
Housing in Québec before Confederation*

Visitors to the province of Québec are often impressed by the distinctive character of its architectural landscape; it has something of a French provincial air about it, something of a British colonial spirit, yet it is also North American, though unlike other parts of North America. The architectural distinctiveness of Québec is a reflection of its historical evolution. Discovered by Jacques Cartier in the sixteenth century and colonized by France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Québec was transferred to British rule in 1763 at the end of the Seven Years War. Although the impact was not immediately felt, successive waves of immigration, first the loyalists from the United States after 1776, dispossessed farmers, genteel younger sons and military men from Britain after 1800, implanted British cultural values and symbols on the former French colony. By the time Confederation became a reality in 1867 yet another influence, that of the burgeoning United States of America, had made itself felt as railways and canals accelerated the pace of cultural exchange. It is this amalgam of influences in concert with the exacting requirements of a harsh climate which determined the nature of housing in Québec before Confederation.

In 1664 Pierre Boucher, the founder and first seigneur of Boucherville, published his description of New France. To the question "What are the houses built of?" he answers that: "Some are built entirely of stone and covered with boards or planks of pine; others are built of wooden framework or uprights, with masonry between; others are built wholly of wood", indicating that the various types of construction familiar in France were also used in the colony.¹ The pressing problem faced by the seventeenth-century colonists of New France was the modification of the traditional forms to produce shelter adequate to a hostile climate. Throughout that ill-defined and unpromising portion of the French empire that was already known as Canada [soon to include Louisbourg (N.S.), Île-Saint-Jean (renamed Prince Edward Island) and scattered outposts in present-day Ontario as well as what we now call Québec] domestic architecture had to cope with the problem of severe cold and its disastrous effect on wall and roof structures.² Although Boucher mentions houses built entirely of wood, or with a heavy wooden frame filled in with stone (*colombage pierroté*), and as late as 1749 Peter Kalm noted that most of the houses in Montréal were built of timber, almost nothing wooden dating from the French régime is

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known to remain standing.³ Only stone houses had the resiliency, the sheer durability, to survive to the present, and they are few enough.

A rare example of a surviving seventeenth-century stone dwelling is the *Jacquet House*, 34 rue Saint-Louis, Québec (fig. 1). The original



(1) **Jacquet House**, 34 rue Saint-Louis, Québec, c. 1675; 1689/99, as it appeared in the 1870's. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, C-28809.)

structure was a one-storey house, like most of the residences in the city, covered with a hip roof (one that slopes in on all four sides). It was erected about 1675 for the master slate-roofer François Jacquet *dit* Langevin, whose nickname indicates that he came from the Anjou region of France, which was famous for its slate quarries.⁴ Considering the degree to which the building trades were subdivided and stratified in Europe, it is somewhat surprising that this stone building was the work of a master carpenter rather than a mason.⁵ The builder was Pierre Ménage (ca. 1648-1715), a native of Poitiers first mentioned in Québec in

1669, who participated in nearly all the major building projects in the city during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, including the Jesuits' house in the Lower Town in 1684, the reconstruction of the Ursuline Convent in 1687-1688, the belfry of Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire in 1690 and that of Notre-Dame-de-la-Paix, the Hôtel-Dieu in 1691, and the Château Saint-Louis in 1692-1700.⁶

Some time before 1699 changes were made for the new owner of the *Jacquet House*, François de Lajoüe (ca. 1656-ca. 1719). The roof was apparently rebuilt in its present gabled form to add a usable upper level, and the house was described in a contemporary document as "twenty-five feet wide (French measure) by twenty feet deep, with cellar below and attic above the two storeys, a ladder outside to climb up to it, and a covered gallery leaning against the rear wall."⁷

Born in Paris, the son of a surgeon, Lajoüe was a surveyor well trained in mathematics and draftsmanship before he arrived in Québec. He seems to have sought out Ménage and took up residence in his home. He married Ménage's daughter almost immediately in 1689, and acquired the house Ménage had built for Jacquet. Once established, he worked as a land surveyor, master mason, engineer, contractor, and architect. He is an outstanding example of social and vocational mobility in the New World, a phenomenon already suggested by the case of his father-in-law: he was a man of many trades who, breaking the restrictions that circumscribed his contemporaries in tightly structured European guilds, extended his practice to take in many of the crafts involved in this field in addition to those in which he was actually trained. Lajoüe's remarkable success was undoubtedly due in part to his superior formal education; by contrast, Ménage was illiterate and unable to sign documents. In any case, Lajoüe's position improved materially and hence socially in the process, until finally he was regarded as a professional man, an architect, rather than a tradesman. He was involved in a number of the same major undertakings as Ménage: several projects for the nursing Sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu, in particular the reconstruction of their convent in 1695-1698 (where one of his own daughters perished when the building burned down in 1775; only the impressive stone vaults survive); the rebuilding of the Château Saint-Louis in 1692-1700; and the building of the Porte Saint-Jean in the town walls in 1693. Evidently a restless man, he left the colony in 1715 or shortly after and died about 1719 in Persia, where he was working as an engineer.⁸

In the nineteenth-century photograph illustrated here, the *Jacquet House* looks very much as it would have done in Lajoüe's time. The steepness of the roof is particularly striking. In addition to its verticality, it is remarkable for the pairs of hooded dormers set low on the slope; such dormers are of a type rarely found in Québec, but common enough

in parts of France.⁹ The roof was covered with wooden shingles, like most of the early buildings, and pointed shingles were used decoratively on the ridges and lower slopes of the dormers. These and the wooden finial in the peak of the gable, a modest vertical accent, are details often seen in eighteenth-century work in the colonies. Only the doorways in the end wall and the shutters with movable vanes on most of the windows are of early nineteenth-century appearance.

The rubble masonry of the *Jacquet House* is another standard feature of the French period. When Marie de l'Incarnation, the founder and Superior of the Ursuline Convent at Québec, described the houses in the city in 1644, she contrasted these rudely finished buildings with the highly finished mansions of Paris: "Do not think that our houses are cut stone. No, only the door- and window-sills." The lime-slate of the locality, called "Cape" stone (in reference to Cape Diamond), of which the first masonry houses of Québec were built, remained the traditional material until long after the Conquest. This she described as "like a species of almost black marble, which comes apart quite well when cut properly, better than the quarry stone of France." Splitting readily in small layers when exposed to the air, it was generally laid as rough rubble in random courses, typically with large quantities of mortar. Grey limestone was used for trim, and Mère Marie complained that: "The sills are very beautiful but they are expensive to cut because of the hardness."¹⁰ This masonry was originally protected from moisture by a white stucco-like mixture called *crépi*. Without this, moisture would enter into the mortar and might cause damage in a climate noted for recurrent freezing and thawing. Overall the finished *Jacquet House* strongly resembled a small and contemporary (or somewhat earlier) farm house in a French village.¹¹

Though this tiny house is now dwarfed by its nineteenth-century neighbours, it was once among the largest houses on the street, an indication both of Lajoüe's status in the colony and of the small scale of the eighteenth-century streetscape. Substantially renovated inside at the end of the eighteenth century, the house belonged briefly, in 1815-1816, to novelist Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé.¹²

In its original state, the interior of the *Jacquet House* probably resembled that of the seventeenth-century *Soeurs de la Congrégation House, Beauport, Québec* (figs. 2, 3, 11), which still survives more or less intact.¹³ A stone partition running from front to back divides the interior into two principal living spaces, kitchen and bedroom. Originally the stone walls were probably finished inside (as outside) with white *crépi* and the enormous ceiling beams, part of the roof frame, are frankly exposed (fig. 2). The ceiling between the beams is boarded and the joints between the boards are covered with narrow battens. Casement windows are recessed and a cupboard or *armoire encastrée* is set within the thick-

ness of the walls that are two to three feet deep. The kitchen, with its large fireplace in the end wall (fig. 3) for cooking and heating, is the focus of the household. In some houses the chimney stack often projected into the room from a position against an end wall or was centrally located (as in figs. 13, 14) in order to conserve as much heat as possible.



(2) *Soeurs de la Congrégation House*, Beauport; Armoire encastrée in kitchen, seventeenth century. (Photo: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Technical Data Services.)



(3) *Soeurs de la Congrégation House*, kitchen fireplace. (Photo: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Technical Data Services.)

The fireplace is unornamented: there is no mantelpiece, though there was sometimes a moulding (as in this example) or a hanging shelf (*tablette*) to support household implements, and from which a ladle or other utensils could be suspended.¹⁴

During the old régime, and even well into the new, French-Canadian architecture is remarkable for its conservatism. Methods and styles originally brought over from France were repeated again and again with only slight modifications until nearly the end of the eighteenth-century. The *Maillou House*, 17 rue Saint-Louis, Québec (figs. 4-6) exemplifies this traditional approach. For while it embodies three distinct construction periods spanning almost seventy years under French and English ownership, externally it shows surprisingly few changes in style. The house was begun soon after 1736 and may have been built by the owner himself, Jean-Baptiste Maillou (1668-1753). Born at Québec, the son of a *sabotier* (man who made

wooden shoes), Maillou stands out as an early native Canadian architect. He began his career as a simple mason and rose to the status of master mason, engineer, and finally architect and contractor of the King's works. He participated in many building projects around the city, including the fortifications in 1706-1707, part of the Hôpital-Général in 1717, the upper storey of the Intendant's Palace in 1726, and the vaults of the Château Saint-Louis in 1731. The degree of his success can be measured by his own removal from the crowded Lower Town, where he was born, to this conspicuous residence in the Upper Town, (very near the Château Saint-Louis), where he lived until his death. He was buried in the crypt of the cathedral, Notre-Dame-de-la-Paix, a mark of the esteem and respect in which he was held.¹⁵

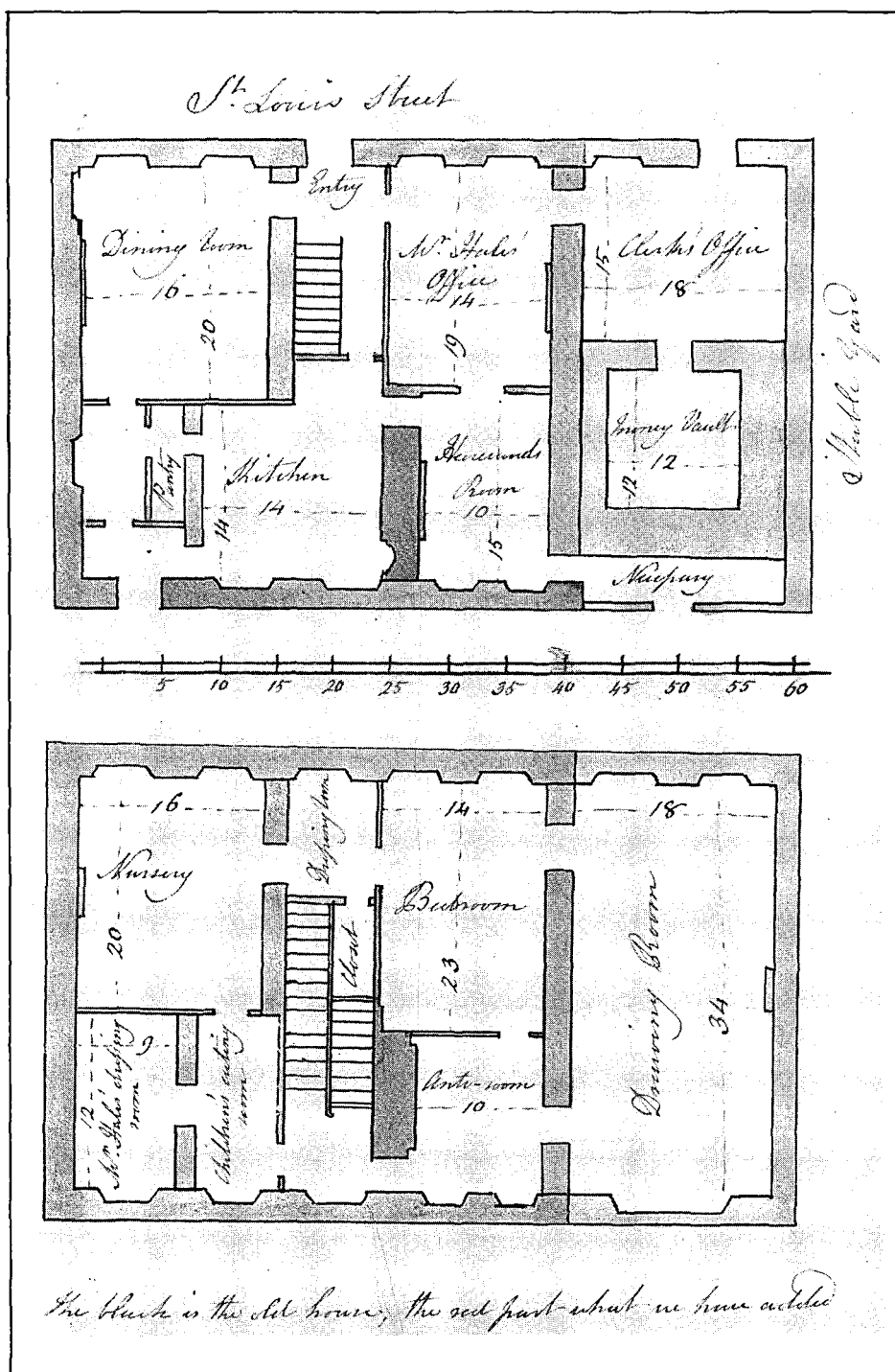
Standing at the head of the rue Saint-Louis, the *Maillou House* originally consisted of a one-storey stone residence with a door between two pairs of windows (the five bays on the right in the view, fig. 4, but to the left in the plan, fig. 5). A stone coach house and stable extended along the street frontage (to the left in the view). A comfortable house for the time, it had a full basement, a ground floor that contained the principal living quarters, including a kitchen, living-room, study (*cabinet*), and three bedrooms plus two attic levels.¹⁶ Though the roof of the original *Maillou House* no longer exists, it must have been steeply pitched, like that of the *Jacquet House*. Documents tell us that there was a main attic with a smaller attic above, an indication that the roof slope was long enough to accommodate, and require, two rows of dormer windows. The rubble masonry is dressed here with cut-stone trim for the door and window surrounds. Both the trim and the steep roof pitch are standard ingredients for an eighteenth-century building in Québec.

The plan (fig. 5) shows the house after two series of renovations, but it points up the remarkable openness, structurally, of early French-Canadian stone houses. Typically these houses were not divided internally by bearing walls of stone unless the house was very large. What appears to be a bearing wall running through the *Maillou House* (towards the right side in fig. 5) is of course, the original end wall. The heavy timber frame that formed the floors and ceilings often spanned the interior from side to side. Only wooden partitions, solidly constructed but relatively slight compared with the frame of nearly foot-square timbers, were required to subdivide the space.

The house was doubled in size when the upper storey was added about 1766-1767 by another owner, Antoine Juchereau Duchesnay, Seigneur of Saint-Denis.¹⁷ The new work was so similar in character that it was scarcely apparent that the house had been enlarged. The masonry resembles the stonework in the lower storey and the new roof, originally shingled, is characteristically steep, with more than one row



(4) **Maillou House**, 17 rue Saint-Louis, Québec, 1736; 1766-1767; 1805-1806. (Photo: the author.)



(5) Maillou House, plan of ground storey and second storey as drawn by Mrs. John Hale in 1805. (Photo: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.)

of dormer windows. The chimney stacks are placed asymmetrically along both front and rear slopes, more or less directly above the fireplaces they serve. This haphazard arrangement, revealing more concern for function than formal design, belongs to the 1736 period; the chimneys were simply raised thirty years later.

The third phase of construction took place during the ownership of the Hon. John Hale, who extended the house in 1805 by two bays (on the left in the view; at the right edge in the plan). Hale was the Deputy Paymaster General for the British Army in North America and made the addition to provide space for his clerk's office (originally with its own door in the face of the building), and for a money vault with immensely thick walls. (In fact, Hale first built the office and vault in 1799, but the outside wall was not sufficiently strong and had to be rebuilt.)¹⁸ The substantial amount of hard cash kept in the strong room when troops were paid in currency, before there were any banks in Canada, was an incentive for the use of iron shutters. But such shutters on the windows and even on the doors were apparently a customary feature of houses in both Québec and Montréal. According to a contemporary description by an English officer, Thomas Anburey, the shutters were a precaution against both fire and theft. He comments that:

These doors and shutters are made of plate iron, near half an inch thick, which, perhaps, you will imagine, give the house a very disagreeable appearance, but it is far otherwise, for being mostly painted green, they afford a pleasing contrast to the whiteness of the house.¹⁹

The exterior character of the *Maillou House* remained largely unchanged, with its rubble masonry and steep roof pitch, but one or two features hinted at a break with traditional building methods. New dormer windows, for instance, are positioned further up the roof slope and the new end chimney, astride the ridge, shows a conscious attempt at symmetrical form. Within the house a modern taste for the neo-classical is most clearly felt. In Europe the French at times played as important a role as the English in the development of neo-classical style in the decades following the middle of the eighteenth century. But considering the disruption of direct French influence in Canada following the Seven Years War it is not surprising that the advent of neo-classicism in French Canada was generally associated with English taste.

Mrs. Hale's letters home to her brother, Lord William Amherst (nephew of Lord Jeffery Amherst) give a fascinating insight into the contrast between traditional French-Canadian decorative schemes and her own more advanced tastes nurtured in Georgian England. In her letter of 28 October 1799 she writes:

I have new paperd & beautified my Room & have sent Lady A(mherst) a pattern of the paper & border which look extremely well, particularly in this Country where houses are not very magnificently furnished & *taste* seems an entire stranger, which you will allow when I tell you that one favorite stile of furniture is full red paper with a Yellow Border half round the room & the other half wainscot painted white which for want of new painting is generally very dirty — they are also very partial to painting a Room a sort of Olive Green & a Yellow border is indispensable on all occasions — the paper we found in our drawing Room was thought extremely handsome here & was a composition of all the colours in the Rainbow & exactly suited to a Cabaret.²⁰

Though these colours were warm, intense, and earthy (the yellow no doubt was really ochre), Mrs. Hale considered them garish and proposed to use “a recipe for making a light Green wash,” a delicate, pastel, and presumably cool tint. Significantly the recipe was “brought from Italy,” the great repository of antique classicism.²¹

A conscious attempt to conform to an established English architectural standard is apparent in her comments on the new wing in another letter six years later, 28 October 1805, which is accompanied by the plans reproduced here:

the new drawing room [on the second floor (fig. 6), above the clerk’s office and money vault] is too narrow for its length according to the rules of Architecture, but one must cut ones Coat according to the Cloth... — the room is 12 feet high & has a sort of Venetian window at the Back.²²

The height of the room is remarkable, especially in contrast to earlier French-Canadian interiors; so is the graceful pattern in the glazing bars of the new window. Internal shutters, to ward off drafts and afford privacy, fold neatly into the splayed thickness of the wall to either side in English fashion. centered on the long outer wall is a fireplace with a mantelpiece imported from England and “a large glass,” or mirror, above. These innovations, tending towards self-conscious regularity, decorum, and even fashion, reflect the arrival of neo-classical style in the province; henceforward the new taste for symmetry and classical detail began to make its impact on the forms of Québec buildings. Occupied by the army in the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century, the *Maillou House* was restored in 1959 and now houses the Québec Board of Trade.



(6) Maillou House, venetian window in upper storey drawing room. (Photo: the author.)

The usual eighteenth-century urban type of house (that persisted well into the nineteenth century) was row-housing of stone, illustrated in the magnificent daguerreotype of the *Beaver Hall Hill area in Montréal* (fig. 7) about 1852. The free-standing house, with lawns at the front and to either side, was unknown in densely built communities like Québec and Montréal until after the influx of the British and the Loyalists at the end of the eighteenth century. The early row-houses, unlike later terraces, were not yet designed as parts of an overall composition. Each house was erected individually according to the needs and tastes of the particular owner, yet they had many features in common. They were usually built of stuccoed rubble masonry and dressed stone trim, with walls coming up to the front edge of the property and often to the property lines at either side as well so that they sometimes shared gable



(7) **Beaver Hall Hill area**, Montréal, ca. 1852. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection, C47354.)

walls. These party walls, into which wide chimneys were placed, ended in stone firewalls: parapets projecting not only above the shingled roof but also carried forward, beyond the line of the eaves, on massive corbels (simply but handsomely moulded on their underside, as a rule) to retard the spread of fire if one should break out. The rhythmic quality of the firewalls and the monumental chimney stacks gave a distinctive flavour to the French-Canadian townscape.²³

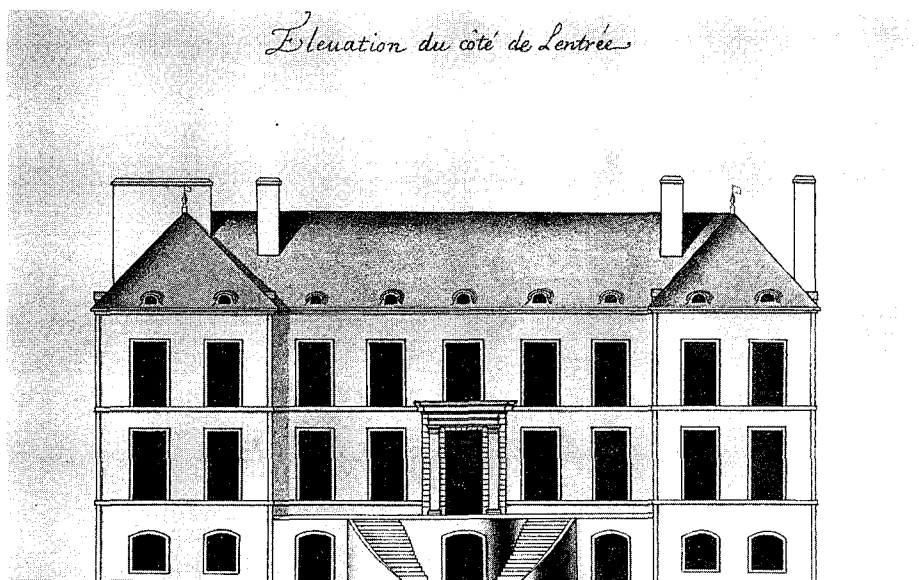
It was probably a combination of French tradition and the high cost of land that accounted for this row-housing. Building sites were soon scarce within the major towns, as early accounts of Québec make clear, and the spacious layout of the *Maillou House*, with its coach house at the street line, was obviously an exception. The row-houses sometimes had carriageways incorporated into the ground storey, though landways fitted with gates between houses are more common, as in the *Beaver Hall Hill* view; both provided access from the street to the rear courtyards and stables. For the less affluent, sharing party walls was an economy in construction and heating. Some argue that the form depended on the building codes imposed by the Intendants for fire protection. As early as

1673, regulations at Québec required: "That no one shall erect a new building in the lower town which has not at least the two gables in masonry" and "That ladders must be provided for reaching the roof." Half a century later strict measures applied generally throughout the colony and in 1727 it was forbidden:

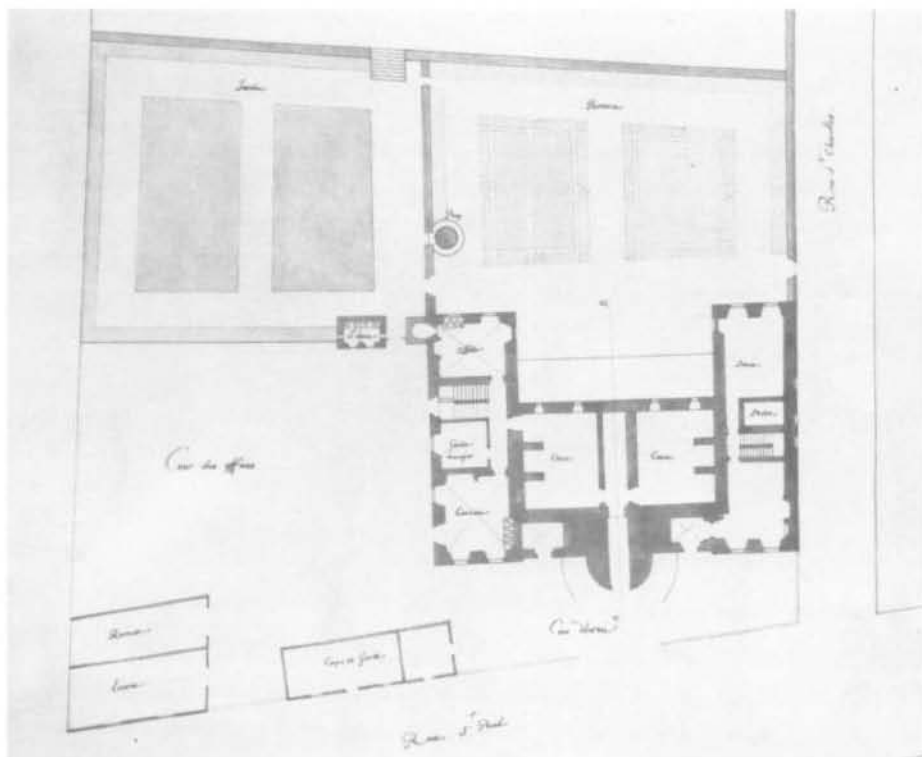
- 1) To build any house in the towns and large villages where stone can be conveniently found, otherwise in stone.
- 2) To build otherwise than in two storeys.
- 3) To use exposed wood in lintels for doors or windows.
- 4) To cover with shingles.²⁴

A lower pitch in the roof (to allow firefighters to walk on it) was also obligatory. But it is difficult to assess the extent to which these rules and regulations were observed: the prohibition of wooden shingles, for example, was impractical and it seems that slate and tinned iron (*fer blanc*), both imported, were scarcely used except on public buildings until the early nineteenth century. In any case, as the century advanced, row-houses grew taller (up to three storeys) and their roof pitch gradually diminished. This type of building spread ultimately outside the province, notably to communities in eastern Ontario like Kingston, Merrickville, Ottawa, and Perth.

The sophisticated *Château de Vaudreuil*, formerly situated on the rue Saint-Paul, Montréal (figs. 8, 9) offers a sharp contrast to the rather



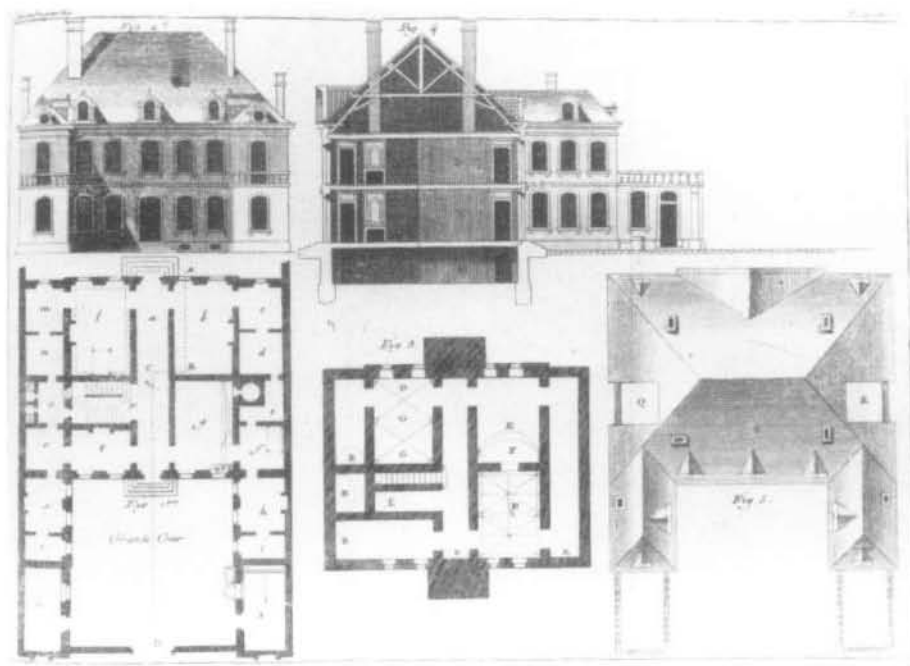
(8) *Château de Vaudreuil* [now demolished], rue Saint-Paul, Montréal, 1723. Principal elevation of 1727 after Gaspard CHAUSSEGROS DE LERY. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, C37604.)



(9) **Château de Vaudreuil**, plan of basement and gardens in 1727 after Gaspard CHAUSSEGROS DE LÉRY. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, C85810.)

plain eighteenth-century row-houses. Intended to serve as a government house when the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor, was in residence at Montréal, the *Château de Vaudreuil* was designed in 1723 by the resident Royal Engineer Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry.²⁵ Chaussegros was born at Toulon in 1682 and died at Québec in 1756. He appears to have served as a military engineer with the French army in Europe and in 1714 he completed the manuscript for an eight-volume treatise on military fortifications which was never published. While in the Marine Department he was transferred to Canada in 1716. He spent forty years here and undertook numerous military works, including the Redoute royale, Québec, in 1717 and 1748; the fortification of Montréal, begun in 1716 (but removed in 1801-1817); the vaults of the Dauphine Barracks, Québec, 1749-1754, and the magazine in Cape Diamond Bastion, 1754, which preceded the present Citadel at Québec. He also produced designs for official buildings: part of the Château Saint-Louis of 1727, the top storey of the Intendant's Palace of 1726; and churches as well: the façade of Notre-Dame-de-Montréal in 1721; and the rebuilding in 1744-1749 of Notre-Dame-de-la Paix at Québec.

The *Château de Vaudreuil* draws on both earlier and current French fashion for its inspiration. The elevated posture, balanced composition, and selective detailing of the façade standing on a high basement with hip-roofed pavilions projecting symmetrically at each end and a striking entrance in the centre, recall the country houses of the gentry and minor nobility in France over the previous century and a half, and specifically certain designs in the third *Livre d'architecture* published by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau in 1582 or as reproduced in 1743 in Buchotte's *Règles du Dessain, et du Lavis* (fig. 10). Chaussegros's treatment was



(10) **Buchotte**, *Les Règles du Dessain, et du Lavis* (Paris: 1743), pl. 11. Blackader Library McGill University, Rare Book Section. (Photo: Brian McNeil.)

austere overall, and certain features such as the spiky finials on the pavilions strike one as distinctly old-fashioned. But the house was remarkably up-to-date for the colony in other respects. It featured a roof of imported slate and a monumental doorway with large classical orders soberly carrying a deep entablature, enlivened by the sweeping curves of its double staircase. The gardens behind the house (fig. 9) were laid out formally in a symmetrical design with the well ornamenting the parterre and relatively handy to the kitchens (ranged along the left side of this basement plan), but also too close to the privy ("lieus"), as was often the case. The general conception resembles Chaussegros designs of the same period for the immense official residences at Québec, although the *Château de Vaudreuil* scale is smaller. The building serves

to remind us that a self-conscious classicizing French tradition coexisted in New France with the more widespread popular tradition. The house remained in the possession of Vaudreuil's son, the Marquis de Rigaud, until 1760, but burned to the ground in 1803.²⁶

The popular building tradition in rural Québec is illustrated by the *Soeurs de la Congrégation House, Beauport, Québec* (fig. 11), whose interior has already been described. Built in the seventeenth century, it typifies early Québec farm houses in which practical problems of survival rendered decorative considerations superfluous. It faces south, like many



(11) *Soeurs de la Congrégation House*, Beauport, seventeenth century. View including main front and dairy. (Photo: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Technical Data Services.)

houses in the country, including those in Thomas Davies' 1787 view (fig. 12) of the village of Château-Richer (just down river from the *Soeurs de la Congrégation House*). The thick stone walls are pierced only by small, widely spaced windows and are stuccoed against the biting winds. The windows are fitted with simple shutters. In contrast to the stylish Vaudreuil mansion, the walls of the farm house are low and the floor flush with the ground, an economy of time and material. The steep roof is finished neatly at the wall's edge and has no dormer windows to occasion heat loss or impede the descent of snow and ice. The small wing attached to the southwest gable wall is a dairy which provided a



(12) Thomas DAVIES, *Farm houses in the village of Château-Richer in the late eighteenth century*, watercolour, coll.: National Gallery of Canada. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada.)

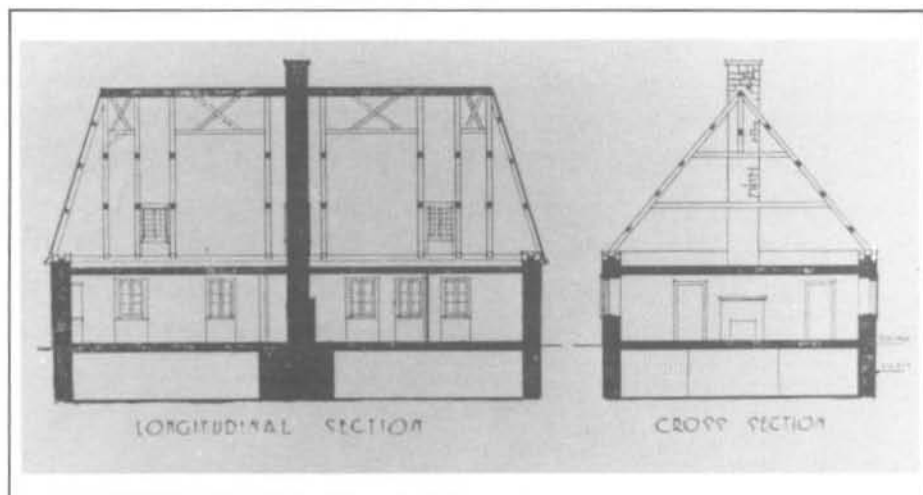
primitive system of refrigeration. What is so visually striking in this sturdy farm house is the long sweep of the dark roof set off against the thin white band of wall below. It is from this simple and rudimentary model, still closely allied to counterparts in rural areas in northern France, that the slow evolution towards the nineteenth-century Québec rural house began.²⁷

From its perch in the foothills of the Laurentians, the *Auclair House*, *Charlesbourg, Québec* (figs. 13, 14) overlooks the farmlands of the St. Lawrence valley. (The view in fig. 13 is of the rear or northerly wall.) Formerly called the *Villeneuve House*, it was first owned by the Auclair family and, in spite of the 1684 date often cited, a date in the middle of the eighteenth century is suggested by both its substantial size and documentary sources.²⁸ Like the roof of the earlier *Soeurs de la Congrégation House*, the steep roof of the Auclair house dominates the low stone walls. But this distinctive example differs from the simple gable of the *Beauport house* in that it is four-sided, with ends that slant inward at an exceedingly steep pitch crowned once again by wooden finials. This "French" or pavilion roof presumably owes its form to stately French country houses that are characteristically set out with a centre block or *corps de logis* and flanking *pavillons*, as in the *Château de Vaudreuil*. While rarely encountered in more modest houses in the French countryside, the pavilion roof was used in the Québec area, on unassuming wooden farm houses as well as on dignified manor houses. The roof of the

Auclair House encloses an attic storey of great height that contrasts with the low walls of the ground floor (fig. 14). It is constructed with massive trusses and its ridge is stiffened by criss-cross wind-bracing of the *croix de Saint-André* variety. Such a roof conservatively built (in a sense overbuilt) was frequently used in Québec in the eighteenth century.



(13) **Auclair House**, Charlesbourg, middle of the eighteenth century. North face as it appeared in 1919. (Photo: National Museums of Canada, Barbeau Collection.)



(14) **Auclair House**, sections. (From Ramsay TRAQUAIR, *The Old Architecture of Québec* [Toronto: 1947], p. 47, courtesy of the Redpath Library, McGill University, Montréal.)

In spite of the graceful design of the roof, there are reminders that the underlying motivation for the *Auclair House* was utilitarian. The prevailing winds along the St. Lawrence are northeasterly, and even though the stone walls of the house are thick, clapboarding covers the masonry on the northeast wall (just visible on the left side in fig. 13) as a practical measure, more effective than *crépi*, to protect the mortar against moisture driven into the joints by the wind. The pattern of the windows is irregular: two windows crowd together in order to make room for the cross-wall that lines up with the central chimney and divides the interior very simply into two highly flexible spaces (subsequently partitioned into many more small rooms).

As part of a general adaptation to the North American context, the early rural house typified by the *Soeurs de la Congrégation* and *Auclair* examples gradually evolved into a larger, more comfortable dwelling. The *Beauchemin House*, *Varennnes, Québec* (fig. 15), built about 1770, represents a stage in this development.²⁹ It is both taller and deeper than its predecessors. The main floor is now raised several feet above ground level; the upper level, illuminated by dormers and side windows, has become a full living space. A sure sign of prosperity is the increased number of fireplaces, which are also required by the greater size of the house. Located in the gable walls, they are served by pairs of chimneys positioned part way down each roof slope and linked by stone curtain walls, with the chimney mass still carried inside the house to reduce heat loss to the exterior. The same broad, expansive quality that characterizes the house as a whole may be detected in individual details. The coarse rubble masonry has a different appearance from examples in the region of Québec, since broken fieldstone, not quarried stone, has been used. Truly massive, roughly squared stones are used to obtain good corner joints, and large wrought-iron S-shaped ties or anchors just below the eaves secure the masonry to the internal frame of the house. The eaves originally ended in a modest bell-cast curve, a change from the flush eaves of earlier roofs that probably occurred to keep rain, snow and ice away from the masonry walls. Both the extended bell-cast eave on one side and the cantilevered porch constructed below it are characteristic “québécois” developments and are later additions in this as in many other cases. The compact, dense, protective character of earlier Québec farm houses is still suggested by the relatively small ratio of window area to wall surface, but the *Beauchemin House* exemplifies the development towards the more gracious yet practical dwelling that was to reach its ultimate expression in the nineteenth century.

The influence of English taste generally, and English neo-classicism specifically, was rarely felt in Québec before the end of the eighteenth century and was often (though by no means always) associated with English-speaking clients. In the case of the *Papineau*

House, 440 rue Bonsecours, Montréal (fig. 16), the Patriot leader Louis-Joseph Papineau undertook in 1831 to refurbish his eighteenth-century rubble masonry house by sheathing the lower storey with a wooden façade.³⁰ This was worked to imitate regular cut-stone blocks in the smooth but strongly bevelled form of "rustication" thought appropriate to the ground-floor treatment of many British buildings throughout the Georgian period. Considering Papineau's political views, this elegant wooden covering is an unexpected concession to British neo-classical taste.



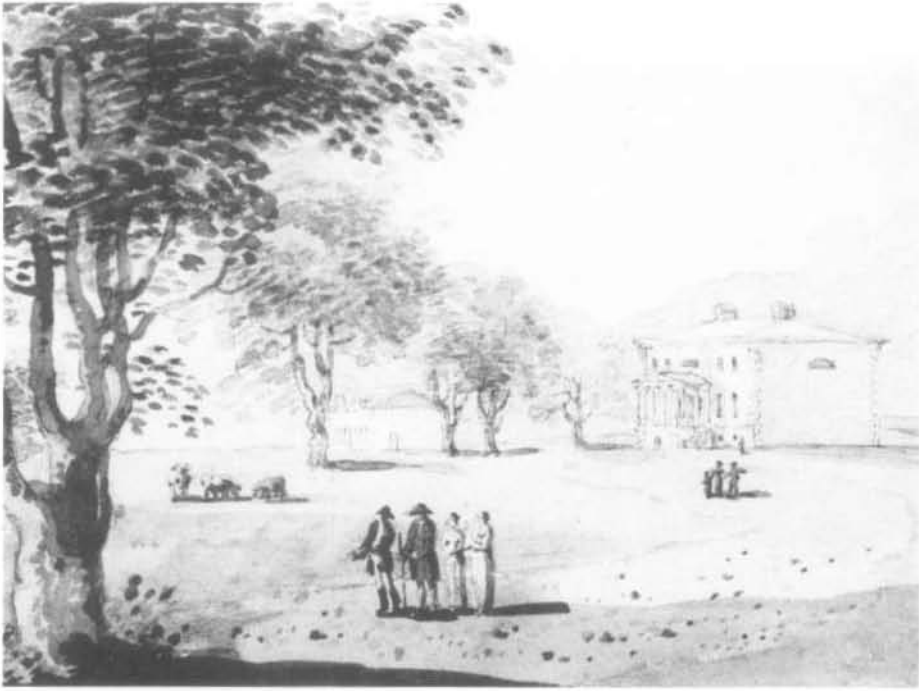
(15) **Beauchemin House**, Varennes, c. 1770. East end and south front as they appeared in the 1940's. (Photo: Ministère des affaires culturelles du Québec, Inventaire des biens culturels.)



(16) **Papineau House**, 440 rue Bonsecours, Montréal, as altered in 1831. (Photo: Parks Canada, Canadian Inventory of Historic Building.)

British influence in the handsome recasting of the *Papineau House* exterior is literally superficial, but the picturesque neo-classicism of *Monklands* (now *Villa Maria Convent*), 4245 boulevard Décarie, Montréal (figs. 17, 18) is unequivocal and thorough. It was the country home of the Hon. James (later Sir James) Monk. A member of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Lower Canada, he was born in Boston, educated in Halifax, named Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench at Montréal in 1794. Within a decade he acquired this large country property near Montréal and erected this house in 1803-1804. He may have designed *Monklands* himself for, while the masons and carpenters are named in the building contracts, no architect is mentioned.³¹ George Heriot's watercolour (fig. 17), painted in 1813, soon after the completion of *Monklands* shows the stone house in its attractive landscaped grounds at Côte Saint-Antoine, then a distinctly rural locale. Monk's choice of this natural setting, with all its irregularity and variety, reveals that he was an admirer of the Picturesque movement then in vogue in England.

Both in general form and detail, *Monklands* breaks sharply with traditional Québec architecture. The gently hipped and dormerless roof is as different as it can be, in its restrained profile and geometric order,



(17) **Monklands (Villa Maria Convent)**, 4245 boulevard Décarie, Montréal, 1803-4. As it appeared in an 1813 watercolour by George HERIOT. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, C10680.)

from the roof the *Auclair House*. The stonework attains a new standard of refinement and execution: the contract called for cut stone, not merely large rubble blocks. The cut-stone quoins (very regular and slightly projecting corner blocks) and the string course (an ornamental band between the lower and upper storeys) are prominent features in the Heriot view. In keeping with the neo-classical insistence on symmetry, *Monklands* is arranged around a central hallway. The chimneys, evenly inset on the roof, correspond to the back-to-back fireplaces in the regularly paired rooms on either side of the centre hall. But the new classical emphasis in design is demonstrated specifically in the pedimented portico of free-standing columns and their responds in the pilasters of the doorway itself.

The well-preserved interior decoration surprises by its sophistication. The main rooms abound in small details carved in wood and moulded in plaster that reflect something of the grace and elegance of Robert Adam's style. One such example is the superb mantelpiece, complete with overmantel, that survives in the western parlour (fig. 18). It is alive with classicizing figures, festooned vases, swags, medallions, ribands and floral motifs from the Adamesque tradition. The individual elements are coarser and blunter than their prototypes



(18) **Monklands**, mantelpiece in western parlour. (Photo: Mathilde Brosseau.)

which were presumably known only from prints and somewhat awkwardly related to one another, for the craftsmen called upon to execute such work must have been trained in church decoration and were accustomed to producing broad effects for distant viewing. In this dependence on neo-classical design and in the implied allegiance to the Picturesque movement, *Monklands* is the epitome of the new English taste that slowly reached the province. It was occupied by Monk until 1825, then by his niece until 1843. When used subsequently as a residence for several Governors General, major additions were made by the architect George Browne. It was converted to a hotel in 1850, but in 1854 the villa became the property of the Congrégation Notre-Dame-de-Montréal, and now serves as a school.³²

The charming *Hamel House*, 2608 chemin Saint-Louis, Saint-Foy, Québec, (fig. 19), erected about 1859 for the timber inspector Michel Hamel, is also free-standing and set in generous grounds but is less formal in design than *Monklands* and therefore more clearly in the tradition of the villa as a suburban retreat. It retains the balanced design of the classical tradition in its central door and symmetrically disposed chimneys. At the same time it has a distinctly “québécois” flavour. For while the *Hamel House* is built of wood and has none of the massiveness of the earlier stone buildings, it has a broad hipped roof that approaches the steepness of Québec tradition yet sweeps out on all sides in an extended bell-cast curve. The treatment of the roof imparts a light-hearted quality of gaiety to the house. Beneath its graceful curve is the surrounding veranda, enlivened by pairs of very slender posts with criss-cross treillage that leaps and dances in the afternoon sunlight. In contrast with thick-walled, small-windowed traditional houses, the *Hamel House* is not one that fears nature; its tall windows and inviting veranda reach out to the nearby garden and suggest an existence of pastoral bliss.³³

Displaying some of the features of the *Hamel House*, the rural Québec house had begun to take its definitive form by the middle of the nineteenth century. A random example from the Québec countryside is the attractive house at 340 rue Saint-Denis, Saint-Denis, Québec (fig. 20). In comparison with the rugged early farm houses, this nineteenth-century model was better adapted to the climate and reflected the increased prosperity and ease in the life of the habitant farmer. The wall structure was often built of squared wooden logs laid horizontally, *pièce-sur-pièce*, since wood was more economical and accessible, and covered with mill-sawn clapboard. The timber trade in Québec was still booming during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. However, stone continued to be used for rural houses and brick also became popular as a building material at mid-century. The characteristic features of this nineteenth-century farm house are the

spaciousness suggested by the veranda, the height contributed by the higher basement wall, and the gentle pitch and graceful form of the roof. The main storey is raised off the ground, freeing the doors and windows from snow accumulations. The distinctive full-width veranda is tucked under the gracefully extended eaves. It is a mark of the popular genius that this bell-cast curve, which began as a practical means of keeping moisture away from the wall surface, should evolve so prettily into the veranda roof. The veranda itself often provides the excuse for whimsical carved decoration, usually painted in gay colours, a testimony to the joy and vitality of the popular tradition.

An extremely attractive variant of the nineteenth-century rural house is found along the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, from L'Islet-sur-Mer to the Gaspé region. The remarkable feature of this type is the treatment of the bell-cast roof, as illustrated by the *Le Bouthillier House, Anse-aux-Griffons, Québec* (fig. 21), which was built about 1818.³⁴ Ordinary bell-cast eaves are finished underneath with a flat cornice, but here the bell-cast curve is matched by a curved soffit. The clapboard end walls are extended to form brackets that create a graceful profile in the gable ends.



(19) **Hamel House**, 2608 chemin Saint-Louis, Sainte-Foy, c. 1859. South front as it appeared in 1957. (Photo: Office du Film du Québec.)



(20) House at 340 rue Saint-Denis, Saint-Denis, nineteenth century. (Photo: Mathilde Brosseau.)



(21) Le Boutillier House, Anse-aux-Griffons, c. 1818. (Photo: Office du Film du Québec.)

While the rural house became more settled in its proportions and picturesque in its details, mid-nineteenth-century urban architecture was moving steadily away from traditional forms. The austere stone houses of Montréal and Québec began to give way to substantial architect-designed houses. The influx of architects and builders trained in the British Isles was undoubtedly a contributing factor in this trend throughout the 1830's and 1840's. Take, for example, the *row-houses at 60-66 sur Saint-Louis, Québec* (fig. 22). Erected in 1828-1830 as a speculative venture by British master mason and architect John Phillips and master joiner Robert Jellard, these four houses differ from some of the earlier row-housing seen in the *Beaver Hall Hill* daguerreotype (fig. 7). The roof pitch is less steep in the Phillips/Jellard row. The masonry is squared and evenly coursed though still somewhat rough-faced, reflecting the growing competence of masons at Québec many of whom were being trained in British methods at the Citadel works in the 1820's. Each entrance, moreover, boasted an elegantly carved wooden door-frame with Ionic pilasters and entablature in the latest phase of neo-classicism, the newly fashionable Greek Revival.³⁵

Among the most elaborate of the town houses in the old capital is the *Têtu House, 24 avenue Sainte-Geneviève, Québec* (figs. 23-26). It was built in 1852-1854 for the merchant Cirice Têtu, who owned a successful import company, lived in fine style, made frequent trips to Europe, and kept a noted stable of horses.³⁶ The *Têtu House* was designed by the architect Charles-Philippe-Ferdinand Baillairgé (1826-1906), who had received his training from his father's cousin, the prominent architect Thomas Baillairgé and the abbé Jérôme Demers at the Seminary of Québec. The last of a virtual dynasty of québécois architects, Charles was in private practice in the 1850's and designed many residences in Québec City. He later became city engineer, a post he held for thirty-three years (1866-1898). He wrote a French dictionary and various works on geometry and trigonometry, on constructing an indestructible vessel to travel to the North Pole, and on a "stereometric" system for reducing all matter to the same base. His scholarly contribution was recognized internationally, for he was awarded thirteen medals of honour and seventeen diplomas from institutions in Europe and Asia, as well as North and South America.³⁷

Although Baillairgé was trained entirely in Québec, he drew on the international Greek Revival style for the design of the *Têtu House* (fig. 23). The façade is composed of massive ashlar blocks of pale Deschambault stone, up to five feet long, and finished in fine bush-hammered work. Elements like the Doric columns, which are derived more or less directly from Greek sources, are carved from single blocks of stone. In addition to this fondness for light colouring, monolithic details, and gigantic scale, one recognizes other features equally



(22) Row-houses at 60-66 rue Saint-Louis, Québec, 1828-1830. (Photo: Parks Canada, Canadian Inventory of Historic Building.)



(23) Têtu House, 25 avenue Sainte-Geneviève, Québec, 1852-1854. (Photo: the author.)

characteristic of the Greek Revival: the dramatic contrasts between solids and voids, round and square elements, textured and plain surfaces. This is illustrated in the smooth front wall juxtaposed with a deeply recessed and shaded doorway, or in the crisply fluted and free-standing columns abruptly placed next to the plain antae in the wall. Baillairgé's drawing (fig. 24) shows that the windows on all storeys were meant to be a departure from the traditional casement windows, which were still employed in French Canada even at this date. They were intended to be fitted with double-hung sashes, long preferred by British and American architects, and grouped in triplets, like Palladian motifs recast in Greek Revival form. While the overall design is Baillairgé's, certain details are sufficiently peculiar to document his dependence on the books published by one of the leading "Greeks" among American architects, Minard Lafever. The skilful execution of the stone trim is a tribute to the talent of the master mason Pierre Châteauvert (active 1831-1873).³⁰ The façade, still in excellent condition, is the most sumptuous in the Greek Revival mode at Québec.

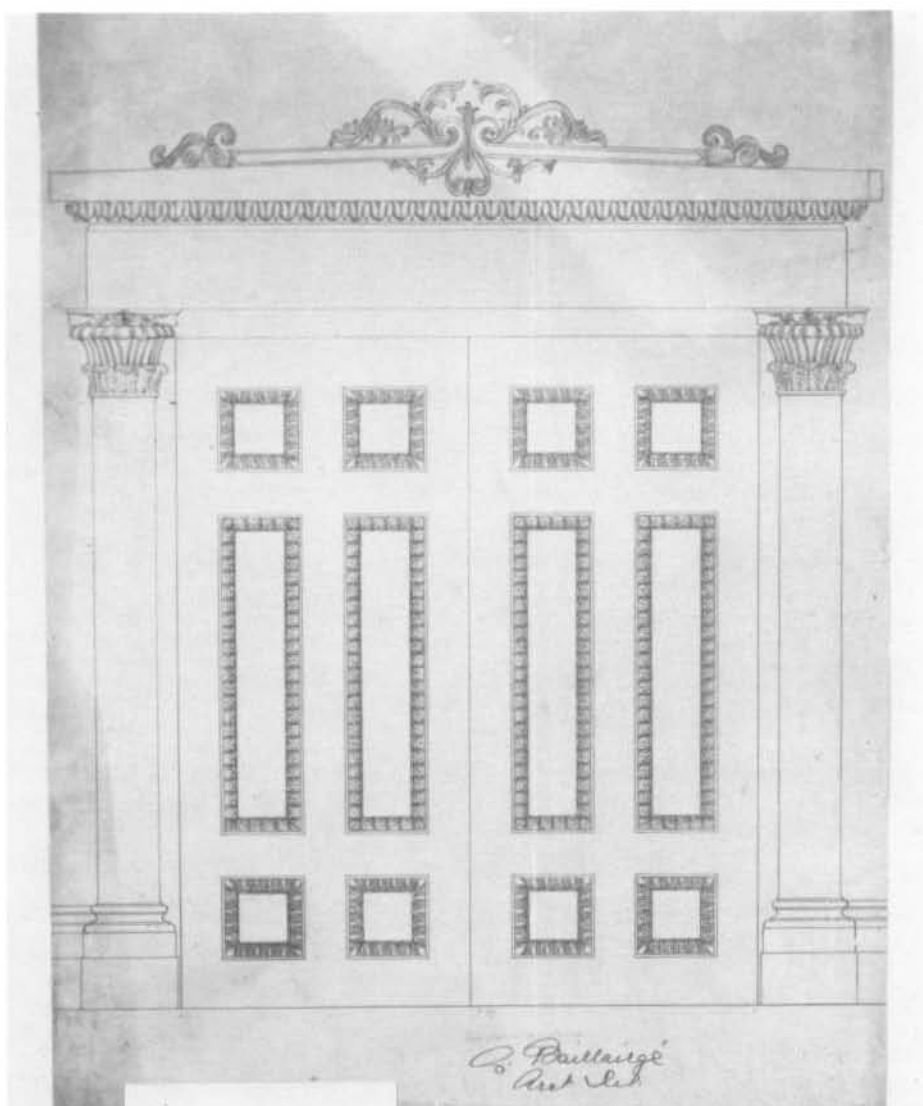
The interior of the *Têtu House* is consistently grand, featuring marble mantelpieces, elaborate woodwork, and splendid plaster ceilings (fig. 25). Characteristic of the mid-Victorian organization of space, and



(25) **Têtu House**, double parlour on second storey. (Photo: the author.)

Though the *Têtu House* was elaborate by standards at Québec, it seems almost austere beside a Montréal counterpart of 1857-1858, the *Harrison Stephens House*, formerly at 363 Dorchester St., Montréal (fig. 27). According to the building contracts, the architect responsible for this house in Italianate style was James H. Springle, who was active in Montréal from 1845 to 1873 and whom Stephens may have met in his capacity as a Director of the Bank of Montréal, for Springle had made an unsuccessful bid to design the head office of the Bank of Montréal in 1846. He was responsible instead for three Ontario branches of the Bank of Montréal in Cobourg, Belleville, and Brockville in 1857, the same year as the Stephens commission, as well as for later alterations to the head office.⁴⁰ Harrison Stephens was an American importer from Vermont who arrived in Montréal in 1828, established the firm of Stephens & Kellogg, became senior partner in Stephens, Young & Company, and amassed a large fortune.⁴¹

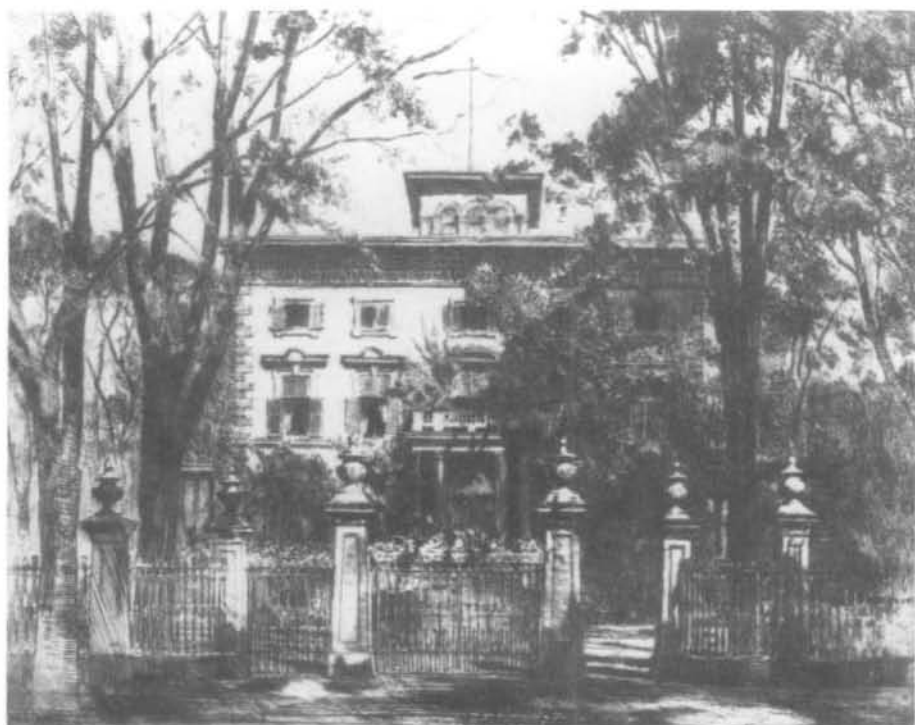
The Italian prototypes on which the *Stephens House* depended for its design were the city palaces and country villas of the Florentine and Roman bourgeoisie during the Renaissance. Set in large grounds that gave it an almost rural air, its general proportions were massive and blocky, like those of an urban palazzo of square plan with a weighty, bracketed cornice. Also drawn from the Italianate idiom were the low roof profile, the diminutive attic storey, the rusticated quoins, the



(26) **Têtu House**, elevation of parlour doors by Charles BAILLAIRGÉ. (Photo: Archives de la ville de Québec, fonds Charles Baillairgé, 1-52.)

variety of pediments above the windows, and the Tuscan portico. Crowning the composition was a square cupola with rhythmic round-headed openings, a characteristic feature of Italianate design. This immense property, next door to the fashionable St. James Club, was enclosed by a cast-iron fence supported by carved stone posts with urns, all contributing to the stately effect of the design.

The *Stephens House*, on the site now occupied by Place Ville-Marie, was destroyed because of railway work at the turn of the century. While it lasted it was a symbol of wealth and power, yet it was only a foretaste



(27) James H. SPRINGLE, **Stephens House**, formerly 363 Dorchester Street West, Montréal, 1857-1858, etching by H. RACINE. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, C3110.)

of the still more opulent and ostentatious mansions of the *nouveaux-riches* industrialists that were to spring up in Montréal throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴² When they appeared, there was a complete rupture in the popular tradition in favour of internationally approved styles. If one looks beyond the period under discussion here, there was a relatively brief but exciting interval at the turn of the century during which vernacular interpretations of the most conspicuous features of those stylish mansions gave many québécois stone houses a piquant or even daring character. The resulting townscape is one of nice contrasts between two very different but compatible and equally indigenous modes. Shortly after this outburst of vernacular flamboyance, Québec domestic architecture lost its distinctive character.

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Notes:

- 1 Pierre BOUCHER, *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, 1664, trans. by E.L. MONTIZAMBERT as *Canada in the XVII Century* (Montréal: 1883), p. 73.
- 2 An analysis of the impact of climate on Québec rural housing is found in Georges GAUTHIER-LAROCHE, *Évolution de la maison traditionnelle dans la région de Québec* (Québec: 1974).
- 3 Adolph B. BENSON, ed., *The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (New York: 1964), p. 412. (This edition is based on the English version of 1770-1771, but revised from the original Swedish publication of 1753-1761.) For housing in the French régime, see Alan GOWANS, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life* (Toronto: 1966), pp. 12-38; Yves LAFRAMBOISE, *L'architecture traditionnelle au Québec: la maison aux 17^e et 18^e siècles* (Montréal: 1975); Yves LAFRAMBOISE, "Neuville: architecture traditionnelle," *Les cahiers du patrimoine*, III, Québec, 1976; Michel LESSARD and Huguette MARQUIS, "La Maison d'inspiration française (1608-1780)," *Encyclopédie de la maison québécoise* (Montréal: 1972), pp. 179-247; Peter N. MOOGK, *Building a House in New France* (Toronto: 1977); Luc NOPPEN, Claude PAULETTE and Michel TREMBLAY, *Québec: trois siècles d'architecture* (Québec: 1979); A.J.H. RICHARDSON, "A Comparative Historical Study of Timber Building in Canada," *APT: Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, V, No. 3, 1973, pp. 77-102.
- 4 Archives nationales du Québec (cited hereafter as ANQ), greffe Romain Becquet, Vente, François Jacquet à Pierre Ménage, Québec, 28 février 1675. For the use of notarial records in building research, see A.J.H. RICHARDSON, "Notarial documentary sources on French colonial buildings in North America," *Architecture Canada*, XLVI, No. 2, 1969, pp. 37-41. Parks Canada has prepared annotated inventories of building contracts or 'marchés' found in Québec City notarial records. See Geneviève G. BASTIEN, Doris D. DUBE, and Christina SOUTHAM, "Inventaire des marchés de construction des archives civiles de Québec, 1800-1870," *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, I (Ottawa: 1975); Doris DUBE and Marthe LACOMBE, "Inventaire des marchés de construction des archives nationales à Québec, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, XVII (Ottawa: 1977).
- 5 For an examination of the apprentice system in New France, see Jean-Pierre HARDY and David-Thierry RUDELL, *Les apprentis artisans à Québec, 1660-1815* (Montréal: 1977).
- 6 For a short notice on Pierre Ménage, see the entry by Pierre MAYRAND in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II (Toronto: 1969), p. 467.
- 7 ANQ, greffe François Genaple, Échange entre Pierre Ménage et François Lajoüe, Québec, 3 mars 1699.
- 8 See the entry on François de Lajoüe by Pierre MAYRAND, pp. 337-39.
- 9 For examples of this particular feature, and of the French background to French-Canadian architecture generally, see Georges DOYON and Robert HUBRECHT, *L'architecture rurale & bourgeoise en France*, 3rd ed. (Paris: 1969).
- 10 Joyce MARSHALL, trans. and ed., *Word from New France: The Selected Letters of Marie de l'Incarnation* (Toronto: 1967), p. 129. See also BENSON, *The America of 1750*, pp. 429-30 and p. 460 for Peter KALM's description of this building stone.
- 11 The use of different building stones and other features of construction are discussed by Mary K. CULLEN in "Highlights of Domestic Building in Pre-Confederation Québec and Ontario as seen through Travel Literature from 1763 to 1860," *APT: Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* (forthcoming).
- 12 A.J.H. RICHARDSON, "Guide to the Architecturally and Historically most Significant Buildings in the Old City of Québec," *APT: Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, II, Nos. 3-4, 1970, p. 13.
- 13 The name of the original owner has not been established. Pierre-Georges ROY calls it the *Cléophas Girardin House*, after its then current owner, in *Old Manors, Old Houses* (Québec: 1927), p. 266, while GAUTHIER-LAROCHE refers to it as the *Soeurs de la Congrégation House*, GAUTHIER-LAROCHE, pp. 25-32.
- 14 For a survey of household objects found in the houses of New France, see Louise DÉCARIE-AUDET, Nicole GENÉT, and Luce VERMETTE, *Les objets familiers de nos ancêtres* (Montréal: 1974). An unpublished Master's thesis by Luce VERMETTE, dealing specifically with the fireplace and entitled *Les feux domestiques à Montréal de 1740 à 1760*, was desposited with Laval University in Québec City in 1977.
- 15 For Jean-Baptiste Maillou, see the entry by Peter N. MOOGK in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, III (Toronto: 1974), pp. 419-21.

- 16 ANQ, greffe Jacques Barbel, Vente, Louis Aubert, Seigneur de la Chesnaye et al. à Jean Maillou, Québec, 2 mai 1736, No. 1286; greffe Claude Barolet, Inventaire de feu Jean Maillou, Québec, 21 septembre 1753; greffe Antoine Panet, Vente, Antoine Juchereau Duchesnay à Dame Elizabeth Manifold, veuve de George Tobie Fitzgerald, Québec, 21 septembre 1782.
- 17 ANQ, greffe Claude Louet, Transaction entre Dame Marie-Geneviève de Longueuil Lemoine et Antoine Juchereau, Québec, 18 octobre 1766; greffe Claude Louet, Bail, Antoine Juchereau Duchesnay et John Clark, Québec, 27 avril 1767.
- 18 Elizabeth Frances HALE to Lord Amherst, 28 October 1805, Hale Family Papers, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. These letters were brought to my attention by the late S.W. Shelton of Toronto.
- 19 The description is contained in a letter from Montréal, dated 26 November 1776 in Thomas ANBUREY's anonymous *Travels through the Interior Parts of America, in a Series of Letters, by an Officer* (London: 1789), I, pp. 123-25.
- 20 HALE to Amherst, 28 October 1799.
- 21 HALE to Amherst, 22 July 1799.
- 22 HALE to Amherst, 28 October 1805.
- 23 Row housing of this type may be seen in many views of Québec City sketched about 1830 by Lieut.-Col. James Pattison Cockburn and reproduced in Christina CAMERON and Jean TRUDEL, *The Drawings of James Cockburn: A Visit Through Québec's Past* (Toronto: 1976).
- 24 ANQ, NF 2, Ordonnances des Intendants. These portions are quoted from Ramsay TRAQUAIR, *The Old Architecture of Québec: A Study of the Buildings Erected in New France from the Earliest Explorers to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: 1947), pp. 14-15. Building codes are found in Intendant Michel Bégon's "l'Ordonnance portant règlement pour la reconstruction des maisons (détruites dans l'incendie du 19 juin 1721, en la ville de Montréal) en matériaux incombustibles et pour d'autres fins," 8 juillet 1721, and Intendant Claude Thomas Dupuy's "l'Ordonnance portant Règlement pour la construction des maisons en matériaux incombustibles dans les Villes de la Colonie," 7 juin 1727. Both documents are quoted extensively in LESSARD and MARQUIS, pp. 491-519.
- 25 For Chaussegros de Léry, see the lengthy entry by F.J. THORPE in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, III, pp. 116-19; see also Marie-Madeleine AZARD-MALAUURIE, "De l'architecture monumentale classique à Québec," *Vie des arts*, no. 49, 1968, pp. 42-49.
- 26 For a discussion of the *Château de Vaudreuil*, see Jean-Claude MARSAN, *Montréal en évolution* (Montréal: 1974), pp. 79-80.
- 27 On the development of the French-Canadian house, see GAUTHIER-LAROCHE, pp. 23-37.
- 28 ANQ, greffe Jacques Pinguet, Inventaire des biens de la communauté qui a été entre le feu Pierre Auclair et dame Marie Madeleine Sédillot, Québec, 3 janvier 1742; répertoire Geneste, Inventaire du feu Jean-Baptiste Auclair, Québec, 11 juillet 1769.
- 29 Yves LAFRAMBOISE, "Bâtiments anciens: le rang de la Picardie," *Decormag*, I, No. 6, 1973, pp. 35-36.
- 30 Papineau describes the changes to his house in a series of letters to his wife, published in "Lettres de L.-J. Papineau à sa femme," *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec*, XXXIV-XXXV, 1953-5, pp. 304-11, 316-17.
- 31 Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal (cited hereafter as ANQM), greffe L. Guy, Marché entre l'Hon. James Monk et Gilbert Duchatel et Jean-Baptiste Sené, Montréal, 3 mars 1803, No. 102; greffe L. Guy, Marché entre l'Hon. James Monk et Pierre Poitra, Montréal, 16 juin 1803, No. 140.
- 32 ANQM, greffe Henry Griffin, Contract and agreement between George Bowie and the Board of Works of Canada for additions, alterations, and repairs to *Monkland House* as a residence for the Governor General, Montréal, 14 March 1844, No. 20, 520; MARSAN, p. 168.
- 33 Michel Hamel sold his property "with new house and dependancies [sic]" in 1859. ANQ, greffe Samuel Isidore Glackemeyer, Sale, Michel Hamel to John Flanagan, Québec, 10 November 1859.
- 34 TRAQUAIR, p. 58; P. Roy WILSON, *The Beautiful Old Houses of Québec* (Toronto: 1975), p. 106.
- 35 ANQ, greffe Louis Panet, Deed of Sale, Henriette Guicheaux, widow Thomas Dunn to Charles Aylwin, Robert Jellard, and John Phillips, Québec, 5 September 1829, No. 3553; greffe L.T. McPherson, Contract between Charles Aylwin, John Phillips, and Robert Jellard, Québec, 13 May 1830; greffe Louis Panet, Sale, John Phillips to William Smith, Québec, 16 August 1830, No. 4031. For information on the interior of the Phillips/Jellard row, see Christina CAME-

- RON, "Selecting an Appropriate Vernacular Moulding," *APT: Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, X, No. 4, 1978, pp. 80-87.
- 36 Building contracts for the *Têtu* house include ANQ, greffe Joseph Petitclerc, Marché, Isaac Dorion et Pierre Châteauevert, Québec, 16 novembre 1852, No. 6889; Marché, Isaac Dorion et Cirice Têtu, Québec, 16 novembre 1852, No. 6891; Contract, William and James McKay and Isaac Dorion, Québec, 15 February 1853, No. 7022; Contract, Thomas Murphy and John O'Leary and Pierre Châteauevert, Québec, 24 December 1852, No. 6934. Information on Cirice Têtu is found in Mgr Henri TÊTU, *Histoire des familles Têtu, Bonenfant, Dionne et Perrault* (Québec: 1898) pp. 229-36.
 - 37 Although there is some confusion in published biographies about the date of Charles Baillairgé's birth, the correct year is 1826, as proven by the registration of his baptism (two days after his birth) in the Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Registre des naissances de la paroisse Notre-Dame-de-Québec, 1 octobre 1826. The principal published biographies include E. LA SELVE and Léon LORTIE, *Biographie de Charles Baillairgé* (Québec: 1897), and George MACLEAN ROSE, ed., *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: 1888), p. 166. [This author is currently writing a doctoral thesis on architect Charles Baillairgé for Laval University, Québec City].
 - 38 Biographical information on Pierre Châteauevert is found in RICHARDSON, "Guide to... Québec," p. 79.
 - 39 Charles BAILLAIRGÉ, *Description et plan d'un nouveau calorifère à air chaud sur le système tubulaire* (Québec: 1853).
 - 40 ANQM, greffe E.J. Isaacson, Contract, Harrison Stephens with Jean-Baptiste Saint-Louis and François Saucisse, Montréal, 11 March 1857; greffe E.J. Isaacson, Contract, Harrison Stephens with William Holmes and William Rodden, Montréal, 16 December 1857. Drawings by James Springle for the Bank of Montréal buildings in Belleville, Brockville, and Cobourg are indexed in Rodrigue BEDARD, Nicole CLOUTIER, and André GIROUX, "Plans de l'architecture commerciale et industrielle inventoriés aux archives nationales du Québec à Montréal," *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, IVB (Ottawa: 1975), Nos. 7, 8, 21.
 - 41 For biographical information about Harrison Stephens, see J.D. BORTHWICK, *Montreal: Its History* (Montréal: 1875), pp. 116-17; for another view of the house, see Luc D'IBERVILLE-MOREAU, *Lost Montreal* (Toronto: 1975), p. 87.
 - 42 For a descriptive guide to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century houses in Montréal, prepared by students in the graduate program in Canadian Art History at Concordia University, see Susan Tenney FEINDEL et al., *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile*, ed. by Christina CAMERON (Montréal: 1976).

L'habitation au Québec avant la Confédération

Les premiers colons de la Nouvelle-France se construisaient des labris de madriers et de pierres, sur le modèle des simples maisons de ferme aux toits pointus de la mère-patrie. Alors que les abris de bois ont presque entièrement disparu, plusieurs exemples des abris de pierres ont survécu jusqu'à nos jours (maison Jacquet, Maillou et des Soeurs de la Congrégation). Il n'y eut que de rares apparitions, en Nouvelle-France, de maisons inspirées du classicisme français raffiné, agrémentées de pavillons, de toits d'ardoise et de portails monumentaux (Château de Vaudreuil).

Au cours du XVIII^e siècle, les maisons prirent de plus grandes dimensions; plus élevées que le niveau du sol, ces maisons avaient aussi une maçonnerie plus perfectionnée. Dans les constructions rurales, les larmiers commençaient à s'étendre au-delà des murs pour former le toit en forme de cloche bien connu, adaptation du type de toit originel qui protégeait les murs de maçonnerie (maisons Auclair et Beauchemin).

Les Anglais apportèrent avec eux le goût du style néoclassique et de l'idéal décoratif. Cette influence se traduisit par un nouveau souci de symétrie, une pente du toit plus douce et l'application des normes classiques pour les ouvertures des portes et des fenêtres. À l'intérieur, les détails de Robert Adam et d'autres architectes néoclassiques anglais firent leur apparition (Monklands). Parallèlement à l'attention donnée aux valeurs décoratives, les villas gagnèrent la faveur de la population et s'ornèrent de fenêtres françaises et de vérandas à treillis. Elles gardaient toutefois leur cachet québécois par leur toit en croupe à l'inclinaison marquée, selon la tradition québécoise (maison Hamel).

Vers le milieu du XIX^e siècle, les maisons urbaines s'éloignèrent des formes traditionnelles au fur et à mesure que les architectes se mirent à chercher leur inspiration dans les livres de modèles architecturaux. Dans certains cas, les murs de moellons smillés et les délicates arabesques sont des copies conscientes des modèles inspirés du Renouveau grec (maison Têtu); ailleurs, les lourdes silhouettes palatiales et les riches ornements s'inspirent de la Renaissance italienne (maison Stephens). Alors que l'habitation rurale du Québec continuait à suivre les formes traditionnelles bien après le début du XIX^e siècle, l'habitation urbaine avait rompu avec la tradition en faveur des styles internationalement acceptés.

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