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CONTENTS

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EDITORIAL

In the past year there have been a number of noteworthy developments in the field of Canadian art history. Since the appearance of the first issue of the *Journal* another periodical the *Canadian Art Review* has announced its imminent publication. We also note the formation of an important new organization *The Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada.* Significant recent contributions to the study of Canadian art history have occurred with the publication of such studies as Mary Allodi's *Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum;* J. Russell Harper's *A People's Art;* Michael Bell's *Painters in a New Land;* Alexander Ross's *William Henry Bartlett;* Jean-Claude Marsan's *Montréal en évolution;* and Luc Noppen's *Notre-Dame de Québec.*

Whenever one is faced with the problem of documenting the course of studies in Canadian art history, it is vital that one consider major exhibitions organized and catalogues published. In the past, by far the bulk of publication in this field has been the responsibility of curators and directors of Canadian art institutions or of scholars working in concert with those institutions. Today, the responsibility can be shared more equitably with those involved in the academic field, although fortunately much of the stimulation for new research still emerges from Canadian galleries and museums. In this context, one would note such exhibitions of the past year as those devoted to *Robert Harris, Ozias Leduc, Impressionism in Canada, Silver in New France, Naive Art* and *Heritage Kingston.* All of this activity indicates the quickening pace of the growth of interest in the history of Canadian art.

If the study of our art history is to proceed in a methodical and worthwhile manner, a cautionary note must be inserted. Concurrent with the enthusiasm evident at this time, tangible and continuing support must be forthcoming for the spectrum of worthwhile projects presently underway or contemplated for the near future. This support must take a variety of forms beginning with the contribution on the part of scholars of relevant and solidly researched material for publication. Much of the randomness of the selection of topics which we have seen in the past was obviously due in part to individual and personal interest, to the availability of material in a particular locale, or, frequently to the fortuitous discovery of small mines of information. While not denying the importance of research which has been effected in this manner, it is

to be hoped that through the periodicals, archives, learned societies and academic centres already in existence, a new and better co-ordinated phase of the study of Canadian art history will emerge.

Furthermore the public can play a constructive role in determining the success of this new phase. The formation of an organization like *The Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* pooling the resources of those knowledgeable in the field, is obviously only a preliminary step. It is vital that the *Society* receive full and enthusiastic support in the form of membership composed of an interested and concerned public. This is necessary not only for the provision of some financial support for research and other appropriate activities but also to create a fund of potentially energetic, informed and well-motivated individuals in the various regions across the country.

Another important adjunct to a new phase of research in the field could be modification or revision of archival systems at federal, provincial and municipal levels. The most vital problem at the present moment is not so much the discovery and collecting of material to be deposited in these archives, but rather the business of getting the student to the material or the material to the student. In the academic centres of today, it is neither practical nor possible to underwrite the costs involved in travelling a student from, say, Montreal to Vancouver one week, to Winnipeg a second or to Halifax on a third. One obvious alternative must be to increase the portability of the materials available for study. To create a centralized archival depository, whether federal or provincial, is only of limited value. What is of immediate concern is the need to thoughtfully, according to a system of priorities, gather pertinent materials, and to store, catalogue and transcribe the information onto microfilm, microfiche and recording tapes. In order to facilitate the co-ordination of such an extensive programme, it is vital that funds be made available at both federal and provincial levels and that the various centres whether they be in museums, galleries or academic institutions provide the expertise and manpower.

To cite another critical area one only has to consider the problem of obtaining reproductions of Canadian art. The problem is further compounded by the lack of any consistent qualitative level in the few reproductions which are available. This situation is especially acute with regard to historical works of art and not much improved in the relatively more accessible area of contemporary art. A number of galleries, the

National Gallery of Canada, for one, have initiated programmes in the production of slide material based on works in their permanent holdings; but to date, this effort is at best incomplete, either because sufficient time or funds have not been available or, more frequently, because the selection of works to be reproduced has not been made with consideration for the needs of the scholar of Canadian art history.

Again, we have a situation here in which a number of individuals have spent a great deal of their own time and funds in building up photographic and slide collections for their own immediate use. Surely, it would be to the advantage of all concerned if there was a central file of visual material with a published catalogue and annual supplements. We, the editors of the *Journal,* on our part, would be pleased to publish in future issues, letters or articles on the preceding problems where we feel important suggestions or potential solutions have been proposed.

In this our second issue, we have added to our list of contents, a Letters to the Editors section and a Book Reviews section. In both these areas we anticipate dramatic growth in future issues. We are interested in seeing initiated a Review Section in which comparatively extensive examination of important Canadian historical exhibitions could be published. We also wish to offer in our subsequent issues, a Short Notices column which may include abbreviated studies in a limited area which require less than article-length treatment. Such restricted topics are of great value in either introducing or rounding-out particular areas of research. Unfortunately, for various reasons, such information is rarely published or is frequently lost. Within the Short Notices column, we would welcome inquiries on the field of Canadian art by researchers, for we hope to encourage scholars to utilize the *Journal* as a means of advertising their work and as a forum for requesting further information on their subject. To this end, we will make available one column-inch of space free of charge for each notice submitted.

As a final note, we have now introduced the category of Patron of *The Journal of Canadian Art History,* as outlined on our page of Acknowledgements. With this latter innovation we hope to create a community of dedicated and involved individuals who share with us the ambition for a wider awareness and clearer understanding of Canadian art history.

SURREALISM AND PELLAN: L'AMOUR FOU

Alfred Pellan is an eclectic artist. His paintings incorporate Cubist, Ecole de Paris, abstract and Surrealist elements. To date, the extent of Pellan's debt to each of these movements has not been investigated sufficiently.[1] This article analyses one of Pellan's paintings in an attempt to elucidate certain aspects of his relationship with Surrealism.

The most overt Surrealist statement made by Pellan is found in *l'Amour fou* (Fig. 1). This work, painted during Pellan's second Paris period (1952-54), dates from 1954.[2] In Paris, Pellan once again had direct contact with the works of the Surrealists[3] and this contact must be seen as the catalyst which enabled him to paint a work which not only is a personal declaration of his admiration for the movement but is a contribution to it as well. When it was exhibited in 1955 it bore the title *l'Amour fou (Hommage à André Breton)*.[4] The full title is an indication of Pellan's attitude to Surrealism at this time. Examination of the painting reveals the extent of Pellan's understanding of Surrealism, both philosophically and visually, and his ability to absorb his source of inspiration while creating a highly individual statement.

The subject matter of the painting embodies the Surrealist concept of l'amour fou. This particular concept, inextricably linked to Surrealism from the inception of the movement, formed an inherent part of Surrealist doctrine. As is the case with many Surrealist ideas, it first appeared in written form and then became a source of imagery for Surrealist painting.

There is no simple definition of l'amour fou. This love is no ordinary or mundane emotion: it is "the momentary bolt from the blue made eternal."[5] L'amour fou is a love that connotes desire, freedom, beauty and the absolute. The search for l'amour fou is the only endeavour that matters to the Surrealist. To attain it is to reach an ultimate state.[6]

The image of a woman who is part mythical, part erotic, part healer, part muse and part mystery is central to the concept. In Surrealist painting this woman can be an identifiable mythological prototype,[7] a specific person,[8] or an unidentifiable female.[9] For the most part, given an identity or not, it is the erotic aspect of the woman that is stressed. She is usually naked or half clothed, often inviting and nearly always tantalizing. She is the object of desire and her seductive power mesmerizes and entices men. To fall in love with such a being, to realize one's desire by

union with her, to be totally caught up in this woman, and to transcend reality through her is to attain l'amour fou.

Surrealist artists rarely portrayed l'amour fou in its totality. Instead, they tended to concentrate on representing the object of this love: the woman. Less often the theme of actual male/woman union forms the subject matter.[10] In both cases the emphasis is on desire and its effects.[11] Pellan's painting is a rare document in that it represents visually a theme usually found only in Surrealist literature.

Désir, the published title of the drawing for *l'Amour fou,* indicates that initially Pellan followed the usual Surrealist approach to the subject.[12] Comparison of the drawing (Fig. 2) with the painting shows the evolution of Pellan's ideas from the representation of desire to the depiction of l'amour fou. The composition of the drawing consists of a male head, his enlarged hand, and a naked woman standing with her feet straddling the bridge of the man's nose. Try as he might, the male is incapable of realizing his desire. The object of his passion is present but not quite within grasp: his hand seems to be reaching for a firmer hold on her. His eyes, filled with longing, are riveted upon her and his head, partially immobilized by the wooden forms on his cheeks, turns painfully upward to her. The female's precarious position adds to the tension and her diminuitive size, struggling posture and young body indicate innocence, all of which increase the male's frustration. The psychological and emotional drama in the drawing conform to a typical Surrealist handling of the subject.

The painting, *l'Amour fou,* goes beyond the depiction of desire. There is no doubt that union has been achieved. The male no longer tries to seize the female with either his hand or his eyes. The female no longer struggles but rests peacefully atop his eyebrows. The couple are not physically joined but the branches running through their bodies and the similarity of their mood attest to their oneness. The emotions in *l'Amour fou* are quieter than in *Désir.* Tension has been replaced by tranquility. Desire and passion have been realized and, while still an integral part of their relationship as indicated by the presence of the candle[13] and the fiery red of most of the painting, are no longer of primary concern.

Richer imagery and style allude to the now complex relationship and the metamorphosed state of the couple. The female loses her innocence and comes to maturity. She is larger, fuller and more curvacious: her body literally flowers. The male also blooms: six green leaves appear on

Fig. 1. Alfred Pellan, *l'Amour fou*, 1954, oil on canvas, 45½" x 32". Coll. M. Pierre Ray, Montreal.

Fig. 2. Alfred Pellan, *Désir*, n.d., graphite, 12″ x 9″. Coll. M. René Garneau, Ottawa.

Fig. 3. Salvador Dali, *Hysterical Arch*, 1937, ink, 22″ x 30⅛″. Private Collection.

Fig. 4. André Masson, *Amours des moissonneurs*, 1928. Private Collection.

Fig. 5. Max Ernst, *Saint Cecilia*, 1923, oil on canvas, 39⅜″ x 31⅞″. Coll. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

his hand. Relieved of his frustration, the male is released from the cares of satisfying his passion and is free, as his open-eyed gaze suggests, to contemplate the absolute. If the goal of l'amour fou is to transcend reality, he has achieved this.

The metaphysical quality of their union is enhanced by the time and place depicted. A sense of timelessness is conveyed by the stillness of the painting which is in contrast to the momentary quality of the drawing. The setting, at the same time an interior and an exterior scene, implies universality.[14] Pellan's choice of title for the painting is most apt. He has truly depicted "the momentary bolt from the blue made eternal."

As indicated above, the woman is more than the object of desire in the l'amour fou relationship. Having no model to follow in depicting her in this context, Pellan falls back on standard representations of the erotic female as painted by the Surrealists. In both the drawing and the painting, the female is shown in a twisted, provocative stance, combining both front and back views, emphasizing breasts and buttocks. Her arched pose derives from Salvador Dali[15] and accentuates her erotic nature (Fig. 3). A less overt, but equally important emblem of her womanhood, is her long, flowing hair.[16] This image of sensuality was used frequently by Dali, Ernst, Masson, Miro, and Tanguy.

The transparent rendering[17] of the female body in the painting is again directly inspired by Surrealist depictions of woman. The Surrealist theme of woman-earth-nature is found particularly in the work of André Masson who transforms his women into trees with branches growing from their feet and hands and running through their bodies[18] (Fig. 4). Sometimes flowers or fruit grow in or out of the womb, on or out of the breasts, or are placed on the face or in an open mouth reinforcing the notion of fertility. Pellan's female follows the Masson type[19]: her transparency reveals branches through her whole body that come to flower in the two red blooms on her cheeks.

The branches in Pellan's painting contain a certain ambiguity because they can be read as branches or the female's veins. This dual reading conforms to the Surrealist double image or *l'un dans l'autre*. Regardless of how they are read their significance as an image of vitality remains clear.[20]

Although the female retains her sexuality, another dimension has been added to her role. She is a more active participant in the love relationship. In comparison to the drawing, she now dominates the

composition by her increased size and complex form. Yet in spite of this dominance, she is as enmeshed in the relationship as the male. The mutuality of stylistic treatment in the similiarity of colour, the vein/branches of their bodies[21] and the confusion of male/female hair[22] alludes to their interdependence and their metamorphosis into one being. Completing this bond is the circular composition. Rather than overly emphasizing the female as an object of desire, Pellan presents an image that incorporates the qualities of sexual desire and fulfillment as well as establishing the delicate balance of the female role as leader and partner in l'amour fou.

If Pellan had difficulty finding a model for the female in the l'amour fou relationship, the problem was doubly difficult for the male figure. In part it was surmounted by including features associated with the male in Surrealist depictions of physical union. These include the vein/branches and leaves, the confusion of male/female hair and the transfixed stare. More importantly, Pellan adds a new component to the image. He breaks up the cheeks of the man's face into what appear to be a construction of wooden slabs and triangles which are angled and overlapping. These forms create the impression that the male figure is "boarded-up". In both *Désir* and *l'Amour fou* the wooden forms imply the difficulties that must be overcome in order to fulfill desire or to attain the state l'amour fou. The forms have a double meaning in *l'Amour fou*. They not only symbolize the effort required to transcend reality through l'amour fou, but also the binding power of this emotion once it has been realized.

The "boarded-up" male corresponds to the "walled-in" female figures found in the work of Max Ernst. Ernst's females are encased in stone blocks, giving them an air of immobility. The implication is that the figure must exert great force to free herself from imposed boundaries or barriers. This is expecially true of *Saint Cecilia (The Invisible Piano)* dated 1923.[23] (Fig. 5). Pellan adopts Ernst's concept of the "walled-in" female in two drawings dated 1948, *Armuré* and *Fragments* (Figs. 6 & 7). The drawings also reveal the source and development of Pellan's new idea for the portrayal of the male figure in *l'Amour fou*.

The use of wooden forms associated with male figures derives from the circa 1917 work of Giorgio de Chirico in which his earlier mannequin figures have been transformed into wooden constructions. Prominent among de Chirico's forms at this time are the flat draughtsman's triangle with its characteristic aperture and the picture frame (Fig. 8). The

Fig. 6. Alfred Pellan, *Armuré,* 1948, graphite, 11¾" x 9". Coll. The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

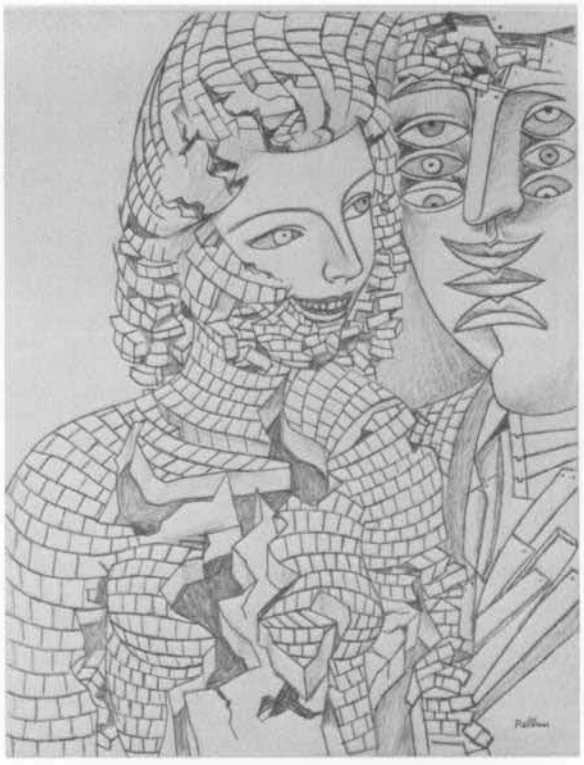

Fig. 7. Alfred Pellan, *Fragments,* 1948, graphite, 11¾" x 8⅞". Coll. The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

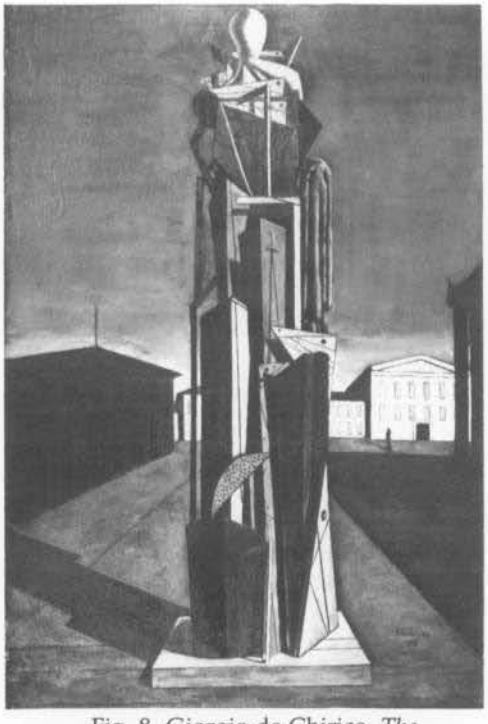

Fig. 8. Giorgio de Chirico, *The Grand Metaphysician,* 1917, oil on canvas, 41⅛" x 27½". Coll. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, The Philip L. Goodwin Collection.

Fig. 9. Max Klinger, *The Glove: The Rape*, 1878-80, etching, 9 x 21.8 cm. Coll. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.

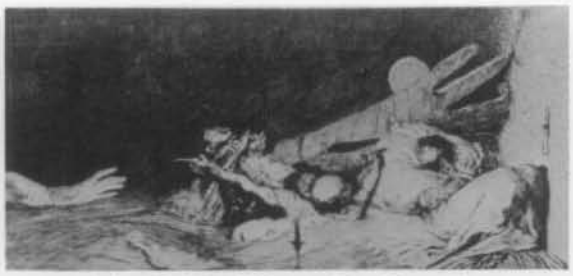

Fig. 10. Max Klinger, *The Glove: The Nightmare*, 1878-80, etching, 11 x 23.8 cm. Coll. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.

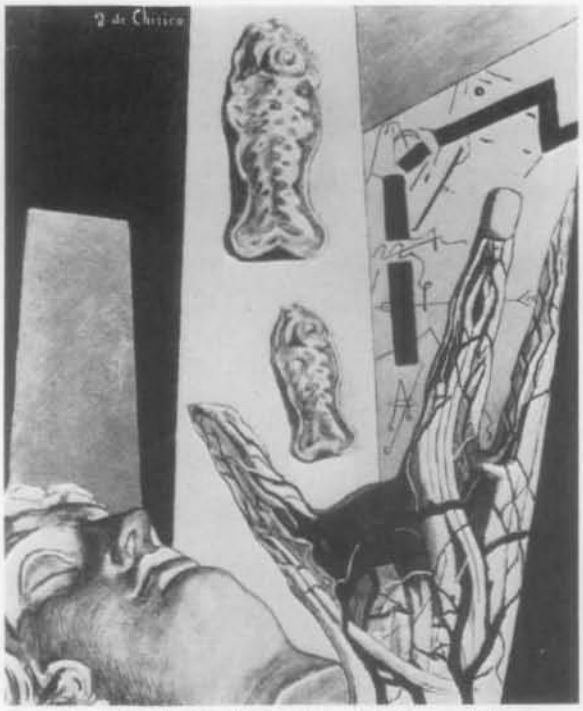

Fig. 11. Giorgio de Chirico, *The Span of Black Ladders*, 1914, oil on canvas, 24¼" x 18⅝". Coll. Mr. and Mrs. James W. Alsdorf, Winnetka, Illinois.

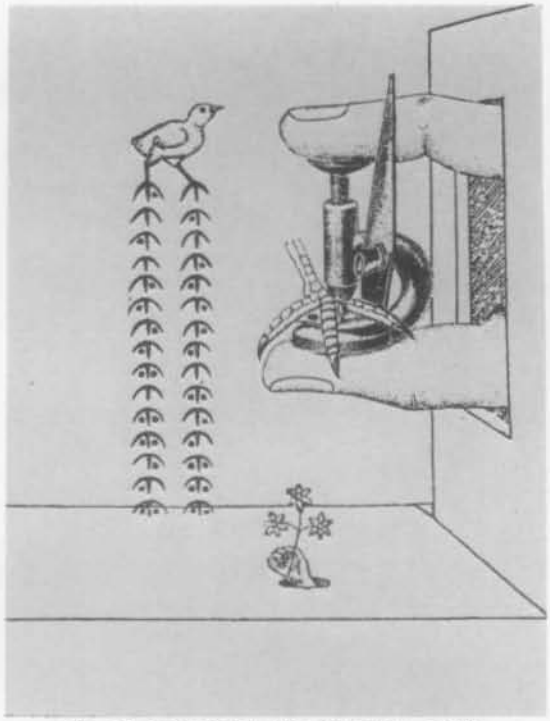

Fig. 12. Max Ernst, *The Invention*, 1922. Illustration in Paul Eluard, Répétitions (Paris, 1922).

draughtsman's triangle as such does not appear in *Armuré*,[24] but Pellan includes picture frames and a flat triangular form with small holes found in de Chirico's work in the figure to the left of the encased female. In *Fragments* the wooden forms have been incorporated with the more obviously identifiable male figure. They retain their "constructed" quality but, have become more rectangular and three dimensional. Even the holes, characteristic of de Chirico's triangle, find their way into Pellan's new image, transformed into either nails or holes left by nails. These boards, the male equivalent of the female's stone blocks in *Fragments*, are found in *Désir* and *l'Amour fou*.

The subject matter of *Fragments* is similar to that of *l'Amour fou*. The depiction of physical union and its somewhat unsettling effect on both parties is conveyed by the fracturing of the female's stone wall, the male's triple set of eyes, with their unfocussed stare, and his triple mouth. The union itself is indicated by the stone blocks breaking loose from the female body and floating beyond her form into the torso and brow of the male. Sections on the left side of the male figure are actually composed of stone blocks. In the middle of the male torso and noticeably in the center of his brow, these stone blocks merge with the wooden forms found on the right side of the male. The rigidity of the nailed slabs echo the frozen pose and stare, emphasizing the male's difficulty in breaking completely through his barriers. The title, *Fragments*, may refer to the partial success of the union, as well as to the fragmentary forms.

In *l'Amour fou* however, the meaning of the wooden forms is adjusted to include the male as prisoner of his love. The wooden house located next to the male's face contributes to the interpretation. Despite its small size, it explains and augments the metaphor of the "boarded-up" male. It lacks markedly visible windows and doors and its grey colour corresponds to the wooden forms at either side of the male's face. Coloured the same opaque grey and resting against the house, the slab at the extreme right can be read as part of the building. The colour of the form at the extreme left, applied in a more wash-like manner, is more of a whitish-grey but portions of the hair beside this fragment, although equally wash-like, consist of the grey colouring of the house. The addition of the house to *l'Amour fou* and the repetition of its colour on the opposite side of the face give the impression that the male is both immobilized by the wooden forms and bound on each side. Lodged on his forehead and completing the circle of confinement is the female: repository of the

power that now imprisons the male.

The use of wooden forms implies that Pellan's debt to Surrealism in *l'Amour fou* is not limited to the choice of a particular subject matter nor its related imagery. His use of what could be termed "the dismembered hand" motif further illustrates his broad knowledge of Surrealism. As this device has received minimal attention in the literature on Surrealist artists, the origin and characteristics of the dismembered hand will be discussed before analyzing it in the context of this painting.

The earliest example of the dismembered hand is found in Max Klinger's *Paraphrase on the Finding of a Glove* dated 1878-80. Although a glove and not a hand per se is the unifying and dominating motif of this series of ten etchings, the treatment of the glove as a fetish object[25] constantly suggests the presence of the flesh it is meant to encase.[26] Klinger's successful use of this motif focussed attention on the potential of the hand and objects related to it as an image to be explored fruitfully by later artists.

Two of the etchings contain images that are close to the Surrealist dismembered hand. In *The Glove: The Rape* a pair of arms, truncated at the elbow and ending in a pair of outstretched hands, thrust through the window at the left of the work (Fig. 9). In *The Glove: The Nightmare* a single arm, broken off at the same point as in *The Rape* and again ending in an open, reaching hand emerges from the left side of the etching (Fig. 10). The remainder of the torso is not indicated or depicted in either work. In both etchings the hand reaches out for the glove located on the right side of the composition. Linking the hand with the glove minimizes the isolated quality of the hand.[27] Later, when the motif is used by other artists, the relationship of the dismembered hand to the other objects in the composition may not be as obvious.

Giorgio de Chirico's use of the dismembered hand is the link between its origin at the end of the nineteenth century and its future development by the Surrealists. He adopts the dismembered hand motif from Klinger[28] but he transforms it into a type closer to that used by the Surrealists.

An analysis of the hand in *The Span of Black Ladders* (1914) illustrates the changes (Fig. 11). The hand is associated with the head in the painting but the head is inanimate marble whereas the hand is animate, treated in a transparent manner which reveals its internal structure. Its inclusion is for the sake of contrast rather than potential unity as was the

case with Klinger.[29] The portrayal of the hand as a separate entity is one of the basic characteristics of Surrealist depictions.

The position of the hand adds to its separateness. In this work, it emerges from the lower right, truncated at the wrist. It is not physically attached to the head. The "hand emerging from nowhere" is a second property of the Surrealist hand.[30] The third is the distortion of the size of the hand in proportion to the other objects. This stock Surrealist device[31] is seen in the enormous size of the hand in the painting which once again emphasizes it as a separate, if not enigmatic, object. A fourth, but less common characteristic of the Surrealist hand, is the image of the hand as "transformed object". The hand creates an object that reveals a metaphysical or hallucinatory vision. Giorgio de Chirico in this example, uses transparency to indicate the metaphysical aspect of the hand.[32]

The popularity of the dismembered hand in Surrealist art can be attributed to Max Ernst's extensive use of the image. In the early 1920's it figures prominently in his work. He includes the characteristics discussed above but elaborates on them, especially in his treatment of the hand's position. The hand either emerges from the side or the bottom of the work, thrusts out of the earth or an architectural structure, or floats freely.[33]

Ernst adds another characteristic: the hand is often shown holding an object.[34] This motif was also used by Klinger, with one significant difference. In Klinger's etching *The Glove: The Triumph,* the hand/glove holds a set of reins tightly but when used by Ernst, the hand presses the object gently, introducing the elements of possession and tension.[35] As with the "hand as transformed object", this element is another variation on the theme of the dismembered hand.

The dismembered hand quickly becomes part of the Surrealist vocabulary and is found in the work of Dali, Dominguez, Giacometti, Magritte, Masson, Penrose, and Tanguy. In the *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* published in Paris in 1938,[36] the image is used profusely throughout the book, occurring a minimum of twenty-four times in photographs, objects, drawings, paintings and verbal descriptions.

Pellan's use of the dismembered hand in *l'Amour fou* is not an isolated phenomenon in his work. The hand can be found in many of his paintings, both pre-and postdating *l'Amour fou.*[37] Interestingly, it first appears in glove form in *Nature mort au gant* (1945).

In *l'Amour fou,* the hand is located on the right side of the composi-

tion. It is immediately recognizable as a distinct object. The hand tapers to a point at its base, giving the impression that it is truncated. Although it belongs to the male figure, the hand is not attached to it. Instead, the base of the hand rests upon the apex of the quadrilateral formed by the side of the house at the bottom of the painting, making the hand seem to appear from nowhere. The enormous size of the hand compared to the other objects in the painting creates contrast and enigma. Increasing the mystery are the fingernail/eyes dripping tears of blood[38] down the hand and the six green leaves curving around the thumb and second finger. The hand has become a transformed object.[39] The fingers of the hand press gently and delicately against the female's legs, not gripping but supporting her in her precarious stance. The disproportionate size of the hand and its proximity to the body suggest possession. Pellan's hand conforms to the Surrealist type in all ways.

Despite Pellan's assertion of the hand as a separate and contrasting object, the hand is related thematically and visually to the entire painting. It functions as the most tangible link between the male and the female and the overt manifestation of the male's transformation after union. The importance of the hand as the male's primary agent of communication with the female is stressed by its size and its proximity to her body.

Mesmerized by the female, the male is still capable of touching her: her vitality is transmitted to him through his loving caress. The life force in the female branches produce the leaves on his hand. These leaves, the only green objects in the painting, symbolize the male's metamorphosis after union. The source for this image derives from Masson who depicts males and females transformed into plants or trees as the result of union. (See *Metamorphose des Amants* dated 1938.)

The image of the hand as the vehicle of sight, as well as touch, however, is Pellan's. The double image of the fingernail/eyes in *l'Amour fou* once again accentuates the function of the hand. Crying tears of blood in response to the blood throbbing through the female's veins, the eyes add another dimension to the male's transformed state. His metamorphosis is not merely physical: the blood tears epitomize the emotional drama of l'amour fou.

The reddish-gold colour of the hand and its location establish a visual bond with the head and the female. Although appearing to balance on the top of the house, the hand can be read as attached to it —

and, by implication, to the head with the female perched on its brow. The connection of hand to house to head results from the uncertainty of the hand's position and the ambiguity of the grey wooden slab. This intertwining of themes and forms links the hand to the total composition.

Initially, uniting the hand with the whole painting might seem to conflict with the concept of the Surrealist hand as a dismembered object. It must be remembered that it is unusual to find the Surrealist hand in conjunction with the notion of l'amour fou. If the ultimate goal of l'amour fou is the complete union of the male and the female, Pellan's inclusion of the hand is entirely suitable. In his treatment of the hand, Pellan does not compromise either the subject or the accepted manner of depicting a Surrealist image.

The painting *l'Amour fou* is a testament to the virtues of eclecticism. It is a mature work embodying a full understanding of Surrealist subject matter and imagery and at the same time, it is a painting that goes beyond mere repetition of these themes and motifs. True, Pellan borrows from Surrealism, however, the individuality of his statement is affirmed by his talent in appropriating compatible images and his ability to create unique symbols.

Reesa Greenberg
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Notes:

[1] A limited discussion of Pellan's debt to Pablo Picasso can be found in Jean-René Ostiguy, "A propos d'un portrait d'Alfred Pellan," *The National Gallery of Canada Bulletin*, 6, No. 2 (1968), pp. 3-7.

[2] There has been some confusion concerning the date of this painting. Guy Robert in *Pellan: sa vie et son oeuvre* [(Montreal: Editions du centre de Psychologie et de Pédagogie, 1963), p. 130,] dates the work to 1947, whereas the date 1945 was proposed by Germain Lefebvre. See Lefebvre's catalogue, *Pellan* (Montreal: Museum of Fine Arts, 1972), cat. no. 77, illus. p. 100 and his monograph, *Pellan* (Montreal: Les Editions de l'Homme, 1973), p. 42. Until 1972 no date was visible in photographs of the painting but in 1972 when the painting was exhibited in Montreal, the date '54' was evident in the lower right-hand corner. The catalogue of the exhibit does not record this.

M. Lefebvre recalled, in a conversation with the author on July 9, 1974, that Pellan repainted part of the background in 1972 and probably added the date "54" at that time. Pellan, notes in a letter to the author dated July 31, 1974: "La date du tableau intitulée "L'Amour fou" que M. Germain Lefebvre vous a indiquée est exacte. J'ai appuyé cette datation [1954] sur un souvenir bien précis; l'exécution de la toile a été terminée lors d'un séjour à Paris que j'ai effectué grâce à une bourse de la Société Royale du Canada." In a letter to the author dated September 11, 1974, the present owner, M. Pierre Roy states: "Quant à la date du tableau, celle-ci n'y figure en effet que depuis peu, y ayant ajoutée par Pellan lui-même (à ma demande) lorsque je lui ai remis le tableau pour examen et restauration peu avant la dernière rétrospective de ses oeuvres."

[3] Pellan lived in Paris from 1926-40. His first contact with Surrealist art occurred at this time. "I embrace the

Surrealism of André Breton, Masson, Klee and Miro." Reprint of a conversation between Pellan and Paul Duval, originally published in *Here and Now Magazine* in 1949. See Duval, *Four Decades: The Canadian Group of Painters and Their Contemporaries — 1930-1970* (Toronto, 1972), p. 113.

[4] *Alfred Pellan* (Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne de Paris, 1955), cat. no. 101.

[5] Herbert S. Greshman, *The Surrealist Revolution in France* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966), Appendix 2, p. 170.

[6] André Breton has written extensively on the subject in his poetry and prose. In particular, see his work *l'Amour Fou* (Paris: Gallimard, 1937). Critical, if differing, analyses of the role of love in Surrealist doctrine are found in R. Shattuck, "Love and Laughter Reappraised," introduction to Maurice Nadeau, *History of Surrealism*, trans. R. Howard (New York, 1965), originally published as *Histoire du surréalisme et documents surréalistes*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1964) and F. Alquié, *The Philosophy of Surrealism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

[7] The most common is Venus. All of the women in this category do not come from ancient mythology. More contemporary examples are Max Ernst's *Alice in Wonderland* and *Marlene Dietrich*. In addition, the Surrealists created their own mythical figures, the most popular of which is Gradiva. See Whitney Chadwick, "Masson's Gradiva: The Metamorphosis of a Surrealist Myth," *The Art Bulletin*, 52, No. 4 (December 1970), pp. 415-22.

[8] The best example in this category is Salvador Dali's wife Gala.

[9] The women in the work of René Magritte, André Masson and Paul Delvaux are not identifiable as specific personnages but they do embody the traits of the erotic Surrealist woman.

[10] This aspect of the subject occurs most frequently in the work of André Masson. See William L. Pressly, "The Praying Mantis in Surrealist Art," *The Art Bulletin*, 55, No. 4 (December 1973), pp. 600-615 for further information on the theme of physical union.

[11] Even when Masson's work includes the metamorphosis that comes after union, his emphasis is on desire.

[12] Guy Robert, p. 130. In the letter dated July 31, 1974 cited above, Pellan states that his files record the title of the drawing as *l'Amour fou*. As will become apparent, the subject matter of the drawing is desire.

[13] The candle, as a symbol of desire, is used again in *Jardin bleu* (1958).

[14] The traits of timelessness and ambiguity of place are characteristic of Surrealist art in general. The iconic quality of the image, placed on or near the picture plane, is more typical of Verist Surrealism. Pellan does this in both the drawing and the painting but it is more effective in the painting due to the increased size of the figures in comparison to their setting.

[15] Pellan uses this pose in other paintings. Two examples are the female in the upper left of *Au soleil bleu* (1946) and the female at the centre left in *Les téméraires* (1958).

[16] The source for this image is literary. See Rosalind E. Krauss, "Magnetic Fields: The Structure," in *Joan Miro: Magnetic Fields* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1970), p. 47 where the image is traced to Rimbaud's *Voyelles* of 1871. In the poem, the hair is ascribed the letter "u" and the colour green to associate it with the sea, amplifying the sexual connotations.

[17] This device is used by the Surrealists in other contexts. See the discussion on the dismembered hand which follows.

[18] Other artists use the image of woman as tree or plant. Magritte uses it as early as 1926 in *Landscape* and at the end of the 1920's Francis Picabia includes it in a number of works, examples of which are *Luscunia* (c. 1929) and *Aello* (1930). It is Masson however, who enlarges the sexual connotations of the image.

[19] Jean-René Ostiguy, in *Un siècle de peinture canadienne* (Les Presses de L'Université de Laval, 1971), p. 54, suggests that there are affinities between the work of Pellan and Picabia. This is probably true but not in the use of this particular image.

[20] When Pellan uses the tranparent female in other works, such as *La Chouette* (1954), only the veins are indicated.

[21] Because of their red colour, the veins in the brow of Pellan's male are not clearly identifiable as a double image for branches. Recognizable plant forms are present in the male figure in *l'Amour fou* but they are restricted to his hand and do not form part of the vein network.

[22] The female's hair, tumbling down the side of the male's head, gradually changes colour from golden blond with touches of red to whitish grey.

[23] Another example of this motif in Ernst's work is *Niceland (Pays Sage)* of 1923.

[24] Pellan's *Armuré* has been exhibited with the title *Armuré (Hommage au Chirico des années 1912-1920)*. See the catalogue for the 1955 Paris retrospective cited above, cat. no. 144. This clearly establishes Pellan's awareness of de Chirico's work but de Chirico's particular metaphysical interpretation of the emotive qualities of the triangle, based on Otto Weininger's theories, is absent in Pellan's work.

[25] The etching entitled *The Glove: The Capture* depicts the dropped glove episode common in courting practice. In the remainder of the series the glove becomes a fantasy object with obvious sexual allusions.
[26] This is true of all the etchings except *The Glove: The Triumph* in which the glove's properties of softness, limpness and elegance are replaced by the firmer quality of flesh. The glove no longer suggests a hand but actually becomes one.
[27] In *The Glove: The Rape,* the bird holding the glove in its beak, touches the rear arm with its tail. This creates visual fusion and establishes the glove and the hand as related objects.
[28] de Chirico was in Munich in 1906. For de Chirico's views on Klinger and *Paraphrase on the Finding of a Glove,* consult his essay, "Max Klinger" published in *Il Convegno,* Milan (May 1921) and translated by Caroline Tisdall in Massimo Carrà et al., *Metaphysical Art* (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 97-136. "In fact it seems reasonable to suppose that the latter series so impressed de Chirico that he included a symbolic reference to its central dramatic property, a glove, in certain pictures of his early career." James Thrall Soby, *Giorgio de Chirico,* reprint ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), p. 29. Discussions of nineteenth century Germanic influences on de Chirico are found in Caroline Tisdall, "Historical Foreward," in Carrà et al., pp. 8-10 and Soby, pp. 15-36.
[29] The same principle of contrast can be seen in *The Song of Love,* also dated 1914, in which de Chirico uses a glove rather than a hand. Here it is not the animate/inanimate dichotomy that is emphasized, merely the separateness of the soft, red, rubber glove as compared to the hard, white, marble head. If the glove relates to any object in this work, it is to the green ball in the foreground.
[30] Often, in the Surrealist truncated hand, the lower forearm is included, following Klinger's example. In no case is the impression given that the arm belongs to a body. Examples of this type can be found in the work of Max Ernst, in particular *La Femme 100 Têtes,* (1925) and his *Lolop* series. Conversely, sometimes it is only the fingers which are represented, e.g., Ernst's *Oedipus Rex* (1922).
[31] The hand will either be enlarged (e.g., Ernst's *Oedipus Rex*), or it will be treated in miniature as in Ernst's *The Invention* (Fig.), one of the illustrations for Paul Eluard's *Répétitions* (Paris, 1922). Occasionally, the proportions of the hand in relation to the other objects are not altered.
[32] "One can deduce and conclude that every object has two aspects: one current one, which we nearly always see and that is seen by men in general, and the other one which is spectral and metaphysical and seen only by rare individuals in moments of clairvoyence and metaphysical abstraction. . ." Giorgio de Chirico "On Metaphysical Art," *Valori Plastici* (Rome: April/May 1919), translated by Caroline Tisdall in Carrà et al., p. 89.
[33] The Klinger-de Chirico-Ernst link has been acknowledged. Ernst discovered de Chirico's work in 1919.
[34] Very often, the objects held by the hand add to the enigma of the work either by their seeming to be fused physically with the hand as in *Oedipus Rex,* or by their incongruous or baffling aspects as in the object held in the upper hand in Ernst's illustration for Eluard's *Répétitions.* In other examples, the object is a normal object in every way and one that would normally be held in a hand. This is true of the lower hand in *The Invention* cited above. In this work the enigma remains because the lower hand emerging from nowhere and holding a flower does not have a rational meaning in the work. This particular form of the image is also used by Masson.
[35] For more extensive discussion of this concept see Lucy R. Lippard, "Max Ernst: Passed and Pressing Tensions," *Art Journal,* 32, No. 1 (Fall, 1973), pp. 12-18, reprinted from *The Hudson Review,* 23, No. 4 (Winter, 1970-1971).
[36] Pellan owned a copy of the *Dictionnaire.* See Guy Robert, *Borduas* (Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1972), p. 66 and Lefebvre, *Pellan* (1973), p. 124.
[37] Some of these are *Citrons ultra-violets* (1947), *L'homme à grave* (1948), *Derrière le Soleil* (1957), *Par le bleu de la Fenêtre* (1960) and *Equateur magnétique* (1968).
[38] In other examples of fingernails or hands becoming eyes, the tears are absent. See Pellan's *Lire* and *Evasion* (1949). In *l'Amour fou* the fingernail/eyes have the same open gaze as that of the male.
[39] A different approach to the hand as transformed object is found in *Le sixième sens* (1954?), sometimes referred to as *Radar de l'aveugle,* where the hand is both hand and bird. In *Evasion* (1949) the hand becomes a face, possibly an allusion to puppets.

LES STATUES DE LA FAÇADE DE L'ÉGLISE SAINTE-FAMILLE, ÎLE D'ORLÉANS

L'histoire des statues de la façade de l'église de Ste-Famille (Île d'Orléans) est plus riche en faits que certains historiens nous ont laissé croire.

Les nombreuses différences de renseignements trouvées en dépouillant les monographies, périodiques et articles de journaux écrits sur l'Île d'Orléans ou ses paroisses nous sont apparues assez importantes pour justifier cette étude. Sans doute résultent-elles de la formation même des auteurs. Un ecclésiastique ne peut penser comme un juge qui se fait historien, un architecte comme un archiviste etc. Si nous relevons quelques occupations ou professions des auteurs des travaux concernant l'Île d'Orléans, nous retrouvons un ethnologue, un abbé, un monseigneur, un notaire, un professeur d'université, un historien, un juge, un archiviste et un architecte. Chacun donnant son point de vue selon l'aspect qui le touche le plus particulièrement, il est tout à fait normal d'y trouver des différences.

Mais souvent, pour ne pas dire trop souvent, quand il s'agit de données précises relatives à l'attribution et à la datation d'une oeuvre, il arrive qu'un auteur se fie à un autre et répète ses erreurs parce qu'il a négligé de consulter les sources.

L'histoire des statues de la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille le démontre clairement: elle nous fait voir des statues de pin exposées à toutes les intempéries sur une façade orientée du côté ouest mais qui auraient survécu, oh! miracle, 177 ans. (1749-1926).

La façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille (I.O.) est unique dans l'architecture ancienne du Québec avec ses trois clochers et ses cinq niches. Les statues qui ornent la façade représentent la Sainte Famille, titulaire de la paroisse. Nous y retrouvons l'Enfant-Jésus, la Vierge, Sainte-Anne, Saint-Joseph et Saint-Joachim. (Fig. 1)

Les informations connues de l'église nous proviennent d'un manuscrit non paginé signé "J. Gagnon ptre." vers les années 1820.[1] Il les avait obtenues de livres de comptes disparus depuis. Les notes que Marius Barbeau transmit à Ramsay Traquair dans les années 1920 furent copiées de ces écrits.

Presque tous les auteurs d'articles concernant Sainte-Famille sont tombés dans le même piège et nous laissent croire que les statues

sculptées par les Levasseur étaient encore en place vers 1926. Un bulletin du Musée du Québec datant de 1969 corrige partiellement l'erreur sans mentionner à quel moment elles furent enlevées ou remplacées.

> "Les statues destinées aux niches de la façade furent sculptées par les Levasseur en 1749; par la suite, on remplaça ces sculptures par des oeuvres de Jean-Baptiste Côté."[2]

Les sculptures de Jean-Baptiste Côté (1832-1907), maintenant conservées au Musée du Québec, furent achetées par la province en 1936 pour la somme de $600.[3] Les photos prises par Marius Barbeau durant les années 1920 nous permettent de comparer ces statues avec celles qui sont au Musée et nous donnent un résultat concluant: il s'agit bien des statues de Jean-Baptiste Côté qui devaient orner la façade encore quelques années, peut-être jusqu'en 1928. (Figs. 2, 3, 4)

Marius Barbeau dans son article sur Jean-Baptiste Côté nous donne ce bref historique:

> "Les statues de la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille à l'Île d'Orléans, attribuées d'abord à un sculpteur plus ancien, aujourd'hui au Musée de Québec sortirent bel et bien de son atelier, comme l'attestent son fils Claude et sa fille Laure, cette dernière elle-même en envoya le compte au curé."[4]

Barbeau est hésitant et refuse de mentionner les Levasseur, les remplaçant par "sculpteur plus ancien". Il y avait belle lurette que les statues des Levasseur étaient disparues. D'après la tradition orale elles furent brûlées dans un champ près de l'église parce qu'elles étaient pourries et par le fait même "indécente". [5] Barbeau connaissait-il cette tradition? Ou veut-il éviter l'affirmation en supposant que les statues d'un autre sculpteur aient pris place entre celles des Levasseur (1749) et celles de J. B. Côté (1889)? Nous savons que les statues de la façade de Sainte-Famille furent réparées et repeintes souvent avant d'être remplacées par celles de Côté. Ce fut le cas en 1767, 1818, 1833 et 1868.[6]

En 1925, Pierre-Georges Roy écrit que la façade fut remodelée en 1868, que ses cinq statues avaient été sculptées par les frères Levasseur de

Québec en 1748-1749 et qu'elles furent réparées et repeintes à plusieurs reprises.[7]

En 1926, faisant foi des notes de M. Barbeau, R. Traquair écrivait:

> "1748-1749 the five wooden statues which still decorate the facade were carved by either one or both of the brothers Levasseur."[8]

Il dit bien *qui décorent encore la façade.* Et pourtant, ces statues avaient été remplacées à la fin du XIXe siècle par des oeuvres nouvelles.

En effet nous pouvons lire dans les régistres de la Fabrique de Sainte-Famille (I.O.) que "le 12 mai 1889, (il y eut) bénédiction des cinq statues de la façade de l'église de la Sainte-Famille."[9]

Les statues bénites étaient celles de J. B. Côté comme l'a affirmé sa fille Laure à Marius Barbeau.[10] Pourtant si Barbeau corrige partiellement son erreur de 1926, il semble ignorer d'autres faits survenus entre-temps. Ainsi depuis 1928, c'étaient de nouvelles statues qui ornaient la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille (I.O.). Elles étaient l'oeuvre de Lauréat Vallière (1888-1973), sculpteur de St-Romuald d'Etchemin.

Dans les copies d'archives de la paroisse ou les écrits sur J. B. Côté, la date exacte de l'achat des statues ou encore le montant payé ne sont pas mentionnés. D'après ce que nous savons de la vie de J. B. Côté, il aurait fait ces sculptures peu après 1880 alors qu'il commençait à pratiquer l'art religieux et ce, après avoir travaillé comme sculpteur dans les chantiers maritimes de Québec.

Croyant parler des oeuvres des Levasseur, Traquair décrivait ainsi les sculptures de la façade de Sainte-Famille (I.O.) en 1926:

> "They are of pine, about six feet six inches high, and of very remarkable workmanship for the XVIII century in Canada. They are painted in polychrome, and the painter has shown considerable taste in his choice of colour and of treatment."[11]

Dans le livre de M. Barbeau "I Have Seen Quebec", on remarque dans la section montrant les oeuvres de Louis Jobin sculpteur (St-Raymond, Cté Portneuf 1845-Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré 1928) la reproduction d'un "sketch" fait par Arthur Lismer (1885-1969) en 1925, montrant une statue

Fig. 1. La façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille (I.O.). (Photo: Léopold Désy).

Fig. 2. La façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille; photographie provient de livre de P. G. Roy, p.177, *Les Vieilles Eglises de la Province de Québec 1647-1800*, Québec 1925.

Fig. 3. Jean-Baptiste Côté, *Sainte Anne et Saint Joachim*, bois sculpté, H: 76", provient de l'église de Sainte-Famille (Ile d'Orléans) Musée de Québec. (Photo: Office Provincial de Publicité Québec).

Fig. 4. Jean-Baptiste Côté, trois statues de Sainte-Famille, bois sculpté, provient de l'église de Sainte-Famille (Ile d'Orléans), Musée de Québec. (Photo: Léopold Désy).

Fig. 5. L. Vallière, trois statues, bois sculpté, aujourd'hui dans la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille (Ile d'Orléans). (Photo: Léopold Désy).

Fig. 6. L. Vallière, *L'Education de la Vierge*, bois sculpté, dans la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille (Ile d'Orléans). (Photo: Léopold Désy).

Fig. 7. L. Vallière, det., *Tête de l'Enfant-Jésus*, bois sculpté, dans la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille (Ile d'Orléans). (Photo: Léopold Désy).

en bois sculpté représentant Saint-Joachim à Sainte-Famille (I.O.) et attribuée à Louis Jobin.[12] (Photo no. 95588)

Dans la page précédente une autre photo nous fait voir les cinq statues de la façade de Sainte-Famille en 1925. Comment se fait-il que le Saint-Joachim soit attribué à Jobin alors que dans cette même période, M. Barbeau parcourt la côte de Beaupré avec Lismer et fait une photographie de la façade de Sainte-Famille en sachant bien que J. B. Côté est le sculpteur des statues. Louis Jobin n'a jamais fait de statues pour l'extérieur de l'église de Sainte-Famille, du moins à ce que l'on sache. Dans sa monographie sur Louis Jobin, Barbeau ne donne pas cette information pas plus d'ailleurs qu'il n'en parle dans d'autres articles parus sur le sculpteur de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré. Nous pouvons donc conclure que ceci est une erreur de classification ou de mauvaise interprétation.[13]

Par ailleurs, dans un ouvrage publié en 1958, Alan Gowans écrit:

> "The five statues that appear on the facade here were carved by Noël and François Levasseur about 1748; they have since been removed to the Provincial Museum of Québec and replaced by replicas."[14]

Lorsque l'auteur mentionne que les statues furent remplacées par des répliques il faut supposer qu'il n'a pas vu les "répliques", le style des Levasseur étant tout à fait différent de celui de Côté. Peut-être voulait-il parler des oeuvres de Vallière? De toutes façons les statues des Levasseur étaient disparues d'avant 1889 et les statues de Côté étaient au Musée depuis 1936. C'étaient celles de L. Vallière, que Gowans ne connaissait pas, qui ornaient la façade depuis 1928. La comparaison de la statue de Sainte-Anne de J. B. Côté avec l'Éducation de la Vierge de L. Vallière est assez éloquente pour démontrer que ce ne sont pas des répliques.

Jean-Marie Gauvreau nous renseigne sur ce point lorsque nous lisons son article concernant le sculpteur Lauréat Vallière.

> "1930-Ste-Famille de l'Île d'Orléans. Les cinq statues de la façade pour remplacer celles qui ont été déposées au Musée de Québec."[15]

Nous avons souvent eu l'occasion de rencontrer Lauréat Vallière durant les quatre dernières années de sa vie. Il nous a confirmé, et ceci fut corroboré par son fils Robert, sculpteur de Saint-Romuald, que les statues faites pour la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille ont été sculptées par lui dans les années 1928-1929, sans qu'il ait copié les statues de J. B. Côté. D'ailleurs Lauréat Vallière, au moment où nous l'avons rencontré, croyait comme tout le monde que les statues conservées au Musée du Québec étaient celles des Levasseur. Il semblait ignorer que les statues enlevées des niches de Sainte-Famille étaient l'oeuvre de J. B. Côté. Il a affirmé à ce moment qu'il avait fait les statues sans avoir vu les précédentes. Celui qui connaît les travaux et l'oeuvre de Vallière n'a aucune difficulté à croire cette affirmation car il était un homme indépendant dans sa manière de travailler, fier et humble à la fois, travaillant pour l'art plus que pour l'argent. Il mourut assez pauvrement.

Les statues de Vallière encore en place au printemps 1971 furent enlevées pour être réparées par un menuisier local durant l'hiver 1972-1973. À ce moment, nous avons eu l'occasion de les photographier et de constater de près les différences d'avec celles de Côté. À l'automne 1973 elles retrouvaient leurs places dans la façade. (Figs. 5, 6, 7)

Les statues de J. B. Côté mesurent toutes 6'4" de hauteur alors que celles de Vallière n'ont pas toutes la même hauteur. C'est pour des raisons de perspective nous a expliqué Vallière, qu'il était nécessaire que l'Enfant-Jésus (6'5") soit plus grand que ses parents et ses grands-parents. Effectivement cette statue qui est de trois pouces plus grande que les autres nous apparaît plus petite dans sa niche située dans le pignon de la façade. Cette statue étant placée à un niveau plus élevé, le sculpteur devait utiliser le trompe-l'oeil.

Le travail de Vallière nous montre des traits plus virils chez les hommes et plus doux pour les personnages féminins.

Sa facture est plus ferme, les traces de son ciseau sont plus apparentes. Le visage de l'Enfant-Jésus est plus juvénile que celui sculpté par Côté. Nous sommes en face de deux hommes d'école différente avec chacun leur personnalité et, pour reprendre des paroles de Vallière, "aucun sculpteur portant vraiment ce nom se refuserait la création pour la copie." Que les mêmes saints avec les mêmes symboles ou attributs soient représentés, soit! mais là s'arrête toute comparaison.

Comme nous avons pu le constater nombre d'erreurs se sont produites concernant les statues de la façade de l'église de Sainte-Famille.

D'après ce que l'on sait, leur histoire se résume ainsi: oeuvres des Levasseur, de 1748-49 à 188 . . . aujourd'hui disparues; oeuvres de J. B. Côté de 1889 à 192 . . . aujourd'hui conservées au Musée du Québec; oeuvres de Lauréat Vallière de 1928 à . . ., aujourd'hui dans la façade de l'église.

Il ne faudrait pas pour autant enlever de la crédibilité aux auteurs et chercheurs d'hier. Si aujourd'hui nous sommes en mesure de faire des recherches et des travaux comparatifs c'est grâce à l'acharnement et à l'audace des hommes tels que Barbeau, Traquair, Morisset, Roy et autres.

Par contre nous pensons que trop souvent l'information reçue n'est pas toujours vérifiée et qu'elle est transmise telle quelle. En plus des erreurs qui peuvent se glisser lors d'une transcription, il arrive que la tradition orale, plus colorée, dame le pion aux archives en présentant l'histoire sous un aspect plus favorable.

LEOPOLD DÉSY
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Notes:

[1] Né à Québec le 7 septembre 1763. Curé de Sainte-Famille de 1806 à 1840, décédé le 12 novembre 1840. Abbé J. B. A. Allaire, *Dictionnaire biographique du clergé canadien-français* (St. Hyacinthe: 1908), p. 543.

[2] Musée du Québec, "L'église de Sainte-Famille," *Bulletin,* No. 13 (Gouvernement du Québec: Ministre des Affaires culturelles, décembre 1969), p. 4.

[3] Musée du Québec, *Livres de comptes,* no. 1, p. 10.

[4] Marius Barbeau, *J. B. Côté, sculpteur* (Montréal: 1941), pp. 18-31.

[5] La même chose est arrivée aux anciennes statues de la façade de Saint-François, I.O. et cette fois sur l'ordre de l'évêque, Mgr Signay. Albert Fortier, *L'action catholique Québec,* XIX, no. 27.

[6] P. G. Roy, *Les vieilles églises de la province de Québec 1647-1800* (Québec: 1925), pp. 172-3.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Ramsay Traquair and Marius Barbeau, "The Church of Sainte-Famille, Island of Orleans, Québec", *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada,* no. 13 (May-June 1926).

[9] *Livres des délibérations, redition des comptes 1870-1924.* (Copie de l'Inventaire des oeuvres d'art).

[10] Marius Barbeau, *(loc. cit.)*

[11] Ramsey Traquair and Marius Barbeau, *loc. cit.*

[12] Marius Barbeau, *I Have Seen Quebec* (Québec: 1957).

[13] Marius Barbeau, *Louis Jobin Statuaire* (Montréal: 1968).

[14] Alan Gowans, *Looking At Architecture in Canada* (Toronto: 1958), p. 50.

[15] J. M. Gauvreau, "Lauréat Vallière, sculpteur sur bois," *Technique revue industrielle,* xv, no. 7 (septembre 1945), p. 464.

LES PROJETS D'EMBELLISSEMENTS DE LA VILLE DE QUÉBEC PROPOSÉS PAR LORD DUFFERIN EN 1875

Les fortifications de la ville de Québec datent en grande partie du XIXe siècle.[1] A ce titre elles contribuent, tout comme l'ensemble de l'architecture de cette période contenue dans ses limites, à confirmer le cachet victorien du Vieux Québec. Au moment où les autorités fédérales restaurent l'enceinte et les portes de la ville et où, assez curieusement, les édifices du siècle passé tombent encore sous le pic des démolisseurs, il convient d'ouvrir le dossier sur la ville de Québec, précisément à la page où Lord Dufferin, gouverneur-général du Canada de 1872 à 1878, laissa sa marque. Ce personnage illustre s'intéressa au sort de la vieille ville au point d'en modifier le cachet par ses projets d'embellissement, exécutés dans quelques cas.

Comme l'intervention de Lord Dufferin concerna essentiellement la sauvegarde et la mise en valeur de l'enceinte fortifiée de la ville, il convient de situer ses projets dans un cadre historique.

La première ligne de défense de la ville de Québec fut érigée avant 1700. L'ingénieur Chaussegros de Léry dessina les plans d'une seconde ligne, plus avancée et en dirigea les travaux de construction.[2] Vers 1750, les ouvrages importants étaient à peu près achevés, sans toutefois que les plans proposés par de Léry ne soient complètement exécutés. Malgré les nombreuses demandes faites en France pour améliorer le plan de défense de Québec, les fortifications restèrent sans grandes modifications, jusqu'à la prise de la ville par les troupes anglaises en 1759.[3] Après la Conquête, les nouveaux occupants firent quelques réparations aux murs déjà existants. Il faudra cependant attendre l'invasion américaine avant que les autorités impériales ne décident de renforcer le système de défense. En 1779, on érigea une citadelle temporaire d'après les plans soumis par le Capitaine Twiss. En 1793, d'autres projets furent présentés pour augmenter les murs et réparer les portes.

Jusqu'en 1786, il n'y eut que trois portes à la ville, les portes Saint-Louis, Saint-Jean et du Palais, les autres accès étant sans défense. La porte Hope fut construite en 1786, la porte Prescott en 1791 et, plus tard, la porte Kent en 1879.[4] De toutes les fortifications, ce sont les portes qui eurent à subir le plus de modifications jusqu'en 1823, alors qu'un vaste plan de reconstruction du système de défense fut élaboré par l'ingénieur

militaire Elias Walker Durnford.[5] Les plans furent approuvés par le Duc de Wellington, et le Gouvernement Impérial les exécuta à grand frais. De 1832 datent les murs de la Citadelle que nous pouvons encore voir aujourd'hui. Enfermée dans ses murs percés de portes étroites, la ville de Québec eut très tôt à faire face à des problèmes de circulation. En effet, l'expansion de la ville était arrêtée par cette enceinte érigée à la gloire de l'Empire Colonial Britannique.[6]

Environ quarante ans après la construction des murs, une grande campagne de démolition des fortifications fut entreprise par les marchands de Québec qui voulaient moderniser la ville et en faire un des principaux centres de commerce le long du Saint-Laurent (Fig. 1). Ces démarches furent couronnées de succès, comme en témoigne un extrait de *L'Evènement* du 4 novembre 1872:

> "On apprend par dépêche privée d'Ottawa que le gouvernement a décidé d'abattre les portes Hope, Saint-Jean et du Palais, et qu'une partie de l'Esplanade, depuis la porte Saint-Jean jusqu'au site de l'ancienne porte Saint-Louis, va être donnée à la ville pour en faire un boulevard."

Les portes Prescott, du Palais, Hope et Saint-Louis furent démolies entre les années 1871 et 1874,[7] pour permettre la circulation du centre ville vers les nouveaux pôles de développement; la gare, le port et les banlieues. La porte Saint-Jean fut sauvée à temps de la démolition. Déjà reconstruite plus large en 1867, elle permettait un meilleur accès à la ville. Ces démolitions ne furent pas sans soulever les protestations de quelques Québécois soucieux de la conservation du caractère particulier de leur ville, mais leurs revendications eurent peu d'effets immédiats. A l'époque où Québec était en pleine expansion et au moment où cette expansion semblait vouloir devenir synonyme de démolition, un nouveau gouverneur-général fut désigné pour le Canada en la personne de Frédérick Temple Blackwood, Comte de Dufferin. Lord Dufferin arriva au Canada en avril 1872 et détint son poste jusqu'en octobre 1878.

Lord Dufferin (Fig. 2) était un riche propriétaire irlandais issu d'une vieille famille de l'Ulster: les Blackwood. Du côté de sa mère, il appartenait à la grande famille des Sheridan. Après son éducation à Eton et au Christ Church, il entra dans la vie politique sous le gouvernement de Lord John Russell, en 1849. Jusqu'en 1872, il fut très actif dans le domaine

politique et occupa plusieurs postes importants en Angleterre et en Irlande du Nord. Il se distingua dans la société anglaise de l'époque et se créa une solide réputation dans les milieux littéraires par ses *Letters from High Latitudes*.[8] Fin lettré, habile diplomate et excellent orateur, Lord Dufferin fut charmé par la ville de Québec dès son arrivée au Canada et proposera, pour mettre fin aux démolitions, un plan d'embellissements très élaboré.

Lord Dufferin arriva à la tête de la jeune Confédération canadienne en pleine crise économique. Sous John A. Macdonald et Alexander Mackenzie, premiers ministres successifs, le Canada commençait tout juste à expérimenter sa nouvelle constitution et jetait les grandes bases de sa politique d'expansion. Dufferin eut à affronter plusieurs controverses, dont le scandale du Canadien Pacifique et la délicate question de Riel pour n'en citer que quelques-unes. L'ouverture d'esprit et l'intelligence perspicace du nouveau gouverneur-général firent qu'il traita toujours avec grande souplesse les questions politiques entre deux nations qui apprenaient le difficile *art* de vivre ensemble.

Sensibilisé aux problèmes de la ville de Québec, Lord Dufferin réussit à impliquer les pouvoirs politiques, tant fédéral, provincial que municipal, à la conservation et à l'embellissement du Vieux Québec, sans pour autant empêcher l'expansion de la cité hors des murs. La longue correspondance échangée entre le gouverneur-général et Lord Carnavon, Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Colonies en Angleterre, nous permet de suivre de 1874 jusqu'en 1878 l'évolution de l'intérêt de Lord Dufferin pour la conservation des fortifications de la ville de Québec.[9]

Quelques faits qui ressortent de cette correspondance peuvent éclairer notre propos. En octobre 1874, le "Special Committee on City Improvements", mis sur pied par le Conseil pour prendre en charge les transformations à faire à la ville, se rendait à Ottawa pour obtenir la permission de démolir une partie des murs de Québec, propriété du gouvernement fédéral. Les ministres montrèrent une lamentable indifférence vis-à-vis ces projets destructeurs. Devant cette indifférence, Lord Dufferin prit position publiquement pour la première fois en suggérant aux ministres de refuser la démolition des murs et de lui permettre de soumettre des projets qui respecteraient à la fois les fortifications anciennes et les plans d'expansions des québécois.[10] Peu de temps après, Dufferin rencontrait les membres du comité spécial et leur soumettait ses idées sur la ville en s'opposant fermement à la démolition des murs.[11]

A l'été de 1875, Lord Dufferin fit venir au Canada l'architecte irlandais William H. Lynn[12] et lui demanda des dessins pour un projet détaillé d'embellissement de la ville de Québec. Né à Belfast, Lynn y travailla avec l'architecte John Lanyon jusqu'en 1872. Ensemble, ils construisirent de nombreux édifices en Irlande, tant religieux que publics. Architecte réputé, William Lynn dessina entre autres les plans du "Belfast Castle" en 1869 (Fig. 3) et des entrepôts "Richardson Sons and Owden" à Belfast.[13] Ces deux exemples témoignent de son répertoire architectural étendu. Déjà en 1910, on écrivait à son sujet: "In the days of the Gothic Revival, Lynn was a keen and brilliant student of medieval work, his ecclesiastical designs having a scholarly and refined flavour and perfect mastery of gothic detail".[14]

A l'automne de 1875, le gouverneur-général présenta les plans préparés par Lynn au "Comité Spécial d'embellissement de la ville de Québec". Celui-ci fit rapport au Conseil de ville qui vota une somme de 6,000 livres pour l'exécution des projets[15] et formula des remerciements officiels.[16] En même temps, le Gouvernement Mackenzie promit une somme équivalente pour la réalisation de ces projets. De son côté Lord Dufferin demanda des fonds à la Reine, au Bureau des Colonies et même au "War Office" à Londres "pour restaurer les crénaux gagnés par Wolfe".[17]

Le projet Dufferin fut rendu public vers la fin de novembre 1875. Le 25 décembre, le *Morning Chronicle* y consacrait une page spéciale, illustrée de sept dessins de Lynn, présentant le nouvel aspect de la ville une fois les projets réalisés. (Fig. 4). Le journal présenta la page sous le titre de "Quebec Improvements — Lord Dufferin Plans for the Preservation of its Historic Monuments".[18] En plus de ces dessins, le "Comité Spécial d'embellissement de la ville de Québec" disposait d'un plan de Lynn, donnant une vue d'ensemble des fortifications de la ville avec les modifications proposées (Fig. 5). Les projets se divisaient en quatre grandes étapes:[19]

1. La percée des murs permettant la prolongation de deux rues et la création de deux nouvelles portes.
2. L'agrandissement de l'Esplanade et l'aménagement d'un site paysagé à l'extérieur des murs communiquant à l'Esplanade par une porte.
3. La création d'une promenade continue le long des murs

de la ville et à l'extérieur de la Citadelle.

4. L'érection d'un nouveau château Saint-Louis et la construction de douze échauguettes à différents endroits sur la rue des Remparts.

Accompagnait ces plans, une série de dessins de l'architecte Lynn pour la reconstruction des portes. Parmi ces dessins, plusieurs ne furent point retenus, parce qu'ils ne permettaient pas d'établir la promenade continue autour de la ville étant composés de deux tours non reliées (Fig. 6). En jetant des ponts de pierres ou de métal au-dessus des rues, entre les deux tours, il était possible de créer cette promenade tout en élargissant l'ouverture des portes. Les dessins proposés pour les portes Saint-Jean et Saint-Louis (Figs. 7, 8), nous montrent une architecture empruntée au Moyen-Age, avec leurs tours carrées ou rondes, les tourelles, crénaux, mâchicoulis et barbacanes. Déjà en 1869, Lynn avait utilisé un tel répertoire de formes lors de la construction du Belfast Castle. Par contre, par-dessus la Côte de la Montagne, l'architecte proposa de jeter un pont métallique qui lierait la cour du Parlement à la terrasse Durham. Toujours selon ses projets, les portes du Palais et Hope seraient simplement marquées par des échauguettes installées sur les remparts. Les deux nouvelles portes crées par la percée des rues Dauphine et McMahon devaient aussi recevoir chacune leur arc et être flanquées de tourelles (Fig. 4). En créant les nouvelles percées, Lord Dufferin répondait au désir des citoyens d'ouvrir la ville sur l'extérieur pour faciliter l'accès à la circulation qui se faisait de plus en plus dense, tandis que les constructions nouvelles visaient la mise en valeur du cachet particulier de la vieille ville.

Jusqu'en 1878, Lynn fournit des dessins, et il est intéressant d'observer les trois projets pour la porte Saint-Jean. D'une part il propose de conserver la porte déjà existante, en la transformant par un décor nouveau (Fig. 9). D'autre part, un dessin beaucoup plus simple (Fig. 7) présente une porte arquée, largement ouverte, surmontée de tourelles décorées de mâchicoulis, projet qui nous rappelle la porte actuelle, réalisée en 1936. Plus tard, en 1878, un autre projet reprend l'idée première. On prévoyait cependant un seul grand arc au-dessus de la rue, appuyé sur deux solides tours à crénaux (Fig. 10); les toits et les décorations sur le dessin demeurant assez semblables à ceux de l'esquisse originelle de 1875 (Fig. 9).

Fig. 1. Les démolitions à Québec, à porte Saint-Louis. (*Opinion Publique* du 14 septembre).

Fig. 3. William H. Lynn, Belfast Castle, 1869. (C. E. B. Brett, *Buildings of Belfast, 1700-1914*, London, 1967).

Fig. 2. Frédéric Temple Blackwood, Marquis de Dufferin et Ava, gouverneur-générale du Canada 1872-1878. (Photo: APC).

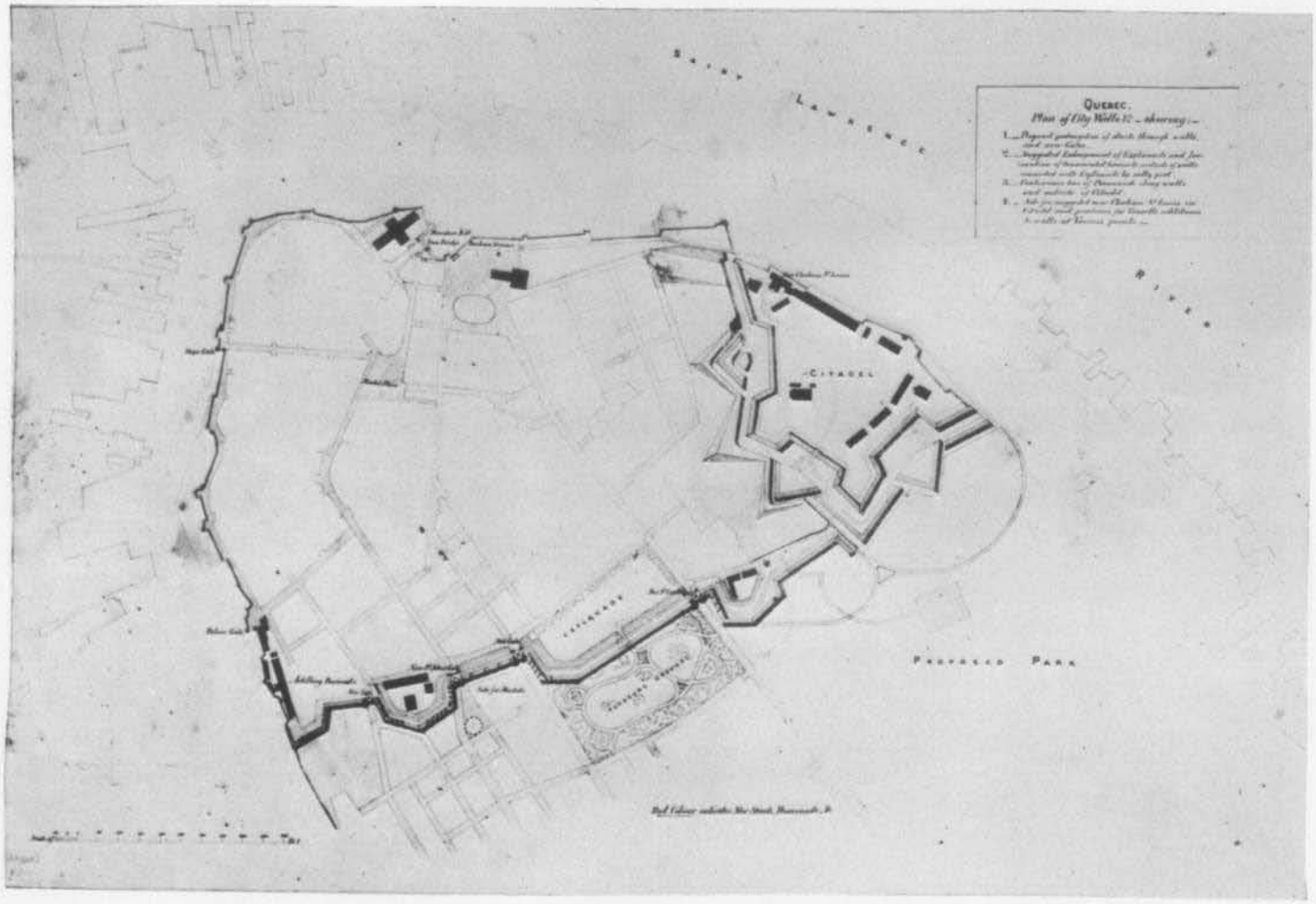


Fig. 5. Plan de Lynn, donnant une vue d'ensemble des fortifications de la ville de Québec avec les modifications proposées, 1875.

Fig. 6. Dessin de Lynn pour un projet de porte. Dessin non retenu, 1875. (Photo: APC).

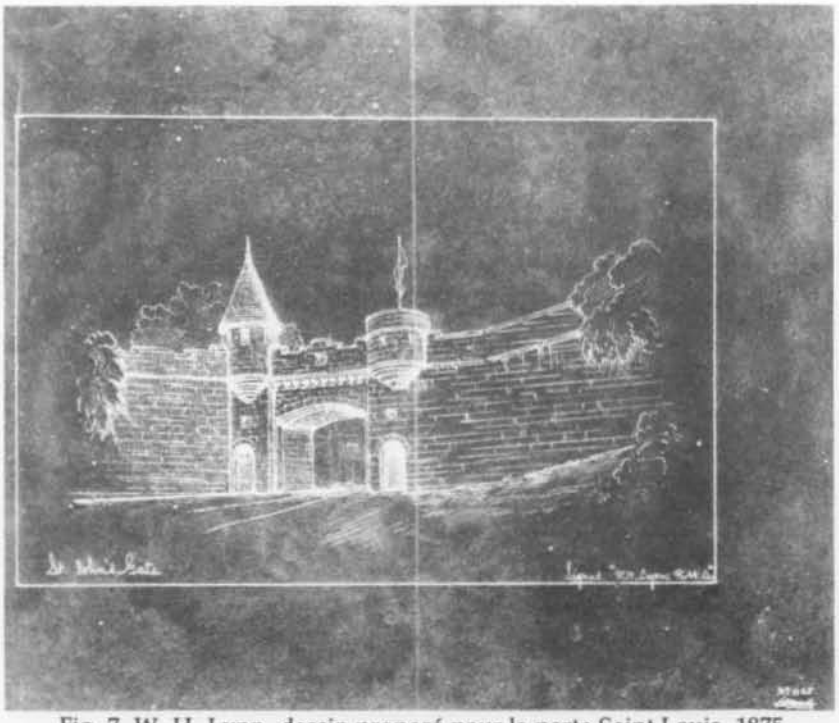


Fig. 7. W. H. Lynn, dessin proposé pour la porte Saint Louis, 1875. (Photo: APC).

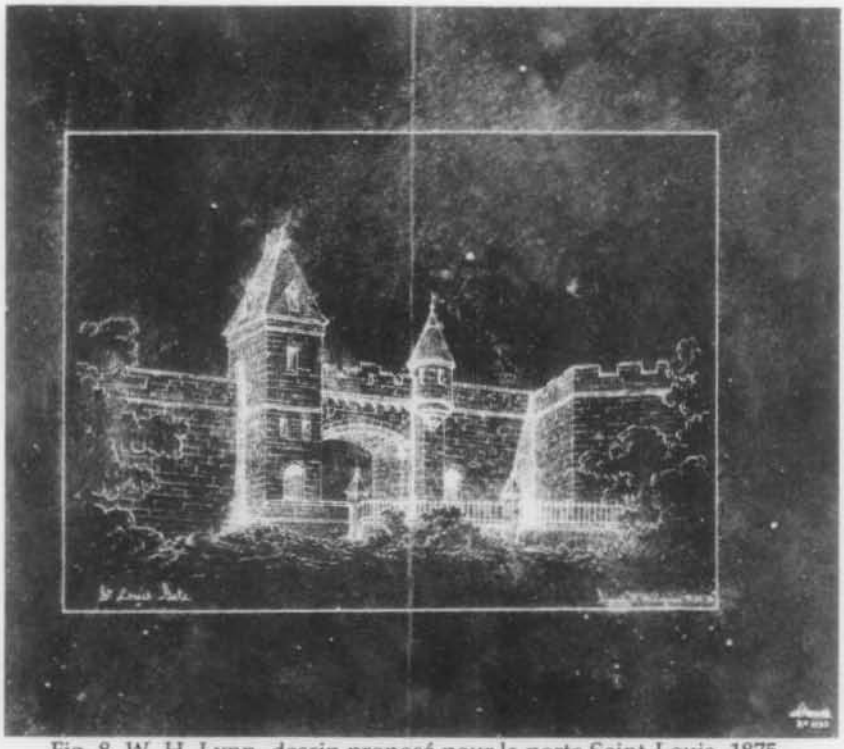


Fig. 8. W. H. Lynn, dessin proposé pour la porte Saint-Louis, 1875.
(Photo: APC).

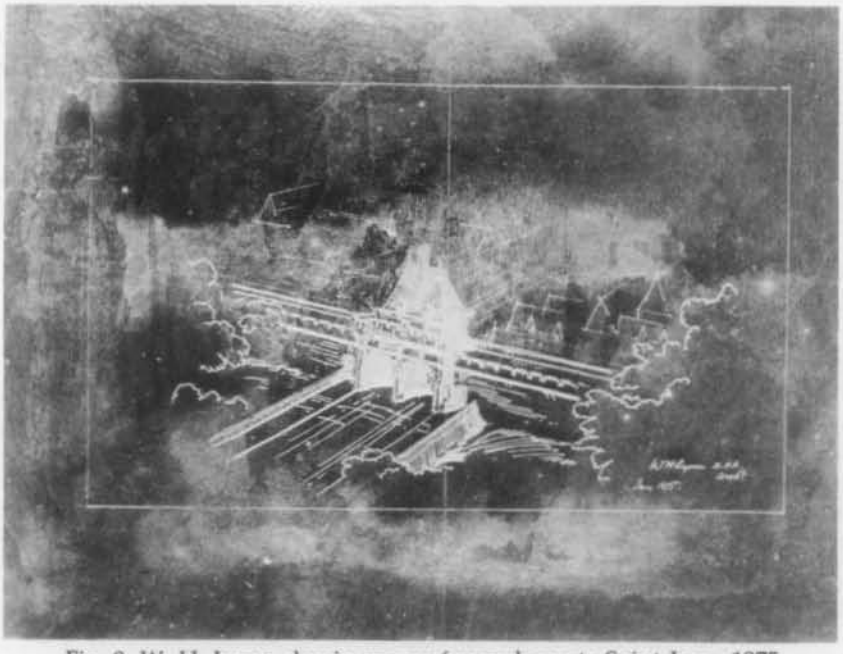


Fig. 9. W. H. Lynn, dessin proposé pour la porte Saint-Jean, 1875.
(Photo: APC).

La sauvegarde des murs et la reconstruction des portes devait permettre, dans un deuxième temps, l'établissement d'une promenade continue autour de la ville (Fig. 5). Cette promenade devait commencer à la Terrasse Durham[20] que Lord Dufferin souhaitait prolonger vers l'ouest, créant ainsi une longue terrasse publique de laquelle le promeneur découvrirait une magnifique vue du fleuve. De la terrasse, le sentier montait en pente douce jusqu'aux pieds des murs de la Citadelle et longeait la crête de la falaise sur toute la longueur du mur pour déboucher de l'autre côté du Bastion du Prince de Galles. Ensuite, le sentier traversait un champ à l'extérieur de la Citadelle, qui dans les projets devaient être transformé en parc, pour venir rejoindre les murs et se prolonger au-dessus de la rue Saint-Louis. Là, la promenade devait traverser le parc aménagé dans le quadrilataire compris entre les rues Saint-Louis, Dauphine et Saint-Eustache. Du parc, il était possible de communiquer avec l'Esplanade par une porte percée dans le mur. La promenade se poursuivait en passant par-dessus des rues Dauphine et Saint-Jean, empruntait un passage sur l'emplacement de l'Artillerie, jusqu'à la porte du Palais. A partir de ce point, l'itinéraire suivait les Remparts jusqu'au Parlement qu'il contournait à l'arrière,[21] traversait la côte de la Montagne sur une jolie passerelle de fer flanquée de tourelles et rejoignait, derrière l'édifice de la Poste, la ligne de fortifications et la terrasse Durham. Le projet de promenade proposait l'abaissement des murs le long de la rue des Remparts pour dégager la vue sur les Laurentides. A plusieurs endroits sur son parcours, devaient s'élever des échauguettes et se dessiner des crénaux pour briser la monotonie et l'austérité des vieux murs. En créant cette promenade Lord Dufferin se faisait le promoteur du tourisme. L'aménagement d'espaces verts, de parcs, la plantation d'arbres, le dégagement de perspectives sur le fleuve et les Laurentides modifiaient sensiblement le cachet de la ville et visaient la mise en valeur de son architecture et de son site extraordinaire.

Lord Dufferin n'arrêta pas là ses projets d'embellissements, soucieux qu'il était de faire de Québec la ville la plus belle au Canada. Il souhaita que Québec devint la demeure estivale de la Vice-royauté. Il conçut l'idée d'un projet de construction d'un nouveau château Saint-Louis qui s'élèverait à l'intérieur de la Citadelle, sur le plus haut point du cap[22] (Figs. 4, 11, 12). D'après les dessins de Lynn, cette demeure devait être très imposante. Le château était conçu pour dominer la ville. La façade sur le fleuve devait avoir 200 pieds de longueur et la largeur selon les

endroits du château, allait de 60 à 100 pieds. Le corps central aurait été composé d'un rez-de-chaussé, d'un étage principal et d'un étage de lucarnes. Aux extrémités, deux tours carrées de hauteurs et de proportions différentes devaient encadrer l'édifice. La tour la plus avancée formant un décrochement à l'angle de l'édifice s'élevait de deux étages au-dessus du corps central, et était pourvue aux angles, de quatre échauguettes. La deuxième tour, plus intégrée à l'édifice, devait se hausser d'un seul étage au-dessus du corps central. Coiffée d'un toit en pavillon, percée de lucarnes, elle restait cependant moins ornée. Un peu partout apparaissaient des tours, des tourelles, des galeries, des lucarnes, des barbacanes. Le projet rappelle les châteaux de la Renaissance avec de nombreux renvois à l'architecture médiévale.

Vu du fleuve, l'ensemble très articulé devait impressionner par sa silhouette conçue pour se marier admirablement au profil de la ville (Fig. 13). Il ne faut pas oublier qu'à la même époque on projetait de construire un nouveau Parlement,[23] un nouveau Palais de Justice[24] et d'autres édifices publics. Lord Dufferin n'a pas ignoré ces projets dans son plan d'embellissement de la ville. La percée de nouvelles rues, l'agrandissement des portes, l'aménagement d'espaces verts et d'une promenade qui permettrait aux piétons de circuler à l'abri du bruit et de la circulation, sont autant d'éléments qui nous révèlent le souci de créer un plan d'urbanisation qui permettait d'intégrer de nouveaux édifices tout en respectant le caractère particulier de la ville.

Le 21 juin 1876, lors d'un diner officiel donné par la ville de Québec en son honneur, Lord Dufferin annonça, par un brillant discours, que le Gouvernement d'Angleterre, par l'entremise du Secrétariat d'Etat à la Guerre, était prêt à verser une somme d'argent pour la réalisation d'une partie des projets. De plus, la Reine Victoria exprimait le désir de contribuer aux embellissements de la ville, en donnant une porte qui porterait le nom de son père, le Duc de Kent.[25]

Il fut décidé que la ville de Québec se chargerait du tiers des dépenses sur l'estimé de $93,500.00 préparé par l'ingénieur Charles Baillairgé et le reste serait couvert par le Gouvernement Fédéral. Celui-ci construirait à ses propres frais le château Saint-Louis pour loger le gouverneur-général.[26] Un peu plus tard, en 1878, le Gouvernement de la province participa aux projets d'embellissements de la ville de Québec, par la construction des nouveaux édifices publics.

Les travaux de construction des portes Saint-Louis et Kent débutèrent

QUEBEC IMPROVEMENTS.

THE Fortress City of America.

QUEBEC AS IT WAS AND AS IT WILL BE.

LORD DUFFERIN'S PLANS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ITS HISTORIC MONUMENTS.

EMBELLISHMENT OF THE ANCIENT CITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF ITS NATURAL ADVANTAGES.

Creation of the Grandest Promenade in the World.

REVIVAL OF THE HISTORIC SPLENDORS OF THE CASTLE OF ST. LOUIS.

Quebec to be the Summer Residence of the VICE-ROY of Canada.

ARTILLERY STORE—PALACE GATE.

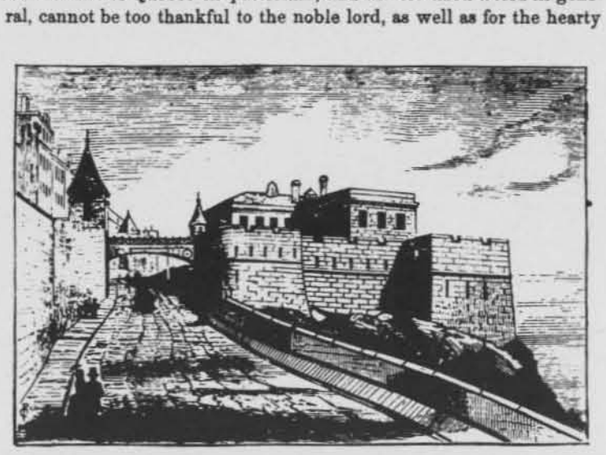
"Many a vanished year and age,
And tempest's breath and battle's rage,
Have swept o'er Corinth; yet she stands
A fortress formed to Freedom's hands.
The whirlwind's wrath, the earthquake's shock,
Have left untouched her hoary rock,
The key-stone of a land."—

The Siege of Corinth —LORD BYRON.

It is scarcely necessary to point out to the reader how pertinently and forcibly these memorable lines apply to the world-renowned fortress of America. In natural situation and varied history, there are so many strong points of resemblance between the ancient city of Quebec and the Corinth, which Lord Byron has immortalized in his mellifluous and undying verse, that they must be our excuse for quoting the noble bard on the present occasion. This occasion is specially one, when, as a journal having at heart the advancement of the grand old place, the preservation of its peculiar character of interest to the world at large, and the enhancement of that veneration

ST. JOHN'S GATE.

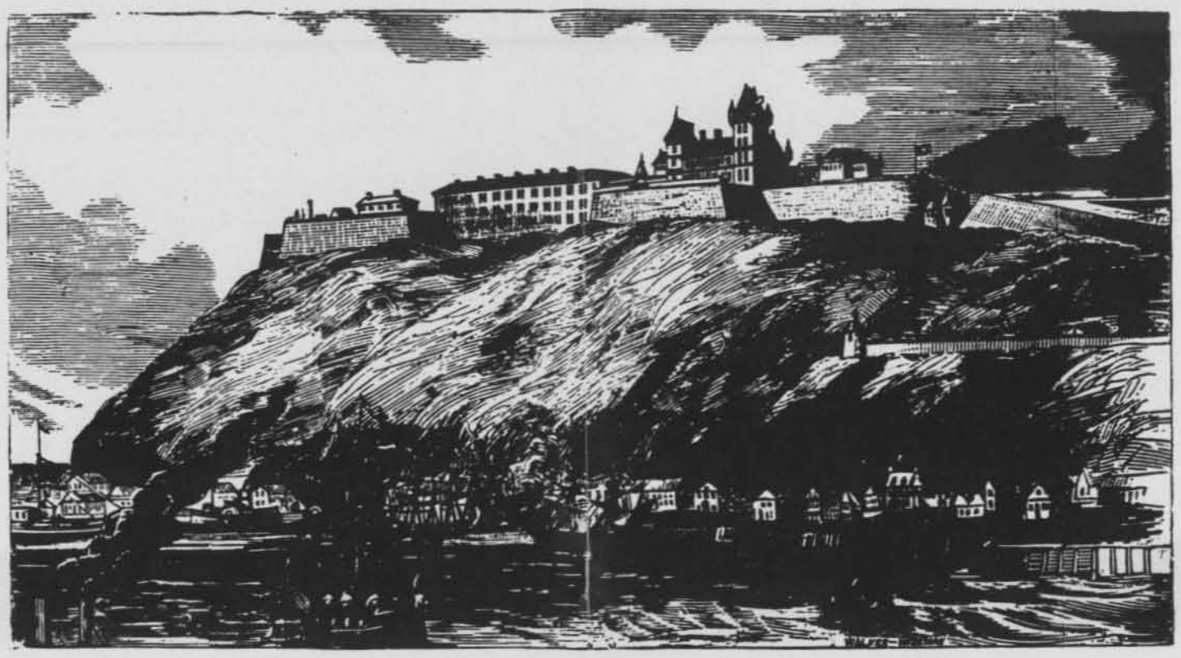
in which it is held all over the civilized globe, we deem it our duty to make generally public the enlightened measures of improvement and embellishment, coming from the very highest and most influential quarter in the country, of which Quebec may, in the poet's language not be inaptly termed "the keystone," and which, when carried out, will not only preserve to the Gibraltar of America its historic landmarks, its interesting associations and traditions, and its exceptional character of quaintness and antiquity, but subserve the realization of those more modern ideas of progress, which fail to see that it is much easier to tear down than to build up. For this commendable purpose, we have taken the trouble, at considerable expense, to present, to the friends of the MORNING CHRONICLE on this Christmas morning, correct illustrations of the embellishments and improvements proposed and contemplated by His Excellency, the present able and distinguished Governor General of Canada, for the idea of which the citizens of Quebec in particular, and the civilized world in general, cannot be too thankful to the noble lord, as well as for the hearty



MOUNTAIN HILL.—Iron Bridge.

interest which he has ever taken in the ancient capital of New France, and all that concerns the welfare and prosperity of its people. To our kindred race in the neighboring republic, one in blood, as they are one in desire with us for the religious preservation of our historic monuments, we specially commend the present subject; and, in order that they may acquire a proper understanding of it, we quote from our own columns, in the issue of the QUEBEC MORNING CHRONICLE, of the 22nd November last:—

"The scheme of city improvement and embellishment submitted by his Excellency the Governor-General for the consideration of the City Council and briefly outlined in our issue of Saturday, may be said to have taken the citizens somewhat by surprise, we believe we are correct in interpreting the popular feeling on the subject, when we state that the inhabitants of the



GENERAL VIEWS OF CITADEL AND CHATEAU ST. LOUIS FROM ST. LAWRENCE.

ancient capital are, and will ever be, deeply grateful to Lord Dufferin for the deep and continuous interest which he takes in Quebec, the flattering preference he shows for it on all occasions, and the present signal manifestation of his good will and desire to promote its importance by the enhancement of its historic and scenic attractions, without very materially adding to the burthens of its tax-paying population. It surely must be a subject of general pride and congratulation to find such distinguished and influential patronage extended to our good old city and to look forward to the prospect of future advantage which support in such a quarter is certain to open up for it. There is no denying that if the scheme proposed by his Excellency be carried out in its entirety, in connection with other improvements actually in contemplation, Quebec will not only have its modern requirements more than satisfied, but will become the show city of this continent, to which thousands of strangers will annually flock to view a grandeur of scenery unsurpassed on this side of the Atlantic, conjointly with the relics of an eventful and heroic past for which the outside world has a special veneration. Familiarity, it has been truly said, breeds contempt, and this self-same familiarity with our crumbling fortifications has engendered among ourselves an under-estimate of the value attached by strangers to them, and to the other mementoes of by gone days, which abound in our midst. Not altogether improperly, outsiders regard Quebec as common property, a bit of the old world transferred to the new, tucked away carefully in this remote corner of the continent, and to be religiously preserved from all iconoclastic desecration, especially from that phase of the latter, which goes by the name of modern improvement with some, but passes for wanton vandalism with others. They wish to have to say still of Quebec at the present day, as Longfellow sang of Nuremberg, that it is a—

"Quaint old town of toil and traffic,
Quaint old town of art and song,
Memories haunt thy pointed gables,
Like the rooks that round them throng."

In addition to being the oldest city in North America, Quebec, historically speaking, is also the most interesting. The traditions and associations, which cling to its beeting crags and hoary battlements, and cluster around its battlefields, monuments and institutions, are numerous and important in the eyes of the world. History speaks from every stone of its ruined walls, and from every standpoint of its surroundings; antiquity is stamped upon its face and quaintness is its chief characteristic. In the computation of our yearly income, the revenue we derive from these attractions, coupled with those supplied by the magnificent panorama of Nature with which the city is encircled, forms no inconsiderable item. We imagine it will not be denied by any rational person that the stream of travel which tends this way with the return of each fine season, as surely as that season itself, is an immense advantage to the totality of the inhabitants, for it is a well recognized truth that were any special class, trade or calling in a community is benefitted, the whole are benefitted by the increase of the circulating medium. It is therefore a self evident duty on our part to do all we reasonably can to preserve to Quebec its character of interest and antiquity, which is much prized by the rest of the world and is so valuable in a material point of view to ourselves. We should also, if possible, exert ourselves in the same direction to so enhance, by artificial means, the splendid scenic advantages we offer to admiring sight-seers, that like the Neapolitans, when they speak of Naples to the European traveller, we may tell the American to see Quebec and die. At the same time such modern improvements as can be effected without serious detriment to our historical monuments, such as our gates and ramparts, should not be neglected, to advance the growth and embellishment of the city and to facilitate communication between its older and newer parts. This is just what Lord Dufferin's plans and views with regard to Quebec propose to do. We have been favored with a sight of the admirably executed plans and designs, prepared by Mr. Lynn, the eminent civil engineer commissioned by Lord Dufferin to carry out his intentions, and who, it will be remembered, accompanied His Lordship and the Minister of Militia last summer on their examination of the military works and grounds. It will also be recalled that it was with considerable reluctance that His Excellency consented at all to the removal of the old gates and the cutting through of the walls on the western side of the fortress, and that it was only his well known consideration for the wishes and requirements of the people of Quebec that induced him to concur in the demand for increased facility of communication between the city and its suburbs. According to Mr. Lynn's plans, it is easy to see that His Excellency still adheres to his original ideas in the matter, to some extent, while desiring at the same time to meet the popular wish and necessity. It is proposed that all the gates, with the exception of Hope Gate, or rather the present apertures, are to be bridged or arched over, in viaduct fashion, with handsome bridges either in iron or stone, so as to preserve the continuity of the fortifications. In this way, the openings in the ramparts, including that for the extension of Nouvelle street, will remain as free to traffic as they are at present. St. John's Gate is, of course, included with the others in this category. All the bridges or arches over the gates will be [illegible] turesque Norman turrets, of different size and design, such as are frequently seen in old French and German castles. Hope Gate, it is contemplated simply to flank with such turrets, some twelve more of which will also at different other points adorn and relieve the monotonous effect of the long dead line of wall from Palace Gate to the Parliament Buildings. His Excellency next proposes a boulevard or continuous drive around the entire fortifications, commencing at the Durham Terrace, which he wishes to have prolonged westwards to the King's Bastion and thus make it one of the most magnificient promenades in the world, with an unequalled view of river, mountain, crag and island scenery, and taking in both the upper and lower portions of the harbor. Thence the boulevard will continue, rising by an easy incline to the foot of the Citadel, and thence will run along the crest of the cliff at the foot of the walls round to the rough ground or Cove field, through which it will be carried, following the line of the fortifications, crossing St. Louis street and entering the Glacis on the north side of that thoroughfare; the square of which comprised between St. Louis street, St. Eustache street, the extension of Nouvelle street and the walls, His Excellency wishes to have formed into a park or ornamental pleasure ground, communicating with the Esplanade by means of a sally-port through the rampart. Through this park, the boulevard will be continued down across St. John street and around through the gardens and grounds of the Artillery Barracks, to Palace Gate, crossing in its passage three other openings in the fortification wall to give direct communication with the city to D'Aiguillon, Richelieu and St. Olivier streets, such openings being bridged over in the same fashion as the others. From Palace Gate the boulevard will follow the present line of Rampart street round to the Parliament Buildings, in rear of which it will pass, and then traverse Mountain Hill over a handsome iron bridge flanked with turrets, on the site of old Prescott Gate, to Fortification Lane in rear of the Post Office, which will be enlarged and graded up, back again to the Durham Terrace or original point of departure, thus making a continuous, unbroken circuit of the entire fortifications and providing a public promenade that will undoubtedly be unsurpassed by anything of the sort in the world and cannot not fail to attract thousands of profitable visitors to Quebec. The cost of the undertaking would not be so enormous, as might appear at first sight. It is estimated that His Excellency's capital idea in this respect could be carried out at an outlay of ninety thousand dollars, of which the city would only be asked to contribute thirty thousand, the Federal authorities making up the difference. But His Excellency does not seem satisfied to stop short even at this work of embellishment in his desire to promote the interests of our good old city. He wishes that it should become also the abode of the representative of royalty in Canada, at least during the summer season, and, in order that it should enjoy to the fullest all the importance and material benefit likely to flow from this circumstance, he further proposes to have a regular and fitting vice regal residence erected for himself on the Citadel, to be styled the Castle of St. Louis or *Chateau St. Louis*, and to revive the ancient splendors of that historic residence of the early governors of New France. We have also seen the plans and sketches of this building and must admit that, if constructed, it will of itself materially enhance the appearance of Quebec, and, when taken in conjunction with the proposed new Parliamentary and Departmental buildings and new Court House, will contribute largely to the scheme of city embellishment. As Quebec is approached by water or from any point whence the Citadel is visible, it will be a striking object, as it will stand forth in bold relief to the East of the present officers' quarters, with a frontage of 200 feet and a depth partly of 60 and partly of 100 feet, with a basement, two main storeys and attics, and two towers of different heights, but of equally charming design. The style of architecture is an agreeable "melange" of the picturesque Norman and Elizabethan. The intention is, we believe, to have the quoins and angle stones of cut stone and the filling in of rough ashlar—the old stone from the fortifications being utilized for that purpose. The estimated cost of the structure is $100,000; but we have not heard whether the city will be asked to contribute to it. We are inclined, however, to think not, as it would be solely a Dominion work, for Dominion purposes, and erected upon Dominion property. Such, as far as we understand it, from the plans, is Lord Dufferin's very excellent and praiseworthy project for the improvement and embellishment of Quebec, and we are satisfied that as His Lordship appears to have made up his mind in its favor, it will not fail to be carried out in due time. As to when it will be commenced of course, we are not in a position to speak; but when it does, the expenditure of money it will entail and the employment it will give to the laboring classes and tradesmen generally, apart from any other of the favorable considerations we have pointed out, will be very opportune and acceptable to the people of the ancient capital. In bringing the matter forward so prominently, Lord Dufferin has done a great thing for Quebec, for which its inhabitants cannot thank him too warmly. It only remains for the city to meet his generous proposition in a like spirit of liberality, and it will go hard with old Stadacona if, between the North Shore Railway, the graving dock, the tidal docks, the harbor improvements of all kinds and the proposed new buildings for the Legislature, public departments and the law courts, the condition of its people be not before long materially bettered and the appearance of things considerably improved. We should, perhaps add that in the general scheme of Corporation improvements, in addition to those mentioned in our report of the City Council business, are included the projects of a street, leading directly from St. George Street on the ramparts to Sault-au-Matelot street, in the vicinity of the Quebec Bank, which would obviate the present tedious detour for foot passengers by Mountain Hill of a street parallel to St. Paul street, and of an elevator for vehicles and foot passengers from the Champlain Market up the Cliff and underneath Durham Terrace to the North end of the Laval Normal School."

For the information of outsiders, we may add that since the above was written, the City Council of Quebec has not only responded nobly to His Excellency's suggestions, but the Local Government has gone a step further and made provision, as far as comes within its purview, to co-operate in the carrying out of Lord Dufferin's admirable designs.

It is scarcely necessary on this occasion, to recall the eventful history of Quebec, but, as the present year brings about a memorable anniversary, interesting alike to ourselves and to our republican neighbors, it may be well to allude to it. We refer to the centennial of the death, at the very portals of this fortress, of a gallant foe, the American General, Montgomery. It is not our desire by any means to rekindle the rancors and strifes of that distant period; and, to prove this, on the 31st of December instant, exactly one hundred years since Arnold and Montgomery were thundering at our gates, and the latter was shedding his life-blood amid the snows at Près-de-Ville, the military authorities—descendants of the men who so bravely withstood the attack—and the citizens of Quebec generally, intend to commemorate in be-

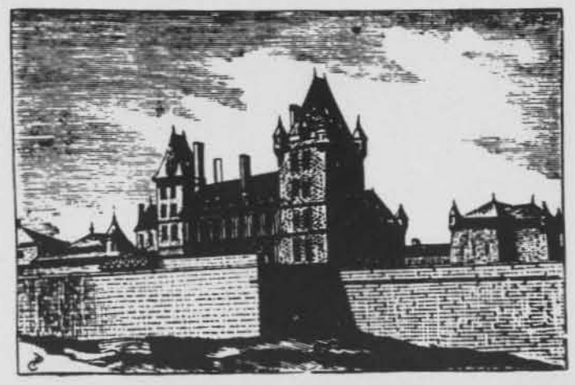
HOPE HILL.

coming manner the important event. There, commingling together in perfect harmony, will be found the representatives of the two great mother nations, who contended so long and so bitterly for sovereignty in the New World, as well as of that young, but vigorous offshoot of Great Britain, which is now personified in the United States. Beneath the folds of the flag of England, all these will join to do honor to the memory of a brave man, who, although a foe, was not the less an estimable gentleman and a gallant soldier. On such an occasion, it is needless to point out the additional interest with which Quebec will be invested. It would be superfluous also to more than briefly advert to the main facts in the history of the oldest city of America, from the days when Jacques Cartier first discovered the country, and Champlain planted the cross of Christianity on the banks of the mighty St. Lawrence, down through the eventful years, when the young and struggling colony had to battle for dear life with the savage Iroquois, when the power of France was launched forth from its battlements to harass the New England colonies or to hurl defiance at Britain's attempts at conquest from the mouths of Frontenac's cannon, down to the days when Wolfe and Montcalm struggled for the mastery, with so fatal

ST. LOUIS GATE.

an ending for both these illustrious men and one so disastrous to France's tenure of power on this side of the Atlantic—down, we may add, to our own less troublous and remarkable times.

The limits of our present space will not permit our entering into such details just now; but we may simply remind the reader that, from a military point of view, Quebec has been ever regarded as occupying the strongest natural position, next to Gibraltar, in the entire world. Hence the continued and sanguinary struggle for its possession between two of the greatest nations of the old world, and, later on, between Great Britain and the States of the American Union. It has in its day successfully and unsuccessfully withstood many sieges, now at the hands of the savage aborigines of the country, and now at those of their more civilized brethren. From its foundation down to a century ago, its history has been mainly characterized by warfare and bloodshed, stirring events of flood and field, and military glories, which are alike claimed by the descendants of the two great races, who form its present population. Turning from this aspect of the ancient city, it must also be remembered that for two centuries it was the site whence France exercised an astonishing sovereignty over a gigantic territory extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, along the shores of that noble river, its magnificent lakes, and down the Mississippi to its outlet below New Orleans; and, whence in the assertion of the supremacy of the Gallic lily, the missionary pioneered the



THE NEW CHATEAU ST. LOUIS.

path of the soldier, in those benevolent plans for the religious instruction and conversion of the savages, which at one time distinguished the policy of the early Governors of New France. In fine, as we have already stated, history speaks from every stone of its frowning battlements, from every tortuous winding of its antiquated streets, from the number and age of its institutions of religion, charity and education, from its quaint buildings, and generally from the many monuments and relics of an eventful past, which crowd [illegible] desire of Lord Dufferin not only to carefully preserve, but to improve as far as possible, without obstructing the growth and advanced ideas of modern Quebec, as will be more readily gathered from the illustrations of his designs which we present to our readers this morning, hoping with all our heart to see them carried out at an early date, so that we may still further strengthen the claim of the interesting and venerable city of Champlain to its present device *Natura fortis, industria crescit.*

Printed at the "Morning Chronicle" Steam Printing Works, Quebec.

Fig. 4. Projet d'embellissement de la ville de Québec présenté par Lord Dufferin, 1875.
Morning Chronicle, 25 décembre, 1875. (Photo: APC).

en août 1878 (Fig. 14). Les plans détaillés en furent dressés par Charles Baillairgé d'après les dessins de Lynn. Le mur longeant la rue des Remparts fut abaissé pour dégager la vue sur les Laurentides, et le 18 octobre 1878, peu avant son départ, Lord Dufferin posait la première pierre de la nouvelle Terrasse qui allait, quelque vingt ans plus tard, porter son nom.[27]

On ne réalisa en fait qu'une petite partie des projets de Lord Dufferin, mais ils donnèrent l'impulsion nécessaire à l'entreprise de grands travaux.[28] Le Palais de Justice (1883), le Parlement (1884), le Manège Militaire (1891), l'Hôtel-de-Ville (1892)[29] et le château Frontenac sont des édifices construits à la suite des projets Dufferin. De nombreuses autres constructions demeurèrent à l'état de projet.[30]

C'est cependant le style des projets Dufferin qui marquera le cachet de la ville de Québec. Transposant par-dessus l'architecture du Régime français, déjà fortement altérée par le néo-classicisme anglais des années 1820-1850, une architecture victorienne, l'architecte Lynn, suivant en cela les conseils du gouverneur-général, remodela le visage du vieux Québec. Les silhouettes gracieuses dont il dota la ville furent en fait le résultat d'une vision romantique d'un passé chargé d'histoire et illustré par des témoignages architecturaux. Nulle autre que l'architecture des châteaux ne pouvait mieux témoigner du caractère français et ancien du Vieux Québec selon les promoteurs des projets. C'est dans la même perspective que l'architecte Bruce Price amorça la construction de la première aile du château Frontenac en 1892, pensant construire là l'édifice qui témoignerait le mieux du canada-français, par son style inspiré des châteaux.[31] Bien avant lui, Lynn amorça donc au Canada l'implantation d'une architecture qui, rapidement, deviendra officielle. Lord Dufferin était bien placé pour se faire le promoteur d'une telle architecture, qui rayonnera sur l'ensemble du territoire canadien après son départ, notamment par les soins des compagnies de chemins de fer.

Si aujourd'hui, on peut encore admirer la ligne des fortifications de Québec, nous le devons à Lord Dufferin qui arriva à temps pour les sauver de la démolition. Québec lui fut reconnaissant car peu avant son départ du Canada, le 22 juin 1878, le Conseil législatif et l'Assemblée législative de la Province lui adressèrent leurs remerciements officiels dans la Chambre du Conseil, en présence des hautes personnalités politiques, ecclésiastiques et militaires du Québec.

"Besides your unappreciable services rendered to the whole Dominion, it has pleased your Excellency to become the patron of letters, of science and art.

To you, the City of Quebec is indebted for your endeavors to preserve her diadem of ramparts, which recall to our Canadian hearts the brightest pages of our history and remind us of duties which we may yet be called upon to fulfil.

You have embodied in plans the fine conception of your imagination respecting them and, so long as Quebec sits on a rocky throne, so long with them will your name be associated and revered."[32]

Dans ses projets, sans doute que Lord Dufferin a ignoré l'aspect que la ville avait au dix-huitième siècle quand la France habitait nos murs, mais il sut avec clairvoyance prévoir des plans qui permirent à la ville de s'étendre à l'extérieur de ses murs et de se moderniser selon les goûts de l'époque, tout en conservant son enceinte fortifiée. Les ogives, les crénaux, les tourelles, lui donnent peut-être un air pittoresque et romantique (Fig. 15), mais ce serait certainement une erreur que de vouloir lui redonner ses murs et ses portes du Régime français. Depuis le dix-septième siècle, le visage de la ville a changé selon les besoins de ses habitants, une époque faisant place à une autre en laissant des témoignages vivants. Les pierres de ces édifices qui encore aujourd'hui nous disent qu'il y eut le temps de la France et celui de l'Angleterre témoignent également de la naissance de la Confédération canadienne, par l'intervention de Lord Dufferin.

Le noble Lord nous a quitté il y a longtemps pour mourir au pays de ses ancêtres, mais ses projets demeurent et combien de fois depuis voyons-nous réapparaître sous une idée moderne quelques morceaux des "Dufferin Improvements". Alors que ce sont ces projets et les réalisations qui y succédèrent qui caractérisent encore aujourd'hui le Vieux Québec, serait-ce illusoire de vouloir les compléter aujourd'hui au lieu de créer de toutes pièces un décor factice?[33]

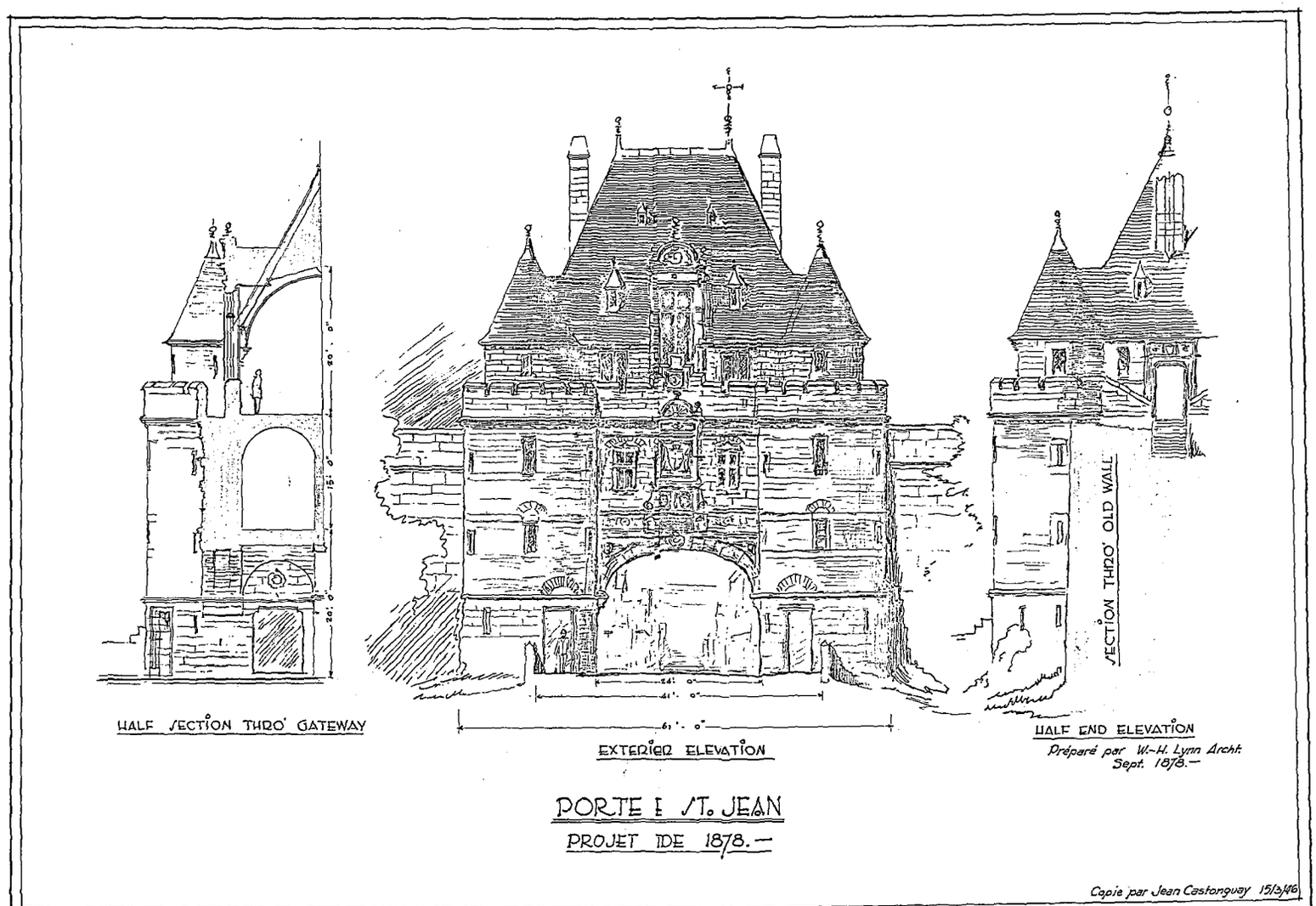


Fig. 10. W. H. Lynn, dessin proposé pour la porte Saint-Jean, 1878. (Photo: A.V.O.).

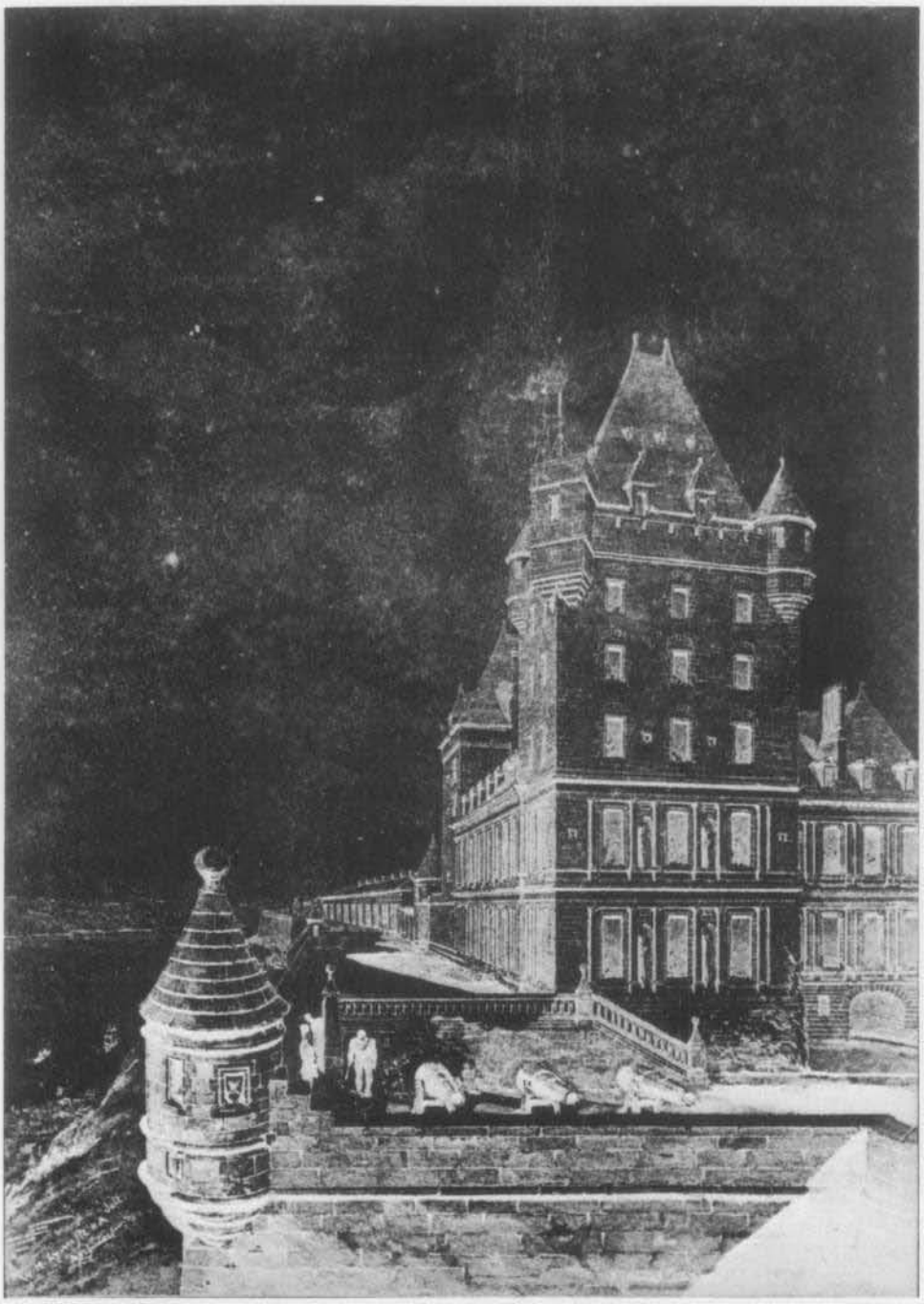


Fig. 11. W. H. Lynn, dessin proposé pour un nouveau château Saint-Louis, 1875; vue vers l'ouest. (Photo: APC).

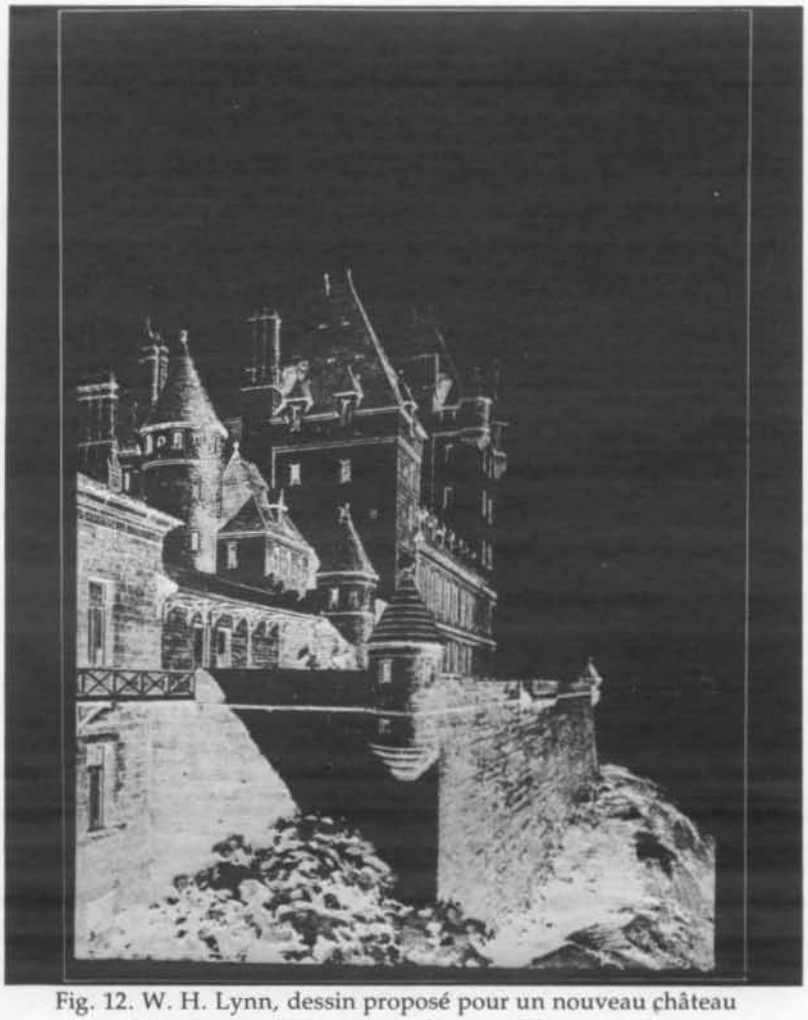


Fig. 12. W. H. Lynn, dessin proposé pour un nouveau château Saint-Louis, 1875; vue vers l'ouest. (Photo: APC).

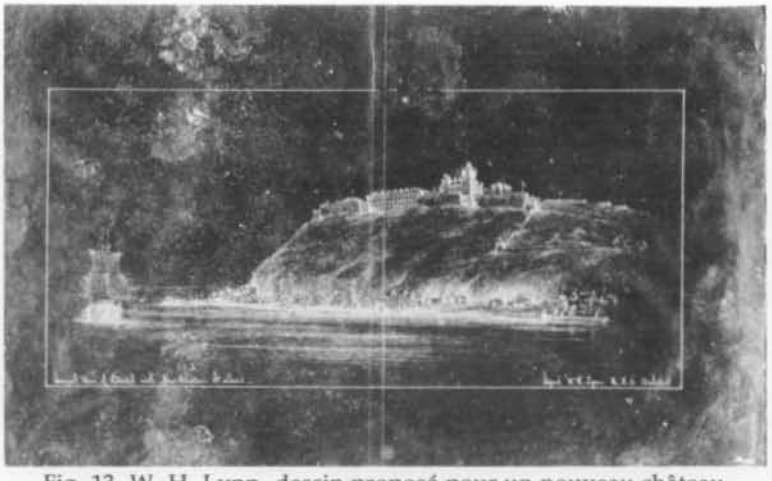


Fig. 13. W. H. Lynn, dessin proposé pour un nouveau château Saint-Louis, 1875; vue générale de la Citadel avec un nouveau château Saint-Louis. (Photo: Archives Nationale du Québec).

Fig. 14. W. H. Lynn, les travaux de construction des portes Saint-Louis et Kent débutèrent en août 1878. (Photo: Archives Nationales du Québec).

Fig. 15. W. H. Lynn, la porte Saint-Louis, côté ouest. (Photo: Archives Nationales du Québec).

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Notes:

[1] Les fortifications de la Ville de Québec s'étendent de la Citadelle jusqu'aux baraquements de l'Artillerie près de la Côte du Palais. Au nord, elles longent la rue des Remparts, se dirigent ensuite vers la droite du Cap qu'elles parcourent jusqu'à la Terrasse Dufferin, puis rejoignent la bastien du roi et la Citadelle, le point le plus élevé dominant toute la ville à l'endroit stratégique de ce système de défense.

[2] Ces deux enceintes successives sont illustrées dans le *Concept général du réaménagement du Vieux Québec*, Québec, Le comité de rénovation et de mise en valeur du vieux Québec, 1970, p. 75.

[3] Au sujet des fortifications de la ville, on pourra consulter:
S.G. Doughty, *The Fortress of Quebec* (Québec: Dussault et Proulx, 1904).
J.M. Lemoine, *Histoire des Fortifications et des rues de Québec* (Québec: Le Canadien, 1875).
G.E. Marquis, *Les Fortifications de Québec, un centenaire 1823-1923* (Québec: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1923).

[4] Au sujet des portes de la ville, lire:
James McPherson Lemoine, "The Gates of Québec", *Morning Chronicle* (Québec: 1880).

[5] Elias Walker Durnford laissa une série considérable de plans pour les fortifications de la ville. Ils sont actuellement conservés aux Archives publiques du Canada. A son sujet voir: Mary Durnford, *Family Recollection of Lt. Gen. Elias Walker Durnford* (Montréal: 1863).

[6] On pourrait en effet supposer que ces murailles furent érigées comme monument à la gloire de l'Empire, leur rôle défensif étant à peu près nul à cette époque.

[7] Ces démolitions sont illustrées dans "Les démolitions à Québec," *L'Opinion publique* (14 septembre 1871), p. 450.

[8] Lord Dufferin, *Letters from High Latitudes* (New York: Lovell, Adam, Wesson, 1873).
Les éléments de biographie sont extraits de: Charles E. Drummond Black, *The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava* (London: Hutchison and Co., 1903). William Leggo, *The History of the Administration of the Right Honorable Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada* (Montréal: Lovelle Printing and Publishing Co., 1878), Sir Alfred Lyall, *The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, I,II (London: John Murray, 1905).

[9] G.W. Kieweit and F.H. Underhill, *Dufferin-Carnavon Correspondence 1874-1878* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1955).

[10] Lettre de Dufferin à Carnavon, Ottawa 21 décembre 1874, cité par C.W. Kiewiet and F.H. Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.
Un extrait de cette correspondance a par ailleurs été publié par Gustave Lanctôt, "Lord Dufferin sauve les murs de Québec de la destruction en 1875" dans *RAPC*, 60 (Ottawa: 1944), p. xxxvii.

[11] Archives de la ville de Québec, "Dossiers Fortifications-Améliorations," *Second Report of the Special Committee on City Improvements*, 3 (29 décembre, 1874), p. 131-1.

[12] Au sujet de l'architecte W. H. Lynn, consulter: A. J. H. Richardson, "Buildings in the old city of Quebec" dans *APT Bulletin*, II, nos 3-4 (1970), pp. 87-8.

[13] Ces deux édifices sont illustrés dans C.E.B. Brett, *Buildings of Belfast, 1700-1914* (London: 1967).

[14] Extrait de l'*Irish Builder* de 1910, cité dans C.E.B. Brett, p. 39.

[15] Lettre de Dufferin à Carnavon, Ottawa, 2 décembre 1875 cité par C.W. Kiewiet and F.H. Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[16] Archives de la Ville de Québec. "Procès-verbal du 26 novembre 1875". *Procès-verbaux du conseil de Ville, janvier 1875 — octobre 1876.*

[17] ". . . I think that the war Office might also be very fairly asked to extend its countenance to the restorations of the battlements won by Wolfe." Lettre de Dufferin à Carnavon (voir n. 15).

[18] C'est ce texte du *Morning Chronicle* que J.M. Lemoine reprit intégralement dans son article: "Plans of Improvements of the city of Quebec suggested by Lord Dufferin" publié dans *Québec Past Present*, en 1876,

(pp. 325-42). Les illustrations du texte sont les mêmes que celles présentées par le *Morning Chronicle*. *L'Opinion Publique,* dans son édition du 9 décembre 1875 consacrait également un article à ces projets. Là, l'accent était plutôt mis sur quelques variantes du projet Dufferin. Ainsi, "le Conseil de Ville de Québec se propose de faire les améliorations ci-dessous:

1-Prolonger la plateforme jusqu'au détour de la citadelle, pour donner aux promeneurs une vue sur le fleuve majestueux d'un côté jusqu'au Cap Rouge, et de l'autre jusqu'au Cap Diamant.

2-Faire disparaître le château Haldimand aujourd'hui occupé par l'école Normale, et le remplacer, ainsi que toute la portion du terrain qui l'avoisine par une magnifique plantation servant de prolongement au jardin déjà existant.

3-Elever sur le devant de cette terrasse un splendide monument à Jacques Cartier le fondateur du Canada".

[19] Archives de la ville de Québec, "Dossiers Fortifications-Améliorations", *Third Report of the Special Committee on City Improvements,* 3 (17 novembre, 1875), p. 131-1.

[20] La terrasse Durham, mesurant 160' x 80' fut érigée sous Lord Durham en 1838. Ce n'est qu'en 1878 qu'elle fut allongée à 1,420'. C'est l'architecte Charles Baillairgé qui y construit les kiosques. Il proposa même la construction d'un aquarium sous la terrasse en 1900.

[21] Le Parlement existant alors était celui construit en 1859 par l'architecte Rubidge, dans le Parc Montmorency. A cet endroit il succédait au Parlement construit par Thomas Baillairgé en 1830, complété en 1850 et incendié en 1854. Ce Parlement fut construit sur l'emplacement du Palais Episcopal de Mgr de Saint-Vallier, construit en 1693 par Claude Baillif, architecte.

Le Parlement dont il est question dans les projets de Lord Dufferin sera détruit par le feu en 1883.

[22] Le château Saint-Louis, construit sous le Régime français et restauré après la Conquête fut détruit par le feu en 1834. Le Château Haldimand ou "Vieux Château", construit en 1784 ne fut détruit qu'en 1892 lors de la construction du Château Frontenac.

[23] Le collège des Jésuites fut en effet démoli en 1875 pour permettre la construction d'un nouveau Parlement. Les architectes E.E. Taché et Charles Baillairgé soumirent des plans à cette fin (conservés aux archives du Séminaire de Québec). Le Parlement fut finalement construit sur le *cricket field* à l'extérieur des murs, d'après les plans de E.E. Taché, de 1874 à 1884.

[24] Le Palais de Justice construit par François Baillairgé en 1804 fut détruit par le feu en 1873. Pour le remplacer, un concours d'architectes eut lieu (plans aux archives des travaux Publics du Québec). Les autorités municipales souhaitèrent un moment de relocaliser l'hôtel de ville dans le nouvel édifice du Palais de Justice qui aurait été construit à l'emplacement de l'ancien collège des Jésuites, une fois décidé d'ériger le Parlement hors les murs. Il n'en fut rien et le nouveau Palais de Justice fut reconstruit à l'emplacement de l'ancien, en 1887, d'après les plans de E.E. Taché.

[25] William Leggo, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-35.

[26] Archives de la ville de Québec, *loc. cit.*,

"Estimated cost of certain City Improvements, Quebec, as suggested by Lord Dufferin.

1-Iron bridge over Mountain Hill a little southwestward of the Buade St. steps say 50 ft span and 10 ft broad	$ 3,000.00
Turret on west side say	$ 500.00
Do. on East side	$ 1,000.00
2-Opening St. Helen St. through to St. Olivier and D'aiguillon streets inclusive of arch over opening and turrets complete	$15,000.00
3-Demolishing John Gate & throwing arch or bridge over opening with turrets	$15,000.00
4-Retaining walls to, arch over and turrets to opening in Rampart wall at Dauphine St.	$15,000.00
5-Retaining walls to, turrets & arch or bridge over St. Lewis street at site of old gate	$15,000.00
6-Lowering grade of Rampart Street	$ 2,000.00
7-Twelve turrets to City walls, Rampart St.	$12,000.00
8-Path or promenade around Citadel — 2000 ft.	$ 5,000.00
9-Pleasure grounds westward of esplanade	$10,000.00
	$93,500.00
N.B. As the Gates may perhaps be done at $12,000 each instead of $15,000, would reduce total cost to	$81,500.00

or to $50,000 if the proposed gates were replaced by bridges as for Mountain Hill."

[27] Archives de la Ville de Québec. *Règlement concernant la Terrasse Dufferin,* no. 336 (9 août 1895).

[28] Lord Grey Gouverneur-général du Canada de 1903 à 1910, contribua lui aussi à l'embellissement de Québec, en faisant prolonger la promenade que forme la terrasse Dufferin, par un boulevard, au sommet du

Cap, au pied de la Citadelle. La promenade était presque complète, il ne manquait plus qu'une arche au-dessus des Macmahon et Saint-Jean. En 1898, la porte Saint-Jean fut démolie pour permettre le passage des "tramways" et il fallut attendre 1936 avant de la voir reconstruite dans le style des dessins de l'architecte Lynn.

[29] Charles Baillairgé prépara en 1883 des plans pour l'agrandissement de l'Hôtel de Ville sur la rue Saint-Louis. Ces projets ne furent toutefois pas réalisés et en 1890, la ville ouvre un concours pour la construction d'un nouvel Hôtel-de-Ville. Ce n'est qu'en 1893 que Georges-Emile Tanguay, architecte, construira l'Hôtel de Ville actuel, en opérant une synthèse de tous les projets présentés au concours (plans conservés aux archives de la ville de Québec).

[30] Ce fut notamment le cas du Club de la Garrison, projeté par l'architecte E.E. Taché en 1891, et les projets quelque peu farfelus de Charles Baillairgé (fontaine automatique, aquarium).

[31] Lire à ce sujet: Harold D. Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada,* (Victoria: University of Victoria, Maltwood Museum, 1968).

[32] William Leggo, *loc. cit.*

[33] Ce qui serait possible, notamment pour la porte du Palais, dont la reconstruction a déjà été préconisée dans *Ilot de l'Arsenal,* "Schéma d'aménagement", Québec, 1972. De plus, plusieurs projets de promenade ont déjà été avancés. Pourquoi ne pas reprendre ceux de Dufferin, qui s'harmoniseraient bien avec le décor existant du Vieux Québec?

WHO "DISCOVERED" EMILY CARR?

Nineteen twenty-seven was Emily Carr's *annis mirabilis,* the year she was discovered for Canadian art through the National Gallery's *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Indian Art* and simultaneously introduced to the stimulating influence of the Group of Seven. Prior to 1927, the accepted version runs, she was condemned to earn a living by running a four-suite apartment known as "The House of All Sorts." Landlady chores gave her little time to paint and so from about 1913 her brushes lay idle. Marius Barbeau of the National Museum is usually credited as the man who "forged the first link of the chain which . . . brought both Miss Carr and her pictures to Ottawa."[1] Hearing of Carr "from William Beynon, [his] half-breed Tsimsyan interpreter at Port Simpson, in the winter of 1915," Barbeau was prompted to visit her Simcoe Street studio the following spring. Impressed by her work, he bought two pictures and was given a third. When twelve years later the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Indian Art* was planned cooperatively between the National Gallery and the National Museum in 1927, Barbeau again visited Carr "to examine the stock of canvases she kept in her upper story." Laying aside "about eighty of them, from which to make a final selection," he then "discussed the exhibition in detail with Mr. Brown," Director of the National Gallery, who went to Victoria "at that time . . . and made final arrangements with Miss Carr for the shipment of her pictures."[2] Brown found that Carr had been painting "fine stuff among the Indians for 20 years" and invited her "to send a collection to our Indian West coast show."[3] Carr was flattered by Brown's invitation and interested to learn that there was a group of eastern artists who painted the Canadian wilderness in a modern way. Travelling East for the opening of the exhibition she met the Group of Seven and established a long relationship with one of its members — Lawren Harris. Revived in spirit through contact with the Group she returned West, picked up her long-idle brushes, and began the most intense and prolific period of her career.

This long perpetuated story of Emily Carr's "discovery" may be questioned. She had not stopped painting in 1913. Brown had known of her work since 1921. And there is little evidence to suggest that Barbeau either visited or purchased works from Carr before 1926.

When Eric Brown visited Emily Carr in September of 1927, he did not meet a woman who had ceased painting. The chores of running an

apartment house and new interests in potting and dog-breeding overshadowed her art, but she continued to paint. From the early 1920's Seattle artists Viola and Ambrose Patterson spent many weekends at the House of All Sorts painting and discussing art with Carr.[4] She read Jan Gordon's *Modern French Painters,* broke from her Impressionism of 1913 to a less inhibited Expressionist style and turned from the Indian motif to the landscape.[5]

One may assume that when Brown visited Carr in 1927 he did not see this post-1913 work.[6] The aim of the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast and Indian Art* was to "mingle for the first time the art work of the Canadian West Coast tribes with that of our more sophisticated artists," so it was the Indian motif that primarily interested him.[7] Brown felt that he had "discovered the work of an exceedingly interesting woman artist," and had "put her on the map."[8] (Fig. 1)

This discovery was late. As A. Y. Jackson wrote, "the first person to realize the potentiality of Emily Carr's work was Mortimer Lamb," a Vancouver mining expert, art connoisseur and old friend of Jackson's, who "directed several letters to me when the Group of Seven was formed."[9] At the same time [1921; Ed. note] Lamb wrote to Brown expressing "the opinion that the National Gallery should take cognizance of the work of a Western artist who to my mind possessed unusual power." He enclosed a few "exceedingly poor snapshots, which though hopeless for purposes of reproduction . . . might be better than no graphic evidence."[10] Brown did not share Lamb's enthusiasm. His curt reply to Lamb suggested that her work "would be more interesting to a Provincial or National Museum than to the National Gallery." Though Brown politely stated that the paintings "have, as you say, some artistic merit," he forwarded the letter to the government anthropologists.[11] He showed no further interest in Carr's work until shortly before the 1927 *Exhibition of West Coast and Indian Art.*

Brown may have heard of Emily Carr also in 1921 through Marius Barbeau. In a statement to the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1945, Barbeau writes that he had visited Carr at the House of All Sorts a second time in 1921. Back in Ottawa he showed the three paintings he had acquired on his first visit in 1916 to Brown, who "did not seem to think it worth while to bother about Miss Carr." She was "not important enough." This 1945 statement is the only evidence, however, that Barbeau visited Carr before October 1926.[12]

In writing to Brown in October 1927, Barbeau did not mention having met Carr or owning any of her paintings. He was interested to learn that Brown had seen Miss Carr, and was favourably impressed with her work. "I saw 4 of her paintings at Hazelton, which she had given to some one [sic] there, fifteen years ago," Barbeau wrote. "They were certainly from a genuine artist. Miss [Anne] Savage who saw them, is supposed to have described one of them as 'a masterpiece'."[13] The possibility that he had met Carr before 1926 is further eroded by a letter from Carr to Barbeau.

Carr heard from a friend in Vancouver in 1926 that Barbeau was giving a series of lectures on the Northwest Indians at the University of British Columbia. She wrote to Barbeau in Vancouver asking if he planned to lecture in Victoria because:

> I am very interested in the Indians and have made a very large collection of paintings of their villages & totem poles, going up North many years ago before they were taken away, living among them & painting in their villages. If you do come to Victoria, I would be very pleased if you would care to come to my home and see the collection it might be of interest to you.

She gave her telephone number and told him that:

> my house is only a few blocks from the C.P.R. wharf & the Empress hotel. Walk out Government street south to Simcoe St 4 blocks, turn to the left, up Simcoe. I am the last house on Simcoe & my studio upstairs.

She closed, "hoping I shall have the pleasure of meeting you."[14] Had Carr forgotten the eminent anthropologist's previous visits, even his purchase of paintings?

There is no evidence to show that Barbeau met Carr's 1926 invitation. If such a meeting ever took place he did not tell Brown in his letter of October 3. Nor does Carr mention in any of her published writings that she met Barbeau before Brown.[15] It can be established, however, that in organizing the West Coast Exhibition, Barbeau suggested to the

Gallery's Director, as Maude Brown has written, that the work of the Victoria artist should be considered for the 1927 show.[16] Whether Barbeau had merely heard of Carr through his interpreter and seen her paintings at Hazelton or had met her in 1926 must remain a mystery until further evidence comes to light. What is important, and this is supported by Carr's letter of October 23, is that she pointed herself out to Barbeau.

The interest of Barbeau and Brown in Carr's pictures was a shock for someone whose Indian work had been rejected by the Provincial Museum in 1913.[17] Brown's visit was "like a breath of inspiration coming from the outside world," making her struggle "worth while."[18] Meeting the Group of Seven two months later confirmed Carr's belief that the East had rescued her from obscurity.

So great was Carr's 1927 success and subsequent artistic development that H. O. McCurry, Brown's successor as Director of the National Gallery wrote:

> As long ago as 1927 the National Gallery of Canada recognized the outstanding nature of Miss Carr's work . . . At that time we also organized an exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art which was really devised to give Miss Carr the publicity we felt she deserved.[19]

That Brown overlooked Carr in 1921, that plans for the exhibition were well underway before Brown met Carr in 1927 and that the National Museum shared in organizing the exhibition were ignored by McCurry. The exhibition was probably devised to give the Group of Seven and its allies a showplace for their recent British Columbia work rather than for Emily Carr whose inclusion has the appearance of being almost an afterthought. As early as 1921 Brown, A. Y. Jackson and possibly Barbeau knew of the Victoria lady who painted among the Indians, but it was not until the West Coast show was conceived that Carr fitted into the eastern art scene. Carr was chosen to contribute to the exhibition because she had, like no other artist, made a record of Indian totems and villages. The work exhibited was that of her 1912-13 period, not her more advanced landscape work of the early Twenties. Writing of the exhibition, eastern newspapers commented upon her braveness in travelling to remote areas among the Indians: "she has been lost, strayed, shipwrecked and starved" in her endeavour to make "a pictorial record of the

fast-disappearing villages."[20] Her greatness as an artist and recognition of that greatness came later — after the Group, after the experiences with Mark Tobey and after her own exploration into nature and her psyche.

The real discoverer (if one can use the word) was Emily Carr herself. She contacted Barbeau through whom she subsequently met Brown. Harold Mortimer Lamb must be given credit for first raising her name in the East, though his letters to the East had no impact. It was only six years later when a peculiar exhibition was planned and when representatives of two Ottawa institutions visited Carr, that the fifty-seven year old Victoria artist at last gained recognition and contacts in Canada. Carr, thought by many to have been an exception to western exclusion from eastern acceptance was in fact the epitome of it.

Maria Tippett
North Vancouver
British Columbia

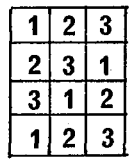
Notes:

[1] Muril Brewster, "Some Ladies Prefer Indians," *Toronto Star Weekly*, 21 January 1928.
[2] Art Gallery of Ontario (hereafter AGO), Marius Barbeau to Grace Pincoe, 28 August 1945.
[3] National Gallery of Canada (hereafter NGC), Eric Brown to H. O. McCurry, 17 September 1927.
[4] Viola Patterson to author, 5 October 1973.
[5] John Lane, *The Bodley Head* (London: 1923). Carr inscribed the book with the date 1924. There are at least six known paintings from this period, some of which are dated on the canvas or board.
[6] Mrs. Maude Brown, who accompanied Eric Brown to Carr's studio in September 1927, recalls only viewing the French and pre-1913 Indian works of Emily Carr. Interview with Maude Brown, September 1974.
[7] NGC, *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Indian Art* (Toronto: 1927), p. 3.
[8] NGC, Brown to Sir Henry Thornton, 13 October 1927; Brown to McCurry, 17 September 1927.
[9] A. Y. Jackson, *A Painter's Country* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1964), pp. 112-113.
[10] AGO, H. Mortimer Lamb to Barbara Swann, 14 July 1945.
[11] *Ibid.*, Brown to Lamb, 23 November 1921. (copy).
[12] *Ibid.*, Barbeau to Pincoe, 28 August 1945.
[13] NGC, Barbeau to Brown, 3 October 1927.
[14] Extract from a letter to Marius Barbeau, October 23 [1927] (sic). Marius Barbeau Collection, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.
[15] Emily Carr, *Growing Pains* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1946) pp. 233-34.
[16] F. Maude Brown, *Breaking Barrier* (n.p.: The Society for Art Publications, 1964), p. 103.
[17] In 1912 Carr wrote to Dr. H. E. Young, Minister of Education, requesting that the government finance her further excursions into the Indian villages of northern British Columbia. C. F. Newcombe was requested to view her work and found it anthropologically unsuitable. Provincial Museum Records, Victoria, B.C.
[18] NGC, Carr to Brown, September, 1927.
[19] NGC, McCurry to the Editor, *Victoria Daily Times*, 26 January 1940.
[20] Brewster, *Toronto Star Weekly*, 21 January 1928.

Fig. 1. Installation shot from the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Indian Art,* The National Gallery of Canada, 1927. The photograph contains a Hooked Rug, *Yan, Queen Charlotte Islands* and *Skedans, Queen Charlotte Islands* by Emily Carr. (Photo: Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada).

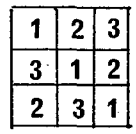
1	2	3	4
3	4	1	2

Fig. i



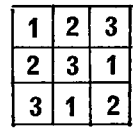
1	2	3
2	3	1
3	1	2
1	2	3

Fig. ii



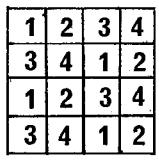
1	2	3
3	1	2
2	3	1

Fig. iii



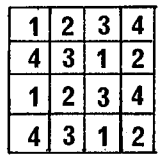
1	2	3
2	3	1
3	1	2

Fig. iv



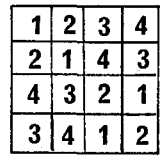
1	2	3	4
3	4	1	2
1	2	3	4
3	4	1	2

Fig. v



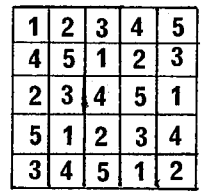
1	2	3	4
4	3	1	2
1	2	3	4
4	3	1	2

Fig. vi



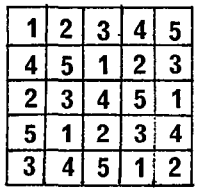
1	2	3	4
2	1	4	3
4	3	2	1
3	4	1	2

Fig. vii



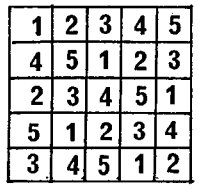
1	2	3	4	5
4	5	1	2	3
2	3	4	5	1
5	1	2	3	4
3	4	5	1	2

Fig. viii



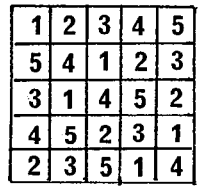
1	2	3	4	5
4	5	1	2	3
2	3	4	5	1
5	1	2	3	4
3	4	5	1	2

Fig. ix



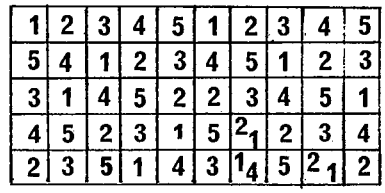
1	2	3	4	5
4	5	1	2	3
2	3	4	5	1
5	1	2	3	4
3	4	5	1	2

Fig. x



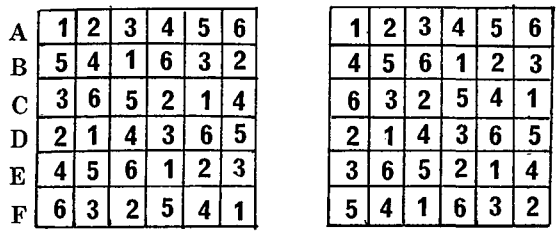
1	2	3	4	5
5	4	1	2	3
3	1	4	5	2
4	5	2	3	1
2	3	5	1	4

Fig. xi



1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5	4	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
3	1	4	5	2	2	3	4	5	1
4	5	2	3	1	5	2_1	2	3	4
2	3	5	1	4	3	1_4	5	2_1	2

Fig. xii



A	1	2	3	4	5	6
B	5	4	1	6	3	2
C	3	6	5	2	1	4
D	2	1	4	3	6	5
E	4	5	6	1	2	3
F	6	3	2	5	4	1

1	2	3	4	5	6
4	5	6	1	2	3
6	3	2	5	4	1
2	1	4	3	6	5
3	6	5	2	1	4
5	4	1	6	3	2

Fig. xiii

Fig. 1. *Les peintures en damiers de Molinari*; tableau des figures.

LES PEINTURES EN DAMIERS DE MOLINARI

En 1969 et 1970, Guido Molinari a réalisé toute une série de peintures en damiers, rompant ainsi avec les précédentes bandes verticales qui l'accaparaient depuis quelques années. Molinari étant un artiste des plus rationnels, nous avons décidé de disséquer ses tableaux en damiers selon l'organisation de leurs composantes internes: Molinari ne saurait s'en plaindre, lui qui publiait en 1970 la liste prévue de ses permutations chromatiques pour l'année en cours.[1]

Une des toiles les plus simples de cette catégorie, *Bi-structure* de 1969, présente un échantillon de huit éléments superposés en deux bandes horizontales (Fig. i). Trois principes d'organisation des couleurs entre elles (ici remplacées par des chiffres) peuvent être établis. En considérant la moitié de gauche, nous obtenons une séquence logique sur deux paliers, soit de 1 à 4; la seconde partie offre le même fonctionnement, mais cette fois du bas au haut. Le tableau peut également être conçu comme une répétition symétrique en diagonale, la partie du haut à gauche se retrouvant en bas à droite et ceux du centre se suivant. Une troisième possibilité de lecture s'offre: celle du jeu d'échecs, plus particulièrement celle du cavalier: un coup en bas, deux à droite, en ce qui concerne la rangée du haut, ou un en haut, mais toujours deux vers la droite, pour la strate du bas, et les mêmes couleurs apparaissent. Par ce jeu le tableau peut être poursuivi à l'infini, dans une répétition de sa propre identité.

Considérons maintenant *Structure ocre-mauve* de la même année (Fig. ii). Ici douze éléments répartis en quatre couches, avec cette fois quatre possibilités de lecture: les deux derniers carreaux de la ligne horizontale A se répètent au début de la ligne B, les deux derniers de la ligne B au début de la ligne C, etc., l'élément manquant, le dernier des trois rangées du bas, coincidant avec le premier de la strate précédente. Autre lecture possible, celle du cavalier vers le bas et la droite: il est normal alors que la dernière rangée répète la première, à un palier plus bas, tout comme le tableau, en le poursuivant vers la droite, selon ce principe du cavalier, ne saurait qu'être renouvelé. Cette peinture peut être perçue également dans le sens de la verticalité, puisque tous les chiffres se suivent numériquement jusqu'à la fin, d'une rangée à l'autre et de haut en bas. Il en résulte une succession par l'angle et de gauche à droite, vers la hauteur, des mêmes couleurs. Le tableau peut donc être

poursuivi de cette manière. Mentionnons enfin qu'en lecture horizontale tous les chiffres se suivent également dans l'ordre 1, 2, 3, 1, etc., les deuxième et troisième étant dépendants des premiers qui procèdent verticalement selon ce système.

Structure orangée diagonale (Fig. iii) répète les strates A, B et C du tableau précédent, les deux dernières étant toutefois inversées, ce qui annule tout mouvement de cavalier vers la droite, quoique ce mouvement s'opère ici vers la gauche, en bas. Une lecture semblable à tantôt, mais dans le sens opposé, soit les deux premiers carreaux s'identifiant aux deux derniers de la couche suivante, est également possible. Enfin une dernière construction peut se révéler ainsi: chaque rang est composé des dernier, premier et centre du précédent, alors que dans *Structure ocre-mauve* l'ordre était le suivant: centre, dernier et premier. Il en résulte ici encore une union des mêmes couleurs par la diagonale, cette fois dans le sens contraire. *Structure violet* (Fig. iv), de son côté, n'est que la répétition dans l'ordre des trois premières strates de *Structure ocre-mauve.*

Dans *Structure violet-vert* (Fig. v), nous reprenons l'organisation de *Bi-structure,* mais par deux fois: ce tableau ne constitue donc, en sa composition interne, qu'une double répétition de la première toile. La marche du cavalier vers le bas et la droite s'avère ici sans faille, de même que la correspondance symétrique en diagonale (les deux premiers d'un rang étant les deux derniers du suivant, et vice versa). Ajoutons également que tous ces tableaux présentent horizontalement, à l'intérieur de chaque strate, une séquence numérique.

Structure vert-brun No 1 (Fig. vi) est composé à partir de *Structure violet-vert:* deux grandes sections horizontales de deux rangées chacune et identiques, sauf que dans ce cas-ci les deux premiers éléments des deuxième et quatrième rangs ont été inversés par rapport aux couches précédentes. Le cavalier de plus ne fonctionne vers la droite qu'à l'intérieur de chaque moitié horizontale, et dans le sens contraire pour les unir. Pour la première fois, l'ordre horizontal et numérique successif n'est pas régulier de gauche à droite, du moins en ce qui concerne les rangées B et D.

Structure bleu-rouge (Fig. vii), de janvier 1970, reprend le principe d'organisation de *Structure vert-brun No 1,* sauf que les inversions ont été doublées; la seconde strate de la moitié supérieure, de chaque côté de l'axe central, se veut l'inverse de la précédente: 1 et 2 deviennent 2 et 1, 3 et 4, 4 et 3; la répétition en diagonale s'opère ensuite entre les deux

rangées du centre, puis il y a reprise de l'inversion première. Il en résulte que chaque couleur est unie par un coin à une couleur semblable. Un autre phénomène de correspondance se retrouve également: les deux derniers éléments de l'ensemble, 1 et 2, reprennent les deux premiers, les deux avant-derniers les troisième et quatrième, et ainsi de suite. Une lecture régulière et progressive de gauche à droite est possible également pour deux rangées, celles du centre pouvant se lire dans le sens contraire.

Structure gris-bleu se compose d'un damier de vingt-cinq éléments (Fig. viii). La démarche du cavalier, toujours un coup en bas et deux à droite, lui convient on ne peut mieux, mais il existe aussi des répétitions d'ensembles de carreaux: les trois premiers éléments de chaque rang deviennent, dans l'ordre, les trois derniers du rang suivant, et les deux derniers s'avèrent les deux premiers de l'autre. Mentionnons également un autre type de lecture qui apparaît pour la première fois, de haut en bas et de gauche à droite, celui de la soustraction d'un chiffre à chaque carré: en considérant la première ligne horizontale établie par hypothèse de travail, chaque chiffre qui suit, et ce pour chaque rangée verticale, s'insère dans le rythme, avec un saut, de 1 - 5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1 - 5 - 4 . . . (les chiffres soulignés apparaissent ici dans la première rangée de gauche). Une succession numérique parfaite, en acceptant à priori le chiffre de gauche, se retrouve aussi à l'intérieur de chaque strate horizontale. *Structure bleu-gris* (Fig. ix) n'apporte rien de neuf, sinon sur un plan chromatique et de perception, puisqu'il répète intégralement *Structure gris-bleu*. Ceci est le cas également pour *Mutation* de 1970 (Fig. x).

Le tableau le plus complexe de toute la série, voire le plus "irrationnel", est *Structure No 2* de novembre 1969 (Fig. xi). Un grand principe de base, constant dans tous les damiers, soit celui du refus de répéter une même couleur dans une rangée verticale ou horizontale, a été conservé. Les trois dernières structures verticales s'assimilent à celles des trois dernières toiles, mais le jeu du cavalier ne fonctionne plus. Les trois premiers éléments de la première strate se retrouvent à la fin de la deuxième, et les autres chiffres sont inversés. Ce type de construction, cependant, s'arrête là: il faut le reprendre indépendamment aux lignes C et D: 4 - 5 - 2 apparaissent à la fin et au début de ces rangées, 3 - 1 également, mais dans l'ordre cette fois.

Peut-on néanmoins rattacher ce tableau aux précédents? Essayons en jouant aux échecs (Fig. xii): nous obtenons un autre tableau de vingt-cinq

carrés, mais le chiffre 2 (coin supérieur) se répète aux quatrième et cinquième rangées. Si nous voulons demeurer logique envers ce principe du cavalier et considérer ce nouveau tableau en soi, le chiffre 2 au début de la troisième rangée horizontale demande en troisième place ce même chiffre à la ligne quatre: ce chiffre 2 doit donc demeurer et le précédent, pour éviter une répétition à l'intérieur de la même strate, devenir 1, le chiffre manquant. Le dernier 2 de la rangée suivante est demandé par celui qui a été conservé tantôt dans le rang supérieur: le quatrième chiffre doit donc devenir 1, puisqu'il origine du 1 "déduit" à la rangée précédente. Comme nous avons un autre 1 en deuxième place, nous devons le faire disparaître puisqu'il n'est pas demandé par un autre, et le remplacer par le chiffre 4, le seul manquant. Qu'obtenons-nous? La structure exacte que nous avions dans *Mutation, Structure bleu-gris* et *Structure gris-bleu. Structure No 2* s'intègre donc aux précédents, mais à partir de ses deux dernières rangées verticales, puisque la marche du cavalier dans la création du tableau "imaginaire" ne nécessitait pas la présence des trois premières. C'est à croire que l'intuition, ou une exigence liée à la couleur quant à la perception de l'ensemble du tableau (ou une erreur . . .) a étouffé ici les principes de logique de Molinari.

Enfin un dernier tableau, *Diptyque I-Chen,* de décembre 1970 (Fig. xiii): ici deux structures de trente-six éléments chacune; considérons tout d'abord la première: les trois éléments du début de la première rangée verticale se répètent à la fin de la deuxième, les trois premiers de la deuxième à la fin de la première, et ainsi de suite pour les troisième et quatrième, cinquième et sixième. Le même type de lecture s'effectue horizontalement, par entités de trois éléments, mais de la ligne A à la ligne E, de B à F et de C à D. L'autre toile reprend la première par strates horizontales, sauf que A, B, C, D, E, F sont devenus A, E, F, D, C, B. Il s'ensuit que les trois premiers éléments verticaux de la rangée du début se retrouvent à la fin de la deuxième, mais avec inversion des deux derniers chiffres: ce phénomène se vérifie à l'intérieur de tout le tableau, entre les première et deuxième rangées, les troisième et quatrième, etc. Horizontalement, la correspondance en diagonale, par ensemble de trois éléments, est parfaite entre les lignes A et B, C et F, D et E, alors que dans la première peinture elle l'était entre A et E, B et F, C et D. Mentionnons enfin que les chiffres ne se suivent pas numériquement, à l'intérieur du diptyque complet, en lecture horizontale.

Il semble évident, à la suite de cette étude des peintures en damiers, qu'aucun système n'est appliqué régulièrement pour construire les tableaux, mais plutôt que Molinari utilise une série de systèmes: le cavalier de bas à droite, la correspondance en diagonale, avec ou sans inversion des éléments, pas plus d'une couleur dans une même rangée, la succession numérique horizontale, etc. Lors d'une entrevue en 1967, il disait: "J'essaie de reconstituer le message de Mondrian";[2] l'organisation interne des damiers traduit-elle cette préoccupation? Nous en doutons: seule une analyse des relations des éléments chromatiques pourrait confirmer cette recherche de la part de Molinari. "L'art que je produirai", écrivait-il aussi dans *La Presse*,[3] "est assurément collectif, puisque avec cette base programmatique, chacun peut réaliser ses propres tableaux, sans restrictions quant aux formats ou aux médiums. Ces tableaux peuvent aussi être exécutés en groupe. Ainsi cette programmation rend désuet et inutile l'enseignement de l'art". Encore faudrait-il savoir ce qu'en pensent les écoles d'art. De toute façon la voie vers un néo-plasticisme programmé est ouverte. . . [4]

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Notes:

[1] Guido Molinari, "Molinari: Pour un art de participation," *La Presse*, 3 janvier 1970, p. 27, col. 4-6.

[2] Catalogue de l'exposition *Sculpture 67*, présentée par la Galerie nationale du Canada à l'Hôtel de ville de Toronto, été 1967, p. 18.

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] Toutes les peintures sont de la collection de l'artiste.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

EDITORS:

May I add a bit to the most interesting article by Professor Luc Noppen on Québec architectural models (*Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 4-11), in order to strengthen greatly the probability which he suggests of their use before 1759.

Documentation can, in fact, be found as far back as the first half-century of permanent settlement. The contract, November 21, 1655 (Archives Nationales du Québec, greffe of the notary Guillaume Audouart, No. 441), for the construction of the second church of the Ursulines at Québec by François Boivin, one of the best-known of the carpenters then in Canada, not only specifies timber-framing "suivant le dessein qui a esté dressé par Charles Boivin (his brother) et mis es mains dudit entrepreneur", but also "selon la modelle mis es mains du dit François Boivin et fait par Charles Boivin". Perhaps, however, "modèle" was only used in the general sense of "pattern".

It is a pity that the town of Martigues, which stands, as William Brymner identified it, "on a salt water lake called Etang de Berre. . . at the entrance to a sort of strait leading from the lake to the Mediterranean" (v. Marseille-Menton Sheet, No. 84 of the Michelin Series *Cartes à 1/200 000*), is repeatedly spelt Martiques in Janet Braide's article in the same issue of the *Journal* — even in the title of the article.

A. J. H. Richardson,
National Historic Parks and
Sites Branch,
Parks Canada.

Ed. Note:
We regret the typographical error concerning the mis-spelling of Martigues.

EDITORS:

In his article on the use of maquettes or models in Quebec architecture, Mr. Luc Noppen might well have mentioned the handsome maquette of a single-spired Gothic Revival church still on display in the gallery of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Quebec City. (Fig. 1)

This maquette has an intriguing history. The original church that occupied (and still occupies) the irregular site between the rue Sainte-Anne and rue Cook in Quebec was erected in 1809-10 and enlarged in 1824. Even this expanded church proved to be inadequate for the ever-increasing Presbyterian congregation, swollen by the predominantly Scottish merchant class and by the 79th or Cameron Highlanders (billeted in the nearby Jesuit Barracks). To accomodate their burgeoning congregation, the Trustees of St. Andrew's Church decided in 1849 to replace the existing structure with a new one.

Instead of relying on a local design, the Trustees commissioned a Scottish architect named Charles Wilson to furnish a model. Built in Scotland, this maquette was displayed in Glasgow "in Mr. Black's Saloon, St. Mary's Buildings, Renfield Street" before being shipped to Quebec. An extract from *The Glasgow Herald* (quoted in *The Presbyterian*, Montreal, vol. 11, no. 8, August 1849) described the scene:

> On Saturday we had an opportunity of seeing a beautiful model of a church to be erected in Quebec for the congregation of the Rev. Dr. Cook in connection with the Established Church of Scotland. This model, which has been constructed from designs and under the superin-

tendance of Mr. Charles Wilson, architect of this city, is according to the style of the early English Gothic.

The Gothic Revival style of Wilson's design may well have influenced the architect George Browne in his choice of idiom for the 1852 Chalmers Free Scottish Church mentioned by Mr. Noppen. It should be noted, however, that a full-fledged example of the Gothic Revival style already existed in Quebec in the 1848 Wesleyan Church (now the Institut Canadien, 42 rue Saint-Stanislas).

Why was Wilson's design for St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church never executed? The new project coincided with Britain's committment in the Crimea and the Cameron Highlanders, after celebrating communion in St. Andrew's, marched down to their ships, destined never to return to Quebec.

As a footnote, we might mention that a well-known engraving of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Quebec, showing the elongated single spire and Gothic details, is based on this maquette and was probably published about 1849-50 before the building project was abandoned (Fig. 2).

Christina Cameron
Canadian Inventory of Historic Building
Ottawa, Ontario

EDITORS:

Congratulations to you and your contributors on the first issue of the *Journal of Canadian Art History;* a handsomely presented scholarly journal that is very welcome. May it provide an appropriate forum (badly needed) in which to share both information and ideas about the history of the arts in Canada.

Noting your promise to initiate a "Correspondence Section" to further that exchange, I should like to comment on Luc Noppen's most interesting article on "L'utilisation des maquettes et modèles dans l'architecture ancienne du Québec" in the first issue.

If I may oversimplify his fascinating account, M. Noppen makes the point that a larger number than one might have suspected of small architectural models of various kinds (including three-dimensional models of wood) must have been used in Quebec, especially during the nineteenth century. (He refers specifically to "l'utilisation très large de ce procédé au XIXe siècle", p. 10.) While the evidence for such use during the French régime seems to be inconclusive, M. Noppen credits François Baillairgé with particular influence in this respect in the ensuing period, notably following his return from Europe and his experience with the use of models in France. M. Noppen draws attention to two mid-nineteenth century examples of models in the city of Quebec, refers to two contemporary parallels in the province of New Brunswick, and concludes with the production, after 1870, of a model for the Catholic cathedral in Montreal by Father Joseph Michaud and Victor Bourgeau.

I do not challenge M. Noppen's hypothesis as regards usage in the province of Quebec for I am in no position to do so. I should simply like to do three things: raise the question of a different interpretation of the term "modèle"; comment on the "modèle de l'église Chalmers-Wesley" reproduced in the article; and, finally, expand on the little-known situation in New Brunswick to which M. Noppen alludes.

M. Noppen notes that the solitary reference to a model in connection with François Baillairgé is in a contract of 1820 for the plaster vaulting of Notre-Dame de Québec ("le dit Sieur

Cannon. . . s'oblige de faire la voûte quant à la forme et proportion suivant les modèles qui lui seront donnés par Monsieur Baillairgé, architecte", p. 6). He indicates that such models were cumbersome and destroyed long ago, but suggests that the appearance of a model for a façade may be visualized in the peculiarly architectural tabernacles adorning the altars in French Canadian churches. He supports this with a short but revealing quotation from Baillairgé on the formal relationship between material in Philibert de l'Orme's treatise of 1568, Baillairgé's design for the high altar at Notre-Dame de Québec in 1797, and the latter's design for the Québec prison (Morrin College) of 1807.

There have been instances in which high architectural stakes hung on the semantic interpretation of the English word "model" which, whether used as a noun or verb, carries at least three distinct meanings for the architectural historian. I wonder whether such references to "modèles" as that for the Québec ceiling may be analogous to the Wren controversy at Williamsburg where the other meanings figure in the disputed interpretation of a key document. The College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, originally built in 1695-1700, is believed by many to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, largely on the strength of the Rev. Hugh Jones' statement in *The Present State of Virginia* (1724): "The Building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the Nature of the Country by the Gentlemen there . . . and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital". The reference here is not, of course, to a design being modelled in a three-dimensional miniature; instead the controversy hangs on two other meanings of "modelled". The assumption of those whom one may call the Wren protagonists is that the term "modelled" was used in this context in the sense common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to mean that Wren was responsible, not only ultimately as Surveyor of Works but more immediately for designing the building. In his recent book on *Christopher Wren* (London, 1971), while talking about another work by this architect (St Paul's Cathedral), Kerry Downes points out that "the word 'model' as often denotes a design drawn on paper as a three-dimensional pattern made of wood" (incidentally, he also makes it clear that Wren was hardly involved in many of the official commissions for which he was nominally responsible). Those who find it implausible that the Surveyor had any personal involvement whatever in this remote enterprise suggest that the college was "modelled" by Wren only in another sense of the word (one which is still common) namely that the unnamed "Gentlemen" were true amateurs of architecture who professed, as gentlemen customarily did, an active interest in the field and therefore took one of Wren's works, Chelsa Hospital, as their model, adapting it, and producing something "not altogether unlike", which would suit their needs. These Wren examples make it clear that in the English language the terms "model" and "modelled" both carried several meanings formerly, and that the context may not be a sufficient clue to which meaning was intended.

What is true of the English uses of "model" is also, I believe, true of the French "modèle". A better linguist will have to advise on the validity of such a reading. But in the interval, I should like to suggest that in the absence of convincing or even suggestive evidence to the contrary, the term "modèle" referred to drawings as likely as to three-dimensional representations in wood or card.

M. Noppen does in fact offer two mid-nineteenth century cases. The first he documents: in 1848, the churchwardens of Saint-Roch de Québec ac-

cepted "le modèle en bois de M. [Raphaël] Giroux, comme plan général de décoration pour l'église" (p. 8). He also illustrates a fascinating photograph of Giroux apparently in the act of adding a finishing detail to an elaborate model of an unidentified church. This informal but studied photograph is a modern equivalent of the honoured tradition of the painted "portrait d'apparat" and, it would seem, must be accepted at face value as showing the architect in a characteristic attitude or professional role.

In the second instance the author illustrates a surviving model apparently for the Chalmers-Wesley Church in Québec of 1852 by George Browne. This is closely similar to the church as built but for the windows in the front and in the third stage of the tower (pairs of lancet openings in the model, but single large windows as built). Clearly, such a model, precisely detailed but departing from the form of the building as constructed, would not likely have followed the building of the church. This therefore suggests that the model is authentic and is one which documents a preliminary project for the building. M. Noppen does not indicate its provenance or whether the model is identified in any way and one wonders whether the model might instead be connected with another church: other Brownes are known to have built closely related structures. For example, the model also resembles, although not in quite as many nor as significant respects, the 1852 church of the parish of Sillery just outside Québec, by Goodlatte Richardson Browne (date and architect courtesy of A. J. H. Richardson).

Finally, I should like to comment on the use of models in the province of New Brunswick, most of these for a different class of church architecture, to which M. Noppen alludes. It was Phoebe B. Stanton of Johns Hopkins University who kindly drew my attention to some nineteenth-century references to wooden models for churches of wood (as opposed to the stone buildings dealt with by M. Noppen) in New Brunswick and suggested that I watch for these when travelling in the province. Her excellent book, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture* (Baltimore, 1968), mentions the matter briefly (pp. 154-155). The theoretical and practical context, the search for an appropriate structural and formal solution to the problem of Gothic Revival church architecture in wood, is developed in my own essay on "Hyperborean gothic; or, wilderness Ecclesiology and the wood Churches of Edward Medley", *Architectura*, [vol. II], no. 1 (1972), pp. 48-74, but scarcely adds to the documentation on this interesting question of the use of models. It may be worthwhile therefore, to draw these and other references together here and enlist the aid of other readers in pursuing these.

The first Anglican Bishop of Fredericton, John Medley (the father of Edward referred to above), was a High Churchman with an intense interest in the Gothic Revival and its application to his new diocese, the forest-covered colony of New Brunswick. He had founded an architectural society in Britain (the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, an affiliate of the Ecclesiogical Society) and had commissioned a remarkable church in England (St Andrew, Exwick, Exeter) prior to his arrival in Fredericton in 1845 with plans and architect Frank Wills in tow, to build two singularly important structures there, Christ Church Cathedral and St Anne's Chapel. These were of stone, but in 1848 Medley toured England (partly to raise funds for Wills' unfinished cathedral) and at that time sought designs for humbler churches. Speaking to the Ecclesiological Society in May 1848, he said, "I solicit the valuable advice of the society. They might . . . aid me much by small plain wooden models

for wooden churches in the country. In many places it is absolutely impossible to build of stone, from the frightful expense of materials and workmen . . . And most of the men being carpenters in some sort, they easily get out the frames of our churches." ("Colonial Church Architecture", *Ecclesiologist*, VIII, June 1848, 362-363.)

According to the minutes of that same meeting, " A Sub-Comittee has been appointed to inquire at what expense models of small churches, such as the Bishop wished the Society to furnish, could be provided. On this point, and particularly as regards wooden churches, the Committee again solicit advice and aid from any quarter." ("Report of the Ninth Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society", *Ecclesiologist*, VIII, June 1848, 381.) Within a matter of weeks, the rapidly rising church architect, William Butterfield, already the darling of the Ecclesiologists, had become involved in both the completion of Wills' cathedral and the matter of the wooden churches. A June meeting was told, "The Sub-Comittee appointed at the request of the Bishop of Fredericton, to consider the subject of wooden churches, have been able, by Mr. Butterfield's aid, to promise some drawings early in August." ("Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society", *Ecclesiologist*, IX, August 1848, 49.)

The Bishop of Newfoundland also thought this a good idea equally applicable to his diocese. He had written a lengthy description of churches on the island, which he found somewhat deficient in general, and concluded: "I shall be thankful for plain, correct patterns. It would be a great thing to get one perfect pattern (in wood) made in England . . . ; and set it up in a crowded suburb of S. John's, where one is very much wanted, and the Clergy and others coming from the out ports might see and copy it." (Quoted in a paper read before the Ecclesiological Society in June 1848 by the Rev. William Scott, "On Wooden Churches", *Ecclesiologist*, IX, August 1948, 22.)

Bishop Medley seems to have had no response from his Ecclesiological friends, Butterfield included, where models for wooden churches were concerned, but he evidently used a model in the completion of this cathedral. The model of Fredericton Cathedral to which M. Noppen refers, is reproduced here (Fig. 1) and is kept in the building. It is unlabelled and conforms neither to Wills' first design of 1845 for the building nor to his later proposals for its completion nor to Butterfield's project of 1848. (Both architects' sets of drawing survive in part, in the vestry vault of the cathedral.) Nor does it compare precisely to the form in which the cathedral was substantially completed in 1849 (Fig. 2). (The church was later modified after being struck by lightning in 1911 and the photograph shows its original appearance.) The model would therefore seem to record a proposed compromise (Bishop Medley's compromise, presumably) based on all of these designs. But as this solution was modified in execution the model may be dated to late 1848 or early 1849.

Medley's interest in the practical application of wooden models for churches of wood may have been stimulated by this experience and he now obtained models from an unidentified quarter, employing these with widespread influence. On another English tour in May 1852, he explained once again that "the Churchmen of the Colony had no opportunity of procuring plans, and no means of building, without going to the nearest carpenter . . . His plan had been, whenever a proposal had been made for the erection of a new church, first of all to ascertain what were the wants and wishes of the people in the district . . . , and he then caused a model

Fig. 2. Unknown, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, c. 1850 (?), engraving. Coll. Metropolitan Toronto Library. [See Cameron letter, p.41]

Fig. 1. Charles Wilson, maquette of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Quebec, 1849, wood. (Photo: Courtesy of the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building). [See Cameron letter, p.40]

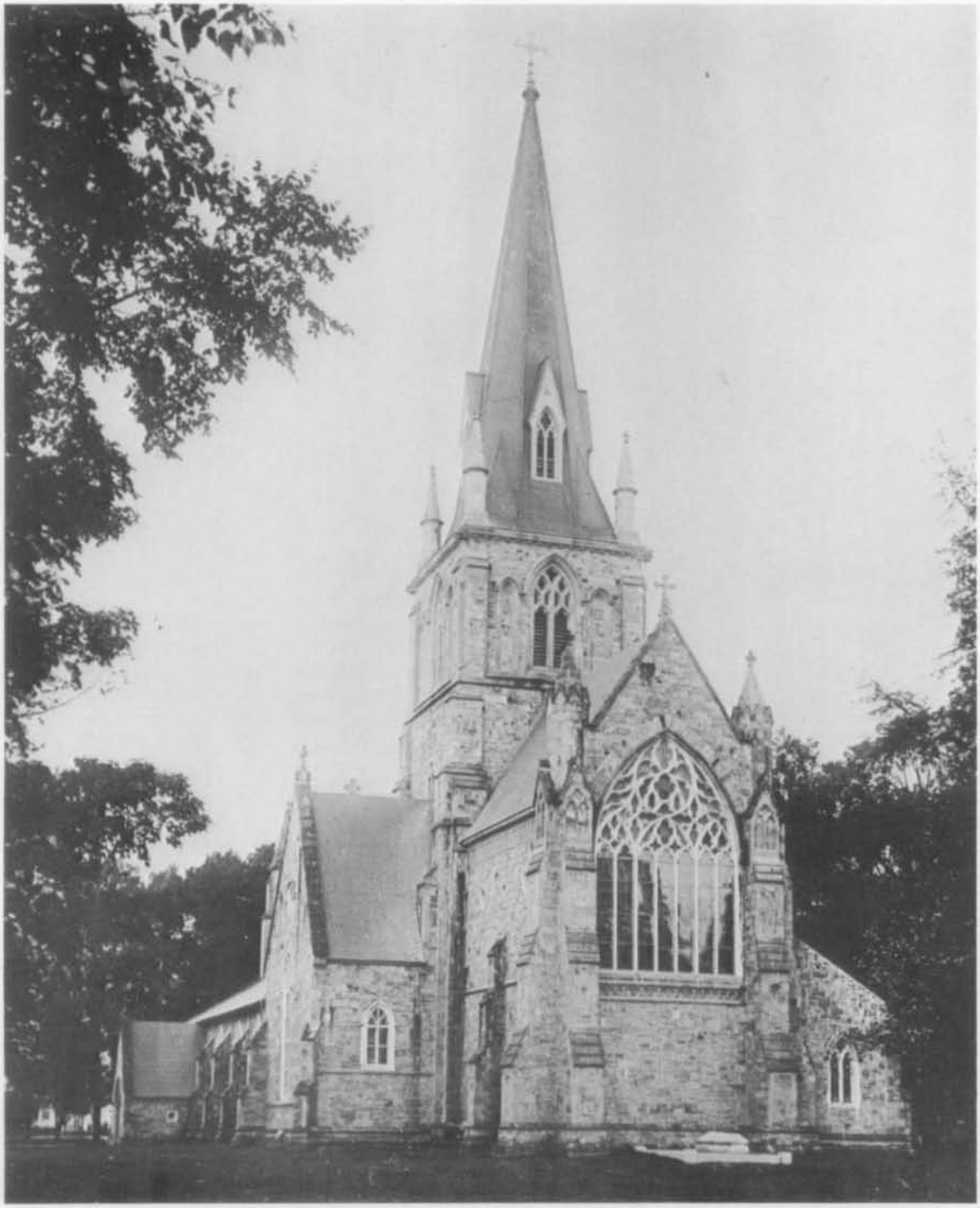

Fig. 2. Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, N.B., 1845-49, before alterations (east end). [See Richardson letter, p.44]

to be made, and sent down to the place, with an intimation to those upon the spot, that, if they would agree to execute the work according to that model, it should be furnished to them free of expense . . . [T] hus, in many places, a good, but simple church, had been erected . . . The churches so erected had been copied, in their turn, and other persons had applied for similar models, or had varied them according to circumstances. In one place, where there was a large and growing population, with not many educated church people among them, he had sent a missionary clergyman as an experiment, and the people had built one of the nicest little churches in the Colony; all that he had done had been to send down one of the models of which he had been speaking, and the church was so much liked that some others had been built according to the same plan. It was always difficult to make people understand mere plans upon paper; but, if they had a model, they could walk round it, and examine it, and see what it was made of and how it was made, and, in this way, a great many difficulties had been got over; and he had, in consequence, been applied to, to furnish models and information to the neighbouring dioceses of Nova Scotia and Montreal." ("Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society", *Ecclesiologist*, XIII, August 1852, 293.)

At least one such model survives (Fig. 3) for Christ Church, Maugerville (Fig. 4), just downstream from Fredericton. This very beautiful wooden church, consecrated in 1856, was obviously conceived as a masonry building yet built of clapboard-covered frame although one point of the quest for wooden models had been to secure suitable designs for churches that were not only built in wood but also partook of the character of wood. (It was Bishop Medley's own son, Edward, who would provide the definitive solution to this problem in the following decade, as described in the essay on "Hyperborean gothic" referred to previously.) Dr R.H. Hubbard attributed the Maugerville church to Frank Wills in his perceptive article on "Canadian Gothic", *Architectural Review*, CXVI (August 1959), 107. The design is closely related to others by Wills illustrated in his book on *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, Applied to The Wants of the Church At the Present Day* (New York, 1850). Wills was no longer resident in Fredericton, but he and Bishop Medley had maintained contact in spite of the Bishop's dalliance with Butterfield. For example, at New Year's, 1851, Medley gave Wills a copy of George Truefitt's important and progressive work, *Designs for Country Churches* now in the University of Toronto Library.

The evidence, though slender, seems strong enough and points to Wills as purveyor of the models (more of which one would dearly love to find) and therefore architect of those distinctive, and sometimes distinguished, but often unidentified New Brunswick churches of ecclesiological stamp which were presumably built in accordance with models. These include churches like St Andrew's, Newcastle, 1849-50 (illustrated by Dr Stanton but not attributed by her to Wills) and St Paul's, Burton (illustrated and attributed to Wills by Dr Hubbard) even though the latter was not consecrated until 1860, three years after the architect died in Montreal.

It would be interesting to know whether, in fact, Bishop Medley complied when "applied to, to furnish models and information to the neighbouring dioceses of Nova Scotia and Montreal"; whether churches were built accordingly; and whether the designs are equally Willsian.

I must confess I do not know the model for "l'église de Saint Andrew's (N.B.)" to which M. Noppen refers (All

Saints, 1867, or St John the Baptist, Chamcook, 1846?), but as I still hope to revise the master's thesis I wrote early in 1966 on Wills and Fredericton Cathedral, I should be grateful to any readers who bring further material forward and I acknowledge my debt to Mr. Hubbard, Mrs. Stanton, and M. Noppen for stimulating these enquiries.

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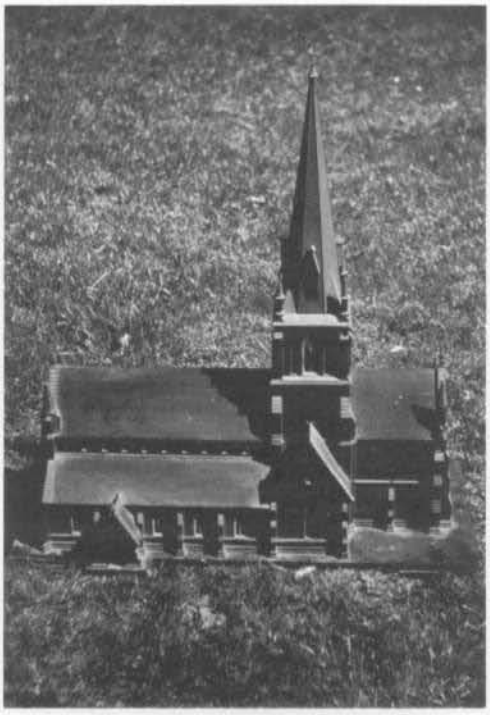

Fig. 1. Model of Christ Church Cathedral (Anglican), Fredericton, N.B., 1848-9 (?).

Fig. 3. Model of Christ Church (Anglican), Maugerville, N.B., 1850s (?).

Fig. 4. Christ Church, Maugerville, N.B., consecrated 1856 (west end).

BOOK REVIEWS

NOTRE-DAME DE QUÉBEC
Luc Noppen
Editions du Pélican, $13.95

MONTRÉAL EN ÉVOLUTION
Jean-Claude Marsan
Boréal Express, Fides, Montreal $12.95

Writing on architecture in Canada is just beginning to move out of the primary stage of general chronicles of form and type into the second period of more detailed and individual study. Major monographs such as those by Harold Kalman and Franklin Toker have broken new ground in more specific studies. The two books reviewed here: *Notre-Dame de Québec* by Luc Noppen and *Montréal en Évolution* by Jean-Claude Marsan are especially welcome for, in a very real sense, their insights open tantalizing opportunities for further scholarship in Canadian architecture.

Noppen and Marsan each approach their subjects with a full awareness of the complex architectural and historical character that must be analyzed and ordered if Notre-Dame de Québec is to be understood as more than an urban cathedral and if Montréal is to be understood as more than simply a complex and very enjoyable city.

Luc Noppen's treatment of Notre-Dame de Québec is oriented toward an historical explanation of its architectural form and an exploration of the cathedral's influence on religious architecture in the Province of Québec. To this end he has drawn on extensive files of drawings, prints and documents in the Archives nationales de Québec, the parish of Notre-Dame and the Séminaire de Québec. It is thus possible to follow the evolution of the form of the cathedral from its beginnings under Mgr de Laval through the alterations by Gaspar Chaussegros de Léry in 1744, the reconstruction after the Conquest and the rebuilding in 1843. It is only in his account of the restoration of 1922 and the rebuilding after a disastrous fire in 1922-1924, that the historical treatment is weak. But throughout the book Noppen has approached the Cathedral as if it existed solely on paper or as an abstract architect's project. He does relate the building and its style to the religious architecture of the Province of Québec, but he does this with a cold sense of motif-mongering — pursuing stylistic and formal relationships between the Cathedral and other churches and only rarely the associated social relationships. In almost every instance his treatment of the symbolic meaning of the building has fallen far behind the more purely documentary account. This becomes especially apparent when one considers the very few instances when contemporary accounts and descriptions are quoted or even mentioned. The result is a general lack of atmosphere and the reader gets little impression of what it must have been like to stand in the nave of the Cathedral at any stage in its development. There is something to be said for a three dimensional, visual approach to architectural writing.

It is in the treatment of the 1922 restoration program and the 1922-1924 rebuilding that Noppen fails to appreciate the extent of the importance of the work and the forces that guided its form. In a book of nearly three hundred pages, it is truly amazing that only two pages of text are devoted to the rebuilding. The opulent Beaux Arts projects submitted by the French architect Maxime Roisin are as much statements of a belief in the value and importance of French Canadian culture as they are architectural statements. The major project, for a complete rebuilding, enshrines Patria in a magnificent top-lit altar recess. Her presence in the form and garb of Athena Parthenos is perhaps inappropriate for a normal church, but not

for a national cathedral which had come to be a patent cultural symbol. Roisin's project would have made the Cathedral a sumptuous reliquary. The actual restoration pursued the same goals but with different means and Notre-Dame as rebuilt is an elaborated recreation of the old building. All of this is important for an understanding of the relation of tradition to French Canadian nationalism in the first half of this century. But Noppen has either failed to see any importance in the work or has judged it basically irrelevant. Judgements of this type affect the value of his work and actually prevent a complete understanding of Notre-Dame.

Marsan, for his part, faced a task in many ways more difficult than Noppen's. For if much of Montréal's history survives, still more has been destroyed without thought and without record. Even for what remains there is often a frustrating lack of information. These are the problems that face anyone who would make coherent sense out of the history of a great and ever-changing city. *Montréal en Évolution* is significant and important not just in terms of its treatment of architecture but also as a work of history and sociology. Marsan's work has made Montréal's development comprehensible without ignoring the individual and unique elements. For Montréal is really three cities: the colonial semi-frontier city that was harnessed to and bent on harnessing the St. Lawrence hinterland; the haphazard but compellingly interesting Victorian city; and the enormous metropolitan sprawl.

In his approach to Montréal, Marsan has balanced a detailed treatment of the architecture and planning with a concentrated study of the aims and character of those who commissioned, designed and controlled the architectural form of the city. He examines in detail the architectural form and social character of the two and three storey apartment houses, which, with their open front stairs and rather somber brick or stone facades, dominate so much of modern Montréal. Similarly he examines Louis de Baude, comte de Frontenac, a man well-known in historical terms, in the light of his influence on architecture. Such study of patronage in Canada has been generally lacking. However, it is disappointing that a scholar of Marsan's abilities should be lead by his sensitivity to the French-English dichotomy in Québec to give short shrift to the positive and interesting aspects of the houses commissioned by the English-speaking Establishment during the later Victorian period. These he dismisses as being for the most part derivative and colonial. But the architectural forms even if influenced by foreign sources are distinctively Montréal in character. A quick comparison with the houses built for Toronto's Four Hundred will prove that. Moreover, these houses remain part of the heritage of all Montréal and all Canada. Architectural appreciation confined along narrowly nationalistic lines can only lead to more destruction; it has already helped to destroy the Van Horne House.

But on the whole Marsan has approached Montréal with the love of a man for his city and all its contradictions. His work places the city not only in a Canadian but also in an international context; for Montreal and its architecture, can without any provincial strutting and puffing be placed within such a framework. The approach can best be summed up in one quotation:

> . . . si l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal possède son pendant dans la cathédrale St-Patrick de New York, si la Banque de Montreal a le sien dans la Banque de Philadelphie . . ., ces monuments montréalais acquièrent cependant une

identité propre, grâce à la place d'Armes, qui les mets en présence l'un de l'autre. De même, on peut soutenir que la gare Windsor n'a rien d'unique, puisqu'elle s'inspire de l'oeuvre du grand architecte américain Richardson. Greffé cependant sur le square Dominion, voisinant, par l'intermédiaire de ce tampon de verdure, l'église Saint-George, la cathédrale Marie-Reine-du-Monde et l'édifice romantique de la Sun Life, cet ensemble victorien est absolument unique.

There is an example here to follow in the study of all Canadian cities.

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EXPLORING VANCOUVER
Harold Kalman and John Roaf
University of British Columbia Press
$5.95

Urban geographers, ethnologists, social historians, industrial archaeologists, and even gastronomes — as well as architectural historians — will find something of interest in the Kalman and Roaf book, *Exploring Vancouver*. A compendium of facts and figures generously illustrated, the book is a tribute to the catholic interests of Dr. Harold Kalman and the photographic skills of John Roaf. Those who have struggled with Pevsner's *London* only to have the binding disintegrate in a swirl of Chelsea fog or who failed to locate a crucial cross-reference in the *Michelin Guide to Paris*, will appreciate the physical package. The 264 page 4½" x 10" format does fit in the pocket. The graphics and overall design facilitate quick reference and easy reading. The arrangement of points-of-interest into six walking tours and four driving tours follows not only logical geographical divisions but also the chronological sequence of Vancouver's development. Each tour is prefaced by a brief historical profile which establishes the general economic and cultural setting. The subjects of each discussion are illustrated on the following pages. Included in the package are a glossary of terms and two invaluable indices: one of architects, and the other a general reference, mainly of places. The overall quality of the book, in particular the saddle stitched binding (now alas becoming rare in a paperback) justifies the price of $5.95.

Dr. Kalman states that "the book is intended primarily as a field guide for active participation." But "used instead as an armchair guide, the book becomes an illustrated historical record of the city and its buildings." The author quite rightly points out that architecture constitutes only a part of the

city's physical environment. Often the areas between the buildings, the landscape, placement of houses, street layout and views are equally important. However, since shelter-construction and the related crafts are now considered "folk art", and as such are respectacle subject matter for academic enquiry, it is unfortunate that architectural historians, such as Dr. Kalman, still feel obligated to justify their concern with 'Architecture'.

The reader will appreciate the chronological range of examples, from the board-and-batten Hastings Mill Store of 1865, to the as yet incomplete C.B.C. Regional Broadcasting Centre, its steep angled facade still very much an oddity on the Vancouver landscape. One is also intrigued to learn of the famed Guiness family's financial interests in Vancouver landmarks. The history of False Creek from tidal mud flats to major railway terminus, heavy industrial precinct, dereliction, and then modern residential and parkland use, is fascinating and in many ways illustrates in microcosm the turbulent development history of the Vancouver area itself. The tour through the remnants of False Creek's history is one which in a few years will survive only in print.

Areas documented with a lively sympathy for their sociological interest include Chinatown. Here as in the Gastown tour the combination of fact and anecdote are the closest a book of this nature could come to evoking something of the original character of the area and flavour of the times. Gastown is redolent with history but probably the most memorable anecdote is associated with the Sam Kee building in Chinatown. Recorded by Ripley as the narrowest building in the world, the 4-foot, 11-inch-deep structure was built out of spite when the city expropriated most of Kee's property and refused to compensate him for the remaining strip. Chinatown itself as an architectural response to the needs of an alien culture is indeed one of the more fascinating chapters of the book. And again one appreciates Kalman's suggestion to savour the culinary delights of this area, a topic which the author thoughtfully enlarges on in each tour introduction.

In faulting some aspects of the book, we deal mainly with cosmetics. The weighting in favour of post 1950 construction (accounting for nearly one quarter of the illustrations) is perhaps a question of taste. It may to some extent be accountable to the heavy involvement in terms of finance and technical assistance by the Architectural Institute of British Columbia. One also regrets that the maps do not fold out. Had they done so the book would have been a much more efficient tool. It is unfortunate too that the authors did not include period photographs. Added to the introductory sections these would have given some substance to the theme of transition, and graphically captured the flavour of the buildings in their original context. Mildly frustrating is the failure to provide layout maps of the all too brief references to landscape architecture. This is especially true of the Sharpe and Thompson plan for the Point Grey Campus for the University of British Columbia and the scheme for British Pacific Properties by the Olmstead Brothers.

One of the more laudable aspects of *Exploring Vancouver* is the ingenious arrangement of the areas and tours so that the introductions and illustrations together unfold a cohesive theme. That theme is growth. And the authors have correctly identified the significant cultural factor in Vancouver's comparatively brief history. The West Coast's heritage as well as its physical landscape is littered with wrecks from the merciless "boom-and-bust" economics of frontier life. Vancouver, in many ways the spoilt child of Western

Canada, is one of the few which made it. And to a large extent this precocious "growth" mentality, unscarred by the memory of major failure, is still a critical factor in the lives and attitudes of Vancouverites today.

Both in the introductions to each tour and the commentaries on the buildings themselves, Dr. Kalman documents this growth by observing major areas of change: developments in transportation amenities; changes in zoning regulations; evolutions in building style; and changes in land use and building functions — often seen through zoning alterations and by-law amendments. This approach brings out some interesting facts about significant alterations in the urban morphology (for instance, the 1964 zoning change which encouraged the construction of larger balconies in highrise apartment developments and also the zoning history of the prestigious Shaughnessy Heights residential area as a political response to fluctuating social and economic factors). The inclusion of such structures as a MacDonalds Restaurant and an Imperial Oil Service Station sum up recent trends in these areas succinctly — as utilitarian commercial art always does.

In the interests of a wider appeal the author might have taken a more interpretive approach to his theme. The importance of the concept of growth to the cultural and social life of Western America is rarely appreciated in the East, and is almost totally incomprehensible to Europeans — for both have long histories and established roots. With little over a century of settlement, civilization on the West Coast has remained veneer thin.

This factor, prominent in the social psychology of six generations, including that of today, goes a long way to explaining the industrious, vital, but slightly neurotic life-style of Westerners. The West has always seen itself as an orphan child (its population for the most part orphans of many diverse cultures and countries) constantly trying to prove its maturity. And as a land of hope and promise for so many, from gold-seekers to property speculators and remittance men, it has also been a world of glorious dreams. Like San Francisco with its preposterous Nobb Hill mansions, Vancouver is studded with evidence of this. These dreams surface in precocious architecture and in the way new technologies were hastily seized upon. Kalman notes for instance publicity for the 1910 Dominion Building (billed at the time as the tallest building in the British Empire and the highest steel structure on the West Coast) "an object of pride to every citizen . . . advertizing our city as the most prosperous go ahead commercial city on the continent." In 1912 Vancouver outdid the Dominion Building with the 272-foot Sun Tower, thus retaining claim to the British Empire's tallest building. And all this in land-abundant British Columbia. In a similar vein, Moodyville boasted the first installation of electric light north of San Francisco.

Vancouver is a classic example of the frontier growth complex. Gastown grew up in desperate competition with New Westminster; Vancouver had a jealous eye cast over its shoulder at pretentious Victoria until 1900, and since then has looked south to San Francisco (always ignoring upstart Seattle) and east to Montreal. The fragility of sustained economic stability required continuous acts of faith in future prosperity. The investment of cash in a substantial building was the ultimate committment a believer could make.

The desire to be modern and contemporary has, despite occasional pathetic moments, been the basic rationale that promoted the creation of an

economy of growth at any cost. In recent years this attitude has continued to foster a lust for symbols of maturity while patently rejecting the experience of the 'mature' East in a mad scramble for metropolis status. This includes downtown expressways, partly built then aborted, first by San Francisco then by Vancouver (both refusing to accept the failure of such expressways already documented in many eastern cities). It also includes the Miesian "Pacific Centre" with its acres of black reflective glass built 25 years after New York's Lever House when reductionist design precepts are giving way to increasing public criticism. In the same light one can understand the stance of Vancouver's city fathers who have recent ly launched bitter attacks at all levels of government for their failure to assist in financing an underground rapid transit system. San Francisco has just finished digging its trenches, and elsewhere in the world subways have become economic nightmares, the cause of decaying city-cores, and the scene of violent crime.

While an objective point of view is of course natural when dealing with historic architecture, Dr. Kalman has chosen for the most part an uncritical stance when dealing with contemporary work as well. That he rarely passes subjective judgement on design, is perhaps commendable as too many books of this type are larded with opinionated verbosity which is intended to pass for aesthetic criticism. However, Dr. Kalman's reticence in this area is probably fortunate for where he does venture an opinion I find myself in disagreement. I, for instance, fail to see why public response to the Pacific Centre by dubbing it the "Black Tower" was either "unkind" or unfortunate. It seems to me entirely logical, and appropriately censorious. I also fail to respond, as Dr. Kalman does, to the R.G. Gray House (1969) overlooking "beautiful" Howe Sound: "the gay colours and simple shapes of Kemble's 'environment for enjoying life' respond to the rugged natural setting through contrast rather than emulation". The house is an eyesore.

Dr. Kalman's prose style is commendable. He eschews the normal rhetorical patter all too common with his profession to provide us with a clear and concise narrative of Vancouver's growth from boom-town to metropolis. The book is eminently readable. As a handy reference work it should be on the bookshelf of anybody interested in Canadian or Westcoast architectural history. It is a practical and entertaining guidebook which should have a wide and popular appeal. As a source book it is a significant contribution to the maturing genre of Canadian Architectural history.

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PUBLICATIONS FOR REVIEW

Allodi, Mary, *Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum,* Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 1974. Pp 290 and Pp 260 in 2 vols.; 430 ills. $30.00 per set

Gauthier, Raymonde, *Les tabernacles anciens du Québec des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles,* Québec, Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1974. Pp 112; 39 ills. $1.00

Harper, J. Russell, *A People's Art,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974. Pp. 176; 125 ills. $22.50

Lord, Barry, *The History of Painting in Canada Toward a People's Art,* Toronto NC Press, 1974. Pp 256; 230 ills. paper $6.95, cloth $11.95

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