THE JOURNAL OF CANADIAN ART HISTORY

ANNALES D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART CANADIEN

VOLUME III FALL/AUTOMNE 1976 NOS. 1 & 2

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STUDIES IN CANADIAN ART, ARCHITECTURE AND THE DECORATIVE ARTS

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ETUDES EN ART, ARCHITECTURE ET ARTS DECORATIFS CANADIENS

VOLUME III NOS. 1 & 2 FALL/AUTOMNE 1976

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OWL'S HEAD PRESS LOGO: TIB BEAMENT

EDITORIAL

The Editors are pleased to present to our subscribers and readers Volume III, Fall 1976, nos. 1 & 2. This double issue of the Journal appears after a somewhat lengthy interlude. We apologize for the delay which was necessitated in order that we secure the financial basis for the continuing publication of this periodical; the Editors have therefore decided to combine both issues of Volume III within the current number.

We would also like to take this opportunity to introduce our most recent appointment to the Editorial Board. Professor François-Marc Gagnon of the Université de Montréal moves from his capacity as a member of the Advisory Board in order to become fully involved with the editorial management of the Journal. The Editors felt that it would be of interest to the readers to make this introduction of Professor Gagnon (to those who may not be familiar with his publications) in the form of a special article for this issue, rather than employing the traditional curriculum vitae. Professor Gagnon's topic is one of recent and growing interest concerning the sociology of Quebec painting within the Canadian context in the nineteen thirties.

The attention of our readers should also be directed to our page of Acknowledgments where the names of the first generation of Patrons to the Journal of Canadian Art History are to be found. The Editors are most grateful to these institutions and individuals for their contributions toward the publication of the current issue. We are most encouraged by this response to our appeal for patronage and would hope to see the ranks of Patrons continue to increase.

The next number of the Journal which will be Volume IV, Spring 1977 no. 1, will appear before June 21st. 1977; we would ask scholars who are interested in submitting articles for publication in that issue to take note of the deadlines established on our insert card.

Les rédacteurs sont heureux de présenter aux abonnés et aux lecteurs le volume III, nos 1 et 2, de l'automne 1976. Cette livraison double des *Annales* paraît après une trop longue période de temps. Nous nous excusons du délai, causé par la nécessité d'assurer le financement du coût de publication du présent périodique. Les rédacteurs ont donc décidé de combiner les deux numéros du volume III dans la présente livraison.

Nous profitons de l'occasion pour annoncer que le professeur François-Marc Gagnon, de l'Université de Montréal, auparavant membre du Comité consultatif, vient d'être nommé au Comité de rédaction. Nous avons pensé qu'il serait intéressant pour les lecteurs de rencontrer le professeur Gagnon (spécialement pour ceux qui ne connaissent pas bien ses publications) sous la forme d'un article spécial, plutôt que d'employer le traditionnel *curriculum vitae*. L'article du professeur Gagnon porte sur l'intérêt récent et croissant pour la sociologie de peinture québecoise, appliqué ici au contexte canadien des années trente.

Nous désirons aussi attirer l'attention de nos lecteurs sur la page des remerciements où figurent les noms des premiers mécènes des *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*. Les rédacteurs sont extrêmement reconnaissants aux établissements et aux individus qui ont apporté une contribution financière à la publication du présent numéro double. Nous sommes très encouragés des réponses reçues, suite à notre demande, et nous espérons voir le nombre de nos bienfaiteurs augmenter encore.

La prochaine livraison des *Annales*, volume IV, no 1, printemps 1977, paraîtra avant le 21 juin 1977. Nous demandons aux personnes désireuses de soumettre des articles pour le prochain numéro, de prendre note de la date limite mentionnée sur la carte que nous avons insérée.

(French translation by: Mr. G. Landreville, Director of Translation Services, Concordia University, Montreal, Que.)

LA PEINTURE DES ANNEES TRENTE AU QUEBEC

L'exposition la plus importante consacrée ces derniers temps à l'art canadien est sans contredit *Peinture canadienne des années trente* organisée et présentée par Charles C. Hill pour la Galerie Nationale du Canada. Non seulement toute une époque s'y trouve évoquée, mais aussi bien le caractère déterminant de la période pour le développement de la peinture canadienne est défini avec profondeur pour la première fois. En consacrant l'éditorial du présent numéro des *Annales* à cette exposition, nous voulons rendre hommage au travail remarquable de Charles C. Hill et donner libre cours à quelques réflexions provoquées par son texte.

Nous sommes surtout intéressé par l'apport du Québec francophone dans le développement de la peinture canadienne des années trente. Charles C. Hill y consacre une partie importante de son "Introduction" et les sections 6 et 7 de son catalogue. Il caractérise essentiellement la période comme une époque de "mouvement entre des polarisations" (p. 9). Durant les années vingt le Groupe des Sept avait élaboré sa définition d'un art national, au sens *Canadian* du terme. Par contre, à l'époque de la deuxième guerre mondiale, la Société d'art contemporain (S.A.C.) réussira à imposer un point de vue inverse, en faveur de l'internationalisme. Entre ces deux pôles opposés et distants dans le temps se situent nos années trente, qui voient le passage d'une idéologie à l'autre:

> ...du nationalisme à l'internationalisme, du Groupe des Sept à la Société d'art contemporain, de Toronto à Montréal (p. 9).

Ces oppositions sont en effet redondantes. Le Groupe des Sept opérant à Toronto s'était fait le champion d'un nationalisme pancanadien. La S.A.C. fon-

PAINTING IN QUEBEC IN THE THIRTIES

The most important exhibition devoted to Canadian art in the last few years is without a doubt *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*, organized and presented by Charles C. Hill for the National Gallery of Canada. One finds not only a whole era called to mind, but also the determinant character of the period for the development of Canadian painting is defined, in depth, and for the first time. We should like, in the editorial pages of the *Journal*, to pay tribute to the remarkable work of Charles C. Hill, and freely express some thoughts his text has provoked.

We are mainly interested by the contribution of French Quebec in the development of Canadian painting of the thirties. Charles C. Hill devotes an important part of his "Introduction" and sections 6 and 7 of his catalogue to it. He characterizes the period as basically an era of "movement between polarities" (p. 11). In the twenties, the Group of Seven had attempted to define national art, in a "Canadian" sense. On the other hand, at the time of the Second World War, The Contemporary Art Association (Société d'art contemporain) was able to enforce an opposite point of view, favoring internationalism. Between those two opposite and distant poles in time, the thirties, and the passage from one ideology to the next, are situated:

> ... du nationalisme à l'internationalisme, du Groupe des Sept à la Société d'art contemporain, de Toronto à Montréal (p. 9).

To some extent we find those oppositions pleonastic. The Group of Seven, based in Toronto, had become the champions of a kind of pan-Canadian nationalism. The Contemporary Arts Society founded in Montreal at the end of the thirties, espoused the internatio-

dée à Montréal à la fin de la période, défendait la cause internationaliste. On ne peut donc marquer plus fortement à la fois l'intérêt de la période dans le développement de la peinture canadienne et l'importance du Québec dans ce développement, puisque le Québec en occupe la polarité la plus dynamique.

Toutefois, cette dialectique de la peinture canadienne des années trente ne fonctionne qu'à deux conditions, qu'on nous excusera de rappeler: l'existence d'une peinture canadienne comme telle, et la pertinence de la période choisie pour observer le passage entre ces deux polarisations. Cela peut paraître aller sans dire, mais dès qu'on se place du point de vue du Québec, comme nous le faisons ici, les choses vont mieux en les disant. Les questions qu'il nous faut poser sont donc les suivantes. Comment se situe à l'époque la peinture du Québec francophone par rapport à celle du reste du Canada? La période choisie est-elle aussi pertinente pour le Québec qu'elle semble l'avoir été pour le reste du Canada?

La notion de peinture canadienne ne va pas de soi. Entité fédérale, le Canada ne peut prétendre se donner une peinture nationale qu'en dépassant les expressions particulières des diverses cultures qui le composent. C'est précisément ce qu'avait tenté le Groupe des Sept durant les années vingt, en proposant une vision du paysage canadien pour ainsi dire dans son état préculturel, encore vierge de l'influence des diverses cultures qui l'ont transformé en territoire habité. Il est remarquable en effet que la thématique du Groupe évite d'instinct la représentation d'un trop grand nombre de traces humaines dans les paysages représentés. Les grands espaces encore intouchés par la civilisation, comme ceux du Nord de l'Ontario, du Grand Nord et des Rocheuses, l'attirent bien plus que la représentation des particularismes régionaux, marqués par les diverses cultures composant l'entité canadienne. La

nalist cause. Consequently, both the impact of the period on the development of Canadian painting and the importance of Quebec as a dynamic force in this development cannot be overemphasized. Needless to say, the dialectics of Canadian painting of the thirties are workable under two conditions only: the existence of Canadian painting in its own right, and the pertinence of the period chosen to study the transition from one polarity to another. This should go without saying, but from the Quebec point of view the question is clearer for being spelled out. Here are the questions which should be posed: what is the situation of French Quebec painting vis-a-vis the rest of Canada? Is the period we have chosen to examine as relevant for Quebec as it seems to have been for the rest of Canada?

The concept of Canadian painting should not be taken for granted. Being a federal entity, Canada can only pretend to have a national painting if it transcends the particular expressions of the various cultures within its bounderies. That is precisely what the Group of Seven had attempted to do in the twenties. They had put forth a vision of the Canadian landscape in a sort of pre-cultural state, devoid of the influence of different cultures which transformed it into inhabited territory. It is noticeable that the Group instinctively avoided themes conveying too many human traces in the landscapes. The vast open spaces, still untouched by civilization, as were Northern Ontario, the Far North or the Rockies, were much more attractive to them than the representation of the regional characteristics of the various cultures of the Canadian entity. The representation of the Quebec landscape, where traces are found on the environment of a different and older culture, posed a specific problem to the painters of the Group of Seven. Was it at all possible, in Quebec, to stick to the rolling countryside, to the uncleared forests — to bypass a farm-house and its barn, a

représentation du paysage québécois, où les traces d'une culture différente ont marqué plus profondément et depuis plus longtemps l'environnement, a posé un problème particulier aux peintres du Groupe. Etait-il possible quant au Québec de ne s'attacher qu'aux ondulations du relief, à la forêt non défrichée, ou d'éviter le village, la maison et ses dépendances, les villes mêmes et Québec en particulier, c'est-à-dire était-il possible d'ignorer le contexte humain pour ne s'en tenir qu'à la topographie? Posé en ces termes, le problème de la représentation du paysage québécois est quasi déjà résolu si l'on se place dans la perspective adoptée par les Sept et spécialement par A. Y. Jackson, qui a plus particulièrement travaillé au Québec. Il s'agit bien de faire abstraction de l'apport culturel du Québec francophone. Quand d'aventure A. Y. Jackson peint une grange dans un paysage d'hiver,[1] il prend soin de la situer à l'arrière-plan de sa composition, comme portée par la dernière ondulation de la terre qui occupe l'avant-plan. C'est cette dernière qui est le motif central. Souvent même, les bâtiments sont vus de l'arrière, comme tournant le dos au spectateur. Aucun habitant ne s'agite autour de la grange fermée. Si une carriole occupe le chemin qui serpente dans la plaine, elle est minuscule, noyée dans le paysage, ne comptant pas plus que les clôtures délabrées ou les poteaux télégraphiques qui bordent la route.

Ces représentations du paysage québécois, qui sont cohérentes avec le projet d'ensemble des Sept, ne correspondent que très peu à la sensibilité québécoise.[2] Elle ne s'y reconnaît pas, au grand scandale des Anglo-Canadiens qui y voient presque un manque de patriotisme. Mais c'est qu'en réalité, la vision d'un Canada vierge est la vision d'une seule culture au Canada, la culture anglosaxonne, qui se complaît dans cette vision romantique d'une nature encore à conquérir, à transformer, résistant même à cette conquête par l'ampleur de ses énergies latentes, encore à exploiter.

village or a town, and above all, Quebec City? Was it really possible not to be aware of the human context, and retain only topography? If the problem is put in this perspective, the Group, and particularly A. Y. Jackson, who worked extensively in Quebec, had no difficulty resolving the problem. The cultural contribution of French Quebec was in fact completely disregarded. If A. Y. Jackson happened to paint a barn in a winter landscape,[1] he made sure the barn was placed in the background of his composition, as if borne upon the final undulation of the land occupying the foreground. In fact it is this undulating landscape which is the central subject of the painting. Quite often the buildings were seen from behind, as if turning their backs on the viewer. No human being was to be seen around the closed barn. Whenever a sleigh appeared on the road winding around the plain, it was tiny, lost in the landscape, of no more importance than the run-down fences or the telephone posts on each side of the road.

These representations of the Quebec landscape, in keeping with the whole project of the Group of Seven, have little in common with the sensibility of Quebecers,[2] who did not look at their country that way; English Canadians viewed this attitude as a lack of patriotism. In fact, the vision of an unspoiled Canada is that of only one culture, the Anglo-Saxon, which dwells on the romantic vision of Nature still to be tamed and transformed and resisting conquest with all its latent, unexploited energy. We must not forget that the tumultuous rivers flowing through the paintings of the Group will some day be tamed to provide the North American continent with hydro power, if this in fact had not already begun to happen at the time! On the other hand, the French heritage of Quebec provides us with another, somewhat pre-romantic, vision of a country whose land is regularly divided in perpendicular sections along the St. Lawrence, whose villages are evenly dis-

N'oublions pas que les rivières tumultueuses qui coulent dans la peinture des Sept seront un jour domptées pour fournir l'énergie électrique du continent nord-américain, quand ce n'était pas chose faite! Le Québec hérite de la part son passé français d'une autre vision pour ainsi dire préromantique du pays où le compartimentage du sol en sections perpendiculaires au fleuve Saint-Laurent, la distribution régulière des villages sur son vaste territoire, le bourdonnement commercial de ses centres urbains passent avant l'exposition des énergies latentes du continent. Rien d'étonnant à ce qu'il ne se reconnaisse pas dans la peinture des Sept et ait fait échec à la prétention des Sept de donner une vue *nationale* du pays.

Bien plus, la vision "préculturelle" des Sept pouvait paraître mettre entre parenthèses l'apport culturel du Québec, à un moment où sa situation de culture dominée donnait une urgence plus grande au problème de son identité française en terre d'Amérique. Les signes de son enracinement séculaire traduits par les modifications apportées au paysage et le défrichage au sens le plus concret du terme n'en prenaient que plus de prix.

Aussi bien les années trente qui accusent le recul de l'hégémonie de la peinture des Sept au Canada, même si le Groupe des Peintres Canadiens tentent d'en perpétuer les formules, voient une vague sans précédent du régionalisme pictural au Québec. Comme si elle voulait combler le vide créé par la peinture des Sept, la peinture régionaliste du Québec met au premier plan la culture et traite la nature canadienne comme une toile de fond. Il n'est qu'à comparer aux toiles d'A. Y. Jackson que nous évoquions à l'instant, n'importe quel paysage de Clarence Gagnon ou de Marc-Aurèle Fortin, pour saisir tout de suite le changement d'accent. La maison occupe maintenant le premier plan, abritée à l'ombre d'un grand arbre. Le village avec sa rue principale, ses habitants, les chetributed over its vast territory and whose humming commercial centres pre-empt the depiction of the latent energies of the continent. It is not surprising that the painting of the Group of Seven was never perceived by French Quebecers either as depicting their landscape, or as a truly national expression.

Furthermore, the "pre-cultural" vision of the Seven might have appeared to overlook Quebec's cultural contribution at a time when its position as a dominated culture conferred a special urgency to the problem of French identity in America. The transformation of nature, the clearing of the land, in the most concrete sense of the word, tangible results of a deep-rooted presence, thus acquired an increased value.

The thirties, which marked the decline of the Group's supremacy despite the efforts of the Canadian Group of Painters to maintain the tenets of the Group of Seven, witnessed an unprecedented surge of pictorial regionalism in Quebec. As if to fill the void created by the Group of Seven, Quebec painting emphasized cultural traits and used nature only as a backdrop. This change in character is immediately evident when A. Y. Jackson's paintings, just mentioned, are compared to those of Marc-Aurèle Fortin or Clarence Gagnon. Here, the house is in the foreground, under the shade of a big tree. The village with its main street, its inhabitants and the horses and sleighs are frequent subject matter; the Laurentians serve only as background. The emphasis now lies upon the human element — an environment modified by culture — and not upon the bush or virgin soil.

The rise of regionalism in Quebec during the thirties could have checked, at least in that Province, the development of a truly Canadian painting. As the expression of a special cultural group whose history, ways of living and ideologies are different from the rest of the

vaux et leur carriole constituent le sujet central du tableau. Les Laurentides n'en occupent que l'arrière-plan. L'accent est mis sur le contexte humain, sur l'environnement modifié par une culture et non sur la broussaille ou l'espace vierge.

L'affirmation du régionalisme québécois des années trente aurait pu faire échec, au moins au Québec, au projet d'une peinture canadienne comme telle. Expression d'une culture particulière du Canada, dont ni l'histoire, ni les modes de vie, ni les idéologies ne coïncidaient avec ceux de l'ensemble du pays, le régionalisme québécois aurait pu affirmer notre particularisme au détriment de l'unité fédérale. Il ne l'a pas fait efficacement. Pourquoi? Parce que la perception que le régionalisme se faisait de la culture québécoise reflétait une idéologie déphasée par rapport à la réalité québécoise, une idéologie sans avenir. La culture québécoise que les régionalistes entendaient exprimer était la culture paysanne, celle qui paraissait, au même titre que la foi catholique et la langue française (''le bon parler français''), sauvegarder le mieux l'identité canadienne-française, du moins aux yeux de ses définisseurs de culture. Ce projet culturel québécois, tout orienté vers le passé, dont il se faisait d'ailleurs une idée étriquée,[3] vers la conservation des valeurs ancestrales, vers leur ''survivance'' comme on disait, était en complète contradiction avec la réalité québécoise. Les années trente voient la phase la plus intense d'urbanisation encore jamais vue au Québec. Les vieilles idéologies agriculturistes sont incapables d'endiguer le flot de population qui vient grossir le monde ouvrier des villes. Bien qu'elle ait eu la vie dure, ''l'idéologie de conservation'' pour reprendre l'expression du sociologue Marcel Rioux, devait finir par être contestée et, avec elle, le régionalisme qui en avait été l'interprétation picturale.

Entre temps le régionalisme devait obtenir un statut pour ainsi dire officiel,

country, Quebec regionalism could have asserted Quebec's idiosyncrasies to the detriment of federal unity. If this however, did not happen it was because the perception the regionalist painters had of Quebec culture was a reflection of an ideology lagging behind the reality of Quebec, an ideology that had no future. The Quebec culture that the regionalist painters endeavoured to depict was the rural way of living which was seen first as bound up with the catholic faith and the French language (''le bon parler français''), the best safeguard of the French-Canadian entity, at least in the eyes of its definers. This cultural self-image entirely oriented towards the past, (a very poorly known and somewhat mummified past),[3] this survival, as it was called, was in total contradiction with the reality of the Quebec scene. In the thirties the most intensive urbanization was taking place in Quebec. The old agriculturalist ideologies were unable to contain the masses of people that swelled the urban working classes. Although hard to kill, the ''ideology of conservation,'' to quote sociologist Marcel Rioux, was finally challenged and with it the regionalism which had been its pictorial counterpart.

In the meantime, regionalist painting had gained a kind of official recognition in our institutions of art instruction. The Ecole des beaux-arts of both Montreal and Quebec City were founded during the Taschereau era, a few years before the period under study (1923), and were flourishing during the years of the Depression. They were a first attempt at free education, and attracted students in dire need of job opportunities, at a time when work was as scarce as money.

At first, the Ecole des beaux-arts intended to offer a purely academic training, on the model of the Paris Ecole des beaux-arts. The first principal of the Montreal Ecole des beaux-arts, Emmanuel Fougerat, was very clear about this objective. But, in 1925, after Fougerat left, the new principal, Charles Maillard,

dans nos maisons d'enseignement des arts. Les Ecoles des beaux-arts de Montréal et de Québec sont créés sous le gouvernement Taschereau, un peu avant notre période (1923) mais elles connaissent un essor sans précédent durant les années de la crise. Constituant une première expérience d'enseignement gratuit, elles attirent de la clientèle en mal de trouver des débouchés de travail, à une époque où le travail est aussi rare que l'argent.

Certes à leur origine, les Ecoles des beaux-arts entendaient donner un enseignement purement académique, calqué sur celui de l'Ecole des beaux-arts de Paris. Emmanuel Fougerat, premier directeur de l'Ecole des beaux-arts de Montréal, était très explicite là-dessus. Mais, dès 1925, après le départ de Fougerat, l'accès de Charles Maillard à la direction de l'Ecole modifie les données. Il ne "modernise" pas l'enseignement académique de l'Ecole, mais il entend lui donner un contenu "canadien," au sens régionaliste du terme. Cela est sensible dans plusieurs déclarations de Maillard rapportées par la presse. Ainsi, le 20 octobre 1927, dans une entrevue accordée au journal *Le Canada,* Maillard définit ainsi sa politique:

> Cette Ecole est une oeuvre canadienne et capable de développer le mouvement artistique canadien, nous dit-il. Il ne s'agit pas ici de former une école française. Agir ainsi serait chercher à tuer le bel effort artistique des Canadiens français et des Anglo-Canadiens également sous l'égide d'un gouvernement qui a souci d'accorder à l'Art la place qui lui revient. Nous devons, sans doute, inculquer la culture latine si admirablement bien conservée par la France, mais l'Ecole doit demeurer canadienne, si sa culture lui est donnée par des professeurs venus de France ou par les professeurs canadiens qui sont

changed the outlook of the school. In no way did he intend to revamp the academic teaching of the school, but instead he aimed to give it a Canadian content, in the regionalist sense, as can be evidenced by several statements found in the newspapers of the time. On October 20, 1927, Maillard expressed his philosophy in an interview with the daily, *Le Canada:*

> Cette Ecole est une oeuvre canadienne et capable de développer le mouvement artistique canadien, nous dit-il. Il ne s'agit pas ici de former une école française. Agir ainsi serait chercher à tuer le bel effort artistique des Canadiens français et des Anglo-Canadiens également sous l'égide d'un gouvernement qui a souci d'accorder à l'Art la place qui lui revient. Nous devons, sans doute, inculquer la culture latine si admirablement bien conservée par la France, mais l'Ecole doit demeurer canadienne, si sa culture lui est donnée par des professeurs venus de France ou par les professeurs canadiens qui sont allés de l'autre côté acquérir à un plus haut degré cette instruction théorique latine...[4]

Maillard was careful, above all to contrast Canadian painting with French painting, refusing to fall into line with the internationalist movement of the School of Paris. Furthermore, he stated his objective of making the School instrumental in the development of a "Canadian" painting, embracing in the term "Canadian" the "magnificent artistic endeavour of both French and Anglo-Canadians." However as he worked in Quebec, Maillard was thinking primarily of the former. Is it not significant that he should take care to distinguish the one group from the other? Steeped in the "Latin" as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon culture, the French-trained teachers

allés de l'autre côté acquérir à un plus haut degré cette instruction théorique latine...[4]

Maillard prend soin tout d'abord d'opposer peinture "canadienne" et peinture française marquant son refus de s'aligner sur le courant internationaliste de l'école de Paris. Il dit plus encore. Il entend faire servir l'Ecole au développement de la peinture "canadienne." Il englobe sous ce vocable "le bel effort artistique des Canadiens français et des Anglo-Canadiens," mais, travaillant au Québec, c'est surtout le premier groupe qu'il a en vue. Il est déjà significatif qu'il prenne soin de les distinguer l'un de l'autre. Réduit à un bain de "culture latine," par opposition à la culture anglo-saxonne sans doute, l'influence française des professeurs de l'Ecole des beaux-arts entend surtout favoriser le développement d'une peinture autonomiste au Québec.

Ce thème revient ensuite constamment dans les discours et les écrits de Maillard. Au banquet annuel des élèves de l'Ecole des beaux-arts, le 3 mai 1930, il annonce l'ouverture d'un atelier de "vitrail d'art" à son école:

> ...afin qu'une fois sortis de l'Ecole (les élèves des Beaux-arts) ne soient pas relégués au dernier plan, dans les ateliers de vitrail où les ouvriers syndiqués font un tout petit accueil aux diplômés des Beaux-Arts (...) L'Ecole des beaux-arts doit être essentiellement canadienne, car ses élèves sont appelés à faire leur vie dans leur pays, au milieu des leurs.[5]

Dans la mesure où les syndicats représentaient pour Maillard une intrusion étrangère (américaine?), on s'explique que la création d'un atelier de vitrail soit perçue comme un acte d'autonomie provinciale. La compétence qu'il entend donner à ses élèves leur permettra de

were to foster the development of autonomous painting in Quebec.

The same recurring theme can be found in Maillard's speeches and writings. At the annual Ecole des beaux-arts dinner, on May 30, 1930, he announced the opening of a stained glass studio at the school:

> ... afin qu'une fois sortis de l'Ecole (les élèves des Beaux-Arts) ne soient pas relégués au dernier plan, dans les ateliers de vitrail où les ouvriers syndiqués font un tout petit accueil aux diplômés des Beaux-Arts (...) L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts doit être essentiellement canadienne, car ses élèves sont appelés à faire leur vie dans leur pays, au milieu des leurs.[5]

Inasmuch as Maillard perceived unions as foreign (American?) intruders, it is easy to understand why the creation of a stained glass studio can be regarded as a gesture towards provincial autonomy. The training acquired in the school would allow the students to excel in a field in which they had either held inferior positions, or, from which they had been practically excluded heretofore.

Maillard was to go further. On January 24, 1931, in an address to the members of the Cercle Universitaire, he voiced not only his rejection of "contemporary international art," but also his intention to propel Canadian art towards "the conquest of (its own) domain," national art. He went so far as to state:

> ... l'art doit être national avant d'être humain. Un peuple qui n'a pas de tradition est incapable de produire une oeuvre très sentie. En France, il y a un mouvement de peinture internationale qui constitue pour l'art français un grave danger. Les mêmes dangers me-

prendre les commandes dans un domaine dont ils avaient été sinon exclus du moins où on les avait tenus jusqu'alors en état d'infériorité.

Mais Maillard ne s'en tient pas là. Le 24 janvier 1931, il prononce devant les membres du Cercle Universitaire un discours où non seulement il s'oppose à "l'art moderne international," mais veut lancer l'art canadien à "la conquête de (son) domaine," l'art national. Il va jusqu'à dire:

> ...l'art doit être national avant d'être humain. Un peuple qui n'a pas de tradition est incapable de produire une oeuvre très sentie. En France, il y a un mouvement de peinture internationale qui constitue pour l'art français un grave danger. Les mêmes dangers menacent notre jeune pays. Il faudra veiller à ce que notre art soit véritablement national.[6]

Cet art "national," craignant les dangers de l'internationalisme français, ne peut être au Québec qu'un art régionaliste. Mais chez Maillard, la condamnation de l'art international s'appuie sur une argumentation spécieuse qu'on ne trouverait pas chez les membres du Groupe des Sept défendant la cause parallèle d'un art national en sens *Canadian* du terme:

> (Certains artistes modernes) ont essayé de couvrir un vaste champ international comme si tous les peuples étaient devenus tout à coup égaux en formation et en pensée. Voyez l'exemple des peuples nomades, sans patrie, qui n'ont laissé aucun grand nom dans les arts plastiques.

Que viennent faire ici "les peuples nomades" demandera-t-on? Voyez la suite:

> Il existe un mouvement artistique déplorable qui a une influence néfaste sur la production des oeuvres, et ce mouvement est déclenché par les Juifs qui n'ont jamais produit d'oeuvres vraiment artistiques et qui se donnent pour mission de dire le dernier mot en art.

Now it is clear whom Maillard had in mind when he referred to "des peuples nomades sans patrie..." He meant above all the Jewish people, essentially without a homeland, condemned to wander the earth "contaminating" every domain upon which they lighted. Maillard's anti-Semitic outbursts may be understood insofar as he was an admirer of Drumont, author of *La France juive*, and had lived in Algiers when Drumont was a member of the National Assembly. But his remarks did not fall on deaf ears for during the thirties anti-Semitism was rife in Quebec as the result of some kind

déplorable qui a une influence néfaste sur la production des oeuvres, et ce mouvement est déclenché par les Juifs qui n'ont jamais produit d'oeuvres vraiment artistiques et qui se donnent pour mission de dire le dernier mot en art.

On comprend qui Maillard avait en tête en mentionnant "les peuples nomades, sans patrie". Il s'agissait surtout de l'un d'entre eux, le peuple juif, apatride par excellence, condamné à errer de par le monde et répandant son venin "néfaste" dans tous les domaines qu'il touche! On n'aurait là qu'une flambée d'antisémitisme bien explicable chez un admirateur de Drumont comme l'était Maillard qui vivait à Alger quand l'auteur de *La France Juive* y était député, si l'on ne tenait pas compte du terrain dans lequel sa parole tombait. Le Québec des années trente a été très antisémite, par une sorte de paradoxe historique qui veut que les minorités préfèrent s'entre-déchirer plutôt que de s'allier contre la majorité pour sauvegarder leurs droits. C'est l'époque du parti nazi d'Adrien Arcand, futur ministre de l'Industrie et du Commerce dans le cabinet Duplessis. Le slogan de l'"achat chez-nous," si souvent répété, correspondait à une tentative de boycotter le petit commerce juif, à l'époque où on vendait si allègrement les ressources du Québec aux Américains. En dénonçant le courant internationaliste, comme un complot juif, Maillard donnait dans la démagogie et encourageait à voir dans le régionalisme, l'expression de la pureté de la race. Son appel à un "art national" n'était pas simplement dédaigneux du courant internationaliste, abhorré aussi des membres du Groupe des Sept, il était franchement xénophobe, ajoutant une dimension aussi navrant qu'inattendue au régionalisme québécois.

Quand en novembre 1934 enfin, Robert Rumilly lui demandera:

of historical paradox which urges minorities to fight one another, instead of uniting in the face of the majority in order to protect their respective rights. The Nazi party of Adrien Arcand, future minister of Industry and Commerce in Duplessis' Cabinet, was born during the same period. The slogan "achat chez nous!" often heard, was intended mainly to encourage the boycott of the small Jewish trade; at the same time our government thought nothing of selling Quebec's natural resources to the Americans. By exposing the internationalist trend in the arts as a Jewish plot, Maillard was playing the demagogue: presenting regionalism as an expression of racial purity. His appeal in favour of "national art" was not simply dictated by his rejection of the internationalist movement (a feeling shared by the Group of Seven), but was the result of sheer xenophobia, thus adding an unfortunate as well as unexpected dimension to Quebec regionalism.

When in November 1934 Robert Rumilly asked Maillard: "Est-ce que vous n'appliquez pas vos doctrines en orientant les élèves vers des sujets régionaux?" the latter replied: "J'ai en effet demandé aux élèves de s'inspirer de la nature canadienne, et d'aborder des sujets de l'histoire du Canada. Il y a de grandes scènes propres à alimenter l'imagination."[7]

Nature and history; nature bearing the mark of history and consequently of a culture: this was clearly the definition of Quebec regionalism contrasted to the Group of Seven's sole interest in Canadian nature. Maillard's plea in favour of a "Canadian art" cut off from any outside influence without, however, rejecting the French academic tradition, resulted in a bonding of Quebec regionalism, French academism and the ideology of conservation.

This unhappy combination was to

> Est-ce que vous n'appliquez pas vos doctrines en orientant les élèves vers des sujets régionalistes!

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Nature et histoire, nature marquée par une histoire et donc par une culture: c'est bien la définition du régionalisme québécois que nous opposions plus haut à celle du Groupe des Sept intéressée par la seule "nature" canadienne. Le plaidoyer de Maillard pour un "art canadien" coupé de tout apport extérieur, sans pour autant rejeter la tradition académique française revenait à souder ensemble le régionalisme québécois, les techniques académistes françaises et l'idéologie de conservation.

Cet amalgame devait entraîner tout le système à sa perte. Quand l'idéologie de conservation sera contestée, son expression artistique régionaliste et l'enseignement qui l'entérinait le seront aussi. L'"académisme" aura vécu et les nécessités impératives de l'"art vivant" se feront sentir.

On retrouve donc au Québec le "mouvement entre des polarisations," entre le régionalisme et l'internationalisme, que Charles C. Hill perçoit dans le Canada entier durant la période. Même sans grande préoccupation de la peinture des Sept qu'ils connaissaient mal ou qui ne les touchaient pas, les tenants de l'internationalisme au Québec avaient sous les yeux un courant "national," au sens québécois du terme, qui pouvait leur servir de repoussoir. Autrement dit, les Sept n'auraient pas existé, que la dialectique entre nationalisme et internationalisme se serait quand même fait jour au Québec. On comprend du même coup que la peinture du Québec aurait pu constituer un phénomène autonome, indépendant de

bring about the ruin of the system. When the ideology of conservation was challenged, so too were the regionalist artistic expression and the teaching which confirmed it. Academism was dead and the imperatives of a more "contemporary art" were to be felt.

Once again, the "movement between polarities," between regionalism and internationalism, perceived by Charles C. Hill, throughout Canada during the thirties, was also felt in Quebec. Even without caring much about the painting of the Seven, which they hardly knew or which left them unmoved, the proponents of internationalism in Quebec were witnesses to a "national" trend, in the Quebec sense of the word, that only served to repel them. In other words, even without the Group of Seven, the dialectic between nationalism and internationalism would have taken place in Quebec. Had internationalism remained an exclusively "québécoise" preoccupation, Quebec painting might have been an autonomous phenomenon, independent from Canadian painting. Moreover Quebec regionalism, unlike that of the Seven which belonged to the preceding decade, is essentially a phenomenon of the thirties. This fact warrants an explanation since it leads us to an analysis of the problem from the perspective of time. What, in fact, is the relevance of the particular decade of concern in defining the specific contribution of Quebec to Canadian painting?

The disappearance of the pan-Canadian ideology underlying the art of the Seven may be explained by the social and economic climate created by the Depression years. In times of economic recession national projects are generally of lesser importance and social preoccupations come to the fore. Painting inevitably reflects this pendulum movement. Among other qualities, Charles C. Hill's text has the merit of demonstrating both the importance and the interest of Canadian painters in the field of social realism, a development paralleling that of their American colleagues.

la peinture canadienne, si l'internationalisme était resté une préoccupation exclusivement québécoise... On aura compris aussi que le régionalisme québécois, au contraire de celui des Sept qui appartient à la décennie précédente, est un phénomène des années trente. Ce fait mérite explication parce qu'il nous amène à examiner le problème sous l'angle du temps. En quoi la période choisie est-elle pertinente pour définir l'apport spécifique du Québec à la peinture canadienne de l'époque?

L'éclipse de l'idéologie pancanadienne, qui sous-tendait la peinture des Sept, peut s'expliquer par la conjoncture économique et sociale créée par la crise des années trente. En temps de récession économique, les projets nationaux passent habituellement au second plan et les préoccupations sociales prennent le dessus. La peinture n'est pas sans refléter ce mouvement de bascule. C'est un des mérites du texte de Charles C. Hill d'avoir montré l'importance et l'intérêt des peintres canadiens, opérant en parallèle avec leurs collègues américains, dans le champ du réalisme social.

Mais alors, la permanence du courant régionaliste québécois durant les années trente peut sembler paradoxale. Elle peut le sembler encore plus quand on se rend compte que le réalisme social n'a pas tenté au moins une partie des peintres francophones du Québec. Les quelques artistes montréalais qui produisent alors dans cette veine, comme Louis Muhlstock, Philip Surrey, ou même dans certaines de leurs oeuvres, Fritz Brandtner et Marian Scott sont tous anglophones.[8] Faudrait-il en conclure que les artistes canadiens-français ne sont pas affectés par la crise économique, ou du moins que la "périodisation" imposée aux faits par l'historien est moins significative pour le Québec que pour le reste du Canada? Nous ne le croyons pas. Mais elle l'est d'une autre façon qu'il importe de définir exactement. La crise économique ouvre aux

In the light of this state of affairs the endurance of Quebec regionalism in the thirties may seem paradoxical. It may seem even more so when one takes into account the fact that social realism failed to attract even a portion of Francophone painters in Quebec. The few Montreal artists who worked in this vein such as Louis Muhlstock and Philip Surrey, or, at times, Fritz Brandtner and Marian Scott, were all Anglophones.[8] Is it necessary, then, to conclude that French-Canadian artists were not affected by the Depression, or that the historian's interpretation of the facts in the context of this period is less significant for Quebec than for the rest of Canada? This is difficult to believe. The Depression was, however, significant in another way that should be clearly defined.

The economic crisis opened to English-speaking painters a new field for exploration, that of human relations, class conflicts and the destitution brought about by the economic crisis. It made the lyrical enthusiasm of the Group of Seven for the Precambrian Shield or the rivers of the North appear dated and even irresponsible. The hunt for new imagery conducted in a canoe amid the hostile wilderness now assumed a dilettantish quality in comparison with the social involvement of a Miller Brittain or a Louis Muhlstock. While it introduced into the art of English-speaking painters a new range of content, the Depression did not seem to affect either their normal channels of communication or the possibility of interaction between artists of similar preoccupation. Despite reduced budgets art institutions continued to operate and the English-speaking artist was still able to find galleries or museums where he could exhibit and, a receptive public. Furthermore, if his art did not always receive public support or if he was in financial difficulty, he could still find comfort and support in his colleagues. Charles C. Hill recalls in his catalogue how, during this period, the tradition of

peintres anglophones un champ neuf à explorer, celui des relations humaines, des conflits de classe, de la misère créée par la crise... Elle rend désuet ou même irresponsable l'enthousiasme lyrique des Sept pour le bouclier précambrien ou les rivières du Nord. La chasse aux images en canot d'écorce et en bravant les conditions hostiles de la grande nature paraît presque une activité de dilettante en comparaison avec l'engagement social d'un Miller Brittain ou d'un Louis Muhlstock. Introduisant une gamme nouvelle de contenu dans la peinture canadienne-anglaise, la crise ne semble cependant pas avoir affecté ni ses canaux normaux de diffusion, ni ses possibilités de regroupement entre artistes partageant les mêmes préoccupations. Même si elles doivent fonctionner avec des budgets réduits, les institutions d'art tiennent le coup et le peintre anglophone trouve encore une galerie ou un musée où exposer, un public à convaincre ou à servir. Bien plus, advenant que son art fasse quelque difficulté au public ou que la nécessité le presse trop, il trouve encore dans l'association avec ses pairs, le réconfort du coude à coude, l'appui du groupe. Charles C. Hill a rappelé comment tout au long de la période, on assiste dans la tradition de l'ancien groupe de Beaver Hall à des tentatives souvent heureuses de regroupement chez les peintres anglophones. Au Québec, le Groupe de l'Est et la S.A.C. seront les plus importants.

De ce double point de vue, la situation de l'artiste francophone non-régionaliste fait contraste. Il expérimente tout d'abord la profonde déstructuration des canaux traditionnels de diffusion provoquée par la crise. L'Eglise qui était la grande commanditaire de la peinture au Québec perd alors son rôle de premier plan. Comme par ailleurs le Québec francophone n'avait ni marchand de tableaux, ni le réseau profane des Galeries et des Musées pour la remplacer, il connaît un effondrement qui a des conséquences tragiques immédiates sur

the Beaver Hall Group was maintained and the attempts, often successful, to organize the English-speaking painters. In Quebec the major associations were the Eastern Group and the Contemporary Arts Society.

The situation of the non-regionalist Francophone artist is a study in contrast in at least two ways. First he experienced the serious disintegration of the traditional outlets for his work, brought about by the Depression. The Church which had been the great patron of the arts in Quebec now lost its role as leader. French Quebec had no art dealers and no network of art galleries and museums to take over the role once played by the Church. The collapse of this avenue had immediate, tragic repercussions on the careers of the painters. The best example of this situation is provided by Borduas' career during the thirties.

When his benefactors, Monsieur Olivier Maurault, p.s.s., and Ozias Leduc, sent him to Paris in late 1928 to study under Maurice Denis at the Ateliers d'art sacré, their intention had been to prepare him to take over the leadership in the field of religious decoration. Nobody then could have predicted the dire consequences of the economic crisis of the following year. Borduas experienced overtures of it when, having terminated the contracts of Rambucourt and Xivray (obtained through his friend Dubois), he had to return, unemployed, to Paris on Christmas Eve of 1929. When he could not get the anticipated scholarship from the Quebec government he was forced to come back to Canada at the beginning of the summer of 1930. By this time the Depression was at its peak and Borduas suffered many hardships. He hoped to find work as a church decorator, since he had been trained for it through both his occasional work with Ozias Leduc and his recent term at the Ateliers d'art sacré. On his return he was helped by Ozias Leduc who offered to work with him on the decoration of the Church of Saint-Anges in Lachine.

la carrière des peintres. Nul fait n'illustre mieux cette condition que la carrière de Borduas durant les années trente.

Quand ses bienfaiteurs, l'abbé Olivier Maurault, p.s.s. et Ozias Leduc l'envoient étudier aux Ateliers d'art sacré, à Paris, sous Maurice Denis à la fin de 1928, ils entendaient bien assurer la relève dans le domaine de la décoration religieuse. Nul ne pouvait prévoir alors les conséquences extrêmes de la crise économique de l'année suivante. Borduas en expérimente les premiers signes alors qu'encore en France, et après avoir épuisé les contrats de Rambucourt et de Xivray obtenus par son ami Pierre Dubois, il se voit contraint de revenir à Paris, sans travail, la veille de Noël 1929. N'obtenant pas de bourse comme il l'escomptait du gouvernement provincial, il doit revenir au Canada au début de l'été 1930. On est alors en pleine crise économique et Borduas va en éprouver toutes les duretés. Son intention est bien de trouver du travail comme décorateur d'église. Après tout, c'est pour cela qu'il se sent le mieux préparé, à la fois par ses collaborations épisodiques avec Ozias Leduc et par son récent passage aux Ateliers d'art sacré. A son arrivée, il reçoit l'aide d'Ozias Leduc qui lui offre de travailler avec lui au projet de l'église des Saints-Anges à Lachine. Au début de 1931, ce projet s'épuise à son tour. C'est alors que les vraies difficultés commencent pour Borduas. Il semble bien après le projet de Lachine s'être joint à l'équipe de Fortunat Rho, occupée à la réfection de l'intérieur de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal. Il cherche à obtenir du travail de décorateur d'église pour l'été 1931, avec la firme italienne de Guido Nincheri, mais sans succès. Il se voit donc contraint à passer l'été à Saint-Hilaire chez son père, également sans travail. La confection d'une série de cartes historiques destinées au Chalet de la Montagne à Montréal l'occupe durant l'automne 1931 et un peu plus tard, les quatorze stations d'un chemin de croix pour l'église Saint-Michel de Rougemont, en-

At the beginning of 1931 this project in turn came to an end, and this is when his real difficulties began. It appears that for a while he joined Fortunat Rho's team which, at the time, was in the process of renovating the interior of the Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal. In the summer of 1931 he tried, unsuccessfully, to join the Italian firm of Guido Nincheri and was forced to spend the remainder of the summer in Saint-Hilaire with his unemployed father. The preparation of a series of historical maps for the Mountain Chalet in Montreal kept him busy during the Fall of 1931. Later he executed the fourteen Stations of the Way of the Cross for the Church of Saint-Michel, in Rougemont, another subcontract obtained through Ozias Leduc. Refusing to despair, in the spring of 1932 he conceived the project of a "mural decoration studio" and started canvassing parish priests and architects. A letter written to his old friend Ozias Leduc on the 23rd of August 1932 expressed the general tone of the period: "Ici (...) rien de nouveau et (je) continue à espérer désespérément."

His sketchbooks are full of notes taken in different churches where, no doubt, he intended to submit projects for mural decorations: Saint-Jean-de-la-Croix, Saint-Denis, Saint-Vincent-Ferrier... None of the projects of 1932 came to fruition. His brother, Adrien, very wisely suggested to him, in a letter of February 1st, 1933, that he wait:

> ... jusqu'à ce que les Curés aient un peu plus d'argent à consacrer au (sic) décoration de leur église.

He probably believed, as did everyone then, that once the Depression was over the Church councils would find money for church decoration. The truth is that the Church had already, and forever, lost its status as a major patron of the arts in Quebec. One could never return to the conditions which had existed before the Depression. Borduas was left with no other choice but that of teaching. Initially

core un sous-contrat que lui refile Ozias Leduc. Ne désespérant toujours pas, il forme au printemps 1932 le projet de fonder un "Atelier de décoration murale," offrant ses services aux curés et aux architectes. Le 23 août 1932, il écrit à son vieil ami Ozias Leduc, donnant le ton de toute cette période: "Ici (...) rien de nouveau et (je) continue à espérer désespérément."

On a retrouvé dans ses carnets de croquis toute une série de notes prises sur place dans des églises pour lesquelles il entendait sans doute proposer des projets de décoration murale: Saint-Jean-de-la-Croix, Saint-Denis, Saint-Vincent-Ferrier... Aucun de ces projets qui l'occupent à l'automne 1932 n'aboutiront. Philosophe, son frère Adrien, lui recommande, dans une lettre du 1er février 1933, d'attendre:

> ...Jusqu'à ce que les Curés aient un peu plus d'argent à consacrer au *(sic)* décoration de leur église.

Il croyait probablement comme tout le monde à l'époque qu'un coup la crise passée, les fabriques retrouveraient de l'argent à consacrer à la décoration de leur église. La vérité est que l'Eglise perd alors et définitivement son statut de grand commanditaire des arts au Québec. On ne reviendra plus jamais aux conditions d'avant la crise. Borduas n'a plus le choix. Le seul autre débouché qui lui reste est l'enseignement. Il s'y résout et à partir de ce moment accepte d'enseigner au collège Grasset d'abord, puis dans les écoles primaires ensuite. Ce n'est pas sans grande résistance intérieure qu'il s'engage sur cette voie. L'enseignement des arts n'avait jamais constitué un débouché exclusif pour les peintres canadiens-français, avant la fondation des Ecoles des beaux-arts. La crise et ses conséquences l'obligeaient à s'orienter dans cette voie.

Même résumé à grands traits comme nous venons de le faire, cette période de

he accepted a position at the Collège Grasset, and then taught elementary school. It was not without an intense inner struggle that he embarked upon this career. Teaching art had never been the exclusive domain of French-Canadian painters before the founding of Beaux-Arts schools. The Depression and its repercussions forced them into this avenue.

This period in Borduas' life, summarized in its essential character, is most significant. It exemplifies concretely the effects of the disappearance of traditional outlets upon painting in Quebec. Assuredly we do not claim that English-speaking painters of the period did not meet with equally difficult conditions. Charles C. Hill has recalled, for example, the hardships endured by Goodridge Roberts, to the detriment of his health in these same years. Generally speaking, however, the English-speaking painters who had never relied upon church commissions as a means of livelihood were not faced with losing a traditional source of patronage. The Art Association of Montreal, the National Gallery of Canada and the museums in Toronto and Western Canada held their own during the Depression. Although such painters as Jock MacDonald often had to turn to teaching as a last resort, at least they were not entering a career for which there were no existing models.

The economic crisis created another difficult set of circumstances for the non-regionalist painters in French Canada. It plunged them into an unprecedented isolation, a situation well-known to Borduas. Describing his life in the thirties, he wrote in his *Projections libérantes* (1949):

> ... dans un grand dénuement, sans amis pour suivre ma pensée et parler des formes d'art que j'aime, cherchant les raisons de l'impossible adaptation aux cadres de la société, les découvertes se poursui-

la vie de Borduas est significative. Elle montre dans un cas concret mais exemplaire ce qu'a signifié l'effondrement des canaux de diffusion traditionnels de la peinture au Québec. Certes nous ne prétendons pas que les peintres canadiens-anglais de la période ne connurent pas souvent des conditions aussi misérables que celles de Borduas à la même époque. Charles C. Hill a rappelé par exemple les conditions extrêmes que s'imposa au détriment de sa santé, Goodridge Roberts à ce moment. Mais la peinture canadienne-anglaise qui ne s'était jamais liée comme celle du Québec à la décoration religieuse ne perdait pas ses moyens de diffusion traditionnelle. La *Art Association of Montreal*, la Galerie Nationale, les musées de Toronto et de l'ouest du Canada tiennent le coup durant la crise. Même si les peintres — c'est le cas de Jock MacDonald — doivent souvent avoir recours à des activités de dépannage comme l'enseignement, il ne s'agissait pas pour eux d'adopter un profil de carrière pour lequel il n'existait pas de modèle préalable.

La crise économique a une autre conséquence extrême sur la condition des peintres non régionalistes du Canada français. Elle les plonge dans un isolement sans précédent. Borduas l'a bien vu. Décrivant sa situation durant les années trente, il écrivait dans ses *Projections libérantes* (1949):

> ...dans un grand dénuement, sans amis pour suivre ma pensée et parler des formes d'art que j'aime, cherchant les raisons de l'impossible adaptation aux cadres de la société, les découvertes se poursuivent: le fauvisme, le cubisme, le surréalisme.

Enfin, mais vers le terme de cette période seulement:

> ...des amis se présentent venus du fond de mon rêve: Maurice Gagnon, le père Carmel Brouillard, John Lyman et autres. Je sors lentement de l'isolement...

vent: le fauvisme, le cubisme, le surréalisme.

Finally, but only towards the end of this period:

> ...des amis se présentent venus du fond de mon rêve: Maurice Gagnon, le père Carmel Brouillard, John Lyman et autres. Je sors lentement de l'isolement...

This solitude saw Borduas haunted by the lure of exile, as if he were hoping to find elsewhere, anywhere in the world, a remedy for his "isolation" his "destitution." E. H. Turner has mentioned in the past one of the projects for exile of this period. In 1934, Borduas thought seriously of emigrating to Tahiti or the New Hebrides, following Gauguin's example. But in the autumn following his return from Paris he thought first of all of returning to France. In January of 1931 he was dreaming of South America or, perhaps, of a career as a muralist in New York. While Borduas was dreaming of exile, Pellan was in Paris, prolonging his stay indefinitely, with Quebec apparently not occupying his thoughts.

This isolation of French-Canadian painters is in sharp contrast with attempts on the part of English-speaking artists to group together, as was previously described, following Charles C. Hill's text.

This explains why the subject matter of Quebec painting seems to remain unchanged. The material conditions of non-regionalist painters were too extreme (or too existential) to enable them to view objectively the social conditions of the underprivileged classes and to engage in the pictorial activity of social realism. As an under-paid drawing teacher at the elementary level, or as a graphic artist at the lowest level in an advertising firm, or as an unsuccessful commercial artist, the French-Canadian painter was himself almost a proletarian. For him,

Cet isolement s'accompagne chez Borduas de la tentation de l'exil, comme s'il cherchait ailleurs, n'importe où dans le monde, remède à cet "isolement," à ce "dénuement." E. H. Turner avait signalé, dans le temps, un de ces projets d'exil. En 1934, Borduas songea sérieusement à émigrer à Tahiti ou dans les Nouvelles-Hébrides, à l'instar de Gauguin. Mais il avait pensé d'abord pouvoir revenir en France, dès l'automne qui suit son retour de Paris. En janvier 1931, on le surprend rêvant d'un exil en Amérique du sud ou d'une carrière de peintre muraliste à New-York. Et au moment où Borduas rêve d'exil, Pellan est à Paris, prolongeant indéfiniment son séjour, le Québec ne semblant pas occuper sa pensée.

Cet isolement des peintres canadiens-français fait donc contraste avec les tentatives de groupement qui caractérisent le monde pictural anglophone durant la période, comme nous l'avons rappelé plus haut, à la suite de Charles C. Hill.

On comprend dès lors pourquoi les contenus de la peinture québécoise pouvaient paraître demeurés inchangés. La condition faite aux peintres non régionalistes était trop extrême (ou trop existentielle) pour leur permettre de prendre une vue objective par rapport à la condition sociale des classes défavorisées et engager leur activité picturale dans le sens du réalisme social. Devenu petit professeur de dessin dans les écoles primaires, ou graphiste engagé à l'échelon le plus bas d'une firme publicitaire ou encore peintre commercial sans succès, le peintre canadien-français partageait presque la condition prolétarienne. Il n'avait pas envie d'en faire un sujet de tableau... Ce qui sollicite son imagination, c'est le vaste monde, hors de ghetto québécois où il étouffe. Il rêve de s'exiler. Du point de vue pictural, le renouvellement des formes le passionne davantage que l'exploration des contenus. L'école de Paris où s'est élaborée la grande dés-

this was no subject for a painting. His imagination was stirred by the wider world outside the suffocating ghetto of Quebec and he dreamed of exile. From the pictorial point of view he was more interested in new forms than in the exploration of content. The School of Paris, wherein originated the destructuralization of traditional forms, became the central pole of attraction. Pellan was deeply involved in the movement, experimenting with the most advanced theories of the School of Paris. Borduas visited the Impressionist and Fauvist exhibitions in the English galleries in Montreal. As the decade progressed so did the favour for Parisian avant-garde trends.

It was precisely at this time, towards the end of the thirties, that English-speaking painters developed a new concept of Canadian painting. John Lyman was the most important figure in this development. Charles C. Hill deserves praise for having emphasized the role of this artist who had understood that the concepts of the Seven were leading painting into a dead end:

> The real Canadian scene is in the consciousness of Canadian painters, whatever the object of their thought.[9]

This statement proposed the liberation of painting in Canada from its prevailing subject matter and reduced the importance of its Canadian character to a secondary level of concern. Lyman believed that the time had come for Canadian painters to enter the international scene. It was urgent that painters become less preoccupied by subject matter and more concerned with style. Internationalism was therefore establishing itself as the second polarisation for Canadian painting.

Without a doubt, internationalism reflected a part of the aims of both Pellan and Borduas. Within the Quebec context, however, internationalism took

tructuration des formes traditionnelles de la peinture devient le principal pôle d'attraction. Pellan est alors au centre de la fournaise, s'intéressant aux formes les plus avancées de l'école de Paris. Borduas visite les expositions d'impressionnistes et de fauves qui passent dans les galeries anglaises de la Métropole. Plus on avance dans la période, plus la soif des avant-gardes parisiennes se fait intense.

Or c'est précisément à ce moment, vers la fin des années trente, que les peintres canadiens-anglais élaborent une nouvelle définition de la peinture canadienne. Le grand artisan du tournant qui se prend alors est sans contredit John Lyman. C'est un des mérites du texte de Charles C. Hill d'avoir mis sa personnalité en valeur. Lyman comprend que la peinture des Sept menait à une impasse:

> The real Canadian scene is in the consciousness of Canadian painters, whatever the object of their thought.[9]

Cela revenait à libérer la peinture canadienne de son sujet de prédilection et de reporter le problème de son caractère canadien au second plan. Lyman croyait que le temps était venu pour les peintres canadiens d'entrer en compétition sur la scène internationale. Il s'imposait donc avant tout que la peinture cesse de se préoccuper du contenu pour s'intéresser au style. L'internationalisme devenait la seconde polarisation de la peinture canadienne.

Il ne fait pas de doute que l'internationalisme exprimait les visées de Pellan et de Borduas. Mais il ne les exprimait qu'en partie. Incarné dans la situation du Québec, l'internationalisme prenait un sens particulier. Il se présentait tout d'abord comme une contestation radicale de la vieille idéologie de conservation, dont il mettait en question les valeurs essentielles à commencer par la foi

on a special character. From the outset it presented itself as a radical challenge to the old ideology of conservation. It questioned such well-established values as the Catholic faith and rural custom, but not the French language. Above all, it corresponded to the rise of a new cultural ideology which was to dominate the coming decade: the ideology of "catching up" by which means Quebec was to advance its backward secular culture and place it in line with advanced concepts of "universal thought." Borduas gives an account of this situation in his manifesto, *Refus Global:*

> ...tenu à l'écart de l'évolution universelle de la pensée pleine de risques et dangers, éduqué sans mauvaise volonté, mais sans contrôle, dans le faux jugement des grands faits de l'histoire quand l'ignorance complète est impraticable... Notre destin semble durement fixé.

In French Quebec internationalism had acquired a special meaning, differing from that which it held for English-speaking painters whose culture had not shared the same "destin... durement fixé."

For a while, it is true, the two visions of Lyman and Borduas seemed to coincide, but the common ground between the two had rested upon a misunderstanding. Consequently they broke off because Lyman could not accept the principles that underlay the *Refus Global.* For Lyman, Borduas' manifesto defined the internationalist direction which he envisaged for Canadian art in terms that reflected too exclusively the Quebec point of view. Lyman finally came to see Borduas as a sort of belated Romantic whose *Refus Global* was possessed solely of literary qualities. One can see why this should have been the case since Lyman's concerns were essentially stylistic while in the *Refus Global* these concerns received short shrift. For Borduas the central

catholique et les valeurs paysannes, sinon la langue française. Il correspondait surtout à la montée d'une nouvelle idéologie qui allait devenir dominante au moins du point de vue culturel dans la décennie suivante: "l'idéologie de rattrapage," par laquelle le Québec entendait rattraper son retard culturel séculaire et rejoindre les pointes avancées de la "pensée universelle." C'est la situation dont Borduas rend compte dans son manifeste *Refus Global*:

> ...tenu à l'écart de l'évolution universelle de la pensée pleine de risques et de dangers, éduqué sans mauvaise volonté, mais sans contrôle, dans le faux jugement des grands faits de l'histoire quand l'ignorance complète est impraticable (...), notre destin semble durement fixé.

L'internationalisme prenait donc un sens spécifique au Québec, différent de celui qu'il avait pour les peintres canadiens-anglais dont la culture n'avait pas partagé le même "destin (...) durement fixé."

Certes pour un temps, les deux visées, celle de Lyman et celle de Borduas, pourront sembler coïncider. Mais l'entente entre les deux hommes reposera sur un malentendu. Aussi la rupture de Borduas avec Lyman est provoquée précisément par l'impossibilité pour Lyman de partager profondément la contestation de *Refus Global*, texte qui exprime d'un point de vue trop exclusivement québécois pour son goût, l'orientation internationaliste qu'il avait voulu voir imprimer à l'art canadien en général. Lyman verra finalement en Borduas une espèce de "romantique attardé" et n'accordera au *Refus Global* de Borduas qu'une attention littéraire. On comprend pourquoi. Alors que pour Lyman le problème essentiel est un problème de style — celui de *Refus Global* n'offre guère d'attrait à ses yeux —, pour Borduas c'est un problème "engageant

problem lay in a total involvement with life, not simply his own, but that of society in general, as he was to explain to Lyman in his now famous letter breaking with the English-Canadian artist.

Thus there is a specifically Quebecois character to painting in Quebec in the thirties. This character was defined first of all on ideological grounds, but also along existential lines since the way of life for which the Quebec painters opted during that period was to influence the options chosen in the following years. This specific character helps define the particular contribution of Quebec to the development of Canadian painting in the thirties. The overall interpretation of the period as suggested by Charles C. Hill as a "movement between polarities" remains substantially accurate. The purpose of this essay has been simply to illustrate the dialectical position of Quebec within the historical development of Canadian painting.

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Notes:

[1] See Charles C. Hill, "Canadian Painting in the Thirties" (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1975), *A Quebec Farm* (1930), or *Winter, Charlevoix County* (c. 1933), respectively; pp. 33, 34.

[2] It would be interesting to study the reception accorded to the painting of the Seven by critics in Quebec and, more generally, by the Francophone public in Quebec. To our knowledge such a study has not been made, to this date. The theme promises a wealth of information.

[3] The myth of an essentially rural New-France was born in the nineteenth century, as our stronger historians, notably Michel Brunet and Marcel Trudel, have shown.

[4] S. N. "Année active en vue de l'École des beaux-arts," *Le Canada* (Montréal), October 20, 1927.

[5] "Notre École des beaux-arts doit être canadienne," *La Presse* (Montréal), May 5, 1930.

la vie entière," non seulement la sienne, mais celle de toute une société, comme il l'écrira à Lyman lui-même dans sa célèbre lettre de rupture avec le peintre canadien-anglais.

Il y a donc une spécificité québécoise de la peinture au Québec durant les années trente. Cette spécificité est d'abord idéologique mais elle est aussi existentielle, puisque la vie que les peintres du Québec ont mené durant ce temps a été significative pour les options prises par la suite. Cette spécificité permet de comprendre l'originalité de l'apport québécois dans le développement de la peinture canadienne des années trente. L'interprétation d'ensemble de la période proposée par Charles C. Hill comme "mouvement entre des polarisations" demeure substantiellement exacte. Nous avons seulement voulu montrer la position dialectique du Québec, dans le développement historique de la peinture canadienne.

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Notes:

[1] Voir dans le présent catalogue, *Une ferme du Québec* (1930) ou *Hiver, Compté Charlevoix* (c. 1933), respectivement p. 33 et p. 34.

[2] Il serait intéressant d'étudier comment la peinture des Sept fut accueillie par la critique québécoise et plus généralement par le public québécois francophone. A notre connaissance, cette étude n'a jamais été faite. Le thème promet d'être riche d'enseignement.

[3] Le mythe d'une Nouvelle-France essentiellement agricole est né au dix-neuvième siècle, comme nos meilleurs historiens l'ont montré, Michel Brunet et Marcel Trudel notamment.

[4] S.n. "Année active en vue de l'Ecole des beaux-arts," *Le Canada* (Montréal), 20 octobre 1927.

[5] "Notre Ecole des beaux-arts doit être canadienne," *La Presse* (Montréal), 5 mai 1930.

[6] "L'art canadien et l'école d'art canadien," *Le Devoir* (Montréal), 26 janvier 1931.

[7] R. Rumilly, "Entrevue avec M. Charles Maillard, directeur de l'Ecole des beaux-arts," *La Petite Revue*, novembre 1934, pp. 222-23.

[8] On pourrait nous opposer la peinture de Jean-Paul Lemieux à l'époque. Mais la peinture de Lemieux n'a pas le côté contestataire de celle de Brandtner par exemple. Elle ne constitue tout au plus qu'une forme anecdotique de la peinture régionaliste.

[9] John Lyman, "Art," *The Montrealer*, 1er février 1938, cité par C. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 11 et n. 4.

[6] "L'art canadien et l'école d'art canadien," *Le Devoir* (Montreal), January 26, 1931.

[7] R. Rumilly, "Entrevue avec Charles Maillard, directeur de l'École des beaux-arts," *La Petite revue*, November 1934, pp. 222-23.

[8] Jean-Paul Lemieux' painting could not be included as a part of this group; his painting does not, for example, have the social implications of Brandtner's. It is, in the main, an anecdotal form of regionalism.

[9] John Lyman, "Art" *The Montrealer*, February 1, 1938: quoted by C. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and footnote 4.

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BUILDING FOR TRANSPORTATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

As Canada is a land of vast dimensions and difficult terrain, uniting the country physically has always posed enormous problems. Military, economic, and political needs have made the establishment of workable systems of communication and transportation high among the country's priorities. Water travel enabled the fur trade to develop as Canada's first industry. But the great rivers, which innumerable Europeans commented on as a distinctive (and sublime) attribute of North America, also constituted a formidable challenge because of their "irresistible weight and velocity... tearing through and overpowering the obstacles opposed to their course."[1] Eventually it was a railroad that consolidated the nation, uniting it from sea to sea. Some of the many structures and buildings devised to meet the country's varied transportation needs in the nineteenth century — by water, road and rail — are outlined here.

Most building for transportation falls into the discipline usually described as engineering. The distinction between architecture and engineering is a modern one. The profession of civil engineering may be said to have been established with the organization in Paris in 1747 of the Ecole des ponts et chaussées. For the first time, builders of bridges were trained separately from designers of buildings. The foundation of the Ecole Polytechnique a half-century later reinforced the new direction, and the reorganization by Napoleon in 1806 of the Ecole des beaux-arts for the education of architects created a seemingly irrevocable schism. In the British Isles there were comparable distinctions in practice. John Ruskin best articulated this split — and the supposed artistic superiority of architecture — when he insisted as his first premise in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: 1849) that "architecture concerns itself only with those characters of an edifice which are above and beyond its common use." Still more sweeping was James Fergusson, who defined civil engineering as "the art of disposing the most suitable materials in the most economical but scientific manner to attain a given utilitarian end" and architecture as "nothing more or less than the art of *ornamental and ornamented construction.*"[2] Occasionally decoration was introduced consciously so that engineering might emulate architecture. But in the development of building for transportation in nineteenth-century Canada it is particularly interesting to observe how infrequently this hap-

*This brief survey of a broad but generally neglected area in the history of built form in Canada is excerpted from a comprehensive collection of essays by various authors, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture,* edited by Douglas Richardson, to be published by Oxford University Press in 1977. Messrs. Kalman and Richardson are particularly indebted to Ralph Greenhill for many valuable suggestions and help with illustrations in connection with the present essay.

Fig. 1. Lighthouse, Sambro Island, N.S. (Photo: Nova Scotia Communication & Information Centre).

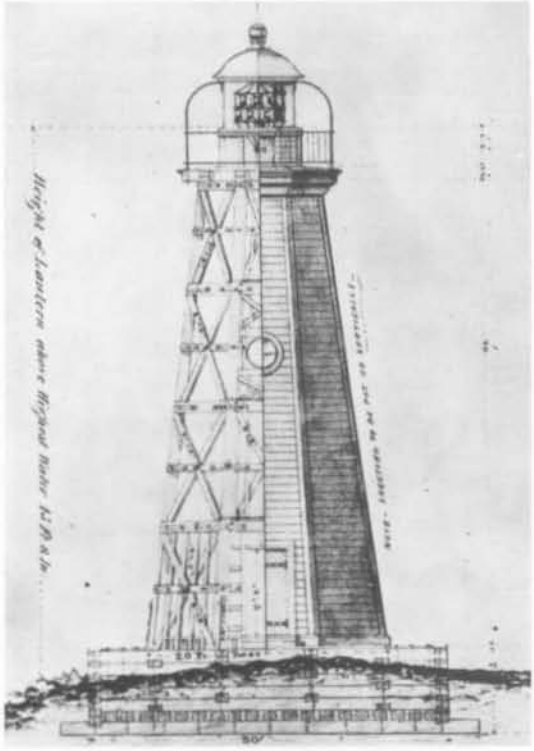

Fig. 2. Lighthouse for Marysburg, Ont. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

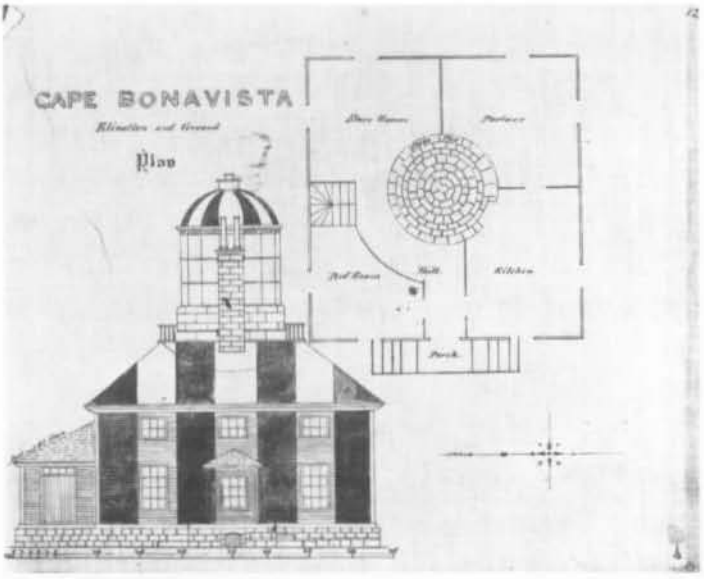

Fig. 3. Lighthouse, Cape Bonavista, Nfld. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

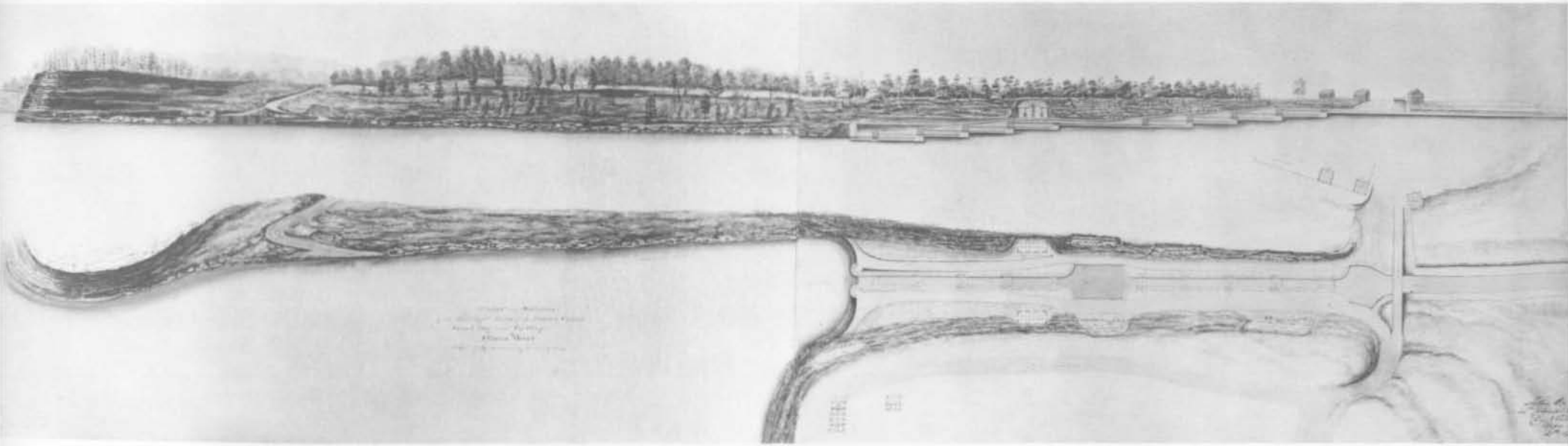

Fig. 4. The first Eight Locks on the Rideau Canal, Ottawa. (Photo: Royal Ontario Museum).

pened here; apparently economy and the old concept of architectural congruity — the matching of appropriate forms to the character of the locale — dictated works to match the grandeur, but also the severity, of the Canadian landscape.

The earliest structures known to have been built in this country in connection with transportation were lighthouses, which were recognized as essential navigational aids. The loss of life due to shipwreck was fearful in some areas until comparatively recent times: in 1833 alone no fewer then ten ships were lost on the outer shore of Cape Breton Island at a cost of six hundred and three lives.[3] A lighthouse consists of two essential parts: a superstructure with some form of lamp in a weatherproof housing; and a base whose function is to elevate the lamp, form a stable support for it, and provide access to it so that it may be tended properly. Canada's first coastal lighthouse was built in stone by the French, *La Tour de la Lanterne, Louisbourg, N.S.*, in 1731-4.[4]. The British authorities erected another, this one with a protective covering of shingles, the *lighthouse at Sambro Island, N.S.* (Fig. 1), by the entrance to Halifax harbour. Built between 1758 and 1760, it is the oldest surviving lighthouse in Canada and was financed by a special lottery and a tax on "spirituous liquors" that was also used to finish the interior of St Paul's Church in Halifax.[5] Originally 62 feet high, it was later raised to 80 feet because the effective range of a lighthouse depends on its elevation above the water as well as the intensity of its light.

There was a strong tendency to simplify the form and construction of lighthouses. The Louisbourg tower had been circular, but the Sambro light was octagonal, an easier form to build. Later, lighthouses on both the coasts and the Great Lakes often abandoned expensive masonry for wood, which was more readily worked. The wooden lights were either octagonal, like the *lighthouse for Marysburg, Ont.* (Fig. 2), or square. In this design of 1864, a traditional heavy timber frame, cross-braced against the force of the wind, is shown in the section of the interior (the left half) while the exterior elevation (the right half) is simply clapboarded. A number of structures erected in Newfoundland had prefabricated metal towers.

The lighthouse tower was frequently attached to the dwelling of the keeper because of the difficulty he might otherwise have reaching it when the need was greatest — on dark and stormy nights. Sometimes the two were totally integrated. Once again, some Newfoundland light-

houses were of unique form, completely enclosing the bulk of the tower, with the beacon simply protruding like a cupola from the top of the house, as in the *Cape Bonavista Lighthouse* (Fig. 3), built in 1842 and put into operation the following year.[6] The house itself is a characteristic Newfoundland type externally: covered with clapboard, with a small enclosed porch, symmetrical openings and stunted "foot windows" on the upper floor. Only the large dimensions overall — by Newfoundland standards — and the square plan (with the stairhall swinging around the central stone pier) strike an unfamiliar note in this province. It survives, hardly altered, perched on a rocky promontory between Trinity Bay and Bonavista Bay, with its walls still painted in broad red and white bands for maximum visibility.

The first settlements were all located along the bays and rivers of the Atlantic Coast and the St Lawrence Valley, and voyageurs travelled from the St Lawrence River into the interior by canoe or bateau, but the many rapids throughout the river system made transportation difficult. As early as the seventeenth century the authorities in New France proposed improving inland navigation with canals. Financial and administrative difficulties, however, prevented the completion of any canals begun during the French régime.[7] The British were more successful. In 1779 work began on a series of four short canals on the St Lawrence above Montreal to aid the shipping of military supplies to posts upriver. The subsequent construction of the *Lachine Canal, Montreal* (in 1821-4), the *Welland Canal* bypassing Niagara Falls (largely built in 1825-9), and smaller channels elsewhere on the St Lawrence permitted ships from Montreal to reach the American "West" — Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit.

Military considerations predominated in the decision to undertake this extensive system of canals in the years following the War of 1812, and the most ambitious single project was the *Rideau Canal,* connecting Kingston with the Ottawa River (Figs. 4-6). This 124-mile waterway, considered a "stupendous undertaking" in 1831,[8] was conceived as part of a transportation route that would carry military traffic between Montreal and Kingston beyond the range of American artillery. Lieutenant Colonel John By (1779-1836), of the Royal Engineers, was sent out from England in 1826 to design and supervise construction of the canal. He had received his professional training at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich and with the Engineers had been involved in work on the fortifications at Quebec; he had experience with canal work on the St

Lawrence during the earlier tour of duty in Canada. Sir Richard Bonnycastle, who was an Engineer himself, constantly used superlatives to describe the work in *The Canadas in 1841*, concluding that "If ever any man deserved to be immortalized in this utilitarian age, it was Colonel John By. Difficulties which no one can form any idea of... were continually in his way; and... the splendid canal he executed, perhaps one of the finest works of the kind in the world, was executed in a very short time, in a world where forest and flood... had before reigned undisturbed."

The waterway is based on a chain of lakes, rivers, and creeks connected by 46 locks, 18 dams, and 18 miles of excavated canal: "Works," in By's words, "both durable and ornamental."[9] Strictly speaking, it is not a canal but a canalized river system. Private contractors assumed responsibility for construction. Supporting works were begun in 1826 and the canal contracts were let in 1827. In addition to large numbers of civilian labourers, perhaps as many as two thousand of them Irish immigrants, two companies of eighty-one men each were specially recruited from the Royal Sappers and Miners. The work was carried out by manpower — pick, axe, and wheelbarrow for the excavation — with very few oxen for haulage. Though progress was hampered by summer outbreaks of malaria that killed hundreds of labourers and almost cost By his own life, it was completed in 1832 at a cost of £800,000. But it was never called upon to fill its defensive role. Instead of military traffic it served a limited commercial flow at first; even this dwindled after the railways reached Ottawa (in 1854) and Perth (in 1859). It functions now as a recreational amenity.

Particularly impressive is the northern entrance to the canal (Fig. 4) at Bytown, the small settlement named after Colonel By that assumed a form of its river's Indian name, Outaouais or Ottawa, in 1854. The series of eight locks there was contracted by Scottish mason Thomas MacKay from Montreal. They span the seventy-nine-foot change of level between the rocky plateau on which the city stands and the large river basin below in the deep cleft between Parliament Hill and Nepean Point (where By's own house was situated; it is seen to the left in this drawing signed by him). The result was a breathtaking sequence distantly resembling a cascade in a well-developed European garden, enlarged to truly colossal proportions (Fig. 5). The locks here and elsewhere were built — with foresight (but not without controversy) — to steamboat specifica-

tions (33 by 134 feet with a depth of five and a half feet) of large blocks of rough-faced stone.

The largest structure in the canal system, however, is the great arched dam at Jones Falls, deep in the forest (Fig. 6).[10] Immense blocks of local sandstone (four by six feet and 18 inches deep) are unusually set in vertical courses to a height of sixty-two feet to make a dam far higher than anything built previously in North America. The masonry is more than twenty feet thick, backed by waterproof fill that carries a road, and is 350 feet wide at the crest of the horseshoe-shaped dam. It is a work of moving simplicity and power, a thing of unexpected beauty not conveyed in this watercolour view of 1841 by Thomas Burrowes, By's clerk-of-the-works. The dam was the work of MacKay and another Scottish mason and contractor, John Redpath. (Redpath went on to a career as a business tycoon; his name survives on the sugar produced at his Montreal refinery.) They had previously worked together in Montreal on the Lachine Canal and at the Church of Notre-Dame. The defensive works intended to complete the canal system were not needed and few were executed. But the influx of skilled masons brought into the area by MacKay and Redpath (and two other principal contractors) had a lasting effect, resulting in the development of a particularly fine stone architecture in the Rideau Valley.

By's first concern when he began the canal had been the movement of supplies to the site of construction from a village on the opposite shore of the Ottawa River. The bridge he constructed in 1826-8 across the turbulent Chaudière Falls (Fig. 7) linked Bytown with Wright's Town — today's Ottawa and Hull — and provided what was probably the first span across a major river in Canada. It was therefore a pioneer attempt to supplement water travel with a land transportation system. This *Union Bridge* also provided the first land link between Lower and Upper Canada, and the name was more than descriptive: it was meant to be both symbolic and prophetic. One of the Royal Engineers, John Mactaggart quoted a letter he had read in the press: "This bridge on the Chaudiere is the only point where the two Provinces can be connected on their water boundary. This, therefore is a *solid* step to the union of the Provinces, a question long in agitation among our politicians."[11]

The bridge skipped across the falls from one rocky island to another in seven independent stages, varying in design according to the conditions. The extemporaneous design was directed by Engineers John Mac-

Fig. 5. The first Eight Locks on the Rideau Canal, Ottawa. (Photo: Royal Ontario Museum).

Fig. 6. The Jones Falls Dam on the Rideau Canal. (Photo: Ontario Archives).

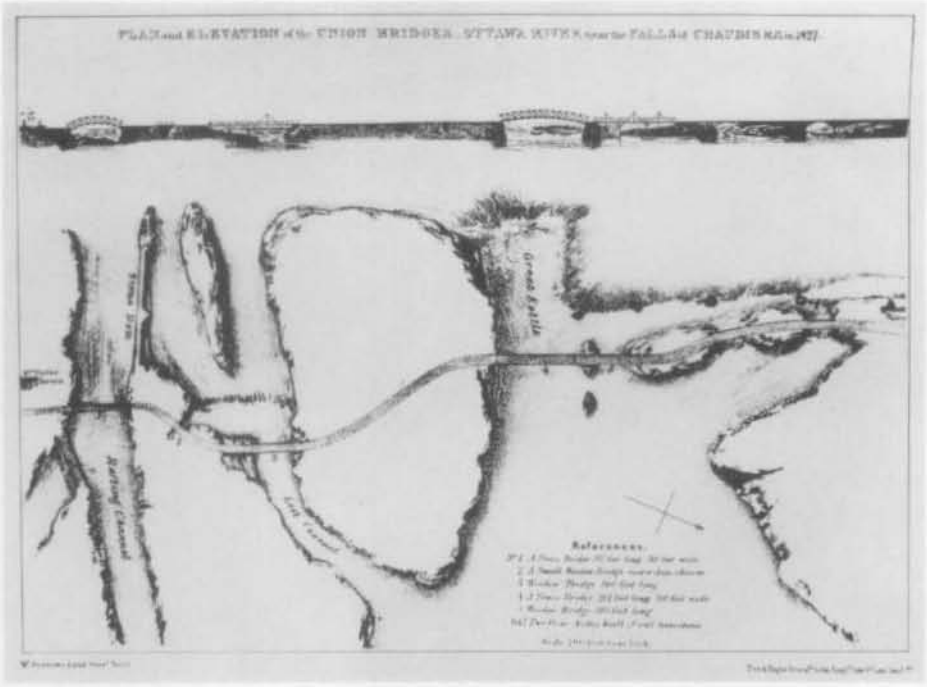

Fig. 7. The Union Bridge across the Ottawa River. (Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America*).

Fig. 8. Covered Bridge, Hartland, N.B. (Photos: Canadian Government Office of Tourism).

taggart (1791-1830), quoted above, and Thomas Burrowes (1796-1846?), the "Sunday painter" of the Rideau. They used stone and wood, the classic materials of the bridge-builder. The two northernmost spans were stone arches of cut limestone, one dry masonry and the other mortared, built by Hull's founder, Philemon Wright, after an arch by canal mason Thomas MacKay had failed. The other gaps were crossed with wooden truss bridges, three flat and two arched, all built by contractor Robert Drummond. The longest span, 212 feet across the "Great Kettle," was a daring arched truss. It had been preceded by a temporary rope suspension bridge described (and illustrated) by Bouchette as a "hempen bridge, consisting of four three-inch... cables... swung across the river, forming an inverted segment, the lowest point of which stood about 7 feet above the dark and swift stream, whilst its extremeties were elevated upwards of 32 feet;" he said it was safe to cross "although the attempt... was not made without some consciousness of danger."[12] The "permanent" bridge of wood — erected with the help of iron chains — collapsed during construction, was rebuilt, and held for seven years before its final tumble into the white water below.

In order to protect structural timbers from such rapid weathering and failure, wooden bridges were often covered (Fig. 8).[13] The roof was a conventional gable. The trusswork followed systems already in use, but was sheathed with vertical board siding that sometimes stopped just short of the roof to admit light yet keep out moisture. Half of Canada's nearly 300 surviving covered bridges are in New Brunswick. The *covered bridge at Hartland, N.B.*, built in 1896 to cross the Saint John River in seven spans with a total length of 1,282 feet, is the longest in the world.

Covered or not, however, wooden bridges are still subject to rapid deterioration and their trusses were therefore often rebuilt in iron (and later steel). Iron also lent itself to other principles of construction, notably the suspension bridge that had been possible only in rope previously (as in the temporary bridge at Ottawa). The metal suspension bridge had been developed in Britain and the United States at the turn of the century. Canada's first bridge on this new principle was the *Union Suspension Bridge* (Fig. 9) built over the Chaudière in 1843 to replace Mactaggart and Burrowes' structure. The designer was Samuel Keefer (1811-90), one of Canada's first professional engineers (possibly the most talented and prolific early civil engineer in this century) and the elder half-brother of Thomas C. Keefer. Samuel Keefer served as chief engi-

neer to the Department of Public Works between 1841 and 1853. He was later official government inspector of the nation's railways and Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, in which capacity he supervised the competition for the Dominion Parliament Buildings.

In the Union Suspension Bridge two pairs of towers were erected and cables three inches in diameter were suspended from each tower. The roadway, stiffened by a light metal truss, was hung from these and spanned 243 feet. The design resembled that of the first successful wire-cable suspension bridge in North America, the Fairmount Park Bridge in Philadelphia, which had been built just the previous year.

Keefer's tapering towers with wide-flaring cornice, in the Egyptian style, were an attempt to add "architectural" quality to a work of engineering — one of several instances of Egyptian designs for Canadian bridges. Keefer offered a range of exotic types in the unexecuted designs of 1844 and 1845 for a *projected suspension bridge at Bout de l'Ile, Que.* (Fig. 10), above Montreal, proposing Egyptian towers once again, and also "an arched tower" (i.e. Roman Revival) among other designs. Decorating a bridge with features of an architecture that had withstood the test of time was clearly an attempt to instil public confidence in the suspension bridge, which was built on a principle as yet scarcely tested. The Egyptian mode was particularly popular because of its associations with wisdom, strength, stability, and permanence: this is especially apparent in the Bout de l'Ile design, since the tower is not only intricately detailed in the Egyptian manner, but specifically resembles the well-preserved pylons of gateways at Karnak on the ceremonial way. The pylon and the arched form were also appropriate functionally, however, in that they had a cross-bracing member, unlike the earlier Union Bridge towers, and made for a stiffer bridge. For his bold *Niagara Suspension Bridge* over the Niagara Gorge, 1851-5, with an upper deck supporting a railway track and a lower deck for horse-dawn vehicles and pedestrians, the American engineer John A. Roebling likewise adopted what he called "imposing gateways erected in the massive Egyptian style."[14]

Other suspension bridges were erected in the 1850s, but public suspicion of the type was apparently well justified because some early ones were singularly short-lived. The *suspension bridge over the Saint John River, N.B.*, built in 1852 by engineer Edward Serrell lasted five years before requiring rebuilding. The *Montmorency Falls Suspension Bridge*, of 1853-6, near Quebec collapsed a week to the day after its opening. (The bridge

Fig. 9. The Union Suspension Bridge across the Ottawa River.

Fig. 11. The Alexandra Suspension Bridge and the Cariboo Wagon Road at Spuzzum, B.C. (Photo: Archives of British Columbia).

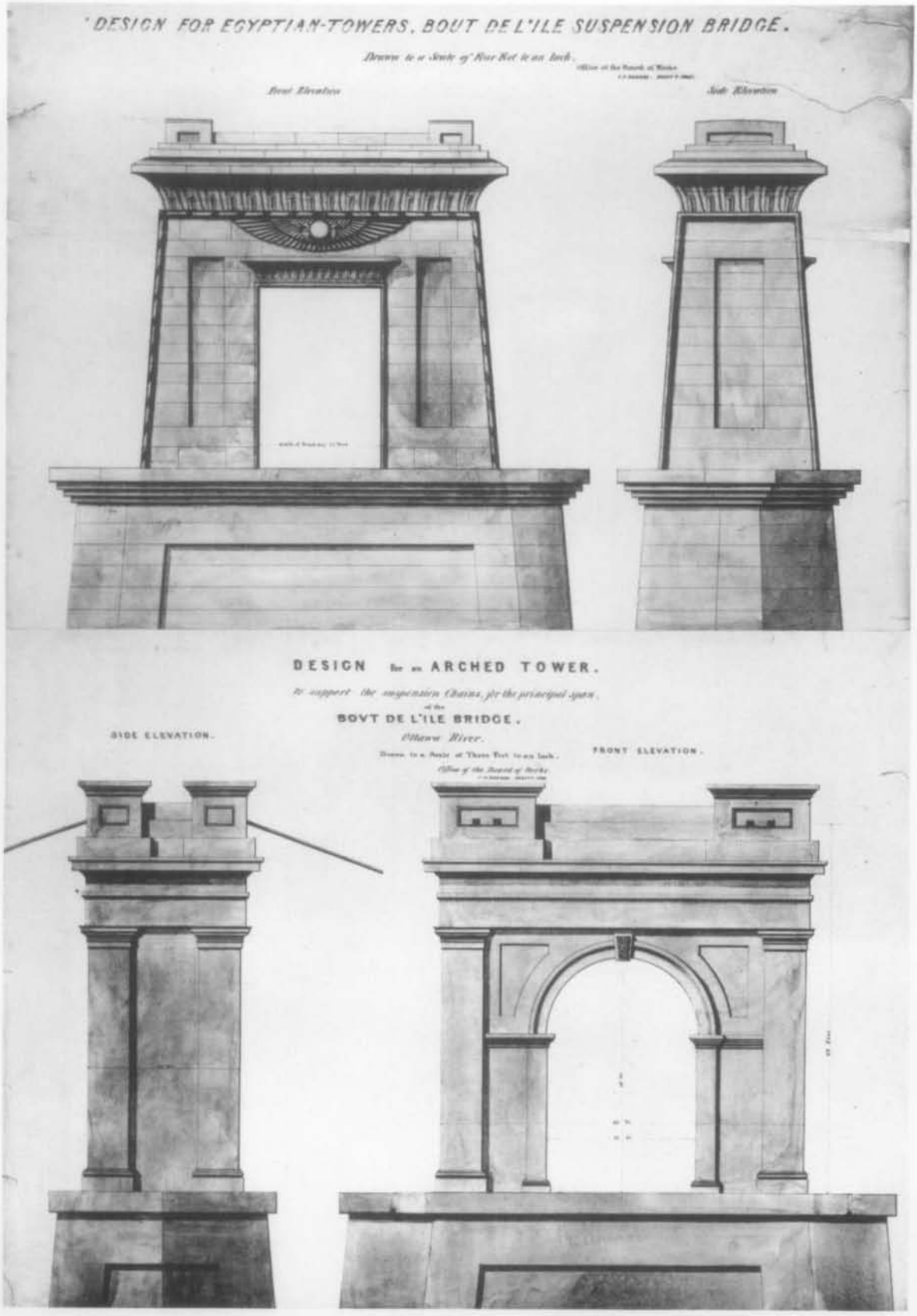

Fig. 10. Projects for a suspension bridge at Bout de L'Ile, Que. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

Fig. 12. The Victoria Bridge, Montreal. (*Harper's Weekly*, 1860).

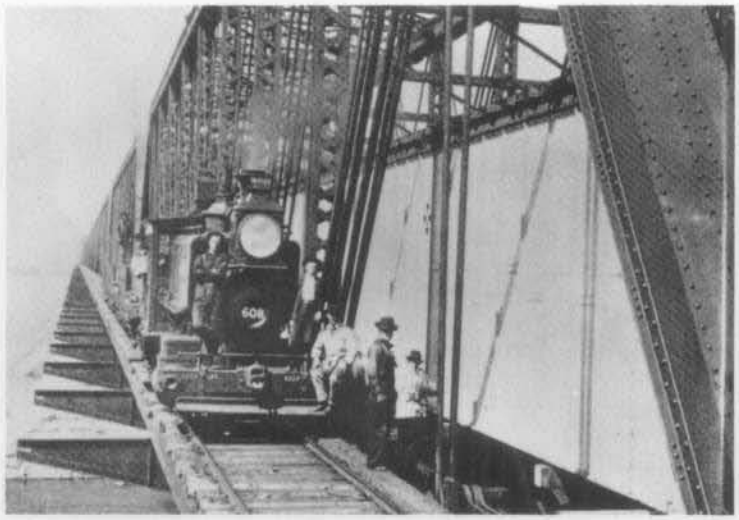

Fig. 13. Alterations to the Victoria Bridge, Montreal. (Photo: Canadian National).

Fig. 15. CPR Bridge across the Saint John River, Saint John, N.B. (Photo: Ivan Harris col., courtesy of Ralph Greenhill).

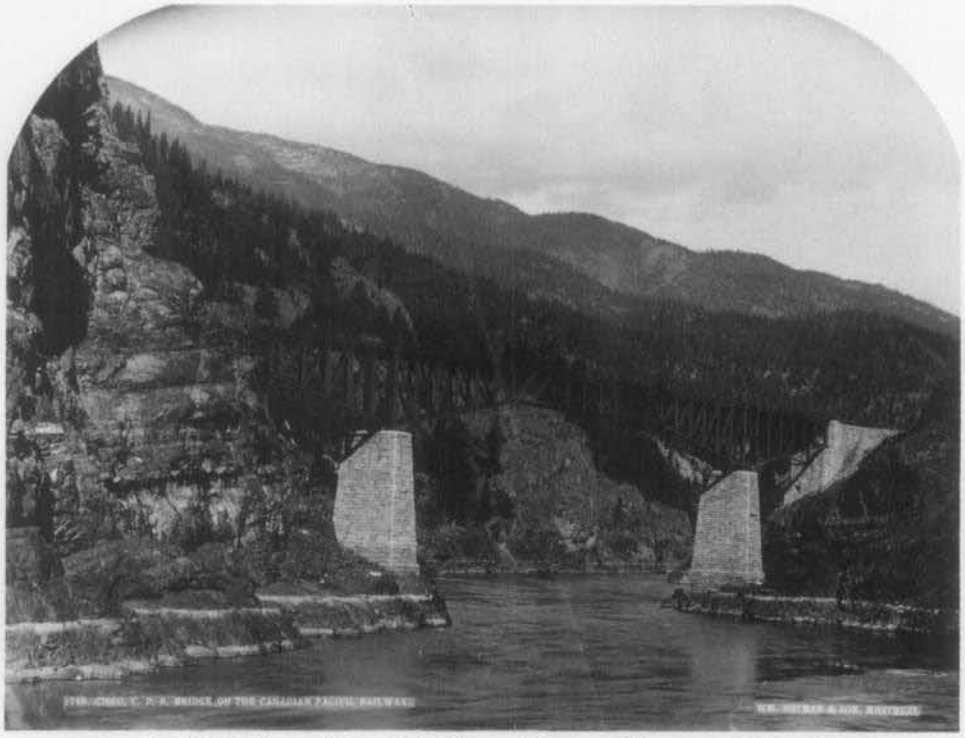

Fig. 14. CPR Bridge, Cisco, B.C. (Photo: Notman Photographic Archives).

was designed by Samuel Keefer but faultily constructed by the contractor.) Anthony Trollope reported five years later that "the supporting, or rather non-supporting, pillars are still to be seen. But the bridge fell down one day into the river; and, alas, alas! with the bridge fell down an old woman, and a boy, and a cart, — a cart and horse, — and all found a watery grave together in the spray."[15]

The first suspension bridge in the West was the *Alexandra Bridge, Spuzzum, B.C.* (Fig. 11), built over the Fraser Canyon in 1863. Engineer Andrew S. Hallidie (1836-1900), a manufacturer of wire rope who developed the first cable-car system in San Francisco, designed the bridge for contractor Joseph William Trutch. (Trutch later became first Lieutenant-Governor of the province.) Connected pyramidal towers made of immense wooden timbers — note the figure on the bridge for comparative scale — supported twin 4½-inch cables that carried a roadway having a clear span of 268 feet. The towers made no pretense to architectural style; their more direct, blunt, open approach to construction and their reliance on the virgin timber of the west coast are noteworthy.

The Alexandra Bridge formed a vital link in the 400-mile-long *Cariboo Wagon Road,* which allowed the first wagons and coaches to reach the Cariboo gold fields. (It is visible across the river in the photo of the last bridge.) As with the Rideau Canal, construction was supervised by the Royal Engineers. A force of fifty-three sappers (the Corps of the Royal Sappers and Miners had been incorporated into the Corps of Royal Engineers in 1856) under Captain John Marshall Grant (1822?-1902) built the difficult first six miles of roadway north of Yale in 1862. Much of the road was blasted out of solid rock or built out over the canyon upon wooden "cribs" — structures of logs fitted together by partially notching their ends. The rest of the road was let to private contractors, except for a twenty-one-mile stretch north of Lytton, which was also built by the Engineers. J. W. Trutch contracted to build the canyon section from Chapman's Bar to Boston Bar as well as the Alexandra Bridge. In partial compensation for this he received a seven-year license to collect tolls.[16]

The railway made its debut in Canada in 1836 with the Champlain and St Lawrence Railroad, fourteen and a half miles long, which linked Saint-Jean, Quebec, with Laprairie to provide more rapid connection between the St Lawrence and Lake Champlain. Early railways were generally considered as links in a water-based communication system.

Only in the 1850s did our railways come into their own as an independent mode of transportation.

The advent of the railway placed great demands on the engineering profession. Routes had to be chosen carefully, not only to service existing centres and tie in with other modes of transportation and shipment, but also to minimize grades, make river crossings at appropriate points, and avoid other natural hazards. Bridge-building in particular received a considerable boost; railway bridges had to be strong and reliable. Iron, first proposed as a serious building material in the late eighteenth century with the development of a new smelting process, had come into use in the 1840s for Canadian bridges such as the Union Suspension Bridge. In 1871 Sandford Fleming's insistence that the superstructures of all bridges on the Intercolonial Railway be built of iron was upheld by the government.

Suspension bridges were ideally suited for long spans above turbulent waters or deep gorges where intermediate piers could not be built but, lacking rigidity, they were impractical for railway use. (Roebling's bridge over the Niagara was unique in North America in this respect.) A different solution was therefore called for when the Grand Trunk Railway determined to span the great St Lawrence river from Montreal to Longueuil. (The railway extended from Longueuil to Montreal's winter port at Portland, Maine.) Not only was the St Lawrence broad and rough here; the individual spans had also to be high enough to clear the shipping and wide enough to accommodate immense timber rafts that were floated down the river. A tubular bridge, which trains could cross at speed, was indicated. Following a survey and report prepared in 1851 by Thomas Keefer that indicated the best site as well as the most appropriate principles on which to build, the famous English engineer Robert Stephenson (1803-59), assisted as usual by his architectural specialist Francis Thompson (active 1839-54), responded with the remarkable *Victoria Bridge, Montreal* (Fig. 12). In fact an army of talent and labour was involved in the work, including Alexander M. Ross (d. 1862), Chief Engineer to the Grand Trunk Railway, and James Hodges (1814-79), Engineer to Peto, Brassey & Betts, the English contractors.[17] Planned in 1853, built in 1854-9, and officially opened in 1860 — the reason for the Prince of Wales' famous Canadian visit of that year — it was notable for the novel form of construction as well as the length and height of its many spans. *Harper's Weekly* (25 August 1860) called it "one of the noblest

works of engineering in the world and in its way perfectly unique." In fact, like numerous works before and since, it was hailed as the "eighth wonder of the world."[18] The Victoria Bridge was seen as the key to a great nation "when Canada will extend to the confines of the Pacific Ocean and be covered with a network of railways all converging to this point of crossing the St Lawrence."[19]

While the Prince of Wales spoke of the bridge conventionally as "unsurpassed by the grandeur of Egypt or of Rome,"[20] and thus recalled the historical references in earlier bridges, it is the magnificent directness of the Victoria's design, more than its staggering scale, that still commands respect. It was not an open bridge but a large tube composed of wrought-iron plates riveted to form an enclosed box girder of great strength high above the river.

Twenty-five spans extending some 6,592 feet — and approaches bringing the total length to nearly two miles — were required for the wide crossing, making the Victoria Bridge the longest in the world. Stephenson had employed this tubular principle a decade earlier in his Britannia Bridge across the Menai Straits in Wales (where Thompson had designed the stone towers). Efforts on both sides of the Atlantic were pooled in the actual fabrication. In Montreal, Hodges devised the elaborate coffer dams within which the stone piers were erected and the immense timber staging or scaffolds between the piers on which the metal tubes were then bolted together and riveted. But the ironwork itself was almost entirely prefabricated in England. One hundred and eighteen thousand separate pieces — "punched, marked, and ready for putting together" — were transported to Montreal, for assembly on the site.[21]

Trollope, who thought the Victoria Bridge the only thing worth mentioning in Montreal, explained that "to the eye there appeared to be twenty-five tubes; but each of the six side tubes is (a double tube) supported by a pier in the middle. A great part of the expense of the bridge," which was prodigious — some £1,300,000 — "was incurred in sinking the shafts for these piers."[22] The Victoria Bridge's stone piers were asymmetrically designed, with massive cutwaters to break and then withstand the crushing force of the ice-floes that form the extraordinary "shove" of a field of roughly 500 square miles of ice during the spring thaw. (The form of these piers and the profile of their cutwater subsequently became standard in eastern Canada.) The result was some-

thing that looks, a century later, almost like minimalist sculpture: identical angular masses in apparently endless succession, with a smooth, heavy, unarticulated horizontal member joining them. On a purely formal level, the bridge might be regarded as the perfect transition from the relatively flat lands south of the St Lawrence Valley to the hilly setting of Montreal itself and the region to the north. In any case, it is an impressive monument, a striking symbol of its time. Built in open defiance of all the challenges of nature, the Victoria Bridge is a vast image of the power and expansion of modern industry as represented by the railway.

The tube was a structural success but a traveller's nightmare. Ventilation and lighting were negligible. One observer, unable to resist yet another comparison between modern bridges on the St Lawrence and the ancient architecture of the Nile, described the "Egyptian darkness" of the smoke and steam-filled tube.[23] Complaints of discomfort went unheeded however. The tube of the Victoria Bridge was replaced only when the traffic limitations of its single track made it obsolete. In 1897-8 a more conventional open steel truss, wide enough for a double track, was constructed around the tube (Fig. 13), the tube itself was dismantled, the piers were widened, and roadways were carried on brackets outside the trusses.

In the 1870s, steel had begun to replace iron as a structural material. Its greater strength allowed more daring designs and encouraged the use of a new type, the cantilever truss. This differs from the simple truss in that the bridge is built by cantilevering the superstructure outward from both abutments, or from a pair of piers, to a point of meeting at midstream. In a very long bridge the outstretched arms of the cantilevers are linked by a suspended truss of conventional design. Prototypes for the cantilever principle may be found in a variety of older wooden bridges, including some built by natives of the West Coast.[24] The first modern cantilever bridge in North America, and the first railway cantilever bridge in the world, was the iron Kentucky River Bridge of 1877. In the early 1880s the three earliest mature cantilever designs in steel on this continent occurred almost simultaneously, all in Canada, two of them to designs by the noted engineer Charles Conrad Schneider (1843-1916).

In 1882 Schneider designed a cantilever span for the *bridge at Cisco, B.C.* (Fig. 14), that carried the ambitious transcontinental line of the Canadian Pacific Railway over the Fraser Canyon. (The building of the

rail-line destroyed parts of the earlier Cariboo wagon road.) But construction of the Cisco Creek Bridge was delayed almost four years because of the length of time it took for the metal work to cross the Atlantic. It was completed in 1885.

In the meantime Schneider built a longer *cantilever bridge over the Niagara Gorge* for the Canada Southern Railway (a subsidiary of the Michigan Central). This bridge, with a 470-foot central span, made engineering history when it was erected in the short space of eight months in 1883, parallel to Roebling's earlier suspension bridge.

Both of Schneider's bridges were deck cantilevers: the track was carried on top of the trusses. The first through-cantilever span in North America (with the track passing through the trusses) was designed for the New Brunswick and Intercolonial Railways by Ralph Johnson for the *bridge over the Reversing Falls of the Saint John River at Saint John, N.B.* (Fig. 15).[25] Completed in 1884, it was 812½ feet long. It was replaced in 1922.

The cantilever principle stimulated bridge builders to try for longer and longer steel spans. The *ne plus ultra* was reached shortly after 1900, when work began on a double-track railway bridge over the St Lawrence River at Quebec. The *Quebec Bridge* was planned by P. J. Szlapka and Theodore Cooper on the cantilever principle, with members of stupendous dimensions and an enormous 1800-foot central span. In the summer of 1907, two years after work had begun on the superstructure, the south arm of the still incomplete bridge collapsed (Fig. 16), killing eighty-two persons. A subsequent inquiry found the engineers at fault in their design. The error lay in their calculations, not in the principle of the bridge. Shortly after the disaster a new Quebec Bridge was built on the same system, although stronger in design and with a different method of construction. This time the calculations of five collaborating engineers were correct, but a faulty jack caused the loss of the central suspended section and eleven more lives. Finally, in 1917, the Quebec Bridge was successfully completed (Fig. 17).[26] It remains in use today as the longest trussed span in the world, though the graceful Pierre Laporte highway bridge built recently beside it dwarfs the earlier achievement. (The Laporte Bridge was built of concrete; a discussion of this material as well as of other metal bridge types such as the steel arch and moveable bridges — with lift and swing spans — belongs with a history of twentieth century engineering.)

Spans that carry railways across depressions in the land where there is little water are trestles or viaducts rather than bridges. The structural problem here is one of height and length rather than clear span, since foundations can be located almost anywhere along the generally dry land below. While trestles are open structures of either metal or wood, viaducts consist of free-standing piers in various materials.

The Grand Trunk Railway built several impressive viaducts in Canada West — at Port Hope, Georgetown, and St Mary's — in which a superstructure of iron was placed on tall stone piers. Though its superstructure was replaced early in the present century, the best preserved of the group is the *GTR Viaduct at Georgetown, Ont.* (Fig. 18), of 1854-5. This crossed the Credit Valley — 2,000 feet wide — 115 feet above the river with a structure 931 feet long (not counting the embankments) it aroused an enthusiastic response: the view reproduced here was painted by William Armstrong in 1855, after the bridge had been completed but before this part of the line had been opened, which suggests the appeal such monuments exercised. (Armstrong, remembered primarily as an artist, was trained as a civil engineer and had worked for various railway companies.) F. W. Cumberland, who is better known as the architect of numerous public buildings in or near Toronto, wrote about the viaduct and related works for this railway at some length — wearing his other hat as Chief Engineer of the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway.[27] In good English fashion, he admired GTR construction generally for displaying "more substantial character than had previously obtained either in the United States or Canada, [being] founded indeed on the British system." But what particularly impressed him was the simplicity and the economy of the system, comprised of tubular girders seven feet square (since replaced), forming eight spans of 96 feet each, sitting on rough-faced piers of local sandstone. Cumberland compared this with relatively recent British work involving "much more intricacy of design, vastly more material, and far heavier expense," all unnecessarily, he thought.

Cumberland's one regret about the Canadian work was artistic, that of a High Victorian sensible to the Picturesque taste of his time: "they are undoubtedly less pleasing to the eye and altogether injurious... [to] the picturesque, for their outline consists of two [i.e. too] hard horizontal lines, without relief, break or beauty of any description, a form indeed which how grand soever the structures in themselves, will, I suspect, mar every landscape and paralyze the hand of the most soulless artist."

Fig. 16. The collapse of the Quebec Bridge while under construction. (Photo: National Museum of History & Technology, Smithsonian Institution).

Fig. 17. The Quebec Bridge. (Photo: Canadian National).

Fig. 18 GTR Viaduct, Georgetown, Ont. (Photo: Royal Ontario Museum).

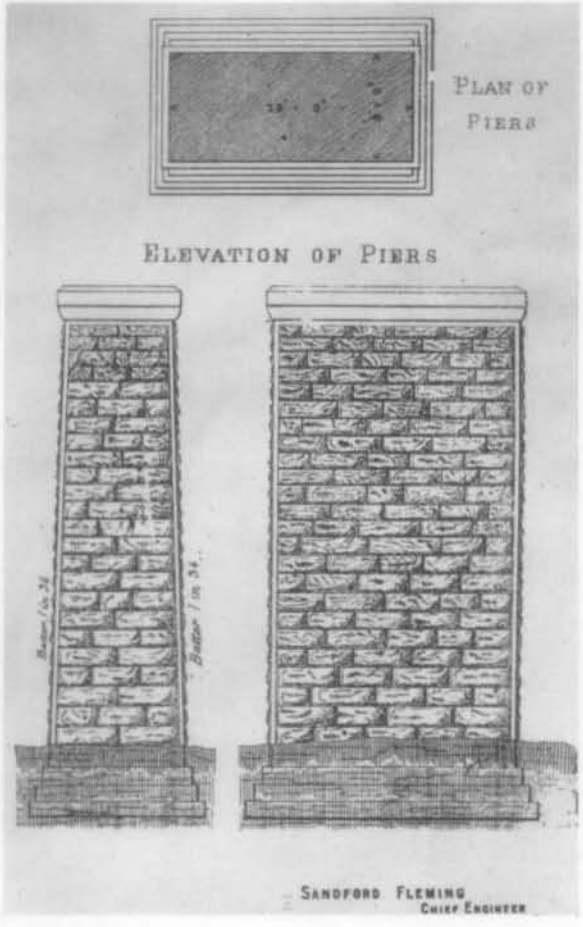

Fig. 19. Piers illustrated in the Intercolonial Railway's *General Plans*... . (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

Armstrong proved him wrong in this watercolour view. With a lingering appetite for the Sublime, he obviously savoured the soaring horizontal as an image of human civilization conquering and uniting the natural "wilderness" — every bit as much as the unidentified artist of the Victoria Bridge view.

The treatment of the masonry that Cumberland admired at Georgetown because it gave "complete assurance to the mind of permanent stability, and... satisfaction to the eye by the play of colour on its face" — was one that his colleague Sandford Fleming (1827-1915) made a standard feature of Canadian railway construction (Fig. 19). A multi-faceted Scot who was later knighted, Fleming is known nationally for designing the first Canadian postage stamp and internationally for devising the world-wide system of standard time zones, but this civil engineer was also responsible for the Intercolonial Railway's *General Plans of the Most Commonly Occuring Structures, &c.* (Ottawa: 1869), one of exceedingly few sources published in Canada for architecture or engineering.[28] The illustration of piers is taken from this book of designs and, as in the Georgetown Viaduct or the Victoria Bridge at Montreal, the stone is so roughly hewn that it may be spoken of as rock-faced rather than rough-faced. The contrast is enhanced by the smoothly finished corners of the whole, and by the treatment of the top course of masonry with mouldings that produce a profile like the capital of a Doric column. The appeal of the primitive demonstrated earlier by North American buildings in Greek Revival style is recalled in more sophisticated form here. It is appropriately combined in these great engineering works with a show of raw strength.

The Canadian Pacific Railway intended to use stone and iron for its trestles and bridges over the difficult terrain north of Lake Superior and through the mountains of British Columbia, but the combination of the great number required and the approaching financial crisis of 1884, forced the general manager, William Van Horne, to order the substitution of wood. Some six hundred trestles and bridges were required — one hundred of them in a thirty-mile section of the Fraser Canyon above Yale, B.C. Many of the wooden trestles were also uncommonly large. Beginning about 1883, they were partially prefabricated: the plan was standardized and the timber stockpiled, numbered and pre-cut, for shipment and rapid assembly. The *trestle at North Bend, B.C.* (Fig. 20), was typical. Apart from the trussed span that was suspended in the

centre, it was a basketwork of hefty members, tapering from a broad base to the narrow railbed, with cross bracing at every level. The men standing on it seem Lilliputian. But this sort of effort seemed almost insignificant next to the *Mountain Creek Trestle near Glacier, B.C.*, more then 200 miles east of the Fraser Canyon. It was erected in 1885, one of several great bridges pressed to completion in the same year that saw the first train cross to the Pacific, in November. The Mountain Creek Trestle was among the largest wooden structures ever built. Passing 164 feet above the Illecillewaet River, it was 1086 feet long and is said to have contained more than 2,000,000 board feet of lumber.[29]

Trestles such as these were eventually filled in, relocated, or replaced with steel. In the *CPR Viaduct, near Lethbridge, Alta.*, for example, J. E. Schwitzer used steel to build the world's longest and heaviest viaduct. Completed in 1909, it extended some 5,327 feet over the Old Man River.

The *CPR snowsheds near Glacier, B.C.* (Figs. 21, 22), erected to protect mountain lines from snowslides, drifts, or heavy snowfalls, were related to the timber trestles. Thirty-one sheds, with a combined length of more than five miles, were required in one sixteen-mile section through the Selkirks alone. Built in 1886-87, such snowsheds were a particularly impressive tribute to the disruptive power of snow and to the abundance of large timber available to meet the challenge in these powerfully constructed works.[30]

Canada's first *railway tunnel, at Brockville, Ont.*, was built in 1854-60 to provide access through a steep bluff to the St Lawrence River waterfront and represents another area of significant engineering endeavour. The engineer George Dixson, assisted by Samuel Keefer, designed an arched tunnel 1721 feet long with doors at each end that were locked at night to maintain an even temperature and to keep out stray animals.

But railways must do more than build road beds, bridges, and tunnels to carry their track; they must provide facilities for freight and passengers. Grain elevators, the best-known freight facilities, were generally built by the grain handlers rather than the rail companies. The passenger stations, on the other hand, were built by the railways. They fall into two categories: depots that serve as stops along a line and major city stations that provide terminal facilities.

Like the trestles, the stations along the line were often standardized, simple, and utilitarian structures that could be erected quickly and cheaply. They provided a link between the pragmatic approach of the

Fig. 20. CPR Trestle, North Bend B.C. (Photo: Stanley Triggs col.).

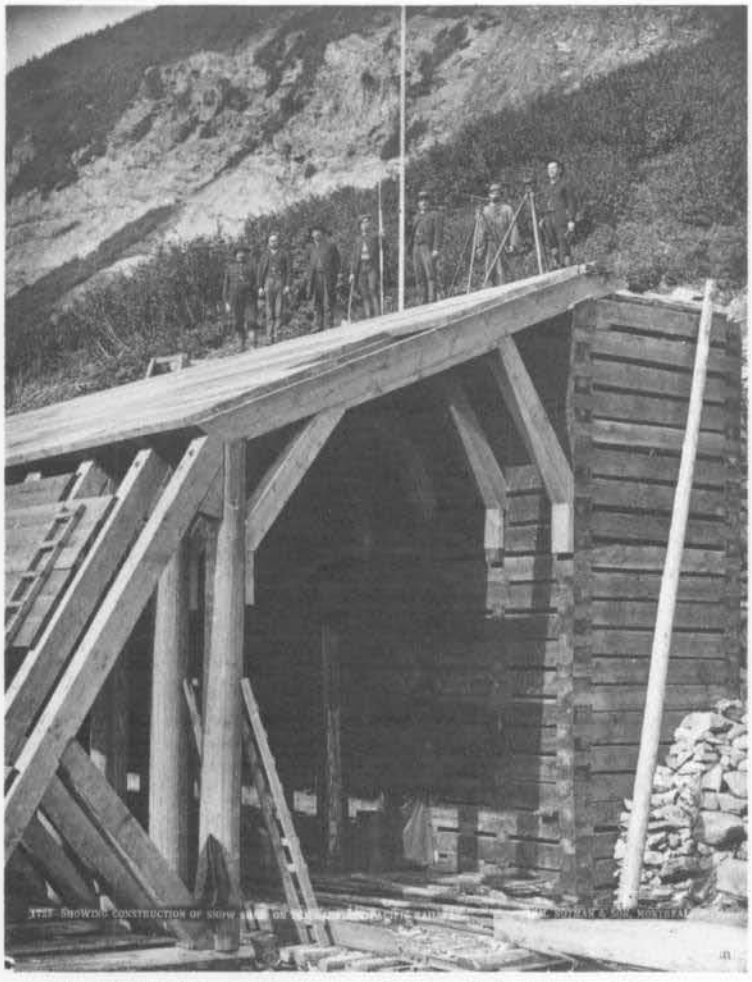

Fig. 21. CPR Snowsheds near Glacier, B.C. (Photo: Notman Photographic Archives).

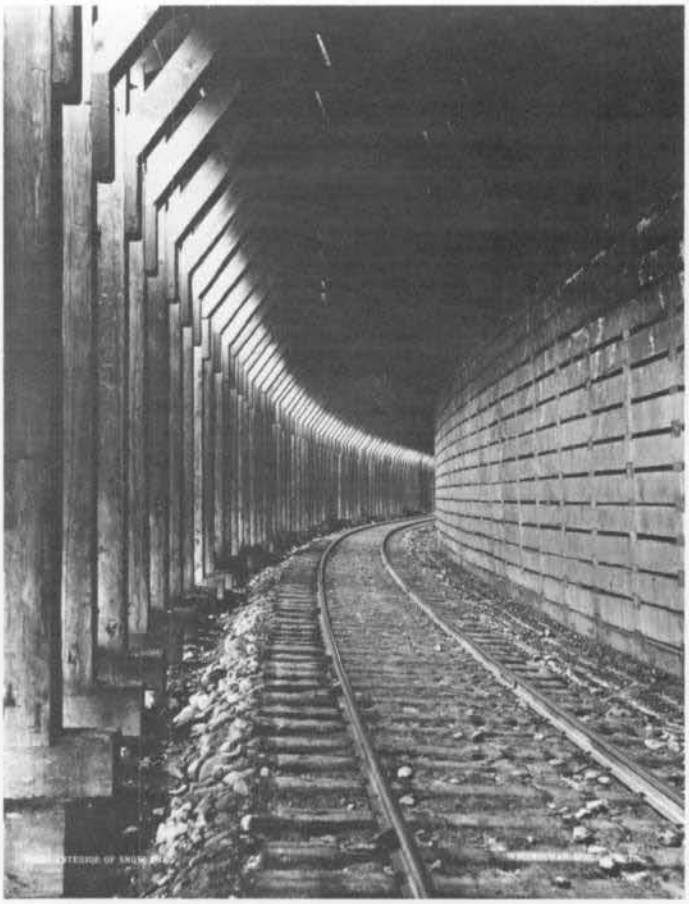

Fig. 22. CPR Snowsheds near Glacier, B.C. (Photo: Notman Photographic Archives).

Fig. 23. GTR Station, St Mary's Junction, Ont. (Photo: Ralph Greenhill).

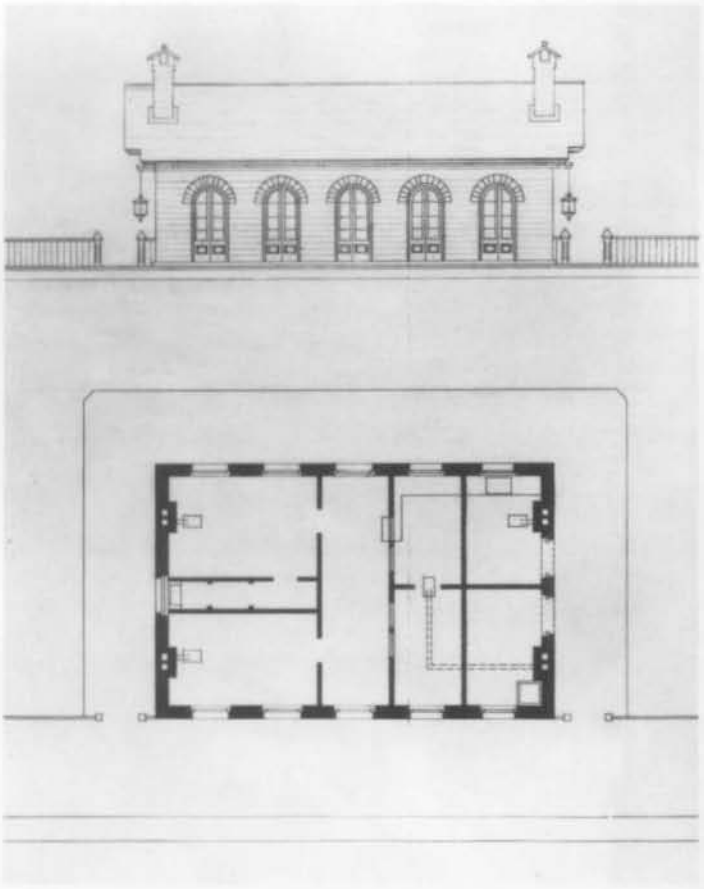

Fig. 24. GTR Station, Georgetown, Ont. (redrawn from original in Public Archives of Canada).

Fig. 25. CPR Station, Port Arthur, Ont. (Photo: C.D. Stockdill col.).

Fig. 26. TH&B Railway Station, Hamilton. (Photo: Ontario Archives).

engineer and the more design-conscious approach of the architects. Well known are the many similar depots built in Ontario by the Grand Trunk Railway in the 1850s. It seems incredible that in recent years some of these important and symbolic structures have been demolished while others still appear threatened by disuse and neglect. Of those that survive, all but one is on the line between Montreal and Toronto that was completed in 1856. The exception is the *GTR Station, St Mary's Junction, Ont.* (Fig. 23), built in 1854, and derelict — but one of the best-preserved of all these remarkable survivors of early history.

They are compact buildings, generally thick-walled, with deep, regular and beautiful courses of stone, punctured by series of round-arched openings and protected by low-pitched gabled roofs, with deep overhanging eaves to shelter the surrounding platforms. Original drawings for other stations (in the Public Archives of Canada and in the Shanly Papers in the Province of Ontario Archives; Walter Shanly was Chief Engineer of the Western Section of the GTR during the period it was constructed) show that the openings were originally fitted with French doors. The exterior was symmetrical and uniformly treated, without giving a hint of the different functions assigned to the subdivided interior spaces. To the left of the entrance lobby the *GTR Station at Georgetown, Ont.*, as originally arranged (Fig. 24), provided a general waiting room next to the track, and behind this, with toilet adjoining, a waiting room for ladies; to the right of the lobby was the telegraph office with the ticket office behind it, while the baggage and storeroom were at the end of the building. Four box stoves were served by the four chimneys projecting from the roof. (This station survives, altogether altered.) What little pretense the stations had to high architectural style was indebted to the Italianate mode, a manner often adopted for industrial buildings, presumably because of its strong appearance. The solidity of even the "second class way side station," as the standard type was called, certainly advertised the quality of the line, which was promoted as a first-class English road.

Basically the stations derived from a single design but variations occurred from building to building, according to local needs. The number of openings (and hence the size) differed. Brick was substituted for stone in some of them. Larger towns received large stations: there was a second storey, with hotel accomodations, housed in the mansard roof of the *Grand Trunk depots at Kingston and Belleville,* both of which still

survive. The designer was possibly Thomas S. Scott (d. 1895), who was identified in 1858 as architect to the railway, or A.M. Ross, the GTR's Chief Engineer, who was said to have "designed all the important works of art" erected along the line.[31] The builders Peto, Brassey & Betts, a British consortium, were responsible for the entire Montreal-to-Toronto line; the extension westward from Toronto to Sarnia, including the station at St Mary's Junction, was built by the firm of Gzowski and Company.

A generation later the Canadian Pacific Railway employed numerous designers for its many stations along with the transcontinental line, which were now composed on very different principles. One was Thomas Charles Sorby (1836-1924), an accomplished English architect who migrated to Canada in 1883 and immediately found work with the CPR and other prestigious Montreal clients.[32] Sorby's stations reflected the acceptance of the rational and picturesque system of High Victorian design. His *CPR depot for Port Arthur, Ont.* (Fig. 25), 1883, was an asymmetrical gabled structure. The individual functions housed within the one building are now identifiable externally; because they are designed with particular needs in mind, they are expressed separately but grouped to advantage visually. The baggage and storage portion requires ready access for heavy goods but no heat and little light: it therefore has large doors to a one-storey block with no chimneys and relatively few windows. The waiting room has a smaller entrance, and is associated with the station master's quarters above in a more domestic-looking unit, with plentiful windows and a chimney stack. As trains were now dispatched by telegraph, and the telegraph operator required a clear view of the track, a separate bay is provided. And so on. In principle, the result is rather like the picturesque design of High Victorian churches, with their asymmetric composition of chancel, nave, tower, porch, and vestry.

Stations in the cities were generally very much more urban in appearance than the intermediate depots. Their greater passenger traffic required larger public facilities and their role as terminals necessitated more trackage, protective train sheds, and administrative offices. Equally important, their downtown locations in major urban centres dictated impressive architectural design. They fall clearly into the mainstream of public and commercial architecture in their time; in fact the need to symbolize "progress" often made stations the vehicles for the latest in

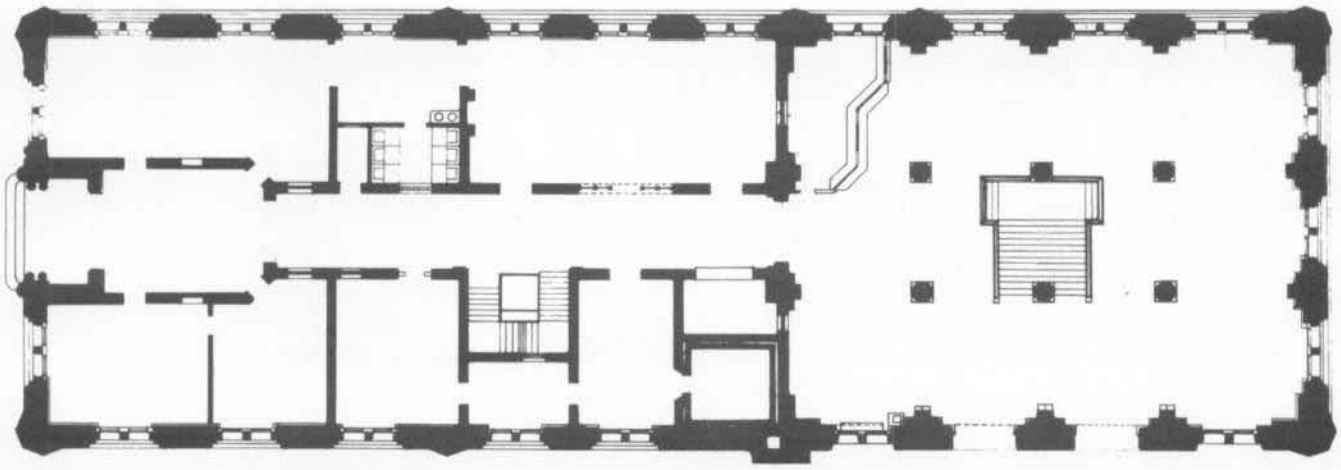

Fig. 27. Windsor Station, Montreal. (main floor plan redrawn from original in Canadian Pacific Archives).

Fig. 28. Windsor Station, Montreal. (Photo: Notman Photographic Archives).

Fig. 29. Windsor Station, Montreal. (Photo: Notman Photographic Archives).

Fig. 30. Glacier House, B.C. (Photo: Canadian Pacific).

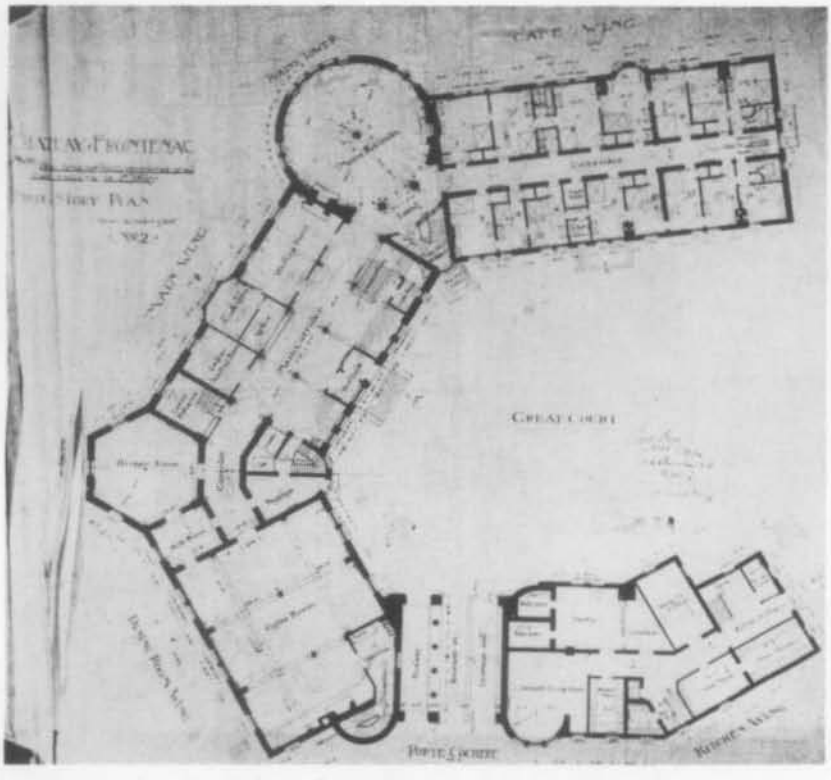

Fig. 31. Château Frontenac, Quebec: *main floor plan*.
(Photo: Canadian Pacific).

architectural styles. Their great importance in Victorian life is best illustrated in a passage of 1877 quoted from *Building News* by C.L.V. Meeks on the title-page of his basic study, *The Railroad Station* (New Haven: 1956): "Railway termini and hotels are to the nineteenth century what monasteries and cathedrals were to the thirteenth century. They are truly the only real representative building we possess."

When E. P. Hannaford (1834-1902), the British-trained chief engineer of the GTR, built the *second Union Station, Toronto,* in 1871-3, for the joint use of the CPR and the GTR, he used a full-dress version of the Italianate mode. The rusticated arches, pilasters, and three tall cupolas of this depot (removed half a century ago) all proudly announced the station as the symbolic gateway to the growing metropolis, an image perpetuated in its twentieth-century successor. Hannaford's station was also unusual in that it straddled the line and had a partially glazed roof, in the British manner, unlike other Canadian stations.[33]

Picturesque eclecticism often flowered in the major and minor terminals of the late nineteenth century. The long-demolished *Toronto, Hamilton, & Buffalo Railway Station in Hamilton* (Fig. 26), completed in 1896 by William Stewart & Sons, though a large depot, was also representative of smaller stations of the last decade in this respect: very asymmetric and irregular in profile, it was built of stone and brick, all carved, moulded, corbelled, gabled, dormered, and dominated by a wildly Romantic tall corner tower whose function was purely visual.

Perhaps the most celebrated depot was *Windsor Station, Montreal* (Figs. 27-29), erected by the CPR in 1888-9 as the terminus of its transcontinental line and its administrative headquarters. (The object of a prolonged preservation controversy, the station is now to be retained alongside new development.) In 1886 the railway's vice-president, William Van Horne, had selected the prestigious New York architect Bruce Price (1845-1903) to design the building. The impressive stone structure displays the arch-and-spandrel treatment of grouped window openings and other Romanesque Revival detail popularized by the recently deceased giant of American architecture, H. H. Richardson. Windsor Station stands as one of the earliest major monuments in Canada of the Richardsonian Romanesque manner. Originally the principal waiting room filled much of the main floor of the station and continued the Romanesque theme in the short, thick, polished marble columns with ornate capitals that carried an almost Piranesian succession of arches in this tall

space. Van Horne recognized the progressive qualities of the building. Upon its completion he shocked Montreal with a sign proudly proclaiming in six-foot-high letters: "Beats All Creation — the New C.P.R. Station."[34]

An extensive train shed was built adjacent to the terminal. It was rather low and dark, with trussed steel girders supporting a broad roof. Canadian station designers rarely sought the grand spaciousness of the more impressive train sheds of England that Hannaford attempted in the second Union Station, Toronto. Instead, the separation of train shed from passenger facilities in nineteenth-century station design on this continent underscored the accepted divorce of engineering and architecture.

Van Horne also recognized the tourist potential of the magnificent mountain scenery of Alberta and British Columbia through which the CPR line passed. "Since we can't export the scenery," he remarked, "we shall have to import the tourists."[35] The railway commissioned architects Sorby and Price to construct a series of mountain hotels — called dining stations — to attract traffic as well as to provide restaurant stops for through trains. In 1885 T.C. Sorby designed hotels of similar plan at Glacier, Field, and North Bend in British Columbia. The *Glacier House* (Fig. 30) is representative of all three: it was asymmetrical, three storeys high, and featured a shingled and slightly projecting top floor that was intended to suggest a Swiss chalet. In fact, it is the Port Arthur station design (Fig. 25) rendered in a slightly more picturesque mode appropriate for the new mountain location: the station and restaurant occupied the ground floor; the small hotel the upper storeys.

These intimate hotels were the first in an extensive system that was to have monumental consequences for Canadian architecture. Their stylistic successor was the larger *Banff Springs Hotel,* 1886-8, also by Bruce Price. The original frame structure (long since replaced by W. S. Painter's masonry building of 1912-3, with additions by J. W. Orrock in 1926-8) was characterized by steep roofs, pointed dormer windows, corner turrets, and oriels — all features that were distantly derived from the picturesque castellated architecture of Europe, more particularly the French château of the Loire River, and translated into wood.

Price's third great building for the CPR, the *Château Frontenac, Quebec* (Figs. 31-33), 1892-3, marked the definitive establishment of the Château style as a manner for railway hotels. It rose majestically on the heights

Fig. 32. Château Frontenac, Quebec. (Photo: Notman Photographic Archives).

Fig. 33. Château Frontenac, Quebec. (Photo: Canadian Pacific).

Fig. 34. Château Laurier, Ottawa. (Photo: Canadian National).

above Quebec on the site of the old Château Saint-Louis, the Governor's residence. A rambling but carefully organized building, the Château Frontenac was laid out as four and a half sides of a larger hexagon around a "Great Court." Although patently in fancy dress and executed in stone-trimmed orange brick walls, the original six-storey building with steep dormered roofs accorded almost perfectly with its surroundings. From a distance its silhouette was enlivened by prominent towers that marked the junction of the main wings and the location of the principal rooms with a view over the Dufferin Terrace. This luxurious hotel quickly became a national institution. Price's original building — a fraction of its present size — was supplemented by numerous additions, some by Price, others by W. S. Painter. The climax, the apotheosis, was the imperious seventeen-storey tower built in 1920-4 to the designs of Edward & W. S. Maxwell, better known for their legislative buildings in Regina.

Canada's other railroads soon followed the CPR in erecting hotels in the Château style. The best known is probably the *Château Laurier, Ottawa* (Fig. 34), built in two stages (1908-12 and 1927-9) and begun by Ross & Macfarlane for the Grand Trunk Railway.

In the last flowering of eclecticism, the château style was felt to be appropriate to Canadian conditions; so much so, indeed, that the federal government advocated it as the manner to be adopted for all public buildings in Ottawa. A factor in this decision was its sympathy with the High Victorian Gothic style of the Parliament Buildings. The Federal Plan Commission of 1915 recommended that any new government buildings be based on "the external architecture of the Chateau Laurier;" another commission of 1920 urged the adoption of the "Northern French Gothic (French Chateau)" style; a third report asked in 1927 for "the adoption of the French Chateau style of architecture, of which the Chateau Laurier is a modernized type." A number of buildings in Ottawa were indeed carried out in this new national style. Their story, however, comprises part of the history of the architecture of our own century.[36]

From their bridges to their hotels, the builders of the nation's railways played a major part in the development of the Canadian built environment. It is hard to know whom to value more: the engineers who led the way in structural innovation, creating numerous monuments of world

significance; or the railways' architects who pointed the way to a public architecture that raised our self-awareness and that was to be promulgated as a national style for all of Canada.

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Notes:

[1] George Heriot, *Travels Through the Canadas* (London: 1807), p. 35.

[2] James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London: 1859), pp. xxvii, xviii.

[3] Edward F. Bush, "The Canadian Lighthouse," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, no. 9 (1974), p. 39.

[4] This is illustrated and discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 30, 32-5, and Dudley Witney, *The Lighthouse* (Toronto: 1975), especially pp. 17, 28, 100-01.

[5] Bush, "The Canadian Lighthouse," p. 34.

[6] The drawing is taken from a manuscript, in the Public Archives of Canada, by Robert Oke, "Plans of the several light houses in the colony of Newfoundland Taken from authentic Documents by G. F. Baillairgé at St John's... 1865."

[7] John P. Heisler, "The Canals of Canada," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, no. 8 (1973), p. 14 ff.

[8] Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America* (London: 1831), I, p. 82.

[9] Ontario, Department of Energy and Resources Management, *History of the Rideau Waterway* (Toronto: 1970), p. 40. For further material on this canal, see Heisler, "The Canals of Canada," *passim;* Robert Legget, *Rideau Waterway*, rev. ed. (Toronto: 1972); and William D. Naftel, *The Rideau Waterway*, Society of Industrial Archaeology: Occasional Publications, no. 1 (Apr. 1973). Many sheets of drawings for the Rideau Canal are preserved in the Public Archives of Canada, though the oversize example illustrated here is in the Royal Ontario Museum.

[10] On this subject, see Robert F. Legget, *The Jones Falls Dam on the Rideau Canal, Ontario Canada*, Technical Paper No. 128 of the Division of Building Research (Ottawa: 1961).

[11] John Mactaggart, *Three Years in Canada* (London: 1829), I, p. 345.

[12] Bouchette, *The British Dominions*, Vol. 1, p. 193. For more information on the various Union Bridges, see A. H. D. Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present* (Toronto: 1927), p. 71 ff.

[13] The most comprehensive survey of bridges of all sorts in Canada and the United States is that by David Plowden, *Bridges: The Spans of North America* (New York: 1974), which discusses covered bridges, for example, on pp. 36-40. This work has been consulted extensively for the discussion of many of the examples of bridge building that follow; as it is well indexed but not annotated, our notes are limited to those examples not discussed by Plowden, to source materials, or to new information.

[14] The Bout de L'Ile designs and others are preserved in the Public Archives of Canada in a large folio entitled "A Series of diagrams, plans, elevations, sections and details illustrative of the various local public improvements authorized by the Legislature of the Province of Canada and carried into execution and completed by the Provincial Board of Works." The designs were drafted by F. P. Rubidge at various dates but the folio is signed and dated by Samuel Keefer in 1844. The suspension bridge by Roebling is discussed in Ralph Greenhill and Thomas D. Mahoney, *Niagara* (Toronto: 1969), pp. 61-64.

[15] Anthony Trollope, *North America* (New York: 1862), p. 59. Documents and drawings from the hearing that followed the collapse of the bridge are in the Public Archives of Canada.

[16] For the building of the Cariboo Road and its bridges, see F. W. Howay, *The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1858 to 1863* (Victoria: 1910) and Frances M. Woodward, "The Influence of the Royal Engineers on the Development of British Columbia," *B. C. Studies*, no. 24 (Winter 1974-75), pp. 3-51. See also Barry V. Downs, "The Royal Engineers in British Columbia," *Canadian Collector*, 11, no. 3 (May-June 1976), pp. 42-46.

[17] Much was made in the Provincial Parliament of the fact that "the English engineer [Stephenson] should not receive the whole... credit, an equal portion of which was due the Canadian [Keefer]," quoted from *The Canadian Engineer of the Victoria Bridge by a Montrealer* (Montreal: 1860) in Bruce Sinclair, Norman R. Ball, and James O. Peterson, eds., *Let Us Be Honest and Modest: Technology and Society in Canadian History* (Toronto: 1974), p. 84. Thompson's role has also been consistently overlooked, although documented in Charles Legge, *A Glance at the Victoria Bridge and the Men Who Built It* (Montreal: 1860), p. 127. James Hodges produced a sumptuously illustrated work (in two folio volumes with 17 colour plates), the most elegant and lavish monograph ever produced on a Canadian structure, detailing the technical aspects especially: *Construction of the Great Victoria Bridge in Canada* (London: 1860).

[18] Legge, *A Glance at the Victoria Bridge*, p. 153.

[19] *The Tour of H. R. H. The Prince of Wales Through British America and the United States. By a British Canadian* (Montreal: 1860), p. 13.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[21] Regarding coffer dams, scaffolding, and prefabrication, see Legge, *A Glance at the Victoria Bridge*, pp. 93 ff., 111 ff., and 118 respectively.

[22] Trollope, *North America*, p. 59. Legge, *A Glance at the Victoria Bridge*, p. 64, resolves the common confusion as to the actual number of the spans versus that of the tubes. He says explicitly that "The superstructure... consists of 25 tubes, or, rather, as one continuous tube extends over two spans, of 12 double tubes, and the large central one over the channel." In other words, there are 13 tubes, though the 24 piers between the two abutments define 25 spans.

[23] Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montréal en évolution* (Montréal: 1974), p. 254.

[24] For example, see Charles Horetzky's 1872 photo of an Indian bridge over the Wotsonqua River near the forks of the Skeena River, B.C., reproduced by Andrew J. Birrell, "Classic Survey Photos of the Early West," *Canadian Geographical Journal*, 91, no. 4 (Oct. 1975), p. 17.

[25] The Saint John bridge, credited by Plowden to Job Abbot and P. S. Archibald, is identified as Johnson's work in the *Perth Courier*, 15 Jan. 1886, p. 4, a reference we owe to Diane Newell and Ralph Greenhill.

[26] There is a monograph devoted to the bridge: Canada, Department of Railways and Canals, *The Quebec Bridge over the St Lawrence River near the City of Quebec On the Line of the Canadian National Railways*, 2 vols. (Ottawa: 1919).

[27] The text of the address by Fred. Cumberland, 'Some Notes of a Visit to the Works of the Grand Trunk Railway, west of Toronto, February, 1855' was "Read before the Canadian Institute [which had been founded by Sandford Fleming, and was the important forerunner of the Royal Canadian Institute], March 31st" and reprinted in *The Canadian Journal*, III (May 1855), pp. 225-27.

[28] There is a copy in the Public Archives of Canada. Fleming also compiled a detailed and illustrated work on *The Intercolonial. A Historical Sketch of the Inception, Location, Construction and Completion of the Line of Railway uniting the Inland and Atlantic Provinces of the Dominion...* (Montreal: 1876).

[29] See the most detailed account of the construction of the CPR, that by Omer Lavallée, *Van Horne's Road* (Montreal: 1974), pp. 173-222, regarding bridge building in the Rockies and Selkirks. Pierre Berton, *The Last Spike: The Great Railway, 1881-1885* (Toronto: 1971), pp. 187, 206-7, notes the number of bridges and trestles on the CPR line, and ascribes the prefabrication to Michael J. Haney, the Irishman put in charge of construction from Port Moody to Kamloops, B.C., in 1883.

[30] Snowsheds for railways in both Western Canada and the American North-West are discussed (with references to other literature) in Walter G. Berg, *Buildings & Structures of American Railroads* (1893; rpt. Novato, Cal., 1973 as the *Train Shed Cyclopedia*, no. 7), pp. 33-38. See also Lavallée, *Van Horne's Road*, pp. 239-42.

[31] Regarding the possibility that Scott was responsible for designing the stations, see Ralph Greenhill, Ken Macpherson and Douglas Richardson, *Ontario Towns* (n.p., n.d. [Ottawa, 1974]), unpaginated (section on "Commerce, Industry & The Railway"). The best preserved of all the GTR stations until its wanton destruction recently by the Canadian National, the one at Shannonville, Ont., is also illustrated in *ibid.*, pl. 48. The ambiguous reference to Ross is from J. Castell Hopkins, *Canada: An Encyclopaedia of the Country* (Toronto: 1898), II, p. 136.

[32] Sorby's work has been discussed by Harold Kalman, in a paper entitled "The Canadianization of Thomas Charles Sorby" delivered to the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, at Quebec, 27 May 1976.

[33] For views of the second Union Station, see *Canadian Illustrated News*, 8 (2 Aug. 1873), pp. 72-73. Its successor (not discussed here because it belongs to the twentieth century) is the subject of a monograph: Richard Bébout, ed., *The Open Gate: Toronto Union Station* (Toronto: 1972), with a detailed architectural history by Douglas Richardson, "A Blessed Sense of Civic Excess; The Architecture of Union Station," pp. 60-95 and 119-22.

[34] Omer Lavallée, "Windsor Station 1889-1964," *Canadian Rail*, 152 (Feb. 1964), p. 27. The evolution of the design and its relationship to Richardson's work is summarized by Harold D. Kalman in *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada*, University of Victoria Maltwood Museum Studies in Architectural History, no. 1 (Victoria: 1968), pp. 7-9.

[35] John Murray Gibbon, *Steel of Empire: The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific* (Indianapolis: 1935), p. 304.

[36] The rise of the mode in general is dealt with by Kalman in *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada;* its advocacy as a national style specifically is discussed on pp. 23-31.

QUAND LES FRANÇAIS *JOUAIENT AUX SAUVAGES...* OU LE CARROUSEL DE 1662

> "Pour toute ambition, pour vertu singulière,
> Il excelle à conduire un char dans la carrière,
> A disputer des prix indignes de ses mains,
> A se donner lui-même en spectacle aux Romains."
> Corneille, *Britannicus* (1669), acte IV, scène 4,
> vers 1471-74.

L'étude de la représentation des Indiens est courante en histoire de l'art canadien. Depuis *La Sainte Famille à la huronne* du Frère Luc jusqu'aux paysages désertés d'Émily Carr, en passant par les images de Légaré, Krieghoff, Kane et de Verner, nous sommes familiers d'une iconographie produite bien souvent par des artistes récemment immigrés.

Il est cependant une source encore fort négligée: les illustrations produites en Europe sur ce thème. Pourtant, depuis le milieu du seizième siècle les Européens ont créé une imagerie des habitants amérindiens. La connaissance de cette production est essentielle pour comprendre la vision européenne, "civilisée", des nouvelles colonies et de ses habitants, ainsi que pour étudier les sources auxquelles puiseront les générations successives d'illustrateurs.[1]

J'examinerai ici un exemple de ces représentations européennes. Il se situe à Paris, vingt ans après la fondation de Ville-Marie.

Louis XIV, pour marquer la naissance du Dauphin, fils de Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche (1661), ordonna l'exécution d'un grand carrousel. La fête célébrait également le cinquantenaire des fastueuses manifestations publiques qui avaient marqué le mariage de Louis XIII avec Anne d'Autriche. Cet événement éclatant aurait ceci de particulier qu'il ne serait:

> ny Carousel, ny Combat, ny iouxte, & qu'il est neantmoins toutes ces choses ensemble. On y coure la Bague, & la Teste, avec la Lance, & le iavelot; la Meduse avecque le Dard, & la Teste Persienne, avec l'Espée: si bien que l'on peut dire qu'il ne s'est iamais rien veu de plus beau, ny de mieux inventé.[2]

Il s'agit donc d'une manifestation composite qui se déroula en ces jours des 5 et 6 juin 1662. Le cinq, course de têtes, jeu spécialement créé à cette occasion.[3] Le cavalier devait attraper avec une lance une tête de Turc, puis darder une tête de More et une méduse à un rythme de course coupé de voltes. Quatre candidats couraient à la fois créant un spectacle plus complet. Le lendemain, course de bague. Jeu très répandu où le concurrent, toujours monté sur son cheval au pas de course, tente d'attraper un anneau avec une lance.

Les courses étaient précédées de longs défilés à travers les rues de Paris (Fig. 1) et toute la population pouvait admirer les costumes des cavaliers et de leur suite. Cinq peuples, formant cinq quadrilles, participaient au carrousel: les Romains, les Perses, les Turcs, les Indiens et les Américains. Les chefs de quadrille (dans l'ordre: le Roi, Monsieur, le Prince de Condé, le duc d'Enghien et le duc de Guise) partaient d'un point différent de Paris, généralement de leur résidence, et convergeaient vers la place spécialement aménagée pour ces jeux: le jardin de Mademoiselle, attenant au Pavillon des Tuileries du Louvre, l'actuelle Place du Carrousel.[4] Une tribune d'honneur avait été érigée pour les princes du sang et les hautes personnalités étrangères en visite à la cour. Le champ de course était entouré par une immense estrade pouvant recevoir de dix à quinze mille personnes.[5] Ainsi, tout Paris vit, de sa fenêtre, dans la rue ou sur les estrades, les magnifiques apparats créés pour la circonstance.

Voici comment le journaliste de *la Gazette* rapporte le spectacle offert par la quadrille des "Sauvages de l'Amérique":

> Enfin, celle (la quadrille) du duc de Guyse qui représentoit les Sauvages de l'Amérique, & avait pour Avanturiers le Chevalier d'Harcourt, le Marquis de Rochefort, de Plumartin, de la Chastre, de Ragny, de Mirepoix, de Vervins, de Beuvron, de Tury, & le duc de Brissac[6], entra dans le Cam, non sans une particulière admiration des assistans, pour la singularité et l'agréable bizarrerie de l'équipage.
>
> Dans la marche, le Trompette qui estoit à la teste de celui du Maréchal de Camp, estoit habillé en Sauvage, & monté sur un cheval caparaçonné de peau de Veau marin, frangé d'or et d'argent, avec des brillans d'or.
>
> Son Escuyer avoit un habillement de soye en broderie

Fig. 1. Israel Silvestre, *Le défilé de la quadrille des sauvages,* gravure sur métal. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

Fig. 2. François Chauveau, *Timballier et trompette amériquains,* gravure sur métal, H. 0,210 X L. 0,265. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

Fig. 3. François Chauveau, *Escuyer et page amériquains*, gravure sur métal, H.0,210 X L.0,265.
(Photo: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

d'or et d'argent: & montoit un cheval caparaçonné d'une peau de Tygre, avec une bordure brodée d'or et d'argent, & des campanes de mesme.

Les quatre chevaux de main estoyent caparaçonnez encor, de peaux de Tygre & de Léopard, ornées de brillans & broderie d'or, & semées d'yeux de Dragon, en miroirs: & ces chevaux estoyent menez par huit Palfreniers equipez en Sauvages, avec les peaux de divers animaux, couvertes de brillans d'or, & de feüilles de pampre.

Les quatre Pages estoyent vestus en Bacchantes, de pareilles peaux de Tygre & de Léopard, rehaussés de broderie d'or et d'argent: montez sur des chevaux caparaçonnez de la mesme manière.

Les deux Trompettes, & le tymbalier du Duc qui faisoyent la teste de la Quadrille, entrans dans la Camp, estoyent habillez en Tritons, & coëffez de conques marines armées de branche de corail, & de jonts, & montez sur des chevaux caparaçonnez de peau de vache marine, rehaussée de brillans, & frangée d'or et d'argent (Fig. 2).

Les vingt chevaux de main des Avanturiers, estoyent caparaçonnez de peaux de Tygre & de Léopard, relevées d'une broderie d'or, fermées d'yeux de Serpent, & de Dragon, & condüits par 40 Palfreniers, vestus en Sauvages, avec quantité de brillans d'or.

Les six Trompettes & le Tymbalier qui marchoyent ensüite, estoyent habillez en Tritons comme les précédans, sur des chevaux caparaçonnez de peaux de vache marine, à franges d'or & d'argent, avec grand nombre de brillans.

Les deux Escüyers avoyent une Cüirace & des Brodequins rehaussez d'une broderie d'or et d'argent, & des chevaux caparaçonnez de peaux de Tygre, bordées d'une broderie d'or sur du verd, avec des testes de Tygre et de Leopard d'or, en bosse, & une Corne aussi d'or, au milieu du front: le premier de ces Escüyers portant sa Lance de bois verni noir de la Chine, chargée de Serpens & dragons d'or: & l'autre, l'Escu de pareille etofe, & parure, avec la Devise de Duc, dont le corps estoit un Tygre terrassé par un Lyon, avec cette Ame, *Altiora praesumo* (Fig. 3),....

Ses douze Pages estoyent en Bacchantes, ayans le corps de satin sur le nud, un bas de soye verd en broderie d'or, & une écharpe de peau de Tygre: & leurs chevaux en forme de Licornes, caparaçonnez de peau de Léopard, à bordure verte, rehaussée de broderie d'or et d'argent, avec de pareilles testes de Léopard & de Tygre, aussi, d'or, relevées en bosse (Fig. 4).

Ses chevaux de main avoyent, semblablement, des cornes dorées au front, & des caparaçons, les uns des peaux de Tygre, & les autres de Léopard, en broderie d'or et d'argent, avec de mesmes teste & campanes: les 24 Palefreniers qui les condüisoyent avec des chaines d'or estans vestus en Satyres noirs, qui avoyent de petites cornes dorées, de coliers d'or, & de chaines de pareil métal, aux pieds, en forme d'Esclaves.

Douze de ses 24 Estafiers estoyent déguisez en Ours, avec un carcan & une chaine d'or, & menez par les 12 autres vestus en Satyres, en la manière des précédans: ayans chacun un Singe attaché sur l'épaule, avec une petite chaine d'or.

Le Mareschal de Camp, qui venoit apres, estoit revestu d'une Cüirasse en broderie d'or & d'argent, & de pierreries, fermée d'yeux de Dragon en miroirs, ainsi que le bas de soye, & les Brodequins: & montoit un fort beau cheval caparaçonné de mesme, & suivi de douze Faunes, formans un agréable concert de Hautbois (Fig. 5).

Le Duc de Guyse, qui paroissoit immédiatement après, avec cet air noble qui lui est ordinaire, avoit une Cüirasse de peau de Dragon, où deux testes sortoyent des espaules, dont les queües composoyent les lambrequins de cette Cüirasse: le tout chargé d'une broderie de perles & de rubis, ainsi que les Brodequins. Sa Coëffure estoit un petit Morion d'or, sur lequel regnoit un Dragon de mesme metal, soûtenant deux cercles de brillans d'or, ondoyez de plumes vertes & blanches, couronnées de trois bouquets de plumes en aigrettes, avec trois masses de Héron, qui donnoyent quatre pieds de hauteur à cet habillement de teste, duquel une queüe, aussi, de plumes, luy descendoit

sur le dos. Son cimeterre estoit d'or, garni de pierreries, le foureau à la Chinoise, pareillement enrichi de pierreries; & il portoit une masse d'armes, à aisles dorées, & découpées à jour, dont le baston formoit un Serpent au naturel.

En cet équipage, il montoit un grand coursier bay, caparaçonné d'une peau de Tygre, avec la bordure et broderie d'or et d'argent, une teste de Dragon d'or au poitrail, des Serpens d'or et de soye, sur les espaules & sur les flancs, au lieu de campanes, &, en forme de Caducée, un gros mufle de Dragon sur la croupe, vomissant quantité de couleuvres, qui en formoyent la queüe, comme les corps de Dragon double entrelassez de part & d'autre, à costé de la mesme croupe, faisoyent les pendans de la croupière, & des couleuvres, les crins du col: ayant au reste une Coure, à la façon des précédans, avec une aigrette de brillans d'or & d'argent d'où sortoit une masse de Héron (Fig. 6).

Les Avanturiers de sa Quadrille estoyent tous habillez de mesmes peaux, avec la mesme richesse, aussi montez comme les précédans: suivis de leurs Estafiers, divisez en trois bandes, vestus en Sauvages, avec des Massües, & de leurs Pages, à peu pres, habillez ainsi que ceux du Duc de Guyse: portans les lances & les Ecus de leurs Maistres, avec les Devises.[7]

Dans cette marche resplendissante où l'or et l'argent voisinent avec la fourrure et la soie, la quadrille des "Sauvages amériquains" placée en fin de cortège, fait bonne figure: plus de 160 participants, 90 chevaux et 12 singes représentant des aspects les plus variés de l'Amérique.

Il existe plusieurs textes relatifs à ce carrousel,[8] mais c'est un cycle de gravures destiné à orner un des plus beaux livres du dix-septième siècle[9] qui illustre le mieux cette magnificence. Non satisfait des démonstrations publiques, on entreprit, dès 1662, de graver ces mémorables journées.[10] Israël Silvestre[11] fut chargé de graver les onze planches montrant la cavalcade dans les rues de Paris et dans l'amphithéâtre (Fig. 1). Cette série fut augmentée d'une page frontispice à laquelle participa Rousselet avec un buste sur piédestal de Louis XIV. Jean Lepautre dessina un cartouche; François Chauveau[12] grava les titres, les culs-de-lampe et les trente planches qui illustrent les principaux costumes de chacune des quadrilles[13] (Figs. 2-6). Celui-ci s'inspira-t-il directement des dessins de Henri de Gissey créateur des costumes? La question reste entière.[14] On

ajouta, à la fin, la représentation des 55 écus des 5 chefs de quadrille et des 50 "avanturiers" participants, dessinés par Jacques Bailly pour cette occasion et gravés par Leclerc, selon Anatole de Montaiglon.[15] Il fut tiré deux éditions originales de ce livre: l'une, en français, avec un texte de Charles Perrault,[16] *Courses de testes et de bague, faites par le Roy, et par les princes et seigneurs de sa cour, en l'année M. DC. LXII.*; l'autre, en latin, par l'abbé Fléchier, futur évêque de Nîmes, *Festiva ad capita annulumque decursio*. Les deux éditions parurent en 1670 chez Sébastien Cramoisy, directeur de l'Imprimerie royale.[17]

Le texte du *Recueil des Gazettes*, les descriptions de costumes de Perrault et les gravures de Chauveau, permettent de composer un tableau synoptique des éléments constituant la quadrille des Sauvages de l'Amérique.[18]

	aspect général	coiffure	torse & saye	épaule & bras	bracelet ceinture arme	cheval	caparaçon
trompette timbalier	sauvage triton	coquille branches de corail	satin vert brodé écailles d'argent		nageoire coquillages		peau de tigre veau marin velours bandes d'or
palefrenier	satyre sauvage	feuilles de vigne	feuilles & fourrures.		collier chaine & bandes or	licorne	tigre, léopard, mufle de lion fourrure
estafier	sauvage satyre ours	vigne	tigre satin chair	singe	vigne massue		
page	bacchante	fourrure	tigre léopard or, argent satin écailles		lance écu	licorne	tigre, léopard poisson broderie or & argent
écuyer		dragon & crinière	soie, or, fourrure yeux de dragon	corne aileron	lance avec serpents & dragon écu	licorne	tigre léopard en bosse velours fourrures
maréchal de camp	suivi de 12 faunes	turban & plumes	lame d'or tête de tigre, fourrure, yeux de dragon				panthère feuillage or pierreries fourrure
roi du camp & aventurier		morion d'or, dragon, plumes	peau de dragon, perle, rubis	tête de dragon, brocard toile d'argent	émeraudes serpent cimeterre masse d'arme	licorne	tigre, dragon serpents d'or & de soie, broderies

couleurs de la quadrille: vert et blanc.

Fig. 4. François Chauveau, *Estafiers, cheval de main et palfreniers amériquains*, gravure sur métal, H.O,210 X L.0,265. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

Fig. 5. François Chauveau, *Mareschal de camp amériquain*, gravure sur métal, H.0,210 X L. 0,265. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

Fig. 6. François Chauveau, *Le Duc de Guyse, roy amériquain*, gravure sur métal, H. 0,210 X L. 0,265. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

Deux catégories d'objets se dégagent du tableau: d'abord les objets riches, nécessaires à l'éclat du carrousel et communs aux autres quadrilles: les tissus et ornements luxueux (soie, rubis), les vêtements d'inspiration antique et théâtrale (cuirasse, lambrequin, tonnelet, saye, morion, brodequin), les fourrures (tigre, lion),[19] et le cimeterre. Tout le reste illustre l'iconographie particulière aux sauvages de l'Amérique.

Un premier groupe d'éléments formé d'animaux fantastiques, (dragon, licorne) et d'êtres mythologiques (bacchantes, satyres, faunes, tritons) répond à une vision imaginaire de l'Amérique.[20] Des récits de pêcheurs et de premiers aventuriers répandirent la croyance que l'Amérique était habitée par des créatures fantastiques, des monstres velus.[21] Thévet, dans sa description du continent américain, témoigne cependant que de telles créatures ont été chassées.[22] Nous sommes ici devant un spectacle qui doit émouvoir, surprendre, intriguer le spectateur. L'auteur du carrousel se fonde sur des récits connus et met en scène un bestiaire mythologique. On pourrait avancer l'hypothèse selon laquelle le dragon et la licorne représenteraient à la fois la peur et la convoitise de l'Amérique, connue depuis près de deux siècles, mais restée inexplorée. Ces deux animaux symboliquement opposés se répondent dans l'esprit des créateurs et des acteurs du carrousel: crainte de la terre lointaine et dangereuse, dont la conquête est parsemée d'embûches; désir de cette contrée idyllique, pleine de promesses, de richesses.

Il est également plausible de faire utiliser une masse d'arme par les Indiens, à partir de récits de voyage et d'illustrations.[23] Le choix de la couleur verte pour la quadrille est suggere par la couleur de la végétation dont sont couverts les satyres. Encore là, les descriptions de voyageurs signalent la présence d'une telle végétation sur le continent américain.[24]

Si une partie des éléments décoratifs choisis pour représenter les Indiens d'Amérique peut se rattacher à un imaginaire géographique, végétal et animal basé sur des textes de voyageurs, toute une autre partie de l'iconographie repose sur une réalité économique: la pêche sur les côtes du Canada et le commerce des fourrures.

Dès le début du seizième siècle, les Normands, puis les Bretons fréquentèrent les côtes de Terre-Neuve, établissant des postes pour le traitement et la conservation de la morue, pêchant aussi la baleine, le saumon, l'églefin et le flétan. L'Amérique devenait cet immense vivier naturel, capable d'alimenter les quelque cent cinquante jours maigres de l'année.[25] Ainsi les simulations de poissons: corps couverts d'écailles,

bracelets en forme de nageoires, ceintures et chapeaux en forme de coquillages, caparaçons en peaux de phoque répondent à une perception européenne de l'Amérique.[26]

Ce n'est qu'au début du dix-septième siècle que s'organisa le commerce des fourrures. Afin de fournir un nouveau marché créé par la mode, les marchands rouennais organisèrent, parallèlement à leurs expéditions de pêche, des réseaux pour la traite des fourrures. Cela signifiait une installation, des contacts plus fréquents et plus suivis, une connaissance des fournisseurs indigènes et de certaines de leurs traditions culturelles. Plusieurs compagnies furent fondées, obtenant, avec le monopole de la traite des fourrures, l'obligation d'étendre les bases de la colonie française alors naissante.[27] L'utilisation de fourrures autres que celles du tigre, du lion et de la panthère, pour des lambrequins et des bordures de caparaçon est un écho de cet autre aspect du commerce français en terre canadienne.

> Il ne falloit donc pas ensevelir dans le silence de la memoire des nobles divertissemens de nôtre grand Monarque. Il ne suffit pas que la Postérité sçache ses glorieux travaux & de Guerre & de Paix; le mal qu'il a fait à ses Ennemis par la force de ses armes, & le bien qu'il fait à ses Peuples par les soins assidus & sans exemple qu'il prend luy-même de leur conduite: il faut qu'elle ait encore la satisfaction de sçavoir quels étoient ses relâches dans ses occupations importantes. Il est bon qu'elle apprenne qu'il n'a pas été seulement le plus vaillant & le plus sage de tous les Princes de son Siècle, mais qu'il a été aussi le plus adroit & le plus magnifique, & que la Noblesse de sa Cour est toujours en possession de ces avantages sur toutes les Nations de la Terre.[28]

Afin de marquer sa domination sur tous les peuples, Louis XIV, représenté dans le carrousel en empereur romain, se place au centre de populations parmi les plus éloignées et les plus exotiques, qui viennent participer à ses jeux.

La représentation des "Sauvages" de l'Amérique synthétise les éléments connus dès le seizième siècle. Le carrousel démontre que la connaissance française de l'Amérique demeure intuitive. Fabulation et fragments d'une réalité économique se mélangent de façon primaire.

Des éléments plus spectaculaires comme les maquillages, la polychromie décorative des costumes indigènes ne sont pas retenus.

L'innovation principale du carrousel réside dans un essai de différenciation entre les deux Amériques et la création d'une iconographie propre à chacune. Celle-ci va en se précisant à mesure que s'affermit le rôle politique et économique de la France sur l'immense territoire que représentait la Nouvelle-France à la fin du dix-septième siècle. Les indigènes de l'Amérique du sud continueront d'être représentés de façon primitive: barbares, anthropophages, alors que des descriptions plus détaillées montreront une connaissance plus intime des moeurs des Indiens avec qui traitent les colonisateurs. Une iconographie du Canada se précisera, où les façons de vivre avec la neige, l'eau, de faire la chasse et la pêche prendront de plus en plus d'importance. A mesure que l'iconographie de la terre d'Amérique prend forme, le Blanc s'installe à la place de l'Indien, ne laissant à ce dernier qu'un folklore désuet: son wigwam et ses plumes.

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Nanterre, (1974).

Notes:

[1] Je remercie le professeur François-Marc Gagnon des remarques judicieuses qu'il m'a communiquées au sujet de cet article.

[2] *Relation des magnificences du grand Carrousel du Roy Louys XIV* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Loyson, 1662), p. 4.

[3] "Chacun de ces chevaliers couroit la Lance à la moin le long de la Barriere, & emportoit une Teste de Turc posée sur un buste de bois doré sur la Barriere même, de la hauteur de six pieds: puis quittant la Lance avec une demy-volte à la droite, prenoit un Dard sous la cuisse, & revenoit darder la Teste de More sur un autre buste, distant de cinq pieds de la même Barriere, & de la hauteur de quatre pieds. Ensuite, il s'écartoit par une demy-volte à la droite, & revenoit avec un autre Dard, vers le milieu du grand Carré où les Chevaliers se rencontroient & faisoient ensemble une volte & demie aussi à droite à l'entour du Mareschal de Camp general; après quoy ils partoient d'un même temps, & chacun d'eux changeant de côté, s'en alloit vers la Barriere opposée à celle où avoit dardé le More, prenoit la demy-volte à droite & revenoit le long de la Barriere, darder la Teste de Meduse présentée dans un Bouclier par un Persée, qui tenoit dans l'autre main une épée comme pour se défendre. Enfin, par une autre demy-volte aussi-tost, & courant l'épée à la main, il emportoit une Teste posée sur un buste de bois, à un pied de terre." *Courses de testes et de bague, faites par le Roy, et par les princes et seigneurs de sa cour, en l'année M.DC.LXII.* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1670), p. 65.

[4] Cet espace fut choisi à cause de sa grande étendue, de sa localisation dans Paris, et de sa proximité des écuries royales où les coureurs prenaient les chevaux pour s'exercer les semaines précédant les fêtes. *Relation des magnificences...* pp. 4-5; *Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires...pendant l'année mil six cent soixante-deux* (dorénavant *Recueil des Gazettes*), (Paris: Galleries du Louvre, 1663), à la date du 23 mai, p. 508.

[5] L'arrangement et la décoration de la place furent confiés à Vigarani, ingénieur du roi, *Recueil des Gazettes*, p. 558.

[6] Il semble qu'aucun des "avanturiers" de la quadrille du duc de Guise n'ait joué un rôle dans les affaires des colonies françaises en Amérique. Henri II de Lorraine, cinquième duc de Guise, fut d'abord évêque puis aventurier en Belgique et en Italie du sud. Il est nommé Grand chambellan en 1655. Le marquis de Rochefort combattit en Hongrie avec Coligny, gouverneur d'Ath (Flandre), commandant militaire de la Lorraine (1675). Le marquis de la Chastre, gouverneur de Bapaume, se distingua à Arras en 1657, mourut en Afrique en 1664. Le marquis de Mirepoix, senéchal de Carcassonne et de Béziers, gouverneur d'Andorre, mourut en 1687. Le marquis de Vervins, fut premier maître d'hôtel de Louis XIV. Le marquis de Beuvron nommé lieutenant-général au gouvernement de la Haute Normandie (1651). Le duc de Brissac (1645-1698), selon le *Dictionnaire de Biographie universelle*, ne se signala que par ses débauches.

[7] *Recueil des Gazettes*, pp. 570-73.

[8] En plus des textes déjà cités, voir: *Le grand carrousel du roi, ou la course de bague...et l'ordre de la marche qu'ils ont tenu en la revue générale, le 2 juin 1662* (Paris: Cardin Besongne, 1662); *L'ordre de la marche des cinq quadrilles du carrousel du roi...et par quelles rues passeront les quadrilles* (Paris: Cardin Besongne, 1662); *Les devises des princes et seigneurs du grand carrousel du roi, latines, italiennes, espagnoles...et le nom des victorieux...* (Paris: Cardin Besongne, 1662). Aussi les textes littéraires sur le thème du carrousel: Mlle Desjardins (Madame de Villedieu), *Le Carrousel de monseigneur le Dauphin* (Paris: Gabriel Quinet, 1662), et les textes de Perrault et de Fléchier cités plus loin dans le texte.

[9] Jean Valéry-Radot, "Le Carrousel de 1662," *Byblis*, 5e année, XXe fasc., (hiver 1926), pp. 147-54. Il existe une autre gravure qui n'appartient pas au cycle étudié; c'est une vue d'ensemble des participants (B. N., Cab. des Estampes, Rés. Coll. Hennin, 1662, "Le grand Carozel de sa Majesté...").

[10] Ainsi que le note l'annaliste: "Je ne feray point icy la peinture d'une chose que tout Paris à veuë depuis plus de six semaines; puisque d'ailleurs d'excellens hommes en vont laisser avec le burin une mémoire éternelle à la postérité." *Relation des magnificences...* p. 4.

[11] L. E. Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les oeuvres qui forment l'oeuvre d'Israël Silvestre* (Paris: Veuve Jules Renouard, 1857), pp. 200-02.

[12] J. M. Papillon, *Mémoire sur la vie de François Chauveau, (1613-1676)*, (Paris: réédition 1854); Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français, graveurs du XVIIe s.* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, tome II, 1951), pp. 499-500. A remarquer que la gravure "Timballier et Trompette Amériquains" est signée en bas à droite: "F. C. deli et Sculp." (François Chauveau delineavit et sculpsit).

[13] J. J. Guiffrey, *Compte des Bâtiments sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris: tome I, 1881), col. 279.

[14] Anatole de Montaiglon, *Henry de Gissey de Paris (1608-1675)* (Paris: Dumoulin, 1854).

[15] *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[16] Perrault est alors premier commis à la Surintendance des Bâtiments du roi.

[17] Deux exemplaires furent mis en couleurs (Bibliothèque de Versailles et B. N., Cab. des Estampes, Rés. Pd 10b fol.) voir: Guiffrey, *op. cit.* col. 547. Les gravures furent aussi mises en vente séparément au moment de l'édition originale et en 1679 dans les séries du "Cabinet du Roy" voir le *Mercure Galant* (août 1679), cité par François Courboin, *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France* (Paris: Le Ganec, 2e partie, 1924). En 1723, les gravures furent tirées sans texte. Les planches sont conservées à la Chalcographie du Louvre et continuent à tirer. Elles servirent à la publicité de l'Exposition *Trésors de la Chalcographie du Louvre*, hiver 1973.

[18] Les participants de la quadrille des "Indiens" étaient magnifiquement déguisés, vêtus de plumes, d'habits couverts de perles et de corail, armés d'arcs et de flèches ou portant des perroquets: tous éléments de l'iconographie des Indiens de l'Amérique du sud. Les organisateurs du carrousel semblent avoir manifesté la volonté de distinguer entre l'Amérique méridionale et septentrionale dont les attributs sont mélangés dans les représentations antérieures des "Indiens" ou "Sauvages".

[19] Le lion terrassant le tigre figure sur l'écu du duc de Guise.

[20] Le 23 mars 1564, lors de l'entrée de Charles IX à Troyes, le capitaine de la compagnie des "Sauvages" était monté sur une licorne décorée de lierre et d'écaille. Suivaient les tambours, les Sauvages montés sur des chèvres, des boucs; d'autres, à pied portaient des arcs, des flèches et des masses; puis des satyres armés d'arcs et de flèches et des masses auxquelles pendaient des "petites boules pleines de pointe", *Ordre de marcher tenu à l'Entrée faite par le Roy Charles neuvième en la Ville de Troyes, le Jeudy 23 jour de Mars 1564.*

[21] "Il y a certaines crocodiles, comme grands boeufs, qui rendent une fumée mortelle par la gueulle", André Thévet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique* (Paris: 1558), p. 62 bis. La licorne correspond partiellement à la description de l'animal nommé "tapihire", *ibid*, p. 96.

[22] "Je confesse bien, ...qu'il se trouve certains monstres ayant forme d'hommes, qu'ils ont appellez Satyres, vivants par les bois, & velus come bestes Sauvages...Mais aujourd'huy, que nostre Seigneur par compassion s'est communiqué à nous, ces esprits malings ont esté chassez hors, ..." *ibid*, p. 58 bis.

[23] "Estant saillis ils chargent les uns les autres de coups de flesches confusement, de masses & espées de bois, qu'onque ne fut si beau passetemps de voir une telle meslée.", *ibid.*, p. 71.
[24] "Il se trouve en Canada plusieurs lieux & contrées, qui portent tres beaux ceps de vigne, du seul naturel de la terre, sans culture, avec grande quantité de raisins gros, bien nourris, & très bons à manger.", *ibid*, pp. 158, 158 bis. La première appellation de l'île d'Orléans ne fut-elle pas l'île de Bacchus?
[25] Charles de la Morandière, *Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 3 vol., 1962-1966).
[26] Les récits de voyage concourent à associer ce type de costume des Sauvages avec la pêche: "Ils portent aussi quelques colliers blancs, qui sont d'une autre espèce de plus petits vignots, qu'ils prennent en la mer, & les tiennent chers & en grande estime. Ces patinotres que l'on vend maintenant en France, blanches quasi comme ivoire, viennent de là... Et les femmes portent bracelets de ces écailles de poisson.", Thévet, p. 63 bis. Les sept sauvages de Terre-Neuve venus à Rouen en 1613 portent des peaux d'animaux: ours, cerfs et phoques.
[27] Benoît Brouillette, *La Chasse des animaux à fourrure au Canada* (Paris: Gallimard, 1934), premier chapitre. Robert Le Blant, "Le commerce compliqué des fourrures canadiennes au début du XVIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique français*, vol. 26, no 1, (juin 1972), pp. 53-66.
[28] *Courses de testes*, p. 2.

SURREALIST TRAITS IN THE HEADS OF ALFRED PELLAN[1]

Surrealism advocated the primacy of the subconscious in an attempt to correct what it viewed as an overemphasis on man's rationalism. To achieve this aim, the principles of automatic writing and painting were explored, psychoanalytic theory was studied and the Romantic notion that love, the most irrational of emotions, championed all became an important tenet of the movement.

Surrealist painters were no longer content to portray the world as the rational mind saw it. Instead, they created dream worlds, some of which were abstract, others depicted with photographic realism. In the context of these paintings anything was possible. Familiar objects need not have logical connections nor conform to the laws of gravity or proportion. In addition, fantasy objects were created by the use of the double or composite image and traditional spatial concepts were altered. These dream paintings were more than a visual record of an individual artist's subconscious: they were a declaration of the validity and importance of man's irrational nature.

Alfred Pellan's introduction to Surrealism occurred in Paris, where he lived from 1926 until 1940. At the time he was not actively involved with the Surrealists but he was aware of and influenced by their work.[2] As evidence of this Pellan "preached to all who would listen of Apollinaire, Eluard, Picasso and of Breton's *Manifestes du Surréalisme*"[3] on his return to Montreal. Although not all of Pellan's oeuvre is Surrealist, Surrealist subject matter, imagery and stylistic devices are found with frequency in his work.

Pellan's treatment of the head, a favourite and recurring subject, is indicative of his relationship with Surrealism. Eschewing the morbid or decadent manifestations of the unleashed subconscious,[4] Pellan's abstract approach is basically straightforward, often optimistic and sometimes playful. In some instances his use of Surrealist vocabulary is conventional; in others, it is more personalized.

Pellan's interest in the human head is seen in his earliest works. Prior to 1935, a number of portraits were executed in which the head, naturalistically rendered and based on the work of Modigliani and Picasso,[5] is the most prominent feature. Examples are *Self-Portrait* (P. 60p)[6], 1928; *Mme Claude Bernard* (P. 90p), 1934[7]; and *Mlle Genevieve Tirot* (P. 82p),

Fig. 1. Alfred Pellan, *Tête* or *Le Père Ubu* (P. 40p), 1935, gouache, 13″ x 8″. Private Collection.

Fig. 2. Alfred Jarry, *True Portrait of Monsieur Ubu*, 1896.

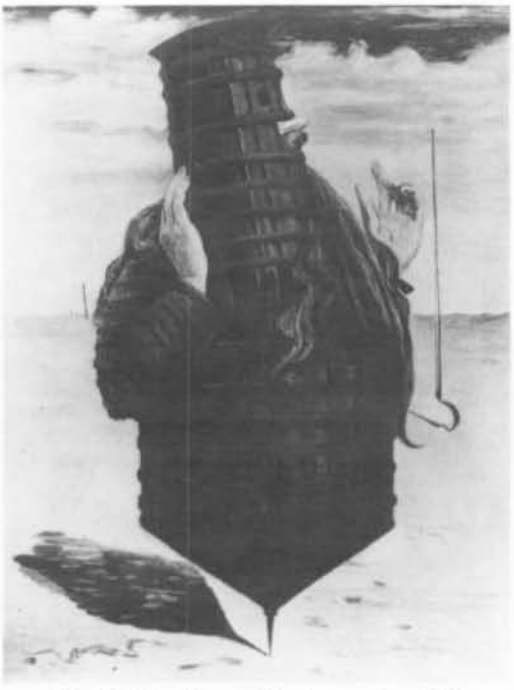

Fig. 3. Max Ernst, *Ubu Imperator*, 1924, oil on canvas, 39⅜″ x 31⅞″. Private Collection.

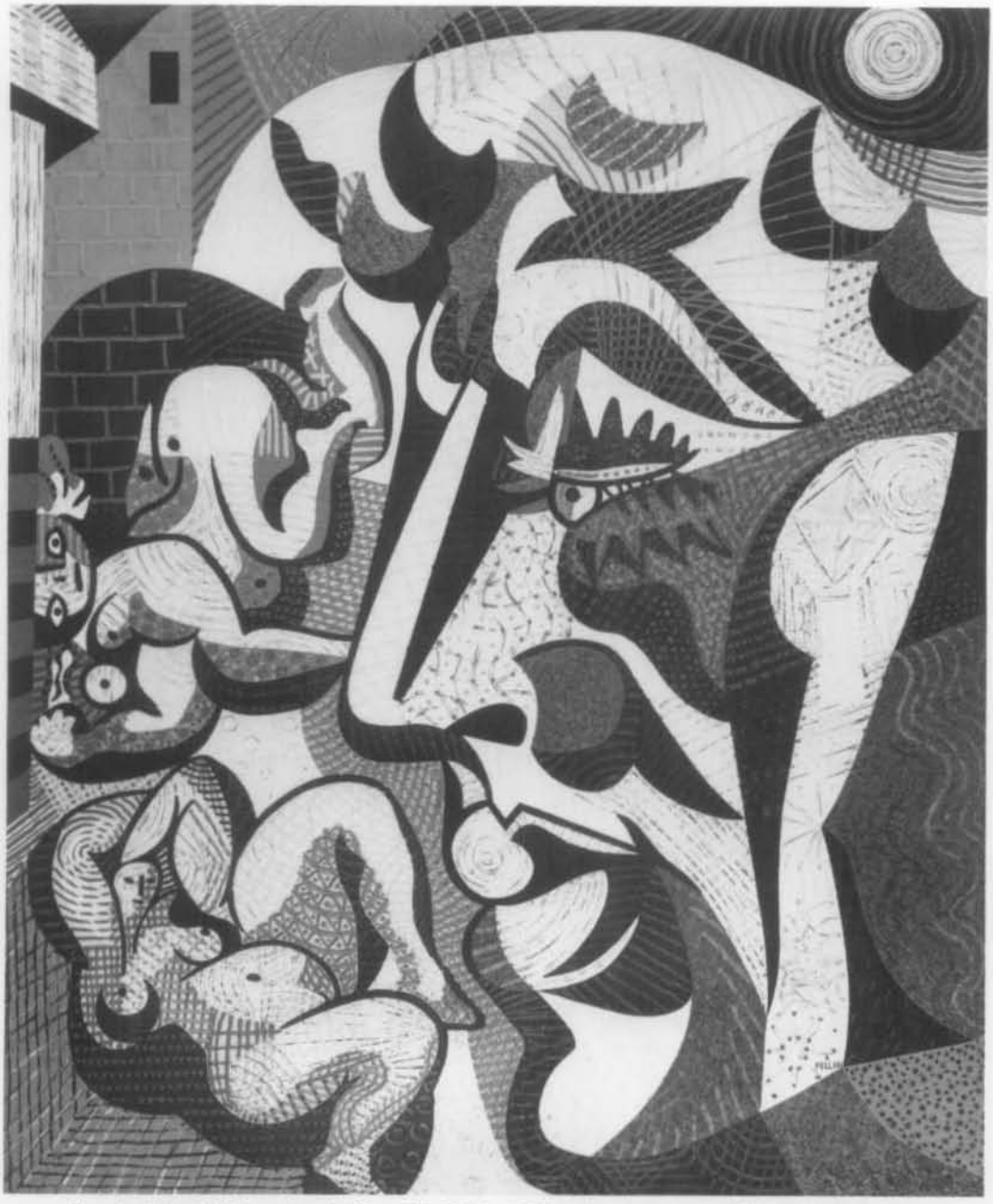

Fig. 4. Alfred Pellan, *Sur la Plage* (P. 230p), 1945, oil on canvas, 81¾" x 66". Coll. The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

1930-35.[8] The portraits are characterized by the proximity of the sitter to the picture plane, the simplicity of the background, the strong modelling of the facial features, the use of simple geometric shapes and the calmness of mood.[9]

Although Pellan continues to work in this naturalistic geometric manner, a large number of works dating from the mid-1930's are considerably more abstract, more organic, and more agitated, indicating a new approach. *Tête* or *Le Père Ubu*[10] (P. 40p), 1935, contains these new attitudes to form and is Surrealist in both subject matter and style (Fig. I). Ubu is the central character in Alfred Jarry's play, *Ubu Roi*, published and produced in 1896. Jarry's stupid, vulgar, aggressive, violent hero, or anti-hero, who ignores the conventions of life, refuses to compromise and rejects logic, symbolized the revolt against a bourgeois mentality and the absurdity of life. Jarry was hailed by the Surrealists as a precursor of their movement. His influence on Surrealism though, was primarily literary, reflected in the Surrealist writers' expansion of the black comedy genre and their continued experiments with the French language.

Visual models for Ubu were provided by Jarry in his *True Portrait of Monsieur Ubu* (Fig. 2) and costume directions. Jarry depicts Ubu as a short, rotund figure, clothed in an encasing robe with a hood that ends, appropriately, in a dunce's cap. The hood hides Ubu's face except for his eyes and nose. In early productions of the play Jarry suggested that his hero wear a mask constructed to emphasize Ubu's piglike nose.

There are few Surrealist paintings that depict Ubu but both Max Ernst and Joan Miró portray the subject in the early 1920's. Ernst's *Ubu Imperator*, 1924, contains only the figure of Ubu (Fig. 3) whereas Miró's *Portrait of Madame B*, 1924, with Ubu located at the lower left, includes other elements of the play. Both artists follow Jarry's model in the stocky, bulbous rendering of the figure. Miró alone makes reference to the dunce's cap but both Ubus have a prominent, snout-like nose. Jarry's figure gave the impression of difficulty in moving and this is seen in both Surrealist versions. Despite Ernst's transformation of Ubu's body into a spinning top resting on a tiny point, his actions are tentative and very wobbly.[11]

Pellan's *Le Père Ubu* is quite unlike these versions. Aside from the nose, Ubu's identifying characteristics are absent, unless one accepts the circular motif to the left of Ubu's head as an echo of the spiral design of the

stomach of Jarry's drawing. In contrast to the earlier, somewhat passive depictions, Pellan has presented Ubu's violent, aggressive nature in the twisting torso and strong, angular arms. The frontal positioning of the figure coupled with the powerful, forward movement thrusts the figure at the spectator. Ubu no longer remains in his self-contained world but is an active, volatile force capable of projecting himself into our world. Where the earlier portrayals convey the stupidity and isolation of Ubu, Pellan also embodies the horrific aspects of Ubu's character that impinge upon other people's lives.

If the message contained in Pellan's *Le Père Ubu* differs from previous depictions so does his style. Reflecting a general tendency of the 1930's for a preference for organic forms, Pellan abstracts the figure, eliminating detail and concentrating on large generalized shapes. Naturalistic proportions are discounted and the head, inordinately large for the body, is stressed. In fact, the power of the figure lies in the head which dominates the composition. The emphasis on the head could well reflect another aspect of Ubu's character; his rather inflated notion of himself, what we would call his "swelled head". The dual title (*Tête* or *Le Père Ubu*) is a further indication of the importance of the head in this depiction.

The radical change in Pellan's style reflects the influence of Abstract Surrealism. André Masson's large organic forms, often outlined in black, containing transparent passages and pulsating with energy probably served as Pellan's inspiration.[12] Both artists' organic style grew out of a similar attitude to Cubism. It is possible that the freedom of style in *Le Père Ubu* also reflects the use of Surrealist automatic painting techniques, however, no documentation has been found indicating the precise date Pellan began using the method and in which works it occurs.[13]

Not all of Pellan's paintings are linked as obviously to literary sources as *Le Père Ubu* but many reflect subject matter common to both Surrealist painters and writers. *Sur la plage*[14] (P. 230 p.), 1945, (Fig. 4) embodies a theme of paramount interest to the Surrealists: the importance of love and desire as an essential part of man's life. In Pellan's version of the subject, man is an outsider in this world of potential joy and fulfillment. Located on a plane in front of the females, the male is visibly divorced from them. His melancholy and withdrawn expression testifies to a lack of hope in partaking of the uninhibited female world behind him. Static and rigid, the male head contrasts with the writhing, floating female

nudes, asserting isolation through disproportionate size.[15] Yet the possibility of male contact with the female figures is not totally excluded. Integrated into the composition by the pervading, multi-patterned design, the male is visually associated with them.

The method of organizing a pictorial surface in this particular manner, by brightly coloured, thickly textured patterns, originates in Synthetic Cubism. It was first used in conjunction with still life subject matter but constitutes an important aspect of Picasso's later figure studies.[16] For the most part Picasso's patterns are geometric, composed of dots and/or lines, either restricted to the figures or present throughout the entire composition. The style is used by Masson and Miró in their Surrealist portrait heads[17] but their patterns are more organic than Picasso's, often expressing an inner life through symbols, not just forming a surface design.

Although stylistically closer to Picasso in this respect,[18] Pellan uses a stock Surrealist device to segregate the head: the isolation of one element in the composition by contrast, unexpected spatial location and/or dismemberment. In *Sur la plage*, the contrast of size, action and expression as well as the unexpected spatial location of the head have been discussed. In addition, the head seems severed, appearing out of nowhere, related to nothing.

A major source for the Surrealist dismembered head image[19] is found in the work of Giorgio de Chirico,[20] where heads of statues are presented out of context and seemingly unrelated to other objects in the composition. Salvador Dali, René Magritte and André Masson base their dismembered head images on the de Chirico model and while each artist develops his own approach to the image, de Chirico's eerie, disturbing, enigmatic mood is retained. Pellan too admired the work of de Chirico,[21] however, the closest prototype for Pellan's dismembered heads appear to be those of Masson (Fig. 5), which are usually depicted in profile, often patterned and throbbing with suppressed energy.[22]

The primary manifestation of the dismembered head in Pellan's oeuvre is the head as spectator, seen in profile and set off to one side of the composition. *Mêchant faune* (P. 208d) recalls *Sur la plage* in depicting the plight of the alienated male mesmerized by his inability to make contact with the female. In *Danse de la vie*, (P. 310Ap), the immobility of the figures at the left is symbolized by the stone blocks that comprise their heads. Despite a similar treatment, the dancing women are capable of

ignoring the stone blocks, moving in arched, circular and diagonal rhythms.[23] The figures at the left may be made of the same stuff but their inability to ignore its limitations further emphasizes their solitude.[24] Both works are similar in the use of the cut-off, oversized, comparatively static head positioned to one side of the composition.

Redoute (P. 245d), 1948,[25] (Fig. 6) is a variation on the theme. The dismembered head is disproportionate in size, rigid, and solitary but unlike the previous examples it is more centrally situated in the composition. The head differs in other respects: it is grafted on to the trees, becoming inextricably part of them and it is transparent, revealing objects within or behind.

The use of transparency to create a dream image is again a Surrealist device. In the work of Magritte the device occurs in its most obvious form: the transformation of an opaque object into a transparent one allowing the spectator to see objects located behind it.[26] Francis Picabia's transparencies are somewhat different (Fig. 7). His complex compositions based on mythological themes merge objects both in front of and behind transparent heads. The objects, varying in size and spilling out of the head, are not part of a definable space, thus making the spectator unsure of their spatial location.[27] The subject matter of *Redoute* is not mythological, but, the type of transparency with its resulting spatial confusion is akin to Picabia's.[28]

In *Cupidon* (P. 389p), Pellan employs another form of Surrealist transparency, actually hollowing out parts of a solid form (Fig. 8). The technique is found in Ernst's *Woman, Old Man and Flower,* 1923, where in addition to the transparency of the central figure, the apertures in his torso allow a partial view of the landscape behind him (Fig. 9). Pellan uses the hole in Cupidon's nose for another purpose: the inclusion of symbols related to his subject matter. The form of the opening in the nose is an inverted heart and suspended in it is another heart containing the all-seeing eye of love in the middle. A third heart is located in the hair. Other symbols relating to love are the miniature cupid nestled in the ear and holding an arrow, the arrow earring and the lunar and solar design on Cupidon's chest.

Pellan's incorporation of Surrealist stylistic devices is not limited to the isolated, dismembered head and transparency. His utilization of the double and the composite image reveals the extent of his debt to Surrealism. Initially inspired by Surrealist literature, the concept of *l'un dans*

Fig. 5. André Masson, *Portrait de Goethe*, 1940, oil, 18 3/16" x 24". Private Collection.

Fig. 6. Alfred Pellan, *Redoute* (P. 245d), 1948, pencil, 11¾" x 9". Coll. Bernard Beaupré, Montreal.

Fig. 7. Francis Picabia, *Chloris*, 1939, oil, 63" x 51¼". Private Collection.

Fig. 8. Alfred Pellan, *Cupidon* (P. 389p), N.D., oil on board, 11¼" x 8½". Private Collection.

Fig. 9. Max Ernst, *Woman, Old Man and Flower*, 1923-24, oil on canvas, 38" x 51¼". Coll. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

l'autre or the double image is a common Surrealist motif. In its simplest form, the double image is an object that contains, or has been given, two or more meanings, one not necessarily related to the others. The comprehension of the multiple significance of these objects is dependent upon a release from traditional modes of perception and presentation.

Punning is an excellent vehicle for indicating the double meaning of words. Roger Vitrac's (1900-1952) famous example *Dés-lyre = délire*, the title of his collected poems, illustrates the method by which a common word, *délire* (delirious), is transformed to link two unrelated words, *dés* and *lyre*. The addition of an 's', the substitution of a 'y' for an 'i', and the splitting of the word into two syllables joined by a hyphen results in the irrational or nonsensical phrase "lyrical dice". Although totally unrelated in meaning, lyrical dice are not an improbable result of delirium.

Similar techniques are used by Pellan in *Grise-ailes* ("grey wings"), the title of both a drawing (P. 239d) and a painting (P. 325p) dated 1948.[29] The words *grise* and *ailes* are not usually hyphenated: the presence of the hyphen implies that the two words are meant to be seen as a single unit. By actually joining the words together and changing the spelling slightly, the word *grisaille* is formed, a term sometimes referring to a style of painting in tones of grey popular on the exterior wings of Medieval and Northern Renaissance altar-pieces. Unlike Vitrac's example, the pronunciation of each word set is markedly different and the meanings markedly similar. An equally possible interpretation of Pellan's title and one closer in sound to *Grise-ailes* is *grise-elle*(s).[30]

Regardless of which version is chosen, all relate to the works under discussion; *Grise-ailes* referring to the winged forms in the composition, *grisaille* to the greyish tones of the original drawing, and *grise-elle*(s) to the overtly feminine character of the flying figure in the sky. The addition of the hyphen acts as a clue, signaling the unusual and pointing to multiple meanings, the basic characteristic of a Surrealist double image.

Pictorial double images were extensively developed by Salvador Dali who realized that the principles applied to words by Surrealist writers could also be used with visual images. His inspiration was a photograph of natives sitting in front of their huts. Turning the photograph vertically, Dali saw a human face.[31] Rather than continuing to use found objects (i.e. photographs) as a take-off point, Dali began painting his own double, and often multiple, images. In *Apparition of Face and Fruit Dish on a Beach*, 1938, the double image of landscape/face first seen in the

photograph is extended to include a third image, a fruit bowl, and even a fourth, a dog. This visual punning quickly becomes part of the Surrealist painter's vocabulary.

Equally Surrealist is the composite image. Inspired by Lautrémont's famous phrase, "Beautiful like the fortuitous encounter on an operating table of a sewing machine and an umbrella", and supported by Freudian and Hegelian theory, the Surrealists sought new meanings for objects in random combinations. Unlike the double image, each component in the composite image maintains its identity and the new meaning results solely from juxtaposition rather than multiple interpretations of a single object.[32]

There are two types of composite image. In the first type different words or objects are located in the same space or on the same plane. Unrelated words are arbitrarily combined in the same sentence or phrase in literature to produce images such as Breton's "wet streetlamps" or "bells made of straw". Magritte's combinations of unrelated objects[33] are the visual equivalent of Breton's "mixed metaphors". Pellan uses this type of composite image in *Jardin mauve* (P. 386p), 1958, when he links a pansy (which can also be read as a double image of a face) to the kite and the moon by a white dotted line. The three objects exist in the same space, the sky, and on the same plane. While the moon and the kite have logical associations, both being objects one expects to find in the sky, the pansy does not.

Although in certain cases whole words or objects are actually joined together to create the second type of composite image, usually only parts of words or images are fused, forming a new entity. Writing on the meaning of the word 'phallustrade' which was created by this technique, Ernst says "What is a phallustrade? It is a product of alchemy, composed of the following elements: autostrade, balustrade, and a certain number of phalluses. A phallustrade is a verbal collage."[34] Ernst and the other Surrealists used the technique to make "visual collages". Examples are Ernst's *The Chinese Nightingale*, 1920 and Magritte's *Gigantic Days*, 1928.

Returning to a study of the heads found in Pellan's oeuvre, the double and composite image are used with frequency, sometimes in the same composition. The left side of the head in *Redoute* is both face and tree, creating a double image, while the centre section of the head, through the device of transparency, contains what may be an architectural landscape on the same plane, creating a composite image. The right side of

the head repeats the head/tree double image and the stone blocks and miniature heads of the centre section.

Physionomagie (P.237d), 1948, (Fig. 10) employs both the visual double image and the verbal composite image. The title is a fictitious word created by the first syllables of *physiognomy* and the word *magie.* The resulting hybrid is an apt description of the subject matter: magic is indeed necessary to transform the physiognomy into a double image of a landscape depicted in aerial perspective.

Each feature of the face contributes to the dual meaning. The nose, transformed into a river or a road spanned by a bridge, divides the landscape/face into two unequal parts. The left side connotes female forces. A crescent shaped moon is found in the iris of the left eye. Traditionally a female symbol and one used frequently by the Surrealists, the moon is also a symbol of fertility. It was believed that the lunar cycle had a mysterious connection with the physiological cycle of woman as well as regulating rainfall, thus determining the fecundity of both woman and nature. The dense, full trees in the cheeks relate to the fertility theme while their generalized shapes resemble female heads.

On the opposite side, the sun, the double image of the right eye, nourishes the grass that grows below it. The sun is the male counterpart of the female moon; the straight, upright forms of the grass contrast with the soft, curving forms of the trees of the left side, echoing the masculine motif found in the right side. Although the sun is not usually associated with fertility in the mythological and alchemical sources used by the Surrealists, solar light and heat are necessary components in the maturation process of plant life. The importance of both the sun and the moon in the natural cycle of growth is emphasized by their proximity to the foliage. Completing this part of the face is a mouth turned on end in the bottom section and the double image of hair/bird to the right of the centre part. The location of the bird completes the reading of the landscape as a series of ascending planes moving from earth to sky.

The head as a double image is used again in an illustration for *Le Voyage d'Harlequin* (P.183d). Unlike *Physionomagie,* the head is not the dominant element of the composition (Fig. 11) but like *Physionomagie* the head has become an object capable of multiple interpretations. In this instance the head is both head, female torso and tree. The eyes have become breasts and branches stream from the mouth and hair. In *Femme assise* (P.199d), 1948, (Fig. 12) Pellan does not begin with the head and transform it into

another object but changes the female's torso into a double image of a head. The eyes are synonymous with the breasts, the nose with the rib cage and the mouth with the fleshy folds of the abdomen. Narrowing at the chin or pelvic region, the silhouette of the face is also that of the torso.[35]

A variation of the merging of the head and the torso to form a double image is seen in *Goétie* ("Evil Spirit")[36] , (P.242d), 1948. Eliminating the neck of the female at the right, Pellan merges the enlarged facial features (the only reference to the head) with the upper part of the torso. The resulting, almost grotesque, image reflects the title as does the second double image of arm/wings growing out of the face/body. As in *Femme assise* a certain amount of confusion exists due to the unexpected location of the head in a torso. The disproportionate size of the torso/heads increases the disconcerting effect and the presence of more than one head in *Femme assise* adds to the enigma of this work.[37]

Pellan's association of the head or its features with parts of the body other than the torso occurs in many works. Sometimes a miniature head or eyes are placed almost randomly on the shoulders or legs as in *Femme d'une pomme* (P.227p), 1948, and *La Chouette* (P.290p), 1954. More often, the head is merged with the hand or part of the hand to form a double image . In *Evasion* (P.215p), orginally entitled *A la minute, poème de Paul Eluard*, 1949, the whole hand becomes a double image of a head, In *L'Amour fou* (P.271p), 1954, the double image is restricted to the fingernails and only part of the head, the eyes.[38]

Both devices occur in *La chiromancienne* (P.257p) or *The Palmist* (Fig. 13). As in *Goétie*, the neck is eliminated and the head is absorbed into the upper part of the torso but unlike *Goétie*, the double image of face/torso is replaced by the multiple image of hand (or palm)/face/torso. In addition, part of this hand, the second finger, becomes a double image for part of the face, the nose. The lower section of the torso consists of another torso/hand double image. Attention is drawn to the four hands in the composition by either relocation, disproportionate size and/or the design patterns formed by the other compositional elements. The emphasis on the hands reinforces the subject matter and tellingly, the most important of these is the hand that contains the palm/face double image.

Equateur magnétique[39] (P.243d), 1948, (Fig. 14) contains four heads, each of which is a double image. Three of the heads are located one above another on the central vertical axis. The lowest of these, the hand/head,

Fig. 10. Alfred Pellan, *Physionomagie* (P. 237d), 1948, pencil, 11¾" x 9". Collection Unknown.

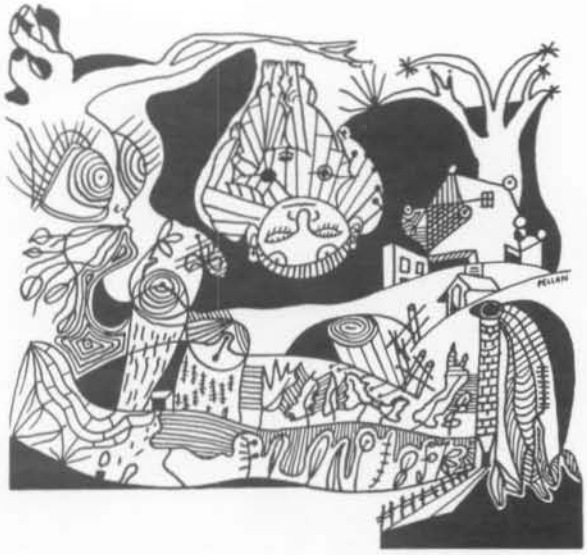

Fig. 11. Alfred Pellan, *Illustration from Le Voyage d'Harlequin* (P. 183d).

Fig. 12. Alfred Pellan, *Femme assise* (P. 199d), 1948, ink, 8¼" x 7⅛". Collection Unknown.

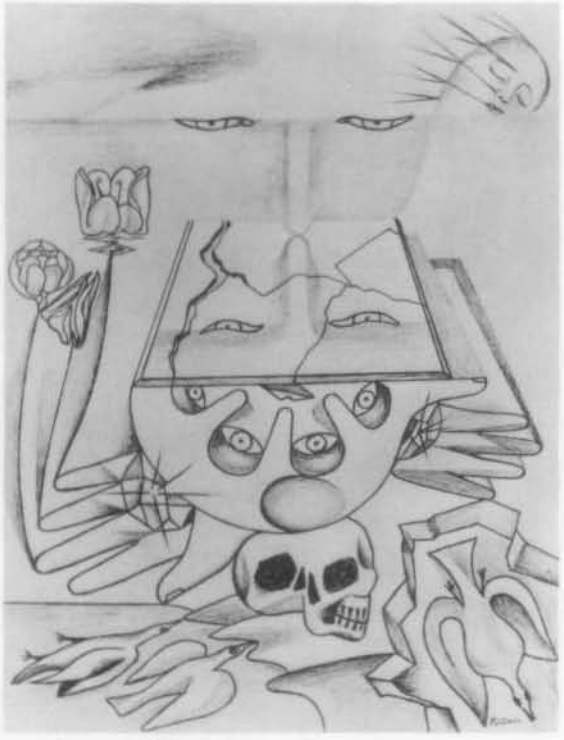

Fig. 14. Alfred Pellan, *Equateur magnétique* (P. 243d), 1948, pencil, 11¾" x 9". Private Collection.

Fig. 15. Alfred Pellan, *Médium* (P. 230d), 1948, pencil, 11¾" x 9". Collection Unknown.

Fig. 13. Alfred Pellan, *La chiromancienne* (P. 257p), 1948, oil on velvet paper, 13" x 10". Private Collection.

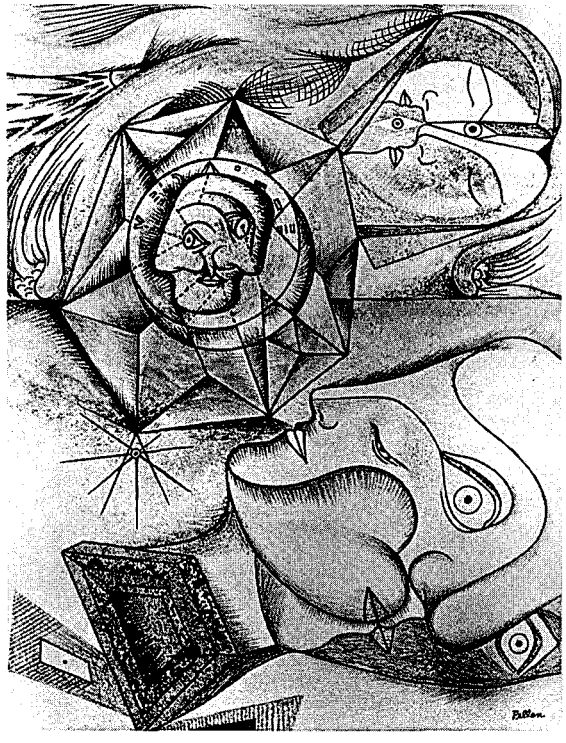

Fig. 16. Alfred Pellan, *Face au Polyèdre* (P. 322p), 1954-55, oil on board, 11⅞" x 9". Private Collection.

Fig. 17. Alfred Pellan, *Face et profil* (P. 158d), 1944, charcoal, 23" x 18½". Coll. Concordia University Collection of Art.

Fig. 18. Alfred Pellan, *Jeune fille* (P. 159d), 1944, charcoal, 24⅛" x 19". Coll. Musée d'art contemporain, Montreal.

Fig. 19. Alfred Pellan, *Composition* (P. 160d), N.D., charcoal, 25" x 19" Collection Unknown.

is similar to *L'Amour fou* with its finger/eyes but includes a mouth, making the whole hand function as a multi-eyed deformed head. Above it, and also inverted, is a section of a head, whose narrowing silhouette forms part of a rectangular frame. Although partially shaded, the head appears quite two-dimensional. The flatness of the face, the frame, and particularly, the crack lines running across the face suggest a mirror or "double image" of the head above it. While not as overt a double image as the landscape/face found in *Physionomagie*, the eyes of this latter head do become part of the horizon line and the silhouette and nose can be read as contours in the earth.[40] Adding to the reading of this head as landscape/face is the fourth head, situated above and to the right, and joined to its neighbour by a continuing, hence shared, line. The fourth head is a double image of face/setting sun. The interpretation is supported by the head's position on the horizon, the rays emanating from it and its sleeping posture.

Médium (P.230d), 1948, (Fig. 15) contains both double and composite images. Two heads depicted in profile are fused to form a single entity, symbolizing physical union. Joined only at the back, the faces of the male and female retain their individuality, one personifying age, the other youth. In the area where the heads merge is another composite image: a female with an extra pair of legs.

The composite female is also a double image. Her second pair of legs, angled to an upright body, suggests open bird's wings. The head, disproportionately small for the body, is that of a bird, complete with beak. Reinforcing the bird image is her position: she stands suspended in mid-air, seeming to rise slowly, her ascending movement enhanced by the curving lines comprising the head's hair. The source of this double image may lie in the works of Max Ernst and René Magritte where sensuous women hover in mid-air or birds and women are portrayed together.[41]

The types of images depicted in *Médium* are only one indication of the drawing's relationship to Surrealism. The Surrealists believed that man could transcend reality and attain the absolute or surreal through the realization of desire and the love of a woman. *Médium* embodies these concepts. The double image of woman/bird alludes to the female's transcendental qualities.[42] Her rounded body and prominent breasts assert her sensuality. The title of the drawing suits the subject matter and the imagery. The female is not only the mediator between the real and

the surreal, she is the mediator between youth and age. The word medium also implies visionary phenomena: the hallucinatory double and composite images are the vehicle by which concrete form is given to abstract ideas of love and woman.

While Pellan's composite images are Surrealist, the device of fusing two heads attached to a single neck derives from Picasso's heads incorporating both frontal and profile views. Picasso began using this type of head in the early years of Synthetic Cubism to convey simultaneity. Pellan who was most receptive to Picasso's work[43] used the simultaneous view frequently. The large, statue head in Pellan's *Face au polyédre* (P.322p), 1954-55,[44] (Fig. 16) initially looks like a profile but further inspection reveals a full face view in the back section of the head.[45] The smallest head, located in the polyhedron, contains two noses seen in profile, placed on opposite sides of a head whose mouth and centre nose are presented in full face. In the head at the top of the composition, two profile views facing each other are placed within the same oval head. Following Picasso's example, Pellan uses various methods to depict the simultaneously viewed head.[46] Regardless of which technique is used the different views are united by shared features, a continuous outline and, of course, the single neck.

A study of three of Pellan's drawings reveals the process by which the simultaneous view is transformed to encompass the Surrealist composite image. *Face et profil* (P.158d), 1944, (Fig. 17) remains close to the Picasso prototype but begins to suggest the presence of two heads rather than two views of a single head.[47] The head at the right contains references to both frontal and profile views by the inclusion of two eyes and the hint of a full face nose in what is essentially a profile view. Notwithstanding the similarity of this head (the one at the right) with those of Picasso, the addition of another full face view at the left is not at all characteristic of Picasso.

Jeune fille (P.159d), a related work of the same date, more obviously suggests two heads (Fig. 18). Despite the shared neck, body and mouth, the heads seem superimposed. The third eye (a feature not found in the work of Picasso) is more visible and now two chins are included, increasing the quality of superimposition and the individual identity of each head.

In comparison to both drawings by Pellan the heads depicted by Picasso are more expressionistic and abstract; the forms are more organic

and fluid, giving the impression of various views melting into each other to form a cohesive whole. Pellan's forms on the other hand are static and more naturalistic; the line is tight and controlled; the image, composed of separate elements, is a solid structure in which each part retains a distinctive identity.

Pellan's shift to the composite image consisting of two vastly differing elements (Fig. 19) is found in *Composition* (P.160d). While the style, composition and the inclusion of a combined view in the head at the right are based on *Jeune fille*, the image is now composed of a male and a female and can no longer be interpreted as various views of a single object. Originally entitled *Françoise Gilot and Pablo Picasso*, the drawing is a double portrait.[48] Each of the sitters is identifiable but the figures have been fused, sharing a mouth, neck, torso and a continuous chin line. Fusing the figures is not done for the purpose of sumultaneity but to indicate the couple's love. The heart embedded in Picasso's hair and the arrow on his nose reinforce the subject matter, recalling *Cupidon*. Although the image is Surrealist, Pellan continues to employ Cubist techniques, perhaps not inappropriately given the identity of the male figure.

Médium is the last stage in the process. As in *Composition*, the heads have been fused to symbolize physical union but all references to the combination of full and profile views are eliminated. The image, formed by fusing parts of different objects to create a new entity, is now completely Surrealist.

The fusing of a head and a clock in *Le sixième sens* (P.270p), 1954, (Fig. 20) is another example of Pellan's use of the Surrealist composite image. Although the multiple views of the head suggest Cubist simultaneity,[49] the presence of the clock in the head is clearly a Surrealist device.[50] Its inclusion is essential to the meaning of the work. While the title *le sixième sens*, somewhat captures the intent of the painting, it is not as helpful a clue in interpreting the work as the title of the drawing for the painting, *Radar de l'aveugle* (P.226d), 1948.[51] The three-faced male head is that of a blind man, "looking" in all directions. The eyes in each of the views are either covered with opaque glasses or closed, indicating lack of sight. The five miniature human figures, three upright and two inverted, situated in the structure representing the upper male torso and the topsy-turvy spatial location of the other elements in the composition convey the disorienting spatial experiences of the blind. Like the birds in

the painting, the blind move through space almost by instinct. This instinct or sixth sense can be trained and controlled until it approaches mechanical perfection. The precision required in spatial movement is symbolized by the clock, as is the necessity of accurate timing. Both these characteristics, precision and timing, are essential for the blind, who more than anyone need a "built-in clock".

The theme of the painting explains the prominence given to the hands in the upper half of the composition. The hand, because of its ability to touch, is a vital tool of the blind, helping him to assess the size and position of objects in space. In the hand located directly above the head, the fingers or agents of touch have been stressed. The hand at the top of the painting is a double image of hand and bird, embodying the link between the radar system of the blind (relying on the hand) and that of the bird. The hand also contains an allusion to an airplane, establishing a connection with the mechanical clock. Dismembered, the hand floats freely above the horizon, further linking the bird/hand/plane image.[52]

Dismemberment also occurs in the head. Although attached to a structure that suggests the presence of a body because it houses five figures, the dissimilarity of the structure and the head signifies two distinct forms. Lacking movement, the head remains apart from the otherwise active and, at times, chaotic composition. Dismemberment, contrast of movement and stylistic treatment isolate the head, focussing attention on it, counteracting its small size.

In *Le sixième sens* the theme is lack of sight; in *Jongleur*, 1941 (Fig. 21), an unnumbered tapestry based on the painting *Tête de Clown* (P.160p), the importance of accurate vision is stressed. Both works utilize repetition to convey meaning. The three-faced head of the blind man looks in all directions, attempting to "see". The path of movement of the juggler's ball is portrayed by repeating the ball; the movement of the head following the ball by repeating the eyes and mouth. The pupils face in various directions, indicationg the necessity of the juggler to look in all directions at once.

Pellan's depiction of simultaneous vision ultimately derives from Cubism but the device of repeating pairs of eyes may be based on Picabia's Surrealist work of the 1920's. In *Souvenir de Juan-les-Pins*, 1924, by Picabia, the pupils of three sets of eyes placed one above another look in different directions (Fig. 22). Unlike Pellan's *Jongleur*, the image does not represent simultaneity of vision. The multiple eyes indicate the totally disorienting effect of love. It is exactly this meaning that is implied when the triple set of eyes and mouth are used by Pellan in the male

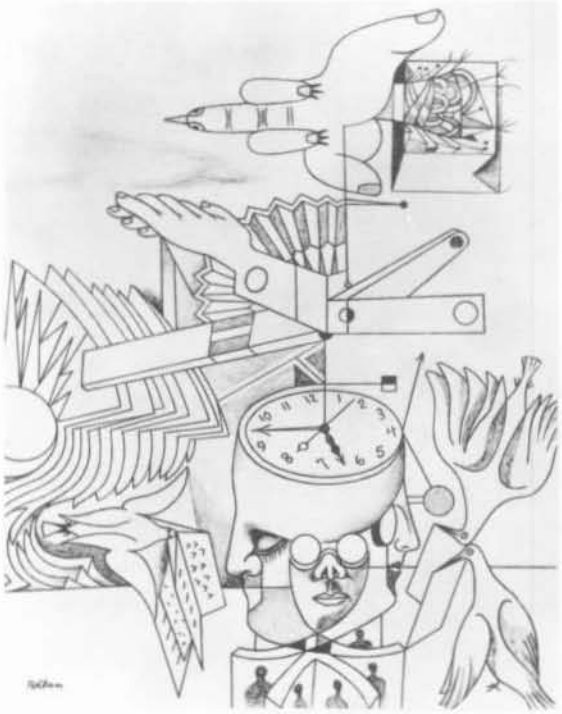

Fig. 20. Alfred Pellan, *Radar de l'aveugle* (P. 226d), 1948, pencil, 11¾" x 9". Collection Unknown.

Fig. 21. Alfred Pellan, *Jongleur*, 1941, tapestry, 75" x 60". Coll. Musée du Québec, Québec.

Fig. 22. Francis Picabia, *Souvenir de Juan les Pins*, 1924, oil, 41⅜" x 31⅝". Private Collection.

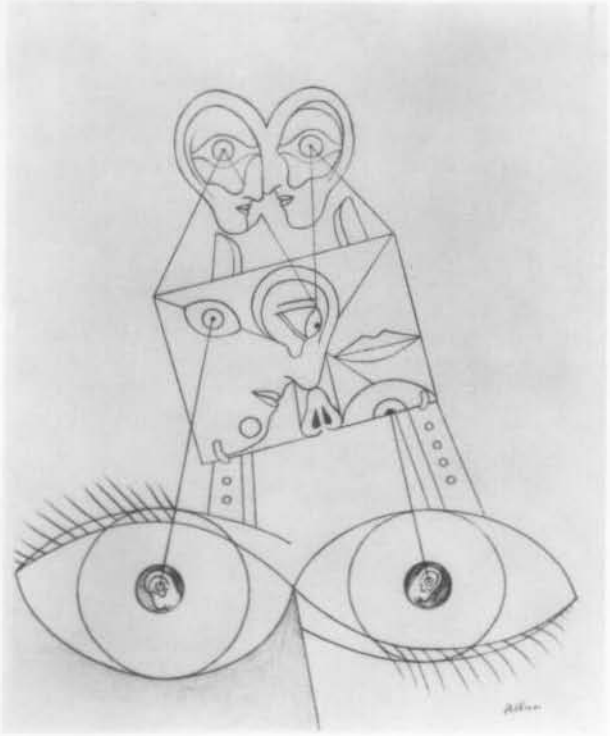

Fig. 23. Alfred Pellan, *Question d'optique* (P. 256d), 1948, pencil, 11¾" x 9". Coll. Laval University.

figure in *Fragments* (P.229d).[53]

Pellan's use of the motif in *Question d'optique* (P.256d) is less derivative (Fig. 23). Three sets of eyes constitute the composition. The lower eyes and glasses are enormous suggesting magnification and the need for concentration in seeing accurately. The eyes at the top are contained in a multiple image — two profile heads formed by the joining of two ears or two profile heads contained in a heart — symbolizing the effects of sound and emotion on sight. Additional double images are found in the profile heads in the pupils of the lower eyes. Each eye in the upper and lower sets is connected to an eye in the rectangular painting in the centre. Rather than using the connecting lines to indicate perspective in this 'painting within a painting' Pellan portrays a head in combined view in the left half and dismembered floating facial features in the right. Echoing a basic Surrealist belief, the implication is that vision is controlled by many factors and a new approach to perception outside the world of painting influences depictions within the world of art.

Throughout this article, reference has been made to numerous similarities between Alfred Pellan's work and that of the Surrealists. It appears that Pellan borrows themes, primarily his concept of love, and stylistic devices such as double images, isolation, dismemberment, contrast, transparency and repetition from Surrealist artists. Attention has been drawn to possible sources but it is difficult to say with certainty that Pellan was influenced by specific Surrealist examples, not only because Pellan's exposure to and interest in the movement occurred over a number of years but also because, in many instances, he seems to have absorbed and reworked his initial source of inspiration. The incorporation of elements from other artists, notably Picasso, and the creation of new interpretations of Surrealist subject matter seen in *Le Père Ubu, Sur la Plage, Médium,* and *Question d'optique* and the introduction of his own subject matter in *Le sixième sens* further complicates the nature of Pellan's relationship to Surrealism. Yet, it is precisely Pellan's ability to utilize Surrealist subject matter and motifs with originality that affirms both his contribution to the Surrealist movement and his originality as an artist.

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Notes:

[1] This paper was first presented on February 6, 1975 at the Art Gallery of Ontario as part of the lecture series *Canadian Art, Past and Present*. I wish to express my thanks to Grace Brickell for her help in preparing the manuscript and to Jennifer Harper for assisting in assembling the photographs.

[2] Accounts of the legendary 1936 job interview at the Ecole des beaux-arts in Quebec City vary but the names of artists cited by Pellan as his personal preferences include Max Ernst and Joan Miró. See Guy Robert, *Pellan* (Montréal: Editions du Centre de Psychologie et Pédagogie, 1963), p. 33.

[3] Robert, p. 52.

[4] Pellan's concern for the potential dangers inherent in Surrealist philosophy are expressed in a 1966 interview with Jacques Folch on the occasion of Pellan's sixtieth birthday, reprinted in *liberté*, 9, no 2, (Mars-Avril 1976), pp. 64-70.

[5] The affinities between Pellan's work in the early 1930's and that of Modigliani and Picasso were noted in a number of contemporary reviews. See in particular J.V.L., "Forces Nouvelles," *Beaux Arts*, 19 April 1935, p. 8.

[6] The information contained in brackets refers to Pellan's personal inventory. To avoid confusion, "p" designating painting or "d" designating drawing has been added to Pellan's number because, although Pellan lists his paintings and drawings separately, both compilations are numbered consecutively from 1 on. All of Pellan's works are illustrated on microfilm. See *Alfred Pellan et son oeuvre* (Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec), tape 4.

[7] According to Pellan's inventory, this painting is what remains of a destroyed double portrait depicting Madame Bernard and her sister entitled *Les deux soeurs* (P.86p) dated 1934. The drapery in the background of *Mme. Claude Bernard* appears to have been added after the change in format and composition.

[8] Both Guy Robert, p. 130 and Germain Lefebvre in his catalogue, *Pellan* (Montreal: Museum of Fine Arts, 1972), cat. no. 4, p. 84, date the painting 1943, following the date given in Pellan's inventory. However in his monograph, *Pellan* (Montreal: Les Editions de l'Homme, 1973), p. 14, Lefebvre suggests a date of 1932. An earlier date was also proposed in *Pellan* (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1960), cat. no. 4, in which the painting is placed in the period 1930-1940. Based on stylistic evidence a date in the early 1930's is probably correct.

[9] One of the few examples of Pellan's sculpture, *Tête*, 1931, is quite similar to the *Self-Portrait*.

[10] The exact title of this work is unclear. The only title mentioned in Pellan's inventory is *Tête*. When first published in Maurice Gagnon's *Pellan* (Montreal: 1943), p. 36, illustration no. 7, the painting was titled *Le Père Ubu*. Robert, p. 130, refers to *Tête ou le Père Ubu*.

[11] The symbolism of Ernst's use of a spinning top for the figure of Ubu is discussed in John Russel's *Max Ernst* (London: 1967), p. 14. For an explanation of Miró's *Portrait of Madame B*, see Rosalind E. Krauss, "Magnetic Fields: The Structure" in *Joan Miró: Magnetic Fields* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1972), pp. 41-45.

[12] See Masson's *Une dame, Poisson en eventrant un autre* and *Animal blessé*, all dated 1929. It is equally possible that Picasso's organic work of the late 1920's and early 1930's was a direct influence on Pellan.

[13] Pellan states "de l'automatisme, j'en avais fait longtemps avant Borduas..." in Lefebvre's monograph, p. 95. A general discussion of Pellan's views on automatism is found in a reprint of a 1949 conversation between Pellan and Paul Duval in Duval's book *Four Decades: The Canadian Group of Painters and Their Contemporaries 1930-1970* (Toronto: 1972), p. 113. For a limited discussion of Pellan and automatism see Jean-René Ostiguy, "Les cadavres exquis des disciples de Pellan," *Vie des Arts*, No. 47 (Eté 1967), pp. 22-25.

[14] The title of the drawing for the painting is *Tête de faune* (P.191d).

[15] Pellan's bleak interpretation corresponds to a period in which he was experiencing difficulties in his own love life. According to Jean-René Ostiguy in a conversation with the author on October 19, 1973, Pellan locked himself in his apartment for several months refusing to see anyone.

[16] Examples of Picasso's use of patterning in various periods are *Vive la France*, 1914, *Girl Before a Mirror*, 1932 and the portraits of Dora Maar at the end of the 1930's.

[17] Miró's *Self-Portrait 1*, 1937-38, is a rare instance of his use of the technique. It occurs more frequently in the work of Masson. See Masson's *Portrait of the Poet Heinrich von Kleist*, 1939, the two portraits of *Goethe*, 1940 and *Leonardo da Vinci and Isabelle d'Este*, 1942.

[18] Interestingly, one of the earliest examples of the techniques in Pellan's oeuvre occurs in the still life *Nature morte au gant* (P.170p). Pellan's earlier interest in Picasso's work and the number of still lifes influenced by Picasso in the 1930's suggest that Pellan derived the technique from Picasso.

[19] A discussion of nineteenth century sources for the dismembered head motif as an apparition is found in Jean-Pierre Reverseau's "Pour une étude du thème de la tête coupée dans la seconde partie du XIX^{e} siècle," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (Septembre 1972), pp. 173-84.

[20] The statue-head appears in a number of de Chirico's paintings, notably *Song of Love*, 1913/14; *Span of Black Ladders*, 1914; *The Philosophers Promenade*, 1914 and *Hermetic Melancholy*, 1919.
Picasso's paintings which incorporate fragments of sculpture are quite different. The statuary usually relates to still life subject matter (e.g. *Studio with Plaster Head*, 1925) and lacks the enigmatic quality of de Chirico's work preferred by the Surrealists. In later works by Picasso, notably *Guernica*, the statue-head functions symbolically.
[21] Pellan's esteem for de Chirico is clearly shown in the drawing *Armuré (Hommage à Giorgio de Chirico des années 1912-20)*, (P.251d), 1948.
[22] See Masson's *Armand Salacrou*, 1929; *Portrait de G. H. Rivière*, 1930; and *Jardin des Plantes*, 1940.
[23] The arched female in the centre of the composition may be Pellan's version of the female as architectural double image first seen in Dali's *Of Paranoic Critical Town*, 1936.
[24] The device of females made of stone blocks derives from Ernst. For fuller discussion of the motif in Pellan's work see the author's "Pellan and Surrealism: l'Amour fou," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* (Fall 1974), p. 4f. The gender of the dismembered heads in *Dans de la vie*, however, is not easily identifiable. Equally difficult to identify are the heads in *Fontaine de jouvence* (P.312p), 1965, a work resembling *Danse de la vie* in composition and meaning. In *Redoute* (P.245d), the meaning of the stone blocks in conjunction with the head/tree double image is problematic.
[25] The date for the 1948 drawings discussed in this paper was provided by Pellan in conversation with the author on November 19, 1974. Pellan remembers the series well as it corresponds to a period of hospitalization. The painted version of *Redoute* is numbered (P.273p); Robert, p. 131, dates the painting 1954.
[26] Magritte began using the device in the early 1930's. It is found in *La Condition Humaine 1*, 1933; the *Red Model*, 1935; *The Fair Captive*, 1947; *Euclidean Walks*, 1955; and *The King's Museum*, 1966.
[27] See *Iodis*, 1929; *Medea*, 1929; and *Chloris*, 1939. Further discussion of Picabia's transparent technique is found in Michel Sanouillet, *Picabia* (Paris: 1946), pp. 47-49.
[28] Jean-René Ostiguy, *Un siècle de peinture canadienne* (Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 1971), p. 54, suggests affinities between the work of Pellan and Picabia but does not specify their nature.
[29] Both the pun and the style firmly establish the works as Surrealist, as does the original title *Grise-ailes, Hommage à Miró.*
[30] My thanks to Jean-René Ostiguy who suggested this interpretation. According to François Gagnon, *"grise-elle(s)"* has erotic or at least euphoric connotations in French. *Etre gris* is to be drunk. *Grise* is the imperative form, "make them drunk".
[31] Dali's method of "critical paranoia" greatly aided his ability to perceive double images.
[32] In writing on the Surrealist image André Breton quotes Pierre Reverdy:
"The image is a pure creation of the mind.
It cannot be born from a comparison but from a juxtaposition of two more or less distant realities.
The more the relationship between the two juxtaposed realities is distant and true, the stronger the image will be — the greater its emotional power and poetic reality...".
See Breton's "Manifesto of Surrealism," (1924) in *Manifestoes of Surrealism* (Ann Arbor: 1972) trans. by Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane, p. 20. Reverdy's statement was first printed in *Nord-Sud*, March 1918.
[33] See Magritte's *Threatening Weather*, 1928.
[34] *Cahiers d'Art*, 1937, pp. 38-40.
[35] François Gagnon suggests that Magritte's *Le Viol* may be the prototype for merging the female face and body. Unlike Magritte, however, Pellan does not alter the face, but transforms the torso. In addition, Magritte's use of the *vagina dentata* theme is more overt, resulting in a more foreboding image. The Pellan painting based on this drawing is entitled *Une Danseuse*, (P.239p).
[36] Robert, p. 130, refers to the work as *La scéance de psychanalyse ou Goétie*. In a conversation with the author on November 19, 1974, Pellan stated that the drawing's title was never *La scéance de psychanalyse*. Robert may have confused the painting P.242p with the drawing of the same number. It should be noted that P.242d and P.242p are unrelated.
[37] Both the drawing (P.240d) and the painting (P.237p), *Rubis sur l'ongle*, contain a stomach/face double image. In addition an extra face is located to the left of the figure.
[38] For a discussion of the meaning of the fingernail/eyes double image in *l'Amour fou* see the author's "Pellan and Surrealism: l'amour fou," p. 8.
[39] The title may be a reference to the Surrealist *champs magnétique*, taken from the title of the first automatic text written by André Breton and Philipe Soupault in 1921.
[40] The painted version (P.466p) replaces the shaded contour lines with a broken line and eliminates the cracks in the mirror. The double image of face/setting sun is accentuated by the orange-pink-yellow colouring.

[41] In Ernst's painting *The Fair Gardener*, 1923, a bird is superimposed on the lower part of the female torso and in the drawing of the same title and date, a bird replaces the head and the right shoulder of the woman at the left. Similar imagery is found in a 1931 frottage, *...it is two little birds she has closed up in her dress...* in which a bird is placed in each breast. See Magritte's *Black Magic*, 1933.

[42] Birds appear in numerous works by Pellan. The meaning varies depending on the context but when depicted in conjunction with woman, the bird signifies her free, uninhibited nature.

[43] Although Pellan's inventory lists the drawing for the painting as *Face au polyédre* (P.286d), Pellan's debt to Picasso was clearly expressed when the drawing was exhibited in Paris in 1955 under the title *Face au Polyédre (Hommage à Pablo Picasso)*. See *Alfred Pellan* (Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne de Paris, 1955), cat. No. 110.

[44] In the November 19, 1974 conversation, Pellan stated that the smaller version of this work predated the larger (P.286p).

[45] The large head also contains a double image of a heart.

[46] Picasso most commonly depicts full face eyes and mouth with a profile nose placed on one side of the head. Occasionally in this type of head the mouth and nose are located on opposite sides of the face. Even when a nose is depicted essentially in profile view, a full face view is often indicated by the inclusion of two nostrils. Another form of the head shows the nose primarily in profile and the eyes full face. Sometimes a round or oval head is split down the middle, one half depicting a profile head; the other, differentiated by colour, pattern or a small space, depicting a head full-face. More rarely Picasso depicts a head with two noses, one on each side of the head or two profile heads seen from the rear. Some examples are *Girl Before a Mirror*, 1932; *Interior with Girl Drawing*, 1935; *The Necklace*, 1938; *Woman Dressing Her Hair*, 1940. See Leo Steinberg, "The Algerian Women and Picasso at Large," in *Other Criteria* (London: 1972), pp. 192-208, for further discussion of the simultaneous view in Picasso's treatment of the head.

[47] In the November 19, 1974 conversation, Pellan stated that the three works, P.158d, P.159d, and P.160d, all dated from the early forties and were executed while he was living on Rue Jeanne Mance. The only work dated in the inventory is P.158d.

Face et profil (P.158d) and *Jeune fille* (P.159d) appear to be part of a larger series of nine portrait drawings of Graida Esar. Miss Esar, now Graida Victor, confirmed, in conversation with the author on November 2, 1975, that in 1944 Pellan was commissioned to draw her portrait and during the course of three sittings which took place in his Jeanne Mance studio prepared a number of sketches for this purpose.

The following drawings are believed to belong to the series: the untitled P.149d; *Jeune fille au collier* (P.150d); *Jeune fille* (P.151d); *Jeune fille* (P.152d); *Mlle G.E.* (P.154d); *Mademoiselle Graida Esar* (P.155d); *Face et profil* (P.158d); *Jeune fille* (P.159d); and *Jeune fille au pullover* (P.161d). Although P.159d is titled *Jeune fille* in the inventory, the Musée d'Art Contemporain, in whose collection the drawing is now located, refers to it as *Trois Yeux*.

Despite the varying titles, each of the drawings portrays a young girl whose facial features and clothing, consisting primarily of a sweater depicted with or without ribbing on the collar and/or at the shoulders, are basically alike. With the exception of *Face et profil*, eight of the drawings are approximately of the same size, 24" — 25" x 19". *Face et profil* is sufficiently similar in size, 23" x 18½", to suggest that its dimensions were slightly reduced. All the drawings are executed in charcoal.

The first six drawings are single views, whereas the last three are composite views. *Jeune fille au pullover*, the last in the series, is the most abstract. Mrs. Victor recalls that some of the sketches were very "Cubist" and portrayed her with three eyes. The drawings to which Mrs. Victor refers are probably the last three in the series.

[48] The information regarding the original title was gleaned from the brown envelope in which Pellan keeps photographs of this drawing. Despite Pellan's desire to protect the identity of his sitters by scratching out the original title and replacing it with the more anonymous *Composition*, the initials 'F' and 'G' on the sweater of the female, monograms for Françoise Gilot, remain.

[49] The clarity of presentation in conjunction with the static rendering of the three-faced head suggests that the various views meant to be seen as parts of a whole are also meant to retain their individual identity. Placing two profile heads back to back recalls *Médium*, as does the inclusion of a third element in the central area of the heads.

[50] The clock/face double image occurs in reverse in *Correspondence* (P.317p). The clock in this work develops humanoid characteristics: the '9' and the '3' are transformed into eyes. Other examples of the clock added to the human form are found in *Lire et vin* and *La minute de pendule*.

[51] Until 1972, the published title of the painting was *Radar de l'aveugle.* See *Alfred Pellan* (Paris: 1955), cat. No. 100 and Robert, p. 131. Germain Lefebvre's catalogue, p.98, is the first publication to record the title *Le sixième sens* although it should be noted that Pellan's inventory lists it in this manner.
In the conversation of November 19, 1974, Pellan stated that the drawing was executed in 1948 and that it was not until the 1950's that he executed a painted version. Robert proposes a date of 1953 for the painting whereas Lefebvre suggests 1954.

[52] Further discussion of the dismembered hand is found in the author's "Pellan and Surrealism: l'Amour fou," pp. 6-8.

[53] In conversation with the author on April 4, 1975, Gilles Rioux suggested that the male figure may be a self-portrait.

LA CHAPELLE DE LA CONGREGATION NOTRE-DAME DE QUEBEC*

Il y a plus de vingt-cinq ans, Gérard Morisset attirait pour la première fois l'attention sur "La chapelle de la rue Dauphine à Québec"[1] connue aussi sous le nom de chapelle des Jésuites. Dernièrement, la publication du catalogue *François Baillairgé et son oeuvre (1759-1830)*[2] et la mise à jour de quelques documents écrits et figurés inédits, nous ont permis de reprendre l'étude de ce cas et d'explorer plus avant une période riche et importante de notre architecture.

L'édifice dont il est question dans cet article est situé à Québec, à l'angle des rues d'Auteuil et Dauphine et fait face aux murailles de la ville, non loin de la porte Kent.

L'histoire de cette chapelle est liée à celle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Québec, fondée "le mercredi des cendres, 14 février 1657, par le Père Poncet, Jésuite."[3] Cette confrérie regroupait des jeunes laïques désireux de propager, au sein de la colonie, la dévotion mariale. Sous la tutelle des Jésuites, ils tiennent leurs assemblées dans une chapelle située dans la partie sud-est du Collège des Jésuites.[4] Ils occuperont cette chapelle jusqu'en 1800, époque de la confiscation des biens des Jésuites par le gouvernement. Alors contraints à chercher un refuge, les congréganistes s'installent provisoirement dans un appartement ou chapelle au-dessus de la sacristie de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Québec.[5]

Vers 1803, ils entament des démarches auprès de l'évêque de Québec, Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, afin d'obtenir leur propre chapelle. Le 15 mai 1817, ce dernier envoie une requête à Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, gouverneur en chef, au sujet de l'emplacement d'une chapelle en faveur de la congrégation des hommes. Il demande que cet emplacement "soit délimité en dedans des murs de Québec, de cent pieds de long et de cinquante pieds de large, près du corps de garde de la porte Saint-Jean"[6] (Fig. 1).

Le projet de François Baillairgé:

Le 27 janvier 1818, Mgr. Plessis permet aux congréganistes de construire une chapelle sur le terrain concédé par le gouverneur.[7] A cette occasion, il approuve un plan (Fig. 2). C'est ce document qui a été retracé dernièrement aux archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec. Il s'agit d'une feuille sur laquelle sont dessinés le plan au sol, le plan à l'étage des

*Nous tenons à remercier de leur précieuse collaboration les personnes suivantes: Monsieur Yves Laliberté, professeur à l'Université Laval, le R.P. Adrien Pouliot s.j., M. A. J. H. Richardson et l'abbé Armand Gagné, responsable des archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec.

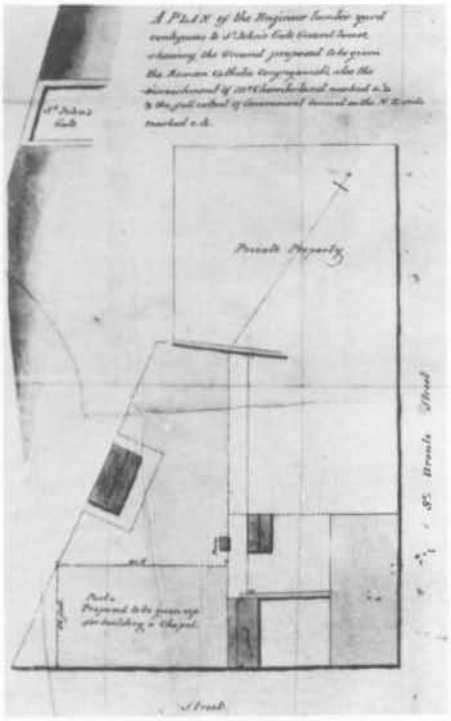

Fig. 1. *Plan du terrain pour la construction de la chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec.* (Photo: Archives des Jésuites à Québec).

Fig. 3. Projet attribué à François Baillairgé, *Plans de la chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec.* Détail de la façade. (Photo: Archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec).

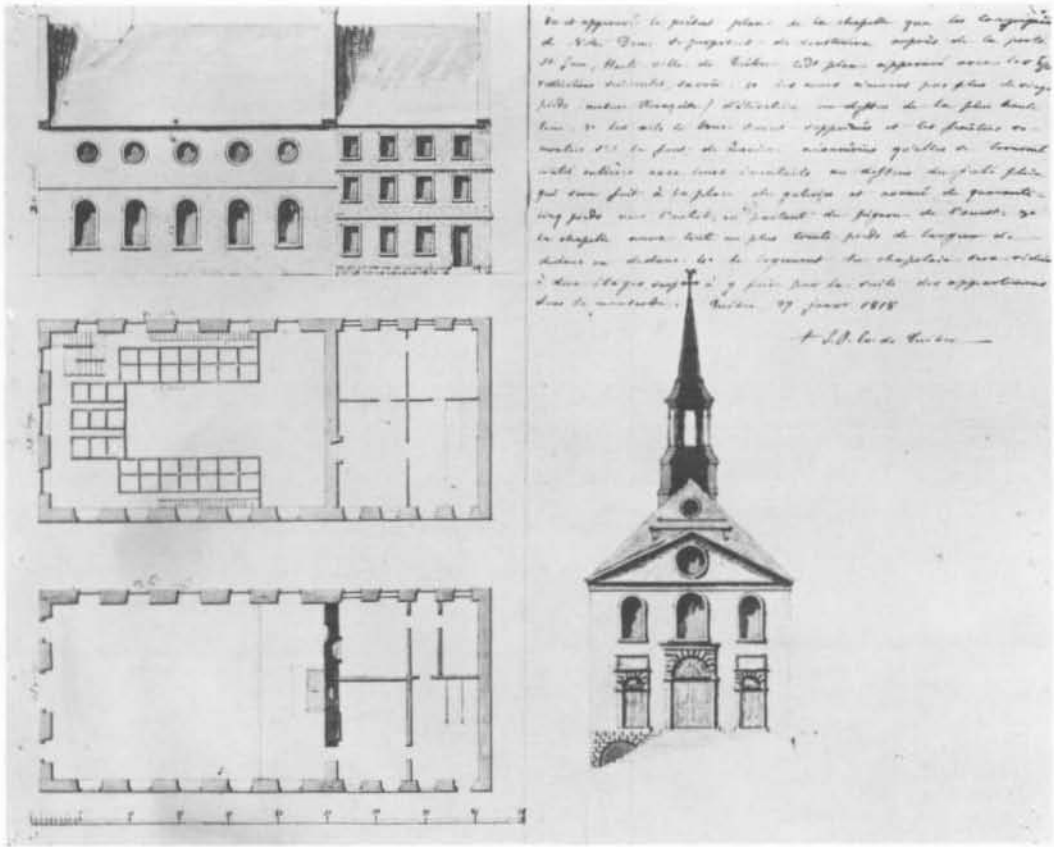

Fig. 2. Projet attribué à François Baillairgé, architecte, *Plans de la chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec.* 1818, Québec. (Photo: Archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec).

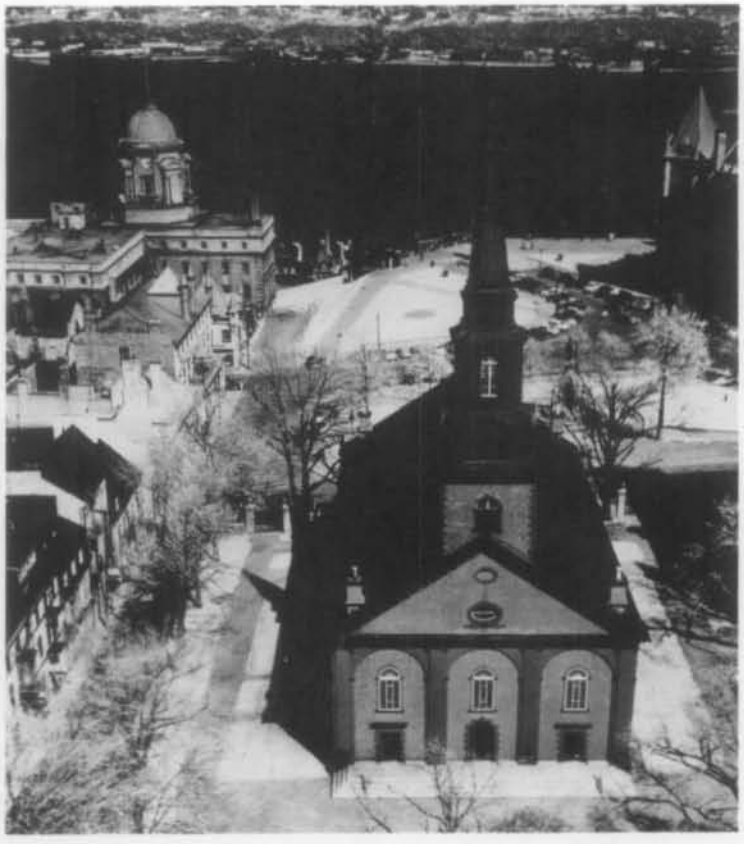

Fig. 4. Robe et Hall, Cathédrale anglicane, Québec, 1799-1804. (Photo: Inventaire des Biens Culturels, Québec).

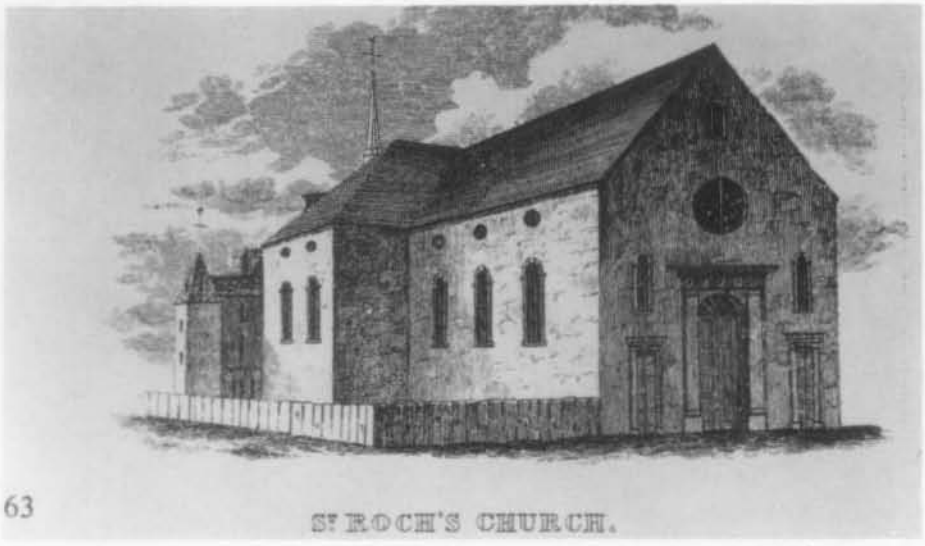

Fig. 5 François Baillairgé, Eglise de Saint-Roch, Québec. Vue de l'édifice en 1829 par James Smillie. Edifice construit en 1811 et reconstruit après un incendie en 1816. (Photo: Inventaire des Biens Culturels, Québec).

galeries, l'élévation latérale sud et la façade.

Même si ce plan ne porte pas de signature, nous tenterons d'établir, à partir de l'édifice représenté et de la facture du document, qu'il s'agit bien là d'un projet de François Baillairgé, architecte de Québec.

Le plan proposé est relativement simple: une forme rectangulaire comprend la chapelle et le presbytère, séparés par un mur coupe-feu. A l'étage, apparaîssent l'escalier d'accès à une tribune arrière, et deux galeries latérales qui s'avancent vers le choeur. L'élévation latérale rend bien ce plan simple, sauf que la division de l'édifice y est marquée de façon plus sensible. En effet, la chapelle est dotée au rez-de-chaussée de grandes baies terminées par un arc en plein cintre et à l'étage d'une rangée d'*oculi*. Les deux étages étant, par ailleurs, divisés par un bandeau horizontal. Quant au presbytère, il comporte, pour la même hauteur, trois étages, eux aussi divisés par des bandes horizontales. Verticalement, seuls les pignons extrêmes et le dépassement du mur coupe-feu rythment la toiture.

La façade projetée (Fig. 3) est d'un grand intérêt. D'une part, par son ordonnance et, d'autre part, par son manque de correspondance, du moins à première vue, avec l'élévation latérale.

La maçonnerie est composée de deux sections: au bas une forme rectangulaire dotée d'ouvertures superposées (portes, fenêtres) et au sommet, un fronton orné d'un *oculus* assez important. Surélevant le fronton, limité par une large corniche, surgit un pignon qui semble adopter l'angle d'inclinaison de la toiture. Il est orné d'un *oculus* plus petit, sous lequel deux consoles supportent chacune une bande horizontale. Un clocher à une laterne, surmonté d'une flèche, couronne l'ensemble.

L'analyse de ce document nous amène à conclure à la haute qualité de sa conception, compte tenu des expériences architecturales précédentes. Les innovations sont, en effet, nombreuses.

Le plan de la chapelle est visiblement inspiré de celui de la cathédrale anglicane de Québec, construite de 1799 à 1804 (Fig. 4). Une forme rectangulaire comporte tous les espaces de service, même si le choeur dégage un hémicycle. Au moment où on donne les plans de la chapelle, François Baillairgé termine, après l'incendie de 1816, la reconstruction de l'église Saint-Roch, érigée par lui en 1811 (Fig. 5). Cet édifice est également doté d'un chevet plat et d'une série d'*oculi* au-dessus des grandes fenêtres. C'est là une manière nouvelle de résoudre un problème d'éclairage dans les galeries latérales. A Saint-Roch, comme dans

le projet de la chapelle, l'architecte dessine ces *oculi* en remplacement de la superposition de deux fenêtres identiques, comme c'est le cas à la cathédrale anglicane.

La façade proposée est entièrement nouvelle pour l'époque, du moins en architecture religieuse. Il y a bien entendu une série de points communs avec la façade de la cathédrale anglicane (fronton, fenêtres, *oculus*), mais le traitement diffère en ce qu'il nous semble moins monumental, ce qui est dû à l'absence des trois larges arcades.

La disposition particulière du fronton triangulaire est d'un grand intérêt. A prime abord, on suppose que ce fronton cache partiellement un toit en croupe.[8] Il n'en est rien si on confronte la façade avec l'élévation latérale (Fig. I). Là on voit bien un mur pignon s'élever à la hauteur du toit. En fait, l'architecte est aux prises avec un problème très précis. Les dimensions classiques du fronton imposent une limite à sa hauteur, tandis que les conditions climatiques du pays suggèrent un angle plus prononcé à la toiture et interdisent l'usage d'une toiture en croupe qui dégage le fronton. Dans ce cas encore, le modèle anglican explique le parti adopté par l'auteur du projet de la chapelle. La cathédrale anglicane avait été construite avec une toiture d'un profil assez plat. En façade, ce profil correspondait à la forme du fronton. Or, en 1817, le toit fut élevé d'environ dix pieds pour éviter une trop forte accumulation de neige.[9] Dès lors, le mur pignon était plus élevé que celui du fronton et il fut percé d'un *oculus*. Par la suite, le fronton fut adapté au nouveau pignon. Visiblement inspiré par ce procédé, l'architecte de la chapelle de la Congrégation recourt à ce parti en façade: un pignon plus élevé que le fronton. S'agit-il d'une interprétation erronée du sens des travaux à la cathédrale anglicane ou de la volonté affirmée de conserver des proportions justes au fronton, forme classique?

Alors que, dans les clochers "traditionnels," le passage d'une section à l'autre s'effectue dans un rythme plutôt saccadé, à la chapelle de la Congrégation, il s'opère avec une grande continuité. La structure octogonale qui jaillit du toit se poursuit jusqu'au niveau supérieur dans un mouvement régulier, à peine interrompu entre chacune des sections. Ce type de clocher fera école et aura cours jusque vers 1850, au même titre que celui de la cathédrale anglicane qui suggère une base plus considérable et de plan carré.

Dans ses grandes lignes, ce projet est inspiré par la cathédrale anglicane de Québec et très voisin par plusieurs points de l'église Saint-

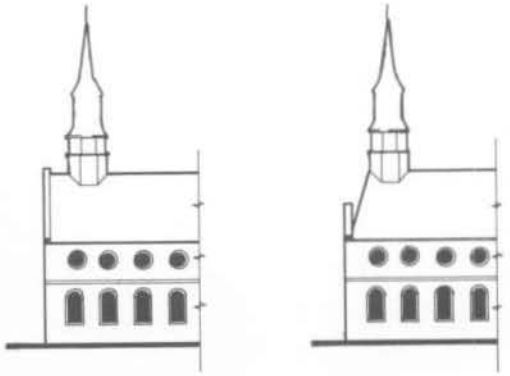

Fig. I. Deux possibilités d'interprétation du projet de façade de François Baillairgé.

Fig. 6. Chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec. Vue de l'édifice en 1829; aquarelle par J. P. Cockburn. (Photo: Archives publiques du Canada).

Fig. 7 Eglise Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Vue de l'édifice en 1830; aquarelle de J. P. Cockburn. Façade réalisée en 1816 d'après les plans de François Baillairgé. (Photo: Inventaire des Biens Culturels, Québec).

Fig. 8. Cathédrale Notre-Dame, Québec. Vue de l'édifice en 1832; gravure de Sarony et Major. (Photo: Archives nationales du Québec à Québec).

Roch, telle que reconstruite après 1816. Ces comparaisons nous renvoient à François Baillairgé, adepte de l'architecture palladienne diffusée à Québec de 1790 à 1820 et auteur des plans de l'église Saint-Roch. De plus, par le rendu du dessin et l'utilisation des encres, ce plan rappelle les nombreux plans signés par François Baillairgé, principalement ceux conservés aux Archives de la Ville de Québec et qui témoignent de ses fonctions de Trésorier des Chemins de 1812 à 1828.

La chapelle construite en 1818:

La chapelle des congréganistes sera construite d'après les plans de François Baillairgé. Mais le projet original sera légèrement modifié. Sur le plan une note de l'évêque précise les modifications à apporter:

> Vu et approuvé le présent plan de la chapelle que les Congréganistes de Notre-Dame se proposent de construire auprès de la porte Saint-Jean, Haute-Ville de Québec, le dit plan approuvé avec les restrictions suivantes, savoir: 1° les murs n'auront pas plus de vingt pieds/mesure française/d'élévation au-dessus de la plus haute terre 2° les oeils de bouc seront supprimés et les fenêtres remontées s'il le faut, de manière néanmoins qu'elles se trouvent toutes entières avec leurs évantails au dessus du jubé plein qui sera fait à la place des galeries et avancé de quarante cinq pieds vers l'autel en partant du pignon de l'ouest 3° la chapelle aura tout au plus trente pieds de largeur de dedans en dedans 4° le logement du chapelain sera réduit à deux étages, sauf à y finir par la suite des appartements dans la mansarde. Québec, 27 janvier 1818
>
> (signé) J. O. Ev. de Québec[10]

Le contrat de maçonnerie accordé le 4 mars 1818 à Pierre Giroux, maître-maçon, respectera les modifications proposées par l'évêque,[11] de même que les contrats de charpente, de menuiserie et de couverture accordés successivement.[12] La description des travaux à accomplir correspond aux vues de l'architecte corrigées par l'évêque, sauf pour un élément. Ainsi, au lieu d'avancer le jubé comme le préconise l'évêque, on construira les galeries projetées par François Baillairgé.

Une aquarelle de Cockburn, datée de 1829 (Fig. 6), nous donne une

bonne vue de la chapelle, telle que construite en 1818-19. C'est là que les modifications apportées par l'évêque se font sentir, si l'on compare l'édifice construit au projet initial.

Au départ, l'édifice est légèrement moins large que prévu (trente-cinq pieds au lieu de quarante). Ensuite, le second étage, celui des *oculi*, est supprimé et les murs baissés. Pour éclairer les combles, on a installé des lucarnes en hémicycle sur la toiture. En façade, le nombre et la disposition des ouvertures ont varié considérablement, avec comme résultat la disparition du fronton situé en bas du pignon sur le projet. Un large fronton est suggéré par la corniche du toit qui se replie vers l'intérieur, mais dont la course est interrompue par la disposition des fenêtres. Par souci d'économie, les portails sont simplifiés et leur encadrement a disparu. Au lieu de respecter l'étagement horizontal proposé en premier lieu, la façade s'articule en fonction du pignon, c'est-à-dire que toutes les ouvertures, par leur emplacement, forment un triangle. Finalement, au-dessus de la façade, jaillissent les deux souches des cheminées,[13] et le clocher, conforme au plan quant à la forme a deux lanternes au lieu d'une seule, visiblement pour compenser la réduction de la hauteur des murs. Le presbytère subira également les changements imposés par Mgr. Plessis.

Les modifications apportées au projet original sont des simplifications évidentes. Dans ce cas également, des modèles s'imposent. Dans ses grandes lignes, la chapelle construite se rapproche de l'église construite à Saint-Roch en 1811 et détruite par le feu. Nous avons déjà établi un rapprochement entre le projet de Baillairgé et l'église de Saint-Roch de 1818. Lors de la construction de la chapelle de la Congrégation, on s'est tourné vers la première version de l'église de Saint-Roch, sans doute parce qu'elle était plus simple et moins coûteuse à réaliser que la seconde version. L'église de 1811 dont l'image a été définie dans *François Baillairgé et son oeuvre* est, en effet, très semblable à celle représentée sur l'aquarelle de Cockburn.[14]

Dans l'ensemble donc, l'édifice construite marque un recul face au projet présenté. Rien d'étonnant à cela, ce fut le sort de tous les projets présentés à l'époque. C'est visiblement la tradition architecturale issue de l'architecture préconisée par l'abbé Conefroy qui l'emporta. Malgré cela, la chapelle construite en 1818-19 s'inscrit dans l'oeuvre de François Baillairgé. Pour s'en convaincre, on peut rappeler, outre l'exemple déjà utilisé de Saint-Roch, la façade de l'église Notre-Dame-des-Victoires

(Fig. 7), réalisée en 1816 et celle de Notre-Dame de Québec, réaménagée en 1818[15] (Fig. 8). Ces édifices religieux, tout comme les édifices publics de François Baillairgé, s'inscrivent dans cette période d'influence anglaise (1790-1820) où domine l'architecture palladienne. Ce nouvel apport des formes classiques au Québec après trente années d'évolution en vase clos (1760-1790) annonce déjà le renouveau classique qui suivra (1820-1850), au même titre que le palladianisme britannique avait ouvert la voie à l'architecture néo-classique anglaise, quelques années plus tôt.

Le décor intérieur de la chapelle:

Il semble bien que le décor intérieur ne fut pas exécuté immédiatement après la construction. En effet, les descriptions de Québec, notamment celle de Hawkins en 1834, suggèrent un intérieur sans ornements.[16]

Les galeries de la chapelle de la Congrégation, qui ont existé jusqu'en 1949, étaient parmi les premières installées dans un édifice religieux après celles de la cathédrale anglicane. Elles sont cependant très différentes par leur mode d'implantation. Elles ne sont pas accrochées à des piliers, puisqu'il s'agit d'un édifice à nef unique, mais simplement supportées sur des piliers et appuyées aux murs latéraux. A Saint-Roch de Québec, dès 1819, François Baillairgé avait vu à l'installation de galeries semblables.[17]

En 1841, les Congréganistes entreprennent l'aménagement intérieur de leur chapelle. A cette fin, ils contractent un marché avec Joseph Archer qui accepte:

> de faire et parfaire... tous les ouvrages en charpente, menuiserie... pour la voute en plâtre de la chapelle de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Québec[18]

Les travaux commencent donc par la fausse-voûte en plâtre, et cela d'après les plans de Thomas Baillairgé, fils de François. Celui-ci venait de terminer la voûte de l'église Saint-Roch[19] et le contrat obligeait d'ailleurs les entrepreneurs:

> de faire la voûte de la dite chapelle, avec des matériaux semblables à ceux employés à la voûte de l'église Saint-Roch en cette ville et de même manière, lesquels matériaux seront de la meilleure qualité...[20]

Cette voûte est encore en place aujourd'hui ayant été allongée seulement en 1857 (Fig. 9). Il s'agit, à peu de choses près de la réplique de celle érigée en 1818 à Notre-Dame de Québec par François Baillairgé, modèle qui sera d'ailleurs repris par Thomas (Fig. 10). Le rapport avec Notre-Dame de Québec est d'autant plus évident que la chapelle de la Congrégation propose un type d'élévation assez semblable. En effet, la voûte, percée de lunettes (ornées d'*oculi* au lieu de fenêtres hautes) repose sur des piliers dégagés par la dimension des fenêtres et l'épaisseur du mur. Il n'y a pas de bas-côtés à cette chapelle, comme à Notre-Dame, mais la disposition et la forme des fenêtres rappellent les arcades de la cathédrale. Par contre, alors que l'architecte de Notre-Dame avait fait descendre la voûte jusqu'au niveau des tribunes sur des culots, son fils Thomas interrompt sa descente au niveau de la corniche. Ce procédé est plus conforme aux vues de Jérôme Demers[21] et permet d'adosser les bancs des galeries aux murs extérieurs, immédiatement en dessous de la corniche.

Les travaux de 1857 et les modifications ultérieures:

En 1857, la chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame subit des transformations importantes (Fig. II). L'année précédente, on avait complété la construction d'un nouvel édifice adjacent au presbytère existant.[22] Probablement sous l'impulsion des Jésuites qui desservent depuis 1849 les congréganistes, on procède à un allongement de l'édifice. Pour ce faire, on installe un nouveau sanctuaire dans le presbytère en abattant le mur coupe-feu et en reconstruisant les longs-pans (Fig. 11). On procède ensuite à l'uniformisation des surfaces extérieurs et de l'espace intérieur.

Les contrats et les registres de la congrégation ne mentionnent pas de nom d'architecte pour ces travaux. On sait cependant que l'année précédente, Charles Baillairgé, neveu et élève de Thomas, a dirigé les travaux du nouvel édifice des congréganistes, situé près de la chapelle et que c'est grâce à cette construction que la chapelle peut être agrandie. Charles Baillairgé est, par ailleurs, fort actif en architecture religieuse à cette époque et le décor complété en 1857 a définitivement un "air de famille."

Rien d'étonnant à cela, car selon les termes du contrat, les entrepreneurs doivent:

> continuer la voûte en plâtre en observant la même suite et le même caractère des ornements déjà existants... continuer, en plâtre, la corniche qui sert d'appui à la retombée de la voûte...[23]

Fig. 9. Chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec. Intérieur de l'édifice après les travaux de 1857 et 1887. (Photo: Archives nationales du Québec à Québec).

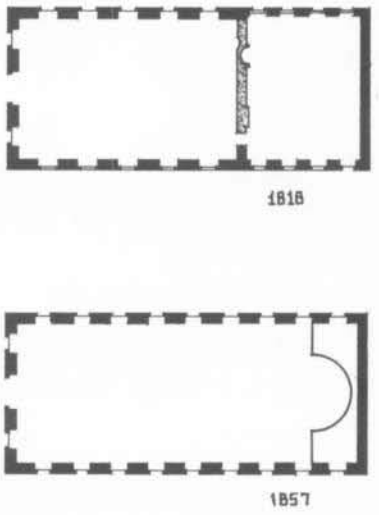

Fig. II. Le plan de la chapelle en 1818 et l'état de la chapelle après les travaux de 1857.

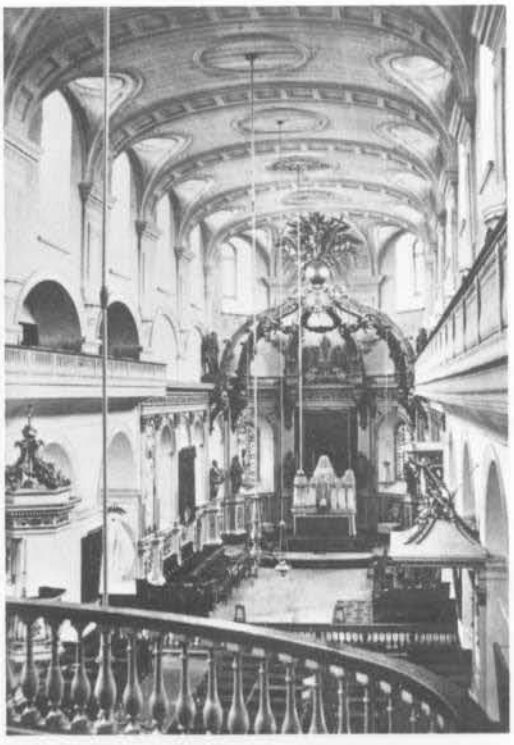

Fig. 10. Cathédrale Notre-Dame, Québec. Intérieur de l'édifice en 1871. Voûte de François Baillairgé, 1818. (Photo: Inventaire des Biens Culturels, Québec).

Fig. 11. Chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec. Vue de l'édifice au début du vingtième siècle. (Photo: Archives publiques du Canada).

Fig. 13. Chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec. Vue actuelle de la nef et du choeur. (Photo: Office du film du Québec).

Fig. 12. Chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Québec. Vue de l'édifice après la restauration de 1930; Robitaille et Desmeules, architectes. (Photo: Inventaire des Biens Culturels, Québec).

Dans le même esprit, en vue de conserver une unité à l'ensemble, on demande aux ouvriers "de prolonger les galeries jusqu'au choeur."[24]

Seul le retable de la chapelle est entièrement nouveau. En effet, jusque-là, un mur droit fermait la nef et aucun retable ne semblait y avoir été adossé. Ce nouvel ornement a visiblement été conçu conformément au parti adopté précédemment. Ainsi, il est érigé sur deux étages, l'étage supérieur correspondant à celui des galeries. Chaque étage est limité par une corniche traçant une ligne qui parcourt tout l'édifice. Il en est ainsi de la corniche qui orne les galeries et qui continue dans la nef la division amorcée dans le choeur.

En 1887, des travaux mineurs sont effectués à l'intérieur de la chapelle, contrairement à ce qu'affirme Gérard Morisset.[25] D'une part, des fresques viennent orner les voûtes et le retable et d'autre part, Philippe Vallière sculpté un mobilier liturgique neuf.

Comme nous l'avons vu, les travaux importants que l'on situait en 1887 jusqu'à maintenant, ont été complétés auparavant, soit en 1841 et en 1857.

En 1930, les architectes Robitaille et Desmeules ont entrepris de "restaurer" la chapelle de la Congrégation. A cette occasion l'apparence extérieure de la chapelle est complètement modifiée (Fig. 12). Une nouvelle façade est érigée en avant de l'ancienne, incluant de la sorte le portique aménagé à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle. Dans ses grandes lignes, et en particulier au niveau du clocher, la nouvelle façade rappelle celle de Notre-Dame de Québec.

L'élévation latérale est également modifiée. Le long-pan est exhaussé et les lucarnes remplacées par une seconde rangée de fenêtres. Cette construction avait pour but d'empêcher la chute de neige sur la rue Dauphine. Dans l'ensemble, ces travaux ont contribué à conférer à la chapelle un caractère monumental.

A l'intérieur de la chapelle, une modification importante est apportée en 1949, alors que les galeries latérales construites en 1818 et allongées en 1857, sont démolies (Fig. 13). La disparition des galeries a comme effet de dégager un espace qui n'avait jamais existé auparavant et auquel n'est pas adapté le retable en place.[26]

La chapelle de la Congrégation Notre-Dame peut à juste titre être considérée comme un monument important de la ville de Québec, bien que son apparence extérieure ait été fortement changée. Il s'agit là d'un édifice qui, comme nous l'avons vu, a été conçu et modifié par François et

Thomas Baillairgé et dont l'évolution (projet, construction, modification) est représentative des tendances de l'architecture religieuse de l'époque. Alors que dans un premier temps les efforts de François Baillairgé se ressentent de l'influence anglaise dans une période dominée par le classicisme palladien au Québec (1790-1820), les travaux effectués par son fils Thomas en 1841 et complétés dans le même style en 1857, relèvent d'une conception néo-classique du décor intérieur en architecture religieuse.[27]

Si, dans la perspective de l'historien de l'art, l'étude de cet édifice dans son ensemble rétablit des faits, c'est surtout l'architecture intérieure qui mérite de retenir l'attention du visiteur aujourd'hui. Car, il s'agit là d'un des décors les plus anciens qui ait été conservé à Québec et probablement celui qui témoigne le mieux de l'art des Baillairgé.

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Notes:

[1] Gérard Morisset, "La chapelle de la rue Dauphine à Québec," *La Patrie* (octobre 1949), p. 26 et p. 51.

[2] David Karel, Luc Noppen, et Claude Thibault, *François Baillairgé et son oeuvre (1759-1830)*, (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1975), 85p. ill.

[3] Aimé Plamondon, "Une vieille chapelle de Québec," *La Revue Populaire* (juin 1943), p. 10.

[4] Joseph Trudelle, "Eglises et chapelles de Québec, 1615 à 1903," *Le Soleil*, 1901, p. 395.

[5] "Lettre de Mgr. Plessis," *Le Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1932-1933* (4 mai 1808), p. 51.

[6] Archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec, Registre H. 156r.

[7] "Lettre de Mgr. Plessis," (27 janvier 1818).

[8] Thomas Baillairgé adoptera le même parti au Parlement de Québec en 1830.

[9] A. J. H. Richardson, "Buildings in the Old City of Quebec," *APT Bulletin*, 11, nos. 3, 4 (1970), p. 35.

[10] Archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec, 53 CF, Associations pieuses, I.

[11] Archives nationales du Québec, greffe du notaire A. Parent (4 mars 1818), marché no 520.

[12] *Idem*, 9 mars 1818, marché no 525; 26 mai 1818, marché no 653; 6 août 1818, marché no 710.

[13] On construit deux cheminées: une cheminée dans un coin du portail de la chapelle et une fausse cheminée dans le coin opposé. *Idem* greffe du notaire A. Parent, marché no 520.

[14] Voir à ce sujet: Karel et al., pp. 76-77.

[15] Voir à ce sujet: Luc Noppen, *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires à la Place Royale* (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1974), pp. 67-69.

[16] "The Roman Catholic Church of the Congregation stands on the hill leading from the esplanade to St. John's gate. It is not of ancient construction and perfectly plain in its interior. Its spire is seen immediately above the ramparts." Alfred Hawkins, *Hawkins Picture of Quebec: with historical recollections* (Quebec: Neilson & Cowan, 1834), p. 228.

[17] Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Roch, Livre des Syndics, B-1 (2 juillet 1819).
[18] Archives nationales du Québec, greffe du notaire Joseph Petitclerc (12 juillet 1841), marché no 2034.
[19] Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Roch, Livre des syndics, B-2 (9 août 1828).
[20] Greffe du notaire Joseph Petitclerc, marché 2035.
[21] Voir à ce sujet: Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Manuscrit 129, tablette 4, *Précis d'architecture,* article 403.
[22] Voir à ce sujet: les marchés 505-506-507-508-509-510, *Inventaire des marchés de construction des archives civiles de Québec 1800-1870* (Parcs-Canada: 1974) pp. 128-29.
[23] Greffe du notaire Joseph Petitclerc (8 juillet 1857), marché no 9967.
[24] *Idem* (16 juin 1857), marché no 9927.
[25] Morisset, *loc. cit.*
[26] Voir à ce sujet: Luc Noppen, "Le rôle de l'abbé Jérôme Demers dans l'élaboration d'une architecture néo-classique au Québec," *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadienne,* II, no 1 (1975).

ARCHITECTURAL IMAGE FOR THE DOMINION: SCOTT, FULLER AND THE STRATFORD POST OFFICE

In the nineteenth century the town post office was considered highly visible evidence of the progress of civilization generally and of national development specifically. Postal service in Canada depended upon interprovincial and international economic co-operation, and it improved as means of transportation advanced. The well designed post office symbolized this progress and demonstrated sophisticated architectural taste as well.[1] The design of postal buildings that would lend prestige to the Canadian government could not be left to chance: less than fifteen years after Confederation it became one of the chief functions of the Dominion Architect.

In *Ontario Towns,* Douglas Richardson has shown that the post offices of Thomas Fuller (1823-98), Canada's Chief Architect from 1881 to 1897, were the most distinctive examples of this building type. He points to the "family resemblance" among them and, at the same time, to the unique character of each one, suited to its townscape. Fuller's post offices were:

> designed as two-and-a-half storey rectangular buildings with one-storey extensions at the rear. The longer face was turned to the street, taller than it was wide, and had a high gable in the centre. Fuller's manner was a distinctive combination of French Renaissance composition and High Victorian Gothic detailing — a forceful mixture of massively proportioned blocks with roughly textured surfaces incorporating rhythmically varied but strongly grouped elements.[2]

Richardson has perceptively isolated the features of the typical Fuller post office, such as those in Strathroy, Ontario (Fig. 1) and Lachine, Quebec (Fig. 2).[3] It is my contention here, however, that Fuller perfected a type initiated by his predecessor Thomas Seaton Scott (1836-95) in the Post Office of Stratford, Ontario, now demolished (Fig. 3). This paper will set the Stratford Post Office and the Fuller buildings in the context of the two architects' careers and will demonstrate the transformation wrought in postal architecture by them. Furthermore, it will consider the idea that the style of the Stratford Post Office may derive ultimately from Fuller's Parliament Buildings at Ottawa (Fig. 17), and thus represent a "Dominion image" in public architecture.

Fig. 1. Thomas Fuller, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, corner Frank and Centre Streets, Strathroy, Ont. Contract signed 31 July 1889. (Photo: The *Age-Dispatch*).

Fig. 2. Thomas Fuller, The Lachine Post Office, City of Lachine, c. 1891. (Photo: Archives of the City of Lachine).

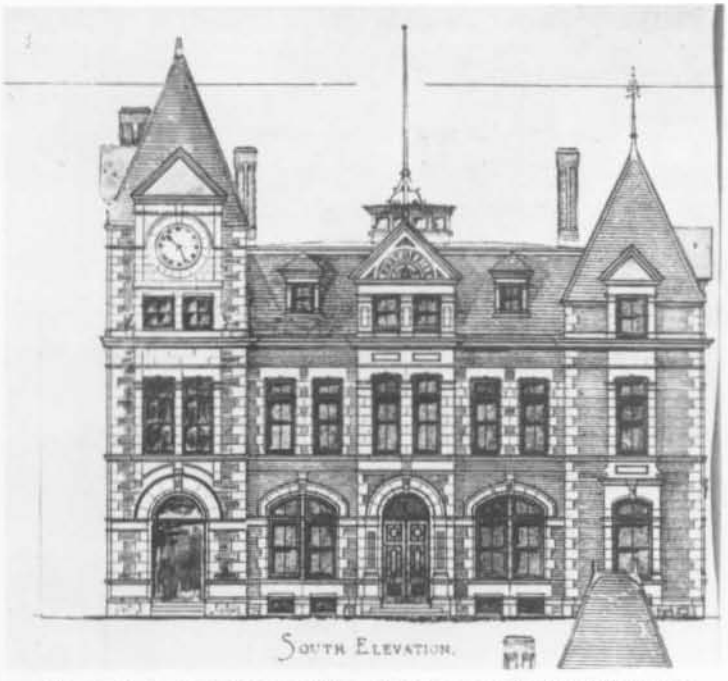

Fig. 4. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, Stratford, Ont. Front (south) elevation designed in or before Sept. 1881. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

Fig. 3. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, north side of Ontario St., Stratford Ont. Designed in or before Sept. 1881. Contract signed 16 January 1882. (Photo: before 1894, Perth County Archives).

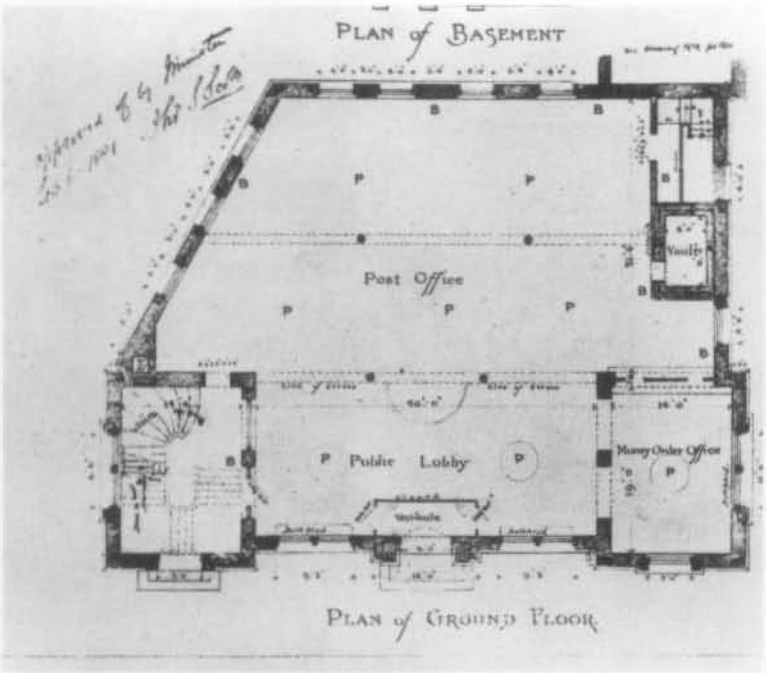

Fig. 5. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, Stratford Ont. Ground-floor plan & note signed by Scott, 8 Sept. 1881. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

Fig. 7. Stratford Ont. Ontario Street looking east from a point just west of Erie St.: Post Office (left), Gordon Block, 1902 now threatened (right), tower of Knox Presbyterian Church, distance (burned). (Photo: Perth County Archives).

Fig. 6. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, Stratford Ont. Shortly before demolition in 1961. (Photo: Stratford *Beacon-Herald*).

Fig. 8. Stratford Ont. Looking north up Downie (Market) St. towards Ontario St. (Photo: Perth County Archives).

The Post Office in Stratford (Fig. 4) was possibly Scott's last design as Chief Architect.[4] Appointed in 1872, Scott had served in an expansive decade of public building, but on 9 September 1881 he took a leave of absence and three months later he resigned. On 31 October Thomas Fuller returned from Albany, New York, to replace him.[5] Fuller had left Ottawa in 1867, with the Parliament Buildings largely complete, to work on the New York State Legislative Buildings. Scott had only just completed the Stratford Post Office designs before his resignation, for the floor plans in the Public Archives bear a brief note signed and dated by Scott in September 1881 (Fig. 5).[6] Therefore, although the specifications were signed by Scott's interim replacement, D. Ewart, and the contract was signed after Fuller's appointment in January 1882, the design of the Stratford Post Office can be attributed to T. S. Scott.

Yet curiously, the Stratford building that Scott designed bears most of the earmarks of a Fuller post office as described by Richardson. First, it conforms to the basic spatial distribution: it originally consisted of a basement and two and a half storeys, although one more storey was added in 1894 after a fire (Fig. 6).[7] Moreover, the uses of the storeys agreed with those in the typical Fuller post office: a ground floor with a public lobby and deep mail-sorting area; a second floor accomodating offices of the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments; and an attic, half of which was given over to the custodian's quarters while half was left unfinished. The Stratford Post Office was a rectangular mansarded mass, except for the northwest corner which was lopped off by a roadway, with a rear ell containing a Weights and Measures office and one for the Gas Inspector.[8] The same features appear in post office buildings of the 1870s, except that these were sometimes three and a half storeys tall.

Like Fuller's post offices, the Stratford structure had a decided landmark quality. It occupied a commanding site, taking over a treed plot known as "Shakespeare Square," which stood on rising ground between intersections on the town's main thoroughfare, Ontario Street. It was visible from both directions along Ontario Street (Fig. 7), from Huron Street to the west at the foot of Ontario Street, and from the far side of the Avon River (which lies north of the site). Its position on Ontario Street between Erie and Downie made its end towers visual anchors for the two streets. It gave Downie (formerly Market) Street (Fig. 8) an axial quality, with a sense of concentrated activity, for it acted as an opposite pole to the Town Hall and Market buildings (1857)

standing back-to-back one block to the south. Even among the elegant commercial buildings of booming Stratford, the Post Office stood out forcefully, a high-style structure of character, confidence, and stability.[9]

Stylistically the Stratford Post Office combined formal planning with picturesque accents, in much the same way as later buildings by Fuller. Its formality can be related to the vogue of French Renaissance or Second Empire initiated by the New Louvre of Visconti and Lefuel (1852-57). The mansard roof was the most obvious Second Empire feature, but the planning also revealed some similarity. The two towers functioned, on plan, as slightly projecting end pavilions, while the façade gable and projecting central bay established a central axis of symmetry. The regular march of windows in uninflected rows about the building had a formal quality as well. Although the Post Office lacked the Second Empire's customary plastic richness of surface, its refined smoothness and some of its decorative features — the quoins, the keystones, the cornice and stringcourses — reflected a studied and deliberate classicism. Mouldings were delicate and clean edged, and the window-frames of the various storeys subtly differentiated.

But Stratford's Post Offices also had a picturesque personality that can be related to T. S. Scott's experience in the Gothic mode and, more generally, to the High Victorian Gothic movement in Britain. George Hersey has succinctly described the High Victorian Gothic:

> It is colorful, asymmetrical, sharp-faceted, full of jumpy rhythms, and laced into irregular grids with polychrome bands. Weighty geometrical solids are juggled into alternately tight and expansive array... [Also it has a concern] to express the different functions and sites of individual buildings.[10]

The Stratford Post Office had some of these qualities. First, it was intended to be viewed, not as an isolated sculptural object approached frontally, but within its unusual site and from odd angles. The underlying symmetry of the façade was deliberately thrown off by unequal towers and assymetrical placement of doors. The off-square rear elevation also contributed to this multi-faceted aspect. A memory of the "rudeness" that Ruskin had admired[11] persisted in the rock-faced basement and subtle polychromy of the exterior masonry, though the bulk of

the building lacked the surface rusticity of Gothic.[12] Finally, the pleasantly varied roofscape — pyramidal towers, finials, tall panelled chimneys, front gable and dormers — reflected a High Victorian fondness for spiky Gothic silhouettes. The jagged profiles of Fuller's post offices would recall these even more vividly.

Structurally, however, the building was more avant-garde than many of Fuller's post offices in its use of cast-iron supporting members. Though its masonry walls were load-bearing, the floors were carried on a combination of timber joists (running front to rear) and iron girders beneath (side to side). The girders locked into the caps of cast-iron columns on all storeys (Fig. 9). Fuller seems, however, to have been more mistrustful of structural metal than Scott: he always placed iron columns in his ground floor lobbies, but only rarely used iron girders to help support the floors. Evidently, he did not fully possess the interest in structural iron, for strength and fireproofing, that was characteristic of the late nineteenth century.[13]

There are several other respects in which the Stratford Post Office differed from Fuller's highly personal solutions. For one thing, Fuller would develop a distinctive picturesque formula for massing, one that bordered on the additive in principle. He would start with a tall, rather gawky mansarded cube and add, depending on the site, a salient tower (Strathroy, Kitchener, Peterborough), an apsidal side projection (Galt and Hull, Quebec), a corner entrance (Kitchener and Napanee), or a broken skyline treatment, with the side elevation duplicating the gable of the main façade (Amherstburg, Smiths Falls). The Post Office in Lachine, Quebec (Fig. 2), like those in Orangeville and Gananoque, presents the basic type, though a clock-tower (probably added about 1915) appears in later photos. By contrast, Scott's Stratford structure, especially in its original state, was more horizontally massed and full of repose, with fewer angular projections and asymmetrical features. Moreover, Scott's smooth textures and delicate detail differed from Fuller's rough surfaces and bold handling. In place of traditional smooth mouldings, Fuller would often imitate H. H. Richardson's rock-faced belt-courses and window-heads that contrasted in texture and hue with the wall. Both Lachine and Strathroy are examples of this (Figs. 1, 2). The Auvergnat detail on Fuller's central gables was absolutely distinctive, as indeed were the enormous gables themselves: Gothic visual equivalents for the high mansarded pavilions in the centre of Second

Empire façades. Finally, Fuller's fondness for "rhythmically varied but strongly grouped elements," such as windows, is a study in contrast to Scott's quiet regularity. On the whole, it seems that Scott's Stratford Post Office established a type for the planning and structure of Fuller's typical post office; however Fuller departed from his predecessor where massing, texture and detail were concerned.

In presenting Scott's Stratford Post Office as a model for Fuller, one should also point out that it continued the formal tendencies of earlier Canadian public architecture. Though buildings constructed specifically as post offices were rare in Canada before the building campaign of the 1850's,[14] there had been a tradition of classicizing town halls, court houses and jails. These conformed more or less to long-established British practice in public architecture, brought from the United Kingdom to the colonies. As late as 1842, for instance, John G. Howard would design a court house for Brockville (Fig. 10) so conservative that it seems old-fashioned even beside a Canadian prototype such as the 1811 Province House, Halifax.[15] When separate post offices were needed, architects simply perpetuated such monumental, sober and clearly public designs. The most conservative of all, (but also the most accomplished), was the small temple front which Fred. Cumberland and William Storm built in 1852-53 for Toronto's Seventh Post Office, at 10 Toronto Street (Fig. 11). A more explicitly classical image than this "Grecian Ionic after the Temple of Minerva at Athens," could hardly be imagined in this country.[16]

Most post offices built between 1850 and 1870 were treated as Italian Renaissance *palazzi*. Between 1854 and 1856 Cumberland and Storm built a post office on James Street North in Hamilton, in an emphatically Roman Mannerist style (Fig. 12).[17] Taste had changed: the heavily rusticated masonry and the Palladian windows of the ground floor, the cut-stone quoins of the upper storeys and the pedimented window tabernacles of the *piano nobile* replaced classicizing allusions. These had evidently been thought appropriate to the Pax Britannica, with Renaissance mercantile allusions suitable to the commercial alliance that the British Empire had become.[18] The Hamilton Post Office might be compared, in form and decoration, to Sir Charles Barry's Reform Club in London's Pall Mall (1837-41).[19] Another Mannerist post office, though this time in the Venetian vein of Sanmichele or Sansovino, was designed about 1857 or 1858 for Richmond Street in London, Ontario (Fig. 13). The

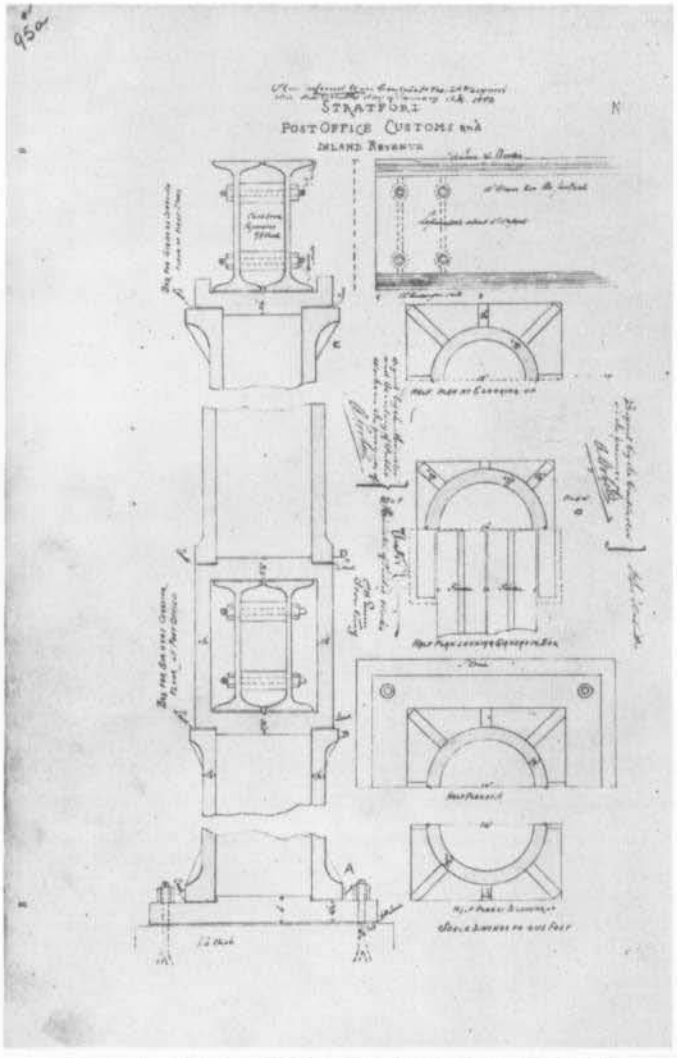

Fig. 9. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, Stratford Ont. Detail of cast-iron girders and interior columns, designed in or before Sept. 1881. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

Fig. 10. John G. Howard, Court House Square, Brockville, Ont. 1841-43. (Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

Fig. 11. F. W. Cumberland & W.G. Storm, Seventh Post Office, west side Toronto St., Toronto, 1852-53. (Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

Fig. 12. F. W. Cumberland & W. G. Storm, Post Office, James St., north opp. Merrick, Hamilton Ont., 1854-56. (Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

Fig. 13. W. B. Leather, Post Office, Richmond St., London, Ont., 1858-60. (Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

Fig. 14. Henry Langley, Eighth Post Office, north side of Adelaide St., Toronto, Ont., 1871-73. (Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

architect was W.B. Leather.[20] The ground storey had vermiculation and Serliesque attached columns while the upper floors received elaborate "Italianate" window-frames and a giant order of attached Corinthian columns, and pilasters in the angles. The sculptural richness and verticality of the London façade showed a marked stylistic advance over the plainer Hamilton building, though a gap of only three or four years separated the designs; these very qualities would characterize post offices of the 1870s.

After 1870, both before and during Scott's period as Chief Architect, Canadian post offices were designed exclusively in the Second Empire mode that had grown out of the Italianate.[21] George Hersey has aptly described this "French" style in the full-blown American form:

> It is whitish, symmetrical, bulbous, and layered in appearance. It is classicizing and uniform. It is conceived in terms of long axes and long wings, regularly punctuated with arched, mansarded pavilions... It relies heavily upon rich sculptural extrusions, Baroque heraldry, trumpeting allegorical figures, and garlanded triumphal arches.[22]

With a more limited economy and little building stone tractable enough for such work, Canada had few truly grand Second Empire buildings; still, its larger post offices had their pretensions. In its Eighth Post Office Toronto had one of the most ornate examples (Fig. 14). It was built to Henry Langley's design in 1871-73 and once stood on Adelaide Street at the head of Toronto Street, creating a grand formal prospect.[23] Three and a half storeys high, it had a symmetrical lobby and deep mail-sorting area on its ground floor, (although its upper storeys were much smaller). The lavish façade, dominated by an elegant Roman Baroque centrepiece, was conceived in the same ostentatious spirit as the London building of 1858-60. Similar stylish structures of the 1870s housed the main post offices of Ottawa and Montreal. Some smaller towns received "stripped" versions, mansarded and formally planned but with much plainer exteriors.[24] The Stratford Post Office was the first, and indeed the only, departure from this style before Fuller took over as Chief Architect on 31 October 1881.[25]

Both Scott and Fuller were experienced in the Second Empire mode, although both blended its' means with the spirit of High Victorian

Gothic.[26] Second Empire was at its most popular while Scott was Chief Architect, and public buildings constructed in the period must reflect his own manner, despite the involvement of local architects. We can thus consider the Customs House conceived about 1878 for Saint John, New Brunswick (Fig. 15), as Scott's own design to some extent, though probably not so much his own as the Stratford Post Office, which was designed entirely in the Chief Architect's office. The Customs House was singular enough to warrant publication of two views in *The American Architect and Building News.*[27] It was typically Second Empire in its symmetrical plan based on massive pavilions under sculpturally treated mansard roofs. At the same time, compared to an impressive American example of the style, Arthur B. Mullett's State, War and Navy Departmental Buildings in Washington (1871-75), Scott's Customs House appears rather Gothic. Scott's profusion of chimneys, his restlessly jumping roof levels and his end towers (like Venetian lighthouses) resemble a High Victorian Gothic skyline, as was the case in the various projects for the Law Courts in the Strand.[28] Scott's exterior had to be plainer than Mullett's for the sake of economy, and its relatively bare walls with large round-arched openings suggest a kinship with the Romanesque developing at this time in the United States, especially Richardson's. In this latter respect the Customs House is related to the principal building of Fuller's late career, the Langevin Block in Ottawa, begun in 1883.[29]

Fuller, too, employed Second Empire with the dramatic flair of a High Victorian Goth. The New York State Legislative Buildings at Albany were begun following the Second Empire design he conceived with Arthur D. Gilman (Fig. 16). However, for a variety of political and financial reasons, these were completed by H. H. Richardson and Leopold Eidlitz in a variant of Romanesque.[30] Though Fuller's grandiose Albany proposal was only partly realized, it allows us to analyze his handling of Second Empire style. He likened his exterior composition to the New Louvre, the Hôtel de Ville of Paris and the elegant new Maison de Commerce at Lyons.[31] With a grand formal entrance, a rich exterior and vast interior circulation spaces, Fuller's Capitol would indeed have been an opulent French Renaissance pile. His roofscape however climaxed in an enormous central tower with, once again, picturesque Gothic suggestions, although on a more lavish scale than Scott's Saint John skyline.[32] In the light of both Scott's and Fuller's British training and of their experience with High Victorian Gothic, it is hardly surpri-

Fig. 15. T. S. Scott (McKean & Fairweather supervising architects), Customs House, Saint John, N.B., 1878-80. Perspective of street face. (*The American Architect and Building News*), 21 February 1880.

Fig. 16. Thomas Fuller and Arthur D. Gilman, State Legislative Buildings, New York; heliotype of original proposal, 1867. (*The American Architect and Building News*), 8 April 1876.

Fig. 17. Thomas Fuller and Chilion Jones, Houses of Parliament, Ottawa, 1859-66. (burned 1916); view from western approach. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

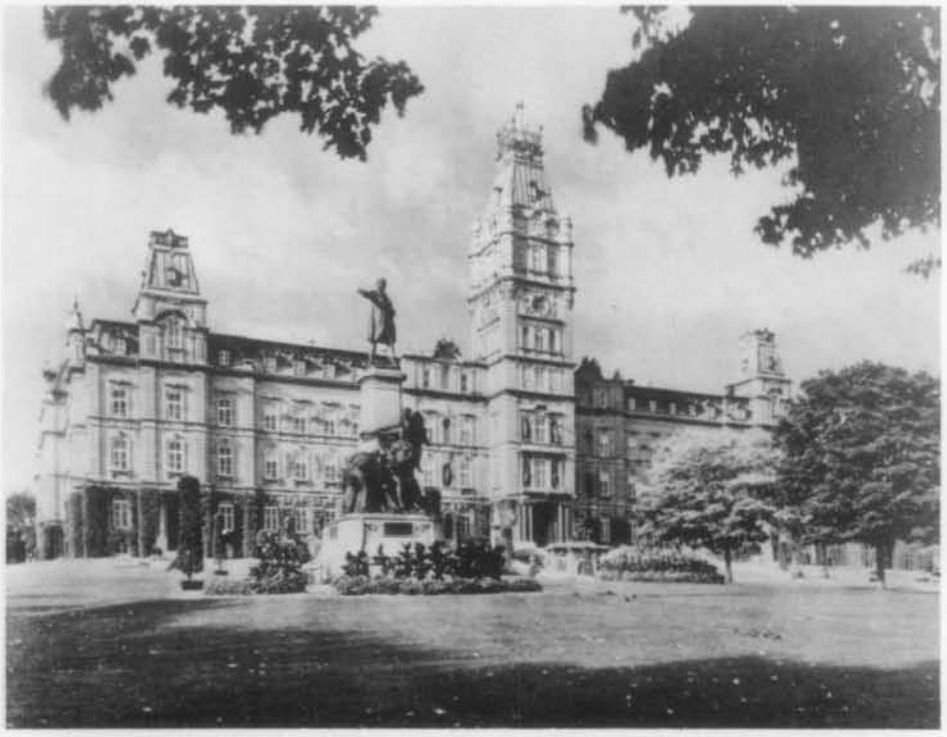

Fig. 18. Eugène Taché and Pierre Gauvreau, Provincial Legislative Buildings, Quebec City, 1878-80; main front from east. (Photo: Metropolitan Library Board).

sing that the Stratford Post Office, which Scott designed and Fuller erected, should have combined both formal and picturesque elements.

In adopting this curious hybrid style, the federal government may have been seeking a truly Canadian architectural image to express the quest for unity after Confederation.[33] The Parliament Buildings at Ottawa (1859-66) by Fuller and Jones (Fig. 17) were a monument with which Canadians could immediately identify. More profoundly, though, as William de Villiers-Westfall argues, the Houses of Parliament were to Victorian Canada a spiritual symbol of "the true North strong and free." Just after the turn of the century, the poet Wilfred Campbell associated their Gothic style with the restless striving of Canadians with their British and French ancestry and with Christian worship and morality.[34] This use of Gothic as a metaphor for the nation caused the style to pervade all kinds of structures. If we consider the Victorian mental habit of associating buildings with historic events and moral values, it seems natural to forge a stylistic link between federal buildings across the young Dominion and the "mother-structure" in the capital.

Visual resemblances between the Parliament Buildings and the Stratford Post Office are noticeable if not striking. Both buildings wore a skin, more or less medieval, over a mansarded structure of formal plan articulated by pavilions. Both had picturesque skylines: dormers, tall chimneys and towers. Though the profile at Stratford recalled Ottawa's only in the most general way, it is clear that the Stratford Post Office had more in common with the Parliament Buildings than had any post office before it.

The idea that a "Dominion image" may have been intended at Stratford is reinforced by references to Fuller's masterpiece in other buildings of the period. A blatant (and logical) example is the Quebec Legislative Buildings, designed in 1878-80 by Eugène Taché and Pierre Gauvreau (Fig. 18).[35] At the vernacular level, Belleville City Hall, opened in 1873 (Fig. 19), is a case in point. Its Gothicized tower, one hundred and eighty five feet high, seems grossly out of scale, and stylistically incongruous, in relation to the mansarded block of the building: in fact, its height was an afterthought.[36] Clearly the architect was recalling Fuller's Ottawa tower (Fig. 20), despite differences in detail. The awkward insertion of high pointed windows into the second storey and the heavy overhanging mansard roof probably reflect the same association.

T. S. Scott had already designed a structure to harmonize with Fuller's

Houses of Parliament: the 1878 tower of the extended West Block on Parliament Hill, better known as "MacDonald's Cowbell" (Fig. 21). From Fuller's tower (burned in 1916), Scott borrowed the high, stepped weatherings and used them to articulate the whole tower vertically. His disposition of lancet-windows in bands below immense louvred openings resembled Fuller's too. Polygonal corner turrets were capped with pinnacles to frame small gablets (with carved roundels instead of clock-faces) at the base of a prodigious roof of several stages. Scott's high, slender and relatively plain hipped roof contrasted with Fuller's unique crown, and the whole tower was eccentrically placed, with a view to its role in the larger townscape. Scott's tower was not given the rough textures or decorative boldness characteristic of Fuller. On the whole it must have seemed slim and elegant, yet somehow pallid, beside Fuller's aggressively masculine tower of Parliament. Evidently Scott designed his tower with Fuller's in mind, to project a consistent but distinguishable image. The similarities between the Stratford Post Office and Ottawa's Parliament Buildings probably reflect the same desire to produce a recognizable "Dominion image." At the same time, the very differences that mark Scott's and Fuller's Ottawa towers likewise distinguish Scott's Stratford Post Office and Fuller's post offices.

There are, then, several reasons to suggest that around 1880 the federal government was consciously searching for an appropriate "Dominion image" for its public buildings. The Stratford Post Office was a sudden departure from a formal tradition in postal architecture, towards a more romantic image. Though the Stratford building by no means copied Fuller's Houses of Parliament, its massing and its combination of picturesque with more regular elements suggest a family relationship. Other buildings of the time appear to have imitated the Parliament Buildings even more forcefully. Moreover, we know that Scott had designed a tower for the West Block to harmonize with Fuller's Centre Block tower. The fact that Fuller was invited to return to Ottawa in October 1881, to complete the governmental complex grouped around his Parliament Buildings and to design a series of small federal buildings across the Dominion, suggests that the government wanted its buildings in a consistent and distinctive Canadian style. Finally, we know that Canadians were intensely concerned with national unity, and federal buildings would naturally reflect this concern.

A sequence emerges: in the Parliament Buildings of 1859-66, Fuller

Fig. 19. John Forin, City Hall, Belleville Ont. 1872-73. (Photo: N. and H. Mika, *Belleville Friendly City*).

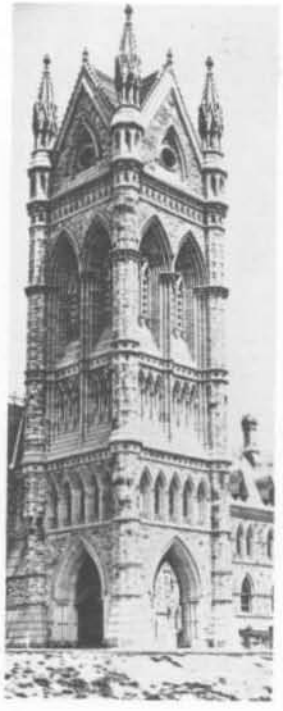

Fig. 20. Thomas Fuller and Chilion Jones, tower of Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1859-66; photo of 1869. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

Fig. 21. T. S. Scott, design for tower called "MacDonald's Cowbell," west wing of West Block, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1878. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada).

Fig. 22. Thomas Fuller, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, corner Queen and Hector Sts., Port Hope Ont., cornerstone laid 30 August 1883. (Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

and Jones created a prototype, and in its image Thomas Scott designed the Stratford Post Office, but it was Fuller himself who carried this "Dominion image" across the young nation. His Port Hope Post Office, now demolished (Fig. 22), epitomized Fuller's unique personal synthesis. Its picturesque corner site and steep-roofed gabled masses climaxing in a crenellated corner tower that Fuller must have borrowed from a Norman fortress, lent force to its presence in the townscape. Its interpretive medievalism, though paralleling movements in the United States and Britain, symbolized the North European heritage of Canadians and expressed the rigour of the national personality.[37]

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Notes:

[1] See, for instance, C. Pelham Mulvany's appreciative account of the Adelaide Street Post Office in *Toronto: Past and Present* (Toronto: 1884), pp. 47-48.

[2] Ralph Greenhill, Ken Macpherson and Douglas Richardson, *Ontario Towns* (Ottawa: 1974), unpaginated. The discussion closes the chapter "Public Buildings and Schools."

[3] Fuller's post offices were numerous: about seventy, over thirty of which were in Ontario, at least twelve in Quebec, and the rest in the three Maritime Provinces, on the Prairies and on the West Coast. They have, however, fared badly; in Ontario approximately ten survive. The chief sources of information on them are in the Annual Reports of the Minister of Public Works in the *Sessional Papers*, the volumes of drawings and specifications among the Public Works Records (RG 11) of the Public Archives of Canada, and the collection of architectural drawings in the Department of Public Works headquarters, Ottawa.

[4] For Scott's biography see Hugh G. Jones and Edmund Dyonnet, *History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts* (Montreal: 1934), 12.9, and Newton McTavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada* (Toronto: 1925), p. 178. Scott is something of a mystery to us. We are not sure when he came to Canada: both sources say 1863, yet only one of two designs can be attributed to him with certainty before 1872 (the small Anglican church of St. John's, Prescott, Ont. was done before 1860). Even as Chief Architect, Scott is an enigma: apart from the West Block tower (Fig. 21), which is surely his own, we are not sure to what extent we can attribute public building designs to him, and in what degree, to the local supervising architects.

[5] PAC, *Public Records: Orders-in-Council*, RG 2, series 1, Vol. 217, part 2, no. 1467 (29 October 1881).

[6] *Ibid*, RG 11, drawings and specifications, Vol. 3910, 91a. The Stratford drawings are pp. 91a-95a.

[7] The fire is mentioned in the Stratford *Beacon-Herald*, 5 September 1959, p. 8. Drawings for the additional storey are in the PAC: RG 11, Vol. 3913.

[8] The Post Office, however, gradually expanded, filling in the yard enclosed within the ell. Drawings for various alterations and additions are in the DPW, drawer 622B.

[9] Prominent mansarded blocks of the 1870s include the Easson Block on Wellington Street (1872), the iron-fronted Odd Fellows Lodge on Downie Street (1872), the Albion Hotel on Ontario Street, and the Merchants Bank on Albert Street (1874). Since its foundation by the Canada Company in the 1830s, Stratford

had attracted a select and prosperous populace. The wealth created by two railways, manufacturing industries and wheat-rich surrounding townships accounts for an unusual quantity of stylish nineteenth-century architecture, which today however, is being sadly depleted.

[10] "Replication Replicated, or Notes on American Bastardy," *Perspecta, the Yale Architectural Journal*, nos. 9/10 (1965), p. 219.

[11] In his essay, "The Nature of Gothic," *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. 2, ch. 6.

[12] The specifications say that grey St. Mary's stone was to be used below ground; masonry above ground was to be Georgetown brownstone, with light grey trim. Some local white brick appeared on sides and rear.

[13] See Carl Condit, "Iron Framing," *American Building Art: the Nineteenth Century* (New York: 1960), pp. 25-70.

[14] The decade saw new post offices erected in Toronto, Kingston, London, Hamilton and Quebec City. Local architects were foremost in their design, and the "Engineer-Draftsman" F. P. Rubidge, listed among DPW staff in the *Canadian Almanac* for 1859, seems to have been the closest thing to a Chief Architect.

[15] Illustrated in Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, *Founded Upon a Rock* (Halifax: 1967), p. 23.

[16] *Toronto in the Camera* (Toronto: 1868), 1 verso.

[17] I am grateful to Shirley Morriss for pointing out this attribution by R. H. Hubbard in "General View from a Lofty Eminence," *Canadian Art*, XIII, no. 2 (Winter, 1956), p. 236.

[18] I owe this suggestion to Douglas Richardson.

[19] This was a building Fred. Cumberland would almost certainly have known, since he had left for Canada only in 1847 and had returned twice. On his life and work, see Shirley Morriss, "The Nine-Year Odyssey of a High Victorian Goth: Three Churches by Fred Cumberland," *JCAH*, II, no. 1 (Summer, 1975), pp. 42-53.

[20] Again I am grateful to Shirley Morriss for this information and also to Miss Elizabeth Spicer of the London Public Library, who drew my attention to an article in the London *Free Press* of May 1, 1860 which names Leather. According to Archibald Bremner, *City of London, Ontario, Canada* (London: 1897), p. 110, the new post office opened in 1860 and "had been in the course of erection for two years."

[21] Eighteen post offices and customs houses were erected in the style during the decade. I am grateful to Christina Cameron of the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings for information on this group.

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

[23] The building has often been mistakenly attributed to R. C. Windeyer, architect of the Toronto Customs House. Contemporary accounts and signed drawings at the DPW, however, name Henry Langley as the architect.

[24] The Post Office and Customs House on St. George's Square in Guelph (now demolished) was an example. The drawings are at the DPW, drawers 617 and 618C.

[25] Post offices were designed for Belleville, St. Catherines and Brantford only slightly earlier than for Stratford. All three were "stripped" versions of Second Empire, in brick with stone trim.

[26] Hersey, *op. cit.*, p. 220; George Hersey makes the point that, in the United States, Second Empire and High Victorian Gothic were complementary, not competing, modes.

[27] 4 October 1879 and 21 February 1880.

[28] Sir John Summerson, *Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation* (London and New York: 1970), chapter 4, "A Victorian Competition: the Royal Courts of Justice."

[29] Wendy Sailman, "New Life for an Old Building: Langevin Block," *The Dispatch* (Ottawa, DPW), (Winter, 1975), pp. 2 and 8-14.

[30] A blow-by-blow account is given in Cecil R. Roseberry, *Capitol Story* (Albany: 1964), chapts. 3 and 4. See also *The American Architect and Building News*, II (1876), several issues early in the year, especially April 8.

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

[32] The identical silhouette could indeed be reworked in a medieval vein, as a perspective of the Advisory Board's first alternative proposal shows (Roseberry, 37 top). See also Walter Langsam, "Thomas Fuller and Augustus Laver: Victorian Neo-Baroque and Second Empire vs. Gothic Revival in North America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXIX, no. 3 (October, 1970), p. 270.

[33] I owe this suggestion to Douglas Richardson. Alan Gowans has suggested something similar: he considers the High Victorian Gothic to have been Canada's "National Style," citing Cumberland's University College and the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa as the seminal works. But Gowans does not go so far as to suggest that the Parliament Buildings were the specific prototype of a distinctive image.

[34] In his *Canada: Painted by T. Mower Martin R.C.A...* (London: 1907), quoted in W. E. De Villiers-Westfall, "The Dominion of the Lord: An Introduction to the Cultural History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period," *Queen's Quarterly*, LXXXIII, no. 1 (Spring, 1976), p. 55.

[35] A. J. H. Richardson, "Guide to the architecturally and historically most significant buildings in the old city of Quebec...," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, II, nos. 3-4 (1970), pp. 56-57.

[36] N. and H. Mika, *Mosaic of Belleville* (Belleville: 1966), pp. 23-24, and *Belleville Friendly City* (Belleville: 1973), pp. 81-83.

[37] This article treats one aspect of my forthcoming Master's thesis, which will attempt to describe and evaluate Thomas Fuller's post offices. I will be grateful if any reader familiar with Fuller or any of his buildings would share his knowledge with me; I can be reached through the Department of Fine Art, Sidney Smith Hall, University of Toronto.

As will be obvious to the reader, I owe a great deal to Douglas Richardson, who has been far more than a teacher, also a friend. Many others have contributed too, among them Margaret Van Every of the Ontario Archives, James Anderson and Stan Dingman of Stratford, Gordon Cooper and his staff at DPW headquarters, my father, and the fifteen members of my household.

PAUL-EMILE BORDUAS ET L'ART DECO

Paul-Emile Borduas, né en 1905 à Saint-Hilaire et mort à Paris en 1960, est sans doute l'un de nos plus grands artistes québécois. Son oeuvre a été longuement étudiée et l'on sait l'influence qu'elle a exercée sur le milieu artistique québécois. Nous avons voulu cependant nous pencher brièvement ici sur un problème particulier, celui d'un lien possible entre l'Art déco qui se développe à Montréal au cours des années trente et l'activité pédagogique et artistique de Borduas au cours de cette même décennie.

Le premier contact, semble-t-il, que Borduas ait pu avoir avec l'Art déco pourrait remonter à ses années d'études à l'Ecole des beaux-arts de Montréal (1923-1927). Dès ses débuts, l'Ecole des beaux-arts s'intéresse à l'Art déco. Un cours d' "arts appliqués aux industries de la région" est créé par E. Fougerat, son premier directeur, et intégré dans le premier programme de l'Ecole, ayant ainsi une partie de l'enseignement sur les arts décoratifs. De plus, Robert Mahias, décorateur connu en France à cette époque et rattaché au style Art déco, y est titulaire d'un cours sur la décoration.[1] Le jeune Paul-Emile Borduas affectionne particulièrement ce professeur et l'on peut supposer que celui-ci lui ait inculqué quelques-unes des notions qui l'animaient. Lors de son voyage à Paris, Borduas se donne en effet la peine d'aller lui rendre visite: "Rendu visite à Mahias, fut très aimable et fait voir plusieurs de ses peintures."[2]

Au cours des années trente, l'activité de Paul-Emile Borduas est essentiellement pédagogique. Il enseigne au collège André Grasset, à la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal et en 1937 à l'Ecole du meuble. Dès ses débuts comme professeur, en septembre 1932, il a recours pour la préparation de ses cours à la méthode d'enseignement de Gaston Quénioux, *Manuel de dessin à l'usage de l'enseignement primaire.*[3] Cette méthode lui fournit immédiatement au niveau théorique, des idées qui vont lui permettre de développer sa pédagogie. En effet, le respect de la personnalité et de l'imagination de l'enfant, la reconnaissance de sa créativité sont autant d'idées qui animeront l'enseignement de Borduas au cours de ces années. Sur le plan pratique, le manuel de Quénioux lui fournit tout un répertoire de motifs et de schémas qu'il utilise dans sa préparation de cours. Afin d'établir leur rapport de façon précise avec l'enseignement de Borduas, nous les comparerons à ceux de son cahier de préparation de cours qui couvre essentiellement les années 1934 à 1938.[4]

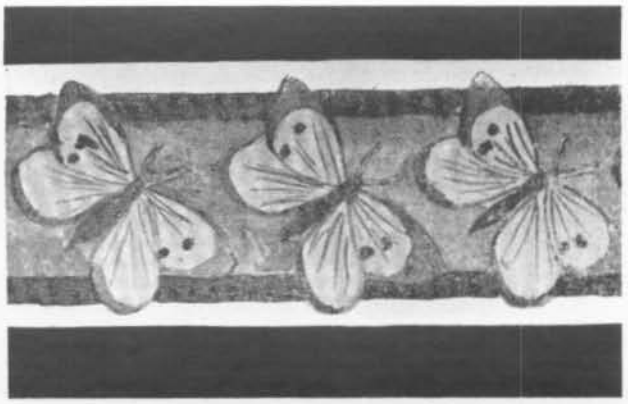

Fig. 1. Gaston Quénioux, *Manuel de dessin à l'usage de l'enseignement primaire* (Hachette , 5e ed., 1912), fig. 153, dessin aquarellé.

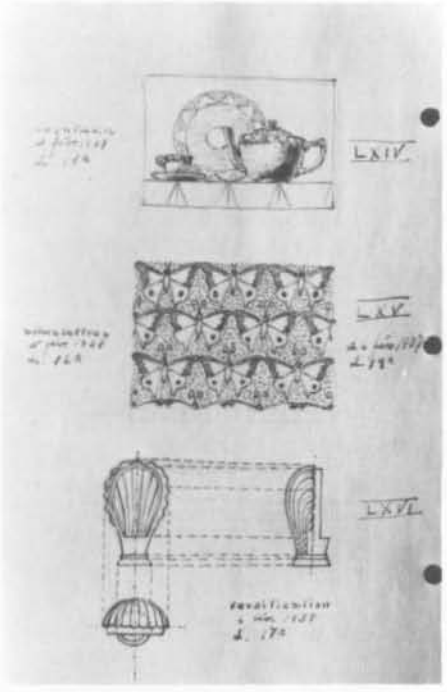

Fig. 3. P.-E. Borduas, *Cahier de préparation de cours* (1934-38), fig. LXV, Archives Musée d'art contemporain, Montréal.

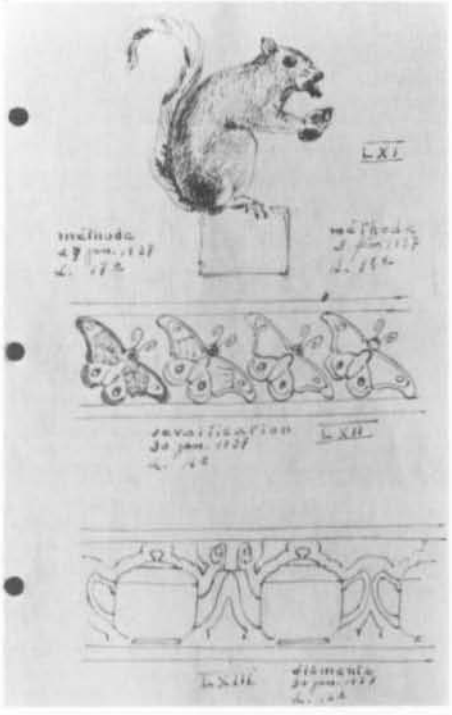

Fig. 4. P.-E. Borduas, *Cahier de préparation de cours* (1934-38), fig. LXII, Archives Musée d'art contemporain, Montréal.

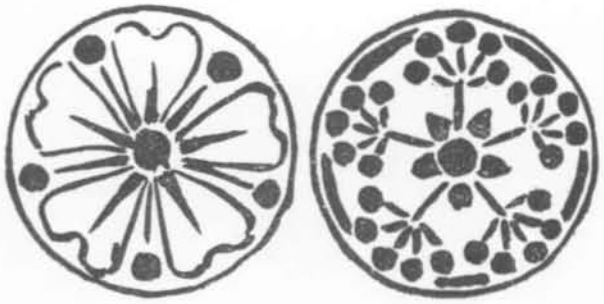

FIG. 150.

Fig. 2. Gaston Quénioux, *Manuel de dessin à l'usage de l'enseignement primaire* (Hachette, 5e ed., 1912), fig. 150, "Exemples des croquis à tracer au tableau par le maître."

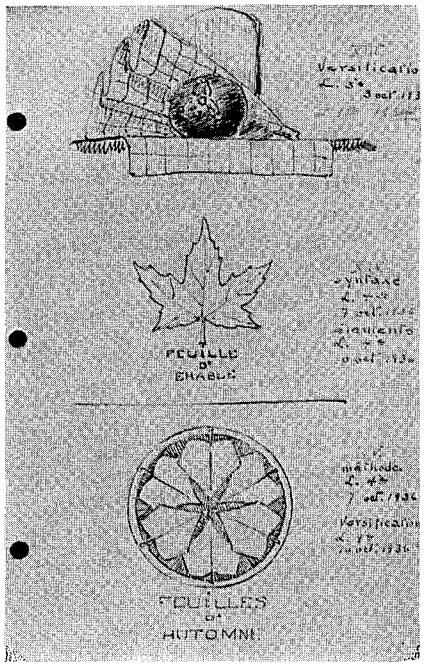

Fig. 5. P.-E. Borduas, *Cahier de préparation de cours* (1934-38), fig. XV, Archives Musée d'art contemporain, Montréal.

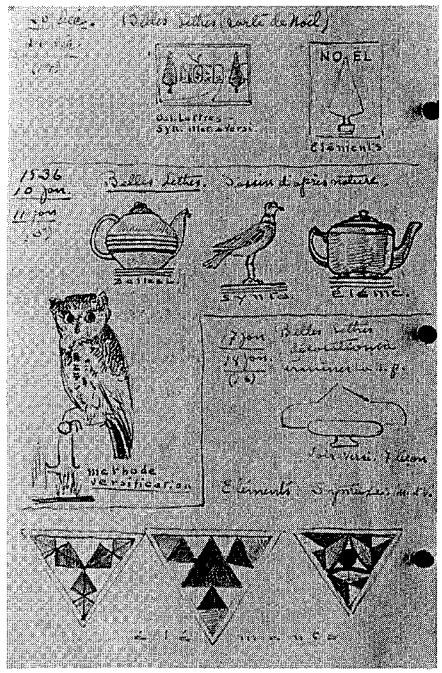

Fig. 7. P.-E. Borduas, *Cahier de préparation de cours* (1934-38). Comparer les triangles du bas de la page avec ceux de la figure précédente.

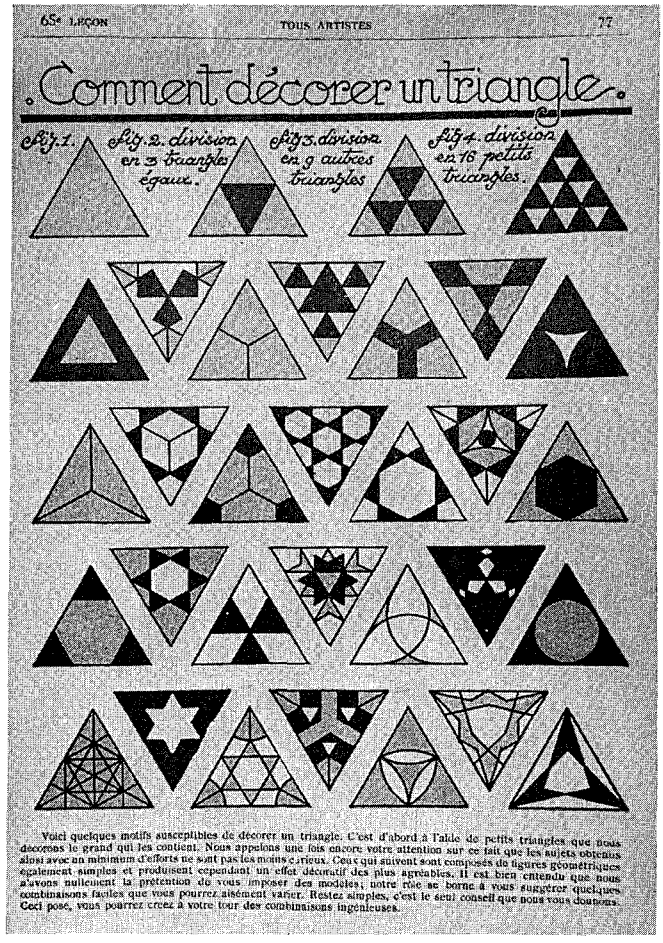

Fig. 6. R. et L. Lambry, *Tous Artistes* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, n.d.), p. 77, "Comment décorer un triangle."

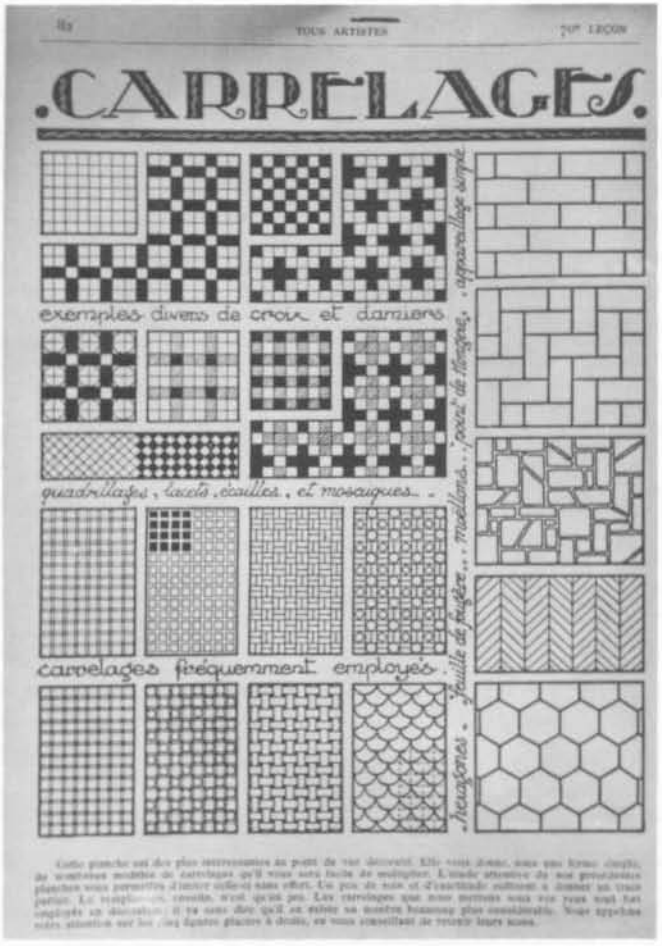

Fig. 8. R. et L. Lambry, *Tous Artistes* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, n.d.), p. 82, "Carrelages."

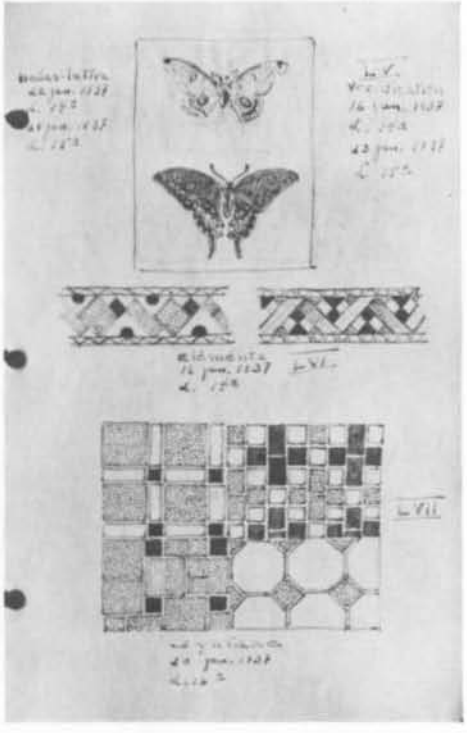

Fig. 9. P.-E. Borduas, *Cahier de préparation de cours* (1934-38), fig. LVII. Comparer avec les "carrelages" de la figure précédente.

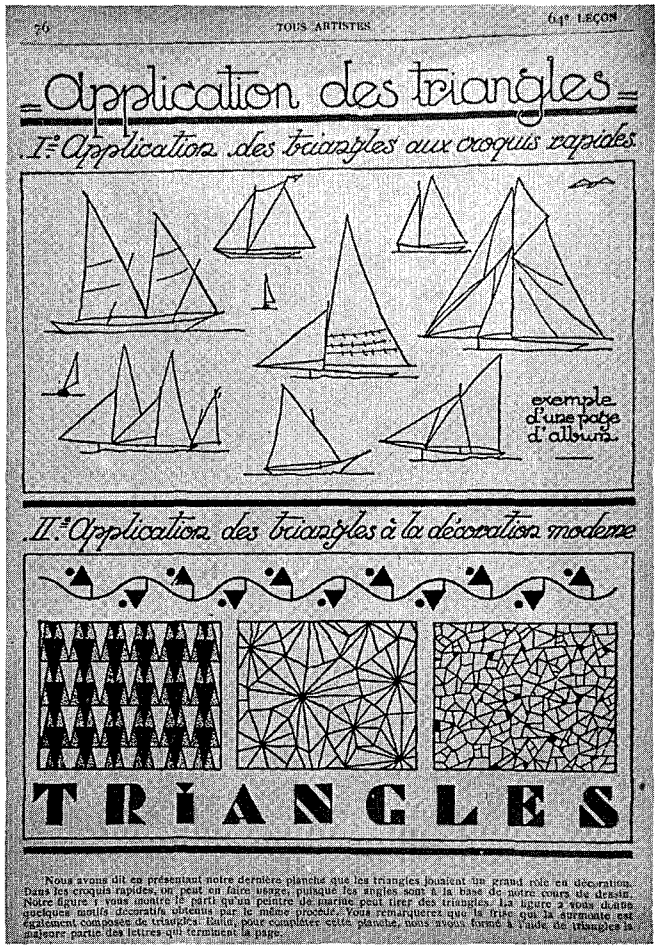

Fig. 10. R. et L. Lambry, *Tous Artistes* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, n.d.), p. 76, "Application des triangles... à la décoration moderne."

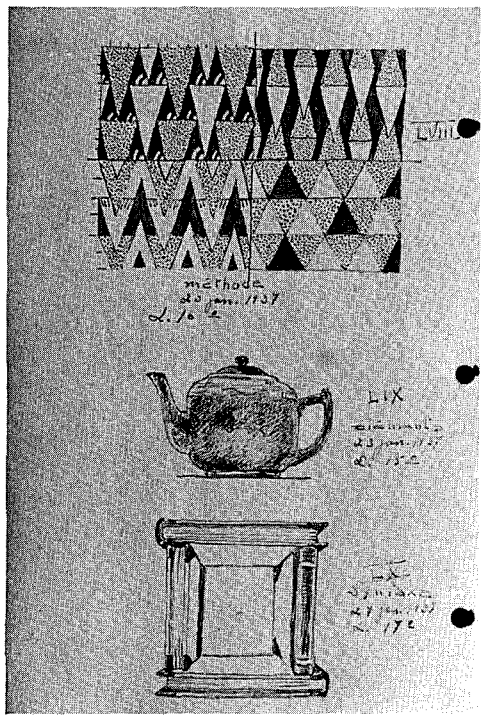

Fig. 11. P.-E. Borduas, *Cahier de préparation de cours* (1934-38), fig. LVIII. Comparer avec "IIe Application des triangles... à la décoration moderne." de la figure précédente.

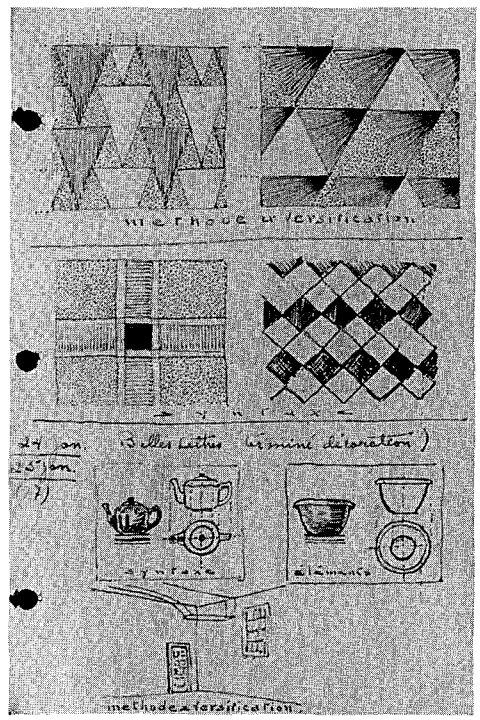

Fig. 12. P.-E. Borduas, *Cahier de préparation de cours* (1934-38). Comparer l'exercise préparé pour "méthode et versification" avec Fig. 10.

Nous n'en retiendrons ici que les dernières feuilles, illustrations d'une série de dessins-projets à faire aux enfants. Ces dessins se présentent sous deux formes, une série de natures mortes et une série de bandes décoratives et motifs, distinction que l'on retrouve également chez Quénioux. Nous ne retiendrons ici pour notre propos que les bandes et motifs géométriques que nous nous proposons donc de comparer à ceux de Gaston Quénioux ainsi qu'aux autres manuels d'enseignement alors en la possession de Borduas. Nous chercherons à voir dans quelle mesure il les reprend, les modifie ou les modernise dans un sens allant vers l'Art déco.

En comparant les bandes décoratives que l'on retrouve à l'intérieur du manuel de Quénioux et celles qui illustrent les feuillets du cahier de Borduas, on peut noter qu'il existe une certaine différence dans la présentation. Chez Borduas, les motifs, quand ils ne sont pas uniquement géométriques, présentent par rapport aux autres une nette simplification de la forme et une tendance vers la géométrisation. On peut le constater en mettant en parallèle les illustrations de papillons ou encore celles de rosaces (Figs. 2-5). Si donc Borduas a retenu une partie des principes pédagogiques de Quénioux, il modernise ses motifs, se rapprochant de la géométrisation.

Paul-Emile Borduas possédait également d'autres manuels qui lui ont servi dans le choix de ses formes et qui tendent à confirmer sa tendance vers un schéma géométrique et les motifs de type Art déco.[5] Parmi ceux-ci, il en est un, *Tous artistes*,[6] qui lui a été, semble-t-il, particulièrement utile. On y retrouve repartis en série de leçons, différents types de motifs avec les variations possibles qu'il sous-tendent. Dans plusieurs cas, on peut retracer dans les feuilles de Borduas ces motifs, repris tels quels et présentés comme examples aux étudiants. Ainsi trois des triangles avec variation intérieure ont été repris intégralement (Figs. 6, 7) ainsi que les carrelages (Figs. 8, 9) qui sont des copies conformes de ceux que l'on retrouve dans *Tous artistes*. Borduas a également repris tels quels ou avec de légères variations les triangles présentés sous la rubrique "Application des triangles à la décoration moderne" dans le même manuel (Figs. 10-12). En fait, le répertoire de motifs offerts par un manuel tel que celui-ci relève essentiellement de celui de l'Art déco. Ainsi les motifs présentés (Fig. 13) sous la rubrique "Motifs d'art moderne" en sont un bon exemple. Il nous semble assez significatif que Borduas les ait non seulement connus mais utilisés. On peut donc affirmer qu'il connaissait

et employait, tout au moins dans cette perspective, le répertoire de formes offert par l'Art déco.

En 1937, Paul-Emile Borduas est engagé comme professeur de dessin et de décoration à l'Ecole du meuble. L'intérêt des étudiants et le contact avec ses nouveaux confrères, particulièrement Marcel Parizeau et Maurice Gagnon, sont pour lui de grands stimulants. C'est à l'Ecole du meuble qu'il a l'occasion de travailler avec des étudiants plus âgés et qu'il peut orienter son enseignement dans un sens allant vers l'Art déco. Le type de production issu des cours présentés à l'Ecole du meuble relève sans aucun doute de l'Art déco. C'est particulièrement évident pour le mobilier, conçu sous Marcel Parizeau et Jean-Marie Gauvreau (Fig. 14). De plus, à l'intérieur même du cadre des cours de Borduas, on peut retrouver cet intérêt pour l'Art déco. Citons en exemple ces tapis crochetés exécutés dans l'un des cours de Paul-Emile Borduas (Fig. 15).

Marcel Parizeau, cependant, en plus de ses cours à l'Ecole du meuble, poursuit également une carrière d'architecte. Ses maisons, construites entre 1935 et 1940, sont le reflet de préoccupations qui le placent principalement dans la veine puriste. Par contre, ses intérieurs et certains éléments extérieurs (poignées, gouttières, etc.) restent tributaires de l'Art déco. Cette façon de rattacher Art déco et art décoratif sera reprise par Borduas. Confrère et ami de Borduas, Marcel Parizeau a certainement eu sur lui une certaine influence. Les maisons conçues par Borduas, sa propre maison à Saint-Hilaire, puis la maison qu'il dessine pour le docteur Georges Deshaies, sont conformes à l'attitude adoptée par Marcel Parizeau. L'architecture tend vers le purisme et l'Art déco est réservé aux motifs et à la décoration.

Si l'on cherche maintenant à voir à travers la production même de Borduas s'il s'y trouve quelques traces de son intérêt pour l'Art déco, on remarque pour la période des années trente une certaine tendance vers la géométrisation des fonds, particulièrement dans les portraits. Le *Portrait de jeune homme* (1933) ainsi que le *Portrait de Gabrielle Borduas* (1940) en sont de bons exemples. Cette géométrisation des fonds, qui aboutit à la *Femme à la mandoline* (1941), fait également partie, à un certain niveau, de cet intérêt manifesté par Borduas au cours des années trente pour l'Art déco.

Au début des années quarante, alors qu'il aspire à devenir peintre, que ses théories personnelles se développent, Borduas a certainement été en réaction contre l'Art déco, qui pour lui restait symbolique de la décoration moderne. En fait, il va distinguer comme deux mondes sans

Comment composer de beaux MOTIFS d'art MODERNE.

rien qu'en employant des cercles

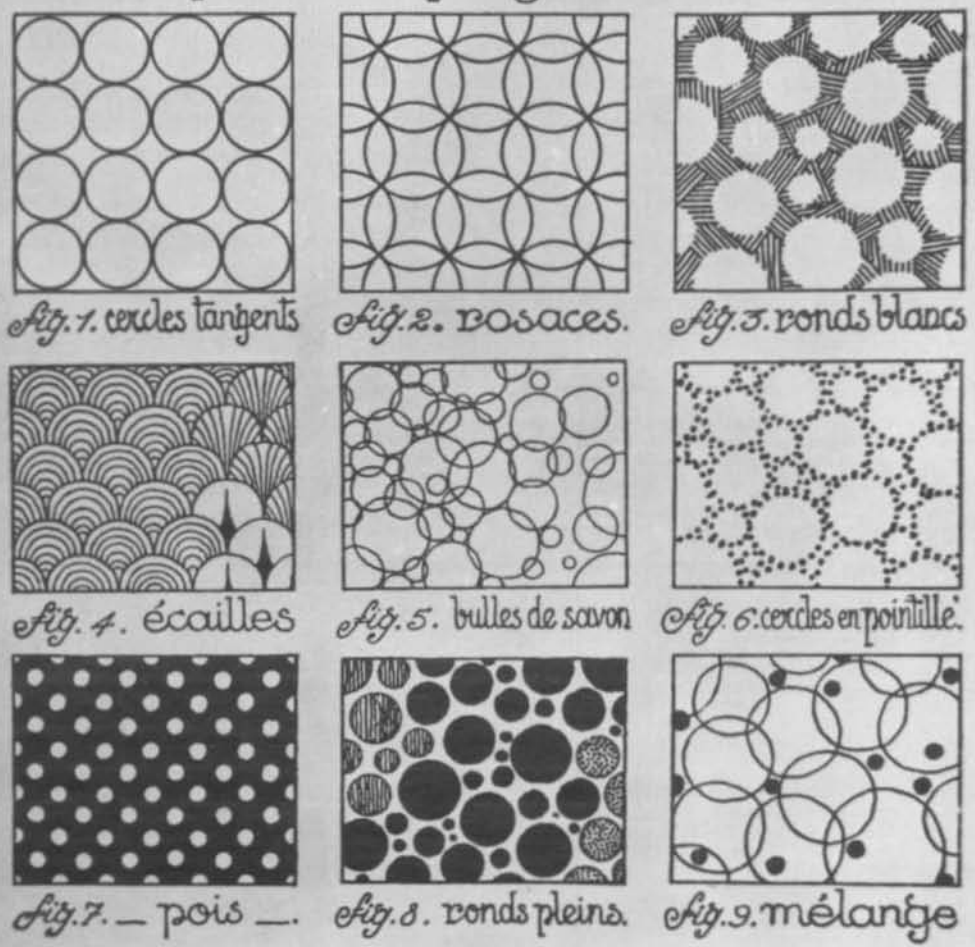

Fig. 1. cercles tangents — Fig. 2. rosaces. — Fig. 3. ronds blancs

Fig. 4. écailles — Fig. 5. bulles de savon — Fig. 6. cercles en pointillé.

Fig. 7. — pois —. — Fig. 8. ronds pleins. — Fig. 9. mélange

Nous avons dit précédemment que le cercle jouait un rôle « considérable » en décoration; la planche que nous mettons sous vos yeux en est la preuve. L'art moderne fait un fréquent usage du cercle, et l'effet qu'il en tire est parfois saisissant. Les neuf dessins qui composent notre planche suffiraient à prouver que peu de figures géométriques (employées « seules ») offriraient une semblable variété. Mais, comme nous l'avons dit maintes fois, nous n'avons nullement la prétention d'avoir épuisé les combinaisons qui charment le regard. Notre rôle se borne à déblayer la voie dans laquelle de jeunes artistes s'élanceront ensuite pour faire beaucoup mieux que nous.

Fig. 13. R. et L. Lambry, *Tous Artistes* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, n.d.), p. 91, "Comment composer de beaux motifs d'art moderne rien qu'en employant des cercles."

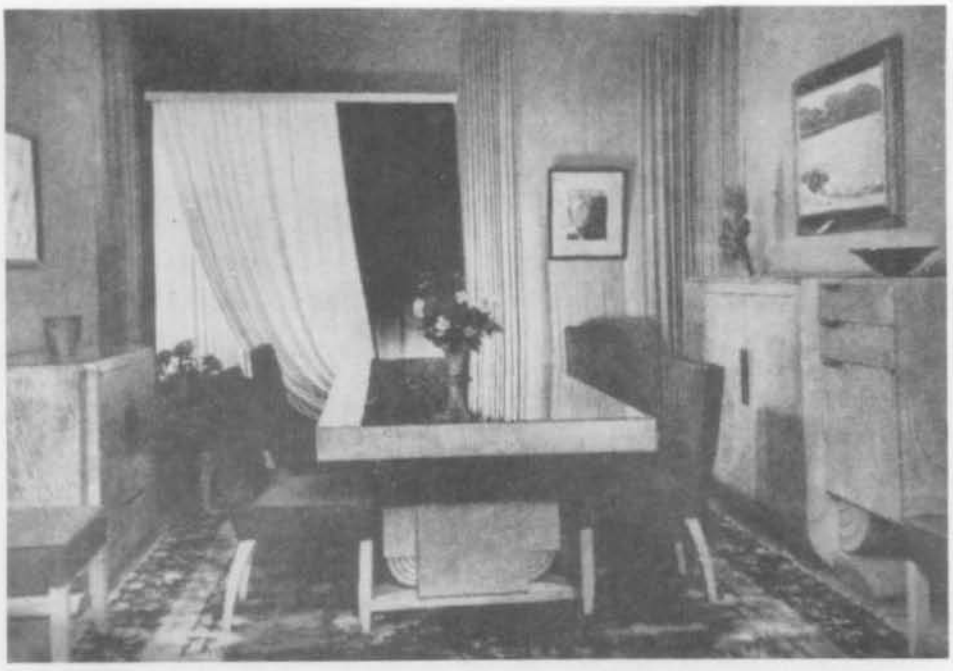

Fig. 14. J.-M. Gauvreau, *Secrets et ressources des bois du Québec* (Fides: 1943), p. 203, fig. 142. Meubles de Style Art déco produits à l'École du meuble.

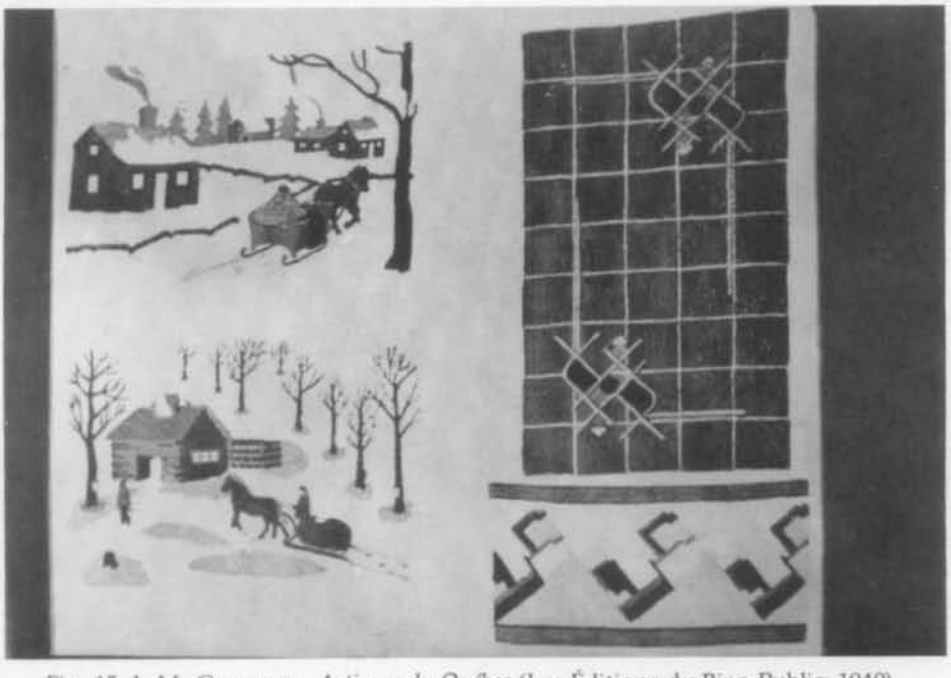

Fig. 15. J.-M. Gauvreau, *Artisans du Québec* (Les Éditions du Bien Public: 1940), p. 55, "Tapis crochetés... d'après les projets étudiés au cours de décoration (2e année) de l'École du meuble, sous la direction du professeur P.-E. Borduas."

communication l'art décoratif et la peinture. Les gouaches de 1942 pourraient alors manifester, dans une certaine mesure, ce rejet dans sa vie artistique. On peut donc se demander en dernier lieu dans quelle mesure la conception anti-géométrique de Borduas, qui prévaut bien après les années trente, ne prend pas racine dans l'Art déco même. Son attitude négative face aux Plasticiens et à l'abstraction géométrique ne pourrait-elle pas être en partie tributaire de ce rejet? Si pour lui, l'Art déco reste symbolique de décoration moderne, il est possible qu'il ait associé dans une certaine mesure le côté géométrique de la peinture des Plasticiens à sa propre définition de la décoration et du "décoratif," définition qu'il avait pour son compte rejetée de sa production. Si l'Art déco, qu'il a connu et exploité à travers sa carrière de professeur au cours des années trente, reste essentiellement un répertoire de formes décoratives, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il a contribué à développer ses propres théories artistiques et qu'il lui a permis de connaître l'un des grands courants artistiques internationaux de l'heure.

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Notes:

[1] Katherine Morrison McKlinton, *Art Deco, A guide for collectors* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter Inc., 1972), p. 62.

[2] *Journal* de Borduas à Paris, le 16 février 1923.

[3] Gaston Quénioux, *Manuel de dessin à l'usage de l'enseignement primaire* (Paris: Hachette, 1912).

[4] Archives du Musée d'art contemporain, Montréal.

[5] Archives du Centre de recherche en art canadien, Université de Montréal.

[6] R. et L. Lambry, *Tous artistes* (Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, n.d.).

UNE CARTE DE JEAN BOURDON DE 1640

Des recherches effectuées récemment pour la mise à jour des données iconographiques relatives à la ville de Québec, ont permis de retrouver ce qu'on croit être la copie d'une carte de la ville de Québec tracée par Jean Bourdon en 1640.[1] (Fig. 1)

Cette carte fait partie d'un ensemble relevé par Pierre-Lewis Morin autour de 1880 au bénéfice de la Société Historique de Montréal. Elle porte la mention "vraie copie de l'original" et la reproduction de la signature de Jean Bourdon. On ignore, pour l'instant, où l'arpenteur Morin a trouvé la carte originale. Les études relatives à Jean Bourdon, ingénieur du Roi arrivé dans la colonie en 1634, ne fournissent aucune mention de l'existence de cette carte.[2] La situation qu'elle présente est cependant bien proche de la vérité historique, encore qu'elle suscite plusieurs interrogations.

Rappelons que, c'est sous Champlain, que Jean Bourdon fait ses premières armes dans la colonie. Québec est alors en pleine effervescence. Il faut reconstruire en pierre le Château Saint-Louis, bâtir un presbytère pour les Jésuites à proximité de l'église paroissiale Notre-Dame-de-la-Recouvrance, ériger des ouvrages de défense. La mission de Sillery se développe aussi, et les Jésuites y sont aussi actifs qu'à Québec où ils s'apprêtent à jeter les fondations du Collège. Deux communautés religieuses sont attendues, les Augustines Hospitalières et les Ursulines. On doit arpenter les concessions, diviser les propriétés et tracer des rues. Jean Bourdon, formé pour ce faire, devra voir à la bonne marche de toutes ces opérations[3] qui s'étaleront de 1635 à 1646. La carte dont il est question ici présente un rapport des travaux effectués autour de 1640.

A la basse-ville, le magasin de Champlain avec ses deux tourelles et le magasin des Cents-Associés subsistent de la période précédant l'arrivée de Bourdon. La carte situe par ailleurs le logis et la chapelle des Récollets à l'intersection des actuelles rues Notre-Dame et Sous-le-Fort. Notons au passage que la topographie de la basse-ville est déjà fixée, seule la disparition du vieux magasin et son remplacement par l'église Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, modifiera la disposition des lieux.[4] L'intérêt de cette carte réside cependant dans sa représentation de la haute-ville, à laquelle on accède déjà par la Côte de la Montagne.

La Relation des Jésuites de 1636 nous apprend que, à Québec: "On a tiré les alignements d'une ville, afin que tout ce qu'on bâtira dorénavant soit en bon ordre...".[5] Jean Bourdon a donc, tout de suite après son

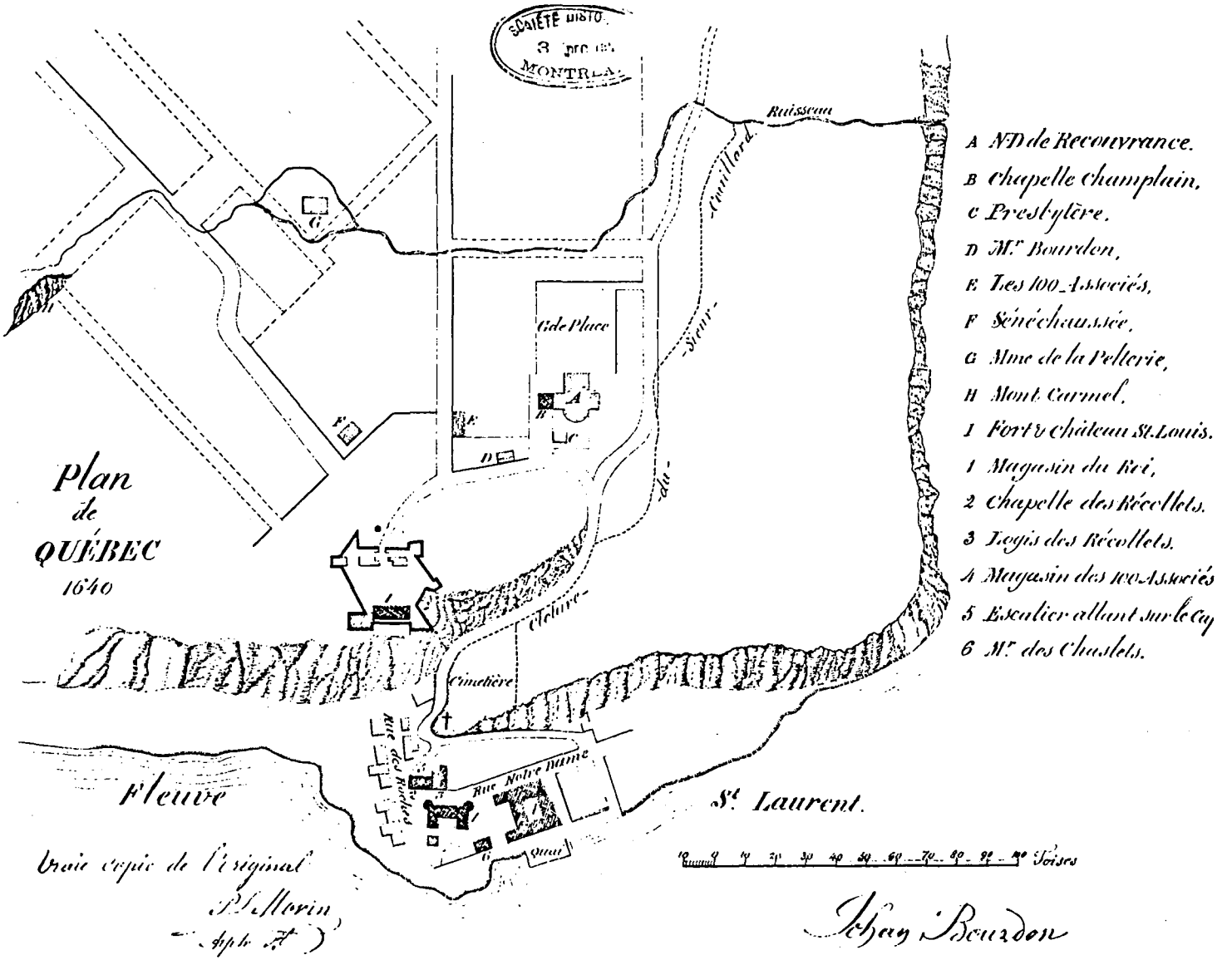

Fig. 1. Attribué à Jean Bourdon, *Plan de Québec 1640*. (Photo: Service de l'audio visuel, Université Laval).

arrivée, procédé au quadrillage de la ville qui se développe sur le cap. C'est donc à ce moment, et la carte le confirme, que sont tracées les rues Mont-Carmel, Saint-Louis, Sainte-Anne, Saint-Jean, du Fort, des Jardins, du Parloir, et qu'est délimitée la Grande Place au-devant de l'église paroissiale.

C'est autour de la situation de cette église de la paroisse que les questions les plus intéressantes surgissent. On a longtemps prétendu que l'église Notre-Dame-de-la-Recouvrance, construite en 1633, était située un peu au sud de l'actuelle rue Buade et orientée différement.[6] La carte nous situe la première église de la ville sur le présent emplacement de Notre-Dame de Québec; la chapelle construite en 1636 pour recevoir les restes de Champlain et honorer sa mémoire y est accolée.[7] Cette église originale sera détruite par le feu le 15 juin 1640, en même temps que la maison des Jésuites qui servait de presbytère. "Le feu," écrit le P. Lejeune, "se mit en notre maison de Québec qu'il a réduite en poudre et la chapelle de M. le gouverneur, et l'église publique; tout a été consumé."[8] La carte de l'ingénieur du Roi qui utilise des hachures différentes pour représenter l'église et le presbytère aurait pu servir à illustrer les pertes matérielles encourues par les religieux lors de cet incendie.

Fait intéressant à noter c'est selon les mêmes dimensions, soit quatre-vingt pieds de longueur incluant le rond-point, que l'église sera reconstruite; elle portera désormais le nom de Notre-Dame-de-la-Paix.[9]

Ce document est encore intéressant par ses omissions. Les emplacements concédés aux Jésuites, aux Augustines Hospitalières et aux Ursulines sont encore vides. Seule s'élève la maison de Madame de la Peltrie orientée de façon curieuse. Comme nous l'apprennent encore les Jésuites, les religieuses des deux communautés ne disposent pas encore à cette époque des bâtiments qui leur permettront d'exercer leur apostolat.[10]

La carte que nous reproduisons est d'un intérêt certain; son authenticité ne peut cependant être prouvée tant que nous ne connaîtrons pas l'original. En attendant, elle amène les chercheurs à remettre en question certaines affirmations. N'est-ce pas là la raison de toute recherche?

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Notes:

1 Cette copie de carte a été retrouvée dans le Fonds Gagnon de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal par Mme Francine Brousseau-Hudon et M. Serge Philibert qui ont eu l'amabilité de nous la communiquer.

2 Sur Jean Bourdon, on pourra lire avec intérêt: Jean Hamelin, "Jean Bourdon," *Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966), I, pp. 115-17; Auguste Gosselin, *Jean Bourdon et son ami l'abbé de Saint-Sauveur* (Québec: Dussault et Proulx, 1904); M. W. Burke-Gaffney, "Canada's first engineer: Jean Bourdon 1601-1668," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report 1956-1957*, pp. 87-104.

3 Sur la formation de Jean Bourdon comme ingénieur militaire, et sur celle de ses collègues, on aura intérêt à lire: D. J. Buisseret, "Les ingénieurs du Roi au temps de Henri IV," *Bulletin, section de géographie, France, comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, LXXVII (1964), pp. 13-84.

4 A ce sujet, voir: Luc Noppen, *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires à la Place Royale* (Québec: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, 1974), pp. 39-43.

5 *Relations des Jésuites*, Relation de 1636 (Montréal : Editions du Jour, 1972), p. 41.

6 Sylvio Dumas, *La chapelle Champlain et Notre-Dame-de-la-Recouvrance*, Cahiers d'histoire no 10 (Québec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1958).

7 Luc Noppen, *Notre-Dame de Québec* (Québec: Editions du Pélican, 1974), pp. 17-18.

8 *op. cit.*, Relation de 1640, p. 50.

9 Noppen, *Notre Dame de Québec*, pp. 23-24.

10 *op. cit.*, Relation de 1640, pp. 38, 44.

BOOK REVIEWS

LA VILLE DE QUÉBEC, 1800-1850: UN INVENTAIRE DE CARTES ET PLANS
Edward H. Dahl, Hélène Espesset, Marc Lafrance and Thiery Ruddell
National Museums of Canada, Mercury Series, 1975

In the course of their work, architectural historians draw on research material from a variety of disciplines. In the case of *La Ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans*, that discipline is urban history. Four historians — Edward Dahl, Hélène Espesset, Marc Lafrance and Thiery Ruddell — have patiently catalogued hundreds of maps and plans depicting Quebec City between 1800 and 1850. For the first time in Canada, an attempt has been made to make public a systematic catalogue of the wealth of Quebec maps and plans that belong to the National Map Collection of the Public Archives of Canada. For those of us in the field of Quebec studies who have searched through archival labyrinths in pursuit of relevant cartographic material, this recent publication comes as a welcome relief.

On first opening *La Ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans*, the researcher must not be discouraged by the complex organisation of the material. The brief introductory section, in which the authors explain their methodology is followed by a study on the evolution of Quebec City during the first half of the nineteenth century. After an explanation of the format of the entries, a chronological catalogue of the three hundred and fifteen maps from the National Map Collection begins. Following the catalogue entries, the authors have provided a summary list of Quebec plans of this period located in the various archives in Quebec City. The publication terminates with a name/subjet index of the principal catalogue entries.

Although the overall structure of the book is somewhat complicated, the individual catalogue entries are clear and easily accessible. Each map or plan, listed in chronological order, is identified by a catalogue number. After presenting the date, title and technical data, the authors give a detailed description that includes proper and place names, and special features shown on the map or plan. This description is, of course, an invaluable aid to the architectural historian who can see at a glance whether the property that concerns his study falls within the geographical limits of any particular map or plan. In addition, the systematic listing of all proper names, easily found through the index, is an extra finding aid for locating appropriate material. After the description, the authors insert any additional information that might elucidate the subjet in a short section called *remarque*.

For the architectural historian, these plans and maps can be instrumental in establishing the date of a given building. Take, for example, the military hospital that once stood behind the officers' quarters in St. Louis Street: No. 47, *Plan of the Premises belonging to the late Chief Justice Elmsley Quebec 1811*, shows the ground plan of the hospital "proposed to be built for the use of the troops", p.95; No. 57, *A Plan of Works*, 1816 makes reference to "l'hôpital de la garnison", p. 103. This allows us to establish a construction date between 1811 and 1816.

In addition to their use as dating aids, these maps and plans often contain information of a more specifically architectural nature. For example, the ground plan of a building often appears as part of the map. The illustration of a detail of No. 31, p. 81, reveals clearly the curved apse and small transepts of the Jesuit Church as well as the circular plan of the market hall that stood in the Upper Town Market.

In rare cases, cartographic material will yield even more information. In the plan of Judge Bowen's house on Mount Carmel Street, No. 73, p. 116, the anonymous cartographer not only shows the disposition of the different rooms and straircases within the house, but also sketches a façade elevation of this fine example of British neo-classic architecture. Without such a drawing, the physical reality of the house would be much more imprecise. Long since demolished, it was known to us chiefly through the 1817 building contract between Judge Bowen and the builders.

With so much original information available in these maps and plans, one can only wish that each one had been illustrated in *La Ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans*. Yet we should be grateful that over fifty maps and plans have been reproduced throughout the text and that the quality and legibility of each is reasonably good.

While the inventory of maps and plans is obviously the central focus of this publication, the study of the evolution of Quebec City during these years should not be ignored. Well-documented and clearly written, this brief study provides valuable background for the period by examining the physical and socio-economic aspects of Québec between 1800 and 1850.

This publication is part of the National Museum of Man's Mercury Series, a series designed for the rapid dissemination of information. As a result, some of the usual editorial procedures have been bypassed with the inevitable increase in minor errors. In the case of *La Ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans*, the instances of grammatical error, inconsistent spelling and inaccurate transcription is irritatingly frequent. While not detracting from the undeniable value of the book, these errors do distract the reader.

La Ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans is a research tool that will undoubtedly facilitate the task of the architectural historian. Edward Dahl, Hélène Espesset, Marc Lafrance and Thiery Ruddell are to be congratulated on this significant contribution to the field of Quebec studies.

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ONTARIO TOWNS
Ralph Greenhill, Ken Macpherson, Douglas Richardson,
Oberon Press, 1974

Ontario Towns like *Rural Ontario* (Toronto:1969) is most easily categorized as a book of photographs. But unlike many of the recent studies of Canada or its architecture which present a body of plates loosely strung together by a descriptive or hyperbolic text, Ralph Greenhill's photographs for *Ontario Towns* and the text by Greenhill, Douglas Richardson and Ken Macpherson present a consistent image. It is an image of the wide range of vernacular building in Ontario — churches, public, commercial and residential buildings, and town planning — such has not been available before for Ontario or any other province.

Many an architectural photographer or historian is able to grasp the immediately interesting element in a given building. The important factor in a study of this type is the avoidance of the all-inclusive approach — the weak link in the historian's temperament — in favour of the spare, rational grouping such as characterizes *Ontario Towns*. There is no doubt that the book may lack the

comprehensive detail demanded by students, and similarly questions may be raised as to why certain buildings of importance were left out. However, it would be hard if not impossible to find a building or a plate that did not carry its full weight in the evocation of the character of the Ontario town.

The plates in *Ontario Towns* are preceded by an illustrated essay as an explanatory introduction and interpretation. (It is one of the important contributions of the three architecturally oriented books with which Greenhill has been involved: *The Face of Toronto* (Toronto: 1960), *Rural Ontario* and *Ontario Towns*, that each has included a text which makes a permanent contribution to Canadian architectural history. Such is not always the case with similar books!) To call this essay an introduction would be a great mistake, for though it is intimately related to the plates, it can and does stand by itself. This essay is broadly based upon precedent and the international influences on Ontario architecture, but it never becomes involved in essentially decorative erudition. Douglas Richardson (as the immediate author of the text) has remained true to the calculated image of the photographs and has at the same time provided much of the explication essential for an understanding of this image.

George Baird, in his study of Ralph Greenhill's photography in *City Magazine* Vol. I, No. 4 (May-June 1975), has summed up the basic character of the plates in this book as a study in archetypes. This is undoubtedly true, but Baird goes on to come to much the same conclusions as an earlier reviewer of the book, who expressed the opinion that the plate of the Huron County Jail at Goderich does not "illustrate" the building properly. Although Baird qualifies his opinion of the plate with an intuitive insight into the quality of the photographs, he too concludes that Greenhill chose to stress the image of the public space in front of the building at the expense of the building itself. But it is just this quality of public space and the relationship of the passer-by to the building that it signifies, that is the defining element in the book and a crucial factor in the creation of the "archetype". Where an aerial view of the building, a conventional long shot or a closely cropped detail of the door surround would perhaps have more satisfactorily illustrated the building as "architecture", such a view would not have expressed the relationship of the pedestrian of the town to the overshadowing mass of the wall. The view of the Lennox and Addington Court House, illustrates the building in a conventional sense, and in addition sets the monumentality of the great portico within the townscape and gives it a local identity by framing the view in the trees that are its natural counterpart in the townscape.

Though people rarely, if ever, appear in the photographs, there is as George Baird points out, an awareness of the "domestication" of the landscape, of the "clear evidence of the presence of others, who are only for a moment absent — an open window, a chair on a porch, a swept walk." This sense of buildings in a landscape and of the people who created the architecture of the towns for their own immediate use explains the importance of both residential and religious buildings among the plates. It also strengthens the case for preservation, that is clearly an essential concern for the authors. The contrast between Plate 98 of the Groves Block in Fergus and the corner as it exists today after the demolition of most of the building, and the substitution for it, by the Royal Bank, of a prize example of debased modern corporate architecture, would be horrifying anywhere. But it is heart-wrenching in a book devoted to the representation in historical and photographic terms of the place of people and their aspirations in architecture.

There are no aspirations in a building such as that put up by the Royal Bank; there is only arrogance and the assumption that corporate convenience and profit are the only determinates in architecture.

The basic orientation of the plates in *Ontario Towns* is complemented by the premises of Douglas Richardson's introduction. He has sought to place the architecture of Ontario in both an historical and an international context. But he has steered clear of the type of source-mongering and value-by-association that plagues much architectural history, admitting instead the importance of published secondary sources in the architecture of a fundamentally "colonial" society. It is not impossible that Canadian architects and builders may have known European, and particulary British, monuments directly. (John Howard's adaptation of the staccato composition of Wilkin's National Gallery for the Lunatic Asylum of 1846 in Toronto is a good example.) But however romantic such connections may be there is no denying the importance of printed source material in Ontario architecture — ranging from the glories of Isaac Ware and Asher Benjamin to the rather more prosaic, if more important, *Canada Farmer* and the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*.

What Richardson has managed to convey is the lasting value of local architecture without descending to the sentimentality that is all too common in the coffee table format book on architecture. There is no need to employ tricks to draw attention to our architecture or to be blinkered to enjoy it. This type of historical approach is the exact counterpart to the strongly Neo-classical character of Ralph Greenhill's photographs which in their spareness never indulge in the photographic tricks of the picturesque to lend specious charm to a building. As George Baird has pointed out, there are only two plates showing buildings from a strongly picturesque point of view. But in each case — Christ Church, Lakefield and All Saints, Whitby — the churches were originally conceived from a liturgical and architectural point of view that is essentially picturesque and romantic. The buildings are thus accepted in photographic terms for what they are themselves, rather than being forced into a strait-jacket of preconceptions. And it is this acceptance of local architecture on its own terms that makes *Ontario Towns* an important contribution to the art of photography in Canada and to Canadian architectural history.

William Dendy
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Toronto, Ont.

ERRATA: VOLUME II NO 1 SUMMER/ETE 1975

i We apologize for the error in the printing of Fig. 1. opposite Page 90. The photograph accompanying Raymonde Landry-Gauthier's short note "Un Dessin Inédit de Pierre-Noël Levasseur?" is inverted.

ii Changes submitted by Shirley G. Morriss concerning her article, "The Nine Year Odyssey of a High Victorian Goth: Three Churches by Fred Cumberland:"

"Editors,
...I would be grateful if the following corrections could be noted in the forthcoming issue:

a. On page 51, sixth line from the bottom, "Senate Hall" should have read "Hall of Convocation."

b. In the last half of footnote 16, page 53, the reference to Bishop Strachan's address to the Vestry should have read:

In an address to the Vestry in 1853 Bishop Strachan, referring to the third St James' (1839-49), reported that the wish that 'all should be placed in the new church exactly as they were in the old' was 'gratified to the very letter.' He went on to explain that the same principle was followed in the erection of Cumberland's design and carried out 'in almost every particular of real importance' but that the introduction of side doors through trancepts had altered the relative position of many pews on the ground floor: see *Vestry Minutes*, 1842-1907, Archives of St James' Cathedral, 11 April 1853."

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