947, 2.
- ⁴⁵ He told David McDonald, ("Simplicity and Sophistication," 218): "I don't think you need to have a wide experience. I think if you can go deeply into the experience you have you can dig up all the things you need."
- ⁴⁶ *Forge*, Winter 1947, 3, 13-14, 23. (No W.A. Neville appears in student directories).
- ⁴⁷ Incidentally, Levine varied the way he signed his McGill publications: A.N.L., A.N. Levine, N. Levine, Norman Levine, and A. Norman Levine – this may reflect a search for identity but more likely a whimsical inconsistency. The Appendix lists Levine's works at McGill as he signed them.
- ⁴⁸ Karine Collin, "New School of Writing in This Year's 'Forge,'" 6 Feb. 1947, 2. Collin does not appear in the 1946-47 *Directory of Students* or the *Directories of Graduates*.
- ⁴⁹ *Forge*, Winter, 1947, 13.
- ⁵⁰ *Forge*, Spring, 1947, 8-12. The McGill Library stamped it as received on 17 April 1947. It appeared too late to be reviewed in the *McGill Daily*, which had ended publication for the term.
- ⁵¹ Levine, *Angled Road*, 54. He dropped the adjective "artificial" in the book. The story's rainy bombing raid is similar to that published in *Angled Road*.
- ⁵² This March 1948 issue was on larger paper, had 51 pages of text plus advertisements at the end, and cost 50 cents instead of the previous year's 25 cents (in 1949 the price dropped back to 25 cents).
- ⁵³ Harold Files, "New Writing Forges Ahead," *McGill Daily*, 4 Mar. 1948, 2.
- ⁵⁴ *Daily* writers often signed only their initials. B.S. is probably Betty Sinclair who is listed as Features Chief Staff Writer on the *Daily* masthead, 4 Mar. 1948. She reviewed *Forge* 1949 in the *McGill Daily*, 14 Mar. 1949, 2.
- ⁵⁵ B.S., "The Daily Meets an Editorial Board; Finds *Forge* Lively If Controversial," *McGill Daily*, 4 March 1948, 2. Johnston's M.A. thesis (1948) was on "Aspects of the treatment of time in some modern English novelists." Levine's thesis had a similar time aspect: "Ezra Pound and the sense of the past;" perhaps they influenced each other. The University Archives and the McGill Libraries have paper and microfilm runs of the *McGill Daily* and paper copies of *Forge*.
- ⁵⁶ The *McGill Daily* announced the broadcasts in its issues of 2 and 3 Mar. 1948.
- ⁵⁷ Levine, "Autobiographical essay," 13; Elaine Kalman Naves, *Robert Weaver: Godfather of Canadian Literature*, Véhicule Press, Montreal, 2007, 35-36 (reprints letter from Weaver), 67-68 (on Levine, Richler). Levine, *Champagne Barn*, vii, acknowledged that 18 of the 23 stories had been broadcast on *Anthology* and that most had been commissioned.
- ⁵⁸ *Forge*, 1948, 27-28.
- ⁵⁹ Grady, Interview with Norman Levine, 24-25. Levine included "Autumn" in *Myssium*, Ryerson Poetry Chapbook 131, Toronto, 1948 and *The Tight-rope Walker*, The Totem Press, London, 1950.
- ⁶⁰ Peggy Goodin, "Take Care of My Little Girl," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1949; same title, E.P. Dutton, New York, 1950; same title, 20th Century Fox, Jean Negulesco, Director, 1951. The \$30,000 figure is from Dusty Vineberg's account of Files's retirement, "Trying Not to Let Civilization Down," *McGill News*, June, 1964, vol.45, no. 3, 14.
- ⁶¹ Peggy Goodin, "Independent Critic Looks for Discipline in *Forge* – Calls for Literary Revolution," *McGill Daily*, 4 Mar. 1948, 2. Answered by W.D. MacCallan, "Reply to *Forge* Critique," *McGill Daily*, 5 March 1948, 2; replied to by Peggy Goodin, "Open Letter to Mr. MacCallan," *McGill Daily*, 8 Mar. 1948, 2.
- ⁶² A copy of *Whisper* is in the L.R.N. Ashley Fonds, McGill University Archives, MG 4216, C2, file 26. Ashley published humor while at McGill; perhaps the presence of *Whisper* in his papers is not wholly coincidental. *Whisper* also spoofed the *McGill Daily* and Montreal Mayor Houde.
- ⁶³ R. Gravina, "McGill's Magazine," *McGill Daily*, 14 Mar. 1949, 2.
- ⁶⁴ Levine, "The Girl in the Drug Store," 50-51.
- ⁶⁵ Algy Smillie Noad, *A Canadian Handbook of English*, Toronto, 1932, see 20-21.
- ⁶⁶ Copy in the McGill Libraries: PS 8523 E89M97 1948. Noad's papers (MUA, MG 1063, at present are partly mixed with those of Harold Files (MUA, MG 1037).
- ⁶⁷ Levine, *From a Seaside Town*, 146.

- ⁶⁸ Levine, "Autobiographical essay," 7. John Wycliffe and others translated the Old and New Testaments from Latin into English in the 1380s and 1390s. Levine learned English at school after the age of five: Lawrence Mathews, "Norman Levine," *Canadian Writers and their Works*, vol. 8, 83.
- ⁶⁹ Levine, "The Angled Road" (novel), typescript, 247 leaves. Submitted for the Macnaghten Competition. McGill Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections Division: PS8235 C6 C45 1948 folio. Two prizes were usually awarded, one worth \$50, the other \$25. The prize (no ranking mentioned) was credited to Levine in the McGill Annual Convocation Programme, May 1948. Other Macnaghten winners have gone on to literary careers; the best known is probably Leonard Cohen, who won in 1955. Levine took his title from Emily Dickinson's poem "Experience is the Angled Road."
- ⁷⁰ "The Angled Road," typescript, McGill Libraries Rare Books and Special Collections Division, 183-184.
- ⁷¹ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 220.
- ⁷² Levine, "The Girl in the Drug Store," 52.
- ⁷³ Cynthia Flood, "All the Heart Is in the Things," *Canadian Notes & Queries*, no. 60, 2001, 6.
- ⁷⁴ Levine, "Autobiographical essay," 18.
- ⁷⁵ Programme, McGill University Annual Convocation, 1948, 38. The prizes Levine won are described in McGill University, *Calendar for the Session 1947-1948*, 517, 523.
- ⁷⁶ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 224-225; the same comment about the Chief Scout is in "Class of 1949," *Thin Ice*, Ottawa, 1980, 15.
- ⁷⁷ Levine, "Autobiographical essay," 12.
- ⁷⁸ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 83.
- ⁷⁹ Harold Files Fonds, McGill University Archives (MUA), MG 1037. Containers (C) 8 & 10 contain Files's correspondence with students and others, ca. 1947-1952, some broken into narrower date ranges, mixed with other matters. Most letters, like those from Levine, are in general files, not under individual names. Files apparently made no carbon copies of his letters to Levine.
- ⁸⁰ Letter, Levine to Files, 17 July 1948, Harold Files Fonds, MUA, MG 1037, C8, Correspondence, ca. 1948-1950. It is tempting to guess that "E.B.W." was E.B. White, though I found no connection between him and Dodd, Mead.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸² May Ebbitt, "Young McGill Writers: Course on the Novel Established and Conducted by Dr. Files Sets Encouraging Note," *McGill News*, Autumn, 1949, vol. 31, no. 1. In 1951 Ebbitt received the M.A. for her interesting MS. novel "The Walls of Sense."
- ⁸³ Letter, Levine to Files, 17 July 1948, Harold Files Fonds, MUA, MG 1037, C8, Correspondence, ca. 1948-1950.
- ⁸⁴ [Norman Levine] Outline of Proposed Thesis on Ezra Pound, 1 page, no date, ca. summer 1948, Harold Files Fonds, MG 1037, C8, Correspondence with graduate students, ca. 1948-1950.
- ⁸⁵ Levine, "The Girl in the Drugstore," 52.
- ⁸⁶ McDonald: "Simplicity and Sophistication," 219.
- ⁸⁷ [Albert Norman] Levine, "Ezra Pound and the Sense of the Past," McGill University, M.A. Thesis, April 1949 (typescript, 172 pp. and 12 pp. notes), 4. Copies are in the McGill Libraries.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5, 170-172. Coincidentally, Pound's son Omar would receive an M.A. from McGill in 1958.
- ⁸⁹ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 105.
- ⁹⁰ "Myssium," "It Was A Dull Day," "Autumn," and "A Dead Airman Speaks." in *Forge*; and "Fraternization," and "The Days Of Blowing Smoke Rings" (the latter a variant of 1947) in the *McGill Daily*.
- ⁹¹ B.S., "Myssium. A New Book of Verse. By Albert Norman Levine," *McGill Daily*, 15 Oct. 1948, 2.
- ⁹² Discussed by Brian Trahearne, *Aestheticism and the Canadian Modernists*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal, 1989, 261-269.
- ⁹³ McGill had lost its early lead: *McGill University Magazine*, edited by Charles E. Moyse, 1901-1906, succeeded by *University Magazine*, edited by McGill's Sir Andrew Macphail, 1907-1920, issued by a committee for McGill, Toronto, and Dalhousie.
- ⁹⁴ *McGill Daily Literary Supplement*, 17 Mar. 1949, 1. The Supplement was a 7 column per page, 4 page news sheet.
- ⁹⁵ Harold Files, "The writer in our society," *McGill Daily Literary Supplement*, 17 March 1949, 3.
- ⁹⁶ Algy Noad, "The literature of personality," *McGill Daily Literary Supplement*, 17 March 1949, 3.
- ⁹⁷ *Montreal Daily Star*, 21 Mar. 1949: "Air Force Vet Awarded \$5,000 Beaver Club Scholarship," *Montreal Gazette*, 21 Mar. 1949: "Beaver Club Awards for 1949 Announced." Both stories had photographs of Levine. The figure of Can. \$5,000 appears to be an estimated equivalent of a two year award of 500 pounds per year.
- ⁹⁸ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 219-220; "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 52.
- ⁹⁹ Levine, "A Canadian Upbringing," *The Montrealer*, April, 1968, vol. 42, no. 4, 42; republished in *Champagne Barn*, 55. In this story he adds that the English girl later married an Englishman she met on the cross-channel boat to France, *Champagne Barn*, 57.
- ¹⁰⁰ Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 49, 51.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 53.
- ¹⁰² John Richmond, "A little bit of expatriatism goes a long way" [title used both for Richmond's interview and a review of *From a Seaside Town* by Alan Heuser], *Montreal Star*, 26 Sept. 1970, 16.
- ¹⁰³ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 225.

- ¹⁰⁴ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 48-50, 216-219
- ¹⁰⁵ Levine, *From a Seaside Town*, 44.
- ¹⁰⁶ Levine, "The Girl in the Drug Store," 52.
- ¹⁰⁷ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 228.
- ¹⁰⁸ Letters, Levine to Files, 24 Sept. 1949; Levine to Files, 1 Feb. 1950, Harold Files Fonds, MUA, MG 1037, C10, Correspondence 1949-1950.
- ¹⁰⁹ He described the Montreal shoreline as looking like a landscape by L.S. Lowry: *Canada Made Me*, 266.
- ¹¹⁰ Letter, Levine to Files, 24 Sept. 1949, Harold Files Fonds, MUA, MG 1037, C10, Correspondence, 1949-1950.
- ¹¹¹ Levine, "We All Begin in a Little Magazine," *Thin Ice*, Deneau and Greenberg, Ottawa, 1980, 45. The story is analysed by George Slobodzin, "On First Reading Levine," *Canadian Notes & Queries*, no. 60, 2001, 25.
- ¹¹² According to Metcalfe, *Shut Up He Explained*, 41, Levine, insulted, had a dealer sell it to the University of Texas at Austin.
- ¹¹³ Levine, "Autobiographical Essay," 11.
- ¹¹⁴ Letter, Levine to Files, 1 Feb. 1950, Harold Files Fonds, MUA, MG 1037, C10, Correspondence, 1949-1950.
- ¹¹⁵ Levine, "Letter from England" [poem], *The Tight-Rope Walker*, The Totem Press, London, 1950, 29.
- ¹¹⁶ Levine, "A Letter from England," *The Tamarack Review*, Summer, 1958, issue 8, 42. Not to be confused with the similarly titled poem.
- ¹¹⁷ Levine, "Autobiographical Essay," 11.
- ¹¹⁸ Levine, "Portrait of a Poet," *Poetry Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4, Winter 1951-1952, 127. Cornwall poems include "The Fishing Village," *Poetry Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, Autumn 1951; "Crabbing," *Poetry Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 2, Summer 1952.
- ¹¹⁹ Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 49.
- ¹²⁰ Levine, "A Canadian Upbringing," *Champagne Barn*, 57.
- ¹²¹ Richmond, "A little bit of expatriatism goes a long way," *Montreal Star*, 26 Sept. 1970, 16.
- ¹²² Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 52.
- ¹²³ Levine, "A Writer's Story," *Thin Ice*, Deneau and Greenberg, Ottawa, 1980; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984; 124 in latter edition.
- ¹²⁴ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 224.
- ¹²⁵ Levine, *From a Seaside Town*, 149-150, 215.
- ¹²⁶ "I'll Bring You Back Something Nice," in *Canadian Winter's Tales* and *Champagne Barn*. He appreciated the suit and got loans from friends: *Canada Made Me*, 230, 256.
- ¹²⁷ Levine, "Autobiographical Essay," 12. Levine saw the resulting traveling art exhibition in Edmonton in 1956: *Canada Made Me*, 135.
- ¹²⁸ He listed it as a "Travel Memoir" in his "Autobiographical Essay," 19.
- ¹²⁹ Metcalf, *Shut Up He Explained*, 239. The woman appears in *Canada Made Me*, 67. The mine also appears, rather obscurely, in *The Angled Road*, 137-140, beginning: "Mine needs men..."
- ¹³⁰ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 49.
- ¹³¹ Ira Bruce Nadel, "'Canada Made Me' and Canadian Autobiography," *Canadian Literature*, Summer 1984, no. 101, 70-73.
- ¹³² William Weintraub, *Getting Started: a memoir of the 1950s with letters from Mordecai Richler, Mavis Gallant and Brian Moore*, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 2001: letter, Weintraub to Richler, 9 Dec. 1958, 222-223.
- ¹³³ Mordecai Richler, "Canadian Candour," review of *Canada Made Me*, *Sunday Times* (London), 8 Feb. 1959, 16. Jack McClelland disliked the book and only took 500 copies to distribute in Canada.
- ¹³⁴ Mathews, "Norman Levine," *Canadian Writers and their Works*, vol. 8, 99.
- ¹³⁵ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 221.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 225.
- ¹³⁷ T.D. MacLulich, "'You Don't Lie': Reflections on Norman Levine," *Writers in Aspice*, ed. John Metcalf, Véhicule Press, Montreal, 1988, 34-35, referring to *Canada Made Me* and the story "A Small Piece of Blue."
- ¹³⁸ Quotations are from Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 234-235.
- ¹³⁹ Levine, "Sometimes it works," *How Stories Mean*, ed. John Metcalf and J.R. Struthers, The Porcupine's Quill, Erin, Ontario, 1993, 219.
- ¹⁴⁰ Michelle Gadpaille, *The Canadian Short Story*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1988, 100.
- ¹⁴¹ On issues of truth and autobiography in Levine's fiction, see T.D. MacLulich, "'You Don't Lie': Reflections on Norman Levine;" and Lawrence Mathews, "Levine's Realism: A Reply to T.D. MacLulich," both in *Writers in Aspice*.
- ¹⁴² Levine, "Autobiographical essay," 13, 18.
- ¹⁴³ Mathews, "Norman Levine," *Canadian Writers and their works*, vol. 8, 113-114, citing the story "The Man with the Notebook."
- ¹⁴⁴ Levine, "Class of 1949" in *Thin Ice*, 27 and *Champagne Barn*, 144. First published as "The Class of 1948" in 1974.
- ¹⁴⁵ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 226.
- ¹⁴⁶ Levine left fewer clues about other McGill students he mentioned and no identities have been attempted here for Bob and Ian, who went to the mine with Levine in 1948 nor for K, one of the wealthiest students at McGill, nor Hector B, a diplomat, all referred to in *Canada Made Me*, 77-78, 235, 276. Nor for "Archie Carter," a McGill friend of the narrator of "Because of the War," 82: *Best Canadian Stories*, ed. John Metcalf and Leon Rooke, Oberon Press, 1982, 57-73. A friend from Levine's teens in Ottawa is called Archie in *Canada Made Me*, 53.

¹⁴⁷ Levine, "A Small Piece of Blue," *One Way Ticket*, Martin Secker and Warburg, London, 1961.

¹⁴⁸ Levine, quoted in Metcalf, *Shut Up He Explained*, 238-9.

¹⁴⁹ See MacLulich, "You Don't Lie': Reflections on Norman Levine," 29, as well as Lawrence Mathews, "Levine's Realism: A Reply to T.D. MacLulich," *Writers in Aspice*.

¹⁵⁰ Levine, "Sometimes it works," 215-219.

¹⁵¹ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 34-35.

¹⁵² Letter, Moore to Weintraub, 12 March [1956], Weintraub, *Getting Started*, 166-167. Moore goadingly quoted Levine's remark to him that Weintraub "was a nice fellow but no get up and go," which Weintraub humorously and convincingly rebuts in his commentary.

¹⁵³ Levine, "Letter from McGill University," *Poetry Quarterly*, Spring 1951, 32-33.

¹⁵⁴ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 233-234. The same apartment and campus view is recalled by the narrator of "Class of 1949."

¹⁵⁵ Levine, "Class of 1949," *Thin Ice*, 14. First published as "Class of 1948," *Queen's Quarterly* Autumn 1974, vol. 81, no. 3, 377-389. The 1948/1949 ambiguity may stem from Levine's having received degrees in both years. The story concludes with a reminder from the McGill Graduates' Society that it was the 25th anniversary of the narrator's class.

¹⁵⁶ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 149-150.

¹⁵⁷ Levine, "Class of 1949," *Thin Ice*, 22, 29.

¹⁵⁸ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 43-44.

¹⁵⁹ Levine, "Class of 1949," *Thin Ice*, 20.

¹⁶⁰ Collected in *I Don't Want To Know Anyone Too Well*, Macmillan, Toronto, 1971; *Champagne Barn*, Penguin, 1984; and *Montreal Mon Amour*, ed. Michael Benazon, Deneau, Toronto, 1989. According to Benazon, 77, 289, first published in *British Vogue*, March 1964 (in a series "First Encounters with the Opposite Sex"). The citations here are from *Champagne Barn*, 49-54.

¹⁶¹ Alan Heuser found protagonist Joseph Grand's wife lacked vitality: review of *From a Seaside Town*, *Montreal Star*, 26 Sept. 1970, 16; Lawrence Mathews convincingly rebuts this: "Norman Levine," *Canadian Writers and their Works*, ed. Lecker et al., vol. 8, 107-108.

¹⁶² Quotations are from "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 49-54.

¹⁶³ McDonald, "Simplicity and Sophistication," 219.

¹⁶⁴ Levine, "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 50-53. Ben's lasted until 2006; the Bucharest was still around in the late 1960s, popular with students, a full course meal at \$1.24. Lively descriptions of Montreal's restaurants in Levine's student days are in William Weintraub, *City Unique: Montreal Days and Nights in the 1940s and '50s*, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1996, 130-135.

¹⁶⁵ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 264.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 49-54 and *Canada Made Me*, 224-225, 264.

¹⁶⁸ Levine, "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 53; *Canada Made Me*, 225. As for the different adjectives: in the "English Girl," the bird singing is "clear," in *Canada Made Me*, it is "distinct and loud." Levine received degrees in 1948 and 1949 and left for England in 1949; the 1949 celebration seems likelier in this context, given the couple's sense of something ending.

¹⁶⁹ Levine, "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 54. In "A Canadian Upbringing," *Champagne Barn*, 57, there is a brief (fictional) reference to the English girl who has married an Englishman she met on the channel boat to France.

¹⁷⁰ Levine's introductory note to "The English Girl" in *Montreal Mon Amour*, ed. Michael Benazon, Deneau, Toronto, 1989, 77.

¹⁷¹ Levine, "Sometimes it works," *How Stories Mean*, 216-217.

¹⁷² Levine, "Letter from McGill University," 32-33.

¹⁷³ T.H.M.[Tommy Matthews], "Algy Noad: a personal tribute," *McGill News*, Spring 1953, vol. 34, no. 2, 54. Besides *A Canadian Handbook of English* (1932), Noad published, with C.H. Atto, *Expression through prose* (1938). Noad's work is referred to in Larry Capelovitch, "Behind the Scenes in the English Department" *McGill Daily*, 5 Dec. 1949, 2.

¹⁷⁴ Levine, "A Canadian Upbringing," *Champagne Barn*, 55-56.

¹⁷⁵ See David L. Thomson, "How not to Leave McGill," *McGill News*, Spring 1955, vol. 36, no. 2, 15, describing Duthie's rush to catch trains and ships when he left Montreal. The McGill Committee on Research gave a grant towards Duthie's book: *Shakespeare*, Hutchinson's University Library, London, 1951, acknowledged in the foreword.

¹⁷⁶ George I. Duthie, "Graduate Studies at McGill," *McGill News*, Spring 1951, vol 32, no 3, 7. McGill continued to emphasize critical scholarship and after Files left in 1964, McGill's creative writing program was soon rivaled, some would say surpassed, by a strong creative writing program offered by Montreal's Sir George Williams University, now Concordia University.

¹⁷⁷ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 226.

¹⁷⁸ According to *Canada Made Me*, 34, Levine's first room was on Prince Arthur St. (greystone row houses built before 1900, decrepit by the 1940s, more recently renovated). His address is not listed in the McGill University *Directory of Students* for the year 1945-1946 as he did not arrive until Jan. 1946. By the *Directory* for the year 1946-1947, he is listed at 4022 Oxford St., Montreal (in the more suburban N.D.G. district). The *Directory* for 1947-1948 gives his address as 4274 Dorchester W., Westmount (just west of downtown Montreal). He described it in *Canada Made Me*, and "Why I am an Expatriate." Another address, possibly ca. 1948 is

on the typescript of "The Angled Road:" 4003 Oxford St. Levine did not describe the Oxford St. rooms. The *Directory* for 1948-1949 gives Levine's address as 1617 Sherbrooke West, Montreal. He described it in "The English Girl," and refers to it in *Canada Made Me*, 258. Levine's home address was 363 Murray St., Ottawa (since demolished).

¹⁷⁹ Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 34-36, 212-213.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 212.

¹⁸¹ Levine, "Why I am an Expatriate," 53.

¹⁸² Levine, *Canada Made Me*, 141; *From a Seaside Town*, 82.

¹⁸³ Levine, "The English Girl," *Champagne Barn*, 51. The Dean from 1944 to 1952 was Kenneth Charles Evans, afterwards (Anglican) Bishop of Ontario.

¹⁸⁴ Levine, "A Canadian Upbringing," *Champagne Barn*, 56.

¹⁸⁵ Levine, "The Girl in the Drugstore," 50.

Western Canadiana at McGill University: The Lande and Arkin Collections

by Peter F. McNally

ABSTRACT

Canadiana emerged as a collecting focus for McGill even before the opening of Redpath Library in 1893. At first, the emphasis was local — Quebec, including New France — reflecting a lack of concern for other parts of the country, typical of collections at the time. Only in the second half of the twentieth century did this situation change when a vogue for collecting Canadiana spread across the nation to both large and smaller libraries; larger institutions, already possessing strength, extended the depth and breadth of their rare book collections. In the case of McGill, during the '60s and '70s, Western Canadiana became a focus for new collecting. This article recounts how McGill developed an important Western Collection—and examines the individuals and circumstances responsible for its acquisition, along with a profile and evaluation of its contents. Particular attention is paid to two collectors — Lawrence Lande and Nathan Arkin — two librarians — Richard Pennington and John Archer — and one antiquarian book dealer — Bernard Amtmann. The methodology used for evaluating the Lande and Arkin Western Canadiana Collections may prove helpful to other researchers.

RESUMÉ

Même avant l'ouverture de la Bibliothèque Redpath en 1893, McGill portait déjà une attention particulière à la collection de publications canadiennes. Au début, le volet local -- le Québec, incluant la Nouvelle-France -- était accentué, démontrant un manque d'intérêt pour le reste du pays qui était typique des collections de l'époque. Cette situation n'a commencé à changer que dans la seconde moitié du vingtième siècle, quand l'acquisition de publications canadiennes est entrée en vogue à travers le pays, à la fois dans les petites et les grandes bibliothèques. Ces dernières, ayant déjà des fonds documentaires solides dans ce domaine, ont élargi et approfondi leurs collections de livres rares. Dans le cas des collections de McGill, l'ouest canadien est devenu un nouveau pôle d'intérêt durant les années 60 et 70. Cet article décrit le développement à McGill d'une importante collection ouest-canadienne et examine les personnes et les circonstances responsables pour l'acquisition de cette collection, dont le contenu est également résumé et évalué. Une attention particulière est portée à deux collectionneurs — Lawrence Lande et Nathan Arkin — à deux bibliothécaires — Richard Pennington et John Archer — et à un libraire antiquaire — Bernard Amtmann. La méthodologie utilisée pour évaluer les collections Lande et Arkin de publications ouest-canadiennes pourrait se démontrer utile pour d'autres chercheurs.

Although the Canadiana collections of the McGill University Library began showing strength in the late 19th century, Western Canadiana as a specialized collecting

focus for the Library began only in the 1960s. This study considers the circumstances and the five men who propelled McGill into this subset of Canadiana: Bernard Amtmann, John Archer,

Nathan Arkin, Lawrence Lande, and Richard Pennington — two collectors, two librarians, and one antiquarian book dealer. Also considered is the profile of Western Canadiana in the Lande and Arkin Collections, including strengths and weaknesses.

One of the great success stories of Canadian librarianship of the past 50 years has been the development of outstanding Canadiana collections in the country's libraries. Prior to that, the significant collections were mostly in foreign institutions such as Harvard, the John Carter Brown Library, the Library of Congress, the British Library, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Thanks to the efforts of librarians and private collectors, virtually every Canadian academic library and many public and specialized libraries now have Canadiana collections that range from being regionally significant to internationally important.

When it comes to Western Canadiana collections, as a specialized subset within general Canadiana, it becomes rather more difficult to specify either their strength or the extent to which they have developed. The purpose of this paper will be, therefore, to undertake a case study of McGill's Western Canadiana collection: the people and circumstances surrounding its creation, how it came to the University, an evaluation of its nature, strength, and weaknesses, along with suggestions on a methodology for evaluating the comparative strengths and weaknesses of other Western Canadiana collections. It is hoped that this study may inspire some future researcher to undertake a detailed comparison of McGill's collection with other similar collections.¹

To begin, what constitutes "Western" Canadiana? Is it only material relating narrowly to the three Prairie provinces? Is it material relating to both the Prairies and British Columbia? What about the Yukon and the Western Arctic? For the purposes of this paper, the broadest definition of "Western" has been used; all parts of the country west and north-west of Ontario.

As for where Western Canadiana can be found, the *Directory of Special Collection of Research Value in Canadian Libraries* (1992)² and a variety of additional sources must be consulted. As was expected Western Canadian universities have notable collections: The Adam Shortt Collection at the University of Saskatchewan has 17,000 monographs that includes much Western Canadiana; the A.C. Rutherford Collection of Western Canadiana at the University of Alberta has 5,500 monographs; the Western Canadiana Collection of Rare Books and Pamphlets at the University of Manitoba has between 2,500 and 3,000 titles; the Doukhobor and the Howay-Reid Collections at the University of British Columbia are largely concerned with the Canadian West and have respectively 400 and 50,000 monographs; and the Margaret P. Hess Collection³ and the Arctic Institute Library⁴, with their strongly Western Canadian focus, both at the University of Calgary, have respectively 11,000 and 50,000 items. The Library of the British Columbia Provincial Archives⁵ in Victoria, and the Glenbow-Alberta Institute Library in Calgary⁶ have respectively 68,000 and 75,000 volumes with strong emphases upon the Canadian West. The Western legislative libraries and several public libraries also have significant collections.

What of Western Canadiana in the Central and Atlantic provinces? The Davidson Collection⁷ at Mount Allison University lists 146 titles of Western interest in its catalogue (1991). The Isaac Burpee Western Collection at the University of New Brunswick has between 600 and 700 titles relating to the Pacific North West that include some Canadian items.⁸ The John Archer Western Canadiana Collection at the Université de Montréal has approximately 2,000 books, pamphlets and off-prints.⁹ The Ernest Thompson Seton Collection at Trent University, Peterborough Ontario, contains 250 monographs. Although little Western material is listed in the published catalogues of pre-Confederation titles in the Metropolitan

Toronto Public Library's Canadiana collection,¹⁰ a great deal of relevant material can be located there.¹¹ Both the Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto and the National Library of Canada in Ottawa contain significant Western material, inter alia, even if no specifically designated collections have been developed.

This brings us inevitably to McGill University. As nearly as can be determined, it has the most significant collection of Western Canadiana in Central and Eastern Canada. Indeed one might speculate that it has one of the country's few Canadiana collections that possesses strength transcending provincial or regional boundaries. Canadiana was strong at McGill even before the opening of Redpath Library in 1893. This strength was greatly enhanced when Lawrence Lande made his first donation of rare Canadian materials in 1963. Between then and 1975 he gave, sold, or assisted in the purchase of Canadian collections which today number about 12,000 items, of which approximately three-quarters relate primarily to New France and Quebec (Lower Canada before Confederation), and one-quarter or 3,000 items to the West and Arctic. Ontario (Upper Canada) and Atlantic Canada have received only nominal representation in the collections. Since the opening of McLennan Library, in 1969, the collections have been supervised by their own librarian, and housed on the Library's fourth floor, close to the general Canadian history collection. For nearly 30 years, the Lande Room was separated by four stories from the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, to which it was administratively attached but located on the Library's street floor level. In the summer of 1997, the Department was relocated to the fourth floor, and the Lande Room was enlarged to become the reading room of the Division of Rare Books and Special Collections — as it is now called - whose Chief Curator serves as Lande Librarian. Together with the University's other collections, the Lande Collections constitute one of the country's most important resources for the study of Canada.¹²

The explanation of how the Lande Canadiana Collections came to McGill must begin by discussing five major figures: Lawrence Lande, Nathan Arkin, Bernard Amtmann, Richard Pennington, and John Archer - two collectors, an antiquarian book dealer, and two librarians one of whom became a university president. These five men have all made enormous contributions towards the development of libraries, bibliography, and book culture whose beneficial influence will be felt as long as Canada continues to be a field of study and research.

Lawrence Montague Lande (pronounced Landy) was born in Ottawa, Ontario, on 11 November 1906.¹³ His father, an immigrant from Lithuania, was a businessman as were his sons. At the age of six months, young Lande moved with his family to Montreal where he lived until his death on 11 August 1998. After graduating from McGill with a B.A. in 1928, he received a law degree from the Université de Montréal, and a Diploma in Philosophy from Université de Grenoble (France). Although he worked as a notary public, a businessman - running a Buick car dealership - and an associate in his family's financial enterprises, he defined himself as a bookman and writer.

His collecting began during boyhood and continued until his death. His first significant collection was of William Blake which he gave to McGill in 1953.¹⁴ At this point, Bernard Amtmann and Richard Pennington began encouraging Lande's interest in collecting Canadian poetry and assisted in the publication of his appreciation *Old Lamps Aglow* (1957).¹⁵ Over time, Lande became determined to create a lasting monument: not only would he gather collections, notable for their exceptionally fine physical quality, but he would describe them in published catalogues and have them housed in their own room with period furniture. McGill University would eventually assist in fulfilling this vision and would also grant him an honorary doctorate in 1969. Four catalogues of his

Canadiana collections at McGill were published. In his later years, through gift and sale, other collections also went to the National Library in Ottawa. Published catalogues described these collections and others still in his possession when he died;¹⁶ yet other collections were described in unpublished catalogues.

By any standard, Lawrence Lande was an important bibliophile, bibliographer, collector of Canadiana, and benefactor of libraries. His support of a wide range of other philanthropic and voluntary associations was equally notable. He also engaged in numerous other activities such as composing music, and writing books and poetry. In the McGill online catalogue he has 33 main author entries. He was a very colourful figure, tall and distinguished looking, who enjoyed the spotlight. If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, Lawrence Lande has been greatly flattered. Both the Melzack Collection at the Université de Montréal and the Davidson Collection at Mount Allison University were given on the understanding that they would also receive Lande-style designated rooms and published catalogues.¹⁷

The second major figure in this story is Nathan Arkin (1906-1988), born in Winnipeg of a father who immigrated from the Imperial Russian sector of Poland.¹⁸ Except for a few years spent in childhood with his family in Calgary, he lived entirely in Winnipeg. His education ended early when he began working in his family's automobile supply business. Friends and family agree that his major concern in life was not business, but rather history and scholarship. This concern may have been inherited from his father Harry Arkin (1867-1943), whose book *Ethics as Legislation*¹⁹ was published posthumously in 1945. Nathan Arkin was a founding member of the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, an active member of the Manitoba Historical Society, and served on the Board of Governors of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. He is generally remembered as an intelligent, kindly,

and self-effacing man who shunned the limelight, which made him very different from Lawrence Lande who always enjoyed public recognition of his achievements.

Arkin's collecting career began in the late 1940s when some early Manitoba pamphlets, rescued from a house being demolished in Winnipeg, were brought to his attention. They so caught his imagination that he developed a virtual obsession for collecting the printed heritage of Manitoba and eventually of all Western Canada. Arkin's son speaks of his father spending nights and weekends on his collection, which was housed primarily in the basement but could be seen throughout the house. Major concerns of the collection, his son recalls, were Manitoba, the fur trade, and related activities.

Arkin's approach to collecting, along with his knowledge of Western Canadian history, was self-taught. He availed himself of travelling opportunities occasioned by automobile conventions to scout for books, and read *A.B. Bookman* assiduously. By the 1960s the value of his collection, the cost of adding new titles, and the difficulty of housing them, were beginning to worry him. In addition, with typical humility, he was becoming increasingly aware of his own lack of historical training while at the same time realizing the potential benefit to historians of the collection — particularly if housed in an accessible institution. The collection's importance was underlined by Bruce Peel (1916-1998) mentioning it in the Preface to the 1963 Supplement of his *Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces*.²⁰ Indeed Arkin is one of the few private collectors whom Peel mentions at any length and gives as a location. As a result, by the early 1960s Arkin had decided to sell his books and employ Bernard Amtmann as his agent.

At this point we must discuss our third major figure, Bernard Amtmann (1907-1979).²¹ Born in Vienna, he fled Austria in 1938, one step ahead of the Nazis. He spent the war years in France first as a soldier, then as a member of the

underground - the head of a commando unit engaged in sabotage. After the war he began dealing in books, which continued following his 1947 arrival in Canada - the first three years being spent in Ottawa. In 1950 he moved to Montreal where he lived for the rest of his life. During the next 29 years he became Canada's most colourful and well-known antiquarian book dealer. In addition to publishing articles, pamphlets, bibliographies, and sales catalogues, he operated Montreal Book Auctions. His polemics, castigating Canadians for being insufficiently concerned about their printed and archival heritage, were widely noted. Virtually every private and institutional collector of Canadiana, at home and abroad, bought antiquarian books and manuscripts from him. In addition, he helped broaden the field by encouraging new collectors of Canadiana including Lawrence Lande.

Richard Pennington is the fourth major figure in this story.²² Born in Rugby, England, on 6 September 1904, he earned a B.A. from the University of Birmingham in 1924 and a Library Diploma from the University of London in 1934. After living in Australia from 1926 to 1930 he returned to England where he became a librarian and a political activist, opposed to appeasement of Nazi Germany, before returning to Australia as Head Librarian of the University of Queensland in 1939. In 1946 he came to McGill, and served as University Librarian from 1947 to 1964. Upon retiring in 1965, he moved to France where he lived until returning to Montreal shortly before his death on 1 May 2003. Although his tenure as University Librarian was controversial for reasons that have been discussed elsewhere, it had significant achievements such as the construction of the 1953 wing to McGill's Redpath Library. In 1960, Pennington published *Peterley Harvest*²³ a slim volume that has been variously labelled a hoax, a minor classic, and a literary and autobiographical experiment, around which controversy and curiosity continue to swirl.

Above all else, Richard Pennington must be considered a great bibliophile, as is amply demonstrated in his monumental study of the great 17th century engraver Wenceslaus Hollar.²⁴ He developed great research collections for McGill, in fields such as Napoleon and Printing History. Important private collectors and benefactors were encouraged, including William Colgate and Lawrence Lande. After giving McGill his William Blake collection in 1953, Lande had his interest in Canadiana encouraged by Pennington, who involved himself in many of Lande's book and manuscript buying projects first in poetry and then in general Canadiana. Like Amtmann, Pennington assisted in the publication of *Old Lamps Aglow* (1957) even having his office handle its printing, sale, and publicity.²⁵ Otherwise, no evidence of any connection between Amtmann and Pennington has been observed in their papers. Although Canadiana held little personal interest for Pennington, his positive role in the Lande Canadiana Collections coming to McGill must be fully acknowledged.

The fifth major figure is John Archer, who was born in Saskatchewan on 11 July 1914 and died there on 5 April 2004. Due to the Great Depression and World War II, his education was interrupted; like Bernard Amtmann, he became a commando during the war.²⁶ Upon peace being restored, Archer returned to Canada and by 1949 had earned a B.A. and M.A. in history from the University of Saskatchewan and a Bachelor of Library Science from McGill. During the 1950s and early 1960s he served as Legislative Librarian and Provincial Archivist of Saskatchewan as well as being Assistant Clerk of the Legislative Assembly. In 1956 he began buying and selling books on behalf of the Legislative Library through Amtmann; over time, their transactions evolved into an exchange account.²⁷ In 1969, he received his Ph.D. in History from Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario). From 1970 to 1976, he shepherded the Regina Campus of the University of Saskatchewan into becoming the University of Regina as Principal of the first and President of

the second. Among his many publications, he was the co-ordinating editor of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's memoirs.²⁸ The important years from our vantage point were 1964-1967 when he served as the first Director of Libraries at McGill University, in succession to Richard Pennington, the last University Librarian. Archer was brought to McGill to reform its libraries and reconstitute them into an integrated system.

These five men had much in common but also much not in common. All were book men who appreciated the importance of Canadian history, culture, archives and publications. Three were university graduates, but Arkin and Amtmann were not. Three were born in Canada, but Amtmann and Pennington were not. Three were Jewish, wonderful examples of that community's great contribution to Canadian books, culture, and libraries; John Archer was an Anglican and Richard Pennington a Quaker. Lande and Arkin were businessmen - both in the automobile industry - whose major interests were in collecting and culture; both did much of their buying through Amtmann. Archer and Pennington were scholar librarians much interested in rare book research collections. Archer and Lande had professional relationships with Amtmann going back to the early 1950s; in time, Archer and Amtmann became close personal friends with a shared love of football. In addition, Archer was rumoured to be Amtmann's silent partner in his antiquarian book business. Amtmann and Pennington would appear to have had only a peripheral relationship. Amtmann, Lande and Archer had a flair for publicity and being in the limelight; Pennington alternated between seeking and avoiding personal publicity. Arkin avoided publicity as much as possible. Three were Easterners, while Archer and Arkin were Westerners.

The crucial factor in this story is that John Archer, a Westerner, was briefly at McGill in the mid-1960s when Nathan Arkin was trying to dispose of his Western Canadiana

collection and just after Lawrence Lande had made his first gift of Canadiana. Archer's love of Canada, his belief in the need to preserve the nation's cultural heritage, and his great political and administrative skill were undoubtedly responsible for bringing the Arkin Collection to McGill and maintaining Lande's commitment to the University. Of course, the strong support of other McGill officials such as Principal H. Locke Robertson and Dean Stanley Frost, Chairman of the Library Committee, was crucial.

The first Lande Collection came to McGill as a gift by an agreement signed on 20 December 1963.²⁹ Of the 2,328 entries listed in its catalogue, 607 relate to the West and North.³⁰ The second collection was bought by McGill for \$100,000 through an agreement signed on 24 May 1972. Of the 2,541 entries listed in its catalogue, 245 relate to the West and Arctic.³¹ The third and fourth collections were acquired for \$75,000 by an agreement signed on 27 June 1975. Of the 164 titles listed in the catalogue of the third collection only 153 came to McGill, the other 11 went to the National Library; none of the titles relate to the West.³² Of the 413 items listed in the catalogue of the fourth collection only 276 came to McGill, of which approximately 150 relate to the West; the remaining 137, including Pacific North West coast materials, went to the National Library.³³

The four Lande Collections brought to McGill 5,298 rare Canadian titles, mostly pre-Confederation, of which approximately 1,000 relate to the West and Arctic. Much of the Arctic material is Western; only through a separate project can the proportion relating to the Eastern Arctic be determined. In addition, both Lande and McGill placed additional titles in the Lande Room, of which the most significant is the Arkin Collection. In combination with Lande's Western titles, it accounts for McGill's great strength in Western Canadiana.

The Amtmann Papers in the National Library of Canada provide a fascinating insight into the purchase of the Arkin Collection: The convoluted

path by which it came to McGill, the interaction among four of this story's major figures, and the wily negotiating skills of Bernard Amtmann. On 23 February 1962 Amtmann presented Arkin with a brief statement evaluating his collection at \$46,869.³⁴ A year and one-half later on 3 September 1963, Amtmann agreed to act as the agent for selling the collection at \$45,000 in return for a 10 percent commission. The papers corroborate the impression of Arkin's friends and family that he wished to sell the collection as a coherent unit rather than as individual titles or sections, that he wanted it to remain in Canada, and that attempts to sell it to the University of Manitoba had proven unsuccessful. In addition, the papers show that during the year preceding the sale, Arkin continued buying large numbers of titles from Amtmann. Whether any of these titles became part of the collection purchased ultimately by McGill can be determined only through a separate project.

That Amtmann did not even bother approaching McGill during 1963 may have been due to his realizing that Richard Pennington's tenure as University Librarian was coming to an end and that a successor was being sought. Rather, he targeted the University of Alberta as the appropriate destination for Arkin's Collection. On 2 September 1963 - the day before confirming the agreement to become Arkin's agent - Amtmann wrote to Bruce Peel, the Head Librarian - possibly at his request - offering the collection to the University for \$60,000, voicing the hope that the collection would remain in Canada, and intimating that there was a competing offer from another Canadian university. As with most of Amtmann's communications during these negotiations, duplicate messages were sent by telegraph and mail. Over the next year Amtmann was in regular correspondence with Peel and Walter H. Johns, President of the University. As to there being offers initially from other institutions, no corroborating evidence can be found.

Typescript lists of the collection, available in the files of the Division of Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, appear to have provided the bibliographical information used by Alberta and other potential purchasers in evaluating the collection. In addition, Bruce Peel had personally inspected the collection some years earlier while working on the 1963 supplement to his "Prairie bibliography." On 10 October Peel told Amtmann that the price for the 2,500 titles was too high, that much of the collection duplicated Alberta's holdings, and that the University would be interested in buying only part of the collection. Amtmann responded by lowering the price to \$50,000 on 15 October, to which Peel replied on 30 October that it was still too high. On 22 November, Dr. Johns said that Alberta was prepared to pay \$30,000 for the collection. Negotiations dragged on over the next few months, with suggestions from both sides on how to reach a compromise. On 27 February 1964 Amtmann told Arkin that Alberta would not meet his conditions of sale.³⁵ By April, however, negotiations had reopened and Arkin informed Amtmann that Alberta was sending someone to Winnipeg to inspect the collection. Other interested parties began making enquiries including T.R. McCloy of Calgary's Glenbow Foundation, and Lawrence Lande. On 12 June, Amtmann wrote Bruce Peel an intriguing letter in which he offered to sell the Arkin duplicates at a 25 percent commission should Alberta buy the collection.³⁶ This offer appears, in retrospect, to have been a harbinger of the agreement that was eventually concluded.

Another harbinger of the eventual agreement appeared in a 13 February 1964 note from John Archer to Amtmann, thanking him for his good wishes, assuring him that their business relations would continue in his new position, and saying that they would meet soon in Montreal.³⁷ Shortly after assuming his new position as Director of Libraries at McGill, Archer sent a letter to Amtmann dated 29 July returning a copy of the Arkin catalogue borrowed previously by

Lawrence Lande.³⁸ Archer and Lande were clearly impressed with the collection because Amtmann issued Arkin with a 10 percent commission invoice of \$4,300 on 26 August 1964 for its sale to McGill;³⁹ whether Arkin ever appreciated that Lande assisted financially in the purchase is uncertain. One can only guess at Amtmann's satisfaction at being able to tell Walter H. Johns on 4 September that McGill had bought the collection, when replying to yet another letter of refusal from Alberta. As for the story that a few days after signing the sale agreement, a distraught Nathan Arkin received an offer of \$70,000 from the University of Texas, no corroborating evidence has been found. In any event, Amtmann and Archer went personally to Winnipeg, at Lande's request, to pack the Arkin books for shipment to Montreal.⁴⁰

What was the nature of the agreement that Amtmann, Lande, and Archer made with Arkin? As Amtmann's commission was 10 percent, one may assume that the sale price was \$43,000, only \$2,000 less than Arkin was seeking. It is possible, however, that the sale price may have actually been \$46,000, as an additional payment of \$3,000 for supplementary material is mentioned by Amtmann in a letter to Arkin of 15 May 1965.⁴¹ The total payment was spread over four years between 1964 and 1967. In return, Arkin had the satisfaction of knowing that his collection would be kept together in a Canadian institution. This did not mean, however, the end of his Canadiana career as the Amtmann papers record buying and selling up to 1978, the Reid Collection being probably Arkin's most significant sale.⁴²

As for Amtmann, Lande, and Archer, they spent the next three years dealing with their purchase whose details, although never leading to a public dispute, were clearly the source of dissension. Lande took his share in the form of approximately 400 important titles, which for a number of years were known as the Lande-Arkin Collection.⁴³ That he was dissatisfied with his cut was well understood by his associates,

hearing his constant lament over not receiving Arkin's particularly fine copy of Captain John Palliser's *Exploration...1859-1865*, 4v. As for the Arkin duplicates, copies of which were already in the McGill or Lande Collections, from 1964 to 1967 Amtmann maintained "exchange-accounts" which itemized their sale⁴⁴ for a commission and the subsequent purchase of titles that continue to be part of the Arkin and Lande Collections. Included among the purchases are the publications of Edward Blake, along with press release copies of speeches by politicians from the 1960s such as Lucien Saulnier and Prime Minister Lester Pearson — whose appropriateness is a point of continuing debate. In letters dated 28 February, 6 March, 14 and 27 June 1967, on the eve of Archer's departure from McGill to Queen's University, Amtmann and Archer discussed and ultimately agreed upon their mutual satisfaction with the workings of the account, whereby Amtmann had supplied McGill with \$15,716.50 worth of books in exchange for duplicates worth an equivalent amount. Did the exchange account really operate to McGill's benefit? Does this paper trail merely outline a normal business arrangement, or does it attempt to camouflage impropriety and conflict of interest? Only a separate project could adequately address these issues, and then probably with no definitive conclusion. That said, an air of uncertainty, and unanswered questions, continues to linger over the exchange account.

At this juncture, one must pose the question: Why did Lande and Arkin dispose of their Canadiana? Some people have speculated that by virtue of selling their books - Lande having sold some of his collections to McGill and the National Library - they were actually dealers. Although in our age of high taxes many collectors are forced by circumstances to engage in sales and tax dodges, neither man was a dealer. Everything they have said, written, and done points to their passion for collecting. In our egalitarian society, the bequeathing of great research collections to heirs is highly problematic. Will they have the

interest, the physical space, or the residential stability to house a collection? Sale and dispersal of individual items, or else gift and sale of a coherent collection to a hospitable institution, appear to be the only viable alternatives.

Much is known of the Lande Collections because of their four published catalogues and the three formal agreements with McGill. What of the Arkin Collection? In the beginning, doubts were expressed about its value, and whether it was even worth keeping in McGill's Rare Book Department, due in part to the physical quality of the books being generally less impressive than that of the Lande books.⁴⁵ Of course, the 400 Lande-Arkin titles were treated as a sub-set of the Lande Collection. The few non-Canadian items became part of the library's general collection of rare books. With the opening of the Lande Room in January 1969, a decision was made to house the Arkin Collection there — partly for convenience, and partly to please Lande. During 1970-1971 the Arkin books - poorly listed on typed and handwritten sheets and paper slips - were finally given main entry cataloguing. In 1972 when the second Lande Collection was acquired, the new agreement specified that the Arkin Collection was a permanent part of the Lande Room and its collections. The 400 Lande-Arkin books were reintegrated into the Arkin Collection, which in the 1990s received full cataloguing. Any talk of dispersing the collection has been put to rest.

What are the strengths, weaknesses, and major characteristics of McGill's Western Canadiana, specifically the titles in the Lande and Arkin Collections? As with most specialized collections, no easy answers are available; rather one must rely upon a combination of qualitative impressions and quantitative measurements. A number of published bibliographies dealing with the West and North provide objective criteria against which McGill's holdings can be evaluated. Although the titles relating to the Arctic and to British Columbia have never been identified, to permit evaluation against relevant bibliographies,

the 80 titles relating to the Yukon and the Klondike Gold Rush and the 113 titles relating to the Kootenay Region of British Columbia have been identified and could easily be evaluated against the bibliographies of Berton,⁴⁶ Lotz,⁴⁷ and Notre Dame University (Nelson, B.C.).⁴⁸ As for the 97 manuscripts in the Arkin Collection, there are no obvious sources for comparative evaluations.

Only for the three Prairie Provinces - Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba - has a detailed evaluation been undertaken. During 1989-1991 an alumnae volunteer, Mrs. Katherine Gordon,⁴⁹ compared the McGill holdings in the Lande Room and elsewhere with the 4,370 titles enumerated in the second edition of Peel's *Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces*.⁵⁰ The results of the comparison are summarized in the accompanying tables. As tables one and two indicate, McGill holds 1,263 titles or 28.9 percent of the Peel titles. Only printed materials are included in this summary, not microforms. Table one shows that apart from the Lande and Arkin Collections, McGill's holdings are quite slim. It also shows that for material published before 1890, Lande and Arkin are equally strong, but thereafter Arkin is stronger. Demonstrated as well is that McGill's strength is much greater for titles published in earlier periods than later: 43.7 percent of the titles published to 1899, 23.1 percent between 1900 and 1939, and only 11 percent between 1940 and 1953.

Comparison with Peel's 23 subject categories appears to have been limited to Lande and Arkin titles, which would explain the discrepancies with the chronological section: In table three, including Peel titles in more than one category would account for his total rising to 5,099; limiting McGill titles to the Lande Room would account for the University's total declining to 1,247. Table four shows that in terms of the percentage of Peel items held, McGill's top ten categories are: History, Red River Settlement, Rebellions and Regimental Histories, Fur Trade,

Communications, Explorers Surveyors and Travellers, Journalism, the Environment, Laws and Statutes, and Education. Table three shows, however, that there are a number of categories with lower percentages of Peel titles, but with large numbers of titles: The People, Local History, Settling the West, the Spiritual Life, and Literary Works.

These quantitative analyses reveal three additional points of interest. First, the Lande and Arkin Collections contain 105 items not included in the microfilm edition of Peel titles. Second, 32 of the items in the microfilm edition came from McGill. Third, there is a seemingly high proportion of duplicate titles among the various McGill collections. Closer inspection reveals, however, that many so-called duplicates are actually variant printings, new editions, or translations, which Peel will usually list within notes accompanying the first entry of a title but rarely as separate entries. As a result, Mrs. Gordon would carefully note all the McGill copies of a title without necessarily indicating their status. A good example is Peel no. 336, Thomas Spence's *Manitoba and the North-West...* 1871, 46 pages. In his notes, Peel refers to there also being an enlarged 1874 edition and an 1875 French language translation of this early example of Prairie immigration literature. Of the four "duplicate" copies at McGill, Lande no. 1456 is the 1871 edition, Lande no. 1458 is the 1876 edition, and Lande no. 1457 is the 1874 French language edition; only the Arkin copy of the 1871 edition is actually a duplicate. As experienced bibliographers know, only through close investigation can true duplicates be distinguished from variants. A rich resource for investigation is clearly awaiting some future researcher. The ultimate conclusion may well be that few if any of the 303 ostensible duplicates listed in table one are truly duplicates.

In addition to various quantitative measurements, there are also qualitative impressions reported by researchers and other

regular users of McGill's Western Canadiana. Publications of British, Canadian, colonial, and provincial governments are well represented. Well represented also are popular works of fiction and nonfiction conveying impressions of the West to mass audiences in Canada and abroad. Concerning British Columbia, the Yukon, and the Arctic only the 18th and 19th century narratives of exploration and discovery possess great strength. As expected, the Prairie material is frequently praised for its richness and variety with specific praise given to: Early discoveries and explorations, the fur trade, railways, the Hudson's Bay Company, missionary activities, the second Riel Rebellion, immigration and early settlements such as the Barr Colony. Particularly impressive is the material relating to: Manitoba, Nathan Arkin's native province, and such related topics as the Red River Settlement, the first Riel Rebellion, and the Manitoba School Question. Finally, Dr. Joyce Banks formerly of the National Library of Canada, has praised the great strength of the Indian language material in the Lande Room.⁵¹

Another way of looking at McGill's Western Canadiana is to consider the number of items - such as books, pamphlets, manuscript items, or biographies in the Lande and Arkin Collections - relating to important individuals. The narratives of the following explorers are well represented: Captain George Vancouver (1758-1798) 4 items, William Beresford (fl. 1788) 2 items, Sir Alexander MacKenzie (1765-1820) 11 items, John Palliser (1807-1887) 6 items, and Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908) 10 items. The following political figures are also well represented: Lord Selkirk (1771-1820) 6 items, Louis Riel (1844-1885) 26 items, and Sir John Christian Schultz (1840-1896) 33 items. Prominent missionaries who are well represented include: Archbishop Alexandre Taché (1823-1894) 37 items, Father Albert Lacombe (1827-1916) 6 items, and Father Adrien Gabriel Morice (1859-1938) 15 items. Among the notable literary authors who are well represented can be found: Ralph Connor

(1860-1937) 27 items, Ernest Thompson Seton (1860-1946) 12 items, and Nellie McClung (1873-1951) 16 items. Two well represented authors of non-fiction are: Alexander Morris (1826-1889) 20 items, and George Bryce (1848-1931) 37 items.

A final way of looking at the collections is to consider a small selection of popular immigration and settlement titles from the 1880s and 1890s:

Canada. Department of the Interior. *On the Agricultural Resources of Canada ...* 1894. (Arkin Collection).

Pts. I - III: English Tenant Farmers

Pt. IV: Welsh Tenant Farmers

Pt. V: Scottish Tenant Farmers

Pt. VI: An Irish Agricultural Delegate

Pt. VII: Special Report

Canadian Pacific Railway. *What Farmers Say about Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, ...* 1892. (Arkin Collection).

_____. *What Women say of the Canadian North West ...* 1886. (Arkin Collection).

Church, Herbert E. *Making a Start in Canada. ...* 1889. (Arkin Collection).

Cockburn, James Seton. *Canada for Gentlemen...* 1884. (Lande S510).

Goodridge, R.E.W. *A Year in Manitoba ...* 1882. (Arkin Collection).

Hall, Mary Georgina. *A Lady's Life on a Farm in Manitoba...* 1884. (Lande 1212).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this study. The first is that Western Canadiana at McGill has both strengths and weaknesses. Even so, the collection is sufficiently strong that no researcher in the field can afford to ignore it. If curators of other Western collections undertook similar evaluations, ascertaining relative strengths and weaknesses, the comparative

strength of various collections could be better ascertained. Another conclusion is that the process by which specialized rare book research collections come into existence requires further investigation. The development of McGill's Western Canadiana revolved around the creative interaction of two collectors, one dealer, and two librarians — with sufficient documentary evidence surviving to provide a coherent picture of this interaction. The replication of this study among other Western Canadian collections would help us to know the unique personalities and local circumstances surrounding each, along with underlying and shared characteristics. The final conclusion is that there is a need to study the social implications surrounding the proliferation of Canadiana collections during the second half of the 20th century. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to an understanding of that much larger phenomenon.

TABLE ONE

Dates Of Publication	Peel Titles	Unique Arkin Titles	Unique Lande Titles	Other Unique McGill Titles	Titles In Both Arkin & Lande	Titles In Arkin & Other McGill Collections	Titles In Lande And Other McGill Collections	Titles In Arkin, Lande And Other McGill Collections	McGill Total
TO 1879	512	84	76	33	42 (42)	9 (9)	9 (9)	2 (4)	255 (64)
1880-1889	619	79	96	31	54 (54)	7 (7)	3 (3)	3 (6)	273 (70)
1890-1899	457	73	36	21	15 (15)	17 (17)	2 (2)	2 (4)	166 (38)
1900-1909	504	59	21	14	14 (14)	16 (16)	4 (4)		128 (34)
1910-1919	597	62	14	20	13 (13)	18 (18)	2 (2)		129 (33)
1920-1929	471	53	8	19	5 (5)	20 (20)	1 (1)	1 (2)	107 (28)
1930-1939	548	69		26	1 (1)	30 (30)			126 (31)
1940-1949	479	47		4	1 (1)	3 (3)	1 (1)		56 (5)
1950-1953	183	22	1						23
TOTALS	4,370	548	252	168	145 (145)	120 (120)	22 (22)	8 (16)	1,263 (303)

NOTE: Figures in brackets () indicate the number of duplicate copies.

TABLE TWO

The Percentage of Peel Titles Held by McGill According to Time Periods.

Published to 1879	49.89%
1880-1889	44.1%
1890-1899	36.3%
1900-1909	25.3%
1910-1919	21.6%
1920-1929	22.7%
1930-1939	22.9%
1940-1949	11.6%
1950-1953	12.5%

TABLE THREE

Peel Subject Headings	No. of Peel Titles	No. of McGill Titles	Percentage of Peel titles in the Lande and Arkin Collections
A. The environment	104	37	35.5%
B. The people	433	116	26.7%
C. History	54	29	53.7%
D. History, Local	698	104	14.8%
E. Explorers, Surveyors and Travellers	490	178	36.3%
F. Pro Pelle Cutem (Fur Trade)	169	73	43.1%
G. Red River Settlement	92	44	47.8%
H. Rebellions and Regimental Histories	259	119	45.9%
I. Maintiens le Droit: Roya Canadian Mounted Police	32	8	25.0%
J. Communications	225	82	36.4%
K. Settling the West	826	128	15.4%
L. Ranching	23	4	17.3%
M. The Wheat Economy	169	20	11.8%
N. Co-operation	59	3	5.0%
O. Politics and Government	218	16	7.3%
P. Laws, Statues, etc.	15	5	33.3%
Q. Medicine and Nursing	19	1	5.2%
R. The Spiritual Life	398	87	21.8%
S. Education	145	42	28.9%
T. Indian languages	136	33	24.2%
U. Literary works	509	108	21.2%
V. Journalism	14	5	35.7%
W. Bibliography	12	5	4.6%
TOTAL	5099	1247	24.4%

TABLE FOUR

The Percentage of Lande and Arkin Titles According to Peel Subject Headings

1.	History	53.7%
2.	Red River Settlement	47.8%
3.	Rebellions and Regimental Histories	45.9%
4.	Pro Pelle Cutem (Fur Trade)	43.1%
5.	Communications	36.4%
6.	Explorers, Surveyors and Travellers	36.3%
7.	Journalism	35.7%
8.	The Environment	35.5%
9.	Laws, Statutes, etc.	33.3%
10.	Education	28.9%
11.	The People	26.7%
12.	Maintiens Le Droit: Royal Canadian Mounted Police	25.0%
13.	Indian Languages	24.2%
14.	The Spiritual Life	21.8%
15.	Literary Works	21.2%
16.	Ranching	17.3%
17.	Settling the West	15.4%
18.	History, Local	14.8%
19.	The Wheat Economy	11.8%
20.	Politics and Government	7.3%
21.	Medicine and Nursing	5.2%
22.	Co-operation	5.0%
23.	Bibliography	4.6%

ENDNOTES

- ¹ The author wishes to express his appreciation to the following individuals and institutions for their assistance in writing this paper: Ms. Linda Hoad and Dr. Joyce Banks, Special Collections, National Library of Canada; Dr. Robert H. Michel, McGill University Archives; Mrs. Nellie Reiss, Lande Librarian, and Mr. Bruce Whiteman, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, McGill University; Mr. David Bourke, Secretary-General, McGill University; and Mr. Harold Arkin for permission to consult papers relating to his father at McGill University and the National Library of Canada. The following abbreviations have been used: MRBD, McGill University, McLennan Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections; MUA, McGill University Archives; NLC, National Library of Canada, Ottawa. An abbreviated version of this article was published as "Western Canadiana at McGill University: the Formation of a Rare Book Collection." In *Libraries & the Cultural Record: Exploring the History of Collections of Recorded Knowledge*, v. 43, no. 2 (Spring, 2008) p. 176-192 — University of Texas Press.
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“To go abroad from Scotland...”

The South American Travel Diary of Thomas Wilson

by Marc Richard

ABSTRACT

This paper describes an original typescript diary recently discovered in the collections of the McGill University Libraries. Written by an employee of a Scottish engineering firm on a business trip to South America in 1909 and 1910, it affords an intriguing glimpse into the Scottish presence in Latin America at the turn of the century.

RESUMÉ

Cet article décrit un manuscrit original dactylographié récemment découvert dans les collections des Bibliothèques de l'Université McGill. Rédigé par un employé d'une compagnie écossaise de génie en voyage d'affaire en Amérique du sud en 1909 et 1910, ce journal permet d'entrevoir la présence écossaise en Amérique latine à cette époque.

The social and economic influence exerted by Scots living abroad — the “Scottish diaspora” — and by Scottish overseas investment is a topic that has been attracting increased attention from scholars. Recent studies by Gordon T. Stewart¹, Michael Fry² and Arthur Herman³ have examined in detail the considerable impact which Scots have had on the British Empire and other parts of the world. One region, however, where Scottish presence is infrequently noted is Latin America. This apparent absence is somewhat misleading. Manuel A. Fernandez points out that, while Latin America was not a primary destination for Scottish emigrants and investors, Scots’ settlement in the region did noticeably increase in the second half of the 19th century.⁴ Fernandez attributes the scarcity of references to Scots to the historical fact that many Scottish enterprises in Latin America were established locally rather than in Scotland — which resulted in their not being mentioned by standard financial sources - and to the tendency

of older documents not to differentiate between the terms “Scottish,” “English” and “British.”⁵

In this context, contemporary primary sources that allow us to glimpse the presence of Scots in Latin America are of considerable interest. One such document was recently discovered in the McGill University Library: the unpublished travel diary of a Scotsman who made a business trip to various South American countries in 1909 and 1910. It surfaced as part of routine work being done by the Collection Services department to revise problematic cataloguing records and to give Library of Congress call numbers to the few remaining works shelved in the Library’s Cutter classification section — the Cutter system having been employed by McGill between 1893 and 1967. The author of the present article noted a bound original typescript diary dating from the early 20th century and, therefore, a unique item of potential historical interest. It now resides in the McLennan Library’s Rare Books and Special Collections Division, and this article has been

prepared to describe the diary for interested scholars.

THE DIARY AND ITS BACKGROUND

The typescript is by Mr. Thomas Wilson, "Diary Written on First South American Tour: the Journey Occupying from 9th November, 1909 till 29th June, 1910," and consists of 262 single-sided, double-spaced typescript leaves, measuring 190 cm x 260 cm.⁶ The hardcover binding is dark blue, with marbled endpapers and gold-coloured edges; the author's name and a brief title are stamped in gold on the spine. The binding, which is fairly elaborate by McGill standards, along with the gilt page tops, suggests that the typescript would originally have been held by a private owner who donated it to McGill. Brief entries for the diary are contained in both the Library's accession book and shelflist, but without information on the provenance. Judging from the accession number, 512595, the diary would have been added to the collection in the early 1960s.

The diary appears to have been typed professionally: the page formatting is neat and the spelling accurate, with only a few corrections added in pen. It is likely, therefore, that the document was transcribed from a handwritten journal sometime after Wilson's return from South America rather than during the trip itself. The text is an actual journal, not a retrospective account, as shown by entries written in haste while the author was in transit, such as "I am finishing my reports upon this town, and will leave for Buenos Aires in the afternoon. Now I am en route for Buenos Aires, I have secured a sleeping compartment all for myself." (Wilson, 130)

Wilson appears to have prepared the diary simply for his own satisfaction, as it is without the biographical and other background information normally associated with a work meant for publication. Indeed no biographical information on Wilson has so far been located, other than

the mention in his diary that his birthday fell on 1 April. (Wilson, 146) It has, however, been possible to deduce from other parts of the text and external sources where he worked and why he was traveling in South America.

Wilson was an employee of Loudon Brothers, (Wilson, 167) a firm which specialized in manufacturing special and general machine tools for engineers, boilermakers, shipbuilders and railway companies, both for domestic customers and export.⁷ The company dates back to at least 1875, when it purchased the firm of A. Macarthur & Son, located at the Clyde Engineering Works in Johnstone. These facilities were then greatly expanded to meet increased demand, including contracts from the British Admiralty. Around 1901, the firm built an office and warehouse facility in Glasgow, where Wilson appears to have been working at the time of his South American voyage. The purpose of his trip was to visit a number of railway-related businesses to secure orders for railway machine tools.

WILSON'S ITINERARY

Wilson set out by train from Glasgow to London and Southampton, where he boarded a passenger liner; the ship made stops in Spain, Portugal and Madeira, then crossed the Atlantic to Brazil. During the next few months, Wilson's business dealings took him to the following principal destinations:

- Brazil: Rio de Janeiro (including Niterói), São Paulo (including Jundiaí), Pernambuco, and São João del Rei
- Uruguay: Montevideo
- Argentina: Buenos Aires, Rosario, Córdoba, and Mendoza
- Chile: Santiago, Valparaíso, and Concepción
- Peru: Lima

Wilson's return journey was more circuitous than the outward trip, including stops in Panama

City, Colón, Cartagena, Trinidad, Barbados, the Azores, Cherbourg and, finally, Southampton, from which he returned to Glasgow by train.

The South American countries Wilson visited were, not surprisingly, the ones with the most extensively developed railway networks. Statistics compiled in 1892-93⁸ show that, at the end of the 19th century, the countries with the greatest length of track open to traffic were Argentina (12,994 km) and Brazil (10,281 km), followed more distantly by Chile (2,824 km), Uruguay (1,602 km) and Peru (1,532 km). Argentina's extensive and integrated rail system is particularly noteworthy. Built and owned almost entirely by the British, with the blessings of Argentinian leaders,⁹ it was then the tenth largest rail network in the world.¹⁰

CONTENT AND STYLE

In his diary, Wilson touched only briefly on business affairs, since these matters were covered in separate reports sent to his employer, although he did sometimes mention visits to particular railway companies or engineering works. Instead, he recorded impressions of the countries through which he was traveling, noted personal activities, related encounters with various fellow-countrymen and described what it was like to experience abroad newsworthy events, such as the death of King Edward VII. (Wilson, 189, 191, 209-210)

Wilson's writing is clear and literate, with well-articulated phrases and a somewhat formal style. On some occasions, he writes more casually and uses run-on sentences; at other times, he becomes almost poetic such as when admiring a magnificent landscape:

Nobody can have any idea of the impressiveness of the thoughts which came through the mind in such a place as this. It must be that the Creator of the world loved the beautiful, and still takes the highest pleasure in the perfection of everything that he has done, otherwise

all this extravagance of forest and flower, mountains and rivers, would go without anything like a proper share of appreciation. (Wilson, 62-63)

It is apparent from Wilson's usually cheerful tone that he enjoyed his trip: He often comments on how lovely a particular day is, and remains generally unruffled by occasional difficulties. The entry for 18 May 1910, for instance, reveals Wilson's amusement with Lima's anticipating the end of the world:

It was prophesied that to-night at 9 o'clock Halley's comet would come into collision with the earth, and bring an end to everything. The churches have been crowded with people praying and making confession, preparing for the crack of doom, but now it is 12 o'clock and there is no sign of the calamity, so I will get off to bed. [...] It was supposed that the comet would strike the earth at 9 o'clock, and at that hour everything was quiet, and people all looked very frightened. I was out on the Plaza also, and about ten minutes past nine people began to talk a little, and look somewhat relieved, then about a quarter or twenty minutes past nine the crowds began melting away into the side streets. I retired at my usual time. There appeared in the morning a notice on the front page of the newspapers, that owing to the fervent and continual prayers of the church, the great catastrophe had been averted. So this was all the poor people got for their money, meanwhile the church had greatly profited by the incident. (Wilson, 205-206)

The comet nevertheless managed to give the normally unflappable Wilson a belated fright a few days later, in the wee hours of 21 May, when an earthquake woke him in his hotel bed. "It gave us a very sudden shock, and rattled the furniture, and for a minute or two I did not know what had

happened. At first I thought Halley's comet had arrived at last, but I lay still to see if anything else was going to happen." (Wilson, 212) In compensation for this rude awakening, Wilson later had at least two opportunities to admire the comet under excellent conditions during the first leg of his sea voyage back to Scotland. (Wilson, 221; 223)

In relating such anecdotes, Wilson does so in a restrained, half-serious manner which tends to underscore the humour of the situation. During a stopover in Lisbon, for instance, Wilson and some companions "had lunch which cost 2.890 Milreis, and like Mark Twain we thought we were ruined, but it was not so much after all." (Wilson, 10) In another lunchtime incident, this time in Lima, Wilson relates that a policeman and several military personnel "arrested two men sitting at the table next to me. The men were just starting lunch, but they were allowed to finish, and then walked off with the Military. Later on in the day I heard they were released, they had been taken up on suspicion, as the policeman had seen them taking photographs. They found however, that it had been a mistake, and finally they put the policeman in prison for excess diligence -- a most unusual crime in this country." (Wilson, 198-199)

Wilson sometimes shows genuine annoyance at the mishaps he experienced during his travels. "My room is filthy," he complains during his stay in São Paulo. "I don't much care for the food which I get at the Grand Hotel, it is very badly cooked, the hotel is 'Grand' only in name and in prices." Later, finding himself in Valparaiso with only one small bag, he grumbles that, "My two large cabin trunks are at Santiago, and another trunk with all my business papers, as far as I can learn, is at Las Cuevas, on the other side of the Andes, notwithstanding that all were addressed to me in Valparaiso, that is how they handle baggage in Chile." (Wilson, 152) For the most part, however, Wilson's journey was reasonably free of hardship. His account of the sea crossing

to Brazil is notable for the contrast between the many comforts to which he was entitled -- such as the services of a bath steward, ice cream treats served daily in the tropics, and dances held every evening (Wilson, 23-24) -- and the wretched conditions endured by Russian emigrants traveling in the ship's steerage section. (Wilson, 6; 10)

The diary includes a number of passages where Wilson proves to be a keen observer with a talent for recording technical information. Having a professional interest in railway machinery, he devotes two pages to the mechanisms which allow the train connecting São Paulo to Santos to negotiate a steep mountain range:

Those special engines are made with grippers which fasten on to endless ropes, to which the train is attached and by which it is hauled. [...] This locomotive is also fitted with a vacuum brake, which can stop it dead at any moment. It has also grips operated by steam power, so that in the case of an accident or interruption of the line, these grippers can hold the train fast to the rails. [...] The journey down the Serra is made in five sections, so that five endless ropes are employed, there are five power stations, each with great station[ary] hauling engines about 1,000 horse power, and ten trains are always running at the same time on the Serra. (Wilson, 69-70)

Even when describing subjects outside his area of expertise, Wilson shows similar attention to detail, as when he explains the process used to harvest sugarcane in Peru. (Wilson, 206-208) During a recreational outing on muleback in the Andes with some friends, Wilson notes with interest his physiological reactions to the high altitude. (Wilson, 144-145)

Although he expresses admiration for the engineering marvels he encounters, Wilson is mindful of the sacrifices they might entail.

Traveling along Argentina's Transdine Railway, he notices "the numerous little wooden crosses, marking the place where the weary workers have been buried, who were engaged building this remarkable railway. The achievements of the engineers in this direction are wonderful, but in many cases they cost a very great number of human lives." (Wilson, 147) Later, while journeying overland alongside the still-incomplete Panama Canal, he likewise observes a "number of cemeteries, which are just open spaces of ground with hundreds of small wooden crosses," and reflects on the tremendous number of casualties to which they testify. (Wilson, 234)

ENCOUNTERS WITH SCOTS

During his stay in Rosario, Wilson muses, "It is very interesting to meet these Scotchmen at the head of so many affairs here. I have felt many a time 'Wha's like us'. Invariably too they are very nice men, with no affectation and who are agreeable to spend a bit of time with me." (Wilson, 125) Several of these encounters are mentioned in the diary, with varying amounts of detail. Some are merely brief references, e.g. "In the forenoon I was engaged with Mr. Martin, the manager of the Water-works, he is a Scotchman from Paisley, so we had a long talk about things concerning that famous town." (Wilson, 125) Others point to a significant Scottish presence in certain parts South America, such as when Wilson reports meeting the Secretary of the St. Andrews Society in Belgrano for dinner and a game of bridge. (Wilson, 91)

Some entries provide a brief but tantalizing inventory of the compatriots Wilson encountered, as in the following paragraph:

Talking about the Scotch people, I might mention it is a Scotchman who has charge of the largest bank here, a Mr. Muir of the London and Brazilian Bank. A Scotchman is works manager of the Paulista Railway Company, it is a Scotchman who is one of the

chief engineers on the Serra, and a Scotchman[,] Macdonald, reads the lessons at the English Church on Sunday. I had a long talk at Mr. Speers' house about old times in Scotland, and I must send Mrs. Speers some book like Dean Ramsay's when I get back, as she is very much interested in this kind of literature (Wilson, 73).

An earlier diary reference to Mr. and Mrs. Speers -- a rail line chief at São Paulo and his wife Katarina -- mentions that she "is a great admirer of the Scotch, her father and grandfather were both Scotch." (Wilson, 65) Later, in Valparaiso, Wilson has the pleasure of being introduced to a fellow Glaswegian, Charles Dick, with whom Wilson teams up successfully for a game of bridge against two Chileans. (Wilson, 165-166) In Santiago, he meets a "great Burns enthusiast" named McKerlie who quotes from memory lengthy passages for Wilson's enjoyment: "It is my first experience abroad of meeting with a real out and out Burns man, and as he said after he had repeated some very touching lines about the old country, that the Scotchman who could repeat these verses without the tears coming into his eyes, was not worthy to be called a Scotchman." (Wilson, 169-170)

Occasionally, Wilson provides insights into what motivated some Scots to settle in South America. Describing his visit to an up-to-date workshop in Jundiaí, he also mentions that, "[t]he shop manager is a Scotchman, Mr. Scott, from Glasgow, (Dubs and Coy's), and he has been out here 24 years; he has no desire to come home again. He considers the climate is perfect, he has a wife and seven sons, and seems to be quite happy." (Wilson, 72-73) This thumbnail sketch was provided of an expatriate Scot living in Rosario:

Then after dinner I went to the English Club, to meet Mr. Tom Ferguson, of the Central Cordoba Railway. We sat together talking till about 12 o'clock.

He belongs to Glasgow, and spent his boyhood days in Queen's Crescent. He was in our Mr. Stuart's class in the Sunday School, in Mr. Cameron's Church, in Cambridge Street, and was acquainted with many people I know and interested to hear about them. Mr. Ferguson came out here 14 years ago, broken down in health. He could not have lived at home, he had had pleurisy for eighteen months, and was practically played out. He thought he had come out to die, but now you could not find a healthier or stronger looking man anywhere, and he never has the least sign of anything wrong with him, so that is what climate can do. His father was a partner in the old firm of James Copland & Co., Dobbies Loan, and lost his money when that firm failed (Wilson, 123-124).

Wilson, for his part, was happy enough to sail home after completing his business in South America, where he had secured a good number of orders — much to the satisfaction of his employer. He returned to Scotland feeling that his great journey had been well worth doing.

A few days before his ship arrived in Britain, Wilson reflected on the new perspectives he had gained: "When I saw the fog this morning, and felt the cold in the air, I wondered why people should be so much afraid to go abroad from Scotland, where we have such a trying climate, however, I suppose it is just that we are brought up to it, and we think it is best for us." (Wilson, 255) Although Wilson may have had no interest

in settling overseas, his journey had revealed to him how many enterprising compatriots had extended a Scottish presence to the warmer and less foggy climes of South America.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ENDNOTES

¹ Gordon T. Stewart, *Jute and empire: the Calcutta jute wallahs and the landscapes of empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

² Michael Fry, *The Scottish empire* (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press, 2002).

³ Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: the Scots' invention of the modern world* (London: Fourth Estate, 2003).

⁴ Manuel A. Fernandez, "The Scots in Latin America: a survey," in *The Scots abroad: labour, capital enterprise, 1750-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 233.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 221-222.

⁶ Thomas Wilson, "Diary written on first South American Tour: the journey occupying from 9th November, 1909 till 29th June, 1910." (Typescript). McGill University. Rare Books and Special Collections Division.

⁷ *Local industries of Glasgow and the west of Scotland* (Glasgow: Local Committee for the Meeting of the British Association, 1901), 47.

⁸ Juan José Castro, *Treatise on the South American railways and the great international lines* (Montevideo: La Nación Steam Printing Office, 1893), 575.

⁹ Winthrop R. Wright, *British-owned railways in Argentina: their effect on economic nationalism, 1854-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), 4-5.

¹⁰ Colin M. Lewis, *British railways in Argentina, 1857-1914: a case study of foreign investment* (London: Athlone Press, 1983), 5.

Seeking Employment in the British Empire: Three Letters from Rajah Gobind Ram Bahadur

by Alan M. Guenther

ABSTRACT

Three short 18th century Persian language letters in the manuscript collection of the Division of Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, along with the story of how they came to McGill University, provide a fascinating window on the British Empire and the efforts of imperial subjects to obtain employment. The story begins in Bengal where a rising civil servant, Raja Gobind Ram, at a difficult time in his life, petitions his friend David Anderson for assistance. Gobind Ram achieves success, holding eventually posts of considerable responsibility in nascent British India. When, in the late 19th century, the letters come to Canada, the story introduces a young Scottish entrepreneur and immigrant, J. K. Oswald, and his pursuit of employment — first in the financial world of Montreal and later in public service at the then small settlement of Calgary — during the years when the Canadian Pacific Railway was opening up Western Canada, and Louis Riel was leading the Northwest Rebellion of 1885.

RESUMÉ

Un coup d'œil fascinant sur l'empire britannique et sur les efforts déployés par ses sujets pour trouver du travail est offert par trois courtes lettres en langue perse datant du 18^e siècle et par l'histoire du cheminement par lequel elles sont parvenues à l'Université McGill, où elles résident présentement à la Division des livres rares et des collections spéciales de la Bibliothèque McLennan. L'histoire débute au Bengale, avec la demande d'aide adressée par le fonctionnaire Raja Gobind Ram lors d'un moment difficile de sa vie à son ami David Anderson. Gobind Ram accéda éventuellement à des postes d'importance considérable en Inde à l'aube de l'époque d'administration britannique. Ces lettres sont parvenues au Canada vers la fin du 19^e siècle, et c'est à cette étape du récit que nous rencontrons James Kidd Oswald, un jeune entrepreneur et immigrant écossais. Nous le suivons alors qu'il cherche du travail — d'abord dans le monde financier de Montréal, puis à titre de fonctionnaire dans ce qui était alors la petite ville de Calgary — au cours des années qui ont vu la compagnie de chemins de fer Canadian Pacific ouvrir les portes de l'ouest canadien et Louis Riel mener la rébellion de 1885.

The British Empire as an international commercial enterprise run by Scotsmen is a contention well exemplified in stories, crossing three continents and two centuries, accompanying three manuscript letters in the McLennan Library's Division of Rare Books and Special Collections. These letters, designated "A," "B" and "C," of Manuscript 971, were written in Persian by an Indian official to a Scottish employee of the East India Company

in Bengal in the 1770s, and found their way to McGill University over one hundred years later. Although the content of the letters is interesting, even more interesting are the events and lives intertwined with them in Scotland, British India, and post-Confederation Canada. The reach of Scottish mercantile families throughout British Empire during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries emerges with clarity. This paper is divided into three sections: first, the people and circumstances

surrounding the original correspondence in 18th century India; second, the people and circumstances surrounding the correspondence finding a home at McGill in the 1890s; and third, description and translation of the three letters. Seeking employment emerges as the preoccupation of everyone connected with the letters.

CONTENT OF THE LETTERS

The letters from Rajah Gobind Ram Bahadur to David Anderson were written at a critical point in the demise of the Mughal rule and the consolidation of the British power in the Bengal region of India in the latter half of the 18th century. In 1756, the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daula saw British expansion of the fortifications of Calcutta as a challenge to his rule and marched on the city, capturing the garrison.¹ The British retaliated and retook Calcutta under Colonel Robert Clive early the following year, and then moved to extend their control in the region by defeating the Nawab's forces at the battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757. After another decisive battle at Buxar in 1764, when the British forces were victorious over the allied forces of the Nawabs of Bengal and Awadh as well as those of the Mughal emperor, the British East India Company secured the *diwāni*, or revenue collecting rights, in the region through a treaty with the Mughal emperor. In a move to bring order from chaos in the shifting authority of the region, the directors of the Company appointed Warren Hastings as the first Governor-General of its Indian territories in 1772. From the content of the letters, it is evident that they were written in the period 1772 to 1775, during the early years of the Hastings administration.

Rajah Gobind Ram Bahadur (d. 1788)

Included with the three letters is an envelope identifying both the writer and the recipient, as well as clues to dating the letters. The letters' author, as engraved on the seal on the envelope,

is Raja Gobind Ram Bahadur, whose full title is given in the Imperial Record Department in New Delhi as Prithvi Indar Amīr-ul-Mulk Imtiāz-ud-Daulah Farzand-i-Wafādar Rāja Mirza Gōbind Rām Bahādur Sipāhdar Jang.² Within a few years of writing these letters, he came to prominence as the *vakīl* or ambassador of the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Awadh, acting as the Nawab's representative to the East India Company at Calcutta from 1775 to 1788.³ His younger brother was Rao Anant Ram.⁴ Gobind Ram, according to his own testimony, had become acquainted with David Anderson some time prior to writing the first letter, and had been the recipient of his financial aid. The occasion of the correspondence was Ram's straitened circumstances and desperate need of employment.

Gobind Ram describes himself in the first letter as having fallen "victim to many a disease beyond description and for three or four years was confined to bed." This would coincide with the devastating famine, accompanied by cholera, small pox and other diseases, which afflicted Murshidabad and other parts of Bengal in 1770.⁵ Treatment for the diseases consumed his resources, including the gift he had received from Anderson. Although Ram notes that his health has begun to mend, he feels that he is not yet strong enough to offer his services to Anderson wherever he might be serving at the time. Instead, Ram was remaining in Calcutta, where no one had come to his aid. In the letter, Gobind Ram laments that he is currently without a significant post, and requests recommendations from Anderson that would open doors to influential officials who could provide such an important post. The "wrong movement of the spheres" of which he was complaining very quickly gave way to the ascension of Gobind Ram's star, as his subsequent career would show.

David Anderson (1750-1825)

The envelope containing the letters is addressed to “Fakhar-ud-Dawlah Dāud Anderson Sāhib Bahādūr” the honorific title for David Anderson, an East India Company official. Because he was rising in rank and responsibility in the Company, and closely allied with Governor-General Warren Hastings, Anderson was a logical choice to be approached by a friend such as Gobind Ram seeking government employment. Unlike Gobind Ram, of whose activities prior to 1775 almost no record can be found, David Anderson is mentioned regularly in the records of East India Company. He arrived in India on 11 July 1767 in the position of Writer — copy clerk — and in the following year was appointed Assistant under the Secretary of the Select Committee. In 1769 he served as an assistant to George Gustavas Ducarel in Purnea district.⁶ One year later, he became an Assistant at the Durbar. In 1772 he moved to Murshidabad where he was appointed Factor, Assistant to the Resident. He held the position of Fifth in Council at Murshidabad in 1774, Junior Merchant and Fourth in Council at Murshidabad two years later, and continued advancing in rank during the years that followed.⁷

In the first letter, Gobind Ram laments that Anderson had departed from the town leaving him destitute of friends as well as resources, which suggests that it was written shortly after Anderson’s departure in 1772 to become assistant to Samuel Middleton, the Resident at Murshidabad. In a letter home to his parents, Anderson indicated that he acted as Resident in Middleton’s absence: “Mr. Middleton’s absence has thrown upon me the Charge of two of the most important offices under the Government, the Residency at the Durbar and the Collectorship of Rajeshahy.”⁸ He also outlined the judicial responsibilities his assignment entailed:

My present appointment is Persian Translator to the Durbar, in which capacity Mr. Midd. has entrusted to me the Superintendence (under him)

of the administration of Justice. This office does not require so great a share or Capacity of Knowledge as you would imagine. The Decrees are guided by the Mussulman and Gentoo Laws, and I have always 3 or 4 learned men to expound them, and it is only when no Law can be found, that I allow my own notions of Equity to regulate my Determinations. An Appeal may be made to the President and Council to that the parties may always be sure of Redress. This Employment gives me a great Deal of Trouble, but it gives me a Considerable Influence in this part of the Country. I still enjoy the advantages of my paymastership, and I have lately made an addition to my Income by establishing a manufactory for Gold thread in the City, which yields me a sure profit of 3 a 400 Rs. per mensem. In this Way tho’ I am laying by monthly a little money, I am not making a Fortune.⁹

His final comment reveals that for him—as for many of those employed by the East India Company—“making a fortune” was a high, if not primary, ambition.

In 1773, the approximate time that the letters were written, Anderson’s position was that of Persian Translator to Middleton at Murshidabad.¹⁰ But he had his eye on the more lucrative posting of Persian Translator to the ambassador, whom the Company was planning to appoint to the court of Shuja-ud-Dawla, the ruler of Awadh. He believed there was a good possibility of obtaining the post due to the substantial influence of an unidentified “Mr. Graham,” and to a majority of the Council being his friends. Anderson had also earned the trust and gratitude of Hastings by doing some translation work for him—“I have lately given the Governor great Satisfaction in translating a very long and favourite Performance of his into

Persian.”¹¹ To his disappointment, however, the post was awarded to another.

It was during this time that Anderson’s assistance was requested by Gobind Ram for a recommendation to “Mr. Johnson Sahib,” who was probably Richard Johnson (1753-1807) newly arrived in India on 4 June 1770 as a Writer.¹² With his appointment as Assistant to Hastings in 1772, Johnson became active in the social life of Calcutta and participated in the intellectual and artistic pursuits of his contemporaries, especially in the amassing of a large collection of Persian miniatures.¹³ For Gobind Ram to request a recommendation to such an influential person who had the ear of the Governor-General would seem reasonable. In 1780 Johnson would be sent to Lucknow, where for the next two years he served as the assistant to the Resident, Nathaniel Middleton. In the latter’s absence, Johnson was given responsibility for discharging the duties of Resident, but was recalled in 1782 for abusing his trust.¹⁴ Lucknow had increased in political, as well as cultural, importance after Asaf-ud-Daula relocated his capital there upon acceding in 1775 to the title of Nawab of Awadh. While in Lucknow, Johnson became acquainted with Tafazzul Hussain Khan, who is also mentioned in Letter “A,” and they developed a friendship that continued after Johnson’s return to Calcutta. In 1784 he became the Resident at the Nizam’s court in Hyderabad; but the problems noted at Lucknow followed him, causing him to resign as a result of charges laid by the minister of the Nawab Vazir of Awadh. He returned to England in 1790 with two chests containing oriental manuscripts and paintings he had collected in India.¹⁵

Tafazzul Hussain Khan (1727-1800)

Gobind Ram complained in Letter “A” that when he arrived in Calcutta his former friend, Tafazzul Hussain Khan, who was now in a high position, paid no attention to him. Although it is not clear what position Tafazzul Hussain held in 1772,

he does provide another fascinating illustration of the relationships between British and Indian elites in the late 18th century. His full name was ‘Allāma Tafazzul Husain Khān Kashmīri, popularly known as the Khān-i ‘Allāma. His grandfather was Karamu’llah who served as *vakīl* (ambassador) to Mu’inu’l-Mulk, governor of Lahore.¹⁶ Tafazzul Hussain was born in Sialkot, and at the age of thirteen or fourteen moved to Delhi where he studied under its leading teachers. Four years later, the family moved to Lucknow, where he was admitted to the seminary of Mullā Hasan of the Firingi Mahal.¹⁷

In his illustrious career, Tafazzul Husain Khan held a number of influential positions under the Nawabs of Awadh — discussed later in this article.¹⁸ He was initially appointed by the Nawab-Wazir of Awadh, Shuja-ud-Dawlah, as mentor and tutor to his second son, Sa’adat ‘Ali Khan.¹⁹ He accompanied Sa’adat ‘Ali Khan to Allahabad in 1769 where the young noble was vice-minister to the Mughal Emperor, Shah ‘Alam.²⁰ A year after the death of the Shuja-ud-Dawlah, in 1775, Sa’adat ‘Ali Khan participated in an abortive assassination plot against his older brother, Asaf ud-Daulah, who had succeeded his father as Nawab. As a result Tafazzul was forced to flee with the young prince.²¹ In a September 9, 1777 letter to Mr. Middleton, Sa’adat ‘Ali Khan requested permission to return to his brother’s capital in company with Tafazzul.²² Not surprisingly, his brother turned down the request.²³ Tafazzul Khan, with the assistance of his brother, Rahmatullah Khan, left the young prince’s service when he returned to Lucknow. Thus a few momentous years after Gobind Ram’s complaint about Tafazzul, their situations had reversed. Tafazzul’s career suffered a series of setbacks because of his close alliance with the unsuccessful Sa’adat ‘Ali Khan, while Gobind Ram gained an influential position under the victorious brother, Asaf ud-Daulah.

In September, 1779, through the influence of Major William Palmer (1740-1816), who was

Hastings' military secretary and later replaced David Anderson as Resident in Mahadji Sindhia's court in Gwalior, Tafazzul was appointed by Hastings²⁴ as *vakil* of the Rana of Gohad, Chhatar Singh, in settling the terms of a treaty between him and the Company.²⁵ When he arrived in Gohad, Tafazzul quickly gained the full confidence of the Rana. Among other things, Tafazzul reported back to Hastings about the defeat, with British assistance, of the Mahrattas encamped near Gohad.²⁶ He also wrote to his brother Rahmatullah about efforts to forge an alliance between Hastings and the Rajas in the area, with a view of making them dependent on the English *sarkar* ("head of affairs").²⁷ In return, Hastings had Tafazzul accompany David Anderson in 1782 during negotiations with the Maratha chief, Mahadji Sindhia.²⁸ The intrigues of Tafazzul and Haider Beg Khan at the Awadh court in Lucknow, during 1784, contributed to Mr. Johnson's removal from office.²⁹ After Gobind Ram's death in 1788, Tafazzul succeeded him as the *vakil* or diplomatic representative of Asaf ud-Daulah in Calcutta — their careers yet again intersecting with one another.³⁰

Hastings in Bengal

One event in the correspondence can be verified by other sources, namely the visit of Governor-General Hastings to Benares in 1773. In letter "B," Ram describes the event from the perspective of one accompanying "Milton Sahib" — Samuel Middleton (1736-1775) — to Plassey to meet with Hastings.³¹ Middleton and his entourage including Gobind Ram travelled with Hastings to Madapur ("Madhubpur" in the translation) where they halted for four or five days, and a Durbar or official reception was held. On the 17th of Rabi' al-Thani, Governor-General Hastings departed for "the west" on ships departing from Sadiq Bagh. The account of this meeting enables the positive dating of the letter. In his diary, Hastings recounts his trip to Benares to meet with the Nawab of Awadh, Shuja-ud-daulah in the summer of 1773 — setting out from

Calcutta on June 24, 1773, quitting his boats at Augerdeep, and proceeding by land to Plassey.³² There he was met by Middleton and the Nawab of Bengal, Mubarak-ud-daulah. Not surprisingly, no mention is made of Gobind Ram who was a minor attendant to Middleton. Hastings writes that he proceeded the next morning to "Moidapoor," arriving on July 4, for an official visit with Munnī Begum, widow of Mir Jafar and guardian during the Nawab's minority. On July 9 Hastings continued his journey from "Saddoc Baug" where boats were awaiting him, and continued on to Benares. These diary references provide independent confirmation of letter "B" since Gobind Ram stated that he accompanied Middleton on this journey "a few days ago" — on 17 Rabi' al-Thānā, the equivalent of 8 July 1773 — giving as close a match as could be expected.³³ Hastings' trip to Benares is also mentioned in the *Catalogue of Persian Correspondence*, with relevant letters mentioning Hastings' departure from Calcutta on 4 Rabi' II (June 24 or 25) and his arrival at Murshidabad on route to Benares on July 5.³⁴

Gobind Ram's encounter with Hastings is also mentioned in several letters to him from Antoine-Louis Henri Polier, dated between 8 Rabi' I 1187 (May 30, 1773) and 22 Ramazan, 1187 (December 7, 1773) — at about the same time Ram wrote to Anderson.³⁵ In earlier letters, Polier indicated that Gobind Ram had requested a letter of reference to Middleton, which was supplied.³⁶ At the time, Gobind Ram was residing in Calcutta. In a letter, dated 12 Rabi' II from Lucknow, Polier wrote, "I have received your letter in which you have mentioned about your meeting with the Governor..." This would appear to be two days before Hastings' arrival at Murshidabad, where he met with Middleton — accompanied by Raja Gobind Ram. The events occurred too closely to one another to be ignored. Considering that within two years of these letters Gobind Ram would be appointed Asaf-ud-Daula's *vakil* to Hastings in Calcutta, we can speculate that Polier may well have played a role

in promoting Gobind Ram's cause in the Nawab's court at Lucknow.

The simple recounting by Gōbind Rām of this meeting gives no indication of the political undercurrents motivating Hastings' journeys. Mubarak-ud-daulah, who met Hastings at Plassey, had in 1770 at the age of eleven or twelve succeeded as Nawab of Bengal his brother Saif-ud-daulah, who had died in an outbreak of smallpox which, together with a famine, was causing great devastation throughout the region.³⁷ Because the new Nawab was a minor, a senior bureaucrat, Muhammad Reza Khan was appointed guardian. Munni Begum, mentioned by Hastings in his diary, was the widow of Mubarak-ud-daulah's father, Mir Jafar, and the mother of the previous Nawab (though not of Mubarak). She had exercised considerable influence in the Bengal court. But with the death of her son, she lost her power, and expressed her resentment against Reza Khan in complaints to the British later that year.³⁸ In 1772, when Hastings was appointed Governor-General, Reza Khan sought to establish friendly relations with the new administration, but his overtures were coolly received, and within a month he had been arrested and transported to Delhi, without any clear charges being laid.³⁹

On April 27, 1772, while serving an assistant to the Murshidabad Council of Revenue and its chief Samuel Middleton, David Anderson had been deputed to arrest Muhammad Reza Khan.⁴⁰ In an October 18, 1772 letter to London, Anderson described how Khan had been very cooperative when he and the others were arrested, and had their effects seized.⁴¹ At the time of writing, the arrested men were under restraint in Calcutta, awaiting an enquiry into their conduct by a Committee, consisting of Davies, Lawrell, and Graham. From the charges that were eventually laid, it would appear that the British East India Company was using Reza Khan as a scapegoat for some of its own economic troubles. Hastings saw, however, in the arrest and

delayed trial of this powerful political figure an opportunity to advance his own ambition and gain effective financial control of Bengal.⁴² Reza Khan's trial commenced the following year, and ended in 1774 with his acquittal of all charges. Much later, in 1780, he was restored to his post as Naib Nazim.⁴³ By then Hastings had been able to set up his new system in Murshidabad, with Middleton as Resident, and Munni Begum as guardian of the young Nawab.⁴⁴ It was in this context that Hastings visited Middleton, Mubarak-ud-daulah, and Munni Begum in the summer of 1773 when he was on his way to Benares.

The Nawabs of Awadh

Warren Hastings went to Benares in order to meet with Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Awadh, a Mughal province bordering Bengal to the north-west. Shuja-ud-Daulah had allied himself with the Nawab of Bengal and the Mughal Emperor against the British, but had been defeated at Buxar in 1764, and again the following year at Kura. When the Marathas began threatening, he sought help from British troops, as the British shared his antipathy to the rise of Maratha power. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam had been defeated by the Marathas near Delhi in 1772, and as a result had ceded to them the territories of Korah and Allahabad.⁴⁵ In 1773, British troops joined those of Shuja-ud-Daulah in successfully stopping the Maratha advance into Awadh. But the Nawab of Awadh had greater ambitions than simply stopping such an invasion; he now intended to subjugate the region of the Rohilkhand and sent a proposal regarding its annexation to Hastings.

In view of these events, Hastings set out in June, 1773, stopping to meet with Middleton and the Nawab of Bengal en route. When Hastings arrived at Benares, he and Shuja-ud-Daulah held talks concluding in the treaty of September 7, 1773. According to its provisions, the districts of Korah and Allahabad were sold to Shuja-ud-

Daulah, with British troops promising — for a sum — protection of the Nawab's territories. Other agreements reached at the conference included a promise of British help to the Nawab in conquering the Rohilkhand, in exchange for receiving a British Resident at his court.⁴⁶ Gobind Ram would benefit directly from increased cooperation between the Awadh court and the British, when three years later, after the death of Shuja-ud-Daulah, he was appointed *vakil* to the British by the Nawab's successor.

Gobind Ram as *Vakil*

Gobind Ram was appointed *vakil* on Apr. 5, 1775 by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah who had succeeded his father Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah in the Vizarat after the latter's death a few months earlier.⁴⁷ Various letters describe Ram's services, such as making representations, and carrying messages and presents between the Nawab and the Governor-General.⁴⁸ Hastings described him in further correspondence as a capable man who always tried to promote good understanding between the Nawab and the Company.⁴⁹

The *vakil* was an institution used by Mughal officials to represent their interests as personal agents at the Imperial court, as well as in other regional courts. *Vakils* were normally recruited from "the Islamicized elite of scholars and administrators who traditionally served in such positions across India."⁵⁰ They appeared in court, representing their masters before the ruler in formal rituals, and were ranked according to status. Titles were bestowed by both the ruler and the *vakil's* immediate master. In 1777, Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah sent a *khilat* (robe of honour) to the Governor-General requesting him to invest Gobind Ram with it.⁵¹ In October, 1778, the Nawab requested the Governor-General to relinquish, in favour of Ram, a land grant in the district of Arwal. These acts were done in recognition of Gobind Ram's devoted and loyal service to the Nawab and the Company, and in also consideration of friendship between the

two.⁵² Gobind Ram was instrumental as well in negotiations between the East India Company and the Maratha leader, Madhava Rao Sindhia.⁵³

In addition to functioning as *vakil* of the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Awadh, Ram also served as *vakil* of the Rajputana Chiefs and Raja Sarnet Singh.⁵⁴ As well, during March/April, 1785, he was appointed *vakil* of the Prince Jahāndār Shah, eldest son of the Emperor of Delhi.⁵⁵ The prince was an exile from his father's court and living in Lucknow, "on the bounty of the Nawab Vazir under British protection."⁵⁶ On this occasion, the current Governor-General described Gobind Ram as "a faithful and trustworthy servant of His Majesty and the Nawab Vazir and a well-wisher of the Governor-General."⁵⁷

Gobind Ram's role was much more than a mere postman delivering letters, but required skills of diplomacy and tact, in order to convey accurately the opinions of powerful and ambitious leaders in a context where respect and etiquette were highly prized. There are many, albeit brief, mentions of his work as a *vakil*, shuttling between the British administrators in the Bengal and the ruler of Awadh. There are numerous letters to him from Nawab Asaf ud-Daulah of Awadh and Warren Hastings.⁵⁸ Other letters make references to him in his role as *vakil* or ambassador, serving the Vizier of Awadh and, seemingly, the Governor-General as well.⁵⁹ One letter written by Ram on Tuesday, 17 Ramazan 1196 A.H. [August 27, 1782] in the same collection is instructive.⁶⁰ He described himself as being employed in Calcutta for eight or nine years — since 1773-1774, when his letters "A" "B" and "C" were written. David Anderson is mentioned by Ram as sending reports to the Governor General from the Sindhia's camp, which precluded his being sent to the Nawab's court, resulting in Bristow being sent instead. Gobind Ram's assistance in organizing such matters was noted with appreciation.⁶¹ For instance, he was asked by Hastings to deliver a letter explaining his position on the matter to the Nawab. Gobind Ram returned subsequently

with a letter expressing displeasure at Hastings' interference in the Nawab's affairs.⁶²

In a 1787 letter to John Shore, Warren Hastings expressed his confidence in Gobind Ram who, with Tafazzul Hussain, could give positive testimony in the impending impeachment trial in England.⁶³ Although two letters written by Gobind Ram while *vakil* for Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah — summarized in *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, footnote 2 — were entered in their entirety in the minutes of Hastings' trial, they were used to support the arguments for the prosecution.⁶⁴ In a letter written on December 26, 1787, Gobind Ram indicates that he had been ill and under treatment. In his absence, Lala Bhawani Parshad was to serve the Governor-General.⁶⁵ The following year, Gobind Ram died, and Tafazzul succeeded him as *vakil*.

Other names mentioned in the letters

In Letter "B," reference is made to James Lawrell and Tom (or John) Graham as "Lord Sahib" and "Tom Karim Sahib." James Lawrell had been nominated along with John Graham to the Murshidabad Council of Revenue when it was formed in July, 1770.⁶⁶ In a letter to Muhammad Reza Khan in September, 1770, Hastings had written that because of the importance and difficulty of the work at Murshidabad, the functions of the Resident were too heavy for one man and were being entrusted to a board of four, including Lawrell and Graham.⁶⁷ By 1773, the council in Murshidabad had been dissolved, and Lawrell was serving on the governing council in Calcutta. Hastings appointed him to take possession of Korah and Allahabad.⁶⁸ Lawrell was present during Hastings' visit to Benares in 1773 — as discussed earlier.⁶⁹ The reference to "Graham" could be to either John Graham or his brother Tom.⁷⁰ John Graham worked closely with Lawrell in Murshidabad, and had been deputed by Hastings to communicate the intentions of the East India Company to Reza Khan along with his response, after being arrested in 1772.⁷¹

His brother Tom Graham was also associated with Lawrell.⁷² In 1773, Tom assisted Lawrell on the deputation to Korah.⁷³ Tom was also closely associated with David Anderson in business.⁷⁴ Both "Mustepha" and Gobind Ram refer to David Anderson and Lawrell.⁷⁵ In addition, David Anderson — as an assistant to the Murshidabad Council — would have been well acquainted with Lawrell and John Graham, who were also members, and with Middleton who was Council Chief before its being disbanded — about a year before the letter was written.

After serving under Middleton, Anderson received other postings from Hastings, such as negotiating the end of the first Mahratta war in 1782,⁷⁶ when he was accompanied by his brother, Lieut. James Anderson, mentioned by Tafazzul as well as by Gobind Ram in Letter "B."⁷⁷ David Anderson remained with Madhava Rao Sindia as Political Resident until 1785 when he returned to Britain on the same ship as Warren Hastings, whose life-long friend he remained.⁷⁸ In 1780 Anderson purchased the Estate of St. Germain's, East Lothian, Scotland which has passed down through his descendants. He married Christian, daughter of Robert Findlay, of Drummore on Aug. 14, 1788, and had two sons, David and Warren Hastings.⁷⁹ Anderson gave 113 volumes of Oriental manuscripts to Edinburgh University, listed in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library*, by Mohammad Hukk.⁸⁰ A large quantity of Anderson family papers remains with the estate, Anderson of Northfield (formally of St Germain's and Bourhouse).⁸¹

At the direction of Hastings, David's brother Lieut. James Anderson, mentioned by Gobind Ram in Letter "B" as "your younger brother," helped translate Muslim legal literature. His associate in this translation, Charles Hamilton, took over the project when James became engaged in negotiations with other Indian rulers. Hamilton paid tribute to James, in their translation of the *Hedáya*, as "a gentleman whose

eminent *literary* qualifications for accomplishing such an undertaking could only be excelled by the solidity of his understanding, and the goodness of his heart.”⁸²

THE LETTERS COME TO MCGILL

Raja Gobind Ram’s letters to David Anderson were deposited at the library of McGill University in 1895 — their location in the intervening time remaining a mystery, with sparse clues. Accompanying notes and some penciled notations on the translations indicate that the letters came into the possession of J. K. Oswald, who then offered to them for sale to McGill. One of the notations indicates that the translations were made by a *munshi* some considerable time after the letters were written.

The sale offer of five dollars to the McGill Library was made on November 14, 1895, in a note written on the reverse of a “Borrower’s Form” of the McGill College Library: “If you still would take the letters for Sum of \$5.00 send amount to Metropolitan Club & oblige. Yours, J. K. Oswald. 14.11.95.” This note was addressed to Charles H. Gould, Esq., McGill University Librarian, 1893-1919. Accompanying the translation is a notation, in a similar hand, “My Moonshee tells me that the letters are worth a lot, the paper being hand made which accounts for its good Condition, the writing he had some difficulty in translating, as the letters are somewhat of an old style.” Although these notes suggest that Oswald had been in India and that his own *munshi* undertook the translation, it is more likely that he is merely quoting someone else. There is no record of J. K. Oswald ever having been to India, though his son William did spend a number of years there. As no connection between the Anderson and Oswald families in Scotland has been discovered, it seems reasonable to assume that the letters remained in India during the intervening 120 years. Further correspondence located in the McGill archives includes the following letter dated November 25,

1895 from Gould to Oswald: “My dear Sir:— I have yours of the 14th, in regard to the Hindostani manuscripts, and will give you a definite answer in the course of a few days. Meantime, the letters are perfectly safe here.”⁸³ Oswald responded on November 28 in a letter written on Metropolitan Club letterhead: “My dear Mr. Gould. Many thanks for yours 25th instant — I know the Hindustani manuscripts are perfectly safe in your keeping — that was chiefly my reason for leaving them with you — Kindly do the best you can with them for me & let me know results at your convenience, at above address.”⁸⁴

At the time, there were two J. K. Oswalds listed in *Lovell’s Montreal Directory*, Capt. J. K. Oswald at 7 Victoria, and James K. Oswald, bookkeeper, at 121 St. Matthew — the former being the father of the latter.⁸⁵ The signature on the note to Gould matches that of Capt. James Kidd Oswald in the church register for the baptism of his son William Whitehead Oswald. By comparison, the signature of the younger James K. Oswald, on the 1901 marriage certificate of William W. Oswald differs considerably from that on the note to Gould. One is, therefore, led to conclude that it was J. K. Oswald Sr. who sold the letters to McGill.

James Kidd Oswald (1850-1899)

James Kidd Oswald, son of Henry Campbell Oswald and Eliza MacKenzie, arrived in Montreal from Aberdeen, Scotland, along with his older brother, William Robert Oswald (1848-1899) sometime in 1866.⁸⁶ Reminiscent of David and James Anderson in Bengal one hundred years previously, James and William Oswald had Canadian business, political, and military careers. The brothers worked as general managers of the Scottish Fire Insurance Company and Scottish Provident Institution, under the directorship of Alexander Mitchell.⁸⁷ Both also took an active part in Montreal’s military life: James serving as lieutenant in the Victoria Rifles during the Fenian raid on Eccles Hill in 1870, and William serving

as lieutenant in the Montreal Garrison Artillery during the battle at Huntingdon a few days later.⁸⁸ James was active in sports, particularly golf. As a member of the Royal Montreal Golf Club, the first Canadian golf club, he participated in an 1876 competition between the Montreal and Quebec City clubs — the first North American golf match.⁸⁹

In Montreal, Robert and James established the firm of Oswald Brothers, an insurance and stock brokerage firm, which they managed together until 1875 when James sold his share to start the Merchants' Marine Insurance Co. When this venture failed because of large losses sustained in the Maritime Provinces, he moved to Western Canada around 1882, settling first in Manitoba before moving on to Calgary. For his part, William continued the Oswald Brothers firm, which was the general agent for the City of London Insurance Company. In 1874 he became one of the founding members of the Montreal Stock Exchange. Both William and James had been members of the earlier Board of Stock Brokers.⁹⁰ When James returned to Montreal around 1893, he again took up business, working as insurance broker and promoter until his death in 1899.⁹¹ He joined with J. E. E. Dickson, manager of the Law Union and Crown Insurance Company, in conducting city business.⁹² It was during this time that James offered to sell the Persian manuscripts to McGill.

The ten year sojourn of James in Western Canada reveals an even more varied career. He resided briefly in Manitoba before establishing himself in the frontier settlement of Calgary, North West Territories. In an 1882 announcement of provincial appointments, the *Winnipeg Times* stated that James Kidd Oswald of Souris had been appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Province of Manitoba.⁹³ Within six months, however, he had made his way to Calgary, becoming one its earliest residents. In the spring of 1883, the new settlement on the Bow River had a population of less than 100, but

would grow rapidly over the next few years. By August, the Canadian Pacific Railway reached the east bank of the Bow where James established a business office, Real Estate and Land Agent, and General Commission Broker, Calgary, N.W.T.⁹⁴

James Oswald had high hopes that success in business or government service would enable his family to relocate to the West. His eldest son, H. Campbell Oswald, did join him in 1883. Letters indicate that a number of influential friends were actively lobbying on James' behalf for a government position, once again reminiscent of the letters written by Gobind Ram to David Anderson. W. B. Scarth, managing director of the North-West Land Company and influential political organizer for the Conservative party in Ontario and Manitoba, wrote three letters to Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, requesting that Oswald be appointed to some post in the North West Territories. These letters refer to prominent Conservative Members of Parliament such as the A. P. Caron, George A. Kirkpatrick and Col. A. T. H. Williams who would be prepared to vouch for Oswald.⁹⁵ Scarth was promoting James because "He has a nice gentlemanly manner and would, I think be well suited for the position of government guide or something in connection with the Indian Department."⁹⁶ After meeting with James in Calgary during July 1883, Scarth recommended his appointment as Land Agent or Registrar at Calgary.⁹⁷ These efforts were rewarded later that year when James was appointed Justice of the Peace, Notary Public, and Issuer of Marriage Licences for Calgary.⁹⁸ The following year, he was also appointed Guardian under the Ordinance for the Protection of Game, while his son, H. Campbell Oswald, was appointed Notary Public.⁹⁹ Two years later, another plea to the Prime Minister was made by a friend of James' wife, Alice Ann Oswald, by Charlotte Stephen — wife of George Stephen, later Lord Mount Stephen — a leader of the Montreal business community, founding President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and an advisor to Macdonald.

In requesting the postmastership of Calgary for James, Mrs. Stephen wrote that “Mrs. James Oswald is a very old friend of mine, and this appointment would enable her and her children to live there. He is quite steady and though not a prodigy has brains enough for the office.”¹⁰⁰

Apart from political appointments James Oswald played a direct role in the political life of Calgary, being nominated as a candidate for town council — but not elected. Along the way to becoming a province in 1905, the District of Alberta was created in 1882 within the North-West Territories, with Calgary in 1884 being the first electoral district. James put his name forward immediately as a candidate for a seat on the North-West Council based in Regina. His speech at the candidates’ meeting focused upon demands that the railway companies free up their land for settlement, take more responsibility for preventing prairie fires, and provide safe railway crossings.¹⁰¹ He also pushed for greater provincial representation and recognition in Ottawa, and an end to the federal government practice of using the West for patronage appointees from the East! His main opponent was J. D. Geddes, a rancher who focused on the concerns of cattle farmers in the region surrounding Calgary. Although James obtained a majority of votes cast within Calgary, Geddes won the election by a majority of 12 out of 188 votes cast, having received almost all the votes from the rural regions.¹⁰² The Calgary paper that supported Geddes, *The Nor’-Wester*, carried a detailed account of the contest and subsequent victory speeches, and accused James’ supporters of intimidation and interference.¹⁰³ James responded by submitting a petition to the Territorial Council, charging that irregularities in posting the voters’ list, and permitting illegal votes, had resulted in Geddes’ victory.¹⁰⁴ After considering the petition, and legal ramifications of questioning the results submitted by a returning officer, the Council accepted the election results.

In spite of these setbacks, James Oswald continued to be politically active, participating

in a mass rally towards the end of the year when he moved a motion requesting that the federal government “make the North-West Council a purely elective body, with fuller and larger legislative powers than those now enjoyed by the Council; until the time shall arrive when the different Provisional Districts shall be erected into separate Provinces with their own Local Legislatures.”¹⁰⁵ The following spring, James led a delegation to Ottawa for interviews with the Minister of Public Works to discuss the construction of bridges and a court house in Calgary, as well as more effective ways of controlling the illicit whiskey trade through granting more licences for brewing beer made from locally grown barley and native wild hops.¹⁰⁶

James Oswald was in Calgary when Native and Métis troubles in the Carleton-Duck Lake-Batoche region turned into the Riel Rebellion of 1885. James was recruited by Samuel Benfield Steele — known popularly as Sam Steele of the North-West Mounted Police — to be Captain in charge of a troop of scouts, Steele’s Scouts. They accompanied General T. B. Strange and his forces as they marched north to Edmonton, and then east down the Saskatchewan River to meet up with General Middleton’s forces marching west from Winnipeg. In a combined action, they defeated Big Bear, the one remaining rebel leader after Louis Riel’s and Gabriel Dumont’s defeat at Batoche, and Chief Poundmaker’s surrender at Fort Carlton¹⁰⁷ — with military engagement limited to several skirmishes around Fort Pitt.¹⁰⁸ Following conclusion of the campaign, James held a commission as Lieutenant in the Mounted Infantry Corps, stationed at the Barracks in Ft. Osborne, Winnipeg.¹⁰⁹

His brother, William R. Oswald, who had continued his association with the Garrison Artillery in Montreal, took its command as Lt.-Col. in 1881. He led his brigade to Winnipeg in 1885 as part of the force sent out to suppress the Rebellion, but did not participate in any engagements. Instead, his brigade guarded Louis

Handwritten text in Persian script, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a cursive style and is arranged in several lines, with some lines written vertically on the right side of the page. The paper shows signs of wear and discoloration.

Letter B of MS 971. Manuscript Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections Division, McGill University Library.



The seal of David Anderson with the following inscription in Persian: "Bahadur Dilawar Jang, Mister Daud Andersin, Fakhr ud-Dawla, 1198." Anderson Collection, Anderson of Northfield, Scotland.



A portrait miniature of David Anderson.
George Engleheart, Anderson Collection, Anderson of Northfield, Scotland.

Riel and his councillors to thwart any rescue attempt.¹¹⁰ Back in Montreal, he continued his activity with the military, organizing an artillery team to compete in England, and being elected president of the Dominion Artillery Association in 1887.

Family of James Kidd Oswald

In the fall of 1870, after participating in the campaign against the Fenian raids, James Oswald married Alice Ann Whitehead, daughter of William Thomas Whitehead and Isabella Ross, of Montreal.¹¹¹ The church registers indicate that 10 children were born to James and Alice in the next 12 years, only four of whom survived — three sons, Henry Campbell (b. 1871), William Whitehead (b. 1873), and James Kidd (b. 1874), and one daughter, Isabel Julia (b. 1879). Two sons died in infancy, and two sets of twin girls did not survive childhood, the oldest living to the age of 10. The 1881 census gives the following composition of the household:¹¹²

- James Oswald, age 30, born in Scotland, Presbyterian, Scotch, Merchant
- Alice Oswald, age 28, born in Quebec
- Henry Oswald, age 10
- William Oswald, age 8
- James Oswald, age 7
- Isabella Oswald, age 3
- Alice Oswald, age 1
- Ellen McDonald, age 38, Catholic, Servant
- Kate McCarthy, age 40, born in Ireland, Catholic, Servant
- Mary O'Neil, age 42, Catholic, Servant
- Ida Backer, age 16, Baptist, German, Servant

After twin girls were born on 31 Oct. 1882, James Oswald was apparently absent from both their christening and their funeral a month later, most probably because he had already moved West.¹¹³ Left to rear the children alone, Alice's siblings came faithfully to her aid. Her unmarried sister Julia Whitehead moved in, remaining well into the following century. Her brother, Colonel Edward A. Whitehead, (1845-1912) also assisted, especially in giving care and direction to the three boys.¹¹⁴ James' brother William continued living in Montreal, and in 1876 married Graham Campbell Greenshields, daughter of John G. Greenshields and Elizabeth McCulloch Black.¹¹⁵ William and Graham had two children, a daughter Jean Greenshields (b. 1877) and a son Malcolm Campbell (b. 1879). William died after a short illness in 1899 while visiting his mother, during a trip to Britain.¹¹⁶

James Oswald returned to Montreal around 1893, but prolonged absence from his family seems to have resulted in an estrangement from his wife, as he is listed with a separate address in directories of the time. By 1899, he had been living for two years in the Webster House, at the corner of St. James and Cathedral streets. A fire broke out in the building on October 31, killing three of the guests and completely destroying the establishment. James was severely injured when he jumped from a third floor window, and died a few days later.¹¹⁷ Although James Kidd Oswald's life encompassed a variety of adventures, there is no indication that he ever visited India. One must, therefore, look elsewhere to find the source of the manuscript letters sold to McGill University. The most likely person is James' second son, William Whitehead Oswald.

William Whitehead Oswald (1873-1957)

William Whitehead Oswald was educated at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, and at McGill University.¹¹⁸ After completing his education, in 1890 he joined the Bank

of Montreal. His obituary recounts how the General Manager of the bank, Sir Edward Clouston, shared William's interest in sailing and was instrumental in introducing him to a friend in Standard Oil, who in turn invited him to join its new venture in India.¹¹⁹ *Thacker's Directory* indicates that as early as 1894 he was working as an assistant to C. C. Campbell, Manager of Standard Oil in Calcutta.¹²⁰ The company advertised itself as dealing in American kerosene and lubricating oils. One can hypothesize that William acquired the Gobind Ram letters early in his stay and either sent them to his father, or brought them home on a visit, thereby making it possible in 1895 for James to sell the manuscripts to McGill. No records have been found, however, to indicate how or where William might have acquired the letters.

In 1901, William Oswald returned to Montreal to marry, on May 29, Katherine Ray Mitchell (1875-1940), daughter of Alexander Mitchell (1833-1915), at St. Paul's Church.¹²¹ Katherine Mitchell had graduated from McGill University in 1896 with a B.A.¹²² William returned with his new wife to India, where he continued working for Standard Oil. In 1904 when automobiles were being introduced into India, he was reputed to have had the fourth car in Calcutta. In 1910, he was transferred to Constantinople to open Standard Oil's office there.¹²³ When Walter Teagle purchased holdings in Peru for Standard Oil through the Imperial Oil Company, William was sent there around 1914 to help oversee operations.¹²⁴ Two years later, he was recalled to Montreal, where Walter Teagle and Imperial Oil were based. After the First World War, in 1919, William was then sent to Paris where Standard Oil was in the process of establishing a producing office.¹²⁵ He subsequently served as Director of the Anglo-American Oil Co. in London from 1921 to 1929, and retired in 1933.¹²⁶ In England, the family lived at *White Knight*, a house on the St. George's Hill estate near Weybridge in Surrey. William was a member of the Royal Southern Yacht Club near Southampton. His

yachts included *Dandy*, *Memphis*, and finally the schooner *Lelanta II* which he sold three years before in death in 1957. His wife Katherine had predeceased him in 1940, at which time *White Knight* was commandeered for the war effort. William made yearly visits to Montreal until the start of the Second World War; and at the time of his death in 1957, his grandson Patrick Oswald was studying at McGill University.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Physical properties and script

The paper on which the letters are written appears to have been made according to a Persian recipe distinguishable by its irregular laid lines.¹²⁷ The paper is sprinkled, perhaps with ink, and letters "B" and "C" have specks that glitter, possibly indicating the presence of silver, mica, or a similar substance in the ink. Item A has diamond-shaped patches of gold leaf imbedded in its paper. The language used throughout the letters is Persian, the language of official correspondence in the Mughal Empire in India, and adopted by the East India Company during the earlier period of its administration. The script is of the Shikasta-Nastā'liq hand, with the characteristic reversed *nūn*, but it also contains features of Ta'liq such as the unconventional joining of letters and the use (though inconsistent) of the *tarvis* or head serifs. Several other features of the writing style that are common to letters written at that time can be noted. There is frequent overlining across the extent of the text at the commencement of first letter.¹²⁸ As the text reaches the bottom of the page, the lines are written closer together, and the side margins are used to complete the letter.¹²⁹ The letters end with the formulaic *bād*.¹³⁰ Another common feature is the "stacking" of the words at the end of lines.¹³¹ There is also the typical absence of dots and diacritical vowels in the formation of the words.¹³²

One envelope is included with the collection of manuscript letters. In addition to containing the name of the addressee on the front, the

reverse displays the seal of the sender. The date in the upper left hand corner of the seal is 1188, presumably of the Hijri calendar which would correspond with Apr. 1774 to Feb. 1775 C.E. A second date would appear to be indicated by the numerals appearing towards the middle of the seal—two on the left hand side and two in the middle right. If Persian, the numerals appear to be 15[?]7, the third numeral being unfamiliar. The calendar used for this date is unclear, since it does not seem to match the dating of the more common calendars. A hand-written date appears on the front of the envelope as “24 M[ar]ch [17]75” which would equal Friday, 22 Muharram 1189 on the Hijri calendar. Taking the envelope to have contained one of the three letters, one letter was sent by Rājah Gōbind Rām Bahādur to David Anderson early in 1775.¹³³ From the content of Letter “B” discussed at the beginning of this article, it was written in 1773.

Other letters written to David Anderson towards the end of the 18th century can be found in the Anderson Collection at Anderson of Northfield in Fife, Scotland.¹³⁴ The letters appear to be of similar composition, and are similarly accompanied by envelopes, one bearing the seal of the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam. Also part of the Anderson Collection are seals, one bearing the Persian inscription: “Bahadur Dilawar Jang, Mister Daud Andersin, Fakhr ud-Dawla, 1198,” the date being approximately equivalent to A.D. 1783. The paintings in the collection include several portraits of David Anderson; one miniature by George Engleheart is exceptionally striking.¹³⁵

Translations of the letters

The manuscript letters received by McGill University in 1895 were accompanied by handwritten translations, with the note written by James Kidd Oswald, “My Moonshee tells me that the letters are worth a lot, the paper being hand made which accounts for its good condition,

the writing he had some difficulty in translating, as the letters are somewhat of an old style.”

Translation of Letter “A”

I owe service to your threshold.

O master see again with kindness to this slave.

Most merciful and kind sir,

Since the time you left this helpless one and went to your home; this poor fellow from the revolution of time fell a victim to many a disease beyond description and for three or four years was confined to bed and had not the power of motion. Whatever I got from you has all been spent in my treatment. By the grace of God I am now a little better and have escaped the danger, but I am not yet strong enough to offer my service to you. With great difficulty I reached Calcutta and went here and there without any profit. None of the old Sahibs with whom I was acquainted are here. Tafazul Hossain Khan Sahib who is now in a high position paid no attention to my complaints and by the reverse of my fortune nothing came out good. As I have great hopes to receive your help in this wretched time I hope you will extend your helping hand toward me. The small income which I had from [?] has now been stopped. I am now in a helpless position and in despair. I beg for a letter of recommendation to Mr. Johnson Sahib. Undoubtedly some help will be given to me otherwise I do not see any way of my livelihood beyond this.

I have nothing more to say and pray to God that the sun of your life, wealth, position and dignity may shine forever.

Translation of Letter “B”

Honoured and Respected Sir

After expressing a desire of meeting you may this be known to you that before this, your kind note was received; in reply to that I have sent you two letters, which I hope have reached you. I have come to know from your younger brother that on account of pressure of business you could not answer me. I pray to God that you may always be entrusted with government affairs. A few days ago I went with Mr. Milton to Plassey to receive His Excellency the Governor; after obtaining audience we went to Madhubpur where halt was made for four or five days and there he held Durbars to receive visitors. He was very courteous. On the 17th of Rabi Ussani he started for the west. Accordingly we went to Sadiqbagh to bid him farewell when he was already on board ship, and paid him our due respects and took leave of him. I have extreme desire to see you. If advisable kindly drop a few lines to Mr. Milton for my future prospects. I beg you to keep me informed of your well being and pray to God that you may attain the highest position.

P. S. If advisable please tender my respects to Lord Sahib and to Tom Karim Sahib.

Translation of Letter “C”

Most merciful and Kind Sir

After expressing my great desire to see you which I my pen cannot describe. Since a long time your kind letter has not reached me. Consequently every now and then I expect your kind letter and hope you will drop me a few lines stating your health. And my humble desire to you is that by way of kindness state full

particulars about you for which I will be highly obliged, and whatever duty you think befitting me, will be good enough to direct me, which I shall perform with great delight.

Your days of happiness and prosperity may remain long.

Evaluation of the Translation

Comparison with the original manuscript leads to the conclusion that, for the most part, the translation by the *munshi* gives the correct meaning. Letter “A.” opens with a poem that the author has perhaps composed himself; expressing his desire for a favour.¹³⁶ The writer uses the term *namakkhōr*. [meaning literally “one who has eaten salt”] for the one he is addressing. By implication, the addressee is seen as one who has taken care of the addresser in the past and will do so in the future again. He is presenting himself as a dependent person. The third person and plural forms are used to express honour. The writer opens with a lament, which might be translated more idiomatically as “In this town I had no one but you, but now you have left me without anyone.” The phrase, “revolution of time” might be better translated as “wrong movement of the spheres” or in contemporary terms, “a bad alignment of the stars.” In addition to the mention of disease, there is the implication of impoverishment and helplessness, resulting in unexplainable nervousness. “I am now a little better” carries the idea that there was barely a spark of life that has now been revived. The writer comments that after arriving in Calcutta, none of the old friends—sahibs could refer to friends—which he had as a villager are now available in the city. Even his persistence to the point of rudeness was met with refusal by Tafazzul Husayn Khan. The small income he had from properties rented out to others and from “qāzī” [meaning unclear in this context] had stopped. In closing, the writer brings in another proverb, omitted from the *munshi*’s translation: “The chief himself knows

how to bring up his own servant,” meaning that the addressee will know what to do to help the one asking for help; and just as the master benefits from the labour of the servant whom he takes care of, so the addressee will also benefit by whatever help he might offer the writer. Since poetic language is used throughout, a literal translation would not do justice to the letters’ flowery expressions.

Briefly, Letter “B” opens with a prayer, not found in the original translation, “May you be healthy, O you who are the source of pride of the needy.” An amended translation of the writer’s salutation would be, “Your expression of kindness [i.e. letter] was received. In response to that I sent two letters of request. I am waiting for a reply.” Mention is made of “your brother who has been kind to us...” The account of the meeting with Governor Hastings is basically as given in the existing translation, except that the translation fails to adequately convey the embellished language used in the original. “With the pleasure of his meeting we gained the happiness of heart” becomes “after obtaining audience” in the translation. The use of the honorific *sāhib wālid* that precedes the names like “Milton Sahib” raises some questions; the accompanying translation has chosen to use “Mr.” at that point. There appear to be several misspellings in the texts of the Letter “B,” as if it were written by someone not fully acquainted with the Persian language. For example, at the start of the letter, ۛ has been substituted for ۛ in *aurāq* [papers], the plural of *waraqā*; and earlier perhaps ۛ has been substituted for ۛ in *mehrban*.

The *munshi*’s translation of Letter “C” is satisfactory. Letters “B” and “C” appear to be written in a different hand from letter “A.” The same person could, however, have dictated both, or written one and dictated the other two.

ENDNOTES

¹ This brief historical review is taken from: Barbara Daly Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of India*, Cambridge Concise Histories (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50-55. I would like to

thank Dr. Richard Virr, Head of Rare Books and Special Collections and Curator of Manuscripts, for his direction and encouragement in researching these manuscripts and their history, during my time of student employment at the McGill Library.

² India. Imperial Record Department. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, being Letters which Passed Between Some of the Company’s Servants and Indian Rulers and Notables*, (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1930), 7, 1785-1787: 11, n 4; Richard B. Barnett, *North India between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals, and the British 1720-1801* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 180 n 33.

³ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, . 7, 1785-1787: 11, n 4; Purnendu Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company, 1785-1801* (Lucknow: Maxwell Company, 1943), 17.

⁴ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 5, 1776-1780: 247, 352. In *CPC*. 7: 28, the name is given as “Rao Anant Rao,” where he is described as waiting on Prince Jahāndār Shah.

⁵ Walsh, J. H. Tull, *A History of Murshidabad District (Bengal) with Biographies of Some of its Noted Families* (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1902), 18-20.

⁶ Abdul Majed Khan, *The Transition in Bengal, 1756-1775: A Study of Saiyid Muhammad Reza Khan* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 201.

⁷ Bengal Civilians, file O/6/21, India Office Records, British Library, 42.

⁸ David Anderson, Moidapore, near Moorshedabad, to his parents, 20 Dec. 1772, British library, folio 90v, Add. Mss. 45,438.

⁹ *Ibid.*, folio 91r.

¹⁰ Jones, M. E. Monckton, *Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774*, Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 339.

¹¹ Anderson to his parents, 1772.

¹² Johnson’s advancements proceeded as follows: 1771, Assistant in Accountants office; 1772, Assistant to the President and Governor; 1773, also Assistant to the Accountant to the Khalsa; 1774, Assistant to the Cashkeeper and Deputy Accountant to the Revenue Board; 1776, Factor holding the same offices also Judge Advocate General. Bengal Civilians, file O/6/25, India Office Records, British Library, 987.

¹³ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1981), 14-17.

¹⁴ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 7, 1785-1787: 1.

¹⁵ Falk, *Indian Miniatures*, 24-25.

¹⁶ Saiyad Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna ‘Ashari Shi’is in India (16th to 19th Century A.D.)* (Canberra, Australia: Ma’arifat Publishing House, 1986) 2: 227.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Muhammad 'Ali Khan, Nawab Saiyid. *Tuffuzzool Hussain Khan, Khan-i-Alluma, Minister of Nawob Vazeer of Oudh*. [An anonymous account of Tuffuzzool Hussain Khan from the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1803, with other extracts and letters on the same subject. Compiled by Nawob Syed Mahomed Ali Khan.] (Secunderabad: Cheekoty Veerunnah & Sons, 1908). Also included are extracts from Charles John Shore 'Teignworth's memoir of his father, the memoirs of John Shore, *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth* 2 vols. (London: Hatchard, 1843).

¹⁹ Gulfishan Khan, *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 270-76. See note #15, on p. 320 for further references.

²⁰ Juan R. I. Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh, 1722-1859*. *Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies* 6, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 53.

²¹ Abu Talib Khan Isfahani, *History of Asafu'd Daulah Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Being a Translation of "Tafzihu'l Ghafilin": A Contemporary Record of Events Connected with his Administrations*, trans. W. Hoey (Allahabad, 1875; reprint Lucknow: Pustak Kendra, 1971). 15-17.

²² *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 5, 1776-1780: 94.

²³ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁴ Abu Talib, 28.

²⁵ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* 5, 1776-1780: 369.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 418, 420, 422-27.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 427-28; see also 469

²⁸ *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1803.

²⁹ Abu Talib, 54-55, 65.

³⁰ Basu, 23; *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1803, 5; Abu Talib, 69.

³¹ Samuel Middleton was Resident at Murshidabad at that time. See: P. J. Marshall, ed. *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke - Volume VII: India: The Hastings Trial 1789-1794* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 38, note. Middleton had arrived at Calcutta in 1753, and in addition to being Resident at Murshidabad, he was also Chief Factor at Kasimbazar in 1772. He was President of Board of Trade in 1774. See: Jones, M. E. Monckton, *Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774*, Oxford Historical and Literary Studies 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 351. He had begun work at Murshidabad as Resident in January, 1765, but was replaced by Francis Sykes later that year. He was appointed chief of the newly formed Murshidabad Council of Revenue in January 1771. After the abolition of the Council, he again became Resident in 1772. See: Abdul Majed Khan, *The Transition in Bengal, 1756-1775: A Study of Saiyid Muhammad Resa Khan*, Cambridge South Asian Studies (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 67, 107, 293, 327. David Anderson describes the dissolution of the Council of Revenues, the shifting of the *Khalsah* to Calcutta and the resulting re-arrangement of the collection of revenues in a letter dated 18 Oct. 1872. He writes further,

"Mr. Middleton remains here as Resident with the Nabob, Collector of Rajeshahy and Chief of Cossimbazar." David Anderson to Claudius Russell, London, 18 Oct. 1772, folio 82, Add Mss 45,438, British Library. Middleton's as Resident is reflected in letters recorded in the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* 4, 1772-1775: 4, 10, 22, 24, 33, 36, 40, 54, 57, 58, 61, 65, 75, 82, 131, 204, 265, 280. He is described as delivering communications, accompanying the Nawab on official visits, paying the regular subsidy or pensions to members of the court, mediating in quarrels in the court, examining accounts, paying loans on behalf of the Company as well as handling other financial matters. He was recalled to Calcutta early in 1775 to another post, and was replaced by Mr. Martin. He is not to be confused with Nathaniel Middleton, who is mentioned in the *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, and was appointed as Resident at Awadh, and later was called to testify at Hastings' trial.

³² Warren Hastings, *The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, ed. C. Collin Davies, Camden Miscellany, 18. Camden Third Series 79 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1948), 2-3.

³³ The calculations were made according to the on-line calendar converter at <http://www.calendarhome.com/converter/>. The pencilled notation of "1775" in the translation, therefore must be disregarded. Also, the envelope with the notation "24 Mch 75" and the seal indicating "1188" discussed earlier would seem to belong to a later letter.

³⁴ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* 4, 1772-1775: 74. For a general overview of the trip and the personalities involved, see Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, 166-72.

³⁵ Antoine-Louis Henri Polier. *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient The Ijaz-i Arsalani (Persian Letters, 1773-1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* trans. Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 96-97, 111. This published collection of letters by Polier also includes a helpful introduction by the translators describing the custom of letter-writing of that time.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 96-97.

³⁷ Abdul Majed Khan, *The Transition in Bengal, 1756-1775: A Study of Saiyid Muhammad Reza Khan*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 224.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 256-57.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 294-98.

⁴⁰ *Selections from the Letters, Dispatches and Other State Papers Preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785*, ed. George W. Forrest, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1890), 1: 1-2; Abdul Majed Khan, *The Transition in Bengal, 1756-1775: A Study of Saiyid Muhammad Resa Khan*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 295.

⁴¹ David Anderson to Claudius Russell, London, 18 Oct. 1772, British Library, folio 82v, Add. Mss. 45,438.

⁴² Khan, *The Transition in Bengal*, 298-322.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 330-37.

⁴⁴ On the role of the Resident, see: Michael H. Fisher, "The Resident in Court Ritual, 1764-1858," *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 3 (1990): 429-35.

⁴⁵ Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, (Lahore: The Minerva Book Shop, 1945), 2, 1765-1775: 205-06.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 219-21.

⁴⁷ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 4, 1772-1775: 286, 294, 297.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 306, 311-12, 319, 349, 351-52.

⁴⁹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 5, 1776-1780: 27.

⁵⁰ Fisher, "Resident in Court Ritual," 425-26. On the British employment of *vakils*, see this article, 435-36.

⁵¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 5, 1776-1780: 100. On the granting of *khilats*, see: Stewart Gordon, *Robes of Honour: Khilat in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 208-09.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 166, 223-24, 283. The translation of a letter dated 1197 H. from Gobind Ram and Sicca Ram, two of Maharaja Scindia's *vakils* at Poona, to Scindia, is located among David Anderson's correspondence in the official India Office Records Home Miscellaneous series (H227/3 N. 83), at the British library. I thank David Blake of the British Library for sending me a copy of this letter.

⁵⁴ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 7, 1785-1787: 468.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28, 46.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵⁸ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*. 6, 1781-1785: 17, 49, 68, 127, 130.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 72, 78, 125, 298-99, 348-50, and numerous others—see index under "Gobind Ram, Raja."

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 211-12.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 219. Johnson, who appears later in Gobind Ram's letters, is also mentioned in this letter.

⁶² For the text of this letter, see India Office Records, Home Miscellaneous Series, mss. 186 on Reel 79, pp. 559-568.

⁶³ *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings, First Governor-general of Bengal*, ed G.R. Gleig (London, Richard Bentley, 1841), 3: 323.

⁶⁴ Gt. Brit. House of Lords. *Sessional Papers, 1794-95, Trial of Warren Hastings: Minutes of the Evidence* ed. F. William Torrington (New York: Oceana Publications, 1974), 2: 788-89, 794-97. A copy of the original translation of the latter letter, identical to the one entered in the minutes, was sent to me by David Blake of the British Library.

⁶⁵ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 7, 1785-1787: 459.

⁶⁶ Abdul Majed Khan, *Transitions*, 250, 257-62.

⁶⁷ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 3, 1770-1772: 108. James Lawrell arrived in Bengal 21 June 1758 and worked as a Writer and Assistant under the Engineer in 1759. By 1770, he was Senior Merchant and a member of the Council of Revenues at Murshidabad; 1771 Senior member of this council; 1772 eleventh Member of Council of the Governor of Fort William in Bengal; 1773 Tenth Member; 1774 Member of the board of Trade; 1775 Out of the service. See: Bengal Civilians, file O/6/25, India Office Records, British Library, p. 1060.

⁶⁸ Abdul Majed Khan, *Transitions*, 2. See also Forrest, *Selections*, 1: 37-39; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 4, 1772-1775: 53, 56, 72.

⁶⁹ Hastings, *Benares Diary*, 17, 20, 24, 31-33; Forrest, *Selections*, 1: 49-54; C. Collin Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 25-26.

⁷⁰ John Graham arrived in Bengal 7 Oct. 1759 and worked initially as a Writer and Assistant under the Accountant. By 1766, he was Resident at Midnapore; 1767 Sheriff and Resident at Burdwan; 1768 Junior Merchant and Resident at Burdwan; 1770 Fourth of the Council of Revenue at Murshidabad; 1771 Senior Merchant and member of the Council of Revenue at Murshidabad; 1772 Thirteenth Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort William in Bengal; 1773 Twelfth member of the Council and President of the Board of Customs; 1774 Member of the Board of Trade. He was out of the service in 1775. See: Bengal Civilians, file O/6/25, India Office Records, British Library.

⁷¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 4, 1772-1775: 3-4.

⁷² Thomas Graham arrived in India 31 May 1769 as Writer; 1770 Assistant to the Supervisor of Hooghly; 1772 Assistant to the Collector of Hooghly; 1773 Without employ; 1774 Factor and Secretary at Burdwan; 1775 Assistant at Patna Factory under the Board of Trade; 1777 Junior Merchant and Resident at Benares; 1780 Without employ; 1782 Senior Merchant and Persian Interpreter to Commander in Chief (Sir Eyre Coote). In 1788, he became a Member of the Board of Revenue, Calcutta; and in 1791 was appointed Provisional Member of the Supreme Council. See: Bengal Civilians, file O/6/24, India Office Records, British Library, p. 759.

⁷³ Personal Records, file O/6/3, India Office Records, British Library, p. 271. His correspondence and papers, 1774-1818, are held at Scottish Record Office (nos. 2136-51); see: Riddick, 202-03. A detailed list of the contents can be found in M. D. Wainwright and Noel Matthews, *A Guide to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to South and South East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 394-95.

⁷⁴ Suprakash Sanyal, *Benares and the English East India Company, 1764-1795* (Calcutta: World Press, 1979), 83-97. David Anderson is termed Graham's "business partner," 84. See also *Descriptive List of Secret Department Records*, ed. K. D. Bhargava, (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1960), 2, 1776-1780: 132, 139, 144.

⁷⁵ Mustepha, Murshidabad, to David Anderson 26 May 1773, folio 279, Add. Mss. 45,430, British Library.

⁷⁶ *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and Other State Papers Preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785*, ed. George W. Forrest (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1890), 3: 822-23.

⁷⁷ *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1803, "Characters: An Account of the Life of Tofuzzel Hssein Khan, the Vakeel, or Ambassador, of the Nabob Vizier Assof-ud-Dowlah, at Calcutta, during the Government of Marquis Cornwallis", 2.

⁷⁸ C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1971), 13.

⁷⁹ "Anderson of Northfield formerly of St. Germain's and Bourhouse," *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* 18th ed., (London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1972), 3: 22-23. This source traces the descendants of David Anderson to the present generation.

⁸⁰ <http://www.lib.ed.ac.uk/lib/about/bgalleries/Gallery/records/eighteen/anderson.html>

⁸¹ <http://www.andersonofnorthfield.net/>. Other papers of David Anderson are located at the British Library, both in the Manuscript Collections and the Oriental and India Office Collections.

⁸² Charles Hamilton, *The Hedaya, or Guide; A Commentary on the Mussulman Laws: Translated by Order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal*, 4 vols. (London: T. Bensley, 1791), xlv.

⁸³ McGill University Archives. RG 40, Cont. 56, Letter Book no.1, Dec. 13, 1893-Apr. 20, 1896, p. 514. I did not find a follow-up letter from Gould in the succeeding four months of records.

⁸⁴ McGill University Archives. RG 40, Cont. 2, 1893-1898L, File 1895 — "O." There does not appear to be any further letter from Oswald in the next two years.

⁸⁵ *Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1895-96*, 868.

⁸⁶ George Maclean Rose, *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography, Being Chiefly Men of the Time: A Collection of persons distinguished in professional and political life, leaders in the commerce and industry of Canada, and successful pioneers* (Toronto: Rose Pub. Co., 1886).

⁸⁷ *Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1870-71* lists the Oswald brothers as living at 273 Bleury in Montreal, and also carries an advertisement for the insurance company which they managed. Mitchell's daughter Katherine Ray married J. K. Oswald's son William some 30 years later.

⁸⁸ W. R. Oswald, *The Canadian Militia: an historical sketch, a lecture delivered to the Young Men's Association of St. Paul's Church, Montreal, on 8th March, 1886* (n.p. 1886). See also Francis Wayland Campbell, *The Fenian invasions of Canada of 1866 and 1870 and the operations of the Montreal Militia Brigade in connection therewith: a lecture delivered before the Montreal Military Institute, April 23rd, 1898* (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1904), 34; and *The Fenian raid of 1870*

by Reporters present at the scenes (Montreal: "Witness" Printing House, 1870), 67.

⁸⁹ John P. Roche, "Canadian Golf," *Outing* (June 1898), 261-62.

⁹⁰ Serge Goudreau, "Émergence d'un marché boursier montréalais (1840-1874)," *Ministère des Finances du Québec — 2004.04.01*, Publication no. 19, pp. 44-48; found online at <http://www.callisto.si.usherb.ca:8080/grhif/Bibliotheque/Pdf/pub19r1.pdf>.

⁹¹ The Glenbow Archives in Calgary include letters from J. K. Oswald written from Montreal, after he returned there in the 1890s. These letters are found in the Wesley F. Orr papers, M 928, v. 2, pp. 58, 88, 104, 160; v. 3, pp. 190, 201.

⁹² "Capt. Oswald Dead," *The Gazette*, 9 Nov. 1899.

⁹³ *The Winnipeg Times*, "Provincial Appointments," 7 November, 1882, p. 6.

⁹⁴ Lawrence H. Bussard, "Early History of Calgary," M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1935, leaves 52-58. See advertisements in the *Edmonton Bulletin*, July 1883 to Dec. 1883, and in *MacLeod Gazette*, 14 July 1883. The Glenbow Archives of the Glenbow Museum in Calgary have a picture, NA-659-17, which includes Capt. J. K. Oswald, dated August 1883.

⁹⁵ W. B. Scarth, to John A. Macdonald, 21 Jan. 1883, Prime Minister's Fonds, Sir John A. Macdonald, MG26 A, Vol. 261, Reel C1677, pp. 118869 to 118871, Library and Archives Canada.

⁹⁶ W. B. Scarth, Toronto, to John A. Macdonald, 5 Feb. 1883, Prime Minister's Fonds, Sir John A. Macdonald, MG26 A, Vol. 5, Reel C1489, pp. 1558 to 1560, Library and Archives Canada.

⁹⁷ W. B. Scarth, Calgary, to John A. Macdonald, 2 Jul. 1883, Prime Minister's Fonds, Sir John A. Macdonald, MG26 A, Vol. 5, Reel C1489, pp. 1561 to 1563, Library and Archives Canada.

⁹⁸ *The North-West Territories Gazette*, Regina, 19 January 1884, pp. 3-5.

⁹⁹ *The North-West Territories Gazette*, Regina, 27 May, 1884, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁰ A Lady Stephen, Montreal, to John A. Macdonald, 23 Feb. 1885, Prime Minister's Fonds, Sir John A. Macdonald, MG26 A, Vol. 412, Reel C1770, pp. 199454 to 199457, Library and Archives Canada.

¹⁰¹ "Nomination of Candidates for the North West Council," *Calgary Herald*, 18 June 1884, p. 4.

¹⁰² See archival record at: <http://www.saskarchives.com/web/seld/1-00.pdf>.

¹⁰³ "Grand Victory," *The Nor'-Wester* 1 July 1884, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories of Canada, Sixth Legislative Session Begun and Holden at Regina, on the 3rd Day of July, and closed on the 6th Day of August, 1884*. His Honor Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant-Governor,

Session of 1884 (Regina: Amédée E. Forget, 1886), pp. 11, 16, 24, 54.

¹⁰⁵ "Mass Meeting at Calgary," *The MacLeod Gazette*, 12 December 1884, p. 2. Interestingly, the motion was seconded by his former rival, J. D. Geddes.

¹⁰⁶ "Alberta at Ottawa," *The MacLeod Gazette*, 14 March 1885, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ The march and skirmishes that took place along the way, including the Battle of Frenchman Butte, are described in a book by Wayne Brown, *Steele's Scouts: Samuel Benfield Steele and the North-West Rebellion* (Surrey, BC: Heritage House Publishing, 2001). Some mention is made of the work of Capt. J. K. Oswald in leading his scouts, but not in any detail. See Glenbow Archives, photograph no. NA-936-22 for a picture of Steele's Scouts. See also, "Oswald's Scouts," *Calgary Herald* (16 Apr. 1885), p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ "The Alberta Scouts: A Detailed Account of their Campaign," *Calgary Herald* (22 July 1885), p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ From there he wrote the Ministry of the Interior, requesting maps of the North West Territories, the region to which he expected the infantry would shortly be sent. He mentions that he had been in Ottawa (thus presumably Montreal as well) in the previous November. Government of Canada Files, RG 15, Interior, Series D-II-1 Volume 415, Reel T-13117, file 107810, Canadian National Archives.

¹¹⁰ W. R. Oswald, *The Canadian Militia*, p. 12-14.

¹¹¹ The Church records of St. Paul's Presbyterian, Montreal, QC, (mfm. 1182D, Montreal City Library) carry the marriage license for James Kidd Oswald and Alice Ann Whitehead, for 5 October 1870.

¹¹² National Archives of Canada. Census, 1881. St. Antoine ward, no. 5, Subdivision, page 42, (microfilm, C-13219).

¹¹³ The church register for St. James the Apostle, Anglican, 1882, folios 51, 49, and 54.

¹¹⁴ On E. A. Whitehead, see "Colonel Edward Ashworth Whitehead," in William Henry Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914*, (Montreal: S. J. Clarke, 1914), 3: 442-44.

¹¹⁵ Graham's maternal grandfather, Rev. Edward Black was the founder of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in Montreal. Her brother was Edward Black Greenshields who had fought with J. K. Oswald at Eccles Hill in 1870. See also Gordon Burr, "Edward Black Greenshields: The McGill Connection," *Fontanus* 11 (2003): 129-143.

¹¹⁶ "Lt.-Col. W. R. Oswald," *The Gazette*, 5 June, 1899, p. 8.

¹¹⁷ "Holocaust at the Webster House," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 31 Oct. 1899, pp. 10-11; 9 Nov. 1899.

¹¹⁸ *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 18th ed., 549.

¹¹⁹ Donald Newnham, "City Man's Odyssey: Canadian Played Role in Oil Group," *The Montreal Star* (27 Feb. 1957), p. 12.

¹²⁰ *Thacker's Indian Directory 1894 embracing the whole of British India & Native States with complete and detailed information of the cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay,*

Allahabad, Lahore, Simla, Rangoon, &c. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1894), 306.

¹²¹ Church registers for St. Paul's Presbyterian, 1901, f.20. William and Katherine had two sons, William Alexander Hugh (1905-1974) and Marshall St. John (1911-?). In 1933, William Alexander Hugh married Rose-Marie Leahy, whose lineage can also be traced back to Mordaunt Ricketts who served India. The couple had two sons, William Richard Michael (Sir Michael) (1934-), and Arthur James Patrick (1937-). I want to thank Sir Michael and Lady Angela of Norfolk, England, for their kind hospitality and assistance in providing information about their family. I also wish to thank Commodore A. J. Patrick Oswald of Vancouver for providing several obituaries of his father and other family history.

¹²² *McGill University of Montreal Directory of Graduates*, 1924 ed., p. 286. Her address in 1924 was listed as White Knight, 84 George's Hill, Waybridge, Surrey, England.

¹²³ On the efforts of Standard Oil to establish their company in the Middle East, see: George Sweek Gibb and Evelyn H. Knowlton, *The Resurgent Years, 1911-1927*, vol. 2 of the History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956) pp. 284-285.

¹²⁴ On Standard Oil's work in Peru, see *ibid.* pp. 94-102.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 176.

¹²⁶ *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 18th ed., 549.

¹²⁷ I am grateful to Adam Gacek, Librarian of the Islamic Studies Library, McGill University, for his assistance in analyzing the physical characteristics of the manuscripts.

¹²⁸ See William L. Hanaway and Brian Spooner, *Reading Nasta'liq: Persian and Urdu Hands from 1500 to the Present*. Bibliotheca Iranica. Literature Series, 3 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1995), p. 9. This overlining is absent from letters B and C, perhaps because they were less formal; see *ibid.*, p. 49.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10 (6) and 10 (7).

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10 (8); see examples 7 and 36.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11 (14).

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 12 (18).

¹³³ With regard to the use of seals, a letter from the Governor—General to Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan on Apr. 30, 1776 notes that two seals engraved at Fyzabad, one bearing the name of Raja Gobind Ram and the other that of Thomas Andrews, were being brought to Calcutta by the peons of Raja Gobind Ram. The peons had been seized by the chaukidars at Kulna and the seals taken from them. The letter is to request that the matter be looked into and that that seals be restored to the Raja's men. See: India. Imperial Record Department. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, being Letters which Passed Between Some of the Company's Servants and Indian Rulers and Notables*, vol. 5, 1776-80 (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1930), 14-15.

¹³⁴ I would like to thank Stephen Aynscough, great, great, great, great grandson of David Anderson, for his generosity in providing information about his family and sending me scans of the letters, envelopes, seals, and portraits.

¹³⁵ The Anderson Collection is on display under the Doors Open Day (East Fife) Scheme and at other times by request. See <http://www.andersonofnorthfield.net>.

¹³⁶ The existing translations were compared to the originals by Mohammad Ghassemi, at McGill University June 14, 2002.

The Launch of the McGill Historical Collections Web Site

by Pamela Miller

In September 2010, Professor Heather Munroe-Blum, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, cut the ribbon to a special McGill web site that has been several years in preparation. A simple site that allows the searcher to access almost all of McGill's collections from one spot, it stems from an idea initially proposed in 2002 by Professor of History Brian Young to former Principal Bernard Shapiro concerning the appropriate recognition of McGill's heritage environment. Professor Young had been taking his undergraduates to museums and archives around the city for years and was amazed at the wealth of McGill's holdings and at how little known they were, especially at McGill. The Principal's Heritage Advisory Committee was formed, chaired by Professor Young, and Principal Shapiro provided a grant enabling the Committee to hire a professional to produce an inventory of McGill's collections including library collections, departmental collections, museums and nature reserves. Elizabeth Maloney, MLIS, prepared the inventory and ultimately, the web site. In the course of her work, she combed web pages, conducted interviews and searched in caches.

In 2004, her detailed, printed, 65 page inventory of McGill's holdings provided a

history of each of the 30 collections reviewed. It evaluated storage and security conditions and was circulated to senior administrators and curators. When it came time to publish the findings online, collections that presented serious security concerns were omitted from public view.

In her remarks, Principal Munroe-Blum, paraphrasing Frank Scott, referred to the University as a "region of the mind, with no borders". McGill houses the finest university collections in Canada that speak to the region of the mind. They not only reflect the knowledge and passion of the collectors and their love of their University, they also permit the community to enter the gates of the University to view, study, interpret and re-interpret their past, their present and their future.

Committee members are:

Prof. Annmarie Adams, Chair
Julia Gersovitz
Prof. Graham Bell
Prof. David Green
The Honourable Nicholas Kasirer
Pamela Miller
Prof. Sherry Olson
Theresa Rowat
Prof. Brian Young

The web site was designed by Anthony Seaberg of Content and Collaboration Solutions and may be found at:

<http://www.mcgill.ca/historicalcollections/>

McGill Women's Initiations, 1910 & 1919

by Robert H. Michel

Elsewhere in this issue, the article "Adversity Vanquished" describes the initiations which second year (sophomore) male students inflicted on the first year men of 1918. Such initiations for men were long-standing, rowdy and familiar to both students and the Montreal public. Less well known were the rowdy but private initiations of women students. Women were admitted to McGill (in Arts) in 1884 and in 1899 Royal Victoria College (R.V.C.) opened, offering a sumptuous residence to women boarders. Having their own building and communal life while increasingly sharing classes and activities with male students may have spurred the women to impose initiation rituals of their own. Student publications give us detailed glimpses of two such initiations.

1910

The *McGill Martlet*, the predecessor of the *McGill Daily*, described an R.V.C. initiation of October 1910 (such reports were always pompously jocular): "I suppose the event looked forward to by the freshies with most anxiety at the beginning of their course is the initiation. It is enveloped in a fearful mystery which is regarded with a mixture of eagerness and awe." The "freshies" [first year students] were summoned to R.V.C. on a Saturday morning; the sophomores greeted them with war cries and marched them to a basement room marked "Immigration Office."

Each freshie was obliged to "do a stunt"; and the agonies those poor children were put through in the way of singing and dancing — usually the marks of rejoicing — are more than I would care to describe. The astonishing part is that they did not seem properly impressed

but made sundry highly impertinent remarks regarding their noble wardens [Moderate rebelliousness was tolerated in both male and female initiations].

The freshies were blindfolded and sent jolting on a "truck" from a room representing their old lives to one symbolizing their new college life. Still blindfolded, they heard:

the most fearful groans, cries, howls and other infernal sounds... proceeding from the unknown regions around. To the midst of these terrors they were soon led. At the entrance to a dark cavern they were asked their names and character, and when these had been duly given they were given a red tape and charged to follow it. Up and down, round and round, did those unfortunate freshies wander, greeted every now and then by some fresh ordeal. In one place they passed under a wet towel; in another they were gently "wiped" with a basket-ball, while their tormentor sternly demanded whether they did their duty subscribing to "The Martlet," and removing the plates of their elders and betters. By no means the least of their sufferings was the constant wailing kept up around them, and the continual sound of falling water, into which they were always expecting to stumble.

At last the end of the maze was reached, and after another catechism regarding their performance of their [d]uty, they were led to Her Majesty. In the semi-darkness of the throne-room each freshie knelt humbly before Sophomore President and promised to love, honour and obey the worshipful Sophomores.

They were then graciously permitted to kiss the hem of her garment, and Her Majesty presented each with a bib in the form of a white banner on which was printed "Freshie" in green letters.

The tortures were now at an end and the freshies were led to the common room, where a feast was provided which made them forget the woes through which they had passed. Each Freshie was presented with a green and white certificate declaring her now "admitted to the great and glorious Land of College." The ceremony closed with three cheers for the Sophomores and the singing of the little cradle-song: -

"We are, we are, we are the freshie kids,
We do, we do, we do what nursie bids,
With a bottle, and a spoon, and sterilized
milk,
Rah! Rah! Rah!"¹

1919

Because of the Spanish Influenza, McGill was closed from early October 1918, reopening 18 Nov. 1918. The men's initiations, described by Trott, took place right after this date. The *McGill Daily* during October and November 1918 carried no story on R.V.C. initiations and perhaps none took place. There was, however, an R.V.C. initiation reported in the *Daily* on 3 November 1919:

At the appointed hour, the Freshies, suitably attired, and decorated with green ribbons, took their places. The Sophs, masked and clad in white, as the emblem of their perfection, stood solemnly around while their victims answered to the roll-call. One by one, the Freshies were called out, "bogged," and tied, then the fun started. First, to the accompaniment of wails and moans,

each verdant one was required to roll a basketball down the corridor with her head. This done, she was ordered to exert her lungs to the utmost extent by giving the Freshie yell:

"Maw, Maw, Maw!
Paw, Paw, Paw!
Rah! Rah! Rah!
Milk!

Next, in preparation for her fate, she obligingly shook hands with Death. But the Sophs were merciful, and noting the pallor of their victims, they decided to end the Freshies' sufferings. So, in a dark, mysterious corner, filled with the wails of the departing souls, a rope was placed around the victim's neck, and she was told to jump. Some, diffident as ever about going first, held back. Mercilessly, however, the Soph. pushed, and — the faint heart sank into a bottomless abyss. The Sophomores had decided that for some members of Class '23 even this was not enough, so they were commanded to walk the plank. Then, thoughtful as ever, their Captors realized after so much exertion, the Freshies stood in dire need of refreshment. Accordingly, ample portions of worms and fishes' eyes were forced into the mouths of the hungry ones [presumably the food merely resembled this]. Next the Freshies were led down; the atmosphere became warmer; wailing voices, begging for mercy rent the air; and one by one, each victim was branded with a hot coal [perhaps ice, which has the same initial effect on terrorized minds!]. For those who survived this ordeal, grapes were provided, which could be obtained by pushing one's face through a few inches of flour. As worms, fishes' eyes and

flour were not considered a sufficient improvement to the beauty of the verdant ones, their faces were stamped with the words, "Cheeky Freshie," in bright green. [and so on...]²

Unlike the men's, the women's initiations were hidden inside the Royal Victoria College building, reflecting perhaps, the restrictions of the time on female behaviour. There were no male witnesses, no fighting, no parading outdoors or invading of restaurants. The women's initiations of 1910 and 1919 were similar: the baby-yells of the freshies, roll calls, forced stunts, scary noises, symbolic dress, humiliations and kowtowing to the second years, and meals used either as reconciliation or ordeal. Basketballs serve as torments in both initiations: R.V.H. students regularly played basketball, invented in 1891 by McGill graduate James Naismith. The 1919 initiation with its threat of hanging and walking the plank sounded more daunting than that of 1910. Perhaps the *Daily* embellished its account

for fun — and presumably the worms, fish eyes and brandings were simulated or invented by the reporter! While the *Daily's* reports of the 1918 initiations for men are confirmed independently by Trott's memoir, the *Martlet* and *Daily* stories about the R.V. C. initiations lack such confirmation. Facetious though they were, however, the main gist probably was fairly reliable. Women's initiations, ca. 1900–1920, are not mentioned in Margaret Gillett's history of R.V.C. in *We Walked Very Warily* (1981) or in E.A. Collard's collection of reminiscences, *The McGill You Knew* (1975). Perhaps some R.V.C. student wrote something about initiations which may yet turn up in an attic, an archive or on the internet.

ENDNOTES

¹ *McGill Martlet*, vol.III, no.3, 20 Oct. 1910, 29-30 (unsigned). It is not clear if the initiations included day students who did not live in R.V.C. Most of the coverage of the two initiations is quoted here.

² *McGill Daily*, 3 Nov. 1919, 1,3 (unsigned).

McGill's East Asian Collection —

Past And Present

by Macy Zheng

When I first started working as the East Asian Studies librarian, I knew nothing about McGill's East Asian languages Collection except that it was very small. There were about 5,600 titles in Chinese, 3,000 in Japanese and 500 in Korean. The total number of volumes within the Chinese, Japanese and Korean (CJK) collection was barely 15,000, which equalled about one-third the collection at the Université de Montréal, one-thirtieth that at the University of British Columbia, and was significantly smaller again than the University of Toronto's Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library.¹ Later, to my great surprise, I discovered that McGill once had the largest and most famous Chinese collection in North America, the Gest Chinese Research Library.

The Gest Library was named after Guion Moore Gest (1864-1948),² founder of the Gest Engineering Company, whose operations required many business trips to China where he developed a great interest in Asia and Buddhism. Gest suffered from glaucoma and on the advice of his friend, I. V. Gillis, tried Chinese medicine that may have given him temporary relief, if not a complete cure, but in any event resulted in his developing a life-long interest in Chinese medical books. Among other things, Gillis had access to well-positioned Chinese families and many elite individuals, even the tutor of the Emperor. Over the years, Gillis assisted in purchasing so many books that Gest ran out of storage space. In 1926, the collection became an official library at McGill University. A few years later Berthold Laufer, an Asian studies expert, provided the following description of the Library:

The Gest collection is housed in the attractive library building of McGill University, where it occupies a large room on the second floor. The stacks are of steel, arranged in two stories, the upper one being entirely devoted to the great cyclopedia *Tu Shu Tsi Ch'eng*. The arrangement of the books is so systematic and splendid that any book can be traced at a moment's notice. The photographs taken by Mr. Gest himself in the Orient adorn the walls. The floor is laid with Chinese rugs, and Chinese antiquities in a glass cabinet.³

He also outlined the content of the collection:

The library is at present well equipped for research work. It is especially strong in dictionaries, historical works, catalogues, encyclopedias, and medicine. One of the greatest treasures of Mr. Gest is an extensive collection of sutras from a Tripitaka edition which were obtained in a remote part of China.⁴

Judging from Laufer's description, the Gest Collection was clearly rich and valuable, with many books being rare and difficult to find even in China. The total number of volumes surpassed 75,000; even by today's standards it is remarkable that an individual could have built up such a large collection. In fact, Gest impoverished himself by using all his money for the purchase of Chinese materials. Because of the Gest Library, McGill had the largest Chinese collection in North America in the 1920s and 1930s. It is easy to imagine the enthusiasm of the people who maintained this Collection. One of these was Nancy Lee Swann (1881-1966), a Chinese studies scholar, who served as the curator. For more than two years she received no salary, but even so contributed her

time and energy to managing the library. Finally, because of financial troubles resulting from the Great Depression, McGill gave up the Gest Collection, which moved in 1937 to Princeton University. Only some Japanese material from the Collection remains at McGill. During the next several decades, little appears to have been done to develop a collection of Chinese materials.

In the early 1990s, McGill expanded its East Asian Studies faculty appointments and course offerings. As a result, it became urgent to develop an East Asian collection to meet the information and research needs of students and faculty. In 1993, Maureen Donovan, an East Asian Studies librarian from Ohio State University — and Gest librarian at Princeton, 1974-1978 - was invited to conduct a review of McGill's East Asian Collection. Some of Donovan's recommendations included setting up a separate shelving area for East Asian language publications in the McLennan Library, and appointing an East Asian Studies Librarian. She also noted that most North American university libraries spent 1.5 percent to 3 percent of their total expenditures on East Asian materials, while McGill's expenditure for this purpose was much lower.⁵

A special grant of \$50,000 was provided by the Director of Libraries in 1994-1995 to strengthen the Collection. Creation of a CJK shelving area was undertaken in 1997, and a librarian hired in 1998. Large-scale acquisitions did not take place, however, until 2000; thereafter the Collection received significant funding from various donors, along with increased funding by the Library. Since then, the size of the East Asian Collection has almost quadrupled. The East Asian Studies faculty became actively involved in fund-raising and materials selection, with the Collections Coordinator playing an important role in expanding the Collection.

Formerly, when the Collection was of limited size, McGill users had to borrow a great deal of material from other institutions through

inter-library loan. In recent years, however, the Collection has enlarged to the point where McGill lends CJK materials to other libraries, and participates fully as a member of the North American East Asian library community. Distinguished features of McGill's Collection include: Chinese and Japanese video materials, books about Japanese cinema, Chinese local history, Siku Quanshu related series, women's studies, archaeology and art history. According to statistics prepared by the Council on East Asian Libraries, McGill's CJK collection has become the third largest such collection in a Canadian university library. This contrasts with the situation in 2000, when McGill ranked last among CJK collections in more than fifty North American university libraries. Although the gap between McGill and the two largest CJK collections in Canada - University of Toronto and University of British Columbia — cannot be filled in the short term, McGill is committed to moving over time in that direction.

In the report of her evaluation Maureen Donovan mentioned in particular that:

One of the things I most feared about the visit to McGill was that I anticipated hearing endlessly about the loss of the Gest Library. Well, it was mentioned a few times, but only fleetingly. I appreciated that very much. My sense was that everyone was looking to the future rather than the past, as well they should.⁶

Donovan's point is well taken. While it is unfortunate that the East Asian Collection once suffered a great setback, it is important now to build a new CJK collection whose quality will benefit faculty and students at McGill, and also scholars from other institutions.

ENDNOTES

¹ Stephen Qiao and George Zhao. *An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Rare Books in the Cheng Yu Tung East*

Asian Library, University of Toronto. Guilni, Guanxi Normal University Press, 2009.

² Su Chen and Juming Zhao. "The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University, 1926-1936." *The East Asian Library Journal*, v. XI, no 2 (Autumn, 2004), p. 40-99.

³ Berthold Laufer, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University, Montreal*. [Montreal, 1929?], 5

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6

⁵ Maureen Donovan. *Library Resources in Support of East Asian Studies: Review and Recommendations, 1993*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

Contributors

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DR. MONTAGUE COHEN (1925-2002) was born in London, England and obtained his B.Sc. (Physics) and Ph. D. (Medical Physics) from London University. Before coming to Canada in 1975, he worked at the London Hospital in London and the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. He was appointed Director of McGill's Physics Unit in 1979 and held cross-appointments in Physics and Radiology. He was also Honorary Curator of the Rutherford Museum. He was a member and/or Chairman of several task groups of the International Commission on Radiological Units and Measurements, and a consultant on radiation safety to the Ontario Government.

DR. PETER GOSSAGE is a social historian of Quebec and Professor of History at Concordia University. He is the author of *Families in Transition: Industry and Population in Nineteenth-Century Saint-Hyacinthe* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999) and co-author of *La Fécondité des Québécoises, 1870-1970: d'une exception à l'autre* (Les Éditions du Boréal, 2007). His collaborative projects with Annmarie Adams include the long-term exploration of "Domestic Space and Domestic Life in 19th-Century Urban Quebec" from which this article is drawn and the major public history initiative "Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History" (canadianmysteries.ca) which was honoured by Canada's National History Society's with its prestigious Pierre Berton Award in 2008.

ALAN M. GUENTHER is Assistant Professor of History at Briercrest College and Seminary, in Caronport, Saskatchewan. He completed his doctoral studies at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, writing his dissertation on "Syed Mahmood and the Transformation of Muslim Law in British India" (2004). He has published a number of articles including "Hanafi Fiqh in Mughal India: The Fatawa-i 'Alamgiri," in *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750* edited by Richard Eaton (2003), and "The Qur'an in India II: Tablighi Jama'at and the Qur'an," in *Coming to Terms with the Qur'an: A Volume in Honor of Professor Issa Boullata, McGill University*, edited by Khaleel Mohammed and Andrew Rippin (2008). His research interests include the history of the Muslim communities in colonial South Asia, the intersection of law and empire, and the history of Christian-Muslim relations.

JOHN HOBBS is an Emeritus Librarian, following a career of over forty years in the McGill Library system. His most recent positions were Associate Director of Libraries and Law Librarian. While his research has been principally in the area of the history of the international law of human rights and the history of legal education in Canada, the manuscripts for this article came to him in his role of Acting Editor of *Fontanus* for the previous volume.

PETER F. MCNALLY is a Professor in McGill University's School of Information Studies, in addition to being Director of the History of McGill Project and author of the forthcoming vol. III (1970-2002) *McGill University: for the Advancement of Learning*. He has published extensively on the history of books, printing, and libraries, as well as the history of McGill, in a variety of publications, including *Fontanus*. From 1970-1972, he served as the first Lande Librarian.

DR. ROBERT H. MICHEL holds a doctorate in history from McGill University, where he was archivist for historical records and reference services from 1974 to 1995. He has written on attitudes towards women and towards marriage in 17th-century England and for *Fontanus* on diaries in the McGill University Archives; an English religious romance in 1649-1650; the military portraits of Sir Arthur Currie, McGill Principal, 1920-1933; Sir William Macdonald (with Stanley B. Frost), satirical fiction about McGill; Anna Dawson's memoir of her father Sir William Dawson; and an unpublished novel of McGill student life in the 1920s by Montreal sports writer Dink Carroll. Current McGill-related interests include McGill's depiction in fiction from the 1870s to the present, and two Frenchmen who taught at McGill: Maxime Ingres (1890s), and Régis Messac (1920s) who wrote science fiction and a satirical novel about McGill: *Smith Conundrum*.

PAMELA MILLER is History of Medicine Librarian at the Osler Library. She has an undergraduate degree in Canadian History from McGill, a diploma in archive administration from University College, London and considerable museum experience.

MARC RICHARD (B.A., McGill, 1982; M.L.S., McGill, 1984) is an Associate Librarian at McGill University Libraries, where he has worked since 1985. He is the original cataloguing librarian for history and audiovisual materials in the Collection Services department. He has previously contributed to *Fontanus* a biographical article on Professor E. Godfrey Burr, the inventor of diffused-lighting ship camouflage.

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