



## GEORGE WADE'S MONUMENTS TO SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

The death of Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, in June 1891 initiated an unprecedented enthusiasm for monuments to his memory. Monarchs, politicians and leading public figures of the nineteenth century had all been immortalized in life and death by photographers, painters, engravers and sculptors and Macdonald would prove to be no exception. But when his support was solicited for a memorial to Macdonald, the former Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, founder of the Royal Society of Canada and Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, stated that: "I hope the Government will be able to recognize Sir John's great services in some fitly form; I do not think it should take the form of a monument."<sup>1</sup> He would have preferred that a museum might be erected in the Prime Minister's memory. Nonetheless, within weeks of Sir John's death proposals to erect monuments were announced in Montréal,<sup>2</sup> Hamilton,<sup>3</sup> Ottawa,<sup>4</sup> Kingston<sup>5</sup> and Toronto,<sup>6</sup> the funds to be raised by popular subscription.

The Montréal project was initiated by the Sir John A. Macdonald Club, organized in 1891 shortly before Sir John's death to further the "truly national policy of the Liberal Conservative party" and to debate "the possible destiny of Canada and the legitimate and honorable ambitions it may entertain of becoming a great nation allied to the British Empire."<sup>7</sup> A committee was set up under the honorary presidency of Sir Donald Smith with Joseph Hiram Jacob as secretary and prime organizer of the project.<sup>8</sup> The proposed sculpture was to be a tribute from the Province of Quebec and fundraising was initiated within weeks of Sir John's death.<sup>9</sup> In Ottawa a committee of citizens suggested a "national tribute"<sup>10</sup> in the form of a sculpture or museum of arts and science; but this campaign was not pursued. It was subsumed by the government's scheme to erect a monument on Parliament Hill. Although proposed in the House of Commons at the time of the announcement of Sir John's death, it was one year later that the House approved funding for the project and a competition was initiated to select the sculptor in January 1893.<sup>11</sup> In opposition to Ottawa's pretensions, Kingston claimed that, as the home and political base of Sir John's career, it had the right to erect a "National Monument."<sup>12</sup> To further its campaign the Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Manitoba were included as honorary members of the Kingston organizing committee,<sup>13</sup> and the names of former Governors-General Monck, Dufferin and Lorne were listed as

supporters.<sup>14</sup> Fund-raising committees were established in the United States as well as Canada<sup>15</sup> and it was only after some debate that the city of Hamilton decided to pursue its own project rather than join in the national campaign for Kingston.<sup>16</sup> The Toronto committee was slow to further its scheme because it was proving difficult to raise funds in competition with similar efforts from Kingston, Cobourg, Port Hope, and Lindsay, Ontario.<sup>17</sup> The somewhat arduous process of selecting sculptors caused delays in the campaigns and realization of the projects; the monuments in Montréal, Ottawa and Kingston were not unveiled until four years after Macdonald's death.

While these overlapping projects caused considerable difficulties for the fundraisers, they did offer unique opportunities for sculptors who pursued the chance to realize public works of art that, if not always lucrative, brought wide public attention and the hope of further commissions. The renown of the subject could bring additional fame to both author and subject, and ambitious artists wishing to further their careers pursued commissions. Artists were not above initiating the portraits themselves and presenting them as gifts to influential sitters for beneficial consideration in future contracts. The English sculptor Marshall Wood (c.1830-1882) had come to the attention of a "Canadian public figure" at the 1867 Paris Exposition,<sup>18</sup> and when he arrived in Ottawa in 1871 he brought three statues of Queen Victoria for sale to the citizens of the new Dominion. He had been in communication with individuals in Ottawa, Montréal and Toronto in the intervening years and at the behest of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Parliamentary Library Committee soon approved the purchase of Wood's marble statue of Queen Victoria and busts of Edward and Alexandra, Prince and Princess of Wales.<sup>19</sup> Either before his arrival or while negotiating an additional contract to design the landscaping of the Parliamentary precinct, Wood presented Macdonald with his marble bust, showing the Prime Minister draped in antique robes and wearing the order of Knight Commander of the Bath awarded him in 1867 (fig.1).<sup>20</sup> In 1879 Frederick Dunbar, protégé of the Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, also sought a commission to depict Sir John.<sup>21</sup> He was unsuccessful and finally sculpted a bust on his own account in 1881.<sup>22</sup> The most widely distributed sculpted portrait of the Prime Minister was a statuette produced by Louis-Philippe Hébert in 1886 (fig.2). Macdonald's characteristic pose was derived from photographs:<sup>23</sup> he is shown standing, his coat drawn back, holding a document in his outstretched right hand. This would be the standard image for the monuments erected to his memory in the years to come. Hébert, a master of courtly negotiations, donated a plaster cast of the statuette to Macdonald soon after its completion.<sup>24</sup>

The Canadian artists George Hill, Louis-Philippe Hébert, Hamilton MacCarthy and Frederick Dunbar all solicited and competed for the various



*fig. 1* Marshall Wood, Sir John A. Macdonald, c.1867-1873, marble, dimensions unknown. Destroyed in a fire at the Rideau Club, Ottawa. (Photo: W.J. Topley, National Archives of Canada, PA-008593)

posthumous commissions of Macdonald, with MacCarthy finally winning the Toronto contract and Hébert that for Ottawa.<sup>25</sup> However, none of the projects was limited to Canadian artists although the various citizens' committees were especially concerned to solicit submissions from Canadian and British, but not American, sculptors. Advertisements in the British press were channelled through the office of the Canadian High Commissioner in London, Sir Charles Tupper, while the Canadian committees sought advice from the Marquis of Lorne or his wife, the sculptor Princess Louise.<sup>26</sup> In several instances, the combination of Lorne and Tupper would be decisive in the selection of artists and the sculptor who benefitted most from their support was a minor English artist, George Wade (1853-1933). Wade was born in London and apparently studied law before turning to sculpture. A protégé of the eminent British sculptor Sir Edgar Boehm, he first exhibited at the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts in 1888 and at the Royal Academy the following year.<sup>27</sup> However, he had produced no major public monuments until he received the commission from Hamilton in 1892. Tupper and Lorne's patronage would be a great asset in

furthering Wade's career and in his receiving the commissions for three additional monuments to Sir John A. Macdonald in London, Montréal and Kingston. Of the four, only that for Montréal was awarded through open competition.

The first monument to Sir John was erected not in Canada but in London, England. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey the day following Macdonald's burial in Kingston<sup>28</sup> and soon afterwards Sir Charles Tupper informed Lady Macdonald that the Council of the Imperial Federation League, an organization established to strengthen ties for economic and political goals across the Empire, had resolved to solicit funds for the erection of a tablet to Sir John's memory in Saint Paul's Cathedral.<sup>29</sup> The tablet soon became a sculpture and proponents of Canadian art argued that the commission should be given to a Canadian. They noted that Hamilton MacCarthy of Toronto, an English sculptor of Canadian parentage on his mother's side, had taken a death-mask of Sir John and that already he had a clay bust of the late premier in his studio.<sup>30</sup> Tupper sought advice from Lords Aberdeen and Lorne on the work of the British sculptor Henry Bainsmith, who was then sculpting Tupper's own bust. But Lorne found Bainsmith's likeness of Sir John, being prepared for submission for St. Paul's, "very bad" and presented the sculptor Edward Onslow Ford's maquette for the Toronto committee to Sir Charles for consideration. However, Lorne believed George Wade's bust of Sir John "the best I have seen."<sup>31</sup> By this time Wade had already received the contract for Saint Paul's<sup>32</sup> and that bust (fig.3) was unveiled by the British Foreign Minister, Lord Rosebery, on 16 November 1892. Befitting the intentions of the Imperial Federation League Sir John was depicted in his Privy Council uniform and peer's robes, wearing the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath awarded him in 1884. At the unveiling, Rosebery eulogized the late Premier for having "grasped the central idea that the British Empire was the greatest secular agency for good now known to mankind"<sup>33</sup> and inscribed on the bust's supporting bracket was the slogan from Macdonald's last campaign, "A British subject I was born, A British subject I will die."

The Hamilton Committee had decided to erect its own memorial, and the key organizer, Senator William Sanford, obtained information in England and Italy on the costs and advantages of using marble or bronze for the proposed monument. It is most likely that Sir Charles Tupper or his secretary, J.G. Colmer referred Sanford to George Wade. Senator Sanford returned to Hamilton with two drawings of a standing figure of Macdonald on pedestals of differing heights<sup>34</sup> and only a month later the contract was awarded to Wade to provide a statue for £550 or £600 (approximately \$2750 or \$3000) and to design a pedestal estimated to cost \$3,350.<sup>35</sup> With Tupper's assistance Wade sent four plaster models from England. All depicted Sir John standing: one in a "Windsor



*fig.2* Louis-Philippe Hébert, Sir John A. Macdonald, 1886  
(posthumous cast), bronze, 72 x 26 x 24 cm. National Gallery of  
Canada, Ottawa. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada, 15237)



*fig. 4* George Wade in his London studio working on the Hamilton statue of Sir John A. Macdonald, 1892. (Photo: Gray & Davies, National Archives of Canada, C-9077)



*fig.5*  
George Wade,  
Monument to Sir  
John A. Macdonald,  
Gore Park, Hamilton,  
unveiled 1 November  
1893. (Photo: John  
Boyd, National  
Archives of Canada,  
PA-060931)



*fig.6*  
Mario Raggi,  
Monument to Lord  
Beaconsfield,  
Parliament Square,  
London, unveiled  
1883. (Photo: The  
Conway Library,  
Courtauld Institute,  
London, B78/2482)

uniform," two with his morning coat open (as in Hébert's 1886 statuette), and one wearing a Prince Albert coat buttoned up and with his right hand extended. It was this latter submission, and not that showing Sir John in his official robes, that won the committee's favour.<sup>36</sup> Wade enlarged the figure (fig.4) and the bronze was shipped to Canada in March 1893.<sup>37</sup> The large plaster was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London that summer, undoubtedly to the pleasure of the Hamilton committee.<sup>38</sup> Due to the absence of the Prime Minister, Sir John Thompson, who was in Paris for the Bering Sea negotiations, the unveiling of the first Macdonald memorial in Canada was delayed until 1 November. The eight-foot bronze figure was installed in Gore Park on a ten-foot square granite base (fig.5). The north and south sides were inscribed with the names of the eight provinces and territories united by Sir John and on the east and west sides were capsule biographies ending with, "A Canadian statesman who valued British institutions as a true basis of the strength and prosperity of the Dominion."<sup>39</sup>

While the Montreal Committee had commenced its work with great energy and considerable financial support, progress was slow. In December 1891 Sir Joseph Hickson, R.B. Angus and James Ross were appointed as the Design Committee. The following year they were joined by F.C. Henshaw and Hugh Graham, publisher of *The Montreal Daily Star*.<sup>40</sup> They sought advice from the Montréal architect Andrew Taylor, who drafted a preliminary list of British and Canadian sculptors.<sup>41</sup> Joseph Jacob, the Committee's Secretary, obtained lists of additional sculptors in England, Scotland and France when he was in England during the summer of 1892.<sup>42</sup> Again it was most probably through Sir Charles Tupper that Jacob met with George Wade and discussed a prototype for the monument. Shortly after Jacob's return to Montréal, the Committee requested information on the cost of Mario Raggi's monument of the Conservative Prime Minister Lord Beaconsfield, Benjamin Disraeli, dressed in peer's robes, placed opposite Westminster Abbey<sup>43</sup> (fig.6) as it had been chosen as the model for the desired figure of Macdonald.

Although the Committee was already in correspondence with Wade,<sup>44</sup> it was decided to advertise the project in Montréal, Toronto and England. The total budget for sculpture and pedestal was to be \$20,000.<sup>45</sup> By June, models and/or photographs with cost estimates had been received from four Canadian sculptors: Louis-Philippe Hébert, George Hill, Hamilton McCarthy, and Robert Reid; two Montréal architectural firms: Cox & Amos and W. McLea Walbank; and five British sculptors: Percy Wood (author of the Brant memorial in Brantford), C.B. Birch (author of Toronto's monument to George Brown), W. Reynolds-Stephens, A.E.L. Rost and George Wade. The London sculptors Bruce Joy and Edward Onslow Ford informed the Committee they would not enter a competition, although Ford sent a photograph of his Toronto submission which



fig.7 George Wade, Monument to Sir John A. Macdonald, Dominion Square, Montreal, unveiled 6 June 1895. (Photo: National Archives of Canada, PA-122694)

had already been rejected due to cost.<sup>46</sup> The Committee took considerable pains in arriving at a decision, expressing concern about giving such an important contract to an untried artist such as Hill, and put the models on public display in the store of committee member James Cantlie in order to obtain the opinions of the subscribers. As well, line drawings of the maquettes were reproduced in *The Montreal Daily Star* and *The Montreal Daily Witness*.<sup>47</sup>

Most of the Montréal submissions proposed a standing figure of Sir John dressed either in contemporary dress or Privy Councillor's uniform and robe, standing on a pedestal with allegorical figures, often of Art and Industry, ornamenting the base. Both Hébert and Hill sent in designs they had previously submitted for Ottawa's Parliament Hill monument.<sup>48</sup> The most ambitious proposal was by George Wade (fig.7). His standing figure of Sir John, dressed

in his Privy Councillor's uniform and robes with the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Bath, was placed on a granite base under a massive canopy, reminiscent of London's Albert Memorial and supported by twelve red granite pillars with bronze Corinthian capitals. The arch was to be faced on its east and west sides with bronze reliefs illustrating Canada's progress (fig.8). Above were four British lions and seven male youths arm in arm, symbolizing the seven united provinces, and the whole was crowned by the personification of Canada holding a cornucopia of Canadian products and the shield of the Dominion (fig.9). Various reliefs emblematic of industries decorated the pilasters at the feet of the columns. Wade's concept was a far more complex design than any of his competitors' and certainly more ambitious than the prototype, Raggi's statue of Disraeli. All of the sculpted elements were to be in bronze and the total height was to be approximately fifty feet.<sup>49</sup>

On his return from Paris, Sir John Thompson wrote to Louis-Philippe Hébert: "When we reached Rimouski one of the friends who came aboard told me that the Montreal monument committee has accepted the offer of Wade of London...on the advice of Sir Charles Tupper.... Sir Charles...said it was not a fact that he had made any such recommendation."<sup>50</sup> With Tupper's support, Wade's model had in effect been selected by Sir Joseph Hickson and R.B. Angus on first inspection of the models.<sup>51</sup> The artist was to prepare sculptures, foundations and architectural elements for \$20,000 for completion by August 1894. The committee's architectural advisors, Andrew Taylor and Alexander Dunlop, insisted on the addition of two steps to the base and the heightening of the arch. A committee composed of Lady Macdonald, the Marquis of Lorne and Sir Charles Tupper would approve the figure of Sir John in London before casting.<sup>52</sup>

Actual production of the monument was delayed by Wade's illness. Financial constraints, resulting from the increased cost of casting the bronze elements, also caused problems with the payments to Robert Reid, whom Wade had contracted for the masonry.<sup>53</sup> The artist remained in London and played no direct role in the construction of the monument. Finally on 6 June 1895, four years after Macdonald's death, the Montréal memorial was unveiled by the Governor-General, Lord Aberdeen, with considerable publicity. Sir Donald Smith used the occasion to dwell on Macdonald's devotion "to the principle of British connection and his unswerving loyalty and patriotism."<sup>54</sup>

Not all the members of the Montreal Committee were satisfied with Wade's monument. Having modified the proportions according to the committee's instructions, increasing the height to approximately seventy feet, Wade was now criticized for making the figures on top of the memorial too small,<sup>55</sup> which was not an unfair comment as they are indecipherable from the ground. The ambitions of the committee and of the artist were exaggerated and resulted in a monument out of proportion to its elements. The effect was described by



fig.8 George Wade, Reliefs on the Monument to Sir John A. Macdonald, Dominion Square, Montreal, 1895, from *Souvenir Sir John Macdonald, G.C.B Born January 11, 1815; Died June 6, 1891. Monument Erected by the Citizens of Montreal Unveiled by His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen Governor-General of Canada, June 6, 1895*, from *The Montreal Daily Star*, 1895. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada)



fig.9

Emblem of Canada  
and the Provinces on  
the Monument to Sir  
John A. Macdonald,  
Dominion Square,  
Montreal, 1895, from  
*Souvenir Sir John  
Macdonald, G.C.B Born  
January 11, 1815; Died  
June 6, 1891. Monument  
Erected by the Citizens of  
Montreal Unveiled by  
His Excellency the Earl  
of Aberdeen Governor-  
General of Canada, June  
6, 1895, from The  
Montreal Daily Star,  
1895. (Photo: National  
Gallery of Canada)*



*fig.10* George Wade, Monument to Sir John A. Macdonald, Macdonald Park, Kingston, unveiled 23 October 1895. (Photo: W.J. Topley, National Archives of Canada, PA-012011)

Wade's fellow competitor Hamilton McCarthy as "not a happy tout-en-semble" (*sic*).<sup>56</sup> Claiming to have been offered £5000 rather than £4000 pounds for the work, Wade was out of pocket for £1200 and appealed to Jacob for additional recompense.<sup>57</sup> Possibly his commission to do a marble bust of Sir Donald Smith in London was initiated to that end.<sup>58</sup>

The Montréal contract was not Wade's last effort to obtain work in Canada. In October 1893 he submitted a proposal for the Ottawa monument, again depicting Macdonald in robes and with orders. He hoped his receipt of the Montréal contract would not prejudice his chances in Ottawa,<sup>59</sup> but the contract was given to Louis-Philippe Hébert. In the meantime, as a result of the competition from other cities, the Kingston Committee had failed in its efforts to raise the estimated \$18,000 for a national monument in that city. In June 1894 Jacob arranged for Wade to supply a second cast of the Montréal figure of Macdonald at "a price to be kept private."<sup>60</sup> It was mounted on a granite pedestal designed and constructed by the Kingston firm of R. Welch & Son on which was also inscribed "A British subject I was born, A British subject I will die" (fig.10). This last Macdonald monument was unveiled on 23 October 1895.<sup>61</sup>

Through Canadian and British patronage in London, Wade was awarded the contracts for four monuments to Sir John A. Macdonald but he never saw any of his sculptures installed in Canada. In the 1890s, an era of increasing imperialism, Canadians sought to further the stature of Canada within the British Empire. By commissioning a British sculptor to realize monuments to Canada's first Prime Minister, the various committees emphasized the connections with Great Britain and through image and text linked Macdonald to the imperial ideal. The inclusion of representatives of the colonies in the Imperial Privy Council was key to Tupper's ideas about Imperial Federation<sup>62</sup> and the imagery of Wade's monuments articulated those ideals. Yet the results were not always great art and in 1907 a writer compared Wade's Montréal monument to its neighbour on Dominion Square, Hébert's 1902 monument to Monsignor Bourget: "One of them is the work of a Canadian sculptor, Hébert.... The other is the work of an old-country sculptor....After looking at the photographs, would any person care to say that Canadians must always go abroad to obtain real art?"<sup>63</sup>

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## Notes

- 1 Quoted in McLeod STEWART, "The People's Memorial" (letter to the editor), *The Daily Citizen* (Ottawa), 24 June 1891. My thanks to Beth Greenhorn and Steven McNeil of the National Gallery of Canada and to Eva Major-Marothy, National Archives of Canada, for their assistance with the research for this article.
- 2 "The Sir John A. Macdonald Club," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 9 June 1891. Minutes of the meetings of 8, 20 and 22 June 1891, Sir John A. Macdonald Club and Sir John A. Macdonald Memorial Committee (MMC), Sir John A. Macdonald Club Fonds (MCF), Archives nationales du Québec, Montréal, Cote 06, M-P6, reel 3951.
- 3 "Monument at Hamilton," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 10 June 1891.
- 4 C.H. MACKINTOSH, "A People's Statue," *The Daily Citizen* (Ottawa), 8 June 1891; "In Memoriam," *ibid.*, 15 June 1891; "National Monument at Ottawa," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 17 June 1891.
- 5 "Opinions of the Press," and "Raising a Statue," *The Daily British Whig* (Kingston), 13 June 1891; "A Fine Statue to Go Up," *ibid.*, 19 June 1891; "A National Memorial Will Be Erected Here to Sir John's Memory," *ibid.*, 23 June 1891.
- 6 "Memorial to Sir John," *The Daily Citizen*, 4 July 1891; "A Macdonald Memorial," *The Mail* (Toronto), 4 July 1891.
- 7 Minutes of the meeting of 14 March 1891, Sir John A. Macdonald Club, MCF.
- 8 "The Sir John A. Macdonald Club," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 9 June 1891.
- 9 "The Macdonald Monument," *ibid.*, 24 June 1891.
- 10 "A National Tribute," *The Daily Citizen*, 30 June 1891.
- 11 See C. HILL, "Hébert et l'image de la Confédération," in *Louis-Philippe Hébert*, ed. D. DROUIN (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 2001), 225-29. The competition was advertised in Canada, the United States, England, France, Belgium and Italy.
- 12 Petitions from Senators and members of the House of Commons, dated 8 July 1891 to Prime Minister Sir John Joseph Caldwell Abbott, in proposing to erect a National Memorial in Kingston, National Archives of Canada (NAC), J.J.C. Abbott Papers, MG 26C, vol.1, 118-27; "The Macdonald Memorial," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 5 Aug. 1891; "The Macdonald Memorial," *The Daily Citizen*, 6 Aug. 1891; "The Memorial Fund," *The Daily British Whig*, 18 Sept. 1891.
- 13 "Macdonald Memorial," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 15 July 1891; "Lady Macdonald at Cataragui," *ibid.*, 20 July 1891; "Kingston Macdonald Memorial," *ibid.*, 23 July 1891; "Kingston Macdonald Memorial," *ibid.*, 29 July 1891.
- 14 "Dufferin and the Kingston Monument," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 7 Sept. 1891.
- 15 "Kingston Macdonald Monument," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 17 July 1891; "Kingston Macdonald Memorial," *ibid.*, 29 July 1891; "The Kingston Memorial," *ibid.*, 30 July 1891; "St. John and Sir John's Memorial," *ibid.*, 7 Nov. 1891; "Kingston Macdonald Memorial," *ibid.*, 21 Nov. 1891.
- 16 "Monument to Sir John Macdonald" and "At Hamilton or Kingston?" *The Daily Spectator* (Hamilton), 4 Dec. 1891; "The Macdonald Memorial," *ibid.*, 9 Dec. 1891; "The Macdonald Memorial," *ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1891.
- 17 "The Macdonald Memorial," *The Daily Citizen*, 3 July 1891; Minutes of the meeting of 30 Oct. 1891, in the Minute Book of the Macdonald Memorial Committee, Toronto, Metro Toronto Central Library, Toronto.

- 18 "M. Marshall Wood," *Le Journal de Québec*, 8 Oct. 1873.
- 19 Minutes of the meeting of 13 Apr. 1871 in "Minutes of the Joint Committee of the Library of Parliament 1860-1879" (Typescript, Library of Parliament, Ottawa), 167-75; *Journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada from 15th February to 14th April 1871...4th session of the 1st Parliament of Canada Session 1871 IV*, no.14 (April 1871): 304-305; "The Drawing Room of the Senate Chamber," *Canadian Illustrated News* 7, no.13 (29 Mar. 1873): 195, 200-201. See Marshall Wood, London to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, 21 Jan. 1871, NAC, Sir John A. Macdonald papers (MG26A), vol.343, #156968-70.
- 20 Wood (no city), to Macdonald, Ottawa, 17 May 1873, Wood, Toronto to Macdonald, Ottawa, 14 Aug. 1874 and Wood, New York to Macdonald, Ottawa, NAC, MG26A, vol.345, #158171-158174, 158665-158668, 158706-158709. See also *Journal de Québec*, 26 Sept. 1872; "M. Marshall Wood," *ibid.*, 8 Oct. 1873.
- 21 F.A.T. Dunbar, Florence to Macdonald, Ottawa, 1 Dec. 1879, NAC, MG 26A, vol.363, #168003-168004.
- 22 "Echos du Jour," *La Minerve* (Montréal), 13 Apr. 1881. See Fern BAYER, *The Ontario Collection* (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside/Ontario Heritage Foundation, 1984), 225.
- 23 See Ann THOMAS, *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900* (Montréal: McCord Museum, 1979), 64-65.
- 24 Louis-Philippe Hébert to Sir John A. Macdonald, 7 Jan. 1887, NAC, MG 26A, vol.433, 275, l-m, #213367 and Macdonald, Ottawa to Hébert, 8 Jan. 1887, in the Fonds Hébert, Musée du Québec.
- 25 See "The Sir John Macdonald Monuments," in *Canada: An Encyclopaedia of the Country* IV, ed. J. Castell HOPKINS (Toronto: Linscott, 1898), 408-10. See also Margaret COHOE, "Sir John A. Macdonald Memorializations and the Red Rose League," *Historic Kingston*, XXVI (March 1978): 58-69. My thanks to Gillian Barlow, Queen's University Archives for bringing this article to my attention.
- 26 "Princess Louise and Sir John," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 5 Nov. 1891. Minutes of the meetings of 14 Feb. and 27 Oct. 1892, in the Minute Book of the Macdonald Memorial Committee, Toronto, and minutes of the meeting of 17 June 1892, MMC, MCF.
- 27 A.L. BALDRY, "Our Rising Artists: George E. Wade, Sculptor," *Magazine of Art* XXIV (1900): 545-48; "The Late George Edward Wade (1853-1933)," *The Connoisseur* XCI (1933): 268-69; "George Wade," *Art News* XXXI, no.20 (11 Feb. 1933): 8; "George Edward Wade, Briton," *The Art Digest* (February 1933): 8.
- 28 "The Macdonald Memorial," *The Mail*, 9 July 1891.
- 29 Copy of letter from Sir Charles Tupper to Lady Susan Agnes Macdonald, 26 June 1891, NAC, Sir Charles Tupper Papers, MG26F, vol.8, 496, #4378; "The Macdonald Memorial," *The Daily Citizen*, 3 July 1891; "Britain's Tribute," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 21 July 1891.
- 30 "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* IV, no.40 (29 Aug. 1891): 6; S.A. CURZON, "Literature and Art in Toronto," *The Dominion Illustrated* VII, no.166 (5 Sept. 1891): 233.
- 31 Lord Aberdeen, London to Tupper, London, 22 March 1892, Marquis of Lorne, London to Tupper, London, 29 Mar. 1892 and 4 May 1892, NAC, MG26F, vol.9, #4470-4473, 4490-4491, Reel C-3205.
- 32 "The Macdonald Statue," *The Hamilton Spectator*, 16 Apr. 1892.
- 33 "Special Cables Bust of Sir John Unveiled," and "Sir John in St. Paul's," *The Mail*, 17 Nov. 1892.

- 34 "The Macdonald Memorial," *The Hamilton Spectator*, 11 Dec. 1891; "The Statue of a Statesman," *ibid.*, 4 Mar. 1892; "The Macdonald Statue," *ibid.*, 5 Mar. 1892. The figure of Sir John in the drawing illustrated in "The Proposed Monument," *ibid.*, 10 Mar. 1892, is very close to Hébert's 1886 statuette but may be one of the four proposals from Wade. See below note 36.
- 35 "The Macdonald Statue," *ibid.*, 16 Apr. 1892.
- 36 "The Macdonald Monument," *ibid.*, 7 June 1892; "The Macdonald Statue," *ibid.*, 9 July 1892.
- 37 The large plaster was reproduced in "Statue of the Late Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald," *Canadian Architect and Builder* X, no.12 (December 1892): 119; "Sir John's Statue at Hamilton," *The Montreal Daily Witness*, 2 Mar. 1893.
- 38 "Our Illustrated Notebook," *The Magazine of Art* XVI (1893): 288; "The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1893," in *Royal Academy Pictures* (The Royal Academy Supplement of *The Magazine of Art*) (London: Cassell, 1893), 195.
- 39 *The Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Statue of the Late Sir John Alexander Macdonald, P.C., G.C.B., M.P., D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D., Q.C., in Hamilton on the First Day of November 1893* (Published by the Memorial Committee); "To-day's Unveiling," *The Hamilton Times*, 1 Nov. 1893.
- 40 Minutes of the meetings of 1 Dec. 1891 and 3 Dec. 1892, MMC, MCF.
- 41 Minutes of the meeting of 11 Apr. 1892, MMC, MCF. Taylor recommended contacting C. Birch, A.R.A., T. Brock, A.R.A., Onslow Ford, A.R.A., Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., L. Rhind and Hébert and MacCarthy.
- 42 Minutes of the meetings of 1 Nov. 1892 and 11 November 1892, MMC, MCF.
- 43 Minutes of the meeting of 25 Nov. 1892, MMC, MCF. Wade, London to Jacob, Montréal, 26 June 1895, Wade states he gave Jacob an estimate of £4000 for a statue comparable to that of Lord Beaconsfield. In Wade to Jacob, 13 August 1895, Wade says he had initial discussions with Jacob at the Metropolitan in London and that he was told the budget for Montréal was £5000. Both letters are in MMC, MCF. The model was not inappropriate given the similarity in appearance between the two leaders. See Andrew COLLARD, "That Strange Persistent Resemblance," *The Gazette* (Montréal), 13 Mar. 1976.
- 44 Minutes of the meeting of 22 Feb. 1893, MMC, MCF. Correspondence was read from Wade and J.G. Colmer. Colmer had a great interest in the Montréal project (Minutes of the meeting of 14 June 1893) and forwarded Wade's letters both to Montréal and Ottawa where Wade was competing for the Macdonald monument on Parliament Hill. J.G. Colmer to Ouimet, Minister of Public Works, Ottawa, 14 Dec. 1892, NAC, RG11, vol.896, #137087. See also Tupper to Ouimet, 25 July 1892, forwarding a letter from Wade, NAC, RG11, vol.882, #132627.
- 45 Minutes of the meeting of 22 Feb. 1893, MMC, MCF.
- 46 Minutes of the meetings of 14 and 16 June 1893, MMC, MCF; "Memorial to Sir John," *Evening Telegram* (Toronto), 28 Oct. 1892. According to this source Stephens was asking £40,000. More probably it was £4000 or \$20,000, as the submissions were for the sculpture only without pedestal.
- 47 *The Montreal Daily Star*, 31 May 1893 (Hébert); 19 June 1893 (Cox & Amos and Percy Wood); 20 June 1893 (George Wade); 23 June 1893 (George Wade); 27 June 1893 (Reynolds-Stephens and Cox & Amos' variant proposal); 28 June 1893 (Onslow Ford & A.E.L. Rost); 30 June 1893 (C.B. Birch & G.W. Hill); 14 July 1893 (Robert Reid and G.W. Hill's second proposal); 15 July 1893 (Hamilton McCarthy and Hill's third proposal); *The Montreal Daily Witness*, 22 June 1893 (Cox & Amos, Birch and McCarthy); 24 June 1893 (W. McLea Walbank). It is difficult to determine the total number of submissions. According to the newspapers fifteen models

were examined by the committee ("The Macdonald Memorial," *The Gazette*, 16 June 1893) and twenty-five were put on display ("The Macdonald Memorial," *The Gazette*, 17 June 1893). The Minutes of 14 June 1893 refer only to Bruce Joy, Hébert, Wood, Reynolds-Stephens, Wade, Rost, Ford, MacCarthy, Hill, Reid and an anonymous submission.

48 "Macdonald Memorial," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 2 June 1892. See HILL, "Hébert," 226-27. Hébert's proposal for Montréal was slightly modified from that submitted to Ottawa in 1892, replacing the figures of the seven provinces with two unidentified allegorical figures.

49 "The Macdonald Memorial," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 16 Aug. 1895; "Montreal," *Canadian Architect and Builder* VII, no.3 (March 1894): 42; "Unveiling the Monument," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 6 June 1895; pamphlet, *Souvenir Sir John Macdonald, G.C.B Born January 11, 1815; Died June 6, 1891. Monument Erected by the Citizens of Montreal Unveiled by His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen Governor-General of Canada, June 6, 1895. Presented with the Compliments of The Montreal Daily Star*.

50 Sir John Thompson, Ottawa to Louis-Philippe Hébert, Paris, 31 Aug. 1893, Fonds Hébert, Musée du Québec.

51 Meeting of 12 August 1893, MMC, MCF; "Unveiling the Monument," *ibid.*, 6 June 1895.

52 Minutes of meetings of 12 and 14 Aug. and 19 Sept. 1893, MMC, MCF.

53 J.G. Colmer, London to Sir Joseph Hickson, Montréal, 30 July 1894; Minutes of meetings of October 1894, 1 Feb. 1895, MMC, MCF.

54 "Unveiled the Monument," *The British Daily Whig*, 10 June 1895.

55 "Unveiling the Memorial," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 6 June 1895; Wade to Jacob, 26 June 1895 and Wade to Jacob, 13 Aug. 1895.

56 H. MCCARTHY, "The Development of Sculpture in Canada," in *Canada: An Encyclopaedia of the Country*, ed. J. Castell HOPKINS (Toronto: Linscott, 1898), vol.IV, 376.

57 Wade to Jacob, 26 June 1895 and 13 Aug. 1895, MMC, MCF.

58 Wade to Jacob, 5 Feb. 1896, MMC, MCF.

59 Wade, London to Department of Public Works, Ottawa, 20 Oct. 1893, NAC, RG11, vol.929, #145769.

60 "A Macdonald Memorial," *The Daily British Whig*, 21 June 1894.

61 "In Honour of Kingston's Son," *ibid.*, 23 Oct. 1895; "Was the Speech of the Day," "The Unveiling Ceremonies," "Voices from the Cabinet," "Hon. Dr. Montague's Words," and "Honor to Kingston's Son," *ibid.*, 24 Oct. 1895.

62 Sir Charles TUPPER, *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada* (London: Cassell, 1914), 277-82.

63 Randolph CARLYLE, "A Comparison in Art," *Canadian Magazine* XVIII, no.3 (January 1907): 276-77.

## LES MONUMENTS À SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD PAR GEORGE WADE

Plusieurs sculptures du premier premier ministre du Canada, sir John A. Macdonald, furent réalisées de son vivant et sa mort, en 1891, suscita des appels de fonds dans certaines villes de l'Ontario et du Québec pour l'érection de monuments à sa mémoire. La levée des fonds nécessaires et le choix des artistes prit un temps considérable, car les comités durent solliciter des projets de sculpteurs canadiens et britanniques. Plusieurs comités demandèrent l'avis de l'ancien gouverneur général, le marquis de Lorne et du haut commissaire du Canada à Londres, sir Charles Tupper. Ces avis furent souvent décisifs dans le choix des artistes. Les artistes canadiens Hamilton MacCarthy et Louis-Philippe Hébert furent choisis pour les monuments de Toronto et d'Ottawa respectivement, mais celui qui réussit à obtenir le plus de commandes fut le sculpteur anglais George Wade (1853-1933). Wade fut d'abord choisi par l'Imperial Federation League, dont Tupper était un membre actif, pour exécuter le monument à Macdonald de la cathédrale Saint-Paul de Londres (1891-1892). Il fut plus tard choisi pour les monuments à Macdonald à Hamilton (1891-1893), Montréal (1892-1895) et Kingston (1894-1895).

Le monument de Montréal, qu'il obtint à la suite d'un concours, était le plus ambitieux et le plus coûteux des quatre projets. Au bout du compte, ce contrat aura fait perdre de l'argent à l'artiste, et les membres du comité ne furent pas satisfaits de l'architecture de l'œuvre une fois achevée. Le comité de Kingston, n'ayant pas réussi à recueillir les fonds nécessaires pour un nouveau projet, commanda un second moulage de la figure de sir John du monument de Montréal. Sur trois des quatre monuments de Wade, sir John est représenté en costume de membre du Conseil privé et portant la robe de pair et la grand-croix de l'ordre du Bain. Cette image de Macdonald contrastait avec celle exécutée par Louis-Philippe Hébert pour la colline du Parlement, où le défunt premier ministre est représenté en redingote, sans décorations et accompagné d'une allégorie de la Confédération. Le dessin de Wade s'accordait avec le propre intérêt de Tupper pour l'Imperial Federation, manifesté par l'inclusion de représentants coloniaux du Conseil privé impérial. Le slogan de la dernière campagne de Macdonald était «sujet britannique je suis né, sujet britannique je mourrai». C'est cette image, plutôt que celle d'un père de la Confédération, qui est mise en évidence dans les monuments de Wade. Par l'image et le texte, les trois comités canadiens affirmaient les liens de Macdonald et du Canada avec la Grande-Bretagne plutôt que l'émergence du Canada en tant que Dominion de plein droit.

Traduction: Élise Bonnette