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LA PRATIQUE ARCHITECTURALE DE CLAUDE BAILLIF

Claude Baillif (1635? - 1698) est sans aucun doute l'architecte de la Nouvelle-France le plus connu aujourd'hui. On lui a attribué la conception ou la réalisation de nombreux bâtiments dans la ville de Québec, dont plusieurs maisons urbaines, l'aile de la Procure du Séminaire, l'église Notre-Dame-des-Victoires à la Place Royale, le palais épiscopal du second évêque de la Nouvelle-France, ainsi que la reconstruction de la cathédrale Notre-Dame-de-Québec. On n'a pas hésité à faire de lui le premier architecte d'importance au Canada. Il est, en outre, devenu le personnage central du roman de Jacques Folch-Ribas, *La chair de pierre*[1], selon lequel Baillif aurait obtenu les qualifications de maître-maçon et de maître-charpentier en France, avant son départ pour le Canada, et aurait connu les textes de Descartes et de Palladio en plus d'avoir fait le voyage d'Italie. Loin d'être une simple fantaisie historique, ce roman marque le sommet d'une réputation lentement construite par les historiens de l'art québécois.

L'article biographique de Gérard Morisset avait déjà un ton plutôt romanesque:

> Qui ne connaît également l'hôtel Louis XIV à la Basse-Ville? C'est encore un ouvrage de Baillif. Cependant, si ce dernier revenait sur terre, il hocherait sûrement la poire devant cette étrange façade et il se demanderait quel est l'adolescent qui s'est amusé à construire, au-dessus des solides murailles qu'il a maçonnées en 1687, ce château de cartes en fer blanc[2].

Si Morisset présente Baillif comme un «maître-maçon d'autrefois», ce n'est pas tant par souci d'exactitude historique que par attachement nostalgique à une époque que l'auteur jugeait empreinte de médiévalisme. D'ailleurs, Morisset lui donne aussi le titre d'architecte sans voir de conflit avec l'appellation précédente:

> Enfin, si notre architecte traversait à la Pointe-Lévy pour s'enquérir de l'état du presbytère qu'il a bâti en 1690, à la demande de Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, il ne retrouverait point son oeuvre, et personne ne pourrait le renseigner convenablement à ce sujet, puisque cet ouvrage n'existe plus depuis le sinistre de 1830[3].

Alan Gowans, auteur de l'article sur Baillif dans le *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, est plus prudent, puisqu'il le présente comme «entrepreneur de bâtiments[4]». Gowans hésite à identifier Baillif comme un architecte, même s'il sait que celui-ci dessinait des plans. Ceci s'explique par le fait que l'auteur est conscient du rôle important des clients dans la conception des bâtiments à cette époque:

> Par ailleurs, il semble que Laval et Saint-Vallier ne se bornaient pas à jouer le rôle de patrons désintéressés de la conception de leurs églises et des édifices publics de leur diocèse [...] On peut supposer, en bonne logique, que les 'plans' de Baillif étaient les ébauches de projets conçus conjointement par lui et par l'évêque [5].

La prudence de Gowans démontre une plus grande sensibilité au rôle de l'architecte dans la production des bâtiments. Cependant, l'auteur n'avait pas accès à toute la documentation maintenant disponible au sujet de Baillif [6]. Depuis la parution de cette biographie, les historiens de l'art canadien ont peu cherché à mieux comprendre le rôle de Baillif dans la production qui lui est attribuée. Il nous apparaît donc essentiel de réexaminer ce rôle à la lumière des recherches réalisées depuis les articles de Morisset et de Gowans.

Notre texte vise à donner un portrait global de la pratique architecturale de Claude Baillif. Nous examinerons ce que nous savons de sa formation, puis nous étudierons une série de chantiers dans le but de connaître le genre de travail que Baillif pouvait faire lors de la construction d'édifices religieux, civils, et militaires. Nous pourrons alors caractériser cette pratique par rapport aux choix qui pouvaient s'offrir à la fin du XVII[e] siècle. Pour ce faire, nous tenterons de cerner les ambitions et les projets de Baillif à travers quelques événements marquants de sa carrière.

La formation de l'architecte

La formation de Baillif demeure assez obscure, et les historiens de l'art qui ont voulu traiter cette question n'ont fait que discuter du lieu de naissance de l'architecte, soit Paris, soit la Basse-Normandie. Ils admettent tous que Baillif devait se trouver à Paris au début des années 1670 lorsqu'il a été recruté par les agents du Séminaire de Québec[7]. Baillif aurait donc eu une certaine expérience architecturale dans la capitale française, peu importe où il a fait son apprentissage.

Il existe un certain nombre d'autres éléments concernant la formation de Baillif, qu'il s'agit ici de rassembler. D'abord, l'inventaire rédigé en 1699 après son décès mentionne «dix petits livres» conservés «dans la chambre derrière la [...] cuisine» de sa maison sur la rue Sault-au-Matelot à Québec[8]. Ces livres consistent en trois traités de mathématiques, deux versions de la Coutume de Paris, une grammaire espagnole, et trois traités d'architecture dont un en deux copies. Parmi ces derniers, on retrouve un ouvrage intitulé *Les fortifications du chevalier Antoine de Ville* (Lyon, 1628). Il y avait aussi «L'architecture françoise», vraisemblablement *L'architecture françoise des bastiments particuliers* (Paris, 1624) de Louis Savot, en plus de «Les reigles des cinq corps [*sic*] d'architecture de Vignole», probablement l'ouvrage de Pierre Lemuet intitulé *Reigle des cinq ordres d'architecture de Vignolle* (Paris, 1631). Nous ne savons pas quand Baillif a acquis ces ouvrages. Le fait qu'ils datent tous de la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle

fig.1 Claude Baillif, **Élévations de deux cheminées,** 1679, A.N.Q., R. Becquet, 1 février 1679. (Photo: A.N.Q., Cartothèque, NC 82-7-1)

rend possible l'hypothèse qu'il les possédait dès son arrivée à Québec en 1675, mais cela reste impossible à vérifier. Leur mention dans l'inventaire suggère néanmoins une connaissance assez solide des principes de l'architecture classique. En outre, il faut remarquer le caractère appliqué et pratique de ces ouvrages, par opposition aux traités plus abstraits de Claude Perrault et de René Ouvrard publiés dans les années 1670.

Un autre élément à considérer est le titre que Baillif reçoit au début de sa carrière canadienne. Lors de son engagement au Séminaire de Québec, un passage du premier *Livre de comptes* de l'institution mentionne:

> Claude Baillif engagé pour trois ans à commencer du 22 sept 1675 Jour de son arrivée à Québec gaigne pour chaque année autant que les autres tailleurs de pierre scavoir soixante escus par an [9].

On remarque que son salaire est le même que celui des autres tailleurs de pierre[10]. Si Baillif n'est pas reconnu comme architecte, son métier est quand même assez spécialisé et son salaire est nettement supérieur à celui d'un simple maçon[11].

Ce titre de tailleur de pierre n'est pas celui sous lequel Baillif a été identifié pendant le reste de sa carrière à Québec. Pourtant, le titre d'architecte ne lui est pas venu graduellement et n'est pas passé par des variantes comme «maître-tailleur de pierre» ou «maître-architecte». Baillif est présenté comme architecte dès qu'on le retrouve hors du Séminaire. Lors de son premier marché de construction connu, il est «architecque et ouvrier en plastre[12]». En outre, le dessin des cheminées en tête de ce contrat est aussi soigné qu'on pourrait le souhaiter de la part d'un architecte-entrepreneur au XVII[e] siècle (fig. 1).

Le titre d'architecte est aussi attribué à Baillif avant 1679 dans d'autres types de documents. Le premier exemple que nous avons pu retracer à Québec date de 1677 dans les *Registres de la Prévôté* [13]. En outre, nous avons pu retrouver son contrat de mariage, passé à Paris en décembre 1674, où il est identifié comme «architecque de Paris[14]». Il est ainsi clair que l'attribution à Baillif du titre d'architecte remonte à une période antérieure à son départ pour le Canada, même si cela n'a pas été reconnu par le Séminaire en 1675.

Malgré les éléments biographiques que nous venons de mentionner, la nature précise de la formation reçue par Baillif demeure difficile à déterminer. Précisons d'abord que les documents où il est question de sa famille supportent l'idée que Baillif est originaire de Paris plutôt que de Normandie[15]. Selon le contrat de mariage de 1674, son père, Henry Baillif, est un «bourgeois de Paris» et sa future épouse, Catherine Sainctar, est la fille de feu Nicolas Sainctar «vivant maistre cordonnier de paris[16]». Ces éléments suggèrent que les Baillif constituaient une famille bien installée dans la petite bourgeoisie parisienne.

D'autres membres de cette famille sont connus grâce à une procuration donnée à Georges Régnard Duplessis lors du règlement de la succession du dé-

funt architecte en 1699 [17]. Duplessis devait servir de représentant à Québec pour Marie Baillif, veuve, habitant la paroisse Saint-Eustache, pour Ivan Baillif, «architecte Expert Juré Bourgeois de Paris», de la paroisse Saint-Roch, pour André-Baptiste Baillif «Juré Roulleur [*sic*]» de la paroisse de Saint-Eustache, pour François Baillif, marchand de la même paroisse, et pour René Baillif, dont la condition n'est pas spécifiée. Le document mentionne, en outre, les noms de Claude Petit «bourgeois de paris», habitant la paroisse de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, de Jacques Petit «aussy bourgeois de paris», de la paroisse de Saint-Eustache, et de Louis Petit, «marchand bourgeois de paris» dont la paroisse n'est pas indiquée, tous trois représentant leur mère Jeanne Baillif.

Parmi ses frères et soeurs, remarquons plus particulièrement Ivan Baillif, dont le titre «d'architecte expert-juré-bourgeois» demande quelques explications. Ce titre réfère aux experts-jurés créés en mai 1690 pour remplacer les offices de juré-maçon et de juré-charpentier à Paris. Sur les cinquante nouveaux offices d'experts-jurés, la moitié était attribuée à des maîtres-artisans et l'autre moitié réservée à des architectes-bourgeois[18]. Le rôle principal de ces experts-jurés parisiens était de surveiller les métiers de la construction et de procéder à l'arbitrage des conflits qui survenaient. Le titre donné à Ivan Baillif en 1699 correspond ainsi aux représentants de la bourgeoisie dans l'institution des experts-jurés. Son statut d'architecte-bourgeois, par ailleurs, n'implique pas qu'il possédait une maîtrise. Un architecte-bourgeois était vraisemblablement un entrepreneur avec une certaine éducation, capable de diriger des ouvriers et de fournir des dessins à ses clients[19]. La plupart du temps, il avait une formation en maçonnerie, mais il n'était pas membre de la corporation, dont l'accès était très limité [20].

Ce portrait familial demeure sommaire, mais il aide à comprendre la situation de Baillif avant son départ de Paris, et permet de spéculer sur ses projets canadiens. En comparant son statut social à celui de ses frères Ivan, André-Baptiste, François et René, il semble que Claude n'ait pas été le plus favorisé par les ressources familiales. En tant qu'architecte-bourgeois, la condition d'Ivan n'était pas nécessairement différente de celle de Claude, mais son accession à l'office d'expert-juré-bourgeois laisse supposer qu'il était plus en vue. André-Baptiste avait aussi un office de juré et François, en tant que marchand, bénéficiait d'une condition de petit-bourgeois assez stable. Seul René peut avoir eu moins de chance que Claude. La famille Baillif se trouvait vraisemblablement à une étape critique de son ascension sociale, à cheval sur les conditions d'artisan et de petit-bourgeois. Dans ce contexte, le fils aîné bénéficiait généralement du commerce familial et les autres devaient souvent exercer un métier artisanal[21]. Le sort de Claude semble donc correspondre à celui d'un fils puîné n'ayant pas profité des meilleures ressources d'une famille de ce type.

S'il faut mettre en question l'idée que Baillif détenait une maîtrise, il n'y a pas lieu de douter qu'il ait suivi un apprentissage en maçonnerie en plus de re-

cevoir une éducation qui lui permettait d'accéder à la littérature spécialisée de l'architecture. Si Baillif avait été maître-maçon, il serait vraisemblablement demeuré à Paris. On peut comparer sa situation à celle, mieux connue, des ouvriers amenés au Canada, en 1688, par l'évêque Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier. Cette année-là, M^gr^ de Saint-Vallier engageait quelques maçons et charpentiers parisiens, en plus de l'architecte Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, dans le but de mettre en oeuvre un certain nombre de travaux projetés lors d'une première visite au Canada. Le contrat de Baillif, en 1675, se rapproche de celui des ouvriers de M^gr^ de Saint-Vallier plutôt que de celui de son architecte. La Rivière devait «conduire durant trois années» les ouvrages commandés par le nouvel évêque en échange d'un salaire annuel de 1200 livres[22]. Bien que ce salaire devait aussi couvrir les frais du neveu de l'architecte, il est nettement supérieur aux 180 livres de Baillif. Par contre, chacun des quatre «compagnons charpentiers» gagnait un salaire annuel de 150 livres[23]. Ce dernier montant correspond bien au niveau de ce qui avait été accordé à Baillif en 1675. Il faut donc conclure que Baillif a été engagé en tant que compagnon, ce qui ne l'empêchait pas d'utiliser le titre d'architecte, puisque son emploi n'était pas réglementé. Si Baillif a accepté ce type d'engagement, c'est probablement dans l'espoir de se faire valoir avec plus de facilité que dans la capitale européenne, où le marché de la construction était passablement saturé.

L'architecte-entrepreneur

Dans son *Dictionnaire universel* (1690), Antoine Furetière donne deux définitions pour le mot *architecte*. D'abord, l'architecte est «Celuy qui donne les plans & les desseins d'un bastiment, qui en conduit l'ouvrage, & qui commande aux Maçons & aux autres ouvriers quy y travaillent sous luy[24]». Il s'agit clairement de l'architecte tel que défini dans les traités d'architecture depuis la Renaissance, c'est-à-dire l'artiste qui conçoit et fait les plans de bâtiments prestigieux pour l'élite de la société. Cette définition comprend l'architecte académicien, qui n'a pas le droit d'agir comme entrepreneur. Par ailleurs, le mot *architecte* «Se dit aussi d'un Entrepreneur de bastiment à forfait, & qui les doits rendre parfaits, & la clef à la main[25]». Ici, l'architecte est avant tout un entrepreneur de bâtiments, c'est-à-dire le chef d'une entreprise de construction. Furetière ajoute aussi le trait caractéristique du contrat à forfait, c'est-à-dire du contrat accompagné d'un prix global couvrant l'ensemble des ouvrages nécessaires à la réalisation d'un bâtiment. C'est ce que D'Aviler nomme le «marché la clef à la main[26]». Ce qui distingue ici l'architecte du maître-maçon ou du maître-charpentier, c'est qu'il est responsable de l'ensemble du bâtiment, incluant la maçonnerie, la charpenterie, la menuiserie, la couverture et la ferronnerie. L'architecte-entrepreneur prend donc des contrats à forfait et engage des ouvriers de métiers variés pour réaliser les différentes parties de l'ouvrage[27]. Cela correspond tout à fait à la pra-

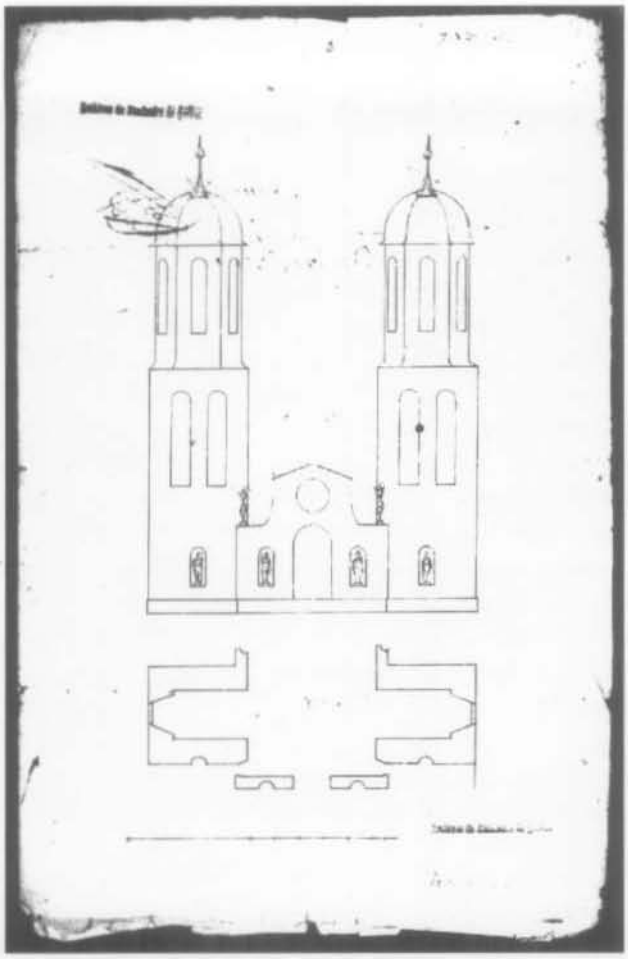

fig.2 Claude Baillif, **Projet d'agrandissement de la cathédrale Notre-Dame-de-Québec**, 1683, A.S.Q., Tiroir 213, n° 31. (Photo: S.R.P., Université Laval)

tique que Baillif a développée à Québec.

De 1677 à 1699, Baillif a travaillé pour l'ensemble de la population de Québec, autant pour l'Église et l'État que pour les marchands et les artisans, mais le rôle qu'il pouvait jouer dans l'exécution des travaux variait considérablement selon le type de client. Son rôle le plus étendu concernait la bourgeoisie, pour qui il pouvait soit exécuter de simples travaux de maçonnerie, soit réaliser la maçonnerie d'un bâtiment en participant à sa conception, soit prendre en charge un contrat à forfait. Face au clergé, son rôle se limitait aux deux premières possibilités, et lorsqu'il travaillait pour l'État, il ne faisait qu'exécuter des travaux de maçonnerie conçus par d'autres[28].

Les simples travaux de maçonnerie étaient payés soit à la toise, soit selon un prix total fixé dès la signature du marché. Dans le premier cas, il s'agissait généralement d'ouvrages toisés «tant plein que vide» tel que requis par la Coutu-

me de Paris[29]. Le prix de la toise était généralement fixé à vingt-quatre livres pour les murs dont l'épaisseur se situait entre deux pieds et deux pieds et demi au niveau du sol. Les cas où le prix était plus élevé concernaient généralement des murs plus épais. Par exemple, Baillif a demandé trente livres la toise pour construire un mur sur le terrain de Gabriel Gosselin, en 1683, mais ce mur avait quatre pieds d'épaisseur à la base[30] et a été décrit ailleurs comme «le gros mur que le Sieur Gosselin a faict faire le long du fleuve sur la pointe aux roches[31]».

Dans le cas des ouvrages de fortifications, l'unité de mesure employée pouvait aussi être la toise cube, comme ce fut le cas lors de la construction de la redoute du Cap-aux-Diamants en 1693, dont les plans et devis avaient été réalisés par l'ingénieur Josué Dubois Berthelot de Beaucours[32].

Lorsqu'un contrat donne un prix fixe au lieu d'un tarif à la toise, c'est généralement pour éviter des calculs compliqués. C'est de cette façon qu'on peut expliquer le changement dans le mode de paiement d'un contrat de 1687, annulé et refait le lendemain. Le 28 juillet, Baillif acceptait un premier contrat dont le tarif était de vingt-quatre livres et dix sols pour deux toises et demie de hourdis dans une structure en colombage[33]. Mais le jour suivant, le client a fait refaire le contrat en entier, pour y ajouter la construction d'un soubassement de maçonnerie et fixer le prix total des ouvrages à six cent livres[34]. Au lieu d'avoir deux tarifs et ainsi évaluer les ouvrages séparément, le client et l'entrepreneur se sont entendus sur un prix global.

Les travaux de maçonnerie où Baillif était impliqué dans l'activité de conception, s'insèrent généralement dans une procédure où le client octroyait un contrat particulier pour chaque métier. Dans ce type de procédure, Baillif était généralement l'entrepreneur le plus important sur le chantier et les autres devaient s'accommoder de sa façon de faire. Il n'y a pas de contrats de ce type entre Baillif et l'État puisque celui-ci faisait toujours exécuter des travaux conçus par les ingénieurs militaires. L'ouvrage le plus connu réalisé de cette façon est l'agrandissement de la cathédrale Notre-Dame-de-Québec, dont le contrat a été signé en décembre 1683. Selon ce contrat, Baillif devait réaliser la maçonnerie d'un projet dont il avait lui-même préparé le dessin (fig.2), et devait fournir «tous les matériaux et ouvriers et généralement tout ce qu'il faut pour la construction des dits ouvrages[35]». En échange, il devait recevoir des paiements totalisant la somme de neuf mille livres.

Par l'ampleur de l'ouvrage, ce dernier contrat demeure exceptionnel dans la carrière de l'architecte. Il s'écarte aussi des clauses typiques des contrats de cette catégorie, notamment par le prix fixe. En effet, lorsque Baillif est engagé pour construire la maçonnerie d'une maison bourgeoise, il est généralement payé à la toise. C'est le cas pour la maison du marchand Lambert Dumont, par exemple, où Baillif a reçu le taux habituel de vingt-quatre livres par toise. Le contrat décrit l'ouvrage assez précisément et mentionne aussi l'existence d'un plan:

> [...]a laquelle muraille de devant y aura quatorze ouvertures scavoir sept à l'estage d'en bas et sept autres à celui d'en haut, et pour les portes et fenêtres, conformément au plan que le dit entrepreneur en a fait, signé des deux parties[36].

Le plan en question n'a pas été retrouvé, mais le texte est clair sur le fait que Baillif en est l'auteur. Cependant, comme nous le verrons plus loin, ceci ne veut pas dire que Baillif était la seule personne responsable de la conception du bâtiment. Le même mode de paiement se retrouve dans la majorité des contrats de ce type. Ainsi, dans un contrat de novembre 1682 pour la construction d'une autre maison à la basse ville, Baillif s'est vu promettre trente livres par toise de maçonnerie[37]. Ce prix élevé visait probablement à compenser pour le four et les foyers, dont il n'a pas été tenu compte dans le toisé[38].

Ce dernier contrat et quelques autres de la même année ont fait l'objet d'une association entre Baillif et les maçons Jean Le Rouge et Jean Poliquin. Dans cette association, l'importance de Baillif était clairement reconnue, car les paiements devaient être partagés également entre les associés «à l'exclusion de deux cent livres qu'ils conviennent et desclarent estre d'accord que le dit Bailly emportera sur tous leurs dits travaux[39]». Comme il était le seul à se dire architecte parmi les trois, ce supplément de deux cent livres devait sans doute compenser les responsabilités additionnelles, dont la préparation de plans lorsque nécessaire.

Les contrats à forfait, que Baillif a toujours obtenus chez les bourgeois, sont légèrement plus nombreux que les précédents et ont un caractère assez différent. Précisons d'abord qu'à Paris, ce type de contrat, interdit à plusieurs reprises, dominait néanmoins le marché de la construction au début du XVIII[e] siècle[40]. C'est une pratique qui allait à l'encontre de l'autonomie des différents corps de métiers puisqu'une seule personne prenait en charge plusieurs types d'ouvrages. Les contrats de ce type n'incluaient pas nécessairement tous les ouvrages requis pour compléter un bâtiment, mais ils débordaient toujours le champ de la maçonnerie. Le texte de ces contrats contient généralement l'expression, mentionnée par Furetière, selon laquelle l'entrepreneur s'engageait à rendre le bâtiment «la clef à la main». Le prix était toujours un montant global couvrant l'ensemble des travaux mentionnés.

Louis Jolliet a utilisé ce type de contrat lorsqu'il a engagé Baillif pour la construction d'une maison en 1683[41]. Baillif devait s'occuper de la maçonnerie, de la charpenterie, de la menuiserie et de la ferronnerie, et il «s'oblige de livrer la clef [...] à la main du dit Jolliet» en août 1685, en échange de quoi il devait recevoir la somme de 4 750 livres[42]. Baillif exécutait généralement la maçonnerie avec ses propres employés et donnait les autres ouvrages à des sous-contractants. Pour la maison de Louis Jolliet, nous avons pu retrouver les sous-contrats concernant le nettoyage du site[43], la charpente[44] et la menuiserie[45].

Le contrat pour la maison Jolliet montre aussi que Baillif, identifié comme architecte, n'était pas le seul responsable de la conception du bâtiment. Le texte du devis est assez intéressant à ce point de vue, puisqu'il a été rédigé conjointement par le client et son architecte. Le texte commence ainsi: «Nous soussignez Louis Jolliet bourgeois de cette ville et glaude [sic] Baillif architecte, declarons avoir fait ensemble le devis de la maçonnerie qui s'ensuit[46]». La suite est à la première personne du singulier et se réfère à l'architecte: «Sçavoir moy glaude Baillif ie promets et moblige de faire la maçonnerie d'une maison [...][47].» Pourtant, un peu plus loin, c'est Jolliet qui parle: «tous les chassis seront a vitres et de la grandeur que ie diray et signeray avant que de partir pour mingan[48]». Ce dernier passage montre bien les directives assez précises qu'un client pouvait donner à son architecte à l'époque. La conception de cette maison doit donc être attribuée à Jolliet autant qu'à Baillif. Cette conclusion est supportée par un autre contrat du même type où il est dit que Baillif et son client, le bourgeois Vital Caron, «dresseront incessamment un plan ensemble ainsy qu'ils en sont convenus[49]».

Ces quelques exemples de contrats de types variés montrent bien que Baillif n'était pas un architecte au sens moderne. D'abord, les bâtiments pour lesquels il a produit des dessins ne peuvent lui être attribués sans nuances. En effet, à cette époque, la conception d'un bâtiment était généralement le fruit d'une collaboration serrée entre client et architecte, même lorsqu'il s'agissait d'architecture savante, et cette particularité se retrouve dans la pratique de Baillif. Ensuite, Baillif était un entrepreneur qui exécutait des travaux de maçonnerie et qui acceptait aussi des contrats à forfait. L'ensemble de ces activités correspond à un certain usage du mot architecte, à l'époque, mais il est important de ne pas confondre la pratique en question avec celle de l'architecte moderne, où le travail de conception est le trait essentiel. Tout ceci demeure assez schématique, mais nous pouvons maintenant examiner de plus près quelques événements importants qui ont marqué la carrière de Baillif.

Projets et ambitions

Les titres attribués à Baillif dans les documents d'archives sont passablement variés et il est difficile de déceler une évolution dans leur usage. En plus du titre d'architecte, on retrouve plusieurs appellations composites, telles que «architecte entrepreneur d'ouvrages de maçonnerie», «architecte entrepreneur de bastimens» et «architecte bourgeois». Le seul changement notable est que, avant 1687, le simple titre d'architecte était nettement plus utilisé et qu'à partir de cette date, la fréquence des appellations composites augmente considérablement. Plus précisément, de 1679 à 1686, un marché de construction sur dix utilise une appellation composite alors que de 1687 à 1698, la moitié des marchés font de même. L'appellation d'architecte-bourgeois, quant à elle, se re-

trouve en 1699 dans l'inventaire après décès, comme pour couronner une carrière soutenue[50]. Assez courante à Paris à la même époque[51], cette appellation était avant tout un signe de prestige pour des architectes-entrepreneurs qui voulaient se démarquer de la condition d'artisan.

Le changement d'appellation qui se produit en 1687 peut être attribué à l'arrivée d'Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, un compétiteur qui a enlevé à Baillif la direction du chantier de la cathédrale. De prime abord, cette hypothèse peut sembler invraisemblable, car La Rivière n'est arrivé dans la colonie qu'au printemps 1688. Cependant, il faut se rappeler que Mgr de Saint-Vallier avait déjà visité Québec en 1685-1686 et qu'il avait fait, à ce moment, des observations concernant la pauvreté de l'architecture religieuse de son futur diocèse. Au sujet de Notre-Dame-de-Québec, il avait écrit que:

> La même Eglise sert de cathédrale et de Paroisse; le bâtiment n'en est pas encore achevé, et le Roy donne chaque année une gratification pour consommer peu à peu l'ouvrage qu'on a commencé [52].

Mgr de Saint-Vallier prévoyait donc, dès cette époque, intervenir dans un certain nombre de chantiers, dont celui de la cathédrale. Il est ainsi possible que le bruit de l'arrivée d'un autre architecte ait commencé à courir dans la petite ville en 1686.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'arrivée de La Rivière n'était pas un événement du genre à réjouir Baillif et nous nous pencherons brièvement sur les relations entre ces deux architectes. En tant qu'architecte de l'évêque, La Rivière avait la meilleure position auprès des autorités religieuses, au moins pendant la durée de son engagement. Dans ce contexte, nous croyons qu'il faut réviser l'attribution de l'église de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré à Baillif [53]. Il est vrai que les archives paroissiales de Sainte-Anne identifient Baillif comme architecte en 1689[54], mais il faut aussi examiner le marché de construction passé à Québec. Ce marché, signé le 17 décembre 1688 par Baillif et Mgr de Saint-Vallier, mentionne que les ouvertures devaient être:

> [...]taillez au ciseau de la largeur hauteur et en la forme marquez par les plans profils et élévations qui luy ont esté presentement mis en mains dont l'original est signé du dit Seigneur evesque et du dit entrepreneur[55].

Les «plans, profils et élévations» mentionnés ici pourraient être attribués à Baillif, mais deux ébauches du même contrat suggèrent plutôt qu'ils ont été faits par La Rivière. Dans la première ébauche, Baillif et La Rivière sont tous deux identifiés comme architectes, mais c'est La Rivière qui engageait Baillif au nom de l'évêque. En outre, c'est La Rivière qui avait fait les plans:

> Les ouvertures des portes et fenestres seront faites et placées aux lieux et endroits portés par le dessin qui en a esté fait par le dit sieur Bernard, signé du dit Seigneur Evesque et du dit entrepreneur[56].

La deuxième ébauche présente une version complète du même contrat,

mais elle n'a pas été ratifiée par l'évêque. Ici, Baillif est identifié comme «architecte entrepreneur de bastiment» alors que La Rivière est toujours présenté comme l'architecte de Mgr de Saint-Vallier. Cette précision au sujet de Baillif semble avoir été introduite pour bien marquer la différence entre les deux «architectes.» En ce qui concerne les dessins, le texte est semblable à celui de la première ébauche, mais précise qu'il s'agit de «plan, profil et élévations qui en ont été faits par le d. S[r] de la rivière[57]».

Le contrat finalement ratifié ne diffère pas de la dernière ébauche au point de vue du contenu, mais plutôt par le fait que M[gr] de Saint-Vallier est venu signer en personne. La seule différence est donc que le nom de La Rivière a été effacé du contrat, comme si l'architecte s'était trop mis en évidence dans les ébauches. Selon nous, il n'y a pas de doute que les «plans, profils et élévations» du dernier contrat soient les mêmes dessins que ceux mentionnés dans les ébauches, puisque la révision du texte n'a pas affecté le contenu de l'entente.

Dans le cas de l'église Notre-Dame-des-Victoires à Québec, une conclusion semblable s'impose. Baillif a probablement dessiné le «plan qui lui a esté mis en mains» en décembre 1687, lors de la signature du contrat de maçonnerie[58], mais les travaux n'ont vraisemblablement pas commencé avant le printemps suivant, comme cela se faisait normalement dans la colonie. À partir de cette date, La Rivière a pu intervenir n'importe quand. Rien ne prouve son intervention sur la maçonnerie, mais, lorsque les charpentiers Caillet et Ménage ont été engagés en novembre 1688, ceux-ci devaient exécuter «le tout conformement aux plans profils et elevations que le sieur de la Rivière architecte a fait des dits ouvrages[59]». Baillif ne peut donc être retenu comme le seul architecte de cette église.

Pendant les années 1690, il semble que Baillif et La Rivière se soient partagé la clientèle de la ville. Alors que Baillif continuait à travailler principalement pour les marchands et les artisans, La Rivière a obtenu les contrats pour la chapelle du Séminaire et pour le fort Saint-Louis. Il est assez remarquable que La Rivière ait accepté très peu de marchés de la part de la bourgeoisie et qu'il ait plutôt pratiqué l'arpentage lorsque les gros contrats se faisaient rares[60]. Par contre, c'est Baillif qui a obtenu, en 1693, le contrat pour le palais épiscopal de M[gr] de Saint-Vallier, selon lequel il devait exécuter:

> [...]tous les ouvrages de maconnerie qui sont à faire pour le nouveau pallais épiscopal de cette dite ville: suivant et conformement aux plans et élévations qu'en a fait en desseins le dit entrepreneur au nombre de trois[61].

La raison pour laquelle M[gr] de Saint-Vallier a préféré Baillif, en 1693, n'est pas évidente, mais elle peut être reliée au fait que La Rivière était trop occupé à cette date. Une mésentente entre l'évêque et son premier architecte est aussi possible, compte tenu de la façon dont a évolué le texte du contrat pour l'église de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré. Par ailleurs, le contrat du palais épiscopal ne laisse

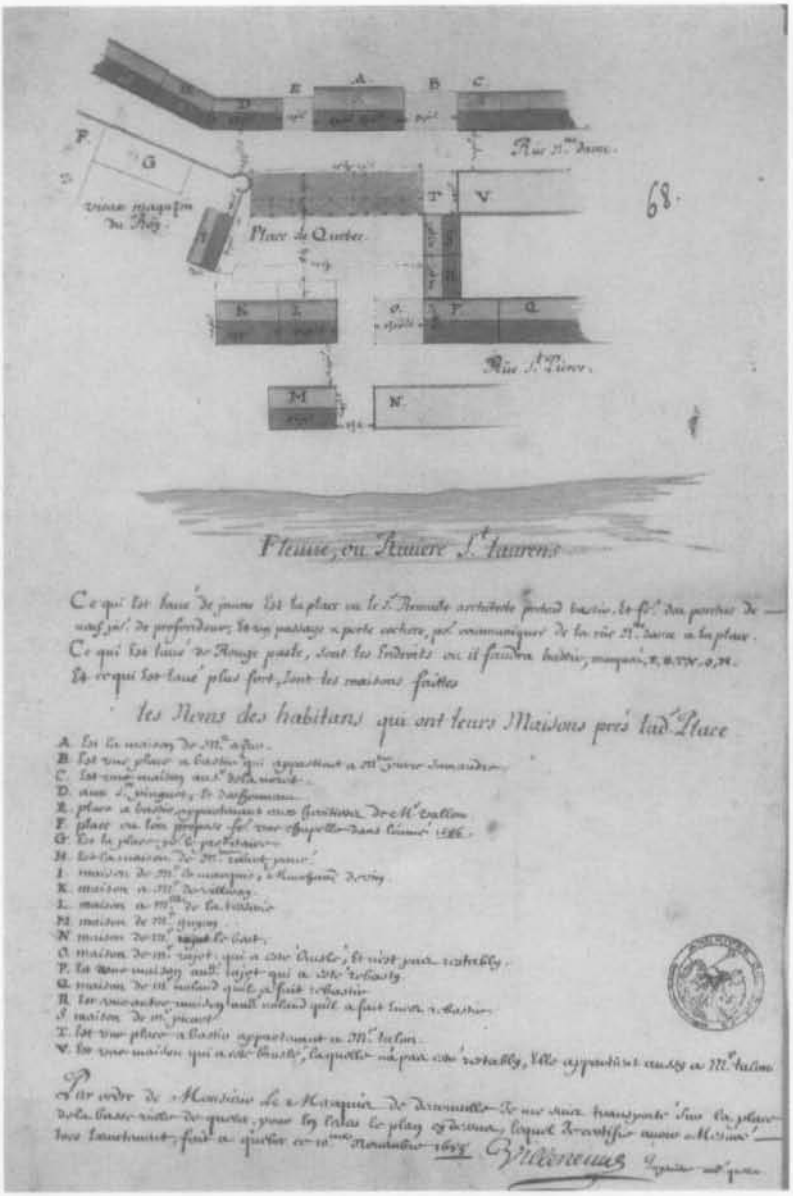

fig.3 Robert de Villeneuve, **Projet de Claude Baillif pour la place du marché de la basse-ville de Québec**, 1685, A.N., Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Aix-en-Provence. (Photo: I.B.C., C 77.167(45)

aucun doute sur l'attribution des plans à Baillif. Ces «plans et élévations» étaient probablement du même type que ceux produits pour la cathédrale dix ans plus tôt, puisqu'ils comprenaient aussi plusieurs figures. En outre, les termes de «plans et élévations» rappellent les «plans, profils et élévations» de La Rivière de même que ceux des ingénieurs militaires. Cette similarité terminologique suggère un degré comparable de soin dans la présentation. L'arrivée de La Rivière en 1688 a donc nui à Baillif pendant quelques années, mais celui-ci a pu retrouver assez rapidement la confiance des autorités religieuses.

Un autre projet, de nature assez particulière, doit être mentionné ici afin de donner une idée complète de l'étendue des activités de Baillif. Le 17 janvier 1685, le gouverneur De La Barre et l'intendant De Meulles attribuaient à Baillif un terrain important situé sur la place du marché de la basse-ville[62]. Cette concession est à l'origine d'un projet de transformation radicale de cette place publique. Un plan de l'ingénieur militaire Robert de Villeneuve présente le projet conçu par Baillif (fig. 3). On y voit la «Place de Québec» entourée par les maisons des marchands, par la ruine du «Vieux magazin du Roy» et par un nouveau bâtiment du côté de la rue Notre-Dame. Le nouveau bâtiment occupe tout le site concédé à Baillif, depuis le vieux magasin jusqu'au terrain de «Monsieur Talon» de l'autre côté. Le bâtiment, situé entre la rue Notre-Dame et la place, ferme complètement l'espace de ce côté. La seule voie de communication entre les deux est un passage voûté situé en face de la petite rue qui ouvre la place vers le fleuve. Le nouveau bâtiment apporte ainsi une géométrie plus claire et plus régulière à cette place publique. Ce bâtiment comprend en outre un portique sur toute sa longueur du côté de la place.

La nouvelle place régularisée, le passage voûté et le portique sont les éléments que Villeneuve met en évidence dans son rapport destiné au Ministre: «Ce qui est lavé de jaune Est la place ou le Sieur Renault architecte pretend bastir, Et faire des porches de neuf pieds de profondeur, Et un passage a porte cochere, pour communiquer de la rüe Notre dame a la place (fig.3).» Dans cette perspective, la nouvelle place partage un certain nombre de traits avec la Place Royale à Paris, qui en est probablement le modèle (fig.4). En effet, les deux places ont un caractère fermé avec un accès plutôt restreint. Les deux utilisent le passage voûté comme voie d'accès ainsi que le portique au rez-de-chaussée des bâtiments. Le portique de Baillif semble d'ailleurs se poursuivre dans des structures en bois placées devant les maisons existantes.

Par contraste, un mémoire de Denonville, le nouveau gouverneur de la colonie depuis août 1686, prend le point de vue opposé à celui de Villeneuve en attirant l'attention sur le bâtiment lui-même, comme on peut le voir dans son titre:

> Memoyre pour les bourgeois habitant de la basse-ville de Québec opozans au bastimens que Regnauld dit Bailly maistre masson et entrepreneur a voulu bastir sur la place publique de la dite basse-ville pour estre envoyé à

fig.4 **La Place Royale à Paris** d'après Perelle.
(source: M. Dennis, *Court & Garden*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1986)

Monseigneur le Marquis de Seignelay[63].

Ce mémoire présente une série de documents préparés par les marchands de la basse-ville en opposition au projet. Denonville supporte le point de vue des marchands, en insistant sur le fait que le terrain concédé à Baillif appartenait déjà à l'espace public et ne pouvait donc pas être cédé à un particulier. Denonville cherche aussi à diminuer le prestige de Baillif en le présentant comme «maistre masson et entrepreneur» alors que Villeneuve avait choisi le terme d'architecte. Denonville a donc subtilement pris le parti des marchands, alors que Villeneuve défendait le projet qu'il a peut-être aidé à concevoir[64].

Malgré l'opposition des marchands et le mémoire défavorable du gouverneur, le roi a voulu supporter le projet «considérant la protection qu'on doit donner à ceux qui veulent faire des maisons[65]». Le roi a été plus influencé par la présentation de l'ingénieur, comme on peut le constater dans le texte d'un brevet destiné à Baillif:

> Aujourd'huy dernier may 1686, le Roy estant a Versailles s'estant fait representer la concession faite au nommé Bailly architecte de la ville de Quebec par les Sieurs de la Barre et de Meules cy devant Gouverneur et Intendant de son pays de la nouvelle france d'une place size dans la basse ville du dit Quebec [...] Et voulant traiter favorablement le dit Bailly Sa Majesté a confirmé la dite concession et en conséquence a accordé et fait don au dit

Bailly de la dite place pour en jouir par luy ses hoirs et ayant cause plenement et paisiblement[66].

Ce brevet a été cependant remis à Jean Bochart de Champigny, le nouvel intendant envoyé au Canada en 1686, qui devait réévaluer la situation avec Denonville et disposer du brevet comme bon lui semblerait. Le brevet royal n'a vraisemblablement jamais été remis à Baillif, puisque le projet en question n'a pas été réalisé. Paradoxalement, ce sont Denonville et Champigny qui ont créé une Place Royale à Québec en installant un buste du roi sur le site qui avait été attribué à Baillif (fig.5)[67].

Les circonstances du décès de Baillif sont le dernier point que nous exami-

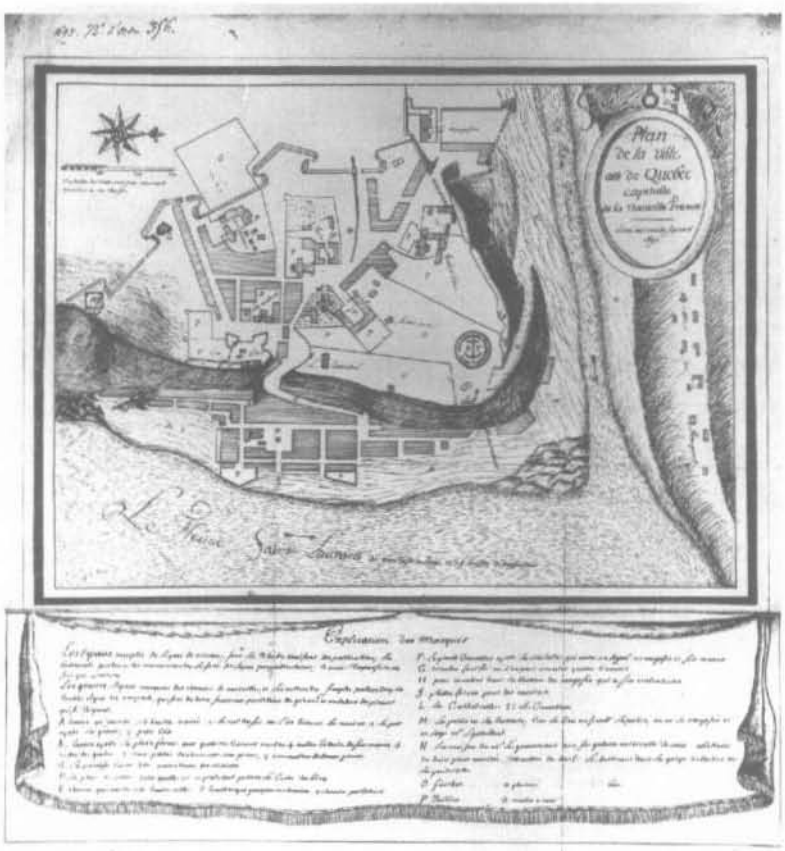

fig.5 **Anonyme, Plan de la ville de Quebec capitalle de la Nouvelle France**, 1693. L'emplacement du buste de Louis XIV est indiqué par la lettre D, A.N., Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Aix-en-Provence. (Photo: A.N.Q., Cartothèque, n° GH 571-34)

nerons. Selon l'inventaire de 1699, il serait mort en mer «devant l'Isle de Saint-Martin en l'Amérique dans le cours du voyage pour lequel Il estoit party l'an dernier au mois d'octobre de ce pays, pour passer en France[68]». L'architecte a donc quitté Québec à l'automne 1698 pour se rendre en France. Il est décédé sur un bateau qui est arrivé à La Rochelle en mars 1699. Baillif transportait avec lui un coffre contenant vêtements et outils en plus d'une lettre de change d'une valeur de deux mille livres[69]. La raison de ce voyage n'est mentionnée nulle part, mais on peut se rappeler que Baillif n'était jamais retourné en France depuis 1675. Ce voyage était peut-être prévu depuis un certain temps, car Baillif avait laissé le contrat pour la seconde partie du palais épiscopal à ses anciens apprentis Jean-Baptiste et Joseph Maillou[70]. Cependant, il avait encore un apprenti à sa charge[71] et, quelques mois auparavant, il avait fait vérifier l'alignement de son terrain sur la rue Sault-au-Matelot[72], comme s'il prévoyait reconstruire la vieille maison en colombage dans laquelle il habitait. En outre, sa femme Catherine était restée à Québec.

En comparant la carrière de Baillif à celles d'autres architectes de Québec, nous pouvons suggérer deux hypothèses pour tenter d'expliquer ce voyage. Dans le premier cas, une comparaison avec La Rivière permet de concevoir la possibilité d'un retour de Baillif à Québec. En effet, La Rivière avait perdu son épouse Marguerite Gillet dans des circonstances semblables à celles qui ont coûté la vie à Baillif. Marguerite était partie pour la France en 1693, mais elle est décédée lors du naufrage du navire sur lequel elle s'était embarquée, alors que son mari était demeuré à Québec. Cette fois, pourtant, nous connaissons la raison du voyage:

> [La Rivière] et sa dite femme s'estoient epuiser et avoient vendu tous leurs principaux meubles et autres effects pour faire une somme d'argent assez considérable pour faciliter le passage de sa dite femme en france et pour luy fournir les moyens d'aporter en ce pays des marchandises à négotier pour leur ayder à subsister le reste de leurs vies auquel voyage elle a malheureusement pery[73].

La Rivière et son épouse avaient décidé que celle-ci irait en France acheter des marchandises qu'ils pourraient revendre au Canada. Cette tentative commerciale ne surprend pas tellement de la part La Rivière, qui avait plusieurs autres occupations à part de l'architecture, contrairement à Baillif. Mais l'activité de marchand était bien présente dans la famille de Baillif, et il a pu faire cette tentative pour parer aux oscillations du marché de la construction ou bien pour s'assurer un revenu après qu'il eut cessé ses activités d'entrepreneur. Dans les deux cas, le commerce aurait aussi contribué à assurer son appartenance à la bourgeoisie de la ville.

La deuxième possibilité apparaît en examinant la carrière de Jean-Baptiste Maillou (1668-1753), qui est généralement perçu comme le successeur immédiat de Baillif à Québec. Peter Moogk a démontré comment l'ascension sociale

de Maillou, visible par l'étude des contrats de mariage avec ses trois épouses successives, a toujours pris appui sur ses capacités et ses connaissances d'architecte[74]. Maillou a été un entrepreneur important pour la construction de maisons bourgeoises et pour les travaux de fortification. Son avis d'expert a été souvent demandé au sujet de questions concernant la construction et les biens immobiliers. En outre, il a reçu, en 1728, une commission d'adjoint au grand voyer dans la région de Québec, ce qui faisait de lui un petit officier royal et consacrait son appartenance à l'élite locale[75]. Comme il s'agit là d'un travail connexe à celui d'architecte, il est possible que Baillif ait voulu obtenir une charge semblable en France, charge qu'il aurait pu acheter avec la lettre de change qu'il transportait. Il aurait aussi eu la possibilité d'acheter une lettre de maîtrise, comme cela se faisait à l'époque pour éviter la voie traditionnelle de la réalisation d'un chef-d'oeuvre[76]. Cette dernière hypothèse, selon laquelle Baillif aurait eu l'intention de demeurer en France, s'accorde mieux à sa carrière canadienne, dont les activités sont limitées à l'architecture.

Les éléments dont nous venons de parler donnent une bonne idée des ambitions de Baillif et de ses difficultés à les réaliser. Si la bourgeoisie constituait sa clientèle la plus fidèle, il cherchait assidûment à obtenir des contrats plus importants. Il a même tenté de réaliser un projet de régularisation de la place publique de la basse-ville, ce qui démontre un appui important de la part des autorités. Pour La Rivière, il n'a pas été difficile d'enlever à Baillif les contrats les plus prestigieux, mais ce dernier a néanmoins réussi à maintenir une carrière productive, avec quelques contrats plus importants à l'occasion. La raison de son départ pour la France, en 1698, ne peut être déterminée de façon précise, mais la lettre de change qu'il possédait permet de spéculer sur les moyens qu'il avait d'améliorer son statut social.

Au terme de cet examen, Baillif nous apparaît comme un architecte-entrepreneur qui a cherché à reconquérir le statut de petit-bourgeois qu'il avait connu dans sa famille avant de partir pour le Canada. Sa carrière témoigne d'une ascension sociale assez remarquable, depuis la condition de compagnon artisan, lors de son engagement au Séminaire de Québec, jusqu'au statut d'architecte-bourgeois mentionné dans l'inventaire après décès. Cette ascension s'est produite à l'intérieur même de la pratique architecturale, contrairement à celle de son rival Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière. Sur la base d'une formation théorique et pratique reçue en France, Baillif s'est assuré une clientèle stable, en réalisant divers travaux de maçonnerie, en préparant les plans d'édifices religieux importants, et en construisant des maisons bourgeoises selon les termes du contrat à forfait. Sa carrière a quand même eu des hauts et des bas. L'arrivée de La Rivière à Québec, en 1688, lui a coûté la direction du chantier de la cathédrale et, par la suite, il a dû travailler sous sa supervision dans plusieurs projets. Baillif a aussi échoué dans un projet important pour la «Place de Québec», dans lequel il au-

rait joué un rôle équivalent à celui des entrepreneurs des grandes places parisiennes. L'année 1693 a cependant marqué un certain revirement de situation avec, en particulier, le contrat pour le palais épiscopal de M^gr^ de Saint-Vallier. Les ambitions de Baillif ne sont donc pas très différentes de celles de La Rivière ou, mieux, de celles de son apprenti Jean-Baptiste Maillou, qui a réalisé avec plus de succès les ambitions sociales de son maître.

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Notes

1 Jacques FOLCH-RIBAS, *La chair de pierre*, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1989.

2 Gérard MORISSET, «Un maître-maçon d'autrefois: Claude Baillif», *Mémoires de la société généalogique canadienne française*, juillet/août/septembre 1965, p.134.

3 *Ibid.*, p.135-136.

4 Alan GOWANS,«Baillif, Claude», *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, 1966, vol.1, p.76.

5 *Ibid.*, p.78.

6 Voir en particulier, A.J.H. RICHARDSON, *Quebec City: Architects, Artisans, and Builders*, National Museum of Man/Parks Canada Ottawa, 1983, p.89-93.

7 Gowans retient la Basse-Normandie parce que le nom «Baillif» y était fréquent (GOWANS, *op. cit.*, p.77); Morisset croit plutôt que Baillif est né à Paris (MORISSET, *op. cit.*, p.133).

8 Québec, Archives nationales du Québec [A.N.Q.], F. Genaple, 20 août 1699: *Inventaire des biens de Claude Baillif et Catherine Sainctar*, p.13.

9 Archives du Séminaire de Québec [A.S.Q.], *Grand Livre 1674-1683* (manuscrit C-2), p.225.

10 Par exemple, Marc Heuvelé, tailleur de pierre: 180 livres par an pour trois ans; Alexandre Til, tailleur de pierre: 180 livres par an pour 3 ans (*Ibid.*, p.193, 196).

11 Les maçons Louis Duplais et Silvain Duplais ont été engagés respectivement pour 100 et pour 75 livres par an pour trois ans (*Ibid.*, p.350, 353). Noël Baillargeon a étudié le même document pour l'ensemble des artisans et il situe aussi les tailleurs de pierre dans la partie supérieure de l'échelle des salaires (Noël BAILLARGEON, *Le Séminaire de Québec sous l'épiscopat de Monseigneur de Laval*, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, 1972, p.129).

12 A.N.Q., R. Becquet, 1er février 1679: contrat entre Claude Baillif, «architecque et ouvrier en plastre» et Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, «marchand bourgeois», pour réaliser le décor de deux cheminées et les moulures des plafonds en plus de crépir les murs d'une maison à la Pointe-aux-Lièvres.

13 A.N.Q., *Registres de la prévôté de Québec*, vol.10, fol.127 v., 26 novembre 1677.

14 Paris, Archives nationales [A.N.], Minutier central, Le Bois et Bonot, 22 décembre 1674: contrat de mariage entre Claude Baillif et Catherine Sainctar.

15 Cette hypothèse est celle retenue dans René JETTÉ, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec*, Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal, 1983, p.111.

16 A.N., Le Bois et Bonot, *op. cit.*

17 A.N.Q., en appendice à Genaple, 20 août 1699, *op. cit.*

18 J.J. LETRAIT, «La communauté des maîtres-maçons de Paris aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles», *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1945, p.229.

19 Seuls ceux qui étaient experts-jurés n'étaient pas autorisés à faire de l'entreprise. *Ibid.* Voir aussi: Géo MINVIELLE, *Histoire et condition juridique de la profession d'architecte*, Imprimerie de l'Université, Bordeaux, 1921, p.61.

20 Rarement plus de dix nouveaux maîtres-maçons étaient créés à Paris à chaque année. Voir LETRAIT, *op. cit.*, p.234-235.

21 Evelyne SAIVE-LEVER, «La mobilité sociale chez les artisans parisiens dans la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle», *XVII[e] siècle*, n°122, janvier-mars 1979, p.60.

22 A.N., Minutier central, Jean Carnot, 16 février 1688: contrat d'engagement entre Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, «architecte et entrepreneur», et Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier.

23 A.S.Q., Paroisse de Québec, n° 37, 14 février 1688: contrat d'engagement entre quatre «compagnons charpentiers» et Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier pour se rendre au Canada et «travailler de leur dit mestier de charpentier partout où il plaira à mon dit seigneur Evesque les employer».

24 Antoine FURETIERE, *Dictionnaire universel*, Arnout et Reiner, La Haye, 1690.

25 *Ibid.*

26 «Marché la clé à la main, celui par lequel un Entrepreneur s'oblige envers un Propriétaire pour une somme, de faire un Bâtiment, & fournit tout ce qui en dépend, comme (outre la Maçonnerie) la Charpenterie, Couverture, Menuiserie, Serrurerie, Vitrerie, Impression, Pavé, & transport des terres & décombres, suivant les Desseins et Devis arrestez entr'eux». Charles-Augustin D'AVILER, *Explication des termes d'architecture*, Nicolas Langlois, Paris, 1691, p.678.

27 Cet architecte-entrepreneur avait généralement une formation de maçon et de tailleur de pierre. Voir Maurice BOUVIER-AJAM, *Histoire du travail en France*, Librairie générale de jurisprudence, Paris, 1981, p.492; Jean-Pierre BABELON, *Demeures parisiennes sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, Le Temps, Paris, 1977, p.46.

28 Ces observations sont basées principalement sur les contrats conservés aux Archives nationales du Québec à Québec. Ces contrats sont inventoriés dans les ouvrages suivants: Doris DROLET-DUBÉ et Marthe LACOMBE, *Inventaire des marchés de construction des Archives nationales à Québec, XVII[e] et XVIII[e]* siècles, Parcs Canada/Ministère des approvisionnements et services du Canada, Ottawa, 1977 (Histoire et archéologie, 17); RICHARDSON, *op. cit.* ; Pierre-Georges ROY et al., *Inventaire des greffes de notaires du Régime français conservés aux Archives judiciaires,* Québec, Archives de la Province de Québec, 1943-1966, 27 vol.

29 François Blondel explique cette méthode ainsi: «Premièrement tous les murs, soit

de pierre de taille ou de moilon, se toisent toise pour toise, de quelques épaisseurs qu'ils soient, & l'on ne rabat aucun vuide pour les croisées».«Mémoire pour servir d'éclaircissement à certains articles de la Coûtume de Paris», dans Louis SAVOT, *L'Architecture françoise des bastimens particuliers*, La Veuve & C. Clouzier [*et al.*], Paris, 1685, p.383.

30 A.N.Q., P. Duquet, 1 février 1683: contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, et Gabriel Gosselin, bourgeois, pour la construction d'un mur de maçonnerie de soixante pieds de long à la basse-ville.

31 A.N.Q., P. Duquet, 22 septembre 1683: contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, et Gabriel Gosselin, bourgeois, pour la construction d'un mur imperméable en maçonnerie, qui doit rejoindre le mur réalisé antérieurement (voir note précédente).

32 Archives du monastère des ursulines de Québec, Papiers-constructions, 1648-1853, 28 février 1693: marché entre Claude Baillif, «architecte et entrepreneur de bastimens», d'une part, et Jean Bochart de Champigny, intendant et le comte de Frontenac, gouverneur, d'autre part, pour la construction d'une redoute sur le Cap-aux-Diamants, avec devis de Beaucours.

33 A.N.Q., G. Rageot, 28 juillet 1687: contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, et Pierre Lalande, «marchand bourgeois», pour hourder les murs en colombage d'une maison. Ce contrat a été annulé le 29 juillet 1687.

34 A.N.Q., G. Rageot, 29 juillet 1687: contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, et Pierre Lalande, «marchand bourgeois», pour la construction d'un soubassement en maçonnerie et pour hourder les murs en colombage d'une maison à la basse-ville.

35 A.S.Q., Paroisse de Québec, nº 48: P. Duquet, 7 décembre 1683, contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, d'une part et François de Laval, évêque, Henry de Bernières, grand vicaire et les marguilliers de la paroisse Notre-Dame d'autre part, pour l'agrandissement de la cathédrale.

36 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 27 décembre 1687: contrat entre Claude Baillif, «architecte entrepreneur de bastimens», et Eustache Lambert Dumont, «marchand bourgeois», pour la maçonnerie d'une maison sur la rue Notre-Dame.

37 A.N.Q., G. Rageot, 27 novembre 1682: contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, Jean Le Rouge et Jean Poliquin, maçons, d'une part, et Jean Jolly, boulanger, et Estienne Landeron, hôtelier, d'autre part, pour la construction d'une maison à la basse-ville.

38 Le contrat spécifie: «sans que rien du dit four n'entre au toisage» et «les foyers sus déclarés ne seront pas comptés au dit toisé», *Ibid.*

39 A.N.Q., G. Rageot, 14 septembre 1682: «Société Regnaud, Le Rouge, Poliquin». Cette association, qui devait durer jusqu'en novembre 1683, a été rompue neuf mois plus tard (voir A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 16 juin 1683: «Transaction pour la rupture de la société des sieurs Baillif et Le Rouge»).

40 MINVIELLE, *op. cit.*, p.68.

41 Chicago Historical Society [C.H.S.], 1er décembre 1683: contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, et Louis Jolliet, bourgeois, pour la construction d'une maison à la basse-ville; publié dans *Le Canada français*, vol. XXXII, nº 1 (septembre 1945), p. 70-72.

42 *Ibid.*

43 A.N.Q., G. Rageot, 1er août 1684: contrat entre Charles De Reinville, charretier, et Claude Baillif, architecte, pour démolir une maison et nettoyer un site appartenant à Louis Jolliet.

44 A.N.Q., G. Rageot, 17 décembre 1683: contrat entre Léonard Paillard et Robert Leclerc, charpentiers, d'une part, et Claude Baillif, architecte, d'autre part, pour la charpenterie de la maison de Louis Jolliet.

45 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 22 décembre 1683: contrat entre Vincent Bériau et Jean Adam, menuisiers, d'une part, et Claude Baillif, architecte, d'autre part, pour la menuiserie de la maison de Louis Jolliet.

46 C.H.S., 1er décembre 1683, *op. cit.*, p.70.

47 *Ibid.* p.70

48 *Ibid.* p.71. L'éditeur du texte affirme qu'il est écrit de la main de Louis Jolliet.

49 A.N.Q., L. Chambalon, 23 juillet 1696: contrat entre Claude Bailly, architecte, et Vital Caron, bourgeois, pour la construction d'un «commencement de maison» sur la rue Sault-au-Matelot.

50 A.N.Q., Genaple, 20 août 1699, *op. cit.*, p.1.

51 J.M. SAVIGNAT, *Dessin et architecture du moyen-âge au XVIII e siècle*, École des beaux-arts, Paris, 1983, p.112-115.

52 Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrières de SAINT-VALLIER, *Estat présent de l'Église et de la colonie française dans la Nouvelle France*, A. Côté, Québec, 1856 (réimpression de l'édition de 1688), p.5.

53 Voir Gowans, *op. cit.*, p.78; Morisset, *op. cit.*, p.136-137.

54 Monastère des rédemptoristes, Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, archives de la paroisse, *Livre de comptes 1*. La reconstruction de l'église s'est faite en deux temps: la nef, les transepts et le choeur de 1689 à 1693, et la façade de 1694 à 1697. Cependant, il peut s'agir d'un seul et même projet. On procède aussi par étapes à la cathédrale et à l'église Notre-Dame-des-Victoires.

55 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 17 décembre 1688: contrat entre Claude Baillif, «architecte entrepreneur de bastimens», et Mgr de Saint-Vallier pour la maçonnerie de l'église de Sainte-Anne.

56 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, [vers le 11 décembre 1688]: première ébauche d'un contrat entre Claude Baillif, architecte, et l'évêque de Québec représenté par Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, son architecte.

57 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, [vers le 11 décembre 1688]: deuxième ébauche d'un contrat entre Claude Baillif, «architecte entrepreneur de bastimens» et l'évêque de Québec représenté par Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, son architecte.

58 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 31 décembre 1687: contrat entre Claude Baillif, «architecte entrepreneur de bastimens» et les marguilliers de Notre-Dame-de-Québec, pour la maçonnerie d'une chapelle à la basse-ville.

59 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 18 novembre 1688: contrat entre Jean Caillet et Pierre Ménage, charpentiers, d'une part, et Mgr de Saint-Vallier, d'autre part, pour le comble et le clocher de l'église de la basse-ville ainsi que le clocher de la cathédrale.

60 Les périodes où La Rivière a peu de marchés de construction conservés correspondent à celles où ses rapports d'arpentage sont nombreux. Voir Antoine ROY, «Répertoire de Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière: Arpentage», *Inventaire des greffes de notaires, op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p.252-274, ainsi que DROLET-DUBÉ, *op. cit.*

61 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 10 janvier 1693: contrat entre Claude Baillif «architecte en-

trepreneur de bâtimens» et M^gr de Saint-Vallier pour la maçonnerie de son palais à Québec.

62 A.N., Colonies, série C-11-A, vol. 7, fol. 241v., Concession mentionnée dans Jacques-René Brisay de Denonville, [mémoire sur le projet de Baillif pour la place de la basse-ville].

63 Denonville, *op. cit.*, fol. 241v.

64 L'histoire de la Place royale sous le régime français doit être vue à travers une longue série de conflits entre la bourgeoisie, le pouvoir royal, et le pouvoir religieux. Notons, par exemple, que le dessin de Villeneuve situe le projet d'église succursale à l'écart de la place, sur la rue Notre-Dame. Nous ne pouvons pas développer ici cette question qui déborde largement notre sujet, mais nous y reviendrons dans un autre article. D'ici là, on pourra consulter: M. GRIGNON, *«Loing du Soleil», Architectural Practice in Quebec City during the French Regime*, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., Dept. of Architecture, Ph. D. dissertation.

65 A.N., Colonies, série B, vol. 12, fol. 39v, «Mémoire du Roi à M. de Champigny», 1686.

66 A.N., Colonies, série B, vol. 12, fol. 24r, «Brevet pour confirmer la concession d'une place faite au nommé Bailly a Quebek par les sieurs de la Barre et de Meulles», 31 mai 1686.

67 Pierre-Georges ROY, «Le buste de Louis XIV à Québec», *La ville de Québec sous le régime français*, Redempti Paradis, Québec, 1930, vol. 1, p.469; W.J. ECCLES, «Bochart de Champigny», *Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada*, Les presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, 1969, vol. II, p.211. Remarquons que les intendants français avaient été explicitement incités à créer des places royales dans leur localité. Les projets de places royales pour des villes françaises sont nombreux en 1685 et 1686 (Cf. J.M. PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, *Histoire de l'architecture française*, Mengès, Paris, 1989, p.255).

68 A.N.Q., Genaple, 20 août 1699, *op. cit.*, p.1-2.

69 *Ibid.*, p.17.

70 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 26 octobre 1697: contrat entre Joseph Maillou, «maçon entrepreneur de bâtimens», et M^gr de Saint-Vallier pour la maçonnerie d'une aile du palais épiscopal.

71 A.N.Q., F. Genaple, 18 novembre 1696: contrat d'apprentissage de François Dolbec avec Claude Baillif, «architecte entrepreneur de bâtiment», pour une durée de quatre ans.

72 A.N.Q., Genaple, 20 août 1699, *op. cit.*, p.22.

73 A.N.Q., L. Chambalon, 2 novembre 1694: inventaire des biens de Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière.

74 Peter N. MOOGK, «Rank in New France: Reconstructing a Society from Notarial Documents», *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, vol. VIII, n° 15, mai 1975, p.46.

75 P.G. ROY, *Inventaire des procès verbaux des grands voyers conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec*, L'Éclaireur, Beauceville, 1923, vol. 1, p.44.

76 LETRAIT, *op. cit.*, p.245-246.

Résumé

THE ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE OF CLAUDE BAILLIF

The seventeenth-century builder Claude Baillif is an important figure in the history of architecture in New France, but his practice has not been clearly understood until today. For example, he is often called an architect without further qualification, and this simplification obscures his actual role in the production of buildings. This paper focuses on this role and examines Baillif's formation, his involvement in a series of contracts with various clients, and the changing fortunes of his career.

Archival documents can provide clues that shed light on Baillif's training and early life. Both his wedding contract (Paris, 1674) and the inventory of his goods after his death (Québec, 1699) suggest that his family was well established in the Parisian world of artisans and small merchants. In 1674, for example, his father is referred to as a "Bourgeois de Paris," while Claude himself is identified as "architecque de Paris." With the help of these and other elements, I establish that Claude's background is that of a younger son who was more likely to take up a trade than inherit his father's buisiness. He seems to have been an apprentice in Paris, and it is doubtful that he ever rose above the status of journeyman ("compagnon"). Journeymen constituted the main labour force in Paris at the time, while access to mastership was very much limited. Journeymen were also the type of craftsman most often hired by the Quebec Seminary, and Baillif was hired as such in 1675.

The contracts that Baillif was able to obtain in Canada after his release from his obligation to the Seminary varied according to three types of client. From the state, he received no more than masonry contracts by which he agreed to execute buildings planned by military engineers. From the church, he obtained similar masonry contracts, but he also participated in the conception of several projects, as the Quebec cathedral. But it was among the bourgeoisie that Baillif found most of his clients. In addition to the previous types of contracts, he also obtained global contracts, which put him in charge of the entire building process. He then had to give subcontracts to other craftsmen, such as carpenters and joiners. This way of proceeding corresponds to that of the contemporary Parisian "architectes-entrepreneurs," a title that Baillif often used himself.

Baillif's career was generally successful, although he did suffer reversals. From 1688, he had to face the competition of Hilaire Bernard de la Rivière, the

architect who accompanied Bishop Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier to New France. Upon his arrival in Québec City, La Rivière took over the responsibility for the conception of both the cathedral and the lower-town church. Moreover, La Rivière was able to impose his plans for the church of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré (1691), whose design has been erroneously attributed to Baillif. Baillif nevertheless won the confidence of the new bishop and, in 1693, was hired to build the bishop's residence on the basis of his own plans.

Baillif also had an unsuccessful venture with the state when he tried to reorganize the lower-town market square in 1685. Originally approved by the state, his project was eventually blocked by a change of administration. The procedure by which this project was put forward, which consisted in granting Baillif a tract of land on which he might erect a new building for the reorganisation of the square, can be compared to the way in which royal squares were created in Paris at the same time.

The circumstances of Baillif's death hint at another project of his, although its nature remains unclear. Baillif died on a ship that had left for France in the fall of 1698. His wife Catherine remained in Québec City, and he was carrying a bill of exchange worth two thousand *livres*. It can be suggested that Baillif intended to purchase a small office, or perhaps the title of master craftsman, in order to reestablish himself in France. In that way, his stay in Canada would have served to secure the social status that his family had been unable to provide. Some social status had nevertheless been achieved locally, since the title of "architecte bourgeois" was attributed to him in the inventory of 1699.

This article argues that the role of architect in New France cannot be seen as that of an autonomous designer in the modern sense. The ambiguous title of architect was more often a sign of social status than an indication of the role played in the production of buildings. Diverse practices were indeed deemed to be architectural, and the only way to interpret the term is to study the individual careers of those who used it.

Translation: the author

AUX ORIGINES DU MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS DE MONTRÉAL

La fondation de l'*Art Association of Montreal* en 1860

> The continued viability of the museum as an institution is in doubt. In the shadow of doubt, we must search the vestigial architecture of our museum castles and find beginnings. We will not spend time on the turrets and towers - they are probably later additions. The Great Banquet Hall, although emblazoned with bits of heraldic stuff, had undoubtedly been redecorated and kept up-to-date to give a proper impression. In fact, the entire superstructure is suspect at this point. We will go for the foundations and drain the moat, dig out the dungeon, and excavate the ruins of the keep. The artifacts, the evidence, will be found deep down, in the first charter, old minute books and by-laws, early contracts and legislation, deeds of bequest, pronouncements of ideals and goals, and in early correspondence[1].

En 1972, l'Assemblée nationale du Québec adoptait une loi sur le Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, qui allait permettre au gouvernement de nommer douze personnes au conseil d'administration et au Musée d'avoir accès à des subventions gouvernementales[2]. Connu sous le nom de l'*Art Association of Montreal* depuis ses origines puis, en 1949, sous celui de *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* et enfin, en 1969, sous le vocable *Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal/Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*[3], le plus ancien musée d'art au Canada allait connaître un tournant majeur dans son histoire: le début de sa francisation et de son passage du contrôle de l'élite anglophone à celui de l'élite francophone[4]. Afin de mieux comprendre l'évolution de cette institution, il est nécessaire d'examiner le contexte et les circonstances de sa fondation à Montréal en 1860.

Avec ses 90 000 habitants, Montréal est, à cette époque, la ville la plus populeuse des colonies britanniques d'Amérique du nord. Le quart de ses habitants est né en Grande-Bretagne, un autre quart d'origine britannique est né au Bas-Canada et la moitié est d'origine française[5]. Sous l'impulsion de l'élite financière anglophone, Montréal s'industrialise et s'urbanise à un rythme rapide pour devenir la plaque tournante de l'économie canadienne[6].

Le port de Montréal, qui opère sept mois par année, peut accueillir, grâce à des travaux de dragage du Saint-Laurent, des océaniques de fort tonnage. Un système de canalisations permet aux navires d'atteindre les Grands Lacs. Dès les années 1820, forges et fonderies travaillent pour équiper les navires du Saint-Laurent de chaudières à vapeur. Un premier vapeur océanique accoste à Mon-

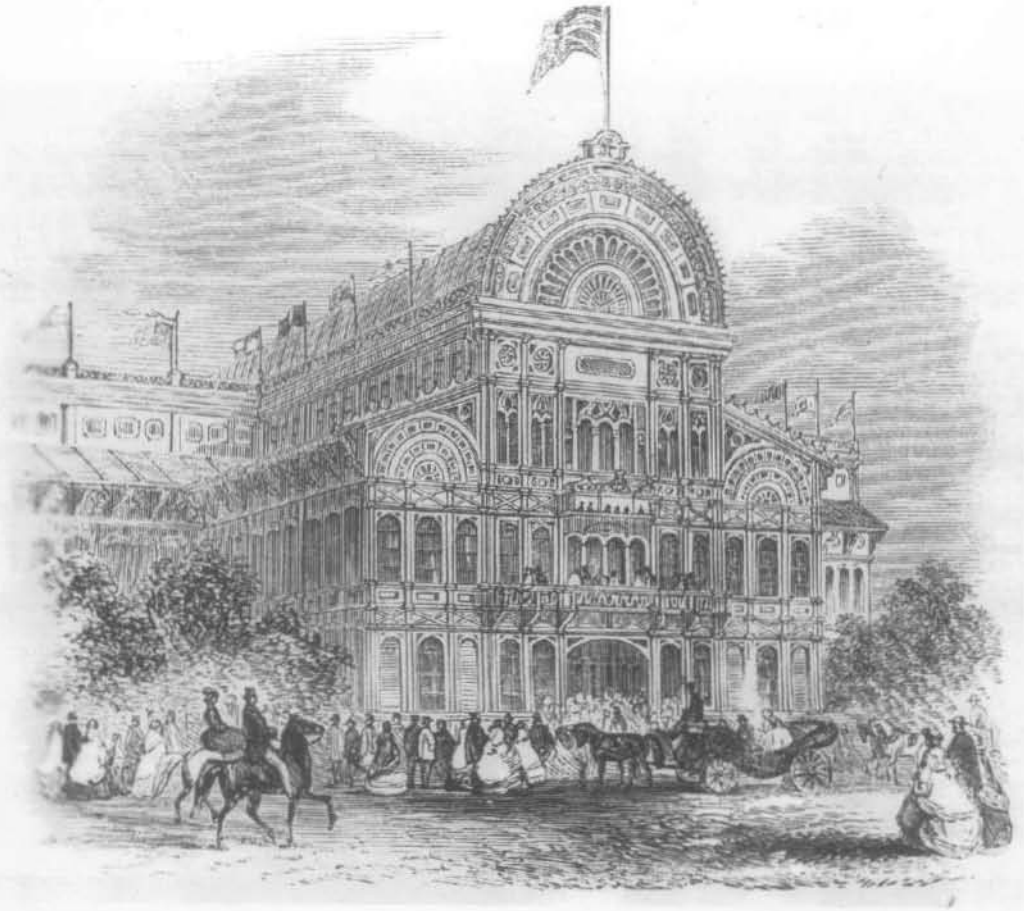

fig. 1 **The Crystal Palace, opened by His Royal Highness August 25 1860**, 1860, Montréal. (Photo : Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, Archives photographiques Notman)

tréal en 1853. L'industrie touche principalement la chaussure, la minoterie, le travail du fer et du bois.

À partir de 1836, la construction de chemins de fer se développe rapidement et la compagnie du Grand Tronc permet, en 1853, la liaison permanente entre Montréal et la ville de Portland, sur la côte du Maine, puis entre Montréal et Toronto. Cette compagnie entreprend en 1854, sous la direction de l'ingénieur anglais George Stephenson, la construction du premier pont permettant de franchir le fleuve Saint-Laurent, le pont Victoria, structure tubulaire de 10 410 pieds de longueur considérée à l'époque de son inauguration, en 1860, comme l'entreprise d'ingénierie la plus gigantesque au monde[7].

Parallèlement à l'exploitation industrielle des ressources naturelles du pays et au développement rapide de Montréal, l'élite anglophone y crée, dans la première moitié du XIX[e] siècle, les bases du développement d'une culture scientifique[8]. Elle s'incarne principalement dans quatre institutions actives en 1860: la *Natural History Society of Montreal* (fondée en 1827, incorporée en 1833, dissoute en 1925), le *Mechanics' Institute of Montreal* (fondé en 1828 et incorporé en 1845), la Commission géologique du Canada (fondée en 1842) et l'Université McGill (fondée en 1821).

La *Natural History Society of Montreal* (NHSM) regroupe marchands, financiers, scientifiques et médecins anglophones. Une partie de ses objectifs sont définis dans une pétition d'aide financière adressée à la Chambre d'Assemblée en décembre 1828:

> Que la Société a adopté comme objets de première nécessité, la formation d'un Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, et d'une Bibliothèque, de Livres traitant particulièrement de l'Histoire Naturelle, et des sciences en général. La collection de sujets d'Histoire Naturelle facilite beaucoup l'acquisition de cette science, parce que quoique les livres puissent établir assez exactement les caractères qui distinguent les espèces et les genres, néanmoins, il y a toujours quelqu'incertitude jusqu'à ce qu'on en ait fait l'étude en présence du sujet; la Société offrira des avantages inestimables à ceux qui étudient l'Histoire Naturelle, qui jusqu'à présent ont été forcés dans leurs recherches à se procurer l'assistance des personnes étrangères du pays...[9].

Sa collection, utilisée par les professeurs de sciences de l'Université McGill, comprend quatre secteurs: botanique, minéralogie, zoologie et quelques objets d'art, d'histoire et d'ethnologie. En 1856, alors que la NHSM est logée dans des locaux trop exigus au 10 petite rue St-Jacques, elle réussit à obtenir que le congrès de l'*American Association for the Advancement of Science* se tienne à Montréal à l'été 1857, et décide, à cette occasion, de construire un bâtiment plus spacieux sur un lot de terre au coin des rues Université et Cathcart[10]. Ce nouvel édifice, 32 rue University, abritant musée, salle de lecture, bibliothèque et appartements du gardien, ne sera ouvert que le 29 février 1859[11].

En 1860, sur les douze membres de son conseil d'administration[12], cinq figurent sur la liste des premiers membres de l'*Art Association of Montreal* [13]. Ce sont Francis Fulford, évêque anglican de Montréal et président des conseils des deux associations; W.H. Hingston, médecin, *Corresponding Secretary* de la NHSM; John Leeming *Recording Secretary* de la NHSM; Henry Chapman et W.H.A. Davies qui est aussi trésorier de l'AAM.

En plus d'être toujours membre du conseil de la NHSM cette année-là, et après en avoir été président, John William Dawson, scientifique et principal de l'université McGill depuis 1855, est élu président du *Mechanics' Institute of Montreal* (Institut des Artisans). Cette institution, fondée à Montréal en 1828, avait comme objectifs «(to) instruct the Members in the discipline of the Arts, and in the various branches of Science and useful Knowledge» et comme moyens d'y arriver, de créer «A Museum of machines, Models, Minerals and Natural History» en plus de tenir une école élémentaire et une bibliothèque ainsi que d'organiser des conférences[14].

Destiné à former les artisans afin d'améliorer leurs connaissances techniques et leur rendement, le *Mechanics' Institute* s'inscrit dans le mouvement d'industrialisation et d'urbanisation de Montréal[15]. Cette institution «est soutenue, écrit Isidore Lebrun, par les souscriptions d'habitants zélés et d'artisans: parmi ceux-ci on compte peu de Français canadiens. L'apathie politique l'emporte encore sur le besoin d'apprendre la théorie des arts[16]».

Au début des années trente, «le muséum contient plus de 500 échantillons de minéraux, des instruments de mathématiques et quelques modèles d'inventions récentes[17]». Le 21 mai 1855, le *Mechanics' Institute* inaugure un nouvel édifice spécialement aménagé à ses fins au coin de la Grande rue St-Jacques et de la rue St-Pierre[18]. Si sa salle de concerts et de conférences, le *Mechanics' Hall*, est très courue et si on y présente des expositions itinérantes, son musée, faute de moyens, ne semble pas se développer.

En 1857, le ministre de l'agriculture, P. Vankoughnet, fait adopter par l'Assemblée une loi créant les *Boards of Arts and Manufactures* (Chambres des arts et manufactures)[19] du Haut-Canada et du Bas-Canada de qui relèveront désormais les *Mechanics' Institutes* des provinces et qui seront dotés à la fois d'un mandat très large et de maigres subventions de 2,000 $ par année:

> Il sera du devoir des dites Chambres des arts et manufactures (...) avec l'approbation du ministre de l'agriculture, de faire des collections et d'établir, à Toronto et à Montréal respectivement, dans le but de pourvoir à l'enseignement des ouvriers et artisans, des musées de minéralogie et autres substances et compositions chimiques, propres à servir aux fins des arts mécaniques et manufactures, avec des cabinets convenablement pourvus et fournis de modèles des oeuvres d'arts et d'instruments et machines autres que les instruments d'agriculture (...) des bibliothèques gratuites qui contiendront

> des livres de référence, plans et dessins (...) de prendre les moyens de se procurer des pays étrangers de nouveaux instruments et machines perfectionnés (...) d'établir en liaison avec leurs musées, cabinets et bibliothèques respectives, des écoles de dessin pour les femmes d'après le meilleur système (...) et aussi de fonder des écoles ou collèges pour les artisans...[20].

Jusqu'en 1867, le *Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada* sera pratiquement sous le contrôle du *Mechanics' Institute of Montreal* [21]. En 1860, les administrateurs élus du *Mechanics' Institute* [22] comprennent deux membres de l'*Art Association of Montreal*, le marchand Edward Murphy et Brown Chamberlin, éditeur de *The Montreal Gazette* et secrétaire à la fois du *Mechanics' Institute* et du *Board of Arts and Manufactures*. En prévision de la venue du prince de Galles pour l'inauguration du pont Victoria, ce dernier organisme s'était lancé dans la construction d'un *Crystal Palace*, rue Ste-Catherine, pour pouvoir y tenir de grandes expositions[23].

Fortement influencé par la construction du *Crystal Palace*, lors de la première exposition universelle à Londres en 1851, puis par le Palais de l'Industrie, lors de celle de Paris en 1855, le milieu anglophone montréalais était bien au fait des avantages que pouvait retirer l'industrie d'institutions comme le Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers de Paris[24] et le *South Kensington Museum* de Londres. Brown Chamberlin avait effectué, de mai à octobre 1858, un voyage partiellement financé par le *Board of Arts and Manufactures* pour repérer les musées industriels et bibliothèques susceptibles de servir de modèles et avait noté dans son rapport:

> Il faut sur les bords du Saint-Laurent, ça et là (...) sous les auspices de la Chambre des arts et manufactures, des bibliothèques et des musées industriels ouverts gratuitement, où le fermier, l'artisan, l'ouvrier, la mère de famille et ses enfants, le manufacturier et le professionnel, puissent recueillir une foule de renseignements, où ils puissent apprendre combien on peut apprendre (...) sur les systèmes qui ont servi au développement des arts industriels, et sur les merveilles que l'ingéniosité humaine, la science et l'industrie ont produites[25].

C'est probablement sous la plume de Chamberlain que tous les espoirs du *Board of Arts and Manufactures* mis dans la construction du *Crystal Palace* de Montréal (*Provincial Exhibition Building and Museum of Canadian Industry and Art*) en 1860 sont le mieux résumés dans *The Montreal Gazette* :

> Men need to be taught by the eye as well as by books or teachers. Teaching by object lessons is becoming a favorite method even in infant schools. And what are these Museums but series of object lessons on the grandest scale. The greatest triumphs of the age are found in the application of the sciences to the arts of life, and it is time that in Canada we had our Museums of Art and Industry connected with schools of Science and Art. This, in short,

> is the idea gradually to be developed as the means placed at the disposal of the Boards by the Province permit. An exhibition held for a few days or a week is a very excellent and instructive thing for a Mechanic, but a Museum and Library of reference, that one can study all the year round as his leisure serves, is better. It is important therefore, in judging of the building now in course of erection and the site, that its future and constant use should be kept in mind. Here will be gathered in time - we hope not a long one - a large collection of Agricultural and Industrial Products and Models of Inventions, a Library of Reference and a School of Design; perhaps also, (let us hope it will be so), a School of Mines as well. It ought in fact to become a great Working Man's College, a School of Science and Gallery of Art[26].

Faute de moyens, ces ambitieux projets ne se réaliseront pas; la collection du *Mechanics' Institute* demeurera modeste et les projets de musées mis en veilleuse.

En 1841, suite à une pétition présentée à l'Assemblée du Canada-Uni par la *Natural History Society of Montreal* et appuyée par la *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, le gouvernement adoptait une résolution pour subvenir aux dépenses d'une exploration géologique de la province[27]. Dans le contexte du développement industriel de Montréal, il était devenu nécessaire de savoir quelles étaient les ressources minières du pays. En avril 1842, le géologue William Logan, originaire de Montréal et éduqué en Écosse, devenait le premier président de la Commission géologique du Canada dont les quartiers furent établis à Montréal jusqu'à son déménagement à Ottawa en 1880[28].

Dans une maison louée au 40 rue St. James, Logan organise, en 1844, la présentation de ses spécimens minéralogiques dans des vitrines, créant ainsi un musée qui sera logé, à partir de 1852, au 76 rue St-Gabriel, dans l'ancienne résidence de Peter McGill acquise par le gouvernement. Ouvert au public, ce musée présentait les découvertes les plus récentes de la Commission et jouait dans le milieu scientifique et économique de Montréal un rôle considérable. En 1877, John William Dawson, alors à nouveau président de la *Natural History Society*, souligna ce rôle lors de l'annonce du déménagement de la Commission à Ottawa:

> That this, should it be carried into effect, would be a serious loss to this Society, the large number of papers and lectures contributed by members of the Survey, and the active part they have taken in the management of its affairs as officers and members testify. The removal of the Survey would also have its effects on the University, and on the interests of the numerous students who resort to this city for education, as well as on those of gentlemen connected with the numerous mining and similar enterprises which have their center here. Nor would such removal be without injurious influence on the Survey itself. (...) Nor can an institution possessing a Mu-

fig. 2 C.J. Way, **H.M. Ship Hero and the rest of the Royal Squadron in Gaspé Basin on their first arrival in Canadian Waters August 1860,** photographie d'une aquarelle par William Notman. (Photo : Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, Archives photographique Notman)

seum and Laboratories which are the growth of so many years, be hastily removed without serious loss, only to be repaired by renewed effort and the lapse of time[29].

William Logan joua un rôle déterminant dans la participation du Canada aux expositions universelles de Londres, en 1851, et de Paris, en 1855. Son frère James, homme d'affaires influent de Montréal et aussi son principal conseiller[30], fit partie des premiers membres de l'AAM en 1860, tout comme le scientifique de réputation internationale Thomas Sterry Hunt, chimiste qui entra au service de la Commission en 1847[31].

Avec l'arrivée de John William Dawson comme principal à l'université McGill en 1855, l'enseignement des sciences s'organise[32]. Si Dawson ne fait pas partie des membres de l'AAM, il est, par contre, en 1860, membre du conseil de la NHSM et président du *Mechanics' Institute of Montreal*. Déjà à cette époque, il prépare à McGill la fondation d'un musée de sciences naturelles[33].

Le milieu scientifique anglophone de Montréal est donc, en 1860, relativement bien organisé et très actif autant sur la scène locale qu'internationale, alors qu'on ne peut trouver rien d'équivalent du côté francophone. L'horticulteur Joseph-Édouard Guilbault avait bien ouvert, en 1852, un jardin botanique et zoologique au 100 rue Sherbrooke[34], «le vrai paradis terrestre de Montréal[35]», contenant, entre autres, une ménagerie de 150 animaux, mais il s'agissait plutôt

d'une entreprise de divertissement populaire que d'une entreprise scientifique.

Familier avec le rôle des musées et des collections, le milieu scientifique anglophone est aussi conscient de leur importance dans une société qui est en voie de se définir. Par l'entremise des dirigeants de la *Natural History Society*, du *Mechanics' Institute of Montreal* et de la Commission géologique du Canada, ce milieu jouera un rôle de premier plan dans la fondation de l'*Art Association of Montreal* en lui fournissant, en plus des cinq membres de la NHSM déjà nommés quatre autres membres: Brown Chamberlin et Edward Murphy (*Mechanics' Institute*) ainsi que William Logan et Thomas Sterry Hunt (Commission géologique). Quant à l'université McGill, elle lui fournit le vice-président de son conseil, en la personne de son chancelier, le juge Charles Dewey Day[36], et un officier, en la personne de son vice-principal et doyen de la faculté des arts, William Turnbull Leach, chanoine de la cathédrale *Christ Church* [37].

À Montréal, en 1860, le développement du milieu culturel artistique marque un retard considérable sur celui du milieu culturel scientifique. L'éphémère tentative, en1847, de créer une galerie d'art contemporain n'a pas de suite[38]. Les expositions temporaires qui se tiennent à Montréal depuis le début du siècle incluent, par contre, des expositions d'oeuvres d'art[39]. Il s'agit parfois de collections de tableaux européens destinés à être mis en vente[40], parfois de tableaux célèbres offerts à la curiosité du public[41], parfois de panoramas[42]. Aucune de ces expositions n'est toutefois aussi importante que celle qui se tint, à l'été 1857, au *Bonaventure Hall* sous la direction de la *Mercantile Library Association* à l'occasion du congrès de l'*American Association for the Advancement of Science* :

> EXHIBITION OF PICTURES - We are happy to learn that a Committee of the Board of Directors of the Mercantile Library Association has been appointed to endeavor to secure an exhibition of the "Art Treasures" of the city during the approaching meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in this city. Montreal can boast, we believe, some pretty good pictures, though doubtless such an exhibition as that proposed will be somewhat meagre compared with the display which older and wealthier cities might make. It would, however, we doubt not, be creditable to the taste of many of our wealthier citizens, and would be a great treat to the poorer many who cannot indulge in such luxuries for their own homes and be of service in educating the popular taste. The Committee waited yesterday on several gentlemen possessed of collections, and everywhere met a favorable reception. This speaks well of the generous feeling of those who have wealth among the citizens of Montreal. We hope all who have collections will contribute and make the exhibition as creditable as possible to the city. It is understood an excellent room can be procured at Bonaventure Hall, and the greatest care will be taken to prevent damage to the pictures[43].

Mise sur pied au dernier moment pour montrer les richesses artistiques des collectionneurs montréalais, l'exposition comprend 317 peintures «some being by Canadian artists, some being copies of celebrated pictures, and a few exhibited without the name of the painter[44]». Le catalogue, publié après le début de l'exposition, mentionne au moins dix collectionneurs anglophones qui feront partie des membres de l'AAM en 1860[45]. Le choix des oeuvres soulève cependant l'ire des francophones:

> Salle de Peinture. - La foule se presse toujours dans les salons de l'édifice Bonaventure pour en admirer la magnifique collection de tableaux à l'huile qui y sont exposés. Il est dommage vraiment que parmi cette exposition aucune des belles toiles de M.M. Hamel, Bourassa, Plamondon et Falardeau n'y figure. Et cependant pour donner une idée à l'étranger de nos peintures, n'eut-ce pas été le seul et unique moyen? Et après cela, on ira dire que Montréal a ouvert une galerie nationale de peintures à l'huile[46]!

Quelques jours plus tard, *La Minerve* répète ces critiques en ajoutant: «Nous croyons, avec tout le monde que le comité n'a pas fait assez de démarches pour mettre en lumière et se procurer les tableaux de nos peintres canadiens[47]». Le jour même de la fermeture de l'exposition, le 29 août, le même journal signale que ses voeux ont été exaucés: «C'était un peu tard; mais, *mieux vaut tard que jamais*, dit le proverbe. Nous remarquons depuis quelques jours à la galerie de tableaux des nouvelles toiles venant de l'Évêché catholique de cette ville et autres endroits[48]».

Si cette exposition nous apprend qu'il existait nombre de collectionneurs montréalais en 1857, elle nous indique aussi le clivage marqué entre les milieux culturels francophone et anglophone et leur approche de l'art[49].

En dehors des églises catholiques, il n'existait alors à Montréal aucune institution à caractère culturel qui ait été en mesure d'exposer en permanence des oeuvres d'art. En fait, la seule institution qui s'intéressait à ce moment-là à collectionner des oeuvres d'art afin d'établir un musée était francophone: il s'agissait de l'Institut Canadien de Montréal, fondé en 1844, organisme intellectuel prêchant des doctrines libérales[50], ouvert aussi aux anglophones et à toutes les appartenances religieuses.

Incorporé en 1853, logé rue Notre-Dame en 1854, l'Institut disposait d'une salle de lecture, d'une vaste «Salle des Séances», d'une bibliothèque et de salles d'assemblées[51]. C'est en 1854 que l'Institut Canadien se propose d'établir un musée dans ses salles[52]; cette année-là, un de ses membres, J.G. Barthe, alors à Paris, échange une correspondance avec M. de Monmerqué, membre de l'Institut de France, pour obtenir son affiliation et son soutien. Cette démarche est soutenue par l'Institut Canadien dont le président, dans une lettre à J.G. Barthe, écrit que «l'Institut de France distribue la lumière à l'univers, tandis que l'Institut Canadien la demande au monde entier» et qu'il «travaille silencieuse-

ment à relever un tronçon de nationalité, laissé comme une épave, sur un point ignoré du globe». Il continue plus loin en ajoutant:

> Dans un pays comme le nôtre, où la population entière est forcément adonnée aux carrières qui procurent les premiers besoins de la vie, - où la population française en particulier est dispersée, éparpillée, dois-je dire, sur un territoire immense, et mêlée à tant d'autres nationalités, les lettres et les arts sont naturellement encore à leur enfance, et nous devons attendre de l'étranger tous les livres et tous les objets d'art qui sont propres à développer les connaissances et le goût. Or, il en coûterait peu à un écrivain de faire don à l'Institut-Canadien d'un exemplaire de ses oeuvres, à un peintre de nous envoyer quelque esquisse (...) ; et de la sorte notre bibliothèque et nos cabinets d'arts et d'histoire naturelle seraient la réalisation parfaite de l'emblême sous lequel notre institution a si heureusement grandi. Notre ruche après avoir modestement formé quelques rayons des contributions indigènes, prendrait des proportions admirables, quand les savants et les artistes de France viendraient y faire leurs précieux dépôts[53].

Ces contacts avec la France se concrétisent par l'envoi de volumes, mais le projet de musée ne semble pas, un an plus tard, connaître beaucoup de succès:

> Durant le trimestre écoulé, l'Institut avait décidé de fonder un musée; les bibliothécaires étaient chargés du soin de ce musée mais, jusqu'à présent, il leur a été impossible de rassembler une quantité d'objets propres à former le noyau de cette entreprise; et ils profitent de cette occasion pour inviter MM. les Membres de l'Institut à ne point abandonner le dessein d'établir un musée. Ils pensent que cette oeuvre serait à la fois intéressante et agréable, qu'elle donnerait à l'Institut un caractère de recommandation fort désirable, en même temps qu'elle serait une source vive d'instruction pour tous. Ils espèrent que MM. les Membres de l'Institut-Canadien, qui ont tant fait pour assurer succès et prospérité à leur belle et patriotique institution, se hâteront de mettre à exécution le projet que nous venons de signaler et que bientôt les salles de l'Institut-Canadien seront un sanctuaire, où la peinture, la sculpture, l'archéologie, la minéralogie, la mécanique, les beaux-arts et les sciences, s'offriront sous toutes leurs formes plastiques et didactiques, intellectuelles et matérielles[54].

C'est pourtant cette année-là, ou au début de 1856, que Napoléon III fait don à l'Institut Canadien, par l'entremise du Musée Impérial de France, de cinq moulages: «La Vénus de Milo, L'Apollon du Belvédère, Le Groupe du Laocoon, La Nymphe de Fontainebleau (bas relief), Le Grand Candélabre de la Salle du Conseil», qui sont exposés au Marché Bonsecours à partir du 24 juin 1856[55]. Ce ne fut cependant qu'en 1864 que «le musée fut établi d'une manière effective. Il avait déjà un commencement assez remarquable dans les statues données par

S. M. l'Empereur des Français, et il y avait lieu de le développer en faisant appel aux différents gouvernements pour continuer l'oeuvre déjà si bien commencée[56]». Le secrétaire du musée, dans son rapport de 1866, nous donne la définition de ce musée et de ses objectifs:

> Le musée est une encyclopédie matérielle. On y trouve une variété si grande d'objets rares, de phénomènes de la nature, de souvenirs historiques, que l'esprit se forme, s'agrandit et s'instruit à leur vue.
>
> Ce n'est pas seulement un sentiment de curiosité qui a motivé l'établissement du musée de l'Institut, c'est encore un sentiment patriotique, puisque au moyen de ce musée on peut faire connaître les richesses de notre pays, ses bois, ses minéraux, etc. Un autre sentiment s'y mêle encore, c'est le désir de se rapprocher de l'Infini, en réunissant sous les yeux ces phénomènes de la nature, qui défient le talent et le génie humain. Enfin l'âme, l'esprit et le coeur sont tour-à-tour satisfaits, lorsqu'on se promène dans un vaste musée où toutes les beautés de la nature et du travail humain sont concentrées de manière à pouvoir être vues sans effort comme sans fatigue.
>
> Le musée est donc le complément de toute société littéraire et scientifique[57].

En 1860, la liste des 205 premiers membres de l'AAM[58] comprenait les noms de douze francophones seulement: six d'entre eux peuvent être rattachés à l'Institut Canadien[59], ce qui peut s'expliquer par l'intérêt de l'Institut Canadien pour l'établissement d'un musée d'art et par l'esprit libéral de ces membres, qui n'étaient pas gênés de faire partie d'une association anglophone dirigée par un évêque anglican.

C'est dans le contexte montréalais d'une ville en voie d'industrialisation rapide, dominée par une élite anglophone soucieuse de l'avancement des sciences, que prend forme, le 11 janvier 1860, le projet de fondation de l'*Art Association of Montreal*, avec, comme toile de fond, l'inauguration du pont Victoria prévue pour l'été, l'invitation du gouvernement du Canada à la reine Victoria en 1859 et la réponse de la reine, le 30 janvier 1860, déléguant son fils aîné, le prince de Galles, pour la représenter[60].

C'est le 11 janvier, chez le photographe William Notman, que se réunissent 23 *gentlemen* pour discuter de la fondation d'une institution destinée à encourager les beaux-arts[61]. Ils sont tous anglophones et le milieu artistique y est représenté, en plus de Notman, par le photographe Alexander Henderson, le peintre William Raphael et l'aquarelliste Charles Jones Way qui, comme Notman, deviendra un ami indéfectible de l'AAM[62]. Le déroulement de cette réunion est rapporté dans les journaux:

> CANADA - ASSOCIATION FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE FINE ARTS - A meeting was held at Mr. Notman's rooms on Wednesday evening for the purpose of considering the advisability of forming an association for the encouragement of the Fine Arts. Mr. A. Henderson was cal-

led to the chair, and Mr. R. Parker, jr., requested to act as Secretary. Statements were made by the chairman and Mr. Matthews, merchant, of the views of those who had held an informal preliminary meeting, at which it was resolved to call the present. Mr. Chamberlin attended as Secretary of the Lower Canada Board of Arts and manufactures, and stated the manner in which affiliation might be effected with that Board, and assistance rendered by it to the Association. Thereupon it was resolved it was desirable to found such an Association, and Messrs. Dunkin, M. P. P. Henderson, Matthews, Way, King, T. S. Hunt, and Notman, were named a committee (with power to add to their number) to ascertain the practicability of successfully establishing it, and, if found practicable, to frame a plan and constitution, and to report to a meeting to be held on the 26th instant[63].

La réunion publique du 26 janvier, au *Nordheimer's Music Hall*, fut annoncée par une circulaire et par des annonces dans les journaux[64]. Elle fut «very numerously and influentially attended[65]» et commentée favorablement dans les journaux avant même d'être tenue:

We view with unfeigned pleasure the design, as indicated by the advertisement in our columns, of an Art Association in Montreal. Some attempt, worthy of the progress of the country, to develope a taste for the Fine Arts, has been one of its urgent wants. Such an Association has been for some time needed. And we trust that its being deferred until society is fully ripe for its reception, will conduce, all the more, to its success. A due attention to the Arts must exercise a highly beneficial influence in a growing country; and we doubt not that such an association, if well sustained and directed, as we trust it will be, will exercise a highly important function in the advancement of Canadian civilization. In a country, however, where such things are new - where the first step has to be taken - the benefits resulting from it are not so obvious as in institutions bearing more directly upon social evils. But let any one who asks the question, "What good will it do ?" consider - That every thing which has the effect of ripening our tastes - of elevating the intellectual above the lower and grosser tendencies - raises us in the scale of rational and intelligent beings, and furnishes a check upon the degrading influences common to large communities. That Associations like the present place within our reach means and opportunities of forming acquaintance with works of art, and cultivating an appreciation of them, which are denied to us in our individual capacity, and such as will not only add to the reputation and attraction of our city in the eyes of others, but provide for our own benefit - an acquisition of the highest class of those amusements and recreations which every one allows to be necessary, and in which even the most utilitarian are glad to relax. There is no doubt Canada numbers among her population, in common with other countries, men of

> genius. That, as she has produced men distinguished in other walks of life, so the material exists from which she may give to the world, shining lights in the sphere of art, who may reflect honor on her name, and it is a duty to foster any indication of genius within her bosom. Hitherto such, if such there be, have existed in common to themselves, or without the opportunity of bringing their hidden talents to the light. The consideration of this should form a part, and not an unimportant part of the scheme of this Association, and we trust it will not be overlooked[66].

Le juge Charles Dewey Day, chancelier de l'université McGill, est élu unanimement président de l'assemblée et fait ressortir dans son allocution d'ouverture que la nécessité d'une association pour l'avancement des beaux-arts à Montréal est évidente pour tous, que la croissance des richesses et de l'importance du pays a pour effet naturel de stimuler le désir de former une semblable association qui ferait honneur au pays, qui favoriserait tous ceux qui veulent étudier les arts et y exceller, qui développerait le goût et encouragerait ceux qui veulent que les arts et les sciences fassent de réels progrès[67]. Après cette allocution, le comité spécial formé de onze membres dépose le rapport qu'il a rédigé au cours des deux dernières semaines[68].

> That, after a careful consideration of the subject, they (the Committee) are encouraged to believe that there is sufficient appreciation of its benefits to warrant the formation of such an Association.
>
> That in carrying out the organization of the Association, they would propose that it be called 'The Art Association of Montreal', and that it have for its objects:
>
> 1st. The establishment of an Annual Exhibition of Works of Art.
>
> 2nd. The promotion of sound judgment in art, by means of lectures, conversazioni, &c.
>
> 3rd. The establishment of a Library and Reading-Room, devoted to publications on the subjects of art.
>
> 4th. The establishment of a Gallery of Sculpture, including casts, &c.
>
> 5th. The formation of a permanent Gallery of Paintings.
>
> 6th. The foundation of a School of Art and Design.
>
> They would recommend to the meeting also that a committee be appointed to canvas the city for the purpose of obtaining a list of subscribers to the Association upon the basis of the above suggestions, as upon the amount of support afforded to it by the public the extent and nature of its operations must be dependent; and that a meeting of such subscribers be called at the earliest date practicable to organize the Association and carry out its objects[69].

Ce rapport fixe les six objectifs de l'*Art Association* qui furent tous, à plus ou moins long terme, atteints par la suite. En d'autres mots, il sous-tend la

constitution et la présentation d'une collection permanente de peintures et de sculptures, l'organisation d'expositions temporaires et d'un programme d'animation, la création d'une bibliothèque publique spécialisée et d'une école des beaux-arts. Dans un pays où n'existait aucun musée d'art, où aucun enseignement public des beaux-arts n'était dispensé, où les collectionneurs d'art commençaient à peine à former leurs collections au rythme de la constitution de leurs fortunes, il faut admettre que le rapport ne manquait ni de vision, ni d'ambition.

Après le dépôt du rapport, le révérend William Turnbull Leach, chanoine la cathédrale *Christ Church* et doyen de la faculté des arts de l'université McGill, en propose l'adoption et prononce une longue allocution qui reflète sa formation humaniste et fait valoir les avantages de la création d'une telle association:

> I am not one of those who believe that the fine arts only minister to an unprofitable luxury or that they are liable to the objection of being utterly unproductive of material advantages.
>
> I think it has been successfully proved on the contrary, that they are productive of material advantages, when considered in their relation to the various springs of action found in the complex structure of civilized society. But there is no need to touch upon this question; it is enough for me to know that the perception of the beautiful and the desire to imitate it, are intuitions which the Creator has planted in the human mind. They exist in the mind just as reason and conscience and the various affections exist in it; and I cannot believe that those intuitions that have respect for the fine arts, have not some very great and benevolent ends.
>
> They are part of our human nature, and as long as man is man, they will and must be cultivated in every social state that attains any degree of civilization. This itself is a sufficient reply to any considerations that may be urged in the way of objection on the score of unproductiveness. And as a matter of fact, every country that has attained any special excellence, has vigourously cultivated the fine arts - Greece, Italy in all the three periods of her eminence, France and England and all the European states of any eminence. So that there are historical facts that prove the conclusion to which we should be led by the consideration of the constitution of the human mind itself. One of the advantages that may be expected from the contemplated Association, is the direct assistance which it will furnish to the Artist. The young Artist, in particular, cannot be expected to make any successful progress unless he can study superior models that exemplify the principles of his art. At present there are none here that are generally accessible; but if the Association succeeds in its designs, he may have access at least to good copies of many of the great original productions of Art, and they must be of very great use, both in the improvement of his taste and by affording

him loftier conceptions of the extent and grandeur of the art to which his powers are devoted. If we only give satisfactory proof of our determination to help ourselves, there is little doubt that we shall receive assistance from abroad. Who can say that the Prince Consort of England, and perhaps the Emperor of France, may not spare us some superfluous copy of one or other of the great masters, if our case be fairly represented to them. These of course would be infinitely valuable to us.

Another advantage of the Association will probably be to awaken some little enthusiasm as to the Fine Arts. It must be a painful and disheartening thing to the artist to find his productions unappreciated, to find that nobody cares for his toil nor is disposed to reward his successful efforts. But I firmly believe that if the artists do their duty and the Association does its duty, there will soon be no cause to complain of the public apathy in regard to the Fine Arts. The citizens of Montreal are not defective either in good taste or generosity, and in regard to the object in question, will, I am convinced, act in a manner worthy of their city and the young and hopeful country which we inhabit.

These are far from being the only advantages that may be expected from the Association. There are many persons-amateurs-many young ladies in this city- who have both leisure and talent for the successful cultivation of the Fine Arts, and when I consider the vast amount of irreprochable pleasure that must be poured into the current of their life, if they are encouraged to prosecute pursuits of this nature, I cannot but feel a good deal of satisfaction in having to do with an Association that may tend to facilitate such an object[70].

Après l'adoption du rapport du comité, l'assemblée approuve aussi la formation d'un comité de recrutement et un débat s'engage autour du coût de la cotisation annuelle des futurs membres qui est fixée à cinq dollars. Cette discussion donne à Brown Chamberlin l'occasion de faire valoir ses vues sur les avantages de cultiver les beaux-arts; son discours vise l'importance de la formation des artisans dans une société industrielle, et se situe à un tout autre niveau que celui du chanoine Leach:

> While on his feet he would say a few words on the general subject of the good to be derived from the cultivation of the taste by the Fine Arts. Perhaps no better illustration of this could be given than derived from the example of the European countries. At the great Peace Congress, as the London Exhibition of 1851 had been called, it was found that however much the great wealth and mammoth workshops of Britain had shown her possessed of immense powers of production, yet that in all arts, in which scientific or artistic manipulation went for anything, the Continental workmen - more especially the French - far succeded the English. And this

led to inquiry among the scientific men and statesmen who had to do with the Exhibition. The result they arrived at was, that for want of Art and Science schools where artisans could be trained, and public galleries in the great cities and towns of Britain, these classes there had never received the training which had given those on the Continent their superiority. Even the best of the more scientific and artistic work done in Britain itself was the product of foreign skill and ingenuity. He (Mr C) had himself while in Britain two years ago, made some inquiries into this subject. (...) Discovering this state of things, the British Government set earnestly to work to remedy the defect; the education department of the Privy Council was remodelled; schools of Art were multiplicated and fostered; and new galleries formed and old ones thrown open to the artisans. For it was not in the schools alone that foreign artisans had acquired their good taste. The great galleries of painting and sculpture had for years been open to the humblest classes, while in Britain they were given few or no such opportunities. It is not too much to say that a complex revolution in this matter of Art education has been operating in Britain within the last eight or nine years. They now need less and less, year by year, to go abroad in search of designers, chemists, etc. Now here in Canada we were last extending manufacturing industry, and it would be well, as manufactures grow up, to plant beside them institutions such as that they proposed to found, to improve and elevate the taste of the workpeople. The Government had already sanctioned the founding Schools of Design out of funds to be granted to the Boards of Arts and Manufactures, and at that point, if not in many others, the Board and Association could heartily co-operate. And thus we might so train our artisans and manufacturers that our streets and our homes might be filled with objects of beauty and of grace, and our lives all catch a grace and refinement which now they lack[71].

Une dernière résolution est ensuite proposée par l'avocat Christopher Dunkin, député des circonscriptions unies de Drummond et Arthabaska[72], visant la formation d'un comité pour élaborer la constitution et les règlements de l'Association ainsi que les mesures nécessaires à son incorporation. L'assemblée des membres de l'Association est fixée au 15 février suivant.

Les comptes rendus de l'assemblée publique du 26 janvier sont certainement lus à Londres, puisque, quelque temps après sa parution, l'*Art Journal* de cette ville en publiait un résumé (y incluant le texte complet du rapport du comité formé le 11 janvier avec les six objectifs de l'Association) et commentait le projet en ces termes:

> Un mouvement a été lancé au Canada dans le but d'établir dans cette importante et populeuse colonie une institution vouée à l'encouragement des beaux-arts. Les colons ressentent depuis longtemps le besoin d'avoir une

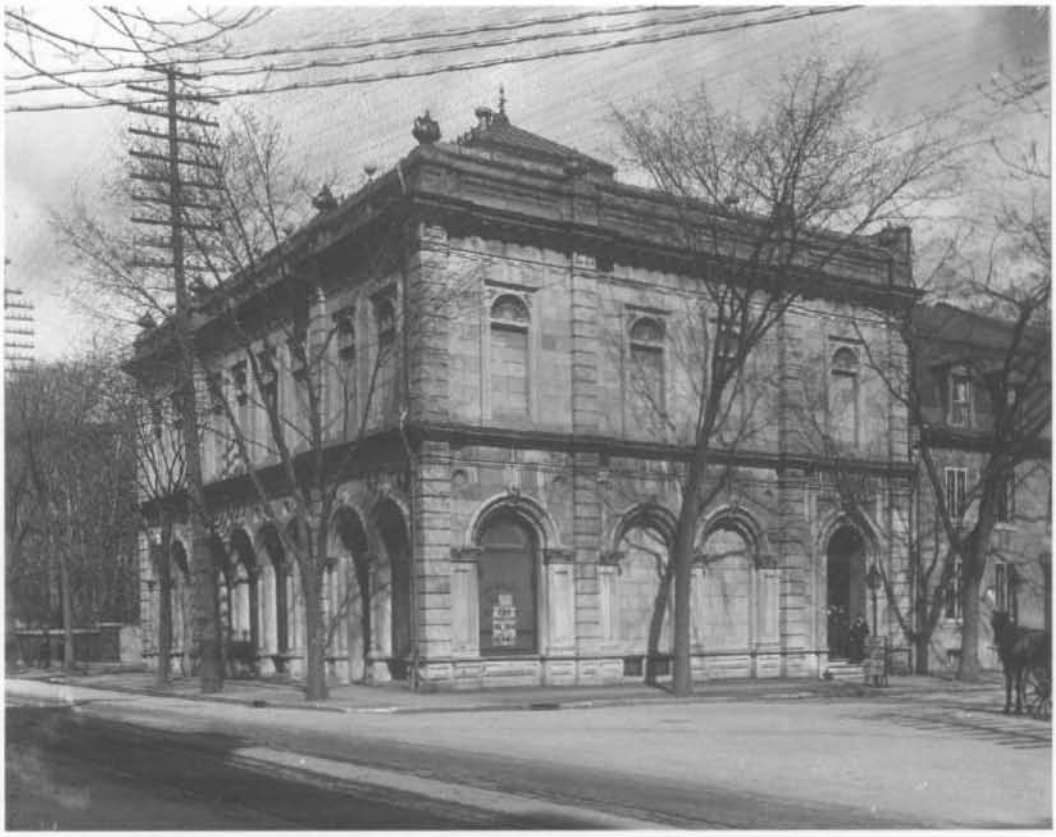

fig. 3 John W. Hopkins et Daniel B. Willy, architectes, **Art Association of Montreal, square Phillips**, 1879, Montréal. (Photo : William Notman, *c.* 1879, Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, Archives photographiques Notman)

> telle société, le développement des richesses et de la puissance politique de ce pays ayant eu pour effet de faire se tourner les populations vers l'Art qui leur permettra de donner des signes extérieurs de leurs nouvelles fortunes et de multiplier les manifestations d'une société raffinée. Il est donc tout naturel que des efforts soient déployés en vue de la création d'un organisme ayant pour mission de cultiver le bon goût et de répondre aux désirs de ceux qui souhaitent voir reconnus chez eux les arts et les sciences[73].

L'assemblée publique prévue pour le 15 février eut lieu le vendredi soir 17 février au *Mechanics' Hall*. *The Montreal Gazette* publie ce matin-là un article attirant l'attention de ses lecteurs sur la réunion, les invitant à devenir membres de l'*Art Association* pour pouvoir y participer et réfutant les critiques du projet qui avaient cours depuis la dernière assemblée publique:

(...) We are told that some misconception has arisen with respect to the proposed operations of the Society. It has been objected that it is undertaking too much -that its programme is too broad, quite beyond the capability of the people of a comparatively small city like Montreal. Undoubtedly the Society must creep before it can walk; it must at first confine its labors to two or three of the objects stated in the programme. None of the promoters of the Association imagine that all of them can be taken up at once, but deemed it their duty to state at the onstart all they contemplated when the numbers and means of the Society increased. Perhaps they will begin with an exhibition, perhaps with the nucleus of a gallery, perhaps with a school of design. They have decided nothing, because they could decide nothing. The primary object they have had in view has been to find out, and obtain the names of all those who are favorable to an Association for the Advancement of Art in Montreal, and also are willing to become members, and having brought them together to leave to their hands the duty of organizing the Association by appointing Directors, who shall carry out this object in the most judicious manner possible. (...)

Some people have conceived, we are told, a very absurd fear that the Society is to be made subsidiary in some incomprehensible way to the Board of Arts and Manufactures, which they regard in some sort a rival institution. Now the only possible connection between them would be a voluntary one on the part of the Society, and compulsory on the part of the Board. The Society may send delegates to the Board to aid in managing it, and may demand a portion of the Government grant made to it for such purposes, or they may remain an entirely separate organization[74].

Tous ne perçoivent donc pas le mandat visionnaire de l'Association, mais le traduisent en termes pratiques immédiats et constatent qu'il est trop ambitieux dans les circonstances. On peut aussi déceler indirectement la crainte de certains concernant la mainmise d'un petit groupe de personnes sur les destinées de l'Association. Et c'est probablement la publication du discours de Chamberlin qui a jeté la confusion entre les rôles respectifs de l'Association et du Bureau des Arts et Manufactures, confusion qui porte sur leurs clientèles.

Le déroulement de l'assemblée des membres du 17 février nous est connu par son procès-verbal[75] et par un court article publié dans *The Montreal Gazette* le 20 février suivant[76]. Francis Fulford, premier évêque anglican de Montréal, est élu président de l'assemblée. Le comité de recrutement rapporte qu'il a réussi à recruter 222 souscripteurs annuels. Le comité des règlements note qu'il a pris toutes les dispositions nécessaires pour obtenir une loi d'incorporation et les règlements de l'Association sont lus et adoptés. Ces règlements, consignés dans le procès-verbal de l'assemblée, sont précis et détaillés: ils établissent à douze le nombre des membres du Conseil d'administration.

Après l'adoption des règlements, l'assemblée procède à l'élection des membres du conseil. Des 52 personnes mises en candidature, 16 ne reçurent qu'un vote. Les officiers élus sont les suivants: l'évêque Francis Fulford, président; le juge Charles Dewey Day, vice-président; le marchand William H.A. Davies, trésorier et Thomas Davies King, de la compagnie du Grand Tronc, secrétaire. Les conseillers sont les suivants: Brown Chamberlin, Christopher Dunkin, Thomas Sterry Hunt, le chanoine William Turnbull Leach, le juge John Samuel McCord, John Leeming, F.B. Matthews ainsi que Benaiah Gibb, commerçant et collectionneur, qui allait avoir une grande importance pour l'avenir de l'Association.

Le premier conseil d'administration de l'*Art Association of Montreal* est donc composé de douze personnages fort influents de la société montréalaise anglophone. Ils proviennent à la fois des milieux religieux, scientifique, universitaire, politique, journalistique et des affaires. Au moins un collectionneur siège au conseil, mais il ne s'y trouve aucun artiste. L'élection de l'évêque anglican à la présidence donne à l'Association une indéniable autorité morale mais, en même temps, l'isole presque complètement du milieu francophone qui vit sous la très ferme houlette du clergé catholique romain.

La loi d'incorporation, pilotée par Christopher Dunkin, ne fut sanctionnée que le 23 avril 1860[77] et son adoption signalée au conseil d'administration lors de sa réunion du 24 mai[78]. Cette information ne fut suivie d'aucune action de la part du conseil, de sorte que l'AAM n'eut aucun statut légal avant la fin de 1863, lors de l'acceptation officielle par les membres des termes de la loi[79]. C'était là un oubli assez surprenant pour une association comprenant plusieurs représentants des milieux politique et juridique!

Au lendemain de l'assemblée du 17 février, le conseil d'administration tient sa première réunion à la maison de Christopher Dunkin[80]. On forme un comité de recrutement pour tenter d'augmenter le nombre de membres de l'Association (un francophone, le journaliste Hector Fabre, est assigné à ce comité avec douze autres membres anglophones). On charge aussi le secrétaire d'écrire en Angleterre au «Department of Science and Art, Kensington, London, to ascertain whether any assistance may be obtained from the home authorities». Adressée au secrétaire du département, Henry Cole[81], la lettre n'eut semble-t-il aucune réponse.

Comme l'AAM ne dispose d'aucun local permanent, on charge aussi son sécrétaire de contacter la *Natural History Society of Montreal* pour obtenir l'autorisation de tenir les réunions du conseil dans ses locaux moyennant remboursement des dépenses en charbon, éclairage et gardiennage. L'autorisation fut accordée le 24 février par une lettre signée du secrétaire de la *Natural History Society*, John Leeming.

Dès la deuxième réunion du conseil, le 24 février, on discute de la possibilité de tenir une première exposition:

> A conversation arose relative to the desirability of having a public conversazione of the Association early in May for the purpose of testing the public appreciation of works of Art, and also for ascertaining what work of Art the city is capable of contributing towards a public exhibition of the Fine Arts at the time of the contemplated visit of the Prince of Wales during the summer[82].

La décision définitive de tenir une «conversazione» le 10 mai au *Nordheimers' Hall* est prise lors de la réunion du 16 mars. Le peintre Napoléon Bourassa, seul artiste francophone à faire partie des premiers membres de l'AAM, décrit en 1864, ce qu'était une «conversazione»:

> Seulement, je me révolte un peu contre le mot italien conversazione dont on s'est servi pour décorer cette réunion; non pas que le sens de ce mot me paraisse mal approprié à la chose, mais parce qu'il ne dit rien de plus que celui qui lui correspond en anglais, et que tout le monde se croit le droit de le prononcer d'une manière ridicule.
>
> Cette conversazione donc n'était rien autre chose qu'une nombreuse et charmante société, réunie comme dans une soirée de réception ordinaire, où l'on ne danse pas[83].

Cette soirée mondaine, à laquelle les membres et leurs femmes sont invités, est ainsi décrite par *The Montreal Gazette* :

> FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION CONVERSAZIONE - This event in the social history of Montreal, marking, as it does, we hope, a new era, in the development of a taste for the fine arts, came off on Thursday evening, and was a decided success. The Music Hall was well, comfortably, filled with a most respectable assemblage of the lovers of art in Montreal. Among them we were glad to notice His Excellency the Commander of the Forces and Staff, the Anglican Lord Bishop (President of the Association), Sir William Logan, and others of the more distinguished residents of this city. There was a good collection of paintings, photographs and objects of vertu, with some five stereoscopes and microscopes. A portion of the Band of the R.C. Rifles, by the kind permission of Lieut. Col. Bradford, was present, furnishing sweet music, to which Mr. Sabatier furnished a most excellent complement at the piano. Altogether the soiree was a most pleasant and profitable one, and we feel we may congratulate the Council of the Art Association on the success of their debut, a success in very great part due to the unwearied zeal and diligence of the Secretary, Mr. King to whom the chief mood of praise is due. There can be no doubt, after the interest evinced, that there is a love of the fine arts, which has taken a pretty strong root here in Montreal, and is promised a healthy development[84].

Le succès de cette première activité de l'AAM - qui correspondait au second de ses objectifs - étant concluant, le conseil, à sa réunion du 17 mai, forme

un comité pour discuter avec le *Board of Arts and Manufactures* de la tenue d'une exposition d'art au *Crystal Palace* lors de la visite du prince de Galles[85]. Cet organisme venait tout juste, le 14 mai, d'annoncer son intention de tenir à cette occasion une exposition «worthy of the approaching visit of the heir apparent to the throne of the Empire», une exposition «of the resources of the country and of the manufacturing industry of this and the other towns of the Province altogether unequalled in former years[86]».

À la réunion du conseil du 24 mai, on rapporte que les discussions ont été positives et que le *Board of Arts and Manufactures* accepte de consacrer une des ailes du *Crystal Palace* à une exposition d'oeuvres d'art organisée par l'AAM, à condition que celle-ci en défraye les coûts. On forme aussitôt un comité d'exposition composé de messieurs McCord, Davies, Hunt et King. Ce n'est pas avant le 22 août, trois jours avant l'inauguration officielle de l'Exposition provinciale du *Crystal Palace* et du pont Victoria, que le conseil se réunit à nouveau, cette fois sur les lieux mêmes de l'exposition[87]. Le conseil de l'AAM, pour marquer son autonomie et se différencier de l'Exposition provinciale, décide de ne pas recommander que le *Board of Arts and Manufactures* accorde des prix aux artistes exposants, se réservant ainsi le privilège de le faire lui-même. Il charge de plus son président d'expliquer au prince de Galles, pendant sa visite de l'exposition, les objectifs de l'Association et de lui offrir gracieusement une oeuvre de son choix en souvenir.

Si les festivités de la journée du 25 août 1860 sont bien connues[88], il n'en est pas de même du contenu de l'exposition de l'*Art Association,* qu'un seul article de journal commente en ces termes:

> Quand on parcourt les étages supérieurs du *Crystal Palace*, c'est surtout la galerie des beaux-arts qui attire l'attention. En entrant on trouve plusieurs excellentes photographies accrochées très haut sur un mur avec, au centre, celle du maire Rodier dans une pose aristocratique. Juste au-dessous, on peut voir plusieurs aquarelles de C. Jones Way, dont une scène dans les monts Blancs, une autre sur le Saguenay et une autre enfin qui représente l'escadron royal remontant la baie de Gaspé, cette dernière choisie par le prince de Galles, que lui offrit le Conseil de l'*Art Association.* On retrouve en de nombreux endroits de la salle des témoignages du talent diversifié de cet artiste. Quant à Krieghoff, il expose un certain nombre de scènes canadiennes particulièrement bien rendues. En fait, on retrouve ici une des plus belles collections de copies et d'originaux qui aient jamais été exposées à Montréal; quant aux oeuvres qui proviennent de la galerie de M. Notman elles ne le cèdent en rien aux huiles pour ce qui est de l'art et du fini, et constituent une importante partie de l'exposition[89].

La liste des prix attribués lors de l'exposition du *Crystal Palace* est publiée par le *Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada* le 5 octobre; ceux de la ca-

tégorie VII concernent la section beaux-arts de l'exposition. Cette catégorie est divisée en deux sections A et B:

In Section A.
(Under the direction of the Art Association)
To C. J. Way, Montreal, for Water Colour Drawing, "The Prince's Squadron off Gaspé Basin", and others .....A Silver Medal.
To C. Kreighoff, Quebec, for a collection of Canadian Scenes - Oil Paintings ..... A Silver Medal.
To the same, for "a Quebec amateur Launcelot
Gobbo, &c." .....A Silver Medal.
To T. Hamel, Quebec, for Portraits ..... A Silver Medal.
To T. Campbell, Montreal,
for a Specimen of Heraldic Painting .....A Bronze Medal.
To W.W. Cresswell, Harpurhey,
for five Pictures in Oil .....Honorable Mention.
To T.D. Beltield, Grafton,
C.W. for Water Color Drawings .....A Bronze Medal.
To the Hon. W. Berczy, for Oil Paintings, Portrait of "Brant"
and "Columbus breaking the egg."....Honorable Mention.
To the Rev. G. De C. O'Grady,
for Pen and Ink Sketches ..... Honorable Mention.
To C.A. Richer, Montreal, for the same .....Honorable Mention.
To Miss V. Ladd, Montreal, (a young lady of 15)
fot Crayon Drawings ..... Honorable Mention.
To F. Morgan, Montreal, for Bust and Medaillions.....A Silver Medal.
(The Council of the Art Association desire to make Honorable Mention of the very large and fine collection of Paintings shown by Mr. Hardinge of New York.
They have also tendered their thanks to the Hon. Justice Badgley, Sir W.E. Logan, Captain Raynes, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Aitken, Mr. Bessunger, Mr. Jacobi, Mrs. McCord, Miss Ross, and Miss Leach for contributions of Pictures not entered for, or admitted to competition)[90].

Parmi les artistes primés dans cette section, trois sont membres de l'*Art Association* : le peintre William Berczy fils, le sculpteur Felix Morgan et surtout l'aquarelliste C.J. Way, à qui le conseil avait confié l'organisation de la section des aquarelles[91] et dont l'oeuvre, *H. M. Ship Hero and the rest of the Royal Squadron in Gaspé Basin, on their first arrival in Canadian Waters August 1860*, avait, par son sujet opportuniste, attiré l'attention du prince de Galles[92].

La Section B, qui n'est peut-être pas, en ce qui concerne les récompenses, de la juridiction de l'*Art Association*, contient des oeuvres plus hétéroclites (spécimens de verre de couleur, de gravures et lithographies, de photographies colo-

riées, de dessins mécaniques, de plans, de pianos, d'orgues, d'argenterie, etc... et même des sculptures sur bois de Thomas Somerville, J.B. Côté et F. Berlinguet) qui correspondent au développement des arts appliqués et décoratifs privilégiés par le *Board of Arts and Manufactures*. Parmi les gagnants de cette catégorie, le graveur George Matthews, le photographe William Notman («for Specimens of Untouched Photographs [Landscapes] and Stereoscope Slides» et «for a collection of Colored Photographs»), le photographe George Martin («for a collection of Colored Photographs» et «for Ambrotypes») et l'architecte John Williams Hopkins («for Plans, Perspective, &c., of the Exhibition Building») sont membres de l'*Art Association of Montreal*.

On établit donc deux catégories distinctes: une catégorie «noble» des beaux-arts (peinture, sculpture, dessin) et une autre, plus utilitaire et incluant des oeuvres créées selon des procédés mécaniques. Ces deux catégories correspondent assez fidèlement aux discours de Leach et Chamberlin lors de l'assemblée de fondation du 26 janvier: l'un concernait l'artiste, l'autre l'artisan.

Aucune indication précise n'est connue sur la façon dont les oeuvres furent sollicitées et sélectionnées, mais la mention honorable décernée, entre parenthèses, à «Mr. Hardinge of New York» pour une grande collection de peintures peut surprendre, alors que l'exposition de 1857 avait démontré la richesse des collections montréalaises.

Cette présence paraît plus surprenante encore losqu'on sait que Guillaume Lamothe[93], industriel libéral fortuné nommé chef de police de Montréal le 27 novembre 1861 et membre de l'*Art Association* dès 1860, exposait dans la salle Bonaventure, à l'été 1861, sa collection personnelle de tableaux «anciens et modernes de divers genres et des écoles italienne, française, hollandaise, flamande et espagnole[94]». Les annonces des journaux font état de «360 morceaux qui sont, pour la plupart, des oeuvres de grands maîtres[95]» et incitent en ces termes le public à voir l'exposition: «Voici une occasion que les amis des arts ne devraient pas négliger. C'est la première fois que Montréal possède une telle réunion de chef-d'oeuvres. Jusqu'ici les collections ouvertes au public n'étaient qu'un ramassis de tableaux racolés de-ci de-là, sans choix comme sans goût. Cette fois, du moins, ce seront les grands maîtres qui auront le premier pas[96]».

Le conseil de l'*Art Association* se réunit une dernière fois en 1860, le 27 août, sur les lieux de l'exposition afin d'entendre le rapport du président:

> His Lordship reported that he had had a conversation with some members of the suite of H.R. Highness relative to the propriety of asking H.R.H. to become a patron of the Art Association, when, they were of opinion, that the present inchoate state of the Association would not warrant their laying the matter before His Royal Highness[97].

Il est difficile de savoir si c'est le contenu de l'exposition qui motiva ce refus de la suite du prince de Galles, ou tout simplement le fait que l'*Art Associa-*

tion n'existait que sur des bases administratives, ne disposant d'aucun bâtiment et d'aucune collection permanente. Quoi qu'il en soit, les mois qui suivirent furent difficiles.

> At several subsequent meetings of the Association, there not being sufficient members to form a quorum, the future of the society was left in abeyance, and it was thought desirable, that in consequence of the expenses that had been incurred by the public in the entertainments of the Prince of Wales, that nothing further should be attempted towards raising a fund for the erection of a suitable building to carry on the operations of the Association[98].

Ce n'est pas avant la fin de 1863 que l'Association reprit ses activités et put se réorganiser. On peut poser l'hypothèse que l'*Art Association of Montreal* avait été créée en vue de la visite du Prince de Galles pour démontrer à ce royal personnage, à sa suite et aux journalistes canadiens et étrangers que Montréal ne disposait pas seulement d'une importante infrastructure industrielle et scientifique, mais aussi d'une infrastructure culturelle. C'est ce même esprit qui avait été à l'origine de la tenue de l'exposition de peintures de 1857 à l'occasion du congrès de l'*American Association for the Advancement of Science.*

Ce qui, à long terme, sauva l'*Art Association* de la disparition fut la largesse de vue et la justesse de ses objectifs premiers, qui correspondaient à des besoins fondamentaux de la société montréalaise. Pour véritablement atteindre ses objectifs, l'Association avait cependant besoin d'un édifice, de collections et d'un soutien financier approprié qui dépendait du nombre et de la générosité de ses membres.

Les activités de l'*Art Association* reprirent en 1864 et se poursuivirent de façon sporadique jusqu'en 1877. Le premier juin de cette année-là mourait Benaiah Gibb, homme d'affaires et collectionneur, membre du premier conseil d'administration de l'*Art Association*, qui léguait à celle-ci par testament une collection d'oeuvres d'art, un terrain Square Phillips et de l'argent pour construire une galerie d'art[99]. Inauguré en grande pompe le 26 mai 1879, le musée de l'*Art Association* allait lui permettre d'exposer sa collection permanente, d'organiser des expositions temporaires et des conférences, d'ouvrir une salle de lecture, de créer une bibliothèque spécialisée, en 1882, et de loger son École des beaux-arts, fondée en 1880 et fermée en 1976, dans des lieux convenables.

Commentant longuement la résurrection de l'Association en 1864, le peintre Napoléon Bourassa en donnait l'explication suivante:

> L'esprit d'association existe à un haut degré, chez nos compatriotes d'origine anglaise; c'est une qualité que l'éducation sociale a si bien développée en eux qu'elle fait aujourd'hui partie de leur caractère. Un Anglais l'emporte et la garde avec lui, sur quelque point du globe qu'il aille fixer son existence; et c'est là sans doute la plus précieuse pièce de son bagage, car cette

qualité est pour lui le plus vigoureux élément du succès; elle lui donne partout la richesse et une supériorité politique incontestable, et cela sans grands efforts, sans guerres intestines.

Nous autres Français d'origine, nous disputons longtemps au commencement de toute entreprise, nous disputons encore au milieu, et nous nous disputons presque toujours à la fin. Combien de bonnes idées, de patriotiques projets n'avons-nous pas étouffés au berceau, dans ces débats puérils; l'expérience du passé ne nous a rien appris, au contraire, nous n'avons jamais été mieux disposés à la chicane. (...) Je connais une multitude de gens, qui vous accostent avec précaution, sachant que vous avez le malheur d'appartenir à une association quelconque, qui n'est pas la leur; ils vous parlent avec mystère et habileté, évidemment pour découvrir si vous ne nourrissez pas dans votre coeur quelque noir complot contre leur fétiche. (...)

Quand rejetterons-nous l'idolâtrie de nos propres oeuvres et de nos propres idées, cessant enfin de vouloir imposer nos dieux à tout le monde, comme étant les seuls bienfaiteurs de notre intelligence, de nos coeurs, et de notre patrie? Le Canada est certainement le pays où l'on fait le plus étonnant usage de deux ou trois grands mots, tels que, vertu civique, patriotisme, religion; et cela pour habiller une multitude de petits projets boiteux ou avortons, où perce beaucoup d'amour-propre et bien peu d'abnégation, cette vertu civique primordiale. Il me semble que nous pourrions perdre moins de paroles, de temps et de bonne humeur en prenant quelques bonnes habitudes seulement, à nos compatriotes anglais[101].

Si les francophones trouvaient difficilement leur place dans l'*Art Association* à cause, entre autres, de différences culturelles, linguistiques, sociales et religieuses, tous les anglophones n'y trouvaient pas non plus leur place. L'*Art Association* était l'oeuvre des plus fortunés et des plus cultivés seulement des anglophones de Montréal, et elle allait demeurer sous leur contrôle jusqu'au début des années 1970.

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Notes

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1 Duncan Ferguson CAMERON, «A Change of Heart», *Museum Management and Curatorship*, vol. 11, n° 4, décembre 1992, p.379.

2 «Loi sur le Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal», *Lois du Québec*, 1972, Chapitre 21.

3 Rosalind M. PEPALL, *Construction d'un musée des Beaux-Arts, Montréal 1912*, Montréal, Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 1986, p.19.

4 Administré par les membres de son conseil d'administration depuis ses origines, ce n'est qu'en 1947 qu'un premier directeur à plein temps fut engagé, Richard Tyler Davis, un anglais. Il sera remplacé, en 1952, par un autre anglais, John Steegman, puis, en 1959, par un américain, Evan H. Turner, et, en 1964, par un autre américain, David Giles Carter. Ce n'est qu'en 1977 que le Musée engagera comme directeur un premier canadien et francophone, en occurence, l'auteur de cet article.

5 Jean-Claude ROBERT, «Urbanisation et population: le cas de Montréal en 1861», *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. 35, n° 4, mars 1982, p.523-535.

6 John A. DICKINSON, Brian YOUNG, *Brève histoire socio-économique du Québec*, Québec, Septentrion, 1992, p.123-176.

7 Stanley TRIGGS, Brian YOUNG, Conrad GRAHAM, Gilles LAUZON, *Le pont Victoria, un lien vital*, Montréal, Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, 1992.

8 Luc CHARTRAND, Raymond DUCHESNE, Yves GINGRAS, *Histoire des sciences au Québec*, Montréal, Boréal, 1987, p.75-106, 127-157.

9 *Journal de la Chambre d'Assemblée du Bas-Canada*, vol. 38, 2 décembre 1828.

10 *Twenty-ninth annual report of the Natural History Society of Montreal*, Montréal, John Lovell, p.6-8.

11 *Report of the Council of the Natural History Society of Montreal for the year 1859*, Montréal, John Lovell, 1859, p.3.

12 *Starke's pocket almanach and general register*, 1860, p. 96.

13 Art Association of Montreal, *The Act of Incorporation and the By-Laws*, Montréal, M. Longmoore & Co., 1864, «List of Original Subscribers to the Art Association», p.19-20 et «First Council Elected February 17th 1860», p.21.

14 *Constitution and By-Laws of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute*, Montréal, Lovell, 1833, p.3.

15 Yvan LAMONDE, *Les bibliothèques de collectivités à Montréal (17e - 19e siècle)*, Montréal, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1979, p.43.

16 Isidore LEBRUN, *Tableau statistique et politique des deux Canadas*, Paris, Trentdel et Wurtz, 1833, p.249.

17 *Ibid.* , p.249.

18 *The Atwater Library of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal*, Montréal, Atwater Library, 1972, p.13-17.

19 Hélène SABOURIN, *La Chambre des Arts et Manufactures: les quinze premières années, 1857-1872*, Université du Québec à Montréal, Mémoire de maîtrise en histoire, 1989, p.9-10.

20 *Ibid.* , p.30.

21 *Ibid.* , p.37-45.

22 *Le Pays*, 12 janvier 1860.

23 SABOURIN, *La Chambre...*, p.59-65; TRIGGS, YOUNG, GRAHAM, LAUZON, *Le pont Victoria...*, p.80-84.

24 Alfred PERRY, correspondant de *The Montreal Gazette* à Paris pour l'exposition universelle, écrit un article sur le Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers qui commence par «I have selected the above institution as subject of a special letter, believing it would prove of interest to the mechanics and laboring men of Montreal». *The Montreal Gazette*, 8 octobre 1855. Voir aussi son article du 20 octobre 1855.

25 SABOURIN, *La Chambre...*, p.54-55.

26 *The Montreal Gazette*, 21 mai 1860.

27 Morris ZASLOW, *Reading The Rocks. The Story of The Geological Survey of Canada 1842-1972*, Ottawa, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources and Information Canada, 1975, p. 17; Christy VODDEN, *Pierre par pierre. Les 150 premières années de la Commission géologique du Canada*, Ottawa, Ministère des Approvisionnements et Services Canada, 1992, p.1.

28 Victoria DICKENSON, «L'histoire des musées nationaux depuis leur fondation jusqu'à aujourd'hui», *Muse*, vol. X, nos 2 & 3 (été/automne 1992), p.64-71.

29 *Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Natural History Society of Montreal*, Montréal, 1877, p.9-10.

30 ZASLOW, *Reading The Rocks*, p.18.

31 *Ibid.* , p. 47.

32 CHARTRAND, DUCHESNE, GINGRAS, *Histoire des sciences...*, p.222-224.

33 Susan BRONSON, «The Design of The Peter Redpath Museum at McGill University: The Genesis, Expression, Evolution of an Idea about Natural History», *Bulletin*, Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, vol. 17, no 3 (septembre 1992), p.60-76.

34 *Le Pays*, 14 juin 1852; *La Minerve*, 24 juin 1852.

35 *La Minerve*, 30 mai 1857.

36 *Dictionnaire des parlementaires du Québec 1792-1992*, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1993, p.206-207.

37 Edgar Andrew COLLARD, «Leach, William Turnbull», *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, vol. XI, 1982, p.554-556.

38 Jean TRUDEL, «The Montreal Society of Artists. Une galerie d'art contemporain à Montréal en 1847», *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol. XIII, n° 1, 1991, p.61-87.

39 Hervé GAGNON, «Expositions et curiosités à Montréal 1817-1847», *Musées*, vol. 19, n° 2 (juin 1991), p.28-35; Hervé GAGNON, «Des animaux, des hommes et des choses. Les expositions au Bas-Canada dans la première moitié du XIX[e] siècle», *Histoire Sociale-Social History*, mai 1993, à paraître.

40 En 1833, par exemple, une collection de près de 100 tableaux européens est exposée et mise en vente. *La Minerve*, 2 septembre 1833.

41 En 1848, après avoir circulé à New York, Philadelphie et Boston, une copie de la *Vénus* du Titien est exposée à Québec et à Montréal. *La Gazette de Québec*, 24, 26 et 28 juin 1848. Elle est à nouveau présentée à Montréal en 1849. *Le Moniteur Canadien*, 12 juin 1849.

42 En mai 1852, on annonce la venue à Montréal d'un panorama colossal, propriété de P.T. Barnum, représentant l'intérieur du Palais de Cristal de l'exposition universelle de Londres en 1851. *La Minerve*, 4 mai 1852.

43 *The Montreal Weekly Gazette*, 8 août 1857. Voir aussi *La Minerve*, 11, 13 et 15 août 1857.

44 *The Montreal Daily Star*, 15 février 1908.

45 *Ibid.*, L'auteur de l'article du *Montreal Daily Star* possédait le catalogue de cette exposition, catalogue qui n'a pu être retracé. Les noms des collectionneurs membres de l'AAM qu'il mentionne sont les suivants: Hon. G. Moffatt, D. Lorne MacDougall, F. Phillips, John Young, G. Frothingham, James B. Greenshields, W.A. Townsend, G. Ferrier, S. English et J.G. Mackenzie.

46 *La Minerve*, 20 août 1857.

47 *La Minerve*, 25 août 1857.

48 *La Minerve*, 29 août 1857.

49 John R. PORTER, «Les perspectives du marché de la peinture: entre les besoins matériels et le goût de l'art», *La Peinture au Québec 1820-1850*, Québec, Musée du Québec - Les publications du Québec, 1991, p.11-35.

50 LAMONDE, *Les bibliothèque...*, p.53-60.

51 *Le Pays*, 4 mai 1854.

52 *Le Pays*, 22 décembre 1854.

53 *Le Pays*, 1[er] avril 1855.

54 *Le Pays*, 19 mai 1855.

55 *La Minerve*, 17 juin et 10 juillet 1856.

56 *Annuaire de l'Institut Canadien pour 1866. Célébration du 22ième anniversaire et inauguration du nouvel édifice de l'Institut Canadien le 17 décembre 1866*, Montréal, 1866, p.9-10.

57 *Ibid.* , p.10

58 Art Association of Montreal, *The Act of Incorporation...*, p.19-20: les francophones comptent pour 5,8% des membres en 1860, et il est à noter qu'aucune femme ne figure sur cette liste. En 1879, à la veille de l'inauguration de l'édifice du Square Phillips, il y a 2,5% de membres francophones et 18% de femmes (Rapport annuel de 1880). En 1992, les francophones comptent pour 73% des Amis du Musée; 62% sont des femmes et 54% des Amis ont des revenus de 50 000 $ et plus (25% des revenus de 90 000 $ et plus ...)(*Collage*, mai-juin 1993, p. 8).

59 Boutillier, Tancred; Doucet, T.; Dessaulles, Hon Mr; Fabre, Hector; Laflamme, R. ; Mailhot, J.E. .

60 TRIGGS, YOUNG, GRAHAM, LAUZON, *Le pont Victoria...*, p.74.

61 *Annual Meetings - General Meetings January 1860 - November 1954*, Archives du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, p.2-3.

62 Il est possible que Felix Morgan, qui assiste à cette réunion et qui fait partie des premiers membres de l'AAM, soit aussi sculpteur. Voir *The Pilot*, 28 janvier 1860 et *The Montreal Gazette*, 5 octobre 1860.

63 *The Pilot*, 14 janvier 1860.

64 *The Pilot*, 24 janvier 1860. L'annonce est signée par les cinq personnes suivantes pour le «General Committee»: J. Young, William T. Leach, C. Dunkin, D. Lorn Macdougall et B. Gibb.

65 *Annual Meetings - General Meetings...*, p. 4.

66 *The Pilot*, 24 janvier 1860.

67 *Ibid.* , 28 janvier 1860. Le même compte rendu de cette assemblée est publié aussi dans *The Montreal Gazette*, 28 janvier 1860.

68 Ce comité était formé des personnes suivantes: F.B. Matthews, C. Dunkin, T. Sterry Hunt, F. Spence, W. Notman, A. Henderson, T. D. King, C. J. Way, F. Lawford et R. Parker. *Annual Meetings - General Meetings...*, p. 3.

69 *The Pilot*, 28 janvier 1860.

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Dictionnaire des parlementaires...*, p.252-253.

73 Cité et traduit dans Dennis REID, *Notre patrie le Canada. Mémoires sur les aspirations nationales des principaux paysagistes de Montréal et Toronto 1860-1890*, Ottawa, Galerie nationale du Canada, 1979, p.16.

74 *The Montreal Gazette*, 17 février 1860.

75 *Annual Meetings - General Meetings...*, p.7-15.

76 *The Montreal Gazette*, 20 février 1860.

77 *Statuts de la Province du Canada*, 23 Victoria, Cap. 13, 1860, «Acte pour incorporer l'Association des Arts de Montréal».

78 *Council Meetings 1860-1895*, Archives du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, p.9-10.

79 Archives du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, *Convocation à l'assemblée du 22 décembre 1863*, Montréal, 18 décembre 1863.

80 *Council Meetings...*, p.1-2.

81 Le Department of Science and Art avait été créé en 1852, dans la foulée du succès de l'exposition universelle de 1851, pour administrer une école d'art et établir des musées: en 1860, il soutenait le South Kensington Museum (Museum of Manufactures créé en 1852) qui allait devenir en 1889 le Victoria and Albert Museum. Voir John PHYSICK, *The Victoria and Albert Museum. The history of its building,* Londres, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982, p.13-32.

82 *Council Meetings...*, réunion du 24 février 1860.

83 Napoléon BOURASSA, «Quelques réflexions critiques à propos de l'Art Association of Montreal», *La Revue Canadienne,* tome I, 1864, p.170.

84 *The Montreal Gazette*, 12 mai 1860.

85 *Council Meetings...*, réunion du 17 mai 1860. Sur le Crystal Palace, voir *The Montreal Gazette*, 21 mai 1860.

86 *The Montreal Gazette*, 14 mai 1860.

87 *Council Meetings...*, p.10-11.

88 Conrad GRAHAM, «L'inauguration», *Le pont Victoria. Un lien vital*, Montréal, Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, 1992, p.74-95.

89 *Daily Witness*, 1er septembre 1860, cité dans REID, *Notre patrie le Canada...*, p.15. L'original de cet article n'a pu être retracé.

90 *The Montreal Gazette*, 5 octobre 1860.

91 *Council Meetings...*, p.10.

92 Cette oeuvre fut donnée au prince de Galles par le président du conseil, achetée à C.J. Way pour 40 $, photographiée en douze copies par W. Notman aux frais de l'Association et offerte à chaque membre du conseil au coût de 5 $. *Council Meetings...*, p.12-13.

93 Léon TRÉPANIER, «Guillaume Lamothe (1824-1911)», *Les Cahiers des Dix,* n° 29, 1964, p.143-158.

94 *Galerie des Arts. Catalogue des Tableaux anciens et modernes de divers genres et des écoles italienne, française, hollandaise, flamande et espagnole exposés à Montréal dans la salle Bonaventure,* Montréal, Imprimerie De Montigny, 1861, 19 pages.

95 *La Minerve*, 22 juin 1861; *Le Pays*, 22 juin 1861.

96 «Galerie de Tableaux», *La Minerve*, 22 juin 1861; voir aussi «Galerie de tableaux de M. Guillaume Lamothe», *Le Pays*, 22 juin 1861 et «Galerie de la salle Bonaventure. Tableaux anciens et modernes», *La Minerve*, 18 juillet 1861.

97 *Council Meeting...*, p.12.

98 *Ibid.*, p.13.

99 *Ibid.*, réunion du 9 juin 1877, p.96-104.

100 Art Association of Montreal, *Report of the Council to the Association for the Year ending December 31, 1879, presented at the Annual Meeting held January 14th, 1880*, Montréal, 1880.

101 BOURASSA, *La Revue Canadienne*, p.171-172.

Résumé

THE BIRTH OF THE MONTREAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS:

The Founding of the Art Association of Montreal in 1860

The law regarding the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, passed in 1972 by the National Assembly of Quebec, marked a turning point in the history of this private English-speaking institution which was to become French-speaking and semi-public. To understand how the Museum developed, we must examine the context in which it was founded in 1860 under the name, the Art Association of Montreal.

The city of Montreal, in full industrial expansion at the time, was largely controlled by an English-speaking upper-class of financiers who had, since the early nineteenth century, established institutions for the advancement of science. Foremost among these in the year 1860 were: the Natural History Society of Montreal, founded in 1827 and housed in a building containing a natural science museum, a lecture hall and a library; the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, an organization set up in 1827 to provide training and education for artisans, which also had a building with a hall for concerts and lectures, and the beginnings of a museum; the Geological Survey of Canada, a government organization established in 1841 for the study of Canadian geology, which had its own museum; and McGill College, presided over from 1855 by the scientist, John William Dawson.

On the other hand, comparable developments in the domain of the arts were much slower in coming; only one French-language institution, the *Institut Canadien de Montréal*, a learned association with liberal tendencies founded in 1844, was interested in collecting works of art with a view to creating a museum. However, Montréal had its art dealers and collectors, and temporary exhibitions of varying size were held.

In early 1860, with the announcement that the Prince of Wales was coming to open the Victoria Bridge, and with work underway on Montréal's Crystal Palace to house industrial exhibitions, the city's lack of amenities for the arts risked becoming apparent to the outside world. Thus it was that on January 11, 1860, twenty-three English-speaking gentlemen gathered at the studio of the photographer William Notman with the intention of establishing an Association for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, later to become the Art Association of Montreal.

On January 26, a public meeting was held, at which the Association's ob-

jectives were presented in six points: 1) to organize an annual exhibition of art works; 2) to foster the appreciation of art by means of lectures; 3) to set up a fine arts library and lecture hall; 4) to establish a gallery of sculpture and casts; 5) to create a permanent picture gallery; and 6) to found a school of fine arts. These goals were adopted by the meeting, on the grounds that any reasonably civilized society cares about the arts and provides its artists with the necessary models for developing their talents; and furthermore that an increasingly industrial society must train and refine the aesthetic sense of its workers in order to improve the quality of their output.

By February 17 over two hundred subscribers had been recruited, and a founders' meeting was held to elect the twelve officers and members of the Association's Board of Trustees. This was comprised entirely of English-speakers and included six heads of learned institutions but not a single artist. The fact that the Chairman of the Board was Bishop Francis Fulford, the Anglican bishop of Montréal, meant that the Association was more or less cut off from the French-speaking community, which still took its lead from the Roman Catholic clergy. The bill to incorporate the Association was guided through parliament by the M.P. Christopher Dunkin, and passed into law on April 23, 1860.

On the evening of May 10 at Nordheimers Hall, the Art Association gave a *conversazione*, an elegant party with music held amidst the surroundings of a temporary exhibition of works of art. This was a great success, and on May 24 the Board of Trustees decided to hold an art exhibition in a section of the Crystal Palace, the exhibition to be opened on August 25 by the Prince of Wales, who would be presented with a watercolour painting by the artist C.J. Way. Following the Prince's visit and the concomitant festivities, which had emptied Montréalers' purses, the Art Association languished through neglect and indifference until late in 1863.

Both the establishment and the activities of the Art Association in 1860 were the work of a small group of English-speaking Montrealers. Of its 205 founding members, only twelve were French-speaking, and six of these were connected with the *Institut Canadien*. When the Association was revived in 1864, the painter Napoléon Bourassa, the only francophone artist among the founder members, noted with bitterness the contrast between the sectarian attitude of the French-speaking members and the cooperative spirit that constituted the strength of their English-speaking fellow countrymen.

Translation: Jill Corner

CANADIAN HISTORICAL MURALS 1895-1939

Material Progress, Morality and the 'Disappearance' of Native People

Between 1895 and 1939 many artists in English Canada responded to nationalist sentiment by producing murals which documented the material progress of Canadians of European ancestry.[1] For these artists, as for most Canadians at this time, material progress would undoubtedly lead to national greatness, to elevated status for the new Dominion within the British Empire, and to important new roles in international affairs. Contemporary texts reflected this position:

> Canada stands an easy first among the colonies of Great Britain. Blessed with a climate which conduces to vigourous mental and physical manhood, with a natural wealth unequalled by what has been given to any other country on the globe, and with a vast extent of territory which may yet hold a hundred millions of people, she possesses prospects which most of the nations of the earth might envy, and not prospects only - for the record of her progress during the present century, and especially during the Victorian Era, shows that her wealth has increased a hundredfold. Towns and cities have sprung up. ...Many miles of canals, thousands of miles of railways, and tens of thousands of miles of good wagon roads have been built, and the land is full of the hum of commerce. ...[Canadians] have evinced a faith in their ability to build up on the northern part of this continent, a nation which shall some day stand second to none among the nations of the earth.[2]

It is not difficult to envisage how Canadian artists might have illustrated texts of this type. Industrial cityscapes and modern forms of transportation immediately come to mind, and, indeed, they appear frequently enough in the murals. However, these artists almost always contrasted their representations of material progress with images of inactive, emotionless Native Canadians. Moreover, while both historical and contemporary Euro-Canadians appear in the murals, Natives are depicted only as figures from the distant past.[3] By portraying Natives as stone-age foils to people of European ancestry, the artists not only documented European technological development, but also implied that Native Canadians should acknowledge the inferiority of their material culture, accept the legitimacy of the European presence in North America, and the subsequent assimilation and demise of their own peoples. Thus, the murals strengthened the cultural hegemony of the dominant group and demonstrated a moral purpose for the material progress of modern life.[4]

The earliest Canadian mural program to represent technological develop-

fig. 1 G.A. Reid, **Staking a Pionneer Farm**, 1899, oil on canvas, Toronto : Old City Hall (Photo : Tom Moore)

ments, and to contrast them with images of Native culture, was planned by the Society of Mural Decorators under the leadership of George Agnew Reid (1860-1947) in 1894 for the Toronto Municipal Building.[5] The subject matter, Ontario history, was chosen "to harmonize" with the location. It was believed that the ensemble would command the viewer's attention in a manner that only mural decoration could achieve.[6] Unfortunately for Reid and his colleagues, funds were not forthcoming and the plan was rejected. However, Reid donated two panels (*in situ*) to the City in 1899 with the hope of encouraging the completion of the scheme. These panels and the drawings for the uncompleted panels may be examined.[7] Two of the drawings represent Natives seated on the ground listening to European explorers who stand reading unidentified documents. Thus the Native as nature is addressed by the written word of culture. The other drawings and the two paintings represent European settlers involved in agriculture and industry. In one of the paintings, *Staking a Pioneer Farm* (fig. 1), immigrant workmen survey the locale with mechanical instruments while a lone male Native peers cautiously from behind a tree at the awesome and, to him, inaccessible display of technology. Without such instruments he cannot lay claim to this land, and so he is appropriately placed well into the forested background of the composition.

Canadian history books written between Confederation and World War II support this interpretation of Reid's murals: "A poor and thinly-scattered community of improvident savages has been succeeded by an orderly, industrious, and enterprising people, whose genius and resources embody all the germs of a great nation."[8] In 1950, modern authors still agreed: "Because of being uncivilized, our Indians could not make use of Canada's good farm land, nor of the

fig. 2 J.W. Beatty, **Governor and Mrs. Simcoe Paddled Up the Credit River.** 1908, oil on canvas, (detail), Mississauga : Mississauga Golf and Country Club. (Photo : Tom Moore)

other rich resources that nature had given her. To use these gifts Canada needed civilized people, and they were already at her door."[9]

A mural by J.W. Beatty (1869-1941), produced for the Mississauga Golf Club in southern Ontario, provides a similar reading. When he returned from Europe in 1908, Beatty declared his intention to study Canadian history and to paint it in mural decoration.[10] That same year he completed *Governor and Mrs. Simcoe Paddled Up the Credit River* (*in situ*) for the walls above the fireplace in the Club's main entrance. In the central panel the Governor and his wife have just stepped out of a canoe onto a bank of the Credit River, an Arcadian setting bathed in the bright yellow sunshine of an impressionist palette (fig. 2). The Credit River still runs through the property of the golf club. This land once belonged to the Mississauga Natives, but it was turned into farm lots for British immigrants in the mid-eighteenth century. Native people, to both sides of the Simcoes, are seated on the ground in front of birchbark wigwams, seemingly enjoying the balmy weather (fig. 3). They do not acknowledge the arrival of the visitors, leaving viewers to believe that the ownership of the property was never challenged by the Mississauga people.

Support for the belief that Native people did not need land because they would soon disappear, and that they did not deserve land because they could not make "good" use of it, was widespread for decades before and after the turn of

fig.3 J.W. Beatty, **Governor and Mrs. Simcoe Paddled Up the Credit River**, 1908, oil on canvas, (detail), Mississauga: Mississauga Golf and Country Club. (Photo: Tom Moore)

the century. Charles Mair's poem "Woodnotes," of 1868, is an early example of this view, and vividly evokes Beatty's mural:

> Here is a streamlet by whose side
> The Naiads wandered long agone,
> Ere old mythology had died,
> And mankind's heart was turned to stone.
> The Indian sought it year by year,
> And listened to its rippling glee;
> But he is gone, and I am here,
> And all its rippling is for me.[11]

In 1941 Stephen Leacock's history text demonstrated the longevity of Mair's sentiment:

> There is little room for regret that the possession of her soil [has] been transferred to the Anglo-Saxon race, and that the rule of the fierce Indian has for ever passed away. ...We think of prehistoric North America as inhabited by the Indians, and have based on this a sort of recognition of ownership on their part. But this attitude is hardly warranted. The Indians

> were far too few to count. Their use of the resources of the continent was scarcely more than that made by crows and wolves, their development of it nothing.[12]

From the turn of the century until the Second World War Canadian muralists set up contrasts between European and Native architecture by decorating the walls of newly-constructed hotels with images of traditional native dwellings. Jock Macdonald's 1939 painting of Northwest Coast houses on the wall of the main dining room of the Hotel Vancouver is an example.[13] The Native dwellings provide an aesthetically pleasing image of an "exotic" lifestyle, but they are reduced to smaller-than-lifesize structures within the monumental and commercially successful hotel. Moreover, the hotel was part of the urban expansion that forced Northwest Coast Native people to relocate from as early as the middle of the nineteenth century.

Between 1908 and 1912 F.S. Challener (1869-1959) completed a mural with a similar theme for the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg.[14] The four panels (no longer *in situ*) represent Native people who have come together in large summer camps to hunt buffalo, trade furs at the nearby Hudson Bay Company Fort, elect leaders, and to carry out spiritual rituals. Of course guests at the hotel knew that the buffalo had disappeared from the prairies several decades before the murals were installed, that Natives no longer lived in camps or practised self-government, and that fur-trading with the Hudson Bay Company was greatly diminished. But it is unlikely that these same guests reflected on government legislation, such as the amendments to the Indian Act in the 1880's which discouraged summer camp meetings.[15] Nor is it likely that they considered the role of the Hudson Bay Company's 1870 sale of western lands to the Federal Government in the expedition of widespread European immigration to the prairies, and the consequent displacement of Native peoples to reservations.

Viewers of the murals might have been more familiar with explanations for such changes in Native lifestyle supplied by contemporary Canadian history texts. They may have read that Native people could no longer hunt buffalo because: "Although vast herds of buffaloes traversed the prairies and forests of his native land, [the Indian's] knowledge had not taught him to use them for the purposes of the dairy, nor subdue them to the labours of the fields."[16] Similarly, Natives could not govern themselves because, "Destitute of any form of local government, they knew nothing of the duties of the magistrate, and were left at liberty to follow the dictates of individual inclinations."[17] A text written in 1912 states that "the Indian saw and felt the forms of British institutions, liked the principle of loyalty to a great King, and admired the strength of British love for law and order and for justice between different races."[18]

In 1923 J.E.H. MacDonald (1873-1932) designed a mural which provided another construction of Native involvement with European institutions.

fig.4 J.E.H. MacDonald, **A Friendly Meeting in Early Canada**, 1924, oil and metallic paint on canvas, Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library. (Photo: Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada [July 1933], 13. Photographer: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)

In that year, at the suggestion of A.Y. Jackson, the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts held an historical mural competition. The theme was "The Settlement of Canada," and the winning work was to have been hung in a railway committee room in the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. First prize was won by MacDonald for *A Friendly Meeting in Early Canada* (fig. 4).[19] In this painting a Native Canadian is surrounded by four Europeans with whom he is conversing. The composition is confrontational and foreshadows the power structure that had developed between the two groups by the time of the painting. On the other hand, the title and the manner in which the Europeans seem to be listening to the Native, suggest that MacDonald intended the negotiations, which surely led to the takeover of Native land, to appear amicable. This view was sustained by contemporary historical literature. "Under the system of responsible government, the condition of the Indians was greatly improved," claimed an Ontario textbook in 1910. "The British Government had been careful to take over the land from [Natives] only after making a treaty with their chiefs and paying them the price agreed on in money and goods. As a result of the honesty and justice of our treatment of the Indians we have had none of the terrible wars which have disgraced the United States."[20]

Contrasts between Native and European modes of transportation offered

muralists an additional means of glorifying western technology. The earliest program which may have put forth this view was planned by the Society of Mural Decorators in 1894 for Toronto's newly constructed Union Station.[21] Its theme was "The History of Transportation," but it was rejected and the plans seem to have been lost. Contemporary murals with the same theme may help to reconstruct these plans.

At the turn of the century Frederick Challener and J.D. Kelly (1862-1958) produced a series of monochrome ivory stucco panels in low relief for the *S.S. Toronto*, a passenger ship owned by the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company.[22] The panels depict Native people accompanying European explorers through forests and over waterways in the late seventeenth century (fig. 5). The work of the Native people was for the most part similar to that of the modern navigation company, as both were charged with guiding passengers through southern Ontario waters, but the size and speed of the commercial craft must have set up an immediate contrast to that of the canoe.

Another example of this theme is provided by the murals in Toronto's Commerce Building (*in situ*) designed by Arthur Crisp (1881-1974) in 1931.[23] The program begins with a depiction of a Native person in *Freight and Travel By Canoe* and ends with *The Empress of Britain. The Last Word in Ocean Travel*. As the American steel magnate Andrew Carnegie had said about his nation's technological development just a few decades earlier, "The old nations of the earth creep on at a snail's pace; the Republic thunders past with the rush of the express."[24]

A similar reading may be taken from a mural scheme executed in 1930 by Adam Sheriff Scott for the resort hotel at Lucerne-in-Quebec (now Chateau Montebello).[25] In one of thirteen panels (*in situ*) representing local history, Champlain is "taking an observation with the astrolabe on the Ottawa River in

fig. 5 F.S. Challener, **Title unknown**, *c.* 1900, stucco, Toronto: Rosedale Public School. (Photo: Records, Archives and Museum, Toronto Board of Education. (Photographer: Tom Moore), *detail*

fig.6 C.W. Jefferys, **Homage to the Chaudière**, 1930, oil on canvas, Ottawa: National Archives of Canada. (Photo: *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* [Oct. 1930], 350. Photographer: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)

fig.7 C.W. Jefferys,**Building the Rideau Canal**, 1930, oil on canvas, Ottawa: National Archives of Canada. (Photo: *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* [July 1933], 130. Photo grapher: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)

fig.8 C.W. Jefferys and F.S. Challener, **Title unknown**, 1929, oil on canvas, present location unknown. (Photo: *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* [June 1929], 209. Photographer: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)

fig.9 F.S. Challener, **Fort Rouillé**, 1928, oil on canvas, Toronto: City of Toronto Archives. (Photo: *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* [Sept./Oct. 1929], 4. Photographer: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)

1613," while a number of awestruck Native people observe him. As a later Canadian historian claimed, "[Natives] took no effective steps toward the building of craft that could be used on the two oceans that washed their shores. Had they done so, they would in all probability have come in touch with other civilizations and their whole isolated life would have been changed."[26]

Murals by C. W. Jefferys (1869-1951), installed in the writing room of the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa in 1930, also demanded recognition of the superiority of European technology and waterways management. Depicting the building of the Rideau Canal, one panel represents a Native offering tobacco in ritualistic homage to the spirit of the Chaudière Falls (fig. 6).[27] In another, English soldiers use mechanical equipment and massive blocks of cut stone to build a canal which will control the water for commercial purposes (fig. 7).[28] The viewer might quickly suppose that the Native's unscientific attempt to control nature would result in failure, while that of the Europeans would produce the desired effect.

The superiority of European trade and commerce provided subject matter for many murals. In 1928 Jefferys and Challener produced two panels (present location unknown) for the Manoir Richelieu, a French chateau-style hotel at Murray Bay, Quebec.[29] On both sides of an archway of the central lounge they depicted the arrival of Europeans in the Murray Bay area. In one panel Native people sit on the ground, at the edge of the forest, offering furs to the French (fig. 8). While one Frenchman makes the trade, others are preparing timber for construction. In the second panel, kilted immigrants from the British Isles have arrived; the Natives - and the French - have disappeared.

In 1928, Challener completed *Fort Rouillé* (fig. 9), a mural for the offices of Loblaws, a major Toronto food company.[30] Once again a reading of the work

fig.10 F. Haines and H. Palmer, **The Settlement of Canada**, 1929, oil on canvas (detail), Toronto: Canadian National Exhibition. (Photo: Diane Falvey)

fig.11 F. Haines and H. Palmer, **The Settlement of Canada**, 1929, oil on canvas (detail), Toronto: Canadian National Exhibition. (Photo: Diane Falvey)

depends on a number of contrasts. First the artist sets image against site. The office of a twentieth-century trading company is furnished with depictions of Native people engaged in trade with Europeans of the late eighteenth century. The mural's composition emphasizes this contrast, as Native people sit in a random arrangement on the ground, at the edge of the forest, while a military man stands in front of them. His body forms a bold, vertical, compositional element, which is mirrored in the upright posts of the fort's wall and aligned with the ship's sturdy mast. European civilization is represented as strong and stable, while Native culture is linked to the chaos of nature.

A further contrast between past and present is set up by the fact that Fort Rouillé sat on land which became the site of Toronto's Industrial Exhibition in

1879 (now the Canadian National Exhibition).[51] From the middle of the nineteenth century Canadians shared in the western world's enthusiasm for public exhibitions of agricultural, natural and manufactured products.[52] When native artifacts were exhibited at Canadians fairs they were presented as obsolete precursors of the work of "civilized" people. Indeed, in 1897 O.A. Howling suggested that a Canadian exhibition of that year should "logically exhibit first the traditions, arts and modes of life of the native tribes, the *palimpsest* [italics mine] upon which European colonization has written the later histories."[53] Similarly, the exterior of the Canadian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1939 was decorated with two totem poles carved by Kwakiutl artist Mungo Martin, while the interior was treated with murals depicting Canada's industrial, trading and leisure activities.[54]

A year after Challener's 1928 Loblaws mural was produced, two instructors from the Ontario College of Art, Fred Haines (1879-1960) and Herbert Palmer (1881-1970), designed a mural (*in situ*) for the Dominion Government Building at the Canadian National Exhibition.[55] *The Settlement of Canada* was represented on eight rectangular panels placed on the interior of the octagonal drum of the glass dome. In one, two Native Canadians hunt buffalo against a background of the wild prairie (fig. 10). In another, a Canadian of European ancestry guides a plough pulled by two large white oxen (fig. 11). While the buffalo population had been reduced to the point of extinction by the1880's, agriculture was an ongoing and economically successful aspect of the Canadian eco-

fig.12 A. Lismer, **The Humberside Mural**, 1927-1931, oil on panel, Toronto: Humberside Collegiate Institute. (Photo: Records, Archives and Museum, Toronto Board of Education. Photographer: Tom Moore)

nomy. Visitors to an exhibition which was largely concerned with the display of material progress and its moral implications, were clearly led to accept the futility of the Native way of life.

The moral qualities of material progress also provided Arthur Lismer (1885-1969) with a subject when, in 1927, he was commissioned by the Literary Society of Humberside Collegiate in Toronto to produce a mural for the school's auditorium.[36] The location of historical murals in schools was considered by Lismer and others involved in the mural movement as crucial to the raising of a national consciousness.[37] For this commission, Lismer chose to represent Canadian history in five panels (four of which are in the school's new auditorium). In the first (fig. 12), reading from left to right, early explorers arrive, Montcalm sits in defeat under a towering image of Wolfe waving a British flag, and General Brock, the hero of the War of 1812 against the United States, stands in the forefront on an elevated section of ground. A single male Native stands below the military heroes, indicating his passive acceptance of the events by smiling, placing one hand over his heart, and lowering the axe in his right hand.

In the second panel several unidentified European explorers stand on a hill scanning vast amounts of land. Well below the explorers, and seated on the ground, are a Native man and woman. The man sits on a bearskin thus demonstrating his association with the wild aspects of nature. Similarly, the Native woman is modelled on one of Gauguin's Tahitian female figures, and so is associated with the "untamed" aspects of a primitive culture's sexual practices. The students of Humberside Collegiate might easily have made a similar reading, as the 1930 edition of their own history text, *History of Canada for High Schools*, explained that "the Indian was, as it were, a part of the landscape."[38]

The remaining three panels of the Humberside mural do not include representations of Native people. The third and central panel is occupied by a large hill with seated and standing personifications of Truth, Beauty, Wisdom, Courage and Motherhood. It is the most prominent panel in the series, drawing the other panels, and the viewer's eye, toward it by means of the dominant triangular peak of the hill. In the fourth panel, apparently as a result of Truth, Wisdom, Courage, etc., a European woman holds a child on her lap, a young boy reads a book, and pioneers settle the land with axes and scythes. Significantly, and in contrast to the axe held by the Native in the first panel, the tools of the settlers are poised for action. As English Canadians knew from the time of Confederation, "The Indian retreated before the axe of the settler"[39]; and "Patches of forest were occasionally cleared [by Natives] ... at an enormous sacrifice of time and labour ... production results which are now exceeded by a single backwoodsman in as many days."[40] Finally, in the fifth panel (installed in 1932 and no longer extant) was a frieze of "Canada's youth" arranged in front of images of twentieth-century material progress, such as ploughed fields, an aviator and skyscrapers.

fig.13 Auditorium, Jarvis Collegiate Institute, Toronto. (Photo: *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* [June1931], 239. Photographer: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)

The most extensive Canadian historical mural program which took material progress as its subject was produced by George Agnew Reid as a World War I memorial for the auditorium of Toronto's Jarvis Collegiate between 1929 and 1930 (fig. 13).[41] It is *in situ* except for one panel. On the north wall Reid painted *Patriotism* and *Sacrifice* (to the left and right of the stage in fig. 13). Here people of European ancestry - soldiers, farmers, school children, men in academic gowns, boy scouts and girl guides - pay homage to the British and Canadian flags and refer to acts of patriotism and sacrifice that were made by Canadians during the War. On the east wall was *Ericson Discovering North America, 1000 A.D.* (not extant). On the south wall above the balcony is *The Discoverers, 986-1610 A.D.* In a frieze the width of the auditorium European explorers sit at desks studying maps and globes before setting out for North America. Below the balcony, in a frieze of equal length, is *Champlain Ascending the Ottawa River, 1615 A.D.* On the west wall are *John Cabot. Discovery of North America, 1497 ; Jacques Cartier. Discovery of the St. Lawrence, 1534 ; Hudson's Bay Company. Fur Trading in James Bay, 1668* (fig. 14); *United Empire Loyalists Ascending the St. Lawrence, 1783* (fig. 15); and *Alexander Mackenzie. Discovery of the Pacific, 1798* (visible to the left of *Patriotism* in fig. 13). Surrounding all of the panels are small painted scrolls with the names of famous Canadian inventors, politicians and industrialists of European ancestry.[42]

In now familiar compositions, the Europeans in the historical panels are

fig.14 G.A. Reid, **Hudson's Bay Company. Fur Trading in James Bay**, 1668, 1930, oil and encaustic on canvas, Toronto: Jarvis Collegiate Institute. (Photo: Records, Archives and Museum, Toronto Board of Education. Photographer: Tom Moore)

fig.15 G.A. Reid, **United Empire Loyalists Ascending the St. Lawrence**, 1783, 1930, oil and encaustic on canvas, Toronto: Jarvis Collegiate Institute. (Photo: Records, Archives and Museum, Toronto Board of Education. Photographer: Tom Moore)

actively engaged in acquiring land, organizing trade, and commanding large sailing vessels, while the Native people are situated at the edge of the forest or on the ground, passively accepting the arrival first of Cartier and then the Loyalists (fig. 15). Enthusiasm and vigour are expressed by Native people only at the arrival of the Hudson Bay Company's ship (fig. 14), as they welcome the material progress of a commercial shipping company.[43] Also, Natives appear only in scenes which can be dated no later than the early nineteenth century (with Cartier, Champlain, the Hudson Bay Company and the Loyalists), while Europeans appear in both the historical scenes and in the contemporary representations of *Sacrifice* and *Patriotism*. (Logically, some of the approximately 4000 Native Ca-

nadians who served in World War I could have appeared in these two panels.[44])

A reading of the Jarvis mural program is clear: Native Canadians, because they were materially unprogressive, began to "disappear" in the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it was at about that time that the reservation system was set up, along with policies that designated the reserves as training centres in which Natives could learn to "become white" and subsequently receive the corresponding benefits.[45] On the other hand, Canadians of European ancestry, because they were materially progressive, were able to survive and flourish, to inherit the lands of Native peoples, and to play a key role in World War I. In 1918 Canada received imperial and international recognition when she proudly signed the Treaty of Versailles independently of Great Britain.

Furthermore, the Jarvis murals offer evidence, as do all the murals discussed, of the new Dominion's ability to link morality with technological advancement. According to the murals, Canada had assimilated a materially unprogressive people, and, as anyone of European ancestry knew, the main justification for imperial power was the civilization of inferior cultures.[46] It was "the white man's burden" to fulfill God's purpose. Since Canada had assumed her share of the civilizing process, she had, indeed, attained the maturity of the mother country.[47] It was only appropriate, then, that as W.A. Sherwood had argued in 1893, "The art of the nation should reflect the genius of the race."[48]

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Notes

1 Many Canadians, including artists, were familiar with historical mural decoration in Europe, Great Britain and the United States. They discussed its ability to instill nationalistic sentiment, and urged support for Canadian counterparts. See C.H. MACINTOSH, "Cabot and other Western Explorers," *Canadian Magazine* (Dec. 1896): 156; G.A. REID, "Mural Decoration," *Canadian Magazine* (Apr. 1898): 501-508; F.S. CHALLENER, "Mural Decoration," *The Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1904): 90-92; A.R. CARMAN, "Wall Paintings in Europe," *Canadian Magazine* (Feb. 1906): 307-312; J.W. BEATTY, "A Canadian Painter and his Work," *Canadian Magazine* (Apr. 1906): 551; A. LISMER, "Mural Painting," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (July 1933): 133.

2 J. COOPER, "Canada's Progress in the Victorian Era," *Canadian Magazine* (June 1897): 152.

3 Until the early twentieth century, Canadian artists of European ancestry represented the *contemporary* Native. Champlain satisfied the curiosity of Europeans by depicting the Natives he had seen as "exotic". From the mid-seventeenth-century French-Canadian ecclesiastical artists portrayed the Native as recent convert. As land was cleared for the use of immigrants in the late

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries British topographical artists represented Natives as uncivilized elements of nature by confining them to the forested areas of townscapes. William Berczy painted the Mohawk Joseph Brant just after the American Revolution, when Brant and his followers had moved to Canada as a demonstration of loyalty to the British government. From the 1840's Paul Kane documented artifacts and customs of Native people before, as he believed, they became extinct. In the early twentieth century the work of Edmund Morris and some of the work of Emily Carr had similar motivations. After Confederation, as Native people were moved onto reservations, artists such as Frederick Verner and Frances Hopkins painted Native camps against the setting sun, and Natives paddling into the mist, metaphors of the contemporary situation. Since the early twentieth century few Canadian artists have represented the contemporary Native. Indeed, since *c.* 1980 the representation of Native people has been taken up by Native artists.

4 An interesting discussion on the morality of material progress in the United States as an aspect of antimodernism is provided by T. J. JACKSON LEARS, *No Place of Grace. Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

5 For details of the Society's efforts to decorate the Toronto Municipal Buildings, see R.M. PEPALL, "The Murals by George A. Reid in the Toronto Municipal Buildings (1897-1899)," (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1982); R.M. PEPALL, "The Murals in the Toronto Municipal Buildings: George Agnew Reid's Debt to Puvis De Chavannes," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* 9, no. 2 (1986): 142-166.

6 For Canadian views on harmony of site, subject matter and style in mural decoration, and their relation to British and American views, see, for example, J. MAVOR, *Notes on the Objects of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art and on the Exhibition of Prints and Mural Paintings with Condensed Catalogue*, Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1898; G. Reid, "Mural Decoration," *The Canadian Architect and Builder* (Jan. 1898): 14; J.E.H. MACDONALD, "Interior Decoration of St. Anne's Church, Toronto," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (May/June 1925): 90.

7 Reid's drawings for the proposed City Hall murals are in the collection of the London Regional Art and Historical Museums, London, Ontario.

8 J. MACMULLEN, *The History of Canada From its First Discovery to the Present Time* (Brockville: McMullen & Co. 1868), xxx.

9 D. DICKIE, *The Great Adventure. An Illustrated History of Canada for Young Canadians* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons [Canada] Ltd., 1950), 20.

10 *The Toronto Globe* (Nov. 21, 1908), quoted by D. M. FARR in *J.W. Beatty 1869-1941* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1981), 22.

11 C. MAIR, *Dreamland and Other Poems* (Montréal: Dawson Brother, 1868), 64.

12 S. LEACOCK, *Canada. The Foundation of Its Future Montreal* (privately printed, 1941), 19.

13 J. ZEMANS, *Jock Macdonald* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, Canadian Artists Series, 16), fig. 3.

14 These murals are now in the collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery. See also C. MCFADDIN, "The Murals of F.S. Challener," *Canadian Art* (Nov./Dec. 1963): 338-344.

15 For a brief discussion of the effects of the Indian Act on Native rituals, see J.R. MILLER, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens. A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989): 175, 189-190, 192-194.

16 MACMULLEN, *History of Canada*, xxiv.

17 MACMULLEN, *History of Canada*, xxviii.

18 J. CASTELL HOPKINS, *The Story of our Country. A History for Four Hundred Years* (Toronto: J.C. Winston Co., 1912), 65.

19 See Public Archives of Canada, *Minutes Books of the Royal Canadian Academy* (MG 28, I, 126, vol. 1): 273 (458) 10 Feb. 1923; Public Archives of Canada, *Scrapbook of the Royal Canadian Academy* (MG 28, I, 126, vol. 15): 125, 127. The painting, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, was exhibited at the Forty-Fifth Exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, held at the Art Gallery of Toronto, 22 Nov. 1923- 2 Jan. 1924. Five subsequent competitions were to have been held on the same theme, but there are no records indicating that they took place; nor does Macdonald's mural seem to have been installed in Ottawa.

20 *Ontario Public School History of Canada* (Toronto: Morang Educational Co., 1910), 247-248.

21 M. MILLER, *George Reid. A Biography* (Toronto: Summerhill Press Ltd., 2nd ed., 1987), 1-71. In 1920 plans for a mural on the history of transportation for Union Station were revived, but again not executed: *The Rebel* (Jan. 1920): 157-158.

22 BEATTY, *A Canadian Painter*, 553; MCFADDIN, *Murals*, 341. Four panels were donated to Rosedale Public School in Toronto *c.* 1917 where they remain.

23 See K. HALE, "The Career of Arthur Crisp," *Saturday Night* (13 May 1933): 3.

24 Quoted in LEARS, *No Place of Grace*, 8.

25 H. LAWSON, "The Log Chateau-Lucerne-in Quebec," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (Jan. 1931): 13-22. In the mezzanine of the restaurant are *Papineau speaking at the Village of St. Charles* and *English Troops Capture the Liberty Pole and bring it to Montreal.* In the bar are *The First Raft on the Ottawa 1806; The Heroic Stand of Dollard at Long Sault 1660; Old Time Sugaring Party 1881; Defeat of the Rebels at St. Eustache; Monseigneur De Laval, First Bishop of Quebec presented to King Louis XIV; Jacques Cartier lands at Gaspé; Richelieu and the Company of One Hundred Associates; Champlain Taking an Observation with the Astrolabe on the Ottawa, 1613; Building of the Carillon Canal, 1829; Seigneurial Custom, Planting in May,* and *English Trading in Hudson Bay, 1665.*

26 G.P. de T. GLAZEBROOK, *A Short History of Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 8.

27 The murals are now in the collection of the National Archives of Canada. See R. STACEY, *C.W. Jefferys* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, Canadian Artists Series 10, 1985), 20, fig. 3.

28 F. H. BRIGDEN, "Exhibition of Fine and Graphic Arts. Canadian National Exhibition - 1930," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (Oct. 1930): 350-351; LISMER, *Mural Painting*, 130.

29 "Decorative Paintings for the Manoir Richelieu," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (June 1929): 208-209.

30 The mural was donated by Theodore Loblaw in 1933 to the City of Toronto, Accession No. A75-169. See *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (Jan. 1929): 4. Challener had done an earlier version of the same subject for the King Edward Hotel in Toronto before 1906 (present location unknown). See BEATTY, *A Canadian Painter*, 548. Robert Pilot's mural, *First Traders of New France*, completed for the High School of Montreal in 1926 (present location unknown), had a similar theme and composition. See *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (Sept./Oct. 1926): 185.

31 J.H. ROBINSON, *Once Upon a Century. 100 Year History of the 'Ex'* (Toronto: J.H. Robinson, 1978), 9.

32 See for example, "Canada at St. Louis," *Canadian Magazine* (Nov. 1904): 33-42.

33 O.A. HOWLING, "The Canadian Historical Exhibition, 1897," *Canadian Magazine* (June 1986):167.

34 J.G. PARMELEE, "Canada's Participation in the World's Fair," *Canadian Geographical Journal* (July 1939): 85-97.

35 The murals, in storage for years, were restored between 1979 and 1986 and replaced in the original setting. See D. FALVEY, "The Case Study of the Low-Pressure Treatment of a Large-scale Canvas Mural Painting: *The Settlement of Canada* by Frederick S. Haines," *Papers of the 8th Triennial Meeting of ICCROM* (Sydney, Australia, 1987): 153-159. Haines' panels replaced eight others produced in 1928 for the Empire Marketing Board's participation in the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Canadian National Exhibition. Painted by Maurice Grieffenhagen, they depicted "epochal happenings in the various countries of the Empire." See SINAITICUS, "Canadian National Exhibition," *Construction* (Oct. 1928): 327-334.

36 In 1965 the four large panels of the mural and some of the border were removed from the auditorium and remounted in a classroom. Some of the border became the property of the McMichael Canadian Art Collection, but the two sections of the fifth and smallest panel and some of the border were discarded. Recently the four large panels were restored and moved to the school's new auditorium.
For a history of the Humberside murals, see a letter from J.B. Wren to A. Lismer (Toronto, 21 Feb. 1927), Humberside Collegiate Records, Archives of the Toronto Board of Education; The Minutes of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto (1927), 272; The Annual Report of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto (1929), 21; L. DARROCH, *Bright Land. A Warm Look at Arthur Lismer* (Toronto: Merritt Publishing Co. Ltd., 1981), 93- 96; T. HIDAS and J. POULOS, eds., *Humberside: The First Century* (Winnipeg: Josten Publications, 1992), I. HODKINSON, *Arthur Lismer's Drawings for the Humberside Mural. Development of a Grandiose Patriotic Theme*, Kleinburg, Ont.: McMichael Canadian Collection, 1992.

37 *School Art Leagues* (Toronto: Education Department of Ontario, 1899), 7-9; J.G. HODGINS, *School Room Decoration* (prepared for the Education Department of Ontario) (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1900), 5; G.A. REID, "School Decoration and Picture Study," *The School* (Apr. 1914): 479-482; LISMER, *The Toronto Star* (13 Dec. 1926): 1; LISMER, *Mural Painting*, 133; "Mural Painting in the Public Schools," *Construction* 10, no.7 (July 1917): 227.

38 D. MCARTHUR, *History of Canada for High Schools* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1930), 9.

39 M. LAWSON, *History of Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1906), 131.

40 MACMULLEN, *History of Canada*, xxiii.

41 For a history of the Jarvis murals, see *The Annual Report of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto* (1929): 22; *The Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto* (1929): 686; G.A. REID and L. CLAIRE, *Descriptive Notes of Mural Decoration in Jarvis Collegiate Institute Auditorium, Toronto* (privately published, 1930); G.A. REID and L. CLAIRE, "Mural Decoration in the Jarvis Collegiate Institute, Toronto," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (June 1933): 239-245; M. MILLER, *George Reid*, 130-132; H. MEDLAND, *Minerva's Diary: A History of Jarvis Collegiate* (Belleville: Mika Press, 1979), 126-130.

42 M. MILLER, *George Reid*, 166, states that Reid studied five (unidentified) Canadian history texts as a basis for the preparation of the Jarvis panels. At the same time, the Jarvis panels are probably a condensed version of a mural programme designed by Reid and other members of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art for the Ontario Legislative Building in 1902. The programme was never executed, much to Reid's disappointment, but a list of thirty planned subjects includes all of the Jarvis subjects. See J. MAVOR, *Notes on the Objects*, 1; M. MILLER, *George Reid*, 90; F. BAYER, *The Ontario Collection* (Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984), 94.

43 A panel with the same subject matter, English trading in Hudson Bay 1665, was executed by A. Sheriff Scott in 1930 for the Château Montebello. See H. LAWSON, *The Log Chateau-Lucerne*.

44 J.R. MILLER, *Skyscrapers*, 217.

45 Assimilation of Native peoples had been attempted from the time of settlement, particular-

ly by religious institutions, but after 1836 it became official government policy in Upper Canada, and was adopted federally in 1876. See MILLER, *Skyscrapers*, 103-104.

46 For contemporary views of Canada's material progress and her share of "the white man's burden," see, for example, J. COOPER, "Canada's Progress in the Victorian Era," *Canadian Magazine* (June 1897): 152; B. CAMERON, "The North-West Red Man and His Future," *Canadian Magazine* (Jan. 1900): 214; N. PATTERSON, "Thirty-Six Years of Dominion," *Canadian Magazine* (July 1903); N. RANKIN, "The Tragedy of the Red Man," *Canadian Magazine* (Feb. 1914): 406; E. BRAITHWAITE, "Canada as a World Leader," *Canadian Magazine* (July 1922): 175. G. W. MITCHELL, "Saviour of the Nordic Race," *Canadian Magazine* (June 1923): 138-140; A. LISMER, "Canadian Art," *Canadian Theosophist* (15 Feb. 1925): 177-178.

For more recent analyses of these views, see C. BERGER, "The True North Strong and Free," in P. RUSSELL (ed.), *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966); C. BERGER, *The Sense of Power. Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

47 With regard to Canada's developing maturity within the Empire, it is interesting to note that the murals of 1887, installed in the Dominion Government Building at Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition, and depicting "epochal happenings in the various countries of the Empire" were replaced in 1928 with murals depicting the material progress of Canada. See SINAITICUS, *Canadian National*.

48 W.A. SHERWOOD, "The Influence of the French School upon Recent Art," *Canadian Magazine* (Oct. 1893): 641.

Résumé

LA FRESQUE HISTORIQUE AU CANADA DE 1895 À 1939

Progrès matériel, moralité et «disparition» des peuples autochtones

Entre 1895 et 1939, plusieurs artistes du Canada anglais se firent l'écho du sentiment nationaliste en illustrant par des peintures murales le progrès matériel du nouveau dominion. Comme la plupart des Canadiens de cette époque, ils croyaient que le progrès matériel conduirait inévitablement à la grandeur nationale, à un statut plus élevé pour le nouveau dominion au sein de l'Empire britannique et à un rôle nouveau et important sur la scène internationale. Afin d'illustrer ce thème, ils représentèrent des Canadiens de souche européenne engagés activement dans l'exploration, la colonisation et les réalisations modernes en technologie et en architecture. L'effet était rehaussé par la présence d'indigènes immobiles et impassibles. De plus, alors que les figures d'«Euro-canadiens» sont aussi bien contemporaines qu'historiques, les autochtones apparaissent ex-

clusivement comme les vestiges d'un passé lointain.

En représentant les autochtones comme les faire-valoir préhistoriques des colons d'origine européenne, les peintres muralistes canadiens non seulement donnaient plus de force à leurs représentations du progrès matériel, mais montraient aussi qu'il ne restait aux autochtones qu'à reconnaître l'infériorité de leur culture matérielle, la légitimité de la présence européenne en Amérique du Nord et l'assimilation et l'extinction inévitables de leurs propres nations. C'est ainsi que les peintures murales servirent à renforcer l'hégémonie culturelle du groupe dominant et à fournir une justification morale au progrès matériel de la vie moderne.

Alors que la décision de juxtaposer les deux cultures a pu être un trait de génie sur le plan de la composition artistique, cette façon de représenter les premiers habitants n'était pas des plus nouvelle. En effet, à la fin du XIX[e] siècle, les manuels d'histoire en usage dans les écoles du Canada, aussi bien que la littérature populaire déclaraient de manière non équivoque que les autochtones étaient inférieurs sur le plan technologique. En conséquence, on laissait entendre qu'ils étaient d'accord pour remettre leurs terres sans discuter aux explorateurs et colons européens qui, ils le savaient, pouvaient les utiliser d'une manière plus productive. De plus, on affirmait que la population autochtone diminuait et finirait par disparaître.

Le premier programme canadien de peintures murales à employer cette description des autochtones comme moyen de mettre en valeur le progrès matériel des Canadiens de souche européenne, a été réalisé en 1894 pour le *Toronto Municipal Building,* sous la direction de George Agnew Reid. Elles montrent des Canadiens d'origine européenne faisant l'arpentage des terres à l'aide d'instruments mécaniques, pendant qu'un Amérindien les regarde, prudemment caché derrière un arbre, suggérant par là, non seulement son émerveillement devant la technologie, mais aussi sa disparition éventuelle.

Plusieurs autres peintures murales présentèrent des variations sur le même thème. *The Settlement of Canada*, faite en 1929 par Fred Haines et Herbert Palmer pour le *Dominion Government Building* de l'Exposition nationale du Canada, à Toronto, montrait le contraste entre la réussite de l'agriculture et la futilité de la chasse au bison comme méthodes efficaces de production alimentaire. Certaines illustrent l'acceptation volontaire par les autochtones de la prise de possession de leurs terres par des immigrants européens: *Governor and Mrs. Simcoe Paddled Up the Credit River*, réalisée par J.W. Beatty, vers 1908, pour le *Mississauga Golf and Country Club* dans le sud de l'Ontario, *A Friendly Meeting in Canada*, faite par J.E.H. MacDonald en 1923 et la murale peinte en 1928 par C.W. Jefferys et F.S. Challener pour le Manoir Richelieu au Québec. Les cinq panneaux réalisés par Arthur Lismer, de 1927 à 1931, pour le *Humberside Collegiate* à Toronto montrent bien que la mainmise énergique des Européens sur les

terres des autochtones au XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècle a conduit directement au progrès matériel de l'époque moderne.

Sur les murales faites par Challener pour le *Royal Alexandra Hotel* de Winnipeg, entre 1908 et 1912, tout comme sur les tableaux de maisons de la côte Nord-Ouest peints en 1939 par Jock Macdonald, pour la salle à manger de l'Hôtel Vancouver, l'architecture européenne est présentée comme supérieure à l'architecture autochtone. Le contraste entre les modes de transport autochtones et européens mettait en valeur la technologie occidentale dans des murales produites par Challener et J.D. Kelly, avant la Première Guerre mondiale, pour le navire de ligne *S.S. Toronto*, par C.W. Jefferys pour l'hôtel Château Laurier d'Ottawa, en 1930, par Adam Sheriff Scott pour le Lucerne-en-Québec, en 1930, et par Arthur Crisp pour le *Commerce Building* de Toronto, en 1931.

C'est l'efficacité du commerce européen qui était mise en contraste avec l'économie de traite des autochtones dans la murale de Challener *Fort Rouillé*, terminée en 1928 pour les bureaux de la chaîne alimentaire torontoise Loblaws. Le vaste programme mural réalisé par George Agnew Reids, entre 1929 et 1930, pour le *Jarvis Collegiate* de Toronto montre que la mainmise sur les terres autochtones au XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècle a conduit, non seulement au progrès matériel du XIX[e] et XX[e] siècle, mais encore, et c'est le plus important, à la nouvelle position occupée par le Canada sur le plan international, comme en fait foi le rôle important joué par le pays pendant la Première Grande guerre.

Si l'on en croit ces oeuvres, le Canada a assimilé un peuple sans avenir sur le plan matériel, et, c'est bien connu de quiconque a des ancêtres européens, la principale justification du pouvoir impérial était la civilisation des cultures inférieures. Selon la formule anglo-saxonne, c'était le «fardeau de l'homme blanc», le devoir de réaliser la volonté de Dieu. Puisque le Canada avait assumé sa part du processus de civilisation, il avait atteint la maturité de la mère patrie. Il devenait naturel, alors, que «l'art de la nation soit le reflet du génie de la race».

Traduction: Élise Bonnette

fig. 1 Arthur Lismer, **Portrait of Hector Charlesworth,** 1931-1933, pen and blue ink on wove paper, 12.8 x 10.2 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Gift of F. Maud Brown. (Photo : National Gallery of Canada)

BEAUTY MY MISTRESS

Hector Charlesworth as Art Critic

During fifty years as a journalist Hector Charlesworth (1872-1945) wrote on average only two or three reviews a year dealing with the visual arts, but his critical opinions have acquired an important place in the history of Canadian art. His limited engagement with the subject was determined in large part by the relative scarcity of art exhibitions in Toronto until about 1925,[1] by his editorial duties and also by his greater commitment to writing about music and drama; however what he had to say was expressed with authority and forcefulness, especially when it came to the Group of Seven. For them he became the embodiment of reactionary opposition to new ways of painting the Canadian landscape. They counter-attacked with articles and letters to editors, and Arthur Lismer's well-known caricature presents their view of him as both sanctimonious and doltish (fig.1). Eventually, when their success was assured, he could be dismissed with amused tolerance as "Old Heck," but their original feelings may have lingered to the end. When Charlesworth's daughter met A.Y. Jackson at the McMichael Collection in the 1960's she was rebuffed, and believed it was because of the old animosity toward her father.[2]

"Old Heck" is now quoted regularly to exemplify the traditionalism triumphantly overthrown by the Group of Seven. Nevertheless, from the beginning of his career as a regular critic in 1912, Charlesworth supported a form of modernism in some ways more radical than the Group's own. Although he deplored an almost total preoccupation with landscape in most exhibitions of Canadian painting,[3] he welcomed the early works of these young landscapists as continuations of what he regarded as the newest tendency. Later, he criticized their departures from his modernist canon with a degree of venom that he probably came to regret, but examination of the reviews reveals that his objections were based on deep feelings and thoughtful consideration.

Hector Charlesworth described his professional career in three volumes of reminiscences including evocative passages about his early life and education.[4] His father was a shoe salesman who later rose to become manager of a factory in Hamilton but the family was not sufficiently affluent to permit Charlesworth to continue his education beyond the age of fifteen. Fortunate to have had an inspiring teacher of English and literature in secondary school, he continued his education in a public library near the Toronto office where he was apprenticed to an accountant for two years. He read literature and philosophy, aspired to become a writer and sent examples of his poetry and prose to the weekly paper

Saturday Night. The editor not only published his work but included a notice inviting the anonymous author to a job interview in 1891. At the age of seventeen he was hired as an assistant editor, inaugurating a journalistic career that took him to several Toronto newspapers where he gained experience reporting on crime, politics and business affairs as well as music and drama.[5] In 1910 he returned to *Saturday Night* and retired as editor-in-chief in 1932.

At *Saturday Night* Charlesworth continued to write arts criticism and a column of "Reflections," often about books and looking back over his career in later years, he took pride in having been able to maintain his artistic and literary interests in spite of the pressure of editorial duties. This had the practical effect, he maintained, of keeping his writing skills in tune while helping him to report on public events and personalities with the detachment of an artist. Also, it clearly provided him with some compensation for his abandonment of an early ambition to travel to London and attempt serious writing during what he regarded as "the golden years" of English literature between 1894 and 1914. He always looked back with admiration to the period designated as "The Renaissance of English Art" by Oscar Wilde, whose works Charlesworth had read together with those of Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, J.M. Whistler and George Moore. These figures were founders and protagonists of the aesthetic movement of the 1890's, which is described in the classic study published by Holbrook Jackson in 1913. Charlesworth praised the book in terms which confirm aestheticism as the source of his artistic tastes and literary ambitions.[6]

"Even such parochial centres as the cities of Canada felt this awakening,"[7] he wrote and a minor result was his own juvenile nature poetry, composed from the age of sixteen onward. These verses were inspired by the pastoral landscape of southern Ontario that he fondly recalled in his reminiscences:

> If one stands on Ward's Hill, Port Hope, on the old roadway that used to run back of Trinity College School, one may see straight away to the north, across four miles of beautiful rolling country, the gables of the farmstead my grandfather completed in 1859, set down amid ten acres of apple orchard. In blossom time, when the apple trees, the giant lilac bushes, and the locust or acacia trees were in bloom, the scent and sights were thrilling in their loveliness. I have memories of summer nights when the singing in the chapel of Trinity College could be heard across four miles of valley, and when the moon rose the whippoorwill would respond with plaintive cries.[8]

Charlesworth's earliest verses were conventional and sentimental[9] but his later sonnets attracted friendly attention from the poet William Wilfred Campbell, who included a group of them in his *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* (1913).[10] This brief appearance in the company of Canada's leading poets was the zenith of Charlesworth's literary achievement. It confirmed his adoption of what he later described as a double life initiated when, "as a boy of 16 I had made beauty my

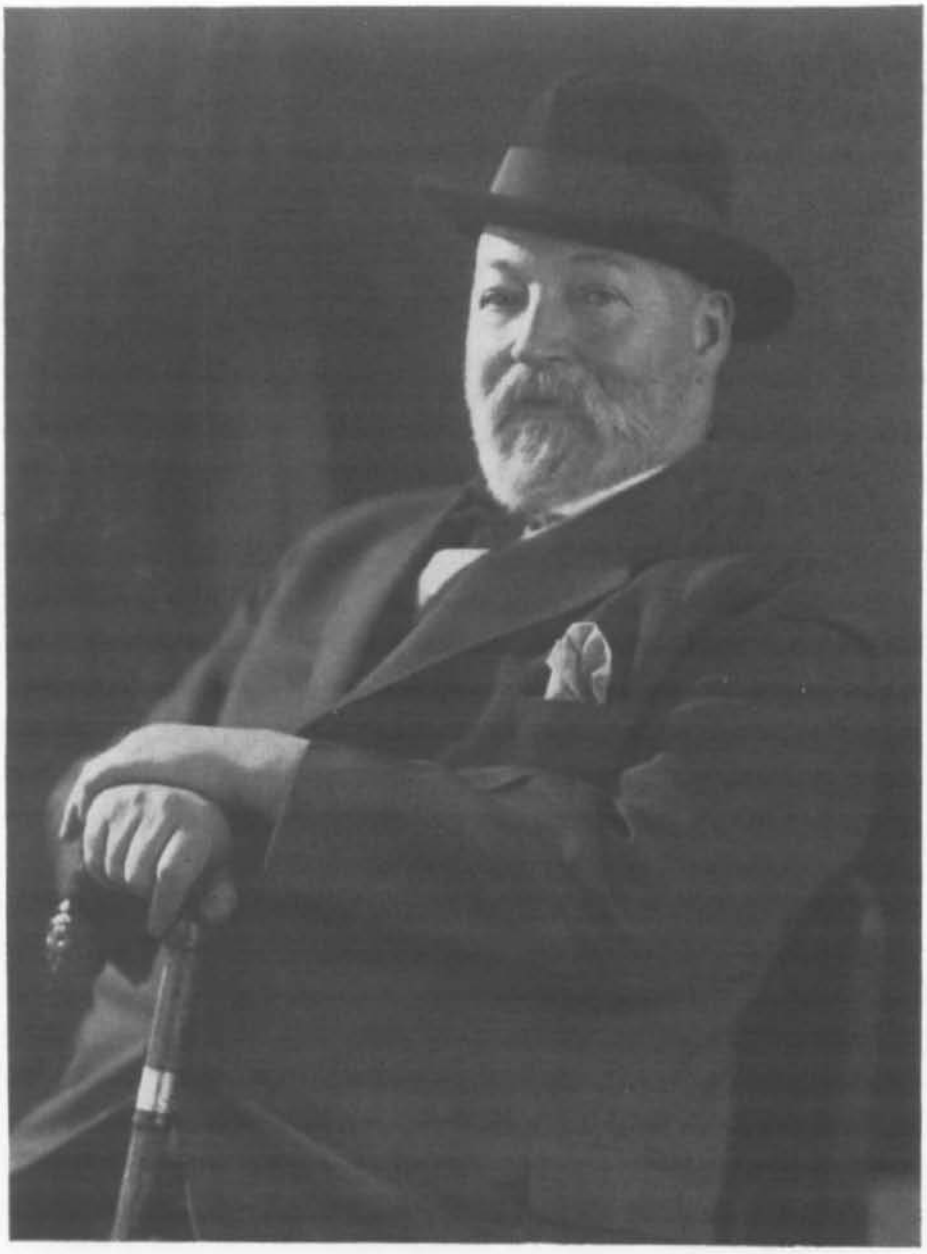

fig. 2 **Hector Charlesworth,** Frontispiece, *I'm Telling You : Being Further Candid Chronicles...*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1937. (Photo : McMaster University)

mistress, and whatever my pursuits I have never lost sight of her."[11]

The pride that Charlesworth took in his famous resemblance to King Edward VII is evident in a photograph taken for the frontispiece for his last volume of reminiscences (fig.2), but the elegantly tilted homburg, carefully trimmed beard, handkerchief and cane also reveal one who cultivated the sensibilities of an Edwardian aesthete with a keen interest in literature, music and the theatre. Of course the visual arts had been important to him as well, ever since his first year at *Saturday Night* where he met the artists C.W. Jefferys, Robert Holmes, Otto Jacobi, Carl Ahrens, Daniel Fowler and many others. Later he remarked that this was how he had become familiar with most Canadian painters of importance. His expertise was demonstrated as early as 1892 in an article on "Painting in Canada," where he over-confidently castigated the shortcomings of many artists while, with more reason, condemning the Canadian public for its ignorance of art.[12] In the same year he intervened on behalf of a controversial painting by Ernest Thompson Seton and prevented its exclusion from the Canadian section of the Fine Arts exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[13] He visited that exhibition in 1893 and its vast display of world art became a reference point to which he often referred during a career deprived of foreign travel.

Perhaps it was at Chicago that he began to develop his taste for the relatively new trend in the United States toward "poetic" landscape painting initiated by the late work of the American George Inness and his followers.[14] They abandoned grandiose scenes, careful detail, anecdote and moralizing in favour of pastoral themes imbued with gentle melancholy that were "dissolved into soft, muted, shimmering color... dreamlike, light-saturated." Their intention was to create delicate, ethereal moods and assimilate painting to music or poetry by means of tonal nuance, rhythmic composition and suggestion.[15] Although such painting was an international phenomenon inspired by Corot in France, Whistler in England, J.H. Weissenbruch in the Netherlands and R. Macaulay Stevenson in Scotland, an historian of American art is probably correct in asserting that "in no other country has it affected any such proportion of landscape work as in America."[16]

It was inevitable that Canadian artists would become involved in this new tendency. Painters like Archibald Browne (1864-1948), F. McGillivray Knowles (1859-1932), Carl Ahrens (1862-1936) and W.E. Atkinson (1862-1926) assimilated the influences of Whistler, Corot, Inness and Stevenson and by 1904 they were exhibiting works in Toronto which challenged viewers to appreciate vague, generalized arrangements of shapes and colours suggesting moonlight, twilight and mist in the river valleys of southern Ontario. In Toronto studios painters and poets could then be overheard discussing ways of creating visual equivalents of poetry, or arguing about Mallarmé's views regarding the pre-emi-

fig. 3 Archibald Browne, **Bewitchment**, *c.* 1910, oil on canvas, 91.0 x 63.0 cm, Private Collection. (Photo : Harry Korol)

nence of pure beauty over "expressive meaning."[17] At least one critic heaped scorn on this "dreamy, non-committal, low-toned, washy style" which "induced the true believer to go into a state almost hypnotic over a spot of dim orange surrounded by dark purple...supposed to represent the verdant mead of the poets."[18] But it was this popular school of landscape painting with which the next generation of artists had to compete in Canadian exhibitions, not the Dutch painters ridiculed by A.Y. Jackson as foreign interlopers on native soil.[19] Responding to the challenge, the Group of Seven, their youthful energy and op-

timism in tune with the spirit of nation-building, succeeded in overwhelming the painters of pastoral dreams and virtually eliminated them from Canada's art historical memory.

Charlesworth's familiarity with Whistler's "Ten O'Clock Lecture," Oscar Wilde's "The Decay of Lying" and George Moore's *Modern Painting*,[20] enabled him to recognize the new mode as an important aspect of the aesthetic movement that had first influenced him through its literature. He began to champion its exponents with enthusiasm and in his first signed review for *Saturday Night*, in 1913, he singled out Archibald Browne (fig.3) for special praise as "one of the most individual of our new painters [who] seeks out nature in her evanescent moods of mist and shadow, [giving] the impression of dreams rather than actualities." Later he praised Browne for taking a truly Whistlerian viewpoint of his subjects "in the lovely Don Valley." Another favorite was W.E. Atkinson (fig.4), "a genuine seer of nature," with his "tender, poetic style...tranquility of coloring [and] true atmospheric feeling." Carl Ahrens, who was personally acquainted with and influenced by George Inness, painted woodland scenes described by Charlesworth as "interpreting with poetic truth" the "most lovely pastoral scenes imaginable in the Humber Valley." He complimented the eclectic F. McGillivray Knowles, who was closely connected with the American art scene, in similar terms. He also delighted in the "landscapes of exceptional loveliness, thrilling in...delicate vibration of tones and poetry of arrangement" painted by Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (1866-1928), works which were perhaps even more typical of what may be called the aesthetic school of landscape painting.[21] (fig.5)

Charlesworth remained faithful to these artists and their methods throughout his career, but their fondness for pastoral scenes of the kind celebrated in his youthful poetry enabled him to link them with Homer Watson (1855-1936) and Horatio Walker (1858-1938), whose paintings were more detailed, earthy and moralizing in their treatment of the rural scene in Ontario and Québec. In this regard they contravened the aesthetic movement's ban on emphatic subject matter and didactic messages, but Watson's poetic quality had been admired by Wilde and Whistler, and Walker was redeemed by his link to the Barbizon painters who had been so important for the origins of aesthetic landscape painting. In fact, Charlesworth was always willing to enlarge his roster of favourite painters to include strong and divergent artistic personalities. He had been taught by George Moore to respect some of the most revolutionary painters of the 19th century - Courbet, Manet, Degas, Whistler and Monet[22] - so he was able to admire the up-to-date colourism and handling of Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté (1869-1937), inspired by French Impressionism but imbued with the requisite "poetic feeling." James Wilson Morrice (1865-1924), now regarded as a pioneer of post-impressionist modernism in Canada, was also praised by

fig. 4 W.E. Atkinson, **October**, 1904, oil on canvas, 74.3 x 99.7 cm, Government of Ontario Art Collection, Toronto. (Photo : Tom Moore)

fig. 5 Elizabeth M. Knowles, **Misty Evening**, 1913, oil on canvas, 30.3 x 23.2 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Conn, 1937. (Photo : Art Gallery of Ontario)

Charlesworth for his "peculiar poetry, warmth, mystery and aesthetic appeal."[23]

When the younger artists who were to form the Group of Seven came to Charlesworth's attention in 1912 he tended to judge them with reference to criteria provided by the aesthetic landscapists. His approval of J.E.H. MacDonald's *Tracks and Traffic* (fig.6) was based on a liking for its "poetic and decorative treatment of the unusual subject of a railway freight yard," an approach to urban themes sanctioned by both Whistler and Monet, as Charlesworth was well aware. Although he often found his favourite ingredients lacking, he could praise A.Y. Jackson's *Red Maple* (1914, National Gallery of Canada), shown at the R.C.A. in 1914, as a "very vivid and original" painting, with "a striking composition." In 1915 he seemed inclined to regard the newcomers as having great potential within the Canadian school. It was "the startling glow of color" they brought to the annual exhibition of the O.S.A. that he found impressive. His expectation of low-toned dreaminess in landscape painting was challenged. He sensed the excitement of a rebellion in the making and as one who traced his own artistic awakening to the assault on Victorianism by youthful innovators in the nineties, he could hardly withhold guarded approval. "No doubt some of

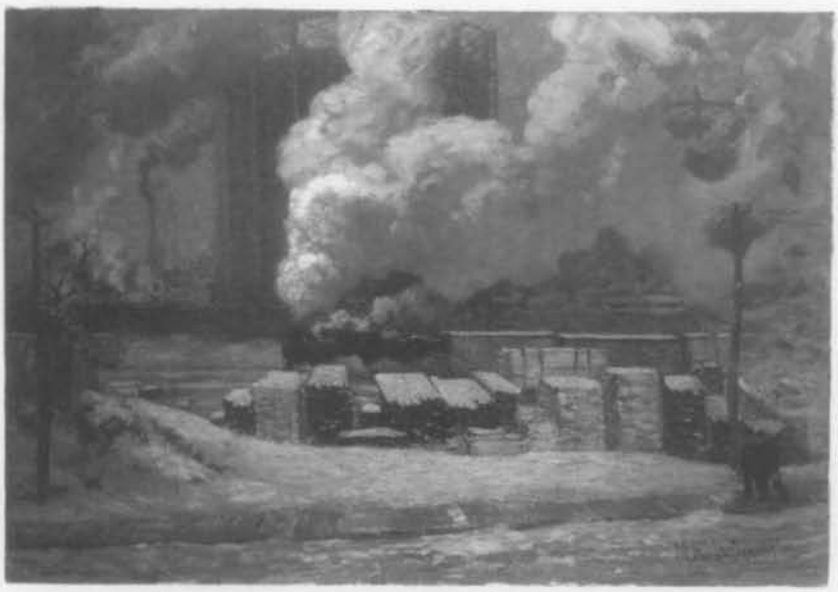

fig. 6 J.E.H. MacDonald, **Tracks and Traffic**, 1912, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 101.6 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Walter C. Laidlaw, 1937. (Photo: Art Gallery of Ontario)

fig. 7 Tom Thomson, **Northern River**, *c.* 1914-15, oil on canvas, 115.1 x 102.0 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada)

these younger men see their tones in an exaggerated degree," he wrote, "but their influence has been on the whole good. They have wakened up their elders." Harris, Jackson, and Varley were all complimented and Tom Thomson's *Northern River* (fig.7) was singled out as "fine, vigorous and colourful," a work Charlesworth later came to regard as "one of Canada's finest possessions" by an artist who had been a "brilliant young interpreter of the Canadian wilds." The paintings of these young men seemed "almost to shout at us from the walls as if to inform us that Canada has a wealth of color in its vistas that cannot be surpassed in any land."[24]

A year later in 1916, the tone was very different. Harris's *Snow II* (*c.*1916, National Gallery of Canada) he found to be "one of the best in his current style," but now he felt that, on the whole, the younger artists were "inspired by no sincere passion for beauty," resorting as they did to what he called the tactics of the vaudeville manager, using any means to catch the eye of the public. Their vivid colour was condemned instead of praised and J.E.H. MacDonald's works were singled out for a savage attack. How can one account for this dramatic change of heart? Possibly Charlesworth's acquaintances among the aesthetic painters had indicated to him that the strong colour and design of the new painters, when ranged in the competitive arena of an exhibition, aimed a death blow at the muted tonal gradations in which they specialized.[25]

At the beginning of this 1916 review Charlesworth used a recently-coined term that was being applied to new and aggressive art when he remarked that "applied or quasi-'futurism' had gotten hold of the hanging committee." This epithet was loaded with unpleasant connotations as a result of the controversy that had erupted in Britain during the exhibition of Italian Futurist art in London in 1912. Engaged in a gleeful assault on time-honoured concepts of man, nature and art, the Futurists had used publicity stunts to promote their harsh, highly coloured abstractions and London was outraged. The long-standing suspicion that modernist art was allied with anarchism and communism in seeking to subvert civilization was heightened to fever pitch when the new art was taken up by young British artists calling themselves "Vorticists."[26] "Futurism" began to be used indiscriminately in the English speaking world to denote any form of radical modernism in art that offended and alarmed the general public.

Rumbles from these explosions reached Canada primarily through verbal description, commentary and a few illustrations in the British press (closely followed in loyal Ontario) but Charlesworth republished a diatribe against the new style by an American critic reacting to the Armory Show.[27] Such sources told him that the latest rebels in art were a more dangerous breed than the relatively gentle and gentlemanly innovators he had admired in his youth. It is not surprising that when the outbreak of war confirmed fears of a general assault on established values, he associated the attempted reform of Canadian painting with extremist art overseas. Joining with those who closed ranks against threats to the old order, he condemned the relatively mild novelties of colour and form introduced by what he described in 1916 as "militant Canadian artists full of new ideas with a liking for delirious subjects and startling colors."[28]

Actual military duty claimed the services of most of the young insurgents after 1916. When their work as chroniclers of the conflict was exhibited in Toronto in 1919 and 1920, Charlesworth acknowledged the value of their contribution to Canada's war effort. These exhibitions also gave him an opportunity to see even more radical works by Wyndham Lewis and William Roberts, former members of the Vorticist group who had served in the Canadian War Records scheme. Not surprisingly, he found their paintings "crude" and "hideous" but he was prepared to acknowledge that defiance of convention by the use of extreme methods could serve as a means of conveying to future generations "a more effective message of what Canadians endured in the Great War."[29] Of course he was not prepared to countenance the continued application of such methods, however attenuated, to the Canadian scene. When the returned artists began to do so he admonished "the younger iconoclasts, the abandoned color splashers" that they must realize the function of painting is to be as consolatory as music.[30]

This insistence on the need for relief from the stresses of the past four years coincided with a post-war reaction in Europe against a violently radical art identified with mechanization and irrationalism in the contemporary world and with the plunge into the horrors of modern warfare. British artists, once enthusiastic about the destructive aims of Futurism, had seen miles of front-line desolation and they now sought out placid, rural subjects associated with the wholeness and tranquillity of pre-war existence.[31] Undoubtedly a comparable sentiment motivated those Canadian artists who retreated from the wreckage of Europe into the wilderness, but Charlesworth refused to be consoled by their renewed activity.

His feelings about the "iconoclasts" boiled over in December of 1922 when, after a visit to Ottawa, he wrote a front-page article entitled "The National Gallery a National Reproach." Here he characterized the young radicals, now formally constituted as the Group of Seven, as a canny, organized minority who had successfully lobbied to have their works over-represented in the National Collection. A great outcry ensued, with a reply from Sir Edmund Walker, Chairman of the Board of Trustees; an attack by artists on the critic's credentials as a judge of art and spirited answers from Charlesworth. He took the high ground that he was only adhering to "eternal standards of poetry and beauty which are being allowed to languish and die, in part by official connivance."[32]

Clearly his attack on the National Gallery was partially motivated by a desire to protect the aesthetic painters from neglect, but he was also troubled by a growing suspicion of the Group of Seven as a symptom of a broader threat to the cultural and social well-being of Canada. His nostalgia for pre-war days was based on stronger and older memories than those of the re-grouped artists. He looked back on the age of Laurier as the happiest time the Canadian confederation had ever known, a period when a thriving agricultural economy was supported by strong Imperial ties.[33] It was an age when society, shaped by "vital rural districts," had been "a veritable forcing house of originality," producing characters "possessed of an individuality in outlook and pungency of utterance characteristic of the Canadians of the Confederation era, picturesque qualities we do not associate with the comparatively standardized Canadian of today."[34] Individualism had, in his view, fallen victim to paternalism in government, a process much accelerated when strong actions taken by parliament induced Canadians to work together in a national war effort.[35] Charlesworth saw this change reflected in the Group of Seven, who seemed to propose, he wrote later, that a national school of painting could be created "by inducing all young painters to feel, see, think and paint in exactly the same way," and when he thought the National Gallery was promoting the work of believers in a national art effort to the exclusion of divergent tendencies, he feared that Canadian art would harden into one official style.[36]

In 1925, in his only review of a Group of Seven exhibition, he phrased this criticism with reference to what he perceived as the artists' advocacy of a "Group System" in art:

> The group system in politics has of late been tried in several parts of the English speaking world and found wanting; but there still seem to be persons who have a childlike faith in the group system in art. There is an analogy between the two. The new political groups in Canada have been a congeries of regimented opinion, pledged to fixed programs, in which it is treason to look aside at anything unrelated to the main object....Something like the very same attitude of mind governs the body of painters known as 'The Group of Seven.'[37]

Here one discerns a connection between his views on art and what the editorial pages of *Saturday Night* described as a dangerous internal threat to progress and good government in Canada. This threat materialized when the United Farmers of Ontario, aided by Labour, were able to form a government after the election of 1919. They overthrew the British two-party system and initiated a period of political unrest that had repercussions throughout the country.[38] According to *Saturday Night's* fevered editorials, influenced no doubt by the "Red Scare" sweeping North America in the wake of the Russian Revolution, this outcome posed multiple, interrelated threats to democracy: a form of the Teutonic domination the country had opposed during the war; a local adaptation of Russia's [Socialist] message to mankind and a class-based "Group System" of government imported from populist politics of the American west.[39] The possible consequence for art had been spelled out in an editorial from 1920 in which Charlesworth had described the dominance in Soviet Russia of "an abstract, fantastically crude art, devoid of all beauty - futurism, [a style] in keeping with a socialism without beauty and a communism without equality."[40]

He can hardly have believed the activities and works of the Group of Seven were very closely allied with radical political movements supposed to be threatening the British parliamentary system in Canada. However the fact that the Group was supported by and contributed to the progressive Toronto periodicals *The Rebel* and its successor *The Canadian Forum* [41] must have encouraged that leap of the critical imagination which, for over a hundred years, had identified the work of artistic rebels as analogues of political disruption.[42] Consequently Charlesworth returned again and again to the Group's supposed similarity to the Futurists. He referred to their "hit 'em in the eye" efforts[43] to capture the attention of the public by radical departures from artistic norms, their ability to intimidate some artists, their success in recruiting others to their cause and their use of official channels to publicize their work. In attacking the Group's stylistic innovations he compared their work with garish posters, a jazz orchestra in full blast and Greenwich village wallpaper.[44] In 1925 Charlesworth

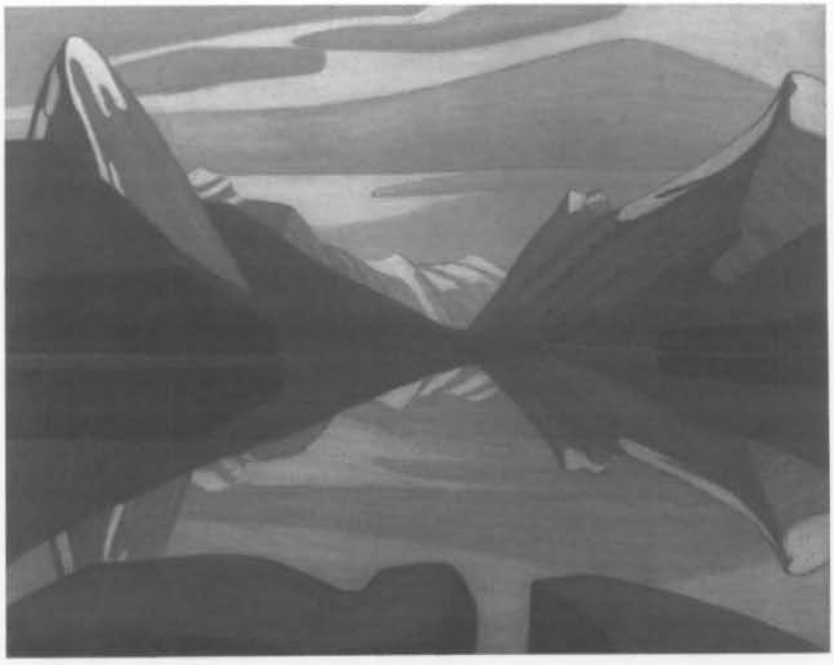

fig. 8 Lawren S. Harris, **Maligne Lake, Jasper Park,** 1924, oil on canvas, 122.8 x 152.8 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada)

assailed Lawren Harris's *Maligne Lake* (fig.8) for its hard outlines, kaleidoscopic angles and spirals (said to resemble mechanical drawings) combined with "lighting akin to the weird glare of the calcium lamp." This seems to identify Harris, surprisingly enough for the contemporary reader, as the leader of a renewed Futurist threat to Canadian art.[45] Clearly the Group's art and their organization had begun to obsess him as a danger to the future of Canada and as a focus for his resentment about the passing of an age in which his personality and artistic sensibility had matured.

Charlesworth's nostalgia reached far back to "the sterling yeoman settlers of British origin" who, like his grandfather, had arrived early in the nineteenth century to complete the transformation of southern Ontario into farmland.[46] He shared not only their liking for British forms of social and political order but their dislike of an untamed, disorderly wilderness. The wilds existed only to be transformed, if possible, into fertile land, a process he believed was the best illustration of the axiom that life is change, change is life, a principle he found confirmed in *The Outline of History* by H.G. Wells. In a lengthy and enthusiastic book review he provided his own, significant illustration of this point: "It is only non-living things that

never change, never grow, never reproduce, like the primordial rocks of which Canada, with its Laurentian formation, is the abiding place."[47]

Charlesworth's unforgiving view of the Northland was not modified until 1928, but this came too late for him to appreciate the discovery of its aesthetic potential by the Group of Seven.[48] Long before, within the milieu of Toronto's Bohemia in the 1890's ("a real Bohemia" more delightful, he said, than anything to be found after the War[49]), he had become devoted to artists who shared his reverence for the rural scene and its capacity to inspire deep poetic sentiment. In spite of Charlesworth's subsequent career as a city journalist and chronicler of the rise of modern commerce, he remained spiritually committed to an ideal of beauty rooted in the agrarian myth of husbandry as the source of all that is most valuable in human culture.[50] Mechanization and industrialization heightened a sense of loss that led him to reject the subject matter of Group of Seven paintings as works depicting areas of primeval rock and jack pine instead of pastoral land "as lovely in its contours as a beautiful woman, glowing with exquisite and subtle gradations of tone."[51] For him the Group had been and always remained "painters [who elect] to present in exaggerated terms the most sinister aspects of the Canadian wilds, and [who have] steadily campaigned against all painters of more suave and poetic impulse."[52]

Charlesworth's lament about the Group's devotion to the "sinister wilderness" was written during the culmination of his campaign against them in 1924. It came when the Royal Canadian Academy lost out to the National Gallery in an acrimonious struggle to control the organization of an exhibition of Canadian art to be shown during the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in England. The result was a strong showing of the Group of Seven in this relatively prestigious venue.[53] Charlesworth, perceiving another triumph for "the organized minority," complained that "what some of us has feared has come to pass" and launched a front page attack under the screaming headline, "Freak Pictures at Wembley." Many British reviewers admired the younger Canadian artists but Charlesworth dismissed their comments as "flub-dub, every word of it" and suggested they were politically motivated as they attempted to "cement the Empire with friendly allusions to 'an original Canadian school of art.'" Nonetheless, as an enthusiastic anglophile he was certainly troubled by praise from this quarter, which the National Gallery was careful to collect and distribute widely in a pamphlet.[54] He must have experienced a sense of betrayal when British critics praised works that they might previously have regarded as abhorrent forms of modernism. In reaction he clung stubbornly to his old convictions and at the same time displayed colonial insecurity by worrying that representations of the Canadian wilderness at Wembley would create an impression among the British at large that "Canada is a land of ugliness and its art a reflection of a crude and tasteless native intelligence."[55]

From a more practical point of view he was afraid that the Group's paintings, with their presentation of the Canadian scene as unremittingly wild and presumably infertile, would discourage visitors to our shores. It is doubtful that he was thinking of tourists as much as the continuing need for Canada to attract the type of British settler who had come to Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century to make it "the granary of the British Empire."[56] As an old-fashioned Conservative loyal to the British monarchy, he saw great hope for Canada's future in its continuing association with the British Empire, which he could describe with awe as "an ever-potent factor in the affairs of this terrestrial sphere."[57] In the post-war period of continuing immigration by central Europeans, the traditional British source of new citizens must have seemed even more essential to Charlesworth, as it did to many others, for the orderly development and prosperity of the country. "From the standpoint of business," he wrote, "the Group of Seven are as bad an advertisement as this country ever had,"[58] one that would contribute to loosening the ties binding Canada to Britain and the Empire, further endangering economic and political stability.

Charlesworth's youthful ambition to pursue a literary career had been thwarted by geography, insufficient talent, necessity and opportunity, all of which propelled him into journalism; but throughout a long career his attention was divided studiously between the empyrean realm of the arts and public events in the noisy arena of an industrial city. The tragedy of his life, if such a term can be applied to one who impressed all who knew him as a contented man and happy warrior, was that the two realms could not be kept separate. This had seemed possible when the aesthetic movement defined creative work as the product of imaginative and spiritual energy far removed from material concerns. His "double life" was increasingly threatened by the social, technological, political and cultural changes that culminated in World War I. Younger artists and critics met the challenge of the compaction of art and life by redefining aesthetic value in terms of new subjects and forms adapted to the changed conditions of the twentieth century. One result was the success of the Group of Seven together with the public discrediting of Charlesworth's taste in art and the apparent relegation of his world view to the domain of ideas and principles outmoded by progress.

Charlesworth continued to find solace in music, his greatest love among the arts,[59] but even here there was no escaping the frantic tempo of the age. In spite of his fondness for the light entertainment of vaudeville, the circus and minstrel shows, he could not abide the wildly popular music that gave the post-war decade its name - jazz. For him it was a pejorative epithet, suitable for application to works by the Group of Seven, a parallel symptom of the corruption of art in modern times. It may also have brought his career as a critic to a sudden end that was sadly appropriate for an old journalist who had delighted in

recording unexpected twists and quirks in the lives of public figures. Family history relates that his last, highly abrasive music review of a concert by Duke Ellington resulted in an angry phone call from the musician, a call so stressful that it precipitated a final heart seizure.[60]

For some there may be an appearance of grim justice in this last act of Charlesworth's career as a critic, and this account of his opinions and their origins may seem an unnecessary exercise in the pathology of reactionary criticism. Yet his objections to the Group of Seven were based on a clearly defined set of beliefs and principles that are not totally irrelevant at the present moment. Charlesworth believed that radically heightened aesthetic sensitivity, as advocated by the doctrine of art for art's sake, was an essential feature of human nature in its fully developed state. Against the odds, he did whatever he could to encourage this faculty in what he saw as a largely uneducated, frontier society devoted to the pursuit of material success. Motivated by fierce opposition to the philistinism of the church-ridden, money-centred society he had known during his youth in Toronto,[61] he thought the manners and taste of his countrymen might be refined by acquaintance with the subtleties of the best of ancient and modern art. He was certain that this could not be achieved by a modernism in painting that he found to be crassly commercial in its appeal to a growing appetite for sensation and quick emotional satisfaction.

At the same time, he believed that a strongly defined character, verging on eccentricity at times, was essential if men and women were to be capable of lasting achievements and deserve the admiration of others. Respect for artistic originality was a natural corollary of this conviction and so was his insistence on the need for freedom of expression. The result was that in his own way, and in the context of contemporary events, he opposed any form of regimentation or control requiring subordination of individuality to a dominant principle or idea. His dislike of "group systems" requiring such repression enabled him to recognize a troubling tendency toward authoritarianism inherent in revolutionary, modernist art.[62]

It was also an important principle for him that nature, both human and external, should be enjoyed as many-sided phenomena. "I know the woods and wilds of Canada as well as most men," he wrote, "and I am just as well equipped as any man to recognize a true interpretation," but his preference was for the delights of the softer, more "feminine" aspect of nature in a cultivated state, which over the centuries had released what he believed was the truest spring of poetry and art in humanity. He deplored the glorification of wilderness and the narrowness of what he called "the prevailing shibboleth of ruggedness" and "the vaunted qualities of strength" exemplified by the Group of Seven as they sought out their subjects in the Northland, their hearty outdoorsmanship inspired by the example of lumberjacks, fur trappers and other pioneers of wilderness ex-

ploitation.[63] Charlesworth felt there should also be a place for delicate and sensitive temperaments of the kind often found, he believed, in the women artists to whom he frequently referred with respect and esteem.[64]

Old-fashioned loyalty to family, city, province, nation and Empire was also a marked trait of Charlesworth's system of values. It must have seemed essential to him as a means of binding together and strengthening the elements of individuality. It was this that helped to give his own character the kind of "pungency" he admired in others. Strong social loyalties keep individuality from becoming totally self-regarding, but repeated shifts and changes of loyalty, with an increasing focus on ideologies, weakened this unifying tendency in the modern age. Consequently, artistic activity turned increasingly inward, giving rise to what Charlesworth called "self-expression without limitation,"[65] a feature of modern art to which he strongly objected. Of course, it is hardly necessary to emphasize that Charlesworth has no claim to be considered a profound critical thinker. But today one might regard his resistance to twentieth-century modernism as a rudimentary form of an awareness that has evolved into complex arguments devised by contemporary critics to identify the multiple defects of twentieth century art, including commodification, beaurocratization, authoritarianism, male dominance, and narcissism.[66]

In addition, some of his more specific complaints about the work of the Group of Seven, re-drafted from a more contemporary point of view, have come to dominate critical opinion. For example, many later critics have considered that, as a whole, the paintings of the Group (excepting their outdoor sketches) display a rather monotonous, commercialist version of modernism's flattened form and space, as Charlesworth maintained. An excessive emphasis on landscape has also been noted, a fault that Charlesworth had criticized in the overall aspect of Canadian art.[67] Even one of the Group's closest associates and supporters from the early days, Barker Fairley, adopted a view comparable with Charlesworth's about the stifling effect of such preoccupation with "pictures of rocks and trees."[68] Their emphasis on distinctive topography was also criticized with reference to an up-dated version of Charlesworth's aesthetic criteria by the Montreal painter and critic, John Lyman. In the spirit of Roger Fry and Clive Bell, he disapproved of their emphasis on subject matter rather than "significant form" or, as he phrased it, their preoccupation with "sentimental geography" instead of "the subjective element of artistic creation." Lyman also echoed and confirmed one of Charlesworth's major reservations when he contended that the Group did not respect "the sensibility and imagination of the individual."[69]

But it was only after World War II that versions of Charlesworth's highly critical view of the Group acquired decisive influence. The artist and critic George Swinton exemplifies this development in an article from 1955 when he wrote of the Group's unfortunate influence in making landscape painting synon-

ymous with art in Canada and of how they were "fettered by stylization and decoratively contrived geometric form from which all allusions to humanity must be excluded for fear of sentimentalism and effeminacy." In his view the remedy lay with "a rebirth to the ways of contemporary painting" through younger artists linked to the latest avant-garde tendencies. This process was well under way as he wrote, leading to final liberation from Group of Seven dominance, an ironic outcome with regard to Charlesworth's career as a critic. There followed the complete integration of Canadian art with twentieth-century modernism during the 1960's. However, only a decade later the validity of twentieth-century modernism as a whole was called into question, and in this ongoing debate there are, as noted above, further ironic echoes of critisms voiced by Charlesworth in the 1920's.[70]

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Notes

1 The Royal Canadian Academy, The Ontario Society of Artists, The Canadian Art Club, the Art Gallery of Toronto and the Canadian National Exhibition mounted most of the exhibitions reviewed by Charlesworth during his most active years as an art critic (1913-1927).

2 A.Y. Jackson records the Group's nickname for Charlesworth in A.Y. JACKSON, *A Painter's Country: The Autobiography of A.Y. Jackson* (Toronto: Clark Irwin, 1958), 79. For the anecdote about Charlesworth's daughter (the late Mrs. Constance MacKay) and for other helpful information I am indebted to Mrs. Marion E. Thompson, Toronto.

3 *Saturday Night* (24 May 1913): 6; (21 Mar. 1914): 5; (9 May 1914): 5.

4 Hector CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles: Leaves from the Note Book of a Canadian Journalist* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925); *More Candid Chronicles: Further Leaves from the Notebook of a Canadian Journalist* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1928); *I'm Telling You: Being the Further Candid Chronicles of Hector Charlesworth* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1937).

5 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 123-25, 71.

6 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 316-17; Holbrook JACKSON, *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Grant Richards, 1913).

7 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 317.

8 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 18.

9 See his "Wych-Hazel," *Saturday Night's Christmas* (Dec. 1890): 18.

10 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 89-91; Wilfred CAMPBELL, ed., *The Ox-*

ford Book of Canadian Verse (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1913), 304-06.

11 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 315.

12 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 91-5; 328-36; "Art in Canada To-day," *The Lake Magazine* (Aug. 1892): 57-61.

13 *Saturday Night*, 17 Dec. 1892, 4; 24 Dec. 1892, 14; CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 334-36. Seton's painting, entitled "Awaited in Vain," depicted a winter landscape with wolves in the foreground devouring the remains of a man attacked as he returned to his cabin.

14 Elizabeth BROUN, "American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1976), "The Poetic Landscapists," 96-131.

15 E.P. RICHARDSON, Painting in America (London: Constable, 1959), 304. For a general discussion of this trend see Wanda M. CORN, *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism 1880-1920*, exhibition catalogue, M.H. De Young Memorial Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honour (San Francisco, 1972).

16 RICHARDSON, *Painting in America*, 304.

17 A conversation along these lines between the artist Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (fig.5) and the poet Bliss Carman was recalled by NEWTON MACTAVISH in his reminiscences *Ars Longa* (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., 1938), 69.

18 The new tendency is noted by an anonymous reviewer of the O.S.A. exhibition in 1904 (*The Mail and Empire*, 20 Feb. 1904, 6), and it was criticized by J.A. RADFORD "Canadian Art and its Critics," *Canadian Magazine* (Oct. 1907), 518.

19 A.Y. JACKSON, "Dutch Art in Canada: The Last Chapter," *The Rebel* (Nov.1919): 65-6; *A Painter's Country*, 14-15.

20 James MCNEILL WHISTLER, "Mr. Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock Lecture'," *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (London: W. Heineman, 1892); Oscar WILDE, "The Decay of Lying," *Intentions* (London: Heineman & Balestier, 1891); George MOORE, *Modern Painting* (London: Walter Scott, 1893).

21 *Saturday Night* (24 May 1913): 6; (19 Oct. 1918): 7; (10 Nov. 1917): 7; (9 May 1914): 5; (5 Jan. 1918): 3; (21 Mar. 1914): 5; (3 Nov. 1923): 3.

22 See his reviews of paintings sent to Toronto from New York and seen in the Metropolitan Museum in *Saturday Night* (11 Mar. 1922): 2; (24 Nov. 1923): 3; (21 Apr. 1927): 2.

23 *Saturday Night* (21 Mar. 1914): 5; (24 May 1913): 6.
Charlesworth later adopted the view that "Montreal artists put Toronto's Group of Seven far into the shade," especially Ozias Leduc, whose "*Golden Snow*" he admired as a "unique composition...beautiful in its handling of mist and shadow half penetrated by dull gold sunlight." Clarence Gagnon was also singled out for special praise (*Saturday Night* [22 May 1926]: 5).

24 *Saturday Night* (20 Mar. 1915): 4; (16 March 1912): 7; (28 Nov. 1914): 4; (30 Dec. 1922): 3; (21 Feb. 1925): 3.

25 *Saturday Night* (18 Mar. 1916): 5. Charlesworth's suggestions for alternative titles for MacDonald's paintings, "Hungarian Goulash" and "Drunkard's Stomach," has become notorious.

26 The sole Vorticist exhibition took place in London in 1915. See Richard CORK, *Vorticist and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, 1 (London: G. Fraser, 1976), 275-80.

27 Kenyon COX, "Futurism in Art," *Saturday Night* (9 Aug. 1913): 7; British reviews easily available to Charlesworth were: Anon., "Art Exhibition. The Futurists," *The Times*, 1 Mar. 1912, 9; Sir Claude PHILLIPS, "Sackville Gallery. Italian Futurist Painters," *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 Mar. 1912, 9. For further comment on reaction in the British press to the Futurist and Vorticist exhibitions, with illustrations of caricatures of the art and artists see CORK, *Vorticist and Abstract Art*, vol.1, 26-7, 276-78.

28 *Saturday Night* (19 Aug. 1916): 5.

29 *Saturday Night* (13 Sept. 1919): 2; (18 Sept. 1920): 2.

30 *Saturday Night* (26 Nov. 1921): 5.

31 Richard CORK, "Machine Age, Apocalypse and Pastoral," *British Art in the 20th Century: the Modern Movement*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, ed. Susan Compton (London, 1987), 67-72.

32 *Saturday Night* (9 Dec. 1922): 3; (23 Dec. 1922): 2; (30 Dec. 1922): 3; *Mail and Empire*, Toronto (19 Dec. 1922): 13.

33 CHARLESWORTH, *The Canadian Scene: Sketches Political and Historical* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927), 91.

34 CHARLESWORTH, *The Canadian Scene*, 106; *More Candid Chronicles*, 2; *Saturday Night* (8 Oct. 1938): 11.

35 CHARLESWORTH, *More Candid Chronicles*, 123.

36 *Saturday Night* (26 Apr. 1924): 3.

37 CHARLESWORTH, "The Group System in Art," *Saturday Night* (24 Jan. 1925): 3.

38 See John HERD THOMPSON with Allen SEAGER, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discontent* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 14-37, 104-37 for the destruction and tentative restoration of the two party system during the 1920's.

39 *Saturday Night* (1 Nov. 1919): 1; (24 Jan. 1920): 1. Henry Wise Wood, a farmer from Missouri and leader of the United Farmers of Alberta envisioned a form of government in which power resided with citizens grouped according to occupation and class consciousness. These groups were to co-operate in restoring democracy by the elimination of what he regarded as economic and political oppression imposed by an existing party system serving the interests of "a few individuals controlling large amounts of wealth." See H.W. WOOD, "In Defence of Group Politics," *The Canadian Forum* (Dec. 1922): 72-4; W.K. ROLPH, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University Press of Toronto Press, 1950), 63-6; E.C. DRURY, *Farmer Premier: Memoirs...* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1950), 94-5.

40 *Saturday Night* (26 June 1920): 2.

41 Margaret F.R. DAVIDSON, "A New Approach to the Group of Seven," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, IV:4 (Nov. 1969): 9-16; Joan MURRAY, "Graphics in the Forum," *The Canadian Forum* (May 1970): 42-5.

42 On one occasion he compared the Group with the extreme nationalists of the Ku Klux Klan. *Saturday Night* (22 May 1926): 2.

43 *Saturday Night* (18 Mar. 1916): 5.

44 *Saturday Night* (26 Nov. 1921): 5; (24 Mar. 1923): 2.

45 *Saturday Night* (24 Jan. 1925): 3.

46 CHARLESWORTH, *The Canadian Scene*, 106.

47 *Saturday Night* (18 Dec. 1920): 2.

48 CHARLESWORTH, "The Northland: Its Wonders, Its People and Its Meaning to Canada," *Saturday Night* (28 Jan. 1928): 2.

49 CHARLESWORTH, *More Candid Chronicles*, 324.

50 For more extended commentary on the agrarian myth in relation to the Group of Seven and Charlesworth's criticism see Paul H. WALTON, "The Group of Seven and Northern Development," *RACAR*, XVII:2 (1990): 171-79.

51 *Saturday Night* (17 May 1924): 1.

52 *Saturday Night* (17 May 1924): 1; (8 Nov. 1924): 1.

53 Ann DAVIS, "The Wembley Controversy in Canadian Art," *The Canadian Historical Review*, LIV: 1 (Mar. 1973): 48-74.

54 *Saturday Night* (17 May 1924): 1; (13 Sept. 1924): 1; (24 Jan. 1925): 3; (National Gallery of Canada), *Press Comments on the Canadian Section of Fine Arts: British Empire Exhibition, 1924-1925* (Ottawa, 1925).

55 *Saturday Night* (8 Nov. 1924): 1.

56 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 15.

57 CHARLESWORTH, *I'm Telling You*, 152.

58 *Saturday Night* (13 Sept. 1924): 1.

59 Charlesworth's proudest memory of a short and difficult tenure in Ottawa as Chairman of the forerunner of the CBC, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, was his introduction of fine music to a wider audience (CHARLESWORTH, *I'm Telling You*, 96-7).

60 Information from Mrs M.E. Thompson; CHARLESWORTH, "Ellington Tests Nerves in Orgy of Cacophony," *Globe and Mail*, 28 Dec. 1945, 21.

61 See Charlesworth's comments on Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1869) and its description of philistinism as it was to be found in "the Toronto I knew as a lad, and from which his writings were an intellectual escape...." (*Saturday Night* [27 Jan. 1923]: 1).

62 See Max KOZLOFF, "The Authoritarian Personality in Modern Art," *Artforum*, XXI:8 (May 1974), 40-7.

63 *Saturday Night* (30 Dec. 1922): 3; (6 Dec. 1924): 3; (18 Mar. 1916): 5. For more comment on the Group of Seven as wilderness workers see WALTON, "The Group of Seven," 176-7.

64 Tension between the "poetic" landscapists and the "rugged" Group of Seven as articulated by Charlesworth and others may be seen as a reflection of a literary quarrel in England during the "decadent" phase of aestheticism in the 1890s. It was between two groups jovially nicknamed the "arties" and the "hearties," the latter a counter-decadent movement led by the poet W.F. Henley. (Karl BECKSON, *Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890s* [New York: Random House, 1966], xxxiii, note 22).

65 *Saturday Night* (18 June 1932): 9.

66 Anthologized recently in Howard RISATTI, ed., *Postmodern Perspectives: Issues in Contemporary Art* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990); see also Suzi GABLIK, *Has Modernism Failed?* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984).

67 See note 3.

68 Barker FAIRLEY, "Canadian Art: Man vs. Landscape," *The Canadian Forum* (Dec. 1939): 284-86.

69 John LYMAN, "Canadian Art" [letter to the editor], *The Canadian Forum* (May 1932): 313-14.

70 George SWINTON, "Painting in Canada," *Queen's Quarterly* 62 (1955): 540-45.

Résumé

«BEAUTÉ Ô MA MAÎTRESSE»

Ou Hector Charlesworth et la critique d'art

Ses attaques répétées contre les oeuvres du Groupe des Sept, particulièrement de 1916 à 1926, avaient valu à Hector Charlesworth, éditeur de l'hebdomadaire torontois *Saturday Night*, d'être devenu à leurs yeux l'incarnation des préjugés antimodernistes. Une telle opposition, chez cet autodidacte cultivé, possédant des ambitions littéraires et un grand intérêt pour le théâtre, les lettres et les arts, venait de ce que son goût avait été formé par l'esthétisme radical des années 1890, tel que transmis par la littérature et la critique d'art britanniques de l'époque.

Au début, en 1910, il avait manifesté de l'admiration pour des artistes aux tendances diverses, dont James Wilson Morrice, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté et Ozias Leduc, mais, inspiré dans une large mesure par l'art paysager américain, sous l'influence des dernières oeuvres de George Inness, ainsi que par les écoles de Barbizon, de La Haye, de Londres et de Glasgow, il soutenait surtout la cause des adeptes ontariens du culte international d'un art paysager qui joignait la rêverie poétique au charme pastoral. Si les noms d'artistes comme Archibald Browne, Elizabeth Knowles, Carl Ahrens et W.E. Atkinson sont maintenant virtuellement effacés de la mémoire artistique des Canadiens, cela est dû en partie à ce que, malgré ses efforts, ils ont été éclipsés par des artistes plus jeunes, partisans des couleurs vives, des formes schématisées et des sujets puisés dans la nature sauvage.

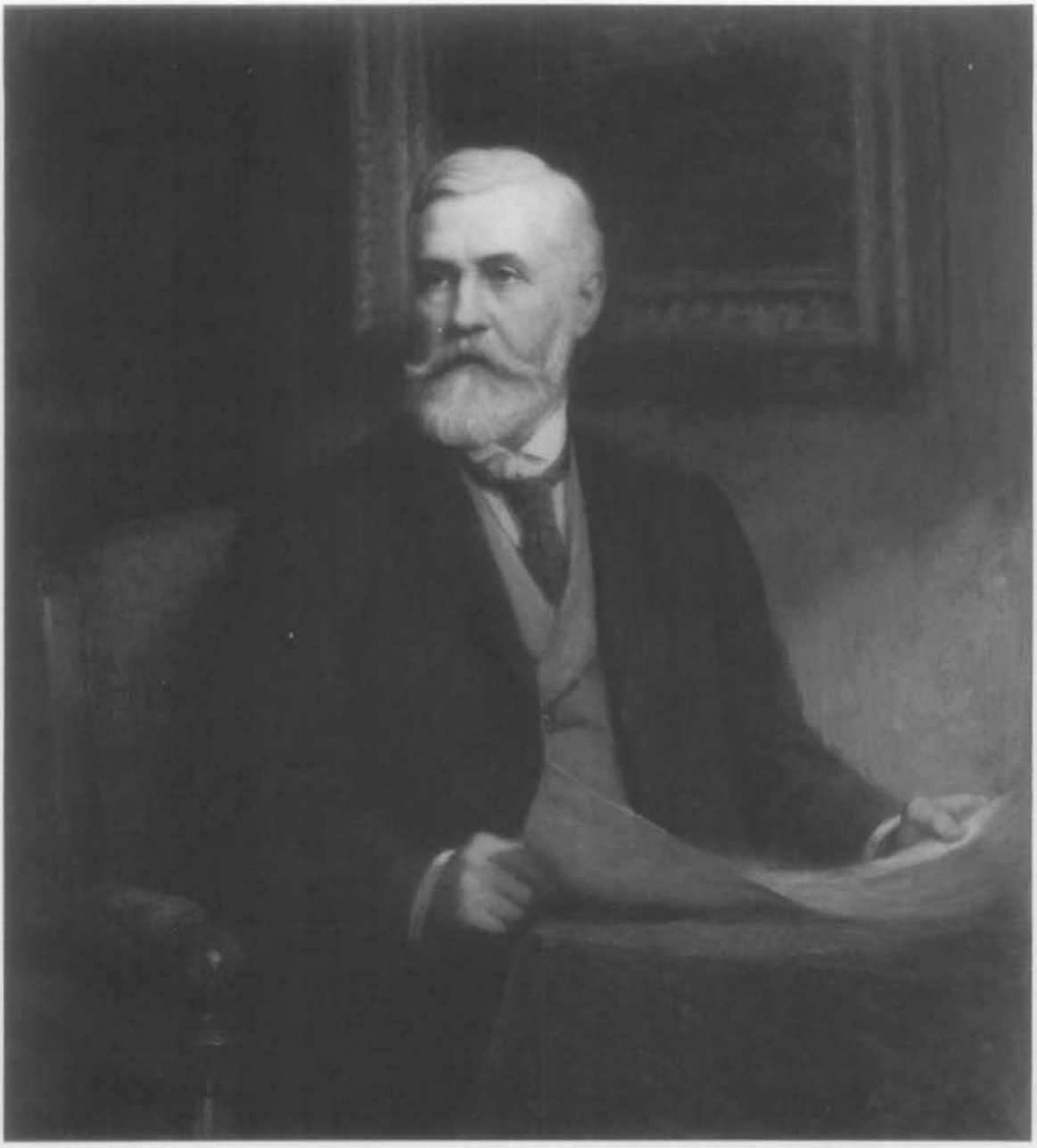
Ces peintres de la nature sauvage qui allaient former le Groupe des Sept, Charlesworth les admirait, au début, pour l'originalité de leurs coloris. Mais il

allait bientôt leur reprocher leur goût du sensationnel et leur crudité de formes. Il en vint à les regarder comme des radicaux de la même espèce que les futuristes italiens, menés par l'ambition commerciale et l'égoïsme et décidés à rompre avec les concepts traditionnels de la beauté qui, pour lui, étaient la base de l'esthétisme. Plus tard, lorsqu'ils réussirent à placer leurs oeuvres dans les collections de la Galerie nationale, à Ottawa, et à l'exposition de l'Empire britannique, à Wembley, en 1924, il interpréta cette réussite comme la victoire du nouvel esprit collectiviste issu, en grande partie, de la mobilisation pour la guerre et dirigé, à présent, vers la mobilisation pour l'organisation d'un art national. Puis, il élargit le champ de ses attaques en mettant ses lecteurs en garde contre les «systèmes collectifs en art» et leurs liens avec les extrémistes socialistes et nationalistes en Russie et aux États-Unis. Ces liens représentaient, il en était certain, une menace évidente au respect de l'individualisme inhérent aux traditions britanniques sur le plan social, politique et artistique. L'arrivée au pouvoir en Ontario, en 1919, d'un gouvernement de «Fermiers Unis d'Ontario» confirmait ce qu'il craignait le plus: les activités artistiques du Groupe des Sept étaient le signe d'une tendance dangereuse pour la société canadienne.

Le culte voué par le Groupe aux paysages du Grand Nord et leur affectation de rude masculinité choquaient aussi Charlesworth. Cela pouvait nuire à l'image du Canada et donner au public cultivé de Wembley l'impression de pionniers rustauds, étrangers aux valeurs antimatérialistes qu'avait définies au XIX^{e} siècle le poète et critique anglais Matthew Arnold, une de ses idoles littéraires. Les représentations de la nature sauvage étaient aussi à ses yeux la trahison des traditions culturelles enracinées dans un aménagement de la nature qui avait, au cours des siècles, nourri l'attrait pour le spirituel et perpétué un véritable sens de la beauté.

Les enthousiasmes et les antipathies artistiques de Charlesworth étaient le produit d'un système de croyances fondé sur l'esthétisme, l'individualisme, l'agriculture et la loyauté envers les traditions britanniques. Il s'est vu considéré comme un «fossile» opposé au progrès, mais, ironiquement, son opposition farouche au Groupe des Sept devait éventuellement trouver un écho chez des artistes et des critiques champions d'une plus grande sensibilité artistique et de l'intégration de l'art canadien aux formes les plus radicales du modernisme international. Il est aussi ironique de voir que son rejet en bloc du modernisme du XX^{e} siècle semble maintenant rejoindre les théories postmodernistes.

Traduction: Élise Bonnette



Robert Harris, **Portrait of R.B. Angus**, 1907, oil on canvas, Coll. Mount-Royal Club, Montréal. (Photo : The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, neg. no. 15,240)

THE R.B. ANGUS ART COLLECTION

Paintings, Watercolours and Drawings

Scottish-born Richard Bladworth Angus (1831-1922) was a prominent and respected financier and one of the major promoters of the Canadian Pacific Railway. A central member of Montréal's economic oligarchy and social establishment, he began to donate to the Art Association of Montreal in 1879. Throughout his lifetime he gave princely gifts to numerous causes, confirming his status as both patriot and benefactor.

Early in his collecting activities, R. B. Angus may have purchased William Bartlett's popular steel-engravings of Canadian scenes in the English romantic tradition. Mounted in heavy frames, these prints likely graced the walls of his Ontario Avenue residence built in 1872. In the seventies, he was probably decorating that home with seascapes, Victorian interiors, landscapes and pastoral scenes of the British school. By the 1880's, Angus was collecting Hague School and Barbizon School landscapes, as well as French Realist and marine paintings.

In 1887, when he was Vice-President of the Art Association and Second Vice-President of the CPR, he built an imposing brick and stone mansion on Drummond Street. Summer homes in Senneville, near Montréal followed: the first, in 1886-87 (which burned) and the second in 1901-02, were built for the enjoyment of boating and fishing, gentleman-farming and gardening. These residences were also repositories for his art collection: seascapes and landscapes for the country "cottage;" and "old masters" and portraits for the city home. In 1889, the A.A.M. designated Angus as a Benefactor, its highest honour.

Angus was also an Honourary Member of the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal. He donated a substantial collection of engravings, comprising portraits of governors and views of Montréal, Québec and Halifax, to the Society in 1889. These provided a basis for the Historical Portrait Gallery and Museum founded in 1895 at the Château Ramezay which was owned by the City of Montreal. He had probably purchased the engravings from another collector or a dealer and it is unlikely that they were ever displayed in his residences. The works and related documents are still housed in the Château Ramezay.

While he had a certain interest in engravings and watercolours, his collection of sculpture was restricted to ivory carvings, bronze figures or figurative groups and a few terracottas, possibly by Luca della Robbia. Angus's collection, like those of other Montréal collectors, reflected only a minimal concern for Canadian art. His primary support of Canadian artists took the form of immortalizing himself in portraits.

An insurance list in the Sir George Drummond Papers shows that Angus's

personal collection was worth $50,000.00 in 1889. A conservative estimate of the number of paintings in his possession, as of 1922 when it was still intact, was approximately two hundred and fifty to three hundred works, mainly oils. In 1903, Angus catalogued most of his oil paintings and identified his dealers. This catalogue with further notations made in 1921, is in the family archives.

As Janet M. Brooke observed in her catalogue essay which accompanied the 1989 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts exhibition *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors, 1880-1920*, collections like Angus's, were formed in the boom years following 1880 and were linked to the building of the CPR. Although he was a noted philanthropist, when he was offered a knighthood in 1910, Angus declined the honour.

GLORIA LESSER
Visual Arts Department
Champlain Regional College
St-Lambert, Québec

LIST OF WORKS

The following citations represent an attempt to reconstruct the R.B. Angus collection of paintings. Because of the lack of complete archival documentation, these entries can only describe a significant proportion of his holdings. Nevertheless, the citations are an important reflection of the taste of a conservative Scottish-Montréal late-Victorian collector. The majority of the works cited here were included in his own 1903 collection catalogue (RBA), revised in 1921, while others were mentioned only in the 1889 insurance list. Some appeared in neither. The titles of the works derive from the 1889 insurance list, the 1903 catalogue (RBA) as well as Art Association of Montreal and Montreal Museum of Fine Arts exhibitions. In many examples, the information concerning the medium and support is incomplete or was incorrect in the archival documents. Some of the Angus works cited here are referred to in Janet M. Brooke's recent exhibition catalogue, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920*. These are accompanied by an * and also indicate the current title of the work.

No attempt has been made to establish provenance, provide bibliographic references, or to document works stolen, destroyed, wrongly attributed or exchanged by Angus. Thus the present location and status of the works from the original collection are not provided here. However a number of these were donated to the A.A.M. by Angus from 1879 onward and also by his heirs, notably the

Dr. and Mrs. Charles F. Martin Bequests. This information is included in the entries, although not all are currently held by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

I wish to thank Michael Pantazzi, Associate Curator, European Art, National Gallery of Canada, who in 1979, supplied this author with a partial list of paintings in the Angus collection. I also gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Frederick F. Angus, great-grandson of R.B. Angus, who made family archives accessible and offered his interpretation of the material, both historical and personal. Finally, I wish to thank Judith L. Ferlatte, Doreen Kelly and Sue Sutton who aided in the word processing of the document.

G.L.

AITKEN, James A. (1846-1897), Scottish
- *March of Montrose*
Medium unknown
Angus Insurance List, 1889 (AIL 1889)

ANDERSON, Robert (1842-1885), Scottish
- *Waiting for the Return of the Boats*
Watercolour
Art Association of Montreal (AAM)
Carnival Loan Exhibition, February 1887 (CLE), no. 2

APOL, Louis (1850-1936), Dutch
- *Calm At Sea (Full Sail)*
Watercolour
AAM 19th Loan Exhibition Water Colours and Pastels, 19 Jan.-6 Feb.1897 (AAM 19th LE 1897), no. 4
A Catalogue of Pictures in the Collection of R.B. Angus of Montreal, 1903 nº. 1; henceforth referred to as RBA
Sold Les Encans Fraser-Pinneys, Estate of Mrs. Donald F. Angus, Montréal, 19 Nov. 1991, cat. no. K94.

BABCOCK, William P. (1826-1899), American
- *La Toilette*
Oil
AAM 8th Loan Exhibition, February 1878 (AAM 8th LE 1878), no. 6

BAKER, William Bliss (1859-1889), American
- *A Woodland Brook,* 1884
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R. B. Angus, 1889

BARILLI, Cecrope (?), n.d., Italian
- *A Mid-Day Nap*
Oil
AAM 8th LE 1878, no. 5

BARRET, George (1767-1842), British
- *Landscape*
Watercolour
AAM 19th LE 1897, no. 10

BARYE, Antoine Louis (1795-1875), French
- *The Lion*
Watercolour
RBA #2
- *Listening*
Medium unknown
AAM 30th Loan Exhibition Water Colours and Pastels,
23 Feb.-14 Mar. 1914, (AAM 30th LE 1914), no. 4

BERNE-BELLECOUR, Étienne Prosper (1838-1910), French
- *The Tired Student*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 6
- *Bringing in the Prisoners* *
Oil
AAM CLE, no. 5
AIL 1889

BLAAS, Eugène von (1843-1931), Austrian
- *Village Confidences*
Oil
AAM CLE, no. 6

BLOOMERS, Johannes-Bernardus (1845-1914), Dutch
- *On The Shore*
Watercolour
RBA #3

BOLTRAFFIO, Giovanni Antonio (1467-1516), Italian (now attributed to "Italian School")
- *Madonna and Child*
Oil on panel

RBA #107a
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1917

BONINGTON, Richard Parkes (1802-1828), British
- *Coast Scene, c.* 1826
Oil on canvas
RBA #4
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA)
Bequest of Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson, 1949

BONVIN, François Saint (1817-1888), French
- *The School*
Oil on panel
RBA #8
- *Le Morceau de Piano,* 1860
Oil on canvas
RBA #9

BOSBOOM, Johannes (1817-1891), Dutch
- *An Interior* *
Oil on panel
RBA #7
- *Landscape*
Watercolour
AAM 19th LE 1897, no. 24
- *Scene at Scheveningen*
Watercolour
RBA #6
AAM, Presented by Mrs. Charles F. Martin, 1944 (May be same as *Landscape*)
- *Cathedral Interior*
Watercolour
RBA #5
AAM, Bequest of Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson,1947
- *The Old Church*
Oil
AAM Inaugural Loan Exhibition 9 Dec. 1912-6 Jan. 1913 (AAM ILE), no. 10

BOTTICELLI, Sandro (*c.* 1445-1510), (now "Studio of"), Italian
- *Virgin and Child, c.* 1500
Tempera on canvas
RBA also #107a
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1917

BOUGH, Samuel (1822-1878), Scottish
- *The Pass of Leny, Benledi in the Distance*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 7

BOUGEREAU, William Adolphe (1825-1905), French
- *The Crown of Flowers,* 1884
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1889

BRABAZON, Hercules (1821-1906), British
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #9: "The yellow white dome of a Mosque rises from low temple buildings on a flat plain, colour of building rich and warm in tone. Blue skies flecked with clouds."
All quoted citations in this listing derive from R.B. Angus's comments in his 1903 catalogue.

BRAITH, Anton (1836-1905), German
- *Children and Sheep*
Medium unknown
AIL 1889

BREAKESPEARE, W.A., n.d., British
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA also #9a: "Bright Venetian scene, girl passing along side of square to the right. Two figures indicated near centre. Dark door in house to the right."

BRÉTON, Jules Adolphe (1827-1906), French
- *Une Pècheuse*
Oil
AAM CLE, no. 11

BROOKS, Thomas (1818-1891), British
- *Picking Blackberries*
Oil
AAM, Society of Canadian Artists 7th Exhibition 1872, no. 59.

BROWN, Harris (1864-1948), English
- *Portrait of R.B. Angus,* 1917
Oil on canvas
RBA #10a

BRYMNER, William (1855-1925), Canadian
- *October,* 1906
Oil on canvas
Mount Royal Club, Montréal, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1906
- *A Country Store, On The Ottawa*
Oil on canvas
AAM Reports, Donation R.B. Angus, 1886
- *Champs de Mars, Winter,* 1892
Oil on canvas
MMFA, Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson Bequest, 1949
- *Haying*
Oil on canvas
RBA #10

BUNCE, William Gedney (d. 1840), American
- *In The Harbour*
Watercolour
RBA #11

CAMERON, Sir David Young (1865-1945), Scottish
- *Stirling Castle*
Oil on canvas
MMFA, Bequest of Mrs. William Forrest Angus, 1962

CANALETTO, Antonio (1697-1768), Italian
(now "Unknown Painter after Canaletto")
- *The Interior of St. Mark's*
Oil on canvas
AAM, Bequest of Miss Adaline Van Horne, 1945

CAZIN, Jean-Charles (1841-1901), French
- *A Sandy Road,* * *c.* 1887
Oil on canvas
RBA #12, *Paysage*
MMFA, Dr. and Mrs. C.F. Martin Bequest, 1956

CICERI, Eugène (1813-1890), French
- Titles unknown
Watercolour
RBA #13a, a: "Two bright landscapes with stretches of water."

CLARKE, C.R. or G.R., n.d.
- *Porch of Amiens Cathedral*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 10

CLAYS, Paul Jean (1819-1900), Belgian
- *A Sea Scene* *
Oil on canvas
AAM CLE, no. 17
RBA #14, *Entering the Harbour*

CONSTABLE, John (1776-1837), British
(now "Copy of")
- *Salisbury Cathedral, Seen From the Bishop's Grounds*
Oil on canvas
AAM Exhibition of the Angelus with Small Collection of Loan Pictures and Tapistry [*sic*], (AAM ASC), 17 May-7 June 1890, no. 3
MMFA, Gift of Mrs. Charles F. Martin, 1956

CONSTANT, John Joseph Benjamin (1845-1902), French
- *An Eastern Beauty*
Oil on canvas
RBA #16

COOKE, E.W., (1811-1880), British
- *Windsor Berks, England*
Drawing
AAM, Gift of Dr. C.F. Martin, 1948

COQUES, (COCX) Gonzales (1614-1684), Flemish
- *Portrait of a Man*
Oil on panel
RBA #17

COROT, Jean-Baptiste Camille (1796-1875), French
- *Femme à la fontaine,* 1855-63
Oil on canvas
RBA #18
MMFA, Presented in Memory of Mr. and Mrs. William Forrest Angus, 1962.
- *Ville d'Avray,* 1872
Oil on canvas
AAM 13th Loan Exhibition of Oil Paintings and Water Colour Drawings, Nov. 1888 (AAM 13th LE, 1888), no. 10, *Landscape*
RBA #19

COTMAN, John Sell (1782-1842), British
- *Landscape*
Oil on canvas
RBA #20

COURBET, Gustave (1819-1877), French
- *The Waterfall* *
Oil on canvas
RBA #20a
MMFA 1960, no. 45, *Landscape*
MMFA Collection Frederick Angus Wanklyn 1935, on permanent loan

COX, David (1783-1859), British
- *Terrace of Haddon Hall*
Watercolour
RBA #21a, *Haddon Hall*
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA also #21a: "A road leads from right besi de a river, passing into woods on left. Figure on horse with woman beside on foot. An ex-panse of country is seen to the right with the river in light."
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA also #21a: "Coarse toned moorland scene, road leading from centre with a figure on it. In the left middle distance a dark grey hill rises, and over it passes a heavy cloud sweeping to the left."
- *Landscape*
Watercolour

AAM 30th LE 1914, no. 33 (same as landscapes RBA #21a?)
- *Landscape*
Watercolour
AAM 30th LE 1914, no. 35 (same as landscapes RBA #21a?)

CROME, John (Old Crome), (1769-1821), British
- *The Windmill*
Oil on canvas
RBA #22

DAGNAN-BOUVERET, Pascal Adolphe Jean (1852-1929), French
- *The Pardon, Brittany*, 1888
Oil on canvas
RBA #23, *Le Pardon*
MMFA, William F. Angus Bequest, 1952

DAUBIGNY, Charles François (1817-1878), French
- *On the Banks of the Oise*, 1866
Oil on panel
RBA #24
MMFA, Mrs. W.W. Chipman Bequest, 1950
- *The Apple Orchard*, 1874
Oil on canvas
RBA #25
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1920
- *Landscape*
Oil
AAM CLE, #21, *A Landscape*

DAUMIER, Honore (1808-1879), French
- *Le spectacle gratis, c.* 1845
Oil on canvas
AAM, Loan Exhibition of Oil Painting and Watercolour Drawings 9 Mar.-4 Apr. 1891 (AAM LE 1891), no. 26
RBA #26, *First Night at the Theatre*

De BOCK, Theophile (1851-1904), Dutch
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #3a: "A grey green landscape with calm water on which two sail boats are floating. Three grey trees near foreground with bare branches."

DESCAMPS, Alexandre-Gabriel (1803-1860), French
- *Sentinel at the Door of the Harem* *
Oil
RBA #27
AAM 18th Loan Exhibition 18 Nov.-7 Dec. 1895 (AAM 18th LE 1895), no. 23
- *The Fowler*
Oil on panel
RBA #28a
- *The Hound*
Oil on panel
RBA also #28a

DELACROIX, Eugène (1798-1863), French
- *La Mort d'Ophelie*, * 1844
Oil on canvas
AAM 17th Loan Exhibition of Paintings in Oil and Water Colours, 29 Nov.-28 Dec. 1893, (AAM 17th LE 1893), no. 24
RBA #29

DELORT, Charles Edouard (1841-1895), French
- *Setting the Clock*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 13
RBA #32

DE WINT, Peter (1784-1849), British
- *Couvent du Nouveau Bois sur le Schelt* *
Watercolour
RBA #104a, *River Scene With Cows*
MMFA, Estate of Mrs. W.W. Chipman, 1950

DIAZ de la PEÑA, Narcisse Virgile (1807-1876), French
- *The Sorceress*
Oil on canvas
RBA #29a
MMFA, Bequest of Mrs. William Forrest Angus, 1962
- *Sleeping Nymphs*
Oil on panel
AAM ILE, no. 47
RBA #30a
- *A Pool in the Woods*
Oil on panel
RBA #31a
- *En Arcadie*
Oil
AAM 13th LE 1888, no. 17
- *The Dawn of Love*
Oil
AAM CLE, no. 22
- *Woman in Sunlight*
Oil on panel
J. M. Brooke (1989), p. 189, Inv. no. 334

DOU, Gerard (1613-1675), Dutch
- *Portrait of a Woman*
Oil on panel
RBA #33
MMFA, Presented by the Heirs of Mrs. Charles F. Martin, 1956

DUPRÉ, Jules Louis (1812-1889), French
- *Landscape*

Oil on canvas
RBA #34
- *Sea-piece* *
Oil on canvas
RBA #35
AAM 18th LE 1895, no. 24 (AAM ILE, no. 49, *A Stormy Sea*)

EAST, Alfred (1849-1913), British
- Title unknown
Oil on canvas
RBA #35a: "Wooded landscape of great trees in warm tones with path leading through the forest. Woman seated at the foot of a tree in the left foreground."

EATON, Wyatt (1849-1896), Canadian
- *The Harvest Field*, 1884
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R. B. Angus, 1889
- *Girl With Red Hair*, 1889
Oil on canvas
Private collection
- *Portrait of R. B. Angus*, 1893
Oil on canvas
Private Collection

EDELFELDT, Albert Gustaf Aristides (1854-1905), Finnish
- *Under the Beeches*
Medium unknown
AIL 1889

ETTY, William (1787-1849), British
- *The Bivouac of Cupid and His Company, c.* 1838
Oil on panel
RBA #36
AAM, Presented by R.B. Angus, 1908

FANTIN-LATOUR, Eugène (1836-1904), French
- *Eastern Dancing Girl*
Oil on canvas
AAM 26th Loan Exhibition 21 to 31 Jan. 1903 (AAM 26th LE 1903) no. 18, RBA #37

FAUSTIN, M., n.d.
- *Almsgiving*
Drawing
AAM CLE, no. 6

FIELDING, Anthony Copley (1787-1855), British
- *Landscape*
Watercolour
RBA #38

FILDES, Sir Samuel Luke (1843-1927), British
- *The Gardener's Niece*
Oil
AAM 14th Loan Exhibition of Oil Paintings by English Artists, 6 Dec. 1889-8 Feb. 1890 (AAM 14th LE 1889), no. 11
Same as *Shelling Peas* ? (AIL 1889)

FRASER, John A. (1838-1898), Canadian
- *On The Prairie Near Calgary*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 18

FRAYER, Jules, n.d., British
- *As Good as a Mother*
Drawing
AAM CLE, no. 4
- *Good Night, Darling*
Drawing
AAM 8th LE 1878, no. 5

FROMENTIN, Eugène (1820-1878), French
- *Centaurs at Play*, 1847
Oil on canvas
AAM LE 1891, no. 37
RBA #39

FULLER, George (1812-1884), American
- *The Dunce*
Oil on canvas
RBA #40

GAINSBOROUGH, Thomas (1727-1788), British
- *Portrait of Ann Lindsay Egerton*, 1768
Oil on canvas
RBA #41

GREY, Alfred (1873-1920), Irish
- *Cattle*
Oil
AAM 8th LE 1878, no. 8
- *Wild Cattle in Connemara*
Oil
AAM 9th Exhibition of Oil and Water Colour Paintings, May-June 1879, no. 159

GRIMSHAW, John Atkinson (1836-1893), British
- *Scarborough by Moonlight*
Oil
AAM 8th LE 1878, no. 7

GUARDI, Francesco (1712-1793), Italian
- Title unknown
Oil on panel
RBA #42: "A landscape with the ruins of ancient buildings in front of which runs a wall in bright light. Figures are shown grouped near the wall."
- Title unknown
Oil on panel

RBA #43: "An imposing flight of steps leads up to the interior of a palace, and is seen through a dark archway in full light."

HAIG, Axel Herman (1835-1921), Swedish
- *Westminster Abbey*
Engraving?
AAM 3rd Exhibition of Works in Black and White, 24 Jan.-9 Feb. 1907, no.162

HALS, Frans (1582-1666), Dutch
- *Dutch Family*
Oil
AAM Paintings of Rembrandt to the Dutch Painters of the XVII Century (29th Loan Exhibition), 6-20 Dec. 1906, no. 6, *The Family*

HALSWELLE, Keeley (1832-1891), British
- *A Landscape With Sheep*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 23

HARLAMOFF, Alexis (1849-c. 1920), Russian
- *Autumn Flowers*, 1884
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R. B. Angus, 1887
- *Italian Peasant Girl*
Medium unknown
AIL 1889

HARPIGNIES, Henri Joseph (1819-1916), French
- *The Silent Night*
Watercolour
AAM 13th LE 1888, no. 14

HARRIS, Robert (1849-1919), Canadian
- *Portrait of R. B. Angus*, 1907
Oil on canvas
Mount Royal Club, Montréal, 1907

HENNER, Jean-Jacques (1829-1905), French
- *A Girl's Head* *
Oil on panel
RBA #44
AAM CLE, no. 35

HOLLAND, James (1800-1870), British
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #46: "A broad placid river flows from high ground between a wooded bank on the right and a sloping sward in light on the left."

HOPE, William R. (1863-1931), Canadian
- *Woods Near St. Andrews*
Oil on canvas
RBA #47

HOPPNER, John (1758-1810), British
- Title unknown
Oil on canvas
RBA #48: "A portrait of a Lady facing half to the left. A light bodice and drapery. Light hair. Dark background."

HULME, Frederick William (1816-1884), British
- *English Hayfield* *
Oil
ref.: The Gazette (Montréal), 9 Apr. 1872

HUNTER, Colin (1841-1904), Scottish
- *Redding the Nets*, 1886
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R. B. Angus, 1887
- *Aird-Mhör-Mangursta Village and Harbour*
Oil
AAM 14th LE 1889, no. 15

INNES, George (1825-1894), American
- *The Rising Sun*
Oil on canvas
AAM 21st Loan Exhibition 2 Feb. 1899-11 Mar. 1899, no. 20, *Sunset*
RBA #49

ISABEY, Eugène Louis Gabriel (1803-1886), French
- *Brittany Coast Scene*, 1860
Oil on canvas
RBA #50
AAM, Presented by David A. Wanklyn, 1936

ISRAËLS, Jozef (1824-1911), Dutch
- *Portrait of the Artist's Daughter*
Oil on canvas
RBA #50a
- *Cottage Interior*
Oil on canvas
AAM 13th LE 1888, no. 40, *Watching*
AIL 1889, *Interior*
RBA #51
- *Man on Horseback*,
Watercolour with white highlights
RBA #52
AAM, 30th LE, no. 72,
- *Coming From The Boats*
MMFA, Bequest of Mrs. William Forrest Angus, 1962

JACQUE, Charles Émile (1813-1894), French
- *Landscape with Sheep* *
Oil on canvas
AAM CLE, no. 40
RBA #53

JACQUET, Jean Gustave (1846-1909), French
- *Winter*
Oil
AAM CLE, no. 38

JONGKIND, Johann Barthold (1819-1891), Dutch
- *A Fishing Village* *
Oil on panel
AAM CLE, no. 41
RBA #54, *Coast Scene*

KOWALSKI-WIERUSZ, Alfred von (1849-1914), Polish
- *The Whipper-in (The Huntsman)*
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1889

LANSYER, Maurice Emmanuel (1835-1893), French
- *La rosée*, 1883
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1889

LAUGÉE, Désiré François (1823-1896), French
- *The Gleaner* *
Oil on canvas
AAM (12th?) Loan Collection, Nov. 1883
(AAM (12th?) LC 1883), no. 27
RBA #55
Mount Royal Club, Montréal, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1906

LAWRENCE, Sir Thomas (1769-1830), British
- *Portrait of Miss Harriet Maria Day*
(Mrs. Ichabod Wright), *c.* 1791
Oil on canvas
RBA #55a, *Portrait of Miss Day*
AAM, Bequest of Mrs. Charles Meredith, 1936
- *Portrait of Sophia* (Lady Grosvenor, afterwards Lady Westminster), 1821
Oil on canvas
RBA #56

LAWSON, Cecil Gordon (1851-1882), British
- *The Wold of Lincolnshire* *
Oil on canvas
AAM LE 1891, no. 54
RBA #57, *Landscape*

LEITCH, Willian Leighton (1804-1883), British
- *A Ruined Castle*
Watercolour
RBA #57a

LESSORE, Jules (1849-1892), French
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #58: "A street scene. On the right tall houses fill the picture on which are carved ar morial bearings. Crowds of people pass through an archway to the left."
- *Arthur's Seat, from Carlton Hill*
Medium unknown
RBA #58

LEYS, Baron Jean Augustus Henri (1815-1869), Belgian
- *Charity*, 1850
Oil on canvas
RBA #59
MMFA, Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson Bequest, 1949

LHERMITTE, Léon Augustin (1844-1925), French
- *La Moisson*
Pastel
AAM ILE, no. 90
RBA #59a

LOIR, Luigi (1845-1916), French
- *Le point-du-jour à Auteuil, crepuscule*, * 1883
Oil on canvas
AAM (12th?) LC 1883, no. 29, *The Gloaming, Auteuil*
AAM, Gift of Mrs. Alfred Baumgarten, 1922

MacCALLUM, Andrew (1828-1902), British
- *Summer at Burnham Beeches, c.* 1872
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1879

MacWHIRTER, John (1839-1911), British
- *Sunset over the Eternal City, from the Pincian Hill*
Oil
AAM LE 1889, no. 22

MARIS, Jacob (1837-1899), Dutch
- *The Fruit Gatherer*, *1868
Oil on canvas
AAM 13th LE 1888, no. 57
RBA #60, *In The Orchard*
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #60a: "Head of a child in pale grey with light colour appearing against a dark back ground of blacks and greys."
- *Suppertime*
Watercolour
AAM 30th LE 1914, no. 85

MARIS, Matthijs (1839-1917), Dutch
- *Flower*, *1873
Oil on canvas
AAM LE 1891, no. 7,*The Butterfly*
RBA #61, *The Princess*

- *The Trysting Tree*
Oil
AAM 13th LE 1888, no. 58

MARIS, Willem (1844-1916), Dutch
- *Marine* *
Oil on canvas
AAM 26th LE 1903, no. 32
RBA #62, *Coast Scene*

MASSYS, Quentin (1464/5-1530), (now "unknown Flemish Painter active in Antwerp")
- *Portrait of a Young Man*
Oil on panel
RBA #45, *A Student* as by Hans Holbein (1497-1543)
RBA addendum by Donald F. Angus c. 1962 renumbered 44a, *Portrait of Erasmus Desiderius*
AAM, Presented by Mrs. Charles F. Martin, 1956

MAUVE, Anton (1838-1887), Dutch
- *Sheep Feeding*
Watercolour
AAM 13th LE 1888, no. 61, *Landscape With Sheep*
RBA #6
MMFA, Collection Frederick Angus Wanklyn, on permanent loan

MELVILLE, Arthur (1855-1904), British
- *Waiting for the Pasha*
Watercolour
AAM 19th LE 1897, no. 87, *The Sultan's Audience*
RBA #64, commissioned by Angus

MESDAG, Hendrik Willem (1831-1915), Dutch
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #65: "A wide expanse of grey sea and sky with two fishing boats with sails in the centre, on the left a low sphere with a windmill in light."

METTLING, Louis (1847-1901), French
- *The Tinker* *
Oil on panel
RBA #66

MICHEL, Georges (1763-1843), French
- *Landscape* *
Oil on canvas
RBA #67, *Landscape by the Sea*
MMFA, William F. Angus Bequest, 1952

MILLET, Jean-François (1814-1875), French
- *Churning,* * *c.* 1849-50
Oil on canvas
RBA #67a
MMFA, Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson Bequest, 1949

MONTICELLI, Adolphe (1824-1886), French
- *A Summer Day's Idyll, c.* 1865
Oil on canvas
AAM ASC no. 11
RBA #68
- *Fête Champêtre, Sunset* *
Oil on canvas
RBA #69
MMFA, Mrs. William F. Angus Bequest, 1962

MOORE, Albert Joseph (1841-1893), British
- *Red Hawthorne ,* * *c.* 1880
Oil on panel
RBA #70
- *White Hawthorne,* * *c.* 1880
Oil on panel
RBA #70

MOORE, Henry (1831-1895), British
- *The Open Sea* *
Oil
AAM CLE, no. 52
AIL 1889

MORLAND, George (1763-1804), British
- *English Landscape*
Oil on canvas
RBA #70a
MMFA, Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson Bequest, 1949

MORLAND, George and
ROWLANDSON, Thomas (1756-1827), British
- Title unknown
Oil on canvas
RBA #70a: "A thatched cottage on the left with four figures at the door. Two donkeys stand near the right corner. A rapid brook comes from behind a dark bush on the right to centre foreground. Rich, warm-toned landscape."

MORRICE, James Wilson (1865-1924), Canadian
- Title unknown
Oil on canvas
RBA #71a: "Wide expanse of dark blue water stretching from sandy beach to horizon. On the beach stand two figures, one in black robe, the other clothed in white."

MÜLLER, William James (1812-1845), British
- *Grand Canal, Venice*
Oil
AAM 13th LE 1888, no. 7

NEUHUYS, Albert (1844-1914), Dutch
- *A Type of Limbourg*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 39
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #71: "An old woman stands near a cradle on her right. At her feet a white kitten plays with her wool."
- *Interior*
Watercolour
AAM 19th LE 1897, no. 98
RBA #72

NOBLE, James Campbell (1846-1913), Scottish
- *Scene from Boccaccio,* * 1887
Oil on canvas
RBA #73, *The Garden of Boccaccio*
MMFA, William F. Angus Bequest, 1952

NORTH, John William (1842-1924), British
- *The Hayloft*
Watercolour
AAM CLE, no. 38

ORCHARDSON, Sir William Quiller (1832-1910), Scottish
- *Prince Henry, Poins and Falstaff,** 1868
Oil on canvas
RBA #73a
MMFA, Mrs. Gyneth M. McLennan Bequest, 1979
- *Jeanie Deans and Dumbiedikes* *
Oil
RBA #74, *The Laird of Dumbiedikes and Jeanie Deans*

PATON, Noel Joseph (1821-1901), Scottish
- *The Lowrie Dens of Yarrow* * (five paintings)
Oil
AAM CLE, no. 64
AIL 1889
- *The Two Ways, or Life and Death*
Drawing
AAM Reports 1889, p. 8

PELEZ, Fernand (1843-1913), French
- *The Homeless Boy,* 1880
Oil on canvas
RBA #75, *Without a Home*
MMFA, William F. Angus Bequest, 1952

PELOUSE, Leon Germain (1838-1891), French
- *Landscape with Farmhouse,* * 1883
Oil on canvas
RBA #76
MMFA, Dr. and Mrs. Charles F. Martin Bequest, 1956

PETTENKOFFEN, August von (1822-1889), Austrian
- *The Trysting Place* *
Oil on canvas
AAM LE 1891, no. 86
RBA #77, *Gypsy Scene*

PETTIE, John (1839-1893), Scottish
- *Touchstone and Audrey,* * 1869
Oil on canvas
RBA #77a, *I Met a Fool: The Wood*
MMFA, Mrs. Gyneth M. McLennan Bequest, 1979

PROUT, Samel (1783-1852), British
- *Church Interior*
Watercolour
AAM 19th LE 1897, no. 112
RBA #78

PYNE, James Baker (1800-1870), British
- *Coast Scene - Clam Gatherers,** 1840
Watercolour
RBA #79; (same as *The Seashore,* AAM 30th LE 1914, no. 129?)
MMFA, Mrs. W.W. Chipman Bequest, 1950

RAEBURN, Sir Henry (1756-1823), Scottish
- *Portrait of "Mrs. D."*
Oil on canvas
RBA #80
MMFA, Mrs. W.W. Chipman Bequest, 1950
- *Portrait of "Mr. D."*
Oil on canvas
RBA #80
MMFA, Mrs. W.W. Chipman Bequest, 1950

REMBRANDT van RIJN, Harmensz (1606-1669), Dutch
- *Portrait of a Young Woman, c.* 1665
Oil on canvas
RBA #81, *Young Woman: Saskia*
MMFA, Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson Bequest, 1949

REYNOLDS, Sir Joshua (1723-1792), British
- *Contemplation: Portrait of the Honourable Mrs. Spencer*
Oil on canvas
AAM 17th LE 1893, no. 65
RBA #82

RIBOT, Théodule (1823-1891), French
- *A Serving Girl*
Oil on canvas
AAM 18th LE 1878, no. 63, *Figure of a Girl*
RBA #83

- *Head*
Oil on panel
RBA also #83

ROMNEY, George (1734-1802), British
- *Portrait of Mrs. Anthony Wright*, 1781
Oil on canvas
RBA #84
MMFA, Mrs. William Drurie McLennan Bequest, 1979

ROUSSEAU, Étienne Pierre Théodore (1812-1867), French
- *A Woodland Path*
Oil on canvas
RBA #85, Gift of James J. Hill to R. B. Angus

ROYBET, Ferdinand (1840-1920), French
- *The Dead Warrior and His Steed*
Oil on canvas
RBA #86, *The Dead Arab*
MMFA, Dr. and Mrs. Charles F. Martin Bequest, 1956

RYDER, Albert Pinkham (1847-1917), American
- *The Temple of the Mind*
Oil on canvas
AAM 2nd Loan Exhibition of Paintings, 21-26 Feb. 1901, no. 17
RBA #87

SHEFFIELD, George (1839-1892), British
- *The Port of Whitby*
Crayon
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1888

SPRINGER, D. (Cornelis) (1817-1891), Dutch
- *Amsterdam*
Medium unknown
AIL 1889

STAQUET, Henri (1838-1906), Belgian
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #88: "A winter scene. A flat road running through a few scattered houses in hazy wintry light."

SIMONETTI, Attilio (1843-1925), Italian
- *Fishing in Still Waters*
Drawing
AAM 8th LE 1878, no. 6

STEELINK, Willem (1856-1928), Dutch
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #89: "A pastoral scene with flock of sheep and a shepherd."

STEVENS, Alfred (1823-1906), Belgian
- *Waiting for the Carriage (Avant le spectacle)* *
c. 1870-75
Oil on canvas
AAM ILE 1912, no. 164
RBA #89a

SWAN, Anne Macallan (probably Alice Macallan), n.d., British
- *Roses*
Watercolour
AAM LE 1891, no. 99

SWAN, John Macallan (1847-1910), British
- *We Were the First That Ever Burst Into That Silent Sea* *
Oil on board
RBA #89a
MMFA, Dr. and Mrs. Charles F. Martin Bequest, 1956
- *At Evening They Seek Their Prey*
Pastel
AAM 19th LE 1897, no. 138
- *Lion and Lioness* *
Pastel
RBA #90, *Lions Prowling in the Desert* ; changed from "watercolour" to "pastel" in the RBA revision, 1921
MMFA, Mrs. D. Forbes Angus in Memory of her Son, P/O Alexander D. Angus, R.C.A.F., 1949

TERBORCH, Gerard (1617-1681), Dutch
- *Portrait of a Lady*, 1676-77
Oil on canvas
RBA #91
MMFA, Dr. and Mrs. C.F. Martin Bequest, 1956

THOLEN, Willem Bastien (1860-1931), Dutch
- *The Theatre*
Watercolour
AMM 17th LE 1893, no. 84, *Interior of a Theatre*
RBA #92

THOMSON, Rev. John (1778-1840), Scottish
- *Romantic Landscape (Fast Castle)* *
Oil on canvas
RBA #93
MMFA, William F. Angus Bequest, 1952

THOREN, Othon de (1829-1889), Austrian
- *Return from Market, Hungary* *
Oil
AAM 12th(?) LC 1883, no. 43

TINTORETTO, Jacopo (Robusti), (1518-1594), Italian
(now called "Unknown Venetian Painter")
- *Portrait of a Lady*
Oil on canvas
RBA #83a
AAM, Gift of R. B. Angus, 1922

TROYON, Constant (1810-1865), French
- *Oxen*
Oil on canvas
AAM LE 1891, no. 103
RBA #94

TURNER, Joseph Mallord (1775-1851), British
- *Ehrenbreitstein*
Watercolour
AAM 19th LE 1897, no. 156
RBA #95

VAN GOYEN, Jan (1596-1656), Dutch
- Title unknown
Medium unknown
RBA #96: "A Dutch coast scene depicted in dark rich brown. A hazy light coming from the back. Houses and boats. Duke Street (attribution doubtful) given away."

VAN DYCK, Sir Anthony (1599-1641), Flemish
- *Portrait of Madame Van der Meulen*
Oil on canvas
RBA #97: "not guaranteed - misnamed"

VAN MARCKE, Émile (1827-1890), Belgian
- *Landscape with Cattle* *
Oil on canvas
AAM, "Exhibition," 1885, no. 130, *Cattle*
RBA #98, *Cattle Drinking*

VAN RAVESTEYN, Jan R. (1572-1657), Dutch
- *Portrait of a Lady*
Oil on canvas
RBA #99 "Ravestein, attribution doubtful"

VERNIER, Émile Louis (1829-1887), French
- *Le retour des crevettières du Grand-Camp,* 1882
Oil on canvas
AAM, Gift of R.B. Angus, 1889

VOLLON, Antoine (1833-1900), French
- *Still Life*
Oil on canvas
RBA #100
MMFA, William F. Angus Bequest, 1952

WATSON, Homer Ransford (1855-1936), Canadian
- *After the Rain*
Oil on canvas
RBA #101
MMFA, William F. Angus Bequest, 1952

WATTS, George Frederick (1817-1904), British
- *The First Whisper of Love*
Oil on canvas
AAM CLE, no. 88
RBA #102

WEISSENBRUCH, Jan Hendrik (1824-1903), Dutch
- *Coast Scene*
Oil on canvas
RBA #103
- *Marine View*
Watercolour
RBA also #103
- *Coast Scene With Boats*
Watercolour
RBA also #103
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA #104: "A strip of low land with reedy margin and dark groups of trees stretches across the picture. The spires of three churches show dark against the light sky."
- Title unknown
Watercolour
RBA also #104: "A dark toned evening scene, the trees and house silhouetted against the warm, clear sky. From the house across a little bridge come a man and a few sheep."

WHISTLER, James Abbott McNeill (1834-1903), British
- *San Giorgio*
Etching
AAM CLE, no. 356
- *Nocturne, Venice*
Etching
AAM CLE, no. 357
- *Market Place, Bruges*
Etching
AAM CLE, no. 358
- *Amsterdam*
Etching
AAM CLE, no. 359

WILKIE, Sir David (1785-1841), Scottish
- *Rabbit on the Wall, c.* 1816
Oil on panel
RBA #105
MMFA, Bequest of Mrs. R. MacD. Paterson, 1949

WILSON, Richard (1714-1782), Welsh
- *Landscape*
Oil on canvas

AAM 17th LE 1893, no. 93
RBA #106

WINT, Peter de (1784-1849), British
- *River Scene with Cows*
Watercolour
RBA #104a
MMFA, Bequest of Mrs. W.W. Chipman, 1950

WORMS, Jules (1832-1924), French
- *Spanish Figures with Horse*
Medium unknown
AIL 1889

WYLD, William (1806-1889), British
- *Scene in Algiers*
Oil
AAM (12th?) LC 1883, no. 45

ZIEM, Felix François (1821-1911), French
- *Venice* *
Oil on panel
AAM LE 1891, no. 113
RBA #107

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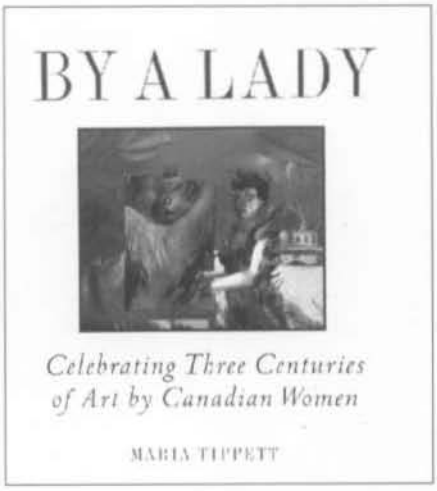
BY A LADY
Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women
Maria TIPPETT
Viking Penguin, Toronto, 1992
240 pp., 43 col., 97 b/w illus., $60.00



While Garland Publishing, New York is promising a dictionary of twentieth-century North American women artists that will include numerous Canadians, most compilations of biographical notes on women artists include few Canadians.[1] Maria Tippett's recent publication, *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women*, attempts to move these lesser-known women from the margins into the centre of an art-historical discourse. How-ever, the book does not live up to Whitney Chadwick's recent attempt to make a comprehensive survey of European and North American women artists in *Women, Art and Society*, 1990. Unlike Tippett, Chadwick understands and acknowledges that it has become difficult, if not impossible, to compile large and sweeping generalizations about women artists and their production. Neither does Tippett's book hon-estly present itself as a dictionary of women artists, such as occurs with Charlotte Rubinstein's *American Women Artists: From Early Indian Times to the Present* (1982).

Upon first looking at Tippett's book, it seemed that it might put the names of a number of women practising art in Canada "out there" thus enticing professionals and graduate students to search further for material and thesis topics. A close examination of the work yields a different response and raises questions that are of the utmost importance to feminists in art history. Even if one wants a readable and so-called accessible book, the structure, organization and presentation should address the relationship between the book and the many art-historical discourses that make up our practice today. Tippett fails to do this and her work is not a feminist intervention into art history.

Moira Gatens' *Feminism and Philosophy: Perspectives on Difference and Equality*, 1991, suggests that: "To fail to take note of the value-laden character of any particular theory is implicitly to perpetuate the values that have been constructed by a culture that devalues women and those aspects of life with which they have been especially associated, for example, nature and reproduction" (p.2). Tippett colludes with a culture that devalues women even while she attempts to secure their place in an established and exclusive discipline. Her feminism is a "conspiracy theory" kind of feminism that simplistically assumes

women's subjugation results from male dominance. This practice begins with her discussion of seventeenth-century French nuns who made religious art. Her superficial formal analysis of Sister Marie Barbier's *Infant Jesus* (*c.* 1690) seeks to reconfirm a traditional valuing of art as mimetics. According to Tippett, "While the Christ figure might be off-centred, the size of the head disproportionate to the rest of the body, the extended arms and open palms rendered with no knowledge of classical perspective" (p.4), it is a "dramatic representation" of the figure in a "manner similiar to" the ex-voto. This "back-handed" compliment devalues the ex-voto, does not offer any insight into women producers and the ex-voto, indicates no understand-ing of the role of the ex-voto in new-world French culture and provides no analysis of the relationship between culture and religion. In *Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico* (1989), Jean Franco suggests that the public behavior of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish-speaking nuns in Mexico took on its "particular character because of the Church's mapping of knowledge and gender under the particular stresses of the colonial situation" (p.xvii). Surely concerns and issues such as imperialism and religion, women and cloisters, art and culture inform the society of the French-speaking nun. The relationship of the votive image to popular culture, the politics of production of devotional art made by women, as well as the viewing audience (were they nuns or lay people?) are as significant questions as the statement that *Infant Jesus* is by the hand of "a little-trained artist" or the information that Sister Barbier (1663-1739) "had been saved from an attempted rape by the intervention of the Virgin" (p.4). There is scant reference to ecclesiastical embroidery although it was an important form of art production, and this is despite the impact of Roszika Parker's *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (1984) on art-historical discourse. The implication in this brief discussion of art prior to the English conquest is that all French women artists were religious artists. In addition, without exploration or explanation, this implies that English women artists were secular.

According to Tippett, nineteenth-century English women artists often copied better-known pictures. However, this information is provided without reference to the practice of copying in the wider artistic community. Tippett seems to think that women artists copied because they were not formally trained, or as a way of obtain-ing training; but copying was an establish-ed cultural practice of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The question remains: how did women like Amelia Frederica Dyneley (1830-1860) experience themselves as artists within the already established cultural practice of copying? Then it is made clear that "not every woman artist in British North America during the first half of the 1800s was the product of such rudimentary art instruction" (p.7-8); some were formally trained and even exhibited in European academies.

For example, Fanny Bayfield (*c.* 1813-1891) "reputedly studied painting with one of the instructors of Queen Victoria" and we learn that she came to Québec with her father, that she married a Captain and that she "passed on her remarkable skills as

a painter of flowers and landscapes to many students" (p.8). We also learn that Mary Love (active 1806-1866) was sent to London to study art by a prosperous father and that most of these early artists came to their art through male members of the family. Harriet Clench (?-1892) may not have been formally trained but she was adept enough to help her more famous husband, Paul Kane, make his paintings of Indian scenes. Her historically rich and thought provoking *A Country Tavern Near Cobourg* (1849) is reproduced and compared stylistically with Kane's pictures. Its content and meaning are ignored; context is not mentioned.

Tippett's research for the first chapter includes archival material that requires a more insightful analysis, and her theoretical roots seem to emanate from Germaine Greer's *The Obstacle Race* (1979). Most art historians concerned with feminist interventions into the discipline consider Greer's work dated and problematic. Greer relies exclusively on that structure which neglects the social conditions surrounding women's art production. Tippett accedes easily to this structure. Her mention of nineteenth-century domestic space emerges without any understanding of the ideology of this gendered space and without a sense of the history of its existence. This is despite excellent work done in this area by British feminists, such as Leonor Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (1987) or Lynda Nead's *Myths of Sexuality: Representation of Women in Victorian Britain* (1988). Certainly, given Tippett's extensive interest in British or Brit-ish-trained artists in Canada and the impact of British ideologies upon English-speaking Canada, works like these are invaluable.

By the end of her first chapter Tippett establishes two scenarios: first, she adheres to a "conspiracy theory" of feminism and second, she confirms women's status as secondary and leaves the hierarchies in place. The continued reliance upon a monolithic and conspiratorial conception of male domination that can "explain" women's subjugation has been successfully questioned by recent work in psychoanalytic theory. Although there are problems with blind acceptance of the partnership between feminism and psychoanalytic theory, it has opened up new and less simplistic discussions of power relationships.[2]

In a damning paragraph near the end of her first chapter, Tippett summarizes women's status as secondary, leaves the hier-archies in place, and fails to question how or why this particular discourse exists: "Because art-making was viewed as an adornment, a social accomplishment through which women could either ensure or enhance their social positions, many women with little or no ability took up their brushes and pencils. This not only meant that a great deal of mediocre art was produced but that mediocrity became the norm for most women artists" (p.11). Thus she sets the tone for the apologetic interruption of a canonical European art that continues through to the end of the text when she tells us that whenever women who made art informed by their own experience. "From the late nineteenth-century painters of maternité to the feminists of the 1970's and 1980's, they were considered out of step with, and therefore inferior to,

1970's and 1980's, they were considered out of step with, and therefore inferior to, the prominent male artists of the day" (p.201).

This insistence upon evaluating the work of women artists from the standpoint of an established canon is further reflected in the fact that Tippett deals almost exclusively with painting. She never, for example, mentions Jana Sterbak's controversial *Vanitas: Flesh Dress for an Albino Anorectic* (1987-88) even though her research might have benefited from analyses of such works. Questions relating to identity, experience, the body, the public and the private were raised by Jessica Bradley in "Jana Sterbak: Objects as Sensations" (*Jana Sterbak*, Mackenzie Art Gallery, Regina, 1989) and by Diana Nemiroff in *Jana Sterbak: States of Being* (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1991). Tippett does not take advantage of this research. Similarily, she leaves out Jamelie Hassan, whose multi-cultural installations raise significant questions for Canadians, and consequently she misses Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's important catalogue essay "Inscriptions of Truth to Size" done for Hassan's exhibition *Inscriptions* at the Dunlop Art Gallery, Regina in 1990. Neither does she include Marlene Creates whose work on Canadian geography, identity, experience and "mapping" seem indispensable to a discussion of Canadian art. Tippett's first chapter lays the groundwork for these exclusions as she seems intent on focussing on painting, retaining the hierarchy and avoiding issues.

Similarly, while telling us of inclusions in exhibitions, there is no understanding of the class or the race of the artists; nor is there any real discussion of critical reception. Tippett relies almost exclusively on hackneyed and tired explanations of women's absence: "Because women artists gen-erally did not have the advantage of formal training, because they created their work in leisure, not in work time, and because they functioned outside the marketplace, their productions were deemed to be of little or no value" (p.14). Such a point of view is ideologically dangerous in its further ghettoization of women and in its support of a dogmatic and traditonal way of viewing art. Did not Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock address issues like this over ten years ago in their landmark book, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology?* Then, only a few pages later, Tippett tells us that "women artists nevertheless turned out a remarkable body of work during the years before and immediately after Confederation" (p.19).

Nineteenth-century British artist Frances Hopkins is singled out as a "profession-al, not an amateur, artist."[3] Her impressive picture of an elite man being transported by aboriginal and Meti canoeists, *Shooting the Rapids* (*c.*1879) is reproduced in colour (the book's strength lies with its reproductions); but we are only told that she was a visitor to Canada and that she exhibited in London (p.19). Mary McKie's *A Micmac Indian of Nova Scotia* (*c.*1840-46) is one of a number of pictures of non-whites but there are no questions raised about representation and colonization. Twentieth-century Toronto painter Henrietta Shore (1880-1963) used "bold and energetic brushwork" and pure, bright colours in "her choice of a 'common' subject," *Negro Woman and Two Children*

(*c.*1918) (p.51); Henrietta Mabel May (1884-1971) made a strong and uncompromising portrait, *Indian Woman, Oka, 1917* (1917) that Tippett calls "an impersonal rendering of the native woman" (p.54); and Prudence Hew-ard (1896-1947) made a sensuous, poignant painting of a black woman, *Dark Girl* (1935), who Tippett sees as "round-shouldered, heavy-breasted, dour-faced" (p.92). Tippett's 1990's prose differs very little from a 1930's viewer's comments about another of Heward's pictures. An Ottawa critic in 1938 thought Heward's woman a "hideous, fat, naked negress, with thighs like a prize fighter and a loose leering face."[4] The painting requires a more sensitive analysis and a discussion that addresses issues of class and race. Tippett's cultural isolationism removes these pictures from their social surroundings and the reader is left without a context and certainly without an understanding of content or meaning.

At the beginning of Chapter Two, Tippett introduces the women artists' societies that flourished after the mid-nineteenth century. The prototypes for these societies can be found in Britain and their cultural significance requires discussion. For example, the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists, founded in 1882 and supported by estab-lished male and female Glaswegian artists, offered women members a space in which to work and an exhibiting organization. Grace Wilson Melvin (1892-1977), who is not in Tippett's book, studied and taught at the Glasgow School of Art and was a member of the society before she moved to Vancouver where she was Head of Design at the Vancouver School of Art from 1927 to 1952.[5] We could question what the social effects of the societies were in their particular historical contexts. Melvin's experience might have given us some insight into the societies and women's relationship to them in Britain and in Canada.

Tippett remains committed to searches for influences and short stylistic analyses, ignoring the groundwork laid for her by other art historians. Frances Bannerman's (1855-1940) competent picture *The Conservatory* (1883) is "not a particularly imaginative work"; it is compared with Manet's *In the Conservatory* (Salon of 1881), and considered part of the "intimate world of the reading woman" (p.30). Again, this is put forth without reference to or an understanding of the art historical work done on this period about these kinds of domestic pictures made by women. Although she repeatedly refers to the influence that women like Cassatt and Morisot might have had on Canadian women artists, Tippett ignores Griselda Pollock's "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity" (*Vision and Difference*, 1988), Janet Wolff's "The Culture of Separate Spheres: The Role of Culture in Nineteenth-Century Public and Private Life" (*The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*, 1988) and, perhaps more significantly, Pamela Gerrish Nunn's seminal work, *Victorian Women Artists* (1987).

Tippett claims that women artists were restricted in their attempts at landscape painting: they did not climb mountains or "bushwhack through the densely forested landscape of northern Ontario or Quebec to find wilderness scenes there" (p.34).

Instead, Canadian women remained "content, for the most part, with the maternité theme" (p.35), the implication being that this kind of domestic painting, even when interesting and technically proficient, was not as significant as landscape painting. Tippett secures her complicity with the dominant discourse even when she discusses women's activities in artistic organizations and in lobbying the government for funding (p.37-38). Teaching art, memberships in professional organizations and exhibiting are all cited without elaboration upon the connection with society and culture. One of the most interesting collaborative projects mentioned, the Canadian State Dinner Service made by sixteen women artists in the late nineteenth century, provides an unprecedented possibility for opening up a more-than-painting-and-sculpture discussion, but Tippett immediately slips back into canvas and paint (p.41-42).

Her discussion about art between the wars finds women artists participating as artists and critics in cultural production, but there is scant reference to their reception. We are left wanting more discussion of exhibitions and reviews, and less about who influenced whom. This part of the book attests to the influence of the Group of Seven without any serious analyses of women's work. Yvonne McKague Housser's (b.1898) *Silver Mine, Cobalt* (1930) shows the "extent to which the Group prescribed how to interpret northern Ontario" (p.72). But we learn nothing about the workers in the picture who are dwarfed by the horizontal buildings jutting into a cloud-filled sky. Nor does Tippett suggest why this Group-influenced painting is not a landscape but a picture about work in a harsh human-made environment. Instead the camaraderie of swigging gin before deciding to "build a still life of a Lawren Harris painting" precludes meaningful discussion. Tippett quotes McKague Housser as saying, "I was influenced [by the Group] but I don't think influenced to the extent that I, in any way, copied them" (p.73). The content of Irène Sénécal's (1901-1978) *Port-au-Persil, vue du sud* (1936) is similar to McKague Housser's, but this painting is singled out as not having been influenced by the Group.

Later Tippett acknowledges that "many women artists commented indirectly on social and political injustice" (p.97); then she willingly attributes Marion Scott's (b.1906) powerful painting *Tenants* (*c.*1940) as being indebted to Bauhaus painter (Tippett calls him a Surrealist) Oscar Schlemmer. This picture of lonely figures climbing stairs in unison certainly contains meaning that is more significant than "being like" Schlemmer's *Bauhaus Stairs*. Elizabeth Cann's *The Soldier's Wife* (*c.*1941), a sober reminder of Canada's participation in World War II and of the people left behind to wait, is called decorative and academic. What were women's social interests and significances in this abandoned situation?

By the late 1940's women artists in Canada were moving more into Tippett's mainstream, exhibiting widely and starting to explore abstraction. Tippett's history of art after World War II is the story of abstraction and the women who contributed to this movement. Rita Letendre, Lise Gervais, Marcelle Ferron, Dorothy

Knowles, among others, played significant roles, but the structure of discussion remains fixed: a simplistic reiteration of style, influence, and loyalties and changing alliances. Daphne Odjig (b.1919) makes an appearance in this section, turning to "native Indian motifs to express the reality of life on the reserve" (p.137). What is the reality of life on the reserve? How is her art received by her own people? Is it received in the art community as representative of abstraction or of indigenous art? Were there other cultures and histories existing in Canada during the 40's, the 50's and the early 60's? In Tippett's world of women artists, their work parallels the work of the better-known men, always trailing a little behind but eventually, if they study with the right people and frequent the right circles, they can catch up.

Some artists, white and non-white, continued to make representational art: Mimi Parent (b.1934) and Jeanne Rhéaume (b.1915), for example, made pictures that "differ little from those of women artists who had worked in a similar style more than a generation earlier, such as the Parisian painter Suzanne Valadon" (p.142). Sybil Andrews (b.1898) "blended the theme of labour with the Vorticist, Futurist and Art Deco styles" (p.142). Louise Scott's work might "suggest the effort of an untrained artist" but she can, according to Tippett, rest securely in an artistic tradition going back to the "Dutch painters of the seventeenth century and to medieval artists before them"(p.145). Although Scott's hauntingly beautiful and enigmatic *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (1965) is reproduced in colour, Tippett's discussion leaves us feeling that, while some content and meaning might be read into the colour, the costume, the space, and the fleur-de-lys, it is mostly a decorative work. We can safely assume that Tippett has no interest in the writings of Bryson, Fried or Alpers.

Her final chapter, "The Feminist Revolution in Art," sounds promising and opens with Thérèse Joyce-Gagnon's *Les demoiselles de Banff* (1990). At the beginning of the chapter she mentions conceptual art, process art, body art and video, and then cites Mary Pratt as the first example of this dramatic and exciting move into a new era in women's art. Christiane Pflug is one of Canada's "most brilliant painters" (p.158). Joyce Wieland has "remarkable talent and versatility" (p.161), and she is given credit for raising "public awareness of the traditional craft of quilt-making to the level of high art." However, we are left wondering why the cultural history of this art is missing from the rest of the book and why we do not hear more about Wieland as a film-maker (p.162).

The proliferation of new galleries, exhibitions and associations for women artists is mentioned but not analyzed. Tippett explains that women moved into this new era wanting to "transform the image of their sex from passive, submissive and sexually available" (p.168). However, she continues to focus on two-dimensional work, albeit choosing disturbing images such as Susan Scott's *A Recurring Image: I often thought of killing him* (1983) or role-reversal images such as Wieland's *Artist on Fire* (1983), which graces the book's jacket cover. As seductive as it may be to move woman from a passive and submissive

position into one of aggression and dominance, this simple exchange of power does not address the issue of power relations. It leaves the structure intact, ready to employ power either to the advantage or the disadvantage of the designated actors.

In keeping with her deployment of "conspiracy theory" feminism, Tippett tells us that: "Despite the innovative work that these artists produced throughout the 1970s and 1980s Canadian women artists continued to be pursued by the old stereotypes: as amateurs, at best as part-time professionals" (p.187). In the book's "Afterword," Tippett comments that: "For whatever reason, women simply could not win the approval their work deserved" (p.201). She lacks the most simplistic understanding of Foucault, of feminism and psychoanalytic theory, of Roland Barthes, of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak or of any of the new and exciting theories and methods that are becoming part of art-historical discourse.

Moira Gatens writes of the dangers of feminists trusting the "apparent neutrality of the theory being used" and suggests that to accept the value system implicit in any particular theory is to perpetuate the same subjugation over and over again. Tippett, by writing about women as they partake of the dominant cultural discourse, has ensured their complicity in their own domination and has left no openings for questioning or subversion. The issues surrounding women and the production of art are elucidated in the work of many contemporary Canadian artists not included in Tippett's book. Mary Scott, for example, analyzes the relationship between practice and theory, and the extent to which French psychoanalytic theory may assist with this analysis. Kati Campbell searches for a reconsideration of maternité. Jamelie Hassan explores issues of post-coloniality, race, gender and class, the meeting of cultures and the differences or equalities of those spaces. These artists, and others like them, create work that asks questions about the construction of the body in culture and what this might mean for contemporary theorists and art practitioners. The relationships between the discourses of power that surround the physical body, and that same human body as it performs in society, elude Tippett.

Tippett avoids theory. However, this avoidance simply reiterates the dominant discourse and concedes, by default, to power as it exists and has always existed. This kind of historical and critical writing provides a space for the disenfranchised and thus ensures their continued existence. Tippett exhibits the naiveté often associated with the concept of accessibility: what does this mean? Does it mean to be able to be reached and used? Has this position not always been inhabited by the marginalized? *By a Lady* fails to expand our understanding of women in history, just as it fails to provide a forum for contemporary artists. Although Tippett is most committed to historical art, it is in that arena that her project fails most dramatically. Any historical discussion requires a thorough understanding of the society and culture in which art was produced and the conditions under which women artists worked and lived. This in turn requires painstaking archival work and a commitment to scholarship, both of which are absent from Tippett's book.

Thus, to abandon theory in this history is to abandon women artists forever to play in the margins and to abandon us forever to admonish the femininity of our forebearers. To accept the femininity of female artists is to accept the epistemological dualities that underlie philosophies of dominance; in accepting this dualized epistemology, one is also bound to accept its ramifications in socio-political theory. On the other hand, to deny women artists femininity, is to deny the experience of women and their practice as it might be located in this experience. The art historian is a problematized functionary in an academic system. If, from this position, one is unable to attend to problems of time, space and thought, and radicalize and re-epistemologize our discourses from the past, then we must abandon "feminine" female artists in history. This will leave these women in the margins and turn us into critics who only address contemporary issues that lend themselves more easily to contemporary debates. This sets women artists adrift in an ever-expanding but different margin. Feminist interventions into art history are honour-bound to re-write philosophy and to explore the problems faced by the woman artist within her society, whether that be historical or contemporary. Pictures can be read "against the grain" and the positions of women artists can be shifted. Tippett only continues the discourse she criticizes and lends credence to the people from whom she claims difference.

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Notes

1 Chris PETTEYS, *Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born before 1900* is useful for information about women artists. The forthcoming Garland dictionary will include women born before 1955.

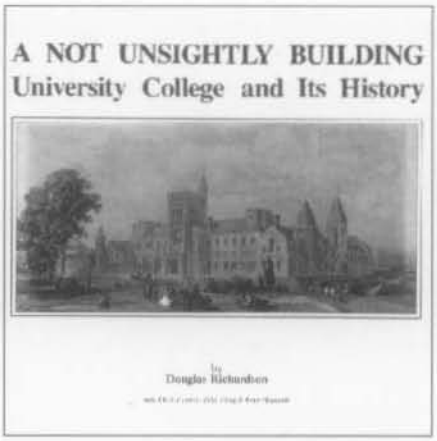
2 See, for example, Juliet MITCHELL, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), or more recently and more art historical, Griselda POLLOCK, "Woman as Sign: Psychoanalytic Readings" in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988). For concerns and questions about feminism and psychoanalytic theory see Michele BARRETT, *Women's Oppression Today: The Marxist/Feminist Encounter* (London: Verso, 2nd edition, 1988).

3 Tippett is obviously unaware of Pamela Gerrish Nunn's suggestion that, "In studying female artists it is important, if the authentic range of artists is to be suggested, that the amateur - or, rather, the non-professional - artist is considered. Important, too, is the artist who does not become famous, for her art is probably more instructive as to the dominant modes and trends of the time in which she was operating than is the art of the 'great' artists," *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), 126.

4 Natalie LUCKYJ, "Introduction," *Expressions of Will: The Art of Prudence Heward* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1986), 47.

5 Grace Melvin was commissioned by the Royal Canadian Engineers to design and illuminate their National Books of Remembrance for both wars; see *A Centenary Exhibition to Celebrate the Founding of the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists in 1882* (Glasgow : Collins Gallery, 1982), 36.

A NOT UNSIGHTLY BUILDING
University College and Its History
Douglas RICHARDSON *et al.*
University College Alumni, Toronto, 1990
174 pp., 69 col., 82 b/w illus., $29.95



Douglas Richardson's history of the central building of University College at the University of Toronto takes as its subject what may well be the most significant university building still standing from nineteenth-century Canada. I would guess, however, that I am not the only reader to be perplexed by this publication. For one thing, the authors seem to have little thought to a possible readership outside their own city: the world contains many other buildings called "university college," after all. I wonder if the parochial title *A Not Unsightly Building: University College and Its History* will not puzzle even a million or so of the residents of Toronto. It is not clear for which audience the book was crafted, either. From its size and from the inclusion of a dozen handsome colour views, this appears to be a standard coffee-table book, marketed for University of Toronto alumni. But it is far less interesting in a nostalgic way than those books tend to be, and much more data-filled with architectural questions.

On the other hand, *A Not Unsightly Building* does not by any means contain all that is expected of a standard architectural monograph. Nowhere in the book can one find a single modern plan of the structures under discussion. Also missing is a modern site plan; its closest equivalent, fig. 6.32, is an old plan of 1906, whose modern caption neglects to point out the building that is the subject of the book. There ought to have been an aerial photograph and a modern city plan, showing where the University College buildings fit in the urban scheme. The book has to be deemed parochial in the extreme in that it pays only the most cursory attention, scarcely more than a photograph or two, to the significant *other* buildings of the University of Toronto campus. Only a University College alumnus - and a highly knowledgeable one at that - could figure out the Byzantine switches of title and institutional configuration with which the first two chapters are largely concerned.

There are in addition strange decisions made in the compilation of this monograph. Chapter 1 is a standard institutional history, though particularly narrow in its inclusiveness. Chapter 2, by another of Richardson's collaborators, covers much of the same territory, though with a slightly wider humanistic interest. It is peculiar that this chapter then gives

the reader great detail about the 1890 fire that consumed the main University College building, more than 30 pages before Richardson gets to adduce its construction!

In Chapter 3, Richardson discusses in considerable detail an interesting Greek Revival scheme for a predecessor college. This discussion concerns an institution somewhat different from that which University College finally became, and it documents a project of which only a fragment was built and of which today nothing whatever remains. This earlier "University of King's College" project certainly merits close examination, and (to this reader, at least) is a real "find," but its introduction here only adds to the confusion of the reader. Then, the undisciplined mix of data pertaining to the institution and of data pertaining to the buildings tends to satisfy neither type of reader. Only in Chapter 4 does Richardson finally get to the construction of the building whose destruction was chronicled two chapters before.

The delayed account of the existing college building is not entirely satisfactory. There is, first of all, an unfortunate clash between the text and the visual information throughout the volume. University College is heir to a group of highly interesting architectural designs that many other institutions might well envy. This does not mean that so many of them ought to have to be set before the reader, particularly as they are here thrown into a hodgepodge of designs for other comparable buildings, such as the University Museum at Oxford or the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. The confusion is only compounded by a strange editorial decision that each caption should emphasize most prominently the source of the illustrated material, and only secondarily give the name of the material itself. Thus fig. 4.14 is prominently captioned *UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY* but only in rather small letters does the reader learn the structure viewed stands in Oxford. The proofing of the volume was less than rigorous also, since an illustration intended for page 116 enigmatically appears on page 48 instead.

Ecological activists work under the motto: "Think globally, act locally." Architectural historians should be guided by the same philosophy when they write, since the act of publication is by nature a "global" act, and there ought to be no bounds to the audience to which a book should aspire. *A Not Unsightly Building* does the reverse: it acts globally and thinks locally. Such a handsome and even lavish book anticipates a wide if not global distribution. But the thinking is local. It treats of a building that has major significance - Canada's Smithsonian Institution, let us say. But it does a disservice to its subject to treat it with such methodological casualness. If University College is as good as this book claims it is, why not make this claim in the most convincing manner possible?

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"THE TALENTED INTRUDER"
Wyndham Lewis in Canada, 1939-1945
Catharine M. MASTIN
with essays by:
Robert STACEY and Thomas DILWORTH
Art Gallery of Windsor, 1992
200 pp., 20 col., 150 b/w illus., $25.00

This remarkable book-catalogue from the comprehensive 1992-93 exhibition of Wyndham Lewis's Canadian paintings will, among other things, rekindle the controversy over what Liz Wylie, writing in *The Journal of Canadian Art History* (XIV/2, 1991), referred to as "the machinery of the myth of the north" in Canadian art and the apotheosis of the Group of Seven it implied. Lewis, Canadian-born and self-exiled in Canada during World War II, is shown in "*The Talented Intruder*" to have been an enthusiast of both the "myth" and the Group. Indeed he wrote of the two with the sort of forthrightness that had made him far more enemies than friends back in Britain after his first eruption on the art scene there as Vorticist-in-chief in 1914.

Sadly Lewis's salute to the myth, the Group and especially A.Y. Jackson, though written in Canada, was not published until the year after his return to England and then in the BBC's *Listener* magazine (August 29, 1946) suitably recast for foreign consumption. But it is a classic eulogy, eclipsing much of the carping Lewis did at Canada's expense and exemplifying (so this catalogue quotes him on p.62 as privately writing) "the publicity value to Canadians of their zero-land." Yet Lewis already noted an anti-Group reaction setting in, which he linked to the process of Canada - then as now - "de-Canadianizing" itself. He himself made no sweeping claims for the Seven as painters of world significance. But, by his stringent standards of criticism, he displayed striking admiration for Jackson, in particular:

> His vision is as austere as his subject-matter, which is precisely the hard puritanic land in which he always has lived: with no frills, with all its dismal solitary grandeur and bleak beauty, its bad side deliberately selected rather than its chilly relentings....There is something of Ahab in him: the long white contours of the Laurentian Mountains in mid-winter are his elusive leviathan. (p.62)

With their celebrated excess of collective modesty, Canadians can be expected to feel abashed at such magniloquent reflections concerning their country by a prominent outsider and there are signs of

such embarrassment in *"The Talented Intruder"* (a title based on an ironic self-reference by Lewis). For someone like Liz Wylie, who advocates "a more pluralistic, regionally-rooted expression" of Canada, Lewis's notions about the north and its seven pictorial acolytes would doubtless be an anathema, indicating just how relevant to latter-day debates about Canadian art history the several essays in this extensively illustrated catalogue turn out to be. Moreover the painting Lewis did during his sometimes bitter sojourns in Toronto and Windsor is presented in the context of Canadian art of the period - Varley, Comfort, Schaefer, Milne, etc. - although to such an extent that at times one thinks uneasily of the integration into "Can. Lit." of another maverick expatriate from Britain, Malcolm Lowry. And while due weight is given to Lewis's complaints of suffering neglect in "the most parochial nationette on earth," it is sternly emphasized that he was not alone in this among painters resident in Canada at the time and, what is more, did not try to better his position by joining in such uplifting activities as the 1941 Kingston Conference of Canadian Artists.

Making these points in one of the four essays included in the catalogue, exhibition organizer Catharine M. Mastin states (p.61):

> Despite the bleak picture Lewis drew of cultural conditions in Toronto, he was actually positioned at the centre of a fairly vibrant and progressive community of artists and writers, at least until early 1943, when many of their number joined the armed services and went overseas....That Lewis found Toronto as unpalatable as he did had as much to do with his personality as it did with the city itself....

True, and such needs to be said in the spirit of intellectual balance pervading this book as a whole. But Canadians, perhaps inclined to be over-defensive, should still take cognizance of the strictures (and the occasional compliment) voiced about their country by this redoubtable observer. They should make allowance in his pronouncements too for an element they don't always find congenial wherever it is found, that of humour. And it should be borne in mind that the unflattering perspective on Canada in Lewis's novel of exile, *Self Condemned*, represents in part the reactions of a character, Professor René Harding, who is the "condemned self" of the title. A major point of the novel is precisely that the unpalatability of the Canadian city where Harding perforce resided had, in Mastin's words, "as much to do with his personality as it did with the city itself." Since *Self Condemned* is a highly autobiographical work, this might be taken to constitute a corrective reflection by Lewis - of which the spirit of balance also demands recognition - on his own anti-Canadian outbursts as on his satirical stance in general during his previous forty years of writing.

But this catalogue, involving the work of three Canadian scholars, is a milestone in Lewis research. This is now an international industry which has spawned half-a-dozen books in the last two years, including the excellent catalogue by Paul Edwards for the 1992 British exhibition of Lewis's war paintings at the Imperial War Museum, London. For one thing,

Mastin and Robert Stacey have unearthed a wealth of new information on a period in the painter-writer's life which had previously been little explored and, in any case, was undervalued. By the forties, Lewis's sight was beginning to fail and, accordingly, a slackness becomes evident in some of the picture-making of this one-time master of the whiplash line. But he nevertheless produced, as the catalogue vividly illustrates, a number of imaginative drawings which merit inclusion among the most interesting works of this strange and constantly suprising artist. Scale meant nothing to Lewis and these modestly proportioned designs on paper are packed with meaning which is at once metaphysical and purely visual. Mastin and Stacey do them greater justice than they have ever received.

With both flair and learning, Mastin confronts the highly-charged and enigmatic drawings which mark for Lewis (paradoxically, given his personal plight and that of the Allied war cause in 1941) something of an *annus mirabilis*. We have "creation myths" redolent of interplanetary as well as phallo-uterine generation; crucifixions startling in their unconventionality and in one case resembling some burgeoning sacred tree out of Sir James Frazer, whose anthropological flights Lewis knew well; a thundering Jehovah, like some wrathful deity of Japanese inspiration; mysterious fertility emblems in blazing reds and fecund greens; gaunt solemnizations of war and personal anguish; and much else. For his part, Robert Stacey concentrates on the inspirations and circumstances which culminated, by way of numerous marine and bathing compositions, in the 1942 oil *The Island*. Detailing this genesis, Stacey tracks down a bizarre sequence of stimuli extending from the tycoon Sir James Dunn to the painters Etty and Böcklin. And although the climactic oil is a good less impressive, Stacey notwithstanding, than the consummate Lewis drawings along the way, the essay is a *tour de force* of rich, suggestive art history.

The mass of fresh facts marshalled by Mastin and Stacey in their separate contributions and a joint introduction illuminate not only Lewis's tangled relationships and desperate quests for money in North America but also intriguing facets of his French- and English-Canadian ancestry and the intimation of Huron blood. The histories, often stormy, of the public portraits that Lewis produced in Canada and the U.S. are set out here. Fortunately much space is also given to the domestic portraiture and still-lifes which serve as pictorial counterpoints to the Canadian hotel-room scenes of *Self Condemned*. These portraits - particularly the sombre studies of Lewis's perennial model, his wife Froanna - are more consistently worthy of the artist than the depictions of outside personalities. The stiltedness of the latter in some cases betrays, along with failing visual powers, the fact that the hard-up painter was motivated solely by financial need. His great portraits of the past - Sitwell, Pound, Eliot - had, after all, been spurred by the admiration and/or fascination aroused in the artist by his subjects.

In the case of Thomas Dilworth's catalogue essay on Lewis's North American writings, a sort of critical stiltedness ma-

nifests itself, betraying an underlying lack of empathy with Lewis's work in general. The enthusiasm that elsewhere informs Dilworth's incisive appraisals of another writer-painter, David Jones, is assuredly missing here. This is a pity since the short shrift thus vouchsafed to the literary side, apart from an apparent desire to emphasize the rebel Lewis's respect for Catholicism, means that an important aspect of the years in Canada goes without the focus it deserves in this otherwise wide-ranging volume. The catalogue as a whole is marred by suprisingly few slips for a production this elaborate. One of them concerns a Lewis gibe in a letter to T.S. Eliot about university English teachers in Michigan, which is misconstrued as aimed also at his host college in Windsor.

The reproductions in this book, particularly the colour renderings of the imaginative pictures and the best of the oil portraits, are in themselves effective advertisements for the work Lewis managed to do despite the trials of his Canadian residency. It is appropriate that the cover bears a detail from that haunting Lewis testimonial to his twin talents, *The Mind of the Artist, About to Make a Picture*, painted in Toronto in 1942. It is fascinating to read of this prophet of the Global Village whose book *America and Cosmic Man* was begun in Windsor, declaiming in French on the CBC against any fragmentation of Canada. Finally there is something almost poignant about one of the trail-blazers of twentieth-century art traversing the wilds of New Brunswick - "I have never seen so lonely looking an inhabited place as Bathurst" - or earnestly lecturing about beauty at the Rankin Hotel in Chatham, Ontario.

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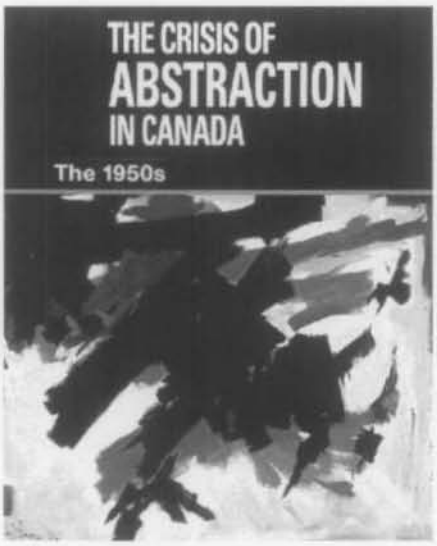
THE CRISIS OF ABSTRACTION IN CANADA
The 1950s
Denise LECLERC
with a technical essay by Marion H. BARCLAY
National Gallery of Canada, 1992
238 pp., 19 col., 182 b/w illus., $39.95



Denise Leclerc, the National Gallery's curator of Later Canadian Art, who organized the exibition *The Crisis of Abstraction in Canada*: The 1950s, purports to "pay tribute to the creativity manifested by Canadian artists in the course of a singularly rich and productive period in the artistic life of the nation," which has previously been neglected in the history of Canadian art. She attempts to redress the isolation that the artists themselves had felt during that time by bringing together work from across the country to effect a synthesis.

The author offers the caveat (perhaps to circumvent the type of criticism often levelled at the National Gallery for favouring some regions of the country over others) that she did not set out to construct a complete history of abstract art in Canada in the 1950's, but chose instead to focus on the more daring experiments in specific locales. Indeed the *leitmotif* of the catalogue is experimentation. It also contains an excellent and accessible essay by Marion Barclay, Senior Conservator of Paintings and Contemporary Art at the National Gallery, entitled "Materials Used in Certain Canadian Abstract Paintings of the 1950s." In addition many of the catalogue entries carry technical notes concerning such materials, and explanations as to how their use affected the formal aspects of the works.

As Denise Leclerc intended, the catalogue succeeds in bringing together works from across the country (excepting the Maritime provinces - one assumes that no daring experimentation was going on there). This is its strength and major contribution. Whereas many Canadian art historians have been apt to explore narrow pockets of enquiry, focussing on individual artists and regions, here was an opportunity to see familiar and lesser-known works in a broader national context and under the critical light of the 1990's - something that the National Gallery of Canada, with its national mandate and relatively rich resources, is uniquely positioned to do.

Its appearance is timely. Perhaps the appeal of this period is now a matter of nostalgia. There is a certain humanity in-

herent in the aging surfaces of Duco and Lucite 44, applied with such vigour forty years ago, that speaks directly to us in the 1990's - they bear the marks of having "passed through time." Alternatively, now that so much time has elapsed since these works were created, we will have perhaps gained a new objectivity with which to view them. On an international level, much attention has been bestowed upon the 1950's over the past decade; *The Crisis of Abstraction* itself has been in the planning since the early eighties. In 1982, the then-modest British periodical *Artscribe* devoted three issues to the fifties (and later the sixties and seventies) in order to present some of the essential facts of the period and to combine this history with a critical reevaluation. In 1987 Buffalo's Albright-Knox Art Gallery undertook a reappraisal of the New York School in *Abstract Expressionism: The Critical Developments*, followed a year later by *Les Années cinquante*, mounted by the Centre Georges Pompidou, which typically took a multi-disciplinary, multi-national and encyclopedic approach to the decade. Recently in 1990, the papers from the "Hot Paint for Cold War" symposium held at the University of British Columbia in 1986 were published under the title *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris and Montreal 1945-1964*. This put artistic activity in at least one part of Canada into an international context.

Now a reevaluation of the period is occuring farther afield. For example, the Auckland City Art Gallery, New Zealand, mounted an exhibition devoted to the 1950's in 1992, and the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney, Australia, recently featured 1950's design. In Canada, touring contemporaneously with *The Crisis of Abstraction* is an exhibition organized by the Winnipeg Art Gallery entitled "Achieving the Modern: Abstract Painting and Design in the 1950s." The forthcoming catalogue presents the decade somewhat differently from Leclerc's: it is a more collaborative venture with essays by the curator Robert McKaskell ("Changing Academics: The Rise of Abstraction in Canadian Painting"), art historian Sandra Paikowsky ("Vivre dans la cité: Quebec Abstract Painting"), and two essays on design by Virginia Wright and Allan Collier ("Design in Central and Eastern Canada" and "Design in Western Canada"). Its definition of what constitutes "modern" is significantly broader than that offered in the National Gallery show.

The Crisis of Abstraction in Canada: The 1950s catalogue ostensibly divides itself into three sections: an essay of the same title by Denise Leclerc; the catalogue entries; and Marion Barclay's essay, with appendices and bibliography. But in the course of reading, I found the tripartite division occurred somewhat differently due to the type of information imparted in each section; that is, Leclerc's essay split itself between the introductory material and the three "regional sections," with the catalogue constituting the third section.

Leclerc's essay is well-researched and cogent. Framed as a historical narrative, it is also concerned with the socio-political and economic background of each region represented in the exhibition. Le-

clerc has kept abreast of all of the most recent literature in her field. She defines her terms at the outset, and by including a short history of abstract art in Canada prior to 1950 provides a useful historical context for what follows.

The next "section" as per my division, deals with the three regions as defined by the author and roughly reflects the layout of the exhibition as it was installed in Ottawa: that is, Montréal, Toronto, and the West (Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Vancouver). Leclerc admits this to be an arbitrary division and I think as an organizing principle for the book it is an unfortunate one. For one thing, it is never made explicit why the Maritime provinces are not included, and for another, I think Vancouver's unique position on the Pacific Rim with its "British intellect, Oriental sensitivity, and Mediterranean...hedonism" (p.73) argues for a discussion independent of the three prairie provinces.

I assume that the relative space devoted to each city reflects the amount of significant and "daring experimentation" that took place there over the decade. For example, significant attention had been given to Montréal and Toronto which does not however take us much beyond the existing literature. And are we to believe that there was a death of experimental artists working in Winnipeg in the fifties, when L. LeMoine FitzGerald is held up as the sole representative? Do artists such as Tony Tascona, Don Reichert, McCleary Drope, or Bruce Head not deserve a mention? No one would dispute FitzGerald's preeminence on the Winnipeg art scene even into the fifties, but his methodical and highly personal approach to abstraction which had evolved out of years of representational work seems out of place here without consideration of others of his generation. I would have felt more comfortable with comparable attention being paid to Bertram Brooker (albeit, a lesser artist) or if Lawren S. Harris had been included in the relevant sections. Hortense Gordon and Jock Macdonald were also born before the turn of the century, but their place within the orbit of Painters Eleven makes their inclusion here unquestionnable.

While the luxury of viewing the exhibition allows for one type of synthesis to which the author was aspiring - an experience which permits the viewer to make cross-comparisons and draw her own conclusions - the catalogue is less successful in this respect. I am disappointed that the opportunity has been missed whereby certain critical issues could have been addressed and artistic activity in the fifties evaluated across this broad country truly as a whole, rather than as a string of isolated pockets of activity, seemingly unrelated to each other. Leclerc cites critic Rodolphe de Repentigny's observation in 1955 that "[e]xchanges between the most dynamic regions of the country in terms of artistic activity are not yet significant enough to allow an enriching osmosis to take place" (p.78). Yet artists were known to each other across provincial boundaries, as the author points out on numerous occasions, through national exhibitions (Québec artist Jean-Paul Mousseau won first prize in the Winnipeg Show in 1955), and through *Canadian Art* magazine (Marion Nicoll's source for

the automatistes).

Even if actual contact among the regions were to prove a less than fruitful avenue of enquiry, cross-regional comparisons could have been thought-provoking and also effected a synthesis. How do we otherwise explain the "manifold forms of artistic expression" (p.9)? Paul-Emile Borduas observed in 1956 that "people work on the same clear ideas in Tokyo, Montreal, New York or Paris. What is not yet understood is that the answers are different for each place." Why then did abstraction take on a different form in Vancouver than in Montréal and how was the exercise of achieving the modern fundamentally different in Montréal than in Toronto? This was touched upon in a colloquium on "Music, Dance, Film, Art and Art Criticism in Canada in the Fifties," March 28, 1993, held in conjunction with the exhibition in Ottawa. What was it about cultural isolation that "permitted this art to be sustained by divergent currents" (p.9)? How well understood was so-called Abstract Expressionism north of the 49th parallel and where was Canada positioned in the artistic arena relative to Europe and the United States in the 1950's? Quotes by William Ronald and Harold Town provide a clue (p.78), as does the Riopelle entry in the catalogue section. Leclerc observes that "a plausible explanation for Riopelle's success in the early fifties, ...is that for a brief period he managed to bridge the gap between the aesthetic concerns of two worlds, the European and the American. He was able to achieve an equilibrium, just at the definitive moment when the scales were tipping irrevocably towards New York" (p.170). This says much about Canadian culture in general.

Another theme I had hoped to see addressed is that of the activity of women artists during this period. Not that one expects to see equal representation of prominent male and female artists; that would have been to distort history. But why is this the case? There is no discussion of why only seven out of 59 artists were women, three of whom (Gordon, Luke and Nicoll) had reached artistic maturity by 1950.

Here again is an issue only alluded to. In her discussion of Rita Letendre, the author quotes Sandra Paikowsky's observation that "the recognition of Montréal women painters during the 1950's was unusual" (p.138). It is interesting to observe how the status of women artists fluctuated according to the prevailing aesthetic of the day. After a brief rise to prominence at the end of the nineteenth century, women artists were marginalized when the aesthetic changed from one of domestic subjects, to a more "masculine" approach based on promoting nationalism in the arts. Only a handful of women, related in some way to members of the all-male Group of Seven showed with them in a peripheral way as invited contributors. When the tide turned and the demand arose for a more socially-conscious art that addressed crises facing society in the thirties and forties, women artists became visible once more, only to fade back into obscurity with the influence of American "machismo" on Canada. Leclerc mentions that the Americans perceived themselves as superior for

possessing a masculine sensibility in the arts as distinct from what they considered the "effeminate European sensibility" (p.39). It is interesting to consider that during the fifties, Canada was positioning herself within the international arena, both politically and artistically - another form of national self-consciousness that harkens back to the 1920's.

Leclerc endorses de Repentigny's belief that a preoccupation with evaluating the Canadian-ness of these works is an unnecessary source of anxiety (p.77), since she feels that the best work of the period falls fully within the international sphere and thus transcends issues of nationalism. But however "universal" its language may be, Canadian abstract art of the fifties undeniably has its own peculiar accents : a unique synthesis of French, British and American sources. This catalogue presents the French and American influences well, but falls short in its evaluation of the relative importance of British postwar artists like Graham Sutherland, whose work was being purchased for the Vancouver Art Gallery and the Art Gallery of Toronto throughout the fifties.

Finally, over half the book is given over to the catalogue section in which all the works are illustrated in black and white. Since this final section of the publication is meant to be used for reference, it is organized alphabetically by artist, but as such does not dovetail with any other section of the catalogue and information offered in the entries often repeats the main text. Practically speaking, it is difficult to use in the exhibition because of its large size, and the Perfect binding will not withstand prolonged and repeated consultation. This rather defeats the purpose, since the most valuable contribution made by *The Crisis of Abstraction in Canada: The 1950s* is as a solid reference tool for Canadian art of the period.

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