

Diaries from the McGill University Archives – A Sampling

by Robert Michel

The McGill University Archives holds a rich and varied collection of diaries kept by about fifty men and women between 1800 and the present. This sampling focuses on seventeen diarists; a few like Sir William Logan are well known, others are yet to be discovered. The diarists include Victorian children, explorers of Canada, scientists, engineers, and McGill staff and students. The diaries exemplify nearly every form of the genre; some are introspective, others merely list events, some last a few weeks or document a special activity such as travel. Others trace lives from hopeful romance or youthful studies to the toils of career and the cares of age. Several record professional activity: on the Geological Survey of Canada, on the Western Front and on the St. Lawrence Seaway. Diaries possess dramatic and evidential values and offer an important if subtle source to historians, psychologists, and biographers. Most of all they are stories and self portraits preserving a glimpse of the lives of their protagonists.

Les Archives de l'Université McGill possèdent une riche collection de journaux intimes tenus par une cinquantaine d'hommes et de femmes entre 1800 et aujourd'hui. Cet échantillon représentatif est axé sur dix-sept auteurs en particulier; certains comme Sir William Logan sont célèbres. On retrouve parmi eux des enfants de l'époque victorienne, des explorateurs du Canada, des scientifiques, des ingénieurs ainsi que des enseignants et des étudiants de McGill. Les journaux illustrent pratiquement toutes les formes du genre dont l'introspection, la description d'événements, le récit de quelques semaines ou l'illustration d'une activité spéciale comme un voyage. D'autres retracent toute la vie de l'auteur depuis une histoire d'amour pleine d'espoir ou des études de jeunesse jusqu'au labeur d'une carrière et aux outrages de l'âge. Plusieurs font état d'une activité professionnelle: au sein de la Commission géologique du Canada, sur le front occidental et sur la Voie maritime du Saint-Laurent. Ces journaux intimes ont une valeur intrinsèque évidente et ils constituent une source précieuse pour les historiens, les psychologues et les biographes. Mais avant tout, on y trouve des récits et des autoportraits qui éclairent d'une lueur nouvelle la vie de leurs auteurs.

In 1867 Anna Dawson, the sixteen year old daughter of McGill's Principal, wrote in her diary: "Part of the reason why I write this is because I think it will be such fun to read it over when I grow up, when my present self will seem not as myself then. Won't it be fun."¹ In 1938, after retiring as Warden of Royal Victoria College, Susan Vaughan read Pepys' Diary, and felt "the impulse to make some sort of daily, or fairly regular record of the present phase of my life." She returned to her own neglected diary, impelled by a "sense of duty, and a feeling of guilt."² However diarists explain their motives, they seem to share an instinctive urge

to record their present acts and thoughts for future reference.

The University Archives holds diaries of about fifty men and women, mainly Montrealers, including several McGill staff members.³ Professors John Humphrey and Max Dunbar recently gave their diaries to the Archives; excerpts were published in *Fontanus*, 1991. Two more diaries in the Archives have been mined extensively: Stanley B.Frost used the diaries of Principal Cyril James for his biography *The Man in the Ivory Tower* (McGill-Queen's Press, 1991) and parts of George M. Dawson's diaries of western

exploration have been published.⁹ Many other diaries await discovery.

This sampling of the Archives' less publicized diaries is intended to suggest their biographical, psychological and historical value and, most of all, their human interest. The diaries are as diverse as their authors. Some are introspective in the Puritan tradition of self-examination while others merely list events. Some diarists wrote daily and lengthily, perhaps trying to find some order in their lives; others scribbled briefly at long intervals.⁷ Diaries resemble self-portraits. They also tell stories of hope, despair and daily banalities. Their degree of interest depends on such factors as the importance of the author, wit, self-analysis, the subjects documented and the scarcity of similar diaries. Diaries have strong evidential value as they are written near the time of the events they record, not afterwards like autobiographies and memoirs. People can write more frankly in diaries than anywhere else. Introspective diaries such as Anna Dawson's provide the most intimate look at an individual's hopes and fears and motives that one is likely to find. Diaries have psychological interest; why do writers record one thing and not another – meals not marriages, gardens not investments? As historical sources, diaries may provide the best or only record of events. They have an immediacy found in few other writings. When we read prospector Reuben D'Aigle's diaries written in the bush, we feel the summer sun, hear the black flies and wonder what minerals lie underfoot.

A MINISTER-METEOROLOGIST

Many diarists seem fascinated by the weather, although only a few have recorded it scientifically. Alexander Spark D.D. (1762-1819), minister of the Scotch Church of Quebec City, kept a diary from 1798 to 1819 to record daily temperature and barometric pressure. But on the pages opposite his weather data, he wrote down events, observations, and commonplaces. In June 1803 he entered a recipe for tomato ketchup, featuring lots of pepper and port. He recorded the illumination of the Chateau for one of Nelson's victories (1798)⁶ and a bull dog killing a horse in January 1800. In May 1801 he set down the

experience of a Quebec man who had terrible dreams one night and learned three months later that his mother in England had died the night of his dreams. In August 1799 Spark attended the funeral of a private in the artillery whose suicide he had tried to prevent. A month earlier, at the request of the soldier's wife, he had visited him in the hospital. He had found him in a state of "melancholy madness." The soldier said it was too late to help him; he was possessed by an evil spirit who told him to confess to murders he had not committed. Showing the doctor his chest, he declared that an evil spirit was making his heart beat faster. Spark tried to cure his mental illness in the most obvious way, through religion and encouragement. He wrote out a prayer for the soldier, "advising him to get it by heart, & say it frequently, especially when he found evil thoughts rise in his mind." Spark also marked some passages in Scripture for him to read. In a few days, the soldier got better, left the hospital and returned to duty. But the same frenzy seized him again, "in the time of a gale of easterly wind & 4th day of the moon." The soldier then cut his own throat.

Spark copied bits from published romances and tragedies. His diary of May 1802 hinted at an escape from real-life romance in a poem he wrote: "To a Lady returning a lock of her hair."

Take, dearest maid, your present
back,
For e'er since I possessed it,
My heart has been upon the rack,
With cares & fears molested.
If one small lock culled from your
hair,
Occasions such a pother,
God help the man, enchanting Fair,
Who gets you altogether.

Three years later, in 1805 at forty-three, Spark married Mary Ross without mentioning the event in his diary. However, he recorded his marriage indirectly in the form of its economic consequence – the costs of building a house in St. Helen's Street. It came to at least £212. Spark wondered if heavenly and meteorological movements affected people directly. In 1803 he noted that several people who had recently died of palsy and apoplexy had suffered their fatal fits at the time of new or full

moons. Spark wrote his last entries on Sunday 7 March 1819; he recorded cold fair weather of 2 degrees F. in the early morning; 12 degrees by noon, his next entry. Usually he entered the temperature at 3 PM. That day he did not. He died of apoplexy.⁷ His death did not prove his theory for the moon was not full until 11 March.⁸

A TRAVELLER

Travellers and explorers are particularly apt to keep diaries of their adventures. A remarkable impression of the American mid-west was set down by Dr. Bernard Samuel Judah (1777-1831) of New York City (Figure 1). In 1827 he kept a diary of his journey by steamboat, coach and horse boat to visit his son in Indiana.⁹ Judah married his cousin Catherine, daughter of Aaron Hart, merchant of Trois Rivières. Their son Samuel (1799-1869) had left New York seven years earlier to practise law in Vincennes, Indiana.¹⁰ Dr. Judah started out from New York aboard the steamboat *Constitution* on 13 October 1827. As a New Yorker visiting for the first time, he found the West fascinating. It had bustling trade, plenty of resources such as lumber, cheap land, rude manners and flowing whisky – democracy at its best and worst. Writing in a telegraphic style, Judah recorded what he liked and disliked about the towns, people, inns, and meals he encountered. Wherever he went, he set down facts that interested him, noting for example, that 200 bridges spanned the Erie Canal. He began his trip by winning a glass of brandy on some bet in the steamboat's drawing room. Aged fifty, he made the rough journey well enough, except for fainting once. He even relished the accidents of travel; when the boat bumped the lock side, he recorded that the women passengers "were all in a fright." As long as the roads were not bad, he preferred coaches to boats. Sometimes he rode until ten or eleven at night and got up by two or three in the morning.¹¹

Like most travellers, he commented on food and lodgings. Near Fredonia he stayed at a "disagreeable House...nasty Dirty Bed and Bedding – never disliked a place so much as this in my life." A house in Cleveland was an "imposition." At Middlebury, Ohio the Yankee

innkeeper had two pretty daughters whom he kept out of sight. Judah went to Portage, Ohio on "very bad roads, Drunken Driver." At the next stop, he noted: "breakfast not good, saucy landlady...impudent servant girl." Nearing Vincennes on 11 November 1827, the coach stopped over at a log cabin: "nothing to boast of – 5 beds in a room – 2 in a bed considering all things pretty good supper, for such a place – had a bed to myself – so, so – could be better."¹²

He fearlessly generalized about manners in the states he crossed. He declared that since "Eastern Females [are] generally discontented," western men preferred to marry western women. He decided "the people of Kentucky are the most haughty, impertinent & beside principally Gamblers." However, he also learned that in the new western states one could not judge men by appearance. On 26 October 1827 he passed a foot traveller, "meanly dressed" with a pack on his back. While the coach stopped at a tavern, the man came in. Feeling sorry for him, Judah offered him a drink for his pluck in walking so far. The man declined but now boarded the stage. Judah was mortified to learn that the object of his pity was a wealthy county judge who also drove cattle; he had been travelling in his drover's clothes. Judah enjoyed talking with the other travellers in the coaches, especially attractive women. At Pitsford, "2 very pretty girls got in the Stage...to go as far as Rochester, very agreeable." In Ohio on 28 October 1827 he sympathetically noted that "a good wholesome girl travelled with us the last 43 miles, hunting her husband who had left her – poor thing – get another." At various points Judah stopped for a day to see friends or present letters of introduction to men who showed him the local sights. He dined at Utica with an acquaintance and five Baptist ministers: "spent my time very pleasant."

Judah commented on the amenities and economies of the towns he passed through. Noting that Niagara was a natural trading point, he found the Falls "Grand beyond description. I do not like the Village." He admired Utica's new buildings and wealthy mechanic class but found Oneida "a Poor miserable Village." Judah visited prisons at

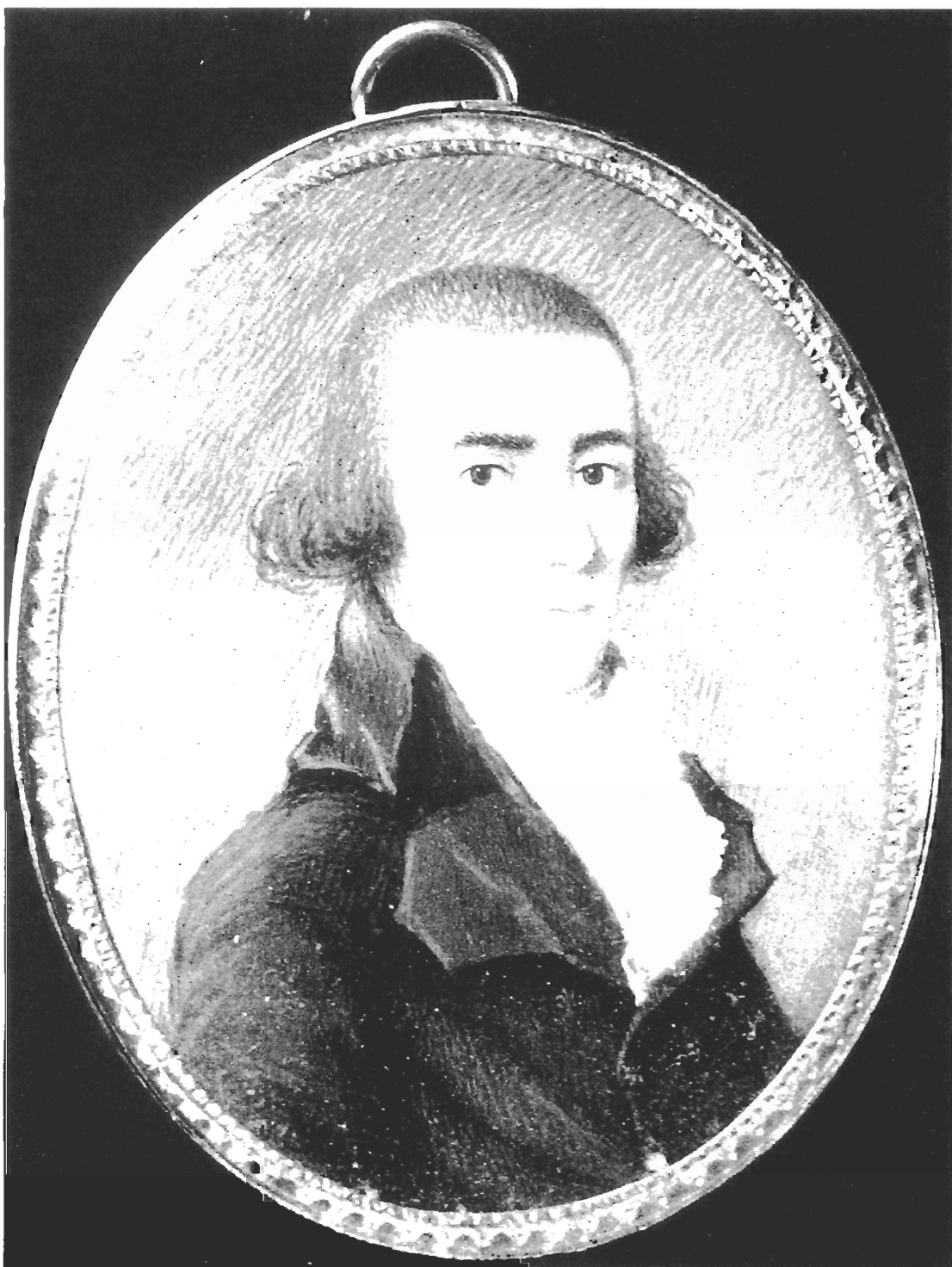
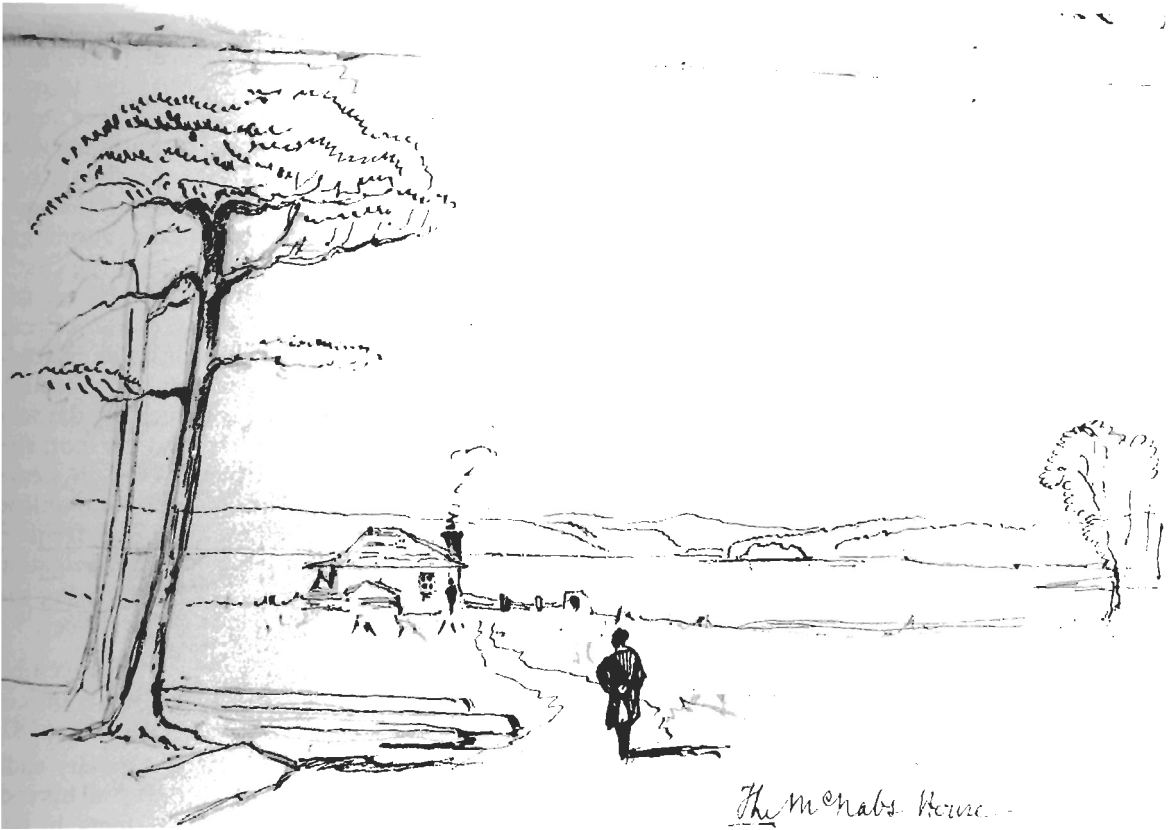


Figure 1. Bernard Samuel Judah. (Photograph by Mark Freedman; McGill University Archives.)



The McNabs Home.

Figure 2. McNab's House, August 1845, from William Logan's diary.

Auburn and Columbus, Ohio; the latter was "a poor miserable dirty building, no cleanliness, 113 Males, 3 Females." At Bedford, Ohio on 30 October 1827 he declared: "misery in all its shapes began to make its appearance – children naked – mud up to their knees and appeared not to have been washed in a month – whisky more and more drank." Cincinnati gave him a better impression of Ohio: "happy people, easy and Independent in all circumstances of life. Living, Dry Goods, Groceries nearly as cheap as in New York." Convinced that westerners drank heavily, he conceded that "I have seen less Drunkards than I expected." Still, their love of whisky amazed him: "It is no uncommon circumstance for a man to drink a quart or more of this liquor & the most wealthy & accomplished prefer it to any of the forreign Liquors."

On 12 November 1827 he arrived at Vincennes and relaxed after his long trip: "very pleasant the last two days – view of the Prairies on fire at night from the Piazza of Samuel. Beautifull." He reckoned his travel expenses at \$75.00 for the 1260 miles from New York to Vincennes. The trip had taken thirty days, including thirteen days stopping at places.¹³ Judah enjoyed meals at his son's: "I must say at Samuels it most looks like home & have eat more than I did during the time I was coming from Buffalo to this place." Cryptically, he referred to "West's daughter, who went from N.Brunswick after Samuel – a public Prostitute." (Samuel had studied at Rutgers College in New Brunswick, N.J.) He observed: "Samuel does not like the people – ambition is his aim." (While Samuel seems to have incurred no disadvantage from being

Jewish, his political advancement had stalled because he supported Andrew Jackson rather than President Adams; eventually he became State Attorney-General.) Judah ridiculed the western political custom of getting up on a stump and addressing bystanders – even Blacks or Indians who could not vote. “Whisky in the bargain Hurra for free elections and Western Manners,” he remarked on 24 November 1827.

Judah criticized Vincennes in detail. One of its few assets was a public library of 1800 volumes. The town had 1400 inhabitants, seven stores, a small cotton factory and dull public houses. Vincennes had been a fur trade station; he found the traders’ descendants looked like French Canadians and kept their customs. Most were poor and lived “in miserable wooden cabins.” Few private houses were painted “and the place does not look like our Eastern Towns.” He admired the house of famed General William Henry Harrison but the rest were shabby. Town lots cost from thirty-five to fifty dollars. His son Samuel’s house was “a two story frame, 26 feet front, 20 deep” and poorly built – like all houses in the western states. The lot was two and a half acres with a smoke house and a good well. Judah described Vincennes as “a miserable hole...looks melancholy.” Emigrants left daily – the poor to Indiana and Illinois, the rich to Missouri. He found few intelligent people to talk to and thought it ridiculous that one man, Homer Johnson, served as “County Clark, Majr. Gen. of Militia, Tavern Keeper, School Master, Surveyor, Doctor, Singing Master – thus you have a specimen of a Western Citizen.” Most of the people lived on corn bread and hominy. Describing their poverty, he added that “money appears to be their god.” They were “generally poorly clad. He noticed “many Blacks – a poor miserable race.”¹⁴

On 27 November 1827 after fifteen days at his son’s, Judah left for Washington by boat on the Ohio. At Fredericksburg, Kentucky he saw 2800 hogs being killed on the shore. He made friends with William Smith from Kentucky, “a dam’d clever fellow” with tobacco holdings worth \$200,000. He found Kentucky men “generally full of cash.” Passing through Cincinnati again, he bought a ticket

for the Virginia Lottery and was pleased that three women passengers boarded. He and the other passengers played whist far into the night as the boat progressed up river at four miles per hour. He enjoyed magnificent views from the Ohio River. The diary gives a good picture of travel at the beginning of the age of steam. Judah liked the steamboats running on the lower Ohio, calling them “floating Castles and very handsomely furnished.” He realized how steam had begun to revolutionize trade along the Ohio and Mississippi. For example, he noted that the workmen who brought northern lumber down the rivers by flatboats no longer had to return slowly by foot; they travelled free as deck passengers on steamboats in return for helping to load and unload. He even found advantages in the frequent cargo losses caused by hazardous navigation; they kept trade profitable by preventing surpluses which would drive down prices.¹⁵

Arriving at Washington on 4 December 1827, he visited the Capitol and other offices, apparently on business. On 15 December 1827 he left for Philadelphia. Here the diary ends; the last few pages are torn out. For all his contempt for the West’s cultural defects, he had marvelled at its growing wealth and energy: “to see the advancement of the west is surprizing – happy people – all they want is the Ambition of the East – too little labour.” Judah’s diary reveals an inquisitive, confident man who had enjoyed seeing the West and like a true tourist, “never regretted to jaunt.”

TWO GEOLOGIST-EXPLORERS

William Logan and George Mercer Dawson kept diaries as they explored, mapped, and collected mineral specimens in the Canadian wilderness. Their work for the Geological Survey of Canada prepared the way for mining, railroads and western settlement. They wrote their diaries to keep track of their work but their personalities slipped into the pages as well. William Edmond Logan (1798-1875), first Director of the Geological Survey, kept a diary of his exploration (for the Survey) in 1845 of the Ottawa River and the head of Lake Timiskaming, 250 miles above Bytown (Ottawa) as well as the Mattawa River to Lake Nipissing. This and other surveys of



Figure 3. Childhood sketch by George Mercer Dawson.

Precambrian rock ultimately resulted in the hard-rock mining industry.¹⁶ Logan set out from Lachine by canoe, manned by four Indians. He paid twelve pounds for the canoe; the Indians received four pounds a month and a pair of moccasins. He was accompanied by John McNaughtan, a provincial land surveyor. Like the diaries of George Dawson and Reuben D'Aigle, Logan's diary reveals many details of provisioning, expenses and other arrangements necessary for exploring the Canadian wilderness. The route was not totally wild; he could explore out of several settlements and inns.

Logan included sketches of a few views in the diary, including the stone cottage of the

notorious Chief McNab at the settlement of McNab (Figure 2). Archibald McNab (1781-1860) was one of the most colourful colonizers of Canada. After a wild youth in London, penniless, proud and hot tempered, he succeeded as the 17th Chief of Clan McNab to an estate mortgaged to £35,000. In 1822 he fled to Canada ahead of the arrest writs of his creditors, leaving behind his wife and children. In 1823 he persuaded the Executive Council of Upper Canada to grant him land and superintendent powers over land at the junction of the Ottawa and Madawaska Rivers. McNab imported needy Scots of his clan and other Highlanders, taxed, cheated and ruled them until about 1844 when their opposition and lawsuits forced him to withdraw to

Hamilton, where he lived until 1851 before returning to Britain. Hoping to see the chief, Logan and McNaughtan visited his irregular household on 4 August 1845. They found McNab absent; Logan fancied he seldom stayed at home. They met two exotic women, McNab's wife of choice and her daughter: "(a natural daughter) who goes by the name Macnab, while the mother...goes by the name of Mrs. Fisher." Mrs. Fisher was the chief housekeeper. "He cannot make her his wife, because he has one already from whom he is separated." (McNab would have another natural child on returning to Britain after 1851).

Logan noted that McNab was famous for going about in Highland regalia, and had his portrait painted by "Mr. Bradish an american artist friend of mine." Logan described the portrait and its heroic pose:

The chief of course dressed in the highland garb...He is in full McNab costume & he stands full fronting with his dirk in his left hand the point of it stuck in some object near while his right is on the handle of his left pistol in the act of drawing it forth. He has a piper whom he takes with him when he goes to any principal place & I have occasionally heard him blowing his pigs whistle in Montreal.¹⁷

McNab returned to Scotland about 1851. Soon, supported by his estranged wife, he moved to France, where he died in 1860.¹⁸ Logan stayed in the McNab area for several days, observing that the land and farms were excellent and the pine "sticks" were four feet across. The settlers were nearly all Highlanders. Some, from the fishing coasts of North Scotland, were "indolent but sociable and given to intemperance."

Rising at four in the morning, Logan spent much of his time mapping and gathering geological specimens. He collected at least forty-five boxes of mineral samples and fossils. On 29 August 1845 near Black River falls, he made a great discovery of fossil shells in limestone: "I have been at my fossils all day & have made a great collection. I have cut a great many out by means of hammer & chisel & have

smashed the skin of my left hand in many places...I worked twelve hours hammering like any stone mason."

Travel diaries often mention food. Besides catfish, Logan ate a muskrat the Indians killed: "the flavour is strong but not very disagreeable." Simple delights became important; the forty-seven year old Logan enjoyed what comforts he could find in the wilderness. "Our black tea makes a most comfortable beverage. I hate the green tea that is everywhere used in this part of the world, & then they give you no sugar with it." On 8 August 1845 at a settlement Logan had a meal to remember: "Fresh pork with fried wild onions, good milk, green tea but no sugar, & new potatoes." Without rancour he noticed that one of the Indians had helped himself to his special treat. "I have a drum of figs which I have only now opened for the first time & I find a round of them gone. They have been stolen probably by [Mathias] Sanoracé [one of the four Indians hired at Lachine]. He has a tongue as long as my arm & I suspect he has also a sweet tooth."¹⁹

Logan complained occasionally about his assistant but for the most part found him adequate. "Mr McNaughtan complains of his bowels. I am afraid though he is accustomed to the woods, he cannot stand hard work. He is rather slow for me. He tries to be exact, however." Chance encounters offered diversion. McNaughtan spied a dog and teased it by crouching behind a bush trying to look like a bear. The dog's barking brought the owner from his wood chopping. Fearing he might have a rifle, McNaughtan thought it safer to show himself. The dog's owner turned out to be an old acquaintance. They also met "Mr Bernard...Sir George Simpsons pilot, a half savage...an Algonquin, & to our men speaks French not understanding the Iroquois."²⁰

The explorers slept outdoors much of the time. "Our Indians are a good lot of fellows but they are not so handy as the Gaspé men. They never think of placing boughs on the floor for us, but we have a Mackintosh bed, big enough for three. It takes an enormous quantity of wind to fill it." Logan liked his quarters dry. On a rainy night in late July, "Our

two Indians built a caban for us...but as it consisted only of a cover on 4 posts & 2 cross sticks without any sides I informed them that they might occupy the caban & Mr McNaughten and I would sleep under the canoe which we did before a rousing fire. We kept pretty dry."²¹ In mid August they reached Portage du Fort, where a village was taking shape: an inn, blacksmith's forge and a couple of stores – all dependent on the lumber traffic. The diary ends at Bytown in November 1845. Logan had mapped 150 miles of the Ottawa River, including 70 miles of Lake Timiskaming and the tributary Mattawa.

Probably the most important diaries in the Archives are those of George Mercer Dawson (1849-1901), one of Canada's foremost geologists and explorers. He was the son of Sir William Dawson, geologist and McGill's Principal.²² Of stunted growth and heroic accomplishments, George Dawson led expeditions of the Canadian Geological Survey across western Canada. He kept a detailed series of diaries of his geological expeditions and work from 1873 to 1899. Besides documenting Dawson's life and the nuts and bolts of exploring the west, the diaries are a major source of geological and ethnological information. They have been consulted by historians of Canadian exploration and geology, researchers on Indian land claims, and anthropologists. The diaries for 1875 to 1878 (covering exploration of British Columbia) have been published.²³ Dawson gave detailed accounts of his daily activity and occasionally made diagrams and sketches of terrain and Native Canadians' structures. He also described birds, settlements, and transportation. The long set of exploration diaries is complemented by several occasional diaries revealing his private side. Dawson is the youngest diarist in the Archives. Probably encouraged by his father or mother, he kept a diary in 1861 when he was eleven. He wrote about his tutoring from "Miss," his health, games, snowshoing, and purchases of marbles and the like while living with his family on the McGill campus in the old East Wing of the Arts Building (now Dawson Hall). He began to draw pictures; a useful skill for his later travels (Figure 3). He and his friend O'Hara Baynes (son of McGill's Bursar) enjoyed snowball fights with McGill

students and playing "Thief and Hide and go seek" on the campus. One day the two boys went up to the Arts Building cupola "and caught O'Hara's pigon [sic] which we fed and put up again." Sadly, he recorded bad headaches, symptoms of the spinal tuberculosis that left him a hunchback.²⁴ He slowly recovered his strength and was able to attend the Royal School of Mines in London. He kept a diary of his voyage and on 21 September 1869 recorded a terrifying gale: "Ship making very bad weather of it...Shipped several heavy seas in succession and righted with great difficulty. Cargo shifting. Cabin stove broke adrift. Mate was nearly washed overboard." He drew a sketch of the tossing ship (the Lake Erie) with all sails furled but three, holding into the wind.²⁵

Dawson kept a pocket diary of a trip to France and Germany in 1882, not long after the dreaded excesses of the Paris Commune. Far from his Geological Survey, the bachelor of thirty-odd sketched a few women, wrote vague love poems and criticized idle wealth. He noticed some women loading barges with coal along with men in the "Broiling sun." They carried the smaller pieces of coal in baskets on their heads and the larger ones in their hands. One young girl, exhausted:

gives up her work & bursts into tears. Her friend coming to her gives her just such a little half embrace as may often be seen to pass between girls in a drawing-room. The master, speaking in rough patois through a mask of coal-dust hands her two sous to buy cognac. Overseer marks her off the book.

After recording this incident, Dawson pondered the frustrations of the poor: he imagined,

The labouring men & women who look up from the fields & see others lolling in [passing] carriages. They are earning their bread perhaps happily enough. "here ignorance is bliss." But even so, why should homespun industry be insulted by the parade of idle opulence. By the

existence of classes to whom the labouring machinery of the world appears merely an easily moving automaton. Complete & happy enough so long as they can reap the fruit in sufficient quantity for their own exaggerated wants...Is it to be wondered at that they are ready when occasion offers to burst their bounds, cry Vive la Commune & even destroy evidence of the opulence & culture in which they have no part!²⁶

A VICTORIAN TEENAGER

Young people were encouraged to keep diaries as an exercise in writing, time-accounting, self-examination and improvement. Taking on a young assistant in 1846, William Logan impressed on him "the propriety of keeping a journal."²⁷ George Dawson and his sister Anna both kept diaries of their trip to Europe with their parents Principal and Mrs. Dawson in 1865. Aged fourteen, Anna Dawson (1851-1917) noted that the steamer to Liverpool only went nine knots because of poor coal and mentioned a sea-sickness remedy of egg, sugar and wine. She visited Parliament, Mme. Toussaud's, the British Museum and took the underground railway to visit the Kensington Museum. She attended a service at the cathedral at Amiens, its "Alter beautifully illuminated." In Paris she heard a good sermon at the French Protestant church and afterwards a "rather dry sermon" at the Scotch church. In Geneva she and her father saw Calvin's armchair and bought watches; later they climbed risky paths to explore glaciers. In Cologne, "the greediest and dirtiest place we have visited," they failed to find the Church of St. Ursula where the bones of 7000 virgins were exhibited. At Sandhurst she noticed the cadets used the same slang as American youths. Reflecting her father's influence, she reported that Dr. Rolleston at Oxford was "very nice...if only he was not as silly to be a Darwinian." At Edinburgh Castle, she watched two soldiers bringing in a deserter and hoped they would not shoot him.²⁸

She also kept a tiny book from 1866 to 1872 which charted her religious and earthly con-

cerns from adolescence to adulthood.²⁹ She wrote much of it in November and December 1866 when, turning sixteen, she began testing her powers of thinking, writing, and self-examination. At first religion and romantic speculations inspired her equally; by the end of the diary she was twenty and romance prevailed. She began on Sunday, 18 November 1866, perhaps inspired by some Presbyterian sermon: "I am only fifteen yet life to me seems aimless & dull, in an earthly point of view...How beautiful it must be to launch into eternity with Jesus for a guide." Inspired by an awakening sense of time passing, she wondered how the present would look from the future: "It has often struck me that the looking forward on life of youth, & the looking back in old age, must be much the same." She imagined herself old and lonely going through old letters, full of confidences and secrets, which would remind her of youth.³⁰

She examined her feelings about her future role as a woman. In November 1866 she wrote: "It is a fallacy to suppose that very young girls (say 12 or 13) are less shy & constrained than at any other period. In society it may be so...But as to their feelings the inward depths of their hearts are sealed. It is only as they become more mature that they have courage to brave the too often unsympathising minds of those they love best." Some of her preoccupations may have come from her reading: she defended love stories against the charge they "weaken the mental power." She declared, however, that "the novel jealousy is rarely found in real life" and in December 1866 told a story about jealousy "as I know it was once felt by a young girl." Her views on the spiritual role of women were conventional: "A true woman should be ever ready to bestow her sympathy her pity, her magic power of soothing the weary & the suffering without a thought as to the worthiness or unworthiness of him or her, who needs her aid...Tis mans prerogative to reason, womans to love; a man needs head far more than heart, a woman heart infinitely more than head. Harken ye learned, wise & exemplary females of the nineteenth century, & ponder whether with all the attention bestowed on the head, the heart the melting womans heart - is not slighted."³¹



Figure 4. Prospecting photographs from R. B. D'Aigle's scrapbook.

In January 1867 she wrote: "Many people seem to think that young girls look forward to marriage as perfect bliss. Well, I don't, & as I am a young girl myself, only 16 I intend to...state what I expect marriage even the happiest marriage to be – A life of toil & suffering even as single life is, but also a rest on a loving heart which robs trial of half its sting. I do not expect perfect sympathy. (alas! I have found already there is no such thing possible)." After this she made only one or two entries a year. In the style of romantic novels, she wrote brief passages on unrequited love. In 1869 aged eighteen, she addressed a message full of religious sentiment and romance, to a real or imaginary friend. "You ask me to love you! – I did once love you with a fervency & truth, that you were far from understanding." The next entry (1871) expressed great uncertainty and romantic feelings: she asks "What will become of us!...What will become of me!...What will become of him!" Her final entry (1872) described a parting. "As she stood on the bustling quay, the bright river sparkling in the sun's low sky...he turned to her...yet she neither sighed, nor swooned but pressing one hand to her heart as if to close its doors forever...she went back to the busy city where her Master had need of her." If these passages were not scenarios, they may refer to disappointed love or to uncertain relations with her future husband, Bernard J. Harrington (1848-1907). Harrington attended McGill from 1865 to 1869 and Yale from 1869 to 1871, then left briefly for Heidelberg. In August 1871 her father appointed him lecturer in Mining at McGill. They married in 1876 and had nine children. An annotation inserted in the diary, probably by Anna Dawson in old age, looking back on her youth as she had anticipated, remarked: "Poor little thing how hard her lot seemed." Anna Dawson's diary reveals her as a true daughter of William Dawson – religious and analytical, with no care for status or material things.³²

TWO MCGILL STUDENTS

The following diaries are less introspective than Anna Dawson's. Clement McLeod (1851-1917) kept a diary from 1870 to 1875 recording his student life and early employ-

ment at McGill. He arrived from Nova Scotia in Montreal on 13 September 1870 and "after a deal of looking found fine quarters at the Canada Hotel, mighty frenchy and rough." At first intending to board in a French boarding house, he inspected one "but didn't like the look of things" and ended up in an English house. Over the following weeks he called on Principal Dawson, heard a "very fine" sermon at Zion Church and another from a preacher "who could not read his sermon." He found plenty of time for sports and played several forms of football. In 1875 he wrote notes on his surveying in Newfoundland (his other papers contain more on this).³³ McLeod graduated in Applied Science 1873 and went on to teach at McGill and direct its Observatory for forty years.

In 1902 at the age of sixteen, Louis Vessot King (1886-1956) lived at home and took courses at McGill. He kept a detailed record of his reading and McGill courses as well as a summer visit to his cousins' farm in Ontario. On a typical day, he studied history, Latin, physics, trigonometry, did chores such as bringing up the coal, went tobogganing, read "Chums" or some other magazine, and had cocoa before retiring for the night. He kept an account of his income, including a \$12.00 prize won in mathematics, his allowance of \$1.25 and a penny he found on the street. His schoolboy social life contrasted with his challenging studies. He sounded quite mature when reporting his experiments in physics, his future profession: "Went to Laboratory... Worked at Resonance Tube... Found the velocity of sound... Worked also at Specific Density Bottle."³⁴ Encouraged by Ernest Rutherford, King went on to study at Cambridge; he returned to teach physics at McGill from 1910 to 1938.

A CANADIAN TOURIST IN AMERICA

William S. Paterson (1841-1907) of Montreal visited the American South in 1871. (A second diary, undated, with an essay, relates adventures in Cuba and decries the cruel conditions in the sugar plantations.) Paterson reported on his American trip in a quick run-on style. Although apparently written day by day, the entries lack daily dates and resemble travel

narratives (usually written afterwards). Paterson visited the South and several battle-sites of the recent American Civil War with his friend Dwight. The trip started out on the train down the East Coast where he noticed,

Two girls in [the] train to which our special attention was directed. One kept casting around the tail of her eye in our direction and we set our wits to work to find out where she was going. Hope was in the ascendant that she & the stern parents that kept watch & guard over her were to be our Campagnons de voyage.

But at Baltimore they went separate ways. Paterson and his friend visited Florida, shot at an alligator, saw the still-depressed areas of Columbia and Richmond, became acquainted with various Americans, visited the Capitol and treasury buildings in Washington, attended the President's church and a badly-acted play but heard "magnificent singing" coming from a "Negro Sunday School." They also met and played whist with the son of the British Consul at Charleston, who hated Yankee institutions and loved British ones.³⁵

A MONTREALER ON SAFARI

Andrew Hamilton Gault (1882-1958) cut short his science course at McGill (1899-1900) to enlist for the Boer War. In 1912 and 1913, with his wife and some other couples, he went on a safari in East Africa. He kept a diary of the adventure, which describes the outfitting of the safari and his frustration with unlucky marksmanship. "I seem fated not to get a buffalo" he wrote on 19 February 1913. He noted, usually with good humour, the vagaries of African porters. At Wamboyo (26 December 1912) he records: "Broke camp by 7 a.m. to find that 15 porters had bolted during night! Their places were filled by women." On the next day: "Our safari today was an amusing sight for its personelle [sic] finding many of its wives among the Kikuyu hills impressed them into its service; & so our porters come along unencumbered followed by their womenfolk laden down with their loads." More unfortunate than the wives were the prey the hunters managed to hit. On one occasion, Gault confronted that trophy of smoking

rooms, a rhino. He "fired again and caught her through the lung & stopped her. While I was reloading O'B unfortunately opened fire. I hit her again far back & O'B brought her down while she was running around and around like a top. Walked up the 150 yards or so & finished her with a brain shot." Other sport (18 March 1913) included shooting at and missing a 10 foot snake; they dared not follow it into thick grass. Besides uneven shooting, the diary records a few squabbles among the gentlemen hunters, one of whom is referred to as no gentleman. In 1914 Gault targeted Germans instead of animals; he raised the Princess Patricia Canadian Light Infantry and served it as Second-in-Command with great distinction during the First World War. He left his estate Mount St. Hilaire to McGill.³⁶

A MCGILL SOLDIER

The Archives holds brief World War One diaries kept by several staff members or graduates, including Cyrus Macmillan, F.C. Scrimger and Albert Kelly.³⁷ Captain Cyrus Macmillan (1883-1953), Assistant Professor of English, kept a brief pocket diary in 1917. He served in the No. 7 Canadian Siege Battery, led and staffed largely by McGill graduates. Macmillan wrote two messages at the front of the diary asking that in case of death it be sent to his wife in Toronto. He jotted down some verse as well:

Loneliness at the Front

The silver night is faint with beauty,
The iris shimmer in the moon
Soft as the words of love remembered
The night winds croon
No tremor shakes the moon in heaven
The gleaming iris feel no smart
And nothing aches in all this beauty
Except my heart.

Elsewhere, telegraph style prevailed. The diary began on 11 March 1917 in England with "Orders to move Thursday." At dinner before embarkation for France, the Canadians were given champagne: "Marched off at 8. Colonel made feeling speech. Band played us to station. Large chanting crowd auld Lang

Syne...Reached Folkstone at 3 am. Had four hours sleep. Sailed at 11.25. Reached France 2. Up hill to camp. Tents. Got settled by six. Cold. Beautiful country. Bed at 9. Excellent sleep. La belle France at last."³⁷ Macmillan visited the Canadian General Hospital, No. 3 staffed by many old McGill friends: it was "Like home." In late March between censoring letters and riding a motorcycle, he listened to gramophone records: "Good records. Many memories." By 31 March 1917 he is in a tin hut, "living in a swamp. No material to work with. This is Canada's treatment of us." In the April 1917 offensive, he records fatigue, air attacks, firing 250 rounds in one morning, the "awful desolation" of fields full of the dead and receiving candy from home. On 2 May 1917 Canon Scott "held a service tonight. Unique. Had baptism." On 30 July 1917 his batman "got the wind up." Macmillan described a Canadian battalion going up to the line, pipes playing, "Boys singing 'Long Trail' – splendid nerve. – empathetic." He survived to return home to an academic career at McGill.³⁹

A PROSPECTOR

A worn set of pencilled pocket books introduces us to Reuben Bennett D'Aigle (1874-1959), who prospected for forty years in the Klondike, Ontario, Quebec, and Labrador. Legendary and unlucky, he missed discovering the Hollinger gold mine near Timmons, Ontario by a few feet. He held concessions to 2200 miles of iron deposits in Labrador but could not exploit them after the crash of 1929. The diaries cover prospecting trips between 1912 and 1952. They show the nuts and bolts of prospecting in northern Quebec and Labrador, including negotiations for financial backing, the formation of mining syndicates, assembling supplies, expenses, the role of native guides, claim staking, wildlife supply and life in the North generally (Figure 4). D'Aigle's entries convey what prospecting was like; he writes of the melting snows, unknown terrains, and vast grim spaces in which life depended on airplanes, dog teams, native guides and proper supplies. Outside Sept Isles on 10 April 1927 he dreams "of home and our children. I saw them all for the first time since leaving." On 21 April 1927 he notes that Indians approach him for food; this worried

him since his crew carried only what they needed for themselves. He decides to carry extra food to trade to the Indians, especially since they would pay with furs. "But they always try first the hungry talk. I hate to refuse them." Personal habits come to light: on 11 July 1943 he notes "we don't work on Sunday." He records his expenses such as the purchase of a canoe in May 1945 for \$ 45.00. He notes events such as these of 9 October 1945: "We worked on camp. Charlie saw a caribou. The Indian Johnie came and gave us a beaver and some raw hide to fix snow shoes." A typical supply list is that of June 1946: "flour Beans sugar lard butter ham bacon salt matches B. powder." The diary volume for 1935 to 1952 has recipes for boot polish, waterproofing canvass, javelle water, metal polish, and a drink made from ginger root. D'Aigle's diaries trace the starts and stops of a hopeful free spirit, traversing the vast Quebec north, looking for that one lucky strike.⁴⁰

AN ICE BREAKER

Howard T. Barnes (1873-1950), Professor of Physics at McGill, kept a photographic and brief diary record of four iceberg research expeditions to Newfoundland, 1924-1929. Rare for diaries, pictures convey much of the information. Barnes could be called a quintessential Canadian scientist, since he investigated ways to free the nation and its trading ports from its particular enemy, ice—ice on the St. Lawrence, icebergs in the Atlantic (Figure 5). Off Newfoundland Barnes carried out experiments to blow up icebergs and followed various icebergs to learn how they died. He described the loud reports of one breaking up on 13 June 1926: "big growler calved during the night." Barnes sought the best way for ships to blow up icebergs in their paths. On 5 June 1924 he had "Tried to blow up the berg by 250 lbs. of gun cotton. Very little effect and a very little ice broken off." He turned to thermite on an expedition to Newfoundland in 1926. He had to land a safe amount of thermite on the iceberg by balloon or gun. On ignition thermite produced temperatures of 5000 F. which split up and destroyed icebergs. Operating out of Twillingate, he refrained from work on the Sabbath: "July 11. Sunday. Shall not work out of regard to community.

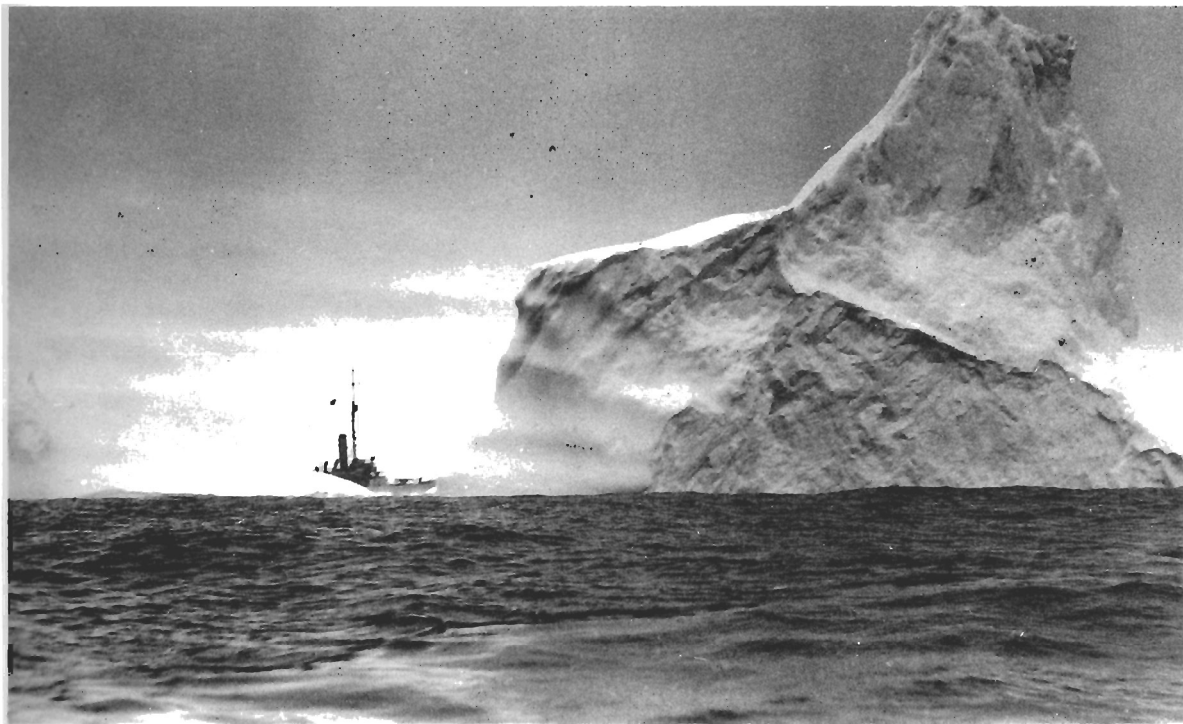


Figure 5. Ice research: expedition to Newfoundland 1924, and on the St. Lawrence River, March 1925.



Figure 6. Susan Cameron Vaughan in front of the Royal Victoria College, 1904-1905.
(From Vaughan's diary.)

Simple and religious people." This trip convinced him that exploding icebergs with thermite would allow ships to cross the short North Atlantic route safely and profitably.⁴¹

A WARDEN OF ROYAL VICTORIA COLLEGE

Diaries by McGill Principals F.C. James and Rocke Robertson⁴² supplement their official papers; a similar record was kept by Susan Cameron Vaughan (1871-1961), Assistant Warden, later Warden, of Royal Victoria College between 1905 and 1937 (Figure 6). Except for the years 1918 to 1922 when she was married to McGill Bursar Walter Vaughan and then widowed, she devoted her life to education. Besides diaries, Vaughan kept "day books" which richly document Royal Victoria College's student life. She frequently complains that the students are not serious. In March 1929 she notes that students strayed back to residence after the Red and White Revue nights at nearly 5 a.m. In March 1932 she declares, "With those who sneer at women's education in the large I am furious. With those youngsters who slack their way through college, neglecting every opportunity of getting an education I am equally furious."⁴³ In 1934 she is "Suffering from intense discouragement. The attitude of the average student seems to me hopelessly idle and frivolous...House students go out constantly or idle their time indoors." She often examines the direction of her own life; at sixty-one (after reading Arnold Bennett) she writes: "I am now at the outer edge of life. I have at the best ten or fifteen more years. What may I expect to do in them?"⁴⁴ She had twenty-nine more years.

A MCGILL PATHOLOGIST

Maude Abbott, (1869-1940) who received her B.A. from McGill in 1890 epitomizes the achievement of women over the obstacles they faced at McGill. Ineligible as a female to attend McGill Medical School, she returned with her M.D. from Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec, to teach in the McGill Pathology Department, 1912-1935 and conduct research on congenital heart disease. Her diaries in the Archives cover 1929 to 1939. One incident

should interest anyone having to cross Pine Avenue near Royal Victoria Hospital. In early October 1929 she was hit crossing the street at 6:30 P.M. by a taxi without lights. A sympathetic passing car driver brought her unconscious to Royal Victoria Hospital. There "Dr. Penfield sewed up the cut over my eye and was so wonderful." She reflected that if the taxi had been going faster or had hit her more squarely "the world would have swung on without me." She refrained from cursing the taxi driver.⁴⁵ While most of Abbott's diary entries are brief relations of events, she (like others) wrote at greater length under the stimulus of travel. Sailing on the *Acquitania* from New York to Cherbourg in April 1932, she recorded dinner dances, horrid movies and a "Delightful Anglican Service in 1st Class." She brought a Canadian friend in Paris a half gallon of maple syrup, and visited fellow doctors in Vienna where she had "my hair cut off [and] charmingly trimmed and curled." Thwarting several attempts to cheat her, she reached Istanbul. She most loved the ruins of Greece and Crete, where she had "a magnificent but really terrifying drive around innumerable hair pin turns." Her final diary entries in the summer of 1940 find her sitting for her portrait by a friend and saddened by the fall of France.

TWO ENGINEERS

James Richardson Donald (1890-1991) took a double degree in Arts and Applied Science at McGill in 1913. During World War II, he was Director of the Chemicals and Explosives Production Branch of the Department of Munitions and Supplies. Donald's diaries are the longest run in the Archives, describing professional and social activities from 1918 to 1987. They served as aide-memoires for Donald's autobiography, *Reminiscences of a Pioneer Canadian Chemical Engineer* (1990), written with the collaboration of R.V.V. Nicholls and Mario Onyszchuk. Of particular interest from 1939 to 1945, Donald's diaries introduce us to a world of Ottawa bureaucrats, military leaders, secret scientific research, night trains to Washington, visiting Russian delegations looking for Canadian explosives, and meetings with C.D. Howe and others coordinating the Canadian war effort. On 7

May 1945 with Germany's surrender, Donald noted the reaction in Montreal: "Pandemonium broke loose, people pouring out of buildings and into the streets...crowds of people parading up and down. I lunched at the University Club, where there was no particular excitement."⁴⁶ The diaries reveal an accomplished, matter of fact man keeping track of his life, perhaps suspecting that someday he would write his memoirs.

George H. Kohl, (1889-1964) took his engineering degree from McGill in 1910. Versatile and resilient, he worked as a hydraulic engineer, started a consulting business in 1926, and worked for the Power Corporation in Montreal. Left unemployed by the Depression, he managed a tannery for a while. In 1940 with his wife he took agriculture courses and ran a mixed farm near Guelph, Ontario until retiring in 1948. He came out of retirement to work for Power Corporation until 1953. Retiring again, he planned to do some consulting; he had kept up with hydraulic engineering through McGill's Engineering Faculty and friends like R.A.C. Henry. In late 1953 he was recruited by Henry to become Chief Engineer and Alternate Member (Canadian Section) on the St. Lawrence Seaway Project from 1953 to 1963.⁴⁷ Recognizing the Project's importance, he kept a record of daily events, engineering problems, policies and decisions, and meetings with Henry, General Andrew McNaughton and others.⁴⁸ The diary covered meetings with American members of the Joint Board and the issues to be resolved: for example, persuading the Americans to accept the Canadian view on channels and velocities at one point (22 January 1955). Kohl also gave personal opinions, probably not found in the Seaway's official records. His greatest job done, he retired for the third time and died soon after. His diaries and the R.A.C. Henry Papers⁴⁹ also in the Archives, give important, personal documentation of the Seaway Project, which seemed to be the model of international cooperation, technological triumph, and mutual profit.⁵⁰

A MONTREALER

Many diaries document a limited aspect or period of their authors' lives. Like the diaries

by Kohl, Judah and Macmillan, they are kept to record special projects, travel, war or some other novel experience. A long-term diary like Vaughan's or Donald's has added dimensions; it becomes the story of a life. Ethel Stevens Martin (1905-1990) kept such a diary. She worked for Imperial Tobacco and was married to A.L. Martin. Covering 1924-1925 and 1939-1989, her diaries relate the social life of a typical English Montrealer. She reported on many cultural events; she discovered the young science of psychology at a lecture at the Mount Royal Hotel in July 1924. She punctuated her entries with a few original poems as well as observations on the poetic. Rowing on Lake Memphremagog in August 1929, she noticed "an overhanging birch on one of the cliffs that made me think of a maiden leaning over to see her pleasant reflection below." For the next sixty years, she wrote about walks with friends; animal welfare; church (Unitarian and others); family (after the death of her mother she dreamed that she was living with her mother and father again); sports, dance and sewing classes; and travel to New York, the Caribbean, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. On 22 November 1989, she hit her head on the floor. She continued normal activities such as an SPCA bazaar but went for tests. She was told she would be all right. Ominously, the diary shows she had trouble writing. Some days later, on a "stormy snowy day," she went out to a friend's funeral. With difficulty and tenacity, she kept up the diary for a few more entries; it stopped a month or so before her death, sixty-five years after it was begun.⁵¹ Like Anna Dawson, she had stored memories of her youth to enjoy in old age; like Susan Vaughan she had assumed the peculiar duty of keeping a record of her life, which she carried out to the end. And with the other people mentioned here, she enjoys a modest immortality through the survival of her diary.

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Notes

Acknowledgements: I am grateful for assistance from Carol Wiens, and from Kendall Wallis and Joseph Swift of the McGill Libraries. For information on Bernard Samuel Judah, I am indebted to Janice Rosen of the Canadian Jewish Congress (Montreal) and Mrs. Evelyn Miller of Montreal.

1. Anna Dawson, Diary, 13 April 1867 (MG 1022). The Archives' Manuscript Group (MG) number is given in this and the following first citations of diaries.

2. Susan Cameron Vaughan (1871-1961) Diary, 5 Mar. 1938 (MG 4014).

3. In addition to the University's administrative records, the Archives acquires papers, photographs and other material of research value from McGill's staff and milieu. The Archives holds other records of some of the diarists mentioned here. Many diaries in the University Archives and in the Osler Library, the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections and the McCord Museum are listed in *A Guide to Archival Resources at McGill University* (3 vols. Montreal 1985) produced by the University Archives, from which some biographical information in this article is drawn.

4. *The Journals of George M. Dawson: British Columbia, 1875-1878*, ed. D. Cole and B. Lockner (2 vols. Vancouver 1989).

5. Following the usage of John Batts, the authority on Canadian and British diaries, "diary" will be taken to mean the same as "journal" and to contain reasonably frequent entries written not long after the event: John S. Batts, "Seeking the Canadian Pepys: the Canadian Manuscript Diaries Project", *Archivaria*, No. 9 (Winter 1979-80), 130-31. William Matthews began the systematic identification of Canadian diaries with his *Canadian Diaries and Autobiographies* (Berkeley, California 1950). Research on Canadian diaries has been greatly advanced by John Batts; see, for example, his "Fishing for identity: establishing authorship of a mid-nineteenth-century manuscript diary", *Archivaria*, No. 20 (Summer 1985), 136-141.

6. Probably the Battle of the Nile, 1 Aug. 1798.

7. Spark's diary was preserved with the meteorological records of the McGill Observatory (microfilm 3307). An important and moderate clergyman, he published several sermons and also taught students. See James H. Lambert, "Alexander Spark", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1801-1820), v, 768-771. The term "Apoplexy" could include strokes and other seizures.

8. *The Quebec Almanac; and British American Royal Calendar, for the Year 1819* (Quebec n.d.) under March, n.p. I am advised by J. Swift, that the moon being in a different sign, the death date has no significant connection with the full moon.

9. Bernard Samuel Judah, Diary, 1827 (MG 2018). A useful but inexact transcription of much of the diary (with many phrases altered or elucidated, and several tart comments omitted) was edited by John M. Judah: "A Journal of Travel from New York to Indiana in 1827", *Indiana Magazine of History*, xvii. no. 4 (Dec. 1921), 338-352.

10. Bernard Samuel Judah's father (Bernard Judah) had supported the American Revolution with loans which were never repaid. Information on family members can be found in the Judah Family file of the Archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress (Montreal) which include a genealogy and "La Famille Judah", *Le bien public*, 23 mars 1939. See also *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, iv, 331: "Aaron Hart"; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, x, 335; and David Rome, comp., *Canadian Jewish Archives* (New Series, nos. 16, 23, 28: Montreal 1980-1982), particularly no. 23, p. 92, citing a letter from E. Levy to A. Hart, n.d. On the lawyer son in Indiana, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, x, 227: "Samuel Judah".

11. Judah, Diary, 21 Nov. 1827.

12. Judah, Diary, 26 Oct.-1 Nov., 11 Nov. 1827.

13. Judah, Diary, 23 Nov. 1827.

14. Judah, Diary, 17-22 Nov. 1827.

15. Judah, Diary, 27 Nov.-4 Dec. 1827.

Diaries from the McGill University Archives

16. William Logan, Diary 1845-1846 (MG 2046). See B.J. Harrington, *Life of Sir William E. Logan* (Montreal 1883), 237-238 and Morris Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks: The Story of the Geological Survey of Canada* (Ottawa 1975), esp. pp. 41-47.
17. The painter was probably Alvah Bradish (1806-1901), an American portrait painter who practised in western New York and Detroit.
18. In addition to Logan's remarks, the information on McNab is taken from the lively biography of McNab by A. Cameron and J. Gwyn in *DCB*, viii. 584-589. See also *Canadian Encyclopedia*, sub "McNab, Archibald".
19. Logan, Diary, 16 Aug. 1845.
20. Logan, Diary, 16 July, 2 Aug., 22 Aug. 1845.
21. Logan, Diary, 27 July, 30 July 1845.
22. George M. Dawson, Diaries, 1861-1899 (MG 1022).
23. George M. Dawson, *The Journals of George M. Dawson: British Columbia, 1875-1878*, ed. Douglas Cole and Bradley Lockner (2 vols. Vancouver 1989). Transcripts with notes of Dawson's diaries for 1873, 1879, 1881 and 1887 have been prepared and circulated by W.J. Ross. Complementing the diaries is the correspondence between George Dawson and his father and others, held and indexed by the University Archives.
24. Dawson, Diary, 1 Mar.-12 Apr. 1861 (MG 1022). An adult appears to have prepared the little book with dates at the top of each page. O'Hara was the son of W.C. Baynes, McGill's Secretary, Registrar and Bursar, 1856-1887. Like the Dawsons, the Baynes family lived in the East Wing.
25. Dawson, Diary, 11 Sept.- 7 Oct. 1869. The drawing is among Dawson's sketches (MG 1022 c.59). The Lake Erie, 930 tons, left Montreal on 11 Sept. 1865 and arrived at Glasgow on 7 Oct. 1869.
26. Dawson, Diary, 1882 (possibly July).
27. This was the son of the Rev. Mr. Adamson (Chaplain to the Legislative Assembly, Montreal): William Logan, Diary, 7-8 June 1846 (MG 2046).
28. Anna Dawson, Diary, 1865, Aug-Sept. (MG 1022). The Dawson Family Papers include diaries of Anna Dawson's brothers George and Rankine.
29. She titled it "Observations, Thoughts, Fancies etc etc". It combines the diary and the commonplace-book genres (MG 1022).
30. Dawson, Diary, 6 and 28 Dec. 1866.
31. Dawson, Diary, 14 Dec. 1866.
32. Before her marriage, she took several university-level courses in the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association given by her father (Mineralogy), Goldwin Smith (English History), John Clark Murray (Logic) and Dr. Duncan MacCallum (Physiology): Register of certificates 1871-1884, M.L.E.A. (MG 1053).
33. Clement H. McLeod, Diary, 1870-1875 (MG 1056).
34. Louis V. King, Diary, 18 Feb. 1902 (MG 3026).
35. William Paterson, Diary (MG 4048).
36. Andrew H. Gault, Diary, 1912-1913 (MG 3068).
37. Albert Kelly, Diary, 1918 (MG 3054); F.A.C. Scrimger, Diary, 1915 (MG 2034); see R.C. Fetherstonhaugh, *McGill University at War: 1914-1918, 1939-1945* (Montreal 1947).
38. Cyrus Macmillan, Diary, 1917 (MG 1057). This was a pocket-sized book published by Lett: "The Soldier's Own Diary". Macmillan taught English at McGill, 1909-1947, and was Dean of Arts, 1940-1947. He was M.P. for Queen's, Prince Edward Island, 1940-1945. See Fetherstonhaugh, *McGill University at War*, 25-26.
39. Macmillan, Diary, 15 Mar. 1917.
40. Beside the diaries, the Reuben D'Aigle Papers (MG 2060) include a scrapbook, photographs and hand drawn maps.
41. Howard T. Barnes, Diaries, 1924-1929 (MG 1016). Thermit (trademark: "Thermit") according to the *Random House Dictionary* is: a mixture of finely-divided metallic aluminum

Diaries from the McGill University Archives

and ferric oxide that when ignited produces extremely high temperatures as the result of the union of the aluminum with the oxygen of the oxide.

42. Cyril James' diaries (MG 1017) are closed until 1993; Rocke Robertson's diaries (MG 2001) are closed until 2000.

43. Susan C. Vaughan, Royal Victoria College Day Books, 1905-1937; Diary, 1899-1940 (MG 4014).

44. Vaughan, Diary, 19 June 1932.

45. Maude Abbott, Diary, 7 Nov. 1929, (MG 1070). See Margaret Gillett, "The Heart of the Matter: Maude E. Abbott, 1869-1940" in Marianne G. Ainley, ed., *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Vehicule Press, Montreal 1990).

46. J.R. Donald, Diary (MG 2043). The diaries are supplemented by other records of J.R. Donald as well as the records of J.T. Donald & Co. (MG 1003), also held by the Archives.

47. This information was received in a letter, G.Gordon Kohl to Robert Michel, 14 Nov. 1991, in McGill University Archives accession file 91-079.

48. A small amount of McNaughton's papers is in the University Archives (MG 3071).

49. R.A.C. Henry Papers (MG 2069).

50. George H. Kohl, Diaries, 1953-1963 (MG 4154).

51. Ethel Stevens Martin, Diary, 1924-1989 (MG 4143).