



fig.1 Cornelius Krieghoff and William Scott, *Timber Depot, Quebec*, as exhibited at the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867, Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec. (Photo: Pierre Soulard, PH1987-0669)

CANADA IN PARIS

Krieghoff at the Universal Exhibition 1867

Surely one of the most significant contributions of Dennis Reid's *Krieghoff: Images of Canada* – both exhibition and catalogue – was his discussion of Krieghoff's ensemble of paintings of the timber trade with the publication of the seldom-reproduced nineteenth-century photograph of the work.¹ Long conjectured to have been installed in the Legislative Assembly in Quebec City and lost in the fire in 1883, *Krieghoff: Images of Canada* revealed that the paintings (fig.1) had in fact been displayed at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1867 (UEP). At the Art Gallery of Ontario, the originating institution of the Krieghoff retrospective, the photograph of the ensemble was enlarged to the scale of the original object, with the actual central painting *Timber Depot, Quebec* (today known as *Sillery Cove, Quebec*) superimposed on its photograph. The painting introduced the "Europe 1864-1870" section, suggesting the role it played in promoting Canada on the international stage; and its placement with other paintings produced during his years abroad established its position within Krieghoff's career. In Reid's catalogue, *Timber Depot, Quebec* was assessed as "the great painting" of this period.²

The ensemble's unusual conception and arrangement, its ornamental presentation, its relatively large scale (about 160 cm high x 210 cm wide), and the mere fact of its having been included in the UEP seemingly bespeak its assured significance as a signal work of Krieghoff's career, and as a signal Canadian work on the international stage.³ But, as Reid noted, the ensemble seems to have made virtually no impression either abroad or in Canada.⁴ Certainly Krieghoff was one of the best-known and most-collected artists in Canada during his own day. So why the silence about the ensemble? This consideration of the ensemble will reveal the differences of agenda, complexities of interpretation, and multiplicities of meaning attendant to its presentation in Paris, and its subsequent reception (or lack thereof).

Current research indicates that the photograph was taken before the ensemble left for Paris and had been used to convince the Canadian organizers to include it in the display.⁵ It shows that the ensemble comprised nine paintings: a large central panel surrounded by a symmetrical complement of eight vignettes, each from roughly one-tenth to one-twentieth of the size of the central panel. Each painting had been simply framed and then set within an encompassing ornate framework assembled, as suggested by the joins discernible in the photograph, from at least twenty individual carved sections. The paintings and frame sections were secured to an opaque backing that stabilized the entire structure.⁶ The elaborate ensemble framework – described as "superb" in one Canadian newspaper⁷ – was the creation

of William Scott, the Montreal picture-frame maker and dealer who acted in the latter capacity for Krieghoff from at least late 1866 to mid 1867, during the artist's extended stay in Europe.⁸

As the photograph reveals, each of the paintings had its title or subject on a label affixed to the framework directly beneath the corresponding image. The large, centre panel is identified as *Timber Depot, Quebec*.⁹ The vignettes (moving counter-clockwise starting with the roundel in the upper left corner) can be assumingly identified as follows: *Taking Parties to the Forest*;¹⁰ *Log House, Winter*;¹¹ *Junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa River*;¹² *Raft in Danger in Storm in the St. Lawrence*;¹³ *Jam of Logs at Low Water, Autumn*;¹⁴ *Evening in Log House*;¹⁵ *Drawing Timber*;¹⁶ *Hewing Timber*.¹⁷ The aspects of the timber harvest, from forest to cove, unfolded over the course of almost a year.¹⁸ In the late autumn, lumberjacks entered the forests and canoed the streams deeper into the woods, reconnoitering (many on behalf of the "lumber lords" who had contracted them) sites for number and quality of trees. They set up their base camp (log house) for the season, and built roads from the culling sites to the river. Evening activities for the lumbermen around the hearth included dinner, smoking, repairing implements or clothing, wrestling and story-telling.¹⁹ Over the winter, the best trees were sought out, felled and often hewn (the trunk squared with an axe), then hauled to the iced-over river where both squared timbers and logs remained until spring. The timbers were then floated individually or constructed into cribs and negotiated down the river, through rapids and falls, at times portaged and in other instances redirected down timber slides constructed to circumvent such natural obstacles. Cribs sometimes fell apart, the timbers piling one atop the another and creating a "jam" that would require the dangerous job of clearing. After overcoming these obstacles, enormous rafts were constructed and poled and sailed down the St. Lawrence during late spring and summer; most of them (if not lost to storms on the river) arriving at the coves near Quebec City where the timbers would be measured and graded before being shipped overseas.

Krieghoff's ensemble includes many facets of this annual cycle, including a single intimate, interior scene of the evening activities – fiddling and dancing – of the lumbermen (*Evening in Log House*, roundel, lower right) that embraces the tendency of popular accounts to romanticize them as "rough children of the wilderness."²⁰ But the artist does not include all facets of the timber harvest, nor does he emphasize the human aspect. For the most part he focuses on the process of timber-making and transportation; if figures are included, their primary function is to animate the landscape. In two paintings (*Junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa* and *Raft in Danger in Storm in the St. Lawrence*), the human presence is so negligible as to be inconsequential; in another (*Jam of Logs at Low Water, Autumn*), it is non-existent.

One might be tempted to interpret Krieghoff's ensemble as a selective narrative, but the work (particularly the vignettes) does not lend itself to any

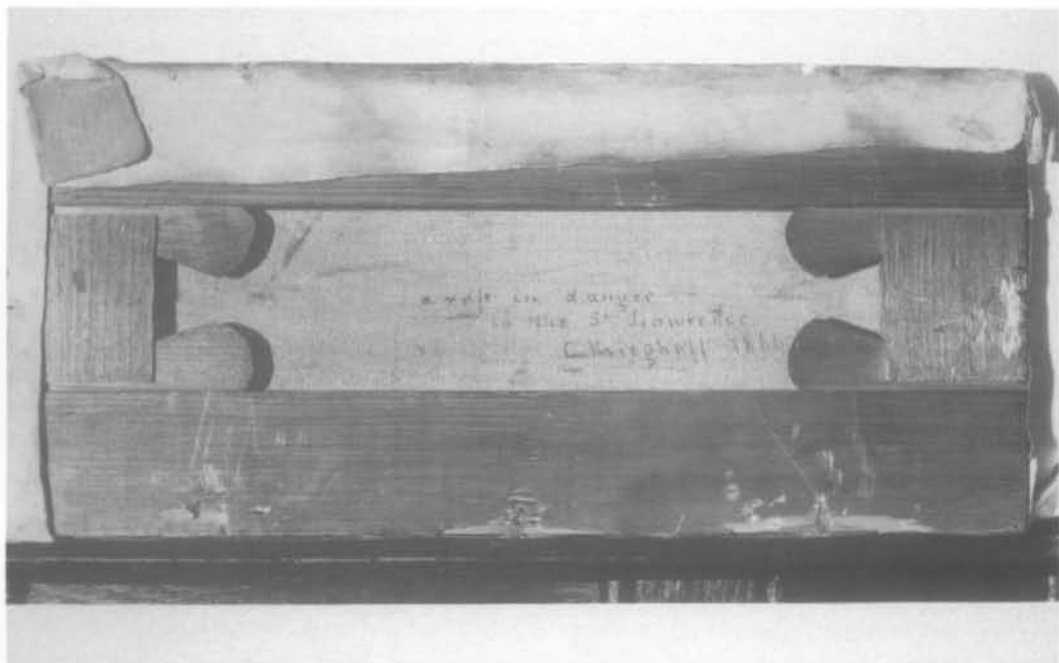


fig.2 Verso of *A Raft in Danger in the St. Lawrence*, photograph 1975 or before, photographer unknown, Royal Ontario Museum, Department of Western Art and Culture. (Photo: Royal Ontario Museum)

chronologically-sequenced reading, whether by direction (clockwise or counter-clockwise) or by format (roundel or rectangle). Indeed, the placement of those aspects of the trade that Krieghoff does render seems to bear no relation to chronology at all, being dictated perhaps rather by aesthetic concerns. There is, for example, a symmetry in the counterpoint of the directional movement within the two upright panels. The vignettes, despite the apparent significance in terms of reinforcing the idea of the vast forests and resource potential, are, even by virtue of their size, mere tributaries to the spectacle of landscape that is the subject of the central image.

In the photograph, the central painting is labelled *Timber Depot, Quebec*, but there is no guarantee that this is the artist's intended title. There are at least two instances of paintings in the ensemble bearing an inscription in Krieghoff's hand on the verso of the canvas that are variations of the titles on the labels as seen in the photograph. *Raft in Danger in Storm in the St. Lawrence*, is inscribed verso as "Raft in danger in the St. Lawrence" (fig.2) and *Taking Parties to the Forest* is titled "Taking Provision[s?] into the Forest." Indeed, there is some question as to whether the title by which the central painting is known today, *Sillery Cove, Quebec*, is accurate. The name "Sillery Cove" seems to date from when the painting entered the shop of Montreal art dealer William Watson in 1949.²¹ In August of that year, Watson had the painting relined by Frank Worrall, an art restorer in Toronto.²² The dealer's "document of authenticity" states that "'Sillery Cove: Quebec: 1859' was written on the back of the canvas before relining,"²³ but the wording is ambiguous enough to raise the question as to whether or not the inscription is in Krieghoff's hand. If it is in fact original (and we won't know that unless the relining is removed), then the question of intention regarding the change of title is raised. "Sillery Cove, Quebec" is very specific indeed, and one can understand that it may have been titled to appeal to the local Quebec market.²⁴ If indeed that is what has happened, the alteration to the more generic "Timber Depot, Quebec" would say much about the changing context of the audience; about the recognition of the painting's changing function from inhabiting what was probably intended to be a private space, to one more public.

Commanding in both size and imagery, *Timber Depot, Quebec* bespeaks the region's abundant natural resource and the nature of its commerce. As he did with two of the vignettes, Krieghoff took his pictorial cue from a Bartlett engraving, *Timber Depot near Quebec*, in *Canadian Scenery* (1842).²⁵ Krieghoff, however, modifies the perspective and situates the viewer at the Pointe-à-Pizeau, farther west, that is so that more of the shoreline is featured. And while both artists depict the site as viewed from the heights, the viewpoint in the Krieghoff is higher, thus effecting a perspective that is less acute and more expansive in both breadth and depth. Strategically framing the vista with the proverbial trees to either side, Krieghoff has affected a picturesque landscape with all its imperialist connotations.²⁶ It is this

strongly composed structure, combined with the distant mauve tones, that contributes to the monumentality of the painting noted by Reid.²⁷ Vast quantities of timber clog the coves that lie east of Point-à-Pizéau, extending seemingly forever along the north shore of the St. Lawrence past Quebec City, which is visible atop Cape Diamond in the hazy far distance. *Timber Depot, Quebec*, both title and picture, has everything to do with business, and in the international context of the Universal Exhibition, the business of promoting the sale of timber was the order of the day.

The painting, with its surrounding constellation of vignettes, had been brought to the attention of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada (BAMLC), the body responsible for suggesting the items that Canada East would contribute to Canada's display in Paris. A letter from the board to Joseph-Charles Taché, Deputy Minister of the Board of Agriculture and *de facto* organizer of the Canadian section in the Paris Exhibition, refers to another received from William Scott. Here Scott indicates that Krieghoff assembled ("got up") the group of paintings specifically with the Paris exhibition in mind.²⁸ Whether the individual paintings were actually created for this ensemble or were already in existence and simply appropriated for the project is not entirely clear. Two (*Raft in Danger in Storm in the St. Lawrence*; *Taking Parties to the Forest*) of the three paintings whose current whereabouts are known and for which extensive documentation exists do in fact bear inscriptions by Krieghoff on the verso of the canvas indicating, along with signature and original title, the date 1866.²⁹ Their distinctive formats (rectangular horizontal and roundel respectively) and size indicate that these two, and likely all, were intentionally created for a framework of a particular design and thus probably with Paris in mind. According to William Watson, however, the major panel, *Timber Depot, Quebec*, dates from 1859, seven years earlier. Could Krieghoff have had the central panel already on hand and used it as the generative image for a complex of pictures on the timber trade in the hopes of being included in the EUP? The answer to that question is still unknown.

In mid-nineteenth century Canada, the timber trade was a multifaceted commercial operation.³⁰ Originally Canada had only produced squared hewn timber (most of it white pine) and only for the British market. Eventually, however, production expanded to include deals (sawn planks, at least 3" thick, of high quality both in terms of wood and sawmanship) as well as regular planks and boards, and the market expanded to include the United States.³¹ While the squared timber trade was threatened when the last differential duties had been lifted by 1860,³² the market in the early to mid-1860s seemed eminently sustainable. Exports for 1865 had been at their highest since 1850.³³ In January 1866, the BAMLC met with Agriculture Minister D'Arcy McGee to consider the role of the Board and as well possible contributions to the Canadian display in the Universal Exhibition. It was decided that lumber firms should be alerted as soon as possible so that the finest trees could be selected for Paris during the current felling season.³⁴



fig.3 The Canadian Section (L'Exposition de produits de Canada), reproduction in the *Illustrated London News*, Supplement, 25 May 1867, 525.

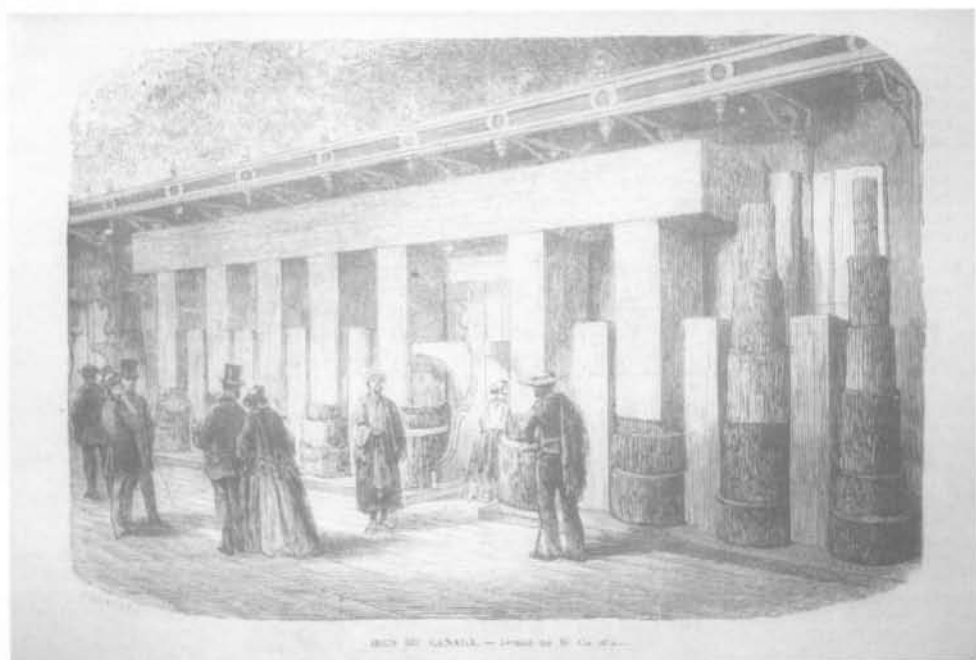


fig.4 Bois du Canada, wood engraving in François Ducuing, ed., *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, 1, no.18 (1 juillet 1867), Paris, Bureaux d'abonnements, 1867, 288; illustration for H. de la Blanchère, "Les bois d'ébénisterie et de travail étrangers."

It is thus not surprising that the industry would play a prominent role when Canada promoted itself on the international stage. Twelve years earlier, Joseph-Charles Taché had been instrumental in the success Canada experienced at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855. On that occasion, the centrepiece of the Canadian section was a monumental, pyramid-shaped structure of sixty-four varieties of wood, soaring sixty feet and boasting an internal staircase that visitors could climb virtually to its apex.³⁵ Now, as Executive-Secretary for Canada in the 1867 Universal Exhibition, Taché would attempt to recapture that same international attention for Canada's timber resources. Once again he chose the forest industry as the defining theme for the Canadian Court, the main showcase of the Canadian department.

The Canadian Court asserted its presence by virtue of an enormous colonnade featuring a fifty-foot-long, thirty-inches-square white pine squared timber supported by series of square pillars of various woods. These in turn were supported on bases composed of sections of tree specimens, and "placed in a way that the grain can be seen pretty well."³⁶ The engravings produced for the *Illustrated London News* (fig.3)³⁷ and for *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée* (fig.4)³⁸ reveal that at either end of the colonnade were additional freestanding tapered columns constructed from segments of tree trunks. Tall planks (deals) of woods, set out one after another behind the colonnade, provided a backdrop. The entire length of the Canadian Court facade was articulated by a running canopy of *faux* bird's-eye maple and buttresses of *faux* black walnut.³⁹ The court itself was designed to simulate an encampment in a forest interior. Iron pillars were painted to represent tree trunks and ornamented with artificial branches and leaves⁴⁰ (seen in fig.4 extending beyond the roofline of the facade). These supported "une grande tente d'une éclatante blancheur."⁴¹ Other items displayed in the court included a collection of fifty specimens of precious Canadian woods, each presented in three forms: raw (with bark intact), polished, varnished.⁴² For many, the Canadian timber trophy and court display was impressive.⁴³ Various forms of the raw product – hewn timber, log segments, deals – were also displayed. "Wood" – raw, worked, and finished – was Canada's high-profile presentation of itself in the forum of international commerce.

Timber Depot, Quebec with its entourage of vignettes was obviously appropriate for the Canadian Court at the Paris exhibition and Krieghoff surely must have been aware of the intention to have forest products as one of its feature displays. Certainly the BAMLC understood the value of Krieghoff's ensemble in this context.⁴⁴ Dunbar Browne, secretary of the BAMLC, in his letter to Taché dated 5 November 1866, promotes the inclusion of Krieghoff's ensemble in the UEP in large part on this basis and sent the photograph of the framed ensemble to reinforce his case:

At a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Board of Arts & Manufactures for Lower Canada, I was directed to forward to you the enclosed letter from William Scott, of this City respecting a set of paintings got up by Mr. Krieghoff for the Paris Exhibition, and to express the deep regret the Sub-

Committee felt at being unable to purchase a work of so much merit and interest, owing first to the smallness of the amount placed at the disposal of the Board, and secondly to the fact that the amount so appropriated has been somewhat exceeded.

The Sub-Committee are highly pleased with the work, and the manner in which it is got up, and think it would be highly ornamental to the Canadian Court, not only as serving to illustrate one of the most important branches of our trade with foreign countries, but as a production of Canadian Art. We strongly recommend such action on your part as will secure for the Canadian Court at Paris a work of great merit and beauty.

I send you by express a photograph of the paintings as framed and grouped and shall await your answer with interest.⁴⁵

William Scott's enclosed letter, alas, has not been located, so it is not possible to determine how he promoted the ensemble on Krieghoff's (and his own) behalf. No doubt based on the phrasing in Browne's letter, Krieghoff's ensemble is subsequently described in the *Montreal Gazette's* preliminary list of Lower Canada's participants in the Paris show as "illustrative of the timber trade."⁴⁶ This reinforces the significance of the painting for the Canadian Court and certainly suggests that this was also the perception of the Canadian contingent. But what is also noteworthy about Browne's pitch is that in addition to Krieghoff's work being promoted for its subject, so relevant to Canadian commerce, the work is judged and deemed worthy of display at the UEP for having value as "Art." And one might even go so far as to infer from Browne's letter that it is the "whole package" – not only Krieghoff's paintings but also Scott's "ornamental" frame – that speaks to both aspects and is significant in both regards. On one level, there is perhaps a curious dichotomy between the ornate and refined botanical curvilinear forms of the carved frame, presented in formal symmetry, and the subjects of hard labour, natural resources, and the enormous raw materials that are "illustrated" in the paintings within the framework. But on a certain conceptual level, it does make sense: the frame, apparently ungilded, embraces those images of harvesting the raw material for the eventual transformation, if not into industrial products, then into finished products such as the elegant domestic object manifest in the frame itself.

Despite the BAMLC committee's high estimation of Krieghoff's paintings as both "illustration" and "art," there is little evidence that this esteem was shared by others, or that the ensemble was even noticed in any substantive way. The lack of recognition in the foreign press regarding its artistic merits is perhaps understandable. As one journalist quipped, in the context of Canada exhibiting works of art in France, "bringing pictures to Paris is something like bringing coals to Newcastle."⁴⁷ Given Krieghoff's popularity in Canada, however, surely the presentation of the artist in Europe on this occasion would have been celebrated, at least in the Canadian press. But in fact Krieghoff was scarcely mentioned, and the only commentary found

fig.5 Plan du Palais, Illustration for François Ducuing, "Le plan par terre du Palais de Mars," in *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, 2, no.43 (29 sept. 1867), Paris, Bureaux d'abonnements, 1867, 206-207; plan reproduced p.205.

to date (that directly relates to the paintings) is uncomplimentary. What explanation can account for this lack of response? A possible understanding of this surprisingly lacklustre attitude can be found in the consideration of location, function, and categorization.

The building constructed for the UEP consisted of a series of concentric ovals, expanding outward around a "central garden." These were criss-crossed by avenues, streets, and narrower passages radiating out from the garden (fig.5). With such a layout, the visitor had a choice: one could focus on one of seven "Groups": I: Works of Art; II: Apparatus and Applications of the Liberal Arts; III: Furniture; IV: Clothing; V: Products (Raw and Manufactured); VI: Apparatus and Processes Used in the Common Arts; VII: Food.⁴⁸ By travelling the full circumference of a single oval, the visitor encountered all the displays within that "Group," passing from country to country. Alternatively, one could focus on a single country starting from either the core or the perimeter of the building, and then working one's way along a radial street or passage, visiting all the "Groups" of a single country.

As a British colony, Canada did not rate a complete radial cutting through all zones, but rather was granted space by the British Commissioner within the area allotted to Great Britain. Based on various published accounts, one can determine that Canada's space comprised a partial length of a radial passage beginning at the "Works of Art" zone, then extending outward through the "Liberal Arts," "Furniture," and "Clothing," and ending with the "Canadian Court," a space within the "Raw and Manufactured Products" zone entered from the radial passageway.⁴⁹

As a work "illustrating one of the most important branches of [Canada's] trade with foreign countries," and fulfilling the apparent vision of the BAMLC, Krieghoff's ensemble should have resided in the Canadian Court complementing the magnificent displays of the timber trade. But it did not. As an ensemble comprising both oil paintings and decorative frame, it theoretically could have been designated for display in either Group III (Furniture), Class 15 (Upholstery and Decorative work) or Group I (Works of Art), Class I (Oil Paintings). The ensemble was understood first and foremost to be a work by Krieghoff, rather than by Scott, and so did not end up in Group III.⁵⁰ In the catalogue produced by the French Commission, Krieghoff's *Timber Depot, Quebec* and its eight vignettes were collectively identified as "Scène des forets;" and because they were oil paintings, were officially categorized as "Group I" (Works of Art).⁵¹ It would logically have shared the space with other oil paintings by Théophile Hamel,⁵² Antoine Plamondon, as well as Napoléon Bourassa's cartoon for his *Apothéose de Christophe Colomb* (fig.6),⁵³ pen and ink drawings of lumbermen and voyageurs by Eugène Taché (cousin of Joseph-Charles),⁵⁴ and relief panels of the seasons and médallions by sculptor Robert Reid. However, Krieghoff's ensemble was not part of the Works of Art section. Rather, as the *Journal de Québec* tells us, "Mr. Kraighoff's [*sic*] painting, superbly framed by Mr. Scott (of Montreal) is exhibited in the Canadian section amid photographs."⁵⁵



fig.6 Napoléon Bourassa, *l'Apothéose de Christophe Colomb*, 1864 (?), pastel and graphite on paper, 77 x 111 cm, Musée nationale des beaux-arts du Québec, Don de la succession Bourassa en 1941, 43.55.171. (Photo: Jean-Guy Kerouac)



fig.7 Samuel McLaughlin, Québec, 1861, Archives nationales du Québec, Série Documents iconographiques, P1000,S4,D27,P4. (Photo: Archives nationales du Québec)

Photography was categorized as a component of "Group II" (Liberal Arts), and despite the clear appreciation of its aesthetic aspects, evidence suggests it was regarded primarily in terms of its informational value as pictorial document. The *Illustrated London News* commentator, for example, after having travelled the "Liberal Arts" oval and encountering the photographic production of every participating country, could claim that

the finest panorama that has yet been produced of the civilised world will have been seen. If we think of these beautiful photographs, and the knowledge they convey to us, not only of the external appearance, but also of the manners and customs of the people, of the many distant countries, and then think (those who are old enough) how little we knew of these same countries some twenty-five years ago, we should be thankful to photography for the information and pleasure we derive from it.⁵⁶

Photography was a substantial display for Canada, comprising over two hundred works by eight of its most respected photographers of the day, including William Notman, Alexander Henderson, Livernois & Cie, Ellison & Co., Samuel McLaughlin, and J. Smeaton. Not all the Canadian photographs exhibited in Paris were individually listed, but based on published accounts of the display, we do have some sense of their content. A number of the photographic images presented wooded areas and scenes of the timber trade: Livernois included close-ups of trees,⁵⁷ and Smeaton's photographs of miners are described as offering "graphic portraiture ... of the splendid wild scenes of the native forests in Canada."⁵⁸ The work of Samuel McLaughlin is singled out with specific respect to the timber trade. "Mr. McLaughlin," reads the same report, "photographer to the Board of Works, Canada, exhibits views of Quebec and Montreal, scenes of the timber trade on the Ottawa, timber-yards of Quebec, falls of Montmorency, and delicious wood scenery taken both in summer and in the spring, when the ice, melting under the rays of the sun, gives a peculiar and striking feature to the picture; also public buildings at Ottawa, all excellent photographs."⁵⁹ McLaughlin's photographs of the timber trade were not individually identified but his view of l'Anse au Foulon, dated to circa 1861, is no doubt representative (fig.7).

Without the Canadian photographs at hand for comparison, one can only speculate as to why Krieghoff's painting ensemble ended up in that group display. Taché appears to have been the ultimate arbiter for the placement of items within the displays.⁶⁰ Did he take the BAMLC committee's description of the work as "illustrative" as being in accordance with the tendency to view photographs in much the same light? How is one to assess the function of such an overtly aesthetic ensemble of paintings in the context of a display of "documentary" photographs? In what ways could a painting by Krieghoff be understood in the same terms as a photograph by McLaughlin, Livernois, or Smeaton?

Perhaps speculating about the potential impact of placing Krieghoff's ensemble elsewhere might enlighten us on Taché's rationale for its placement. Would there

have been more or less response had the ensemble been placed where the BAMLC seems to have had envisioned it: in close proximity to the presentation of the raw material where it would serve as a pictorial complement to the impressive feature display of wood? But how could it have competed with the grand scale of the Canadian Court facade's and specifically with Abbé Brunet's highly praised and award-winning collection of wood specimens? Surely it would have seemed but an insignificant brochure to any journalist passing through such a temple-like homage to one of Canada's prime trade staples.

And what if "Scène des forêts" had been displayed in its officially categorized section – "Works of Art"? There is the possibility that the Krieghoff ensemble was in fact displayed in fair proximity to the "works of art," with but a small display of bookbinding separating the art section from the photographs.⁶¹ One newspaper correspondent in recounting his/her journey through the Canadian section, actually refers to the ensemble in the context of the Canadian works exhibited in the "works of art" area.⁶² Again, it is but a single line, but this time with overt evaluative content: "The show of Krieghoffs is not equal to many contributions that he has sent to Toronto."⁶³ Was the "Scène des forêts," although displayed with the photographs, hung close enough to the "Works of Art" section to lead the journalist to evaluate it in that context? Even so, how could the work, impressive as it may have seemed on its own, compete for attention with Napoleon Bourassa's imposing, life-size parade of historical figures comprising his *Apothéose de Christophe Colomb*? A work with a subject so current,⁶⁴ and produced on such a colossal scale in the grand tradition of allegory, *Apothéose* had become the "darling" of the Canadian press, both French- and English-language, even long before the exhibition opened.⁶⁵ Indeed, the conception and scale of Bourassa's work made it ideal for grandiose placement. It was well nigh the first Canadian item one encountered if travelling by "country" from the central garden⁶⁶ and there was talk (as it was the artist's goal) that the finished painting would grace the walls of the new Canadian parliament buildings.⁶⁷ Such an artwork would (and evidently did) overshadow Krieghoff's multi-imaged tribute to the timber trade.

One goal of the Universal Exhibition was that articles on display, particularly those related to industry, would ideally not be returned to their original homes, producers, or countries, but rather would be purchased by another country as evidence of an "interchange of ideas and experiences."⁶⁸ It would be difficult to imagine this destiny for Krieghoff's ensemble. What person or country outside of Canada would have coveted something so prosaically specific to the commercial details of its country of origin? Even Great Britain would not likely acquire it as a colonial trophy as the Constitution Act was implemented soon after the UEP opened. Not surprisingly, then, the ensemble did not sell in Paris. Indeed, it was returned to Canada, where it also proved hard to sell.⁶⁹ Taché apparently hoped that Scott would purchase it back from the Government. The Board of Arts & Manufactures did encourage Scott to do so, but to no avail and Taché recommended

it be offered for public sale.⁷⁰ The last piece of primary documentation we have states that "the painting" (i.e. the ensemble) was to be sold in Montreal. It is probable that the ensemble was dismantled and the paintings sold individually. Current research suggests that there is no record of any of the works until 1934, when Marius Barbeau published *Krieghoff, Pioneer Painter of North America*. The paintings *Junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa*, *Drawing Timber*, and *Log House, Winter* are all catalogued, the first two indicated as belonging to the collection of Septimus Fraser, Montreal. *Timber Depot, Quebec* and *Taking Parties to the Forest* only surfaced at Watson Art Galleries in 1949 and 1956 respectively, coming from different collections.

Does the lack of significant critical response to Krieghoff's ensemble boil down to the fact that within the Canadian display, it was misplaced, thus miscategorized, and unable to be appropriately critiqued? Or did the work's multivalent meanings inherent in its format, subject, faux-narrative, intent, and destination actually preclude it from gaining critical attention no matter where it had been displayed? For the BAMLC, the subject matter and artistic nature made the work an illustration of the highest order. For Krieghoff and Scott, as professional painter and framer, the ensemble was surely meant to function as proof of their status, and give a boost to their careers. But for Taché, the ensemble first and foremost could only have been regarded as a calling card for Canada, a country represented by timber-rich Canada East ("Quebec" after the Constitution Act). The commercial activities depicted in both painting and photography presented Canada as a country eager to continue, indeed expand, its engagement in international trade.⁷¹

So what are we finally to make of *Timber Depot, Quebec* and its ensemble; of Krieghoff's generalization of the timber industry; of the lack of a significant critical response by the Canadian press? There were too many, perhaps implicitly conflicting, aims by all the players involved in Canada's display. The lack of recognition of Krieghoff's work was in part also symptomatic of the decision to disregard the strict accordance between categorization and object and the resulting failure to address the display needs of Krieghoff's ensemble categorically or individually. In trying to satisfy two purposes and two categories at the 1867 Paris *Exposition Universelle*, Krieghoff's timber ensemble could satisfy neither.

This case study shows how easily intended meanings and contexts can be lost, whether subverted or ignored intentionally or missed or misunderstood accidentally. The fact that Dennis Reid recovered Krieghoff's ensemble into artistic acclaim speaks as much to the value and contextual meaning of the ensemble today, as to the lack of reception that spoke, in similar regards, of the ensemble in its own day.

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Notes

1 Dennis REID, "Cornelius Krieghoff: The Development of a Canadian Artist," in REID, *Krieghoff: Images of Canada* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre/Art Gallery of Ontario, 1999), 92–93, fig.15. Reid explains the circumstances of the rediscovery of the photograph in note 182. The photograph is reproduced in John PORTER, "The Market for Paintings: Basic Needs Versus Artistic Taste," in *Painting in Quebec 1820-1850: New Views, New Perspectives* (Quebec City: Musée du Québec, 1992), 29, ill. 23. Those who believed that the ensemble was hung in the Quebec Legislative Assembly surmised that the photograph was taken circa 1880, before the great fire in which the ensemble purportedly was lost. I had the pleasure of assisting in the preparation of the catalogue and exhibition from November 1998 to November 1999. I am grateful to Dennis Reid for subsequently allowing me generous access to the exhibition files for the research and preparation of this paper. This paper is part of a larger study I am undertaking on Canada's presentation of works of art at the UEP.

2 REID, *Krieghoff*, 94.

3 The ensemble is unusual, but not unique. See "Lumbering Life," *Gazette* (Montreal), 7 Dec. 1863. This short article refers to a photograph of a drawing by Edmonds, representing "various operations of lumbermen in the woods." A photocopied image of what is surely Edmonds' drawing is in the Krieghoff Exhibition Files at the AGO. It shows an ensemble of eleven paintings comprising a large central image, four corner roundels, another smaller roundel in the upper centre, and five panels in the spaces in-between. There are similarities between several of Edmonds' and Krieghoff's images. The *Gazette* article describes Edmonds' drawing as "carefully and minutely done, and admirably calculated for the engraver as illustrations to a book." Edmonds is probably A.M. Edmonds, an amateur artist from Burnstown, Ontario, who won first prize for pencil drawing (subject not identified) at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibition of 1863, held in Kingston; see "The Upper Canada Exhibition – Prize List," *Globe* (Toronto), 26 Sept. 1863.

4 REID, *Krieghoff*, 92–93.

5 Letter from Dunbar Browne, Secretary of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada (BAMLC), Montreal, to J.P. [sic] Taché, Deputy Minister, Board of Agriculture. Records of the Department of Agriculture, 5 Nov. 1866, National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 17, vol. 12, docket 968. The carbon version of the letter is in the Fonds Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal (ANQM), P82, Conseil des Arts et Manufactures, Correspondance 1857-1873, 461; microfilm reel 1642. Browne's closing line is "I send you by express a photograph of the paintings as framed and grouped and shall await your answer with interest." The photograph was no doubt taken in Montreal at Scott's premises and conceivably also functioned as a pictorial key for assembling the work in Paris.

6 The backing is clear in the photograph: it not only blocks the "carved-through" areas, but also extends beyond the frame to create an outline.

7 "Les produits canadiens à l'Exposition de Paris," *Le Journal de Québec*, 21 May 1867. The actual wording is "Mr. Kraighoff's [sic] painting, superbly framed by Mr. Scott (of Montreal)."

8 The photograph shows a label at the bottom centre of the framework: "PAINTED by C. Kreighoff [sic] / Quebec / FRAMED by W. Scott / Montreal Canada East." Although Scott exhibited three of Krieghoff's paintings at the Art Association of Montreal's exhibition in February, 1867, it appears he divested himself of Krieghoff stock in May that same year. The auctioneer A. Booker advertised a sale of "valuable oil paintings," specifying that he was "instructed by W. Scott, Esq., to sell by auction, at his new art repository, 363 Notre Dame Street, on Saturday afternoon, first June, a large a choice collection of high class pictures, being consignments of about seventy oil paintings, Canadian subjects, by Kreighoff [sic], and 50 English, French and American Landscapes," *Herald* (Montreal), 28 May 1867.

9 Collection of Kenneth R. Thomson, Toronto; catalogued as "Sillery Cove, Quebec" in REID, *Krieghoff*, 310, cat. no. 140. I would like to thank Mr. Thomson for making this painting as well as *Taking Parties to the Forest and Raft in Danger in Storm in the St. Lawrence* available for my viewing.

10 *Taking Parties to the Forest*, 1866, 18.2 cm (circle); signed and dated lower right: C. Krieghoff / 1856; inscribed verso, lower right: *taking provision (s?) / to the / Forest / C Krieghoff / 1866*. Collection: Kenneth R. Thomson, Toronto. Provenance: Mrs. L.K. Wilson; Watson Art Galleries, Montreal, stock no. 15953 (as *Going to Camp*), purchased for \$350, 16 Dec. 1956; Paul L'Africain, Casgrain & Charbonneau Ltd., Montreal, purchased for \$550, 20 Dec. 1956; Kenneth R. Thomson, Toronto, purchased at auction, Sotheby's (Toronto), *Important Canadian Art*, 10 May 1995, Lot 239 (as *Going to Camp*) (repr.). See also: Watson Art Galleries Papers, NCGA, Inventory Book II, 313 and Watson Art Galleries Papers, NCGA, Sales Ledger III.

11 The current whereabouts of *Log House, Winter* is not known. Its provenance determined thus far is as follows: Smeaton White, Montreal, before 1934; private collection, Montreal, before 1975. See Marius BARBEAU, *Krieghoff, Pioneer Painter of North America* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1934), 116 (as *Roadhouse in Winter*) and J. Russell Harper Papers, NAC, MG 30, D 352, vol. 50, file "Revised Draft" [of Krieghoff catalogue raisonné], before 1975, p.270, P583 [manuscript] / P1212 [typescript], as "Lumberman's Shanty."

12 The current whereabouts of *Junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa* is not known. Its provenance determined thus far is as follows: Thomas Fraser; S.[eptimus] Fraser, Montreal, presumably by succession before 1934; Dominion Gallery, Montreal, before 1971; Private collection, Markham, Ontario, before 1979; unidentified owner, purchased at auction, Sotheby's (Toronto), *Canadian Art*, 2 Dec. 1998, Lot 179 (as *Junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa River*) (repr.). See BARBEAU, *Krieghoff*, 116 (as *River Scene*); Hughes de JOUVANCOURT, *Cornelius Krieghoff* (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1971), 65, repr. (as *Junction of the Lawrence and the Ottawa*); J. Russell HARPER, *Krieghoff* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 89, repr. (as *Junction of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa*). See also J. Russell Harper Papers, vol. 55, p.272, P588 [manuscript] / P109 [typescript], as "Junction of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence"; vol. 53, Binder 3 (1 of 4 files), black and white photograph with Dominion Gallery label, no. D4996, as "Junction of the Lawrence and Ottawa."

13 *Raft in Danger in Storm in the St. Lawrence*, 1866, 15 x 31 cm. Inscribed verso: *a raft in danger / in the St. Lawrence / C Krieghoff 1866*, Kenneth R. Thomson Collection. Provenance: Mr. McGregor, Montreal, late 1800s; Mrs. McGregor, Eastern Townships, by succession, May 1975; Brian DuMoulin Antiques, Ayer's Cliff, Quebec; Kenneth R. Thomson, Toronto, purchased 28 July 1975. See J. Russell Harper Papers, vol. 55, p.274, P591 [manuscript] / P1775 [typescript], as "Lumber Raft in Squall."

14 The current whereabouts of *Jam of Logs at Low Water, Autumn* is not known. Neither BARBEAU, *Krieghoff*, nor Harper's "Revised Draft" contains a possible match.

15 The current whereabouts of *Evening in Log House* is not known. The roundel is listed in Harper's unpublished revised version of his Krieghoff catalogue raisonné and identifies the owner of the painting at that time. Published reference to ownership is still under restriction. J. Russell Harper Papers, vol. 55, p.271, P584 [manuscript] / P1179 [typescript]. Harper did not realize that the roundel was part of the timber trade ensemble.

16 The current whereabouts of *Drawing Timber* is not known. Its provenance determined thus far is as follows: Thomas Fraser; Septimus Fraser (son of T. Fraser), Montreal, before 1934; Dominion Gallery, Montreal; before 1975; unidentified owner, consigned to auction, Pinney's (Montreal), 6 June 1989, Lot B155 (as *Winter Logging*, repr.), unsold; unidentified owner, purchased at auction, Joyner's (Toronto), *Canadian Art*, 28 Nov. 1989, Lot 45 (as *Winter Logging*, repr.). See BARBEAU, *Krieghoff*, 116 (as *Lumbering*) and J. Russell Harper Papers, vol. 55, p.271, P536 [manuscript] / P1499 [typescript], as "Lumbering."

17 The current whereabouts of *Hewing Timber* is not known. Neither BARBEAU, *Krieghoff*, nor Harper's "Revised Draft" contains a possible match.

18 The cycle is described in Arthur R.M. LOWER, *Great Britain's Woodyard, British America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 197–226, and Jean HAMELIN and Yves ROBY, *Histoire économique du Québec, 1851-1896* (Montréal: Fides, 1971), 215–16. Nineteenth-century accounts also vividly describe the dangers faced on the job. See *Canadian Illustrated News* (Hamilton): "Scene on the St. Lawrence," vol. 1, no. 1 (8 Nov. 1862): 7; "Lumber Raft on the Ottawa," vol. 1, no. 7 (27 Dec. 1862): 80–81; "The Lumber Trade," vol. 1, no. 15 (21 Feb. 1863): 175; "Rafting on Lake Ontario," vol. 2, no. 7 (27 June 1863): 79; "The Lumber Trade," vol. 2, no. 9 (11 July 1863): 101; "Squall on Lake St. Peter," vol. 3, no. 5 (26 Dec. 1863): 36.

19 A.J.L., "Stories Around the Chantier (Shanty) Camboose-Fire," *New Dominion Monthly* (Montreal), vol. 1, no. 3 (December 1867): 149.

20 *Ibid.*, 149–51; vol. 1, no. 5 (February 1868): 295–98; vol. 1, no. 6 (March 1868): 345–49, for example. According to HARPER, *Krieghoff*, 94, the small roundel shows "a fiddler sitting on a table in the mess room and playing by candlelight as the hardened shantymen dance."

21 Watson's business records give no date as to when the painting, listed as Stock No. 13634, arrived at his premises. Stock no. 13632 (Maurice Cullen, *The Coast of Newfoundland*) had arrived by 19 April 1949, and Stock no. 13640 (Léon L'Hermitte, *Le Moissonneur*) by 12 May 1949. Thus Stock no. 13634 must have arrived between these two dates. See Watson Art Galleries Papers, NGCA, Box 1, Inventory Ledger 1951, 48. The painting was sold under the title "Sillery Cove, Quebec" to J. Blair MacAulay, Winnipeg, 4 Jan. 1952, see Inventory Ledger. See also Watson Art Galleries Papers, NGCA, Box 5, Ledger Recording Sales January 1928-January 1956, Ledger III, 14 Jan. 1952.

22 Frank Worrall's business ledgers indicate the painting was in his studio for restoration in August 1949. Robert Worrall, son of Frank Worrall, in conversation with the author, 27 June 2003.

23 Photocopy, Watson Art Galleries document of authenticity (original signed by William Watson), given to J. Blair MacAulay, who purchased the painting from the Watson Art Galleries, Krieghoff Exhibition Files, AGO.

24 The first post-contemporaneous reference to the painting that suggests a specific locale is in the 1919 article by Abbé Henri-Arthur Scott, who first discovered the photograph. Scott's opening sentence begins "Le tableau de l'anse de Sillery, peint par Krieghoff, sous le titre: 'A timber dépôt at Quebec, – Un entrepôt de bois de construction à Québec.'" Abbé H.-A. SCOTT, "Appendice 1," in *Grands Anniversaires, Souvenirs historiques et pensées utiles* (Québec: Imprimerie et Relieuse de l'Action Sociale Ltée., 1919), 297.

Interestingly, the view depicted in the painting is not of Sillery Cove. It is in fact situated several coves to the west of the Point-à-Pizeau (the viewpoint of the painting), and thus would be behind the viewer. (See the map 'Paroisse Saint-Colomb de Sillery,' reproduced from "Atlas of the City and County of Quebec," 1879, in André BERNIER, *Le Vieux-Sillery* [Québec: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, 1977], 54.) Might the title "Sillery Cove" refer in a general way to the large cove (named St. Michael) that lies immediately east of the Point, along the shore of the village of Sillery? Nowhere in BERNIER is it indicated that the cove named "St. Michel" on the map was at one point known as "Sillery Cove." My thanks to Mario Béland, conservateur de l'art ancien at the Musée nationale des beaux-arts du Québec for our discussions on this matter.

25 See N.P. WILLIS, *Canadian Scenery*, vol. 2 (London: George Virtue, 1842), 12. The Bartlett-Krieghoff connection is noted by HARPER, *Krieghoff*, 94, although he refers to another Krieghoff version of the subject, illustrated p. 93. The two vignettes that evince Krieghoff's familiarity with Bartlett's work are *Junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa*, inspired by *Junction of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence (near Cedars)*, 1841, engraving after W.H. BARTLETT, *Canadian Scenery*, vol. 2 (London: Geo. Virtue, 1842), facing 5; and *Raft in Danger in Storm in the St. Lawrence*, inspired by *Raft in a Squall, on Lake St. Peter*, 1840, engraving by J. Cousen after BARTLETT, in *Canadian Scenery*, vol. 1 (London: Geo. Virtue, 1840), facing 116.

26 See W.J.T. MITCHELL, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, 2nd. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 16–17.

- 27 REID, *Krieghoff*, 94.
- 28 Letter from Dunbar Browne, see note 5.
- 29 While both inscriptions on the verso are unequivocally by Krieghoff, it should be noted that the date inscribed on the face of "Taking Parties to the Forest" can (and has) been read as "56." The inscription on the verso had been photographed before the painting was relined in 1995. My thanks to Carrie Elliott, Thomson Works of Art Limited, Toronto, for facilitating access to the treatment report.
- 30 See HAMELIN and ROBY, *Histoire économique du Québec*, 207-27 and LOWER, *Great Britain's Woodyard*.
- 31 HAMELIN and ROBY, *Histoire économique du Québec*, 217, and "The Lumber Trade," *Québec Daily News*, 20 May 1867.
- 32 Kenneth NORRIE and Douglas OWRAM, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 173.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 175, Figure 8.1: "Exports of Wood Products from Canada, 1850-1870," figures were calculated from information in R.M. McInnis, "From Hewn Timber to Sawn Lumber: The Canadian Forest Industry in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century," unpublished paper, Queen's University, 1988, table 2. The year 1865 was the peak year for exports between 1850 and 1870.
- 34 Minutes of the meeting of the BAMLC, Sub-Committee, 14 Jan. 1866, Fonds Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, ANQM, P82, Conseil des Arts et Manufactures, Livres de Minutes, p.201, P543 [microfilm reel 1640].
- 35 E.A. HEAMAN, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace, Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 157; a photograph of the timber trophy is on page 159. An engraving of the trophy is the frontispiece to Joseph-Charles TACHÉ, *Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855, Communication of the Report to his Excellency the Governor General*, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly (Toronto: John Lovell, 1856).
- 36 "The Paris Exhibition," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 May 1867. The pillars are described as being of walnut, maple, beech, and elm woods, and as being about twelve feet high. See Quartz, "European Correspondence – Canada at the Paris Exhibition," *Globe* (Toronto), 31 May 1867. "Quartz" is the pseudonym of Thomas Patteson, one of the UEP Commissioners for the English Colonies.
- 37 "The Paris International Exhibition – The Canadian Section" and "L'exposition de produits de Canada," *Illustrated London News*, vol. 50, no. 1428, Supplement (25 May 1867): 525.
- 38 "Bois du Canada," wood engraving in, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, François DUCUING, ed. (Paris, Bureaux d'abonnements, 1867), vol. 1, no. 18 (1 juillet 1867): 288.
- 39 "Canada at the Great Exhibition" (Letter from Paris in *London Canadian News*, [11 Apr. 1867]), *Daily Witness* (Montreal), 7 May 1867, 1.
- 40 The description of the iron pillars, which were painted "maple and walnut," is found in 'Class XLI, Forest Products,' from "Special reports prepared for the Science and Art Department of Great Britain," vol. V, 9; manuscript transcription. National Archives of Canada, RG17, A II 5, vol. 2320 (microfilm reel T-1291), 42.
- 41 "Le Canada à l'Exposition," *La Minerve* (Montreal), 11 May 1867.
- 42 *Ibid.* The collection was the work of Abbé Brunet, who won a gold medal for his "collection of woods and albums." See "List of Awards Granted to Canadian Exhibitors at the Paris Exhibition, 1867," Circular, Bureau of Agriculture, Emigration and Statistics, NAC, RG 17, vol. 22, nos. 1951-1976, docket no. 1963.
- 43 "A great deal of good taste has been displayed in the arrangement, which is made to represent a tent in a Canadian forest," 'Class XLI, Forest Products,' from "Special reports prepared for the Science and Art Department of Great Britain," vol. V, 9; manuscript transcription, Records of the

Department of Agriculture, NAC, RG17, A II 5, vol. 2320 (microfilm reel T-1291), 42. See also "The Paris Exhibition – Canadian and United States Departments – A Contrast," *Whig Standard* (Kingston), 3 June 1867.

44 The minutes of the BAMLC's meeting with McGee on 14 Jan. 1866, in which references were made to the logistics of acquiring prime samples of wood, were published in the daily press. See "Paris International Exhibition," *Gazette* (Montreal), 15 Jan. 1866.

45 For the Letter from Dunbar Browne, see note 5.

46 "Paris Exhibition of 1867 – Contributions from Lower Canada," *Gazette* (Montreal), 15 Dec. 1866.

47 [Quartz], "European Correspondence – Canada at the Paris Exhibition," *Globe* (Toronto), 31 May 1867.

48 Each "Group" consisted of a number of "Classes," allowing for more specific categorization of objects. The "Class" numbering system began with "1" and continued through all Groups to "95," "Group II" (Apparatus and Applications of the Liberal Arts), for example, embraced Class numbers 6 through 13, including Photographic Proofs and Apparatus (Class 9) and Musical Instruments (Class 10). See Committee of Council on Education (Science & Art Department), South Kensington Museum, London, *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867, Imperial Commission, General Regulations* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1865).

49 "The Paris International Exhibition – The Canadian Section," *Illustrated London News*, 526. The correspondent writes that the displays of the various British Colonies, including Canada, were positioned at the "extremity of the British section of the Exhibition, and adjoining the machine-gallery," and describes the timber display as extending from "one end of the Canadian court to the other." See also "Canada at the Great Exhibition," in which the Canadian "stalls" are located "in a straight line – like the cord of the arch – from the common centre of all corridors or avenues – the Picture Gallery – to the mall of the external or Machine Gallery." One correspondent describes his/her journey through the Canadian section in sequence, beginning with the Fine Arts and culminating with the Canadian Court (interior). See "Paris Exhibition of 1867 – Contributions from Lower Canada."

50 In the preliminary list submitted to the press by the BAMLC, it is indicated that William Scott is contributing frames. "Frames" were designated within Group III (Furniture), Class 15 (Upholstery and Decorative work). See Committee of Council on Education (Science & Art Department), South Kensington Museum, London, *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867*, 14.

51 *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris, Catalogue Général publié par la Commission Impériale, 1re livraison, Oeuvres d'Art, Groupe I, Classes 1 à 5* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1867), 238: "Kreighoff [*sic*] (J.) [*sic*], à Québec. / 5. Scène des forêts." The introduction to the catalogue states that in order to facilitate the work of the Jury, the Imperial Commission decided that the catalogue of 1867 would be organized according to "Group," the exhibitors within each Group being arranged by nation and by classification. For example, the "Works of Art" Group catalogue would be: Great Britain; British Colonies; Canada; oil painting.

52 "Les produits canadiens à l'Exposition de Paris," *Le Journal de Québec*, 21 May 1867. Hamel's paintings included *Madone, Ste. Geneviève* and renditions of such historical figures as Colonel de Salaberry.

53 Bourassa's cartoon consisting of two sections is now lost. The pastel on paper reproduced as "fig.6" is the extant work closest to the UEP cartoon in time and, based on contemporary press descriptions, content. See "Un tableau canadien," *La Minerve* (Montreal), 2 Feb. 1867.

54 *Ibid.* The journalist notes that the collection of ten drawings pulled, as it were, from an *Étude* published in the *Soirées Canadiennes* by Joseph-Charles TACHÉ under the title of "Forestiers et Voyageurs," included three scenes of forests. See also "Eugène-Etienne Taché," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, v. 14 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 984.

55 *Ibid.*

- 56 C.T. THOMPSON, "Photography – Class 9 – Section II," *Illustrated London News*, vol. 51, no. 1445 (14 Sept. 1867, supplement): 298.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 299. "Livernois, of Quebec, contributes photographs from historical paintings, engravings, plans and portraits, illustrative of the history of Canada; also a collection of forest trees and plants, and detailed parts for study." Livernois' tree, plant, and wooded views exhibited in Paris were reproduced in *The Photographic News* of 18 October 1867. See Michel LESSARD, *The Livernois Photographers*, trans. Cabinet de traduction Dialangue enr. (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987), 85, n. 25.
- 58 THOMPSON, "Photography – Class 9 – Section II," 299.
- 59 *Ibid.* Henderson's work is also identified although his views of the Ottawa River are not specifically described as being of the timber trade: "Henderson, A., Montreal, has a very large collection of Canadian views, especially from the neighbourhood of Quebec and on the Ottawa River. These photographs must convey a good idea of the splendour and picturesque character of Canadian landscape. Some of them have been produced instantaneously."
- 60 Andrew Learmont Spedon, relates his encounter with Taché who was in the process of erecting a section of the Canadian display. See A.L. SPEDON, *Sketches of a Tour from Canada to Paris* (Montreal: Lovell, 1868), 198–99.
- 61 "Mails by the Peruvian – Paris Exhibition," *Gazette* (Montreal), 21 May 1867. The correspondent goes into considerable detail describing the Canadian "art" section, referring to the items in the "art" and the "photography" sections in the same breath, and singles out McLaughlin's photographs. But there is no mention of Krieghoff.
- 62 [Quartz], "European Correspondence – Canada at the Paris Exhibition," *Globe* (Toronto), 31 May 1867.
- 63 *Ibid.*
- 64 "Les produits canadiens à l'Exposition de Paris," *Le Journal de Québec*, 21 May 1867. Columbus was being promoted for canonization by Mgr Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux.
- 65 "Mails by the Peruvian – Paris Exhibition," *Gazette* (Montreal), 21 May 1867; "Les produits canadiens à l'Exposition de Paris," *Le Journal de Québec*, 21 May 1867.
- 66 "Mails by the Peruvian – Paris Exhibition," *Gazette* (Montreal), 21 May 1867.
- 67 "Décoration des Salles du Parlement," *La Minerve* (Montreal), 26 Jan. 1866; "Canadian Work of Art," *Herald* (Montreal), 1 Feb. 1867; "Mails by the Peruvian – Paris Exhibition," *Gazette* (Montreal), 21 May 1867.
- 68 "The Paris Universal Exhibition," in *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Universal Exhibition, published with Art Journal* (London and New York: Virtue & Co., 1868), xii.
- 69 "The President has stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Tache [*sic*] informing him that the set of paintings by Kreighoff [*sic*] sent to Paris had been returned and that they were to be sold." *Minutes of the Sub-Committee, Board of Arts & Manufactures* [Quebec], 7 Mar. 1868. (Fonds SSJB, ANQM, P82, Conseil des Arts et Manufactures, Livres de Minutes, 241–42, P543 [microfilm reel 1640]).
- 70 Letter from Henry Bulmer, Secretary of the Board of Arts and Manufactures [Quebec], Montreal, to Joseph-Charles Taché, 17 March 1868. Records of the Board of Agriculture, NAC, RG 17, vol. 19, file 1626-1650, docker 1632; "W. Scott will not make us an offer for the painting. We propose instead of waiting for your arrival in Montreal to advertise it for sale."
- 71 This particular investigation of the production and reception of Krieghoff's ensemble has not addressed the possible significance of the implementation of Confederation, negotiated during the year in which the exhibition was organized, and implemented during the actual run of the exhibition.

LE CANADA À PARIS Krieghoff à l'Exposition universelle de 1867

Une des contributions les plus significatives de l'exposition, ainsi que du catalogue, de Dennis Reid Krieghoff: *Images du Canada* a sûrement été son commentaire de l'ensemble des tableaux de Krieghoff sur l'industrie du bois et la publication d'une photographie de l'œuvre depuis longtemps oubliée et jusqu'à présent inédite. On a longtemps supposé que ces tableaux avaient été installés dans l'Hôtel du Parlement, à Québec, et détruits dans l'incendie de 1883, mais Krieghoff: *Images du Canada* révèle qu'ils avaient été exposés à Paris lors de l'Exposition universelle de 1867. Au Musée des beaux-arts de l'Ontario, on a agrandi la photographie aux dimensions de l'ensemble original et le tableau central original, *Dépôt de bois, Québec* (connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de *L'Anse de Sillery, Québec*), a été superposé sur sa photographie. Sa présentation à Toronto suggère qu'il avait une place importante, au plan national et international, dans la carrière de l'artiste.

Les recherches actuelles indiquent que cette photographie a été prise avant que l'ensemble ne soit envoyé à Paris et qu'elle avait servi à persuader les organisateurs canadiens d'envoyer l'ensemble à l'Exposition. Elle montre qu'il comportait neuf tableaux : le grand panneau central entouré symétriquement de huit illustrations plus petites de divers aspects du commerce du bois. Les illustrations (dans le sens contraire de celui des aiguilles d'une montre, en commençant par l'œil de bœuf dans le coin supérieur gauche) sont identifiées comme suit d'après les étiquettes sur la photographie : En guidant un groupe en forêt; *Maison d'habitant en hiver*; *Confluent du Saint-Laurent et de l'Outaouais*; *Train de flottage en danger durant une tempête sur le Saint-Laurent*; *Train de flottage bloqué en eau basse, automne*; *Soirée dans une cabane en rondins*; *Tirant le bois*; *Coupant le bois*. Chaque tableau était encadré simplement puis inclus à l'intérieur d'un cadre très orné, œuvre de William Scott, l'encadreur et marchand d'art montréalais qui s'occupait des affaires de Krieghoff durant le séjour de l'artiste en Europe au milieu des années 1860.

L'ensemble peint par Krieghoff représente plusieurs aspects de la récolte du bois, de la forêt jusqu'à la baie, avec un accent sur le processus de fabrication du bois d'œuvre et sur le transport. Toutefois il ne comprend pas toutes les facettes du cycle annuel, et ne souligne pas l'aspect humain, sauf pour animer le paysage. L'ensemble de Krieghoff n'est pas narratif, en ce qu'il ne se prête pas à une lecture chronologique, ni par la direction ni par le format. Les illustrations sont simplement

tributaires du spectacle paysager représenté dans le tableau central, *Dépôt de bois, Québec*. Pour ce tableau, comme pour deux des illustrations, Krieghoff s'est inspiré d'une gravure de Bartlett, *Dépôt de bois près du Québec*, publié dans *Canadian Scenery*. Le tableau de Krieghoff a tout à voir avec le commerce et, dans le contexte international de l'Exposition universelle, la promotion de la vente du bois d'œuvre était une priorité. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que l'industrie forestière ait été le thème déterminant du pavillon du Canada, la vitrine principale de ce département qui comprenait une énorme colonnade de pin blanc supportée par des piliers de diverses essences de bois.

L'œuvre de Krieghoff convenait évidemment au pavillon du Canada et l'artiste devait sûrement être conscient de l'intention de faire une place très importante aux produits de la forêt parmi les produits exposés. La documentation existante suggère qu'il a assemblé le groupe de tableaux spécifiquement en vue de l'Exposition de Paris. Mais il n'est pas tout à fait certain que les tableaux individuels aient été réellement créés pour cet ensemble ou qu'ils aient été des œuvres antérieures convenant au projet. D'après les registres de William Watson, «Dépôt de bois, Québec» date de 1859, soit sept ans auparavant. Nous ne savons pas encore si Krieghoff l'avait sous la main et l'a utilisé comme base d'un ensemble d'illustrations du commerce du bois dans l'espoir qu'il soit inclus dans l'Exposition universelle.

L'ensemble a été porté à l'attention de la Chambre des arts et manufactures du Bas-Canada, responsable de proposer les articles de l'est du Canada qui devaient faire partie de la section canadienne de l'Exposition. Dunbar Browne, secrétaire de la Chambre, a obtenu de Joseph-Charles Taché, sous-ministre de l'Agriculture et organisateur *de facto* de la section canadienne de l'Exposition de Paris, qu'il en fasse partie. Dans une lettre datée du 5 novembre 1866 (accompagnée d'une photographie de l'ensemble de Krieghoff pour appuyer sa demande), Browne écrivait à Taché: «Le sous-comité est très heureux de l'œuvre et de la manière dont elle est montée, et pense qu'elle serait un ornement pour le pavillon du Canada, non seulement pour illustrer l'une des branches les plus importantes de notre commerce extérieur, mais comme produit de l'art canadien.» Ce qui est remarquable dans le boniment de Browne, c'est que l'ensemble est jugé digne d'être montré à l'Exposition universelle pour sa valeur «artistique».

La conception et l'arrangement inhabituels de l'ensemble, sa présentation recherchée, ses dimensions relativement importantes et le fait qu'il ait été présenté à l'Exposition universelle de Paris aurait dû en faire une œuvre remarquable dans la carrière de Krieghoff et une œuvre canadienne importante sur la scène internationale. Mais, comme Reid le fait remarquer, l'ensemble ne paraît pas avoir fait la moindre impression ni à l'étranger ni au Canada. Krieghoff était certainement l'un des artistes les mieux connus et les plus collectionnés au Canada de son vivant, et la présentation de l'artiste en Europe à cette occasion aurait assurément dû être

célébrée au moins dans la presse canadienne. Mais, en fait, le nom de Krieghoff est à peine mentionné et le seul commentaire directement relié à ces tableaux qu'on ait trouvé à ce jour est défavorable. Alors, pourquoi ce silence autour de l'ensemble?

La raison de l'accueil plutôt froid réservé à l'ensemble est peut-être à trouver dans la localisation, la fonction et la catégorisation. Bien que colonie britannique, le Canada n'avait obtenu qu'un espace restreint à l'intérieur de la section réservée à la Grande Bretagne. L'ensemble de Krieghoff aurait dû demeurer dans le pavillon du Canada en complément des magnifiques présentations du commerce du bois. Mais ce ne fut pas le cas. Ou encore, il aurait logiquement pu partager l'espace réservé à d'autres peintures à l'huile d'artistes tels Théophile Hamel, Antoine Plamondon et Napoléon Bourassa. Cependant, il ne faisait pas non plus partie de la section des œuvres d'art. Au lieu de cela, on l'a exposé parmi plus de 200 photographies (par d'éminents photographes canadiens, dont William Notman, Alexander Henderson, Livernois & Cie et Samuel McLaughlin, par exemple), un certain nombre qui étaient de la forêt et du commerce du bois. On peut se demander pourquoi l'ensemble de tableaux de Krieghoff s'est retrouvé dans ce secteur. Taché a-t-il interprété la description de l'œuvre de Krieghoff faite par le comité de la Chambre des arts et manufactures comme une «illustration», conformément au but supposé des photographies? Comment peut-on mesurer la fonction d'un ensemble de tableaux clairement esthétique placé parmi des photographies «documentaires»?

Le manque de réponse critique significative à l'ensemble de Krieghoff (sans compter qu'à Paris, aucun autre pays n'en a fait l'acquisition comme exemple d'un «échange d'idées et d'expériences») serait-il dû au fait qu'il ait été placé dans la mauvaise catégorie à l'intérieur de la section canadienne, et qu'il n'ait, par conséquent, pu être critiqué de manière adéquate? Ou est-ce que les divers sens de l'œuvre, inhérents au format, au sujet, à l'aspect faussement narratif, au propos et à la destination l'auraient exclus de toute attention critique, quel que soit le lieu où il aurait été exposé? Ce cas de figure montre combien des significations et des contextes précis peuvent facilement être perdus, soit qu'ils aient été délibérément subvertis ou ignorés, soit qu'ils aient été accidentellement méconnus ou incompris. Le fait que Dennis Reid ait replacé l'ensemble de Krieghoff sur la scène artistique témoigne autant de la valeur et du sens contextuel de l'ensemble aujourd'hui que du manque de reconnaissance, à ces niveaux, dont il a été l'objet à sa propre époque.

Traduction: Élise Bonnette