THE JOURNAL OF CANADIAN ART HISTORY
ANNALES D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART CANADIEN

Volume XXV
2004

THE JOURNAL OF CANADIAN ART HISTORY
ANNALES D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART CANADIEN

Études en art, architecture et arts décoratifs canadiens
Studies in Canadian Art, Architecture and the Decorative Arts

Volume XXV
2004

Adresse / Address:
Université Concordia / Concordia University
1455, boul. de Maisonneuve ouest, VA-432
Montréal, Québec, Canada H3G 1M8
(514) 848-4699
jcah@vax2.concordia.ca
http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/index.html

Tarif d'abonnement / Subscription Rate:
Abonnement pour 1 an / 1 year subscription:
28 $ individus / individuals
35 $ institutions / institutional
L'étranger / Outside Canada
40 $ US individus / individuals
50 $ US institutions / institutional

La revue *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* est membre de la Société de développement des périodiques culturels québécois (SODEP), de l'Association canadienne des revues savantes et de la Conference of Historical Journals.
Cette revue est répertoriée dans les index suivants:

The Journal of Canadian Art History is a member of the Société de développement des périodiques culturels québécois (SODEP), the Canadian Association of Learned Journals and the Conference of Historical Journals.
This publication is listed in the following indices:

Architectural Periodicals Index (England)
Art Bibliographies (England)
Art Index (New York, U.S.A.)
Arts and Humanities Citation Index (ISI, Philadelphia, U.S.A.)
Canadian Almanac and Directory (Toronto, Ont.)
Canadian Business Index (Micromedia, Toronto, Ont.)
Canadian Literary and Essay Index (Annan, Ont.)
Canadian Magazine Index (Micromedia, Toronto, Ont.)
Canadian Periodical Index (INFO GLOBE, Toronto, Ont.)
Current Contents / Arts & Humanities (ISI, Philadelphia, U.S.A.)
Historical Abstracts and America (Santa Barbara, U.S.A.)
IBR (International Bibliography of Book Reviews, F.R.G.)
IBZ (International Bibliography of Periodicals Literature, F.R.G.)
Repère (Répertoire analytique d'articles de revues du Québec)

Les anciens numéros des *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* sont disponibles par l'*Annales* lui même à l'adresse suivante: Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien, Université Concordia, 1455, boul. de Maisonneuve ouest, VA-432, Montréal, Québec, H3G 1M8, ou jcah@vax2.concordia.ca ou http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/index.html

Back issues of *The Journal of Canadian Art History* are available by *The Journal* at the following address: The Journal of Canadian Art History Concordia University, 1455, boul. de Maisonneuve ouest, VA-432, Montréal, Québec, H3G 1M8, or at jcah@vax2.concordia.ca or http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/index.html

RILA (MA, U.S.A.)

Mise en page / Layout and Design:
Pierre Leduc

Révision des textes / Proofreading:
Élise Bonnette, Mairi Robertson

Traduction / Translation:
Élise Bonnette, Janet Logan

Pelliculage et imprimeur / Film Screens and printer:
Imprimerie Marquis

Couverture / Cover:
Tubular metal furniture in the Peel Street apartment of the Biélers, 1933, vintage photograph. (Photo: Private collection)

ISSN 0315-4297
Dépôt légal / Deposited with:
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada / National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec

REMERCIEMENTS / ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Les rédacteurs des *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* tiennent à remercier de leur aimable collaboration les établissements suivants:

The Editors of *The Journal of Canadian Art History* gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the following institutions:

Concordia University, Faculty of Fine Arts
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada / Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Les rédacteurs annoncent l'institution des Amis des *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien.* Un don minimum de 300 $ vaudra un abonnement de trois ans au donateur.

The Editors wish to announce the institution of the category of Patron of *The Journal of Canadian Art History.* A donation of $300 minimum to *The Journal* will entitle the donor to a three year subscription.

Éditeur et rédacteur-en-chef / Publisher and Managing Editor:

Sandra Paikowsky

Rédacteur adjoint/ Associate Editor:

Brian Foss

Comité de rédacteur / Editorial Board:

Olivier Asselin, Université de Montréal, Montréal
Jean Bélisle, Université Concordia / Concordia University
Brian Foss, Université Concordia / Concordia University
François-Marc Gagnon, Université Concordia / Concordia University
Laurier Lacroix, Université du Québec à Montréal
Sandra Paikowsky, Université Concordia / Concordia University
John R. Porter, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec
Esther Trépanier, Université du Québec à Montréal

Assistante à l'administration / Administrative Assistant:

Brenda Dionne Hutchinson

Comité de lecture / Advisory Board:

Mario Béland, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Québec
Charles C. Hill, National Gallery of Canada/Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, Ottawa
Denis Martin, Montréal, Québec
Diana Nemiroff, National Gallery of Canada/Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, Ottawa
Luc Noppen, Université du Québec à Montréal
John O'Brian, University of British Columbia, Vancouver
Ruth Phillips, Carleton University, Ottawa
Dennis Reid, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto
Christine Ross, McGill University/Université McGill, Montréal
Ann Thomas, National Gallery of Canada/Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, Ottawa
Jean Trudel, Université de Montréal, Montréal
Joyce Zemans, York University, Downsview

TABLE DES MATIÈRES / CONTENTS XXV / 2004

fig.1 Unknown artist, **Jeanne Leber at Work**, 1935, charcoal, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Montreal. (Photo: Léo-Paul Desrosiers, *Dans le nid de l'aiglon la Colombe*, Montreal: Fides, 1963)

JEANNE LEBER

Recluse and Embroideress (1662-1714)

> She was assisted in all her work only by the Angels, with whom she conversed and who doubtless greatly enjoyed her company.[1]

In the late afternoon of August 5, 1695, Montreal witnessed a ceremony unique in the religious history of New France. Jeanne Leber, the thirty-three year-old daughter of the prosperous merchant Jacques Leber, joined the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame as a recluse (fig.1). The previous day, a notarized contract had been signed, setting out the parties' commitments: in exchange for a dowry that would finance the completion and furnishings of the convent's new chapel, the nuns would allow Jeanne to live in a cell built behind the altar. Thus, after vespers on the feast day of Our Lady of the Snow, a clerical procession escorted the young woman, accompanied by her father, from the family home on Saint-Paul Street to the Congregation's chapel. There, the Grand Vicar Dollier de Casson, Superior of Montreal's Saint-Sulpice Seminary, pronounced a blessing and having exhorted Jeanne to persevere, led her to the cell where she shut herself away. This public act took place against the strains of the litanies of the Blessed Virgin sung by an assembly of Montreal clergy, Sisters of the Congregation, and "other persons from outside." Jacques Leber alone was absent from this final ceremony as he was too distressed to see his only daughter become a recluse. The next day, August 6 – the Feast of the Transfiguration – the new chapel was blessed and a solemn mass was sung, accompanied "by all the symphony that Canada could muster." In attendance were "a great many People," now including Jacques Leber "who, though unable to attend the Entrance ceremony, due to a surfeit of emotion, came the following day to attest that, despite his Overwhelming fatherly love, he was willingly consecrating to God...his very dear daughter."[2]

When she died on October 3, 1714 at age fifty-two, Jeanne Leber had spent thirty-four years secluded from the world: fifteen in her father's home and nineteen in her cell. From adolescence to death, she had immersed herself in a ceaseless dialogue with God. Her increasingly demanding regime led to total abnegation, self-effacement and denial of the body, in yielding to spirituality and mysticism. This extreme asceticism coincided with a troubled time in the history of Montreal, where the survival of Catholicism was under constant

threat, requiring for grand deeds, heroes and sacrifice, and the Leber family and the Montreal community supported the recluse in her calling. Under her inspiration, Montreal became a centre for intense spirituality, an anchor and point of reference for a land to be settled and made sacred.

Like all contemplatives, Jeanne Leber divided her day between prayer and manual tasks. Her handiwork, dedicated to God and charity, helped to express and intensify her mysticism. She worked as a seamstress, spinner, lacemaker and embroideress to serve Montreal's poor and to decorate the chapels and churches of the neighbouring parishes. No source that truly quantifies or verifies her production has yet been found, but a collection of her liturgical ornaments was exhibited in 1995 at the Maison Saint-Gabriel, giving Montrealers their first opportunity to get to know the reclusive Jeanne Leber and her embroidered legacy.[3] This event prompted new research and analysis, and the results presented here will attempt to shed new light on the greatest embroiderer working in Montreal around the turn of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the movement for Leber's canonization, led by the Montreal Congregation of Notre-Dame, demonstrates her ongoing relevance and the historical importance of her embroidered work.

Historiography and Sources

Jeanne Leber left no writings about her life and spiritual journey; neither did her confessor, Abbot François Séguenot, the Sulpician priest who attended her nineteen years of seclusion, nor her cousin Anne Barrois, known as Sister Saint Charles in the Congregation of Notre-Dame, who brought meals to her cell. This study is based on the first posthumous biography of Leber, written between 1715 and 1722 by the Sulpician, François Vachon de Belmont.[4] In his preface de Belmont disclaims all panegyrical intent; he reconstructed her life from facts "that have been seen by eyewitnesses, and Words that their ears have Heard." He used first-hand accounts by the mother superiors of Hôtel-Dieu in Montreal and the Ursulines in Quebec City, and from a report by two of Jeanne's friends, one of whom attended the Ursuline boarding school with her. Although he does not quote him, the Sulpician undoubtedly drew on the confidences of Abbot François Séguenot,[5] the recluse's spiritual advisor, who was still alive in 1722. De Belmont's manuscript inspired two further Sulpician biographies, one by Étienne Montgolfier,[6] written in 1768, and the other by Étienne Faillon,[7] published in 1860. These writings, based on oral accounts gathered by de Belmont after Jeanne Leber's death, are of questionable reliability. Despite their stated aim of historical authenticity, the authors took a hagiographic approach to the subject. Their accounts are constructed as a series of facts and counter-facts designed to enhance Leber's exceptional personality and actions in order to convince the reader of her holiness.[8] In their hands she becomes a fanatical Sulpician

heroine. Her embroidery work is used to bolster this image: she embroidered quickly, she embroidered well and she embroidered in the service of God. Such perfection could be explained only by the intercession of divine power manifested through the presence of the angels that assisted her every effort.

New studies and biographies of Leber have appeared since the nineteenth century. The Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame painstakingly gathered all the available documents that chronicle her life, and in 1988, when she was re-interred at Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery, the community led by Sister Hélène Tremblay undertook to authenticate her remains.[9] In 2000, Françoise Deroy-Pineau[10] provided a minutely detailed analysis of her family and religious connections, thus completing the methodical task begun by the historian Léo-Paul Desrosiers in 1963.[11] These two authors rejected the hagiographic approach in favour of a new reading of the sources, which include notarized documents, and they examine her life in the context of recluses of the Middle Ages and those of contemporary mystics.

The ethnologist Marius Barbeau was the first to bring Jeanne Leber's skills as an embroideress to public notice.[12] In the course of his fieldwork on the collections of Quebec religious communities, he gathered oral accounts and secular attributions of objects associated with persons or historical events of significance to each community. (For the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, there was and still is, no question as to the attribution of Jeanne Leber's ornaments.) Barbeau focused on the relationship between her work and pieces done by the Quebec City Ursulines, and identified the French influence in the models and techniques employed by the embroiderers of New France. In 1947, he described a dozen pieces stitched by the recluse, explaining the paucity of objects by the major fires that destroyed the Congregation buildings in 1768 and 1893, and the destruction, relocation and demolition of parish churches in Montreal. Since then, no in-depth inventory and analysis has been made to complete his research. A systematic survey and examination of the embroidered ornaments still preserved in church sacristies – including those of Notre-Dame Basilica and the chapels of Montreal's oldest religious communities – would significantly further our knowledge of Jeanne Leber's production and its history.

A Family of Wealth and Distinction

Jeanne was the descendent of two Montreal merchant families: the Lebers and the Lemoynes. Her mother, Jeanne, sailed from Dieppe for New France in 1657 to join her brother, Charles Lemoyne who had enlisted in 1641, at the age of fifteen, to help found a new city on the island of Montreal. Jacques Leber, a native of Pîtres, near Rouen in Normandy, was sixteen when he left the banks of the Seine for the shores of the Saint-Lawrence in 1649.[13] Jacques Leber swiftly and skilfully laid the foundations of his considerable fortune, and his signature

is found on all manner of notarized acts. He was everywhere; conducting business, trading with the Natives, buying land and making a name for himself in political, military and religious circles.[14] An inventory of his assets and goods beginning in 1693 establishes him as a member of the colonial elite that was loyal to European traditions but deeply influenced by the American experience. He was one of the few merchants in Montreal to hire a black manservant, a native of Guinea.[15]

Vachon de Belmont notes that "Jacques Leber, for his personal Merit and for the services he rendered to the nascent colony of Montreal, was deemed by the King worthy of Letters of Nobility.... Through his skill in commerce, which the King permitted the Nobility to practice in Canada, he acquired immense wealth."[16] Leber's flourishing fortune was based chiefly on two pursuits: transporting merchandise upriver to Montreal from Quebec City, the last port of call for ships from France, and sending enormous quantities of fur to Europe. Besides his brother-in-law Charles Lemoyne, he was the only merchant to own interests outside of Montreal, investing in cod fishing and outfitting ships that plied the routes between France, Canada, Acadia and the Antilles.

According to the historian Louise Dechêne, textiles topped the list of products sold by Montreal merchants.[17] Between 1680 and 1720, woollens, linens and other dry goods accounted for forty percent of the value of the stock on hand in shops, not counting French-and colonial-made blankets and garments (thirteen per cent). Leber kept lengths of red and blue material woven from local wool for trading with the Natives. However, colonial production accounted for only five per cent of the textiles sold in Montreal. Half of all retail sales were European goods that included coarse hemp cloth, but also fine materials from Rouen, Morlaix, Paris, Laval and the Netherlands. The wealthiest colonists bought stylish, refined fabrics – bombazine, damask, taffeta, brocade, muslin, cotton, calico and silk that were stocked by elite merchants to satisfy demanding tastes. These merchants also sold fine notions – braid, ribbons, buttons, gold and silver thread, laces, and embroidery threads, which were required for making both lay attire and church ornaments. Jeanne Leber had ready access to fabrics and models for her embroidery in her father's shop, that occupied the ground floor of the family home.

Alongside textile products, Leber sold other articles for the general public and for religious communities, including devotional objects used in preaching to the Natives.[18] His on-hand inventory lists "forty-two paper prints...[and] nine other very small illuminated prints."[19] They were produced by important families of engravers on Boulevard Saint-Jacques in Paris and used by missionaries as visual aids in explaining the mysteries of Christianity.[20] Easily carried, rolled around a wooden dowel or slipped between the pages of a missal, they were essential teaching tools. They also served to introduce religious iconography and Baroque art to New France, providing inspiration for architects, painters,

sculptors, gilders and embroiderers. Of the four Leber sons, Pierre was no doubt closest to his sister in terms of taste and personal commitment. In 1688, he and François Charon de la Barre co-founded the Hôpital-Général de Montréal to provide care for the needy such as beggars, orphans and the disabled, as well as employment in carpentry, ironwork and other workshop skills.[21] The inventory of Pierre Leber's estate, drawn up by the notary Raimbault in 1707, indicates that three rooms on the third floor of the building were reserved for his painting and teaching, and lists his materials:

> 8 drawers full of all Sorts of Colours and two full of brushes and painting Knives, another drawer full of gum arabic...one Marble for Grinding Colours...yellow ochre...lead white...smoke black...walnut oil...one painter's easel...4 primed Canvases for painting, 2 on their stretchers...four paintings representing the Holy Virgin and Saint Theresa and Saint Paul.[22]

His studio was put to notable use during the construction of the Hôpital-Général's house of worship, which was largely financed and decorated by Pierre Leber. Begun in 1695, this "very pretty church" dedicated to Saint Anne, with its tiny Sacred Heart chapel, was completed in 1704. The sanctuary tabernacle was covered with "seven pieces of painted canvas [and the] altar frontal is of gilded leather. [On] the sculpted altar retable, two paintings in golden frames, one representing an Ecce Homo and the other a Holy Virgin...and in the background a large painting representing Saint Joseph holding the Christ Child in his arms...[and] above the retable a Christ on a wooden cross."[23] Twenty-seven paintings in gilt frames adorned the walls of the nave. At the back of the chapel, the sacristy was furnished with eight cupboards for liturgical ornaments, gilded wood statues, sacred vessels and wooden candlesticks.

Both pious and both artists, Pierre and Jeanne Leber chose to lead a religious life without joining orders. They shared their lifelong wealth with Montreal's religious communities, and used their talent to appoint and decorate many of the city's chapels and churches, thus helping to establish the Tridentine liturgy in New France.

Marie Leber, Jacques Leber's sister, was instrumental in her niece's training and destiny. In 1664, after the death of her mother, Colette Cavelier, Marie left the village of Pîtres at the age of twenty-four to join her brother in New France. In October 1668, she was admitted to the Ursuline novitiate in Quebec City by its founder, Marie de l'Incarnation, then Mistress of the Novices.[24] The newcomer was one of the "very good subjects capable of helping us bear the weight of our duties, which grow from day to day."[25] In fact Marie Leber, who became Marie de l'Annonciation, held a number of positions in the Ursuline convent. Over the years, she was in charge of supplies, accounting and linens, "difficult, arduous tasks" that required business sense and management skills.[26] In carrying out her duties, she likely made use of her ties with the Leber-Lemoyne family.

Marie saw the convent destroyed by fire in a matter of hours on 20 October 1686, its second such disaster. She was there through its rebuilding and enlargement, and for the inception of the Ursulines' grand artistic project of the eighteenth century: the construction of a new chapel.[27] Marie's presence at the convent ensured a special relationship between the Leber family and the Quebec City Ursulines for forty-six years; the ties were spiritual, religious and affective, but also material and artistic. For example, her nephew Pierre commissioned the Ursulines to gild the tabernacle for the Saint Anne chapel he built at the Hôpital-Général de Montréal.[28]

Training and Influences

In 1674, knowing Marie would be nearby, Jacques Leber and Jeanne Lemoyne entrusted their twelve-year-old daughter to the Ursulines, who ran the only boarding school for girls in New France.[29] Jeanne was to complete her education and prepare for her first communion in Quebec City. The register of arrivals for 21 April 1674, indicates that "the young lady Jeanne Leber of Montreal has become a boarder at our convent." For his daughter's upkeep, Jacques Leber paid two hundred pounds a year, eighty pounds more than the normal fee, "in consideration that she be better treated than the other boarders...and the little Leber girl's linen is to be washed [here] in the house."[30] The merchant had already given the nuns a deposit, paying in kind with forty bushels of wheat. Jeanne was accorded special status because her father was wealthy and she was far from home. Like most of her companions, she spent just over a year as a boarder before leaving the Ursulines on 25 July 1675.[31] During that time, she was privately tutored in selected subjects that complemented her home schooling.[32]

The 1674 roster of boarders included one Métis girl, five Native and thirty-six Canadian girls. Most of them were from the Quebec City or Trois-Rivières area; only two were from Montreal: Marie Martin dit Larivière and Jeanne Leber. The convent personnel included nineteen choir sisters and six lay sisters.[33] Three years after the death of Madame de la Peltrie[34] and two years after that of Marie de l'Incarnation, the founders' spirit continued to guide the convent. Their original companions Mother Sainte-Croix and Mother Saint-Ignace were still alive, and life in the community continued to be ruled by the governing charter written in 1647, to which Marie de l'Incarnation had contributed.[35]

But with a growing number of nuns arriving from Paris or from convents allied with the Paris mother house, the Quebec City Ursulines were gradually abandoning the conversion of young Native girls in favour of the educational mission prescribed by their fourth vow.[36] The convent's educational orientation is clearly set out in the 1635 *Constitutions des Ursulines de Paris*. The Mother in charge of schooling "shall not be obligated to have her students taught the

Catechism, only reading and writing, and she must also see to it that they learn some manual tasks, this being applicable to young ladies, to protect them from idleness, mother of all vices, as well as to the others, to ease their life of poverty."[37] *Constitutions des Ursulines de Paris*, expanded and reissued in 1652 and in 1673, contains a educational code governing courses, daily schedules and the life of boarders and day students, as well as extensive chapters on handiwork and the necessary aptitudes of the handiwork mistress:

> She shall teach them with patience and attention, showing fondness and encouraging them to learn well; she shall inspect their work frequently and, as needed, work in front of them, having them undo that which they have done badly, showing them how to redo it properly & how to work neatly, tightly tying off their thread, wool or silk, & to handle the fabrics with care. She shall usually have someone close to her for this subject, taking them one after the other and not having more than two or three at a time, if possible, so as to better apply herself.[38]

The little girls first learned easy, basic work such as sewing proper seams and hems, drawing patterns on canvas and linen and doing counted-stitch work. The more skilled pupils worked embroidered flowers, gold and silver thread embroidery, bobbin lace, French stitch, English stitch and "other handiwork used in this country & which their parents want them to know."[39]

In her history of the Ursulines, written in 1788, Marie de Chantal Gueudré evokes the atmosphere of these monastic workshops:

> Coloured cartoons guided the young workers in their tapestry, or petit point embroidery, now called needle painting. For this latter work, they used the most varied tones of silk, harmonizing the nuances; fruits and flowers intermingled with diverse foliage stood out in remarkable relief. Cornucopias, baskets and other decorative elements joined them. The motifs were at times edged with silver or gold thread. The faces of the subjects dominating the paintings called for special talent and were thus entrusted to the best artists for execution.[40]

All of these decorative motifs – fruits, flowers, foliage, cornucopias, baskets of flowers – are to be found in the embroidered ornaments preserved by the Quebec City Ursulines and in those attributed to Jeanne Leber.

When Leber became a boarder, French artistic traditions were already well entrenched at the Quebec City convent. Since its founding in 1639, the school had enjoyed the talents of Marie de l'Incarnation and her artistic gifts were lauded in a circular letter announcing her death on 30 April 1672: "She was highly industrious at all sorts of handiwork and knew everything that one could hope for in a person of her gender, both about embroidery, which she did to perfection, and about gilding and painting."[41] (fig.2) Mindful of the status of a convent where "the ceremonies to which prominent observers attributed majesty

fig.2 Anonymous or possibly Hughes Pommier, **Portrait of the Venerable Marie de l'Incarnation**, 1672, oil on canvas, 86 x 65 cm, Musée des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec. (Photo: Musée des Ursulines de Québec)

equal to that of the best directed choirs of France,"[42] Marie de l'Incarnation aided the community and through it the Church in Canada. She was among those responsible for introducing Counter-Reformation art in New France. The movement's liturgical pomp is consistent with Tridentine tradition, which calls for the exhibition of sculpted, gilded, painted or embroidered art objects to serve the glory of God and the salvation of souls, but also supports the evangelical work of missionaries.

In 1656, Marie de l'Incarnation undertook the largest of all her construction projects: Madame de la Peltrie's church. This structure comprised a choir, a chancel, an exterior church, four altars, three chapels and two sacristies. The construction took ten years and cost the community 10,050 Tours pounds. An inventory of the sacristy drawn up in 1682 reports twenty-four altar frontals in addition to the loveliest ones stored "in an armoire at the end of the large dormitory."[43] It was in this church that Jeanne Leber, like all the other boarders, came to pray, attend "Roman-style" services and, under the guidance of her mistresses, assist with embellishments and ornamentation.

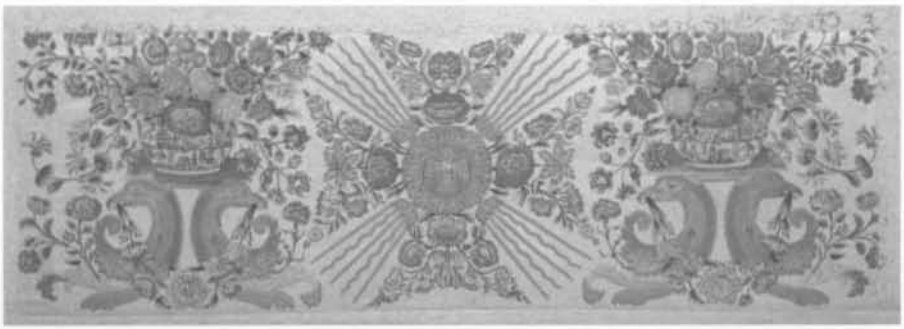


fig.3 Workshop of the Quebec Ursulines, **Altar frontal** know as "Dove of the Holy Ghost," *c.*1700, 98 x 264 cm, Musée des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec. (Photo: Patrick Altman, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec)

When Marie de l'Incarnation died, her authority passed to Marie Lemaire-des-Anges. Born into a well-to-do bourgeois family of Parisian merchants, Marie Lemaire was baptized in 1641 in the parish of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, where many embroiderers had their workshops.[44] At the age of fifteen she entered the Ursuline convent on Rue du Faubourg Saint-Jacques. After taking her vows, she sailed to New France and was welcomed by Marie de l'Incarnation, who saw in her an eventual successor "filled with the same zeal that she possessed."[45]

Marie Lemaire-des-Anges took charge of the convent's artistic production. The account books reveal numerous purchases of gold leaf, gamboge and rabbitskin glue for gilding work, as well as fabrics, skeins of silk, and gold and silver thread for embroidery. In 1686 a list of gifts received from the family of Mother Lemaire-des-Anges, noted "gold and silver thread, braid, twisted cannetille used in embroideries, thread and beads for the beautiful embroidered altar frontal and for the handsome chasuble, for the sum of 400 pounds."[46]

In 1712, five years before the death of Mother Lemaire-des-Anges, she was described by the convent historian: "She liked to work for the decoration of the temples of the Lord and scarcely no Church in New France was without these works. The most beautiful ornaments in our sacristy are the fruit of her skills with those of our young Sisters that she has in part taught and trained in Embroidery."[47] (fig.3) Evidence that Marie Lemaire-des-Anges and her young nuns instructed Jeanne Leber in handiwork is found in the iconographic and technical correspondences between the pieces attributed to Leber and objects in the collection of the Quebec City Ursulines. These were reported in 1768 by Monsignor Montgolfier, then Superior of the Saint-Sulpice Seminary in Montreal. He noted the emphasis on artistic activities in the daily life of the Ursulines and their pupils, and the effectiveness of their teaching method based on demonstration and example:

> Their reputation had already spread throughout the country; they especially excelled in spiritual matters, in Christian education, and for lay activities, in the embroidery work that they used extensively, in particular for church ornaments.... Seeing them always busy with embroidery or gilding for the decoration of altars, the young Jeanne Leber took such a liking to these tasks that she later rivalled her mistresses, because she worked at them without respite during her evenings and free time.[48]

Returning home to Montreal in 1675, Jeanne Leber applied the knowledge she had acquired as a boarder: manual tasks, primarily embroidery, along with a marked inclination for solitude and prayer. The decor of the convent chapel had imbued her with the artistic legacy of Marie de l'Incarnation, and she had been taught by Marie Lemaire-des-Anges, to whom the finest of the extant ornaments are attributed. The Ursulines had effectively transferred their artistic skills to her, and she in turn would introduce them to Montreal.

A Life of Solitude

Jeanne Leber first sought seclusion in her large family home and continued to follow the boarding school regime. She initially constrained herself to fifteen-minute periods of prayer every day. Then, "from this first quarter-hour that she gave to God without respite, one day it was observed that she no longer kept anything for herself and was giving all her hours to her Divine master." Moreover, "although she fulfilled all the duties of Decorum most pleasantly, She constantly felt Disgust for worldly things."[49]

Both her social and private life changed: she ate only of necessity, spurned stylishness, and dressed in robes of coarse cloth; she adopted strict habits of prayer, worship and mortification and, of course, would not marry. Her biographers have speculated about whether she was imitating the great Italian mystic Saint Catherine of Siena, who also lived as a recluse in her father's home and whose

life story Jeanne may have read.[50] Had she also read the life of Marie de l'Incarnation written by the latter's son and published in Paris in early 1677, copies of which appeared in New France the same year?[51] This text quotes the Ursuline nun as saying: "I was only twenty years old and my son was not yet a year old. My father bade me return to his home, which favoured my seclusion; I lived on the upper floor of the house, where, doing peaceful work, with my spirit pursuing its inner occupation, my heart spoke ceaselessly to God."[52]

Like Jeanne Leber, Marie de l'Incarnation experienced the difficulty of finding solitude in a house alive with the sounds of family life and a business: "When I was obliged to appear in public...I made myself read, because it was a pious occupation, and because, in front of people, when I was unable to do handiwork to busy my outer self, I preferred to engross myself in a book rather than to reveal that I was praying, or to suffer from not praying."[53] Marie de l'Incarnation used reading and handiwork to isolate herself from the world, to appear composed, and to mask her inner feelings and her prayers.[54] Despite the parallels between the two women, Jeanne Leber left no autobiography or personal letters dating or documenting her decision to become a recluse. However, since she was young and a layperson, neither sanctioned nor protected by the rules of any order or community, her parents and the Montreal Church authorities clearly felt that her case called for guidance and a structure.

The prudent Sulpicians required that Jeanne, who was only seventeen, complete five years of noviciate, during which she was to respect a vow of chastity and of seclusion in her father's home. Her commitment would be renewed at age twenty-two by a vow of perpetual seclusion. She was placed under the spiritual guidance of Abbot François Séguenot, who developed a schedule for her.[55] Her biographer, de Belmont, wrote: "All her activities had to be ordered and integrated into a daily routine, this routine occupying every hour of the day with her manual tasks, she finally resolved to model herself after Saint Catherine of Siena and to live in her father's house, alone, shut away in a room, thus renouncing all outside visits."[56] For Séguenot, manual work was a desirable activity, strongly encouraged by religious community founders and spiritual directors. It is revelant to recall Saint Theresa of Avila's warning to her charges: "You shall do some manual work or handiwork so that the Devil finds you always busy and can never use your idleness to enter your souls."[57] The needle arts offered every virtue, including that of allowing the stitcher to pray while working; to be productive while contemplating.

The handiwork done in religious communities generated considerable income. In certain critical periods of their history, many groups survived only through the determined efforts of the most skilled nuns. This income was so important that *Constitutions des Ursulines de Paris* gives it an entire chapter. The aim was to have internal production benefit the convent without making it appear mercantile:

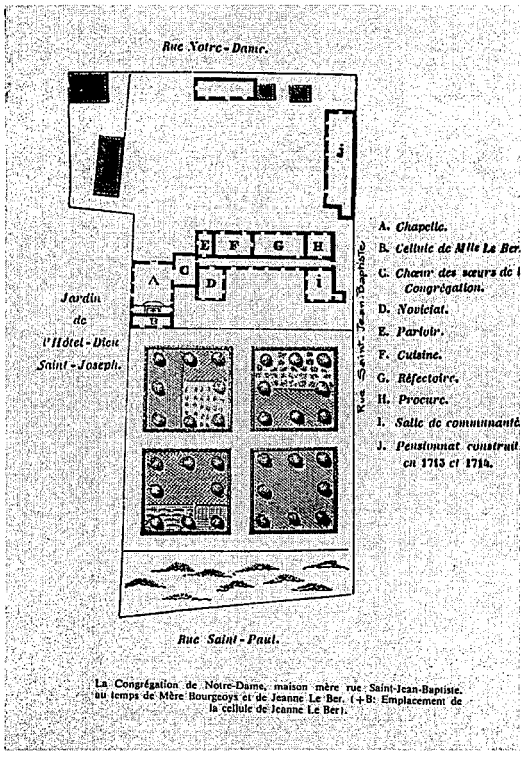


fig.4 Location of Jeanne Leber's cell installed behind the altar of the Chapel of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. (Photo: Léo-Paul Desrosiers, *Dans le nid de l'aiglon la Colombe*, Montreal: Fides, 1963)

> The Sisters shall be allowed to work for people outside & receive a salary.... The convent shall never provide in any manner for the work that they do, so that it does not appear that we wish to deal in merchandise. Payment for the work shall be...shared & shall not be proposed nor asked except very charitably & amiably, not exactingly & dearly.... The Sisters who do the work shall not be named, nor shall the Sisters be told for whom the work is done & they shall work for the common good following the principle of Saint Augustine.[58]

The collective and anonymous work of the nuns was dedicated to God. Their gift was all the more noble because the artists relinquished any recognition of their talents.

After fifteen years as a recluse in her father's house, Jeanne Leber entered her cell in the chapel of the Congregation of Notre-Dame (fig.4). As members of a non-cloistered community, the sisters attended services in chapels and churches located near the convent. In 1693, led by their founder Marguerite Bourgeoys,[59] they had constructed their own chapel adjoining the main building.[60] Two years later, Jeanne Leber, along with her father and brother, would provide four thousand pounds for the building of the chapel and "for the decoration, ornaments and vestments." These included the tabernacle, the ciborium, the

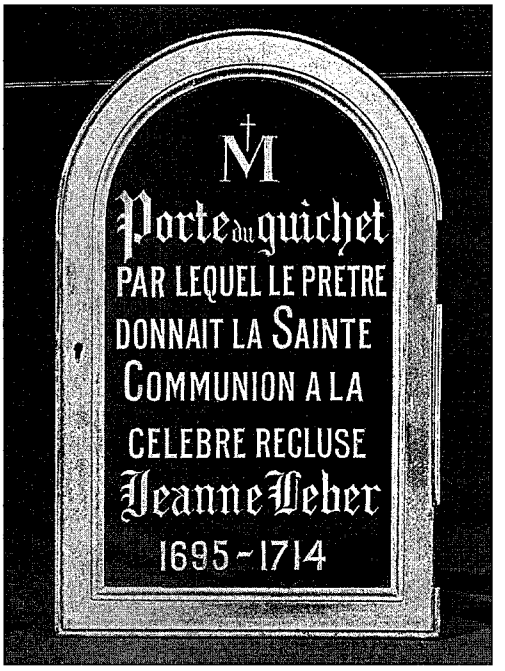


fig.5 Wicket through which Jeanne Leber received Holy Communion, wood and glass, Collection Maison Saint-Gabriel, Montreal. (Photo: Alain Comtois)

monstrance, the sanctuary lamp, the censer, one chalice, two cruets and one silver plate. In return, Jeanne would have "a small apartment behind the said chapel serving as her retreat and living quarters" and the nuns would provide her "the necessary wood for her heating and her other needs both in sickness and in health."[61]

Jeanne Leber was thus purchasing the ideal conditions for her seclusion and a mystic life. Her three-level cell was separated from the chapel by a simple "partition of timber studs and mortar,"[62] and "adjoining that of the Holy Virgin, where the Word was made incarnate, which was conveyed by the angels to Loreto."[63] Worship of Our Lady of Loreto had been introduced in New France in 1639 with the arrival of Father Chaumonot, who later modeled the chapel of the Lorette Huron mission, near Quebec City, after the Holy House of Loreto in Italy (believed to be the cottage in which the Virgin was visited by God). It is likely that Jeanne's builder used the Huron chapel as a model for her own cell. It occupied the width of the church (8 meters) and was about three metres deep. Half of the ground floor served as a sacristy, having "two armoires, one for Linens and the Other for ornaments, a painting of the Visitation and everything normally found in such a place." Leber had the floor behind the altar slightly lowered, so that when she lay "on the hard," she would be "but four inches away from the Holy Sacrament." She also installed a grate with a wicket opening on to the sanctuary for making confession and taking communion (fig.5). A

door across from the grate led to the Congregation garden and was used by her cousin Sister Saint Charles to bring her meals.

The second floor consisted of a bedroom reached by a small stairway. Leber's cell had a window, from which "she never allowed herself to look" and all of the walls were "the natural colour of pine wood...never having been painted." The third floor served as a workshop where "she did on Earth, day and night, that which the angels do in Heaven and worked to embellish the altars."[64] As part of her contract with the Congregation of Notre-Dame, she had the benefit of an annual annuity of five hundred pounds and reserved "the right to order and purchase each year seventy-five French pounds worth of wool, silk and other things she may need."[65] Her arrangement with the convent was thus mutually beneficial as she possessed skills that were much sought after, for according to the records of the Congregation of Notre-Dame and Hôtel-Dieu, no embroidery workshop then in Montreal could rival her work.[66]

Jeanne Leber's reputation as an emboiderer transcended the convent walls as she filled outside commissions, including one for a:

> Recollet priest who was asked to help her embroider a sumptuous chalice veil; after having her do a bit of work in front of him and telling her to notify him in a month, believing that this time would barely suffice to do the Work that he had left her, [he] was very surprised when, eight days later, she sent for him and he saw this work effectively completed; she answered him simply that she had met with difficulty but that her good angel had helped her to work with facility.[67]

Although Vachon de Belmont lauds Leber's speed and dexterity, his biography provides only a vague notion of the quantity of ornaments she produced: "She has furnished all the parishes from north to south of this government with chasubles, altar frontals, bouquets and other ornaments." Such generalizations are frequent in the obituaries of artist-nuns and are to be taken with a grain of salt. However, Françoise Deroy-Pineau counted fifteen parishes in the Montreal area in 1695, when Jeanne Leber went into seclusion, and twenty-two in 1714, at the time of her death.[68] When a parish was created, the church decorations and furnishings were usually commissioned from religious communities according to their specific artistic skills. Leber most likely helped to ornament the new churches, as well as the Congregation's chapel.

Decorating a chapel entailed substantial investment and many hours of meticulous and skilled painting, sculpting, gilding, embroidery and lacemaking. In 1694, the Quebec City Ursulines noted: "The residents of our Sainte-Croix land having built a small church at their own cost and expense, they expect us to contribute...and to provide the things needed to ornament said chapel."[69] At a meeting of their chapter, the nuns decided to furnish one painting, one altar ledge, one gilded Virgin, one altar frontal, one chasuble with alb, amice and

cincture, one chalice veil, one bourse, one corporal, one purificator, one hand basin and one altar cloth. These ornaments were typical of the orders Leber received in her cell. Needlework clearly occupied a good deal of her life, as evidenced by the coroner's report issued in 1991 at the time her remains were moved: he detected "pronounced, specific wear of the two upper and lower centre teeth consistent with a craft [using] sewing needles or thread."[70]

From Quebec City to Montreal: At the Crossroads of Influences

Five pieces from Jeanne Leber's textile production have been selected for this article. Each is described by its place of use, iconography, techniques and connections with pieces in the Ursulines' collection or with works preserved in France.[71] They were chosen on the basis of plausible and reasonably well-documented attributions, and are the five liturgical objects cited in the de Belmont biography: "almost all of the ornaments that are presently in the chapel of the Congregation have been worked by her hands. One rightly admires the altar frontal chasuble dalmatic and cope of silk Embroidery done with most outstanding precision, skill, magnificence." The presence of these ornaments is also noted several times, though with regrettably few details, in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century archives of Notre-Dame parish, where the altar frontal, chasuble and two dalmatics are still held.[72] In 1860, Abbot Faillon also mentioned this ensemble: "Even now, today, you can see at the parish church of Ville-Marie a complete ornament, with a glacé silver ground, composed of the altar frontal, the chasuble, the dalmatics and the cope, all embroidered entirely by Sister Leber." When the Notre-Dame Basilica museum was installed in 1982, the ornaments were restored and were still labelled as being by Jeanne Leber. The cope was not restored, as it had been previously deposited in the collection of the Maison Saint-Gabriel.

Owing to the lack of documents written by Leber, to the posthumous attribution of these embroideries by her historiographers and to recent reservations by art historians and textile specialists concerning the consistency of the corpus and the Canadian origin of certain pieces, the ensemble still remains shrouded in mystery. To offset the lack of documentation, the objects themselves are used as archives for this study. The attributed embroidered ornaments replace her correspondence, confidences, first-hand accounts by her contemporaries, and other traces of her existence and her deeds; by default, objects are substituted for the written word. Leber is reconstructed through her decisions as artist and artisan: models, patterns, colours, motifs, techniques, mistakes, triumphs, fatigue and inspiration. Technical and iconographic details that provide evidence of the homogeneity of these objects have been carefully inventoried.

Analyses of the pieces constantly led back to the artisan, as if the functions of embroiderer and recluse are intimately connected and cannot be explained independently. To understand the corpus required an understanding of the context.

The five ornaments are compared to a number of contemporary pieces embroidered or painted by the Ursulines to determine the extent to which the works stitched in the confines of Leber's cell represent a crossroads of influences, between Quebec City and Montreal, between France and New France.

Altar Frontal: The Centrepiece[73]

This ornament fronted the original high altar of the old Notre-Dame parish church in Montreal, built by the Sulpicians beginning in 1672 (fig.6). When the church acquired a larger high altar, sculpted around 1810 by Louis Quévillon (1749-1823), the frontal was widened, with embroidered bands sewn on at either side.[74] The altar was preserved when the church was demolished in 1830 and was eventually reinstalled in the new Notre-Dame Basilica. It was no doubt around that time that the worn areas in the centre and upper part of the ornament were rather clumsily re-embroidered, since the records show that on 12 July 1894, the parish council paid for repairs to "one altar frontal embroidered by Mlle Leber," the repairs having been ordered by Benjamin-Victor Rousselot, the priest who administered the parish from 1866 to 1882.

Dedicated to the Holy Spirit, this altar frontal evokes the Incarnation of Christ, the third member of the Trinity and considered at the time as important as the Father or the Son. The central area features a dove in a medallion surrounded by four series of rays forming a Maltese cross (fig.7); this is symmetrically flanked by large floral decorations. The lightly padded dove is embroidered with silver purl couched on a canvas-backed satin ground;[75] its wings and tail are worked with silver sequins highlighted with gold purl. The dove is appliquéd on a needle-painted ground of polychrome silk thread. Its slightly raised medallion frame is embellished with couched Japan gold and gold purls as well as basket stitch in Japan gold threads, and stylized motifs are set in silver sequins. The rays of the Holy Spirit are worked in raised gold and silver purls. When this piece was restored in 1982, other metallic-thread embroidery was discovered under the rays. These underlying threads may have been reworked to better match the dove (which was also touched up) and to heighten the overall relief. It should be remembered that the new church was of monumental proportions and the altar frontal played a didactic role, and therefore had to be visible from a distance.

Between the metallic rays, Leber worked a design of flowers stitched in silk threads (fig.8). On either side of the Maltese cross, an abundant bouquet spills from a basket supported by four decorative feet, while a flowered stem twines up each side of the piece. Two garlands of flowers and fruits overhang the baskets, creating a decoration at once natural and structured. The principal stitches used are needle-painting, straight stitch, stem stitch, French knots and bullion knots. Some of the flower petals are outlined in buttonhole stitch to emphasize

fig.6 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Altar frontal,** *c.*1700, 82 x 279 cm, Notre-Dame Basilica, Montreal. (Photo: Patrick Altman, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec)

the nuances. Roses, peonies, carnations, tulips, lilies and irises stand out against a background of Japan silver couched to form waves. Silk thread holds the metallic thread in staggered rows that follow the curves of the floral motifs. The Japan silver thread is tarnished by time and, in some spots, signs of wear reveal the silk core.

The fully embroidered surface of the frontal represents a long and painstaking task, but one that was feasible for a single person. Relatively few embroidery techniques have been used, the principal work being in needle-painting and couched Japan silver. There are no raised metallic embroidery appliqués, and thus the slow, delicate process of drawing, shaping, mounting and attaching the padding has been avoided. Only the embroidered medallion is subtly embossed. De Belmont's reference to "a Recollet priest who was asked to help her embroider a sumptuous chalice veil" (i.e., with gold and silver thread) suggests that Leber needed further training in this type of embroidery in order to fill the order. More expertly couched Japan silver work is found in ornaments made by the Ursulines, notably the altar frontal *Nativity* in their museum, and on the Jesuit chasuble at the Musée des Augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu, also in Quebec City. The beauty of Jeanne Leber's altar frontal lies in the delicate, harmonious tones

fig.7 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Altar frontal** (detail), *c.*1700, 82 x 279 cm, Notre-Dame Basilica, Montreal. (Photo: Patrick Altman, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec)

fig.8 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Altar frontal** (detail, back of the frontal), *c.*1700, 82 x 279 cm, Notre-Dame Basilica, Montreal.
(Photo: Patrick Altman, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec)

of the refined silk embroidery, and in the abundance and diversity of the lifelike needle-painted flowers. It is an ornament of great quality, designed for such solemn feast days as Whitsunday. The use of silk and silver makes it ceremonial, typical of Counter-Reformation art, and such lavishness was appropriate to the place where it was used: the parish church of Montreal, a centre for religious conversion in a new land.

The same arrangement (baskets and garlands of flowers at either side of a Maltese cross) is found in three of the Ursulines' altar frontals: *Sacred Heart* (fig.9), *Immaculate Conception* (fig.10) and *Dove of the Holy Spirit* (fig.3). This motif is also found in French collections: Louis de Farcy described a bouquet-embroidered frontal preserved in Angers,[76] and a frontal embroidered with gold thread by the Carmelites of Blois during the latter half of the seventeenth century was exhibited at the Château de Chambord in 1993.[77] Closer to home, the painted altar frontal attributed to Jeanne Leber's brother Pierre, now at the Maison Saint-Gabriel, is also noteworthy (fig.11). Evocative of an embroidery cartoon, this decorative oil on wood also features a flowered Maltese cross flanked by floral bouquets in Medici-style gadrooned vases set on tables. It has many similarities to three painted works in the Ursuline collection: the altar frontals *Holy Family* and *Saint Mary Magdalene Penitent*, and a tempera representation of a bouquet of flowers in a vase, dated 1695. Around the bouquets, the artist has introduced butterflies and birds carrying clusters of fruit in their beaks, two decorative motifs also found in the Ursulines' work. This comparison confirms the artistic links between the Leber family and the Ursulines, and between Quebec City and Montreal. Such commonality of models and influences was not limited to New France. The flowers embroidered by Jeanne Leber recall the then-prevalent taste for exotic plants and flowers, the popularity of the flower books known as *florilèges* and the talent of seventeenth-century artist-botanists like Crispin de Passe, Nicolas Robert and Maria Sibylla Merian. Similarly, the butterflies and birds of Pierre Leber and the Ursulines are reminiscent of Flemish still lifes.

Although the pattern of the altar frontal attributed to Jeanne Leber is found in the three made by the Ursulines, there are certain differences. The *Sacred Heart* and *Immaculate Conception* frontals are small, having been designed for the convent's early chapels. The needle painting is done in wool thread on a woven wool ground, giving the two ornaments a rustic, almost naïve appearance. Silk thread has been used for finishing, to add sparkle to the matte quality of the wool and accentuate delicate details such as the Virgin's features and the mass of flower petals. The medallion frames and the Maltese cross rays are worked in yellow wool highlighted with silk imitating gold thread; the floral embroidery features bright colours, in predominant tones of red and rose. This brings to mind a request by the Jesuit missionary Father Garnier, who in 1645 wrote from the Huron mission at Teanaustayae to a Carmelite monk: "I also wanted to ask for

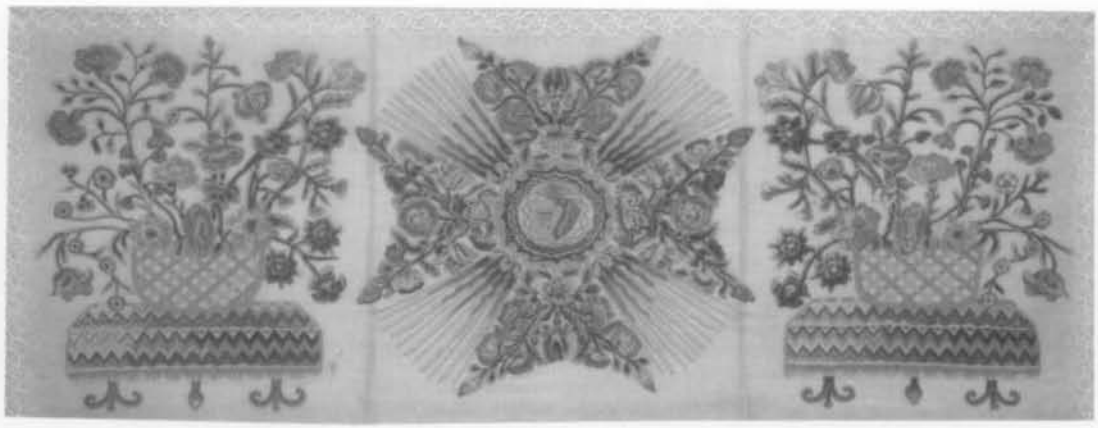


fig.9 Workshop of the Quebec Ursulines, **Altar frontal** known as "Sacred-Heart," *c.*1700, 85 x 221 cm, Musée des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec. (Photo: Patrick Altman, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec)

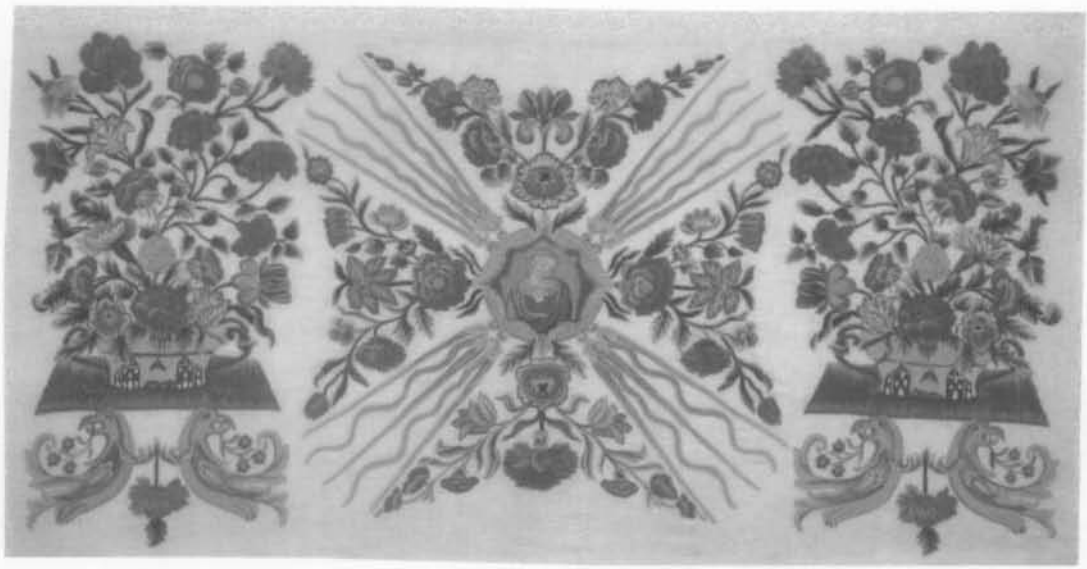


fig.10 Workshop of the Quebec Ursulines, **Altar frontal** know as "Immaculate Conception," *c.*1700, 95 x 184 cm, Musée des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec. (Photo: Patrick Altman, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec)

fig.11 Pierre Leber (attr.), **Altar frontal,** before 1707, painting on wood, 94 x 164 x 73 cm, Collection Maison Saint-Gabriel, Montreal. (Photo: Alain Comtois)

alms to buy some bright-coloured material to adorn The Altar, not of silk but of Wool or even Drugget or the like, the main thing being that the Colours be bright."[78] In decorating the mission chapel, Garnier adapted the liturgical colours to the tastes of his neophyte converts, who preferred brilliant hues. The Ursulines, who were close to the Jesuits, used the same strategies with their Native boarders. Of their own altar frontals, *Holy Spirit* most closely resembles the one attributed to Jeanne Leber in terms of size, iconography, structure and the refinement of the embroidered flowers. It is a large piece, dominated by the bouquets spilling from two blue monochrome griffon-footed vases. The ground is also of couched threads, but here the thread is silk.

Chasuble and Dalmatics: An Ensemble Reworked[79]

Like the altar frontal, the chasuble is part of the iconographic program designed to honour the Virgin, patron saint of the parish (fig.12). In the medallion, a needle painting celebrates the Inner Life of Mary.[80] (fig.13) Evoking the Immaculate Conception, the Virgin hovers in clouds, eyes raised to the sky, her hands crossed on her breast from which emerges the Dove of the Holy Spirit. The image is modeled on *Vie intérieure de Marie*, an engraving by Jean Boulanger after a drawing by Charles Lebrun (1619-1690). This theme, important to both Tridentine and Sulpician spirituality, is found in French embroidered ornaments such as the altar frontal preserved by the Association d'art sacré de Seine Maritime[81] in Normandy, where the central medallion is also modeled on Boulanger's print (fig.14). Once more, the similarities serve as a reminder that such models circulated amongst the religious communities in France and New France and that Jeanne Leber had access to them through her father, the Congregation sisters and the Ursulines.

The Notre-Dame chasuble's Japan gold medallion frame is couched in raised metal threadwork and basket stitch in the same pattern as the altar frontal (fig.15). Arabesque foliage, also worked in raised Japan gold, frames a polychrome-silk needle-painting of a rose, a carnation, a peony, a tulip and an iris. Smaller lifelike blossoms are scattered on either side of the foliage, while others rise out of the frame on stems. The floral motifs and the medallion float in shimmering waves of couched Japan silver, a technique also found in the altar frontal. While the embroidery of the vividly coloured flowers is less subtle than in the frontal, the needle-painted image of the Virgin points to one of the stitcher's special skills: the ability to render facial features and expressions in silk thread and to make the embroidery appear three-dimensional. Jeanne Leber may have learned this technique from the Ursulines, whose ornaments include numerous embroidered figures, particularly in altar frontal medallions.

The orphreys (back cross and front column) embroidered on silk have been remounted on white damask, and a new lining with gilt braid hides the remounting. Re-embroidered areas are apparent around the central medallion and on the twining vines on the both sides of the chasuble. As on the altar frontal, the original metallic embroidery, although visible in the neck band, has been re-covered with raised Japan gold threads. The purpose of this restoration may have been to match the chasuble and the frontal, to mask signs of wear or to heighten the ornament's lustre and three-dimensional aspect.[82] Whatever the case, these changes make it extremely difficult to read and understand the chasuble's story. It would appear that the original ornament was cut up and that only the best-preserved parts were kept, remounted in a new chasuble, with the braid serving to mask the line between the old and the new. A more thorough analysis would require study of the edges of the orphreys hidden by the gilt braid.

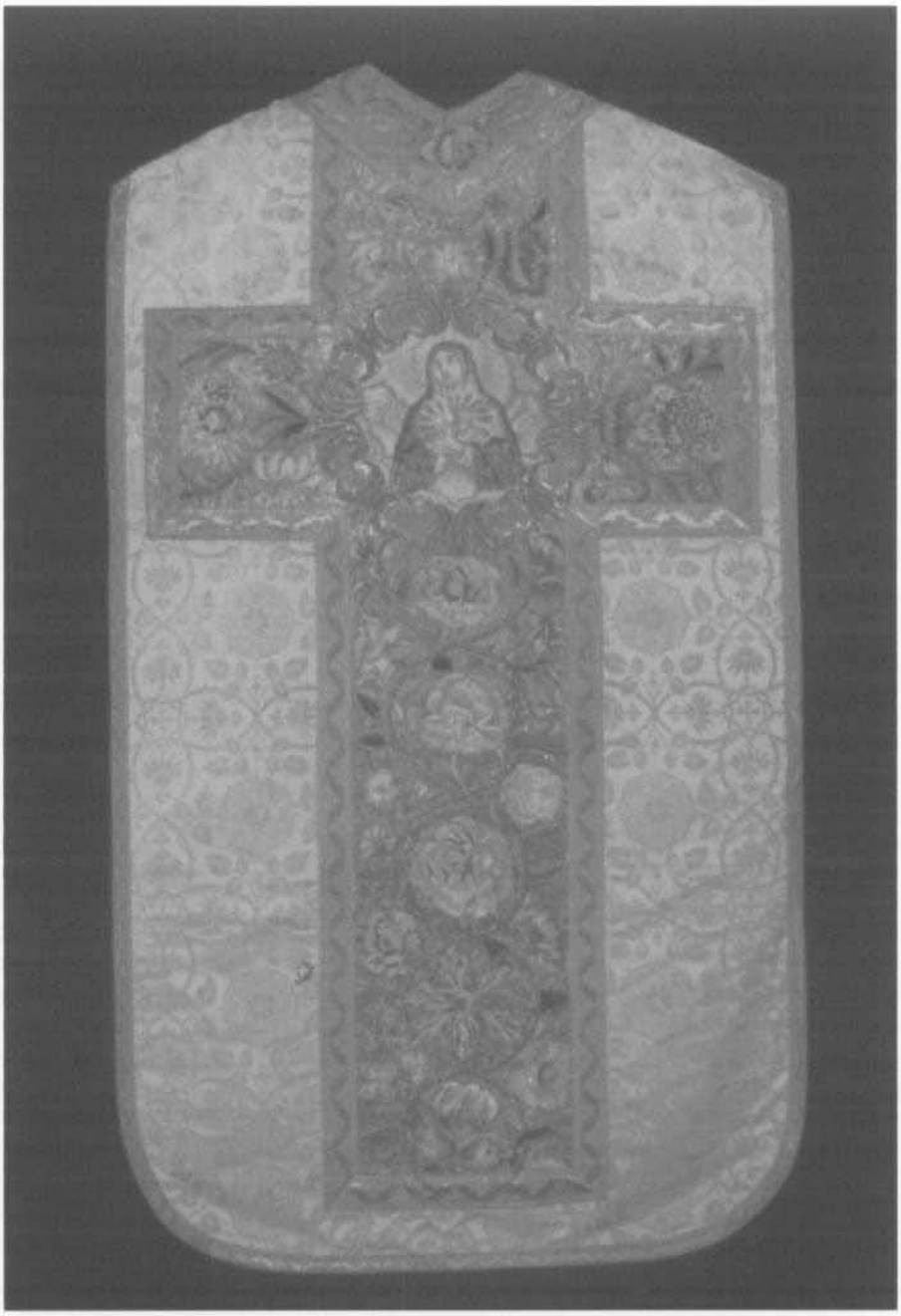


fig.12 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Chasuble** (back view), *c.*1700, 121 x 65 cm, Notre-Dame Basilica, Montreal. (Photo: Michel Élie, Centre de conservation du Québec)

fig.13 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Chasuble** (detail), *c.*1700, 121 x 65 cm, Notre-Dame Basilica, Montreal. (Photo: Michel Élie, Centre de conservation du Québec)

fig.14 Anonymous, **Altar frontal** (detail), second half of the 18th century, Association d'art sacré de Seine Maritime, France. (Photo: Jacqueline Guilloit)

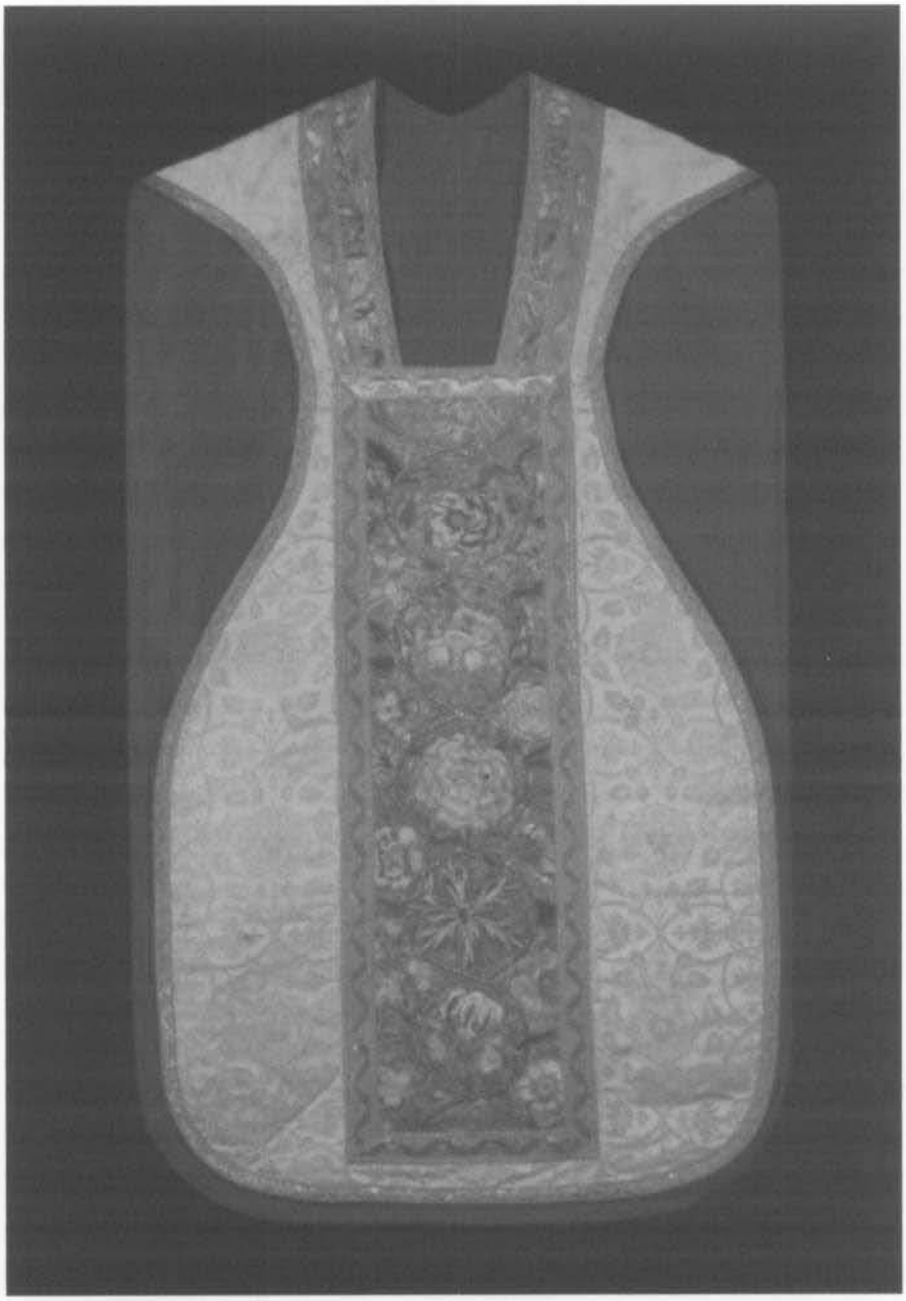


fig.15 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Chasuble** (front view), *c.*1700, 121 x 65 cm, Notre-Dame Basilica, Montreal. (Photo: Michel Élie, Centre de conservation du Québec)

fig.16 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Dalmatic**, *c.*1700, 96 x 116 cm, Notre-Dame Basilica, Montreal. (Photo: Michel Élie, Centre de conservation du Québec)

The dalmatics that accompany the chasuble are loose tunics with wide sleeves worn by deacons during services (fig.16). The embroidered orphreys, two in front and two in back, are edged with gilt braid and mounted on the same white damask used for the chasuble. The floral motifs of polychrome silk are worked in needle-painting, straight stitch, stem stitch and French knots on a laid ground of Japan silver. Lifelike flowers dot the twining stems that complete the decoration. These dalmatics have neither embroidered likenesses nor gold thread work, reminders that the iconography, the ornamentation and the complexity of the production of liturgical vestments all reflect the hierarchal status of the celebrants who wear them.

Like the chasuble, the two dalmatics have undergone significant changes that complicate their analysis. And like the chasuble, the labels they bore at the time of restoration in 1982 attributed them to Jeanne Leber. They certainly appear to be part of an ensemble, with the same floral motifs, the same couched Japan silver, the same brilliant-hued, predominantly red blossoms and the same uneven execution. The same person may well have made the chasuble and the dalmatics, but they would have taken months to complete. This could explain the embroidery's lack of consistency, since the stitcher's skills, and thus the quality of her work would reflect her physical condition, which might have varied over such a long period.

The Cope: Contested Attribution[83]

The cope is composed of a semi-circular panel made of three lengths of eighteenth-century silk lampas with a satin ground, plus a hood and an orphrey of silk brocade on a silver lamé ground typical of fabric produced by nineteenth-century silk makers in Lyon. The body panel is edged with gilt braid, while the hood is edged in gold bullion fringe with twisted check purl. Seams that bind the three lengths of lampas together are hidden by the all-over embroidery. The original design of the lampas, a rich, symmetrical array of multicoloured flowers standing out against a cream satin ground, is still visible under the hood. Sumptuous stylized floral motifs include pineapple and artichoke flowers, peonies, and other small, realistic blooms framed by foliage (fig.17). This profusion of colour and movement lends the cope an Oriental air. The embroiderer enhanced the entire fabric with silk-thread embroidery, systematically leaving the centre of certain motifs exposed and creating a combination of low relief (unembroidered areas) and raised relief (embroidered areas). Original colours have been respected except for the cream satin ground, that has been covered in couched Japan silver using the same technique found in the other pieces, to give the cope similar lustre and opulence. Stitches are varied – straight stitch, needle-painting, stem stitch, satin stitch and French knots – and embellished with sequins and purls.

fig.17 Jeanne Leber (attr.), **Cope** (detail), first quarter of the 18th century, 133 x 222 cm, Maison Saint-Gabriel, Montreal. (Photo: Kathryn Borel)

Unlike the other ornaments studied here, which continued to be used at the Notre-Dame Basilica, the cope was in use in the Congregation chapel in the 1950s before being transferred to the Maison Saint-Gabriel.[84] This piece also stands apart from its four companions in terms of technique (embroidery of woven motifs), materials (twisted silk thread as opposed to the flat silk used in the altar frontal) and pattern (stylized decorative motifs rather than natural flowers). However, the pieces share one feature: the couched silver thread used for the ground and around the embroidered motifs. Is this similarity sufficient to deduce that the entire ensemble is by the same embroiderer and that it is indeed the body of work described by de Belmont?

Resolving the provenance of the cope may hinge on dating the ground fabric. According to various textile experts, the large palm-like foliage that punctuates the floral motifs of the lampas resembles Jacquard silks produced in France between 1710 and 1730, shortly before or after Jeanne Leber's death. However, the symmetrical artichoke and pineapple motifs are frequently seen in

seventeenth-century silks. Finding the original drawing used for the production of the lampas could confirm or refute the current attribution to Leber. Meanwhile, it can be assumed that if the cope really is her work, it was done in her final years since the fabric shows closer ties to the 1700s than to the previous century. Dating of two of the oldest copes belonging to the Quebec City Ursulines, those known as *Anne of Austria* and *Madame de la Peltrie*, poses the same problem.

The two parts of *Anne of Austria* are from different periods: the silk velvet hood and orphrey embroidered in silver and gold are typical of the seventeenth century, while the body of silk brocade patterned with festoons and hunting trophies dates to the eighteenth. This refutes the long-held belief that Marie de l'Incarnation was given the brocade by Anne of Austria before sailing for the New World from Dieppe in 1639. However, it is possible that the hood and the orphrey were embroidered around that time and remounted on another material in the eighteenth century. The Jacquard silk of *Madame de la Peltrie* is very similar to the lampas of the cope attributed to Jeanne Leber. This would date it to the eighteenth century, disputing the traditional belief that is was the bed canopy of Madame de la Peltrie, the convent's lay benefactress, who died in 1671. The cope attributed to Jeanne Leber, as well as the two Ursuline copes, illustrate the problem of attributions based on the oral history of religious communities, and the importance of searching convent archives for more reliable documentation.

Attribution aside, this cope is the only liturgical vestment or ornament found in Quebec collections that has silk brocade embroidered to accentuate the woven motifs. The technique, by which the Jacquard fabric served as both ground and embroidery pattern, was fairly common in France at the time of Louis XIV. It offered the dual advantage of eliminating the need to transfer or copy the pattern and motifs to the ground, while permitting the stitcher to work alone, independent of a workshop or other embroiderers. This economy of means and functions would have been well-suited to a solitary stitcher like Jeanne Leber and could explain her process. Masking the ground fabric with embroidery also allowed the embroideress to enhance an ornament using her time, meticulousness, mastery of technical difficulties and inspiration. As she worked, the machine-made material disappeared beneath a new surface, becoming a human creation and a labour of love.

Conclusion

Jeanne Leber's production is intimately tied to her life as a recluse. These ornaments stitched in solitude and close proximity to the sanctuary recall the similarities between the serenity of embroidering and that of inner worship, contemplation and prayer. Embroidery required little physical effort and was well suited to a woman committed to fasting, long hours without sleep, and mortification. It was a manual task that supported the contemplative life. Leber was at one with her confined quarters, and she closely identified with the Virgin Mary. For Leber, embroidery was a gift to God, to whom she had given her life. It was an act of devotion, of contemplation, with the perfection of the needle leading to mystic grace. Her body and actions faded away to be reborn in the form of a vestment for Christ through the agency of the priest who wore it. Leber's cell was an unusual workplace, extremely different from the large, well-lit communal rooms where nuns and their pupils worked in small groups and as a team.[85] She worked alone, without the company and support of other embroiderers with whom the work could be shared according to individual skills as was the practice in the Ursuline workshop. The embroideries attributed to her have no large, structured medallions, no raised-relief cornucopias, no great variety of stitches and techniques requiring patterns, extensive equipment and diverse skills. In other words, they could be done without the support of other embroiderers and by the one same person.

Out of Leber's solitary confinement came a body of work that attests to an awareness of fashion, of the colonial market and of the skills exchanged by religious communities. The pieces studied here exemplify the consistency of an art practiced by utilizing techniques and patterns: copying was the rule and creativity lay in rearranging existing motifs. Leber's ornaments reflect their time; they are consistent with conventional iconography and fashionable styles, and are made with materials from France, using the skills learned from her Ursuline instructors. Bearers of Tridentine and Sulpician messages, the embroidered objects had to be recognized and understood by Christians on both sides of the Atlantic, and therefore resemble embroideries done in all convents of the time.

Beyond the passion and the ideals, her ornaments remain a fragile corpus for textile historians. The pieces attributed to Leber have been ill-treated by history, time, wear, irreversible remounting, and reworking. This has given the ensemble a disparate, fragmented appearance that challenges understanding and intimidates even the most intrepid experts. New restoration procedures accompanied by detailed photographic documentation and in-depth technical analysis of the linings, backings, selvages, remountings and additions, would be an indispensable complement to this study, given the significance of the collection in the history of textiles in Quebec. Indeed the embroidered ornaments attributed to Jeanne Leber constitute one of Montreal's rare examples of

liturgical embroidery inspired by French techniques and patterns introduced to New France by religious communities, first in Quebec City and then in Montreal, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHRISTINE TURGEON
Director
Musée des Ursulines de Québec, Québec
(Translated by Marcia Couëlle)

Notes

For their judicious comments, I wish to thank François-Marc Gagnon, the Director of the Gail and Stephen Jarislowsky Institute for Studies in Canadian Art, Concordia University, Laurier Lacroix, Université du Québec à Montreal, Laurier Turgeon, Université Laval, and Danièle Véron-Denise, Musée du Château de Fontainebleau and a specialist in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French embroidery. This text in a slightly different form is found in *Collections-collectionneurs.Textiles d'Amérique et de France*, ed., Jocelyne MATHIEU and Christine TURGEON (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000).

1 Juchereau de la FERTÉ, Jeanne-Françoise de SAINTE-IGNACE and Marie-Andrée DUPLESSIS DE SAINTE-HÉLÈNE, *Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716* (Quebec/Montreal: Albert Jamet, 1939), 409. Sister Juchereau dates Jeanne Leber's death to 1714 based on the eulogy delivered by de Belmont.

2 François VACHON DE BELMONT, "Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté à Montréal en Canada envoyé à l'abbé de Saint-Albin à Paris en 1722," in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec 1929-1930* (Quebec: Rédempti Paradis Imprimeur De Sa Majesté Le Roy, 1930), 153.

3 Nicole LEMAY, "Jeanne Leber, artiste et mystique," exhibition text (Montreal: Maison Saint-Gabriel, 1995).

4 François Vachon de Belmont (Grenoble 1645-Montreal 1732), was the Superior of the Saint-Sulpice Seminary in Montreal and Grand Vicar of the Quebec City Diocese from 1701 until his death. In 1701, he wrote "Abrégé de la vie de la sœur Leber," which he used in delivering Jeanne Leber's eulogy and subsequently included in his "Éloges de quelques personnes," 144-189.

5 François Séguenot, P.S.S., priest of the new Pointe-aux-Trembles parish, was born in Rouvray, France and died in Montreal, 1727. Nothing written by him about Jeanne Leber's spiritual conduct is known to exist.

6 Étienne Montgolfier, P.S.S., born near Lyon in 1712, arrived in Montreal in 1751 and died in 1791. His 1768 biography of Jeanne Leber reproduces de Belmont's text in its near entirety. MS 1216, Archives de Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

7 Étienne FAILLON, P.S.S., *L'héroïne chrétienne du Canada* (Ville-Marie: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1860).

8 Interesting comparisons of the Jesuit hagiographies of Kateri Tekakwitha, an Iroquois deceased in 1680 and beatified in 1980, and the Sulpician biographies of Jeanne Leber can be found in Nancy SHOEMAKER, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed., Nancy SHOEMAKER (New York: Routledge, 1995), 49-71, and Allan GREER, "Savage/Saint: The Lives of Kateri Tekakwitha," in *Habitants et marchands: Twenty Years Later*, ed., Sylvie DÉPATIE (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998). Like Jeanne Leber, Kateri Tekakwitha craved solitude, prayer and mortification; she lived with her father, refused to marry and had a certain talent for handiwork. The Jesuits' heroine recalls the Sulpicians' heroine, the former supporting the work of the Jesuit missionaries with the Amerindians, the latter providing inspiration for French Catholics settling in Montreal.

9 Hélène TREMBLAY, "Jeanne Leber, la Recluse de Ville-Marie, et l'inédite histoire de ses restes," *Pierres Vivantes* (annual bulletin of the Comité des fondateurs de l'Église du Canada), 1993.

10 Françoise DEROY-PINEAU, *Jeanne Leber, la Recluse au cœur des combats: 1662-1714* (Montreal: Bellarmin, 2000).

11 Léo-Paul DESROSIERS, "Le milieu où naît Jeanne Le Ber," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* XVI, no. 2 (September 1962): 155-77; and his *Dans le nid d'aiglons, la Colombe* (Montreal: Fides, 1963).

12 Marius BARBEAU, *Saintes Artisanes I. Les Brodeuses, Cahiers d'art ARCA 2* (Montreal: Fides, 1944); *Saintes Artisanes II. Mille petites addresses, Cahiers d'art ARCA 3* (Montreal: Fides, 1946); *Quebec, Where Ancient France Lingers* (Librairie Garneau: Quebec City, 1936); "Fils d'or et fils d'argent," *Le Soleil*, 3 June 1945; "Jeanne Leber, Sainte Artisane," *LÉvènement*, 29 July 1945.

13 DEROY-PINEAU, *Jeanne Leber*, 27-28.

14 FAILLON, *L'héroïne chrétienne*; see also Louise DECHÊNE, "Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVII[e] siècle," in *Civilisations et mentalités*, ed., Philippe ARIÈS and Robert MANDROU (Montreal: Plon, 1974) for a comparison of Jacques Leber's rise to success with that of other Montreal merchants.

15 DEROY-PINEAU, *Jeanne Leber*, 103.

16 DE BELMONT, "Éloges de quelques personnes," 147.

17 DECHÊNE, "Habitants et marchands," 151-55; Robert S. DUPLESSIS, "Circulation des textiles et des valeurs dans la Nouvelle-France aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles," in *Échanges et cultures textiles dans l'Europe Pré-industrielle*, ed., Jacques BOTTIN and Nicole PELLEGRIN, *Revue du Nord*, special issue (no. 12, 1996): 73-88.

18 François-Marc GAGNON, *La conversion par l'image : un aspect de la mission des Jesuites auprès des Indiens du Canada au 17[e] century* (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1975).

19 "Inventaire de Jacques Leber," records of Notary Begnine Basset, 1 Dec. 1693. Montreal, Archives nationales du Québec. The full inventory of Leber's assets, begun in late 1693, took nine months to complete.

20 Denis MARTIN, "L'estampe importée en Nouvelle-France," Ph.D. diss., University of Laval, 1990.

21 Nicole CLOUTIER and François-Marc GAGNON, *Premiers peintres de la Nouvelle-France*, Vol. 1, Civilisation du Québec series (Quebec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1976), 137.

22 Ibid., 138-39.

23 Louis-Claude DANRÉ DE BLANZY, "Inventaire des biens meubles et immeubles des Frères Hospitaliers de Saint-Joseph de la Croix (dits Frères Charron) de l'hôpital général de Montréal, 4 septembre 1747," quoted in Robert LAHAISE, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal*, Cahiers du Québec series (Ville de Lasalle: Hurtubise HMH, 1980).

24 Why did Marie Leber choose the Ursulines in Quebec City rather than a Montreal community? Had she been schooled by the Ursulines in Rouen? We know that the Quebec City convent maintained ties with the Rouen Ursulines, because on 9 Aug. 1668, the year Marie Leber entered the order, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote to her son: "We were hoping that this voyage would bring us my dear Mother Cécile de Reuvillle de l'Enfant-Jésus from Rouen, and I was prepared to teach her the Algonquin language, certain that she would be able and determined to learn it." Dom Guy-Marie OURY, O.S.B., *Marie de l'Incarnation, Correspondance 1599-1672* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe; Solesmes/Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971), letter CCXXXV, 9 Aug. 1668, 800-01.

25 Ibid., letter CCXLIII, 16 Oct. 1668, 827.

26 Adèle CIMON, *Les Ursulines de Québec depuis leur établissement jusqu'à nos jours* (Quebec: Darveau 1863-1866), 288.

27 Dom Guy-Marie OURY, O.S.B., *Les Ursulines de Québec 1639-1953* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1999), 143-52.

28 Information furnished by Nicole Cloutier.

29 The Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame opened their school four years later, in 1678.

30 "Registre des entrées et sorties des petites filles Françaises et Sauvages de 1641 à 1720," MS, fol. 52r, Archives des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec City.

31 Ibid.

32 Claire GOURDEAU, *Les Délices de nos cœurs, Marie de l'Incarnation et ses pensionnaires amérindiennes, 1639-1672*, Nouveaux cahiers du CÉLAT series (Sillery: Septentrion, 1994).

33 Marcel TRUDEL, *Les écolières des Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1686 : Amérindiennes et canadiennes* (Ville de Lasalle: Hurtubise HMH, 1999). Of the 514 boarders recorded between 1642 and 1686, 451 were from Quebec City, 46 from Trois-Rivières and only 14 from the Montreal area.

34 Madeleine de Chauvigny, daughter of the president of the Alençon town council in Normandy, was married at the age of nineteen to Charles de Gruel de la Peltrie, a nobleman and officer of the king. Upon his death, she inherited a considerable fortune. In 1636, the publication of Father Lejeune's *Relation* stirred high feelings among the French devout. Madame de la Peltrie heeded the Jesuit's call and sailed to Canada to build an Ursuline convent and a school to instruct Amerindian girls in Christianity.

35 Charter written by the Reverend Father Jérôme Lalemant, Jesuit Superior in Quebec City and adapted for the Ursulines in 1647. MS, Archives des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec City.

36 GOURDEAU, *Les Délices*, 42-46.

37 "De l'office de la Mère Pref. des Classes," in *Les Constitutions de l'Institut & Compagnie des Religieuses de sainte Ursule* (Paris: Georges Josse, 1635), 6-7.

38 *Règlements pour les Religieuses de Sainte Ursule de la Congrégation de Paris* (Paris: Gilles Blaizot, 1652), 95.

39 Ibid., 96.

40 Marie de Chantal GUEUDRÉ, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Sainte-Ursule en France*, vol. II (Paris: Édition Saint-Paul, 1960), 570-71.

41 OURY, *Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter CCXXIII, 30 Apr. 1672, 767.

42 Ibid., letter CXLII, 1 Sept. 1652, 477.

43 CIMON, *Les Ursulines de Québec*, 398. These ornaments were lost in the fire that destroyed the convent on 20 Oct. 1686.

44 Danièle VÉRON-DENISE, "Quelques aspects de la broderie en France aux XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles : milieux et modèles," in *Livres en broderie Reliures françaises du Moyen-ge à nos jours*, ed., Sabine CARON and Martine LEFÈVRE (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995), 35.

45 Dom Claude MARTIN, *La vie de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Solesmes, 1981), 1013. (Facsimile edition; originally published in 1677 by Louis Billaine, Paris).

46 "Régistre des bienfaiteurs." MS, Archives des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec City.

47 "Annales des Ursulines de Québec, 1639 to 1822." MS, Archives des Ursulines de Québec, Quebec City.

48 CIMON, *Les Ursulines de Québec*, 339. The Ursulines confided to Montgolfier that Jeanne, more than her companions, was drawn to solitude, silence and prayer and despised excess and vanity. Their account coincides with this anecdote by de Belmont:

> A Lady who had been urged by Mademoiselle Leber's parents to see to her Every Need, sent her a little lace-making cushion, embellished with Ribbons and small favours. She received it, with much chagrin, and at first wanted to strip it of its baubles. Her mistresses opposed this so as not to hurt the Lady's feelings...but the young lady told them that she could not work on something that exuded Worldliness, that all this was vain, and she cried so bitterly that her mistresses allowed her to remove the things she found offensive...no sooner had she been given permission than she ripped them all off with such haste and Holy Rage that, had her young companions not interceded by taking them away, all those little Ribbons would have been thrown into the Fire on the spot.

49 DE BELMONT, "Éloges de quelques personnes," 150.

50 GREER, "Savage/Saint", 148-149, and SHOEMAKER, "Kateri Tekakwitha," demonstrate how the Jesuits present the life of Kateri Tekakwitha in the image of Saint Catherine of Siena (1347-1380); the Sulpicians adopted the same approach for Jeanne Leber.

51 DEROY-PINEAU, *Jeanne Leber*, 70.

52 MARTIN, *La vie de la Vénérable Mère*, 505-06.

53 Ibid., 119.

54 Marie SEYNAEVE, "Mystique et broderie dans la vie de Marie de l'Incarnation," in *Marie Guyard de l'Incarnation, un destin transocéanique*, ed., François DEROY-PINEAU (Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 2000), 112-13.

55 DE BELMONT, "Éloges de quelques personnes," 151.

56 Ibid.

57 Nicole PELLEGRIN, "Les vertus de l'Ouvrage. Recherches sur la féminisation des travaux d'aiguille (XVI^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles)," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (October 1999): 747-69.

58 "De l'ouvrage & travail des mains," in *Règlements pour les Religieuses*, 154-58.

59 Patricia SIMPSON, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

60 LAHAISE, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal*, 123-26.

61 Records of Notary Begnine Basset, 4 Aug. 1695; DESROSIERS, "Le milieu où naît," 67-68.

62 LAHAISE, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal*, 124-25.

63 DE BELMONT, "Éloges de quelques personnes," 152.

64 Jeanne Leber's biographers relate her talent for embroidery to the intercession of angels, her special form of devotion. The aid of angels in embroidering is also evoked by Marie de l'Incarnation: "Thinking of the nuns' cells as Heavens and that Angels live there, we sink into deep meditation...but without leaving off our work." MARTIN, *La vie de la Vénérable Mère*, 214.

65 Contract between Jeanne Leber and the Congregation of Notre-Dame signed before Notary Bégnine Basset, 4 Aug. 1695, quoted in DESROSIERS, "Le milieu où naît," 68-69.

66 Jeanne Leber directly and indirectly encouraged needlecraft in Montreal. On 9 Sept. 1714, shortly before her death, she set up a fund from which the income would serve to maintain a boarding school for poor girls where they would learn, among other things, "to read

and to pursue their own needlework, to care for their linen, their rags, and to mend, spin, knit and wash their garments." The Sisters of the Congregation consider the women's group L'Œuvre des Tabernacles, which embroidered vestments for parish churches, as part of Jeanne Leber's legacy.

67 DE BELMONT, "Éloges de quelques personnes," 159.

68 DEROY-PINEAU, *Jeanne Leber*, 135-36.

69 "Annales des Ursulines de Québec."

70 DEROY-PINEAU, *Jeanne Leber*, 158.

71 I want to thank Kathryn Borel for her comments as a professional embroideress, on the five ornaments discussed here. My thanks also go to Christine Aribaud, Reader in Art History at Université de Toulouse Le Mirail and a specialist in liturgical ornaments of south-western France.

72 From an inventory of the assets of Notre-Dame Church: 1737, "one altar frontal of embroidered white satin;" 1742, "1 chasuble and two dalmatics of flowered damask. one altar frontal in embroidered white satin;" 1792, "one high altar frontal embroidered in silver, one chasuble and two white dalmatics with embroidered silver crosses and bands;" 1894, "bill for repairs to an altar frontal embroidered by Mlle Leber." Montreal, Notre-Dame Basilica. I would like to thank Monique Lanthier, curator at the Notre-Dame Basilica, for bringing this inventory to my attention.

73 Jeanne Leber (attributed to), altar frontal, *c.*1700. Montreal, Fabrique de la paroisse Notre-Dame. Height: before restoration, 78.34 cm; after restoration, 82 cm; width: before restoration, 274 cm; after restoration, 276 cm. The modified dimensions are due to the removal of the embroidered bands to restore the original appearance. At the time it was restored in 1982, this piece was labelled "Altar frontal embroidered by Jeanne Leber, 1695-1714." As is customary, the embroidered cloth was stretched on a wood frame; after restoration, it was mounted on a wood panel.

74 These additions are visible in a photo taken prior to restoration and published in BARBEAU, *Les Saintes Artisanes I.*

75 This type of embroidery is done with fine gold thread on vellum or linen, the metallic strands couched with silk in tight, smooth rows; only the gold is visible on the upper side. For a discussion of the technique, see Charles GERMAIN DE SAINT-AUBIN, Designer to Louis XIX, *Art of the Embroiderer* (*L'Art du Brodeur*), 1770, trans. Nikki Scheuer, facsimile edition (Los Angeles: County Museum of Art, 1983), 36-38.

76 Louis DE FARCY, *La broderie du XI^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Angers: Belhomme, 1890).

77 *Fil de foi, chemins de soie*, exhib. cat. (Chambord: Château de Chambord, 1993), 173.

78 GAGNON, *La conversion par l'image*, 42-44.

79 Jeanne Leber (attributed to), chasuble, *c.*1700. Montreal, Fabrique de la paroisse Notre-Dame. Height: 121cm; width: 65 cm. Jeanne Leber (attributed to), two dalmatics, c.1700, Montreal, Fabrique de la paroisse Notre-Dame. Heights: 99 cm and 100 cm; widths: 65 cm and 62 cm. At the time they were restored in 1982, the chasuble and the two dalmatics were labelled "Embroidered by Jeanne Leber, 1695-1714."

80 Jean SIMARD, *Une iconographie du clergé français au XVII^e siècle* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1976), 141-42.

81 I am indebted to Jacqueline Guilloit, member of the Association d'art sacré de Seine-Maritime for bringing this altar frontal, which may have been embroidered by Ursulines, to my attention.

82 These ornaments were used in a parish church, not in a convent chapel, where such objects were meticulously cared for by sacristy sisters and could last for centuries in remarkable condition.

83 Jeanne Leber (attributed to), cope, first half of the eighteenth century and mid-nineteenth century. Montreal, Maison Saint-Gabriel. Height: 133 cm; width: 222 cm. As the cope could not be removed from its showcase, it was impossible to inspect the lining and the reverse side of the re-embroidered fabric. The semi-circular panel does not require significant restoration; the hood and the orphrey have been damaged by rubbing and wear and will require more extensive repair to reattach the loose threads to the ground.

84 This information was provided by Sister Madeleine Juneau, Director of the Maison Saint-Gabriel in Montreal. How the cope, which Faillon places at the Basilica in 1860, came to be used a century later at the Congregation of Notre-Dame chapel, has yet to be determined.

85 Elizabeth RAPLEY, *Les dévotes : les femmes et l'Église en France au XVII^e siècle*, trans. Charlotte Melançon (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1990). Rapley discusses the importance the religious communities placed on lighting in the rooms where the girls did handiwork. At the Ursuline Convent in Quebec City, the communal room is one of the best-lit areas, boasting a row of windows on either side.

Résumé

JEANNE LEBER

Recluse et Brodeuse (1662-1714)

Les Ursulines de Québec et la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal possèdent plusieurs ornements liturgiques peints et brodés qui présentent de fortes ressemblances à la fois techniques, stylistiques et iconographiques. La production de ces ornements correspond à la période des activités artistiques de Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) et de Marie Lemaire-des-Anges (1641-1717), ursulines de Québec, et de celle de Jeanne Leber (1662-1714), fille du riche marchand montréalais Jacques Leber (1633-1706) et sœur du peintre connu Pierre Leber (1669-1707). Le destin de Jeanne sera à l'image de son illustre famille; après avoir été pensionnaire au monastère de Québec dans les années 1674-1675, elle s'adonna aux arts de l'aiguille dans sa cellule de recluse à la Chapelle de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame à Montréal..

À sa mort, survenue le 3 octobre 1714, à l'âge de cinquante-deux ans, Jeanne Leber aura passé trente-quatre années de son existence retirée du monde; quinze ans dans la maison de son père et dix-neuf ans dans le réclusoir. De l'adolescence à la mort, elle s'ensevelit dans un dialogue constant avec Dieu. Sa vie rythmée sur un calendrier de plus en plus exigeant conduit à l'abnégation totale, à la disparition du soi, à l'assèchement du corps, à la perte lente des énergies vitales. Le corps maîtrisé disparaît pour laisser place aux fonctions de l'âme, aux exigences de la spiritualité et du mysticisme. Cette tension excessive correspond à une période troublée de l'histoire de Montréal où le catholicisme sans cesse menacé doit se renouveler par des hauts faits, des héros, des sacrifices. Malgré le risque de voir une vie s'éteindre entre quatre murs, la famille Leber et la communauté montréalaise soutiennent Jeanne Leber dans son choix de réclusion. N'offre-t-elle pas à la population une manière de s'enraciner, de défier par une histoire pieuse et pure cette immensité incontrôlée et sauvage qui l'encercle et l'inquiète?

Comme tous les contemplatifs, Jeanne Leber partage sa journée entre la prière et le travail manuel. Ses ouvrages, mis au service de Dieu et de la charité, contribuent à exprimer et à épanouir son mysticisme. Elle est tour à tour couturière, fileuse, dentellière et brodeuse pour servir les pauvres de Montréal et orner les chapelles et les églises des paroisses environnantes. De cette production, qu'aucune source à ce jour n'a permis réellement de quantifier ni d'identifier, subsiste un corpus d'ornements liturgiques brodés que l'ethnologue, Marius Barbeau a été le premier à révéler au grand public. Dans le cadre de ses enquêtes

de terrain sur les collections des communautés religieuses du Québec, il est le confident de la tradition orale et d'attributions séculaires attachées à certains objets associés à un personnage particulièrement représentatif du charisme de la communauté. En 1947, il recense une douzaine de pièces brodées par Jeanne Leber et explique la faiblesse du corpus par les incendies majeurs qui détruisirent les bâtiments des sœurs de la Congrégation en 1768 et 1893, et des destructions, des déménagements, des démolitions subis par les églises paroissiales de Montréal.

Jeanne Leber n'a laissé aucun écrit sur sa vie et son cheminement spirituel, ni son confesseur, l'abbé François Séguenot, prêtre de Saint-Sulpice, qui l'a suivie pendant ses 19 années de réclusion, ni sa cousine, Anne Barrois, devenue sœur Saint Charles à la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, qui lui apporta ses repas dans sa cellule. Cette étude est fondée sur la première biographie posthume de Jeanne Leber écrite, entre 1715 et 1722, par le sulpicien François Vachon de Belmont. Pour reconstituer la vie de la Recluse, Monsieur de Belmont, qui se défend dans sa préface d'être un panégyriste, s'est appuyé sur des faits «qui ont paru aux yeux des témoins oculaires, et Les paroles, que leurs oreilles ont Entenduës». Il utilise les témoignages des supérieures de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal et des Ursulines de Québec et le rapport de deux amies de Jeanne Leber dont l'une était pensionnaire en même temps qu'elle chez les Ursulines. Sans le citer, le Sulpicien s'est probablement servi des confidences de l'abbé François Séguenot, encore vivant en 1722. Du manuscrit de Belmont, découlent les biographies de Montgolfier, écrite en 1768, puis de Faillon, publiée en 1860, tous deux prêtres de Saint-Sulpice.

Pour compléter ses sources écrites, nous avons choisi d'analyser les pièces dont l'attribution nous semblait la plus plausible et la mieux documentée. Il s'agit de cinq ornements liturgiques énumérés dans la biographie de Vachon de Belmont : «presque tous les ornemens qui sont presentement a la chapelle de la congregation sont l'ouvrages de ses mains, On admire avec justice le devant d'autel chasubple dalmatique et chape de Broderie de soye fait avec une propreté une adresse une magnificence toute particuliere». L'existence de ces pièces est confirmée à plusieurs reprises aux XVIII[e] et XIX[e] siècles, sans beaucoup de détails malheureusement, dans les archives de la fabrique de la Paroisse Notre-Dame où sont conservés le parement d'autel, la chasuble et les deux dalmatiques. En 1860, l'abbé Faillon atteste lui aussi la présence du corpus : «On voit encore, aujourd'hui, à l'Église paroissiale de Ville-Marie, un ornement complet, à fond glacé d'argent, composé du devant d'autel, de la chasuble, des dalmatiques et de la chappe, dont toutes les broderies sont de la main de la Sœur Leber». Au moment de leur restauration en 1982, à l'occasion de l'aménagement du Musée de la Basilique de Notre-Dame, les ornements portaient une étiquette les attribuant à Jeanne Leber. La chape, quant à elle, est restée longtemps en usage à la Chapelle de la Congrégation avant d'être exposée à la Maison Saint-Gabriel. Elle n'a donc pas été restaurée avec les autres ornements.

L'absence de sources écrites par Jeanne Leber, l'attribution posthume de ces broderies par ses historiographes, les réserves récentes émises par plusieurs historiens de l'art et spécialistes du textile, à la fois sur la cohérence du corpus et l'origine canadienne de certaines pièces, entourent de mystère cet ensemble. Pour pallier les lacunes documentaires, les objets sont devenus nos archives. Les ornements brodés attribués à la Recluse ont remplacé sa correspondance, ses confidences, les témoignages de ses contemporains, les traces de son existence et de sa matérialité; l'objet a été substitué, par défaut, à l'écrit. Nous avons reconstitué Jeanne Leber à travers ses choix d'artiste et d'artisane : les modèles, les patrons, les coloris, les motifs, les techniques, les maladresses, les réussites, la fatigue ou l'inspiration. Nous avons recensé minutieusement tout détail technique ou iconographique qui pouvait renforcer l'homogénéité de ce corpus comme la présence de cette couchure au fil d'argent commune aux cinq ornements.

Inversement, l'analyse des pièces nous a constamment ramené vers l'artisane, comme si les fonctions de brodeuse et de recluse étaient intimement liées et qu'elles ne pouvaient s'expliquer l'une sans l'autre. Pour comprendre ce corpus, il fallait le replacer dans son contexte de production. Nous avons choisi d'analyser l'œuvre de Jeanne Leber à travers ses origines familiales, son éducation, sa formation artistique, son parcours personnel. De cet environnement socio-culturel nous avons reconstitué un réseau, un cadre de vie, une expérience, une logique qui expliquent, presque naturellement, la production artistique de Jeanne Leber. Enfin, nous avons mis en perspective les cinq ornements du corpus avec certaines pièces contemporaines brodées ou peintes par les Ursulines pour découvrir combien ces œuvres brodées dans l'intimité close d'un réclusoir se situent au carrefour d'influences, de Québec à Montréal, de la France à la Nouvelle-France.

La production de Jeanne Leber est étroitement liée à sa vie de recluse. Ces ornements brodés dans la solitude et la proximité du sanctuaire rappellent les liens étroits qui existent entre cette activité paisible qu'est la broderie et l'exercice de la prière, de la contemplation et de l'oraison. C'est une occupation peu physique qui convient à une femme soumise au jeûne, aux longues veilles et à la mortification. La broderie est une activité manuelle qui sert de support à la vie contemplative. En symbiose avec le lieu qu'elle habite, la Recluse s'identifie à la Vierge à la fois mère et épouse. La broderie apparaît comme une offrande de Jeanne Leber à son Dieu auquel elle a donné sa vie; un acte de dévotion, un geste de contemplation où la perfection de l'aiguille amène à la grâce mystique, où le corps et les gestes de la brodeuse disparaissent pour renaître sous la forme d'un vêtement destiné au Christ par l'intermédiaire du prêtre qui le porte.

Le réclusoir est un lieu de production particulier, différent des grandes salles communautaires bien éclairées où religieuses et élèves travaillent par petits groupes et en équipe. Jeanne Leber brode sans la complémentarité d'autres brodeuses qui peuvent lui offrir le support d'une division du travail correspondant aux habiletés de chacune, comme c'est le cas pour l'atelier des Ursulines. Les

broderies attribuées à la Recluse ne présentent pas de grands médaillons architecturés, de cornes d'abondance en haut-relief ou une grande diversité de points et de techniques qui, pour être réalisés, demandent des modèles, beaucoup de matériel, des métiers, bref tout un support logistique qui ne peut être animé que par plusieurs brodeuses travaillant en même temps. Il s'agit d'ornements issus d'un travail long et minutieux dont la qualité technique est parfois inégale, mais réalisable par une seule personne.

De la claustration de Jeanne Leber émane une production sensible aux modes, aux offres du commerce colonial, aux échanges d'expertise entre communautés religieuses. Le corpus étudié montre la conformité d'un art dont les règles sont l'application de techniques et de modèles, où la copie règne en maître, où la créativité repose sur l'agencement différent de motifs et la qualité de l'exécution, liée à l'adresse, l'inspiration, l'énergie du moment, la finalité qui l'accompagne. L'œuvre brodée de Jeanne Leber est déterminée par les matériaux, les modèles, les commandes qu'elle reçoit et non par le désir de création personnelle. Produits dans l'intimité close du réclusoir, à l'abri normalement de toutes influences, ces ornements sont pourtant à l'image de leur temps, conformes à l'iconographie conventionnelle, aux modèles à la mode, fabriqués avec des matériaux venus de France, fidèles aux savoir-faire transmis par les maîtresses ursulines.

Au-delà de la passion et des idéaux, les ornements de Jeanne Leber restent pour l'historien du textile un corpus fragile. Les ornements attribués à Jeanne Leber ont été malmenés par l'histoire, le temps, l'usure, les remontages irréversibles, les rebroderies. Ces bouleversements donnent un aspect disparate, éclaté à l'ensemble, qui gêne sa compréhension et intimide le plus téméraire des spécialistes. Une nouvelle démarche de restauration accompagnée d'une prise de photographies et d'une analyse technique approfondie, notamment des doublures, des envers, des lisières, des remontages, des ajouts, serait le complément indispensable à cette étude compte tenu de l'intérêt de cette collection pour l'histoire des textiles du Québec. En effet, au-delà du problème de l'attribution, les ornements brodés attribués à Jeanne Leber constituent un des rares témoignages à Montréal de cette broderie liturgique inspirée des techniques et des modèles français introduits en Nouvelle-France par le biais des communautés religieuses, à Québec, puis à Montréal, aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles.

Enfin, cette recherche nous a permis de dégager les liens intimes presque mystérieux qui lient l'art de la broderie avec la pratique de la prière, de l'ascèse et de la solitude. Œuvres non signées et parfois contestées, les ornements liturgiques brodés attribués à Jeanne Leber portent encore de nos jours le sceau de la Recluse comme si ces merveilles d'or, d'argent et de soie ne pouvaient naître, dans notre imaginaire, que dans le clair obscur, le calme et le secret d'une cellule.

(Christine Turgeon)

fig.1 Anonyme, **Le Miracle de saint François Xavier**, XVIII[e] siècle, huile sur toile, 290 x 164 cm, Saint-François-du-Lac, tableau du maître-autel. (Photo: l'auteur)

ŒUVRES DATANT DU RÉGIME FRANÇAIS À L'ÉGLISE PAROISSIALE DE SAINT-FRANÇOIS-DU-LAC AU QUÉBEC

Un ensemble iconographique concerté?

L'église Saint-François-Xavier à Saint-François-du-Lac possède cinq tableaux dont trois ont retrouvé leur fraîcheur d'antan après une restauration, en 1996, sous la direction d'Anita Henry. La toile du maître-autel représente un miracle de saint François Xavier, le saint éponyme de la paroisse (fig.1). Les deux autres tableaux, ayant pour thème une Immaculée Conception et un Saint Joseph portant l'Enfant Jésus, sont placés respectivement dans l'autel de droite et de gauche (figs.10 et 6). Ce sont ces trois tableaux anonymes, qui n'ont pas été analysés dans les ouvrages sur la peinture ancienne au Québec, que nous nous appliquerons à étudier ici[1]. À ce jour, aucun document ne nous a permis d'identifier un artiste susceptible d'avoir peint ces tableaux. Qui plus est, nulle mention dans les livres de comptes ne nous renseigne sur la date de leur exécution bien que nous ne pensions pas devoir remonter plus loin que la première motié du XVIII[e] siècle. En l'absence de preuves tangibles, nous nous attarderons de préférence à l'étude détaillée de l'iconographie. Encore convient-il, dans ce cas, d'évoquer le mieux possible le contexte historique qui a présidé à la commande de ces tableaux.

De 1700 à 1714, c'est aux jésuites missionnaires auprès des Abénakis qu'est confiée la cure de Saint-François[2]. En 1714, la mission est érigée en paroisse par Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier et placée sous la protection de saint François Xavier. L'abbé Jean-Baptiste Dugast (1684-1763), son premier curé, desservira la paroisse quarante-neuf années durant, secondé par les pères jésuites qui avaient la charge du village amérindien voisin, créé vers 1700, sous le vocable de Saint-François-de-Sales[3].

Sur l'île du Fort, à Saint-François-du-Lac, quatre églises se sont succédées en moins de cinquante ans : d'abord la chapelle de 1689, réduite en cendres par les Iroquois à l'automne de la même année, l'église de 1698, celle de 1718 et, finalement, la première église en pierre construite entre 1731 et 1739[4]. Cette dernière adoptait un plan en forme de croix latine se terminant par une abside semi-circulaire au fond de laquelle était placé le maître-autel dédié au patron de la paroisse. Les chapelles respectivement dédiées à saint Joseph et à la Vierge Immaculée étaient sises dans les bras du transept[5]. Un siècle plus tard, la proximité du lac Saint-Pierre menaçait l'église de ruine; l'on s'accorda alors à abandonner

l'ancien édifice pour en construire un autre plus grand quelques lieues plus haut, vis-à-vis du village des Abénakis. Cette cinquième et dernière église fut terminée en 1849. Son architecte, Thomas Baillairgé, fit surmonter l'édifice de deux clochers et adopta un plan récollet (sans transept) avec une abside en hémicycle. Les anciennes dédicaces furent respectées. Le décor intérieur fut exécuté entre 1853 et 1860 par les entrepreneurs-sculpteurs Alexis et Michel Milette avec la participation de Thomas Allard. En 1885, Adolphe Beaulieu reproduisit en peinture les épisodes les plus connus de la vie de saint François Xavier sur les voûtes du chœur. L'édifice fut classé monument historique en 1957[6].

Un des documents les plus anciens attestant d'une tentative d'embellissement remonte à l'année 1721, soit dix ans avant l'érection de la première église en pierre. C'est après avoir vu le tabernacle de la chapelle des récollets de Trois-Rivières réalisé par Jean-Jacques Bloem dit Leblond que le curé Dugast passa commande à ce même artiste d'un tabernacle similaire, comme en fait foi le marché passé le 23 février 1721 :

> (...) fut présent Jean Jacquiès dit Leblond maître sculpteur demeurant en cette ville [Trois-Rivières] lequel a promis et promet par ses présentes à Jean-Baptiste Dugast, (...) de faire et parfaire tous et chacun les ouvrages de menuiserie et ornement de sculpture d'un tabernacle tant en largeur qu'en hauteur qu'iceluy Le Blond a cy-devant fait aux Révérends Père Récollets de cette ville [Trois-Rivières] et qui est à présent au mètre-hôtel de leur église[7].

Cette pièce de mobilier liturgique est donc parmi les premiers ornements commandés. Achevée en 1722, elle sera dorée en 1783 pour 931 livres par les ursulines de Trois-Rivières[8].

Les dédicaces

Toutefois, il semblerait que ce soit à l'époque de la première église en pierre (1731-1739) que l'on s'efforça d'enrichir l'édifice de tableaux[9]. Charland, historien de la paroisse, parle même «d'émulation entre sacristains et marguilliers» qui rivalisèrent d'ardeur pour parer leur nouvelle église d'une décoration intérieure de qualité[9]. C'est aussi à ce moment-là que se firent les dédicaces. Grâce au témoignage, en 1739, du vicaire général, Jean-Pierre Miniac, nous pouvons nous faire une idée de la manière dont on procéda. En effet, il note lors de sa visite pastorale :

> Et comme plusieurs personnes de consideration ont renouvelés dans notre presente visite les instances quils nous avoient fait cydevant pour faire mettre une des chapelles sous linvocation de St Joseph, voulant satisfaire a leur dévotion, nous mettons la chapelle du coté de l'Evangile sous la protection de ce grand sainct ce qui nous paroist d'autant plus convenable que la chapelle de droite estant sous le titre de limmaculée conception,

> servira a entretenir non seulement la dévotion pour cette reine des cieux mais encore celle que quelleques femmes pieuses paroissent avoir pour Ste anne sa mère et que les garçons auront dans St Joseph un protecteur spécial a qui ils pourront adresser avec confiance leurs vœux[10].

S'il faut en croire les intentions avouées de Miniac, la dédicace à saint Joseph était désirée par les paroissiens et, du même coup, permettait au clergé de donner un pendant dévotionnel à l'Immaculée Conception. Il ne s'agirait donc pas ici de propager ou de mettre en place une dévotion mais de satisfaire à la piété populaire. De fait, il n'y a rien d'extraordinaire à cette époque à consacrer les autels latéraux à la Vierge et à saint Joseph. C'était chose courante au Québec, tout particulièrement dans les églises jésuites[11]. Pour autant, nous ne pouvons nous contenter de l'aveu de Miniac. Vicaire général, c'est-à-dire un des principaux acteurs de l'encadrement paroissial, nul mieux que lui pouvait tirer argument d'un consensus populaire pour faire accepter certains choix ecclésiastiques. Et quand bien même les fidèles auraient agréé les choix des dédicaces, c'est finalement aux instances cléricales que revenaient les consécrations et par conséquent les thèmes pour des tableaux à venir. Et, en effet, il y a davantage du point de vue des dédicaces que ce témoignage le laisserait supposer.

La chapelle consacrée à l'Immaculée Conception n'a rien pour surprendre quand on sait que dès 1635 le père Lejeune voua la tâche missionnaire jésuite canadienne à celle-ci. Qui plus est, nous apprenons, grâce à l'étude historique du père Pouliot, qu'à partir du vœu du 8 décembre 1635 les jésuites consacrèrent leurs activités missionnaires à la fois à la Vierge Immaculée et à saint Joseph[12].

> Le 8 décembre 1635, dans toutes les résidences, du Cap-Breton à la Huronie, ils [les jésuites] offrent à l'Immaculée Conception une triple promesse : jeûner la veille de sa fête, célébrer chaque mois une messe en son honneur (ou dire le chapelet, s'ils ne sont pas prêtres, comme les frères, les domestiques), lui dédier la première église stable qu'on bâtirait dans l'année. C'est le célèbre vœu qui fut répété chaque année, dans toute la Nouvelle-France. Vœu à l'Immaculée Conception, oui; mais vœu à saint Joseph aussi. Écoutez la formule rédigée par le P. Le Jeune : Nous vous promettons (à Dieu) et faisons vœu, comme aussi à la très sainte Vierge votre Mère et à son glorieux Époux, saint Joseph (...) Le tout pour obtenir de la bonté de Notre Seigneur la conversion de ces peuples par l'entremise de sa sainte Mère et de son saint Époux (...)[13].

L'auteur ajoute qu'«on trouva bientôt – sans doute à cause du jeûne promis pour le 7 – d'avancer la cérémonie au 2 décembre, jour auquel on célébrait alors saint François Xavier[14]». Ainsi, pour des raisons pratiques, aux honneurs rendus à la Vierge et à saint Joseph furent désormais associés ceux voués à saint François Xavier. Par la suite, cette célébration dépassa très vite le groupe missionnaire pour

s'étendre aux ursulines, aux étudiants du Petit Séminaire et finalement aux augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec[15]. La plupart des communautés religieuses de Québec firent leur cette solennité qui avait l'avantage de réunir trois dévotions très à l'honneur depuis les débuts de la colonie. Il faut croire que ce vœu non obligatoire fut pratiqué fort avant dans le siècle par les clercs mais aussi par les laïcs car, en 1666, M^gr de Laval rappelle la formule qu'il est légitime de prononcer le jour du renouvellement du vœu : «Recevez donc, ô sainte et sacrée Reine des anges et des hommes, sous votre sainte protection, ces peuples désolés et abandonnés que nous vous présentons par les mains de votre glorieux époux et de vos fidèles serviteurs Saint Ignace et saint François Xavier, et de tous les anges gardiens et protecteurs de ces lieux, pour les offrir à votre bien aimé Fils (...)[16]».

Tout indique que les dédicaces à Saint-François, antérieures à l'arrivée de nos tableaux, découlaient de pratiques dévotionnelles proprement canadiennes, instituées en premier lieu par les missionnaires jésuites dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle mais qui finirent par concerner la majorité des élites religieuses. Il pourrait bien s'agir ici d'un ensemble concerté qui appelait une commande savamment pensée de peintures susceptibles d'orner les trois autels. C'est pour cette raison que nous considèrerons tour à tour, avec une attention accrue, les tableaux qui nous sont parvenus.

Les tableaux

De nos jours, l'église de Saint-François recèle cinq tableaux. Deux d'entre eux, placés dans les bas-côtés de l'église, n'ont pas encore été restaurés. De dimensions identiques (200 x 165 cm), ils ont pour sujet respectif *Le Baptême du Christ* à gauche et *Tobie et l'ange* à droite. *Le Baptême du Christ* est une copie fidèle d'un burin de Gérard Audran (1640-1703) d'après Pierre Mignard (1612-1695), tandis que *Tobie et l'ange* rappelle à plusieurs égards *L'Ange gardien* par Dessaillant qui se trouve actuellement à Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré. Andrée Ruel-Bouillon date ces deux peintures d'avant 1756 d'après une mention dans le *Livre de comptes* de la paroisse qui indique «Donné au Sr le Vasseur pour deux cadres (...) 230». L'auteure en est venue à cette supposition en considérant que ces cadres ont été prévus pour le *Baptême du Christ* et *Tobie et l'ange* car, à cette époque, les trois autres tableaux étaient déjà pourvus d'encadrements[17]. Bien que cette hypothèse soit séduisante, dans la mesure où elle parvient à concilier toutes les sources documentaires disponibles, nous pensons qu'il est très difficile de faire remonter ces deux tableaux à une date aussi reculée. En outre, rien dans les sources anciennes ne nous dit que l'église était ornée au XVIII^e siècle d'autres pièces peintes que celles du chœur. En fait, tout nous porte à croire qu'ils datent au moins du début du XIX^e siècle. Il s'agirait tout simplement de répliques de tableaux très estimés au Québec, puisque répétés à satiété durant le XIX^e siècle, dans de nombreuses églises de la province.

Les trois autres tableaux, vraisemblablement les seuls à dater du Régime français, ont été aménagés dans le chœur de l'église actuelle vers les années 1850[18]. Les circonstances particulières qui président à leurs commandes nous échappent. Une seule chose est acquise : ils se trouvaient à l'église Saint-François en 1742. Cette année-là, le tableau d'autel fut acheté moyennant 169 livres et en 1744, la fabrique se pourvut pour 90 livres d'«un cadre pour Saint François Xavier». Quant aux deux autres peintures surmontant les autels latéraux, aucune source à notre disposition ne signale ces toiles à proprement parler. C'est seulement grâce à l'indication de 1742 stipulant que les cadres ont été bien installés que nous pouvons fournir un *terminus ante quem* :

> Compte que rendent par devant moy J.B. Dugast (...) Les Sacristines des chapelles de l'immaculée conception et saint Joseph Dame Hertel et Marguerite Dugast [la sœur du curé] pour l'année 1742 en presence des susdits marguilliers soussignez la dite Dame Hertel fait recette de questes faites pendant le cours de la dite annee de la somme de 9" qui ont payé une sergette et des anneaux pour un rideau du cadre de St-Joseph. La dite Marguerite Dugast fait recette de questes faites pendant le cours de la dite année 64"15' qui ont payé la façon d'un cadre pour limmage de l'immaculée conception 65 pour le dit cadre[19].

Par ailleurs, il se pourrait que l'achat en 1756 de cadres identiques, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, était peut-être destiné à ces toiles, même si celles-ci avaient déjà des encadrements. Auquel cas, une dizaine d'années plus tard, la fabrique mieux nantie aurait décidé d'acheter de nouveaux cadres sans, cette fois-ci, regarder à la dépense. En effet, ceux de 1756 sont deux à trois fois plus chers que les premiers et, qui plus est, dorés par les ursulines de Québec «avec de l'or fin venu de France[20]». Cette deuxième possibilité, bien que purement conjoncturelle, nous semble à ce jour plus plausible que celle proposée en 1977 par Andrée Ruel-Bouillon.

De surcroît, sur la toile représentant l'Immaculée Conception, nous discernons à l'œil nu une ligne de démarcation qui indique qu'elle a été rallongée de cinquante centimètres environ. La trace d'un arc en plein cintre dans la partie supérieure nous autorise à penser que le format était initialement ovale. À partir de ces rares indices matériels, nous serions portés à croire que les tableaux n'étaient pas destinés en premier lieu à l'église Saint-François. Cependant, excepté les dimensions, rien ne nous permet d'étayer une telle hypothèse, sinon une analyse plus poussée de l'iconographie à laquelle nous nous livrerons dans le second temps de notre étude.

Le Miracle de saint François Xavier (fig.1)

Le tableau du maître-autel de format imposant (290,3 x 164 cm) est cintré à l'oreille. Cependant, «le filage ainsi que l'épaisseur des fibres entre les toiles

fig.2 Étienne GANTREL d'après Poussin, **Le Miracle de saint François Xavier,** XVII[e] siècle, burin. (Photo: l'auteur)

n'étant pas identiques[21]», le tableau était vraisemblablement rectangulaire. Nulle autre indication n'est susceptible de nous renseigner davantage : ni signée, ni datée, cette toile a été l'objet au XIX[e] siècle de larges surpeints qui rendirent toute appréciation de l'œuvre impossible jusqu'à sa récente restauration de 1996. Cela dit, les tonalités brunes, le dessin d'un métier un peu fruste, le modelé manquant de nuances plaident en faveur d'une œuvre réalisée par un peintre local[22]. D'autre part, cette toile reproduit dans ses moindres détails une gravure d'Étienne Gantrel (1646-1706) (fig.2) d'après le fameux tableau de Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), aujourd'hui au Musée du Louvre, intitulé *Saint François Xavier rappelant à la vie la fille d'un habitant de Cangoxima, au Japon* dit *Le Miracle de Saint François Xavier* (fig.3)[23]. De très grandes dimensions (444 x 234 cm), ce maître-autel fut commandé en 1641 par le surintendant des Bâtiments, Sublet de Noyers, pour la chapelle du noviciat des jésuites à Paris (église détruite). En 1763, suite à la suppression en France de l'ordre des jésuites, il fut acquis par Louis XV[24]. De plus, nous avons pu déterminer avec une quasi certitude que le tableau de Saint-François-du-Lac a pris pour modèle, non pas la peinture de Poussin mais la gravure de Gantrel. La raison tient, d'une part, à ce que notre tableau québécois est dans le même sens que le burin et, d'autre part, à ce qu'il reproduit les deux bandes latérales décrivant un mobilier liturgique présent sur l'estampe mais qui ne se trouve pas sur l'original. Même si, en 1957, Georges Wildenstein pense que le tableau de Poussin était initialement plus grand, cette assertion ne fut pas retenue par la suite par Anthony Blunt (1962) qui y vit une invention du graveur[25].

Saint missionnaire jésuite par excellence, François Xavier devint sous l'épiscopat de M[gr] de Laval, second patron du Canada. Aussi bien les représentations isolées de l'apôtre des Indes que son activité missionnaire et sa mort, ornèrent dorénavant maints sanctuaires. Les scènes décrivant son évangélisation auprès des Indiens et son agonie furent en effet fort prisées au Québec et ce dès les années 1660, comme en témoignent les peintures parvenues jusqu'à nous[26]. Il est vrai que ces thèmes narratifs étaient particulièrement adaptés au contexte de la Nouvelle-France. Dans la plupart des cas, ils avaient pour vocation de rappeler le rôle crucial que jouèrent les jésuites dans la conversion des indigènes et la qualité du sacrifice dont ils firent preuve. Par contre, la réputation de thaumaturge dans laquelle était tenu le saint ne fut pas privilégiée dans l'iconographie québécoise[27]. Selon Paul Bourassa, qui ne cite que notre tableau et celui de Verchères – sans aucun doute une réplique plus tardive – nous aurions affaire aux seules représentations connues au Québec d'un miracle de saint François Xavier[28]. De toute évidence, il semblerait donc que l'adoption d'un tel sujet ne soit pas fortuite. En premier lieu, ce tableau témoigne de la sollicitude avec laquelle le clergé invitait ses ouailles à se recommander à saint François Xavier. De fait, M[gr] de Saint-Vallier exhorte, dans son mandement de 1719, les

fig.3 Nicolas POUSSIN, **Le Miracle de saint François Xavier**, XVII[e] siècle, huile sur toile, 444 x 234 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre. (Photo: l'auteur)

fig.4 Anonyme, **Le Miracle de saint François Xavier** (détail de fig.1), XVIII[e] siècle, huile sur toile, Saint-François-du-Lac, tableau du maître autel. (Photo: l'auteur)

fig.5 Anonyme, **Le Miracle de saint François Xavier**, XVIII[e] siècle, huile sur toile, 290 x 64 cm, Saint-François-du-Lac, tableau du maître autel (avant la restauration de 1996). (Photo: l'auteur)

fidèles à recourir au saint afin d'obtenir des faveurs matérielles (guérisons) ou spirituelles (conversions) :

> Ce grand saint étant qualifié dans toute l'Eglise Apôtre des Indes, et ce pays passant pour une partie des Indes. Nous avons jugé ne pouvoir dispenser cette Eglise naissante de lui rendre ce devoir (...) est le grand avantage et les grâces extraordinaires que tout ce Christianisme des Français et des Sauvages a reçu jusqu'à présent (...) une infinité de merveilles et de miracles que Dieu a voulu opérer dans ce dernier temps en toutes les parties du monde par le recours que l'on a eu à son intercession[29].

Plus encore, ce n'est pas seulement le sujet mais aussi la manière dont il est traité par Poussin qui a provoqué le choix de ce tableau. En effet, en dépit de l'oubli relatif dans lequel est tenue de nos jours cette oeuvre, il faut savoir qu'elle a fait époque dans l'histoire de l'art du XVII[e] siècle. Sa réputation tient principalement au fait que Poussin, en 1641, entendait aller sur les brisées du plus grand peintre parisien de la période : Simon Vouet. Rompu à l'exécution de grands décors religieux, celui-ci se trouvait dans les années 1640 au pinacle de sa gloire. Aussi, grâce à cette commande prestigieuse, Poussin escomptait délivrer une leçon d'art religieux. Nul doute alors que cette représentation d'un *Miracle de saint François Xavier* s'écarte quelque peu de la tradition iconographique. À ce chapitre, la campagne de restauration effectuée en 1885 par Adolphe Beaulieu dans l'église de Saint-François n'a nullement tenu compte de la signification particulière de la peinture du maître-autel.

Pour les fresques du chœur, l'artiste québécois peint la *Mort de saint François Xavier* et son *Apostolat auprès des Indiens*, autrement dit l'iconographie la plus répandue du saint au Québec[30]. C'est aussi à Beaulieu et à son collègue Rochon que revient le soin de «retoucher» les trois tableaux anciens. À en juger par les photographies antérieures à leur restauration, cette mise à neuf consiste principalement en surpeints, le plus flagrant concernant celui du maître-autel. La partie supérieure, initialement occupée par un Christ triomphant (fig.4), a été recouverte par un Dieu le Père planant de facture maladroite (fig.5). Il ne fait pas de doute que les deux entrepreneurs n'ont pas saisi la portée théologique d'un tel tableau. Certainement sans en être conscients, ils reprenaient, par ce camouflage, les critiques qui furent faites au XVII[e] siècle au tableau de Poussin. Les détracteurs du célébrissime peintre lui reprochaient, en effet, cette figure du Christ plaquée sur le premier plan du tableau et qui ressemblait plus à un «Jupiter tonnant qu'à un Dieu de miséricorde[31]». Beaulieu et Rochon ont probablement, eux aussi, estimé la présence du Sauveur bien trop insistante pour la perpétuer. Du même coup, ils réduisaient cette théophanie brutale surmontant le saint en une simple guérison merveilleuse chapeautée par un Dieu le Père débonnaire.

En somme, ce «rafraîchissement» du dernier quart du XIX[e] siècle nous permet de saisir par la négative la portée du tableau de Saint-François. Ce qui ressort de cette toile est l'accent porté à la figure du Christ au détriment du saint.

Poussin semble avoir appliqué au pied de la lettre l'enseignement post-tridentin relatif au culte des saints. Ce dernier, en effet, attribue l'efficience du miracle au pouvoir de Dieu lui-même, «les saints invoqués jouant le rôle de simples intercesseurs[32]». De plus, il semblerait que tout élément anecdotique ait été banni. Rien, en effet, sinon le titre, ne nous permet de situer la scène au Japon et, comme le souligne Pierre Rosenberg, c'est la variété dans les expressions des visages qui a occupé toute l'attention du peintre[33]. La nature générique de cette représentation l'a rendue facilement transposable dans le contexte canadien. C'est certainement pour toutes ces raisons que ce tableau a été pris pour modèle. À n'en pas douter, les commanditaires du tableau ont été sensibles au message délivré par Poussin qui avait tenté, suivant une formule personnelle, de rester en tout point conforme à l'enseignement du clergé post-tridentin. Pour conclure, disons que ce tableau illustre à merveille ce que Marie-Aimée Cliche a brillamment démontré au sujet de l'état d'esprit religieux au Québec sous le Régime français : la colonie fut le terrain propice pour implanter les nouveaux impératifs issus du Concile de Trente, impératifs qui visaient à expurger de la religion des laïcs un «merveilleux» issu des mentalités populaires.

***Saint Joseph portant l'Enfant Jésus* (fig.6)**

Cette huile (198,8 x 135,7 cm) n'est ni signée ni datée. L'unique inscription visible en bas à droite, «Retouché en 1886, Beaulieu et Rochon», nous rappelle la réfection des anciens tableaux, certainement très délabrés à l'époque.

Saint Joseph, reconnaissable à la fleur de lis, porte dans ses bras l'Enfant Jésus. Au-dessus de lui, le Père Éternel, présenté en buste, pointe du doigt une direction. Son visage ressemble de manière saisissante à celui du saint. Dans le coin supérieur gauche, la Colombe du Saint-Esprit est tournée vers l'Enfant. Placée dans le coin supérieur droit, une maison est transportée par quatre angelots. De toute évidence, ce motif représente la maison de Lorette. Celle-ci est figurée de manière traditionnelle : la Vierge à l'Enfant est assise sur le faîte du toit d'une maison (fig.7). Cette formule remonte aux toutes premières figurations de la maison reliquaire de Nazareth qui ornaient les frontispices des livres de piété du XVI[e] siècle à l'usage des pèlerins. Dans sa conception générale, ce type ne variera guère au cours des deux siècles suivants[34].

Cette iconographie, qui associe dans une même scène saint Joseph et l'Enfant Jésus à la maison de Lorette, est exceptionnelle et, à ce jour, nous n'avons pas trouvé de représentations similaires. En pareil cas, nous serions portés à croire qu'une iconographie aussi singulière ne peut s'expliquer que par un contexte local. Mais qu'en est-il vraiment? Peut-on, à travers l'analyse iconographique et les données historiques à notre disposition, esquisser une interprétation?

Pour commencer, il convient de retracer brièvement l'histoire de la maison de Lorette. La première mention dans un document de la translation miraculeuse de cette maison date de la fin du XV[e] siècle. Selon la chronique, des anges

fig.6 Anonyme, **Saint Joseph portant l'Enfant Jésus**, XVIII[e] siècle, huile sur toile, 199 x 136 cm, Saint-François-du-Lac, autel latéral. (Photo: l'auteur)

fig.7 Anonyme, **Saint Joseph portant l'Enfant Jésus,** détail de la maison de Lorette, coin droit de figure 6. (Photo: l'auteur)

auraient transporté, à la toute fin du XIII[e] siècle, la *Santa Casa* afin de la soustraire aux Sarrasins qui à l'époque envahissaient la Palestine. Après un arrêt en Dalmatie, les anges finirent par la déposer près d'une voie publique dans les Marches d'Ancône en Italie. La ville de Lorette se serait par la suite développée pour constituer à la fin du XVI[e] siècle, l'un des sanctuaires les plus visités de la chrétienté occidentale. Cette maison, initialement à Nazareth, revêt une importance capitale aux yeux des catholiques puisque c'est là que se produisit l'Annonciation suivie de l'Incarnation. L'histoire de plusieurs ordres religieux est intimement liée à ce lieu de pèlerinage. Les carmes déchaussés furent parmi les premiers à honorer avec ferveur la maison de Lorette. Mais c'est aux tout premiers jésuites que revient le mérite d'avoir diffusé de par le monde cette dévotion[35]. Parmi les plus connus, nous savons que c'est à Lorette que saint François Xavier reçut l'inspiration de sa vocation missionnaire, celle de porter les Évangiles aux Indes et au Japon. À l'instar du célèbre missionnaire, Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot (1611-1693), avant son départ pour la Nouvelle-France, se rendit au fameux

sanctuaire. Il tomba malade et se trouva dans l'impossibilité de réaliser son rêve apostolique. Sur ces entrefaites, il fit vœu à la Vierge de Lorette de faire une réplique de la *Santa Casa* au pays de mission auquel il se destinait s'il obtenait la faveur d'une guérison. Son vœu ayant été exaucé, il lui faudra attendre trente-cinq ans après son arrivée au Canada pour qu'il parvienne à réaliser sa promesse[36]. En 1673, après plus de vingt années d'exode, les Hurons, guidés par le père Chaumonot, s'installèrent à quelques lieues de la ville de Québec dans une localité qu'ils nommèrent Lorette. Ils finirent par quitter ce lieu trop pauvre pour suffire à leur subsistance. Puis, au tournant du siècle, ils s'établirent à la Nouvelle-Lorette emportant avec eux leur ancienne dévotion[37]. Dans la chapelle du nouveau village, le fac-similé de la maison de Lorette exécuté par un des Levasseur sera appendu au-dessus du maître-autel. Encore visible, cette réplique a donc été vénérée par les Hurons sans interruption trois siècles durant[38].

Dernier détail et non le moindre concernant le tableau de Saint-François, il semblerait que l'on ait voulu camper saint Joseph dans un décor canadien. La montagne qui se dessine à l'arrière-plan ainsi que la rivière (ou le lac) évoquent un paysage des Laurentides. Il se pourrait bien que cette toile décrive effectivement la translation de la maison de Lorette en Nouvelle-France. Ceci expliquerait du même coup le geste de Dieu le Père désignant une direction. Tout se passe donc comme si l'on avait voulu représenter l'introduction de la dévotion à la maison de Lorette par le père Chaumonot. Si cela était le cas, ce tableau constituerait l'unique tentative de description d'un tel événement dans la peinture en Nouvelle-France. Compte tenu de la rareté du sujet, il se pourrait que la destination première de ce tableau ait été la seconde église de la Nouvelle-Lorette reconstruite aux alentours de 1730, ou alors une communauté religieuse intimement liée aux jésuites, qui tenait à se remémorer l'événement.

Notre exposé ne serait pas complet si nous ne nous attardions pas sur le lien étroit qui existe entre la maison de Nazareth et la Sainte Famille. En effet, la vénération envers la relique de Lorette n'est pas un culte exclusivement marial. Cette maison est non seulement le lieu de l'Annonciation et de la Conception mais aussi la maison où la Vierge naquit et grandit auprès de ses saints parents. Plus tard, cette demeure deviendra le lieu où Joseph et Marie choisiront de résider après leur retour d'Égypte. Autrement dit, découle de cette maison tout un faisceau de dévotions qui tendent, à travers la figure de la Vierge à l'Enfant, à honorer l'ensemble de la Sainte Famille. De plus, au XVII[e] siècle, s'élabore une doctrine spirituelle qui fait de la Sainte Famille l'équivalent terrestre de la Trinité céleste. Ce thème des deux trinités a d'ailleurs connu un succès sans précédent en Nouvelle-France comme en font foi les quelques tableaux anciens qui nous sont parvenus[39]. La mise en scène est toujours identique : la Sainte Famille, formant un axe horizontal, est surmontée de Dieu le Père et du Saint-Esprit, l'axe vertical. À titre d'exemple, citons une *Sainte Famille à la Trinité* (fig.8) que le père jésuite François-Xavier Duplessis – originaire de Québec et installé depuis 1716 en France – envoya à sa sœur, la mère Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, annaliste et

fig.8 Anonyme, **Sainte Famille à la Trinité**, XVIII[e] siècle, huile sur toile, 112 x 102 cm, monastère des augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec. (Photo: l'auteur)

supérieure des augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec[40]. Y sont en effet figurées les trinités céleste et terrestre suivant les deux axes conventionnels. L'artiste anonyme y fait d'ailleurs montre d'une économie de moyens qui renforce le lien entre la Sainte Famille et la Trinité divine : les quatre visages sont éclairés par les rayons lumineux émanant de la Colombe. Ignorant ce schème traditionnel, notre artiste québécois a souligné ce lien de façon plus alambiquée. Il y a bien Joseph à l'Enfant dans le registre terrestre, le Père Éternel et le Saint-Esprit dans les cieux, mais ce sont les diagonales qui unissent véritablement ces deux registres. La Colombe tournée vers Jésus amorce une ligne qui se déploie du bras tendu de Dieu au visage de Joseph pour finalement s'arrêter sur la tête de l'Enfant. Une autre diagonale partant de la maison de Lorette à droite rejoint

fig.9 Anonyme, **Saint Joseph portant l'Enfant Jésus,** XVIII[e] siècle, huile sur toile, 100 x 70 cm, San Diego (Mexique), Pinacoteca Virreinal. (Photo: l'auteur)

également Jésus. Toutefois, l'artiste ne s'est pas borné à répéter sous une autre forme un tel rapprochement. À la croix en «x», qui relie les deux trinités, est subordonné l'axe vertical fortement marqué par le corps allongé et imposant du saint et le buste du Père, axe d'autant plus significatif que les deux visages sont identiques.

En guise de comparaison et pour mieux révéler la richesse de cette composition, citons un tableau anonyme du XVIII[e] siècle conservé à la pinacothèque Virreinal de San Diego au Mexique (fig.9). Ce *Saint Joseph à l'Enfant* présente des analogies iconographiques et stylistiques manifestes avec celui de Saint-François. Comme sur ce dernier, l'importance octroyée à saint Joseph ne laisse guère de place à une Trinité traditionnelle. Aussi, le peintre a préféré surmonter saint Joseph de la colombe, l'Éternel a été déplacé dans le coin supérieur gauche. De cette simple inversion entre deux des personnes de la

Trinité découle un sens totalement différent de celui de Saint-François. C'est entre le Père Éternel et le petit Enfant que les regards se croisent. Tandis que dans notre tableau la relation étroite entre saint Joseph et Jésus repose sur cet échange de regards. En outre, comme saint Joseph a le même visage que Dieu, il est clairement identifié comme son pendant terrestre.

En passant, disons que cet écart par rapport à une tradition post-tridentine qui n'entendait aucunement diminuer les honneurs dus à Dieu s'avère bien audacieux. Il s'agirait donc là d'une anomalie iconographique en totale opposition avec la théologie en vigueur au XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles. En effet, certains théologiens, dont Gratian, qui consacra en 1597 un ouvrage entier à saint Joseph, s'accordèrent pour dire que par une grâce spéciale Joseph ressemblait à son Fils adoptif[41], mais jamais ils n'en sont venus à dire que cette ressemblance atteignait le Père[42]. Pour cela, il ne fait aucun doute que notre tableau de facture populaire le soit aussi d'esprit. Il n'en demeure pas moins qu'une telle insistance ne doit pas être négligée. Elle nous montre combien l'iconographie du saint après le Concile de Trente ne fut pas aussi régentée que certains spécialistes se sont plu à l'écrire. Plus particulièrement, le thème de la trinité dite «jésuistique», en dépit d'une codification simple, n'a pas non plus été toujours respectée. Elle a conduit à certains écarts imputables à la popularité grandissante de saint Joseph auprès des paroissiens. Il faut savoir que la Trinité ne fut pas seulement affaire de théologiens. Comme nous l'apprend Boespflug, à partir du XII[e] siècle, cette doctrine et ses diverses transpositions visuelles furent très en vogue auprès des populations[43]. Ce succès n'a pu conduire tôt ou tard qu'à des interprétations risquées voire condamnables. Par ailleurs, quand on connaît le contexte canadien, nous ne pouvons sous-estimer l'importance considérable accordée à saint Joseph dans le tableau de Saint-François. En effet, il appert que cette iconographie illustre à merveille la vénération qu'avaient pour saint Joseph les Canadiens français et ce depuis 1624, année où il fut proclamé patron du Canada. Et comme nous l'avons montré, ce culte dépassa parfois les sollicitations ecclésiastiques. Les habitants de la colonie, qu'ils soient religieux ou laïcs de toute condition, n'hésitèrent pas à se mettre sous la protection de saint Joseph au moindre incident; les sources et les témoignages trahissent cette grande intimité avec le saint. En somme, cette toile nous montre que saint Joseph était considéré au Québec comme le gardien de la Sainte Famille et, par voie de conséquence, comme le protecteur par excellence de l'ensemble des chrétiens vivant au Canada[44].

L'Immaculée Conception (fig.10)

Certains écrivains ecclésiastiques se sont appliqués depuis les premiers siècles à démontrer que la Vierge est exemptée du péché originel auquel tous les hommes sont soumis depuis la faute d'Adam : «la conception de la Vierge elle-même dans le sein de sainte Anne ou plutôt dans la pensée de Dieu, qui par une grâce unique l'exempte du péché originel. Celle qui fut choisie avant d'être née,

fig.10 Anonyme, **L'Immaculée Conception**, XVIII[e], huile sur toile, 194 x 131 cm, Saint-François-du-Lac, autel latéral. (Photo: l'auteur)

conçue avant Ève de toute éternité[45]». Ce privilège marial concédait du même coup à la Vierge un rôle primordial dans la rédemption. Ce furent d'abord les franciscains qui s'en firent les promoteurs et les carmes ne tardèrent pas à leur emboîter le pas. Puis, au XVI[e] siècle, les jésuites en devinrent les plus ardents défenseurs. Bien que proclamée dogme en 1854, cette doctrine touchait déjà tous les pays catholiques à partir du XVII[e] siècle, engendrant une profusion d'images ayant pour sujet la Vierge Immaculée.

L'iconographie apparaît au XV[e] siècle sous plusieurs formes[46]. Comme souvent en pareil cas, en l'absence de preuves scripturaires, les artistes recoururent pour l'essentiel aux Évangiles apocryphes qui détenaient en germe la doctrine de l'exemption mariale. Cela fut, en effet, le cas pour l'Arbre de Jessé et la Rencontre de saint Joachim avec sainte Anne à la porte dorée; les deux types principaux retenus à la fin du Moyen Âge[47]. Cependant le discrédit dans lequel étaient tenus les Apocryphes pendant la Réforme obligèrent les peintres à opter pour une formule iconographique entièrement redevable à l'Écriture Sainte. Dès lors, on s'arrêta au seuil du XVI[e] siècle, à un type iconographique qui puisait dans l'Ancien Testament, et en particulier dans le *Cantique des cantiques*[48]. On en vint à créer une image complexe que les iconographes, par la suite, nommèrent la Vierge *tota pulchra* (toute belle). Cette formule, dorénavant en vigueur, se compose d'une Vierge flottant - ou, pour reprendre le langage des théologiens, «ad aeternam» (de toute éternité) - au milieu d'une multitude d'emblèmes bibliques. Ces derniers évoquant les prérogatives de la Vierge, étaient entre autres la transposition visuelle des litanies récitées en son honneur, d'où le nom parfois donné à cette formule iconographique. À ce type s'agrégea, au cours du XVI[e] siècle, celui de la Femme de l'Apocalypse identifiée à la Mère de Dieu. «Puis parut dans le ciel une femme vêtue de soleil, ayant la lune sous ses pieds et sur sa tête une couronne de douze étoiles» (Apocalypse, 12). Désormais, ces motifs cosmiques accompagnèrent les figurations de la Vierge Immaculée.

Sur notre toile (194 x 131 cm), il s'agit bien ici d'une «Vierge des litanies». Debout sur un croissant de lune, sa tête est inclinée et ses yeux baissés. Elle est entourée des principaux symboles mariaux : le soleil, la lune, les étoiles, le jardin clos matérialisé par des jardins à la française, une fontaine, le puits, le lis dans sa main, le miroir sans tache, la tour de David et la cité de Dieu. Le serpent et la pomme sous ses pieds rappellent sa victoire sur le péché originel. Ces deux motifs renvoyant à la seule preuve scripturaire considérée explicite par les immaculistes, rares sont les Immaculées qui ne sont pas accompagnées de ces deux attributs. Ils deviendront même, à partir du milieu du XVII[e] siècle, les seuls motifs, avec ceux tirés de l'Apocalypse, à signifier que nous avons affaire à une Vierge conçue sans péché[49]. Pourtant dans notre tableau, qui ne peut remonter au plus tard qu'à la première moitié du XVIII[e] siècle, aucun symbole n'est omis.

Cette exhaustivité nous amène à penser que ces emblèmes n'officient pas simplement comme attributs mais jouent un rôle plus significatif dans le contexte qui nous préoccupe.

L'Immaculée Conception et la maison de Lorette

Les emblèmes mariaux ornant la *Purisima* que nous trouvons sur notre peinture sont aussi appelés «Litanies de Lorette», non pas parce qu'elles ont été composées à Lorette mais parce que c'est dans ce lieu de pèlerinage fort populaire au XV[e] et XVI[e] siècle que ces invocations ont été pour la première fois en usage : «Mais, d'après une tradition respectable, ce fut à Lorette que commença le chant solennel de ces litanies; et c'est de là que l'usage s'en est répandu dans toute l'Église par les innombrables pèlerins qui n'ont cessé de visiter ce vénérable sanctuaire[50]».

En 1904, Ulysse Chevalier se fait plus précis à ce sujet. Il date du 31 janvier 1547 la récitation des litanies au sanctuaire marial. C'est ce jour là que le chanoine de Recanati, Jean d'Albara, offrit aux augustins de Lorette 100 florins d'or à charge pour eux «de célébrer, tous les samedis, la messe de la sainte Vierge et d'y ajouter ses litanies». Il poursuit en stipulant que cette prière ne fut publiée qu'en 1576 et connue à Rome seulement dix ans plus tard[51].

En outre, dans les arts visuels, l'amalgame eut lieu très tôt entre la Vierge de Lorette et celle de l'Immaculée. William Barcham, qui analyse avec force détails la fresque peinte par Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770) en 1743 dans l'église Santa Maria di Nazareth (Scalzi) à Venise, qui a pour thème principal la translation de la maison de Lorette, souligne le lien étroit entre la vénération de la maison de la Vierge et le culte de l'Immaculée Conception[52]. Il signale que, dès le XVI[e] siècle, quelques-uns des frontispices ornant les guides des pèlerins présentaient la Vierge de Lorette entourée des symboles des Litanies; ce faisant il conclut «the *Madonna della Casa Santa* was sometimes portrayed as the Immaculate Conception[53]». En effet, les attributs habituels de l'Immaculée Conception se retrouvaient dans les invocations qui constituaient les litanies de Lorette, puisque puisant aux mêmes métaphores bibliques, sans que l'on sache dire lequel des motifs ou des invocations aurait influencé l'autre[54]. Quoi qu'il en soit, nul doute que cette image surchargée de métaphores mariales soit un excellent procédé mnémotechnique pour faciliter la récitation et par là même conduire plus aisément le dévot à la contemplation de la Mère de Dieu elle-même[55]. D'ailleurs, la Vierge des litanies, quasi inexistante au XVIII[e] siècle, a perduré dans l'art populaire et la gravure comme nous le rappelle Stratton[56]. Les symboles mariaux n'avaient plus pour vocation que d'illustrer les litanies. Quant on sait qu'une prière de ce type s'accompagnait d'indulgences, il y a fort à parier que les fidèles s'y adonnaient. Néanmoins, il se pourrait également que ces symboles, qui renvoient à chacune des invocations qui composent les «Litanies de Lorette», aient été conservés afin de créer un lien sémantique avec la translation

de la maison de Lorette représentée dans le tableau de la chapelle de gauche de l'église Saint-François-du-Lac.

Si cela est le cas, ce rapprochement entre l'Immaculée Conception et la maison de Lorette ne se bornerait pas à une similitude lexicale. Rappelons que la maison de Nazareth, avant d'être le lieu de l'Incarnation, fut la maison natale de la Vierge. Aussi, fut-il aisé de présumer que la maison de Lorette était aussi une relique de la Vierge Immaculée. C'est à cette conclusion que parvient également Barcham lorsqu'il constate, dans la fresque de Tiepolo, contemporaine de nos tableaux, que le célèbre artiste vénitien ne s'est pas contenté de décrire la translation de la maison de Lorette, mais a aussi fait allusion à l'Immaculée Conception. Dans ce cas-ci, Barcham pense que la raison principale d'un tel télescopage est due aux commanditaires de la fresque : les carmes déchaussés. Ces derniers, ardents défenseurs de l'Immaculée Conception, associèrent rapidement leur dévotion pour la maison de Lorette à la Vierge sans péché. Dans notre cas aussi, nous pouvons en trouver la raison chez nos commanditaires jésuites qui, comme nous l'avons évoqué précédemment, furent parmi les plus ardents défenseurs de la thèse immaculiste.

L'histoire de la Nouvelle-France nous apprend également que les jésuites oeuvrant auprès des Hurons dénommèrent l'un de leurs premiers villages La Conception et qu'ils baptisèrent «le dernier sanctuaire de la nation huronne» la Nouvelle-Lorette[57]. Il existe donc un lien indéniable entre ces deux dévotions mariales au fil de l'histoire des missions jésuites en pays huron. De surcroît, nous savons que le 2 décembre l'on célébrait dans une même invocation l'Immaculée Conception, saint Joseph et saint François Xavier conformément au vœu de 1635 renouvelé chaque année[58]. Finalement, ce ne serait pas seulement les dédicaces qui renverraient à une pratique dévotionnelle spécifique à la Nouvelle-France mais également l'iconographie. Tout concourt donc à penser que ces deux tableaux, dédiés l'un à saint Joseph et l'autre à l'Immaculée Conception, ont été conçus en interdépendance avec le saint patron de la paroisse. Si l'on en juge par l'analyse iconographique, il semble peu imaginable que ces deux tableaux aient été simplement exécutés sans précisions particulières des instances religieuses vivant au Québec. Disons plutôt qu'il est vraisemblable que ces deux toiles aient été commandées suivant une optique et des préoccupations locales. Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que cette analyse nous montre à quel point les élites religieuses étaient soucieuses, à l'époque, d'illustrer de manière satisfaisante leurs pratiques dévotionnelles et d'en donner une image propre à conquérir les paroissiens.

Pour finir, il nous reste à savoir si une analyse matérielle et stylistique plus poussée de nos deux tableaux corrobore les hypothèses avancées aussi bien à partir des dédicaces que de l'iconographie. À première vue, nous avons de bons motifs de croire que les deux tableaux des chapelles latérales sont du même

auteur. Qu'il s'agisse du style ou du coloris raffiné mis en valeur par un récent nettoyage, nous relevons, en effet, de nombreuses parentés formelles. Dans les deux cas, la figure centrale se découpe telle une ronde-bosse sur un arrière-plan crépusculaire et lointain. Sur le côté gauche, un arbre en contre-jour se profile. Les deux tableaux ont également en commun l'aura autour de la tête des personnages. Dans le cas de saint Joseph, elle est accentuée par un mouvement circulaire et pour la Vierge, par la présence de têtes de chérubins disposées en cercle autour de sa tête. Pour ce qui est des figures à proprement parler, elles présentent la même gestuelle apprêtée et maniériste. La posture de saint Joseph, le pied pointé vers l'avant, confère à ce robuste personnage une délicatesse toute féminine. Il en est de même de la main de la Vierge délicatement posée sur sa poitrine. Par contre, le drapé présente des plis plus cassants et pour tout dire mieux réussis dans le tableau de la Vierge que celui, d'exécution un peu lâche, qui enveloppe Joseph. On pourrait aisément expliquer cette différence par le fait qu'il s'agit d'une copie complète ou partielle d'une gravure ou d'un tableau. Ceci expliquerait le rendu plus réussi du drapé et du modelé.

Or, précisément, l'allure de celle-ci renvoie indéniablement à l'*Immaculée Conception* surmontant le maître-autel de Notre-Dame de Québec. En dépit de différences notables telles que les positions des mains et le décor, ces deux vierges présentent des analogies significatives : la torsion en hélice imposée au corps (plus prononcée que pour la Vierge de Saint-François), la manière dont le drap de dessus est enroulé autour de la taille, l'inclinaison de la tête, la coiffure et pour finir le voile reporté sur la droite. Malheureusement, cette œuvre est tout aussi mal documentée que celle de Saint-François. Probablement du début du XVIII[e] siècle, les sources consignent simplement le donateur : un lieutenant gouverneur de Gaspé du nom de Francis Lemaître qui aurait offert ce tableau d'autel à la cathédrale en 1797. Qui plus est, cette toile a disparu dans l'incendie de 1922. C'est grâce à une photographie ancienne et à la copie qui en fut faite par la suite pour la remplacer que nous devons d'avoir conservé le souvenir de cette toile[59]. Ce rapprochement, on le voit, est loin de nous éclairer sur un possible auteur ou du moins sur laquelle des Immaculées Conceptions a servi de modèle à l'autre. Toutefois, même si la vérité historique est aujourd'hui inaccessible, il semble que nous ayons une piste dans l'analyse comparative entre ces deux tableaux. Le décor composé d'emblèmes est un report spécifique à l'Immaculée de Saint-François, celle de Notre-Dame arborant un fond agrémenté de têtes de chérubins. Du reste, dans notre tableau, la Vierge est juchée sur un piédestal de procession, les deux brancards aidant à son transport au milieu du cortège sont là pour en témoigner. Se pourrait-il que l'on ait voulu représenter une de ces statues de la Vierge qui étaient transportées en procession lors de fêtes en son honneur ou de commémorations spéciales? L'évocation d'une ronde-bosse tient également au fait qu'une tête de chérubin et le serpent à ses pieds semblent reproduire le bronze.

À l'évidence, cette peinture serait une forme hybride entre la reproduction d'une ronde-bosse et l'évocation de la Vierge. Pour une raison non élucidée, l'on aurait cherché soit à conserver le souvenir d'une procession et donc d'un événement particulier, soit à utiliser une statue particulièrement vénérée pour peindre l'Immaculée Conception de Saint-François. L'on aurait tenté, et combien habilement à nos yeux, d'intégrer une vierge de procession dans un type iconographique fixé depuis des siècles, sans pour autant la délester du meuble qui aide à son transport[60]. Si cela est le cas, il s'agit là d'un fait exceptionnel voire étrange dans le décor peint au Québec, à tel point que nous serions portés à privilégier une autre hypothèse. Rappelons que ce tableau a été rallongé de plusieurs centimètres. En l'occurrence, ce rajout concerne l'imposant piédestal processionnel et laisse présumer que l'évocation d'une vierge de procession ait été pensée après coup. Il n'en est pas moins sûr que la Vierge a été initialement apparentée à une statue puisque le socle de bronze appartient à la toile initiale. À ce jour, le scénario le plus plausible, qui tienne compte à la fois de la ressemblance entre la figure de l'Immaculée de Notre-Dame de Québec avec celle de Saint-François et de la parenté de cette dernière avec une ronde-bosse, consiste à envisager une sculpture de la Vierge ayant servi de modèle à ces deux toiles. Qui plus est, celle de Notre-Dame étant inversée par rapport à celle de Saint-François, il est peu probable que l'une ait copié l'autre. Au risque de nous être trop avancée, il nous a semblé intéressant de proposer quelques alternatives car, il faut l'avouer, en l'absence de preuves tangibles, nous ne pouvons faire appel qu'à une étude matérielle et iconographique des œuvres.

Pour finir, ajoutons que le style italianisant, les rondeurs ainsi que certaines survivances maniéristes rappellent, sous plus d'un rapport, les Vierges des années 1630 de Simon Vouet; autrement dit, le style italianisant introduit par le célèbre artiste en France dans la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle. *Notre Saint Joseph à l'Enfant Jésus*, placé dans un paysage que nous présumons réaliste, se révèle à cet égard de facture plus grossière. Les différences ne s'arrêtent pas là. La Vierge entourée d'un espace factice tel un décor de théâtre est confinée dans un lieu strictement symbolique et ce en dépit du support de bois qui pourrait renvoyer à un épisode historique. Tandis que pour le *Saint Joseph à l'Enfant* nous assistons à une tentative plutôt audacieuse de concilier à la fois narrativité et symbolisme. De plus, compte tenu que les deux tableaux n'avaient pas initialement les mêmes dimensions et le fait, rappelons-le, que le livre de comptes de la paroisse ne mentionne pas leur arrivée, nous ne pouvons affirmer sans l'ombre d'un doute qu'ils aient été conçus comme des pendants et encore moins qu'ils soient du même auteur, malgré les analogies stylistiques et iconographiques suggérées. Par contre, notre première hypothèse, qui découlait de l'analyse iconographique et qui supposait une destination première des deux tableaux différente de leur localisation actuelle, se confirme car rien dans la chronique de Saint-François-

du-Lac ne rapporte un quelconque événement ayant trait à la dévotion de Lorette. Conjecturons simplement qu'ils n'ont pas été conçus pour l'église de la paroisse.

> *Et pourtant, il est bien des œuvres que l'on comprendrait mieux si l'on s'attardait un tant soit peu au contexte particulier dans lequel elles ont vu le jour*[61].

L'iconographie religieuse, bien que commune à tous les pays catholiques, revêt selon les endroits des significations particulières. Cependant, rares sont les études qui essayent de rattacher les tableaux anciens de la Nouvelle-France au contexte historique qui les a, soit créés, soit commandités. Les raisons sont nombreuses. D'une part, il est vrai que l'importation était de mise. D'autre part, les besoins pressants de tableaux religieux au Québec faisaient que l'on se contentait bien souvent de dicter le thème suivant le patron de la paroisse et les dévotions les plus chères aux paroissiens. Les artistes puisaient dès lors dans le vaste fond de culture religieuse commun au monde occidental. Malgré tout, il nous est apparu que certaines données historiques propres à la colonie apportent des indications utiles quant à la signification et la destination des tableaux étudiés tout particulièrement ici. Et il nous a fallu faire appel aux études historiques des pères Adrien Pouliot et Roland Gauthier ainsi qu'à la somme de Marie-Aimée Cliche pour en révéler la pertinence dans le contexte canadien qui est le nôtre. De fait, même si l'église de Saint-François n'est plus régie par des missionnaires jésuites depuis 1714, elle semble garder la trace de cet apostolat. N'oublions pas que vis-à-vis de cette église se trouvait la chapelle des Abénaquis, toujours sous tutelle jésuite à l'époque. Bien qu'il ne reste rien du décor intérieur du XVIII[e] siècle, y aurait-il eu une voie à explorer pour mieux comprendre notre ensemble peint? Ou fallait-il chercher plus avant chez les Hurons de la Nouvelle-Lorette comme l'iconographie des deux tableaux des autels latéraux nous y conviait? Les sources disponibles portées à notre connaissance ne nous permettent pas de trancher. Néanmoins, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de voir plus qu'une coïncidence entre les deux tableaux de Saint-François et le sanctuaire de Lorette au Canada. D'autant plus que la chapelle de la Nouvelle Lorette, quoique riche en œuvres d'art du XVIII[e] siècle, n'est pas ornée de peintures : un simple méplat appendu au mur, représentant la Vierge de Lorette flanquée de deux anges, tient lieu de tableau de maître-autel[62].

Ce pourrait-il que le *Saint Joseph* ou *L'Immaculée Conception* aient été initialement prévus pour ce sanctuaire marial et que, pour une raison inconnue, ils aient fini par orner les chapelles de Saint-François-du-Lac? Ces œuvres, on le voit, sont loin d'avoir dévoilé tous leurs secrets. Une chose est claire au terme de cette analyse : ces toiles conservent le souvenir de dévotions encouragées par les jésuites mais renvoient également à des pratiques idiosyncrasiques contemporaines auxquels s'adonnaient les paroissiens les plus zélés. Il n'est pas

de notre ressort ici de décrire une réalité aussi complexe. Disons cependant que nous l'avons invoquée afin de mieux cheminer à travers le dédale de l'analyse d'un programme iconographique supposé. Finalement, au terme de cette enquête, nous pouvons conclure qu'il existe vraisemblablement pour le décor peint datant du Régime français de l'église de Saint-François-du-Lac une coïncidence entre des formes cultuelles locales et l'iconographie adoptée. N'est-ce pas la preuve éclatante que l'iconographie alliée à une meilleure connaissance des pratiques dévotionnelles, dans un milieu restreint, peut, tout en alimentant les recherches d'histoire religieuse, démontrer que l'art de la Nouvelle-France, qu'il soit local ou importé, fut adapté à un milieu particulier, et ce malgré une iconographie religieuse venue d'Europe.

MURIEL CLAIR
Candidate au doctorat d'histoire de l'art
Université du Québec à Montréal

Notes

Nous tenons à remercier Monsieur Pierre Robert, ancien directeur du centre de recherche de l'Oratoire Saint-Joseph du Mont-Royal, pour avoir attiré notre attention sur les tableaux anciens de Saint-François-du-Lac et soutenu fort amicalement notre recherche. Notre reconnaissance va aussi à la famille Beauchemin de Saint-François pour leur accueil chaleureux et à notre directeur de recherche, professeur Laurier Lacroix, qui a bien voulu revoir notre texte.

1 Par contre, ils ont été répertoriés par Gisèle BEAUDET, «Église Saint-François-Xavier à Saint-François-du-Lac» dans Commission des Biens culturels, *Les Chemins de la Mémoire*, Québec, Les Publications du Québec, 1990, tome I, p.57.

2 Nous devons cette mise en contexte à l'étude circonstanciée de Thomas CHARLAND, *Histoire de Saint-François-du-Lac*, Ottawa, Collège dominicain, 1942.

3 *Ibid.*, p.51.

4 Cet édifice, plus bas sur la rivière Saint-François, était à l'endroit où se trouve actuellement Notre-Dame de Pierreville.

5 CHARLAND, *Histoire de Saint-François-du-Lac*, p.186.

6 BEAUDET, «Église Saint-François-Xavier à Saint-François-du-Lac», p.57, voir aussi Luc NOPPEN, *Les églises du Québec (1600-1850)*, Montréal et Québec, Fides, 1978, p.230.

7 Greffe de Trois-Rivières, minutier du notaire Poulin, 23 fév. 1721.

8 *Livre de comptes I* (1729-1804) de la paroisse. Gisèle Beaudet le dit disparu (BEAUDET, «Église Saint-François-Xavier à Saint-François-du-Lac», p.57) mais nous avons appris, par communication orale, qu'il fut un temps conservé au musée de Joliette avant d'être rendu à la paroisse. Pour sa part, Gérard Morisset, dans une lettre datée du 29 avril 1965 adressée à Lionel Seguin fait observer qu'il «reste des fragments que monsieur Omer Parent a photographiés en 1954». Inventaire des Biens culturels, Ministère des Affaires culturelles (QQIBC), Fonds Morisset, dossier «Église Saint-François-du-Lac».

9 CHARLAND, *Histoire de Saint-François-du-Lac*, p.187.

10 *Ibid.*, p.186.

11 Marius BARBEAU, *Trésors des anciens Jésuites*, Ottawa, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1957, p.23.

12 Pour tout ce qui se rapporte à la dévotion à l'Immaculée Conception en Nouvelle-France, nous sommes redevables à l'étude concise mais exhaustive du père Adrien POULIOT, *Aux origines de notre dévotion à l'Immaculée Conception*, Université de Laval, La Société historique de Québec, 1956, p.31.

13 *Relation de 1635*, Appendice, *Divers sentiments et avis*, n° 31, p.50 A-B. Cité par POULIOT, *Aux origines de notre dévotion à l'Immaculée Conception*, p.366.

14 POULIOT, *Aux origines de notre dévotion à l'Immaculée Conception*, p.13. Ajoutons que le 28 avril 1663, la fête du saint jésuite fixée le deux décembre sera déplacée au trois. Voir Jules BAUDOT, *Vie des saints et des bienheureux*, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1956, vol. 12, p.110.

15 POULIOT, *Aux origines de notre dévotion à l'Immaculée Conception*, p.14.

16 *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec*, publiés par M^gr^ H. Têtu et l'abbé C.O. Gagnon, Québec, Imprimerie générale A. Côté et Cie, 1987, vol. 1, p.68.

17 Andrée RUEL-BOUILLON, *Inventaire de l'église Saint-François-du-Lac. Comté de Yamaska*, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction générale du patrimoine, Inventaire des biens culturels, Section œuvres d'art, mars 1977.

18 Les sources nous apprennent qu'en attendant la fin des travaux les tableaux ont été entreposés en 1848 dans la chapelle des Abénaquis. (Délibérations du 11 septembre 1848). Une première chapelle avait brûlé en 1819 (*La Gazette du Québec*, le 8 juil. 1819) mais elle a été reconstruite entre-temps.

19 *Livre de comptes I* (1729-1804). À noter qu'à partir des années 1740, les mentions des recettes et des dépenses concernant les chapelles latérales sont notées à part (au bas de la page) et signées par les deux sacristines en charge de ces chapelles, madame Dugast et madame Hertel. C'est certainement pour cette raison que Morisset n'a pas retranscrit les sources relatives à ces deux toiles dans son inventaire.

20 *Livre de comptes I* (1729-1804).

21 Dossier de restauration (1996), p.4.

22 Dans son Inventaire des Œuvres d'art, Morisset y a vu l'œuvre du père François Brekenmacher, prêtre et peintre récollet de la première moitié du XVIII[e] siècle. Son attribution ne peut reposer que sur des recoupements chronologiques dans la mesure où l'œuvre peinte du religieux nous est très peu connue et par là même rend pour le moins hypothétique toute analyse stylistique.

23 Au sujet de la gravure de Gantrel, voir Georges WILDENSTEIN, *Les Graveurs de Poussin au XVII[e] siècle*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1957, p.138-39, no.87 (repr.).

24 Pour un historique complet de ce tableau voir la notice de catalogue dans Pierre ROSENBERG, *Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665*, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (27 sept. 1994-2 jan. 1995), Paris, Réunion des Musée nationaux, 1994, no.100 (repr.).

25 Voir Anthony BLUNT et Martin DAVIES, «Some corrections and additions to M. Wildenstein's *Graveurs de Poussin au XVII[e] siècle*», *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, tome LX, no.1122-1123 (juillet-août 1962), p.212 : «It seems quite clear that no cutting at that time took place, and if it had, that it would not have been at the sides».

26 En guise d'exemple, citons deux tableaux du XVII[e] siècle représentant la mort du saint et un *Saint François Xavier évangélisant les Indiens*, œuvre anonyme datée de 1733. Voir MUSÉE DE QUÉBEC, *Le Grand Héritage. L'Église catholique et les arts au Québec*, Québec, Musée de Québec 1984, p.179 et p.52-53.

27 François Xavier n'est pas non plus le saint auquel les fidèles québécois ont le plus souvent recours. Marie-Aimée Cliche le classe au 13[e] rang avec seulement deux miracles recensés en Nouvelle-France. Voir Marie-Aimée CLICHE, *Les Pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988, p.31.

28 Paul BOURASSA, «La diffusion d'un thème iconographique dans l'art au Québec : la Mort de saint François Xavier», *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol.X, n° 2 (1987), p.121.

29 *Mandements des évêques de Québec*, vol. I, p.71.

30 Au sujet de ces huiles sur bois peintes par Adolphe Beaulieu, Bourassa nous apprend «qu'il s'agit là de l'une des dernières traces de cette iconographie à l'aube du XX[e] siècle», dans son «La diffusion d'un thème iconographique dans l'art au Québec», p.137.

31 Propos rapportés par Sublet de Noyer, cité dans ROSENBERG, *Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665*, p.301.

32 CLICHE, *Les Pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France*, p.27.

33 ROSENBERG, *Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665*, p.300-301.

34 Émile MÂLE, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1949, p.205.

35 Voir Joseph CHORPENNING, *The Holy Family as Prototype of the Civilization of Love*, Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University, 1996, p.156.

36 Roland GAUTHIER, *La Dévotion à la Sainte Famille en Nouvelle-France et au Québec*, Montréal, Fides, 2000, p.14-15.

37 Concernant le sanctuaire du Canada, voir *La Vie du R.P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot de la Compagnie de Jésus, Missionnaire dans la Nouvelle-France, écrit par lui-même par*

ordre de son Supérieur, l'an 1688, Nouvelle York, Isle de Manate, À la Presse Cramoisy de Jean-Marie Shea, 1858; Lionel LINDSAY, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette en la Nouvelle-France, étude historique*, Montréal, Revue canadienne, 1900; BARBEAU, *Trésors des anciens Jésuites*, p.166-68.

38 Cette réplique a été sauvée de l'incendie de 1862 qui a ravagé l'église de 1730. Voir LINDSAY, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette en Nouvelle-France, étude historique*, p.15. D'ailleurs, elle n'est pas véritablement un fac-similé dans la mesure où elle ressemble plus à une maison canadienne qu'à la véritable maison de Lorette.

39 Comment ne pas penser ici à *La France apportant la Foi aux Hurons*, premier tableau se référant de manière explicite à l'histoire de la colonie. Conservée dans la chapelle des ursulines de Québec, cette toile a pour mérite d'être à la fois historique et symbolique. Elle décrit Anne d'Autriche offrant à un Huron un tableau représentant la Sainte Famille élargie. Cet acte de donation est placé sous le regard de la Sainte Trinité flanquée des proches parents du Christ. Ces deux trinités, peinte et céleste, renvoient aux pratiques d'évangélisation des missionnaires jésuites. Par conséquent, ce tableau semble un précédent incontournable pour qui s'intéresse à l'iconographie de la Sainte Famille en Nouvelle-France. Voir François-Marc GAGNON et Laurier LACROIX, «La France apportant la foi aux Hurons de Nouvelle-France : un tableau conservé chez les Ursulines de Québec», *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes*, vol.18, n° 3 (Automne 1983), p.5-20.

40 Voir Marie-Nicole BOISCLAIR, *Catalogue des œuvres peintes conservées au monastère des Augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*, Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1977, p.29-30, Cat. 41 et ill. 41; MUSÉE DE QUÉBEC, *Le Grand Héritage*, 1984, p.65, no. 57; CLICHE, *Les Pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France*, p.159 (repr.); GAUTHIER, *La Dévotion à la Sainte Famille en Nouvelle-France et au Québec*, p.88-89.

41 MÂLE, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France*, p.317.

42 La seule allusion que nous ayons trouvée ayant trait à cette ressemblance entre Dieu et saint Joseph date du XIX[e] siècle : «La dévotion spéciale dont les Sœurs doivent être animées envers la Personne adorable du Père Éternel, leur impose une obligation plus particulière d'honorer et de vénérer saint Joseph comme son image vivante sur la terre, et comme modèle dans les soins qu'elles doivent prendre des pauvres et de tous les membres souffrants et délaissés du Corps mystique de Jésus Christ». *Manuel de piété à l'usage des Sœurs de la Charité* cité par Sœur Laurette DUCLOS, «Les Sœurs Grises sous la garde de saint Joseph» dans *Cahiers de josephologie*, n° 6 (1958), p.218.

43 François BOESPFLUG, *La Trinité dans l'art d'Occident (1400-1460)*, Strasbourg, Presses Universitaires, 2000, p.21.

44 Voir Guy-M. BERTRAND et Elphège M. BRASSARD, «Le patronage de saint Joseph dans l'art» dans *Le Patronage de Saint Joseph, Actes du Congrès d'études tenu à l'Oratoire Saint-Joseph (Montréal, 1er-9 août 1955)*, Montréal-Paris, Fides, 1956, p.637-40.

45 Louis RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, tome II, partie 2, p.75.

46 Jean FOURNÉE va jusqu'à parler de «polymorphisme symbolique» dans son article portant sur «Les thèmes iconographiques de l'Immaculée Conception en Normandie au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance», *Virgo Immaculata. Acta congressus mariologici-mariani*, Rome, Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1957, vol.XV, p.19, auquel nous renvoyons pour une connaissance approfondie sur le sujet.

47 Une troisième iconographie est évoquée par les historiens, parmi les tâtonnements qui ont présidés à la formule visuelle définitive de l'Immaculée Conception, celle qu'on prénomme habituellement *Santa Ana triple*. Ce thème qui ne recourt pas à un texte particulier, représente sainte Anne ayant en son sein une Vierge à l'Enfant.

48 Pour une liste complète des sources scripturaires des symboles mariaux, voir Suzanne L. STRATTON, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.42.

49 RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, p.80.

50 Abbé Édouard BARTHE, *Les Litanies de la Très-Sainte Vierge*, Paris, Camus, 1851, p.1.

51 Ulysse CHEVALIER, *Étude historique sur l'authenticité de la Santa Casa*, Paris, Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1906, p.329.

52 Voir William BARCHAM, «Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions», *The Art Bulletin*, vol.61, n° 3 (September 1979), p.430-47.

53 *Ibid.*, p.440.

54 Fournée suppose que l'origine du thème iconographique est à chercher dans les concours palinodiques rouennais du XV^e^ siècle en l'honneur de la Madone. Selon lui, il y aurait eu un transfert des poèmes aux motifs figurés. Voir une communication manuscrite citée par Augustin LÉPIÉCIER, *L'Immaculée Conception dans l'art et l'iconographie*, Paris, Spa, Servites de Marie, 1956, p.326.

55 Les litanies, comme la récitation du rosaire, ont pour finalité la contemplation. Elles ne sont qu'un moyen et par là même sujettes à ce type de manipulations.

56 STRATTON, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p.44.

57 LINDSAY, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette en Nouvelle-France, étude historique*, p.24.

58 Le Journal des jésuites nous apprend que les litanies de Lorette étaient bien récitées le 2 décembre : «La feste de St. fr. xavier tombant cette année le lundy; on fit les Ies. Vespres solemnelles le Dimanche; & le lundy la grande messe, on ne publia point l'Indulgence, parce-que je fus confirmé dans mon doute, qu'il n'y en avoit point. (...) le Veu fut renouvelé a l'ordinaire, le soir, entre les litanies & l'Ave maris stella, devant le St. Sacremt. exposé». *Journal des Pères Jésuites, en l'année 1647* dans Ruben Gold THWAITES, *The Jesuits Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, Burrows Brothers Co., 1896-1901, vol.30, p.196.

59 La restauration du tableau avait été confiée à François Baillaigé. En 1800, l'artiste québécois fournira d'ailleurs une copie de cette Immaculée Conception pour orner le maître-autel de l'ancienne église Saint-Pierre de l'île d'Orléans. Voir pour la copie de Baillairgé, Denis CASTONGUAY «Œuvres d'art à l'ancienne église Saint-Pierre de l'île d'Orléans» dans *Les Chemins de la mémoire*, Québec, Commission des biens culturels du Québec, 1999, tome III, p.81.

60 Nous tenons à remercier Michael Pantazzi, conservateur des arts européens au musée des Beaux-Arts du Canada, pour l'intérêt qu'il a bien voulu porter à notre recherche. Il a, entre autres, attiré notre attention sur le caractère processionnel de la Vierge de Saint-François.

61 John R. PORTER et Jean BÉLISLE, *La Sculpture ancienne au Québec*, Montréal, Les éditions de l'Homme, 1986, p.175.

62 Pour un récapitulatif récent du trésor de Lorette, voir René VILLENEUVE, «Œuvres d'art de l'église de Notre-Dame de Lorette» dans *Les Chemins de la mémoire*, p.115-34.

Summary

WORKS DATING FROM THE FRENCH REGIME IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF SAINT-FRANÇOIS-DU-LAC, QUÉBEC

A Concerted Iconographic Ensemble?

The parish church of Saint François Xavier of Saint-François-du-Lac dates from the mid-nineteenth century; but the tabernacle and the paintings in the choir derive from the original stone church built during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The tabernacle, produced in 1722 by Jean-Jacques Bloem, called Leblond, is the oldest surviving adornment; and according to parish records, the three paintings in the choir date from at least 1740. The painting on the high altar represents *The Miracle of Saint Francis Xavier* while those in the side chapels to the left and the right are, respectively, *Saint Joseph Carrying the Christ Child* and the *Immaculate Conception*. These paintings have not previously been studied in detail, although as this article demonstrates, they display an iconographical symbolism and meaning that are unusual for the period. It should be noted that historical documentary sources for these works are limited and none provide the name of the artist or the particular circumstances surrounding the paintings' production. In the absence of archival data, this analysis of the dedications, the iconography and the physical nature of the work, enables a new and feasible interpretation of the ensemble.

It appears, in fact, that the dedications of the three paintings are not unrelated, but correspond to the vow made by the Jesuits of New France in 1635 to commemorate Saint Joseph, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and Saint Francis Xavier jointly on the date of December 2nd. The dedications and consequently the altarpieces themselves, reflect Catholic devotion in Quebec since the beginnings of the colony. Analysis of the iconographical imagery further confirms their position within the religious history of New France.

The imposingly large *Miracle of Saint Francis* on the high altar had suffered extensive over-painting in the nineteenth century, which hindered the study of the image; however the painting was restored in 1996 and now allows for new analysis. The dark palette and awkward execution has led me to

believe that the painting was produced by a local artist. Furthermore, the image is an exact copy of Étienne Gantrel's engraving of Nicolas Poussin's famous painting of *Le Miracle de Saint François Xavier* now in the Louvre. The choice of this particular subject, in my view, reveals the religious demands imposed by colonial ecclesiastical authorities. Christ's presence overshadows the scene to the detriment of the missionary saint, whose cult was weakened at the injunction of post-tridentine clergy who feared that the worship of saints could eclipse the honour reserved for God. The physical and metaphoric enormity of the Saviour in the Saint Francis painting conforms clearly to this christocentric notion. This is not the case, however, for the paintings in the side chapels. These two images are highly coloured and strongly different in style from the picture on the high altar, suggesting that they were probably imported from Europe; and the visual evidence leads me to believe that they were the work of a minor artist. Furthermore, their iconography does not seem strictly post-tridentine, but refers instead to specific historical events in Quebec.

Saint Joseph Carrying the Christ Child presents a novel, even exceptional iconography. The painting shows Christ's earthly father with an image of the "translation of the House of Loreto," while a bust-length Eternal Father directs the event. The Roman Catholic Church so venerated the "Santa Casa," the Holy House of Nazareth which angels miraculously transported to Italy, that it became one of the most frequented pilgrimage places in modern times. In light of this, the intrusion of the Marian symbol above Saint Joseph is certainly not a coincidence. Undoubtedly it should serve as a reminder of the strong devotion to the saint established in the Laurentian region of New France around 1675. In fact, it was due to the initiatives of the celebrated Jesuit missionary Father Chaumonot, along with Father Poncet that the converted Hurons began to worship the "Holy House." But the evocation of this famous Marian sanctuary in the church of Saint Francis does not end here. The inclusion of the "translation of the House of Loreto" within the *Saint Joseph* painting is, in fact, thematically linked to the *Immaculate Conception* represented in the right chapel.

Since the seventeenth century at least, the Holy House of Nazareth honoured in Loreto, Italy has been associated with the cult of the Immaculate Conception. This is an established tradition in both literature and the visual arts. Moreover, the iconography of the Virgin in the church of Saint Francis Xavier is that of the Virgin of the Litanies; in other words, the Virgin surrounded by numerous attributes referring to biblical or poetical metaphors. The use of traditional sixteenth-century symbols, however, declined in the second half of the seventeenth century in favour of less elaborate imagery. The question thus arises concerning the reasons for the continuation of this anachronism. It is

important to remember that She was also referred to at the time as the "Virgin of the Loreto Litanies." This title was in memory of the incantations, which according to tradition, were invoked for the first time in the Italian pilgrimage sanctuary and were drawn from the same scriptural sources as the attributes used with images of the Holy Virgin. This relationship may be only a coincidence or it may be that the painting's commissioners wished to have a pendant piece to the Saint Joseph with the "Santa Casa" for particular reasons that still remain unknown. In any case, this supports my theory of a truly concerted iconographical program implied by the dedications of the choir paintings.

Some hypotheses concerning the intentions of the works can be proposed by turning to the religious history of New France. We know that through the intervention of the Jesuits in charge of Aboriginal people, the devotion to Our Lady of Loreto was introduced in the French colony during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The receipt of a black Virgin of Loreto had the effect of provoking the neophyte Huron community to construct a new chapel, which was then placed under the protection of the Virgin of Loreto. Moreover, Father Chaumonot, responsible for Aboriginal people near Quebec City, ensured that this new place of worship was constructed exactly like the Holy House, creating a perfect replica of the famous relic. According to contemporary sources, the newly-erected sanctuary became one of the most frequented pilgrimage sites in the province for both French and Native people. There are numerous testimonies describing the ecclesiastical authorities, the bourgeoisie and also converted Aboriginals from elsewhere who came to worship the black Virgin of Loreto. Up until the Conquest, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette Chapel was an important religious centre for the entire population.

Is it possible that the Saint-Francis-du-Lac altarpiece representing Saint Joseph holding the Christ Child, along with the transfer of the House of Loreto and God the Father giving direction, was an original and novel way of representing the introduction of the cult to the New World? In addition to the historical context, the vaguely "Canadian" landscape and the gesture of God have led me to such a conclusion. Furthermore, it is also possible that these two paintings may originally have been destined for the Huron Chapel and for unknown reasons ended up in Saint-François. It is also worth considering the possibility that the pictures had been first conceived for the Abenaki Chapel near the parish church in Saint-François-du-Lac. Although the Aboriginal people were under the patronage of Saint François de Sales, they also shared a devotion to the Italian black Virgin. Available archival sources do not allow for complete answers to these speculations; however,

it can be safely stated that the relationship between these two paintings and the Lorette Sanctuary in Canada is certainly more than mere coincidence.

Furthermore, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception was represented on a processional standard and thereby reminiscent of a sculpture in-the-round. This suggests that the artist may have intended to represent a specific statue, undoubtedly one that was venerated in the colony. On the other hand, the Virgin is modelled on the image of the Madonna in the painting over the high altar in Notre-Dame de Québec cathedral. Unfortunately, this painting is as poorly documented as the image in Saint-François, so any comparison has its limitations. Nevertheless the relationship between the two works could suggest, perhaps, that there was an earlier common model for both paintings. The prototype could possibly be a statue of the Virgin that was especially honoured by the population. The sculpture might be one venerated during the annual procession on December 2nd, which as cited earlier, marks the feast day commemorating the 1635 vow by the Jesuits to honour the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, Saint Joseph and Saint Francis Xavier together.

In conclusion, such an investigation has not provided either dates or attributions for these three colonial paintings. Nevertheless, by taking into account the devotions in the colony and through iconographic and stylistic analysis, there are sufficient indications that lead me to believe that the three images are closely tied to the religious history of Quebec. All in all, it would seem that we have a concerted group of paintings that reflects the coherence and sophistication of the devotional programs offered to the parishioners of New France.

Translation: Janet Logan

fig.1 Artiste inconnu, **Mary Louisa, Comtesse d'Elgin**, *c.*1848, miniature, 9 x 7 cm.
(Photo: *Pages d'histoire du Canada*, Galerie nationale du Canada, 1967, p.295)

LES SÉJOURS AU BAS-CANADA DE LADY MARY LOUISA ELGIN

En 1967, lors des célébrations entourant le centenaire de la Confédération canadienne, la Galerie nationale présenta l'exposition *Pages d'histoire du Canada*[1]. À cette occasion, un grand nombre d'œuvres jusqu'alors inconnues furent empruntées à des collections particulières étrangères. Ainsi, le carnet de dessin de lady Mary Louisa Elgin (fig.1), née Lambton (1819-1898), fut montré pour la première fois. On se souviendra que lady Elgin est la fille aînée de John George Lambton (1792-1840) 1er comte de Durham, née du second mariage de celui-ci avec lady Louisa Elizabeth Grey. En 1846, elle épouse James Bruce (1811-1863) 8e comte d'Elgin et 12e comte de Kincardine, gouverneur général du Canada-Uni d'octobre 1846 à décembre 1854[2].

Mary Louisa est âgée de 19 ans lorsque son père accepte, en 1838, le poste de gouverneur général de l'Amérique du Nord où il part s'installer avec sa famille et une suite d'une vingtaine de personnes. Les événements entourant le court mandat de lord Durham sont connus et ont été suffisamment discutés pour qu'il ne soit pas nécessaire d'y revenir ici[3]. Retenons seulement que le groupe de Britanniques est arrivé à Québec le 27 mai et qu'il en repartira le 1er novembre suivant. Malgré ce court laps de temps, à peine cinq mois, plusieurs témoignages visuels nous sont parvenus de cette période[4]. Assurément, le peintre John Richard Coke Smyth[5] (1808-1882), engagé par lord Durham comme professeur de dessin pour sa famille, et l'aquarelliste amateur Katherine Jane Ellice[6] (1814?-1864), épouse d'Edward Ellice, secrétaire du gouverneur, ont contribué à relater visuellement ce séjour. Lorsque lady Mary Louisa reviendra en Amérique, neuf ans plus tard, en tant qu'épouse de lord Elgin, elle y demeurera cette fois durant sept ans.

La majorité des œuvres de lady Elgin est conservée par ses descendants au château de Broomhall (Dunfermline), en Écosse[7]. Depuis la fin des années 1970, une vingtaine de pièces se trouvent cependant prêtées à Rideau Hall, la résidence principale des gouverneurs généraux du Canada à Ottawa. C'est l'historien de l'art Robert H. Hubbard (1916-1989), conseiller culturel du gouverneur général à partir de 1975, qui servit alors d'intermédiaire entre les descendants des Elgin et Rideau Hall. Rappelons que Hubbard fut conservateur en chef de la Galerie nationale et qu'à ce titre il conçut l'exposition *Pages d'histoire du Canada* en 1967. Par conséquent, il connaissait l'existence du carnet de dessin de lady Elgin et avait

été en contact avec les prêteurs. En 1974, Hubbard entreprend donc des démarches auprès d'Andrew Bruce, 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, afin d'emprunter des œuvres de son arrière grand-mère pour orner certains appartements privés de Rideau Hall. Le 11e comte d'Elgin accepte, tout en signalant que son père a déjà offert au Canada, dans les années 1940, des bustes en marbre représentant ses ancêtres et qui ornent l'Hôtel Elgin à Ottawa[8]. Il propose donc à Hubbard de choisir parmi les nombreuses aquarelles et lithographies réalisées par son aïeule lors de ses deux séjours dans les Canadas. L'historien de l'art retient alors vingt œuvres de lady Elgin ainsi qu'une aquarelle du colonel Henry William Barnard (1799-1857), *Sainte-Anne, près de Québec*, qui avait été présentée lors de l'exposition de 1967[9]. Les œuvres seront finalement réparties entre Rideau Hall et la résidence de la citadelle de Québec qui se trouve dégarnie depuis l'incendie de 1976. Les gouverneurs généraux passent, Robert H. Hubbard décède – il n'est pas remplacé comme conseiller culturel – et les œuvres sont oubliées, dispersées et mêlées au travers de reproductions et de pièces de moindre intérêt. Finalement, à la demande de Leurs Excellences Adrienne Clarkson et John Ralston Saul – qui s'interrogent à juste raison sur le caractère disparate de la collection de Québec – une expertise est effectuée. Les œuvres de lady Mary Louisa Elgin sont alors identifiées de même que le rôle joué il y a plus de vingt ans par Robert H. Hubbard.

Devant l'intérêt et le caractère inédit des œuvres, sans compter l'identité de leur auteur, on décide alors de les faire connaître au public à l'intérieur d'une exposition de nature historique portant sur le mandat de lord Elgin[10]. À cette occasion, la collection des descendants de lord et lady Elgin est mise à contribution, ajoutant ainsi à notre connaissance trois aquarelles. Sans conteste, les œuvres connues de lady Elgin sont intéressantes au point de nous faire regretter l'inaccessibilité de l'ensemble conservé en Écosse. Les treize dessins réalisés durant son premier passage en 1838 demeurent les plus captivants, car ils nous donnent l'impression de la suivre dans son périple. Neuf œuvres se rattachent au second séjour, tandis qu'une aquarelle isolée et inachevée montre la salle d'études du château de Lambton en Angleterre esquissée au cours de l'année 1834. Fait exceptionnel, les aquarelles de 1838 se trouvent documentées grâce aux journaux personnels tenus à l'époque par lady Mary Louisa Lambton[11], sa mère lady Durham[12] ainsi que Jane Ellice[13]. Il va sans dire que cette triple lecture des mêmes événements – où chacune écrit selon sa personnalité, et pour elle-même – est tout simplement fascinante. Dès lors, tout s'imbrique : les récits quotidiens ponctués des aquarelles de Mary Louisa, auxquelles se rattachent celles de Jane Ellice[14] ainsi que les travaux du maître de dessin Coke Smyth[15]. À la lecture des écrits de Mary Louisa et de Jane Ellice, on note l'assiduité et le plaisir avec lesquels elles pratiquent le dessin. De fait, leur exemple démontre bien que

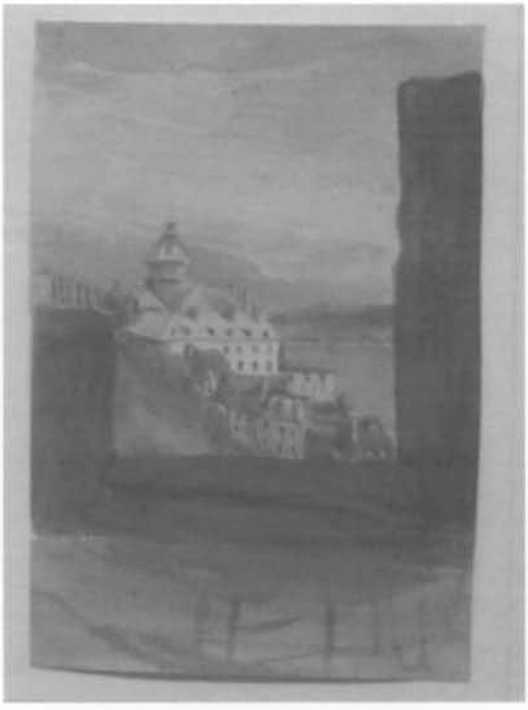


fig.2 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Québec vu du Château**, juillet 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 22 x 15 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé : (coin inférieur droit) MLL / July / 1838. (Photo: Wallack Galleries, Ottawa)

fig.3 Mary Louisa Elgin, **La Basse-ville de Québec et le port vus d'un créneau du rempart**, 3 juillet 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 22 x 15 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé : (coin inférieur droit) MLL. (Photo: Wallack Galleries, Ottawa)

fig.4 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Pêche à la fascine à la pointe de Lévy**, juillet 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 16 x 24 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé : (coin inférieur droit) MLL. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

l'apprentissage et la maîtrise de l'aquarelle, de la musique et de l'écriture faisait partie intégrante de l'éducation des jeunes filles de l'aristocratie anglaise au XIXe siècle. On ne peut que s'en réjouir, car la pratique de ces dilettantes constitue un apport certain à notre connaissance de la première moitié du XIXe siècle où le témoignage des femmes demeure une rareté[16].

Lady Elgin nous a facilité la tâche en signant et en datant la majorité de ses dessins. Ses initiales MLL identifient les pièces de 1838, tandis qu'après son mariage sa signature varie; ses esquisses sont alors marquées indifféremment des lettres de son prénom ML, ou encore MLE et même MLEK notant dans ce dernier cas les deux titres de comte de son époux. Dix-neuf aquarelles sur mine de plomb nous sont parvenues ainsi qu'un dessin au crayon fait sur papier bleu et quatre lithographies gravées lors de son second séjour. Les aquarelles et le dessin ont été collés aux quatre coins sur des feuilles de papier vergé ayant toutes la même dimension. Celles-ci portent des numéros inscrits à la mine de plomb qui

correspondent vraisemblablement à leur emplacement dans un album monté à l'origine par lady Elgin. Certaines feuilles supportant des œuvres réalisées en 1838 présentent le filigrane : *J. WHATMAN/TURKEY MILL / 1845*, soit la marque de papier utilisée par son professeur de dessin Coke Smyth[17]. L'impression de l'année 1845 dans le papier laisse supposer que lady Elgin a monté son album après avoir appris qu'elle reviendrait vivre au Bas-Canada à la suite de la nomination de son époux. Elle en aurait alors profité, avant de partir, pour revoir et classer ses «notes visuelles» afin de se remémorer les lieux où elle avait vécu.

Plusieurs pièces se démarquent dans cet ensemble. D'emblée, *Québec vu du Château* (fig.2) retient l'attention, car elle présente beaucoup de similitudes avec une lithographie de Coke Smyth publiée en 1840 dans son album *Sketches in the Canadas*[18]. Rappelons que la page frontispice de cet album, ainsi que la lithographie, dérivent de *La Basse-ville de Québec vue depuis le Château*, un dessin de Coke Smyth croqué en juin 1838[19]. Pour réaliser sa vue depuis le château Saint-Louis, Mary Louisa se place presqu'au même endroit que son maître de dessin avec quelques mètres en retrait. Ce léger décalage l'amène à esquisser les contours d'un créneau du rempart et à tronquer la vue de Québec qui se limite alors à l'hôtel du Parlement et à quelques habitations de la côte de la Montagne. Puis, elle tourne son regard vers le sud et cadre *La Basse-ville de Québec et le port vus d'un créneau du rempart* (fig.3), qu'elle date du 3 juillet, veille du départ pour la tournée de son père qu'elle accompagne avec sa famille et leur suite dans le Haut et le Bas-Canada. Quelques jours avant de partir, elle a dessiné *Pêche à la fascine à la pointe de Lévy* (fig.4). Tout porte à croire que le paysage a été réalisé le 29 juin, lors d'une randonnée à laquelle participaient aussi Jane Ellice et Coke Smyth, où Mary Louisa mentionne avoir «dessiné assise sur la plage[20]». Si la pièce est datée de juillet 1838, il semble toutefois qu'elle fut aquarellée par la suite, puisque aucune promenade à la pointe de Lévy n'est rapportée dans son journal en juillet. On comprend donc que les excursions donnaient d'abord lieu à des dessins d'observation qui pouvaient alors être aquarellés seulement par la suite. L'aspect un peu fruste de ce dessin esquissé rapidement puise son intérêt principalement dans le sujet inusité : la pêche à l'anguille, thème rarement abordé par les topographes, qui dénote l'esprit curieux de la jeune fille.

Les vues de *L'Ile Sainte-Hélène, Montréal* et *Sur le Saint-Laurent* marquent le début du voyage à l'intérieur du continent. Plus conventionnelles, elles sont autant de notes visuelles prises le long du parcours. *Le Chevet de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal vu du fleuve* (fig.5) montre une vue inhabituelle de la nouvelle église avec la tour de l'ancienne visible, en arrière-plan. Lady Mary Louisa apportera toutefois beaucoup plus de soin à rendre *Les Chutes Niagara* (fig.6) dont le site, à l'instar de celui des chutes Montmorency au Québec, connut une grande popularité tout au long du XIX^{e} siècle. Sans contredit, les chutes ont impressionné les voyageurs au point où lady Durham écrit : «À elles seules, les chutes Niagara

fig.5 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Le Chevet de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal vu du fleuve**, 9 juillet 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 15 x 23 cm, coll. du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T., Écosse. Non signé. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

fig.6 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Les Chutes Niagara**, 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 16 x 26 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Non signé. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

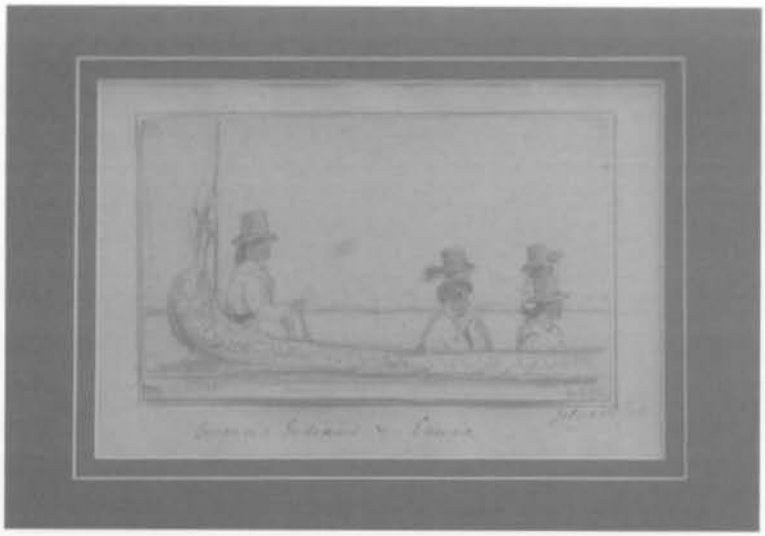


*fig.*7 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Edward Ellice à la rencontre de lord Durham et de sa suite**, 23 juillet 1838, mine de plomb avec rehauts d'aquarelle sur papier bleu, 9 x 14 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé : (coin inférieur droit) MLL. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

compensent les désagréments d'une traversée de l'Atlantique[21]»! Par ailleurs, Jane Ellice, qui ne faisait pas partie de la tournée, notera dans son journal : «Ils ont tous été enchantés par les chutes Niagara dont Mary a fait des aquarelles qui sont vraiment belles[22]». De fait, lady Mary Louisa sera si satisfaite de certaines de ses vues qu'elle les reportera sur la pierre pour en tirer des lithographies lors de son second séjour. Pour l'heure, il a été entendu qu'ils arrêteraient à Beauharnois, sur le chemin du retour, afin de visiter Jane et Edward Ellice qui s'y sont installés afin de veiller aux intérêts du père d'Edward qui y possède la seigneurie. En date du 21 juillet, lady Durham écrit: «[...] à l'approche de Beauharnois, où nous sommes arrivés durant l'après-midi, Edward Ellice est venu à notre rencontre dans un petit canot d'écorce conduit par 3 indiens dirigés par un canadien français qui entonnait des chants marins français repris en chœur par les indiens qui soutenaient ainsi leur cadence [...][23]».

Mary Louisa croque la scène rapidement et esquisse partiellement le canot où les cinq hommes sont représentés dans une position plutôt illogique (fig.7). Qui plus est, seul le dirigeant du canot tient un aviron tandis que ses coéquipiers

fig.8 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Manoir de Beauharnois**, 23 juillet 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 15 x 24 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé : (coin inférieur droit) MLL. (Photo: Wallack Galleries, Ottawa)

ont les mains vides! Edward Ellice est facilement reconnaissable à son absence de couvre-chef tandis que les Amérindiens et le Canadien français se distinguent par leurs chapeaux haut-de-forme. En fait, le dessin est assez rudimentaire, mais convenons que l'anecdote historique est amusante. Le paysage montrant le manoir de Beauharnois est beaucoup mieux rendu (fig.8). Il révèle comment l'aquarelliste amateur qu'était lady Mary Louisa Lambton pouvait équilibrer une composition et réaliser non seulement une œuvre cohérente, mais également agréable à l'œil. Cette aquarelle, où Mary Louisa s'est attardée à faire une vue plus rapprochée du manoir, est à mettre en rapport avec *La Seigneurie de Beauharnois*[24] de Jane Ellice qui embrasse le site de manière plus large.

De retour à Québec, le 27 juillet, la famille s'installe dans les appartements réaménagés durant leur absence à l'hôtel du Parlement[25], situé à l'emplacement de l'actuel parc Montmorency, en haut de la côte de la Montagne. À propos des nouvelles installations, lady Durham note : «[...] il n'y a que le strict nécessaire

fig.9 Mary Louisa Elgin, **La Chambre de lady Mary Louisa à l'hôtel du Parlement de Québec**, 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 16 x 24 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Non signé. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

dans les chambres des enfants, mais ce sont des pièces aérées et plaisantes. [...] La bibliothèque, une grande pièce avec des ouvertures sur deux côtés, offre une vue magnifique sur le Saint-Laurent. C'est une pièce de séjour très agréable – la seule que nous ayons, mais nous trouvons que c'est bien suffisant[26]».

L'hôtel du Parlement a brûlé en 1854 et aucune vue intérieure de cet édifice prestigieux ne nous était parvenue jusqu'ici – en soi cela n'est pas étonnant puisque les représentations d'intérieurs sont en nombre compté à cette période. En voulant conserver le souvenir des lieux où elle a habité durant quelques mois, Mary Louisa s'est donc trouvée à réaliser des documents visuels exceptionnels dotés d'un intérêt historique certain. Ainsi, à la veille du départ précipité de sa famille pour l'Angleterre[27], la jeune fille fait le relevé de sa chambre, de la salle d'études ainsi que de la bibliothèque[28] (figs.9, 10, 11 et 12). Spontanément, elle dessine sa chambre telle qu'elle devait habituellement être avec ses vêtements épars sur le lit, ses objets de toilette et ses ouvrages en cours sur la table de travail[29].

fig.10 Mary Louisa Elgin, **La Salle d'études de la famille de lord Durham à l'hôtel du Parlement de Québec**, 31 octobre 1838, aquarelle sur mine de plomb, 16 x 24 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé: (coin inférieur droit) MLL / Oct.31. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

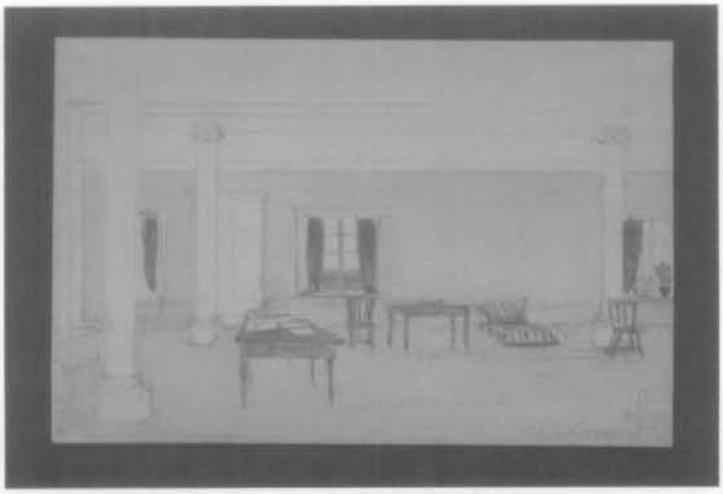


fig.11 Mary Louisa Elgin, **La Salle d'études de la famille de lord Durham à l'hôtel du Parlement de Québec, côté jardin**, 31 octobre 1838, aquarelle et crayon sur mine de plomb, 16 x 24 cm, coll. du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T., Écosse. Signé: (coin inférieur droit) MLL / Oct.31. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

fig.12 Mary Louisa Elgin, **La Bibliothèque de la famille de lord Durham à l'hôtel du Parlement de Québec,** 31 octobre 1838, mine de plomb sur papier bleu rehaussé de blanc, 24 x 16 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé: (coin inférieur droit) MLL / Oct.31 / 38. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

Cette large vue laisse penser que Mary Louisa s'est placée dans l'embrasure de la porte afin d'avoir le recul nécessaire pour saisir l'ensemble de la pièce. Les deux représentations de la salle d'études répondent à une volonté similaire de rendre compte du maximum d'éléments. Ici, la double colonnade et le tuyau de poêle servent de points de fuite tout en marquant l'espace d'une pièce qui apparaît vaste. À l'avant-plan de l'une des aquarelles, une femme assise à une table de travail anime un peu le lieu. Une inscription à la mine de plomb l'identifie comme étant «Mlle Bonnet», préceptrice des enfants Lambton selon le journal de Jane Ellice[30]. À l'instar de sa mère, Mary Louisa devait apprécier ce lieu de réunion familiale qu'était la bibliothèque en choisissant de la représenter par un dessin fait sur papier bleu à la mine de plomb rehaussé de blanc. C'est la seule œuvre à avoir reçu ce traitement dans l'ensemble connu. Comme le précise le journal à l'entrée du 29 octobre, l'esquisse a été dessinée le soir tombé alors que la pièce

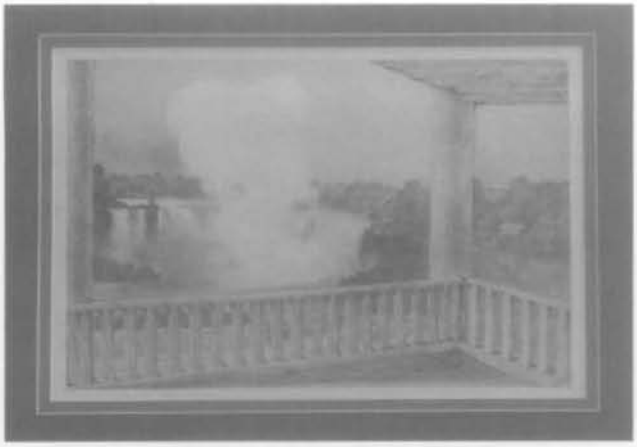


fig.13 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Les Chutes Niagara vues de l'hôtel Clifton**, entre 1839 et 1847, lithographie, image, 16 x 24 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Épreuve avant la lettre. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

fig.14 Mary Louisa Elgin, **Les Chutes Niagara**, Octobre 1847, lithographie, image, 12 x 18 cm, coll. Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Prêt permanent du 11e comte d'Elgin et 15e comte de Kincardine, K.T. Signé : (coin inférieur droit) M E & K / Oct. 1847. Lettre : FALLS OF NIAGARA, / SKETCH FROM NATURE, AND ON STONE, BY / THE COUNTESS OF ELGIN. (Photo: Rideau Hall, Ottawa)

était éclairée à la lueur des chandelles[31]. Cette intrusion dans l'intimité des Durham laisse voir dans quel univers culturel et de détente baignait lady Mary Louisa où livres, globe terrestre et harpe se côtoient dans une pièce toute simple, aux fauteuils confortables. Dans ce décor, la présence de la harpe retient l'attention puisqu'il doit s'agir de l'instrument apporté d'Angleterre en même temps qu'un piano-forte[32]. De fait, la musique occupait une place de choix dans la vie familiale. En effet, on ne compte plus les entrées dans les différents journaux personnels où il est mentionné que Mary Louisa et sa sœur Emily ont joué de leurs instruments tandis que Jane Ellice chantait lors d'un souper, d'une réception ou tout simplement durant la traversée.

Au printemps 1847, Mary Louisa revient sur le continent américain en tant que lady Elgin, comtesse de Kincardine et épouse du nouveau gouverneur général du Canada-Uni. L'attrait pour le dessin et l'aquarelle ne s'est toujours pas démenti ainsi que la curiosité et la soif d'apprendre. Dès l'automne, elle s'adonne donc à la lithographie chez George Matthews (vers 1816 - après 1864), imprimeur commercial à Montréal[33]. Elle connaît déjà cette technique de gravure puisqu'en Angleterre elle a ainsi transposé *Les Chutes Niagara vues de l'hôtel Clifton* (fig.13)[34]. Cette vue retient particulièrement l'attention à cause de l'originalité de la composition qui se démarque des vues plus classiques à laquelle se rattache cette autre version des chutes qu'elle a lithographiée à Montréal (fig.14). Mary Louisa a confié à son journal que c'est de l'hôtel Clifton, où la famille logeait, qu'elle a aperçu les chutes pour la première fois[35]. De fait, tout porte à croire que le dessin original de la gravure a été réalisé le 16 juillet 1838 alors que la pluie l'amena à dessiner assise au balcon de l'hôtel[36]. Sans contredit, c'est le travail de lithographe de lady Elgin qui retient l'attention lors de son second séjour. Il faut dire que les aquarelles de cette période sont moins étonnantes : une *Indienne de Lorette* datant de 1848 et quelques vues habituelles du Saint-Laurent prises de Spencer Wood. La première dame de la colonie conserve toutefois l'originalité d'avoir dessiné ces vues à partir de son jardin puisque Spencer Wood était, depuis 1849, la résidence permanente du gouverneur du Bas-Canada.

JOANNE CHAGNON
Québec

Notes

1 Roy STRONG, *A Pageant of Canada/Pages d'histoire du Canada*, Ottawa, Galerie nationale du Canada, 1967.

2 William Lewis MORTON, «Bruce, James, 8e comte d'Elgin et 12e comte de Kincardine», *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, Toronto et Québec, University of Toronto Press et Les Presses de l'Université Laval, vol. IX, 1977, p.97-102.

3 Fernand OUELLETTE, «Lambton, John George, 1er comte de Durham», *ibid.*, vol. VII, 1988, p.515-20.

4 Didier PRIOUL, «Les paysagistes britanniques au Québec: de la vue documentaire à la vision poétique», dans *La peinture au Québec 1820-1850 – Nouveaux regards, nouvelles perspectives*, Québec, Musée du Québec/Les Publications du Québec, 1991, p.56 et 57.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 458-66.

6 Jane Ellice nous a d'ailleurs laissé une aquarelle représentant *Lady Mary Lambton et lady Emily Lambton devant leur chevalet*, *Ibid.*, p.262-65 (repro.), et Susan NORTH, «Au cœur de la rébellion de 1838 Edward et Janie Ellice», *L'Archiviste*, Ottawa, Archives nationales du Canada, mai-juin 1990, vol.17, n° 3, p.8 et 9.

7 Deux aquarelles provenant de son carnet de dessin ont toutefois été vendues chez Sotheby's lors de la vente d'une partie de la *Elgin Collection of Canadiana : L'Anse au Foulon vue des Plaines d'Abraham* (n° 26) et *Québec vu de la pointe de Lévy* (n° 29). SOTHEBY'S, *Topographical Paintings Watercolours and Drawings*, cat. de vente, Londres, 4 nov. 1987, p.16 et 18 (repro.). *Québec vu de la pointe de Lévy* fait partie depuis l'été 2003 de la collection de la Commission de la Capitale nationale à Ottawa.

8 Archives de Rideau Hall, Lettre d'Andrew Bruce à Robert Hubbard, 28 oct. 1974, C-266-1.

9 STRONG, *A Pageant of Canada/Pages d'histoire du Canada*, n° 249, p.275 (repro.).

10 *Culture et démocratie : Lord et lady Elgin au Canada – 1847-1854 / Culture and democracy : Lord and Lady Elgin in Canada – 1847-1854.* Exposition tenue à Rideau Hall du 2 avril au 17 août 2003 et ouverte lors d'événements spéciaux entre le 5 septembre et le 28 février 2004 à la résidence du gouverneur général à la citadelle de Québec et du 16 avril au 2 mai 2004 au Musée du Château de Ramezay, Montréal.

11 ANC, Fonds Robert H. Hubbard, Rideau Hall 1967, MG 31 E76, vol. 35, «Diary of Lady Mary Louisa Lambton 1837» (repro. du manuscrit).

12 «Lady Durham's Journal», *Ninth Series of Historical Documents*, Québec, Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Part I, 1915, p.5-61.

13 Patricia GODSELL, éd., *The Diary of Jane Ellice*, Ottawa, Oberon Press, 1975.

14 Les Archives nationales du Canada conservent le journal (MG24-A2) de Katherine Jane Ellice ainsi qu'un album de dessins et d'aquarelles (R2823-2-5-E).

15 Le Royal Ontario Museum conserve 52 aquarelles et dessins de Coke Smyth. Voir Mary ALLODI, *Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum*, Toronto, ROM, 1974, nos 1532-1583; Mary ALLODI, «Forgery: Who Signed Bartlett's Name?», *Rotunda*, vol. 1, n° 1, (été 1968), p. 10-21.

16 À cet égard, voir Céline KEAR, «Canada's First Literary Ladies», *The Beaver*, Winnipeg, Hudson's Bay Co., vol.82, n° 1, février-mars 2002, p.15-19.

17 ALLODI, «Forgery: Who Signed Bartlett's Name?», p.12.

18 Le titre de la lithographie de Coke Smyth a été repris pour l'aquarelle de lady Elgin afin de signaler cette parenté entre le maître et l'élève. PRIOUL, «Les paysagistes britanniques au Québec», p.460 (repro.).

19 ALLODI, *Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum*, fig.1546 et ALLODI, «Forgery: Who Signed Bartlett's Name?», fig.9.

20 «Rowed over to P[t] Levi with M. Uncle C. [Charles Grey, frère de lady Durham] & M[rs] G. [Caroline Elizabeth Farquhar Grey, épouse de C. Grey] M[rs] E. [Jane Ellice] & Mifs B.E. &c& M[r] Smythe. Sat on the beach sketching», «Diary of Lady Mary Louisa Lambton 1837», 29 juin, p.55.

21 «[...] Niagara alone would make up for a voyage across the Atlantic [...]», «Lady Durham's Journal», 28 ou 29 juillet, p.34.

22 «They are all enchanted with the falls of Niagara & Mary's Sketches of it are very pretty», GODSELL, *The Diary of Jane Ellice*, 21 juillet, p.58.

23 «[...] on approaching Beauharnois, where we arrived in the afternoon, Edward Ellice came out to meet us in a small Indian canoe, rowed by 3 Indians & a French Canadian who took the lead, & gave a succession of French boat songs to which the Indians joined in chorus marking the time as they struck the water with their short oars [...]», «Lady Durham's Journal», 21 juillet, p.33.

24 NORTH, «Au cœur de la rébellion de 1838 Edward et Janie Ellice», p.9 (repro.).

25 Le lieu de résidence à Québec de la famille de lord Durham ne fait aucun doute. L'hôtel du Parlement est clairement nommé à de nombreuses reprises dans les journaux de lady Durham et de sa fille. D'ailleurs, il est entendu dès leur arrivée que c'est là que la famille résidera, voir *Le Canadien*, 28 mai 1838, p.2. Voir Joanne CHAGNON, «Vues intérieures de l'ancien hôtel du Parlement», *Bulletin – Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale*, vol.33, n[os] 1-2, avril 2004, p.32-35.

26 «[...] in the children's rooms there was nothing beyond common necessaries, but the rooms were airy & pleasant [...]. The Library, a large room with windows both ways & a beautiful view on one side upon the St. Lawrence, made a very agreeable sitting room – it was the only one, but we found it quite sufficient – », «Lady Durham's Journal», 28 ou 29 juillet, p.35.

27 Les aquarelles représentant la bibliothèque et la salle d'études sont datées du 31 octobre 1838. Le 1[er] novembre lord Durham et sa famille s'embarquait à bord de l'*Inconstant* pour retourner en Angleterre.

28 Trois de ces aquarelles ont déjà été publiées dans Robert H. HUBBARD, *Ample Mansions. The Viceregal Residences of the Canadian Provinces*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1989, p.30.

29 Malheureusement, plusieurs taches nuisent à la lecture de cette œuvre.

30 GODSELL, *The Diary of Jane Ellice*, 24 avril, p.18.

31 «Made a sketch of the library by candlelight», «Diary of Lady Mary Louisa Lambton 1837», 29 octobre, p.89.

32 «Piano & Harp on board. Emily and Mary Lambton play duets every evg», GODSELL, *The Diary of Jane Ellice*, 28 avril, p.19.

33 Une lithographie des chutes Niagara, non reproduite ici, porte l'inscription : *MATTHEWS LITH. MONTREAL*. Pour plus de renseignements sur la maison de Matthews, voir Mary ALLODI, *Les débuts de l'estampe imprimée au Canada. Vues et portraits*, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 1980.

34 Deux états de cette gravure sont connus, une épreuve avant la lettre et celle avec la lettre (coin inférieur gauche), «Drawn & Lithographed by M.L.L.».

35 «Diary of Lady Mary Louisa Lambton 1837», 13 juillet, p.61.

36 *Ibid.*, 16 juillet, p.63.

LADY MARY LOUISA ELGIN'S SOJOURNS IN LOWER CANADA

In 1967, during the celebrations marking the hundredth anniversary of Confederation, the National Gallery of Canada presented the exhibition *A Pageant of Canada*. On this occasion, the sketchbook of Lady Mary Louisa Elgin (1819-1898) was shown for the first time. Lady Elgin was the eldest daughter of John George Lambton (1792-1840), 1st Earl of Durham and his second wife Lady Louisa Elizabeth Grey. In 1846, Mary Louisa married James Bruce (1811-1863), 8th Earl of Elgin and 12th Earl of Kincardine, who also became the Governor-General of United Canada from 1846 to 1854.

In 1838, Lord Durham accepted the post of Governor-General of North America, and arrived in Quebec with his family and an entourage of about twenty people. Several visual documents remain from this sojourn. These include work by Lady Mary Louisa, by the painter John Richard Coke Smyth (1808-1882), whom Lord Durham had engaged to teach drawing to his family, and by the amateur watercolorist, Katherine Jane Ellice (1814?-1864), wife of Edward Ellice, secretary to the Governor.

Lady Mary Louisa's descendants at Broomhall Castle in Dunfermline, Scotland have retained most of her artwork. In the late 1970s, Robert H. Hubbard (1916-1989), formerly of the National Gallery of Canada and the cultural adviser to the Governor-General in 1975, contacted Andrew Bruce, 11th Earl of Elgin and 15th Earl of Kincardine, in order to borrow his great-grandmother's works for installation in Canada. With his consent, Hubbard chose about twenty of Lady Mary Louisa's watercolours and lithographs to be hung in Rideau Hall, the official residence of the Governor-General in Ottawa, and at the Citadelle de Québec residence. Governors-general have come and gone, Robert H. Hubbard has died and the works have been forgotten, scattered and mixed-in with less interesting pieces. Finally, at the request of Their Excellencies Adrienne Clarkson and John Ralston Saul an appraisal was carried out. Lady Mary Louisa Elgin's works have been identified and the role of Robert H. Hubbard has been acknowledged. An historical exhibition concerning Lord Elgin's mandate was presented in Rideau Hall in 2003 and two venues in Quebec the following year.

Lady Elgin has made the study of her Canadian work easier for us because she signed and dated the majority of the drawings. Her initials MLL identify the works from 1838; however her signature varied after her marriage and the images are indiscriminately signed with the letters of her given name ML, or MLE or even MLEK where she references both of her husband's titles. Nineteen watercolour and pencil works have also come down to us, along with one pencil sketch on blue paper and four lithographs. The watercolours and the drawing have been glued at their four corners on sheets of laid paper, all of the same dimensions. Some of the sheets supporting the works made in 1838 have the watermark, *J. WHATMAN/TURKEY MILL/1845*, the type of paper used by her drawing teacher, John Richard Coke Smyth.

The thirteen drawings produced during her first trip in 1838 are the most fascinating because they give her direct impression of the events of her journey. Nine works are related to her second sojourn, while a lone unfinished watercolour shows the annex to the library at Lambton Castle in England. What is exceptional in our study of Mary Louisa's artwork from her first Canadian visit, is the fact that she, her mother Lady Durham and Jane Ellice all documented the watercolours of 1838 in the diaries they kept at the time. Everything falls into place: the daily entries highlight Mary Louisa's watercolours, which are related to those of Jane Ellice as well as those of Coke Smyth.

In the spring of 1847, Mary Louisa returned to the North American continent as Lady Elgin, Countess of Kincardine and wife of United Canada's new Governor-General. In the autumn, she devoted herself to lithography at George Matthews (*circa* 1816 and after 1864), a commercial printer in Montreal, and it held her attention throughout her second sojourn. Her watercolours of this period are less engaging: *Indian from Lorette* and a few ordinary views of the St. Lawrence made from the garden at Spencer Wood. Interestingly, it would become the official residence of the Governor of Lower Canada in 1849.

Translation: Janet Logan

Bernard Glemser, **John Gregory Alford,** *c.*1934. (Photo: University of Toronto Archives)

THE DEPARTMENT OF FINE ART AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, 1926-1945

Institutionalizing the 'Culture of the Aesthetic'

> The University must not overlook its duty to present and conserve aesthetic values. The beautiful is linked with the true and the good.
>
> Henry John Cody

In June 1934, John Alford, a British lecturer from the Courtauld Institute of Art at the University of London, was engaged as the first Chair of Fine Art at the University of Toronto. His appointment concluded an exhaustive search that took over six years; it involved two of the University's presidents Robert Falconer and his successor, Henry John Cody, as well as a host of art specialists in Canada, the United States and England.[1] The appointment of Alford also brought the University into a cultural-funding alliance with the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the trust organized by Scottish steel magnate Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to broadly promote "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States."[2]

At the University of Toronto the broadly conceived fine arts program was described by Cody as a "vital agency of civilization."[3] The British critic, F.R. Leavis envisaged universities as the last bastion "of cultural tradition...a directing force, representing a wisdom older than modern civilization and having an authority that should check and control the blind drive onward of material and mechanical development."[4] The University's male students were drawn from society's elite and were thus seen to exercise significant and legitimate authority. They were crucial to the project of sustaining and disseminating forms of high culture to the masses in an age that some heralded as being characterized by crass commercialism and vulgar popular amusements. For Carnegie president Frederick Keppel (1875-1943), university men were the enterprising element behind any successful arts program as they were the individuals most "capable of doing something worthwhile, rather than [simply]...carry[ing] out a predetermined procedure."[5] University of Toronto presidents Falconer and Cody were in accord with the Carnegie's cultural agendas; their concept of the role of leadership is encapsulated in Cody's references to "the ample knowledge and clear thought of the university-trained man"[6] and the use of "knowledge, culture, and discipline in the service of the community."[7] The university's male

elite was popularly acknowledged as embodying the "true academic spirit [that] can help to form sound and strong public opinion."[8] With the Carnegie's offer to fund a Chair in Fine Arts, University administrators began in the late 1920s to look for "a man...who would not only fill the chair acceptably but be a natural leader for the art interests in the community."[9] They also heeded Keppel's suggestion "that the establishment of a professorship at the University of Toronto might have an influence as important outside the academic walls as within them."[10] After all, Cody described the University as a "servant of the community."[11] The University administration concluded that the "right" man was John Alford.

This is a contextual study of the founding of the Chair of Fine Art and ultimately the Department of Fine Art at the University of Toronto between 1926 and 1945. It focuses on the ideas that supported its foundation and highlights the cultural function of a fine arts education, particularly the ways in which disciplinary knowledge was conceived and produced within community as well as professional artistic discourses, and imagined through gendered categories.[12] In inquiring into the social institutions of art – in this case a university fine art department – I intend to illustrate the way discourses on art were authorized, enabled, empowered and legitimized in what Pierre Bourdieu has called the "field of cultural production."[13] I will argue that the power to define what is "art," who is an "artist," and especially the cultural and social function of art is not restricted to a discrete clique of artists, critics, curators, dealers and collectors, but must be extended to include a host of community agents: in this case, the university professoriate and its senior administrators.

Any study of fine art education in this period must inevitability be contextualized within issues of cultural policy, the role of art and artists in society, and broader questions regarding the effects of an education in the fine arts. In the 1920s vestiges of the ideas of influential Arts and Crafts movement were still prevalent in Canada. The movement had attempted to redesign society through education in reaction to what its advocates deemed the socially alienating and deleterious effects of nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization.[14] Clearly these discussions, which began to crystallize in the late 1920s, had a significant impact upon the University of Toronto's establishment of a Chair of Fine Art, and subsequently the Department of Fine Art and its philosophies, staffing, and curriculum.[15] The appointment of its staff helped shape artistic discourses in the community for decades to come, and I would argue that these discourses presaged the themes of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1949-51), commonly known as the Massey-Lévesque Commission. I propose that the centrality of the educational systems at both the school and university level developed and circulated the notion that art is nothing less than the keystone of a democratic social order.

Accordingly, I challenge a view persistently held by many Canadian historians that the Massey-Lévesque Report was the watershed of Canadian cultural policy from which all else originates.[16] I suggest instead that decades earlier cultural nationalists in university art departments, colleges and schools were already engaged in a discourse on the relationship between the arts and nation-building.

American Philanthropy and the Fostering the Fine Arts in the University

In 1923 under its fifth president, Frederick Paul Keppel, the Carnegie Corporation launched an expansive program of funding that focused on libraries, adult education and the arts.[17] These programs were, according to Ellen Lagemann, steered by "the interests, knowledge, circle of acquaintances, and personalities of the Corporation's trustees, officers, and staff...determining how and to what extent its potential was realized."[18] Accordingly during Keppel's nineteen-year term, which ended with his retirement in 1941, the Corporation's national and international arts funding programs undertook to promote the centrality of the arts within a liberal humanist vision.[19] Keppel oversaw the promotion of the study and appreciation of "Great Art," and especially art's role in explaining the human condition, by linking it to social and community regeneration and to national progress.[20] It was, in part, a program designed to rarefy and institutionalize a dominant Western cultural and aesthetic heritage. Keppel also wanted to secure the study of art history as an important part of the university curriculum, believing that "Art is deep rooted in human life; it is today as nearly always in the past a most important factor in human behaviour."[21] The university meanwhile was the foundation's "social instrument" for educational and cultural "betterment." Keppel saw a mutually beneficial relationship between the university and the Corporation, claiming that "the university is constantly bringing to light opportunities for the foundation in the form of enterprises which no institution could carry through unaided, but from which all institutions and all communities might profit."[22]

A former Dean of Columbia College (1910-17), Keppel was well-versed and personally interested in the effects that the fine arts could have on the university, particularly on its male students, and on the broader community. In his biographical account of Keppel's tenure as an administrator at Columbia, Henry James has suggested that Keppel believed the "business of school and college education...was the making of boys into men."[23] University administrators in Toronto shared Keppel's liberal humanist ideals about the place of art in the world, particularly its role in higher education. In a paper originally delivered to the Ontario Educational Association on the role of the university in national life, University of Toronto president Henry Cody argued that "the University must not overlook its duty to present and conserve aesthetic values. The

beautiful is linked with the true and the good. The history and interpretation of art will stimulate an appreciation for the beautiful and will exercise a beneficent influence on every field of human activity. More and more the University will become an apostle of things pure and lovely and of good report."[24] For Cody, "no education...[was] complete without seeking to instill a knowledge and love of beauty."[25] In his 1934-35 "President's Report," Cody defiantly noted that the cultivation of the critical eye should emphasize traditionalism and adherance to the art historical canon. He remarked that "this department will keep teaching distinct from propaganda in the field of art. It will not be the prophet of any special school or group, but will seek to present to the students the products of successive ages for their understanding and appreciation."[26] To authorize the fine arts in a university setting, administrators envisioned a department that severed the theoretical deliberation of academics from the practical work of artists.[27] The university appropriated the classical role of training "professional gentlemen" who would one day assume their place in the political elite.[28] This was a far cry from Ontario's earlier art education training curricula which had seen the union of mental and manual processes as fundamental to any study of the arts.

Carnegie Funding of the Fine Arts

Throughout the 1920s, the University of Toronto enjoyed relative financial prosperity, but declining funding to higher education institutions in the early 1930s and the encroaching Depression would make the Carnegie's financial contribution crucial to establishing the Chair of Fine Art at the University of Toronto.[29] Cody's biographer, D.C. Masters, has suggested that from the beginning of his administration Cody was gravely concerned and "personally embarrassed by the university's finances," and saw Carnegie funding as vital to the realization of a department of fine art. The establishment of the Chair was an important step in this direction.[30] Cody assiduously pursued all avenues to secure money from philanthropic organizations, writing extended grant applications that set out the University's needs to establish or maintain programs, and explaining how they would ultimately benefit the broader community, particularly the education of adults and even children.

The Carnegie Corporation's arts funding was readily accepted by cash-strapped Canadian universities. However, by the late 1930s it was viewed by an emerging group of nationalists as nothing less than an invading cultural force.[31] These misgivings were not without substance. In 1926, the Carnegie Corporation presented several Canadian universities, including the University of Toronto, with an Arts Teaching Set.[32] This gift, which included books, prints, textiles, and photographs dealing primarily with the history of Western art, initiated an arts granting program that by 1935 amounted to a little over

$412,000.[33] Perhaps more crucial than gifts of resources or curriculum materials were the inroads the Corporation made into Canadian universities – with the blessings of their chief administrators. For example, when the University of Toronto appointed Alford to the Chair of Fine Art in 1934, the Carnegie had funded art and aesthetics courses at Acadia University under the American Walter Abell in 1928, a Chair in Music at the University of Saskatchewan in 1931 under Arthur Collingwood, courses in art at McMaster University in 1932 under Lester Longman, and courses in studio art at Queen's University in 1933 under Goodridge Roberts.

To the chagrin of its detractors, the Carnegie Corporation underwrote the 1941 Conference of Canadian Artists in Kingston, the event that resulted in the formation of the Federation of Canadian Artists. However, factions both within and outside the Federation began to argue that a unified high culture was critical to the nationalist ambitions of a democratic society, and to the development of a distinct Canadian identity.[34] As Paul Litt has pointed out, these cultural-nationalist ideas found a vocal platform in the early 1950s in the Massey-Lévesque Report. Most of the strident cultural nationalists at the Commission hearings had been intimately involved with the Carnegie Corporation over the previous two decades, but now they charged that "American cultural influences would smother a new Canadianism in its cradle."[35] Chief among them were university faculty members whose own departments and even academic positions were the result of Carnegie funding.[36]

These shifting alliances indicate that, far from being viewed as an invading cultural force, Carnegie funding and support were adeptly used by Canadian artists' groups and universities to further their own long-term agendas for the arts in Canada and to secure a state-funded program of arts patronage. Keppel would not have seen this as a rejection of earlier loyalties but as a natural evolution of how Carnegie funding would, and should, eventually give way to local leadership in cultural affairs.[37] The Carnegie Corporation's funding of university art departments made it possible to establish a grassroots organization of resident intellectuals who were eager to define, authorize, and circulate their own version of cultural nationalism.[38] Seen from this perspective, the Corporation's influence on the field of art history in higher education in Canada takes on a significant and not fully acknowledged importance.

The Fine Arts in the University: The Impact of J.W.L. Forster and Arthur Lismer

The proposed establishment of the Chair at the University of Toronto also had a Canadian benefactor. Sometime in the mid-1920s, Canadian portrait artist J.W.L. Forster (1850-1938) offered the University a $50,000 endowment to fund "a Department of Aesthetics or a Chair of Fine Art."[39] As early as 1894,

Forster had written about the role of art and aesthetics in the university in the context of attempting to establish an art school in Toronto.[40] He also wrote prolifically on art, history, ethics and education, and had attempted for some six years to promote the formation of a fine arts department at the University of Toronto by sending copies of his writings on the subject to Falconer, making suggestions for suitable candidates, and trying to keep the issue at the forefront of Falconer's agenda.

In a series of letters written in the late 1920s, Forster suggested to Falconer that the proposed department would have the approval of a large group of Toronto's elite who could be counted upon for financial support.[41] Forster wrote to Falconer in December 1928 suggesting John Bickle as a possible candidate to head the department. Bickle seemed an appropriate choice because he "takes an interest in Art, having bought some good pictures. He certainly is active in industries where the arts should have attention...he must soon cast about for [an] opportunity [to acquire] the...more than needful wealth he already possesses."[42] In Forster's view, a man of wealth and leisure who took an interest in art – a connoisseur, rather than an academic – was an appropriate choice for the position of Chair.

In an earlier article published in *The Week* (Toronto) and Victoria College's journal *Acta Victoriana*, Forster envisaged the contemporary artist not as an isolated bohemian toiling at the margins of obscurity, but as a professional man who served the community morally, spiritually, and aesthetically. He added that "amongst the professions, the one that has received the least assistance from the schools is that of the artist...they are supplying curricula for the miner, agriculturist, manufacturer, electrician, for statecraft, law, healing, morals, music, etc., yet they are merely beginning to consider Art and Aesthetics as fundamentals to the better modes of life."[43] The artist, he mused, was often "indifferent to his craft, to the moral influence of his productions, and to the respect...accorded to his profession." Forster added that the artist "has been infatuated with the technique of his work, and forgetful of other paramount qualities."[44] He continued:

> I would ask for my profession the most scholarly instruction in art history to be had, a knowledge of what the art of the world, both ancient and modern, has had to do in influencing the domestic and social life of the nations, and how much of national history may be read in their art. The growth of style, of ornament and design, of the many decorative features that mark tribal kinships; the ethical side of art; the art impulse, its power and direction; beauty and the whole library of aesthetic literature having foundation in the art sense – all these are his birthright, and should be placed before him.

Forster was adamant that artistic feeling was present in varying degrees in the "whole human family."[45] In the quest for "not more life, but better life...and high ideals," he suggested that the education system should strive to provide an "intellectual and healthy leisure...for the millions who are said to toil incessantly, and also for the thousands who rest continually."[46] Yet his main concern was against the increasing leisure afforded the very wealthy. In an essay entitled "Art and Artists in Ontario," he delineated how pioneer life had prevented the growth of a culture of the aesthetic.[47] In another publication, he reasoned that unbridled wealth and a predilection for luxury led directly "to decay and degradation," not aesthetic development. Aesthetic study therefore was seen to "promote the culture of the finer graces of character by some occupations of the mind...and provide a larger mental outlook, particularly for the wealthy."[48]

Forster also distinguished between what he defined as two complementary natures of aesthetic contemplation, one for the professional man and the other for the amateur woman homemaker. For the former, aesthetics would serve to develop taste and the appreciation of beauty, whereas women's interest in art and aesthetics was restricted to the home sphere. These dual "natures" were seen as thriving in the college atmosphere. Forster suggested that: "A place in the Calendar for Art and Aesthetics may be advocated as a blessing to the homes of our country, as an aid to the ideals of our youth, as a moral specific in our social and public life, and as the grace and crown of our national well-being."[49] He went on to cite several possible curriculum models to follow, including those inaugurated at Oxford by John Ruskin, Slade Professor of Art in 1869.[50]

Forster's understanding of the function of the arts in society, in education, and in daily life clearly invoked Ruskin's social-aesthetic theory of environmental determinism. Ruskin's analysis of visual perception as an educational tool that could encompass democratic social implications, yet train the mental discipline of elite male students, was vital to the philosophical argument that underlay the fine arts in the university within the English-speaking world. For Ruskin, whose ideas were well-known and readily adopted at the University of Toronto, the teaching of art was part of a wider and deeper campaign to halt what he saw as the "destruction of nature and the corruption of men's souls."[51] Ironically, philanthropic organizations run by women became the chief disseminators of Ruskin's theories in Canada and provided, in part, the impetus for his institutional endeavours. However, the university's mandate to produce competent male professionals to undertake the stewardship of local, regional, and national cultural matters, relegated women to the margins of museum appreciation and the traditional domestic crafts.[52]

For his part, Falconer made extensive use of Arthur Lismer's essay "The Value, Meaning and Place of Art in Education," published in *The Dalhousie Review* in 1928. Lismer, whom Falconer knew from the Toronto Arts and Letters Club, shared Forster's belief that shaping the aesthetic experience of young men was the province of the university. Although better known as a founding member of the Group of Seven and as a proponent of children's art, by the 1930s Lismer was regarded as a notable authority on art education, particularly as it was organized and taught in formal and informal educational settings.[53] A prodigious writer on the subject of the arts in education, he served terms as President of the Victoria School of Art and Design (1916-19, now the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design), and as Educational Supervisor of Art at the Art Gallery of Toronto (1927-38). He also attempted, without success, to initiate a national art education program in conjunction with the National Gallery of Canada.[54] Bemoaning the lack of fine art courses in universities, Lismer stressed that Canadian institutions lagged behind their counterparts in Great Britain, continental Europe and the United States, and claimed that Canadian universities had not grasped the place of art in modern education.[55] Courses in art were not "for those alone who desire a cultural background," but were also relevant to studies in religion, philosophy, science, and literature. Lismer conceived of the university as a place in which the demands of industrialism would be superseded by an atmosphere of study in which art served "as a pathway, a way of life. Departments of Fine Art would provide a way towards a more complete perception of life: The study of Art in relation to life placed in university training would enable our students to grasp the idea of life as a whole."[56] He was adamant, however, that the art school, not a university fine art department, was the place to train the artist and the craftsman.[57]

In order to find a suitable candidate for the prospective Chair of Fine Art, Falconer made inquiries in Britain with his former undergraduate professor, G. Baldwin Brown, who was then Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh. James Greenlee, Falconer's biographer, has suggested that it was Brown who first stimulated Falconer's interest in classical sculpture and Christian painting – topics on which Falconer lectured and wrote in the early part of the century.[58] Falconer also made discrete inquires through Lawrence Binyon at the British Museum, and with other contacts at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the University of Liverpool.[59] In May 1932, clearly exasperated with the lack of progress on the founding of a Department of Aesthetics or a Chair of Fine Art, Forster wrote to the Board of Governors withdrawing his offer of the endowment. Falconer expressed his deep regret about Forster's decision, proposed that they meet, and explained that he had been unable to find a suitable candidate.[60] In considering a prospective Chair of Fine Art and an eventual department, President Falconer (and later Cody)

acknowledged many of Forster's and Lismer's arguments about the function of art in society, its role in the university curriculum and its prospective student audience, although Forster was not in accord with Falconer's understanding of who constituted an appropriate candidate. With Falconer's retirement in 1932, the responsibility for establishing the Chair fell exclusively to his successor, Henry J. Cody.

English Connections

University of Toronto administrators, following traditional hiring practices, made use of local and international artistic contacts to search for a Chair. Under Falconer's (1907-32) and Cody's (1932-44) presidential tenures, hirings at the University were controlled by the president, who either initiated the search or acted as an advisor, or relied upon personal and professional academic contacts to find a likely candidate if one had not been identified from the start. In the first half of the twentieth century the University of Toronto was British in tone, curriculum, and hiring practices,[61] and not surprisingly both Falconer and Cody were predisposed to look for a British male to fit their vision of the appropriate candidate. In the late 1920s and the early 30s and in tandem with circumspect inquiries in Toronto,[62] Falconer and Cody consulted a variety of British art experts, seeking advice on possible candidates and suggestions for a program of studies. The University's relationship with Edinburgh's Fine Art Department was especially collegial and beneficial. With the death of Baldwin Brown in 1930, Edinburgh was also looking for a Chair for its own department. Once its process for finding a candidate was completed, Thomas Holland, a member of Edinburgh's search committee, confidentially supplied Cody with its list of rejected candidates, complete with original applications and references. Interestingly, three of the approximately thirty applicants were displaced German or Jewish art historians residing in England. Indicative of the discriminatory sentiments against such refugees, in the margins next to the names of Nikolaus Pevsner, Rudolf Wittkower, and R.H. Wilenski, someone had taken care to note the applicants' age, nationality and ancestry. Thomas Holland also sent a copy of a letter they had received from art historian W.G. Constable, who was one of University of Toronto's key advisors on this hiring. Constable had written to members of the Edinburgh committee, strongly urging their appointment of Erwin Panofsky. Although Edinburgh eventually hired Herbert Read in 1931, Holland advised Cody to pursue Panofsky as a candidate for the Toronto vacancy.[63] Cody did not take any action, although he hired refugee professors at the University during the 1930s and fully supported the incipient Canadian Society for the Protection of Science and Learning in 1939, organized to offer succour to European emigré scholars, most of whom were Jewish.

If Cody showed little interest in an academic with established ideas and temperament, he apparently had no intention of hiring a woman for the Chair of Fine Art, as Eleanor Shepherd-Thompson discovered. She was a graduate of Trinity College, University of Toronto, and one of the original fourteen residents of St. Hilda's College, the first women's residence at the University. Shepherd-Thompson completed a B.A. and M.A. in Languages at the University of Toronto and in 1934 received only the second Ph.D. in Fine Art (in the double field of Art and Education) awarded by the School of Education at Columbia University.[64] Before leaving Toronto to undertake her doctoral work in 1929, Shepherd-Thompson was on the teaching staff at Central Technical School and the Toronto Normal School, having done her training at Teacher's College, New York. She seems to have been a member of Cody's congregation at St. Paul's Church, and wrote to him repeatedly between 1931 and 1933, keeping him abreast of her doctoral studies and asking to be considered for the position of Chair in the Fine Art Department. She also mentioned that any teaching position in a fine art department would be acceptable.[65] In 1932 she tried to allay any concerns the President might have about her dissertation topic, "Training Girls for Art Vocations." She noted that "it has a definite secondary value in giving me first-hand contacts with many different types of Art Schools and the content of their courses of study."[66] A letter from Carnegie's Keppel to President Cody in 1936 makes it clear that Shepherd-Thompson blamed Carnegie's meddling in Canadian universities for being passed over: "I should warn you confidentially that Mrs. Eleanor Shepherd-Thomson was in New York during the holidays and talked with one of my colleagues.... She is doing her best to misunderstand the intentions of the Corporation in regard to the assistance we have given to the arts at the University."[67] Shepherd-Thompson was undoubtedly aware that Carnegie had just awarded the University an additional $4,800 grant to establish a two-year lectureship in fine art under Peter Brieger, a German refugee then working at the Courtauld Institute.[68] During Cody's tenure as President, the University of Toronto was not inclined to hire women into the higher ranks of the professoriate, reflecting the gender bias in Canadian society. Women who had earned Ph.D.s and had stellar teaching and publication records, rarely rose above the level of instructor or teaching assistant let alone becoming a full professor.[69]

John Alford, Chair of Fine Art, 1934-45

John Alford's appointment in 1934 was accomplished with the support of W.G. Constable, whose success as an art historian had led to him being named Director of the Courtauld Institute of Art at the University of London, and advisor to both the Carnegie Corporation and the University of Toronto.[70] At the time of his hiring Alford was a part-time lecturer at the Institute of Education

at the University of London and at the Courtauld, where he was preparing a Ph.D. thesis under Constable. He was also an artist who exhibited with the London Group of Painters. Although he had been teaching at the Courtauld since 1932, his name was not submitted as a possible candidate for the position in Toronto until the summer of 1934, when it was put forward by Constable.[71] Documentary records suggest that although Cody was in England that summer, he did not meet Alford until well after the appointment was made. (It had been negotiated, except for salary, entirely by Constable.) To formalize the process, Constable submitted a reference letter suggesting that "[Alford's] combination of wide interests, well-founded knowledge, and enthusiasm and ability to interest and inspire students would enable...[him] to do first-rate work in Toronto."[72] Although lacking extensive scholarly experience and the advanced academic credentials that marked most chair-holders at the University of Toronto at the time (Alford never completed his Ph.D.), he was the "president's choice for the position," according to the *Varsity*.[73]

Alford's elite pedigree undoubtedly appealed to Cody. The son of Sir Edward Fleet Alford and the grandson of Bishop Charles Richard Alford of Hong Kong, he had received his secondary education at Tonbridge School and completed a B.A. and M.A. at King's College, Cambridge, specializing in history and the moral sciences. He enlisted in World War I as an ambulance attendant and later did a year of post-graduate work in psychology at University College, London. At that time he resided in Toynbee Hall, a settlement home well-known to University of Toronto officials and one that had profoundly influenced their own initiatives at Evangelia House.[74] He had also been on the voluntary staff of the Agenda Club, a social service organization; Cody would have been pleased by his interests in the wider community. Alford's formal academic experience in the arts was his five-year sojourn in Italy and France from 1925 to 1930. Sir Percy Nunn, Director of the Institute of Education at the University of London, suggested that among Alford's other notable characteristics, he was "a cultivated soldier and man of the world."[75] With the Carnegie's promise to fund Alford's salary for five years,[76] Cody proceeded to implement a three-year "pass" course similar to that offered by the Courtauld Institute. He adhered to the Courtauld's view that the history of art "had a general appeal, while at the same time [students] are brought into touch with the history of social life and culture in their widest aspects."[77] Alford's candidacy would enable Toronto to carry out its ambition to establish the first "serious study in this country of the History of Art."

Writing in 1969, Dorothy Farr noted that "Professor Alford was not an art historian, with stress on the word 'historian,' as are the majority of personnel in the department today, but rather was a student of culture, a social philosopher educated in all the arts, with a concentration on the visual arts."[78] Nevertheless,

Alford's arrival in the fall of 1934 hit all the right chords with local art communities and the University. He promoted the embellishment of public schools and buildings with artwork, publicly complimented the National Gallery on its methods of conserving Old Master paintings and, importantly, he vehemently declined to offer his opinion on Canadian art until he had made a more thorough survey. Acknowledging Alford's training at the Courtauld, his "breadth of vision, acuteness of judgment and catholicity of taste," the *Toronto Mail* echoed Cody's views in proclaiming that "we may safely assume that his statement of policy covers all that is necessary, provided he does not permit his judgment to be unduly influenced by extramural agencies working in the interest of narrow, self-constituted cliques, groups or faddists afflicted with eccentric ideas of contemporary expression."[79] *Saturday Night* duly endorsed Alford by suggesting that "painting, sculpture, poetry, drama, psychology would seem to be more than sufficient equipment for a Professor of Fine Art."[80] Alford's attitude to the arts and curriculum programming would, however, be far from traditional despite Cody's wishes and the perspectives of local newspapers and magazines.

Alford soon became a popular speaker inside and outside the University, realizing the University's wish to extend its influence into the community. In his inaugural address, "The Study and Appreciation of Fine Art," delivered at Convocation Hall in November 1934, he charted the development of Western art from the Egyptians through the Greeks, Romans, the Middle Ages, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to the moderns. Appealing not only to the educated, the elite, or the specialist, Alford argued that fine art held "a universal and natural interest" for everyone, and he set out a series of lectures to promote the new fine arts program. Lectures for students were scheduled either in the sketch room or the art gallery at Hart House, while a series of fifteen illustrated talks, offered free of charge, was delivered at the department's temporary quarters in the Royal Ontario Museum. *Saturday Night* reported that hundreds of people attended. The magazine marveled at how "Professor John Alford...[in] only a little more than six weeks,...has already made a definite place for himself in the machinery of that immense institution."[81] Alford was also called upon to expound the virtues of art to a number of nearly all-female audiences. He discussed the 1936 Van Gogh exhibition on-site at the Art Gallery of Toronto for the benefit of university women,[82] and spoke to the Handcrafts Association's annual open meeting at the Toronto Heliconian Club. Here he stressed the importance "of cultivating handcrafts, not only to preserve the arts upon which all art is built, but for personal pleasure and mental comfort."[83] He also lectured to the Lyceum Women's Art Association in October 1937 on the effect of environment on art.

In March 1935 the Department of Fine Art was established and the term "Chair of Fine Art" was gradually phased out, with Alford becoming the Chairman or Chair of the newly formed entity.[84] On Alford's recommendation Cody proceeded to staff the department with an impressive group of artist-educators. Among those hired on a part-time lecturer or instructor basis were Fred Haines, Charles Comfort, and Peter Haworth. Ruth Mable Home, Supervisor of Education at the ROM, was also hired in 1939 to give lectures on European furniture, textiles, and ceramics; Peter Brieger had joined the department as a lecturer in 1936.[85] With the exception of Brieger, the Fine Arts faculty had extensive contacts in the educational establishment as well as in local and provincial art communities and professional organizations.

Dorothy Farr later wrote that Alford's philosophy of the study of the arts in university was primarily directed at assisting students to live "a full life." Alford believed that a narrowly-defined emphasis on the sciences "deprived the educated person of cultural depth and rendered him uneducated." The study of fine art at the university could rectify this deficiency by providing an aesthetic education through both art history and practical studies.[86] He accordingly organized a three- to four-year general survey course that, like his inaugural lecture, spanned the centuries from the pre-classical world to the modern day. This course was neither purely philosophical nor strictly historical, but was instead situated within the broader interdisciplinary contexts of philosophy, history, English literature, and sociology. In 1939 Alford also offered a number of cross-listed courses in conjunction with the Department of Architecture – another example of his interest in multidisciplinary studies. Over time, instructors were drawn from across faculties and disciplines, particularly archeology, anthropology, philosophy and architecture, and members of the Ontario College of Art faculty were also invited to lecture on special topics. Alford would later write that "The curriculum of the Toronto department has been organized during the past six years in response to obvious needs in the cultural and educational life of Ontario.... Circumstances differed so largely from those of the English institutions with which I was previously familiar [and it] was only in the course of time that it became apparent that the Toronto system was approximating a pattern prevalent in the United States."[87] Although Cody had sought to exclude the training of artists from the new department, several articles written by Alford on university art education practices in the early 1940s in *Parnassus*, suggest that fine arts faculty members ought to revisit their earlier understandings about the relationship between practical courses and other parts of the academic programs.

In 1945, newly married to his second wife, Roberta Murray Fansler, John Alford left the University of Toronto to become head of Art History and

Aesthetics at the Rhode Island School of Design, a position he held until 1953.[88] At the time of his death in 1960 he had just been appointed special lecturer in art history at the evening division of Tulane College, New Orleans. His move to the United States was perhaps not unexpected; he had developed strong American connections that included his directorship of the College Art Association (1941-46). Farr has suggested that before his move to the United States, Alford's "position as sole professor in the department until 1936, and as head of [the] department at the University of Toronto until 1945 resulted in an obvious dominance of his pedagogical philosophies in the concepts and practice of the department. These philosophies remain in evidence today [1983].... When Alford's influence was removed, the department could thus develop freely in new directions."[89] In 1946 the Department of Fine Art was merged with the Department of Archeology to create the Department of Art and Archeology. It was reported that this change was made because the former name "implied something suitable for coeds and frightened off the men."[90] The change not only reflected the gendered nature of Canadian society, but also the contradictory and complex meanings attributed to the social and cultural function of art – particularly the controversy about the place of practical training in the modern university.

The founding of the University of Toronto's Department of Fine Art and its ties to the Carnegie Corporation would significantly help shape mid-twentieth-century discourses that reaffirmed the traditional liberal humanist notion of the artist as a moral guardian and cultural icon of the age. In response, artists, art educators, art historians, and teachers from all educational systems would seize the opportunity to participate in the social reconstruction of Canada after World War I and the revitalization of cultural nationalism in this country. The emerging professionals who would adopt this form of liberal humanism linked the notion of creativity and aesthetic expression to concepts of political democracy, freedom, individualism, and education. In so doing, they fundamentally revitalized cultural nationalism in Canada in the years leading up to World War II, forging a national discourse on the culture of the aesthetic.

E. LISA PANAYOTIDIS
Graduate Division of Educational Research
University of Calgary

Notes

1 Research for this paper was made possible by a University of Calgary Post-Doctoral Fellowship and a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Post-Doctoral Fellowship. I wish to extend my thanks to Paul Stortz for his insightful suggestions on various aspects of this research. I would also like to acknowledge Harold Averill, University of Toronto Archives, the Rhode Island School of Design Archives, and Brown University Library for their kind assistance.

2 Ellen Condliffe LAGEMANN, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy and Public Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 3. See also, LAGEMANN, *Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983).

On the production and circulation of the Corporation's shaping of academic agenda, particularly its effects on the social sciences in Canada see Donald FISHER, "The Philanthropic Foundations in the Reproduction and Production of Hegemony: Rockefeller Foundations and the Social Sciences," *Sociology* 17 (1983): 207-32; and FISHER, *The Social Sciences in Canada: 50 Years of National Activity by the Social Science Federation of Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press in collaboration with The Social Sciences Federation of Canada, 1991). Recently, Jeffrey D. Brison has examined how American philanthropic associations shaped the "arts and letters" in Canada from the late 1920s to the 1950s. See BRISON, "Cultural Interventions: American Corporate Philanthropy and the Construction of the Arts and Letters in Canada, 1900-1957" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, Kingston, 1998); and BRISON, "The Kingston Conference, the Carnegie Corporation and a New Deal for the Arts in Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* (Winter 1993): 503-22. See also, Sandra PAIKOWSKY, "The Carnegie Collection," *Dalhousie Art Gallery. The Collection* (Halifax: Dalhousie Art Gallery, 2003), 64-68. Despite the Corporation's generous endowments there was considerable local resistance to what many perceived as an encroachment on community structures and cultures. See, Robert Sidney MARTIN, *Carnegie Denied: Communities Rejecting Carnegie Library Construction Grants 1898-1925* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1993); and Kenneth NEAL, *A Wise Extravagance: The Funding of the Carnegie International Exhibition 1895-1901* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), for discussion outside Canada.

3 Henry John CODY, "President's Report," *University of Toronto Calendar* (1935-36), 12.

4 F.R. LEAVIS, *Education and the University: A Sketch for an "English School"* (Cambridge: Chatto & Windus, 1943), 16.

5 Frederick P. KEPPEL, *The Foundation: Its Place in American Life* (New York: MacMillian, 1930), 63.

6 Henry John CODY, "The Place of the University in National Life," *The University of Toronto Quarterly* IV (1934-35): 429.

7 Ibid., 425. For a similar argument in regard to the formation of the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto in the early decades of the twentieth century, see Sara Z. BURKE, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

8 CODY, "The Place of the University," 429. For an analysis of aesthetic education as fundamental to the construction of the male political elite see E. Lisa PANAYOTIDIS, "'Artist, Poet, and Socialist:' Academic Deliberations on William Morris at the University of Toronto, 1896-1925," *Journal of the William Morris Society* 12 (1998): 36-43.

9 Keppel to Robert Falconer, 13 Nov. 1928, Office of the President, A1967-0007/115(01), University of Toronto Archives. Unless otherwise noted references to correspondence cited here can be found in the Papers of the Office of the President at the University of Toronto Archives. See also Maria TIPPETT, *Making Culture: English Canadian Institutions and the*

Arts Before the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990), 46. Tippett claims that Keppel wrote to Falconer in 1926 offering to fund a Chair in Fine Art but Falconer declined the grant suggesting instead that it be given to the Ontario College of Art. Tippett suggests that prior to the 1930s "universities were reluctant because of their vocational-professional bent and their problems with funding, to offer courses in art and music or to found departments in these subjects."

10 Ibid., Keppel to Falconer, 13 Nov. 1928.

11 CODY, "The Place of the University," 425.

12 Although there are some histories of art institutions in English Canada, few of them relate strictly to the history of individual Fine Art/Art History departments. One exception, albeit brief, is Virgil HAMMOCK's, *Art at Mount Allison. A History* (Sackville, 1977).

13 Pierre BOURDIEU, "The Field of Cultural Production," *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal JOHNSON (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 29-73. See also Raymond WILLIAMS, *Culture* (London: Fontana, 1981) especially his chapters on "Institutions" and "Formations."

14 On the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement in Canada, particularly its effects on tertiary formal educational systems see E. Lisa PANAYOTIDIS, "The Bureaucratization of Creativity: The Art and Industry Controversy at Central Technical School, 1931-1949," *Journal of William Morris Studies* 15 (2003): 9-34; and PANAYOTIDIS, "'Every Artist would be a Workman, and Every Workman an Artist': Morrisian and Arts and Crafts ideas and ideals at the Ontario Educational Association, 1900-1920," in *William Morris: Centenary Essays*, ed. Peter FAULKNER and Peter PRESTON (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), 165-71.

15 Mary VIPOND, "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals in the 1920s," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 7 (1980): 32-53.

16 Paul LITT, *The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 5, See also LITT, "The Massey Commission, Americanization, and Canadian Cultural Nationalism," *Queen's Quarterly* 98 (1991): 375-87; TIPPETT, *Making Culture*; and BRISON, "Cultural Interventions." These authors have expressed similar critiques of interpretations which situate the Massey-Lévesque Report as the single defining event of cultural policy change in Canada.

17 Keppel was elected president of Carnegie Corporation in December 1922 although he did not assume office until October 1923. LAGEMANN in *The Politics of Knowledge* notes that arts funding was not new but a "re-establishment" of values and ideals first set forth by Andrew Carnegie during his inaugural tenure as president (1911-19).

18 LAGEMANN, *The Politics of Knowledge*, 5.

19 Keppel's interest in art was shaped early on and in part by his father's well-known print dealership, Frederick Keppel and Company for which he worked for a brief time. For an intimate and "admiring" portrayal of Keppel spanning his early administrative career in university, government service, and his tenure at the Carnegie Corporation see Henry JAMES, *Appreciations of Frederick Paul Keppel by Some of his Friends* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951). Keppel's views on the value of the arts in education are set out in several influential works including: KEPPEL and Robert L. DUFFUS, *The Arts in American Life* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1933); and KEPPEL, *The Undergraduate and his College* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917); and his *The Foundation: Its Place in American Life* (New York: MacMillian,1930); *Philanthropy and Learning, with Other Papers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935); and *Education for Adults and Other Essays* (Freeport: Books for Library Press, 1968, reprint).

20 LAGEMANN, *The Politics of Knowledge*, 7.

21 KEPPEL and DUFFUS, *The Arts in American Life*, 208.

22 KEPPEL, *The Foundation*, 10-11.

23 JAMES, "President of the Carnegie Corporation," in *Appreciations of Frederick Paul Keppel*, 8.

24 CODY, "The Place of the University," 431.

25 CODY, "President's Report," 12.

26 Ibid.

27 Cody advised J.L. Isley, Federal Minister of Finance, whose daughter wanted to pursue a career in portrait painting, to consider the "broad background of the history of art" at the University and "practical instruction" at Ontario College of Art. Isley to Cody, 19 Nov. 1940, Cody to Isley, 20 Nov. 1940, Department of Fine Art, A1968-0006/046(02).

28 For discussion of the relationship between the construction of professional education in universities and gentlemanly discourses in nineteenth-century Ontario, see Robert GIDNEY and W.P.J. MILLAR, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); and Douglas OWRAM, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

29 In a 1939 letter to Keppel, Cody painted a stark picture of the University's financial situation. Cody to Keppel, 12 Apr. 1939, Department of Fine Art, A1968-0006/037(04). While funding was a crucial issue, it was not the sole determinant affecting institutional formation and change at the University. This non-critical and empirical argument has been advanced by contemporary writers on the University and its administrators to the detriment of any socio-cultural contextual analysis. See for example, D.C. MASTERS, *Henry John Cody: An Outstanding Life* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995).

30 A department of art had in fact existed in diverse manifestations as early as July 1918 when the Department of History of Industrial Art was inaugurated. This department was merged with the Department of Archeology in July 1929, bringing it under the control of the Royal Ontario Museum and its director Charles T. Currely. The introduction of a fine art program had been recommended by the Royal Commission of 1906. Cody was a Commissioner on that Committee. See *Report of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1906), xxvii.

31 Graham MCINNIS, "The Visual Arts. Freedom or Regimentation," *University of Toronto Quarterly* VII (1938): 488-99.

32 Dalhousie and Queen's University were also presented with an Arts Teaching Set. In the fall of 1933, a brief but spirited correspondence among Keppel, Professor Michael McKenzie, Cody, and J. Burgon Bickersteth of Hart House reveals that the Carnegie was concerned about the exact whereabouts of the Arts Teaching Set. Although President Falconer had arranged to have it placed in a room at Hart House for the use of the "Department of Architecture and any other teaching of the Fine Arts that we may have in the University," it seems the set never was installed. Keppel to Bichersteth, 18 Nov. 1933, A1968-0006/008(02). Learning that the Arts Teaching Set was awaiting the establishment of a department of art, Keppel wrote promptly to Cody outlining how "the institutions where the set is most actively and successfully used have no formal department of art...I wonder whether the material could not be made available through the library." Keppel to Cody, 6 Dec. 1933, A1968-0006/10(03). Had it been installed at Hart House which was restricted to male students, women at the University of Toronto would not have had access to the Arts Teaching Set.

33 L.J. BURPEE, "Canada's Debt to the Carnegie Corporation," *Queen's Quarterly* 34 (1938): 236. Burpee lists financial contributions to the Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Toronto art galleries. The University of Toronto received a total of $243,250 in grants; for a list of

Carnegie grants to universities, colleges, and schools in Canada between 1911-1949, see: *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, 1949-1951* (Ottawa: Kings Printer), Appendix V, 436-37.

34 BRISON, "The Kingston Conference," 503-22. See: Andrew NURSE, "'A Confusion of Values:' Artists and Artistic Ideologies in Modern Canada, 1927-1952" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, 1991).

35 LITT, "The Massey Commission," 375-87.

36 Keppel to Falconer, 13 Nov. 1928, A1967-0007/115(01). Among those who made comments or provided written testimony were John Alford, Peter Brieger, Peter Haworth, and Charles Comfort – virtually the entire Department of Fine Art at the University of Toronto in 1941. Ironically, it was the Commission's chair Vincent Massey, who had first suggested the idea of funding a Chair of Fine Art at the University of Toronto to Keppel. Massey along with H.S. Southam, Clarence Webster, H.O. McCurry and Eric Brown were members of Carnegie's Canadian Committee, which advised on the Corporation's activities in Canada.

37 KEPPEL, *The Foundation*, 64.

38 For a more recent discussion, see John WALKER, *Cross-Overs: Art into Pop/Pop into Art* (London: Comedia Methun, 1987), especially "The art school connection," 14-36.

39 J.W.L. Forster to Falconer, 16 July 1927, A1967-0007/107a. Given the University of Toronto's voluminous archival holdings and the often clandestine workings of the President's Office, the exact timing of Forster's offer is difficult to determine.

40 Foster was an apprentice of Toronto painter John Wesley Bridgman, with whom he later formed a business partnership. Forster went on to study in England at the South Kensington School of Art, and at the Académie Julian under Gustave Boulanger and Jules-Joseph Lefevre (1879) and William Adolph Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury (1880-82). Forster returned to Toronto in 1883 to open a portrait studio and to agitate for the establishment of an art school in Toronto. J.W.L Forster Papers, Special Collections Centre, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

41 Forster to Falconer, 16 July 1927, A1967-0007/107a. Falconer had earlier written him noting that the Carnegie's gift had just arrived.

42 Ibid. Forster to Falconer, 5 Dec. 1928.

43 J.W.L. FORSTER, "The University and the Fine Arts," *Acta Victoriana* 31 (1907): 136, 138. See also, FORSTER, "Fine Arts and the University," *The Week* (Toronto), 3 Aug. 1894.

44 FORSTER, "The University and the Fine Arts," 137.

45 Ibid. A staunch anglophile, Forster argued that groups such as Puritans and Loyalists who adhered to a code of "simplicity, piety and frugality," were more able to overcome the decadent and amoral aspects of the new industrial world than the continental European so fond of the "love of pleasure."

46 Ibid., 138.

47 FORSTER, "Art and Artists in Ontario," in *Canada, An Encyclopedia of the Country*, ed. J. Castell HOPKINS (Toronto: The Linscott Publishing Company, 1898), 351.

48 FORSTER, "The University and the Fine Arts," 138, 139.

49 Ibid., 139. Also in "Art and Artists," Forster excludes women's artistic activities in the home from any notion of aesthetic culture. In his autobiography entitled *Under the Studio Light, Leaves from a Portrait Painter's Sketch Book*, Forster illustrates and discusses the subjects of his paintings – prominent men and women, whom he variously classified under such "professional" titles as "Public Men," "Eminent Collegians," and "Men of Affairs." Interestingly, although many

were professional women, his female portrait subjects were all circumscribed under the heading "Guardian Spirits of our Race."

50 John Ruskin was appointed the first Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford in 1869-1879, and briefly again from 1883-1884. See his inaugural address delivered 8 February 1870: John RUSKIN, "Lectures on Art: delivered before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870," in *The Works of John Ruskin: Library Edition*, eds. E.T. COOK and Alexander WEDDERBURN, Volume XX (London: George Allen, 1905), 1-179. Ruskin's significant impact on Canadian educational and cultural realms has yet to be critically discussed in any great depth.

51 In the late nineteenth century, one of the key disseminators of Ruskin's theories on campus was Sir Daniel Wilson, President of the University of Toronto between 1880-92. See Robert STACEY, "'In Some Form, My Life Pursuit': Daniel Wilson, Artist," in *Thinking With Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New*, ed. Elizabeth HULSE (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 234-59. Ruskin's social aesthetic philosophies would be evident in his students' thesis work, in periodicals like *Acta Victoriana* and in *Sesame and Lilies*, a Victoria College (U of T) journal.

52 Often given short shrift in the historiography of Canadian art, professional and amateur womens' cultural organizations such as the Womens' Art Association of Canada (established 1892 and still in existence) and the Toronto Heliconian Club had established themselves as viable and significant educational institutions in the early decades of the twentieth century. They offered lecture series, studio classes, annual symposia, and seminar discussions to their members and the broader community. For a description of the WAAC's ideologies and activities, see: E. Lisa PANAYOTIDIS, "The Complexity of 'Seeing' and Doing 'Good': A Canadian Art Education Analysis of the 'Good Society'," *Canadian Review of Art Education* 29, no.2 (2002): 1–18; Ellen Easton MCLEOD, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1999); Heather Victoria HASKINS, "'Bending the Rules': The Montreal Branch of the Woman's Art Association of Canada, 1894-1900" (M.A. thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1995); Sandra MITCHELL, "Women and Art: Women's Clubs in Saint John, New Brunswick 1896-1907" (M.Ed. thesis, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, 1995).

53 At least one author has noted that Lismer's true vocation was as an educator rather than an artist. See, K. JOHNSTON, "The Professor is a Rebel," *New Liberty* (1951): 32-33, 44, 46-52.

54 Lismer's art-education career was capped by his long term tenure as Director of the Montreal Children's Art Centre (1941-1967), affiliated with the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. See Angela Nairne GRIGOR, *Arthur Lismer: Visionary Art Educator* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

55 Arthur LISMER, "The Value, Meaning and Place of Art in Education," *Dalhousie Review* 8, no.3 (1928): 386.

56 Ibid.

57 The distinction Lismer was making here went beyond divisions of theory and practice. As a former college administrator, Lismer understood that given reduced federal educational funding throughout the 1920s and 30s, one had to be cognizant of the need to forge concise educational mandates and curriculum offerings, as duplications of programs were vulnerable to government cutbacks.

58 James G. GREENLEE, *Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 22-23. See for example Falconer's articles in the *Halifax Herald* (21 Apr. 1905), and "Early Christian Art," *Queen's Quarterly* 11 (1904): 225-42.

59 Lawrence Binyon suggested among others Kenneth Clark, although "he was well-off and I fancy would prefer to stay here," Binyon to Falconer, 11 Feb. 1929, A1968-0006/160(1), (1). As early as 1928 Keppel was advising Falconer on curriculum and specifically "instituting

somewhere a study of the relationship between the history of art and the history of thought." Keppel to Falconer, 13 Nov. 1928, A1967-0007/115(01). Meanwhile, the Carnegie continued to make suggestions in regards to hiring American male applicants. Philip McMahon, a Professor of Fine Arts at New York University, apprised that a Department of Fine Art or Art History was planned for Toronto, wrote to Dean of Graduate Studies George Brett, recommending a nearly-completed Ph.D., Robert Goldwater for the position. McMahon to Brett, 3 Jan. 1934, A1986-0006/025(2).

60 Forster to Falconer, 12 May 1932; Falconer to Forster, 13 May 1932, A1967-0007/131a.

61 See Paul STORTZ, "From High School to Hiring," in "'Have You Ever Looked Into A Professor's Soul?' Academic Culture and Professorial Identity in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Toronto, 1935-1945" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, forthcoming).

62 There is no evidence that Falconer or Cody engaged in a concerted search for a Canadian applicant, although a small number of Canadians applied nonetheless.

63 Thomas Holland to Cody, 25 June 1934, A1968-0006/069(03). It is not altogether clear in the correspondence why Holland would advise Cody to hire Panofsky when the Edinburgh hiring committee was not prepared to do so, especially given Constable's strong insistence that "he would jump at the opportunity of an academic post in this country." John Orr to Constable, 27 Feb. 1934; Constable to Orr, 2 Mar. 1934, A1968-0006/160,(1),(3). After being dismissed from his position as Professor at Hamburg University and Director of Kunsthistorisches Seminar in 1936, Panofsky accepted a position as lecturer at Princeton and New York universities.

64 "Eleanor Thompson: Artist Dictated own Obituary After Stroke," *Globe and Mail* (18 Feb. 1965). Shepherd-Thompson, Graduate File, A1973-0026/411(68).

65 Shepherd-Thompson to Cody, 30 Mar. 1932, A1968-0006/160(1), (3). She indicates that she had taught as a Professor of Art History at Wilson College, Chambersburg. On 26 Nov. 1933, clearly frustrated by her lack of progress in securing a position in the department, she wrote again explaining "Please forgive me for being personal I have been greatly depressed.... However, your sermon this morning has made it seem possible for me, once more, that ultimately these dark shadows will pass and I shall see my way clearly again." A1973-0026/411(68).

66 Ibid. Her thesis was published by Clarke, Irwin & Company Ltd. in 1935.

67 Keppel to Cody, 13 Jan. 1936; Keppel to Cody, 7 May 1936, A1968-0006/025(10).

68 The son of Professor Oskar Brieger (an MD) Peter Brieger was a graduate student at the universities of Breslau and Munich, receiving his doctorate in 1924. He left his Privatdozent position at Breslau University and Assistantship at Kunsthistorischers Institut in 1934, becoming a researcher at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London in 1936. Among his referees Brieger listed W.G. Constable and the Medievalist, Adolf Goldschmidt. "Curriculum vitae of Dr. Peter Brieger," A1968-0006/020(03). A letter from Cody to T. Magladery, Deputy Minister of Immigration, asking him to provide an initial two year visa for Brieger, indicates that Brieger was recommended for the position by John Alford. Cody to T. Magladery, 8 June 1936, A1968-0006/023(01).

69 See Alison PRENTICE, "Bluestockings, Feminists, or Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2 (1991): 231-62; and STORTZ, "Have You Ever Looked Into a Professor's Soul?." Peter Brieger had only a secondary school teaching experience.

70 Constable had many ties in Canada having worked as a consultant at the National Gallery of Canada with Eric Brown and later with H.O. McCurry. He was invited to Canada by McCurry to undertake a cross-country lecture tour, intended to stimulated interest in the arts. For

Constable's views on his work in Canada see: W.G. CONSTABLE, "Eric Brown as I knew him," *Canadian Art* 10, no.3 (Spring 1953): 114-19; and the interview conducted with Constable in 1972-73 by the Smithsonian Archives of American Art. http://artarchives.si.edu/oralhist/consta73.htm. As early as 1931, Keppel wrote to Falconer that he had had a conversation with Constable who offered several suggestions in anticipation of "the establishment of a strong Department at Toronto." Keppel to Falconer, 14 Apr. 1931; Keppel, Memorandum of Interview, 13 Apr. 1931, A1967-0007/126b.

71 As late as 18 June 1934, Constable was still submitting the names of other applicants to Cody, suggesting both William Gibson who was then working at the Wallace Collection and Lawrence Binyon at the British Museum. Constable to Cody, 18 June 1934, A1968-0006/069(03).

72 Ibid. Constable to Cody, 11 July 1934.

73 "John G. Alford Arrives to fill new Department," *Varsity* (31 Oct. 1934).

74 On Toronto's settlement-home initiatives and particularly its relation to the arts and social regeneration, see BURKE, *Seeking the Highest Good*; and C.L. JAMES, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighborhood and Nation: The Role of Toronto's Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902 to 1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1997).

75 Nunn to Cody, 4 Sept. 1934, A1968-0006/017(03).

76 Ibid. Constable to Cody, 24 July 1934.

77 Courtauld Institute of Art Program Description. 1932-1933 Prospectus "with the Director's Compliment" along with a three-page detailed summary of the aims and goals of the program. A1968-0006/001(05).

78 Dorothy FARR, "The Fine Art Department of the University of Toronto – A History" (1969), University Historian, Fine Art Department, A1983-0036/005(10), 1969, ts, 2.

79 "New Professor of Fine Arts Arrives in Canada," *Toronto Mail* (November 1934). Graduate Records, Personnel Files, A73-0026/04/26. John Alford File. Alford wrote on the relationship between Canadian art and culture in "Trends in Canadian Art," *University of Toronto Quarterly* XIV (June 1945): 168-80.

80 "People who do Things," *Saturday Night* (15 Dec. 1934). See John ALFORD, Graduate Files, A1973-0026/004(26).

81 Ibid.

82 "Alford to Discuss Van Gogh exhibition," *Varsity* (19 Nov. 1936).

83 "Native Handicrafts Attract Attention," *Toronto Mail* (20 Jan. 1936).

84 After March 1935, the term chair does not necessarily refer formally to the Chair of Fine Art but to the *chairman* or *head* of the department. However, in this period usage of terms was often indiscriminate and fluid and it is not unusual to find the terms *Chair of Fine Arts* or *Fine Arts Chair*, in reference to the head of the department.

85 Home was formally appointed "Special Instructor," without salary in 1940. Alford to Cody, 1 Mar. 1940, A1968-0006/041(1). See Ruth Mable HOME, Graduate Files, A1973-0026/154(64).

86 FARR, "The Fine Art Department," 2.

87 John ALFORD, "Practice Courses in College Art Departments," *Parnassus* 12 (November 1940): 11; see also his, "Practical Art Courses Designed for a Cultural Purpose," *Parnassus* 13 (January 1941): 21-25.

88 Roberta Fansler Alford had been with the Education Department of the Metropolitan Museum in New York for eighteen years, and had acted as an art advisor with the Carnegie when she met Alford during the 1930s. In 1945, Fanlser Alford became the Director of Education at the RISD museum, and its acting director from 1949 to 1952.

89 FARR, "The Fine Art Department," 2, 5.

90 P. BACON, "Course for Connoisseurs," *Varsity* (24 Nov. 1952). See ALFORD, Graduate Files, A1973-0026/04/26. The name was once again changed to the Department of Fine Art in February 1962. Bacon suggests that this name change was undertaken because President Sidney Smith had been criticized for placing too high an emphasis on the humanities and on the production of critically-thinking intellectuals. UTA, "Corporate Name Authority," August 1988. There had been a Department of Aesthetics in University College in 1896, it was closed shortly thereafter because of funding difficulties.

Résumé

LE DÉPARTEMENT DES BEAUX-ARTS À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE TORONTO, 1926-1945

L'institutionnalisation de la 'culture de l'esthétique'

En 1934, John Alford, formé en Angleterre et professeur au Courtauld Institute of Art de l'université de Londres, était nommé directeur du département des beaux-arts de l'université de Toronto. Sa nomination mettait un terme à une recherche exhaustive et quelque peu capricieuse qui aura duré six ans et impliqué deux des présidents des universités : Robert Falconer et son successeur Henry John Cody. Par cette nomination, l'université de Toronto entrait dans une alliance culturelle et financière avec la Corporation Carnegie de New York.

Vers 1923, la Corporation Carnegie, sous la direction de son cinquième président, Frederick Paul Keppel, lança un programme de financement axé principalement sur les bibliothèques, l'éducation des adultes et les arts. Durant le mandat de dix-huit ans de Keppel, qui se termina avec sa retraite en 1941, la Corporation entreprit, au moyen de ses programmes de financement nationaux et internationaux, de situer la centralité des arts à l'intérieur d'une vision humaniste libérale. L'étude et l'appréciation du «grand art», et particulièrement du rôle des arts dans la découverte du sens de la condition humaine, étaient liées à la régénération sociétale et communautaire et au progrès national. Les universités et leurs diplômés masculins contribuaient de manière décisive à ce projet de soutenir et de diffuser parmi les masses les formes élitistes de la haute culture.

Étant donné le manque de financement des institutions d'enseignement supérieur au Canada à la fin des années 1920 et au cours des années 1930, il est évident que ce qu'on appelait la «philanthropie culturelle» de Carnegie était d'une importance financière cruciale pour la création de la chaire des beaux-arts à l'université de Toronto. Les présidents Falconer et Cody étaient toutefois d'accord avec la vision culturelle de la corporation Carnegie, particulièrement la manière dont elle concevait le rôle de chef de file de ses diplômés masculins et des universités en tant que centres vitaux de la préservation de la culture.

Bien que l'appui financier de la Corporation Carnegie aux arts ait été aisément accepté par des universités canadiennes à court d'argent et salué par beaucoup comme «la marraine fée des arts au Canada», à la fin des années 1930, un groupe émergent de nationalistes le voyaient comme rien moins qu'une force d'invasion culturelle. Leurs appréhensions n'étaient pas sans fondement. Avec des dons de ressources en enseignement des arts à plusieurs universités canadiennes, dont l'université de Toronto en 1926, la corporation entreprenait un programme de financement qui, en 1935, s'élevait à un peu plus de 412 000 $. Mais, plus important peut-être que les dons en ressources et matériel didactique, la Corporation s'infiltrait dans les universités canadiennes – avec la bénédiction de leurs principaux administrateurs. Au début des années 1940, au grand dépit de ses détracteurs, la Corporation Carnegie donnait son appui intellectuel et financier à la Conférence des artistes de Kingston en 1941 qui a donné lieu à la création de la Fédération des artistes canadiens – important groupe de pression souvent consulté par le gouvernement fédéral. Avec le temps, malgré leurs relations antérieures avec la Corporation Carnegie, les factions à l'intérieur – et à l'extérieur – de la Fédération lancèrent l'idée qu'une haute culture unifiée était cruciale pour les ambitions nationalistes d'une société démocratique et le développement d'une identité canadienne distincte. À leur tête on retrouve Walter Abell de l'université Acadia, John Alford de l'université de Toronto, André Biéler, premier président de la Fédération des

artistes canadiens, et le président de la Commission, Vincent Massey, qui, le premier, avait suggéré à Keppel, président de la corporation Carnegie, de financer une chaire des beaux-arts à l'université de Toronto.

Malgré de subtiles interventions de la Corporation Carnegie, les administrateurs de l'université avaient une influence considérable sur les nominations définitives et le programme du nouveau département. La recherche d'un candidat apte à administrer et à enseigner ce qui était essentiellement un programme préconçu commença sous Robert Falconer, à la fin des années 1920, et prit fin abruptement avec Henry John Cody, à l'été 1934. Entre-temps, Falconer et Cody avaient consulté les artistes canadiens J.W.L. Forster et Arthur Lismer, qui tous deux avaient abondamment écrit sur la fonction culturelle des arts dans l'éducation, et divers experts britanniques en art, recherchant à la fois un candidat possible et, souvent, des suggestions relativement au programme d'études. Parmi leurs relations les plus influentes, on compte G. Baldwin Brown et Watson Gordon, professeur d'arts plastiques à l'université d'Édimbourg – un des professeurs de Falconer qui avait le premier stimulé son intérêt pour la sculpture classique et la peinture chrétienne, sujets sur lesquels il avait écrit et donné des conférences dans la première partie du siècle. Avec la mort de Baldwin Brown en 1930, Édimbourg était– comme l'université de Toronto – à la recherche d'un président pour leur département des beaux-arts. Une fois leur recherche terminée, le comité de sélection des beaux-arts d'Édimbourg remit à l'université de Toronto la liste des candidats rejetés, y compris les formulaires de candidature originaux et les références. Il est intéressant de noter que, sur les quelque trente demandes, trois provenaient d'historiens de l'art juifs allemands résidant alors en Angleterre. Un fait révèle des sentiments souvent discriminatoires à l'égard des réfugiés juifs allemands : en marge des noms de Nikolaus Pevsner, Rudolf Wittkower, et R.H. Wilenski, quelqu'un a pris soin de noter leur nationalité et leur ascendance juive. En dépit du fait que l'université d'Édimbourg avait décidé d'engager Thomas Holland, historien de l'art né et formé en Angleterre, un membre du comité de sélection avait suggéré à Cody de s'enquérir de la disponibilité de l'historien de l'art Erwin Panofsky qui résidait alors aux États-Unis.

En conclusion, les administrateurs de l'université de Toronto ont toujours été reconnaissants pour le financement de la Corporation Carnegie et le comportement affable de Keppel. Le financement du département des beaux-arts de l'université de Toronto par la Corporation Carnegie a transformé de manière décisive le paysage culturel local. En institutionnalisant «l'histoire de l'art» et en séparant la théorie de la pratique, on redéfinissait une tradition de culture esthétique plus généralement accessible qui fleurissait en Ontario depuis la fin des années 1890 et qui était dirigée presque exclusivement par des femmes. Le nouveau mandat de l'université de Toronto de produire des «spécialistes

masculins» compétents qui prendraient la direction des affaires culturelles au plan local, régional et national, marginalisait les femmes. Alors que, jusque-là, les professeurs de l'université de Toronto donnaient des conférences à la Women's Art Association of Canada, les membres de l'Association devaient maintenant céder la place au très politisé nouveau «chef des beaux-arts» – appellation sous laquelle un journal avait désigné John Alford.

En finançant la chaire des beaux-arts de l'université de Toronto, la Corporation Carnegie participait à la construction conflictuelle et contradictoire d'un département et à la légitimation de la discipline universitaire d'histoire de l'art au Canada. Elle participait aussi à la définition de l'étude de l'«art» dans un cadre universitaire comme une entreprise philosophique et théorique dirigée par une élite masculine. À cet égard, l'université cherchait à diffuser un héritage culturel et esthétique spécifique et masculin et un système de valeurs et de significations, privilégiant certains produits et pratiques culturels, et, ce faisant, à constituer la subjectivité et l'identité, les faisant paraître comme «naturelles» et «inévitables». Les administrateurs de l'université, soutenus par l'appui financier et moral de la Corporation Carnegie, avaient le pouvoir de définir et construire avec autorité une théorie institutionnalisée de l'«art» et de sa signification établie dans la société.

Nonobstant les intentions des administrateurs, le département d'histoire de l'art a pris forme de manière significative au milieu du XX^{e} siècle, alors que fut rétablie la notion libérale et humaniste «traditionnelle» de l'artiste comme gardien moral et icône culturelle de son époque. Ces idées étaient, en partie, des vestiges historiques de l'influent mouvement des Arts et Métiers au Canada, qui cherchait à redessiner la société en réponse à ce que ses promoteurs considéraient comme les effets socialement aliénants et délétères de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation au XIX^{e} siècle. En réponse, les artistes, les professeurs d'art, les historiens de l'art et les enseignants de tous systèmes d'éducation saisirent l'occasion, désireux de se positionner comme parties intégrantes du programme de reconstruction sociale du Canada d'après-guerre. Au cœur de ce discours sur la reconstruction sociale, on trouve l'idée que la culture – et plus spécifiquement les arts en conjonction avec l'éducation – avait un rôle significatif à jouer dans la réorganisation de la nation et du monde d'une manière pratique à l'intérieur d'une réflexion philosophique et pratique. Les nouveaux spécialistes qui avaient adopté cette forme d'humanisme libéral liaient la notion de créativité et d'expression esthétique aux concepts de démocratie politique, de liberté, d'individualisme et d'éducation. Ce faisant, ils ont fondamentalement revitalisé le nationalisme culturel au Canada dans les années avant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, forgeant un discours national sur «la culture de l'esthétique».

Traduction: Élise Bonnette

fig.1 Portrait of Jeannette Meunier Biéler, 1930s, vintage photograph. (Photo: Private collection)

JEANNETTE MEUNIER BIÉLER

Modern Interior Decorator

The professional career of Montreal decorator Jeannette Meunier Biéler (1900-1990) was brief; nevertheless, her work was exceptional in Canada because she promoted the most progressive design trends emerging from France and Germany in the late 1920s and early 1930s (fig.1). Trained in art and design at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal, she developed her ideas through her studies, her working contacts and from international magazines. Biéler sought new directions by breaking with traditional approaches in design and drawing inspiration from European models. Although examples of her work are few and there are no archival records of her clients, her drawings and the furniture she designed for her family attest to the originality of her work in the field of Canadian interior decoration.

Jeannette Meunier was born on December 29, 1900 in Ste-Anne-de-Sabrevois in the Eastern Townships, south of Montreal. Earlier generations of her family had been prominent pioneers of this village which was established in the mid-nineteenth century.[1] As a child, she moved with her family to Montreal where her father ran a successful fire insurance company. From 1924 to 1928, she studied art at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal along with Jori Smith, Goodridge Roberts, and her long-time friend, Lilias Torrance Newton (fig.2). She took decoration and ornamental design classes with Maurice Félix (1895-1972), an artist from France who had been hired in 1925 by the school's director, Charles Maillard.[2] She also studied drawing from the antique with Edmond Dyonnet, still-life painting with Maillard and wood engraving with Edwin Holgate. She received prizes at the École des beaux-arts for her decorative compositions and still-life paintings.[3] In 1928 Jeannette Meunier's work in the school's end-of-year annual exhibition was noticed by Émile Lemieux, the head of the design department at the T. Eaton Company store in Montreal and he offered her a position as an assistant.[4] Against the advice of the École's director, Meunier accepted and did not complete her art school diploma.

The 1920s represented a period of great expansion and development for the T. Eaton Company; it enlarged its main operations in Toronto and opened up stores across Canada. In 1926 the company took over Goodwin's store in Montreal on the corner of Ste-Catherine and University streets and began

fig.2 Lilias Torrance Newton, **Portrait of Jeannette M. Biéler**, *c.*1950, oil on canvas, 92 x 71 cm, private collection. (Photo: Christine Guest, MMFA)

renovations. In 1930, in the spirit of the North-American boom to build bigger and higher, the company added three floors.[5] The climax of this building program was the creation of the celebrated ninth-floor dining room designed by French architect Jacques Carlu and modelled after the glittering Art Deco interiors of French ocean liners.[6]

This interest in French design of the 1920s reflected Eaton's desire to keep in step with the latest decorating trends in Europe and to attract a sophisticated urban clientele. The company had a buying office in Paris since the early years of the century, and the Eaton family and members of its staff travelled regularly between the Continent and Canada. France had become the leader in design as a result of the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes*, held in Paris in 1925. The exhibition was a showcase for French furniture, glass, ceramics, metalwork, lighting and textiles, and was extensively covered in European and North-American journals. It was a huge success despite those critics who felt that France was offering only luxury furnishings for upper income levels and not addressing the opportunities offered by mass production and new materials for modern living. The exhibition promoted the French style that was termed "art moderne" by English reviewers of the time and has now become known as Art Deco.

Large Parisian department stores such as Magasins du Printemps, Galeries Lafayette, and Magasins du Louvre, also played a major role in popularizing Art Deco furnishings. By the early 1920s, they had set up interior decorating studios where clients could receive advice on every aspect of home decoration. Well-known designers were in charge of the studios; for example, at Galeries Lafayette, Maurice Dufrêne ran "La Maîtrise," advertized as an "atelier d'art moderne," while Paul Follot was in charge of "La Pomone" for Bon Marché.[7] Model rooms displayed complete ensembles of furniture, carpets, lamps, wall coverings, draperies and paintings. Art and design magazines, such as *Art et Décoration* and *Art et Industrie* from Paris, *Good Furniture* in the United States and *Canadian Homes and Gardens* in Canada, carried news and illustrations of design developments. As a result, American department stores such as Lord & Taylor and Macy's began to promote the new French trends in interior furnishings. In response to the enthusiasm for French Art Deco, the American Association of Museums organized an exhibition of selected works from the 1925 International Exhibition. In 1926 it travelled to museums across the United States.[8]

In Canada, the T.Eaton Company was also quick to react to the fashion for Art Deco, hiring French designer René Cera to take charge of its decorating department in Toronto. Cera had worked at the Atelier Martine, the interior decoration workshop of the fashion couturier Paul Poiret.[9] In Eaton's Montreal

store, Émile Lemieux (1889-1967) was responsible for the interior decoration and display department. Born in Montreal, he took art classes at night at Montreal's Monument National school from 1904 to 1906, but was largely self-taught through travels to New York, Chicago, London and Paris.[10] From 1913 until 1951 Lemieux occasionally exhibited landscape scenes at the Art Association of Montreal's Spring Exhibition and at the Royal Canadian Academy annual shows, although he was not a member of the R.C.A.[11] He began his decorating career in 1911 at Goodwin's store, and when it was purchased by Eaton's, he became their chief "étalagiste" or designer of displays and was made head of decoration in 1927. He also acted as the artistic director of the store's fifth-floor art gallery where, in 1927, he organized Eaton's first exhibition of Quebec painters which included works by Adrien and Henri Hébert, Alfred Laliberté, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, and Mabel May, as well as his own paintings.[12] Lemieux retired from Eaton's in 1949 to devote himself to painting and freelance decorating commissions.[13]

Jeannette Meunier Biéler regarded Lemieux as her mentor and in later years spoke highly of his talent. In her reminiscences she recalled that Lemieux went regularly to Europe, especially to France and Germany and that he was clearly aware of the latest developments in interior design.[14] Lemieux was also a friend of the Montreal architect Ernest Cormier, who would have encouraged his interest in French design.[15] From about 1928 to 1931, Jeannette served as Lemieux's assistant at Eaton's and helped him create the store's studio, "L'Intérieur Moderne," modelled after the decorating studios of the large Paris department stores.

Mounted in large letters, "L'Intérieur Moderne" announced the entrance to Eaton's display of rooms fashioned in Art Deco style (fig.3).[16] Vintage photographs feature the showrooms arranged around a central gallery with an impressive, high ceiling, octagonal double columns and a grand piano as the focus. Triangular mirrors, vitrines of ceramic objects and lamps in the shape of glowing spheres completed the gallery. Adjoining rooms represented the major areas of a house, including the "modern man's reading or rest room," a teenager's room with a bookcase set into the wall, and a girl's room with "pistache stippled walls" and a corner window, deemed "a feature of modern architecture" (fig.4).[17] The master bedroom had a large bed theatrically placed on a podium and inset into its own decorative alcove (fig.5). Nearby was the dressing table or *coiffeuse*, the quintessential piece of Art Deco furniture for which all great French designers produced a model.[18] Every aspect of the interior decor was considered in these model rooms, from place settings to bedspreads. The furnishings reflected the taste for Art Deco geometric shapes, bold patterns, polished surfaces, fine wood veneers, rich materials

fig.3 "L'Intérieur Moderne" display rooms, Eaton's, Montreal, 1928-1929, vintage photograph. (Photo: Private collection)

fig.4 Girl's Room display in "l'Intérieur Moderne," vintage photograph. (Photo: Private collection)

fig.5 Master Bedroom display in "l'Intérieur Moderne," vintage photograph. (Photo: Private collection)

and the fashionable colours silver, beige and green. Diffused or recessed lighting was a major modern feature and high ceilings increased the dramatic effect and elegance of the decor. The furniture in Eaton's showrooms was sometimes imported but because expensive luxury furniture made by Paris designers was not within reach of the average budget, the rooms also included American or Canadian versions by manufacturers such as the Michigan Chair Company of Grand Rapids, Michigan, which made reproductions of French Art Deco models.[19]

Meunier remembered that for many months the rooms of Eaton's "L'Intérieur Moderne" drew crowds,[20] although the "art moderne" designs were considered more acceptable for swimming pool decor or hair salons than for the home where Canadians felt more comfortable with traditional furnishings. Eaton's showrooms were discussed by the Montreal journalist Henri Girard in an article "À Propos d'Art Moderne" in the February 1929 issue of *La Revue Moderne*. Here he criticized historical revival furniture and promoted the use of modern materials and forms for architecture and interior design, praising the work of Le Corbusier and Montreal architect Ernest Cormier. In his article Girard described Eaton's showrooms as good examples of modern design, noting that "Furniture can only be fully appreciated within a harmonious setting. Furniture is dressed up by its decor." He ended his article by saying, "Let us be confident that modern art will one day be the rule in Montreal, and we will thank those who dared to forge ahead of popular taste."[21]

In this same periodical and perhaps encouraged by Girard, Jeannette Meunier subsequently wrote an article on "La décoration, intérieure moderne," published in May 1929. Here she discussed the role of the modern decorator who "by his constant attention to line and proportion succeeds in creating harmony – the first condition of a well-conceived decoration. He balances tones, values, colours; he has to coordinate the decorative elements: one is at the service of the other."[22] She promoted the idea of the designer as an *ensembleur* who would be in charge of every aspect of interior decoration: "The decorator should be responsible for the design of the carpet and the textile furnishings."[23] These ideas were current in France at the time where decorators had taken on the role of *ensembliers*, as critics referred to them. Instead of bringing together existing furnishings, the *ensemblier* would commission or design everything from the lights to the wallpaper. He was the master of works, supervising all the details of the decoration. In her article, Jeannette Meunier referred to some of the great French decorators/*ensembliers* such as Ruhlmann, Leleu, Dominique, Joubert and Petit, who exhibited every year in Paris at the Salon des Artistes Décorateurs and whose work was frequently illustrated in magazines.

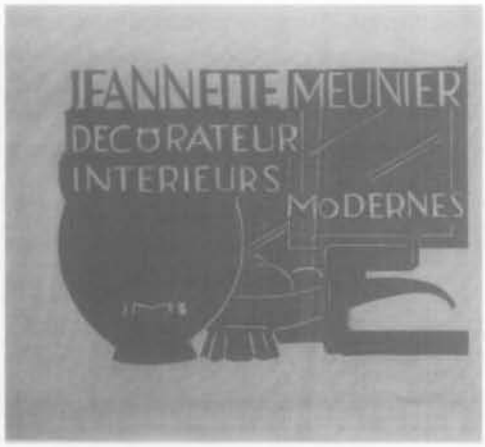


fig.6 Prototype for Jeannette Meunier's business card, undated. (Photo: Private collection)

Another Montrealer who was a major proponent of French Art Deco design was Jean-Marie Gauvreau (1903-1970), a contemporary of Jeannette Meunier. After spending four years in Paris from 1926 to 1929 at the École Boulle, the celebrated school of cabinetmaking, he returned to Montreal to teach furniture design at the École Technique de Montréal. He wrote an account of French modern interior decoration in his book, *Nos intérieurs de demain* (Montreal: Librairie d'action canadienne-francaise, 1929). An energetic educator and communicator with important social and political connections in Quebec and Montreal, Gauvreau became the first director of the École du Meuble, which was officially established in 1935, and served in that position for twenty-three years. The main purpose of the school was to train young craftsmen in fine cabinetmaking and furniture design, following the example of the École Boulle. Both students and staff emulated French Art Deco forms and materials.[24] Jeannette Meunier certainly knew Jean-Marie Gauvreau, but she was not part of his circle of friends.[25] Gauvreau's promotion of traditional craftsmanship, his admiration for early Quebec furniture, and his criticism of modern industrial design were not in keeping with her interest in modern materials and methods of furniture production.

Jeannette Meunier was drawn more to artistic circles in Montreal, and while working with Émile Lemieux at Eaton's she helped to organize the second exhibition of Canadian art held in the store's art gallery from May 6-18, 1929. During this project she began a friendship with her future husband, André Biéler (1896-1989) who participated in the show.[26] A native of Switzerland, he had moved to Montreal with his parents at the age of twelve.[27] His dynamic personality made him a major figure in Montreal's art community, gaining attention for his paintings of the Quebec countryside and its people. The couple married on April 27, 1931 and travelled to France and Switzerland for their honeymoon. It was Meunier's first trip to Europe, and it was at this time that she became interested in German modern design and metal furniture in particular. Upon their return to Montreal the couple set up independent studios on separate floors of their residence at 2039 Peel Street.[28]

After her marriage she left Eaton's and set out on her own as an interior decorator. André Biéler helped his wife design her business card created in decoupage with the words: "Jeannette Meunier/Decorateur/Interieurs Modernes/JMB" (*fig.6*). Her awareness of French trends from her training with Lemieux had left its mark. Unfortunately, little documentation exists on her clients, although one drawing in collaboration with André is for a café bar at the Ritz Carleton hotel. She also became part of a close group of artists who met regularly to discuss their work and to promote modern ideas in art. John Lyman was a central figure in this group, and André and Jeannette were among the teachers and administrators of The Atelier, a short-lived school founded in 1931.[29] The prospectus stated that the group rejected academic teaching and stressed that "the essential qualities of a work of art lie in the relationships of form to form, and of colour to colour."[30] Jeannette Meunier is listed as an advisor to the organizing committee. Her École des beaux-arts de Montréal background is mentioned, as is a note that she "is now designing furniture in wood, glass and steel and general schemes for interior decoration."[31] Almost all the members of The Atelier had studied either in Europe or in the United States, and her promotion of mass-produced industrial metal furniture would probably have been supported by the three architect members, Richard Bolton, George Holt and Hazen Sise, all of whom were graduates of the Massachusettes Institute of Technology. Sise had also spent a year working with Le Corbusier in Paris and was a faithful follower of the modern movement in architecture.[32]

The architect members of The Atelier reflected the concerns of progressive European designers for industrial production and the use of new materials. One of the most significant and innovative developments in this regard was the tubular-steel furniture developed by Bauhaus architects Marcel Breuer and Mies van der Rohe in the 1920s. Breuer began to make lightweight, tubular steel chairs in 1925 as they exactly suited the spirit of the modern,

fig.7 Tubular metal furniture in the Peel Street apartment of the Biélers, 1933, vintage photograph. (Photo: Private collection)

open-plan architectural spaces he and his colleagues advocated. Breuer's popular cantilevered tubular-steel chair was first exhibited and sold in Germany in 1927.[33] The chair could be mechnically assembled with standardized parts, and was comfortable, functional and easy to clean. Not only could it be moved around easily, but it also appeared almost weightless in comparison with heavy wooden furniture and most importantly, it did not reflect any traditional style. Breuer produced a variety of designs for tubular steel chairs and tables; they were manufactured first by Standard-Möbel of Berlin and, after 1927, by the German branch of the Thonet Brothers firm.[34] In France, designers and architects such as Louis Sognot, René Herbst, and Le Corbusier in collaboration with Pierre Jeanneret and Charlotte Perriand, also reacted against the luxury furnishings of Art Deco and created their own versions of metal furniture.[35] In the United States, Donald Deskey and others began to focus on industrial tubular-steel design. Early in the century, Canadian manufacturers had already begun to produce metal furniture from sheet or bent steel for hospitals and schools, where cleanliness and durability were major concerns. When tubular-steel furniture made its appearance in Europe and America, Canadians took notice. The Robert Simpson Company of Toronto imported tubular-steel chairs and tables by Breuer and van der Rohe, manufactured by Thonet in Europe.[36] By 1934, Canadian companies such as Dominion Chain of Niagara Falls and Standard Tube in Woodstock, Ontario were producing their own models of chrome-plated steel chairs.[37] However, only the most adventurous clients allowed tubular-steel furniture into secondary areas of the house such as breakfast, entertainment or sun rooms.

Jeannette Meunier Biéler was well aware of these international trends and subscribed to French journals as well as to the German interior decorating magazine, *Innen Dekoration*, which carried illustrations of the Bauhaus designs. Considering Canadian taste in the early 1930s, her interest in tubular-steel furniture for the living room was remarkable. An interior photograph of André and Jeannette's Montreal apartment on Peel Street in 1933 shows the tubular-steel and glass desk that she designed in 1931 and had made in Montreal (fig.7). This desk is a rare example of Bauhaus influence in Canadian design in the early 1930s and is now in the collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.[38] Continuous tubular-steel elements form the legs and the structure for a glass top, which in turn rests on rubber connectors. The design is modelled on the tubular steel tables designed by Breuer in 1927-1928.[39] However, Biéler added a foot rest soldered to the base to give the structure more solidity. The glass book-shelves on one side of the desk are another practical addition. In later years she hung a plywood drawer from the top and on the other side she added a tubular steel holder for magazines. According to Biéler, the only place she could find skilled workers to construct the tubular

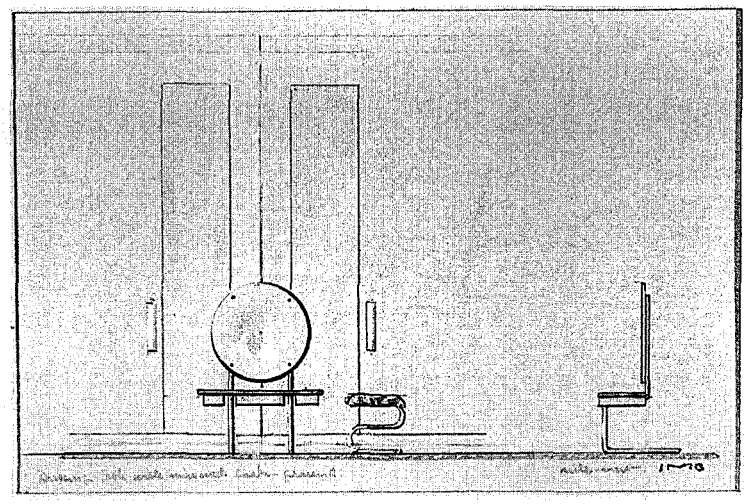


fig.8 Jeannette Meunier Biéler, sketch for a "Dressing-table with mirrored back-ground" and "side-view," early 1930s, private collection. (Photo: Brian Merrett, MMFA)

elements for the table based on her plans, was a Montreal aircraft company.[40] The photograph of the Biélers' apartment on Peel street shows, above the stark metal and glass furniture, a 1930 painting by André Biéler depicting the interior of his brother Jacques's early Quebec country house at St-Sauveur and featuring a handcrafted, wooden rocking chair.[41] The juxtaposition of this painting with her desk underlines the contrast between the traditional crafted designs of rural Quebec and those Jeannette espoused for urban modern life. Before his marriage, André Biéler had admired and collected early Quebec furniture; his wife urged him to put it into storage when they married.[42] The photograph also reveals the floor decoration of painted geometric, zig-zag pattern, in keeping with Jeannette's taste for modern motifs.

Other watercolour renderings for furniture designs by Jeannette Meunier Biéler indicate tubular chromed supports for such pieces as a dressing table and stool, a bed, or furniture for a cocktail bar (fig.8). Unfortunately there is no record of furniture actually being produced after these designs. As she suggested in later years, it was not always easy to persuade her clients to

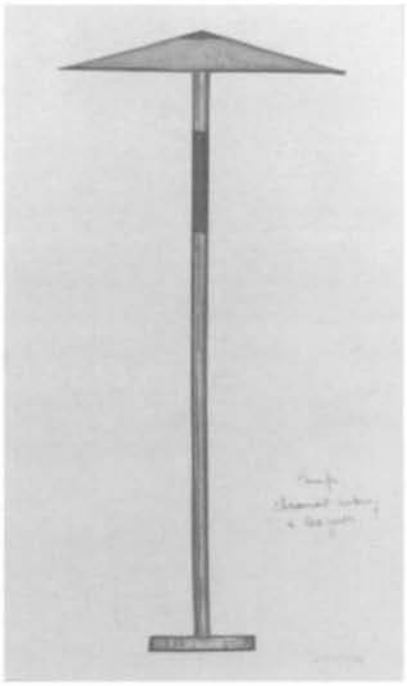


fig.9 Design for a standing lamp in chromed tubing and lacquer, private collection. (Photo: Brian Merrett, MMFA)

fig.10 Small lamp in metal, wood and parchment, private collection. (Photo: Brian Merrett, MMFA)

accept metal designs for furniture. However, she was sometimes successful, noting in a rare comment from the early 1930s that, "Madame Woodyatt a commandé deux chaises metal ce matin."[43] Biéler's other designs were for simple, undecorated furniture, sometimes multifunctional to suit modern apartment living. This is evident, for example, in her design for a free-standing chest with sets of drawers opening at the front and at the back. Her modular shelving units anticipate the American development of mass-produced, multipurpose units during the 1940s and 1950s. Her drawings also reveal her particular interest in lighting. One shows a starkly simple standing lamp to be made of "chromed tubing and lacquer" with a modern low shade (fig.9). A small bedside lamp from her own collection consists of a simple arrangement of metal wires forming a sphere at the centre of the stem (fig.10). André Biéler was a ready collaborator in his wife's decorating business and tells of one incident about a steel chaise-longue, complete with cushions of hand-woven material, designed by Jeannette for a customer at Christmas. When the chair was ready, it was left at the platers to receive a coating of chrome. Just before Christmas, the plating firm called to say a terrible accident had occurred, the wrong material had been put into the electrical bath and the chair had melted.[44]

Jeannette Meunier Biéler's interest in the development of tubular-steel furniture was certainly unusual in Canada at that time. She was not afraid to experiment with other non-traditional furniture materials as well. A cabinet made for her family, probably in the early 1940s, reveals her exceptional foresight in accepting the use of plywood for furniture designs (fig.11). The most avant-garde European designers, such as Alvar Aalto and Marcel Breuer, were exploring the possibilities of plywood chairs in the 1930s. Plywood was then used mainly in industrial production because it was cheap, strong and does not split along the grain when bent, as does solid wood. Biéler often used solid natural oak for her furniture, but she designed this cabinet in light-coloured plywood. Tall and narrow, it stands on four tubular steel feet like architectural pilotis. The only suggestion of ornament is the light-toned wood inlay on the plywood door. To break the symmetry of the composition and to add more visual interest to the piece, a narrow cabinet of glass shelves was attached to the side. It is a unique, inventive design that recalls certain multifunctional cabinet units by Marcel Breuer.

Jeannette Meunier Biéler's career in Montreal was brief, as she and her husband moved to Kingston in 1936, when André became head of the Queen's University Art Department. The couple had four children, and in the early years Jeannette was primarily concerned with bringing up her large family. However, she did carry out a few commissions for the University. She collaborated with her husband on the decoration for a music/concert room.

fig.11 Cabinet, plywood, metal and glass, designed by Jeannette Biéler in the early 1940s, private collection. (Photo: Brian Merrett, MMFA)

André designed a figurative scene for an inlaid design in the floor, and Jeannette was responsible for the furniture and interior décor, designing natural oak and red leather armchairs for the room. In the 1950s she also designed a night-club interior in Kingston, and in the 1960s, was responsible for a project to convert a Victorian house into a women's residence for the University. The couple remained in Kingston, where they died within one year of each other, André in 1989 and Jeannette in 1990.

Little has been written on the history of interior decoration in Canada, a field which was usually the domain of architects. It would seem that, in Canada, women were a rarity in the field of interior decoration and design.[45] The young women who took classes at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal often did so as a social activity to improve their appreciation of culture.[46] Some female students did pursue professional careers as artists or teachers, for example Jori Smith and Marion Scott, while others disappeared into the world of commercial decoration or went into ceramics or weaving. Jeannette Meunier Biéler was inspired by the European model, especially the rise of the French *ensemblier*, when she launched herself as a decorator of modern interiors. Her furniture and drawings are evidence that she embraced the most progressive design concerns of the twentieth century.

ROSALIND PEPALL
Senior Curator of Decorative Arts
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

Notes

1 Early biographical information was given to the author by Nathalie Sorensen, the Biéler's eldest daughter, in an interview on May 8, 1996. Ted Biéler and Sylvie Baylaucq were also most helpful in giving me information on their mother. I would also like to thank Jeannette's grandson, Philippe Baylaucq, who has provided me with family photographs and has been an enthusiastic supporter of my research on his grandmother's life and work.

2 "New Professors for École des Beaux-Arts," *Montreal Daily Star*, 24 Sept. 1925.

3 Université du Québec à Montréal, Bibliothèque des arts, Centre de documentation et Service des archives, fonds de l'École des beaux-arts de Montréal, files 5P-100/1 and 5P 510/1.

4 Jeannette Meunier Biéler, interview with the author, Kingston, 17 Oct. 1988.

5 Jacques LACHAPELLE, *Le Fantasme Métropolitain, L'Architecture de Ross et Macdonald* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2001), 65.

6 Isabelle GOURNAY, "Jacques Carlu et le style paquebot outre-atlantique," *Monuments Historiques*, no.130 (December 1983): 71-74; LACHAPELLE, *Le Fantasme Métropolitain*, 75-76.

7 Suzanne TISE, "Les Grands Magasins," in *L'Art de Vivre: Decorative Arts and Design in France 1789-1989*, ed. Catherine ARMINJON, et al. (New York: Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1989), 97-98.

8 The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue: *A Selected Collection of Objects from the International Exposition of Modern Decorative & Industrial Art, Paris, 1925* (New York: American Association of Museums, 1926).

9 René and Elizabeth Cera, telephone conversation and correspondence with the author, October 1988.

10 Biographical information on Lemieux was obtained thanks to the Galerie Turenne Inc., Montreal.

11 Evelyn de R. MCMANN, *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts fomerly Art Association of Montreal/Spring Exhibitions 1880-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 222 and her *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Exhibitions and Members 1880-1979* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 237-38.

12 Paul SAINT-YVES, "Aux Galeries Eaton," *Le Devoir* (Montreal), 10 Oct. 1927.

13 In 1951 he supervised the city decorations for the British royal visit, and was in charge of the decoration of the Hélène de Champlain restaurant on Ile Ste-Hélène, Montreal.

14 Jeannette Biéler, unpublished text, 8 May 1985.

15 Paul Pagé, telephone interview with the author, May 1996. Pagé worked in Eaton's decorating department in Montreal from 1939 to 1987 and remembered that Lemieux knew Cormier well. Cormier built his own residence on Pine Ave. in French Art Deco style in 1930-1931.

16 These rooms were published in an article "Convenient Beauty in Art Moderne" in *Canadian Homes and Gardens* (February 1929): 25.

17 Ibid.

18 This bedroom display was probably modelled after the dramatic presentations of bedroom ensembles (even down to the lozenge pattern wallpaper) of the great French

designer Jacques-Émile Ruhlmann, whose interiors were published in 1924 by Jean Badovici in an album entitled *'Harmonies.' Intérieurs de Ruhlmann* (Paris: Albert Morancé).

19 Virginia WRIGHT, *Modern Furniture in Canada 1920-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 13. The armchair with stepped-back arms included in the man's study in Eaton's "L'Intérieur Moderne" was made by the Grand Rapid's firm. An identical example is in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

20 Jeannette Meunier Biéler, interview with the author, 17 Oct. 1988.

21 "Le mobilier ne prend toute sa valeur que dans un cadre s'harmonisant avec lui. Le décor c'est la robe du mobilier.... Ayons confiance que l'art moderne règnera un jour à Montréal et remercions ceux qui osent devancer le goût de la foule." Henri GIRARD, "À Propos d'Art Moderne," *La Revue Moderne* (February 1929): 7.

22 "par ses recherches constantes de la ligne, des proportions, arrive infailliblement à créer de l'harmonie, le premier facteur dans la décoration bien comprise. Il balance les nuances, les valeurs, les couleurs; il doit coordonner l'application des arts: l'un est au service de l'autre." Jeannette MEUNIER, "La décoration intérieure moderne," *La Revue Moderne* (May 1929): 37.

23 "Le décorateur doit être autorisé à faire éxécuter son tapis, et à dessiner ses tissus." Ibid.

24 *Technique: Revue Industrielle* (Montreal), vol.10, no.9 (November 1935). This special issue celebrated five years of the cabinetmaking section of the École Technique de Montréal and the founding of the École du Meuble. See also Gloria LESSER, *École du Meuble 1930-1950* (Montreal: Le Château Dufresne, Musée des arts decoratifs, 1989).

25 When asked in 1988 if she knew Gauvreau, Jeannette only said yes. In any case, the Biélers left Montreal the year after the founding of the École du Meuble.

26 Henri Girard praised André Biéler's painting, *Un Vieux*, in his review of the exhibition in *La Revue Moderne* (July 1929): 13.

27 Frances K. SMITH, *André Biéler. An Artist's Life and Times* (Toronto: Merritt Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980), 74. Also David KAREL, *André Biéler ou le choc des cultures* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003).

28 SMITH, *André Biéler*, 75.

29 "'The Atelier', A School of Modern Art," *The Montrealer* (October 1932). Elizabeth Frost who had studied art at the Slade School in London was the main organizer of the group and the architect Hazen Sise acted as vice-president.

30 *The Atelier, A School of Drawing, Painting, Sculpture*, undated pamphlet, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Library archives, unpaginated.

31 Ibid.

32 Norbert SCHOENAUER, "McGill's School of Architecture: A Retrospection," *McGill Schools of Architecture and Planning Prospectus*, ed. Ellen LEIBOVICH (Montreal: McGill University, 1987), 20.

33 Christopher WILK, *Marcel Breuer, Furniture and Interiors* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981), 70.

34 Ibid., 66, 75.

35 *Bent Wood and Metal Furniture: 1850-1946*, ed. Derek E. OSTERGARD (New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1987), 282, 287-88. Sognot and Herbst exhibited

their tubular steel furniture at the annual Paris Salon des Artistes Décorateurs in 1928 and 1929. Le Corbusier, Jeanneret and Perriand's famous chaise-longue was designed in 1929.

36 Illustrated in *Canadian Homes and Gardens* in 1930 and 1933; WRIGHT, *Modern Furniture in Canada*, 37 and 53.

37 Ibid., 46-47.

38 It was donated by her grandson Philippe Baylaucq and had been passed down through Jeannette's daughter Sylvie Baylaucq.

39 WILK, *Marcel Breuer*, 78-79.

40 Jeannette Meunier Biéler, interview with the author, 17 Oct. 1988. Biéler could not remember the name of the company nor where she acquired the chairs shown with the glass table. They are not Breuer models as the canvas back and seat are not slipped over the tubular frame, but rather they are set into and attached to the tubular frame with screws. The slightly curved horizontal metal support at the back of the seat is also unusual.

41 This painting entitled *Intérieur de la maison rose*, 1930, private collection, is illustrated in KAREL, *André Biéler ou le choc des cultures*, 105.

42 Nathalie Sorensen, interview with the author, 8 May 1996.

43 "Madame Woodyatt ordered two metal chairs this morning." Jeannette Meunier Biéler to André Biéler, undated, 1932 or 1933, André Biéler archives, coll. 2050, series I, Correspondence file, family letters, Queen's University Archives, Kingston. Jeannette presumably carried out a commission for Mrs. Woodyatt, as she exhibited *Intérieur chez Mde J.B. Woodyatt* in the 1934 Art Association of Montreal's Spring Exhibition.

44 SMITH, *André Biéler*, 77.

45 One of the few women who made a name for herself early in the twentieth century as an interior decorator was Kate Armour Reed (d.1928). She supervised the decoration of rooms in the Canadian Pacific hotels, most notably the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec city. See France GAGNON PRATTE and Eric ETTER, *The Château Frontenac* (Quebec: Éditions Continuité, 1993), 28.

46 Laurier LACROIX, *Peindre à Montréal 1915-1930* (Montreal: Galerie de L'UQAM and Musée du Québec, 1996), 62.

Résumé

JEANETTE MEUNIER BIÉLER

Décorateur intérieurs modernes

La carrière de la décoratrice montréalaise Jeannette Meunier Biéler (1900-1990) a été brève mais cependant exceptionnelle, au Canada, par la promotion, à la fin des années vingt et au début des années trente, des tendances les plus progressistes venues de France et d'Allemagne. Bien que les exemples de son travail soient rares et qu'il n'y ait pas de véritable registre de ses clients, ses dessins et les meubles qu'elle a dessinés pour sa famille attestent de l'originalité de son œuvre dans le domaine de la décoration d'intérieur au Canada.

Jeannette Meunier est née le 29 décembre 1900 à Sainte-Anne-de-Sabrevois, Québec. De 1924 à 1928, elle a étudié à l'École des beaux-arts de Montréal, où ses œuvres exposées furent remarquées par Émile Lemieux, directeur du département de la décoration du magasin de la compagnie T. Eaton à Montréal. En 1928, il lui offrit un poste d'assistante. Elle accepta, contre l'avis du directeur de l'École, Charles Maillard, et ne termina pas ses études en vue d'un diplôme en beaux-arts.

Les années vingt furent une période de grande expansion et de développement pour la compagnie T. Eaton qui élargit ses opérations principales à Toronto et ouvrit des magasins à travers le Canada. En 1926, la compagnie fit l'acquisition du magasin Goodwin, à Montréal, à l'angle des rues Sainte-Catherine et Université, et entreprit des rénovations. L'apogée de ce programme de rénovations fut la création de la célèbre salle à manger du neuvième étage, au stylisme moderne, œuvre de l'architecte français Jacques Carlu, sur le modèle des brillants décors Art déco des transatlantiques français. La France était devenue le chef de file mondial en arts décoratifs à la suite de l'*Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes*, tenue à Paris en 1925. De grands magasins à rayons parisiens, tels le Printemps, les Galeries Lafayette et les Magasins du Louvre ont joué un rôle majeur dans la diffusion de «l'art moderne», aussi connu sous le nom d'Art déco. Dès le début des années vingt, ces magasins avaient aménagé des décoration d'intérieur où l'on conseillait les clients sur tous les aspects de la décoration du foyer. On y présentait comme modèles des pièces entièrement meublées. Des revues comme *Art et Décoration* et *Art et Industrie* de Paris, *Good Furniture* aux États-Unis et *Canadian Homes and Gardens* au Canada, publiaient des articles et des illustrations sur les développements en décoration.

Au Canada, la compagnie T. Eaton réagit promptement à la mode Art déco en engageant le styliste français René Cera comme directeur du service de la décoration à Toronto. Le chef du service de la décoration d'intérieur et des étalages du magasin Eaton de Montréal était Émile Lemieux (1889-1967). Né à Montréal, Lemieux avait commencé sa carrière de décorateur en 1911 et il était devenu chef décorateur chez Eaton en 1927. Jeannette Meunier Biéler considérait Lemieux comme son mentor et, de 1928 à 1931 environ, elle a été son assistante chez Eaton. Elle l'a aidé à créer le studio «L'Intérieur Moderne», sur le modèle des studios de décoration des magasins à rayons parisiens. Des photos d'époque font voir les salles de montre disposées autour d'une galerie centrale sous un plafond d'une hauteur impressionnante supporté par des colonnes octogonales doubles et un piano à queue comme centre d'intérêt. Des pièces adjacentes représentent les aires principales d'une maison, y compris la chambre à coucher principale avec un grand lit placé théâtralement sur une estrade. L'ameublement reflète le goût pour les formes géométriques, les dessins audacieux, les surfaces polies, les contreplaqués de bois précieux, les riches tissus et les tons à la mode, l'argent, le beige et le vert, de l'Art déco.

À cette époque, Jeannette Meunier écrivit un article sur «La décoration intérieure modern» dans le numéro du 29 mai de *La Revue Moderne*. Elle y discute du rôle du décorateur moderne qui «par ses recherches constantes de la ligne, des proportions, arrive infailliblement à créer de l'harmonie, le premier facteur dans la décoration bien comprise. Il balance les nuances, les valeurs, les couleurs; il doit coordonner l'application des arts : l'un est au service de l'autre.» Ces idées étaient communes en France à l'époque, alors que les décorateurs jouaient le rôle d'*ensembliers*. Plutôt que de réunir des éléments existants, l'ensemblier commandait ou dessinait tout ce qui était destiné à l'ameublement intérieur, depuis l'éclairage jusqu'au papier tenture.

Jeannette Meunier était aussi attirée par le milieu des arts montréalais, et elle contribua à organiser, chez Eaton, la deuxième exposition d'art canadien tenue du 6 au 18 mai 1929 dans la galerie d'art du magasin. C'est pendant l'élaboration de ce projet que Jeannette se lia d'amitié avec celui qui allait devenir son mari, André Biéler (1896-1989) qui y exposait. Ils se marièrent le 27 avril 1931 et passèrent leur lune de miel en France et en Suisse. C'était, pour Jeannette, son premier voyage en Europe et c'est à cette époque qu'elle s'est intéressée au designe moderne allemand et particulièrement aux meubles de métal. À leur retour à Montréal, les Biéler installèrent chacun leur studio sur des étages différents de leur résidence du 2039 rue Peel. Jeannette quitta Eaton et s'installa comme décoratrice d'intérieur. Elle fit aussi partie d'un groupe d'amis proches, L'Atelier, formé d'artistes et d'architectes montréalais qui se rencontraient régulièrement pour enseigner et promouvoir les idées modernes en art.

L'intérêt de L'Atelier pour la modernité rejoignait celui des européens progressistes pour la production industrielle et l'utilisation des nouveaux matériaux. Un des développements les plus importants et innovateurs dans ce domaine fut les meubles en acier tubulaire par Marcel Breuer et Mies van der Rohe. La populaire chaise cantilever en acier tubulaire de Breuer fut montrée pour la première fois et vendue en Allemagne en 1927. Lorsque les meubles en acier tubulaire firent leur apparition en Europe et en Amérique, les Canadiens les remarquèrent. Jeannette Meunier Biéler était bien au courant de ces tendances internationales. Elle était abonnée aux revues françaises ainsi qu'au magazine allemand de décoration d'intérieur *Innen Dekoration*. Une photo d'intérieur de l'appartement montréalais d'André et Jeannette sur la rue Peel, en 1933, montre le bureau en verre et acier tubulaire qu'elle avait dessiné en 1931 et fait fabriquer à Montréal. Ce bureau est un rare exemple de l'influence Bauhaus sur l'art décoratif canadien au début des années trente. Il appartient maintenant à la collection du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal. D'après Jeannette Biéler, le seul endroit où elle pouvait trouver les ouvriers capables de fabriquer les éléments tubulaires pour la table, selon ses plans, était une usine d'aviation de Montréal. Sur la photo de l'appartement des Biéler, rue Peel, on peut voir, au-dessus de l'austère meuble d'acier et de verre, un tableau d'André, daté de 1930, représentant l'intérieur d'une maison à Saint-Sauveur où l'on peut voir une chaise berçante en bois faite à la main. La juxtaposition de ce tableau et du bureau souligne le contraste entre les meubles traditionnels du Québec rural et ceux de Jeannette qui épousaient la vie urbaine contemporaine.

D'autres esquisses à l'aquarelle de meubles dessinés par Jeannette Meunier Biéler montrent des supports tubulaires en chrome pour des meubles tels une table de toilette et un tabouret, un lit, ou pour un bar à cocktails. Ses autres dessins représentaient des meubles simples, sans décoration, parfois multifonctionnels en accord avec la vie en appartement. Ses rayonnages modulaires anticipent le développement aux États-Unis, dans les années quarante et cinquante, d'unités de série à usages multiples. Elle a aussi expérimenté avec d'autres matériaux d'ameublement non traditionnels. Un cabinet fabriqué pour sa famille, probablement au début des années quarante, révèle son flair exceptionnel dans l'utilisation du contreplaqué pour le dessin de meubles. Les stylistes européens les plus avant-gardistes, tels Alvar Aalto et Marcel Breuer, avaient exploré, dans les années trente, la possibilité de fabriquer des chaises en contreplaqué. Le contreplaqué était utilisé à l'époque principalement pour la production industrielle parce qu'il était bon marché, résistant et qu'il ne fendait pas le long du grain, comme le bois massif, lorsqu'on le pliait. Le meuble de

Biéler est haut et étroit et est supporté par quatre pieds en acier tubulaire comme sur des pilotis. Un étroit cabinet à tablettes de verre est fixé sur un côté et rompt la symétrie de la composition. C'est un dessin unique et inventif.

La carrière montréalaise de Jeannette Meunier prit fin en 1936, quand elle et son mari déménagèrent à Kingston où André devait occuper le poste de directeur de la section des beaux-arts de l'Université Queen's. Le couple avait quatre enfants et, au début, Jeannette s'occupait surtout d'élever sa famille. Elle a, cependant, réalisé quelques commandes pour l'université. Elle est décédée en 1990, un an après son mari. Ses meubles et dessins nous sont restés comme témoignage de son adhésion au décoration moderne du XX^{e} siècle.

Traduction: Élise Bonnette

fig. 1 Peter and Traudl Markgraf in their studio, *c.*1960.
(Photo: Jack Markow & Co. Ltd., Montreal)

THE CANON UNBOUND

Picturing Canada in Punnichy[1]

This article is the last in a series of four examining the role that reproduction programs at the National Gallery of Canada and later the Canada Council, played in defining the idea of Canadian art and the symbolic imagery of nationhood.[2] Together, the texts provide an in-depth examination of national reproduction programs of Canadian art between 1928 and 1970, the external factors that shaped them, and their enduring legacy. In this article, I will discuss the last phase of the Sampson-Matthews silkscreen project and the continuing impact of these reproductions through an analysis of their circulation in the art market between 1970 and 1996. "The Canon Unbound" examines the Markgraf reproduction programs, the final stage in the National Gallery's forty-year involvement in the promotion of Canadian art through the use of high-quality reproductions. The Gallery's collaboration with the Markgrafs began, not surprisingly, with reproductions of the stalwarts of the Canadian canon but eventually came to include contemporary Canadian art. This article also examines a final national silkscreen project: the Canada Council/Markgraf partnership, which focused exclusively on the reproduction of contemporary Canadian art.

An Afterlife for the Sampson-Matthews Prints

In this section, I examine what I call the "afterlife" of the Sampson-Matthews prints and their continuing presence in the art milieu long after the mid-1960s when production of the silkscreen prints had ceased. In 1969, the art collector A.H. Libby selected 2200 prints of what he considered the most marketable subjects from Sampson-Matthews' remaining inventory.[3] In 1969 and the early 1970s his son, John (now of the John A. Libby Fine Art gallery in Toronto but then working out of Burlington) marketed the prints extensively throughout Ontario to both the wholesale and retail markets, even selling them door-to-door. Libby senior was personally acquainted with several of the artists and John Libby, like many who have become involved with the prints, was engaged by the history of the silkscreen project and attempted to meet as many of the participants as he could. As a result, A.J. Casson, A.Y. Jackson, Thoreau MacDonald and Alfred Pellan all signed their prints, substantially increasing their value. John Libby has continued to deal in the Sampson-Matthews prints over the last thirty years.

In June 1979 the remaining Sampson-Matthews inventory, estimated by its purchasers at between 12,000 and 15,000 prints, was acquired by Fred

Turner and Jim Pearse.[4] Together they opened the Swansea Gallery in Toronto to market the work. Their holdings of about 70 images included works originally designed for the National Gallery program (all of which had been rerun on one or in most cases many occasions between 1943 and 1963), several prints from the Federation of Canadian Artists' project (including Rody Courtice's *White Calf*, Naomi Jackson's [*Winter*] *Ste. Adele* and Dorothy Williams' *Indian Village*), and works from the three Pulp and Paper series.[5] Turner also purchased the gouaches for Courtice's *White Calf* and Jackson's *Winter*.

To better understand the role the Sampson-Matthews silkscreens had played in Canadian art, Turner researched their history and interviewed a number of the artists involved in the project. Turner and Pearse then developed a marketing strategy that echoed Sampson-Matthews' earlier operation: articles were strategically placed in newspapers and magazines across the country, the prints were widely advertised, and exhibitions were mounted in public libraries and galleries.[6] In 1980, for example, *Canadian Landscapes* an exhibition presented at the Aurora Public Library, was described as the first time that the prints and the originals (the Courtice and Jackson gouaches were included) had been gathered in a single Canadian art show.[7] Clearly identifying the prints as reproductions, Turner and Pearse described them as posters while emphasizing their artistic value. The prints were offered for sale at between $60 and $140 each.

Following the promotional exhibitions, the Swansea Gallery wholesaled the prints across the country with recommended retail prices ranging from $150 to $300. Major clients included private galleries in Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. The prints were also sold in Hudson's Bay Company stores across the country.[8] Order and shipping lists indicate that most of the prints in the 1957 and 1963 catalogues, as well as a few Federation of Canadian Artists images and Charles Comfort's *Bunkhouse Scene* from the first Pulp and Paper series, remained in stock.[9] In the mid-1980s Turner and Pearse split the remaining prints when Pearse moved to Edmonton.[10] Private dealers, including Libby, Turner and Pearse, continued to sell the prints throughout the 1970s and '80s.

In the 1990s, a new marketing strategy with the high-end retail market and investors as the new target audiences, provided a sequel to the story of the Sampson-Matthews prints. In 1990, Capital Vision Inc., a company based in Toronto and Halifax, acquired a large stock of the prints and began to market what it called *The Canadian Heritage Collection*. Described as unique "oil silkscreens" or "silkscreen paintings," the reproductions were advertised as part of the original wartime project – despite the fact that they had all been printed in the post-war period.[11] These prints (produced in unlimited runs over an eighteen-year period) were now marketed as numbered prints in limited editions and each bore a stamped "Supervised by" with A.J. Casson's signature in ballpoint below. A letter dated June 14, 1990, and signed in a shaky hand by the aged Casson was used as a key marketing tool.[12] Describing them as "a national lost treasure of oil silkscreen paintings lost for about 50 years," the Casson letter stated:

> They are a wonderful discovery. I know because I supervised in the making of these oil silkscreens for the government during the war for the soldiers' barracks and surroundings.... It can never be done again because most of the artists involved are gone.... They came from everywhere to help produce these great works of art and to ensure that their paintings were done properly. These great artists included the Group of Seven, J.W. Morrice, Emily Carr, Tom Thompson [*sic*], David Milne, Albert Robinson, J.W.G. MacDonald [*sic*], Thoreau MacDonald, Stanley Turner, Fred Haines, Yvonne Housser, Harold Beament and others. We all worked very hard to produce this great heritage of oil silkscreen paintings. A good oil silkscreen is better than a poor original. They are great works of art. Take good care of them and treasure them.

The letter implies that the artists, a number of whom were already dead at the time the silkscreens were originally printed, participated directly in their production. To supplement Casson's letter, documents by Toronto art dealer and consultant Georges Loranger were also used to authenticate the work. These were included in the promotional material by the various companies engaged in marketing the prints. A letter from Loranger prefaced a 1992 American Express – Merchandise Services publication advertising a catalogue of ten of the best-known and most popular landscape prints.[13] All except Carr's *Indian Church* represented northern Ontario landscapes. Loranger's certification described the prints as "famous images by the Group of Seven," and noted that each had been authenticated by Casson's signature. Loranger also stated that the prints were "originally made for our soldiers' quarters or barracks during the Second World War, and were also used in schools and Government buildings later." Emphasizing the uniqueness of each work, he described the prints as "hand-crafted silk screens...only available in limited numbers and because they are only now available since they were recently discovered in a private estate, they do represent a very important, rare and valuable treasury of Canadian heritage including the famous national school of the Group of Seven and their contemporaries."

J.E.H. MacDonald's "oil silkscreen," *Mist Fantasy*, which had been wholesaled to The Bay at $50 a decade earlier, was now valued at $6000 and offered for sale to Amex card members at $3000. Counting on Thomson's popularity, his *Northern Lights* was valued at $6500 and offered to members for $3900. Loranger estimated the market value for Harris' *Algoma Country*, A.Y. Jackson's *Jack Pine* and Emily Carr's "famous image of the *Indian Church*" at $6000. Loranger's letter of certification added that "some of the very limited quantity of images including A.J. Casson's *White Pine* and *Boston Corner* [*sic*] by David Milne have market values up to $10,000."

This marketing approach was repeated in 1994 when D.S. Morrison, Executive Vice-President of Ducks Unlimited Canada, wrote to "valued" supporters offering "a unique, irreplaceable and exceptionally significant image of Canadian history."[14] His letter went on to describe how:

> members of the Group of Seven joined with other renowned artists for a never to be duplicated war effort. Under the supervision and guidance of A.J. Casson, this incredible reservoir of Canada's very best artistic resources were asked to reproduce some of Canada's finest art works...distinct 'Canadian' images were then sent to our troops fighting overseas, reminding them of the wonder and strength of their Canadian homeland.

Morrison reiterated the story of the "find," referring to an "estate sale" that had led to the rediscovery of "the balance of images remaining which date back almost fifty years." He wrote: "A.J. Casson was invited to view this treasure. He inspected each piece. Only those that met his exacting standards of quality were included in this edition. He then authenticated each image with the signature 'Supervised by A.J. Casson' and numbered each silkscreen."[15] The images were accompanied by Loranger's "Certificate[s] of Authenticity" and appraisals.[16] Emphasizing the originality of the works, the letter continued: "Each image, the creative genius and circumstances that brought it about are unique and irreplaceable. The originals can only be found in galleries or private collections." The extensive catalogue which Ducks Unlimited "proudly present[ed]" was published by Capital Vision as *Canadian Heritage Collection*.[17]

In a 1996 memorandum addressed to potential investors and accompanying the catalogue, Capital Vision detailed sales and average prices of the prints between 1991 and 1995. They listed 153 sales through Eaton's averaging $1917; 76 sales through American Express around $3000, and 248 sales through Ducks Unlimited averaging $1900.[18] The memorandum also stated that the "screens for each image were cut by members of the Group of Seven and other artists, and the project was supervised by A.J. Casson. The Collection was displayed in hospitals and barracks both at home and abroad." Potential investors were provided with tax information in "respect of the acquisition and subsequent donation of one or more works from a collection of oil silkscreens known as the Canadian Heritage Collection."[19] Individuals were invited to purchase one or more works from the Collection, "produced in the 1940s by the Group of Seven and other artists." The memorandum further stated that independent appraisals had "established that each Work is worth between $1400 and $1500. A number of charitable institutions have agreed to accept the Works as a donation and to issue tax receipts in the amount of $1000 per Work."[20] In fact, the prints were priced at $300 plus tax to investors. The document then explained that after such purchase, works would be accepted by a participating charity and a tax receipt of $1000 per print issued, providing Ontario residents a tax credit of $531.90. It appears that Capital Vision ceased marketing the "limited edition" Sampson-Matthews prints in late 1996, after an article titled "Turning $300 art into $1000 tax slips" appeared in Toronto's *Financial Post*.[21]

Today there is a secondary market for the reproductions. Unsigned, they can be purchased at reasonable prices. However, few of the actual wartime works,

identifiable through the sponsor's imprint, have appeared on the market. Although there are several substantial private collections of the prints, my research suggests that none of the public galleries have systematically collected these images. The National Gallery continues to acquire them and the McMichael Collection of Canadian Art and the Agnes Etherington Art Center have each obtained significant numbers of the silkscreens. Unaccompanied by the educational materials of the original project, the silkscreens still hang in some school corridors and continue to shape, albeit imperceptibly, a new generation's understanding of Canadian art.

The Canon Unbound: The Markgraf Reproduction Programs

In the late 1950s, having withdrawn from the Sampson-Matthews project, the National Gallery became involved with another silkscreen reproduction program of Canadian art. Once again, the project was a reinforcement of the canon. Although this project began with a private collector's interest in James Wilson Morrice, it evolved through a "Thomson and Group of Seven" program into what would become the Gallery's first reproduction plan to focus on truly contemporary art in Canada. The silkscreen artists were Hans, Peter and Traudl Markgraf.[22] (fig.1) In the number of colours used, the quality of the printing and the faithfulness of the reproductions, the Markgraf silkscreens set a new standard for quality reproductions. In 1969 Anthony Emery, Director of the Vancouver Art Gallery, described the Markgraf prints of contemporary art which had been created in partnership with the Canada Council. He praised their fidelity and compared their "brilliance" to what he deemed the "porridge and mashed-turnip-coloured [Sampson-Matthews] masterpieces squeegeed desperately through the silkscreens of the National Gallery during World War II to give the nations' defenders something to fight for – or against." The Markgraf silkscreens, he stated, set "a new standard of excellence in this country."[23] He believed that reproductions are the way that most Canadians are introduced to art. Echoing A.Y. Jackson's assessment of the importance of the Sampson-Matthews silkscreens almost three decades earlier, Emery predicted that the Markgraf prints of contemporary art would provide "the schoolchildren and young adults of Canada, the exposure to 20th century art at second-hand that is an essential pre-requisite to an informed enjoyment, later, of the real thing."

The original initiative for the National Gallery's engagement with the Markgrafs came from Montreal collector and philanthropist Sidney Dawes, who introduced Gallery director Alan Jarvis to their work. Recent emigrées from Germany, the Markgrafs had set up printing facilities in Beloeil and Knowlton, Quebec, collaborating but working independently in their own studios.[24] In June 1958 Dawes offered to underwrite the cost of reproducing paintings by J.W. Morrice, whose work he collected.[25] Dawes had made arrangements with the artist's nephew, David Morrice, to reproduce works from Dawes' collection, that of the Morrice family, and those of the National Gallery and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts,

without copyright fees. The cost would not exceed $4 a print although up to 30 colours were involved. Approximately the same size as the paintings, the prints were intended to be retailed at $8 to $10.[26] The *Pochoir Reproductions*, as the silkscreens were called, were generally produced in limited editions of 100 (fig.2).

By September, the National Gallery was in receipt of 400 silkscreens of Morrice's *La communiante*; in March 1959, the Gallery received 100 prints of *The Wine Shop*. A NGC list from the November 1959 confirms that *The Beach, St. Malo*; *The Old Holton House*; *Entrance to A Quebec Village*; *Sailing Boats, Concarneau*; *Landscape West Indies*; *The Circus*; *Corner of a Village, Jamaica*; *Landscape, Trinidad* and *Canadian Square in Winter* were completed in limited editions of 100 to 150. (See Appendix I: *NGC Markgraf Morrice and Milne Silkscreen Series.*) It was intended that they would not be reprinted. Dawes' plan was to finance the original cost of production and to generate revenues through sales to cover the cost of making additional Morrice reproductions. In May 1959 Hans Markgraf arranged (in discussion with Lord Beaverbrook) to print a number of works in the *pochoir* technique on site at the Beaverbrook Art Gallery in a room set up for this purpose. These included Morrice's *Woman in a Wicker Chair* and *Bookstalls*.[27] For its part, the National Gallery also arranged for the Markgrafs to reproduce works by David Milne from its collection. In April 1959, the Gallery received one hundred prints of *Clouds* and of *The Waterfall* and one hundred and fifty prints of Milne's *Maple Leaves*.[28] At the Beaverbrook Gallery, Hans Markgraf reproduced Milne's *House-Palgrave (Matson's House)*. (Appendix I)

In 1959 the Markgraf brothers and the National Gallery (again stimulated by Dawes' enthusiasm) also embarked upon a "Tom Thomson and Group of Seven" series of pochoir prints.[29] (See Appendix II: *NGC Markgraf Group of Seven and their Contemporaries.*) The series would eventually include works by all members of the Group, as well as Albert Robinson's *A Church in Westmount* (NGC). These were the same artists whose work continued to be featured in the Sampson-Matthews' marketing literature. Despite the fact that the prints were commissioned and distributed by the Queen's Printer and the subjects selected from both public and private collections, the endeavour was considered to be a National Gallery reproduction program. While decisions regarding the selection of images appear to have been strongly influenced by Dawes, every reproduction had to be approved by either by National Gallery curators Robert Hubbard or Donald Buchanan, or Paul Arthur of its Publications Committee. In cases where the Gallery reproduced work for another art institution, final prints had to be approved by the Director and by Paul Arthur.[30] According to a 1 January 1960 memo, Peter Markgraf printed Tom Thomson's *Petawawa Gorges* (which required 43 screens), A.J. Casson's *La roche, Gatineau Hills* (MMFA), Fred Varley's *Vera* (from the Massey collection), and J.E.H. MacDonald's *Autumn Colours* (NGC). Hans Markgraf reproduced Thomson's *The Pool*, Franklin Carmichael's *North Shore Lake Superior*,

fig.2 **The Markgrafs' Milne and Morrice Pochoirs.** *Canadian Art Reproductions*, 1969. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)

A.Y. Jackson's *The Red Barn* (W.R. Watson collection) and J.E.H. MacDonald's *Shoreline Lake in Autumn* (Massey collection).[31] Emily Carr's *Indian Village, Alert Bay*, Arthur Lismer's *Harbour Life, Nova Scotia* and Franklin Carmichael's *Autumn, Orillia*, printed by Hans Markgraf at the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, would all be marketed with the NGC series.[32] In this phase of the project, the Queen's Printer financed the project and purchased the prints directly from the Markgrafs.[33] The prints were available from the National Gallery, from Canadian government bookshops in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, and by mail from the Queen's Printer in Ottawa. Artists, or their estates, were offered a reproduction fee of $100 for each limited edition.

Sidney Dawes was clearly a driving force in this project. He corresponded with Lionel Massey to arrange for the loan of Varley's *Vera*, as he had done for the reproduction of Massey's Morrice painting, *Landscape, Trinidad*. Dawes instructed Peter Markgraf to print 200 images instead of the usual 150, reducing the price to the Gallery. At the same time, he arranged to take and pay for the additional 50 prints himself, since the Gallery indicated it was financially strapped.[34] Dawes also facilitated the process by taking out a blanket insurance policy to cover works of art from private collections for the two-month period that the Markgrafs had them in their studios.[35] He offered to vet reproductions in Montreal, in case any additional screens were necessary. The Gallery, however, insisted on having approval of the final print. It was Dawes who attempted (unsuccessfully) to persuade the Art Gallery of Toronto to participate in the reproduction program when the National Gallery indicated that it would like to suspend reproductions from its collection for the balance of the series in light of the opening of the Gallery scheduled for February 1960.[36] Dawes wrote to the AGT director Martin Baldwin to express disappointment, and to Buchanan to say that the National Gallery would have to proceed without "counting on using any of the [AGT's] paintings."[37] Dawes also considered the political implications of the project, proposing works by French-Canadian artists from Montreal collections to replace the Toronto works and arranged permission for reproduction from the widows of Clarence Gagnon and Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté.[38] He wrote to Donald Buchanan: "I thought it would be a good idea to reproduce some of the French painters' pictures to offset any possible criticism, the Group of Seven painters being all English." Buchanan in turn asked him to wait, indicating that he would like to include more works from the National Gallery's collection in the 1960 "series."[39]

By late 1959, a struggle over management of the reproduction program had developed. Dawes wrote to Donald Buchanan, reviewing his involvement in the program and registering his dismay at the direction the National Gallery was taking. Describing the Gallery's misunderstanding of his plan, Dawes wrote that he intended to put up money with the Canada Foundation to be used jointly with the Canada Council to establish a rotating fund.[40] The Gallery indicated that it

intended using his contribution as funding only for initial expenses. Although Jarvis had introduced the Markgrafs to Peter Dwyer, then Supervisor of the Arts Programme at the Canada Council, the Council had not yet entered the project. Dawes had always wanted the Markgraf brothers to reproduce outstanding Canadian paintings at as economical a price as possible so that the Canadian public could afford to buy them. He objected to the Gallery's idea that the Society for Art Publications should become the publisher and argued that his original intentions were already being fulfilled and that the Society's involvement would simply add to the costs. He also believed that the pricing of the prints should allow for the maintenance of the rotating fund, recommending that "the National Gallery continue, as before, to purchase all reproductions."[41]

The working relationship between the Gallery and Dawes continued to deteriorate, in large measure because of the Gallery's "drastically reduced funding for Gallery publications and reproductions."[42] In February 1960 Buchanan wrote Dawes to end any commitment on the Gallery's part to purchase the Markgraf prints after April 1st. In March, he teletyped Dawes to reiterate his wish to examine each reproduction as it was completed before committing to purchase. Buchanan referred to the "Pochoirs *you* [Dawes] plan to produce in the future" and shifting responsibility for the project formally to Dawes, he stated that the Gallery would only purchase prints after viewing finished products; as a caveat he offered no guarantees that they would purchase any at all.[43] On 6 April, Buchanan notified Helen Wilson, the National Gallery's Publication Officer, that Dawes had phoned to say that he would be "financing, at the most, three more 'Pochoirs' and will then retire from the field and leave the Margraffs [*sic*] to their own devices." Buchanan reiterated that he had made no commitment to purchase these works, only to consider them. At the same time Hans Markgraf wrote to Helen Wilson that Dawes had told them that "he feels his purpose in being interested in these reproductions has been accomplished and we should go along on our own now, he is just dropping out of the picture."[44] Without Dawes' financial involvement, the Markgrafs considered striking out on their own. A month earlier Hans Markgraf had written to Wilson that he was intending to produce some "nice pochoirs," and asked if she could provide him with a list of prospective purchasers. By May 1960, he was arranging an appointment to show her what he called his "Canadian Art Series," which included Fritz Brandtner's *Tension*, as well as Stanley Cosgrove's *Young Girl* and a work by Jack Humphrey.[45] Shortly thereafter, Hans Markgraf left Canada for Germany and did not return.

At this point, Peter Markgraf turned to Artistica, the Montreal-based publisher and distributor of fine art prints, books and cards which had distributed his work since his arrival in the city in 1957. In May 1960, Artistica wrote to Wilson proposing a co-operative venture to include the National Gallery, Peter Markgraf (who would do the printing) and Artistica, which would bear the cost of printing

and would set prices. The National Gallery had only to "vouch for a minimum quantity of 25 copies of any one reproduction."[46] Although the Gallery expressed "interest...in buying small quantities of new subjects reproduced by the Pochoir method by Mr. Peter Markgraf...[it] was unable to enter into any agreement to guarantee the purchase of 25 copies of each subject in future."[47] Peter and Traudl Markgraf had limited success with the Gallery over the next few years. By December 1965, silkscreens of the Gallery's *Poissons rouges aux seins bleus* by Leon Bellefleur, *The Dignitary* by Ken Lochhead, *L'Orpheline* by Jean Paul Lemieux, *Landscape* by Kazuo Nakamura, and Alfred Pellan's *Au clair de la lune* were available for sale.[48]

In April 1966, Helen Wilson, who had become the Publications Officer for the Department of Public Printing and Stationery of the Queen's Printer, wrote to the National Gallery of the need for large colour reproductions, especially of the work of contemporary artists.[49] Encouraging the Gallery's plan to "expand in the reproduction field," Wilson cited the "large general demand...for reproductions for the works of contemporary painters – we have not had many of these." A strong supporter of the Markgrafs' work when she was at the Gallery, she recommended that "as many as possible should be printed by the silk-screen (pochoir) process through Peter Markgraf in Hudson, Quebec." Citing its ability "to order in quantities of only 200 copies – a perfect number for [the Gallery's] operation," she noted that the initial outlay for silkscreens was substantially less than for other media as no plate-making was required.

In March 1967, Peter Markgraf again pressed the Gallery for the production of contemporary subjects. His plan was to select works from other collections as well and to distribute them through the Queen's Printer.[50] He would take responsibility for royalty payments and for insurance. The Gallery agreed, on the condition that although the Queen's Printer had to authorize non-NGC subjects, the Gallery would have final approval of both the choice of subjects and the finished products. The Sir George Williams University Collection of Canadian art was scheduled to go on tour and would, he believed, provide a ready market for sales of reproductions. Markgraf undertook to have both the selection of work and the final product approved by the NGC, in order to satisfy the terms of the Queen's Printer. The National Gallery's director, Jean Sutherland Boggs, approved works by Bruno (*Ships*) and Molly Lamb Bobak (*Football Practice*), Ghitta Caiserman (*Poète et son ami*), Goodridge Roberts (*Green Day in the Laurentians*), Albert Dumouchel (*Still Life*), John Fox (*Still Life*) and A.Y. Jackson (*Moon River Falls*).[51]

With respect to its own collection, the Gallery responded quickly this time. A June 1967 National Gallery list of works from its collection proposed for reproduction contained a number of contemporary works, some of which had been acquired within the last year or so. They included William Ronald's *Green Fire*, Michael Snow's *Clothed Woman (Memory of My Father)*, John Lyman's *Le jeu de*

cartes, Alfred Pellan's *Floraison*, Paul Beaulieu's *Gouffre d'or*, Kitty Bruneau's *La terre tourne*, Albert Dumouchel's *Le precieux miroir*, Jacques Hurtubise's *Katia*, Marcel Barbeau's *Bas du fleuve – Lower St. Lawrence River*, George Swinton's *Spring Storm*, Kazuo Nakamura's *August*, *Morning Reflections*, Guido Molinari's *Two Oranges*, Yves Gaucher's *Modulations bleu*, and Alex Colville's *To Prince Edward Island*.[52] Embarking on the series immediately, the Gallery itself contacted artists to obtain permission for both reproduction and copyright, stating that Markgraf was anxious to begin as quickly as possible. The artists responded enthusiastically and by late July, the Swinton and Bruneau were complete.[53]

Once again, however, financial constraints – this time at the Queen's Printer – forced the National Gallery to cancel a reproduction program.[54] Adding to the financial problems were the serious reservations expressed by Boggs and the Gallery's conservation staff about allowing works of art to be transferred to the Markgraf studio. In the end, and because the Gallery decided it was unable to break its contractual arrangement, Markgraf eventually printed five more of the proposed images between 1967 and 1969. In all, eight images from the Gallery's 1967 list were reproduced by the Markgrafs. (See Appendix III: *NGC Markgraf Contemporary Prints.*)

In October, Peter Markgraf approached the Gallery with yet another strategy, this time indicating his intention to publish Canadian prints himself, printing to order.[55] He was already distributing earlier silkscreens through both Artistica and the Vancouver-based Canadian Native Prints.[56] Although noting the increased need to appeal to the commercial market if he were to work independently, Markgraf stressed that while the "choice of subjects has to be influenced strongly by the public appeal a painting has,...we should like to go as far as possible as for the artistic value our publications."[57] He requested Boggs' support through the loan of works of art for reproduction. Once again there were obstacles. Roger Duhamel at the Queen's Printer insisted that "National Gallery reproductions should be kept exclusively for sale in the National Gallery and at the other Queen's Printer Bookshops and agents."[58] He told Boggs: "To allow Mr. Markgraf this privilege will put you in the position of either refusing or granting the same privilege to others with the possibility of losing control of quality and large quantity production resulting in undercutting of sale prices."[59] At the same time, he held out hope that the financial situation for the National Gallery reproductions would improve in the next fiscal year, expressing his confidence that service to the public would "improve considerably." Informing Markgraf of the refusal to agree to an independent publication series, Boggs wrote that "the Department of Justice assures that under present legislation, the National Gallery cannot give authorization to anyone but the Queen's Printer for reproductions."[60]

While the Markgrafs had been urging the publication of reproductions of contemporary Canadian art from the Gallery's collection for almost ten years,

they had been more or less stymied at every turn. The impasse was only resolved when, in 1967 the Canada Council through its Visual Arts Officer, David Silcox, became involved in a program to create and disseminate silkscreen reproductions of recent works from a number of public galleries and occasionally from the artists' collections. For the first time, the mandate of a national project was clearly focused on contemporary art.

The program had several aspects. First, to support the reproduction of contemporary Canadian art, the Canada Council awarded Peter Markgraf $9600 for the production of silkscreen prints in 1967-68. In 1969-70, it gave him an additional $3600 to publish six paintings.[61] Second, to support promotion and distribution, the Canada Council in 1968 gave F.W. Ellis and Associates, publisher of *Canadian Art Reproductions*, a $10,000 grant to "begin a distribution system for original [contemporary] Canadian prints."[62] Finally, to jury the selection of work, the terms of the grant required a "Canada Council-approved committee," composed of David Silcox, William Withrow (Director of the Art Gallery of Ontario), Ralph Allen (Director of the Agnes Etherington Art Centre at Queen's University), and Anthony Emery (Director of the Vancouver Art Gallery).[63]

The works chosen for the first phase of the program included Max Bates' *The Beach* (from the collection of the Canada Council), Jack Bush's *Green Field and Sun* (Queen's University), Graham Coughtry's *Figure on a Bed* (AGO), Guido Molinari's *Contre point* (artist), Toni Onley's *Tampico* (Queen's), Alfred Pellan's *Fées d'eau* (private collection), Bodo Pfeifer's *Untitled* (Queen's), Jack Shadbolt's *Apple Core Amulet* (artist), Joyce Wieland's *Captain* (Canada Council), Brian Fisher's *Transfixion* (Canada Council), Claude Breeze's *The Murder (Lovers in a Landscape)*, (Dept. of External Affairs), Paul-Emile Borduas' *Abstract in Blue* (AGO), Ken Lochhead's *Blue Extension* (Canada Council), Jock Macdonald's *Clarion Call* (Queen's), and Ron Bloore's *Yellow Green Painting* (Queen's). (See Appendix 4: *Canada Council Markgraf Silkscreens.*) Works were reproduced in sizes to approximate the proportions of the original; the largest were about 31 by 22 inches. The artists were generally thrilled. Jack Bush wrote to Peter Markgraf that "the sun area [of *Green Field and Sun*] strikes me as somewhat duller than I had painted it but – and this is important – I am not at all sure...congratulations on a superb print – so delicately and sensitively faithful to the character of the original work. Best wishes for the Canada Council series."[64] Jack Shadbolt was "delighted with the way you have translated my *Apple Core Amulet* to silkscreen. I am astonished that you could catch the spirit of improvisation so faithfully."[65] Ken Lochhead described the silkscreen of *Blue Extension* as an "outstanding job," noting the "thorough and sensitive attention to colour and surface."[66] Each artist was provided with fifteen prints in lieu of royalties and asked to return a sixteenth print, signed, to Markgraf.

In a January 1970 *Globe and Mail* article, "23 Canadian Painters in Reproduction," Kay Kritzwiser cited recent additions to the Canada Council

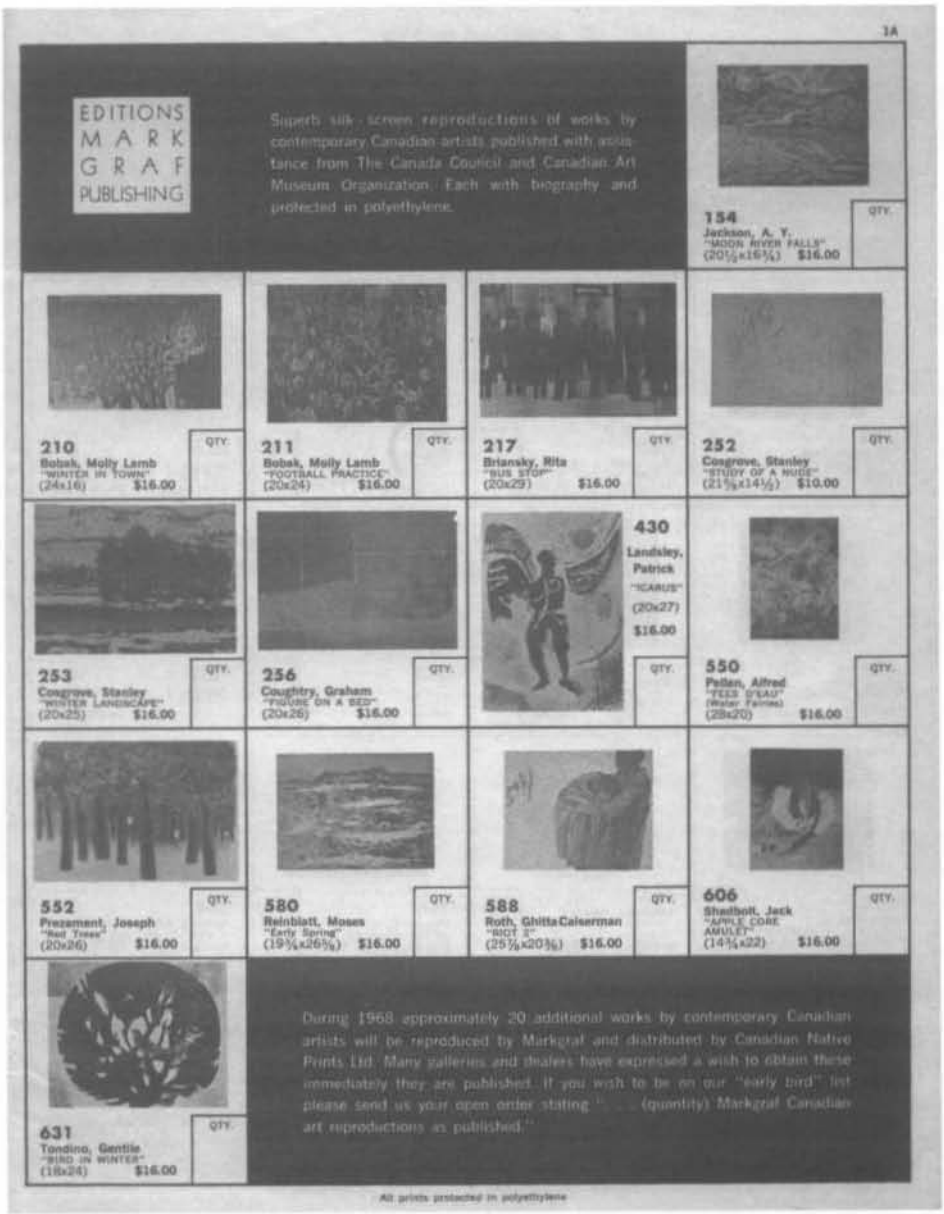


fig. 3 **Editions Markgraf Publishing.** *Canadian Art Reproductions*, 1968. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)

fig.4 **The Markgrafs' Contemporary Canadian Artists Series.**
Canadart: A Collection of Canadian Art Reproductions, 1974.
(Photo: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)

series: Ulysse Comtois's *Uneva*, Greg Curnoe's *Myself Walking North in my New Tweed Coat*, Gary Lee-Nova's *Menthol Filter Kings*, E.J. Hughes' *Qualicum Beach*, Yves Gaucher's *Cardinal Raga*, Edmund Alleyn's *Crust*, Michael Snow's *January Jubilee Ladies*, Jean-Paul Riopelle's *Encre*, and Harold Town's *The Great Divide*.[67] Regional representation was obviously a consideration. The limited representation of women artists reflected collecting traditions in public galleries at the time.[68]

The 1968 catalogue, *Canadian Art Reproductions*, contained a page of Markgraf silkscreen reproductions, both historic and contemporary, including the Coughtry, the Shadbolt and Pellan's *Fées d'eau* from the first phase of the Canada Council project. Acknowledging the contribution of the Council, the catalogue noted: "During 1968 approximately 20 additional works by contemporary Canadian artists will be produced by Markgraf and distributed by Canadian Native Prints."[69] (fig.3) Subsequent editions of F.W. Ellis' *Canadian Art Reproductions* included a number of other Markgraf silkscreens, produced in conjunction with Artistica and under contract for individual artists, under the designation, "Contemporary."[70] All but Gary Lee Nova's work from the Canada Council series and Kitty Bruneau's *Terre tourne* from the National Gallery's contemporary series had been reproduced in Canadian Native Prints' catalogues by 1974 (fig.4). In total, the two series produced approximately 50 contemporary subjects, many of them abstract and challenging.

The Canada Council silkscreens were, along with other Markgraf reproductions, included in National Gallery reproduction lists and distributed by the Queen's Printer. As with earlier reproduction programs, the prints were sold in department stores, framing shops, museums, galleries and gift shops across the country. And, as was the case with earlier reproduction programs, Ellis' marketing campaign focused heavily on schools and libraries, advertising prints that could be framed, mounted and laminated. "Neatly packaged," each print had a thumbnail biography of the artist on the back.[71] One pleased reviewer observed that the Markgraf reproduction program offered individual Canadians the opportunity to own a "genuine Canada Council-approved painting of proven Canadian bloodlines" for only $16.[72] Her words echoed the 1928 National Gallery promise that for one dollar every school child in Canada could have her or his own gallery of Canadian art.

Although each of the National Gallery programs was created to stimulate interest in and awareness of contemporary Canadian art, the Markgraf project came the closest to that objective, due in large measure to the commitment of the Markgrafs.[73] Anthony Emery had expressed the belief that the Canada Council/Markgraf reproductions were "exactly what Canadians needed." Yet, although these quality silkscreen reproductions did hang in some public buildings across the country, they never captured public attention in the way that the Sampson-Matthews silkscreens had done. It might be argued that they never had a chance. The Markgraf reproductions lacked the sustained production, the critical mass, the coherent focus and the association with the National Gallery

of Canada and national purpose of earlier programs.[74] Although Ellis included these works in his *Canadian Art Reproductions* catalogues along with other contemporary and historical prints, the National Gallery and Canada Council reproductions were not singled out for specific attention either in their placement or promotion. Nor was the selection of Canada Council prints influenced by market considerations as was the case with the Sampson-Matthews project. While the prints were distributed through the Queen's Printer, the National Gallery and other public museums, there was never an aggressive campaign that focused on contemporary art.

Most of all, the Markgraf prints of contemporary art lacked the crucial imprimatur or "branding" that the National Gallery had provided for its earlier programs. The reproductions in the 1928 National Gallery Canadian program, like the later Sampson-Matthews prints, were sold in sets, accompanied by educational materials, and distributed through school boards across the country. Both were promoted and marketed nationally by, and with the authority of, the National Gallery. The Canada Council's backing was relatively short-lived and provided no ongoing support other than to underwrite the original cost of production and distribution of a limited number of prints. Laudatory as it was at the time, the Council's plan was based on the principle that the market would take over. It did not.

The Sampson-Matthews prints' consistent conflation of the landscape and Canadian identity and their increased reliance on the iconic images of the Group of Seven struck a chord in the public's mind. Working across time, space and cultural difference, they consolidated the place of the Group of Seven and the national landscape school in the Canadian imagination, positioning Canadian art firmly in the wilderness aesthetic. Isolated images of contemporary art, often abstract and sometimes difficult, and sold individually on the private market without any educational focus or context, could not have the same impact. Thus the Sampson-Matthews silkscreens continued to locate Canadian art within the landscape tradition and the aesthetic of the Group of Seven long after the Gallery's involvement with the project had ceased, and even after the Markgraf reproductions were widely available.

JOYCE ZEMANS
Department of Visual Art
York University

Notes

1 In 1953, when the widely circulated *Nelson's Notes for Teachers* recommended the most recent catalogue of Sampson-Matthews prints to teachers across the country, requests for complimentary copies of their catalogue, *60 Canadian Landscapes*, came from across the country. Punnichy, Saskatchewan, was one of the numerous small towns cited in the correspondence. File 17a: Sampson-Matthews Ltd. (1 of 2), 1943-65, MG28I 179 Vol.48, National Archives of Canada.

2 Joyce ZEMANS, "Establishing the Canon: Nationhood, Identity and the National Gallery's First Reproduction Program of Canadian Art," *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* XVI, no. 2 (1995): 6-40; "Envisioning Nation: Nationhood, Identity and The Sampson-Matthews Silkscreen Project: The Wartime Prints," *JCAH/AHAC* XIX, no. 1 (1998): 6-51 and its sequel, "The Post-War Period," *JCAH/AHAC* XXI, nos.1 and 2 (2000): 96-140. I must thank National Gallery staff members Charles Hill, Curator of Canadian Art; Cyndie Campbell, Archivist; Rosemarie Tovell, Curator, Canadian Prints and Drawings; and Murray Waddington, Chief, Library, Archives and Research Fellowship Program; and Cynthia Foo, an M.A. student in the Graduate Program in Art History at York University, for their assistance.

3 These included all of the images in Sampson-Matthews' 1963 catalogue and particularly works by Thomson and the Group of Seven. (John Libby, telephone interview with author, 19 June 1998.) A.H. Libby first saw the prints at the Toronto bookstore, Britnell's. John Libby recounts that at Sampson-Matthews the prints were stored in the attic, where heat had glued a number of prints together.

4 Fred Turner, interviews with author, 16 and 18 June 1998. Entries in a yellow spiral notebook that Turner kept in 1979 suggest that the Group of Seven and related images were in good supply until the end of the Sampson-Matthews project and some of them were from the original post-war National Gallery program.

5 See ZEMANS, "The Sampson-Matthews Silkscreen Project."

6 Katherine KOLLER's, "Art and History: Canadian Art, World War II," *Arts West* 5, no. 1 (1980): 28-31, article provided the text for the exhibitions that Turner and Pearse organized in the late 1970s and in 1980. Exhibition venues included the MacDonald Gallery, Toronto (10 June - 7 July 1980), and the Aurora and King City Public Libraries, January 1981. See also, "Art exhibit aimed at brightening up barracks," *King City Weekly*, 14 Jan. 1981.

7 Marla FLETCHER, "Canadian landscape posters shown in Aurora," *The Newmarket Era*, 26 Dec. 1979.

8 Order sheets dated 22 June 1979 indicate that the prints were wholesaled at $30 to $60 in quantities of two or three prints to a store. Lists for The Bay orders to the Western Canada division (June 22, 1979 and July 1979) and specific lists for Calgary, Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto indicate that the Swansea Gallery worked with Libby and that the prints were distributed from the stock of each.

9 In order to have full representation of works by the Group etc., Turner included works from the Libby inventory in the sales to The Bay. Two lists of works for the Vancouver, Calgary and Montreal Bay stores in the Turner papers list the cost of prints from Libby and from the Swansea Gallery, using catalogue numbers from the 1957 and 1963 catalogues.

10 Turner, interview, 16 June 1998.

11 This document was distributed by Eaton's, Ducks Unlimited and American Express in marketing campaigns between *c.*1991 and 1996. Unless otherwise noted references to

information cited in this section may be found in the NGC Library & Archives Art Reproductions documentation file, NGC 10-1, Reproductions-General.

12 Casson's letter was included in an American Express marketing package; a cover letter that accompanied it has an 1992 American Express copyright and notes Casson's death on 19 Feb. 1992.

13 A cover letter, addressed to American Express Card members and signed by John Gunton, Senior Vice President, Consumer Card Group, American Express, included with the Merchandise Services order brochure, described "An Exclusive Limited Edition Offer to Cardmembers." The order form included Thomson's *Northern Lights*, J.E.H. Macdonald's *Mist Fantasy*, Harris' *Algoma Country*, Jackson's *Jack Pine*, Carr's *Indian Church*, Panton's *Windswept*, Housser's *Evening Nipigon River*, Comfort's *Algonquin Lake*, Panton's *Silver Stream*, and Thoreau MacDonald's *Winter Evening*. The illustrations were accompanied by Georges Loranger's letter dated 4 Dec. 1991.

14 D.S. Morrison to Supporter, Stonewall, P.O. Box 1160, Oak Hammond Marsh, Manitoba, n.d. Copy in author's files.

15 The publisher of the catalogue, Capital Vision Inc., Toronto, included a memorandum stating that as of 1988 the Collection consisted of approximately 6000 works based on 33 original paintings and that between 1988 and 1991 Casson reviewed the Collection and verified its authenticity.

16 In the Morrison correspondence, Loranger was described as the former Assistant Curator of the National Gallery in Ottawa. Loranger worked at the NGC in the late 1950s; in 1958 he signed his correspondence: Georges Loranger – Information Services (Cyndie Campbell, NGC to author, 17 June 1998). His brief description of his time at the Gallery, in his privately printed book, Georges LORANGER, *An Essay on Private and Public Art Collecting in Canada: the tip of the Canadian icejam* (Toronto, *c.*1985), also suggests that he worked in Communications.

17 Capital Vision offered the prints as investments in a memorandum dated February 28, 1996. Although many artists, especially Jackson, Casson and J.W.G. Macdonald, created temperas for translation into prints, the screens were generally created from the gouaches by Sampson-Matthews staff. See also "Eaton's Proudly Presents Canadian Heritage Collection" which described the reproductions as "Over Forty Years Old, A Treasury of Rare and Valuable Handcrafted Oil Silk Screens from a private estate.... Now made available to the public." Promotional document received by the NGC, 28 May 1993.

18 Memorandum from Capital Vision to prospective purchasers of works from the Canadian Heritage Collection, re investment issues, 28 Feb. 1996.

19 See Bruce COHEN, "Turning $300 art into $1,000 tax slips: Tax play or tax ploy?" *Financial Post*, 20 Apr. 1996. Cohen reported that "the tax lawyer who runs the company reported an inventory of 5000 prints and that 1000 had been sold in February and March 1996." The prints are again attributed to the wartime program. Cohen noted that although the owner of the prints, a Toronto entrepreneur, agreed that his unframed prints might fetch just $300 at auction, he stated that "charities could get far more by playing up their history, the workmanship and the signature of A.J. Casson who signed each one to verify its authenticity."

20 Attached to *The Canadian Heritage Collection* catalogue is an appraisal dated 6 March 1996 by Graham W. Garrett, Toronto. It details each work, confirms its signature by A.J. Casson and indicates the amount of the edition and the total value of the works held by Capital Vision. For example the 266 prints of Beament's *Departure for the Hunt* are numbered 1 to 266 out of an *edition of 283* (emphasis this author's) and valued at $1275 each for a total value of $339,150. Carr's *Indian Church* is numbered from 1 to 151 out of an edition of 162 and valued at $1450. According to Garrett, the total value of the multiple prints of 32 listed images was, on 2 March 1996, $6,447,275.

21 COHEN, "Turning $300 art into $1,000 tax slips." He reported that when questioned, officials of the charities indicated they had no pre-confirmed arrangements with Capital Vision. A subsequent memorandum, issued by Capital Vision in April 1996, deleted the names of the seven charities mentioned in the earlier memorandum. It stated that investors' money would be returned if a letter of acceptance was not obtained from a charity within 30 days.

22 I am indebted to Peter and Traudl Markgraf who provided valuable assistance in piecing together this history of the prints through telephone interviews, a review of an early version of this manuscript and sharing information about the prints.

23 Anthony EMERY, "Contemporary Reproductions," *artscanada* 26 (February 1969): 30.

24 The Markgrafs' first commission after their arrival in Montreal in 1957, was to reproduce paintings by seven contemporary artists for the Queen Elizabeth Hotel. That year they began to work with Montreal fine art prints publishing and distribution house, Artistica, reproducing primarily the work of European modernists such as Braque, Picasso and Miro, along with popular Canadian subjects such as Krieghoff's *Habitants Sleighing*. "Silkscreen Reproductions Make Famous Paintings and Painters Available to All," *The Lake of Two Mountains Gazette*, County of Vaudreuil Soulanges, 19 Sept. 1963.

25 Sidney Dawes to Alan Jarvis, 30 June 1958.

26 Jarvis to Donald Mackay, Principal, Nova Scotia College of Art, 25 Feb. 1959; Dawes to Jarvis, 30 June 1958.

27 R.A. Tweedie, Secretary, Beaverbrook Art Gallery to Hans and Peter Markgraf, 26 May 1959, "The Markgraf Reproductions, 1959" file, B.A.G. Archives. Peter Markgraf recalls that his brother spent several months working at the Beaverbrook before returning to Germany, telephone interview with author, 29 Oct. 2003.

28 *The Waterfall* was also known as *White Waterfall*; *The White Waterfall* and *Rapids, Adirondacks*. Peter Markgraf would also reproduce *King, Queen and Jokers III: It's a Democratic Age* (Milne Family collection.)

29 Hans Markgraf to Helen Wilson, 10 Feb. 1960, indicated that "except for the 'Vera' that Peter (Markgraf) was doing, the present series of reproductions [was] complete."

30 Dawes to Buchanan, 19 Oct. 1959, Wilson to Dawes, 9 Dec. 1959. There is no evidence that this was the case with Hans Markgraf's Beaverbrook reproductions although they were subsequently marketed along with the NGC series.

31 The memo was on Sidney Dawes' letterhead. The list of prints indicates the printer and the date of completion of each work. Neither the Lismer (Hans Markgraf) nor the J.E.H. MacDonald (Peter) scheduled for March 1960 completion had been confirmed. It appears that the Lismer was not reproduced.

32 The Beaverbrook Gallery directly contracted the Markgrafs to reproduce Carr's *Indian Village, Alert Bay* (J. Russell Harper to the Emily Carr Trust, 19 Feb. 1959). The Beaverbrook Art Gallery also contracted Hans Markgraf to reproduce, on site, Lismer's *Harbour Life* and Carmichael's *Autumn Orillia*. See also R.A.Tweedie to Hans and Peter Markgraf, 26 May 1959.

33 National Gallery memo of meeting of Charles Hill and Peter Markgraf, 17 Feb. 1993.

34 Dawes to Wilson, 28 Jan. 1960.

35 Dawes to Buchanan, 29 Oct. 1959. Re: Reproductions of Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven.

36 Dawes to Buchanan, 8 Jan. 1960.

37 Dawes to Martin Baldwin, Director, the Art Gallery of Toronto, 10 Dec. 1959; Dawes to Buchanan, 11 Dec. 1959.

38 Dawes to Buchanan, 8 Jan. 1960, re Suzor-Coté's *La fonte de la neige en mars* (MMFA) and Gagnon's *The Trapper* (Ritz Carlton Hotel). See also Dawes to Madame Suzor-Coté, 20 Dec. 1959 and Dawes to Lucile Gagnon, 8 Jan. 1960. This initiative appears not to have been pursued.

39 Dawes to Buchanan, 8 Jan. 1960; Buchanan to Dawes, 11 Jan. 1960.

40 The Canada Foundation was incorporated by federal charter in 1945 to encourage the development of Canadian cultural activities and it was able to issue tax receipts for charitable activities for organizations which could not do so themselves. It was the successor of the wartime Canadian Committee, a non-government organization, created in 1942 to provide information about Canada to British and American servicemen stationed here. In both incarnations, it had been actively involved in promoting the National Gallery/Sampson-Matthews silkscreen project. A suggestion from its director, Walter Herbert had led to the development of the Pulp and Paper reproduction projects.

41 Dawes to Jarvis, 5 Jan. 1960, in response to Jarvis' letter of 14 Dec. 1959.

42 Buchanan to Dawes, 12 Feb. 1960.

43 Buchanan to Dawes, 21 Mar. 1960. (Author's italics)

44 Hans Markgraf to Wilson, 5 Apr. 1960.

45 Hans Markgraf to Wilson, 11 May 1960. Cosgrove's *Young Girl* is included in the Department of Public Printing and Stationery's "Reproduction of Paintings" hand-dated 31/3/66.

46 Arthur Perillat, Artistica, Montreal West to Wilson, May 2, 1960. In Canada, Artistica's marketing strategy included setting up meetings at art, design and architecture education programs across the country. Perillat, telephone interview with author, 9 July 2003.

47 Buchanan to Artistica, 16 May 1960.

48 "PriceLess Art," *Canadian Homes* (December 1965): 10-12. See also *Reproductions of Paintings*, Department of Public Printing and Stationery, hand-dated 31/3/66. Reproductions: NGC Collection, NGC 10-4. Unless otherwise indicated, the following notes refer to NGC 10-4.

49 Wilson to Ernest Palmer 25 Apr. 1966.

50 Peter Markgraf to Jean Sutherland Boggs, 14 Mar. 1967. Also Boggs to Markgraf, 22 Mar. 1967: "I should suspect that it will be up to the Queen's Printer to decide whether or not to reproduce works from other collections besides the National Gallery's. We should be happy, of course, to give you advice on those which we would think most appropriate."

51 E.J. Palmer to Markgraf, 15 June 1967: "I had already told you that the Director had approved your going ahead with reproduction of the list of paintings you described in your recent letter to Miss Boggs a few weeks ago. Subsequent choices can be handled in the same matter – advise the Director of the National Gallery of your choices from non-Gallery sources for which you have secured the Queen's Printer's acceptance to put on sale through their stores. So long as the Queen's Printer will supply a requisition to the National Gallery on this basis the only additional requirement would be that you advise beforehand the name of the artist and the title of the work." He added, "Before delivery of the reproduction is made to the Queen's Printer you will bring a sample to the National Gallery to provide a quality assessment of each job." These works were marketed directly by Artistica, and by Canadian Native Prints in their 1967 catalogue.

52 "List of Works for Reproduction by Silkscreen," 12 June 1967, NGC. This list was based on proposals from Jean-René Ostiguy and approved by Boggs. Action Request to Ostiguy, 7 Apr. 1967.

53 Dorothea Coates, Registrar, NGC, to Boggs, 13 Oct. 1967: "The only artist we have not heard from is Yves Gaucher. The others, notably Alfred Pellan, were most enthusiastic and even William Ronald was prepared to give his permission for this occasion only."

54 Boggs to Roger Duhamel, The Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 15 Nov. 1967; also Duhamel to Boggs, 24 Nov. 1967.

55 Peter Markgraf to Boggs, 10 Oct. 1967. The works from the Sir George Williams University collection became part of this independent project. Markgraf himself paid each of the artists 10% of the value of the edition in prints or in royalties. For the first edition, most artists accepted prints in lieu of cash. Stanley Cosgrove wrote to Peter Markgraf, 31 Oct. 1967: "That you have decided to go into publishing a dozen reproductions is good news." A.Y Jackson wrote on the same date with respect to *Moon River Falls*, as did Molly Bobak (*Football*) who agreed, "especially since this is a new venture for you." See Bobak to Markgraf, 14 Mar. 1968, "you are quite incredible – I think it's great. I traded one with Ghitta Caiserman," Peter Markgraf papers.

56 See *A Centennial Collection of Canadian Prints*, Vancouver, Canadian Native Prints Ltd. 1967. These included original silkscreens by Peter Markgraf and Traudl von Pigenot [Markgraf].

57 Markgraf to Boggs, 10 Oct. 1967.

58 Duhamel to Boggs, 24 Nov. 1967.

59 Although Canadian Native Prints offered discounts for volume sales between 1969 and 1973, works distributed by the Queen's Printer were generally coded with the prefix T to indicate that they could not be discounted.

60 Boggs to Markgraf, 29 Nov. 1967.

61 Canada Council, *Annual Report*, 1967/68 and 1969/70. See also Sheila ARNOPOULOS, "Canadian Guild of Crafts exhibit: Print making team decide to become own publishers," *The Montreal Gazette* (date unknown, clipping in Markgraf files). "Peter and Traudl Markgraf have decided to...act as their own publishers. Their venture is being supported by a $9000 Canada Council grant for the purpose of printing at a loss the work of good contemporary Canadian artists." She quotes Peter Markgraf: "There are many excellent artists we would like to print who don't necessarily sell well which is why we're very grateful for the...grant." Markgraf would recall later that: "we reproduced the works...even when we were told to reproduce things we were sure wouldn't sell.... And selling was part of our responsibility! There was one subject, in particular, we *knew* wouldn't sell. We were right, only two or three of the prints have ever sold." Peter MARKGRAF, *Prints* (Vancouver: Canadian Art Prints Inc., 1983), 11.

62 Canada Council, *Annual Report*, 1968/69. Ellis was already distributing earlier Markgraf prints.

63 EMERY, "Contemporary Reproductions," 30-31.

64 Bush to Markgraf, 4 Sept. 1968, Markgraf papers.

65 Shadbolt to Markgraf, 19 May 1968, Markgraf papers.

66 Lochhead to Markgraf, 21 Feb. 1969. See also Maxwell Bates to Markgraf, 8 May 1969, Markgraf papers: "The reproduction is very satisfactory – the colour seems to me to be true. I am glad you chose one of my paintings to reproduce."

67 Kay KRITZWISER, "23 Canadian painters in reproduction," *The Globe and Mail*, 13 Jan. 1970. Harold Town's *Great Divide* was not part of the Canada Council series; it was commissioned for the United Nation's Year of International Co-operation. The 1974 Canadian Native Prints catalogue, *A Collection of Canadian Art Reproductions*, would include the Town and Takao Tanabe's *Under Summer Clouds*, as having been "selected for reproduction by the Canada Council." The contemporary section of the catalogue included, along with those prints selected by the Canada Council committee, subjects as varied as Marcel Barbeau's *Retine vire voltante*, Rita Briansky's *Cerise*, and Traudl's and Peter's own works.

68 See Joyce ZEMANS, "The Status of Women Artists in Canada," *RACAR* XXV, nos.1 and 2 (1998): 103-12.

69 The text indicated that the work was "published with assistance from The Canada Council and Canadian Museum Organization." David Silcox suggests that the Museum reference reflects the support for, and endorsement of, the project by museum directors (several of whom formed the selection committee for the Council). There was no financial support from the museums. Silcox to author, 17 Nov. 2003.

70 The works, largely by Quebec artists, are reproduced in Canadian Native Prints publications between 1967 and 1974 and were listed by Peter Markgraf for the NGC, 1993.

71 EMERY, "Contemporary Reproductions," 30.

72 Jenny BERGIN, "Markgraf reproductions solve picture problem," *The Ottawa Citizen*, 16 Mar. 1972.

73 After the Canada Council project ended, the Markgrafs continued to publish privately under the imprint Editions Markgraf. In 1977, the Markgrafs moved to Vancouver to work with Ellis and Canadian Native Prints Ltd. and continued to print for individual artists. After 1978, Peter and Traudl also created silkscreens of their own "artistic interpretations of west coast scenery." *Prints*, November/December 1983, Canadian Art Prints, Vancouver, 13.

74 The Canada Council prints were generally printed in editions of 100 and were not reprinted, Markgraf, telephone interview, 30 Oct. 2003.

Résumé

LE CANON LIBÉRÉ

Cet article est le dernier d'une série de quatre sur le rôle que les programmes de reproduction de la Galerie nationale du Canada (actuellement le Musée des beaux-arts du Canada) et, plus tard, le Conseil des Arts du Canada ont joué dans la définition de l'art canadien et dans l'imagerie symbolique de la nation. Dans «Une vie après la vie pour les estampes Sampson-Matthews», je traite de la dernière phase du projet de sérigraphies Sampson-Matthews (le sujet de deux des articles précédents) et l'impact actuel de ces reproductions, à travers une analyse de leur circulation dans le marché de l'art entre 1970 et 1996. Dans «Le canon libéré», j'étudie le programme de reproductions Markgraf, étape finale de l'engagement de quarante années de la Galerie nationale dans la promotion de l'art canadien au moyen de reproductions de haute qualité. Cet essai examine aussi un dernier projet national de sérigraphies, le partenariat entre le Conseil des Arts du Canada et Markgraf, axé exclusivement sur les reproductions d'œuvres d'art contemporain. L'ensemble de ces articles constitue une lecture en profondeur des programmes de reproductions d'œuvres d'art canadien entre 1928 et 1970, des facteurs externes qui les ont façonnés et de l'héritage durable qu'ils nous ont laissé.

Entre 1969 et 1979, l'inventaire restant de Sampson-Matthews fut acquis par plusieurs marchands d'art du secteur privé et largement distribué au cours des deux décennies suivantes, créant une «vie après la vie» pour ces estampes qui ont continué à forger l'idée que le grand public se fait de l'art canadien. Dans les années 1990, une nouvelle stratégie de commercialisation et de nouveaux publics cibles – le marché de détail et les investisseurs haut de gamme – apportèrent une suite à cette histoire. En 1990, une société privée acquit un grand nombre d'estampes et commença à commercialiser la collection *The Canadian Heritage*. Décrites comme «d'exceptionnelles peintures sur écran de soie» et «un trésor national perdu de sérigraphies à base d'huile», ces reproductions étaient présentées comme faisant partie du projet original du temps de guerre. Elles furent vendues comme estampes numérotées en éditions limitées, estampillées «sous la supervision de» et signées par A.J. Casson. Entre 1991 et 1995, ces œuvres furent vendues pour un prix moyen de 2 500 $. Vers 1995-96, on remit aux investisseurs des renseignements fiscaux relativement à «l'acquisition et à la donation ultérieure» d'œuvres de la *Collection* à des œuvres de bienfaisance. Capital Vision cessa de commercialiser ces «éditions limitées» à la fin de 1996, après qu'un article sur la manière de «transformer une œuvre d'art de 300 $ en relevé d'impôt de 1 000 $» eut paru dans le *Financial Post* de Toronto.

À la fin des années 1950, après s'être retirée du projet Sampson-Matthews, la Galerie nationale s'engagea dans un autre projet de sérigraphies d'art canadien. «Le canon libéré» décrit le programme de reproductions Markgraf, son origine dans l'intérêt d'un collectionneur pour James Wilson Morrice et son évolution, à travers les programmes Morrice et Milne et «Thomson et le Groupe des Sept», vers ce qui allait devenir le premier programme de reproductions de la Galerie réellement axé sur l'art contemporain au Canada. Les sérigraphes étaient Hans, Peter et Traudl Markgraf. Par le nombre de couleurs utilisées, la qualité de l'impression et la fidélité des reproductions, les sérigraphies Markgraf établirent «de nouvelles normes d'excellence (en matière de reproductions) dans ce pays».

Bien que le projet ait officiellement pris fin en 1960, la GNC, en association avec l'Imprimeur de la Reine, continua à travailler avec les Markgraf, vu la rareté et la demande pour les reproductions des œuvres de peintres contemporains. Vingt sérigraphies furent créées grâce à un programme de collaboration dans lequel toutes les œuvres étaient approuvées par le personnel de la Galerie. Quatorze d'entre elles étaient des œuvres contemporaines provenant de la collection de la Galerie. Pour un certain nombre de raisons (finances, contrôle de la production et problèmes de conservation), on mit aussi fin à ce projet. Bien que les Markgraf eussent proposé avec insistance, pendant près de dix ans, la publication de reproductions d'œuvres d'art canadien contemporain venant de la collection de la Galerie, ils se sont retrouvés à chaque fois plus ou moins dans une impasse.

L'impasse a été résolue en 1967, lorsque le Conseil des Arts du Canada, intéressé à promouvoir une plus grande connaissance de l'art canadien contemporain, développa un programme de reproduction et de diffusion d'œuvres provenant principalement de galeries publiques. On produisit trente-deux œuvres de chefs de file de l'art contemporain au Canada. Les artistes étaient ravis. Un critique satisfait fit remarquer que le programme de reproductions Markgraf offrait aux Canadiens la possibilité de posséder «un tableau d'authentique lignée canadienne authentifié par le Conseil des Arts du Canada» pour seulement 16 $. Anthony Emery écrivit, à propos des estampes, qu'elles étaient «exactement ce dont les Canadiens avaient besoin». Pourtant, ces sérigraphies de qualité n'attirèrent jamais l'attention du public comme l'avaient fait celles de Sampson-Matthews. On ne leur en a peut-être jamais donné la chance.

Les reproductions Markgraf ne possédaient pas, comme les programmes antérieurs, la production continue, la masse critique, l'orientation et l'association avec la Galerie et l'option nationale. Et surtout, elles n'avaient pas l'imprimatur ou la «marque» que la Galerie nationale avait mise sur les programmes antérieurs. Les reproductions de 1928 de la Galerie nationale, comme plus tard les estampes Sampson-Matthews, étaient vendues en séries accompagnées de matériel didactique. Leur promotion et leur commercialisation étaient assurées à l'échelle nationale par et sous l'autorité de la Galerie nationale. Le soutien du Conseil des Arts du Canada a été relativement de courte durée et ne fournissait pas d'appui continu autre que de garantir les coûts initiaux de production et de distribution d'un nombre limité d'estampes. Le plan du Conseil se fondait sur le principe que le marché prendrait la relève, ce qui ne s'est pas produit.

La fusion constante, dans les estampes Sampson-Matthews, du paysage et de l'identité canadienne et leur dépendance croissante des images iconiques du Groupe des Sept touchaient une corde sensible dans l'esprit du public. Se plaçant au-delà du temps, de l'espace et des différences culturelles, elles consolidaient la place du Groupe des Sept et de l'école du paysage national dans l'imaginaire canadien, et situaient fermement l'art canadien dans l'esthétique de la nature sauvage auprès de la conscience canadienne. Des reproductions isolées d'œuvres d'art contemporain, souvent abstraites et parfois difficiles, vendues individuellement sur le marché privé, non soutenues par une orientation ou un contexte éducatifs, ne pouvaient avoir le même impact. C'est ainsi que les sérigraphies Sampson-Matthews ont continué de placer l'art canadien dans la tradition du paysage et de l'esthétique du Groupe des Sept longtemps après qu'eut pris fin l'engagement de la Galerie dans le projet, et même après que les reproductions Markgraf eussent été largement disponibles.

Traduction: Élise Bonnette

APPENDIX I

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA / MARKGRAF: MORRICE & MILNE POCHOIRS

ARTIST	*WORK*	*DATE*	*COLLECTION**
James Wilson Morrice	*Boats, Concarneau [Sailing Boats, Concarneau]*	1910	Private collection
	The Circus [The Circus at Concarneau]	1904	MMFA
	Landscape, Trinidad	*c.*1921	Massey Collection
	Landscape, West Indies [Landscape, Trinidad]	1921	NGC
	The Beach, Saint-Malo	*c.*1903	MMFA
	Entrance to a [Quebec] Village [Winter]	*c.*1909	Private collection
	La communiante	*c.*1910	NGC
	Canadian Square in Winter	–	A. Sidney Dawes Collection
	The Wine Shop	*c.*1906	A. Sidney Dawes Collection
	Corner of a Village Jamaica [Houses Cuba]	*c.*1915	MMFA
	The Old Holton House	*c.*1908-10	MMFA
	Blanche [Baume]	*c.*1911-12	NGC
	Woman in a Wicker Chair	*c.*1897	Beaverbrook Art Gallery
	The Book Stall, Quai des Grands-Augustins, Paris	*c.*1901	Beaverbrook Art Gallery
David Milne	*The Waterfall [Rapids, Adirondacks]*	1921	NGC
	Maple Leaves	1937	NGC
	Clouds	*c.*1931	NGC
	King, Queen, and Jokers [III: It's a Democratic Age]	*c.*1941	Milne Family Collection
	Boston Corners [Green Cedars]	1920	Art Gallery of Ontario
	House, Palgrave [Matson's House]	1932	Beaverbrook Art Gallery

*refers to the owner of the work when the print was produced

APPENDIX II

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA / MARKGRAF: THE GROUP OF SEVEN AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES SERIES

ARTIST	*WORK*	*DATE*	*COLLECTION**
Franklin Carmichael	*North Shore Lake Superior*	1927	MMFA
	Autumn Orillia	1924	Beaverbrook Art Gallery
Emily Carr	*Indian Village, West Coast [Alert Bay]*	1912	Beaverbrook Art Gallery
A.J. Casson	*La roche, Gatineau Hills*	–	MMFA
Maurice Cullen	*Cutting Ice*	1914	MMFA
Lawren Harris	*Afternoon Sun, North Shore, Lake Superior*		
	[South Shore, Lake Superior]	1924	NGC
	Beaver Swamp [Algoma]	1920	Art Gallery of Toronto
A.Y. Jackson	*The Red Barn*	1930	William R. Watson Coll., Montreal
	Eskimo Settlement [Summer Camp]	1927	McMichael Canadian Art Coll.
	Laurentian Village	*c.*1930	Vancouver Art Gallery
	Maples, Early Spring [Maples and Birches]	–	Collection of the artist
	Road to St. Simon	–	Collection of the artist
Arthur Lismer	*Harbour Life, Nova Scotia*	1931	Beaverbrook Art Gallery
	Sand Lake, Algoma	1923	Charles Band Coll., Toronto
J.E.H MacDonald	*Autumn Colours*	1916	NGC
	Shoreline Lake in Autumn	–	Massey Collection
Albert Robinson	*A Church in Westmount*	1923	NGC
Tom Thomson	*Petawawa Gorges*	1914	NGC
	The Pool	1915	NGC
Fred Varley	*Vera*	1931	Massey Collection

*refers to the owner of the work when the print was produced

APPENDIX III

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA AND MARKGRAF CONTEMPORARY ART SERIES DISTRIBUTED BY THE QUEEN'S PRINTER

ARTIST	*WORK*	*DATE*	*COLLECTION**
Marcel Barbeau	*Bas du fleuve*	1925	NGC
Léon Bellefleur	*Poissons rouges aux seins bleus*	1949	NGC
B.C. Binning	*Convoy at Rendez-Vous*	1948	Vancouver Art Gallery
Molly Lamb Bobak	*Football Practice*	1965	Sir George Williams Univ. Coll. of Art
Kitty Bruneau	*La terre tourne*	1965	NGC
Fritz Brandtner	*Tension*	–	Collection of the artist
Stanley Cosgrove	*Study of a Nude*	1959	Sir George Williams Univ. Coll. of Art
	Young Girl	1950	Collection of the artist
John Fox	*Umbrellas, Côtes-des-Neiges*	1954	NGC
Jacques Hurtubise	*Katia*	1965	NGC
A.Y. Jackson	*Moon River Falls*	1962	Sir George Williams Univ. Coll. of Art
Jean-Paul Lemieux	*L'Orpheline*	1956	NGC
Ken Lochhead	*The Dignitary*	1963	NGC
Guido Molinari	*Two Oranges*	1963	NGC
Kazuo Nakamura	*Landscape*	–	NGC
Alfred Pellan	*Au clair de la lune*	1937	NGC
	Floraison	*c.*1956	NGC
Goodridge Roberts	*Landscape, Near Lake Orford*	1945	NGC
Ghitta Caiserman Roth	*Poet & son ami*	–	Sir George Williams Univ. Coll. of Art
Michael Snow	*Clothed Woman (Memory of My Father)*	1963	NGC
George Swinton	*Spring Storm*	1963-64	NGC
Jacques de Tonnancour	*Trees, North Western Ontario*	1956	Collection of the artist

*refers to the owner of the work when the print was produced

APPENDIX IV

CANADA COUNCIL MARKGRAF SILKSCREENS

ARTIST	*WORK*	*DATE*	*COLLECTION**
Edmund Alleyn	*Crust*	1960	Agnes Etherington Art Centre
Marcel Barbeau	*Retine vire voltante*	1966	MMFA
Maxwell Bates	*The Beach*	1966	Canada Council Art Collection
Ronald Bloore	*Yellow Green Painting*	1961	Agnes Etherington Art Centre
Paul-Emile Borduas	*Abstract in Blue*	1959	Art Gallery of Ontario
Claude Breeze	*The Murder [Lovers in a Landscape No.13: Murder]*	1964-65	NGC
Jack Bush	*Green Field and Sun*	1960	Agnes Etherington Art Centre
	Little Yellow	1968	Mira Godard
Ulysse Comtois	*Uneva*	–	Canada Council Art Collection
Graham Coughtry	*Figure on a Bed*	1954	Art Gallery of Ontario
Greg Curnoe	*Myself Walking North in My New Tweed Coat*	1963	Vancouver Art Gallery
Brian Fisher	*Transfixion*	1966	Vancouver Art Gallery
Yves Gaucher	*Cardinal Raga*	1967	York University, Toronto
E.J. Hughes	*Qualicum Beach*	1948	Hart House, Toronto
Jacques Hurtubise	*Marie-Jeanne*	1970	Collection of the artist
Gary Lee Nova	*Menthol Filter Kings*	1967	Vancouver Art Gallery
Ken Lochhead	*Blue Extension*	1963	Canada Council Art Collection
Jock Macdonald	*Clarion Call*	1958	Agnes Etherington Art Centre

*refers to the owner of the work when the print was produced

Jean McEwen	*La victoire de Sardanapale*	1966	Hart House, Toronto
Guido Molinari	*Contre point*	1960	Collection of the artist
Kazuo Nakamura	*Blue Reflections*	1962	Art Gallery of Ontario
Toni Onley	*Tampico*	1959	Agnes Etherington Art Centre
Alfred Pellan	*Fées d'eau*	1957	Coll. Mme. Monique Lepage
Bodo Pfeifer	*Untitled*	1968	Agnes Etherington Art Centre
Jean-Paul Riopelle	*Encre*	1954-55	Canada Council Art Collection
Jack Shadbolt	*Apple Core Amulet*	–	Collection of the artist
Michael Snow	*January Jubilee Ladies*	1961	Canada Council Art Collection
Takao Tanabe	*Under Summer Clouds*	1970	Private collection
Jacques de Tonnancour	*Une ancienne machine à voler*	–	Collection of the artist
Claude Tousignant	*Clair obscur*	–	Collection of the artist
Harold Town	*The Great Divide*	1965	Art Gallery of Ontario
Joyce Wieland	*Captain*	–	Canada Council Art Collection

A NATIONAL SOUL
Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s – 1930s
Marylin J. MCKAY
McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002
320 p., 8 col., 62 b/w illus., $65

Marylin McKay's much-needed book on mural painting in Canada responds to an absence of literature on the history of mural art in this country. The book is not a survey of Canadian mural production as one might expect and is not, therefore, organized for easy reference by artist, subject, year, theme, or location.

McKay broadly sifts her selective review of seventy-odd years of public and private mural paintings into thematic groupings, richly evoked by such chapter headings as: "Commercial Mural Paintings: 'The Glorification of Man's Handiwork';" "The 'Disappearing' Native in English Canadian Mural Paintings: 'But He is Gone and I Am Here';" and "Progress, Patriarchy, and Public Library Murals: 'Whilst a Sweet-faced Woman Finds the Books'." All ten chapters promise a close examination of the ideological underpinnings of mural commissions. The murals McKay lists in each chapter expediently

corroborate what she believes to be their defining ideology. "From approximately the 1830s to the 1930s," writes McKay, "the hegemonic population of modern Western nation-states – enfranchised, middle-class, Christian men – supported the production of thousands of mural paintings that were generally designed to glorify the contemporary features of modern Western nation-states: popular sovereignty, the material progress of capitalism, distinct cultural identity..., Christianity, and patriarchy" (p.193).

If all mural paintings completed during Canada's post-Confederation moment are the product of the authoritative ideology of the modern Western nation-state, then perhaps there is no need for elaboration of specific examples. Yet, one is left wishing for more discussion of the images. Only in Chapter Five – "Catholic Church Mural Paintings: 'Reflections of Our Community's Soul'" – is there a deeper examination of the artists' visual language. Here, McKay neatly summarizes discussions of the "ultramontane aesthetic," described as a response to the clerico-nationalist ideology of Quebec prior to World War II, and identified in the work of (for example) Ozias Leduc. McKay concludes that francophone mural painting for the Catholic Church ultimately supported the very same values of the modern Western nation-state seen in Anglophone Protestant church mural paintings, or any other Canadian mural paintings for that matter, produced between the 1860s and 1930s. The ultramontane aesthetic, in other words, was but evidence of a tell-tale glorification of a distinct society, the leadership of men, and a rationalization of the negative aspects of modern industrialization and urbanization that shaped – as a result of bulldoggish capitalism – post-Confederation mural art. The argument is very lean.

McKay approaches the history of mural painting as a phenomenon of the economic progress of Western society. How can one argue with her suggestion that murals – whether in the private homes of the *nouveau riche* like the automobile magnate R. Samuel McLaughlin or the new public venues of private wealth (banks, stock exchanges, cruise ships, hotels and theatres, etc.) – are the excrescences of "the aristocracy of modern life?" (p.64). She's right, I think, but one feels a lingering concern for the absence of any close discussion of the images and the contexts of their execution. A case in point is J.E.H. and Thoreau MacDonald's designs for the Concourse Building in Toronto, discussed in Chapter Three: "Commercial Mural Paintings: 'The Glorification of Man's Handiwork'." She cites the Concourse Building as a monument to entrepreneurial triumph in which images of a Canadian arcadia and industry intermingle in the interior and exterior decoration. What was J.E.H. MacDonald

thinking when he designed Thunderbirds for the exterior top of the building? Did he, as McKay suggests, invoke the Thunderbird's support for the bloody business of Western capital gain? I'm anxious to know more about what appears to be an extraordinary appropriation of Aboriginal symbols, particularly in the context of design history.

In Chapter Seven, "The 'Disappearing' Native in English Canadian Mural Paintings," McKay broaches the issue of the representation of Aboriginal Canadians in mural paintings of the late nineteenth-century, where they figure as "unwitting witnesses of material progress." The subsequent absence of First Nations figures from mural painting of the early twentieth-century confirms for McKay their obsolescence as members of Canada's snowballing nation-state. We see MacDonald's 1923 mural design for the Royal Canadian Academy of Art's civic mural contest, titled *Friendly Meeting, Early Canada*, as a hateful reiteration of a focus on capitalist economic growth. The author argues "that mural paintings suggested that native people had disappeared because they had not been interested in, or were unable to keep up with, material progress." The "vanishing Indian" myth prevails here. The mural images of First Nations are viewed, in McKay's roughly Marxist analysis, from a distinctly non-Aboriginal perspective. Mural paintings may have been pompous products of material wealth, but society – Canadian society – remains unwaveringly more complex and rich than the thin crust of WASP or Franco-Catholic producers of mural art. How these images shaped Canadian identity asks the question of whose identity constitutes Canada?

Mural art produced in Canada between the 1860s and the 1930s defines for McKay a distinctly "Canadian" period. A nationalist urge, she argues, orders monumental image making in this country from Confederation to the new internationalism of the post-World War II boom. The notion that Canada shrank into a parochial culture is implicit in McKay's chapter "A New Paradigm for Kitsch," when "a unified body of work" glorified the modern nation-state of Canada. This kitsch nationalism underlies, continues McKay, the histories of Canadian art written by J. Russell Harper, Dennis Reid, and Charles Hill. The author's argument here becomes elaborate, for she considers the evolution of distinctly Canadian landscape and historical subjects by a white, enfranchised, Christian (English and French) middle class to be perfectly fitting to the canon of (Euro-) Canadian art established by Harper, Reid, and Hill in the 1960s and 70s. Their conscious rejection of mural painting within the historical canon of Canadian art is the result of the narrow lens through which they constructed a national art history: "these scholars wanted to illustrate their books with

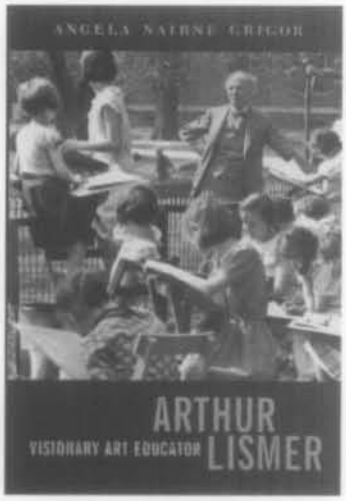
art that glorified the salient features of Canada as a modern nation-state. Logically, then, they could have included the mural paintings that had been produced from the 1860s to the 1930s as a means of evoking nationalistic sentiment" (p.7). Does McKay wish to inscribe mural painting into a demonstrably flawed or (more accurately) preliminary history of Canadian art?

McKay ascribes the "conscious rejection" of mural painting in Canada by Harper, Reid and Hill to their reliance on a modernist paradigm of aesthetic progress that necessarily marginalizes representational art as anti-modern. I'm never sure what writers mean when they describe representational painting as anti-modern, especially when populism and cultural progress were so closely bound in Canada after World War I, just as they were in much of Western Europe. McKay clearly locates Canadian mural painting produced between the 1860s and 1930s within an international (European-based) Mural Movement. Furthermore, McKay's frustration with the focus set by Harper, Reid, and Hill on painting produced in central Canada is complicated by her admission that Ontario – especially Toronto – provides the richest history of mural production in Canada. "The emphasis throughout this book is on mural painting installed in Toronto buildings. Apart from Catholic Church muralists in Quebec, Toronto mural painters were more active than mural painters in other parts of Canada: "As early as 1895, they also formed professional associations for the promotion of mural painting" (p.14). One cannot help but feel that the book accidentally reaffirms "an Art for a Nation," to recall Hill's provocatively titled 1995 publication, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation*, that describes the Toronto-based Group's struggle to define Canadian art.

McKay's book, *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s – 1930s*, demands our attention, despite the problems of setting mural painting apart as a discreet area of Canada's visual culture. She certainly makes me rethink Canada's art history, and the false divisions between easel and mural painting, the decorative arts and architecture, and advertising, that ever obscure the "big picture."

ANNA HUDSON
Associate Curator, Department of Canadian Art
Art Gallery of Ontario

ARTHUR LISMER
Visionary Art Educator
Angela NAIRNE-GRIGOR
McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002
472 p., 37 b/w illus., $70.00



Arthur Lismer (1885-1969) was a man of many parts – an artist trained in the traditions of a late nineteenth-century English art-education system, an evangelist in the promotion of the work of the Group of Seven and nationalist Canadian art, and an innovator in the field of art education. As an art educator working primarily in Toronto and Montreal, Lismer inspired generations of art students and instructors. Lismer's contemporaries were interested in what he had to say, and this is supported by the detailed reports of his ideas in the many newspaper accounts of his cross-country lecture tours of 1932, 1935 and 1940, the first two on behalf of the National Gallery of Canada. He further elaborated upon his views in his numerous articles published between 1930 and 1950, as well as in lectures given during his travels in Europe and beyond. For Lismer, the history – or perhaps more accurately the development – of art, and the "release of child expression in the arts" were inextricably linked.[1]

The connections between art and art education have become an essential part of any discussion of Lismer's work. This relationship is further established in catalogue essays accompanying his major exhibitions, from his first retrospective at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1950 through to the 1985 exhibition of his later canvases, *Canadian Jungle*, curated by Dennis Reid.

Arthur Lismer: Visionary Art Educator by Angela Nairne Grigor focuses on his educational work and theories. It is a development of her Master's thesis on Lismer's child-centred art education – a system that combined the theories of Franz Cizek and of John Dewey – , and of her doctoral work on the concepts of the individual and the collective in art education. The book's extensive notes and comprehensive bibliography are sure to please the student researching Lismer's educational practices. That said, *Arthur Lismer: Visionary Art Educator* is for neither the scholar nor the casual reader. While it provides a good summation of Lismer's views on art education, it gives few new insights into the artist's work or methodology. Much of the information is familiar to those acquainted with the artist's career in education which began in 1915, when he was hired by George Reid to teach summer courses at Toronto's Ontario College of Art (OCA). Over a period of fifty years, Lismer would hold a variety of teaching and administrative positions at several institutions where he was able to express his developing views on the teaching of art. He was employed at the OCA, the Victoria School of Art (now the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design), the National Gallery of Canada, Columbia University, and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Beginning in 1936, he spent sixteen months travelling in South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, where he spread his ideas on art education even further. His evangelism was such that in a 1951 interview, Lismer estimated he had written some one hundred articles and given over one thousand lectures on art and artists (often in the Canadian context), as well as on art appreciation and instruction, and on art's place in society.[2]

What is surprising, and disappointing, about Grigor's book is that although it purports to be about Lismer as a visionary art educator, the term visionary is never clearly defined by the author and only one-third of its pages are dedicated to art education. In her introduction, Grigor states: "Any account of Arthur Lismer's life is essentially the story of his work." In most previously published works this link has been made only within the broader biographical context; the suggestion of an integrated consideration of both in one comprehensive volume is appealing.[3] The book is divided into two parts: the

first biographical, "A Life in Art;" the other, "Arthur Lismer's Ideas on Art Education," on the maturation of his theories. Because the book emphasises the educational aspect of Lismer's career, his artistic accomplishments are not discussed. Each section is presented chronologically, beginning with Lismer's own education and training in Sheffield, and then through his many years' work at various Canadian art institutions as well as Columbia University. The presentation of the material, however, does not completely carry through on its promise. The consideration of Lismer's "vision" in the book's title is neither clarified nor elaborated on in the biographical section of the book. "A Life in Art" covers much of the same material previously presented by John McLeish, Marjorie Lismer Bridges, and Lois Darroch in their writings. In fact, his educational theories are not concretely defined until Chapter 10, "Lismer's Early Philosophy of Art Education 1916-19." The separation of the story of the life of the artist from that of his work into two parallel chronologies is particularly awkward on more than one occasion. For example, 192 pages separate the description of Lismer's life in Halifax (1916-19) from that of his role as Principal of the Victoria School of Art, his first (and seminal) experience in a position where he had a direct impact on planning art training. Discussion of Lismer's initial reactions to the school, his ideas to improve the building and its facilities, and to expose students and the general public to art through exhibitions, is included in the biographical section. The result would have been more effective had it been placed in the examination of his educational work, as the two are clearly linked. Similarly, in the description of Lismer's brief but tumultuous time at the National Gallery (1939-40), there is a 149-page gap between the eight and a half-page biographical section and the two and a half-page synopsis of his educational work in Ottawa. In other words, in order to obtain a comprehensive view of any particular period, the reader has the frustrating experience of riffling through different sections of the book.

Earlier publications have largely overlooked the impact of the Carnegie Corporation grants to Lismer and to the various institutions at which he was employed. These funds were often his principal source of financial support. The Carnegie, which sought to encourage art education on a global level, is mentioned frequently in Grigor's discussion: Lismer's meeting with its President, Frederick Keppel, in New York after Lismer's return from his first trip to South Africa; the reduction and termination of the operating grant that funded his work at the Art Gallery of Toronto; the funding of his second, and extended, South African trip. She also discusses the Carnegie's facilitation of his teaching

appointment to Columbia University and the corporation's pledge to support a national arts centre in Ottawa under Lismer if the National Gallery provided matching funds. When it became clear that a centre would not be established and Lismer's association with Harry McCurry, Director of the National Gallery, had seriously deteriorated, the Carnegie Corporation brokered the artist's move to Montreal. Lismer's relationship with the Carnegie was such that he felt at ease writing to Keppel to ask for his intervention.[4] Grigor's references to Carnegie are frequent and widely scattered throughout both sections of the text; unfortunately this is not reflected in the index. More seriously, the author does not clearly relate the educational goals of the Carnegie, which are described in the many books by Frederick Keppel, to the art educational practice and theories of Lismer. The Carnegie's influence on education in general, and fine arts development in Canada in particular, make this omission a regrettably missed opportunity.

The period Lismer spent at the Teachers' College, Columbia University has also been sadly neglected in the past and is again in this book. Established in 1887 by philanthropist Grace Hoadley Dodge as the New York School for the Training of Teachers, it became the Teachers' College in 1892 and was affiliated with the University from 1898, not 1893 as indicated in Grigor's text. With such illustrious instructors as John Dewey, Arthur Wesley Dow, Edward L. Thorndike and Albert Munsell, it had been considered the leading institution for teacher training and art education in North America. Grigor discusses Lismer's arrival in 1939, stating: "When Lismer was hired by the Department of Fine Art and Industrial Art as a visiting professor, his joint roles as lecturer and independent assessor were specifically designed to revitalize the flagging department and provide a much needed critique" (p.309). Her short description in the biographical section of Lismer's unhappiness during this time reflects his state well. The section on his educational work provides a chronicle of the short period spent there, albeit with little analysis of how Lismer's experience at Columbia might have affected his own educational theories. In addition to giving courses in child art, Lismer had been asked to produce a comprehensive report on art education at the College, something that did not endear him to his New York colleagues. Grigor relies heavily on Lismer's report (some forty footnotes over the nine-page section) and perhaps the reader would have been better served if it had been included as an appendix. Furthermore, Grigor seems to portray Lismer as the potential saviour of the Teachers' College when she uses descriptive statements such as: he was "respected among American progressive educators,"

and as an outsider "was an ideal choice to present an unbiased view of the art department" (p.309). The discussion focuses on what Lismer found wrong with the Department, rather than investigating the reasons for its troubles and how Lismer's "unbiased view" played out in the evaluation process. This would have been remedied if the full report, which is not otherwise easily accessible, had been included in the book.

The author's heroicizing of Lismer permeates the text, and whether speaking of his problems at the Art Gallery of Toronto or the National Gallery, the point of view is consistently that of a man wronged; of the selfless pioneer and advocate of new ideas in art education having to fight for acceptance at every step. Certainly it is true that Lismer encouraged the continual development of his staff at great personal cost and that he was unwilling to modify his theories to suit administrators. At no time is Lismer's personality considered as having contributed to the confrontational nature of his disputes. Grigor does mention that he "was not an easy task-master" (p.308), that he "was naturally impatient with those who saw him as overly idealistic or, worse, unrealistic" (p.348), and that his reputation was marred in Canada by reports "of his bluntness and intransigence" (p.130).

All parts of this book are affected by the numerous typographical errors. The name of fellow Sheffielder and Group of Seven member Fred Varley is misspelled on several occasions, as are those of his mentor Willis Eadon and the art historian Kenneth Clark. Mistakes in the spelling of the Blavatsky Institute and of Sherbrooke Street (the location of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts where Lismer worked for so many years) were also not caught by proofreading. As well, there are a number of factual errors. For example, the references to Lismer's early experiences with the Heeley Art Club in Sheffield contain some inaccuracies. The Club was not founded in 1899 but in 1895, when Lismer was only ten years old, and he did not join it until 1902. He was not, therefore, a founding member (although his mentor Willis Eadon was) and it is thus unlikely that the Club's first meeting would have taken place at the Lismer home. He became its Assistant Secretary in 1904 (not 1905), holding the position of Honorary Secretary through 1906.[5] In another instance, William Morris (1834-96) is identified as a founding member of the short-lived Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (1848-53). Although Morris did indeed associate with the seven men who formed the group, his young age prevented him from being a member of the original Brotherhood. He was, however, a member of The Set when at Oxford (1853-55),[6] a group which later came to be referred to as The Brotherhood, which may be the

reason for Grigor's confusion.[7] Elsewhere, two different dates (1907 and 1877) are cited for John Ruskin's *The Elements of Drawing*. Because there are numerous editions of the critic's work, the original publication date of 1857 is used by most scholars. When Grigor cites original publication dates for Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* and *Modern Painters* these, too, are not quite accurate.[8] While these points may seem trivial to the overall discussion of the book, they detract from its value as a scholarly work.

Grigor's book is unabashedly written from the perspective of furthering the image of Lismer as a progressive art educator who battled tirelessly to have his ideas accepted: ideas instrumental to the development of art education in his adopted country. Just as Fred Housser's *A Canadian Art Movement* (1926) authenticated the "mythistory"[9] of the Group of Seven, Grigor's treatment of Lismer adds to the long-standing image of "rebel" educator. For those already acquainted with him, *Arthur Lismer: Visionary Art Educator* offers few new insights into Lismer's educational ideology, and the biographical section largely repeats what has already been presented by other authors. However, in spite of this and the awkward division of the text into two parts, the book has its place in the Lismer chronicle. The bibliography is impressive, and its nineteen pages are a testament to Grigor's immersion in the study of Lismer as an art educator. Furthermore, the inclusion of material from unpublished and difficult to obtain sources, such as his report on the Columbia University Teachers' College and Marjorie Lismer Bridges' reminiscences of her father, contributes to our understanding of Lismer's place in the development of art education in Canada. It has been a long wait to have Lismer's educational theories and methodology described within the pages of a single volume, despite its shortcomings.

ANITA GRANT
Ph.D. Candidate
Concordia University

Notes

1 Lismer quoted from an unfinished autobiography included by Marjorie Lismer BRIDGES in her book about life with her father *A Border of Beauty: Arthur Lismer's Pen and Pencil* (Toronto: Red Rock, 1977), 31.

2 Ken JOHNSTONE, "The Artist is a Rebel," *Liberty* 28 (May 1951): 52.

3 The first of these was John MCLEISH, *September Gale* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1955). McLeish was a former Lismer student and many subsequent writers refer to his book when discussing both Lismer's life and work, although some of the information provided is anecdotal. See also Lois DARROCH, *Bright Land: A Warm Look at Arthur Lismer* (Toronto: Merritt, 1981), the catalogue essays by Gemey KELLY in *Arthur Lismer: Paintings 1916-1919* (Halifax, N.S.: Dalhousie Art Gallery, Dalhousie University, 1982), Dennis REID in *Canadian Jungle: The Later Work of Arthur Lismer* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985), and Michael TOOBY, *Our Home and Native Land: Sheffield's Canadian Artists* (Sheffield: Barbican Art Gallery, 1991).

4 There is an exchange of letters between Lismer and Keppel in which Lismer indicated he desperately wanted to leave the National Gallery. The letters are in the Carnegie Corporation Archives, Butler Library, Columbia University. I am indebted to Sandra Paikowsky for this information.

5 Grigor's sources date from 1991. The author of this review has subsequently provided a more accurate dating for this period of Lismer's life and education before he emigrated to Canada. See Anita GRANT, "Arthur Lismer in the Sheffield Context," M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1995, and Anita GRANT, "Lismer in Sheffield," *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* XVI, no.1 (1996): 36-47.

6 The Set was founded by William Fulford, Richard Watson Dixon and Charles Faulkner, undergraduates from Birmingham and based at Pembroke College, Oxford. Fulford and Dixon were long-time friends of Edward Burne-Jones and all became devotees of the critic John Ruskin. A good description of The Set's activities appears in Fiona MACCARTHY, *William Morris* (London: Knopf, 1994), 59-65.

7 The reference originally appeared in Grigor's Master's thesis, "Arthur Lismer: A Critical Analysis of his Pedagogy in Relation to his Use of the Project Method in Child-Centered Art Education," Concordia University, 1982, 18.

8 The dates should be *Modern Painters*: 1843-1860; *The Stones of Venice*: 1851-1853.

9 This term was coined by Canadian historian George Rawlyk (1935-95).