

15  
THE ST-HILAIRE CHURCH INTERIOR DECORATIONS (1896-1900)

OF

OZIAS LEDUC

©

J. Craig Stirling

A Thesis

in

The Faculty

of

Fine Arts

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

December 1981

©

J. Craig Stirling, 1981

### Abstract

#### THE ST-HILAIRE CHURCH INTERIOR DECORATIONS (1896-1900) OF OZIAS LEDUC

J. Craig Stirling

Ozias Leduc was born at St-Hilaire on October 8, 1864 and died at nearby St-Hyacinthe, Quebec on June 16, 1955. During his long life, he decorated more than twenty-eight Roman Catholic churches, convent chapels, and baptisteries in Québec and the Maritime provinces, as well as many in the New England States.

This study is an historical, iconographical and formal art historical analysis of St-Hilaire church, Leduc's own parish church and the first commission in which he was solely responsible for designing the entire decorative scheme (executed by him and his assistants between April 8, 1896 and early February, 1897; fifteen canvases, fourteen Ways of the Cross, and one medallion were completed by May 24, 1900):

In order to bring the state of the church to the present time, the restoration in 1928-1929 and the additions to the interior in 1930, 1931 also by Ozias Leduc, are examined, as well as the subsequent repairs in 1953 by Leduc's assistant and student Mlle. Gabrielle Messier.

The first two chapters contribute to the overall understanding and the importance of this commission in Leduc's career and evolution of his artistic style. A brief historical and chronological account of St-Hilaire church construction (1825-1837 and the subsequent years following when changes to the interior were made) has been recreated to reveal the state of the church and Leduc's adaptation of his decorative scheme to the already existing Neo-Gothic architectural interior at the time

of the 1896 project. Another chapter is devoted to Leduc's early career, to investigate his rural cultural background, education and apprenticeship in late 19th century Québec.

The genesis of his philosophy of art and personal artistic style emerge from the St-Hilaire church project, as well as his clearly defined roles as entrepreneur, decorator, and muralist.

By examining primary source documentation such as his personal papers and preliminary drawings for this commission, a complex Christian symbolism becomes evident, making him a uniquely important muralist among his contemporaries in Québec, Canada and Europe.

2

5

To my mother, Iris

and to the memory of Dr. Colin Gordon (1915-76),  
Professor Emeritus of Classics, McGill University



"Farewell, great painter of mankind,  
Who reached the highest paths in art;  
Whose sculptured morals teach the mind,  
And through the eye correct the heart."

David Garrick's Epitaph to Hogarth.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	i
Abbreviations .....	iv
List of Diagrams .....	v

### INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: Construction of St-Hilaire Church .....	4
CHAPTER 2: Leduc's Early Career .....	13
CHAPTER 3: Primary and Secondary Sources and a Review of Critical Literature .....	22
CHAPTER 4: Genesis of the Contract to Decorate the St-Hilaire Church Interior	
A) Introduction .....	30
B) Final Costs .....	32
C) Materials .....	35
D) Leduc's Assistants .....	35
E) Evolution of the Project .....	36
F) Aim of the Artist .....	53
G) Leduc's Preliminary Drawings for the Overall Interior Decorative Scheme Adapted to the Already Existing Neo- Gothic Architectural Interior .....	60
CHAPTER 5: Analysis of the Overall Decorative Scheme	
A) Introduction .....	64
B) Technical Application of all Minor Decoration, Motifs and Canvases .....	65
C) Lower Half of St-Hilaire Church: Pseudo-Mosaic .....	67
D) Vaulted Ceiling and Upper Wall Decorations .....	69
E) Sources of Inspiration for the Motifs of the Overall Decorative Scheme .....	75
F) Mimetic Ornaments - Organic Motifs .....	77

- i) Fleur-de-lis
- iii) Vine
- ii) Acanthus Leaves
- iv) Ivy and Laurel

G) Religious Symbols Decorating the Nave Ceiling and High Lateral Walls .....	82
---	----

H) Interpretation of Religious Images Selected by Leduc for the Lateral Walls and Central Panels of the Nave Ceiling .....	86
--	----

#### CHAPTER 6: General Remarks on the Mural Paintings

A) Angle of Observation .....	90
B) Shape of the Canvases .....	90
C) Spatial Arrangement .....	92
D) Arrangement of Figures .....	95
E) Figure Types .....	98
F) Authenticity of Costume .....	100
G) Colour .....	101
H) Symbolism in Nature .....	108
I) Floral Border Motifs .....	115

#### CHAPTER 7: The Mural Paintings

A) Arrangement and Iconographic Program of the Church Interior .....	120
B) General Remarks on the Preliminary Drawings .....	122
C) Individual Analysis of the Canvases .....	125

#### CHAPTER 8: St-Hilaire Church Restoration of 1928-1929; and Subsequent Additions of 1930 and 1931

A) Introduction and Summary of Sources .....	184
B) Importance of the Daily Work Journal .....	185
C) Leduc's Assistants .....	186
D) The Contract .....	186
E) Review of the Progress of the Restoration .....	189
F) Canvas Restoration .....	194
G) Ways of the Cross .....	195
H) Further Restorations Outside the Contract .....	196

I) Changes to the Choir Area .....	198
J) Nave Windows .....	200
K) Electric Lamps .....	202
L) Stained Glass .....	205
CONCLUSION .....	216

#### APPENDICES

APPENDIX A1: The Terms of Agreement Between the Church "Syndics" and Augustin Leblanc .....	219
APPENDIX A2: The Conditions Made by the "Syndics" to Joseph Doyon .....	219
APPENDIX A3: The Compromise Between the "Syndics" and the Entrepreneur Augustin Leblanc .....	220
APPENDIX B1: Summary of Payments to Leduc and His Assistants for the 1896-1900 Project .....	221
APPENDIX B2: Total Funds Raised to Pay for Saint-Hilaire Project (1896-1900) .....	228
APPENDIX B3: Leduc's Estimates for his Canvases, and a List of the Nine Paintings in the Nave .....	229
APPENDIX B4: Bills for Materials from the 1896-1897 Project ....	230
APPENDIX B5: Leduc Assistants for 1896-1897 Project .....	231
APPENDIX C: List of Works Exhibited by Leduc at the AAM (1891-1921) and the RCA (1893-1915) .....	232
APPENDIX D: Books in Leduc's Library .....	234
APPENDIX E1: Total Monies Received by Leduc and his Assistants for the 1928-1929 Restoration .....	237
APPENDIX E2: Payments made to Leduc and his Assistants .....	238
APPENDIX F: Thirty-Six Decorative Crosses on the Front of the Jubé .....	248
APPENDIX G: List of Old Statues Exchanged for New Ones from T. Carli .....	249
APPENDIX H1: Nave Window Designs .....	250
APPENDIX H2: Description of Motifs on Nave Windows .....	251

#### ADDENDA

ADDENDUM 1: Daily Work Journal for the Restoration .....	254
--	-----

ADDENDUM 2: Contract for the Restoration .....	276
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	282
PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS .....	292
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	293
ILLUSTRATIONS .....	300

### Acknowledgements

The present study has been a labour of love which developed from two sources. Firstly, it was easy to re-assimilate myself into a study of the St-Hilaire church interior decoration conceived and designed by Ozias Leduc, as I had spent the better part of my youth in the Saint-Hilaire area. Familiarity with the community and its people has not stilted objectivity, in this case, but enriched it. Secondly, my interest was stimulated further through a graduate seminar conducted by Professor Laurier Lacroix, which led to a close examination of Ozias Leduc's life and artistic career through personal papers deposited in the Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal. The result was the travelling exhibition entitled Ozias Leduc: The Draughtsman. The catalyst for the realization and completion of such a study must rest with my thesis director, M. Laurier Lacroix, who inspired me through his counsel and guidance.

I am indebted to M. Jean-René Ostiguy, Research Curator of Canadian Art at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa for allowing me access to his files on Ozias Leduc as well as contributing advice and encouragement.

A very special note of gratitude must be paid to the following persons for their kindness and patience: Curé Aurèle Beaugard of St-Hilaire church and the Parish Archives, where my frequent and pleasant visits were always warmly received; Les Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie, Couvent de St-Hilaire, especially Soeur Aurore Leduc for supplying valuable documented material; Mme. Gertrude Leduc for the many enlightening anecdotes concerning her uncle Ozias and the

family history; Mlle Gabrielle Messier for her eagerness to share her knowledge and recollections; M. Raoul Vien for his precise and clear remembrance of the 1928-1929 restoration of St-Hilaire church; and finally I am greatly indebted to the numerous private art collectors who allowed me to study firsthand the preliminary drawings of Ozias Leduc for St-Hilaire church but wish to remain anonymous.

I would also like to thank the many persons, institutions, archives, and librairies for their contributions to this study: especially M. Jean Poirier and M. Michel Savoie of Fonds Ozias Leduc of the Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, in granting permission to reproduce relevant photographs and other important material to complement the text; Abbé Jean-Roch Choinière and Ginette St-Onge of the St-Hyacinthe Bishop's Archives for information on the construction of St-Hilaire church and correspondence between the St-Hilaire curés and the Bishops of St-Hyacinthe; Dr. Paul F. McCullaugh, Hiram Mills Professor of Classical Philology, McGill University, for his comments and ideas on decipherment of Latin inscriptions; M. Michel Clerc and M. J. Armand Cardinal of the Société historique de Saint-Hilaire for providing two valuable photographs; the personnel of Inventaire biens culturels, Fonds Gérard Morisset, Québec City; Regional Documentation Center for Notarial Papers, Marieville, Quebec; and Ms. Gail Flicker of the Interlibrary loan services of Concordia University for locating many rare books, obscure material, and pamphlets.

In conclusion, a special thanks to the City of Westmount Student Summer Employment Service for financial support; as well as family and friends who chauffeured me to various parts of Quebec to interview people, gather material and study works in private collections; and my mother, Iris Stirling, for not only editing and typing the

manuscript, but for being supportive during the two years preparation of the thesis. Mrs. Sharon Carey is responsible for the final typing and format.



### Abbreviations

A.C.S.H.	Archives de couvent de Saint-Hilaire, <u>Journal</u>
A.E.S.H.	Archives de l'évêché de Saint-Hyacinthe
A.F.B.	Archives Famille Borduas, Saint-Hilaire
A.P.F.	Archives de la Paroisse de Farnham
A.P.S.H.	Archives de la Paroisse de Saint-Hilaire
A.N.Q.M.	Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, <u>Fonds Leduc</u> 06-M, p. 50
A.R.N.D.	Archives for Regional Notarial Documents for St-Hilaire parish, Marjville
A.S.S.S.	Archives Séminaire de St-Sulpice, Montréal
I.B.C.	Inventaire des biens culturels, Fonds Gérard Morisset, <u>dossier St-Hilaire church</u>
J.C.A.H.	<u>Journal of Canadian Art History</u>
R.H.A.F.	<u>Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française</u>
S.H.S.H.	Société historique de Saint-Hilaire
Blais, 1973.	Jean Ethier-Blais, "Ozias Leduc" in <u>Ozias Leduc et Paul-Emile Borduas</u> , Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal, 1973.
Lacroix, 1978.	Laurier Lacroix, <u>Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman</u> , Montréal: Sir George Williams Art Galleries, 1978.
Ostiguy, 1974.	Jean-René Ostiguy, <u>Ozias Leduc, Symbolist and Religious Painting</u> , Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada for the Corporation of the National Museums of Canada, 1974.

All documents are quoted in their original form.

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

Diagram A: Iconographic Arrangement of the Ceiling .....	85.
Diagram B: Iconographic Arrangement of Interior Walls .....	119.
Diagram C: Nave Window .....	199A

## INTRODUCTION

Victor Morin, a friend of Ozias Leduc, initiated the inquiry into making St-Hilaire church an Historic Monument in 1949.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Ozias Leduc wrote Gérard Morisset asking what procedure should be taken and what requirements should be met to qualify St-Hilaire church as an historical monument and requested his help.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately their efforts and those of Mme. Edouard Clerk were rejected.<sup>3</sup>

In an updated letter of February 1949, to his lifelong friend, Monsieur Olivier Maurault, p.s.s., rector of the University of Montreal, Ozias Leduc expressed his deep concern for the deteriorating interior of St-Hilaire church, feeling that it could be preserved if declared an historic monument.

"On parle d'agrandissement d'altérations, pour notre église de Saint-Hilaire devenue trop étroite pour notre population paroissiale, qui va s'augmentant rapidement.

Notre église a maintenant un siècle d'âge bien sonné. Construite en pierres des champs elle n'est pas désagréable à regarder. Sa façade, très simple de ligne offre une masse qui s'impose et la fixe dans la mémoire. On y tient telle qu'elle est. Penser qu'on pourrait l'abattre pour allonger la nef - fait mal.

Cette église comme vous savez est meublée d'une des plus belle chaire du pays, oeuvre d'un élève de Quevillon et parée bien modestement, sans doute d'un ensemble de mes peintures exécutées, il y a cinquante ans . . .

La chaire comme ces tableaux ne peuvent être déplacés

<sup>1</sup> I.B.C. Letter from Victor Morin to R.A. Benoit dated January 12, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> I.B.C. Letter from O.L. to Gérard Morisset, dated January 31, 1949.

<sup>3</sup> I.B.C. Gérard Morisset letter to O.L., dated February 9, 1949; See also Gérard Morisset letters to R.A. Benoit, February 8 and February 9, 1949; R.A. Benoit to O.L. dated February 14, 1949; A.N.Q.M., b2 c7, See February 12 and March 20, 1949, letters from Mme. E. Clerk to Victor Morin.

sans un grand risque de détérioration, ni disposées autrement, que dans leur ordre logique cet . . .  
L'église au cours du temps a déjà subi assez de retouches de mauvais goût pour qu'on n'essaye pas d'en empêcher d'autres.

Si l'église de Saint-Hilaire était mise sous la protection de la "Commission des monuments historiques de la province de Québec" est-ce qu'on aurait pas là, le moyen de prévenir ce qu'on peut appeler un malheur?"<sup>1</sup>

In 1953, Mlle Gabrielle Messier,<sup>2</sup> a student of Ozias Leduc, aided by his comments, restored two canvases, the Death of St. Joseph and the Pentecost located at the rear of St-Hilaire church.<sup>3</sup>

After a delay of sixteen years from Morin's request in 1949, the Church of St-Hilaire was declared a monument historique in 1965 and the canvases executed by Ozias Leduc between 1898-1900 were classified as Biens Culturels in 1976.<sup>3</sup> At present, the condition of the interior is rapidly deteriorating with the paint chipping off the lateral walls and the fifteen mural oil on canvas discoloured by dirt. The provincial government is studying the possibility of restoration at the present time and will no doubt act without further delay before the damage is irreparable.

This study is devoted to an examination of the entire

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b7 c117. Letter from O.L. to Olivier Maurault, dated February, 1949.

<sup>2</sup>Lacroix, 1978, p. 153. Notre-Dame-de-la Présentation Shawinigan-sud was completed by Gabrielle Messier in 1955, after Leduc's death.

<sup>3</sup>Yves Laframboise, L'Architecture Religieuse dans la vallée du Richelieu (documents 2, mai 1971), pp. 7-8. See also Marie-Thérèse Thibault, ed., Monuments et sites historiques du Québec (Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1978, cahiers 110), p. 98.

interior decorative scheme of St-Hilaire church conceived and designed by Ozias Leduc and executed by his assistants between April 8, 1896 and early February, 1897. The fifteen oil on canvas religious scenes, inspired by the New Testament and Life of the Saints were completed in Leduc's studio, Correlieu,<sup>1</sup> and installed by May 24, 1900.

The changes and additions made to the St-Hilaire church interior during the 1928-1929 (July 1, 1929 - January 14, 1929) restoration, as well as subsequent improvements in 1930-1931, both directed by Ozias Leduc, are also investigated.

This detailed factual account cannot be studied without first considering three important areas of background information which determined the outcome of Leduc's final plan for the overall interior decoration: first, the architectural history of St-Hilaire church is not yet known, therefore it is important to understand the nature and condition of the building before Leduc's work began. Second, the early career of Leduc prior to his receiving the St-Hilaire church commission will be documented and summarized in order to establish the artist's background. Third, a review of the critical literature with regard to the interior decoration will be presented.

These three areas must be explored and elucidated upon before the historical, chronological, artistic analysis and evaluation of St-Hilaire church can be considered so as to place it and its decorator, Ozias Leduc, in proper perspective to the time and place in which it was conceived and executed.

---

<sup>1</sup>Correlieu was built ca. 1892, as stated by Mlle. Gabrielle Messier.

## Chapter One

### Construction of St-Hilaire Church

Three sources provide an historical and chronological account of the construction of St-Hilaire church.<sup>1</sup>

A brief summation of important information is presented for the purpose of re-constructing the appearance of the church interior prior to Leduc receiving the decoration commission. This documented material combined with a photograph of a lost preliminary architectural drawing (fig.1) provide an accurate reconstruction of the church and illustrates, more clearly, the task Leduc undertook, in order to successfully decorate the church with the already existing physical architectural interior.

The photograph of the lost preliminary drawing for St-Hilaire church bears the following inscription: "Sketches for the New Altars - Stalle and Bishop's Throne for the church of St-Hilaire -

---

<sup>1</sup>An accurate account of the procedures leading up to and including the construction of St-Hilaire church is preserved in the Livres de Comptes of the parish. The second source is an interesting, but brief history of the church and community of St-Hilaire deposited at the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe Archives, which was compiled and written by an anonymous author during the late 19th century. It contains many references to letters and Notarial documents now lost. The third source is a newspaper article from Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe ca. 1914-1915 written by Chanoine Saint-Pierre (pseudonyme G. - P.A.) which supplies some additional information.

Y. Lanford (undecipherable word).<sup>1</sup>

The authenticity of the architectural drawing with the accompanying inscription is reliable. The scale (high lateral walls) is exaggerated, which makes the drawing appear visionary. The view of the undecorated wall and ceiling surfaces of the choir area and the side aisle are unmistakably St-Hilaire church.

The interior of St-Hilaire church is conceived in the Neo-Gothic style, a style which Gérard Morisset believed had been imposed by the Campbell Family, the British Seigneurs,<sup>2</sup> who had purchased the Rouville Seignury on April 16, 1844 from Jean-Baptiste Hertel de Rouville.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Nowhere in the Montreal City Directories between 1820-1860 does the name Y. Lanford appear or a similar name in respect to an architectural firm. The name Y. Lanford appears only three times in connection with St-Hilaire church, other than this architectural drawing. The earliest mention of Y. Lanford is in a documented letter dated, November 22, 1928 (S.H.S.H., Leduc requested this information from Gustave Millet during his restoration of St-Hilaire church in 1928-1929). In this letter from Gustave Millet to Ozias Leduc, he relates information about the construction of St-Hilaire church. Millet states that Y. Lanford was the architect in the employ of the Campbell family, the local seigneurs, who designed the Manor House, the Iroquois House (lodge) and St-Hilaire church. He also mentions Mr. Sommerville as Y. Lanford's assistant. The other two sources are derived from the first. The second account is an updated brief text written by Leduc stating the exact information, no doubt copied from Millet's information (A.N.Q.M., b2c11. Undated loose sheet). The third account mentioning Lanford's name is found in the final documented inventory report by Gérard Morisset and Jules Bazin dated September, 1937 (I.B.C., Fonds Gérard Morisset, dossier St-Hilaire church) which was probably based on Leduc's notes, as Morisset had requested information about St-Hilaire church.

<sup>2</sup> There is no documentary evidence to substantiate this.

<sup>3</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, Vol. 37, p. 57.

The task of constructing a church had been difficult and the entire project took twelve years to accomplish from 1825 to 1837.<sup>1</sup> Until 1837, the people of St-Hilaire had attended either Beloeil church, the community directly opposite, across the Richelieu river, while those located in the southeast area of the large agricultural community worshipped at Rouville church. The official request for permission to build a church was filed on December 12, 1824<sup>2</sup> and permission was granted by the Bishop of Québec on May 18, 1825.<sup>3</sup>

On this same date Mgr. J.-O Plessis asked François-Joseph Deguise, Curé of Varennes to select the location and determine the dimensions of the proposed church. On June 15, 1825 M. Deguise's deputy marked the future site of the church and presbytery by officially erecting a cross on the chosen spot and determined the church should measure 120 x 50 feet (French measurement).<sup>4</sup> Mgr. Plessis approved the future site of the church on September 3, 1825, but he rejected the dimensions.<sup>5</sup> On November 5, 1825, the elected officials of the future church initiated a campaign to raise the necessary funds to pay for the project.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 120. "Sous l'administration de M. Bélanger, deux grandes questions sont en présence, l'Erection canonique de la paroisse de St-Hilaire, et la construction d'un Eglise. La première eut une fin heureuse et assez prompte, la seconde traina en longueur pendant 12 ans, et n'eut une solution finale qu'en 1837.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



Jean-Baptiste Hertel de Rouville, selected to organize the project, resigned on May 22, 1827<sup>1</sup> frustrated by the arguments over the dimensions for the proposed church, but two years later on July 15, 1829, he again consented to head the committee to build the church.<sup>2</sup>

On January 25, 1830, the first payment was made by the "Syndics" to Augustin Leblanc, architect from the parish of Saint-Grégoire de Nicolet, district of Three Rivers, to construct a stone church measuring 100 x 50 feet, vaults "en plâtre" and "une sacristie de 30 x 24 pds."<sup>3</sup>

As indicated in the contract between Leblanc and the parish a "maitre-maçon" was also hired. On February 9, 1830, the Syndics selected Joseph Doyon "maitre-maçon, entrepreneur résidant à Montreal."<sup>4</sup> Financial problems combined with the interruption of work caused lengthy delays. As well, an unforeseen accident resulting from structural problems, nearly terminated the project.

"Les murs de l'Eglise malfaits à la hôte et mal joints, succombèrent sous les poids d'un comble encore plus malfait; ils se fendirent et furent prêts de s'écrouler avec le toit au printemps 1832. Cet accident imprévu paralysa complètement les habitants et acheva de les démoraliser."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. See Appendix A1. The architect selected was Augustin Leblanc (1799-1882), a sculptor and entrepreneur-general from Saint-Grégoire de Nicolet. St-Hilaire church was his earliest commission as Luc Noppen in Les églises du Québec 1600-1850 (Québec: Fides, 1977), pp. 108, 212, 232, 234, 274, noted Leblanc worked at the Church of Saint-Pierre, Sorel (1833); Church of Saint-Charles Borromée at Portneuf (1840-1848); decorated the vaults at Saint-Denis sur Richelieu (1844); and enlarged the nave and designed the facade for the Church of Saint-Grégoire, Nicolet, (1850-1855). See also Ramsay Traquair, The Old Architecture of Québec (Toronto: MacMillan Company Ltd., 1947), p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, Vol. 30, pp. 142-143.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

By June of 1834, a new agreement was reached between the Syndics and Augustin Leblanc.<sup>1</sup> Two structural changes were made from the original contract. First, externally, the church was to have only one belltower making the church structurally stronger. Secondly, the interior vaulting was to be constructed of wood to bolster its strength, rather than the plaster and putty vaulting proposed in the first contractual agreement. Besides the new church's structural problems there were economic hardships, crop failures, a severely critical re-evaluation of the seignorial system, a cholera epidemic and the political unrest caused by the 1837 rebellion. Even with these almost insurmountable economic, social and political difficulties, the benediction of the new church took place in the autumn of 1837.<sup>2</sup>

In March, 1842, Curé Joseph Quévillon began his search for a "maître-menuisier", who would execute wooden vaulting for the St-Hilaire church interior. Shortly thereafter, on April 10, 1842, Antoine Provost a "maître-menuisier de Beloeil" was chosen for the job and given a monetary advance.<sup>3</sup> On September 10, 1843 Antoine Provost was paid for painting the vaulting and columns in St-Hilaire church.<sup>4</sup> On January 8, 1849 two experts André Craig, "maître-sculpteur de S-Antoine" and Joseph Langier "maître-menuisier de Beloeil" were employed to examine

<sup>1</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, pp. 146-147. See Appendix A2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> A.P.S.H. Livres de Comptes (1837-1888), p. 14b; See also A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 25.

the work of Antoine Provost. They found Provost's work to be defective, but more importantly noted that the choir area contained two empty frames waiting to receive two canvases.<sup>1</sup> There is no other information concerning these two canvases. On February 21, 1853, Toussaint Guillot "maître-menuisier de St-Hilaire" was chosen to construct the jubé containing forty-six benches.<sup>2</sup>

On January 25, 1855 the work on the jubé was nearing completion, and was eventually terminated at some unknown date in 1855.<sup>3</sup> As well as work on the jubé, located at the rear of the church, a contract was awarded to "Joachim Authier et Félix Martin menuisiers de St-Hilaire" on October 22, 1854 to build the altars and seats in the choir area.<sup>4</sup> Between 1855 and 1871 there were minor repairs done to the interior woodwork and repainting.<sup>5</sup>

In the Spring of 1876 new engravings of the Ways of the Cross

<sup>1</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 17.  
" . . . dans la Choeur de l'Eglise, deux chasis  
en simple cadre pour y recevoir des toiles,  
tel que dit aux . . . marchés."

<sup>2</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, pp. 24-25.  
" . . . jubé de 22 pieds de profondeur pouvant  
contenir 46 bancs semblables à ceux de la nef  
ainsi que tous autres ouvrages jugés nécessaires  
pour appuyer solidement le dit Jubé le tout  
livrable fait et parfait le 24 Dec. 1853."

<sup>3</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, pp. 24-25. See also,  
A.P.S.H., Livres de Comptes, pp. 54-61.

<sup>4</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 25.  
"Restaient encore à faire de l'Eglise les Autels et  
les Stalles du Choeur, de la Sacristie, le Vestiaire  
et les Confessionnaires."  
See also A.P.S.H., Livres de Comptes, pp. 52, 54-55.

<sup>5</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 30. On July 6, 1866,  
the walls of the interior were repainted. See item no. 1, pp. 32-33. On  
January 4, 1871 it was suggested a part of one of the lateral walls be  
rebuilt and repainted and its windows re-made.

were given to St-Hilaire church.<sup>1</sup> It was decided, in 1878, to embellish the interior of the church, as well as the Sacristie."<sup>2</sup>

In the Livres de Comptes two payments are recorded (one in 1878, the other in 1879) to the "entrepreneurs Provost et Martin."<sup>3</sup>

The work was described as follows:

"... le Maître-autel fut refait tout à neuf; les allées de la nef rétrécies, les bancs renouvelés, exhausés et adaptés pour quatre places chacun, et ce d'après une délibérat. Des fabriciens en date du 5 Janv. 1879, on fit disparaître le Banc d'oeuvre et l'on ménagea une place pour les Marguill, une partie du Banc Seigneurial. Le 2<sup>d</sup> Jubé fut terminé, le premier réparé, et l'on ajouta a celui un appendice pour loger l'orgue et les chantres."<sup>4</sup>

The project was completed in January, 1879.

"Toutes les peintures furent aussi renouvelées sur les ouvrages en bois; on y imita en chêne blanc toutes les parties susceptibles de l'être. Dans la Sacristie, les vestiaires, confessionaux furent réparés et les peintures refaites. Ces diverses améliorations otèrent à l'Eglise l'air sombre (sic) qu'elle révélait de vieille date et lui donnèrent tout l'éclat et le brillant de la jeunesse et de la gaite."<sup>5</sup>

This impressive transformation of the interior space was reported in the local newspaper:

"L'Eglise de St-Hilaire a subi des réparations intérieures considérables. Le nouveau maître-autel est très joli. Les dorures et les peintures, qui ont été faites dans la nef et autres améliorations, tout de cette

<sup>1</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> A.P.S.H., Livres de Comptes, pp. 136, 138b.

<sup>4</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier Saint-Hilaire, vol. 30, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

"l'église une des plus riches et des plus élégantes que l'on puisse rencontrer dans les paroisses de même étendue."

One of the final additions, from this early period of the St-Hilaire church interior was the purchase of an organ for six hundred dollars in 1883 from Mr. Brodeur, an organ manufacturer from Saint-Hyacinthe.<sup>2</sup>

### CONCLUSION

This study has shown that a number of craftsmen and artisans from St-Hilaire and nearby communities over a period of many years, contributed to the shaping of the Neo-Gothic interior of St-Hilaire church. The architectural drawing, no doubt, served as a model for these artisans. Ramsay Traquair stated that it was common practice in 19th century Québec for specialists to be contracted to execute their particular areas of specialization.<sup>3</sup>

Another fact which emerged was the use of wood in the construction of church buildings, inevitably leading to a high percentage of destructions by fire. This, along with the climatic changes had a devastating effect on the building material and its longevity was ephemeral. Wood was used because of its availability and inexpensiveness, however, deterio-

<sup>1</sup> Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, February 1, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> A.P.S.H., Livres de Comptes, p. 147 (1882). Curé Vézina called a meeting of the Marguilliers for September 17, 1882 whereupon it was decided to purchase an organ. See also p. 152 (1883) for \$600.00 price. This organ was replaced by a Casavant Brothers organ in 1929, when Ozias Leduc was restoring his original decoration.

<sup>3</sup> Traquair, op. cit.

ration made repairs constant.

The church is a reflection of the people who built and decorated it, and an interesting sociological insight into the parish. Pierre Savard discussed the intense rivalries that existed between parishes to build and decorate churches during the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> His study stressed the important role of the parish priest, not only with regard to spiritual guidance and directing the local affairs of the parish, but also the task of employing artists and craftsmen (with the help of the Marguilliers) to execute works for the church.

The church of St-Hilaire interior decoration is conceived in the Neo-Gothic style, that was first popularized in Europe between 1775-1845, then transmitted to North America at a slightly later date. The first important Neo-Gothic work in Canada was Montreal's Notre-Dame Church designed originally by the Irish architect James O'Donnell (1774-1830), between 1824-1829.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the conception of the interior decoration of St-Hilaire church, was avant-garde.

In conclusion, this section indicates some of the problems of a typical rural 19th century parish; the delays, bureaucracy, monetary difficulties, however, it also shows the patience and perseverance of those involved in the project. This truism is reflected in the 1896-1900 interior decorative program designed by Ozias Leduc.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Savard, "La vie du clergé québécois au XIX siècle" *Recherches sociographiques*, vol. VIII (no. 3, 1967), pp. 259-273.

<sup>2</sup> The Neo-Gothic influence infiltrated Canada throughout the United States, especially the New England States.

## Chapter Two

### Leduc's Early Career

Ozias Leduc was born October 8, 1864 at Saint-Hilaire de Rouville to Antoine Leduc and Emilie Brouillette.<sup>1</sup> Ozias was the second of ten children and was baptized Joseph Azarie Leduc on October 9, 1864. He completed elementary school in the école du Rang des trentes; then attended the école modèle under the careful guidance of his teacher M. Jean-Baptiste Nectaire Galipeau.<sup>2</sup> The following report of school conditions and the curriculum was recorded by one of the school inspectors and gives an insight into the early education of Ozias Leduc, the student.

"L'école modèle de garçons sous la direction de M.J.B. Nectaire Galipeau répond bien aux désirs de la plupart des intéressés. 48 élèves sont inscrits au journal, l'assistance de 40. Presque tous ont répondu d'une manière satisfaisante aux questions que je leur ai faites sur l'arithmétique pratique, le calcul mental, la tenue des livres à simple entrées, l'algèbre, le mesurage, le style épistolaire, le manuel d'agriculture, la grammaire anglaise et française raisonnables. M. Galipeau enseigne aussi la musique vocale et instrumentale."<sup>3</sup>

Although there is no mention of art instruction, Leduc revealed to Gérard Morisset in a letter many years later

"...ce maître d'école (J.B.N. Galipeau) a encouragé et faciliter l'étude de votre serviteur, en lui fournissant

<sup>1</sup> Antoine Leduc and Emilie Brouillette were married at Saint-Hilaire, November 25, 1861, as indicated in René Jetté, Mariages de St-Charles, 1741-1967, St-Hilaire, 1799-1967, St-Jean Baptiste 1797-1967, Otterburn Park, 1960-1967 (Québec: B. Pontbriand, 1969), p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. J.B.N. Galipeau (1848-1918) taught students in the Arrondissement no. 1 from 1873 onward. The parish of Saint-Hilaire had been divided into four educational districts in 1856.

<sup>3</sup> A.E.S.H., dossier St-Hilaire, vol. 37, p. 60.

de belles images à copier."<sup>1</sup>

At a later date, when asked to provide personal information for a biographical dictionary of Canadian artists, Leduc maintained that he was self-taught.<sup>2</sup> However, his name appears on the list<sup>3</sup> of students attending the Salle Nordheimer, a Montreal Art Institute of study organized by L'abbé Joseph Chabert (1832-1894).<sup>4</sup> While in existence, this school was attended by most of Québec's finest young artists, i.e. Raoul Barré (1874-1932), Henri Beau (1863-1949), A. Carli (1861-1937), Georges Delfosse (1869-1939), Charles Gill (1871-1918), Charles Huot (1855-1930), Ludger Larose (1868-1915) and Joseph St-Charles (1868-1956), to name only a few, many of whom Leduc remained in contact with during various stages of his career. Courses in drawing and design were emphasized in the school's curriculum re-inforcing the interest in drawing which Leduc had acquired and had been nurtured by his école modèle instructor J.B.N. Galipeau.

These factors contributed to the formation of his aesthetic appreciation of drawing, which he considered to be the intellectual aspect of a picture.<sup>5</sup>

Many of Leduc's colleagues at the Salle Nordheimer developed a further knowledge of art through European travel and study at European academies. Young Canadian and American artists eagerly sought

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M. Letter from Ozias Leduc to Gérard Morisset dated July 9, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7c103, Letter from O.L. to Mr. Falardeau, July 1, 1935.

<sup>3</sup> Emile Falardeau, Artistes et artisans au Canada (Montreal: Ducharme, 1943), third series "Rapin," p. 47. For more information on the career and art school of Abbé Chabert see also Céline, Lariyiere-Derome, "Un professeur d'art au Canada au XIXe siècle: l'abbé Joseph Chabert" R.H.A.F., Vol. 28 (No. 3, dec. 1974), pp. 347-366.

<sup>4</sup> Opinion Publique, December 21, 1882, p. 609 announces the reopening of Abbé Chabert's school.

<sup>5</sup> Lacroix, 1978, p. 104.



training at Munich, Dusseldorf,<sup>1</sup> London, Rome and Paris.<sup>2</sup> The advantages of European study under European masters of art, past and present, were not only socially prestigious but lucrative. This is apparent when prices obtained for works by Suzor-Coté (1869-1937) are contrasted with those of Quebec-trained, Ozias Leduc.<sup>3</sup> In Leduc's case, it was impossible for him as a young man from a rural background with limited financial resources, to study in Europe. At this time, Montreal was considering plans to establish a school of Fine Arts and grant certain students the chance of studying in the great academies of Europe, either at Paris or Rome.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, these plans were not immediately realized, therefore, European training was only available to those who could finance themselves (i.e. family wealth or patronage).

It was the policy of the Roman Catholic clergy of Quebec to employ European born and trained artists rather than commission local young artists to execute official portraits and church decoration.<sup>5</sup>

As an alternative to European study, Leduc sought apprenticeship within his own province. According to Gabrielle Messier, in 1883 Leduc worked as a statue painter for M. Beaulac of the Atelier T. Carli in

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas Pevsner, Academies of Art, Past and Present (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973).  
<sup>2</sup> The Dusseldorf Academy and the Americans (Atlanta: The High Museum of Art, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> Laurier Lacroix, "Les Artistes Canadiens copistes au Louvre 1838-1908" J.C.A.H., Vol. II (no. 1, 1975), pp. 54-70. Sylvain Allaire, "Les canadiens au salon officiel de Paris entre 1870 et 1910: sections peinture et dessin" J.C.A.H., Vol. IV (no. 2, 1977-78), pp. 141-154.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. b 3 c 10; b3 c11. L.A. Boyer of the law firm Dandurand, Brodeur, Boyer, commissioned Leduc to copy the Suzor-Coté painting La Bécasse, because the original was too expensive. Letters from L.A. Boyer to O.L. dated Feb. 11, March 21, 1899 and October 28, 1901.

<sup>4</sup> "Les Arts à Montréal," La Presse. November 13, 1894, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Gérard Morisset, Coup d'oeil sur les arts en Nouvelle France (Québec: Charrier et Dugal, 1941), pp. 55-70.  
 Gérard Morisset, La Peinture traditionnelle au Canada-français (Ottawa: Le cercle du livre de France, 1960), p. 134. According to Morisset the influx into Québec by "mediocre" Italian artists was tremendous because of the demand for their works by the Roman Catholic clergy.

Montreal and began "frequenting the studio of the church decorator Luigi Cappello (active in 1874-1882)"<sup>1</sup> and is said to have done some drawing for the sculptor Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917).<sup>2</sup> In 1888, he worked with Cappello on the decoration of Yamachiche church, Maskinongé County (destroyed by fire in 1958).<sup>3</sup> It was probably during this commission that Leduc met Joseph-Adolphe Rho (1835-1905)<sup>4</sup> a sculptor and painter with whom he apprenticed later, at Bécancour.

Leduc executed the religious canvas The Baptism of Christ, although it is signed by Rho and offered "par les membres canadiens-français du quatrième pèlerinage en Terre Sainte en 1890" to the Chapel of St-Jean-in-Montana, Jérusalem.<sup>5</sup> He exhibited two religious canvases Christ on the Cross after Bonnat (1833-1922) and Mater Dolorosa, after Guido Reni (1575-1642) at the Salle Cavallo, Montreal.<sup>6</sup> In 1891, Leduc copied Ary Scheffer's Descent from the Cross<sup>7</sup> commissioned for Notre-Dame-de-la-Paix church in Verdun. Also, in 1891, he painted a work entitled Saint-Charles Borromée (after an original work by Charles LeBrun) for the church

<sup>1</sup> Marie-Louis Lebrun (1859-1939), wife of Luigi Cappello, who when widowed married her cousin Ozias Leduc in 1906. See J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 57. See also A.N.Q.M., b 3 c 14. Cappello's tapestry school was located at 17 Place D'armes, Mtl., at the same address of Leduc's first patrons L.P. Brodeur and L.A. Boyer of the firm of Dandurand, Brodeur and Boyer, Barristers and Solicitors, who commissioned oil paintings in the 1890's.

<sup>2</sup> Ostiguy, 1974, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Abbé Napoléon Caron, Histoire de la Paroisse d'Yamachiche. (Trois-rivière: P.V. Ayotte, 1892), pp. 85-94. With the death of Cappello ca. 1888-1889, Leduc then apprenticed with J - Adolphe Rho (See Montréal City Directory, 1888-1889).

<sup>4</sup> Harper, op. cit. p. 264.

<sup>5</sup> Ostiguy, 1974, p. 195, See also Histoire des Beaux Arts: Notions (Montréal: Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et Marie, 1937), p. 288.

<sup>6</sup> Ostiguy, 1974, p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> Ostiguy, 1974, pp. 17, 110; See also Lacroix, 1978, p. 149.

of Saint-Charles Borromée de Lachenaie.<sup>1</sup> In 1892 Leduc directed work in the choir area of the Church of St-Paul l'Ermite, executing some medallions in the nave vaulting depicting heads of angels.<sup>2</sup> Leduc received some notable publicity in art circles for the exhibition of his Nature Morte, Livres at the 1892 Art Association of Montreal's Spring Exhibition.<sup>3</sup> He was awarded one hundred dollars for the "best painting by an artist under thirty years of age, not a Royal Canadian Academician or Associate."<sup>4</sup> Although J.R. Ostiguy stated Leduc started his work on the church of St-Charles Borromée de Joliette in 1893,<sup>5</sup> documentary evidence proves otherwise.<sup>6</sup>

The year 1893 was an anniversary year for Joliette; "le cinquantenaire de l'érection canonique de la paroisse de St-Charles Borromée de Joliette" and a history of the Joliette community was published, called Joliette Illustré, which was reproduced in serial form in the Joliette newspaper L'Etoile du Nord.<sup>7</sup> The celebration of this special anniversary was marked by a number of cultural activities and city beautification projects. One of these projects was the aggrandisement of the new cathedral's interior. The commission for decorating the interior of Saint-Charles Borromée had been awarded to Mr. "Joseph Thomas Rousseau (1852 - still active 1896); peintre décorateur distingué de St-Hyacinthe

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, 1978, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Arcadia I (no. 2, May 16, 1892), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ostiguy, 1974, pp. 195-196.

<sup>6</sup> The progress of the work can be traced in the Joliette newspaper L'Etoile du Nord.

<sup>7</sup> Albert Gervais, Joliette Illustré. Numéro-Souvenir de ses noces d'Or, 1843-1893 (Joliette: 1893).

in October, 1891.<sup>1</sup> J.T. Rousseau not only designed the interior decorative scheme but also acted as a general contractor and organized his workshop of various artists to perform particular functions and specific works.

"M.J.T. Rousseau, peintre et artiste décorateur de St-Hyacinthe, ayant entrepris comme tel tout ce qu'il y a à faire à notre nouvelle église, est arrivé ici la semaine dernière, avec tous ses hommes. Ces derniers aussitôt descendus de chars se mirent en frais de se choisir des maisons de pension, les travaux qui les amenaient au milieu de nous, devant commencer incessamment et durer un certain temps. Ce contingent de travailleurs se compose d'ouvriers tous habiles dans leur métier."<sup>2</sup>

On November 5, 1891, the painting and ornamentation of the church interior was progressing rapidly and four local Joliette artists were mentioned as participating actively in the execution of the work, Nérée and Alfred Goulet, A. Crépeau and Georges Desaulniers.<sup>3</sup> Leduc was to execute twenty-four canvases for the nave transepts and choir area depicting scenes from the life of Christ and the Mysteries of the Rosary.<sup>4</sup>

His name does not appear in local newspapers until much later, however on December 5, 1891 a comment was made concerning the canvases.

"Quand les tableaux auxquels on travaille seront terminés et figureront aux endroits qu'ils doivent occuper les connaisseurs seront émerveillés de ce qu'ils verront!"<sup>5</sup>

Ozias Leduc received a letter from L.M. Vadeboncoeur on October 30, 1893 praising his work.

"Par un beau soleil de l'avant midi j'ai pu contempler avec délices votre galerie de tableaux

<sup>1</sup>"Echos de Joliette," L'Etoile du Nord, October 8, 1891, no. 9, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>"Honneur à un canadien", L'Etoile du Nord, October 29, 1891, no. 13, p.3.

<sup>3</sup>"Echos de Joliette," L'Etoile du Nord, November 5, 1891, no. 14, p.3.

<sup>4</sup>Lacroix, 1978, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup>"Echos de Joliette," L'Etoile du Nord, November 5, 1891, no.14, p.3.

à la voûte du chœur de l'église St. Charles. On s'aperçoit qu' Dieu vous a guidé dans votre grande conception. Que Dieu, mon cher Monsieur continue à vous favorisez."<sup>1</sup>

According to an excerpt from L'Etoile du Nord dated November 2, 1893, the five Leduc compositions in the choir area had been installed:

"Nous devons aussi une mention spéciale aux cinq magnifiques tableaux qui sont placés dans la voûte au-dessus du chœur. Notre église, lorsqu'elle sera terminée, sera l'une des plus belles de la province."<sup>2</sup>

By February 15, 1894 Leduc had completed the canvases in the vaulting of Joliette Cathedral.

"C'est à St-Hilaire et non à St-Hyacinthe que demeure M.O. Leduc, l'habile artiste qui a si magnifiquement terminé les tableaux qui devront compléter l'ornementation de la voûte de notre église. M. Leduc est un artiste d'un réel mérite qui a droit à nos félicitations."<sup>3</sup>

On October 18, 1894 L'Etoile du Nord proclaimed with civic pride and enthusiasm,

"Les travaux à l'église de cette ville sont conduits avec beaucoup d'activité. Déjà la façade a atteint une hauteur considérable. A l'intérieur de l'église on pose actuellement dans les voûtes du transept les tableaux du rosaire représentant les mystères joyeux. Encore quelque temps et notre temple sera un des plus riches et des mieux finis du pays."<sup>4</sup>

In a letter to l'abbé Eugène Martin of Joliette, many years later Leduc revealed the eclecticism which would be characteristic of his approach to religious decoration evidenced throughout his long productive career.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b 3 c 4.

<sup>2</sup>"Echos de Joliette," L'Etoile du Nord, November 2, 1893, no.13, p.3.

<sup>3</sup>"Echos de Joliette," L'Etoile du Nord, February 15, 1894, no.28, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>"Echos de Joliette," L'Etoile du Nord, October 18, 1894, no.11, p.3..

"On peut dire que ces tableaux sont plutôt que des copies des arrangements d'après des reproductions photographiques ou gravées d'œuvres d'artistes la plupart bien connus. On encore, pour quelques uns, que ce sont des interprétations très libres, dessin et couleur, des maîtres choisis."

Leduc's apprenticeship with Adolphe Rho and Luigi Cappello, exposed him to certain technical methods with regard to religious mural decoration, increased his knowledge of traditional religious art, Christian iconography and exposed him to works by European artists. His skills and ingenuity were tested successfully in the commission at Joliette in 1893. Accolades from the citizens of Joliette, the AAM Award in 1892, his participation in the Chicago Columbian Exhibition <sup>2</sup> of 1893, as well as being a resident in St-Hilaire, no doubt, contributed to his receiving the commission to decorate his own parish church.

St-Hilaire church was the first major commission in which he was totally responsible for designing the overall decorative scheme and adapting it to the already existing Neo-Gothic architectural interior. He was to perform the function of a general contractor, responsible for overseeing all aspects of the work (estimating costs, selecting materials, employing local artisans, etc.).<sup>3</sup> His ability to manage and discharge all obligations regarding every aspect of a commission evolved from his

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b7 c100; letter from O.L. to abbé Eugène Martin, Joliette, dated August 16, 1932.

<sup>2</sup>Canadian Department of Fine Art, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, Catalogue of Paintings (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, Printer, 1893). See catalogue entries no. 73, Nature Morte, Oignons; and no. 74, Nature Morte, étude à la lumière d'une chandelle.

<sup>3</sup>Lacroix, 1978, pp. 149-153. Leduc was general contractor for the subsequent commissions at St. Ninian's Cathedral, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, (1902-1903); St. Mary's, Manchester, New Hampshire (1906); Ste-Geneviève; Pierrefonds, Quebec (1926); and Sts-Anges-Gardiens, Lachapelle, Quebec (1930-1931).

experiences in working with several masters in a workshop environment.

### Chapter Three

#### Primary and Secondary Sources and a Review of Critical Literature

Little has been written about the interior decorative scheme of St-Hilaire church or the canvases, however this neglect with regard to mural painting in Canada is typical of the prejudice of authors to place easel works in higher esteem. Saint-Hilaire, rurally located, has received less recognition than St-Enfant Jésus de Mile-End (1916-1919) or the Baptistry of Notre-Dame church (1927-1928, 1930) both in the city of Montréal. Attention was first drawn to these two urban commissions through the writings of Olivier Maurault, p.s.s., who had been involved in Leduc<sup>1</sup> receiving both decoration projects.

Almost ten years after the death of Leduc, in the mid-1960's, only three written texts were devoted solely to his specific religious commissions.<sup>2</sup>

J.R. Ostiguy relates: "... that in Canada Henri d'Arles (pseudonym of Henri Beaudet, 1870-1930) planned a monograph on the subject of

---

<sup>1</sup> Maurault introduced Leduc to the Christian and medieval symbolism through the written works of Emile Mâle and Louis Réau. Olivier Maurault, La Chapelle du Sacré-Coeur, Eglise du Saint-Enfant-Jésus (Montréal, 1921). Also contained in Olivier Maurault's, Marges Histoire (Montréal, Librairie d'action, 1929). Olivier Maurault, La Paroisse (Montréal: 1929). Leduc designed the cover for La Paroisse.

<sup>2</sup> Hervé Biron, "Le chant du cygne d'Ozias Leduc" Le Mauricien Médical (avril-mai-juin 1964), pp. 49-64. This descriptive text, interspersed with quotes by Leduc, explains the decorative scheme at Notre-Dame-de-la Présentation, Shawinigan-Sud, executed between 1942-1955, completed after Leduc's death by Mlle. Gabrielle Messier.

Jean-René Ostiguy, Etude des dessins préparatoires à la décoration du baptistère de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada Bulletin 15, 1970).

Laurier Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, (M.A. Thesis, University of Montréal, 1973). See also, Laurier Lacroix, La chapelle de l'évêché de Sherbrooke: quelques dessins préparatoires d'Ozias Leduc (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, Bulletin 30), 1977.



the decoration of the church of St-Hilaire but lost his manuscript and photographs during a trip."<sup>1</sup> Aside from this ill-fated attempt at a monograph, nothing has been written to place St-Hilaire church interior decoration into the evolution of Leduc's artistic career. The material for this thesis is extracted from both primary and secondary sources.

The St-Hilaire Church Archives provide no correspondence between the artist Ozias Leduc and the commissioner, curé Laflamme or the parish, for the original ca. 1896 decoration of the church interior (although for the 1928-1929 restoration and later additions of 1930, 1931, there are letters between Leduc and the curé). This lack of documentation can be explained logically and simply. Leduc lived in St-Hilaire and there was no need to convey thoughts and messages by letter if curé Laflamme and Ozias Leduc could communicate verbally. Between 1895-1900 Leduc's time was occupied solely with the St-Hilaire commission. However from 1928-1931 Leduc was not only occupied with the St-Hilaire restoration, but also was absent from Saint-Hilaire working on other commissions. This explains the letters for the 1928-1931 restoration, preserved at the Saint-Hilaire Church Archives.

The St-Hilaire Church Archives provide an accurate picture through bills, account books and financial statements. This economic information, which is dated, gives a definitive documented chronology of the work's progress.

The commission's progress can be sketchily traced in the correspondence between Saint-Hilaire parish curé, J.M. Laflamme and the Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe (between 1895-1900). It also reveals the economic woes

---

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 101, footnote no. 7.

of a small rural parish.

Another important primary source is Leduc's personal documentation; that is, letters to and from Ozias Leduc during his lengthy life concerned with St-Hilaire church. This material helps decipher the religious symbolism involved at St-Hilaire church and clarify Leduc's aesthetic principles and working manner. Besides the personal documentation contemporary to the actual commission circa 1896, there are letters written to Leduc by admirers of the St-Hilaire church interior. These letters of praise appear late in Leduc's career, and are from individuals, clerics and tourists who visited the church not for the purpose of searching out and studying the mural work of Leduc, but merely as tourists visiting a small rural town and discovering its hidden treasures.

The newspaper accounts, especially those found in La Presse and Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, contemporary to the original commission formulate a descriptive, factual and aesthetic appreciation of the work. Although printed, these contemporary sources can be considered as primary. Another invaluable source for accurately dating the progress of the project is the St-Hilaire Convent daily journal. Not only is it a valuable asset to the chronological order of the work, but also it reflects a religious aesthetic appreciation of the interior decorative scheme.

These primary sources reconstruct an accurate chronology and factual account of the church commission.

The secondary sources are subjective, personal interpretations on works of art written by authors and critics. Only a few articles were written in art journals and periodicals during Leduc's lifetime while the majority appeared after his death. Most supply biographical information, contain a brief description of a particular work, are accompanied by visual reproduction(s) with caption(s) and lack any specific art

historical criticism or analysis. During the late 1940's and 1950's The Assumption of the Virgin canvas from St-Hilaire church was reproduced frequently for Roman Catholic religious propaganda, as well as mentioned by a number of writers.<sup>1</sup>

In 1921, Monsieur Olivier Maurault, p.s.s., (pseudonym, Louis Deligny) mentions the church of St-Hilaire as one of Leduc's principle decorations, along with Farnham church and the Cathedral of St-Hyacinthe.<sup>2</sup> Jean Chauvin's book Ateliers (1929) has a reproduction of the Assumption of the Virgin canvas from the church of St-Hilaire.<sup>3</sup> Chauvin visited Leduc's atelier, Correlieu, at a productive time; Leduc was working on the Notre-Dame Baptistery, Montréal; the Church of St-Hilaire restoration, just having completed the decoration of the Convent at Saint-Hilaire; and the Bishop's Chapel, Sherbrooke. The brief description of Leduc and his accomplishments are laudatory, and attempt to link Leduc to European

J.M. Laflamme (curé of St-Hilaire from 1894-1900) in a printed letter of September 25, 1924 (A.N.Q.M., b2 c19) mentions the quasi-miraculous nature of the "Sainte-Vierge" painting.

Jean Chauvin, Ateliers (Montréal: Les Editions du Mercure, 1928), p. 119.

Maurice Gagnon, "La Peinture moderne. Peinture religieuse" Technique, (Montréal) Vol. XV (no. 4, avril 1940), p. 251.

A.N.Q.M., b2 c7 For Leduc's last commission in 1942 at Shawinigan he stated:

"Visite de Mons. le curé Arthur Jacob qui après maintes considérations accepte enfin une réplique de l'Assomption de l'église de St-Hilaire complété par une représentation de la très Sainte-Trinité avec les anges - Couronnement de la Ste-Vierge."

Henri M. Guidon, "A propos d'un dessin. Ozias Leduc, peintre marial" Messager de Marie Reine des Coeurs, Vol. 46 (no. 5, Janvier 1949), pp. 1-7.

Reproduction of Assumption of the Virgin canvas in Le Messager du Très Saint Sacrement, Vol LIII (Novembre 1950), pp. 289-296.

Biron, op. cit., pp. 49-64.

"En septembre 1951, comme en témoigne son journal, il a fait accepter pour la deuxième partie de la voûte, l'Assomption, une réplique d'une peinture de l'église de Saint-Hilaire" (p.63).

Ozias Leduc et Paul - Emile Borduas (Montréal: Les Presses de l'université de Montréal, 1973), pp. 25-26.

Ostiguy, 1974, p. 29, fig. 15, pp. 124-125.

Lacroix, 1978; p. 26, fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Maurault, op. cit., La Chapelle du Sacre Coeur: Eglise du Saint-Enfant-Jésus, p. 7. See also Maurault, op. cit., Marge d'histoire, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup>Chauvin, op. cit., pp. 118-126.

religious decorators and symbolist artists.

During this period Gérard Morisset and Jules Bazin visited St-Hilaire church, (September, 1937 and April 7, 1938) to prepare an inventory of artefacts and parish papers.<sup>1</sup> Their purpose was to record the state and condition of the works and overall decorative interior, as well as identify the iconography and describe the canvases and decorative interior.

In a 1937 general book on art history, Leduc's principle decorations are listed as Saint-Hilaire, Farnham, Saint-Hyacinthe, Saint-Enfant-Jésus, Mile End, Montréal, and Rougemont.<sup>2</sup> In a 1938 article Olivier Maurault stated: "La partie religieuse est sans doute la plus importante de l'oeuvre d'Ozias Leduc: . . . Il est sur cependant que les plus anciennes de ces entreprises sont la cathédrale d'Antigonish et les églises de Dover, de Saint-Hilaire, de Farnham, de Rougemont - celle-ci détruite par un incendie."<sup>3</sup>

In 1940 Maurice Gagnon gives a description of the Assumption of the Virgin canvas at St-Hilaire church and a short analysis of its organization and colour scheme.<sup>4</sup>

Ozias Leduc's careful and meticulous work method at St-Hilaire church is mentioned in Paul Gladu's 1953 article which states:

"Ozias Leduc travaille avec lenteur et précision.  
A ceux qui lui reprochent cette lenteur, je montrerai  
l'intérieur de l'église de Saint-Hilaire. Une vingtaine

<sup>1</sup> I.B.C., Fonds Gérard Morisset, dossier St-Hilaire church.

<sup>2</sup> Histoire des Beaux Arts: Notions, op. cit., pp. 291-292.

<sup>3</sup> Olivier Maurault, "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique," Le Mauricien (February, 1938), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Gagnon, op. cit., pp. 251-253.

de grandes compositions s'y trouvent. Une décoration très élaborée y couvre les murs qui sont en plâtre et le plafond. Le même pinceau qui a inventé ces scènes a couvert les espaces vides d'un effet mosaïque qui témoigne de sa patience."<sup>1</sup>

In 1954, an article by Father André Lecoutey, s.p., discusses generally the religious decorations by Leduc, but does specify in several passages the importance of the church of St-Hilaire in Leduc's artistic evolution.

"Son évolution vers une technique et une facture décoratives est évidente quand on compare à de moins anciennes, ses peintures de la cathédrale de Joliette. Elles remontent à 1892-1893 et comptent parmi ses premières oeuvres religieuses. L'influence du tableau de chevalet s'y fait sentir, et, placées très haut, l'éloignement en fait perdre les nuances. Ozias Leduc avoue bien franchement que, pour ce travail, il a exécuté tout simplement, et sans plus chercher, ce qu'on lui demandait; des scènes inspirées de gravures connues dont il a harmonisé les couleurs au cadre. Sa liberté d'artiste était forcément limitée. Ce fut une expérience profitable, car ses peintures de l'église de Saint-Hilaire, de quatre à cinq ans postérieures, ont un sens de la décoration plus accusé; simplicité et franchise des plans, contours plus précis, absence de clair obscur et adoration adoucie, recherche d'une composition dans le mouvement et l'arabesque."<sup>2</sup>

"Cette évolution s'affirmera et donnera à toute son oeuvre religieuse un caractère nettement décoratif, comme les peintures de l'évêché de Sherbrooke, influencées, semble-t-il, par le goût de l'époque 1900 pour la ligne et les arabesques ondulantes."<sup>3</sup>

Lecoutey likens the figure of the servant in the Christ in the House of Simon canvas to that of a work of Puvis de Chavannes.

"A l'église de Saint-Hilaire, dans l'épisode de Marie-Madeleine, une servante au second plan est modelée avec une simplicité qui l'apparente aux

<sup>1</sup>Paul Gladu, "Le peintre Ozias Leduc," Petit Journal (November 29, 1953), p. 61.

<sup>2</sup>André Lecoutey, "Les Décorations Religieuses d'Ozias Leduc," Art et Pensée (no. 18, juillet-août, 1954), pp. 184-186.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

personnages de Puvis de Chavannes."<sup>1</sup>

Lecoutey refers to the introspective attitude of St. Matthew the evangelist, in the canvas of that name.

"Le paysage dans lequel est placé Saint-Matthieu, bien que composé pour l'ordonnance du tableau, a la vérité et la sincérité d'une vision intérieure, synthèse, d'une contemplation de la nature."<sup>2</sup>

In 1973, a conference devoted to studies on Oziás Leduc and Paul-Emile Borduas produced five papers. Jean Ethier-Blais' dissertation develops the theme of the artist in relation to his cultural milieu. Ethier-Blais introduces some new ideas in his sociological approach to Leduc and his art. Specific references are made to the church of St-Hilaire and its individual canvases and particular features within the compositions.<sup>3</sup>

In 1974, Jean-René Ostiguy, who had written previously a number of articles on Leduc, organized the 1955 Leduc exhibition, published an extensive catalogue to accompany an international travelling exhibition on Leduc. Although the exhibition represented a diversity of Leduc's artistic production, Ostiguy devoted his catalogue essay to developing the theme of Leduc the symbolist and religious painter.

This catalogue was the first progressive achievement with regard to the advancement of a more scientific and professional approach to Leduc scholarship.<sup>4</sup>

In 1978, an exhibition catalogue devoted solely to the drawings

---

<sup>1</sup>Lecoutey, op.cit., p. 186.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Blais, 1973, pp. 15-56. See specifically brief comments on four St-Hilaire church canvases: Supper at Emmaus, pp. 24, 40; Assumption, p. 25; St. Matthew, p. 26; St. Mark, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, catalogue entries, no. 4, p. 19; no. 15, p. 29.

of Ozias Leduc was published.<sup>1</sup> Both these catalogues included entries dealing with several St-Hilaire church canvases, as well as providing a valuable means by which to study the working method of Ozias Leduc.

With the exception of these last two publications, previous writers had based their ideas and conclusions on personal interpretation. In all fairness these early authors did not have available documentation to evaluate objectively, Leduc's work.

Paul-Emile Borduas, the most famous student of Ozias Leduc wrote that the St-Hilaire church decoration had inspired him as a young man. He stated:

"Mais, déjà je connaissais sa peinture par cette petite église de Saint-Hilaire qu'il a généreusement décorée et qui court présentement le danger d'être sabotée par de maladroites réparations. De ma naissance à l'âge d'une quinzaine d'années ce furent les seuls tableaux qu'il me fut donné de voir. Vous ne sauriez croire combien je suis fier de cette unique source de poésie picturale à l'époque où les moindres impressions pénètrent au creux de nous-mêmes et orientent à notre insu les assises du sens critique."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, 1978, catalogue entry no. 10, p. 26 and photographs of St-Hilaire canvases see ill. 15, p. 37; no. 43-45, p. 157; no. 50, p. 159; no. 57, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Paul-Emile Borduas. "Quelques pensées sur l'oeuvre d'amour et de rêve de M. Ozias Leduc." *Canadian Art*, Vol. X (no. 4, 1953), p. 158. See also Blais, 1973, p. 140. For an investigation of the influence of Ozias Leduc upon P.E. Borduas and the relationship between the two artists, see Françoise LeGris, *Borduas et la peinture religieuse* (M.A. thesis, University of Montréal, 1972).

## Chapter Four

### Genesis of the Contract

#### A. Introduction

Two problems arose during the researching of this thesis project, and as yet remain unresolved. Neither hinders the study of this church, but both must be mentioned.

First, no contract for the decoration of the church of St-Hilaire between the artist Ozias Leduc and the commissioner curé J.M. Laflamme has been located.<sup>1</sup> The lack of a contract in relation to such a large and important undertaking seems highly irregular when, a handwritten contract exists between curé J.M. Laflamme and the firm of Archambault et Therrien, Plombiers, for the installation of a heating system which preceded the church decoration.<sup>2</sup>

There are two possible explanations as to why no contract was located despite an investigation of all research resources. Inasmuch as St-Hilaire church was the first commission in which Leduc was required to design the entire decorative scheme adapted to the already existing interior architecture; and as he was a resident of Saint-Hilaire and a member of one of the most prominent founding families (1653) of the community, the contract could have been verbal.

---

<sup>1</sup>St-Hilaire Church Archives; St-Hilaire Convent Archives; Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, Fonds Ozias Leduc; Archives Evêché de Saint-Hyacinthe; and the Archives for Regional Notarial Documents for St-Hilaire Parish, Marieville, Québec have been checked.

<sup>2</sup>A.P.S.H. Letter from J.M. Laflamme to Archambault et Therrien, Plombiers dated November 25, 1895.



The second explanation is that the contract could have been destroyed. The Cahiers de comptes de la fabrique de St-Hilaire indicates that a journal was kept involving the 1896-1897 decoration of the interior of St-Hilaire church.<sup>1</sup> This documentary record of the progress of the project has perished.<sup>2</sup> It has been related to me that a number of personal documents were destroyed accidentally after Leduc's death on June 16, 1955,<sup>3</sup> which would explain the lack of personal papers between the years 1882-1900,<sup>4</sup> including the missing contract and journal.

Leduc's participation in the actual execution of the overall decorative scheme for St-Hilaire church interior was very unlikely; however, he supervised very carefully his overall decorative plan and application of his designs and motifs to the already existing Neo-Gothic architectural interior of the church.<sup>5</sup> This working method is substantiated in later commissions, where his active involvement in the execution of his designs was minimal. His approach can be likened to that of the head of a workshop, who employs competent assistants and workmen to carry out his designs. The work must meet his standards, specifications and satisfaction, as well as those of the commissioner.

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H., Cahiers de comptes de la fabrique de St-Hilaire (Jan. 1, 1893 - Dec. 31, 1932), see p. 24, "April 10, 1896: Pour les travaux de l'Eglise, voir détails à l'oeuvre", and page 26 "June 23, 1896: L'Eglise, voir détails au journal de l'oeuvre."

<sup>2</sup> A.P.S.H., Troisième Livre des Délibérations de l'oeuvre et Fabrique de la paroisse de Saint-Hilaire depuis 1889 à 1926, p. 105.

The secretary of the Bishop's Archives at St-Hyacinthe investigated documents supposedly deposited there but have been lost.

<sup>3</sup> J.R. Ostiguy and Laurier Lacroix intimated these facts to me, as told to them by Gabrielle Messier. This information was re-affirmed to me by Mme Gertrude Leduc.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M.

<sup>5</sup> According to M. Raoul Vien during the 1928-1929 St-Hilaire church restoration, every morning Ozias Leduc supervised and outlined the work he expected to be done each day.

Ozias Leduc received the commission to plan and execute the decorative scheme of the interior of St-Hilaire church in October 1895.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of a contract, it was difficult to determine the exact date on which the project was initiated.

An article in La Presse, stated that the project began in May, 1896, however, in examining the payments made to the workers involved in the decoration of the church, it can be established that work commenced on April 8, 1896.<sup>2</sup>

The account books reveal that the construction of St-Hilaire church, its ongoing repairs, subsequent decoration by Ozias Leduc between 1896-1900, and its 1928-1929 restoration and additions were financed completely by the local parishioners through public subscription, special taxation, donations and other fund raising activities (such as bazaars and tombolas).<sup>3</sup>

#### B. Final Costs

The St-Hilaire Church Archives recorded the total cost of renovations and the decoration for the church interior at \$7,500. The amount raised through donations, both individual and bazaars were documented by curé J.U. Charbonneau, J.M. Laflamme's successor.

"Le mémoire du coût approximatif des dépenses pour terminer et décorer l'intérieur de l'église de Saint-Hilaire a été déposé au Secrétariat de l'Évêché de

<sup>1</sup>"La Paroisse de St-Hilaire", La Presse, December 19, 1896, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>A.P.S.H. See payments made to Emery, Félix and Ulric Martin recorded on their individual time sheets of April, 8, 1896. See appendix B1.

<sup>3</sup>See appendix B2.

Saint-Hyacinthe. Les dépenses sont évaluées à environ sept-mille cinq cent dollars (7,500.00) et ont été couvertes par des dons généreux de différentes personnes qui ont répondu à l'appel de leur zèle Curé J.M. Laflamme. Le 20 Aout, 1900. J.U. Charbonneau, ptre."<sup>1</sup>

The total documented payments made to the workers (Leduc's assistants) were \$1467.54 (Appendix B1); the amount paid to Ozias Leduc for designing the overall decorative scheme and the fifteen canvases, one small medallion and fourteen Ways of the Cross was \$1200 (Appendix B3); the materials for the project totalled \$1048.59 (Appendix B4); the cost of installation of a heating system was \$875. Therefore the cost of the 1896-1900 restoration and decoration of the church was roughly \$4591.<sup>2</sup> These figures conflict with the final estimate recorded by J.U. Charbonneau of \$7,500 and more than double the first estimate by J.M. Laflamme although the new church bell and repairs and decoration to the organ are not taken into account. Mlle Messier stated that some of the costs of Leduc's six-month trip to London and Paris were paid for by the Fabrique de Saint-Hilaire.<sup>3</sup> These sums have not been taken into account.

Ozias Leduc's name did not appear on a time sheet for this commission, because it was customary from this project on that he be paid in large sums during the course of the commission unless financial difficulties existed (i.e., He was paid from 1907-1913 for his work at Farnham executed in 1905-1906).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H. Troisième Livre des Délibérations de l'Oeuvre et Fabrique de la paroisse de Saint-Hilaire depuis 1889 à 1926, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> See calculations appendix B4.

<sup>3</sup> An all-expense round-trip to Paris to view the 1900 Paris Exhibition cost \$145, according to an advertisement in La Presse, May 29, 1900.

<sup>4</sup> A.P.F.

The preliminary drawings for the adaptation of his decorative scheme to the already existing Neo-Gothic architectural interior of St-Hilaire church are preserved at the Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal<sup>1</sup>, as well as in private collections. The motifs designed by him for the nave ceiling vaulting and other minor decorations are also located at the A.N.Q.M. Leduc is mentioned as designer for the overall decorative scheme as well as the canvases at St-Hilaire church in the Daily Journal recorded by the Convent of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary at St-Hilaire and the La Presse article of December 19, 1896. It can be established with these facts that the fifteen canvases were conceived and executed by Ozias Leduc. A bill of sale from Dupuis Frères charged to Leduc for fifty-four yards of canvas is dated June 11, 1896 and affords additional proof of Leduc's participation. Photographs (ca. 1898-1900) show the canvases in various stages of completion, leaning against the walls of Leduc's studio.<sup>2</sup>

The missing contract and journal would have contributed towards a more complete study, however, the existing sources establish a chronology and reconstruct an historical and evolutionary progress of the project.<sup>3</sup> These sources date precisely the duration of the commission to decorate the St-Hilaire church interior; the time sheets reveal who was involved, how long and how much each assistant was paid; the bills for materials purchased give an insight into the costs involved and materials utilized.

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., b1 c10.

<sup>2</sup> See figs. 26, 27, 28, 29, 38, 39, 45, 59, 92. See also Ostiguy, 1974, ill. 3, p. 196; Lacroix, 1978, fig. c, p. 36 and ill. 15; p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M.; A.E.S.H.; A.C.S.H.; A.P.S.H.; Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe and La Presse, newspapers.

### C. Materials

Records of the materials bought in early April by the "Fabrique de St-Hilaire," reflect the type of work which was underway at this early stage of the project.

A bill from A. Ramsay & Son, Montréal, dated April 15, 1896 listed purchases of pure white lead, pure shellac, oil, stencils - numbered, indicating specific designs from available patterns, large amounts of plaster and putty, as well as putty and scraping knives; coincided with payments made to three workers, Emery, Félix and Ulric Martin.<sup>1</sup> From this information, it can be deduced that the existing Neo-Gothic wooden frame interior of St-Hilaire church was in the process of reparation and that the ceiling and walls were being prepared for painted decoration.

At this same time, small quantities of paints were purchased, however, as the project progressed the amounts increased, until late December, 1896, when purchases decreased in volume indicating that the final touches were being made to the interior decoration.<sup>2</sup>

### D. Leduc's Assistants

The time sheets (see Appendix B1) indicate that ten men were involved

<sup>1</sup>A.P.S.H.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c 30. The paints used in this original project conformed to the brands and colours, used by Ozias Leduc for the 1928-1929 restoration of St-Hilaire church.

at various points, during the course of the project.<sup>1</sup> A photograph (fig. 2) ca. 1896 shows ten men posing in front of the choir area of St-Hilaire church. From this group of ten, seven have been identified positively, however, only three of the seven are represented in the time sheets. Although the time sheets and the photograph do not correspond, the financial statements prove the following ten men's participation in the project: Ozias Leduc, Origène Leduc, Louis-Philippe Martin, Emery Martin, Félix Martin, Ulric Martin, Louis Belisle, C. Millette, Eugène Desautels, and Edmond Lemoine.

According to the time sheets, Emery, Félix and Ulric Martin were the only men involved in the project during the initial stage (April 8, 1896). The first payment to Louis-Philippe Martin was issued May 2, 1896. During the summer months L-P. Martin continued work on the project alone as the other assistants tended the farms and apple orchards until early autumn 1896, when they returned to complete the St-Hilaire interior decoration.<sup>2</sup>

#### E. Evolution of the Project

According to J.R. Ostiguy, Leduc's involvement in designing a religious canvas for St-Hilaire church may have taken place as early as 1891. The lost canvas, Saint Hilary Raising the Child Who Had Died Without Baptism, for which three preliminary studies exist in the National

<sup>1</sup>A.P.S.H., see time sheets, appendix B1.

<sup>2</sup>A.P.S.H., see appendix B1 for specific details. Emery Martin was the first to return in September, followed by Félix and Ulric Martin in October. Others hired to assist in the work were Louis Belisle, November; Eugène Desautels - September; Edmond Lemoine - December; Origène Leduc - December; C. Millette - September.

Gallery of Canada collection and one other drawing is preserved at the A.N.Q.M., "was commissioned about 1891 by the pastor of the church, L.C. Blanchard (at St-Hilaire from 1889-1894). The painting seems to have disappeared around the time of the arrival of a new pastor, J.M. Laflamme, at the end of 1894."<sup>1</sup> The man credited with initiating the project to redecorate and repair the church was l'abbé Joseph-Magloire Laflamme (1848-1926)<sup>2</sup> who replaced the late Louis-Cléophas Blanchard<sup>3</sup> as curé of St-Hilaire church as announced in Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe newspaper April 21, 1894.<sup>4</sup> Laflamme received word personally from the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe, Msgr. Moreau, of his new posting on April 20, 1894.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest mention of the project to repair and redecorate St-Hilaire church is documented in a letter of September 15, 1894 from the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe to the new curé of St-Hilaire. From the correspondence, it is obvious that the two men had discussed the matter previously.

Msgr. Moreau suggested that the local parishioners and other persons donate monies to finance the undertaking.

"Comme il est tout à fait désirable que certaines réparations soient faites à l'intérieur de votre église. Je n'ai pas objection à ce que vous employiez à ces tableaux les reliquats ou excédents de recettes de la fabrique intérêts de dépenses annuelles était payés et fidèlement rencontrés. Comme la paroisse est encore en répartition pour la construction du presbytère il ne serait pas juste de peser de nouveau sur elle pour ces nouvelles dépenses. Vous pourriez pour

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, pp. 111-113.

<sup>2</sup>J.B. Allaire, Dictionnaire biographique du clergé canadien-français, (Montréal: 1908-34), Vol. 2, p. 329.

<sup>3</sup>"Evêché de St-Hyacinthe, " Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, April 17, 1894, no. 22, p. 3. Obituary notice of abbé Louis-Cléophas Blanchard.

<sup>4</sup>"Echos du Jour" Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, April 21, 1894, no. 24, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>A.E.S.H., Registre des Lettres, Series I, Vol. 17( 1 Nov. 1892-1 Oct. 1894), p. 440. See also A.C.S.H., Book I (1850-1910), entry for April 31, 1894.

vous venir en aide dans cette oeuvre de zèle pour la beauté de la maison de Dieu, solliciter les dons et les offrandes de personnes généreuses de votre paroisse et d'ailleurs. J'ai la confiance que la divine Providence vous donnera son appui."<sup>1</sup>

On November 19, 1894 curé Laflamme wrote the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe concerning the proposed repairs and decoration for the church interior and the installation of a heating system which the church lacked.

"Avant de faire exécuter les travaux de l'intérieur pour décorations, j'ai pensé à améliorer le système de chauffage... le même système de payment que pour les décorations que votre grandeur a déjà approuvé. Permettrait-elle ces travaux de chauffage?"<sup>2</sup>

Curé Laflamme realized the importance of installing a heating system to preserve the paintings: "Il fut résolu tout d'abord d'introduire un système de chauffage à l'eau chaude, première nécessité pour la conservation des peintures d'une église."<sup>3</sup>

The Bishop of St-Hyacinthe granted permission to proceed with both projects in a letter of the same date November 19, 1894.

"En réponse à la vôtre de ce jour. Je vous permets d'améliorer le système de chauffage de l'église pourvu que comme pour les décorations intérieures vous ne preniez rien sur la Fabrique, qui a bien assez à reconstruire la dette que pèse sur elle."<sup>4</sup>

On December 1, 1894, Msgr. Moreau conveyed his confidence in J.M. Laflamme to successfully complete the two projects.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.E.S.H., Registres des Lettres, Series I, Vol. 17 (1 Nov. 1892-Oct. 1894). no. 555. Letter from Msgr. Moreau to J.M. Laflamme, Sept. 15, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> A.E.S.H., Letter from J.M. Laflamme to the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe, Nov. 19, 1894.

<sup>3</sup> "La Paroisse de St-Hilaire," La Presse, December 19, 1896, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A.E.S.H., Registres des lettres, Série I, Vol. 18, no. 52. Letter from Bishop of St-Hyacinthe to curé J.M. Laflamme dated Nov. 19, 1894.

<sup>5</sup> A.E.S.H., Registres des Lettres, Série I, Vol. 18, no. 65. Letter from the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe to curé J.M. Laflamme dated December 1, 1894.



Laflamme's response was immediate and in a letter of December 2, 1894 indicated that he not only had problems with the renovation of the church interior but felt a lack of religious enthusiasm and morale spirit among his parishioners.

"J'ai trouvé l'église dans une triste, bien triste état aussi que le vestiaire- si je tiens à . . . des réparations requises c'est pour la gloire de Dieu et attirer ce peuple que s'était éloigné de l'église - on dit que l'expérientse prouve qu'il si un curé a quelque oeuvre à faire, c'est en arrivant dans une paroisse."

On December 8, 1894, the Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et Marie (SSJM) of St-Hilaire convent celebrated the Fiftieth anniversary of its founding at the instigation of Mrs. E.T. Campbell. "Notre Communauté compte aujourd'hui 50 ans, 8 décembre 1844-1894."<sup>2</sup>

To celebrate this special event, it was decided on April 15, 1895, that the convent should be painted and decorated. The commission was granted to local artists, N. Côté and the Martin brothers, who executed Leduc's designs for 1896-1897-St-Hilaire church interior.

"Nous avons le courage d'entreprendre de nouvelles réparations et de grandes encore qui vont commencer immédiatement et qui dureront jusqu'au mois de septembre bien sûr. M. le Curé nous y engage fortement et il s'engage à nous aider de sa bourse et à nous donner des moyens de faire face à ces dépenses. Si sa bourse était aussi grande que son coeur, nous n'aurions pas d'inquiétudes pour l'avenir, mais ils faut avouer qu'il est presque aussi pauvre que nous dans le moment. Il en sera ce qu'il pourra, mais l'entreprise est donné à Messrs. Frs. Martin et N. Côté. Il doivent crépir la maison à l'extérieur blanchir les murs et tout peinturé extérieur et intérieur. La chapelle sera peinturée et décorée."<sup>3</sup>

A public meeting was held on June 18, 1895, to discuss the possibility of raising the necessary funds to finance both the convent

<sup>1</sup> A.E.S.H., Letter from J.M. Laflamme to the Bishop, December 2, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> A.C.S.H., Book 1 (1850-1910), entry for December 8, 1894.

<sup>3</sup> A.C.S.H., Book 1 (1850-1910) entry for April 15, 1895.

and church decorations by the parishioners.<sup>1</sup>

The painting and decorating of the St-Hilaire Convent chapel was completed on September 26, 1895 for the modest sum of \$100.

"Les décorations de la chapelle sont terminées et nous avons eu le bonheur d'y assister à la messe ce matin. Notre petit temple est gracieux et joli dans sa fraîche toilette qui n'a coûté que la faible somme de \$100. C'est l'ouvrage d'un jeune paroissien, Monsieur Philippe Martin, peintre-décorateur de profession."<sup>2</sup>

Public subscription fell short of its objective, so on October 30, 1895 curé Laflamme wrote the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe asking his permission to organize a special lottery in order to finance the proposed interior decorations of the church.

"... une loterie spéciale que je ferais avec la permission du ministre de l'agriculture... en aide à notre oeuvre paroissiale."<sup>3</sup>

On October 31, 1895, the Bishop responded positively to the curé's plan for a lottery to finance the much needed repairs and decoration of the church.

"Je renouvelle bien volontiers la lettre que je vous donnai l'an dernier pour engager les personnes généreuses à vous secondez dans les travaux d'embellissement que vous voulez effectuer dans l'intérieur de votre église. Je approuve (sic) de plus la loterie que vous vous proposez de faire dans le même but et pour laquelle. Je vous souhaite succès."<sup>4</sup>

In a three page letter from Archambault et Therrien, plumbers, to curé Laflamme dated November 20, 1895, the company outlined carefully, its plans to install a central heating system in the church.

<sup>1</sup> A.C.S.H., Book 1 (1850-1910), entry for June 18, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> A.C.S.H., entry for September 26, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> A.E.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau dated October 30, 1895.

<sup>4</sup> A.E.S.H., Registres des Lettres, Serie I, Vol. 18 (1 Oct. 1894-30 Dec. 1895) no. 482. Letter from Bishop of St-Hyacinthe to curé J.M. Laflamme dated October 31, 1895.

and sacristy.<sup>1</sup> Curé Laflamme accepted their proposal and negotiated when and how the payments would be made.

"Les conditions de payment seront cinq cents dollars après les travaux exécutés et donnant satisfaction et les reste des huit cent cinquante dollars tout au cours de l'année."<sup>2</sup>

The heating systems for the church and presbytery were installed to the satisfaction of the curé and "marguilliers" on February 13, 1896.<sup>3</sup> Curé Laflamme expressed his doubts about the project, his frustrations and anxieties concerning the apathy among his parishioners and financial misgivings about the parish, in a long letter to Msgr. Moreau on February 17, 1896.

"J'ai tenu tout d'abord à travailler dans ce sens pour faire disparaître la bâtisse du presbytère, trop beau peut être pour l'état pitoyable où se trouvait l'Eglise. L'état des finances n'était pas très satisfaisant à raison surtout de la nudité de la sacristie, vestiare, etc. Après avoir fait les réparations d'urgences, j'ai préparé la question des réparations de l'intérieur, mais ne comptant que sur les dons volontaires des gens."<sup>4</sup>

Laflamme blamed the community's recent problems on two events, the poor crop yield and the fire which destroyed Beloeil church on

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H., three letters dated Nov. 20, 1895 from Archambault et Therrien - Plombiers to Rev'd. J.M. Laflamme.

"Nous garantissons le parfait fonctionnement de tout l'appareil et une température égale et constante de 55 à 60 degrés de chaleur dans l'église et 65 à 70 degrés dans la Sacristie dans les grand froids de l'hiver et cela sans forcer les limites de la fournaise: . . . Nous nous proposons de faire et poser un appareil de chauffage à eau chaude dans votre Eglise et Sacristie pour la somme de Huit-cents cinquante piastres - \$850.00."

The letter continued giving the exact locations for the pipes and heating system throughout the church.

<sup>2</sup> A.P.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Archambault Therrien-Plombiers dated Nov. 25, 1895. This letter indicates a discussion between the two parties was initiated Oct. 27, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> A.P.S.H., Cahiers de Comptes de la Fabrique de St-Hilaire (Jan. 1, 1893-Dec. 31, 1932), p. 24. Three payments were made to Archambault et Therrien: Jan 2. - \$300; Jan 16-\$200; and the final payment of \$375 was made Feb. 13, 1896.

<sup>4</sup> A.P.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau dated Feb. 17, 1896.

December 7, 1895.<sup>1</sup> He described the difficulties he encountered persuading the people of the parish that their money had been well spent in installing a heating system which was safe (some apprehension on the part of the parishioners, after the fire in the Beloeil church) and necessary to preserve the proposed interior decorations and canvases. He also complained that the doors of the church were in a dilapidated condition.

Laflamme estimated the total cost of repairing and re-decorating the church interior to be approximately \$3,500, only \$500 would be paid by the "Fabrique."<sup>2</sup> He asked Msgr. Moreau to help finance the project if efforts to raise the funds failed.

"J'ai tant confiance que cette (bourse)? votre Grandeur (à) ? me venir en aide efficacement et dès maintenant. Car les travaux pressent et les comptes doivent être payés. Le but des argents de fondations que votre Grandeur a approuvé est fixé par l'intention des donateurs et le montant acquis à l'entrepreneur de l'intérieur - je ne demande rien pour l'intérieur mais bien pour les travaux imprévus et nécessaires."<sup>3</sup>

Curé Laflamme assured the Bishop that he would be re-imbursed when the parish was in a better financial position. Unfortunately, the request for financial assistance was rejected. Curé Laflamme believed, however, that his own enthusiasm for the re-decoration

<sup>1</sup> A.C.S.H., see entry for December 7, 1895. For details of the Beloeil church fire see: "Un Eglise Incendiee," La Presse, December 7, 1895, p. 12; "L'église de Beloeil," La Presse, December 9, 1895, p. 1; "L'incendie de Beloeil," Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, December 10, 1895, no. 121, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Economic problems were not indigenous to Saint-Hilaire, from 1893-96, there existed a state of economic depression in North America, partly due to the Railway Bankruptcies in the U.S. See p. 116, James B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West . . . Land and Colonization (New York: MacMillan Co., 1939). In examining the Livres de comptes between 1894-1899, the books barely balanced. After 1900 an economic recovery records a surplus of funds.

<sup>3</sup> A.P.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau dated Feb. 17, 1896.

of the St-Hilaire church would have a positive effect on the whole community.

"St-Hilaire était à mon arrivée dans une état moral plus triste que St-Mathias et guère mieux au point de vue financier. . . ."

J.M. Laflamme's financial problems were somewhat relieved by a donation from Rev. Joseph Jodoin of \$1000.00 on February 13, 1896.<sup>2</sup>

On April 23, 1896, curé Laflamme, in a letter to Msgr. Moreau, suggested the possibility of organizing a second lottery to lessen the burden of the costs for the church decoration and repairs.<sup>3</sup>

In a letter written on August 7, 1896, he requested permission:

"de faire de musique et d'entretien religieuse dans l'église. Des travaux considérables s'exécutent dans notre église. Les paroissiens on organise une séance ou il y aura musique, etc."<sup>4</sup>

Further correspondence dated September 21, 1896 from Laflamme to the Bishop stated:

"Les travaux de l'Eglise ne sont pas terminés et le Choeur surtout qui est actuellement en réparation."<sup>5</sup>

On October 28, 1896, J.M. Laflamme asked the Bishop's permission to install the new "Chemin de la Croix dans l'Eglise de St-Hilaire."<sup>6</sup>

The new oil on canvas fourteen Ways of the Cross were installed

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> A.P.S.H., Livres de Comptes, see entry February 13, 1896; See also Troisième Livres des Délibérations de l'Oeuvre et Fabrique de la Paroisse de Saint-Hilaire depuis 1889-1926, p. 76. Rev. Joseph Jodoin was the curé de Saint-Grégoire, Iberville. He attended a literary conference at Beloeil in the presence of Bessette, Dr. Choquette, L.P. Brodeur and Ozias Leduc, reported in "Conference de M. Bessette," La Presse, August 16, 1899, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A.E.S.H., Registre de Lettres, Serie I, Vol. 19 (Jan 1, 1896- Nov. 14, 1897), no. 114, letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau, April 23, 1896.

<sup>4</sup> A.E.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau dated Aug. 7, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> A.P.S.H., September 21, 1896, letter from Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau.

<sup>6</sup> A.E.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau, Oct. 28, 1896.

at St-Hilaire church on November 1, 1896.<sup>1</sup> This was Leduc's first commission to execute the Ways of the Cross. The models he chose were the engravings of A. Petrah, after the Austrian painter and engraver Furick (active during the 19th century). He relied on these engravings for subsequent commissions at St-Ninian's, Antigonish, Nova Scotia (1902-1903) and St-Romuald, Farnham, Québec (1905-1906) churches.<sup>2</sup>

A grandiose festival was held on December 8, 1896, the day of the Immaculate Conception at Saint-Hilaire, attended by a number of high ranking members of the clergy. They participated in the inauguration and benediction of the new interior decoration of the St-Hilaire church.

"A l'église, c'était aussi grande fête ce soir: Sa Grandeur, Msgr. Decelles, co-adjuteur de Sa Grandeur Msgr. Moreau, faisait aux paroissiens de Saint-Hilaire l'honneur de venir lui-même inaugurer les nombreuses réparations et décorations magnifiques que vient de subir l'église. Sa Grandeur les . . . en a félicités chaleureusement et elle a eu des paroles tout particulièrement éloquentes pour exalter le zèle et le dévouement - sans compter la générosité du pasteur qui a dû accomplir autant avec aussi peu de ressources et un temps aussi limité."

"Je n'aurais jamais cru, a dit Sa Grandeur en souriant, qu'on put faire quelque chose d'aussi beau avec l'église de St-Hilaire."

"Ces peintures tout l'oeuvre de monsieur Ozias Leduc, jeune artiste de cette paroisse. Né aux sein des ravissantes beautés qu'offre la nature sur le penchant de la montagne. C'est encore là, dans un petit ermitage à moitié caché sous . . . dure, que ce jeune artiste modeste dans son mérite Réel . . . et à la pratique de son art favori. Tout le monde s'accorde à dire que l'ouvrage qu'il est à compléter est un coup de maître."<sup>3</sup>

From this description and a special article in La Presse, Leduc's decorative scheme could not be evaluated as the project was incomplete. According to the article, the church "n'avait pas encore reçu de peinture

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H., Troisième Livre des Délibérations de L'Oeuvre et Fabrique de la paroisse de Saint-Hilaire depuis 1889-1926, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, 1978, p. 78, no. 42, ill. 31; ill. 32, pp. 149-150.

<sup>3</sup> A.C.S.H., see entry for December 8, 1896.

à un point qu'elle était peu convenable pour le culte,"<sup>1</sup> and mentioned that Leduc and his assistants began their work in early May, 1896.

"... au commencement de mai dernier, le travail de décoration commençait résolument, mais avec réserve, ... à raison de fonds qu'il fallait trouver et réunir au fur et à mesure. Grâce à l'action concentrée de certaines personnes zélées, une organisation se fit et fut, à un moment donné, le point d'appui de l'oeuvre grandissante. Un fait est à signaler, c'est que ces travaux de décorations sont exécutés par des enfants de la paroisse, MM. Leduc et Martin, qui sont déjà connus du public. Les plans ont été faits par M. Ozias Leduc, jeune artiste de St-Hilaire, fort apprécié à Montréal, où il a exposé plusieurs tableaux à l'école des Beaux-Arts, et à Chicago, lors de l'exposition universelle. Il est modeste mais plein d'intelligence et d'activité. M. Philippe Martin, jeune peintre de talent de la paroisse le secondait dans l'exécution des travaux. "... Lors d'une retraite donnée en octobre dernier, la nef fut dépouillée de ses échafauds et ne présenter le succès de l'entreprise: mais cependant en face du chœur inachevé et obstrué, tout jugement était suspendu."<sup>2</sup>

The important fact stated in this article was that none of the fifteen canvases designed by Leduc for the church, were installed at this benediction. "Les tableaux ne sont pas encore installés dans l'église. M. Leduc y travaille encore."<sup>3</sup>

At a public meeting, held on December 28, 1896, it was decided that a bazaar would be held in the Convent at Saint-Hilaire from January 2-7, 1897, to raise additional funds with which to finance the church repairs and decoration.<sup>4</sup> The amazing sum of \$2130.00 was raised at this six day bazaar.<sup>5</sup>

On April 28, 1897, curé Laflamme wrote to Msgr. Moreau summarizing the affairs of the parish. He mentioned a loan, authorized by the

<sup>1</sup>"La Paroisse de St-Hilaire," La Presse, December 19, 1896, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>A.C.S.H., entry for December 28, 1896.

<sup>5</sup>"Bazar," Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, January 12, 1897; no. 135, p.3.

"marguiller's" to aid the parish's affairs, especially concerning either the acquisition of a new organ or the repair of the old one, "Avec l'agrandissement de la place des chantres et ouvrage à la boîte de l'orgue."<sup>1</sup>

In accounts of expenditures for 1896, curé Laflamme stated that he paid \$1,500 for church repairs. "J'ai payé une quinzaine de cents piastres pour les réparations que la fabrique aurait été obligée de faire nécessairement pour la conservation de l'Eglise."<sup>2</sup>

Further work was to be done in 1897 and he re-estimated the total cost of repairs, restoration and redecoration at \$7,000.<sup>3</sup>

In a letter dated May 2, 1897 to Msgr. Moreau, curé Laflamme thanked the Bishop for arranging to send another priest to help in the administration of Saint-Hilaire parish, because "J'ai en beaucoup d'ouvrage."<sup>4</sup>

In early May 1897, Ozias Leduc left for a six month European trip.<sup>5</sup>

Leduc was sent to Europe by curé J.M. Laflamme to perfect his craft, as he mentioned in a letter written more than thirty years later.

"Il y avait là des artistes en formation et dont j'ai envoyé l'un d'eux à Paris pour perfectionner ses talents et son expérience pour une oeuvre d'art religieuse, que l'on peut appeler ainsi par les remarques de l'opinion en général et aussi des statues, de leur choix et de leur position dans leurs niches et sur les autels."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H., letter from curé Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau, dated April 28, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> A.P.S.H. Letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau, May 2, 1897.

<sup>5</sup> Laurier Lacroix, "The dream mountain of Ozias Leduc" Arts Canada, October/November 1978, issue no. 222/223, p. 14. Lacroix clarified the errors of the previous authors.

<sup>6</sup> A.N.Q.N. b2 c19. Typed letter of January 26, 1925 from J.M. Laflamme to his Farnham parishioners.



He arrived in London, staying at the Craven Hotel, Charing Cross, from May 19-25,<sup>1</sup> then, continued on to Paris where he registered at the Grand Hôtel Corneille, rue Corneille, from May 26- July 7,<sup>2</sup> at which time he met and socialized with another Canadian painter, Murray Prendergast (d. 1899),<sup>3</sup> Raoul Barré, and Mr. R. Brunet.<sup>4</sup> While in Paris, Leduc rented a studio at 103 rue Vaugirard from July 1 - December 1897,<sup>5</sup> where he executed preliminary drawings and studies for his St-Hilaire church canvases.<sup>6</sup>

Leduc met with other artists at a society founded for Canadians in Paris called "La Boucane."<sup>7</sup> His name appeared five times in Paris-Canada magazine in regard to social functions he attended.<sup>8</sup> Leduc left Le Havre on Christmas Day, December 25, 1897 aboard the liner La Bretagne bound for.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b. 3 c 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"M. Murray Prendergast," La Presse, April 12, 1899, p. 10, obituary notice.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., b 3 c 8. Letter of June 13 and September 23, 1897. Prendergast, Barré, Brunet and Leduc joined "La Boucane" at the same time, June 2, 1897.

<sup>5</sup>A.N.Q.M., b 3 c 8. Lease for studio dated July 1, 1897.

<sup>6</sup>A.N.Q.M., b 4 c 38. Letter from Raoul Barré- to O.L. dated Sept. 29, 1929.

<sup>7</sup>On the founding of La Boucane, see "La Boucane," La Presse, November 27, 1894, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>On June 1, he is mentioned as arriving in Paris ("Les Canadiens à Paris," Paris-Canada, no. 11, June 1, 1897, p. 4). He is included in a list of new members of La société canadienne de Paris or "La Boucane" presented at the society's meeting on June 15 ("La société canadienne de Paris," Paris-Canada, no. 12, June 15, 1897, p. 5) and attended a reunion on July 1 ("La société canadienne de Paris," Paris-Canada, no. 13, July 1, 1897, p. 5). Although his name does not appear among the guests attending a banquet held in honour of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, he had received a number of invitations to gala functions while the Canadian Prime Minister was in Paris. Leduc attended the funeral of a young Canadian artist named Ernest Girard, held at "la Chapelle de la Vierge, à l'Eglise St-Sulpice," with other members of "La Boucane" on October 1 ("Les Canadiens à Paris," Paris-Canada, no. 19, October 1, 1897, p. 3). His name was mentioned for the last time for attending a "La Boucane" meeting on October 23, ("La Boucane," Paris-Canada, no. 21, November 1, 1897, p. 4).

New York.<sup>1</sup>

Specific details regarding the repertoire of visual images which might have influenced Ozias Leduc for the St-Hilaire church commission remain obscure due to the lack of documentation. There are, however, a number of drawings executed while in Paris, particularly for the St-Hilaire church commission which exist in private collections.<sup>2</sup> Based upon style, crayon and execution on an uniformity of paper, the majority of single drawings (details of hands, feet, poses) come from one sketchbook. The remaining drawings on a different type of paper indicate the existence of other disassembled sketchbooks. An investigation of exhibitions in Paris between May and December 1897, the duration of Leduc's stay in Paris, is reported in the Gazette des Beaux Arts.<sup>3</sup> The Parisian salons showed works by contemporary French and English artists such as : Jules Breton, J.P. Laurens, Lévy-Dhurmer, G. Desvallieres, Aman-Jean, Boldini, Brangwyn, René Ménard, Eugène Carrière, Harpignies, John Everett Millais, Burne-Jones, and G.F. Watts.

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M. b.3 c.8.

<sup>2</sup> A Paris sketchbook, open faced, appears in a number of Leduc canvases where it is given a prominent place in the structure of the composition, see Ostiguy, 1974, p. 190 reproduction of Still-Life with Weeping Lay Figures (ca. 1907) and see also Lacroix, 1978, p. 159, ill. 50. For another view of the same Paris sketchbook opened at a different page, see Lacroix, 1978, p. 164, ill. 57. Unfortunately the sketchbook has been disassembled. The majority of drawings is preserved in one particular private collection, however, individual sketches belonging to the original are in the possession of other collectors.

<sup>3</sup> Gazette des Beaux Arts, May-December 1897. Especially note the exhibition of "Sainte Geneviève ravitaillant Paris assiégé, carton de la composition de M. Puvis de Chavannes, and "Dessins de M. James Tissot pour l'illustration de La Vie de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ." An exhibition of works by James Tissot was held at the Salle Windsor, Montréal. See "Les Tableaux de Tissot," La Presse, November 7, 1899, p. 9., and a review of the exhibition by Louis Frechette in "La Vie de Jésus Christ par James Tissot," La Presse, November 8, 1899, p. 5. See also Le Rosaire, December, 1899, p. 361.

From this group of artists, the majority of works (both sculpture and painting) exhibited were of mythological and religious iconography. The most popular subjects were female nudes or semi-draped figures in contemplative or classical poses in landscape settings.

It was from these types and images that Leduc drew. Upon his return to Montreal, Leduc utilized the female nude, mythological and allegorical figures as personifications of nature in his mood landscapes to explain natural phenomena.<sup>1</sup> The four evangelist canvases at St-Hilaire church are strongly reminiscent in design and meditative mood of these images exhibited continuously in the Parisian salons.<sup>2</sup>

Until he visited Paris, Ozias Leduc's experience had been parochial, as his art education had been limited to copying reproductions in periodicals, newspapers, engravings and popular prints, etc. Through a series of apprenticeships he became acquainted with the work methods of his masters and acquired knowledge of religious art and mural painting while on assignments in many Québec churches. Leduc had reached the stage in his career where it was necessary to increase his knowledge of both past and contemporary art to satisfy the expectations of his commissioner.<sup>3</sup>

Paris, the art center of the second half of the nineteenth century was the logical place of study,<sup>4</sup> especially for Canadian French-speaking artists.

During his absence an important religious ceremony took place

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, Erato (Sleeping Muse) 1899, p. 30, fig. 16, p. 126; Lacroix, 1978, p. 27, no. 11 Erato (Muse in the Forest) ca. 1906, p. 41, fig. 27, pp. 137-138; Endymion and Selene ca. 1910, p. 44, fig. 30, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup>See F.S. Challener's poster of a semi-clad reclining female allegorical figure for the Ontario Society of Artists, 24th Annual Exhibition of Paintings, May, 1896, reproduced in Canadian Collector (January/February, 1979), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Verbal communication with Gabrielle Messier.

<sup>4</sup>S. Allaire, op. cit. pp. 141-154; Lacroix, op. cit. pp. 54-70.

at St-Hilaire church, the celebration of curé Laflamme's sacerdotal jubilee.<sup>1</sup> As described in J.M. Laflamme's diary, the church had been decorated specifically for the event by Leduc's assistant L.P. Martin:

"Ces inscriptions vraiment artistiques furent exécutées par M. Philippe Martin, qui les offrit gracieusement. Des banderoles de diverses couleurs, tombant entre les colonnes, faisaient une ceinture délicate autour de l'église et présentaient un très beau coup d'oeil. Les niches si saisissantes du chœur, le calvaire, le Sacré Cœur et Notre-Dame de Lourdes avec tous leurs personnages, joints à la riche parure de l'autel, on fait admiration de tous les étrangers nous a-t-il été dit."<sup>2</sup>

The Bishop of St-Hyacinthe mentioned his pleasure at seeing the beautiful transformation of the St-Hilaire church interior. "Il me faisait certainement plaisir d'aller voir de mes yeux les belles et importantes décorations et ornements dont vous avez dotés et enrichies votre église et sacristie."<sup>3</sup>

Upon Leduc's return, he continued to work on the preliminary drawings and small oil on paper colour studies he had created in Paris for his religious compositions at St-Hilaire church. There are a number of photographs of Leduc, his family and friends in his studio with the half-finished canvases leaning against the walls.<sup>4</sup>

As recorded in La Presse another important ceremony took place at St-Hilaire church.<sup>5</sup> "Dimanche dernier, a eu bien à St-Hilaire, la bénédiction d'une cloche venant de Londres."<sup>6</sup> The article also stated: "La décoration de l'église . . . était du meilleur goût."<sup>7</sup> On April 2,

<sup>1</sup>"A Saint-Hilaire," La Presse, October 27, 1897, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>A.P.S.H., J.M. Laflamme's diary, pp. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup>A.E.S.H., Registre des Lettres, Series I, Vol. 19 (1 Janv. 1896-14 Nov. 1897). Letter from the Bishop of St-Hyacinthe to curé Laflamme dated June 16, 1897.

<sup>4</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 196, no. 3; Lacroix, 1978, pp. 36-37, 197, no. 4, ill. 15. See figs. 26, 27, 28, 29, 38, 39, 45, 59, 92.

<sup>5</sup>"A Travers Les Provinces-St-Hilaire," La Presse, Oct. 21, 1898, p.3.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

1899, three of Leduc's canvases were installed in the nave. "Ce matin il y a en messe solennelle fanfare beau chant, et de plus, la bénédiction de trois nouveaux tableaux dans la nef."

Besides continuing work on his religious canvases for St-Hilaire church, Leduc was involved in a number of other artistic activities. He sent paintings to be exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal<sup>2</sup> and the R.C.A. exhibitions. He had been commissioned to illustrate Dr. Ernest Choquette's novel Claude Paysan<sup>3</sup> and a small oil painting illustrating a scene from Choquette's 1898 novel Les Ribaud. At this time Leduc was not only an artist but also a teacher at the convent at St-Hilaire.

"Retour de Sr. Supérieure et de Sr. M. Ermérie, Sr. M. Didace reviendra le 17. accompagnée de Sr. M. Eustochium et de Sr. Louise de Savoie qui devront passer avec nous une partie de la vacance recevant des leçons de peinture de notre artiste de St-Hilaire, M. Ozias Leduc." <sup>4</sup>

He was also interested in literature and attended a "conference de M. Bessette" in mid-August, 1899 at Beloeil.<sup>5</sup>

St-Hilaire parish celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of

<sup>1</sup> A.C.S.H., entry for April 2, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Consult appendix C for Leduc's exhibited works at the AAM and R.C.A.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M., b3 c10. Note letters of May 30, July 5, and October 11, 1899 from Dr. Choquette to O.L. See also Ostiguy, 1974, p. 31, no. 17; p. 127; p. 33, no. 19; p. 129, Lacroix, 1978, p. 30, ill. 10; p. 32, no. 14; p. 33, no. 15; p. 35, no. 16.

<sup>4</sup> A.C.S.H., entry for July 15, 1899. Leduc gave drawing and painting lessons at the Convent of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, Saint-Hilaire, a practice he continued with many other religious orders throughout his life. Summer courses included English, French, and music. "Dessin et peinture: croquis de paysage d'après nature en plein air." The length of the term was from July 2- September 4.

<sup>5</sup> "Conference de M. Bessette" La Presse, August 16, 1899, p. 7. "Parmi les personnes présentes à cette conférence. . . M.L.P. Brodeur, M. le docteur Choquette, M.O. Leduc-peintre, M.J. Jodoin. . ." Many years later in a letter dated June 24, 1931 from Leduc to curé Albert Levesque of Saint-Hilaire, he expressed his love of literature.

"Mes amis savent mon grand intérêt dans toutes les choses de l'Art et dans celles de la littérature également. En art je suis plutôt un production cela dans mon intérêt, dans l'autre je suis un piètre consommateur" (A.N.Q.M., b7c 99).

its foundation with an important religious ceremony and musical extravaganza on October 22, 1899.<sup>1</sup> The event was mentioned in La Presse which stated that the church interior had been completely restored with the exception of the installation of the remaining Leduc canvases.

"... intérieur complètement restauré comme nous l'avons déjà dit, sera orné et décoré avec art. Des ouvriers sous la direction de M. Leduc qui est à terminer certains tableaux d'une grande richesse poursuivent actuellement les derniers préparatifs."<sup>2</sup>

On February 17, 1900 curé J.M. Laflamme wrote Msgr. Moreau asking permission to hold another bazaar to aid in the continuing St-Hilaire church project.<sup>3</sup> The Courrier de St-Hyacinthe announced the bazaar took place between February 24-27.

"Il est donné au profit de l'église paroissiale qui vient d'être décorée avec un goût remarquable et ornée de tableaux de prix. Ce sera un excellente occasion pour visiter cette oeuvre, vraiment artistique de l'aveu de tous, les oeuvres d'art ont droit d'être encouragées dans notre jeune pays. On dit que ce bazar de campagne sera des plus beaux et des mieux organisés."<sup>4</sup>

The bazaar was mentioned in La Presse as a great success, raising \$800.<sup>5</sup>

"St-Hilaire: Le bazar s'est terminée par un résultat assez satisfaisant. Les recettes se montant tout près de \$800. M.M. Philippe Martin et Origène Leduc, artistes, ainsi que M. Jos. Vincent étaient les hôtes de M. Desrochers, N.P. durant les bazars."<sup>6</sup>

Curé Laflamme received a letter from Msgr. Moreau on May 3, 1900

<sup>1</sup>"Centenaire à St-Hilaire," Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, October 21, 1899, no. 99, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>"Un Centenaire," La Presse, October 21, 1899, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>A.E.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau.

<sup>4</sup>A.C.S.H., journal entry February 24, 1900. See also "Grand bazar à St-Hilaire," Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, February 20, 1900, no. 146, p.3.

<sup>5</sup>"Nouvelles de Partout-St-Hilaire," La Presse, March 7, 1900, p.3.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

informing him of his new post as curé of Farnham, Québec.<sup>1</sup> The announcement was made in the Courrier de St-Hyacinthe.

"Le Rev. M. Laflamme, curé de St-Hilaire deviendrait curé de Farnham. M. Charbonneau, de Ste-Hélène irait à St-Hilaire..."<sup>2</sup>

The curé announced his appointment to his parishioners on May 6, 1900.<sup>3</sup>

In J.M. Laflamme's final letter to Msgr. Moreau, as curé of St-Hilaire parish he stated his personal satisfaction that all the projects he had undertaken had been successfully completed, with a special reference to the interior decoration of the church.

"Je vous parle bien intimement ici, en toute confiance - ce sera me grande satisfaction pour moi de laisser le tout en bon ordre. On ne peut s'expliquer ici qu'il ne reste aucune dette de l'oeuvre de l'intérieur de l'église."<sup>4</sup>

The remaining Leduc canvases were installed in St-Hilaire church at the religious festival celebrating the Ascension on May 24, 1900, a triumph for both Leduc and curé Laflamme.

"Monsieur dit pour la dernière fois la grande messe dans sa paroisse. L'émotion est grande. Ce jour est fixé pour la bénédiction des derniers tableaux de notre église. Comme disait Monsieur le Curé, notre jolie chapelle représente les principales scènes de l'ancien et du nouveau testament, car dans la voûte nous voyons toutes les principales figures

<sup>1</sup>A.E.S.H., letter from Msgr. Moreau to J.M. Laflamme, May 3, 1900.

<sup>2</sup>"Les funérailles du Revd. M.J.P. Dupuy," La Presse, May 4, 1900, p. 8. "Nouvelles de Partout-St-Hilaire," May 9, 1900, p. 7. "Changements ecclésiastiques," Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, May 5, 1900, no. 28, p. 3. "Le regrette curé de Farnham," Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, May 8, 1900, no. 29, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>A.C.S.H., journal entry May 6, 1900.

<sup>4</sup>A.E.S.H., letter from J.M. Laflamme to Msgr. Moreau, May 17, 1900.

historiques de la loi de Moïse. Dans le bas ce sont les tableaux de la vie de Notre Seigneur. Les sept sacrements, les quatre Evangelistes, ainsi que L'Assomption de la Vierge et un tableau de St-Hilaire."<sup>1</sup>

Shortly afterwards, J.M. Laflamme assumed his new position as curé of Farnham<sup>2</sup> and continued his spirited devotion towards creating financial stability for his new parish. Later, in 1905-1906, he undertook the project to decorate Farnham church (built in 1900)<sup>3</sup> and commissioned Ozias Leduc, once again.

#### F. Aim of the Artist

Ozias Leduc adapted his decoration to conform to the already existing Neo-Gothic interior of St-Hilaire church.<sup>4</sup> There is no documentary evidence in Leduc's personal papers,<sup>5</sup> to explain the overall decorative scheme and its symbolism, except for a few abbreviated notes deciphering the motifs and minor decoration.<sup>6</sup>

Statements made by Leduc concerning his religious symbolism in later commissions demonstrated the importance of St-Hilaire church as

<sup>1</sup>A.C.S.H., journal entry for May 24, 1900.

<sup>2</sup>"Curé de Farnham," La Presse, June 2, 1900, p. 17; "A Farnham," La Presse, June 4, 1900, p. 8; "A Farnham," La Presse, June 6, 1900, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>"Nouvelles de Partout-Farnham," La Presse, June 23, 1900, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>I.B.C., dossier St-Hilaire church. Gérard Morisset stated that the Neo-Gothic styled interior of St-Hilaire church had been instituted at the request of the English Seigneurs, the Campbell family who had purchased the Seigneurie from Jacques Hertel in 1844. There is no documentary evidence to substantiate Morisset's claim.

<sup>5</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c34. Mlle Gabrielle Messier's hand written copy of a nostalgic, sentimental statement attributed to Leduc (ca. 1951) only serves as an appreciation of St-Hilaire church and adds nothing to an intelligible understanding of Leduc's religious symbolism.

<sup>6</sup>A.N.Q.M., b2 c9. See figs. 12, 13.



the starting point for Leduc's religious and aesthetic ideas which were fused to formulate his intimate religious art for the rest of his career.

Ozias Leduc was seldom asked to comment on his church decorative schemes, however, in a statement to l'abbé Eugène Martin of Joliette, many years later (August 16, 1932) Leduc expressed the desire to achieve a unity in his work which he had executed at Saint-Charles Borromée, Joliette, Québec in 1892-1893.<sup>1</sup> He reflected:

"Ce . . . travail d'unification poursuivi et complété par l'application (sic) d'une technique uniforme et le choix d'une couleur générale devait dans le plan de l'artiste former une harmonie d'ensemble, un accord complet entre ces tableaux, ainsi refaits, et la décoration ornementale alors existante."<sup>2</sup>

Brief notes accompanying vignette size drawings for his minor décoration serve as a basis for interpretation of and ideas found in his decorative scheme. On one rare occasion, Leduc, in a detailed statement recorded his goals and purpose for his decoration. The close proximity in date and utilization of the same motifs, shapes of canvas and their frames and comments made about St. Ninian's Cathedral, Antigonish are applicable to St-Hilaire church, Saint-Hilaire, Québec.

In July, 1903, three years after the completion of the St-Hilaire church project, Ozias Leduc responded to a request from one of the clergy in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to explain his work at the recently completed St. Ninian's Cathedral (ca. 1902-1903).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lacroix, 1978, p. 149. Leduc executed 24 canvases for the nave and choir, integrating them with the already existing overall decoration.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M. b7 c100; see O.L. letter to Eugène Martin, August 16, and September 3, 1932. See also b7 c111, O.L. letter to Mr. P. Wilfrid Corbeil, December 1, 1943.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., b7 c91. Reproduction of the article written by Ozias Leduc explaining his decorative scheme for St. Ninian's Cathedral found in The Casket newspaper, Antigonish, N.S., July, 1903.

In this concise article Leduc outlined his basic philosophy of religious art, stressing two important factors for the successful articulation of the interior scheme. The first point emphasized unity of design;

"... a quality essential to all Art, namely, unity, it also offers an opportunity for the display of lines and colors, allowing us the appreciation in what measure. . . - to the lofty and severe fullness which is a special attribute of religious decorative art. . . Everyone knows that in order to realize an artistic decoration it is not enough to give rein to one's imagination, to conceive lines, to evoke forms and to arrange colors. Lines, forms, colors, are only elements; it is necessary to coordinate them to arrange them after certain fixed principles, in order to produce an harmonious effect. Every Art must have rules. . . I have tried to do everything according to rule and rational (sic) order, so that the equilibrium of the various parts (sic) might result in a harmonious symmetry of the whole, both in drawing and in coloring."<sup>1</sup>

The idea of wholeness and harmony was not new, but was a popular concept during the 19th century.<sup>2</sup> To Ozias Leduc, it is this ordered, structured world which gives birth to Beauty.

"It is from the interpretations of every great thought that Art draws the diverse aspects which make it so charming; it is there that is found the true source of its progress. -progress akin to that of the soul, which produces and explains the progress of the Ideal, whose steady assent (sic) leads to the Beautiful, the Good, the True. . . And it is my earnest desire to see this principle, and others also such as unity in variety, adaptation, association which are the criterion of beautiful things. . . "<sup>3</sup>

These same sentiments and his philosophy on art and life established at this time, were echoed in later statements. He believed that beauty found in nature was a result of the same rigid, structured

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c91, The Casket, July, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Wylie Sypher, Rococo to Cubism to Art and Literature, (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c91, The Casket, July, 1903.

rules over which man had no control, therefore adding a religious and spiritual connotation to the ordered universe and cosmology.

"Beauty, which is one, varied and ordered, since it can shine out in so many ways in the objects of nature and the works of man, in concepts of the intelligence or in the field of morality, and also because of the hierarchy and relationships of man and things, is necessarily and fittingly relative. Let us not forget that the beautiful is the splendour of order. Men's finest works are finally those that are the best ordered for their purpose, those in which this order is most strongly and clearly asserted, those, in brief, in which this order triumphs."<sup>1</sup>

The spiritual connotation of this outlook, taken in context with 19th century Roman Catholicism in Québec, signifies that Beauty, as a result of a universal order, is synonymous with God.

"... Or Dieu est la Beauté même."<sup>2</sup>

This outlook was not only indigenous to Quebec artists but also was expressed by Burne-Jones and the Pre-Raphaelites.<sup>3</sup>

Leduc wrote that beauty is the result of the ordered sum of individual parts.

"La beauté expérimentalement est le résultat de proportions mesurées, de règles régies par l'ordre qui semble, qui est sûrement le pivot autour duquel s'agit et tremble l'âme inassouvie toujours à la recherche du bonheur peut-être inaccessible."<sup>4</sup>

The second major point Leduc emphasized was that: "The supreme object of Art is to instruct."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ozias Leduc, typed manuscript of lecture given to the "Union catholique des cultivateurs," ca. 1930, p. 15. A.N.Q.M., Lacroix, 1978, pp. 132-133.

<sup>2</sup> René Bergeron, L'Art et sa spiritualité (Québec: Editions du Pelican, 1961), p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> David Cecil, The Visionary and Dreamer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M., b1 c34.

<sup>5</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c91, The Casket, July, 1903.

The educational and instructive power of his religious canvases and symbols was to create an exemplum virtutis, essential for the moral strength and character of the local parishioners. The persuasive power of the murals and overall decoration was attained through unity of design, followed by Beauty, which inspired faith.

"These pictures are disposed in the following order, each according to its meaning in relation to the whole work. Studied thus, in this point of view, I venture to hope that, however modest their execution the attentive critic will find them an esthetic joy, and will see in them a teaching whose moral bearing cannot escape him."<sup>1</sup>

At a later date, Leduc reiterated his previous statements stressing the important part the artist played in the education of his milieu. He remarked:

"M.E. Montpetit dans un conférence sur la productivité de l'art au point de vue économique, a dit entre beaucoup de vérités tendant à magnifier le rôle de l'artiste dans la société que l'oeuvre d'art est éducatrice."<sup>2</sup>

In a letter to Olivier Maurault p.s.s., Leduc expressed his concern about the apathy towards religion in Québec.<sup>3</sup> He hoped that his artistic contribution would re-generate a revival of faith.

Besides his desire for the revival of formal religion in Québec, Leduc, in an address to the Société d'histoire régionale de St-Hyacinthe in 1936, pointed out what he believed to be the two weaknesses in Québec art at this time: the lack of unity, both stylistically and iconographically; and the absence of originality found in Québec church decoration.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c91, The Casket, July, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c124.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M., b2 c15. "Dires sur le symbolisme" typed manuscript of lecture given to the Société historique de St-Hyacinthe, August 21, 1936, pp. 19-20.

"Nos architectes n'ont-ils pas un peu la peur de construire, d'édifier dans un style nouveau. . . Nos architectes on peut-être aussi peur d'eux-mêmes. C'est pourquoi ils recherchent la sécurité des styles éprouvés, que le passé nous laisse un exemple. Ils n'osent s'aventurer hors de la vieille route et buttent à ses encombrements. Cette peur de soi est, sans doute de la sagesse, la sagesse timorée de ceux qui ne peuvent inventer."<sup>1</sup>

Leduc concluded that this malaise and waning of interest in formal religion (Roman Catholic) was twofold. Due in part to the lack of inventiveness, ability and also conviction of the Québec artists, as well as the indifference of an emerging industrialized, modern Québec preoccupied by cultural materialism.<sup>2</sup>

"... understanding of the same work by people the majority of whom are generally little given to reflection in things which go beyond the narrow domain within which they are occupied every day more and more with material things. . . artistic matters so neglected heretofore in our Canada."<sup>3</sup>

Leduc expressed the same sentiments as W.H. Hunt:

"that without faith, art becomes materialistic, empty, literal, and dead, because such unspiritualized art can only present facts for their own sake."<sup>4</sup>

The aim of every artist should be to express a single idea in his work.<sup>5</sup> Ozias Leduc stated:

"The theme of the decorations. . . may be summed up

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, 1978, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Historians and sociologists utilizing demographic studies have shown great changes in Québec society of 1900. See Jean Hamelin, ed., Les travailleurs Québécois 1851-1896 (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1973), p. 82. See also Gordon W. Bertram, "Economic Growth in Canadian Industry, 1870-1915: The Staple Model and the Take-Off Hypothesis", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XXIX (no. 2, May 1963), pp. 162ff.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c91, The Casket, July, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> George P. Landow, W.H. Hunt and Typological Symbolism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Bruno Zevi, Architecture as Space (New York: Horizon Press, 1957) p.193.

in a few lines. It is to demonstrate the love of God. . .<sup>1</sup>

In a religious context Leduc alluded to the necessary perpetuity of religion, the important continuity of the cult and the vital role the artist plays to inspire the parishioners.

"De fait Dieu habite notre église, miraculeusement, sans cesser d'être présent en la demeure qu'il s'est bâtie de toute éternité pour lui-même, pour son Saint-Esprit, pour son Verbe rédempteur, demeure bâtie et faite pour contenir le Mystère inconcevable de son être de son existence, de sa durée. . ."<sup>2</sup>

G. Leduc's Preliminary drawings for the overall decorative scheme adapted to the already existing Neo-Gothic architectural interior

A number of preliminary drawings by Ozias Leduc are devoted to the adaptation of his decorative plan to the St-Hilaire church interior.<sup>3</sup> There is no documentation to precisely date these drawings, either in the St-Hilaire church archives or in Leduc's personal papers stored at the Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal. An article in La Presse stated the commission to restore and redecorate the church had been granted in October, 1895.<sup>4</sup> This statement, along with comments made by J.M. Laflamme, shortly after his appointment as curé of St-Hilaire and the awarding of a contract to Archambault et Therrien in November, 1895, to install a heating system for the church, confirm the date of October or earlier, as the time when these drawings were executed. As indicated by the sketches for the overall decorative scheme the majority of Leduc's drawings were executed on any available pieces of paper.

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c91, The Casket, July, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M., b1 c34, undated sheet.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M., b1 c9A.

<sup>4</sup> "La Paroisse de St-Hilaire," La Presse, December 19, 1896, p. 1.

In a letter dated several years after the St-Hilaire commission Ozias Leduc stated his preference for "sketching on the spot after having seen the church."<sup>1</sup> The first sheet (fig. 3), showing four different interior views of the front part of the nave of St-Hilaire church, exemplifies Leduc's idea of sketching on location.<sup>2</sup> These four freehand pencil line drawings are broadly swept in character, representing the first stage of development before the designs and motifs are enlarged and drawn in more detail and precision.

The drawing on the top left of this sheet (the angle of observation is slightly elevated), can be identified as the area located beside the altar dedicated to the Virgin (right front nave).<sup>3</sup>

The view illustrates: the arrangement and spacing of the large "Romanesque" (round-arch shaped) windows, the frames reserved for the Ways of the Cross and niches for the future Leduc designed canvases, as well as an altar. This small, detailed sketch evokes a sense of harmony and balance through the measured proportions and deliberate organization of the wall space between the nave windows. Unity is achieved by the repetition and interconnection of forms.

The remaining three drawings on this sheet are enlargements of specific areas of the top left sketch.

The top right drawing gives a close-up of the lower wall decoration, below the canvases and Ways of the Cross. The bottom left view depicts a sample segment of wall space decorated between and above the window and the Ways of the Cross. The bottom right sketch illustrates

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c75.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M., b1 c9A.

<sup>3</sup> The left front nave has a pulpit that projects into the space that is not represented in this drawing, therefore the location depicted is of the right front nave.

the juncture behind the lateral wall and front wall, beside the altar to the Virgin.

The unity, as found in these initial drawings, is transferred successfully to the more rigid calligraphy of the later drawings and finally to the successful execution of these ideas, motifs, and proportions on a larger scale of the actual decorative scheme. The shapes and motifs indicated in these drawings were retained except for minor alterations such as, the elimination of shapes below the canvases and windows in the top right drawing. These are replaced by a growing vine that unites visually, the space below the canvases and nave windows.

Leduc's propensity for drawing on any available piece of paper is

typified by the diminutive sketches found on the reverse side of an engraving depicting the Second Way of the Cross.<sup>1</sup> A printed descriptive text occupies most of the reverse side with the margins containing motifs for the nave vaulting and several for the high lateral walls of St-Hilaire church.<sup>2</sup> The top left half border space contains a faded drawing showing the vaulting decoration.

Two sheets record the shapes of the canvases and their measurements (in feet).<sup>3</sup> Two larger scale sheets depict the measured calculated, scientific drawings, considerably larger than their smaller prototypes.<sup>4</sup>

Another drawing related to the St-Hilaire church overall decoration

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., bl c9A; see fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See top of page, above text for motifs.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M., bl c9A; see figs. 5 and 6.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M., bl c9A; see figs. 7, 8.

One drawing is for both the Assumption of the Virgin and St. Hilary Writing His Treatise canvases as they have identical measurements.



shows a detailed segment of wall.<sup>1</sup> The strong similarities which relate this drawing to the St-Hilaire church decorative scheme are: the framing device for the Ways of the Cross, the potted ivy vine which is directly beneath the Ways of the Cross, and the rigid, linear pseudo-architectural outer border framing the main canvases are identical. The shape of the interior frame is the same but the floral motif used does not resemble Leduc's final selection. The composition with the frame is foreign to the final canvas, but may have been a first idea or concept proposed by Leduc.

---

<sup>1</sup> Private collection. See fig. 10.

## Chapter Five

### Analysis of the Overall Decorative Scheme

#### A. Introduction

The expressive possibilities of the Neo-Gothic interior architecture presented a challenge to the organizing abilities and imagination of Ozias Leduc.<sup>1</sup> He tried to benefit from the constraints created by the already existing structural aspects: such as the jubé at the rear of the church, and the pulpit located on the left side of the nave, respecting and employing them to create a dynamic decorative scheme. Leduc invested the physical aspects of the functional architecture with expression. In other words, he synthesized function and expression. This cannot be illustrated more readily than in Leduc's utilization of the decorative significance of the pointed arch and the cross-ribbed vaulting of the wooden ceiling sections of the nave and the choir areas.<sup>2</sup> The Gothic character of the building is further emphasized by the sharp points at the corner of each division within the ceiling space created by the vaulting. By examining the individual sections of the cross-ribbed vaulting, the subtle and complex adjustments and perfect equilibrium become apparent and the impression of the structure as a whole unit is maintained.

---

<sup>1</sup>The narrow dimensions, light and shadow, and colour scheme are inherent factors of the already existing architecture.

<sup>2</sup>The use of applied decoration to the cross-ribbed vaulting at St-Hilaire church is simpler and less elaborate than his later commissions which evoke a sense of "horror vacui," such as : *Enfant Jésus Baptistery* (1916), *Sherbrooke Bishop's Chapel* (1922-32), and *Notre-Dame Baptistery* (1926). The highly decorative ribs of these later commissions are reminiscent of the rib decoration in *Notre-Dame Church, Montréal*.

Ozias Leduc achieved unity in his decorative scheme for St-Hilaire church interior through: colour conformity and variation and repetition on themes, motifs and ornaments (which not only conform to structures but are also symbolic forms). All these factors aid in creating a harmonious, symmetrical and balanced decorative scheme (re-inforced by the iconography selected by Leduc).

#### B. Technical application of all minor decorations, motifs and canvases

All the decorations covering the walls were applied by means of cartoons, an inexpensive method widely popularized since the industrial revolution. Leduc accomplished this by a technique called pouncing.<sup>1</sup>

The fifteen oil on canvas, New Testament scenes, fourteen Ways of the Cross and one medallion (located over the doorway, adjacent to the Saint Hilary Writing His Treatise canvas), are glued to the plaster covered walls of St-Hilaire church. Beneath the smooth, plaster surface, the lateral nave walls are of wooden construction, whereas the choir walls are composed of thin Roman/Byzantine brickwork, cemented together.

A. Lys Baldry described the method of affixing a canvas to a wall surface employed by Sir Edward Burne-Jones:

---

<sup>1</sup> A recent conversation with Mr. Raoul Vien, confirmed the employment of this method. Bills for supplies of charcoal, paper and a limited number of stencils re-iterate the repeated use of these patterns. The photograph of Leduc and his assistants documents visually the use of stencils during the 1896-1897 project (see fig. 2).

"The wall is first plastered solidly and smoothly so as to avoid the possibility of cracking, and to prevent the existence of any superficial irregularities which would spoil the effect of the picture. Then onto the plaster surface is laid a stiff mixture of white lead and strong varnish and onto this preparation the canvas is pressed with rollers until it adheres firmly in every part. The lead and varnish harden into a mass which holds the canvas firmly, and guards it from dampness."<sup>1</sup>

This technique of securing the canvas to the wall surface was a practice shared by many 19th century muralists (John La Farge, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, etc.).

Leduc differed only slightly in the consistency of his affixing solution. Giving advice to Victor Rho, a friend and fellow muralist, Ozias Leduc stated:

"Pour coller le tableau sur le mur un pot de colle de farine épaisse un quart de livre de colle forte et un demiard de mélasse le tout bien mêlé. Une couche sur le mur."<sup>2</sup>

The unity of the decoration embracing the ceiling and walls was not only achieved through the conceptual program alone, but also by the formal means such as, colour, light, and the interrelationship of the individual compositions. The total effect of the colour scheme depended to a large extent on the light that shone into the church. The natural daylight has a visual effect on the composition of the painting on the wall and its position in the architectonic structure. At St-Hilaire church light enters the building through eight large two-storied round arched windows located in the nave (four on each

<sup>1</sup>A. Lys Baldry, Modern Mural Decoration (London: George Newnes Ltd., 1902), p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c90.

lateral wall).<sup>1</sup>

C. Lower half of St-Hilaire church: Pseudo-mosaic

Leduc varied the formal and spatial character of the walls by employing a number of illusionary devices. One such device was the pseudo-mosaic, first adopted by Leduc at St-Hilaire and used frequently thereafter throughout his career. He introduced a pseudo/or mock-mosaic for many reasons.

"La mosaïque, par la rusticité relative de son exécution, gagne généralement à être pratiquée sur de grandes surfaces; c'est pourquoi elle convient si bien au décor architectural."<sup>2</sup>

In the first place, it relieved the plainness and barrenness of the wooden and plaster walled interior of this rural Québec, Roman Catholic church and united all the lower extremities into an ensemble of luxurious harmony (tactile value). It also afforded the lower section of the church, the illusion of a concrete structural reality and solidity, which framed the fifteen canvases, one medallion, windows and doors. It further reinforced the wall as a wall.

<sup>1</sup>Artificial light improved upon in 1930, when Ozias Leduc designed lamps, which were installed replacing the older chandeliers.

<sup>2</sup>Henri Mayeux, La Composition décorative (Paris: A. Quantin, 1884). Leduc had this book and Edouard Gerspach's La mosaïque, (Paris: A. Quantin, 1881) in his library. The former was re-printed between 1884-1904, while the latter was re-printed twice during the 1880's. It was, no doubt, from these two sources that Leduc took his inspiration for planning the St-Hilaire church interior pseudomosaic. He also made brief notations which can be traced to these two texts. See A.N.Q.M., b3 cl.

This marked the genesis of pseudo-architectural detail in Leduc's repertoire. The imitation of the architectural features in the choir area (mouldings, corbels, cornices, etc.,) and on the high lateral nave walls facilitate the transition from the lower lateral walls to the upper part of the church and its cross-ribbed vaulted wooden ceiling. As well, the colour and structure of the tessellated wall surface, both contribute to making the transition from one area to another much easier.

There was a revival of Byzantine-style mosaic work in the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> Mass production of inexpensive materials made the overall project just as elaborate looking but more economical. Even with lower costs, the project to decorate St-Hilaire church seemed, at times, in peril. Lack of funds was a typical problem confronted by 19th century craftsmen. The new technology (practical and inexpensive) allowed Ozias Leduc and other craftsmen/ decorators/ designers, the opportunity to imitate mosaic, within the economic limits and temporal realities of their commissioners.

These simple patterns, although elegant and distinctive did not create the sense of mystical and transcendental, quality of the Byzantine churches, however, this was not their purpose. The elaborate, yellow pseudo-mosaic gained the attention of the viewer through its dazzling effect from the play of light and rich appearance of its surface texture.

---

<sup>1</sup>Baldry, *op.cit.*, p. 46ff. John Singer Sargent, John Lafarge, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *ad infinitum*.

On Leduc's trip to Europe and brief London stay, he may have seen William Butterfield's (1814-1900) decoration for All Saints', Margaret st., London (1849-1855) or Saint Augustine of Canterbury, South Kensington (1844-1848).

In the poorly lighted area, beneath the jube, Leduc chose to integrate six canvases into the decorative scheme (Four evangelists, writing their version of the New Testament) and two sacraments.<sup>1</sup>

Although this space is illuminated by artificial light<sup>2</sup>, natural daylight and the reflection of light off the yellow mosaic, there is still inadequate lighting in this area. The jubé breaks the vertical layers of space at the rear of the church dividing the area horizontally. This structural feature of the interior architecture reduces the verticality. Although the horizontal axis is extended into the front part of the church, including the choir area (by means of the pseudo-mosaic and ivy vines below the nave windows) the overwhelming accentuation is placed upon verticality.

#### D. Vaulted Ceiling and Upper Wall Decorations

The mock-mosaic of the lower half of the church is a decisive pattern, whereas in the ceiling decoration the winding pattern leads from one section of the vaulting to another in an infinite, never-ending calligraphy of delicate proportions of lines and masses. All aspects of the Neo-Gothic architecture and the wall and ceiling decoration chosen by Leduc emphasize strongly the dynamic upward movement. In contrast to the rear section of the church, below the

---

<sup>1</sup>Leduc was forced by the physical character of the jubé to adopt a horizontal axis (width greater than height) for the six canvases in that area. The Pentecost and Death of St. Joseph scenes suffer from location as both are obscured partially by the two staircases leading to the jubé.

<sup>2</sup>Ozias Leduc designed wall bracket lamps and suspension lamps which were added in 1930.

jubé, which lacks illumination, the front of the church is saturated with light through the large, two-storey, round arched nave windows. The glare radiating through the yellow, pseudo-mosaic surface was somewhat relieved by the "vitrophanie" and the painted glass decoration on the nave windows designed by Leduc during the restoration of 1928-1929.<sup>1</sup>

The multi-shafted, wooden, Gothic-styled columns and the upper half of the churches lateral walls and vaulted ceiling are united in a grey tonality re-inforcing the overall sense of sobriety and equilibrium. Many Neo-Gothics artists and designers of the 19th century interpreted the grey tonality found in Gothic Cathedrals as characteristic of Gothic style. Aided by misinterpretations concerning its archaeological and structural aspects, many 19th century authors stressed the decorative aspects of the Gothic style.

"The early Gothic Revivalists were interested primarily in detail and ornament."<sup>2</sup>

One such widely read author propounding these ideas was Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), whose book "Dictionnaire raisonné . . ." was found in Leduc's library.<sup>3</sup>

The cross-ribbed vaulting played a significant part in the visual

<sup>1</sup>"La vitrophanie," La Presse, October 22, 1898, p. 15.

"La vitrophanie est même une conservatrice de la vue, car employée dans une fenêtre dont la lumière est trop forte, elle la rend limpide et plaisante."

<sup>2</sup>Agnes Addison, Romanticism and the Gothic Revival (New York: Gordian Press Inc., 1967), p. 139.

<sup>3</sup>Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), wrote his monumental work between 1854-1869. Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture Française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: A. Morel, 1864-68). As a reaction to the anti-Gothic, Viollet-le-Duc wrote his book. His theories have been criticized severely as not scientific or archaeological however his book disseminated a clear understanding of the significance and beauty of Gothic detail.



concept of the overall decoration. The ribs are employed for the sake of their decorative or rather plastically articulating function.<sup>1</sup>

The ribs and their bronze coloured border designs accentuated the actual structural divisions between each triangular section of the vaulting.

Each grey panel is framed by a white border outlined clearly by an outer border consisting of an endless series of oval lozenges (gold surrounded by a dark green line creating the oval lozenge shape) linked together by smaller diamond or square shapes. The divisions are emphasized by the painted decoration applied to their surfaces. The crisp, geometric, linear, straight line quality is contrasted by the softer flowing straight lines which merge to intertwine with each corner of the triangle forming a curvilinear fleur-de-lis motif (grey on white). Leduc emphasized strongly, the straight and curved line in his ceiling decorative plan adapting it to the already existing, wooden vaulted ceiling.

He created an intimate space in which all the individual parts are related clearly. Through colour uniformity and consistent, homogeneous pattern decoration, Leduc facilitated movement from one clearly defined area to another, especially from the two dynamically decorated small side aisle vaulting to more somber, larger square-shaped grey panels of the central nave vaulting which are decorated with religious

---

<sup>1</sup>Viollet-le-Duc believed the rib-vaulting to be purely decorative. Viollet-le-Duc, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33.

Later in his career, Leduc studied the books of Emile Mâle and Louis Réau recommended to him by Olivier Maurault, see Lacroix, 1978, p. 53.

symbols. The symbols are presented in the center of the grey panel framed by a green laurel wreath, in some cases, or a green ivy wreath, both of which are tied in a lover's knot by a ribbon. The wreaths are reminiscent of the classical victory wreaths.<sup>1</sup> They were also the favourite vignette in many of the parochial Québec Roman Catholic religious periodicals with which Leduc was familiar.

The supple, vital energies, tense sinews, flower-like (fleur-de-lis) terminations found in each panel help create this overall feeling of orderliness of decoration and at the same time convey a symbolic meaning, the fleur-de-lis, an attribute of Christ and the traditional symbol of France.<sup>2</sup> Just as in medieval painting, everything represented is merged into the higher life. Every arch and rib is exercised to function as creating a vertical layer of space,

In 1889, Walter Crane stated: "line is all important. Let the designer, therefore, in the adaptation of his art, lean upon the staff of line - line determinative, line emphatic, line delicate, line expressive, line controlling, and uniting."<sup>3</sup>

About the middle of the 19th century, a great number of books were published concerned with decoration of buildings based on floral and vegetal motifs "inspired from Nature". Books like Owen Jones,

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b2 c10. "... symbole de la victoire, attribut des martyrs, et le triomphe de Jésus."

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., b2 c10. "Fleurs-de-lys La nature humaine du Sauveur."

<sup>3</sup>Walter Crane, Transaction of the Art Congress (Edinburgh: 1889), pp. 202-220. This is from a transcript of lecture notes delivered by Crane before the National Association for the Advancement of Art, 1889. See also, "Walter Crane Exhibition in Montreal," Arcadia, Vol. I, No. 8, August 15, 1892, p. 156.

The Grammar of Ornament, and Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionnaire Raisonné . . .

proposed the "return to the significant motif, a liberation of seductive design based upon curvilinear decoration, an organic floral line that is called maidenhair."<sup>1</sup>

Leduc had a number of books in his library which expressed the same ideas regarding motifs, colour scheme, unity, etc., as the two afore mentioned texts.<sup>2</sup>

This return to "the significant motif drawn from Nature" had been inspired by a renewed interest in Gothic forms. It was from this evolution of images and ideas that Art Nouveau later developed.<sup>3</sup> Art Nouveau took many forms internationally, therefore, it is difficult to describe accurately, although closely related to many movements of "fin de siècle" such as: aestheticism, synthetism, pre-Raphaelitism, arts-and-crafts movement and symbolism. "Art Nouveau was inspired by nature; but nature was formalized into rhythmic and repeated outlines."<sup>4</sup>

By the late 1890's, Art Nouveau achieved a remarkable international success,<sup>5</sup> as the first Salon de l'Art Nouveau, opened in December 1895, organized by Samuel Bing's shop, Maison de l'Art Nouveau at

<sup>1</sup>Sypher, op.cit., p. 225.

<sup>2</sup>William James and George Ashdown Audsley, Polychromatic Decoration as Applied to Buildings in the Medieval Styles (London: Sotheman, 1882). Henri Manguet, La composition decorative. (Paris: A. Picard & Kaan editeurs, n.d.); M.P. Verneuil, Dictionnaire des symboles, emblèmes et attributs (Paris: Librairie Renouard n.d.).

<sup>3</sup>"In France the influence of Japanese art created a new interest in natural form which eventually resulted in l'Art Nouveau." See Joan Evans, Pattern (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 157.

"The Pre-Raphaelites influenced the Symbolists, because of their treatment of nature. . . Art Nouveau arose out of Symbolism." See Maurice Rheims, The Age of Art Nouveau (London: Thames & Hudson, 1966), p. 129.

<sup>4</sup>Sypher, op.cit., p. 225.

<sup>5</sup>Mildred Constantine and Peter Selz, editors, Art Nouveau (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1959), p. 10.

22 rue de Provence, Paris.<sup>1</sup> The interior decoration of St-Hilaire church was completed between April 8, 1896 - February, 1897,<sup>2</sup> prior to Leduc's European study trip. The Art Nouveau mode of decoration could not have disseminated from Europe so quickly that Leduc could have adapted his decorative scheme to the already existing Neo-Gothic interior of St-Hilaire church. Through available information Leduc's subscriptions to art periodicals came after 1900, proving that these international journals were not the source of inspiration.<sup>3</sup>

Artists employing the Art Nouveau mode of decoration were intrigued by the use of late Gothic architecture (observations of natural growth, leaf-like tracery, double ogee arches and flowing shapes).<sup>4</sup> The source for Leduc's adaptation is found in the few remaining examples of the encyclopaedic reference books of his personal library, and parochial religious magazines which pre-date the St-Hilaire commission.<sup>5</sup>

The decorative scheme for the ceiling of St-Hilaire church is imaginative and expressive. Flat patterns, with long curves, gracefully entwined; clean line emphasizing the ornamental value of the motifs; bold diagonals and vertical lines exhibiting an architectonic quality, all create dominant vertical rhythms in muted colour harmonies.

Vertical exaggeration and elongation of forms emphasized by the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 11. The Salon was the confirmation of a trend already existing.

<sup>2</sup>See time sheets, Appendix B1.

<sup>3</sup>Art et Decoration (1897), La Revue Encyclopédique (1906), La Revue Universelle. (1906), La Revue "Les Arts de la Vie" (1906), Masters in Art (1900).

<sup>4</sup>Constantine and Selz, op.cit., p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>See appendix D.

borders of vaulting, windows, etc; an emphasis on parallelism in design (wooden, grey-painted, multi-shafted Gothic columns exploited for their decorative quality and verticality); a constant re-iteration of the same straight or slightly curved lines; a feeling of mathematical precision underlying this optical surface-like fantasy; and a taste for symmetry, all contribute to the dynamism of ceiling decoration. The Leduc conceived St-Hilaire church ceiling and high lateral wall decorations are linked to "Art Nouveau decorative concept of a closed, finite space emphasized by the flat, vertical quality."<sup>1</sup>

The books Leduc had in his library prior to the St-Hilaire church project all reflect the growing trend toward art nouveau and the pre-occupation with natural science. Although the St-Hilaire church interior decorative scheme has a number of individual elements which can be related to art nouveau, the style is a fusion of Medieval, Byzantine, and Neo-Gothic reflecting the eclectic nature of the late 19th century, placing Leduc, the decorator, closer to his European contemporaries than his Canadian counterparts.

#### E. Sources of Inspiration for the Motifs of the Overall Decorative Scheme

The sources for the decipherment of the symbolic botanical images employed by Leduc in the overall decorative scheme of St-Hilaire church can be found by examining the books, dated around and prior to 1900, which he had in his library.

---

<sup>1</sup>Rheims, op.cit., p. 333.

These books are not only the source for his motifs and minor decorations but also give an insight into the spirit and philosophy from which the iconographic and artistic programs were conceived.

Ozias Leduc reflected, late in life (ca. 1951), on the materials which went into the building of St-Hilaire church. He stated with pride, that the materials were extracted from Nature, the wood of the surrounding forest and stone quarried from Mont Saint-Hilaire.<sup>1</sup>

He chose to imitate elements found in Nature in his overall decorative scheme. He selected motifs found in Nature that were inorganic (stonework) and organic (leaf, flower and vegetal), that he used in the overall wall decorations and in the canvases. The decoration imitates stonework, geometric shapes of the pseudo-mosaic and the grey coloured ceiling and multi-shafted Gothic columns. The ellipse shape border motif jointed by diamonds or squares in the upper half of the building and ceiling conforms to curvilinear aspects of ceiling decoration; whereas a variation on this theme altered to rectangles (in some cases hexagons) is linked by circles in the lower half of the church. This pattern is also found in the Marriage of the Virgin canvas, employed as a border motif for the floor tapestry.

It is an imitation of brick and tilework found frequently in Islamic architecture,<sup>2</sup> and appears on page 67, figure 49 bis of Henri Mayeux's book, La composition décorative, which Leduc had in his library.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c34. Document copied by Gabrielle Messier in 1970 (ca. 1951 statement written by Leduc).

<sup>2</sup>Oleg Grabar, Islamic Architecture and its Decoration A.D. 800-1500, (London: Faber & Faber, 1864), see fig. 379. Detail of brick and tilework in the Great Mosque, Mid-thirteenth century. Eski Malatya main mosque.

The visual association of this form integrated into the ceiling, walls and one canvas, allows easy passage from one area to the next, thus aiding in the unification of the decorative scheme.

#### F. Mimetic Ornaments - Organic Motifs

"In nineteenth century architecture, ornament and decoration were used to explore the association between objects and their symbolic meaning."<sup>1</sup> Certain forms and shapes, through long association with religious rites, became sacred and were preserved and reproduced for their symbolic value. These forms continued to be understood even though they were often stylized into abstract or geometric patterns far removed from their naturalistic models. The organic motifs derived from Nature used by Leduc for the interior decorative scheme were imitations of leaves and flowers. These, as well as having decorative value, unify and have symbolic religious meaning. Some of the organic motifs are common to both the lower and upper part of the church, making an easy visual transition from one clearly defined section to the next by association with familiar, repeated and varied motifs.

##### i. Fleur-de-lis

The predominant motif used in the overall decorative scheme at St-Hilaire church was the fleur-de-lis, emblematic of France and its catholic kings as well as symbolizing the immortality of the Virgin.

<sup>1</sup> Julian Bamard, The Decorative Tradition (London: The Architectural Press, 1974), p. 13.

and the Holy Trinity. Fleur-de-lis are found everywhere in the overall interior decoration: they are used as overlapping border motifs framing the two canvases, The Adoration of the Magi and The Ascension, in the choir area; they are employed as terminating points at the corners of the triangular sections of the cross-ribbed vaulting conforming to the shape of the individual ceiling panel; are rendered in a soft, round curvilinear form executed in gold mosaic in the choir area (the yellow-gold mosaic of the wall surface is outlined by darker bronze coloured lines creating the fleur-de-lis shape); are executed as a type of brattishing, decorating the top of the wooden organ box located in the congregational balcony (jubé).. The continuity of the visual image, such as the fleur-de-lis, found in many forms in the overall minor decoration, is repeated with variation in a number of major canvases. The fleur-de-lis is only one member of the lily family, however, other varieties of this flower are represented in three of the canvases: St. Hilary Writing His Treatise, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Marriage of the Virgin.

It was through the variations and repetition of a motif, such as the fleur-de-lis, that Leduc heightened the interest of the viewer. He invested expression with an emotional and intellectual experience, by means of symbolic meaning.

All the motifs which Leduc used are arranged either overlapping or laid side by side. These two methods of presenting the ornamentation break the monotony and at the same time show strong consistent patterns that unify sections of the wall, ceiling or frame the Ways of the Cross and fifteen canvases.



## ii. Acanthus leaves

Gold re-inforced plaster acanthus leaves were nailed or screwed to the tops of the Gothic styled wooden column capitals (also, thin gold fillets were affixed to the shafts of the columns to add a sense of richness).<sup>1</sup> Green acanthus leaves are also found decorating the lower register of the front of the jubé (remodeled during the 1928-1929 restoration) against a gold background in an overlapping curvilinear pattern.

## iii. Vine<sup>2</sup>

The choir area is a sacred, holy place. The motifs Leduc selected for this space emphasize its important religious function in the Roman Catholic ritual.

The choir's ceiling (fig. 13a) is divided into seven sections, two large pentagonal and five smaller quadrangular panels. The half-dome ceiling is unified with the overall ceiling and vaulting decoration by the slate grey tonality of the background; the fleur-de-lis used as floral terminations at each panel's corner; the elongated, oval lozenges joined by diamond or square shapes outlining and defining the grey area; the outer part of each panel surface painted white; followed by the actual rib vaulting coloured bronze, accentuating each structural division.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., bl c30. See preliminary drawing for the acanthus leaves. See also A.P.S.H., Bill of sale from T. Carli to Saint-Hilaire parish, for \$18 on June 2, 1896 for plaster acanthus leaves.

<sup>2</sup>The vine is found growing from squat pots below the canvases, nave windows and Ways of the Cross, as well as on the wooden pulpit. The vine also appears in the canvas Christ in the House of Simon.

The central area of each of the seven panels (fig. 13b) is ornamented with a fine growing green vine, adorned with pink flowers. This vine and its flowers spread itself over the white trellis like a membrane, intersecting at various points and emphasize the crosses of the white trellises (symbolizing the spread of Christianity).

The painted decoration combined with the structural members (the back wall above the columns and ceiling of the choir are slightly angled out so as to create the half dome) creates the dynamic, optical illusion of a canopy. Although the vine is confined to each panel, by the law of a frame, from a distance it seems to spread itself over the entire diaphanous structure of the canopy.

The vine is the emblem of Christ, expressing the new relation between God and man through Christ.

"I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. . .  
I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth  
in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit:  
for without me ye can do nothing. . . Herein is my  
Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, so shall  
ye be my disciples."

(John 15: 1,5,8).

The vine relates symbolically to the iconography as it visually spreads over the vaulted ceiling surface, like the flowering and growth of Christianity throughout the world. The illusionistic canopy or ciborium serves a dual function as a visually unifying decorative device for the vaulted ceiling and acts symbolically as a protective shelter (Salvation) for those who follow the Christian Doctrine.

#### iv. Ivy and Laurel

Ivy, the symbol of eternal life, grows from small, squat, bronze-coloured, pot-like vases (fig. 13c), placed in the wall space between, but below the level of each of the four nave windows on both sides of the church. The pots, from which the green ivy trails, are reminiscent of the ancient trophies of candelabra that sprouted long, decorative, floral motifs woven below and between the individual scenes, acting as frames and borders, unifying the interior. Although not as elaborate as their Byzantine prototypes, their function is synonymous.

Potted plants and floral displays were common in Québec churches, rendered in low relief wood sculpture by local artisans.<sup>1</sup>

Each of the eight large central nave ceiling panels is decorated with either an ivy or laurel wreath which frames a religious symbol. The green, open-topped wreath is centered in one panel, which is tied in a lover's knot by a bronze-coloured ribbon, that is reminiscent of the crowns awarded to victors of classical antiquity.<sup>2</sup> The religious motifs are gold and white against the grey painted wooden background.

Moving from the church entrance to the altar area, the wreaths

---

<sup>1</sup>The wooden carved, white pulpit of St-Hilaire church was executed by Joseph Pépin (1770-1842). It has a number of small golden vases from which vines grow, in low relief, not unlike those Leduc designed for the decorative scheme.

<sup>2</sup>The victor's wreath was a popular framing device used in Québec religious periodicals with which Leduc was familiar (see Le Rosaire, November 1896, p. 342). The direct source of inspiration for his laurel wreath framing the religious symbols on the nave ceiling and high lateral walls was taken from a book in his personal library, Adolphe Hildebrandt, Heraldic Bookplates: Twenty-Five Ex-libris. (Berlin: J.A. Stargardt, 1892-1894), plate 7, fig. 11.

are alternated (ivy, laurel) creating a unifying effect, however the contrast of the rounded ivy leaf with the elongated thinner laurel leaf relieves the monotony. The laurel wreath symbolizes triumph and eternity, re-inforcing the idea of royalty, alluding to the majesty of Christ. The laurel wreath also occupies the architectural spaces created above the nave windows and below the vaulting high on the lateral walls.

#### G. Religious Symbols Decorating the Nave Ceiling and High Lateral Walls

The sixteen symbols (eight on the nave ceiling, four on each of the two lateral walls) that adorn the nave ceiling and high lateral walls were perhaps inspired from a book Leduc had in his library called Petites Méditations sur les Litanies de la Vierge by R.P. Ollivier.<sup>1</sup>

The small vignette size drawings preserved on two sheets (fig. 12 & 13) of paper at the A.N.Q.M.,<sup>2</sup> show more drawings than were actually used, illustrating Leduc's process of selection and rejection; in some cases two images were re-combined.

The symbols are drawn from traditional Roman Catholic iconography and presented in a simple manner, so as to be easily understood by the local parishioners. The arrangement of these symbols adds to

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b2. c9: One sheet (fig. 13) contains twelve small drawings: the other sheet has nineteen drawings (fig. 12) with the inscription "and others from B. Vierge Litany". This statement alone means little, until M.P. Verneuil's Dictionnaire des Symboles, Emblèmes et Attributs (Paris: Librairie Renouard, n.d.) known to have been in Leduc's personal library, was checked revealing that both these books belonged to a popular series published by Librairie Renouard in the 1890's.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

their straightforwardness. Each symbol is presented on a plain grey background and is framed by either an ivy or laurel wreath. The focus is on each symbol and its contribution to the overall meaning of the Christian doctrine.

The already existing architectural forms of the ceiling and the side walls, accentuated by the painted decoration of the structural features, add much to the framing and clear presentation of each symbol. The emphasis is on clarity, unity and expression of thought and design. Of the thirty-one preliminary drawings on both sheets (12 to 19) only four symbols<sup>1</sup> were adopted without change (open book; alpha and omega; Holy Gown of Christ; Tiara with keys crossed behind it; Holy Ghost). Most are not identical to the preliminary drawings but re-adaptations of them (one or two elements combined). There do not exist any preliminary drawings for four symbols (Pipes; Harp; The Holy Shroud; Temple).

The arrangement of the motifs was not made at random, but well planned.<sup>2</sup> The outermost symbols on the right and the left high lateral walls are united thematically, with symbols of the Passion alternated with ones associated with the Virgin, and unified visually as all are framed within laurel wreaths.

Each adjacent symbol of the central nave panels also is united thematically, for example, progressing from the church entrance to the choir area the central nave panels No. 1, near the Casavant organ displays musical instruments: Rt. - pipes, Lt. - harp; panel No. 2

---

<sup>1</sup>The monogram of the B. Virgin no. 15 and no. 16 the monogram of St. Joseph, were placed just outside the choir area. See fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup>See diagram A, for the iconographic arrangement of the ceiling.

(Heavenly) Christ and his earthly representative (Church); Rt. - Rome; Lt. - IHS (host); panel No. 3, symbolic creatures; Rt. - dove (Holy Spirit); Lt. - Agnus Dei or Christ (lamb of God); panel No. 4, close to the altar where the Holy texts are read; Rt. - Old Testament Law, Lt. - New Testament.

The adjacent panels utilize as well, the same framing device for the symbols (ivy and laurel wreaths are alternated from church entrance to the choir area). According to the entry in the convent of Saint-Hilaire daily journal the interpretation of the nave vaulting symbols was "... car dans la voûte nous voyons toutes les principales figures historiques de la loi de Moïse."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>A.C.S.H., journal entry for May 24, 1900.

Diagram A

The Sixteen Religious Symbols presented on the central panels of the nave ceiling (framed by either laurel or ivy wreaths) and high on the lateral side walls (framed by laurel wreaths).

Choir Area

<u>Left lateral wall</u> (Evangile)	<u>Left Nave</u>	<u>Right Nave</u>	<u>Right lateral wall</u> (Eoitre)
(P) Cross, wreath and ladder	Open book, with Alpha & Omega symbol (L)	Two tablets with Ecclesiastical crooks (L)	Nails, Hammer, and Whip (P)
(V) Temple	Agnus Dei (I)	Holy Ghost (I)	Gate of Heaven (V)
(P) Christ's robe and three dice	Equilateral triangle, IHS symbol (L)	Papal Tiara with keys (L)	Holy Shroud (P)
(V) Knot of Solomon	Harp (I)	Pipes (I)	Star of Creation (V)

Entrance

Key: I - Ivy Wreath  
 L - Laurel Wreath  
 P - Passion Symbols  
 V - Virgin Symbols

## H. Interpretation of Religious Images Selected by Leduc for the Lateral Walls and Central Panels of the Nave Ceiling

### Right Lateral Wall

#### (Back) The Star of Creation:

The Star of Creation is formed by superimposing one equilateral triangle (the symbol of the Trinity) upon another. The six-pointed star is the symbol of creation.

(See Leduc's notes on symbolism A.N.Q.M., b2 c9; see also the Restoration Diary, 1928-1929, August 3, p. 8.)

#### The Holy Shroud:

A preliminary drawing for this image has not been found among the symbols destined for the lateral walls or nave ceiling. The veil with the head of Christ depicted on it is usually the attribute of St. Veronica which refers to the Passion. A passage in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus relates that Veronica dried the sweat from the face of Christ on His way to Calvary with her veil, leaving the imprint of His face on it.

#### Gate of Heaven:

Leduc eliminates the star above the Gate of Heaven found in the preliminary drawing (fig. 13), instead he places a star between the archway. The equilateral triangle (symbol of the Trinity) combined with the Gate of Heaven, create the divinity and hope, representing the entrance into the heavenly Paradise.

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up;  
ye everlasting doors." (Psalm 24: 7)

#### (Front) Symbols of the Passion:

Nails, Hammer, Whip: This arrangement of the elements of the



Passion were a re-combination of the preliminary drawings numbers 18 and 19, on fig. 13.

### Left Lateral Wall

(Back) Knot of Solomon: is symbolic of strength and wisdom.

"The Gordian knot, the Labyrinth and Solomon's knot is equated with finding the Mystic Center." (Ad. de Vries, Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1974, pp. 288, 431).

Holy Gown of Christ, with three dice.

This is another symbol of the Passion.

"Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments. . . and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. . . They said. . . Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it . . . ." (John 19: 23, 24).

### Temple:

The Temple alludes to the Kingdom of Heaven. The shape chosen by Leduc was that of an equilateral triangle, a symbol of the Trinity.

(Front) Symbols of the Passion: Cross, Crown of Thorns, and ladder (see fig. 13, no. 17 and no. 19, no. 7).

### Right Central Nave

(Back) Pipes:

There is no preliminary drawing for this motif. This religious symbol resembles the organ. It is situated on a panel adjacent to the organ in the jubé of St-Hilaire church. The organ symbolizes the praise that the Church is continually offering, through music, to the glory of God.

Tiara with Keys crossed behind it:

(See fig. 13, no. 13) The tiara is a circular headpiece consisting of three crowns, one above the other, surmounted by a cross, and is worn by the Pope. The tiara is also symbolic of the Trinity, but combined with the keys, the new symbol refers to Rome. Jesus said to St. Peter: "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven " (St. Matthew 16: 19).

Holy Ghost:

(See fig. 13, no. 2) The Holy Ghost is depicted as realistically hovering above the globe or circle, symbolizing eternity.

(Front) Two Tablets with patriarchal cross and shepherds crook crossed behind (See fig. 13, no. 12 combined with fig. 12, no. 7). "Tables de la loi", as Leduc calls them represent the Ten Commandments and the Old Testament. "Le livre arrondi au sommet est le symbole de la loi ancienne" (A.N.Q.M., b2 c10).

Left Central Nave

(Back) Harp:

This image has a dual symbolic meaning. The harp is the instrument of divine music (Revelation 5: 8) and the attribute of King David. "And David and all Israel played before God with all their might and with singing and with harps. . . " (I Chronicles 13: 8).

IHS superimposed over Equilateral triangle: (see fig. 13, no. 3 and no. 1) "Iesus Hominum Salvator" means Jesus, Saviour of Mankind. It is combined with the sign of the Trinity, the equilateral triangle.

Agnus Dei: (see fig. 13, no. 4)

The "Agnus Dei" or Lamb of God (Isaiah 53:7; St. John 1: 29; Revelation 5: 12) depicted by Leduc shows the "Agnus Dei" lying upon the Book of Seven Seals and carrying the Banner of Victory, symbolizing Christ's immortality and victory over death. Leduc's preliminary drawing only illustrated the first mentioned rendering, however, his final version united the two popular images.

(Front) Open book with Alpha and Omega symbols (see fig. 12, no. 5). An Open book with Alpha and Omega is an attribute of Christ, signifying "The beginning and end" of all things (Revelation 1:8).

"Le livre carré est le symbole de la loi nouvelle."  
(A.N.Q.M., b2 c10)

## Chapter 6

### General Remarks on the Mural Paintings

#### A. Angle of Observation

All fifteen canvases are approximately five feet above the floor level. This uniformity of design and presentation re-inforces unity. The angle of observation for the canvases contributes to the general impression of flatness and in some cases exaggerated perspective as in The Supper at Emmaus.

Slight distortions, such as the odd perspective in a number of canvases, caused by the shallow foreground and middle ground are carried out successfully because of the elimination of extraneous detail and by the reduction of every form to its simplest and broadest contours. Even movement was reduced to a minimum. The consequent simplification of form, light and space was in accord with the demand of the late 19th century, that a work of art be a synthesis of vision and design.

#### B. Shape of the canvases:

The shape of the canvas is determined by its frame which complements and imitates the already existing Neo-Gothic architectural interior. There is essentially one shape for the St-Hilaire church canvases, the pointed Gothic arch, that takes three variations depending on their location.

The first form taken by two canvases in the choir, The Ascension and the Adoration of the Magi, combined with their painted border motifs

re-inforce and complement the architectural space created between the multi-shafted Gothic columns and below the Neo-Gothic equilateral pointed arch, produced by the ribs that spring from the column capitals.

The second variant form the Lancet arch (frames seven canvases) also emphasizing verticality, is found in the nave in front of the jubé. It is reminiscent of Eastern, Byzantine and Islamic architectural frames, which gained renewed popularity during the Gothic revival and the eclecticism of the second half of the 19th century.

The third variation a Drop arch, includes the six canvases beneath the overhanging jubé, which necessitates the adoption of a horizontal axis, flattening out the canvas shape (width, greater than height). The most important factor for the selection of this particular shape was the architectural interior structure, however, the shape was widely used to frame illustrations for articles in popular Québec religious periodicals, notably La Petite Messager du Très Saint Sacrement and Le Rosaire, both of which were familiar to Leduc.<sup>1</sup> Québec newspaper illustrations also attest to the popularity of this shape.<sup>2</sup>

Ozias Leduc illustrated Dr. Ernest Choquette's romantic, rural novel Claude Paysan in 1899, contemporaneously to his completing the canvases for St-Hilaire church. The frontispiece (cover) for Choquette's book also conformed to the shape of the St-Hilaire church canvases.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Leduc family subscribed to these two periodicals after the death of the youngest of their ten children. See illustrations by J.B. Lagacé in both periodicals, during the 1890's.

<sup>2</sup>La Presse, December 24, 1897 shows a Nativity scene executed by A.S. Brodeur and O. Lapointe enclosed in a Gothic pointed arch.

<sup>3</sup>Lacroix, 1978, p. 30, ill. 10; see also La Presse, October 24, 1899 for a review of Dr. Choquette's novel.

Leduc's interest in that specific shape can also be seen in a drawing that he owned of a Gothic tripartite window from a building in Sommersworth, England.<sup>1</sup>

### C. Spatial Arrangement

All the canvases can be divided horizontally into three zones or levels. The horizontal divisions are more noticeable in the larger canvases (The Adoration of the Magi, Ascension, in the choir area; St. Hilary Writing His Treatise, Assumption, in the nave above the side altars). These planes besides functioning in the design of each composition also are symbolic of spiritual levels. The lower section of each canvas functions as an introductory role, either as a floor interior or landscape exterior, in which objects of everyday life are found. The main scene is presented clearly with the aid of symmetrically arranged figures in the large middle area of these four canvases. In the larger canvases this space is conceived in front of a wall<sup>1</sup> (Supper at Emmaus, Marriage of the Virgin, Death of St. Joseph, Pentecost, Christ in the House of Simon) or clouds (Assumption, Ascension, St. Hilary Writing His Treatise) that block out a view to the background. The Adoration of the Magi utilizes the background wall and clouds to flatten the space. A tapestry (in the Pentecost and Christ in the House of Simon) or a drapery (in the Death of St. Joseph and

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b3 cl.

<sup>2</sup>The Pre-Raphaelites frequently placed their figures against a wall, thereby deliberately flattening the scene. See Landow, op.cit., p. 76.

Marriage of the Virgin) is hung directly behind the main figural grouping thereby creating a symmetrical arrangement, adding a decorative aspect, and further flattening the space.

Leduc's arrangement is reminiscent of the structuring and organization of space used in the 19th century by both the Nazarenes and Pre-Raphaelite painters, who had been inspired by the Northern Renaissance concepts of spatial construction. As well, a high horizon line found in the Baptism of Christ, Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter, and the four evangelist canvases is employed to flatten the scenes. In these two structural planes, human figures interact, with the head level of the major figures or figure parallel to the narrowing of the canvas to its many variations of the pointed arch. The top part of the second level symbolizes the area of divine inspiration or a transitional space between the lower level (the earthly realm of man) and the upper section (representative of Heaven or God) that depicts God abstractly as aspects of nature and luminous twilight landscape (in the canvases: St. Matthew, St. Luke, Christ in the House of Simon, Supper at Emmaus, Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter, and Baptism of Christ), or the presence of God by the more traditional visual religious symbols (St. John, St. Mark accompanied by their attributes; Assumption, Ascension, Adoration of the Magi, St. Hilary Writing His Treatise, by angels and heavenly light; Pentecost, by the Holy Spirit; and the Marriage of the Virgin and Death of St. Joseph by supportive religious symbols in the foreground).

The action is limited to a single plane, two dimensional, in a shallow middleground which is like a stage tableau, naturalism and environment are stressed and a limited number of human figures are integrated comfortably into its setting. The general scheme and design of

each canvas is visually uncomplicated. Leduc's approach is reminiscent of the methods employed by the master muralists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in particular the dominant and influential figure of Puvis de Chavannes and his followers.

"Puvis depended on simple fresco rhythms suitable to a neutral plane, and he did not make the mistake of crowding his scenes (those executed between 1878-1898). The figures are held flat, spread thinly on a horizontal space, reminiscent of Perugino. The shallow design is pre-Raphaelite, and the clean line derives from Ingres' manner. Apparent is the artifice maybe, Puvis' melancholy, lonely figures do have a mural quietude."<sup>1</sup>

Maurice Denis, Vuillard, Roussel, Gauguin, Hodler and later the Americans, Arthur B. Davies and Maurice Prendergast, and numerous other artists employed the pictorial devices, such as colour, shallow space, matte tonality borrowed directly from Puvis.<sup>2</sup> Leduc, may be included in this group of artists, as well.

The popularity of Japanese and Oriental art<sup>3</sup> and prints, with their decorative and flat depictions of landscape combined with the Pre-Raphaelite wood cut illustrations, drawings, and stained glass, contributed to the new style. Puvis de Chavannes utilized the broader surface treatment (the organization of the surface area into large areas of generalized colour planes), as did his followers (Maurice Denis, etc.). Leduc also employed these structural aspects, that is organizing the surface space into simple, easily distinguishable planes. The point of difference between Puvis de Chavannes and Leduc is in the depiction of landscape in their mural works. Leduc's

<sup>1</sup> Sypher, *op.cit.*, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Richard J. Wattenmaker, Puvis de Chavannes and the Modern Tradition (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Mlle Gabriëlle Messier has spoken of Leduc's admiration of Oriental art, see Lacroix, 1978, pp. 122-123, footnote 16.



background landscapes are intimate, having subtle colouring and atmospheric twilight effects close in character to those of the Pre-Raphaelites; whereas, Puvis de Chavannes' later landscapes are generalized and schematized and serve as mere foils for his figures.

Judging from the "marouflés" canvases Leduc executed at Saint-Charles Borromée, Joliette (ca. 1892) he had no knowledge of Puvis de Chavannes, as the religious scenes probably were inspired by Italian Renaissance and Baroque compositions, freely interpreted.

The St-Hilaire canvases differ radically in construction and colour from the Joliette scenes, placing them closer in time and place to the 19th century mural works of Puvis de Chavannes. The obvious change in style is attributed directly to Leduc's trip to London and Paris between May - December, 1897. During his stay in Paris, Leduc undoubtedly viewed the works of Puvis de Chavannes for the mural decoration of the Panthéon, depicting the life of Sainte-Geneviève which were exhibited at that time. In fact, Leduc purchased, while in Paris, prints of Puvis de Chavannes' Pantheon scenes.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. Arrangement of Figures

In all fifteen canvases the action takes place in a middle-ground. Because of their size and location, beneath the jubé, the four Evangelist canvases have narrower middlegrounds, with each scene devoted to a single reclining figure study. The two canvases in the

<sup>1</sup> In 1926, Leduc executed the Life of Saint Geneviève for Pierrefonds. See Lacroix, 1978, p. 152. See also A.N.Q.M., Photographic file.

choir area, The Adoration of the Magi and The Ascension, along with the two works above the side altars, St. Hilary Writing His Treatise and The Assumption are the largest works and although the focal point is in the middleground there is secondary interplay and action among the wingless angels in the upper part of each work. Heavily outlined anatomical forms, emphasizing the linear quality are represented in his fore and middle-grounds, which deny sculptural effects. This lack of three dimensionality reinforces the flattening aspect of each canvas.

Leduc employs the repoussoir device of leading the viewer into the painting by placing a familiar object, group of objects or figures at the lower edge of each canvas.<sup>2</sup>

The use of repoussoir imparts a greater sense of life to the scenes by capturing a momentary glimpse of an important ceremony or event, adding a sense of drama and realism. Once he gained the viewer's attention by the convincing rendering of still-life objects (jars and bulky garments attract attention by their textural quality) or the life-like realism of the tufts of grass, rocks, branches, leaves, exposed

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 23, no. 9, catalogue entry, pp. 118-119, Child With a Piece of Bread (ca. 1892-1899)

<sup>2</sup>Objects leading into each scene:  
The jar in the left foreground of the Death of St. Joseph; The books stacked in the left foreground of St. Hilary Writing His Treatise.

Cut-off figures leading into each scene: Assumption of the Virgin, group of heads in lower left foreground; Christ in the House of Simon, seated figure left side; Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter, both the figure of Christ and St. Peter are cut off in a very narrow canvas; Supper at Emmaus, both seated figures in the left and right middleground of this narrow canvas.

Figures leading into the scene by means of gesture: Pentecost, the kneeling figures in both left and right foreground; Adoration of the Magi, the sculptural grouping of the three Magi in the left middleground; Ascension, two kneeling figures in the left foreground.

tree roots or by the rhythmical patterns of rug border designs or stone floors, the viewer's eye moves easily from the front edge of the canvas into the middleground space and then through a series of diagonals (produced by colour tonality, figure gesticulation, etc.,) which lead into the background. These accessories were intended to perform the important function of setting the stage for the main participants of the composition, emphasizing and clarifying their gestures and unifying the scene.

The still-life objects executed in each scene reflect a precision and accuracy by use of concealed brushstrokes, which aids in convincing the viewer of their realism.<sup>1</sup>

Leduc, like the Pre-Raphaelites Rossetti, Hunt, and Burne-Jones, created an art that strove to move beyond the superficial visual image. He wished to produce an art employing symbolic realism which emphasized the presence of God in everyday life, with the Biblical scene as the point of departure for contemplation on a higher level.

"In each of his major typological works Hunt expected the viewer to concentrate upon all details of the painting, gradually coming to perceive its meaning by what was essentially a process of meditation."<sup>2</sup>

The life size scale of the main figures makes them credible. The smaller scale of the secondary figures restores an impressiveness to the scale of the background forms (trees, architecture, etc.).

Most figures are portrayed in profile or three-quarter view.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Still-life from this early period such as Les Trois Pommes (1887), Nature Morte (Etude à la Lumière d'une chandelle - 1893); Les Oignons Rouges (ca. 1892) show the same concern for tactile values as the objects in Leduc's St-Hilaire church canvases.

<sup>2</sup> Landow, op.cit., p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Leduc showed a preference for rendering subjects in profile throughout his career. It has been suggested by Mme. Gertrude Leduc that her uncle admired executing the facial features in profile, especially the nose.

The gestures, attitude and facial expression of the figures play an important role in creating the mood of each scene. Hand and arm gesticulation, as well as eye and head attitude, and subtle body contours, are employed as unifying devices between individuals and groups of figures (in the large canvases).

Allan Staley and George Landow both pointed out the minimum use of shadow in the Pre-Raphaelite works.<sup>1</sup> This is true also with Leduc, as exemplified by examining the figures in his St-Hilaire church compositions. "By abandoning chiaroscuro, Hunt and his associates flattened their works, often producing pictures with little sense of air and space."<sup>2</sup>

#### E. Figure Types

As with most figurative painters, one type of face was favoured above all others and is always recognizable in Leduc's works. Beside facial features, he had a preference for certain figures, gestures, poses, positioning of head, hands and feet. The face of Christ that Leduc portrays is of a bearded young man with long, dark shoulder length hair, an image reminiscent of depictions of Counter-Reformation artists, but with closer proximity in time to the Pre-Raphaelites and Nazarenes of the 19th century, particularly Hofmann and Plockhorst, with whom Leduc was familiar at the time of the St-Hilaire commission. The facial features of his angels in the Ascension, the Adoration of the Magi,

<sup>1</sup>Allan Staley, Pre-Raphaelite Landscape (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 179-187. See also Landow, op.cit., p. 76.

<sup>2</sup>Landow, op.cit., p. 76.

St. Hilary Writing His Treatise, and the Assumption of the Virgin are bland and expressionless and only add variety by different head attitude.

The St-Hilaire church canvases are important as the origin for Leduc's figure and facial types which until this time were freely rendered interpretations of European artists' work. Leduc used his family and friends as models, as they were readily available (rather than detached figure studies of anonymous models) especially for their familiar, individual facial features. His young sister Ozema posed as the model for his canvas La Petite Liseuse (Musée du Québec) ca. 1894 and subsequently her facial features were reproduced, although slightly idealized, for the Virgin in the canvas Assumption, the Angel in the medallion and the kneeling Mary Magdalene in Christ in The House of Simon at St-Hilaire church. Her facial features and form also were re-used for the Magdalene in the Crucifixion (ca. 1922-1932) composition in the Bishop's chapel at Sherbrooke. Leduc painted a self-portrait in the Pentecost scene (third figure at the right).<sup>1</sup> His individual features stand out from the others as the head is rendered darker. Besides the re-working of individual details, Leduc re-used sections of canvases. The entire lower part of the Assumption of the Virgin canvas (1898-1900) at St-Hilaire church is re-utilized for the lower part of the Coronation of the Virgin (ca. 1908-1909) at Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours, Montréal. There are many examples and each will be presented in the artistic analysis of the individual works.

---

<sup>1</sup> Although Leduc included himself in the canvas Jesus Calming The Storm (ca. 1982-1893) at Joliette Cathedral, it was not until after his European trip of 1897 that he reproduced his features frequently in his religious canvases. He also executed a number of self-portraits ca. and post - 1900.

## F. Authenticity of Costume

Leduc attempted to be archaeologically faithful to the New Testament, and searched to find examples of clothing, furniture and objects of everyday life indigenous to the first century A.D. in Palestine.

Leduc's approach and outlook were shared by many other artists of the 19th century, however, whether he was scientifically correct in reconstructing his Biblical scenes is a matter of conjecture.

"Historicism in the early nineteenth century meant that the past could be reconstructed as it actually occurred and that this re-creation involved an act of imaginative empathy similar to that of the romantic artist, yet an empathy that must be controlled by a scientist's regard for factual evidence."

The accuracy of costume depiction by Leduc would be essential to convince the viewer of its authenticity thereby re-affirming the parishioner's belief.

Ozias Leduc's Biblical characters wear a loose; white robe or undergarment over which a coloured himation is draped over the shoulder and encircling the waist, reminiscent of the 19th century artists Hofmann, Plockhorst, Muller and Tissot.

Leduc maintained unity within his composition by using local colouring for the garments of his figures and forms in the middleground

---

<sup>1</sup>Herbert L. Sussman, Fact into Figure, (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1979), p. 12.

"In his essay on the Mechanisms of a Historical Picture," in The Germ, Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893) outlined the methods of achieving archaeological accuracy carried out by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (p. 41). See also Percy H. Bate, The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters (New York: A.M.S. Press, 1972), p. 44.

and transposing lighter tones of the same colours into the background.

In some canvases, such as the Adoration of the Magi (the three Magi), the Marriage of the Virgin (the Rabbi), and the Assumption (the Virgin's robe), the costumes and accessories are both decorative and extravagant, while the beauty of the others rests in their subdued colour simplicity. The multiplication of formalized folds of drapery conforms to the body contours, enhancing the simplest robe with a decorative quality. Simplified forms, strong, eloquent outlines, structural colour and the static quality of Leduc's figures in frontal planes evoke the spectator's quiet contemplation.

#### G. Colour

The colours found in Leduc canvases are both decorative and symbolic.

"Les couleurs de vêtements des personnages ont aussi une signification symbolique."

This statement is contained in a one page description of the symbolism for the canvas Saint Hilary Writing His Treatise. In the absence of written statements for each of the other compositions this document by Leduc serves as the key in understanding the symbolic role of colour in all fifteen mural paintings at St-Hilaire church. Comments made later in his career only confirm that he remained faithful to these early concepts of colour symbolism.

His doctrine is straightforward and conforms to religious traditional usage and association.

---

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c9A, Sheet title "Peinture dans l'église de Saint-Hilaire."

"Le Blanc - Innocence, Foi  
 Le Jaune - Gloire  
 Le Bleu - Vertus, Diverses  
 Vert - Esperance, Récompence, Céleste."<sup>1</sup>

White, yellow, blue, green are never abandoned by Leduc and are fundamental in forming his aesthetic on colour.

At Saint-Charles Borromée de Joliette (ca. 1892-93) Leduc's colour scheme conforms to the European religious and academy colouring derived from Renaissance and Baroque prototypes.

There was a dramatic change in both colour and structure of his religious compositions after his London and Paris trip (May - December, 1897) reflecting the influence of contemporary artists. These important changes in style are attributed directly to Leduc's first hand study of, and exposure to, European traditional and contemporary art.<sup>2</sup>

One author, J.E. Blais, erroneously stated that upon Leduc's return from Paris in 1897, his style did not change.<sup>3</sup> Blais pointed out, incorrectly:

"Avant 1897, y dominant les bleus, les gris et les marrons; après 1897, lentement, viennent se superposer à ces trois couleurs fondamentales, les rouge, jaune et vert."<sup>4</sup>

Leduc's trip had an immediate effect on the colour scheme he adopted for his St-Hilaire church canvases, where his unique, personal

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c9A, Sheet title "Peinture dans l'église de Saint-Hilaire."

<sup>2</sup>Until this time his colour schemes were conditioned by his parochial Québec environment and limited cultural milieu, relying on the colour scheme used by Cappello and Rho, poor popular prints, and inferior imported European canvases.

<sup>3</sup>Blais, 1973, p. 34. "De retour de Paris, en 1897, Ozias Leduc ne change en rien son style. . ."

<sup>4</sup>Blais, 1973, p. 36.



style emerged, for the first time. He synthesized his past experience with his new found knowledge. The style is one of assurance, strength, and restraint which he maintained throughout his artistic life.

Leduc's style evolved to this crucial and critical point in his career.

J.R. Ostiguy summarized the evolution of colour as follows:

"Tous les tableaux de l'église de Saint-Hilaire se distinguent de ceux de la cathédrale de Joliette uniquement par la couleur et le respect du plan pictural, ou, si l'on préfère, par un meilleur accord avec les murs à décorer. Les bruns et les bleus profonds disparaissent au profit des ocre gris, des tons crème et dorés, des gris chauds ou bleutés. Les matières sont bien tassées, contenues par le dessin. Les tonalités de la pierre et des murailles sont entrées dans la peinture de Leduc fort probablement à cause de Puvis de Chavannes, mais aussi à la suite de visites aux églises décorées par les disciples d'Ingres comme Hippolyte Flandrin (1809-1864), Eugène Amaury-Duval (1808-1885) et autres."<sup>1</sup>

Puvis de Chavannes, the most influential muralist of his time was at the peak of his popularity when Leduc was commissioned to decorate St-Hilaire church. Leduc undoubtedly saw the murals destined for the Pantheon, which were exhibited during his Parisian stay.

"Although relatively flat the canvases are subdued rather than intense in colour, static rather than animated in composition, premeditated and placid rather than curvilinear in line."<sup>2</sup>

Puvis' work showed a narrow range of tonalities, mingled with white, for an overall greyish harmony. This character of pale, light and decorative expression in his work inspired Maurice Denis.<sup>3</sup> Besides Leduc's strong affinity to Puvis de Chavannes with regard to planar structure and the arrangement of the figures in the middleground space,

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup>Wattenmaker, op.cit, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp.11-12.

the similarity is further re-inforced by the use of subdued, pale colours in the middleground.

"Puvis' desire to preserve the plane of the walls in his murals (which were executed in oil-on-canvas and not in true fresco, although often mistaken for such, so close to stone and plaster were his colour schemes) obliged him to suppress an illusionistic third dimension."

The grey tonality of the architectural settings (walls, floors) for several of Leduc's St-Hilaire church canvases strongly imitates actual stone, as well as making the visual association with the grey tones of the upper walls, ceiling and the multi-shafted Neo-Gothic columns of the church. It should be remembered, from a practical point of view, that producing a light-coloured painting compensated for the imbalanced lighting of St-Hilaire church (bright in the nave, dark below the jubé).

The symbolic colours Leduc selected for most of the garments of his figures were soft and subdued. This choice of pale colours was not only used by Puvis de Chavannes and Ozias Leduc, but was employed by many artists and artistic movements of the late 19th century, such as the Symbolists and Art Nouveau artists.

"Pastels were in vogue, and the 1890's brought a craze for yellow and white."

This monochromatic structured colour (clearly defined areas) is confined to the middleground and the austere architectural setting in the Leduc compositions, whereas the twilight background landscapes are used in contrast, to explore the dramatic, painterly effect of colour.

<sup>1</sup> George Heard Hamilton, Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1880-1940 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Sypher, op.cit., p. 236.

It is in the rendering of the use of colour in the background landscape that Leduc differs from Puvis de Chavannes, the Symbolists, and Art Nouveau artists, in depiction, structure and philosophy. Leduc's landscapes are sublime, in contrast to the quality of dematerialization evoked by the landscapes of Puvis de Chavannes.

In Art Nouveau compositions,

"the landscape background elicits no feeling for atmosphere and avoids all naturalistic space concepts, and is used only as a foil to set off the rhythmic pattern of figures."

Leduc's execution of the sunset background landscape creates power and depth in his scenes. The dramatic use of sunset colours of a distant horizon contrast the light, monochromatic foreground and middleground area of each composition (grey tonality of the walls or floors in each scene) adding diversity to the overall scheme.

Leduc aimed to be decoratively pleasing by taking into account both the harmony of the colours and the visibility of the brush strokes. Variety, as well, is accomplished by the use of brushstrokes, thick or thin, rough or smooth.

The middleground in certain canvases seems to be an extension of space (aided by colour), causing a flatness (Christ in the House of Simon and Supper at Emmaus), which contrasts the depth, created by the vibrant colours, of their backgrounds.

Colour unifies areas of each composition, and allows easy passage from one space to the next connected through the use of like hues for different objects. The monochromatic colour scheme of the fore and middleground allows for concentration on the religious scene and the

interaction between figures. Strong outlines combined with colour, that conform to shape, defines form, whereas in the painterly background landscape, light and colour no longer merely serve to define form but have their own life (St. Luke; St. Mark; Baptism of Christ; Supper at Emmaus; Christ in the House of Simon; Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter). Goethe observed:

"The sublime must be evolved from shapeless or intangible forms. The sublime is engendered by twilight and night, when shapes are easily confused."

Each of these canvases has an orderly relationship between the inner psychological sentiments and emotional content of the landscape depicted in the outward plastic form of its expression.

The scenes evoke a sense of calmness and meditative quality. The tranquility and quietude which pervade each scene are created not only by the pose and attitude of each figure in the middleground, but also evoked by the monochromatic colour scheme employed by Leduc. The use of local colours for the garments and foreground landscape or interior floor aid greatly in creating this overall effect. There is very little spatial recession with the majority of principal forms lying in the shallow fore and middleground. The distribution of figures in this narrow space limits the suggestion of depth.

He continually experimented in adjusting narrative themes to the planimetric stratifications of mural decoration, as well as attempting to reconcile the ideal tradition of religious illustration with a realistic depiction which would appeal to modern sensibilities.

---

Wilhelm Worringer, Form in Gothic (London: Alec Tiranti, 1957), p.80.

It demonstrates the immense range of the artists' knowledge of traditional artistic forms and principles and his willingness and ability to recombine them to meet modern theological and practical requirements.

In all cases, there is a dichotomy of vertical versus horizontal and flatness versus depth within each well-ordered canvas. The middleground of each canvas is well ordered and structured through means of architectural, decorative and figural representation. A contrast to this classically and traditionally rendered middleground space is the painterly radiance of the back and distant ground. There is an emphasis upon atmosphere, and impressionistic use of light and shade, an appreciation of depth and perspective to depict a distant horizon. It is through this suggested recession that Leduc subtly creates the three dimensional viewpoint. He was challenged to express ideal themes in convincing terms, based on accurate depiction of realistic light and suggestive atmosphere, to indicate time and place without contradicting the planar quality of the wall decoration.

The colour in the foreground and middleground modifies the realism of the scene by producing a sense of decorative flatness. The diffused atmospheric glow, consistent with the dusk hour setting of the scene, was exploited to bathe and dissolve forms and to give an overall effect of silhouetting the figures adding a sense of mystery.

The impression of space is created by several smooth colour values superimposed one upon another in parallel zones and their artistic gradation determines the layers of space with the darkest tones dominating the lower part of the picture and growing progressively lighter towards the horizon line, only to grow darker in the sky. This parallelism of the colour zones creates a unity of the background landscape. The scenes are further enhanced by a saturation of local colour.

and similar colour tones into the landscapes and the garments.

As indicated by the material and supplies purchased for this commission, Leduc used a variety of oils, wax and varnishes on his paintings, producing an unusual opalescent effect which gave an illusion of vapourous mystery consistent with the spiritual theme of the paintings. The wax medium increased the smooth effect of light and atmosphere.

In the four large canvases hovering, wingless angels (Adoration of the Magi, Assumption, Ascension, St. Hilary Writing His Treatise) some partially or nearly completely obscured by the clouds are almost absorbed into the background. This suggestion of appearance and disappearance, the mystery of things only half seen, creates a spiritual mood. In these works the mystic takes concrete, physical form, believable through the bodies or partially formed figures of angels. In the other canvases, the spirituality is reinforced through the colours depicted in the rendering of nature. As well, the attitude, pose, gesture and facial expression play an important role in attempting to convince the viewer of divine inspiration.

#### H. Symbolism in Nature

Shortly after the middle of the 19th century, more emphasis was placed upon the psychological interpretations of nature. The formative ideas of the second half of the 19th century, political,

---

The depiction of background landscape at St-Hilaire church is a foreshadowing of the Imaginations series of fifty-two works (ca. 1942) and a genesis for the sublime in later work.

economic, philosophical or psychological, and the artistic manifestations are too complex to summarize.

The following quotations show the pre-occupation of literary and visual artists in the second half of the 19th century with the expression of the subconscious. Leduc had several works of Paul Verlaine in his library and was reading Katherine Emmerich's mystical accounts of the life of Jesus Christ contemporary to his decorating St-Hilaire church.<sup>1</sup> The visual artist was responsible for transposing the written word of the author to some representational form which would evoke feeling and emotion that would re-inforce faith.

In 1857, Charles Baudelaire's sonnet Correspondances stressed the similarities between experiences of nature and interior states of the mind.

"The work of art was considered the equivalent of the emotion provoked by an experience, the visual elements of which had been transformed rather than merely represented. It was a synthesis of feeling, form, fact and ideas."<sup>2</sup>

Eugene Delacroix stated:

"... in his soul man has innate feelings which actual objects will never satisfy, and the imagination of the painter or poet can give form and life to these feelings."<sup>3</sup>

By the late 19th century, the artistic movements had one avowed purpose in common: to illuminate the mysterious life of the

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., b1 c9A. Loose sheet bearing the date 189? and title Canadian Pacific Railway Company, also containing the list of iconography for the canvases of St-Hilaire church. See also Katherine Emmerich, La Passion et la Vie de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ. Published and re-issued between 1875-1900.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton, op.cit., p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Eugene Delacroix, sa vie et ses oeuvres (Paris: J. Claye, 1865)p. 444.

spirit.<sup>1</sup>

"The work of this group (Nabis) was concerned with expressing a particular interpretation of this inner experience, consistent with that of the Symbolist movement as a whole."<sup>2</sup>

Ozias Leduc quoted Sir Edward Burne-Jones:

"I mean by a picture, a beautiful, romantic dream of something that never was, never will be, in a light that never shone, in a land no one can define or remember - only desire."<sup>3</sup>

Leduc echoed the sentiments of Sir Edward Burne-Jones with his own statement:

"I open an imaginary world which perhaps exists somewhere in the universe or which will exist in its constantly living expansion, forever active and new, a world super-imposed on a familiar world or on the image inscribed in myself through the daily experiencing of forms and colours."<sup>4</sup>

The inner psychological vision, spirituality, emotion, and religion are all expressed in the external plastic (three dimensional) reality through Leduc's depiction and perception of Nature in his landscapes. The vibrant, intense, emotional content evoked by colour scheme adopted by Leduc for the twilight landscapes creates this mood and aura of mystery.

Maurice Denis wrote:

"Nature cannot for the artist be anything but a state of soul."

On painting he commented:

"An expressive synthesis, the symbol of a sensation that

<sup>1</sup>Pre-Raphaelites, Lyonnais, Neo-Mannerists, Nazarenes, Nabis, Symbolists, Rose + Croix, Art Nouveau, etc.

<sup>2</sup>George L. Manner, The Nabis (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1978), pp. 199-204.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., b2 c9.

<sup>4</sup>Lacroix, 1978, p. 130.



becomes an eloquent transcription," -  
or pictorial equivalent of an emotion.<sup>1</sup>

The Symbolists believed that art is based upon emotional experience. In 1898, the year in which Leduc was engaged in executing the St-Hilaire church canvases (installed by May 24, 1900), Maurice Denis wrote to Edouard Vuillard stating that "any emotion can become a subject for a painting."<sup>2</sup>

In Nouvelle Théories, Maurice Denis commented:

"The painter, according to Cézannes' phrase, ought not to try to reproduce nature but to represent it by equivalents - plastic equivalents . . . The aim in art not any longer the direct and immediate reproduction of the object, all the elements of a pictorial language - lines, planes, shadows, lights, colours, - become abstract elements that can be combined, rarefied, exaggerated, distorted according to their expressive power to attain that major end of the work: the projection of the idea, the dream, the mind."<sup>3</sup>

In 1888, Gauguin wrote:

"Don't copy nature too much. Art is an abstraction : derive this abstraction from nature while dreaming before it, but think more of creating than of the actual result."<sup>4</sup>

These comments by prominent artists of the second half of the 19th century substantiate the statements Leduc made concerning nature, in placing him within the symbolist movement of the period. This combined with his pantheistic view of nature also makes him a romantic.

The depiction of nature (the twilight landscape setting) in the St-Hilaire church canvases serves to evoke a religious spirituality,

<sup>1</sup> Sypher, op.cit., p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Denis, Journal (Paris :1957), Vol. I, 140, letter to Vuillard, 22 Feb. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Sypher, op.cit., p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 218.

a re-affirming of faith. To Leduc religious spirituality was synonymous with divine emotion.

He stated:

"La substance de mon art créateur vient du monde tout grand ouvert du rêve. Substance d'imagination vivante, rendu pour ainsi dire palpable par le signe d'un jeu de lignes, de formes, de couleurs, aussi donc substances de l'univers. . .  
Donc un monde quelque peu irréel, mais d'aspect précis - Incarnation du subtil, du magique, de l'infini, du recueillement - Le recueillement d'avant la création."<sup>1</sup>

Just as Leduc's ideas on religion, spirituality and aesthetic of art are fused together in his philosophy, the realism and symbolism found in his visual images are interdependent. The more accurate each object or image of nature is visually represented the more aware the viewer becomes of its symbolic and spiritual significance.

"L'Art est une des conditions de la vie humaine étant en même temps un moyen de communion entre les hommes."<sup>2</sup>

To Leduc the perfection in Art and the Absolute were synonymous with God.

"Le véritable idéaliste a la liberté de tenir l'expression de l'inexprimable, de tenter une image de l'absolu, de son habitat dans l'espace.  
Il lui faut donc des signes particuliers comme moyen d'expression, qui soient bien à lui. Il se servira d'un vocabulaire ou de son ingéniosité d'inventeur. Une espèce d'alphabet mystérieux, instinctif, ou raisonné."<sup>3</sup>

The twilight atmospheric effects show God's light permeating the world. The sunset is God, reason and knowledge, divine inspiration

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, 1978, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M., bl c34. Loose sheet, undated.

<sup>3</sup> Lacroix, 1978, p. 128.

and emotion.

Besides the mysterious twilight landscapes, clouds play an important functional, decorative and symbolic role in four scenes: the Assumption of the Virgin, St. Hilary Writing His Treatise, The Ascension, and the Adoration of the Magi.

Functionally, the clouds block out and obscure a clear view of the background, and visually unify both the upper and lower parts of these four large canvases. Decoratively, the varying grey tonalities of the outlined forms of clouds create patterns. Symbolically, the clouds act as holy stairways which support wingless, elongated, feminine-looking angels, interceders between God and man, who are in limbo half-way between the earthly realm represented by the lower part of the canvas, and the kingdom of heaven in the upper region.

Many contemporaries found the Baroque concept of having the supernatural or visionary figures enter the picture space insulated by billowing clouds as an acceptable solution to the problem of joining the natural and supernatural in the same picture.<sup>1</sup>

The grey, non-descript walls of Leduc's interior scenes perform the same function of the clouds, that is to block out most of the background space. Most of the interior scenes (except the Marriage of the Virgin, Pentecost and Death of St. Joseph) have an open door or window with a view to the background landscape, which creates the impression of a space beyond the confined interior space. This method of employing such an illusionary device was first utilized by the artists of the Northern Renaissance period to create the illu-

---

<sup>1</sup>Landow, op.cit., p. 135.

sion of the third dimension and add a depiction of nature to an already limited, linear interior scheme.

The various compositional schemes of the Northern Renaissance had been revived in the mid-19th century by German Bible illustrators.<sup>1</sup>

Leduc was aware of both the 19th century German artists such as: Hofmann, Plockhorst, Muller as well as the Northern Renaissance artists whose works were widely circulated in Québec popular religious periodicals to which Leduc subscribed. According to William Vaughan:

"... there has never been a period either before or since the mid-nineteenth century when German art was the source of so much emulation and controversy."<sup>2</sup>

Leduc's view of Nature took on a personal and local character. A familiar motif he repeatedly used, from this commission, in both religious and secular paintings was Mont Saint-Hilaire.<sup>3</sup>

The mountain is found in the background landscape of The Ascension, the Baptism of Christ, and Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter canvases.

The Richelieu river, another local geographical element is depicted in the middle ground of the Ascension.

The maple trees in Leduc's landscape settings are indigenous to Saint-Hilaire forests and not to Palestine. These environmental details helped to convince the parishioners of their personal involvement with God.

Leduc depicted the beauty of Nature in his scenes to persuade

<sup>1</sup> Landow, op.cit., p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> William Vaughan, German Romanticism and English Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Leduc used Mont Saint-Hilaire in canvases at nearby St-Romauld de Farnham and Saint-Michel de Rougemont, both within viewing distance of Mont Saint-Hilaire. The mountain became an inspiration for Leduc's poetry, painting, and short history of Mont Saint-Hilaire.

the viewers of its reality, however, he had another motive. The idea of man's eternal communion with Nature, his interaction with Nature and his being part of Nature, pervaded his landscapes. Divinity was no longer confined to Heavenly, but contained in Nature and the human soul. The landscapes evoked a lyricism, inwardness and spirituality. In mysticism, personal spiritual experience becomes the vehicle of divine knowledge.

Ozias Leduc's own ideas concerning Nature were first expressed during his St-Hilaire church commission. Although the ideas took a slightly different form of outward expression later in his career, the core of his ideas remained the same.

"Je ne la copie jamais sur place. Je sais ses aspects par coeur: les différentes essences d'arbres me sont connues et leur physionomie s'impose à moi dès qu'on me les nomme; mon bras les trace de lui-même."

### I. Floral Border Motifs

Three floral motifs are used as the main border decoration for the fifteen canvases. In the choir, against a pale pseudo-mosaic background, the bronze, overlapping fleur-de-lis is used to frame the two canvases The Ascension and The Adoration of the Magi.

The remaining thirteen canvases (See diagram B) located in the nave are bordered by either the morning glory (seven canvases) or six petalled daisy-like flowers (six canvases). These two motifs are painted dark green against a light green background, and are presented as a

---

Olivien Maurault, "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique" Le Mauricien, February, 1938, pp. 5-6, 29.

growing, intertwining, endless vine, framing the canvases. This wide floral border is reminiscent of the type used frequently by the Pre-Raphaelite painters. There is no particular regard for botanical accuracy in depicting colour, however, the flowers are identifiable by accurate drawing. It was popular, in the late 19th century, to use floral and vegetal motifs for borders and for their decorative possibilities, often the design being unrecognizable in a stylized manner.

The daisy was used as a symbol of the innocence of Christ from the end of the fifteenth century. The morning glory or convolvulus is symbolic of humility (Huysmans, Le Cathédrale, Paris: Stock, 1898, p. 204) and of perfect Holy love.

The outermost border is made up of small, bronze rectangles which separate the golden, pseudo-mosaic of the lower section of the church from the grey tonality of the upper walls. Inside this band is a pseudo-architectural motif of alternating, pale, yellow, rectangular, lozenges and circles outlined in dark green on a pale blue background, enclosed by a repetition of the small, bronze rectangles. A border of golden, pseudo-mosaic with white circles is outlined in small, dark, bronze rectangles in each of the upper left and right corners, with the exception of the four Evangelist canvases in the nave - St. Luke and St. Mark in which the circles are not outlined and St. John and St. Matthew which do not have circles. The Assumption of the Virgin and St. Hilary Writing His Treatise borders have two white circles outlined with dark, bronze-coloured rectangles in each of the left and right corners. Also at the apex of the pointed arch of these two works is a variation of the Neo-Gothic ogee shape.

Thus far the outer borders have served as architectonic settings

for the actual canvases, a transition from the barren wall space through the use of colour and shape. The small, bronze, rectangles of the border now conform to the actual shape of the canvas, a kind of pseudo-archivolt moulding, decorating and corresponding exactly to the contour of the arch. The other bands are all arranged on a pale green background, progressing inward to a strip of larger, lighter bronze rectangles followed by a very small outline of dark green rectangles. A dark green floral and leaf motif of either morning glory or daisy-like petalled flowers encircle the canvas in a vinelike manner. Finally, the canvas itself is edged in the larger, lighter bronze rectangles.

The arrangement of the motifs is well-ordered and symmetrical, reinforcing the idea of unity through gradation of colour (dark and light bronze; dark and light green) and evenly measured space. The variation, in the size of the linear motifs, combined with the floral decoration adds diversity, suppressing monotony.

By varying the size of linear and curvilinear motifs slightly, from outer border to inner border, a progression of ten, Leduc creates a pseudo-architectural niche for his religious canvases reminiscent in overall design of the wood carved niche mihrab of Islamic architecture (11th - 13th centuries A.D.). The method he uses to create the optical illusion of an architectural niche is trompe l'oeil, which he used at this time in his career.<sup>1</sup>

The morning glory and daisy-like flower, besides imitating a wood-carved frame, are reminiscent in treatment and design of Pre-Raphaelite

---

<sup>1</sup> See Musée du Québec's Portrait of J.B.N. Galipeau, in which Leduc employs trompe l'oeil technique to give the impression of a woodcarved frame. He also used trompe l'oeil in many of his early still life works, dating from the 1890's.

framing device. The vegetal and floral patterns are not employed to evoke an overall effect of vegetation, but are symbolic images of nature. These images serve decoratively as surface pattern offering visual relief from a flat wall surface.



Diagram B

Plan of St-Hilaire church interior showing arrangement of Canvases, Ways of the Cross, Nave windows, Pulpit and stained glass windows.

Pentecost - M.G.	M.G. - Death of St. Joseph
No. 8	No. 7
St. Mark the Evangelist - M.G.	M.G. - St. Luke the Evangelist
No. 9	No. 6
Window - red border	Window-red border
No. 10	No. 5
St. Matthew the Evangelist - D.	D. - St. John the Evangelist
No. 11	No. 4.
<hr/>	
Window - blue border	Window - blue border
No. 12	No. 3
Supper at Emmaus - D.	D. - Christ Giving the keys to St. Peter
No. 13	No. 2
Window - red border	Window - red border
Pardon motif	Pulpit
Christ in the House of Simon - M.G.	
Amour motif	
Window - blue border	Window - blue border
No. 14	No. 1
Baptism of Christ - D.	D. - Marriage of the Virgin
M.G. - Assumption of the Virgin	M.G. - St. Hilary Writing His Treatise
F. - Ascension	F. - Adoration of the Magi
S.G. - Pieta	S.G. - Christ in Majesty
3 panels of decorative grillwork	

## Choir Area

Note: Canvas Borders    M.G. - Morning Glory    S.G. - Stained Glass  
                                  D. - Daisy  
                                  F. - Fleur de lis

Numbers refer to Ways of the Cross

## Chapter 7

### The Mural Paintings

#### A. Arrangement and Iconographic Program

There is a definite order to the fifteen canvases arranged in their Byzantine frames within the pseudo-mosaic walls.<sup>1</sup>

The largest canvases, in terms of dimension, the Adoration of the Magi (left) and the Ascension (right) are located in the choir area facing each other on opposite walls, one symbolic of Christ's entry into the world and recognition of the Son of God (Adoration of the Magi), the other, His departure from the mortal world (Ascension).

Just outside the choir area, to the left and right sides are two lateral altars. Above the left altar is the canvas, St. Hilary Writing His Treatise, the patron Saint of the church and community, which bear his name. Above the right altar is the Assumption. Both these scenes command a strategic position of importance and visual significance upon entering the church. According to Pierre Savard: "Le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle a été surnommé le siècle de Marie."<sup>2</sup> This combined with Her traditional importance throughout church history contributed to the position in Leduc's arrangement of the iconographic program.<sup>3</sup>

The eleven canvases situated on the lateral and back walls of the

---

<sup>1</sup> See Diagram B.

<sup>2</sup> Savard, op.cit., p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. b 7 c 122. Letter from O.L. to Mlle. Denise Gauvreau dated April, 1954. Leduc mentions the Virgin as having inspired him to create 56 canvases devoted to Her throughout his career.

nave are devoted to the seven sacraments and four evangelists, a theme (seven sacraments) not common in church iconographic programs. Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) was the first artist to monumentalize the sacraments in seven separate paintings.

The seven sacraments are arranged in order in St-Hilaire church, proceeding from the front right nave lateral wall to the church rear. The organization is the following: The Baptism of Christ (Baptism); Christ in the House of Simon (Penance); Supper at Emmaus (Communion); Pentecost (Confirmation). From the front left nave lateral wall to the rear, the sacraments continue in order: Marriage of the Virgin (Marriage); Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter (Ordination); and Death of St. Joseph (Last Sacrament). Besides the iconographic significance in the arrangement of Leduc's canvases, their physical location is important in terms of presentation.

Two difficulties presented by the already existing architectural interior were the pulpit (front left lateral wall) and the jubé or congregational balcony which divides the vertical layer of space at the church rear and occupies one-third of the length of the nave.

The physical projection of the "chaire" or pulpit created a visual imbalance, which Leduc solved successfully by using the available wall space on the right (opposite) to create a large canvas, Christ in the House of Simon.

The congregational balcony or "jubé" is the second obstacle.

---

Walter Friedlaender, Poussin (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1966), pp. 56-57. "Poussin removed the whole subject from the strictly liturgical sphere and depicted each Sacrament in a historical form that is both precise and idealized."

Leduc is forced by the physical character of the overhanging gallery not only to adapt the dimensions of his canvases to this area, but also conceive a solution to the problem of poor lighting below the "jubé". The four canvases on the lateral walls (four Evangelists) are united by their contemplative nature, that is also shared with St. Hilary Writing His Treatise and two canvases located on the rear wall (Pentecost and Death of St. Joseph) below the jubé are all structurally similar and have adopted a strong horizontal axis, contrasting the vertical axis emphasized in the canvases in front of the jubé (lateral nave walls and choir area).

The Pentecost and the Death of St. Joseph, like the four Evangelist canvases, suffered from awkward positioning and poor lighting, however, their problem was further complicated by the iron bannisters of the two staircases leading up into the jubé, partially obstructing a clear view.

The jubé, by projecting about one third into the nave, left only a narrow area of space between it, and the nave windows of the lateral walls (left and right). Leduc placed a narrow canvas in this space on each side wall, Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter (left) and Supper at Emmaus (right).

#### B. General Remarks on the Preliminary Drawings for the Canvases

Thirty-five preliminary drawings and one oil study for the fifteen canvases at St-Hilaire church (executed between 1896-1900) have been

The width is greater than the height of the canvases, the border motifs, and the construction of the actual scene emphasize oblique and horizontal lines.

located.

Only a few of the drawings bear the inscription "Ozias Leduc, Paris, 1897," indicating that Leduc made his preparatory drawings for his canvases in Paris.<sup>1</sup> A Paris sketchbook is preserved in a private collection, has been disassembled and the individual graphite sketches mounted. The drawings are highly finished, detailed studies of facial features and body members (hands, arms, feet), rendered with subtle graduated shading. This sketchbook was given a prominent place in a number of Leduc's still-life paintings.<sup>2</sup>

It is apparent, on close examination of the preliminary drawings, that Leduc used family members as models for the facial features either by posing for him or by working from photographs.<sup>3</sup>

Twenty-two drawings<sup>4</sup> are from a different sketchbook as they are on the same type of paper, conform within millimetres of the same dimensions, are line pencil drawings, and are mostly compositional drawings, with only a few exceptions.<sup>5</sup> These compositional drawings combine many

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b4 c38. Letter from Raoul Barré to O.L. dated September 29, 1929 recalls the time spent together in Paris. Barré mentions the purpose of Leduc's Paris stay was to prepare preliminary drawings for his St-Hilaire church canvases. Only three drawings are inscribed Paris, 1897 (figs. 32, 66, 75), but others are from the same sketchbook (figs. 23, 33, 34, 37, 42, 53).

<sup>2</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 190, Still-life with Weeping Lay Figure; See also Lacroix, 1978, ill. 50, p. 159; ill 57, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup>See figs. 28, 29, 35. Note the inscription at the lower right in fig. 35 - "Resemblance de ma soeur - Ozema." The date of 1898 on the drawing indicates Leduc decided upon his sister Ozema's facial features and expression as probably the last step after the completion of the overall design of each canvas.

<sup>4</sup>See Figs. 20, 24, 31, 46, 47, 48, 69, 70, 76, 73, 74, 75; 54, 64, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 88, 90, 93.

<sup>5</sup>Numbers 60, 86 are on coloured paper and nos. 75 and 16 on another type of paper.

of the individual details found in the first sketchbook. Nude, semi-nude and clothed figures are integrated into an elaborate drawing which includes landscape or architectural background studies that is strongly reminiscent of the finished canvas.<sup>1</sup>

His process in the creation of a picture was the crystallization of an idea into a design carefully drawn out in graphite or pencil on paper. This was generally modified from time to time, while numerous studies for every detail were carried out at various intervals as the work progressed (individual figure studies, different poses, faces and members - hands, arms, feet).

In most of the drawings Leduc was still searching for the ideal combination and synthesization of all their separate elements. Changes in the sketches result from constant refinement and an attempt to resolve the basic problems of composition such as the achievement of unity without loss of variety in the poses, gestures, and forms.

Leduc was constantly purifying his scenes, in terms of content, composition and figures. He eliminated extraneous details, as is evidenced in the number of changes made in the series of preliminary drawings to the execution of the final compositional version.<sup>2</sup> As is characteristic, he worked toward simplification and clarity of expression.

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 99. It is with reference to these drawings of the second sketchbook that Ostiguy remarked: "Leduc, one might believe, discovered the nude while in Paris", as before his Paris trip Leduc's study drawings were usually clothed.

<sup>2</sup>Note particularly the evolution of drawings to the canvases The Death of St. Joseph, Christ Giving the Key to St. Peter, Supper at Emmaus, and Christ in the House of Simon.

Once satisfied with what he believed to be the most successful rendering of his idea (with grid system)<sup>1</sup>, he executed a thin oil sketch or modello (fig. 75) the same size as the small pencil drawing, working out the colour scheme for the canvas. Photographs of the canvases are shown in various stages of completion in Leduc's Saint-Hilaire studio. Attached to the canvas is the small sketch in pencil or oil on paper version allowing Leduc immediate reference to the detailed work while completing the large, final rendering.<sup>2</sup> These photographs are important illustrations of his working technique. As indicated in the photographs, Leduc worked first on the exposed features (head, hands, and feet) of the figures, then executed the garments, and other decorative accessories, such as the background landscape, architecture, etc.<sup>3</sup>

### C. Individual Analysis of the Canvases

#### Adoration of the Magi (Matthew 2:1-12)

The Adoration of the Magi (fig. 14) is located on the left side of the choir, in the first wall space created by the engaged multishafted columns, enclosed in a pointed arch (directly opposite the Ascension).

#### Preliminary Drawings:

Two sheets of preliminary sketches for the Adoration of the Magi have been located. The first sheet (fig. 15) contains four small indivi-

<sup>1</sup>See figs. 31, 64, 70, 76.

<sup>2</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 196, no. 3. A modello for colour reference is attached to the Death of St. Joseph canvas. The partially completed canvas, (fig. 38) Assumption of the Virgin, shows the preliminary drawing (fig. 36) pinned to the upper right corner for easy reference.

<sup>3</sup>See figs. 27, 28.

dual pencil drawings: Two studies for the Virgin and Child; Magi-group; and one drawing of a mannequin<sup>1</sup> Leduc used to study body positioning.

The upper left corner shows a partially clothed, seated figure of Mary holding the Child close to her body. In this drawing a small amount of shading indicates the facial features of both the Virgin and child. In the lower right, the Virgin is seated holding Christ outstretched from her body.

The drawings are executed with the minimum number of lines. The economy of lines indicate the different poses for the figure of the Virgin. The form is rendered by varying the width and strength of the line. These two drawings represent initial ideas for the depiction of the Virgin and Child.

Leduc modified both figures for the oil on canvas. He did not select either of these two attitudes but chose a more natural and relaxed pose.

On comparing the other preliminary sketch on this sheet with the canvas, the positions of the Magi were not altered.

The second sheet (fig. 16) contains a highly finished compositional drawing, close in form to the finished canvas, but not in decoration. This sketch illustrates clothed, semi-garbed and nude figures arranged in their final positions. The nude studies do not exhibit accuracy toward anatomical detail, but merely attempt to capture the overall spirit of the work.

The three Magi are grouped before the seated Virgin, who holds the Child out to them. The Magus closest to the bottom edge of the

<sup>1</sup>The mannequin or "lay figure" which appears in a number of Leduc drawings and oils, was used to study body positioning and stance. See Ostiguy, 1974, p. 93, Addendum A, pp. 190-191. See also Lacroix, 1978, ill. 57, p. 164.



drawing wears a cloak. In the sketch, the cloak is enriched by the complexity of many folds, whereas in the finished canvas the garment is simplified because of fewer folds, however, retains its richness through the use of colour. The middle and tallest figure is naked, lacks the crown and beard which are depicted in the finished canvas.

The Virgin, St. Joseph and the two male figures standing beneath the rounded arch doorway are nude studies with outlined forms. Blocking most of the background is a high wall which encloses the scene and suggests intimacy. It is sketched as blank-faced in the drawing, but in the canvas, lines were added indicating that the wall was built of individual blocks, re-inforcing the decorative quality of the canvas.

One angel on the right and one angel on the left, represented in the upper part of the drawing have been eliminated from the final canvas.

The contraposto position or the Lysippian curve of the female figures creates a stylization of their draperies adding variety and decorative quality, reminiscent of the classical Nike, although the angels of Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) are chronologically closer. The elongated form of Leduc's angels is based on variations of a sketch he executed in Paris.<sup>1</sup>

#### Structure:

This canvas is divided into three interconnecting levels. The first plane extends from the front edge of the canvas, to the head level of the Virgin and Child. The second plane stretches from the head level of the Madonna and Child to just below the clouds (The horizontal

---

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, 1978, no. 8, p. 23.

boundary of the zone is accentuated by the architectural rendering of the straw roof along the stone wall background). The third plane begins above the architecture and is occupied by angels and clouds surrounding the Star of Bethlehem. The three spaces have symbolic meaning: the first - earthly realm of mankind; the second - the transition area occupied by the architecture and by the angels or messengers of God bringing His word to man; the third - Heaven.

In the first plane, the three Magi kneel in front of the Madonna and Child:

"The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents . . . all kings shall fall down before Him: all nations shall serve him" (Psalm 72: 10, 11).

Their grouping is strongly sculptural (aided by colour and positioning of figures) and placed near the left front edge of the canvas. Two of the figures, the young bearded Gaspard, dressed in emerald green trimmed in gold, and the older, white-bearded, gold-crowned, Melchior (who is the highest and middle figure of the three) dressed in golden yellow, points directly toward the Madonna and Child, on a diagonal line. The decorative quality is obtained by the multiplication of formalized folds of the drapery. The richness of garments, accessories and fine colour are subordinate to the expressive spirit of the entire painting. This strong configuration of mass (the Magi) opposes the weaker, humble group of Mary, the Christ Child and Joseph, garbed in subdued colours employing the rustic architecture as a foil.

Another diagonal extends from the right front edge of the canvas along the line created by the luxurious, pink rug, trimmed with gold fringe, on which are placed the traditional gifts of the Magi (gold, frankincense, myrrh) through the body of the dark-skinned Balthasar to the two male figures standing beneath the rounded arch doorway.

Unity is achieved by colour continuity or tonal values (lighter or darker tones) and through gesture. The green colour of Gaspard's cloak is used again in the band encircling Joseph's waist, the grass-like roof of the animal stalls, and in the flowing garments of several angels in the upper plane. Joseph's brown robe is repeated in the straw of the stable roof and the robes of several angels:

The beige neutrality of the foreground scattered with straw, wooden beams and posts of the stable, the stone block (slightly chipped) on which the Virgin sits emphasizes the rusticity of the scene and unites this area.

Colour association not only connects the forms in the same plane, but unites all three zones through the gradation of colour. For example, the colours of garments (green, blue, brown, deep rose) in the middleground are found in the gowns (pale green, pale blue, light brown, pale pink rose) worn by angels in the upper region (third plane) of the canvas.

The rectangular grey stone blocks of the high wall (a lighter grey than the clouds) obstruct a clear view of the background landscape. The landscape beyond the wall is suggested through the rounded arch doorway located to the left middle ground (Blue sky is seen through an opening at the top of the wall).

The two figures standing beneath the rounded arch doorway are connected by gesture and attitude to the group of St. Joseph, Virgin and Child. The awkward perspective of the second plane is caused by the rendering of the beams and posts of the stable architecture.

The third plane is symbolic of Heaven and is united by the overlapping of several angels, wearing similar toned robes. The angels are presented in front of and amongst the clouds, which support and link the figures against the grey background. The focal point of the upper region is the centrally located Star of Bethlehem.

Besides the colour tone similarities of the angels to the figures

below (used as decorative and unifying devices), the elongated female figure on the left side (wingless angel) is directly linked to the Madonna and Child grouping, by means of head attitude, gesticulation and sweep of her drapery.

The variety of gestures, angle of head, movement and direction created by the draperies increase the decorative effect of the upper section. This space is enhanced by the lyrical overtones of an angel playing a lyre, another holding a music scroll, others in attitude of prayer, and yet another, delicately holding ribbons. The entire spirit of the upper region is devoted to heralding the birth of Christ.

#### Sources of Inspiration

In the absence of any written document of Ozias Leduc, it is difficult to find the source of inspiration for the Adoration of the Magi. Leduc was an eclectic artist and as indicated by the preliminary drawings for this work, he drew from more than one source to create this scene. The small (fig. 15) sketches for the Madonna and Child, and the group of Magi might indicate the source came from a popular religious periodical.

The rich coloured robes of the strong sculptural grouping of Magi are reminiscent of L'Adoration des Mages (fig. 17) by Philippe Champaigne (1602-1674).<sup>1</sup>

The more rustic rendering of L'Adoration des Mages (fig. 18) by Hippolyte Flandrin (1809-1864) seems closer to the Leduc canvas,

<sup>1</sup>Bernard Dorival, Catalogue Raisonné de l'oeuvre de Philippe Champaigne 2 vols., (Paris: Léonce Laget Librairie, 1976), no. 42, pp. 28-29.

particularly regarding the tightly knit configuration of the Magi, the seated Virgin, in profile, holding the Christ Child, and the use of background wall to enclose the scene. The extension of the arms and hands holding out a jewel box to the Virgin and Child are remarkably similar. Leduc had the book Histoire de l'art chrétien written by F. Bourmand<sup>1</sup> in his library so perhaps he was inspired by the Magi group depicted by Flandrin. It is also possible that Leduc visited the church of Saint-Germain-des-Près to view Flandrin's murals during his 1897 trip to Paris.

#### Ascension

The Ascension is located on the right side of the choir area, opposite the Adoration of the Magi. The visual inspiration for the arrangement of space and figures for this canvas was the Ascension executed in 1888 by the American artist John Lafarge (1835-1910), for the church of the Ascension, New York City. This work by Lafarge was reproduced in black and white in an issue of a popular magazine, Century which Leduc had in his possession.<sup>2</sup>

The Ascension (fig. 19) by John Lafarge combined two well-known canvases, the upper part of Raphael's Transfiguration<sup>3</sup> (1517) (Rome: Vatican) for the upper part and the lower half was inspired by the lower half of Palma Vecchio's (ca. 1480-1528) Assumption of the

<sup>1</sup>F. Bourmand, Histoire de l'art chrétien (Lille : Vol. 2)., pp. 336-339.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., b9. Century (Illustrated Monthly Magazine, November 1895-April 1896, Vol. LI New Series, Vol. XXIX, New York, the Century Co.).

<sup>3</sup>Leduc worked at Ste-Anne de Yamachiche, with Adolphe Rho and Luigi Cappello in the late 1880's where Rho executed a Transfiguration after Raphael. "L'intérieur de la coupole est occupé par une belle copie de la Transfiguration de Raphael, travail du même peintre." See Caron, op.cit., p. 115.

Virgin (Venice: Accademia). Lafarge liberally interpreted these two works and combined them incorporating a mountain into the background landscape. Because of Lafarge's interest and travel in Japan, the mountain he employed was Mount Fujiyama. It is improbable that Leduc knew about Lafarge's eclectic taste in creating this canvas, but Leduc himself changed elements in the Lafarge reproduction. Firstly, Leduc substituted Lafarge's Mount Fujiyama for Mont Saint-Hilaire, adding this local and familiar motif to his work. He also placed the Richelieu river and valley in front of the mountain.

"And he led them out as far as Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." (Luke 24: 50, 51);

#### Preliminary Drawing

One small compositional pencil line drawing (fig. 20) has been located relating to this canvas. In arrangement, the figures are almost identical to the finished work, with the exception of the elimination of one Apostle (left front) and minor changes in hand positioning. As is characteristic at this stage of the creative process most of the figures are nude. In this drawing, Leduc had depicted some of the angels with wings, but reverted to his usual wingless angels in the painting. Examination of the preliminary drawing indicates clearly the organization of space and the massing of figures: in the middleground a rough semi-circular grouping of figures around an open central area; an open space above the heads of the figures; a massing of figures and outlined clouds to the left and right of Christ's body centered in the oval space created in the upper part of the drawing, which is also found in the canvas.

#### Structure

The canvas (fig. 21) is divided into three levels. The first

plane stretches from the lower edge of the canvas to the line created by the heads of the Virgin and Apostles arranged in the middleground space. The barren, dry ground, dotted with green tufts of grass, adds a sense of reality to an otherwise uninteresting foreground. The massing of figures, light and shade, and the colour of the robes opposes the volumetric space of the barren ground. The two main figures, the Virgin and St. John, the Evangelist, are centrally placed and surrounded by eleven other male figures.

The thirteen figures (eleven standing, two kneeling) are depicted in a variety of poses (three in profile on both left and right, the remaining are three-quarter or frontal), gesticulations, eye and head positions link them to the ascending Christ and angels in the third plane or other figures in the middleground of the painting. The faces express awe and wonderment at the vision they are witnessing. The arrangement of figures in the middleground, the overlapping of their forms, gestures, garments, as well as the colours of their clothing unifies them in a cohesive mass.

The two kneeling (left) and the standing (right) figures are employed by Leduc as repoussoir devices visually linked with the frame. The foremost kneeling figure's (Mary Magdalen) gesture mirrors that of the angel at the right, as well as creates a diagonal line which runs from the left front edge of the canvas through placement of the right leg to the figure of St. John. The unity between the two figures is further emphasized by the right hand of the kneeling figure almost touching St. John's right hand.

The second diagonal in the middleground plane is created by the rocky ground leading from the lower right corner to the knee of the kneeling figure on the lower left side. Green, blue, golden yellow and rose are the predominant colours of the robes, which are used in various

combinations (e.g. white undergarment with heavier rose draperies, and vice-versa; green undergarment, with heavier rose overgarment, and the reverse).

The second plane extends from the top of the heads of the middle-ground figures to the breast line of two front most angels. Their lighter upper garment is in the third plane whereas their heavier, bulkier, lower drapery belongs to the second plane. The border line for the second plane is reflected outside the canvas. If a line was drawn from one engaged column capital to the next, it would define the upper border of the second plane.

The second register is narrow and is comprised of a distant view of the Richelieu river, its valley and Mont Saint-Hilaire, which is silhouetted against the sky. The landscape is framed by grey clouds above and on both the right and left sides. The clouds also appear behind the heads of the figures of the first plane, thereby uniting all three planes and facilitating the transition from one to another. In the same manner, the forms of two angels (left and right) overlap both the second and third planes creating an uninterrupted visual transition between the two planes.

A white-robed Christ is presented in the contraposto position with up-raised arms and hands, in the attitude of Blessing, in the center of the third plane (from the upper torso of the two angels, left and right, to the apex of the pointed-arch of the canvas). An arc from His left shoulder to His left foot is created by the sweep of drapery, accentuating His upward movement. The space surrounding Jesus is painted a lighter grey than the rest of the cloud filled sky, with the lightest area located about His head. The aureole of light about Christ's body is employed for its spiritual abstract effect, is reminiscent of the mandorla rendering



used in Medieval times. The almond shape in this canvas is represented by the combination of lighter grey clouds and the figures of angels which surround Christ.

### St. Hilary Writing His Treatise

St. Hilary Writing His Treatise is located above the left lateral altar. As the patron Saint of both the community and its parish church, the canvas dedicated to him is in a prominent place. The literary inspiration for the scene came from a text in Leduc's library, entitled St-Hilaire: Evêque de Poitiers (315-368 A.D.) written by Gérard Goulet.

"Il (St-Hilaire) compose son retentissant traité De la sainte Trinité que restera jusqu'à celui de saint Augustin l'expression la plus profonde et la plus complète de ce grand mystère."<sup>1</sup>

St. Hilary, renowned by historians and theologians for his personal campaign against the spread of Arianism, received even greater recognition on being declared a doctor of the church in 1851. J.R. Ostiguy suggested that Leduc may have consulted Canon Paul Barbier's book La Vie de Saint-Hilaire.<sup>2</sup> Leduc stated:

"Saint-Hilaire, auteur de plusieurs ouvrages de polémique, est surtout renommé par son fameux traité de la Ste. Trinité."<sup>3</sup>

Documentation proves that every detail was studied carefully. The artist left nothing to chance or spontaneity. An examination of his notes contained on one page, revealed the objects, figures and colours are symbolic, and that St. Hilary's garments were authentic to the 4th century A.D.

<sup>1</sup>Gerard Goulet, "Saint-Hilaire," Messager Canadien Du Sacré-Coeur, p. 24. Goulet's text relates historical information about St. Hilary, undated.

<sup>2</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, p. 113. See also Paul Barbier, La Vie de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Poussielgue, 1887).

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c9A.

Leduc described the scene in the following manner:

"Eléments du tableau -Saint-Hilaire revêtu d'un costume d'évêque porte la Mitre de forme particulière propre à l'époque où il vivait; commencement du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Sa crosse est déposée à ses pieds, sur un coussin.

Le saint évêque est représenté écrivant sous le dictée au plutôt inspiré par la Religion ou la Foi. Symbolisée par une figure, d'une noble femme portant une croix, manière classique de la représenter.

Au haut du tableau est visible la très Sainte-Trinité le Père et le Fils sous forme humaine, le Saint Esprit, une colombe planant. Ils supportent le Globe Terrestre, le vérifient et le conservent."

#### Structural qualities:

Leduc divided his canvas (fig. 22) space into three planes. In the first plane, he chose to depict St. Hilary seated at a desk composing his treatise. The shallow foreground is arranged with various still-life objects (stacked books, a white lily in an earthen jar, St. Hilary's crosier, placed diagonally, resting on a cushion, wooden desk and chair, and the stone floor), which allowed Leduc to explore their individual surface textures adding variety and heightening the decorative effect. These carefully, arranged still-life objects in the shallow foreground serve another function in facilitating the entrance into the painting on a diagonal line from left to right. The first diagonal is created by the crosier, which extends from the front left to the right background, resting on a blue velvet cushion (trimmed in gold with a gold tassle at each corner) and directed towards the earthen jar containing the lily.

Parallel to this diagonal, but deeper into the canvas is the second diagonal line created by an arrangement of books. This diagonal

can be traced by following the line from the books through the partially-turned chair and body of St. Hilary. The figure of St. Hilary is smoothly integrated with the rhythm of the classically clad, elongated, female figure holding the cross, which leads further into the background, finally ending in the gesture of her raised right arm and hand directed to the figures of Christ and God at the top of the canvas. The demarcations of the stone floor at the bottom of the canvas help to arrange the space, and function to create recession.

The second level is the space represented by the floating, female figure holding the cross, symbolizing Faith or Religion. She stands midway between Heaven and Earth, the place inhabited by the messengers of God who impart His Word and inspire mankind.

The third level is located just beneath the apex of the canvas, an area occupied by the seated figures of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, depicted in the form of a Dove (Trinity). They are the focal point of the upper region of the canvas (representing celestial Heaven). The clouds, a variety of forms, upper torsos and heads of angels almost encircle the figures of Christ, God and the Holy Spirit.

All three planes are united by the grey tonality of the stone floor tiles in the foreground space and the background wall of low flying, grey clouds, which touch the floor, function as a backdrop, or foil for the foreground figures.

The still-life objects symbolically represent the scholarly and religious character of St. Hilary (the books, crosier, quill and parchment scroll, etc.). The lily represents:

"Un symbole de son ardeur à défendre la Foi est indiqué

par une plante pluirie et l'arum."<sup>1</sup>

The lily in the jar also represents the unity of the spirit and body. Although the colour scheme and spirit are quite different, the arrangement and organization of space are reminiscent of the St. Gregory canvas<sup>2</sup> by François Beaucourt at the church of St. Anne de Varennes, where Leduc had worked as an apprentice to Adolphe Rho, executing minor decoration. This canvas may have inspired him, however, Leduc chose the facial type for St. Hilary from a canvas, presently unlocated (ca. 1891) entitled, St. Hilary Raising the Child Who Had Died Without Baptism.<sup>3</sup>

The attitude and facial expression, and positioning of St. Hilary's hands contribute to the mood of quiet contemplation evoked by this work. The colours of the garments also contribute to the character of each figure. Leduc stated that the clothing colours were symbolic (See Chapter 6, section G, Colour).

St. Hilary's robe is mostly golden yellow trimmed in green signifying his glory and hope. His regal attitude is also aided by the red and purple colours of the lower part of his robe.

The allegorical female figure is clad in white and blue symbolizing her Faith, Innocence and Virtue. This figure of divine inspiration closely resembles a graphite drawing Leduc executed while in Paris, 1897 (especially the facial features and the upraised arm of the nude female figure study).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b1 c9A.

<sup>2</sup>Madeleine Major-Frégeau, La Vie et l'oeuvre de François Malepart de Beaucourt 1740-1794(Série arts et métiers, Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1979), ill. 31, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, see catalogue entries no. 4 & 5, p. 19, pp. 111-113.

<sup>4</sup>Lacroix, 1978, see catalogue entry no. 8, p. 23.

### Preliminary Drawings:

Several drawings exist relating to the St. Hilary Writing His Treatise canvas. There are a number which pertain to individual elements, specifically hand and facial features (See figures 23, 25). In the hand studies form is indicated by graduated shading, which creates the roundness and plasticity. These detailed drawings show greater refinement than the hands rendered in this painting. Leduc outlined heavily his figures in the oil on canvas works, with less attention to the careful modeling which is found in his preliminary studies for separate elements. The exposed parts of the human body were executed first, as indicated in photographs of the semi-finished canvases (figs. 26, 27, 28, 29).

Besides these sketches devoted to depicting hand and figure studies, a highly worked up compositional preliminary drawing indicates only minor changes were made in the canvas from this final drawing.

In the compositional sketch (fig. 24), which is squared off with a grid system for transfer to the canvas, the most significant change was the altering of the facial characteristics of St. Hilary. It is obvious from the drawing that Leduc used a model to obtain the desired pose, however, in the finished canvas he reverted to the facial features (fig. 25) he had executed for the ca. 1891, lost canvas, commissioned by Saint-Hilaire parish church entitled St. Hilary Raising the Child Who Had Died Without Baptism. In contrast to the younger, round-faced Saint of the finished sketch, the older, aquiline-nosed, thinner faced Saint, evokes an air of sagacious contemplation. The regal head in pointed mitre, slim, elongated fingers and hands suggest a quality of aesthetic refinement.

Leduc used a model to attain the subtle body contours. A close examination of the lower extremities of the figure of St. Hilary, in the

sketch, shows the diaphanous drapery over the legs, indicating Leduc's technique of adapting drapery to a nude study.

The individual hand studies for the figure of St. Hilary show that Leduc originally conceived the Saint holding the writing instrument in his left hand (fig. 23), and in the compositional drawing the distance between thumb and forefinger on the right hand is too great, to hold a quill.

The only other change involves the decorative carving on the side of St. Hilary's wooden desk. The drawing indicates two rounded arch designs whereas Leduc chose to depict an heraldic shield beneath an arch opening.

In the compositional sketch, the two central figures, St. Hilary and the allegorical figure are rendered with more detail than the rest of the drawing. Great attention is placed on the shading of the gowns. Both figures stand out from the background through use of heavy and light pencil strokes. A subtle arc is formed through the body of St. Hilary and figure representing Faith or Religion. This accentuates an upward movement, enhanced by the attitude of the figure of Faith and the rendering of her garment. The figures in the upper part of the drawing are outlined with subtle shading created by thin, delicate strokes. The bulky, symbolic clouds are executed by thick, strong lines which create a depth and rhythm through parallel, controlled, consistent lines running in the same direction. Darker shadows beneath the desk of St. Hilary are indicated by a multiplicity of crossed lines.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Leduc may have consulted G.E. Hicks, A Guide to Figure Drawing (London: George Rowney and Company, 1853) especially the chapter entitled Principles of Light and Shade, pp. 14-20, as it was in his library.

### Assumption of the Virgin

The Assumption of the Virgin is the most celebrated canvas (fig. 30) in St-Hilaire church. This religious composition has been written about and reproduced to accompany brief accounts of Ozias Leduc's life and his art.

#### Preliminary Drawings:

One compositional drawing (fig. 31) with a partial grid system confined to the lower part of the sketch has been located, as well as a number of highly finished sketches of individual details (six), such as: the hands of angels (holding ribbons fig. 32 and playing a guitar, fig. 33); the upper torso of the elongated female figure (fig. 34) holding the rose at the bottom of the canvas; two studies of the facial features of the Virgin (figs. 35 & 36); and a study of the Virgin's folded hands (fig. 37). The compositional drawing depicts all figures nude. Leduc varies the strength and width of his outlined figures to give them form. The arrangement of the figures in their final positions is identical to the final canvas, with exception of a figure moved from the space between the Virgin's cloak and the lyre player (in the compositional drawing) to just behind the lyre player (in the canvas). The change makes for a more harmonious, tightly knit twosome beneath the billowing and flowing canopy-like cloak of the Virgin. The drawings of individual details indicate Leduc's ability for handling light and shade, the modelling of hands, and faces to evoke plasticity.

#### Canvas (fig. 30)

The Assumption of the Virgin canvas is located above the altar

---

See Critical Literature.

dedicated to the Virgin at the right front of the church. The dimensions of the canvas are the same as St. Hilary Writing His Treatise, with only The Ascension and The Adoration of the Magi larger.

In a brief analysis of one of the preliminary drawings for the Virgin, Ostiguy stated:

"The first, apparently, was a full-length study in which the head was barely sketched (fig. 31). The second (fig. 35) and the third (fig. 36) were portrait studies, for which Leduc's sister, Ozema, may have posed."<sup>1</sup>

Ostiguy's assumption that Ozema, Leduc's youngest sister, was the model for the Virgin's face and head was correct.<sup>2</sup>

The first rendering of the facial features of the Virgin was executed in charcoal. This portrait-like rendering (fig. 35) of Ozema is the most realistic representation. Her hair is drawn back from her face exposing her ears and brow. Her large eyes, look upward in an attitude of reverence. The charcoal strokes accentuated by the exquisite modelling of light and shade give the face a plasticity.

The second portrait study (fig. 36) also rendered in charcoal, comes closest in attitude, modelling and head positioning to the completed canvas. This drawing refines the facial features of the model, in contrast to the more realistic rendering of the previous one. The hair is portrayed as long and loosely waved, framing her face with softness which adds richness to the entire drawing. The head position and attitude give a greater sense of relaxation when compared to the first drawing. This is reflected in the face as the modelling shows less contrast of

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, catalogue entry, no. 15, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup>Lacroix, 1978, catalogue entry no. 10, p. 26. The inscription in Leduc's handwriting located at the bottom right corner confirmed that the model for the Virgin was his sister Ozema.



light and shade. This gradation of light is less severe adding to the softness of the overall impression. Her nose has been shortened, lips made fuller, slightly parted with up-turned corners, giving her a youthful, more innocent air. At the same time evoking an expression of inner contentment which Leduc sought to exhibit through the rendering of the Virgin's face.

Ostiguy wrote:

"Leduc's consummate craftsmanship - his masterful use of shaded line, light hatchings, and a scumble technique mated to the very texture of the paper - is striking."

These are the techniques which Leduc used so successfully. Photographic evidence proves that Leduc tacked (attached) the highly finished preliminary drawing of idealized features, in this case, the head of the Virgin (fig. 36), to the upper right corner of the canvas (fig. 38) for quick access and referral when refining her features. Another photograph (fig. 39) taken in Leduc's studio of the Assumption of the Virgin shows the painting in a state of semi-completion, again reiterating his working method of finishing the exposed parts of the body first, such as the facial features, hands and feet, then concentrating on the garments and decorative accessories which complemented the overall design and heightened the viewer's interest.

As well as showing the partially finished canvas with grid system, this photograph indicates that a change was made to the profile figure in the bottom left corner of the painting. In the unfinished work, the features are more generalized similar to Leduc's angels, however, in the final rendering the angle of the head has been modified to

assume a more natural attitude and the features are more individualized and portrait-like (fig. 38) in the completed canvas. The facial features of the female figure in the lower left strongly resemble Marie Louise Lebrun Cappello, Leduc's cousin, future wife, and the widow of Luigi Cappello with whom Leduc had apprenticed as a young artist.<sup>1</sup>

Other important information provided by this visual document (photograph) are the dates printed on the unused part of the finished canvas (fig. 38); right - 20 Aout '98 and left 12 Oct. '98. The first photograph of the uncompleted canvas (fig. 39) does not bear the "12 Oct. '98" date on the left side, so presumably the canvas was executed between those dates.<sup>2</sup>

In following the evolution of a preliminary drawing to the canvas, Leduc moves from his life model to a purity of abstraction and idealism which conceals Ozema's real portrait. The focal point of the canvas is the face of the Virgin, in itself an idealized icon of devotion and faith. Its interest is derived not only from its emotional impact as a representation of a type of human beauty, but also from the formal aspects of the painting. The face is the largest area of very light colour in the composition, a gradational crescendo of dark to light, leading to the head. In terms of design, it is the apex of a triangle, formed by the lines of the Virgin's arms. The head is the area of maximum interest and the climax of the composition.

The head and face were reused by Leduc ca. 1943, La Tête de la Vierge.<sup>3</sup> A profile rendering of the same features can be seen in Mary

<sup>1</sup>Lacroix, 1978, no. 9, pp.24-25; no. 12, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>It is difficult to judge if a date is inscribed on the left side of the unfinished canvas (fig. 39) as there is glare.

<sup>3</sup>Ostiguy, 1978, no. 77, p. 187. Leduc also used Ozema as the model for La Liseuse (Musée du Québec), ca. 1894; and Seated woman in a Landscape, ca. 1930, see Lacroix, 1978, fig. 45, p. 82.

Magdalen in the painting Christ in the House of Simon (fig. 40) and in the small oil on canvas medallion, Head of An Angel (fig. 41) both in St-Hilaire church.

There is a colour gradation from dark to light with a gradational climax toward light as the eye moves from the rich royal blue of Her cape, lined with gold to the aureole of light about Her face. Leduc used rose, green, and golden yellow as the colours for the robes of the angels. These harmonious colours and their lighter tones add to the decorative quality and attempt to create through suggestive colour, a celestial beauty.

Structurally, the viewer is led into the composition from the lower left corner of the canvas, occupied by three female heads, their glance is mirrored by the two angels, one playing the lyre to the Virgin's left, creating a diagonal line that passes through the two roses held out by the two elongated female figures (angels). These two forms parallel the diagonal, thereby reinforcing its direction. The glance of the angel holding the roses creates another diagonal line, through the lower part of the Virgin's swept drapery to the group of angels to the Virgin's right, uniting them not only by attitude of head but also tone of garments.

It is through the grouping or massing of figures, empty areas of light clouds, darker and lighter tones of clouds, that Leduc creates patterns and heightens the viewers interest through tactile values.

In the overall design of the composition, the transition from large shapes with long lines (lower area) to the small shapes with shorter lines (upper area) is handled well. The lower right section of the canvas is occupied by two heavily robed, elongated "Mannerist"

female figures representing angels.<sup>1</sup> Their diagonal placement and the bulkiness of their garments create a sense of weightiness and downward movement, accentuated by the silhouette of Mont Saint-Hilaire both below and behind the two figures.

The area above these figures, below the Virgin at Her feet, is a light, cloud-filled transitional space from the earthly realm to Heaven. The upper two-thirds of the canvas emphasizes the upward movement of the Virgin, surrounded by the half-hidden wingless angels (nine - signifying the nine choirs of angels) enveloped in the clouds, heralding Her heavenly ascent, in a celebration of music and song. Two play musical instruments,<sup>2</sup> the lyre and guitar while others contemplate Her ascension; two hold scrolls perhaps inscribed with musical notes or songs and yet another displays a garland of pink roses, alluding, perhaps to the Virgin of the Rosary.

The angels create the illusion of physical support by their arrangement above (left and right) and below (left and right) as though lifting the Virgin through the earth's atmosphere to her lofty position in Heaven.

The angels wear their hair drawn back,<sup>3</sup> several with ribbons about their heads, reminiscent of the ribbons worn by the victors of Classical Greece and popularized again in the late 19th and early

---

<sup>1</sup>One figure takes the attitude of prayer, hands together and head bowed. The study drawing (fig. 42) was re-used for this angel and for Mary in the Death of St. Joseph canvas.

<sup>2</sup>Musical instruments play a large part in the early work of Leduc. See Ostiguy. Still-Life with Violin (1891), no. 6, p. 114; Child With A Piece of Bread (1892-1899), no. 9, pp. 118-119.

<sup>3</sup>Similar treatment of the two evangelists hair style, St. John and St. Matthew.

20th centuries, especially in portraits of young women.

The contraposto deportment of the Virgin also contributes to Her upward ascent. Below the waist, the relaxed left leg of the Virgin protrudes, from under Her white gown, causing a manifold pleating of the robe, on Her right side.

This creates an effective upward sweep of drapery in an arc from Her exposed right foot to Her waist. The attitude of Her figure<sup>1</sup> is strongly reminiscent of the classical female figures personifying victory (Nike), re-used continuously throughout history for exploitation of the decorative possibilities of diaphanous drapery over form.

The lower parts of this canvas were re-utilized and integrated into other religious compositions in subsequent commissions. For example, the group of three female heads in the lower left corner of the Assumption of the Virgin was re-worked in the lower left corner of Couronnement de Marie dans le ciel (ca. 1905-1906) at Saint-Romuald de Farnham (Québec). The entire lower section of the Assumption of the Virgin, the three female heads and the two elongated figures were re-used at Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours, Montréal (ca. 1908-1909) in the canvas Couronnement de Marie dans le ciel (fig. 43).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Leduc used the pose for the angel carrying the cross in the canvas St. Hilary Writing His Treatise at the St-Hilaire church; Christ in the Ascension; angels (left) in the Adoration of the Magi; and for many figures in subsequent commissions, for example, Ostiguy, 1974, ill. 13, p. 205, The Promise of the Redeemer (1917-1919) for the church Enfant - Jésus de Mile-End, Montréal.

<sup>2</sup>A photograph of the work (fig. 44) partially completed shows the general design was inspired by Velasquez The Coronation of the Virgin (the lower right side of the unused part of the canvas is inscribed Velasquez). See José López-Rey, Velasquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), plate 113 (p. 70), p. 129 and plate 168 (p. 110), p. 130.

Leduc stated that he had been inspired to paint fifty-six paintings devoted to the life of the Virgin during his career.

"La liste des peintures concernant la Ste-Vierge. 56 peintures inspirées du rôle que tient la Ste-Vierge dans la Vie et l'Histoire. Un certain nombre de ces peintures ont la Vierge représentée participant à des scènes seulement traditionnelles ou historiques ou bien encore comme une présence - oeuvres purement idéales."

Leduc wrote a poem (undated) entitled "Assomption" which glorifies and synthesizes the idea of complete abandonment in God's love and beauty.<sup>2</sup>

#### ASSOMPTION

En mon envol  
 Tout au long de la route  
 ou je montais  
 pour aller à Dieu  
 le cœur et l'âme éblouis  
 l'Amour et la Beauté  
 m'ont suivis  
 Et personne ne se doute  
 que de vol en vol  
 émue d'amour, de beauté  
 je suis parvenue  
 vers qui, tout mon être s'élance  
 Pour en fin de route  
 au bout du désir  
 au plus haut des cieux  
 anéantie  
 voir, les bras ouverts  
 Celui qui, à lui, m'attire -  
 Le seul Dieu  
 Le Dieu d'amour et de beauté  
 Mon Dieu -  
 Oh! en Lui m'y abîmer  
 En mon envol  
 Mon Envol!

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c122. Letter from O.L. to D. Gauvreau, Lachine, April 1954.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. b2 c15. The poem "Assomption" was published in Arts et Pensées (mai-juin, no. 17, 1954), p. 30.

See also, Robert Service, The Complete Poems of Robert Service (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1940), p. 37. Service mentioned the "Virgin of St-Hilaire" in his poem My Madonna.

## SEVEN SACRAMENTS

Baptism (Baptism of Christ)  
 Renance (Christ in the House of Simon)  
 Communion (Supper at Emmaus)  
 Confirmation (Pentecost)  
 Marriage (Marriage of the Virgin)  
 Ordination (Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter)  
 Last Sacrament (Death of St. Joseph)

Baptism of ChristPreliminary Drawings:

Three preliminary drawings for this canvas have been located. One is a compositional sketch (fig. 46) with outlined nude figures of Christ and St. John the Baptist arranged as they are found in the finished canvas. All the other elements are lightly outlined in their final compositional position (dove, forms of background trees).

Another sheet (fig. 47) contains three figure studies (two of Christ - a nude frontal; legs close together, His right hand on His chest, left hand hanging by His side; and a mannequin, in profile in contaposto stance with both arms bent so as His arms are placed across the chest. A mannequin study of St. John the Baptist is in the same stance adopted for the canvas with the exception of the positioning of the left arm) with shading to indicate three-dimensionality.

The third sheet (fig. 48) depicts a highly shaded drawing, particularly with respect to the nude figure of Christ and the background landscape. The treatment of the clothing of St. John the Baptist is rendered with less shading.

Canvas (fig. 49)

The scene takes place in a forest setting, by a narrow stream,

where the short-haired, bearded, St. John the Baptist, cousin of Christ, performs the Baptism ceremony. The two figures stand in a middleground. Christ, holding loosely around him, a white drapery, stands in a shallow stream scattered with pebbles and rocks. To his left, John the Baptist in contrast is dressed in a brown, animal skin, stands on the rocky embankment slightly elevated above the figure of Christ, whose hands are crossed over his breast, a sign of reverence and quiet contemplation of the sacrament of Baptism. St. John's right arm is extended and holds over the head of Christ an open shell-like container out of which flows the holy water upon the head of Christ. The left hand of St. John is held to his heart. The Dove of Peace and symbol of the Holy Ghost flies above Christ's head.

"... and, lo the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him: And lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased". (Matthew 3: 13ff)

The forest setting, with the maple trees and silhouette of Mont Saint-Hilaire, creates a sense of place and local quality which makes the scene realistic to the parishioners. The soft tones of evening twilight filter through the background landscape. The realistic and decorative depiction of nature adds to the credulity of the scene.

The careful execution of small details is convincingly created by Leduc and is reminiscent of his early still-life works, where trompe l'oeil technique was successfully exploited. Besides utilizing related colour tones for the sake of harmony and unity, Leduc integrated the contours of his main figures and their forms complementing those of nature.

For example, the two elongated figures, Christ and St. John the Baptist, combined with the long, slender, abstract maple trees reinforce



the overall sense of verticality. Both Christ and St. John the Baptist (fig. 50) are outlined strongly, particularly with regard to their exposed members (hands, arms, legs and feet).

The area immediately above Christ's head (fig. 51) indicates a re-working. The space has been overpainted to modify the shape and size of the head of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Leduc certainly examined closely the rendering of the same subject by Joseph Légaré ca. 1828, at the Parish Church, Bécancour, Québec.<sup>2</sup> Leduc had apprenticed at the studio of Adolphe Rho, in Bécancour, where he executed, ca. 1890, the work The Baptism of Christ, now in the church of St. John the Baptist in Montana, Jerusalem.

Also known to many Québec artists, through engravings, reproductions and actual canvases was the work of Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), whose painting The Baptism of Christ (fig. 52) with its reality, somber tones and organization of space is similar to Leduc's composition.<sup>3</sup>

### Christ in the House of Simon

#### Preliminary Drawings:

A number of highly finished sketches of individual details such as the left foot (fig. 34) and head and upper torso (fig. 33) of Mary

<sup>1</sup>There is no mention of any changes to the fifteen canvases during the original decoration project 1896-1900, nor in the Daily Journal of the 1928-1929 Restoration, so the modification was probably done before installation at St-Hilaire church 1896-1900.

<sup>2</sup>John R. Porter, The Works of Joseph Légaré, 1795-1855 (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada for the Corporation of the National Museums of Canada, 1978), no. 100, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup>Bernard Dorival, Catalogue Raisonné de l'oeuvre de Philippe de Champaigne, 2 vols. (Paris: Léonce Laget Librairie, 1976), see fig. 1639, p. 480.

Magdalen and hand of Christ (fig. 53) have been located, but only one compositional drawing related to this canvas. In the compositional drawing (fig. 54) the outlined figures are nude studies, integrated into a highly shaded and different background rendering. Comparing this compositional sketch with the canvas, Leduc has strengthened his presentation of this scene from its original concept. He has eliminated the standing male figure on the left side in front the open doorway and placed another figure (second from front left) in profile. The kneeling, outlined figure of Mary Magdalen, in the drawing, turns inward toward Christ, whereas in the canvas she is represented in profile. The right hand and arm of Christ in the drawing is weak in comparison to the strong gesticulation of the canvas.

The major changes in the background from drawing to canvas are the replacement of a rounded, arched doorway (left) with a cross-beamed doorway in the canvas, and the total elimination of a background landscape, overlooking Palestinian buildings, through a window frame, with a highly decorative trellis entwined with vine. By enclosing the scene with a stone wall from which hangs a tapestry, Leduc creates a more intimate and tectonic composition.

#### Canvas (fig. 55)

"And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment. And stood at his feet behind him weeping and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment." (Luke 7: 37, 38).

This canvas, located opposite the pulpit, is the widest composition in the nave with the exception of the Assumption of the Virgin and St. Hilary Writing His Treatise. Because of the greater width, the figures are arranged deeper in the middleground space than the other

canvases in the nave.

Around a circular table, covered with a white cloth, sit Christ and three men. Christ (right) faces the two men (left), all three are rendered in profile and another man sits, facing the viewer, in frontal pose. To Christ's right, is the kneeling Magdalen, in profile, with her left hand placed on the open-lid ointment vessel. Christ motions toward Mary Magdalen, almost touching her forehead, with his right hand, extolling her as the exemplum virtutis to the three other men with whom he is speaking.

In the right background is the Magdalen's sister, Martha, who carries a bowl, symbolic of her domestic qualities. The strongly outlined figures are united by gesticulation, pose and attitude of head. The forms of the seated Christ and the kneeling Mary Magdalen flow into each other like a backward C motif. Complementary to the arc of the Magdalen's head - hair - robe (pale yellow and green symbolizing her glory and hope to sinners) is the straight line of the chair at her back (right middleground).

Entrance into the painting may be from either left (by the repoussoir created by the seated man) or on the right (through the repoussoir of the empty wooden chair and the extension of the Magdalen's bulky over-garment).

The five middleground figures are inter-connected by their arrangement on almost the same head level within the horizontal plane. Colour also unites the figures, with the tonality of their robes (rose, golden yellow, green) mirrored in the distant twilight landscape. The grey tone of the stone floor and interior walls are found in the landscape as well. Here Leduc has varied the spatial introduction by using

the grey hexagonal shaped stones.<sup>1</sup> Their importance is twofold: first-ly, they deliberately demarkate the foreground area to aid in perspective; secondly, they focus more attention on the main scene by their own lack of interesting space.

The background stone wall is enlivened by a large decorative tapestry which is hung from nails or pegs. It aids to flatten the interior space. The decorative floral and vegetal motifs re-inforce the Eastern quality of the composition. The exact pattern has not been found in any of the books Leduc had in his library, however, the designs do resemble a number found in those books.<sup>2</sup>

To the left background is an open doorway which leads into a twilight landscape, revealing the local, geographical elements of Saint-Hilaire, such as, the maple tree, its leaves, and the distant silhouette of Mont. Saint-Hilaire against the horizon. The table is set for the evening meal, covered in a white cloth on which is centered a large platter containing a loaf of sliced bread and at each place is a plate and partially filled glass holding a golden liquid. The depiction of such exquisitely rendered still life objects recalls Leduc's own pre-occupation in the early 1890's with paintings devoted exclusively to familiar objects of his rural cultural milieu.

---

<sup>1</sup>Hexagonal shaped stone floors were popular and very frequently used in Victorian paintings. See, Julian Barnard, The Decorative Tradition (London: The Architectural Press, 1974), pp. 50-51, fig. 34.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M. b9 c9, Modèles de broderies et applications (Paris: H. Laurens, s.d.). See also Ostiguy, 1973, p. 223; William James and George Ashdown Audsley. Polychromatic Decoration as Applied to Buildings in the Medieval Styles (London: Sotheran, 1882). Or perhaps he was inspired by a textile design he saw at Luigi Cappello's School of Tapestry Painting, in Montréal at Studio 27, 17 Place d'Armes. See A.N.Q.M., b3 c14.

The model for the Magdalen was Leduc's youngest sister, Ozema, who was known for her luxurious, long, auburn hair, an attribute commonly used in the depiction of the Magdalen.<sup>1</sup>

The kneeling pose of Mary Magdalen had been a popular attitude derived from that supposedly first employed by the Doidalsas of Bithynia, a Hellenistic sculptor of the Early Pergamene period, for his Crouching Aphrodite. This kneeling pose was used repeatedly in the art of all periods. It is possible, Leduc had been inspired by the kneeling figure (fig. 56) in Eugene Delacroix's painting La Prise de Constantinople (Musée du Louvre), when he visited Paris in 1897.<sup>2</sup>

The seated man to the left middleground is reminiscent of the figure in the same location in Molitor's La Sainte Cène (fig. 57), particularly the rendering and position of his right foot and treatment of drapery covering the bent right knee.<sup>3</sup>

The simplicity of arrangement of figures in a middleground, the repoussoir of forms, the rendering of and interconnecting figures by gesture and facial expression, as well as six figures (the same number in Leduc's composition) represented in Johann Hofmann's, Madeleine oint les pieds de Jésus (fig. 58) place both artists, in close proximity.

<sup>1</sup> See analysis of Assumption canvas.

<sup>2</sup> Leduc listed ten paintings he admired in response to the Masters in Arts publication request on September 18, 1906. See A.N.Q.M. b3 c17. Eugene Delacroix's La Barque du Dante was included amongst them. See also, Raymond Escholier, Delacroix (Paris: H. Floury editeur, 1929), Vol. II, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Molitor's canvas La Sainte Cène was reproduced in Le Petit Messager du Très Saint Sacrement, in April, 1907, p. 105. Although, dating after the St-Hilaire church commission strong similarities between Leduc and Molitor have been noted.

### Supper at Emmaus

"But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us; for it is toward evening and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight." (Luke 24: 28ff).

#### Preliminary Drawing:

One compositional drawing (fig. 60) has been located which relates to this canvas. The arrangement of figures in the middleground of the sketch is radically different from the finished canvas. The three outlined figures are portrayed as nude studies. The positioning of Christ's hands (right hand in the attitude of blessing, left hand holding the bread is slightly altered from drawing to final canvas), his frontal pose, angle of head and shoulder length hair remain unchanged from this drawing to the canvas. A window frame behind Christ is found in both this drawing and the canvas.

The major change is in structure and organization of the two disciples at the table. In the drawing, the table is placed diagonally from left to right, at the head of which stands the figure of Christ. To His left and right are two disciples seated facing each other on opposite sides of the table, creating a second diagonal. Leduc obviously was not satisfied in organizing the scene around a diagonal scheme, because in the canvas version he adopted a horizontal axis, parallel to the picture plane, thereby presenting it with greater clarity and effectiveness, as well as flattening the space.

#### Canvas (fig. 61)

The scene portrays the moment when Christ (dressed in white undergarment with rose coloured overgarment), who is blessing the bread, is recognized by His two disciples (left - green undergarment,

brown overgarment; right - rose undergarment, blue overgarment). This narrative composition takes place in a middleground space, in which the three figures (Christ - frontal, and the two disciples: left - three quarter, right - profile) interact. The two partially cut-off (repoussoir) disciple figures, placed in the corners of the middleground facilitate entry into this narrow (width) canvas. The two apostles are seated at a table opposite the central standing figure of Christ (one to his left the other to his right).

Unity is achieved by gesture and attitude of head. The younger, black bearded disciple, seated in profile to the right, leans slightly forward, turning toward his companion to his left, to touch the sleeve of the older white bearded, white haired disciple who sits gazing at the figure of Christ. This gesture between the two men depicts familiarity and recognition of the Saviour whose eyes are raised to Heaven.

The arrangement of the three figures creates a triangular configuration. Above all through the resultant hieratic symmetry it emphasizes the sacredotal nature of Christ's act. The head of Christ is the apex of the triangle and focal point of the canvas. The aureole of light surrounding Christ's head accentuates the holy aspect of the scene and adds a supernatural quality to the painting. The treatment and depiction of the (head, hair and eyes) idealized facial features are identical to those in the Ascension. The angle of the head, and eyes are also reminiscent of the facial type adopted for the spiritual content for the Virgin in the Assumption canvas.

The verticality emphasized by their bodies is balanced by the horizontality represented by the parallel lines formed by the rectangular shaped floor stones, the placement of the table, the lower edge

of the window frame and the wooden shuttered windows. The background space is mostly grey wall surface which accentuates the figure of Christ and flattens the space.

Movement from the interior setting to an outdoor view is accomplished by suggestion, through a narrow opening between the window frame and brown, wooden shutters. This adds a sense of reality and credulity to the scene and creates the impression of a landscape beyond the interior limits of the scene, thereby alleviating to some extent, the flatness of the architectonic interior. The maple leaves, a familiar, local characteristic indigenous to Saint-Hilaire, are silhouetted against a subtly and sensitively rendered evening sky. The rustic, rural character is stressed also by the depiction of certain details and the use of colour tones found in the wooden-backed chair (early settler's chair - Ile d'Orleans) and the simplistic rendering of the still-life objects, the goblet, plates, bread, and the white table cloth.

The structure of Leduc's scene is reminiscent of Pontormo's (1494-1557) canvas, Supper at Emmaus (fig. 62) (Florence, Uffizi) of 1525, which places the two disciples with their backs to the viewer, opposite Christ, who stands blessing the bread.

Closer in time to Leduc's rendering of the Supper at Emmaus (fig. 63) is a canvas of the same title by Carl Muller (1818-1893). Although the work appeared in the June, 1900 volume of Le Petit Messager du Très Saint-Sacrement which was a month after Leduc's canvases had been installed in St-Hilaire church, there are a number of artistic devices common to both works.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Le Petit Messager du Très Saint-Sacrement, June, 1900, opposite p. 161.



The structural qualities of both canvases are similar as to the symmetrical arrangement of the figures (Christ stands behind a cloth covered table with one disciple on either side). Both artists suggest a distant landscape background; Leduc through an open window with maple leaves silhouetted against the twilight sky, and Muller, through a rounded archway overhung with leaves, looking out on trees and a rocky, mountainous terrain.

### Pentecost

#### Preliminary Drawing:

One compositional drawing (fig. 64) with grid system has been located which relates to this canvas. Close examination of this drawing shows that the only changes made were in regard to minor details. Three additions were made to the final canvas: the demarcation of the floor into individual rectangular stone blocks; an elaboration of detail and ornamentation decorating the tapestry hanging behind the central figure (St. Peter) of the canvas; and the inclusion of a self-portrait replacing the third figure from the lower right side.

#### Canvas (fig. 65)

"... suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts 2: 2-4).

The Pentecost depicts the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the twelve disciples and the Virgin Mary. The composition, although compact gives the impression of being tightly knit without being uncomfortable. The scene focuses on a raised platform on which Mary

and two apostles (St. John and St. Peter) are seated. This method of raising the three figures above the others emphasizes their importance and at the same time is a successful artistic device. The piety of the scene is adeptly captured by the gestures and bowed heads of the kneeling figures in the middleground. These figures and the stone block floor give a sense of recession. Through the planimetric stratifications of the middleground and the two-tiered, stone floor Leduc integrates his figures into a tightly knit scene. The thirteen figures are arranged in a semicircle to the left and right side of the three central figures (left - Mary, center - St. Peter, right - St. John), who are seated on a slightly elevated platform, one step above the other figures. The two apostles kneeling at the right and left front edge of the canvas are boldly outlined which flattens the space. Leduc also utilizes these repoussoir figures to facilitate entry into the composition. The kneeling figure to the left, with an open armed gesture creates a diagonal line to St. John in the background. The kneeling apostle to the right, middleground, with head bowed is united with the seated Virgin Mary in the background, through a second diagonal.

Besides unifying figures from different planes by gesture and attitude, Leduc also creates unity with the same plane by overlapping and grouping figures, to the left and right of the middleground space centered around an open area.

Within this canvas, it would appear that Leduc had difficulty with both linear and atmospheric perspective. With regard to linear perspective the demarkation of the stone floor (foreground) combined with the tapestry (center, background) causes a flattening of the space. The rich dark colours of the robes (rose, blue, green and golden yellow) worn by figures at the edge of the composition retain

the same strength in the middleground.

A richly coloured tapestry, used for its decorative quality emphasizes the Eastern character of the scene. The tapestry functions as the central axis of the background dividing the space vertically and is an extension of space linking it to the middle and foreground. St. Peter sits directly in front of the tapestry and above his head flies the white dove.

The use of tapestries to enrich religious scenes was employed frequently by Northern Renaissance artists, as well as 19th-century painters such as Johann Hofmann, whose religious canvases were reproduced in late 19th and early 20th century Quebec, popular, religious periodicals.<sup>1</sup>

The variety of head positions, individuality of facial expression, gesticulation and repoussoir figures on both left and right side of the canvas impart a vitality and credibility to the painting.

The individual study for Mary's hands folded across Her breast (fig. 66) is reused for the angel (right front) in the St. Hilary Writing His Treatise and Christ's hands in The Baptism of Christ.

The features of the third figure on the right, stand out more than the others because of a darker treatment of hair and beard and more natural rendering of pigmentation of the skin. It is a self-portrait executed in profile. Although this was not the first

---

<sup>1</sup> Leduc subscribed to Le Rosaire and Le Petit Messager du Très Saint Sacrement, both of which reproduced works by Johann Hofmann (1824-1911), Bernard Plockhorst (1825-1907), and Carl Muller (1818-1893). Leduc stated the canvases for St. Ninian's Cathedral at Antigonish executed in 1902 were liberal interpretations of the work of Hofmann, Plockhorst, Bonnat and Dobson. A.N.Q.M., b7 c122. The Casket article, July, 1903.

time Leduc had included himself in a religious canvas (he portrayed himself in the painting Christ Calming the Tempest, ca. 1892-1893, at St-Charles Borromée de Joliette), the self-portraits became more frequent after his 1897 European trip.<sup>1</sup>

The arrangement of figures and organization of space are not unlike that of the Pentecost (fig. 67) executed by Philippe de Champaigne (of which there is a copy by Roy-Audy in Ste-Anne-de-Varennes church), although Champaigne's work includes many more figures (e.g. Mary and two other figures are seated on a raised platform above the others, who are arranged to the left and right sides leaving an open space to the center area).<sup>2</sup>

Leduc's composition is also reminiscent of that of Zurbaran (fig. 68) (1598-1664) executed ca. 1637-1639,<sup>3</sup> particularly with regard to the raised platform presenting three figures, the hands of the apostle -second from the left (crossed in front of his breast like Mary in the Leduc work and both placed in the same seated position) and the two kneeling figures at both the left and right edge of the canvas.

#### Marriage of the Virgin

##### Preliminary Drawings:

Two compositional drawings have been located which are related

<sup>1</sup>See Lacroix, 1978, no. 18, p. 38; see also Ostiguy, 1973, no. 18, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup>Bernard Dorival, Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de Philippe Champaigne, (Paris: Léonce Laget Librairie, 1976), Vol. II, p. 414, ill. 80, p. 57 for catalogue entry. See also Michel Cauchon, Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy, 1778-1848, Série Arts et Métiers (Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1971), p. 127. Roy-Audy executed the painting in 1818.

<sup>3</sup>Julian Gallego and José Gudiol. Zurbaran, Trans. by Kenneth Lyons. (London: Secker and Warburg, 1977), fig. 155, p. 219.

to this canvas. The first is a pencil line drawing (fig. 69) showing three nude figures (Mary - left; Rabbi - center; Joseph - right) standing on an outlined rug in the middleground. Mary stands with Her body facing outward while Joseph faces inward, with his back to the viewer. Behind Joseph's right shoulder, heads of rejected suitors are indicated and heads of female attendants are outlined behind Mary's right shoulder. This depiction of the marriage ceremony conforms to traditional renderings since the Renaissance. The three figures are presented standing in front of an outside wall covered with a clinging vine. A projection, which appears to be a canopy, shelters the central figure of the Rabbi.

The second compositional drawing (fig. 70) with grid system, places the three figures of Joseph, Mary and the Rabbi closer to the edge of the sketch. The figures are clothed and arranged differently from the previous drawing. Because of the awkward stance (back view of Joseph) in the first drawing Leduc has integrated the three figures in a stronger grouping by placing Joseph's head in profile and his body in three-quarter view; the Virgin's body turns inward and the head is in profile; the attendant figures accompanying the Virgin and the rejected suitors behind Joseph have been eliminated. The background has been altered from the first sketch in which the ceremony took place outdoors. A decorative drapery hangs on the wall behind the Rabbi in place of the overhanging canopy creating the feeling of an architectural interior setting.

#### Canvas (fig. 71)

The canvas differs only slightly from the second compositional drawing. The three figures are deeper in the middleground than in the

second sketch, in fact, they are placed in the space at about the same depth as the first compositional drawing. The lightly outlined carpet of the first drawing is found in the canvas, as well. Other than the structural change the other alterations are elaboration of detail, adding to the decorative quality of the scene, such as exploiting the robes of Joseph, Mary, the Rabbi, the background grill-work for decorative effect by use of colour and pattern and drapery for dramatic effect.

#### Description

The marriage ceremony takes place in a synagogue. The Rabbi stands frontally displayed in the center of the canvas on a carpet, elevated one step above and between the profile figures of Mary and Joseph. Joseph is holding the blossoming rod or staff, which was the sign given by the Lord that the carpenter of Nazareth was the chosen husband of Mary. The lily, which Leduc chose to use as the blossom on the staff is the flower of the Virgin and the symbol of the chastity of St. Joseph. In most depictions the rod or staff usually bears leaves. Mary extends Her left hand and third finger to receive the wedding ring from the right hand of Joseph. The Rabbi places his right hand on the forearm of Mary and holds his left hand beneath the arm of Joseph. All three figures are united by gesture and grouping of the forms in close proximity to each other. Also, all three figures stand on the carpet. The chain-like design of circles and rectangles used for the border of the rug is also employed as the outermost band of decoration framing the canvases, windows and separating the lower (pseudo-mosaic) and the upper part (grey walls) of the church. This pattern emphasizes the Eastern setting of the scene, as well as functioning as a visual link for decorative images found in both the canvases and overall interior

decorative scheme. The focal point of the painting is the ring about to be placed on Mary's finger, the eyes of all three figures are focused on this act. The drapery, which acts as a canopy or chuppah is suspended from a decorative grillwork ornamented with circles and squares and is employed for dramatic effect. It also echoes the movement of Mary and Joseph's robes. These same designs (circles and squares) are found on the Rabbi's mantelletta. The figure of the Rabbi appears for the first time in this canvas and was re-used at Farnham Church in the mural work, the Presentation of Mary at the Temple (1905-1906). The undecorated grey tonality of the interior floor and background wall draws attention to the sacred wedding ceremony, and flattens the space. The verticality of this scene is emphasized not only by the shape of the canvas (height greater than width), but is accentuated by the "Mannerist" attenuation of their bodies aided by the strong up-sweep of their draperies. The curvilinear forms of the robes, enhanced by the painterly colours are complemented by the linear architectural interior.

Raphael's Marriage of the Virgin (fig. 72) of 1504, (Brera Gallery, Milan) was probably the inspiration for Leduc's canvas, particularly with regard to the arrangement of the three figures (Mary, Joseph and the Rabbi).

#### Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter

##### Preliminary Drawing:

Four preliminary works have been located for this canvas. Only one pencil line drawing (fig. 76) with grid system resembles the final arrangement and pose of Christ and St. Peter. The other three (figs. 73, 74) two pencil line drawings and a colour study (fig. 75) conform to

a different arrangement, indicating that Leduc discarded his initial concept.

The first pencil line drawing for the initial design (fig. 73) depicts a nude frontal Christ (right side of drawing) in a contraposto stance, holding the keys out to St. Peter with his left hand, while his right hand is above St. Peter's head, in blessing. In the left middleground, is the nude figure of St. Peter, his back to the viewer, head bowed, with his right hand raised to accept the proffered keys. The two outlined figures form a diagonal (left front to middleground). The nude study of St. Peter has been incised with a sharp or pointed instrument, possibly for transfer to another sheet of paper. A background landscape is indicated by soft shading and outlined trees behind the figure of Christ.

The second drawing (fig. 74) depicts the same arrangement, stance, gesticulation, and suggested background landscape. The only difference is the addition of robes on the two figures, indicated by subtle lines and dramatic shading of the garments.

The third work (fig. 75) is a coloured modello, inscribed, "Paris, 1897," which conforms to the first two drawings (Christ is garbed in white, St. Peter's robe is blue). The soft, sensitive shading of twilight tones of a distant landscape with Palestinian type buildings is well treated and gives a sense of traditional location. Only the pencil line drawing, with grid system (fig. 76) is identical to the finished canvas. Both figures are rendered in profile (Christ, standing; St. Peter, kneeling). Leduc has replaced the Palestinian background architecture with an outline of Mont Saint-Hilaire. Branches and leaves of a tree are lightly outlined behind Christ. The figures of Christ and St. Peter are now dressed in light under-robes over which a himation is worn, reminiscent of the classical treatment of drapery. Christ's long hair is pulled back exposing His neck and bearded jawline, whereas, in the first three works, the frontal face position illustrates his hair hanging loosely around his face and resting on his shoulders.



Canvas (fig. 77).

"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." (Matthew 16: 15ff).

The action is confined to the middleground in which Christ stands in profile, handing the key to the kneeling, profile figure of St. Peter. St. Peter, bends slightly forward, his left hand held to his breast while extending his right hand to receive the key from the left hand of Christ, whose up-raised arm and hand point to Heaven. The gestures and poses unify the figures.

A strong diagonal line runs from Christ's left shoulder down his drapery to his left hand holding the key and is continued through the open palm of St. Peter's right hand to his left knee in the lower right corner of the canvas. Another diagonal, created by the rose-coloured himation overlapping the white alb, runs through St. Peter's right hand to his head. The intersection of the two diagonals and the focal point of the canvas is the key exchange, which has greater clarity in this arrangement, than in Leduc's initial design. By introducing the two figures in a shallow middleground setting and placing them close to the front and side edges of this narrow canvas, Leduc has achieved a fine sense of clarity by employing the repoussoir device of cutting off the figures facilitating entrance into his painting.

The elongated, "Mannerist"-like figure of Christ dominates the scene. Leduc attempts to balance His strongly executed figure with the kneeling St. Peter by placing a bush, behind and above the saint's left shoulder.

The background landscape is rendered with subtle, subdued tones

(rose, brown, white, blue), which unites it to the robe colour combinations of Christ (white alb and rose himation) and St. Peter (blue undergarment and brown himation).

Leduc employs rural and local characteristics reflecting the familiar landscape of Saint-Hilaire. The silhouette of Mont Saint-Hilaire against the distant horizon and the maple leaves hanging from branches of a tree behind the Christ add a greater sense of credulity to this Biblical scene for the Saint-Hilaire parishioners. Not to mention the specific visual pun emphasized by Christ's upraised right hand pointing toward Mont Saint-Hilaire "the rock on which He builds His church."

The arrangement of the two figures, their gestures, as well as the organization of space and background mountain landscape is strongly reminiscent of Friedrich Overbeck's painting, The Incredulity of St. Thomas (fig. 78).<sup>1</sup>

#### Death of St. Joseph

##### Preliminary Drawings:

Four compositional drawings have been located for this canvas. Two of the sketches are almost identical to the final arrangement of the canvas, with only slight modifications as to stance, attitude of head, etc. The other two drawings indicate Leduc's first ideas regarding arrangement of figures.

The first drawing (fig. 79) shows a nude study of St. Joseph lying on a bed, his upper torso and head resting on a pillow. The nude

<sup>1</sup> Keith Andrews, The Nazarenes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), see plate 70A.

figure of the Virgin stands to the right, leaning over him, holding his hand. A nude Christ stands at the head of the bed directly behind the body of St. Joseph. In the left foreground, stands a wooden table on which is placed, outlined still-life objects, a candleholder and plate.

Although a different triple configuration, Charles Gill's (1871-1918) Death of St. Joseph (undated) is reminiscent of Leduc's version, particularly Christ posed behind St. Joseph and Mary holding the Saint's hand.<sup>1</sup>

The second drawing (fig. 80) depicts a nude Christ to the left side, slightly above and partially behind St. Joseph. Christ's right arm encircles his father's head in a gesture of love, while his left hand points upward to heaven. St. Joseph lies on a wooden frame bed with mattress, which has been arranged diagonally with a nude Mary, kneeling at the left, holding his right hand.

The reason for placing this drawing as the second in the evolution of thought is twofold. Firstly, the left hand of St. Joseph rests on his breast, and his right hand is placed at his side (although it is held by Mary, Leduc keeps the same positioning in the next two drawings and the final canvas). The second reason is that Leduc has placed Mary in a kneeling position which he maintains in the next two drawings and final canvas, although he changes the location from the left side to the right.

---

<sup>1</sup> Olivier Maurault, Charles Gill: peintre et poète lyrique, (Montreal: Les éditions Éoliennes, 1950), see photograph reproduced p. 45. Gill's depiction of the Death of St. Joseph shows he borrowed heavily from the canvas executed by Napoléon Bourassa. See Raymond Vezina, Napoléon Bourassa 1827-1916 (Ottawa: Editions Elysée, 1976), p. 165.

The next two drawings are equally as difficult to place in sequence. The figures are represented in their final arrangement, with slight modifications, making their pose more natural and less stiff.

The third sketch (fig. 81) presents the reclining, nude figure of St. Joseph lying to the right, his naked legs creating a diagonal. To his left is the kneeling Mary portrayed nude, hands clasped in prayer (reminiscent of some angels in the Adoration of the Magi, Assumption of the Virgin, Ascension, and St. Hilary Writing His Treatise). There are indications of an open window to a landscape beyond, behind Mary and perhaps the outline of another window behind Christ (left). To the left foreground is a vase, identical to the one used by Leduc in his canvas. The flowering lily, an attribute of St. Joseph shown in the drawing was eliminated from the canvas. More attention is placed upon shading and working up the drawing than is the case with the following sketch (fig. 82).

The fourth drawing (fig. 82) repeats the same positioning of Christ and St. Joseph, however, Mary is partially clothed in a kneeling pose. To his right, stands the robed figure of Christ, hands outstretched over the body of St. Joseph. To the left foreground is a large vase containing a tall sparsely leaved or flowering plant. There is a faint outline of a hanging drapery in the background behind the three figures.

#### Canvas (fig. 83)

The three figures of Christ, Mary and Joseph are arranged in the middleground. The reclining St. Joseph, wearing an olive green robe, (symbolizing hope and rebirth) rests his upper torso and head upon a large pillow, his left arm and hand placed across his breast,

his right arm at his side. The right hand is strongly reminiscent of the right hand of St. Hilary in the St. Hilary Writing His Treatise canvas. The lower half of Joseph's body is covered with a golden yellow garment (symbolizing glory), which touches the front edge of the canvas. To his left is the kneeling, veiled Virgin Mary, in profile, hands together in prayer (fig. 40). She wears the traditional blue himation, symbolizing virtue, over a white robe (innocence and faith) and behind her, at the edge of the composition are three flowering lilies. To St. Joseph's right, standing in profile is the figure of Christ, robed in white, with hands and arms outstretched in benediction, over the dead Joseph. The figure of Christ, which Leduc finally selected from the various poses found in the preliminary drawings, and the sculptural plastic quality of His robe is strongly reminiscent of the Christ in Paul Delaroche's canvas Conversion of Mary Magdalen (fig. 84) ca. 1835.<sup>1</sup>

Behind and above the head of St. Joseph is a large, olive green drapery matching the robe covering his lower torso. The hanging drapery is decorative, as its folds form semi-circular designs above the square pillow on which Joseph lies. It also adds a dramatic and intimate quality to the death scene and its function flattens the interior by blocking out a view of the background. A room beyond this tight tectonic structuring is indicated, by the placement of a table, covered with a blue cloth on which rests a bottle and another square object (box or cheese?), behind Christ at the edge of the canvas. Above the table a window sill is suggested, creating the illusion and

---

<sup>1</sup> Norman D. Ziff, Paul Delaroche: A Study in 19th-Century French History Painting (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1977), no. 63, p. 358.

impression of depth and recession. These motifs add an element of domesticity and a rural aspect to the composition.

The empty, earthen vase in the left foreground symbolizes the separation of the soul from the body in the death of St. Joseph. Unity is achieved by the overlapping of the robes of the three figures (Christ's robe with the right sleeve of Joseph's gown; the heavy drapery of St. Joseph overlapping Mary's mantle and touching the empty vase in the left foreground). Outlining of the figures does not detract from their credulity but merely aids in flattening the composition. The rendering of the still-life objects, realistic facial features and the repoussoir devices (draperies of Christ, St. Joseph, and Mary touch the left, front and right sides respectively; the vase - foreground and the table - left background, both of which are cut-off) impart reality to the scene.

In 1942, abbé Ernest Bergeron, of Saint-Eugène d'Argentenay wrote Ozias Leduc expressing his first impressions of the interior of St-Hilaire church, particularly with regard to the Death of St. Joseph canvas.

"Vous croyez bien que je n'ai pas manqué d'examiner longuement les décors et les tableaux de votre église paroissiale. Certain. . . mort de S. Joseph m'a vivement impressionné. Sans beaucoup vous connaître il me semble que ces tableaux sont ceux où vous avez fait passer le mieux la sincérité naïve de votre belle âme d'artiste. . . L'admirable habileté que vous savez mettre à jouer dans une seule gamme, les tons les plus divers et les plus harmonisés. Chez vous ce qui fait l'éclat c'est la simplicité du dessin et les couleurs qui vont droit à l'âme. . . Votre symbolisme, facile à comprendre est bien dans la tradition des Maurice Denis et des Huysmans!"

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b5 c54. Letter to O.L. from Ernest Bergeron, ptre. Saint-Eugène d'Argentenay, dated Feb. 25, 1942.

### Four Evangelist Canvases

Leduc wrote three pages of brief notes on the four evangelists, noting their traditional attributes, physical and facial characteristics, relating them to four rivers and the four principle "événements" during the life of Christ.<sup>1</sup> The information was obtained from "Les quatre évangélistes (Extrait du manuscrit du Mont. Athos). Représentations grecques du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après des plus anciennes datant probablement du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," by Jean Jacques Bourassé (1813-1872).<sup>2</sup>

The anthropomorphic character of the eagle, ox, and lion assume realistic portrayal by Leduc, which creates greater actuality, while still maintaining the supernatural and metaphysical quality complementing the mood evoked by the rendering of the twilight forest setting (particularly St. Luc - ox; and St. Mark - lion). The ox, lion, eagle and the angel, realistically portrayed as a man by Leduc (St. Matthew's attribute) serve as messengers of God or interceders between God and man, which are part of the mysteries of Nature and the Cosmos.

"... out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. . . as for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion. . . the face of an ox, . . . the face of an eagle." (Ezekiel, I: 5-10).

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b2 c9, two sheets; b1 c34, one sheet. "St. Mathieu - Gihon; St. Marc - Tigris; St. Luc - Euphrates; St. Jean - Pison." Leduc treated the four evangelists in separate compositions in only two commissions at St-Hilaire 1898-1900 and Saint-Romuald de Farnham, 1905-1906.

<sup>2</sup>J.J. Bourassé - chevalier de la Légion D'Honneur, Chanoine de l'église Métropolitaine de Tours, Président de la Société archéologique de Touraine. See National Union Catalogue for list of books he wrote, Volume 69, pp. 401-403. Bourassé was a medievalist whose works were not published after 1900, most not after 1880.

Each Evangelist, accompanied by his attribute, is depicted writing his Gospel. Their attitude is one of repose and contemplation. They are, with one limb extended to the edge of the canvas, in the foreground space, arranged on a horizontal axis. The background is suggested by a high horizon line, which accentuates flatness.

Although the action is limited to a single plane, two dimensional, in a shallow middleground, resembling a stage tableau, naturalism and environment are stressed and the human figure is comfortably integrated into a narrow setting. Leduc establishes a linear rhythm by use of expressive contours of the Evangelists' draperies. The rendering of the foreground space colour is used for its flat pattern effect. This combined with the high horizon line flatten the space (aided by the outlining of exposed parts of the body (hands, feet) and executing their heads in profile (St. John and St. Matthew) or three-quarter (St. Luke and St. Mark).

The asymmetry of each composition is caused by a strong diagonal movement stressing the linear design of the work, which originates in all cases from the sides of the painting. The monochromatic, soft colours with a tendency toward rustic, earthy tones also helps to flatten the foreground and middleground. The same tones are repeated in the background unifying both areas.

Leduc unquestionably illustrates a fidelity to the past. His four Evangelists are reminiscent of the Hellenistic river gods of ancient times to the mythological female nudes and personifications of nature and natural phenomena, placed in intimate landscape settings, the latter being popular and depicted frequently in the late 19th century Parisian salons. Leduc's Evangelists have evolved from the traditional rendering to realistic individuals expressing personal experience and



emotion.

### St. John

Two compositional drawings for this canvas have been located. Both are outlined nude studies. The first drawing (fig. 85) shows the nude reclining St. John, right arm to his side, left arm resting over his bent, left leg, which is tucked under his right leg. The head is angled toward heaven (or sky) and directly behind his head hovers the eagle, which is heavily shaded, the attribute of St. John the Evangelist.<sup>1</sup> The rocky landscape of Patmos is lightly sketched.

The second compositional sketch (fig. 86) is identical to the canvas, with regard to the positioning of head, arms, hands, legs and the feet of St. John and the placement of the eagle.

In the canvas (fig. 87), St. John, wearing a light brown robe with a rose coloured drapery over his torso and legs, sits in a shallow middleground of barren grey rock. With his left hand he holds a writing tablet which rests between his raised knees. In his right hand which rests at his side, he holds a stylus,<sup>2</sup> as he has been interrupted in his task of writing by a visitant eagle.

St. John is rendered in profile, his hair drawn back, looks directly at the flying eagle, who returns his gaze on a parallel plane. The extended right wing of the eagle passes behind the head of St. John.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b2 c9, "un aigle indique l'inspiration du Saint Esprit." See also b1 c34.

<sup>2</sup>The articulation of the right hand with quill and its positioning is also used in the St. Hilary Writing His Treatise canvas.

uniting the two figures in an embrace-like gesture.

The scenery is a combination of the high vantage point rocky, grey landscape and the blue sky and ocean. By positioning the figure in its narrow middleground Leduc creates two diagonals which intersect at the writing tablet of St. John. The first diagonal runs from the right front edge of the canvas, starting from St. John's right foot and toes following the line of his leg to knee, then right shoulder and terminating in the rocky background. The second diagonal can be traced by the rocky appendage in the left front foreground, to the right hand of St. John, following the line of his rose drapery to the white edge of the writing tablet leading directly to the eagle.

#### St. Matthew

One compositional drawing (fig. 88) has been located relating to this canvas. It shows an outlined nude figure study in a landscape setting. Two minor changes are made to St. Matthew from the sketch to the canvas. In the sketch, he is depicted in three-quarter view, head bowed, almost resting on his right hand. In the canvas St. Matthew is in profile, his right arm lying across his left leg, his hand holding a quill. The other minor change relates to the man/angel behind St. Matthew (his attribute).<sup>1</sup> In the drawing, his right hand and arm are extended laterally while in the canvas his arm is bent, the hand open, palm up in an expressive gesture of explanation.

#### Canvas (fig. 89)

St. Matthew, wearing a rose coloured robe and brown himation

---

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b2 c9, "un homme signifie l'incarnation."

is portrayed seated in profile, hair drawn back, holding a writing quill in his right hand, his left hand reaching for the scroll which lies on the ground to his left. The male figure, his attribute (traditionally depicted with wings) wears a blue undergarment and a rose drapery which he holds above and behind them in an expression of protection and isolation. In his left hand he grasps a piece of his swirling cloak which surrounds the two figures in canopy-like fashion, creating a secretive intimacy and unity between the two, at the same time blocking out any background view. The gesticulation of the male figure suggests that St. Matthew is being instructed in how to write his version of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup>

The narrow foreground is dotted with green tufts of grass against the barren grey tonality of the ground, creating a sense of reality. A closer inspection of the foreground space reveals an exposed tree root (right front) which was used in an easel painting Leduc executed ca. 1898, entitled Erato (Sleeping Muse).<sup>2</sup> The pose of the naked Erato, with knees bent, placement of feet, treatment and style of hair, and the general zigzag of the body contour integrated into the setting is strongly reminiscent of the St. Matthew the Evangelist composition.

This visual image brings to mind a verse Leduc either quoted or wrote himself in 1893:

"Behold my models pointing to the groves, the streams, the busy multitudes, the ocean and the mountains. From Nature, not from Art, by whomsoever wrought must he (we) study who, seeks to acquire reputation and extend the

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b2 c9, "Saint-Mathieu . . . Livre de la généalogie de Jésus Christ, Fils du David."

<sup>2</sup>Ostiguy, 1974, no. 16, pp. 30, 126.

hope of this art.

### St. John and St. Matthew

These two canvases face each other on opposite sides of the nave beneath the jubé (see Diagram B: iconographic plan). Besides the exterior structural similarities such as: the main border motif (morning glory), the consistency of geometric motifs and the dimensions of the canvas which are determined by location, these two compositions have much in common as do the other two Evangelists (St. Luke and St. Mark).

In both scenes St. John and St. Matthew are seated in a shallow barren fore and middleground. Both, because of dimensions are tightly compact compositions. The two Evangelists hold writing instruments in their right hands (reminiscent of the study drawing for St. Hilary's right hand). The two beardless saints wear their hair drawn back reminiscent of the type of woman preferred by the Pre-Raphaelite<sup>2</sup> and Art Nouveau artists.

"The Art Nouveau female, girl-woman type descended from the Pre-Raphaelites has the same ambivalent eroticism of the small-breasted, narrow-shouldered, virginal, indeed often the boyish, androgynous kind."<sup>3</sup>

The two evangelists' robes are the reverse colours of each other (St. John - brown undergarment, rose himation; St. Matthew - rose undergarment, brown himation).

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M. b3 c4.

<sup>2</sup> The eyes, nose and mouth of St. Matthew in particular recall Rossetti.

<sup>3</sup> Selz and Constantine, op.cit., p. 16.

St. Mark

One compositional drawing (fig. 90) has been located which relates to this canvas. The sketch shows an outlined nude figure study of St. Mark, his body placed diagonally and head frontal, in a forest setting. His relaxed, seated pose, shoulders slightly slouched; right arm resting on his right leg; left arm bent, leaning on the scroll which is placed on elevated ground; legs crossed at the ankles; and bearded frontal gaze are strongly reminiscent of studio modelling. The body positioning emphasizes a strong diagonal from the lower right front, to the top left, by following the right leg of St. Mark to a tree terminating the diagonal. In the left foreground reclines a lion, St. Mark's attribute. The background forest is executed with exquisite subtle shading.

Canvas (fig. 91)

When comparing the drawing to the canvas, three changes become apparent. The body of St. Mark has been reversed, placing a diagonal from left bottom to right top. Secondly, the densely treed background of the drawing is changed to depict a less confining, lighter atmosphere through the use of shrubbery and foliage. Thirdly, the lion in the left foreground has been moved into the left middle ground, almost hidden by the tall grass and the overhanging foliage.

In the canvas, the short-haired, bearded St. Mark creates a diagonal (left foot touches the left edge of the canvas) which may be traced from the extended left leg, to his left shoulder and the tree trunk located directly behind. A shorter diagonal line is found running from the trailing brown overgarment lying on elevated ground and which wraps his legs and lower torso, continued by the placement of St. Mark's left forearm and hand across his breast. The right arm is placed beside

his raised right knee and his right hand rests on the white parchment scroll.<sup>1</sup>

To St. Mark's right lies his attribute, the lion,<sup>2</sup> staring out of the canvas, from his hiding place amidst the forest bushes. The Evangelist wears a rose-coloured robe and brown over-drapery. The foreground space has a beige-brown tonality alluding to its barren, dry quality. Beside St. Mark's right foot is a bunch of purple grapes, suggesting a connection with the eucharist. The twilight hour is depicted filtering through the trees and the foliage of the background landscape, adding a dramatic foil to the solitary figure of St. Mark who seems deep in contemplation. The yellow and green leaves and grass add a decorative quality to the scene.

### St. Luke

One compositional drawing (fig. 93) has been located which relates to the canvas. The sketch shows the outlined nude figure study of St. Luke in a forest setting. The drawing is fairly accurate with regard to the final positioning of the evangelist, with the exception of the angle of his head. In the drawing St. Luke looks toward his right, whereas in the canvas he gazes down toward his left. Another minor change from the sketch to the canvas is the reduction in size of the ox's head located to his right.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b2 c9. "Commencement de l'Evangile de Jésus -Christ, Fils de Dieu comme il est écrit, etc."

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M. b2 c9. "... ce qui est semblable a un lion caractérise la force et la royauté." "Sa Résurrection," bl. c34.

### Canvas (fig. 94)

In the canvas, the short-haired, sparsely bearded St. Luke dressed in a white robe, with a blue overgarment covering his legs sits beneath a tree in the shallow middleground. St. Luke's right foot touches the front edge of the canvas, leading the viewer into the composition, on a diagonal that continues along a line that passes by his left elbow to the tree trunk behind to his left. A second diagonal is created from the left side of the canvas, behind St. Luke where the ox (his attribute)<sup>1</sup> rests his sleeping head on the evangelist's blue drapery (blue-white dividing line) that touches the white scroll<sup>2</sup> on the ground.

The blue garment unites both the oxen's head and the white scroll. St. Luke's right fist is on the ground and his left hand strokes his beard in contemplation. The meditative mood evoked by the attitude and facial expression of the evangelist is re-inforced by the mysterious twilight on the distant horizon which filters through the silhouetted forest. The foreground united on a plane of dry, barren earth, with a few green tufts of grass combined with the leaves and branches of an overhanging tree add colour and decorative quality to the scene.

### St. Luke and St. Mark

Besides the identical and obvious external framing devices,

---

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M. b2 c9. "ce qui est semblable a un boeuf indique le sacerdoce et le sacrifice." b1 c34 "Le Boeuf: S. Luc parce qu'il donne dans son livre un résumé complet du sacrifice rédempteur de Jésus . . . Son Immolation rédemptrice."

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. b1 c34. "Saint-Luc, l'évangéliste, jeune, cheveux crépus, peu de barbe, écrivant: Puisque plusieurs ont essayé, etc."

same dimensions and six petaled daisy-like flower border motif, there are compositional qualities within each canvas which make them similar.

St. Luke and St. Mark are similar in attitude, pose, pensive mood (St. Luke - hand to chin, St. Mark - hand to breast); both are short haired, bearded and have one knee bent and one foot exposed from beneath their draperies which almost touches the front edge of the canvas.

Structurally, both evangelists are seated in the shallow middle-ground on dry, barren earth, dotted with a few tufts of grass. Both men are seated beneath a tree, located behind their left shoulder, which is the terminating point of a diagonal leading into the composition from the exposed foot of each evangelist. Their attributes are depicted to the extreme right, almost at canvas edge.

In these two paintings the background landscape is rendered with a subtlety of colour tones which are romantic in nature. Although both works have a high horizon line, Ozias Leduc successfully imparts to the viewer, a sense of recession into the distance and unity through the use of colour tone harmonies of the foreground and background. The repeated pattern of trees serves to intensify emotion by creating a unified rhythm, thus giving an image to his idea of human solidarity within a pantheistic cosmos.

The verticality of the trees is broken by the subtle horizontal colouring of the twilight hour. This combined with the contemplative attitude of the two evangelists re-emphasizes the solitary and repose posturing of the two figures. It is the background landscape colouring combined with the simplified forms, eloquent outlines and structural colour that Leduc imparts to the viewer, a sense of quiet contemplation. Leduc suggests rather than describes.

The forest setting for both scenes has a sense of place and



reality especially for the rural parishioners of Saint-Hilaire. He did not attempt to recreate the Palestinian setting which would have been foreign to the local people, instead he chose to depict elements indigenous to their own environment (trees, leaves, etc).

## Chapter 8

### Restoration of St-Hilaire Church. (1928-1929)

#### A. Introduction and Summary of Sources

Ozias Leduc continued to design and decorate chapel and church interiors in and around Montréal, the New England States, and the Maritime Provinces throughout his long and distinguished career.<sup>1</sup> The close association between Leduc and J.M. Laflamme, which began with the decoration of St-Hilaire church in 1896 continued through correspondence after Laflamme had been appointed curé to St-Romuald de Farnham in 1900. This friendship between theologian and artist led eventually to Leduc's commission to decorate St-Romuald de Farnham in 1905-6 and its restoration in 1926.<sup>2</sup>

In a letter dated November 29, 1921, addressed to Leduc, J.M. Laflamme suggested that serious consideration be given to the restoration of St-Hilaire church. After a visit and examination, he felt that the interior was in very poor condition.<sup>3</sup> His suggestion for the restoration was not undertaken until July 1, 1928.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, 1978, pp. 149-153.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M., b4 c32. Letter from J.M. Laflamme to O.L. dated Nov. 29, 1921. Leduc's reply on reverse. Although Laflamme was not specific in his criticism of the church interior deterioration, he mentioned the paint was flaking off the walls and that the entire interior needed to be cleaned.

<sup>4</sup> The primary sources for the reconstruction of the sequence of events during the restoration of St-Hilaire church are drawn from the following: Fonds Leduc of Archives nationales du Québec, Montréal (b1 c30) which provides bills, letters, drawings and the most important document, a Daily Work Journal from July 1, 1928 to January 14, 1929 (Addendum 1). St. Hilaire Church Archives supplies near complete financial statements for the project in its Livres de Comptes; and separate sheets of bills; as well as, two copies of the contract (a draft of which exists in a private collection) for the restoration (Addendum 2).

The secondary sources such as, newspapers contemporary to the restoration, periodicals and art journals did not reveal any information concerning the restoration of St-Hilaire church.

#### B. Importance of the Daily Work Journal

The journal reports, on a daily basis, the progress of the restoration work at St-Hilaire church from July 1, 1928 to January 14, 1929.<sup>1</sup> This document indicates to some extent, the people involved and the specific duties of particular individuals. The journal records the careful, meticulous working method of Ozias Leduc, the degree of his participation in the actual restoration and its planning. The information provided enables us to understand the cleaning and restoration techniques employed by Leduc and his assistants, and allows the reader to formulate an idea of the condition of the church before the restoration. In the absence of a contract or journal for the original interior decoration by Ozias Leduc in 1896-1900, this restoration journal is a valuable document.

When the Daily Work Journal of the 1928-1929 restoration is compared to the contract for the project, it is evident that all the conditions were fulfilled by Leduc and his assistants and that some additions were made in the later stages of the project.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Addendum 1.

### C. Leduc's Assistants

The primary sources indicate that a total of twenty men<sup>1</sup> were involved in this project and were engaged in various duties allotted to them by Ozias Leduc. Leduc's nineteen assistants (in alphabetical order) were: J.B. Allaire, Armand Blain, Paul -Emile Borduas, Henri Brouillet, Adélard Charbonneau, Dollard Church, François and Joseph Douville, J.M. Fontaine, Paul and Stanislas Guillot(te), Alphonse Jarret, Fernand Lapierre, Eugène Moreau, P.P. (Unidentified), Joseph Rémy, Fortunat Rhô, Omer Vézina and Raoul Vien.<sup>2</sup>

Although Leduc occasionally assigned specific work to particular individuals he expected most of his assistants to fulfill many, if not all duties.

### D. The Contract

The contract between Leduc and the parish reveals the conscientious nature of the man and the artist.

"Je soussigné Ozias Leduc peintre, demeurant à St-Hilaire Comté de Rouville, P.Q., m'engage par la présente à nettoyer et à réparer les tableaux et la décoration de votre église de la manière décrite au devis explicatif ci-joint pour la somme de un mille six cents dollars (\$1600) payable par versement de cent-vingt-cinq dollars (\$125) par semaine durant le cours des travaux, et la balance restant, à la fin de ces travaux."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Compiled from 3 sources: A.P.S.H., Livres de Comptes, pp. 336-370; from A.N.Q.M. Fonds Ozias Leduc, Daily Work Journal and loose bill sheets Box 1 c30. For a detailed account of each worker see Appendix E1 and E2.

<sup>2</sup>Raoul Vien and Paul-Emile Borduas were good friends, both young men were Saint-Hilaire residents, both had taken art lessons from Ozias Leduc, and both had been encouraged by Leduc to pursue their studies at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Montréal. P.E. Borduas' work was terminated at St-Hilaire church restoration by his trip to Europe in the autumn of 1928; Raoul Vien's last payment was September 15, 1928 and he was married shortly after that date.

<sup>3</sup>A.P.S.H. Contract-signed and dated Ozias Leduc, July 18, 1929.

Although Leduc stipulated that he be paid a total of \$1600, \$125 per week during the course of the restoration work and the remaining amount at the end of the project, however, the St-Hilaire church Livre de Comptes do not record this well organized, systematic method of payment but reveal an inconsistent and varying procedure.<sup>1</sup>

From July 1, 1928 to January 14, 1929 Leduc, as indicated in the Daily Work Journal and the contract between him and the parish, proves that he planned the restoration and re-decoration of St-Hilaire church with great deliberation. Although this project demanded his time and attention, he was also involved in other projects in varying stages of completion: he continued work on the Bishop's Chapel, Sherbrooke (1922-32), S.S.N.N. de Jésus et de Marie Chapel of St-Hilaire Convent (1926), St-Geneviève de Pierrefonds (1926), Saint-Jude, St-Hyacinthe (1927),<sup>2</sup> Baptistry and the St. Theresa Chapel at Notre-Dame Church, Montréal (1927, 1928, 1930), and the Saints Anges-Gardiens in Lachine, Qué. (1930-31).<sup>3</sup>

The copy of the contract (see Addendum 2) is entitled:

"Restauration de la décoration et des tableaux - Chemin de la Croix et autres figures décoratives."

In this text Leduc clearly and precisely outlined his duties, those of his assistants and their responsibilities in the restoration of the church. He organized the document under specific headings: 1) Surfaces to be treated; 2) Materials; 3) Execution; 4) Details of the Work, a) Vaulting, b) Walls, c) Pulpit and side-altars,

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H. Livres de Comptes (Jan. 1, 1893-Dec. 31, 1932), see Appendix E1.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, 1978, pp. 149-53. Besides his artistic activities, Leduc took a more active part in Saint-Hilaire community in the 1920's and 1930's, see Lacroix, 1978, pp. 107-123.

d) Front of jubé and jubé stairways, e) seats or benches, f) Columns.

As the general contractor of this enterprise, Leduc stated he would supply first quality materials, scaffolding, tools and any other necessary items to carry out the project successfully.

"Tous les matériaux employés pour cette restauration, seront de première qualité - La dorure, ou nécessaire sera faite au mordant Le franc, avec l'or Allemand marque Germania."<sup>1</sup>

In the section of the contract dealing with the execution of the work, Leduc revealed the duties would be executed by competent workmen under his constant supervision and direction.

"Tout le travail, peinture, retouches au décor ou aux tableaux dorure sera fait par les ouvriers compétents sous ma direction comme entrepreneur responsable de l'ouvrage."<sup>2</sup>

Leduc and his assistants agreed to take full responsibility for any damage incurred during the course of the restoration. He summarized the surfaces to be treated:

"Eglise et son porche. - Les voutes, les murs, les fenêtres intérieures, les portes intérieures - La chaire, les autels, les stalles, les boiseries, le devant du jubé - les escaliers, la tringle de couronnement des bancs, et le couronnement du devant du jubé ainsi que celui de rampes des escaliers."<sup>3</sup>

In specific terms regarding the restoration of the vaulting, Leduc stated that an initial cleaning would take place, followed by the application of putty to areas needing repair, and that finally one coat of paint would be applied, the ribs would also be retouched:

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

"Les voûtes, nettoyées à fond, tel (sic) que commencées recevront sur leur panneaux principaux, une couche de peinture matte de la nuance voulue, après masticage et autres réparations jugées nécessaires - Le bronze de leurs nervures sera renouvelé."

The walls were to receive the same treatment, repairs to the surface, then a coat of paint.

"Les murs également nettoyés à fond, les fissures et autres détériorations réparées au mastic ou au plâtre, suivant le cas, recevront entre les bandes du décor, une couche de peinture, préparée comme celle des voûtes et de nuances convenable(sic)."<sup>2</sup>

Leduc wrote that the columns would be cleaned and two coats of paint would be applied to their lower part, as well, the bronze fillets and acanthus leaves decorating the column capitals would be remade.

"Les colonnes - nettoyées comme les autres parties de l'église, deux couches de peintures à leur partie inférieures, leur bronze sera refait."<sup>3</sup>

All of these tasks were fulfilled during the course of the restoration (July 1, 1928-January 14, 1929).

#### E. Review of the Progress of the Restoration

From the information provided by the Daily Work Journal Leduc started the restoration of St-Hilaire church on July 1, 1928 by procuring the needed lumber (rented from J.M. Fontaine -local entrepreneur) to construct the scaffolding inside the church.<sup>4</sup> The same day, three unnamed local workers were hired to erect the scaffolding.

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, July 1, 1928, entry, p.1. Nails were purchased from another local tradesman, P.H. Hébert.

Fortunat Rho<sup>1</sup> arrived by train from Montréal to Saint-Hilaire, the afternoon of July 5 to direct Guillotte and Lapierre in cleaning the central vaulting located above the jubé in the last span where the organ was located. On July 9th, J.B. Allaire helped Fortunat Rho with the last of the cleaning and Allaire began to paint the central vault and the back wall of the church during the afternoon.<sup>2</sup> After completion of this area, Leduc mentioned his dissatisfaction with the painted vaulting feeling the result was too dark, therefore he requested this section (fifth span) be repainted on October 3 and 4, 1928.<sup>3</sup> Leduc employed the same working methodology in every area of the church; that is, each section was washed and cleaned with soap and water by his assistants using sponges; secondly each area was reputtied or replastered where needed; and thirdly the area was repainted.

On July 9th, the new pipe organ for St-Hilaire church arrived from nearby St-Hyacinthe, Québec built by the world renowned organ builders, the Casavant Brothers.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, entry for July 9, 1928, p.2, see also Addendum 1.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, entry for October 3 and 4, 1928, pp.27-28.

<sup>4</sup> A.P.S.H., Cahiers de Comptes de la Fabrique de St-Hilaire (Jan. 1, 1893-Dec. 31, 1932) p. 350. St-Hilaire parish Livres de Comptes indicates that \$7,900 was paid to Casavant Brothers for the organ on August 8, 1928. See also The Casavant Newsletter April 15, 1968, A.P.S.H.

"... the organ in the parish Church of St-Hilaire. . . contains a considerable amount of pipework dating from a Joseph Casavant instrument of 1856. The organ was originally built for the Seminaire of St. Hyacinthe as a tracker organ of one manual and was rebuilt by Casavant Freres as Opus No.3 in 1882. At that time, the brothers added a Swell chest and a Pedal stop and the instrument was installed in the church at St. Hilaire as a two-manual tracker. The organ was rebuilt in 1928, all of the mechanism being replaced by an electro-pneumatic action but most of the pipework from the two earlier instruments being retained and some new pipes added. In 1956, further work was done which effectively re-arranged the parts of the instrument."

The Casavant Brothers organ was unpacked at St-Hilaire on July 9, 1928 (A.N.Q.M. 61 c27, Daily Work Journal).



From July 10-13, the walls were reputtiéd and smoothed, while Leduc repainted the religious emblems, The Star of Creation (right) and the Rings or Knot of Solomon (left) with their frames of laurel wreaths. Work continued in the central vault of the fifth span located above the organ gallery until the scaffolding was removed and reconstructed from July 13-16,<sup>1</sup> in the two small vaults flanking the principle vault.

Leduc and his assistants proceeded to restore the smaller side vaulting from the church entrance to altar, and then restored the central nave vaulting from altar to entrance.<sup>2</sup>

One of the areas for repair and restoration mentioned in the contract between Leduc and the parish were the pulpit and three altars (main altar; left side - St. Joseph; right side - Virgin). Leduc planned to clean, repair and paint the altars to make them more complementary to each other and conform to the overall decorative scheme. He stated:

"La chaire et les autels - nettoyés avec soins... Les panneaux de la chaire appliqués au mur actuellement peints d'un vert éclatant seront remis à leur couleur primitive semblable à celle (sic) de tous les autres panneaux de cette chaire. Les fonds du retable au maître-autel qui sont ornés d'un vase et d'une vigne dorés d'un mauvais dessin trop voyant, seront refaits en une teinte uniforme comme celle des retables des petits autels."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, July 13-16, 1928, pp. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup>Scaffolding was erected in the first span of the principle vaulting, located directly en face of the choir from September 8-10; the second span - Sept. 22-29, was repainted Oct. 10-13 because Leduc felt that it was painted too darkly; the third span - Sept. 25-29; the fourth span - Oct. 1-13; and the fifth span - July 5-13 was repainted Oct. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup>A.P.S.H., Contract, copy dated July 18, 1929. See also A.N.Q.M., b1 c30, Daily Work Journal (Addendum 1), see entries for the Pulpit: August 9, 10, 11, 13, 31; November 3; Altars: August 8, 9, 25, 27, 28; September 1, 14, 15, 22; October 4, 5, 9, 10, 31; November 5, 19, 20.

Another item mentioned in the contract was the redecoration and repairs to the jubé and its stairways located at the rear of the church. Leduc stated that three coats of paint would be applied to the front of the jubé to ensure the colour scheme would conform and harmonize with the rest of the interior.

The stairways leading to the jubé would be repaired and revarnished.

"Le devant du jubé et les escaliers du jubé. La menuiserie nouvelle nécessite pour compléter le devant du jubé sera peinturé à trois couches, les noeuds shallacqués et le mastiguage fait. La décoration sera faite pour se raccorder à celle des parties anciennes comme couleur et comme exécution. Le couronnement du devant du jubé sera réparé et revernî de même que celui de la rampe des escaliers."<sup>1</sup>

The two stairways leading to the jubé or the organ gallery as well as the benches and pews located in the jubé were given an initial sandpapering on August 7, 1928.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the pews or benches in the church, Leduc gave instructions for them to be sandpapered, repainted brown and varnished with one coat. He wrote:

"Les bancs. La tringle de couronnement actuellement de couleur brune sombre, sera passé au papier sablé et repeinte de la même couleur et ensuite verni a une couche."<sup>3</sup>

According to Mr. Raoul Vîen, the pews and benches had been painted a bright yellow prior to the 1928-29 Restoration. This accounts for the large quantities of yellow paint purchased and noted in the bills for the original 1896-1897 decoration.<sup>4</sup> Leduc uses

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H., Contract. See also A.N.Q.M., bl c30, Daily Work Journal, entries for July 23; August 6, 7, 22, 23, 24; October 2, 6, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22-26; November 3.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, August 7, 1928, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> A.P.S.H., Contract.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Raoul Vîen for pointing this out.

the original woodwork to best advantage by restoring and repainting the pews and benches to complement the interior and emphasize the woodwork.

The first entry in the Daily Work Journal dealing with changes to the front of the jubé was dated July 23, 1928 when Dollard Church was assigned to paint the newly constructed front of the jubé.<sup>1</sup> The grey colour used conformed to the already existing, overall grey colour scheme of the church. Between October 2-19, 1928, the series of stylized crosses, framed by wooden, pointed arches which also complement the interior, were stenciled onto the front of the jubé.<sup>2</sup> A preliminary drawing exists illustrating the first concept Leduc had for the front of the jubé (fig. 95).<sup>3</sup> The preliminary drawing is basically the same design except for a wooden Christ on the Cross which occupied the center of the front of the jubé, that was abandoned when the final plan was executed.

Variations on eleven types of crosses are represented. These decorative crosses, (fig. 96) in a bronze-gold colour, were applied by means of stencil to the grey background.<sup>4</sup> The crosses are centrally placed beneath their golden, pointed arch frames. Leduc made extensive notes on the decipherment of cross symbolism (fig. 97) which had been taken directly from a book he had in his extensive library, entitled Church Symbolism written by F.R. Webber.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, July 23, 1928, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, October 2-19, 1928, pp. 27-35.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. b1 c30.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix F for summary of crosses and arrangement.

<sup>5</sup> F.R. Webber, Church Symbolism (Cleveland: J.H. Jansen, 1927), see chapter VIII, The Cross, pp. 99-132. See also A.N.Q.M., b1 c30.

### F., Canvas Restoration

As stated in the Daily Work Journal, only thirteen of the fifteen canvases and their borders were cleaned and retouched between July 19 - November 5, 1928.<sup>1</sup>

Leduc's work method was such that everything in a particular area of the church under restoration was treated simultaneously, unless Leduc was dissatisfied with the result, then the entire area would be reworked at a later date, until he felt it had obtained the desired effect.

#### Technique:

His assistants used soap and water, applied with a sponge, to clean the canvas. Then Ozias Leduc retouched the canvas where needed. In one instance Leduc used wax.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Daily Work Journal, Leduc and his assistants did not clean, repair or retouch two canvases located on the right side (épitre), Christ in the House of Simon and Supper at Emmaus, as no mention is made of their restoration. If this was not an oversight, then perhaps it was due to the location of the two works, a considerable distance from the altars and the carbon from the lighting of candles

---

The following is a summary of cleaning and restoring the 13 canvases and their border motifs.

Death of St-Joseph - July 19; Sept. 22.  
 4 Evangelist canvas - July 20 (2 on left side); Sept 20, 21, 22.  
 St. Hilary Writing His Treatise - August, 14, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.  
 Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter - August 20, August 25.  
 Pentecost - August 25.  
 Marriage of the Virgin - August 30, 31; October 31.  
 Assumption - August 30; Sept. 4, 8, 14, 15; October 31.  
 Ascension - Sept. 8, 10, 19, 24.  
 Adoration of Magi - Sept. 10, 19, 24; November 5.  
 Baptism of Christ - Sept. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, August 14, 1928, p. 11. Leduc often used wax, as verified by Mlle Messier, to give a lustrous and mysterious, other world quality to the depiction of colour and light in his canvases. Mr. Raoul Vieu confirmed to me verbally that Leduc was present every morning to assign and supervise the day's work.

and from the entrances, causing everchanging climatic conditions.

Much attention was given to the canvases located behind the altars, no doubt due to the build up of dirt and carbon from the lighting of candles.<sup>1</sup>

The Daily Work Journal also revealed that Leduc made some minor modifications to the borders framing his canvases.<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. Raoul Vien, the border changes were extremely small. Leduc added a small circle at each corner of the pseudo-architectural niches of his canvases and replaced the curved line at the top of each canvas with a straight line.

The same central vine-like morning glory and six-petalled daisy-like floral motifs were used. Close examination revealed that when the stencil was re-applied over the original design it was produced inaccurately, as evidenced by the borders of the two Evangelist canvases (right side) beneath the jubé.

#### G. Ways of the Cross

The responsibility of cleaning and retouching the Ways of the Cross at St-Hilaire church was delegated to both Paul-Emile Borduas and Raoul Vien.<sup>3</sup> P.E. Borduas was mentioned in the Daily Work Journal as beginning his task on July 16, 1928 and the last entry with information relating to him was written on August 8, 1928.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The two canvases located above altars in the nave, The Assumption of the Virgin and St. Hilary Writing His Treatise as well as the following works close to the entrances exposed to the seasonal changes; The Pentecost, Death of St. Joseph and the four Evangelists.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal. The border alterations were noted by Leduc on August 6, 9, 13, 17; September 5, 6 and October 8, 1928.

<sup>3</sup>Recent conversation with Raoul Vien.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, See entries for July 16, 17, 21, 24, 25, 26; August 4, 6, 8.

Borduas' participation in the restoration lasted from early July until the middle of October, as he left for Europe in the autumn of 1928.<sup>1</sup>

#### H. Further Restoration Outside the Contract

There were a number of renovations listed on an undated, loose piece of paper which were executed but not included in the contract for the restoration of St-Hilaire church. The following additional work can be traced through the Daily Work Journal recorded by Leduc. These renovations added late in the project were:

"Les grillage, linoléum, Vitrophanie, L'éclairage électrique, et les vitres à refaire pour fenêtre nef."<sup>2</sup>

On October 4, 1928 the three windows of the St-Hilaire church facade were prepared for the "vitrophanie",<sup>3</sup> with work completed on October 19, 1928.<sup>4</sup>

Another responsibility which Leduc was requested to perform was to negotiate the exchange and reduction in number of statues in St-Hilaire church. He compiled a list of eighteen statues on October 15 and 16, 1928<sup>5</sup>, to present to a willing entrepreneur.

Ozias Leduc wrote to Alexander Carli of T. Carli-Petrucci, Limited, on December 13, 1928 stating that curé Levesque of St-Hilaire church was

<sup>1</sup> Guy Robert, Borduas (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1972), p. 21, early November 1928.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. b1 c30.

<sup>3</sup> "La vitrauphanie" was a process to offset the very strong lighting. "La vitrauphanie est même un préservatrice de la vue, car employé dans un fenetre dont la lumiere est trop forte, elle la rend limpide et plaisante." La Presse, October 22, 1898, p. 15. See also A.N.Q.M., b1 c90. Letter from O.L. to Victor Rho, dated November 23, 1922.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, October 4, 6, 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, October 15 and 16, 1928. See also, sheet entitled "Liste des statues supprimées, Eglise de St-Hilaire." See appendix G.

waiting for their company representative's assessment of the state, condition and monetary value of the mentioned statues.<sup>1</sup>

There seems to have been a delay in negotiations between Leduc and T. Carli-Petrucci, because on January 18, 1929 another company Desmarais and Robitaille Limitée became involved in the discussions.<sup>2</sup> T. Carli-Petrucci, Limitée entered back into the negotiations on January 29, 1929, when Leduc proposed an exchange of some statues for recently executed works.<sup>3</sup> Leduc wrote:

"J'ai communiqué votre réponse et la date aproximative de votre visite à St-Hilaire relative aux statues en question, à M.N. Levesque, curé de Saint-Hilaire qui vous recevra - Si vous pouviez cependant lui indiquer un peu à l'avance le jour de votre visite en Février, il vous en serait très obligé. M. le curé et moi préférons que vous veniez par le train du matin laissant Montréal gare Bonaventure à 7.55 am. "<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c96. Letter from O.L. to Alexander Carli dated December 13, 1928. T. Carli-Petrucci, Limitée, Statuaires was located at 408, 410, 412 Notre-Dame East, Montréal. According to Gabrielle Messier, in 1883 Ozias Leduc apprenticed as a statue-painter for Mr. Beaulac of the Atelier T. Carli in Montréal. Leduc had a long association with Carli and recommended that his company supply statues to the churches he decorated, such as: St-Hilaire; Farnham 1905-1906, A.N.Q.M., b3 c16. Letter from Carli to Leduc, Oct. 7, 1905; Notre-Dame church Baptistery and Ste-Thérèse chapel (1927, 1928, 1930) A.N.Q.M., b4 c13. Letters from Carli to Leduc dated May 11, 1929 and January 2, 1930. Leduc was recommended to clerics by Carli for church commissions, such as the church in Rogersville, New Brunswick ca. 1914 (See A.N.Q.M., b3 c25. Letter of Feb. 16, 1914). The St-Hilaire Church Archives indicate the purchase of religious statuary from T. Carli, 1466 rue Notre-Dame, Montréal, as early as June 12, 1895. Between June 12, 1895 and January 16, 1900 Saint-Hilaire parish bought a number of statues destined for the church interior and convent (see A.P.S.H., Livres de Comptes, entries of June 12, 1895; June 25, 1895; June 2, 1896; December 11, 1899; January 16, 1900). The A.P.S.H., also reveal that business was conducted between St-Hilaire church and T. Carli-Petrucci, Ltée, Statuaires, 408 rue Notre-Dame Est, Montréal, as recent as March 19, 1954 (A.P.S.H., Letter from T. Carli-Petrucci Ltée to St-Hilaire church curé dated March 19, 1954). See John R. Porter and Léopold Désy, L'annonciation dans la sculpture au Québec (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1979), pp. 127-137.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M., b5 c41. Letter to O.L. from Desmarais and Robitaille, Ltd. Importateurs et Fabricants d'ornements d'église, statues, et articles religieux, 67 and 69 rue Notre-Dame Ouest, Montréal.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M., b7 c97. Letter from O.L. to T. Carli-Petrucci, Limitée, dated January 29, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

In a letter of June 26, 1929 T. Carli-Petrucci Limitée stated to Leduc that curé Lévesque had ordered a console from them for St-Hilaire church.<sup>1</sup> According to the St.Hilaire Church Archives, the parish paid \$321.30 to T. Carli-Petrucci for "Statues - Consoles -Piédestaux" on August 20, 1929<sup>2</sup> and received the sum of \$110.00 on May 19, 1930 for its old statues.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. Changes to the Choir Area

The choir was one of the major areas of change during the 1928-1929 restoration.

None of these changes to the choir area were mentioned in the contract, and the Daily Work Journal records nothing before October 4, 1928 regarding major decorative and structural alterations in the choir. The two preliminary drawings, combined with the Daily Work Journal entries from October 4, 1928 onward, and a list of further restoration items provide the information needed to understand the changes in the choir.

Two preliminary drawings executed by Leduc illustrate the transformation and re-organization of the choir space.<sup>4</sup> Singularly, neither drawing supplies complete information about the changes, but combined, both drawings provide an accurate reconstruction. The changes in the choir area were: the dismantling of the three wooden and plaster wall panels at the rear of the choir to be replaced by three decorative wooden grillworks;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M. b5 c41. Letter to O.L. from T. Carli-Petrucci Limitée, Montréal dated June 26, 1929.

<sup>2</sup>A.P.S.H. Cahiers de Comptes de la Fabrique de St-Hilaire (January 1, 1893 - December 31, 1932), p. 358, entry for August 20, 1929.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 361, entry for May 19, 1930.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M. b1 c30 See Figs. 98, 99.

<sup>5</sup>A.N.Q.M., Daily Work Journal, for entries October 4, 13, 17, 18, 19; November 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19. On October 4, 1928 Leduc's assistants began to tear down the last three panels of the choir (the panel directly behind the main altar and its two flanking panels). By October 17, Leduc had his workers start to erect the decorative wooden grillwork, with the first puttying and painting on November 6, 1928. A third and final coat of grey paint was applied on November 12 and 13, 1928.



behind this elaborate grillwork an elevated gallery<sup>1</sup> was erected for the Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie of St-Hilaire convent. This area behind the grillwork would also house a life-size Crucifix.<sup>2</sup>

The last three wooden panels were replaced by a Leduc designed, grey wooden grillwork (fig. 100) decorated with the Latin cross and wreath.<sup>3</sup> The inspiration for the grillwork may have been Auguste and Gustave Perret's metal grillwork in the Church of Notre-Seigneur de Raincy (1920-24) near Paris, especially with regard to the in-frame motifs of the circle and cross which form Leduc's decorative pattern of the Latin cross and wreath.

The first mention of building a stairway for the "Jubé de Soeurs" was also entered on October 4, in the Daily Work Journal ". . . afin d'y pratiquer un escalier pour jubé des soeurs arrière M-autel."

Since the "Jubé des Soeurs" (fig. 98) was located well above the floor level of the choir behind the grillwork, a stairway had to be constructed to reach it.

Another addition to the St-Hilaire church choir area, was the plan for a new linoleum floor.<sup>4</sup>

Although the Daily Work Journal's last entry is for January 14, 1929 three more additions were made to the church interior, two in the choir and one in the nave. In the nave, the eight large windows were re-decorated.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., Daily Work Journal, see entries for November 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., Daily Work Journal, entry for October 13.

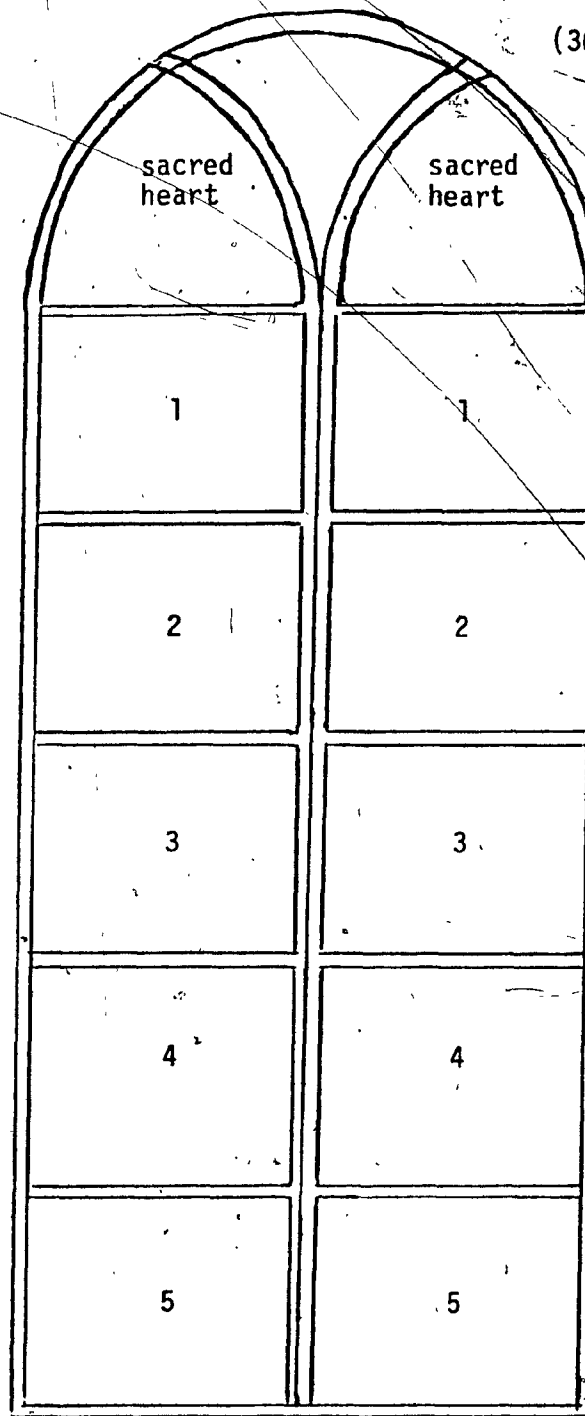
<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M. b1 c30. See fig. 100 a preliminary drawing of the wooden grillwork designed by Leduc.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., b1 c30. The Daily Work Journal recorded that Leduc estimated measurements on October 15 and 16, 1928 and the linoleum was cut and glued to the sanctuary floor from December 13, 1928 to January 14, 1929. See entries for October 15, 16; November 28; December 5, 13, 21, 22, 1928; January 14, 1929.

DIAGRAM C  
Nave Window

199A

(360 x 160 cm)



Scale 1 cm = 40 cm

KEY:



Symbol used if blue border



IHS intertwined symbol used if red border

Glass sections 1-5 are decorated with either Symbols of the Passion or Eucharist.

### J. Nave Windows

In April 1929 Leduc's designs, mainly eucharistic and passion symbols, were painted on the glass panes of the eight large nave windows.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to Olivier Maurault, dated April 5, 1929 he stated:

"Apporté les verres bleus décorées pour réparation au vitraux de l'église de St-Hilaire."<sup>2</sup>

In a letter of May 24, 1929 to J.P. O'Shea and Company, Montréal, Leduc stressed the urgency for the painted glass windows to be finished.

"Un mot - vous vous dire, Monsieur le Curé Levesque de St-Hilaire et moi d'avoir pas encore en les vitres commandées depuis longtemps et promises sans fautes pour il y a plus de huit jours. Veuillez donc faire un effort M<sup>ons</sup>. O'Shea pour les envoyer au plus tôt, il y a urgence."<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after May 24, 1929 in an undated letter Leduc notified J.P. O'Shea and Company that the painted decorations on glass panes for the nave windows had arrived.

"Les verres décorés commandés pour l'église de St-Hilaire me sont parvenus samedi en parfait état. Je me plais à vous dire que ce travail exécuté dans vos ateliers est satisfaisant à tous les points de vues."<sup>4</sup>

The St.Hilaire Church Archives indicate a payment to "J.P. O'Shea Co. Verres" of \$35.00 on June 30, 1929.<sup>5</sup>

The borders of the wooden window frames are decorated with two types of golden bronze coloured ornaments: Greek crosses (symbolizing

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix H1 & H2, for summary of motifs used.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c97. Letter from O.L. to O.Maurault, April 5, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c97. Letter from O.L. to J.P. O'Shea and Co. 929 rue Perrault, Montréal, May 24, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c97. Letter from O.L. to J.P. O'Shea and Co. undated, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> A.P.S.H. Cahiers de Comptes de la Fabrique de St-Hilaire (January 1, 1893 - December 31, 1932), p. 356, entry for June 30, 1929.

faith) and discs or circles (symbolizing eternity and regeneration).

These two ornaments are alternated around the rounded arch window frame.

There are eight windows located on the nave's lateral walls of St-Hilaire church. Each rounded arch window frame is divided into two sides by mullions and form twelve panes of glass (see Diagram C).

The outer border is of coloured glass, either blue or red.

Inside this border is an opaque white square area with transparent floral and vine motifs. In the center of each square is a transparent circle on which is painted either a symbol of the Passion or Eucharist. The religious Christian symbol is painted on the glass in either golden-yellow outlined in brown or silver outlined in black.

#### Symbols Employed by Leduc

The top, two panes in each window are occupied by Sacred Hearts.

The alternating of colours, golden yellow and silver, as well as the pierced and non-pierced hearts are arranged at random and do not conform

to a particular pattern. In the remaining seventy-two panes<sup>1</sup> a total of twenty-one different symbols are used,<sup>2</sup> and variations on the symbols.

It is most probable that Leduc was inspired by W.R. Webber's Church

Symbolism for his motifs, as he had used this book to depict the different crosses decorating the front of the jubé. The religious symbols are drawn from traditional religious iconography alluding to the passion and eucharist. These symbols expand upon and complement the already existing

<sup>1</sup> Appendix H2. The last windows on the nave lateral walls are divided by the jubé, so that panes no. 2 and no. 3 do not exist.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary drawings for seven of the twenty-one symbols have been located. A.N.Q.M. b1 c30, Censer, Rose, Robe, Chalice, Hammer, Pincers and Nails, Greek Cross, unidentifiable flower - possibly the Lily (See fig. 101).

symbols of the passion and litany found on the high lateral walls and ceiling executed during 1896-1897.

Two remaining changes in the choir area fall outside the dates of the 1928-1929 restoration and can be looked upon as the finishing touches to the newly renovated choir area. The two new additions were: first, electric lamps (installed between February 11- December 16, 1930) for the choir and nave, to improve the imbalanced lighting of the church interior which had been illuminated previously by only three chandeliers located in the nave; secondly the replacement of two coloured glass windows (figs. 98, 99) located on either side of the "jubé des sœurs" by two Ozias Leduc designed stained glass compositions that were not installed until March 28, 1931.

#### K. Electric Lamps

The first mention of the electric lamps for the St-Hilaire church was on November 5, 1928.<sup>1</sup> Leduc stated ". . . travail a l'installation des lampes élect. de ce jubé."<sup>2</sup>

Although Leduc noted this in the Daily Work Journal and the four rectangular wall bracket lamps are indicated in one of his drawings (fig. 99) executed in 1928, the project was expanded to include eighteen lamps for both the nave and the choir. There was a lengthy delay in designing and installing the lamps due to the intervention of curé Levesque, who was displeased with the initial cost and design. Eight months later the Leduc Electrical Limited wrote to curé Levesque on July 19, 1929 quoting a price of \$915.00 for the execution of the lamps designed by Ozias Leduc.<sup>3</sup> The company was owned and operated by Ulric Leduc, electrical

<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M. Daily Work Journal, November 5, 1928, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> A.P.S.H. Letter from Leduc Electrical Limited, 1009 Cote St. Montréal, to curé Levesque, dated July 19, 1929.

engineer and youngest brother of Ozias Leduc. The letter summarized the future location of the eighteen lamps (ten suspension and eight wall bracket).

"Six suspensions pour les Nefs.  
Quatre appliqués pour le Choeur.  
Une suspension dans le Jubé devant l'orgue.  
Deux appliqués pour les Chantres.  
Deux suspensions dessous le Jubé.  
Une suspension pour l'entrée principale intérieure.  
Deux appliqués, une, haute des escaliers."

Ozias Leduc was paid \$38.50 on September 9, 1929, which was likely the amount he received for designing the lamps for St-Hilaire church, as it is the last recorded payment made to him.<sup>2</sup>

In a letter of December 3, 1929 from Ozias Leduc to his brother Ulric of Leduc Electrical Limited, he wrote that curé Levesque wanted the project to be completed by Easter, April 20, 1930, and suggested modifications to the designs Leduc had submitted to him and requested a lower price for the suspension lamps.

"J'ai rencontré hier Mons. le Curé de St-H.  
Nous avons naturellement causé de son projet  
d'éclairage d'église. Il aimerait savoir si  
la chose pourrait se compléter pour Pâques  
prochain. Pâques tombe le 20 avril."<sup>3</sup>

Leduc continued:

"... il suggérerait des modifications, mais nous  
n'avions rien devant nous à ce moment pour établir  
des précisions. Mons. le Curé ayant égaré  
momentanément les sousmissions présentées.

Dans les circonstances pour aller plus vite tu  
pourrais me faire parvenir par la prochaine  
malle un copie de tes soumissions que je te  
retournerais immédiatement après les avoir

<sup>1</sup> A.P.S.H. Letter from Leduc Electrical Limited, 1009 Cote St. Montréal to curé Levesque, dated July 19, 1929. Note that "Quatre appliqués pour le Choeur" are indicated in fig. 99, by the letter L symbolizing lamp(e).

<sup>2</sup> A.P.S.H. Cahiers de Comptes de la Fabrique de St-Hilaire (January 1, 1893 - Dec. 31, 1932), p. 358, entry for Sept. 9, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c97: Letter from O.L. to Ulric Leduc dated Dec. 3, 1929.

complétées suivant les notes que lui-même m'a fournies hier. Mons. le Curé a manifesté le désir d'avoir une suspension d'un prix moins élevé, mais il aime bien le nouveau croquis qu'il a vu chez moi l'autre jour lors de sa visite de sorte que tu peux rester aux mêmes prises pour le moment."<sup>1</sup>

In a letter of February 11, 1930 from Ozias Leduc to curé Levesque, he requested the curé to examine the lamps.

"J'ai l'avantage de vous communiquer aujourd'hui, la soumission de la "Cie Leduc électrique Ltée" avec tous les détails voulus."<sup>2</sup>

Leduc assured curé Levesque of the artistic and technical qualities of the lamps.

"... je suis toujours disposé à faire le plus grand effort possible, avec votre appui, pour avoir en l'église de Saint-Hilaire, des choses convenables et utiles d'un terme artistique en parfaite harmonie avec ce que nous y voyons déjà."<sup>3</sup>

Curé Levesque must have had doubts about the project as Leduc wrote:

"Soyez sans aucune gêne, si vous croyez, pour quelque raison, n'avoir pas de garanties suffisantes de leur réalisation, soit du côté artistique ou technique, soit à d'autres points de vues..."<sup>4</sup>

On September 30, 1930 the Leduc Electrical Limited billed curé N. Levesque, of Saint-Hilaire, for the sum of \$915.00.<sup>5</sup>

Finally on December 16, 1930, St-Hilaire parish Livres de Comptes records that the Leduc Electrical Limited was paid \$500.00.<sup>6</sup> There is no further record of payment made to them in the Livres de Comptes,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> A.P.S.H. Letter from O.L. to curé Levesque dated February 11, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> A.P.S.H. Bill dated September 30, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> A.P.S.H. Cahiers de Comptes de la Fabrique de St-Hilaire (January 1, 1893 - December 31, 1932), p. 364, entry for Dec. 16, 1930.

an indication that the price was indeed lowered.

As the aforementioned letter of December 3, 1929 states, the first drawing Leduc submitted was modified. A pencil drawing (fig. 102) illustrates the initial design for the suspension lamp prior to the structural changes Levesque requested. In comparing the preliminary drawing with the actual suspension lamp (fig. 103) the difference is obvious. The major alteration being the replacement of a circular globe at the bottom of the lamp with a triangular one, giving the lamp a rectilinear quality complementing the Neo-Gothic interior.

It is difficult to pinpoint the source of inspiration for these art deco style lamps, although many similar versions are to be found reproduced in the Art et Décoration periodical that Leduc had in his library.<sup>1</sup>

#### L. Stained Glass

The first visual evidence concerning the stained glass windows<sup>2</sup> is found in the evolution of the two drawings (figs. 98, 99) of the choir area executed in 1928. The first drawing (fig. 98) shows that Leduc inscribed "Fenêtre" where the future stained glass would be located; then in fig. 99 he wrote "Vitrail - Emblème Eucharistique", indicating that the decorative window was conceived, in all probability, to conform to the other Eucharistic symbols found in both the nave windows (designed by O.L. in 1929) and the high lateral walls and ceiling (1896-1897).

The iconography for the two stained glass compositions was

<sup>1</sup> See Art et Décoration, July - Dec, 1899, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, 1978, p. 55. Leduc also designed windows for a St. John the Baptist Church, New York, location unknown, and three windows for the Pauline Chapel, Sherbrooke Cathedral, 1918.



determined between 1929 - January, 1931. Documentation presented by Françoise Le Gris suggests that Paul-Emile Borduas had hoped to have his stained glass scene Annonciation executed by him in a stained glass course given by André Rinuy in the Parisian atelier of Hébert-Stévens, between January and March, 1929, accepted by Ozias Leduc for placement in the St-Hilaire church choir area, however it was rejected.

Having lived in St-Hilaire and worked with Leduc on the restoration of the St-Hilaire church, in the summer and autumn of 1928, before his Parisian trip (that Leduc and Olivier Maurault, p.s.s. had helped finance), Borduas was aware of Leduc's intentions and plans for two stained glass scenes.

#### Chronology

The first written account concerning the two stained glass windows for the choir area of St-Hilaire church is a letter from Ozias Leduc to the curé of St-Hilaire church, J.N. Levesque, dated either January 4 or 7, 1931.<sup>2</sup> The letter revealed the estimated costs and identified the entrepreneur whom Leduc selected to execute his cartoons into stained glass realities.

"Mons. G.E. Pellus, Peintre, Verrier, Ateliers, 5302 St-Urbain, Montréal est prêt à faire vos vitraux pour le Sanctuaire de l'église de St-Hilaire, d'après les croquis que je vous ai fait voir: mais sans payer quoique ce soit pour ces croquis pour la somme de deux cents vingt-cinq (225) dollars par

<sup>1</sup> Françoise Le Gris, "Chronologie des rapports entre Ozias Leduc et Paul-Emile Borduas" contained in Ozias Leduc et Paul-Emile Borduas, (conférences J.-A. Sève 15-16, Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Montréal, 1973), p. 109.

See also A.F.B., P.E. Borduas, Journal of 1929; A.S.S.S., Letter from O.L. to Olivier Maurault, October 16, 1929; A.F.B. Letter from O.L. to P.E. Borduas, January 31, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c99. Letter from O.L. to curé Levesque dated either January 4 or 7, 1931. Uncertainty of date is due to illegible handwriting.

vitrail -- Si vous voulez vous mettre en relation avec lui il est à vos ordres."

Sometime between the date of January 4 or 7, 1931 and March 9, 1931, G.E. Pellus executed Leduc's two designs. In a letter dated March 9, 1931 he notified Ozias Leduc that the two stained glass windows had been successfully completed.<sup>2</sup>

On March 28, 1931 curé Levesque informed Leduc that the two stained glass windows had arrived at St-Hilaire church, and in his opinion the Pieta scene was too pale.

"Nos vitraux sont arrivées et montés. Je voudrais bien savoir avant de les payer, s'ils sont tels que vous les avez demandé. Celui de la Pieta me paraît un peu pale."<sup>3</sup>

Curé Levesque was not only critical of the Pieta composition, but also of the costs involved, which are mentioned in a letter he wrote to Leduc dated April 12, 1931. This letter has not been found in either Leduc's personal correspondence (A.N.Q.M.) or at St. Hilaire Church Archives, however, Leduc's reply exists in a letter of the same date. Concerning the already agreed upon price, Leduc stated:

"Mons. Pellus m'a dit son prix le plus bas au prix de faveur m'assure-t-il, en tout-cas je vous ai communiqué ce prix - et - c'est tout, pour ce qui me regarde."<sup>4</sup>

Curé Levesque was reassured by Leduc regarding the two compositions and G.E. Pellus' capabilities and artistic license.

"Il n'y eut rien alors qui pu faire supposé que la liberté

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M., b4 c43. Letter to O.L. from G.E. Pellus, Vitraux d'art, modernes et moyen-âge, 5305 St. Urbain, Montréal; dated March 9, 1931. In a letter of March 13, 1931 Leduc recommended G.E. Pellus for the stained glass commission at Saints-Anges-Gardiens, Lachine.

<sup>3</sup> A.N.Q.M. b4 c43. Letter to O.L. from curé Levesque dated March 28, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> A.N.Q.M. b7 c99. Letter from O.L. to curé Levesque dated April 12, 1931.

de l'artiste peut-être plus tard (?) en quoi qui ce soit. Ce n'est pas une oeuvre de collaboration qui a été demandée et je ne réclame rien pour ce qui aurait pu être utilisé des croquis soumis, croquis qui ont été montré plutôt pour donner idée du travail à faire afin d'en établir plus sûrement le prix que pour servir de modèle."<sup>1</sup>

Leduc continued, stating that there was a lack of contrast of colours in the lower section of the stained glass window.

"Depuis à l'église, j'ai vu le vitrail de Notre Dame de Pitié seulement, je l'ai vu de mon banc et comme à vous le bas me paraît un peu vide - manque de contraste dans les couleurs sans doute - Une barre de plus, aussi, vers le milieu de la section du bas de ce vitrail serait, selon moi, nécessaire."<sup>2</sup>

#### Sources of Inspiration

The stained glass rendering Notre-Dame de Pitié (Pieta) was inspired by the text and two visual reproductions in one of Emile Mâle's books on Medieval Art which Leduc had in his library.<sup>3</sup> The excerpts and notes taken from Mâle's book by Leduc (pages 123-125) are almost verbatim, describing both works and their religious symbolism.

"Vers la fin du XV siècle les sept douleurs de Marie étaient déjà comparées à sept glaives lui fendant le coeur. La prediction du vieillard Simon: Tuam apseus amorem pertrensibit gladius donniat reuxes du symbolism. Dans quelques manuscrits du temps les glaives sont appelés les glaives triomphaux de

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Emile Mâle, L'Art Religieux de la Fin Du Moyen Age en France (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1925, 3rd edition). This composition is a combination of fig. 66, p. 123, La Vierge au sept glaives (Vitrail de Brienne - La-Ville, Aubé); and fig. 67, p. 124, La Vierge de Pitié avec le vieillard Simeon (Vitrail de l'Augré, Aubé). See Leduc's notes from the text, A.N.Q.M., b7 c99.

Marie."<sup>1</sup>

The two visual reproductions were the inspiration for his own conception of the scene. He selected, eliminated and combined the individual elements to suit his own aesthetic and artistic perceptions and satisfaction.

#### Description

The scene (fig. 104) is divided horizontally into five areas that have structural significance. The second register is occupied by a wooden cross above which (top area) is the Hand of God coming out of the clouds, placed below the pointed arch apex. One of the most frequent symbols used was the dextra Domini, an Early Christian symbol of the presence of God, combined with the cloud, an attribute of Heaven.

The middle two frames contain the figures of Christ and Mary, and the lowest segment contains an overlap of the feet of Christ, but for the most part is occupied by a lozenge motif with an inscription on a scroll at the bottom of the scene.

The Virgin is seated, dressed in a blue mantle and veil, an aureole of golden light encircling Her head, three swords appear to be thrust into Her right shoulder and four into Her left shoulder. Christ's body is naked except for a white garment which covers His loins, the excess drapery hangs down behind His naked legs and nail-pierced

---

<sup>1</sup>Ostiguy's file on Leduc, N.G.C. See also Male, op. cit., p. 124. The seven sorrows of Mary are represented by seven swords piercing Her heart, and were used first by Flemish artists in the 15th century. "La prédiction de Siméon: la fuite en Egypte pour échapper au massacre de Innocents; Jésus perdu et retrouvé dans le Temple; Jésus souffleté (ou Jésus portant sa croix); Jésus crucifié; Jésus mort sur les genoux de sa mère; la mise au tombeau."

feet. The two figures are well integrated. Their forms flow rhythmically into each other with a sense of sculptural unity. Christ's head, encircled with a golden halo, rests in Mary's lap. His right shoulder and arm are supported by the Virgin's knee. A gold, link crown, symbolic of the crown of thorns, lies fallen, just beyond His right hand. The concept "lying in his Mother's lap" is an expression of trust, faith, surrender and union in the mystical sense.<sup>1</sup> The image Leduc presents is one of piety, devotion and sacrifice, depicted by the Virgin's down-cast eyes and hands clasped in prayer.

Below the Pieta scene oak leaves are arranged decoratively around a plain white glass area giving the appearance of a pedestal. Beneath this space a scroll, divided into three segments bears the following inscription:

"Per te salutem hauriamus  
Virgo Maria  
Ex Vulneribus Christi"

(Through you, Blessed Virgin Mary  
Let us gain salvation  
Through the wounds of Christ)<sup>2</sup>

Christ in Majesty (fig. 105)

In a letter of January 4 or 7, 1931, Ozias Leduc described and explained his stained glass composition:

"Le vitrail du Christ-roi, Le Sacré Coeur. Le pontife, le médiateur entre Dieu et les hommes. Le roi de tous les coeurs par son Sacré-Coeur. Le prêtre oint par l'onction même de la divinité dans le Mystere de l'Incarnation. Le centurion témoin de la mort du Christ sur la croisée pour la gentilité atteste l'origine divine du Sauveur en disant inspiré-C'est

<sup>1</sup>Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art (London: Lund Humphries, 1971), Vol. 2, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup>I would like to thank Dr. Paul F. McCullagh for his help and comments in deciphering the Latin inscriptions.

vraiment le Fils de Dieu.  
 Représenté sur sa croisée des ornements  
 sacerdotaux pour rappeler cette onction qui le fit  
 Pontife en même-temps qu'il se fit lui-même la propre  
 victime de son sacrifice et devint ainsi le libérateur,  
 le roi de charité des hommes par droit de conquête.  
 Marie Madeleine prosternée à ses pieds tenant pressé  
 contre elle les clous qui attachèrent le divin crucifié  
 à la croix et le calice du sang qu'il répandit - comme  
 Fils de l'homme en rédemption de l'homme remarquer pour  
 tous les pécheurs repentis, désormais sujets de ce roi  
 de mensuétude figuré dominant, comme sur un . . .  
 teint de la pourpre de son âme et couronné comme Pontife  
 et comme Victime du diadème de la royauté d'amour. . .  
 Ses bras sont tendus comme pour - attirer à lui les déchus  
 et les confondre en son sacrifice devant son Père,  
 roi des rois, dont-il est le premier à désirer le règne."<sup>1</sup>

The image of the living Christus triumphans on the Cross is a  
 straight forward illustration of the certainty of the Resurrection, the  
 sacramental sense of the Redeemer's Death, as well as His victory over  
 death.

The stained glass is subdivided into five sections. The top space  
 is occupied by the top part of the brown wooden cross above which flies  
 the Holy Ghost in front of a stylized sunburst of golden rays. The  
 following three spaces contain the main scene. The second area depicts  
 Christ's upper torso nailed to the cross. He wears a gold crown symbolic  
 of His kingship; His head is also encircled by an aureole of light. His  
 head is located at the juncture of the two arms of the Latin cross. Christ  
 is shown with His two hands and two bare feet nailed to the Cross. In  
 12th century crucifixions, Christ is nailed to the cross with four nails,  
 conforming to the earliest Eastern tradition; whereas at the beginning  
 of the 13th century French artists reduced the number of nails to three  
 by representing the feet nailed one foot crossed over the other. Leduc's

---

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., b7 c99. Letter from O.L. to curé Levesque dated either  
 January 4 or 7, 1931.

crucifixion scene is therefore founded in the earlier tradition. Christ's white gown is covered by a magnificent scarlet robe trimmed in gold and lined in green.

The third and fourth sections depict the continuation of Christ's robe which is centrally located and to the left stands Mary Magdalen, at the foot of the cross, dressed in a purple under-robe, with a heavy blue overgarment lined in gold. Her head is encircled with an aureole of light. In her left hand she holds the gold chalice containing Christ's blood, symbolic of His sacrifice, and the four nails, symbols of the Passion are held in her right hand. The cup of salvation relates to the Eucharist and as a Crucifixion image it expresses the sacramental significance of the Death of Christ.

The Roman centurion, Longinus<sup>1</sup> stands to the right of the Cross, dressed in a golden yellow uniform, trimmed in red, with a green cloak over his shoulders. He wears green leggings and golden yellow sandals. He holds his long spear in his right hand, from which he traditionally received his name; and his left hand is placed across his chest.

The presence of the chalice and the dove (Holy Ghost) refers to the epiklese of the Byzantine eucharistic service, expanding the interpretation to include a eucharistic meaning to the scene.<sup>2</sup>

Images of the Majestas Domini and the Christus triumphans had been common from the beginning of the Middle Ages, as meditation upon the Passion of Christ as Redeemer and was thought to constitute the highest spiritual exercise.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The centurion is named Longinus in the apocryphal Acta Pilati of the 5th or 6th century A.D. (Greek word longche- meaning lance, lancer and commander of a troop of lancers).

<sup>2</sup>Schiller, op.cit., p. 98.

<sup>3</sup>Schiller, op.cit., p. 104.

The image of Christ on the cross wearing richly coloured garments and crowned Majestas Domini - Christ in Glory as the exalted ruler of Heaven and earth only reinforce Him as the King and High priest as described in Hebrews 7; 26,

"... holy, blameless, unstained, separated from sinners, exalted above the heavens."

Redemption through Christ's Death is conceived as a cosmic event. This universal symbol links Christ's sacrificial Death directly with the eucharist through which mankind shares in the redemptive power of His Death.

The lowest register of the stained glass window carries a Latin inscription which is divided into three sections and is presented in the same manner as the other work. The Latin inscription in Medieval meter reads as follows:

"Vexilla Christus Inclyta  
Late Triumphans Explicat  
O Christe Princeps Pacifer  
Mentes Rebelles Subjice

Exécuté par G.E. Pellus  
D'après Les croquis de Oσίας Leduc  
Montréal "

(Let us raise the standard of Christ  
O Christ King of Peace  
Trample the rebels beneath your feet)<sup>1</sup>

Leduc introduced as much relief as was consistent with the integrity of the design, as well as creating a harmonious relationship with the architectural setting. The stained glass, like the oil on canvas paintings have a calm, static quality caused structurally because of the little spatial recession and due to the principle forms presented directly on the lozenge motif of the stained glass. As in the major canvases,


---

<sup>1</sup> See page 210, footnote 2.



unity is established effectively through the use of broad borders of solid geometric designs (rectangles, bars) combined with motifs of nature (oak leaves) which seem to grow from solid background borders.

### Borders

Both stained glass works have identical borders. From the wide blue borders of both stained glass compositions grow oak leaves in various stages of life (green, yellow, gold, etc.). Besides adding to the decorative quality of the work, they create unity by framing the composition and conform to the borders of his 1898-1900 canvases' floral or vegetal motifs. Perhaps the colour range of the oak leaves relates to the cycle of nature and the life-span of mankind. The leaves which grow from the wide borders  lead, no doubt, to the Cross, that was made, according to tradition, from an oak tree. Leduc employed symbolism in his floral and vegetal motifs.

Above each stained glass scene painted directly onto the wall surface are two flying angels (figs. 106, 107), holding an heraldic shield between them, on which there is a religious symbol (Pax & Maria). As these two narrow stained glass works do not occupy the entire space, the two flying angels are used as a decorative device to fill the panel.

After much deliberation Leduc finally chose a Pieta and a Christ in Majesty as the subject matter for the two stained glass compositions. Both are well related and integrate into the overall decorative scheme of the choir area, however, conform more to his personal ideas concerning symbolism than to that of the original St-Hilaire church decoration.

The Pieta is positioned opposite the Adoration of the Magi canvas, an antithesis; the latter portraying the young Mother holding her newborn child, while the Pieta holds Her adult crucified son as an offering, a Saviour of mankind. One entering the world of man; the other departing.

Christ in Majesty is positioned almost opposite the Ascension painting. Both are united thematically through the glorification of the Resurrection of Christ.

### Conclusion

Leduc's previous experiences were insignificant in comparison with the magnitude of this commission. He was required to conceive, elaborate, and execute a large scale scheme complementary to the already existing Neo-Gothic interior church architecture, satisfactory in the eyes of his commissioner and using basically inexperienced local workmen.

The unity of the decoration embracing the ceiling and walls was not only achieved through the iconographical program in relating to the interior space alone but also by formal means; through colour, light and the interrelationship of the individual compositions.

The sources which shaped his style were numerous and various, fused and blended, defying simple identification. Ozias Leduc was typical of his generation of artists, drawing upon magazines on art and architecture that carried regular articles on historical subjects which encouraged and justified the eclecticism that was so characteristic of the 19th century. Any craftsman had only to open a magazine to find inspiration and guidance from historical examples. This process was reinforced by a library of books on architectural decoration and style from which he copied directly.

The most significant event of Leduc's artistic career was his six month trip to Paris in 1897. Exposure to the artistic capital of the late 19th century was a tremendous broadening experience for Leduc as indicated by the change in his artistic style from the 1892 Joliette Cathedral canvases to the St-Hilaire church canvases (1898-1900). It afforded him a first hand study of the traditional academic artists he knew only through printed sources (prints, engravings, and popular art

magazines) as well as the opportunity to exchange ideas with contemporary artists and study their work.

Ozias Leduc's art illustrates a decorative conception of colour and form as well as personal sensitivity and feeling for nature. The figures rigidly outlined across a single plane are derived originally from Ingres, thence Puvis de Chavannes and his followers; to Leduc. The sensitive, intimate background landscapes in these murals, with their delicate twilight tonalities evolved from Eugène Delacroix's use of Venetian colour to the Symbolists to Ozias Leduc. It is from these European traditions that he evolved to a personal interpretation of the natural world by use of expressive colour which brought him close to a romantic spirit, yet his pictorial directness is so frank he cannot be placed far from the realists. Leduc's productions are unique and creative in the highest degree. He was forced by economic necessity to be both entrepreneur and decorator, as was characteristic of many Québec religious muralists, but superceded his colleagues in his attempt to raise the standard of religious mural painting to higher spiritual levels to inspire the local parishioners. Although there are iconographic similarities between Leduc and contemporary Québec religious muralists, they are vastly different stylistically.

Most artists met with the superficial demands of the vox populi and clergy for a narrative art that appealed to the emotions only. Leduc, as has been clearly shown fused both the emotional and intellectual content. As previously stated, he wanted his art to be educational and have unity. At St-Hilaire church he accomplished both his aims. The majority of other religious muralists in Québec achieved neither unity of design and colour nor unity of theme. Leduc, also, exhibited a greater sensitivity to the architectural settings of his canvases,

as well as the ability to adapt his motifs and overall decorations successfully to an already existing architecture.

In a statement to curé Vézina of St-Hilaire in the year 1938, Ozias Leduc expressed his feelings about decorating St-Hilaire church.

"... Comme artiste je vous dois aussi beaucoup car vous m'avez fourni, avec un grande confiance la réalisation de l'embellissement de votre église - Du grand ménage comme on dit encore sans doute, dans la paroisse. Ce grand ménage je l'aurais voulu certainement plus beau, toutefois soyez convaincu que j'y ai mis tout mon coeur - L'art est le son d'une âme."

## Appendix A1

A.E.S.H., dossier St-Hilaire, Vol. 30, pp. 142-143. The terms of the agreement between the church "Syndics" and Augustin Leblanc were:

"Aux termes des devis et marché," l'entrepreneur s'engage de faire et parfaire bien et ?.... tous les ouvrages de charpenterie, couverture, menuiserie,.... et autres qu'il convient de faire.... C-à-d deux clochers ayant chacun deux lanternes et surmontés tous deux d'un Coq doré. De plus "une chaire et un Banc - d'oeuvre, dans l'ordre composite, en bois de cerisier et noyer tendre; les balustres en merisier rouge, et la table en noyer, ....; tous les bancs.... de la grandeur demandée par les syndics avec une doucine sur le dessus en noyer et le prie Dieu aussi en noyer, avec des portes, chapeaux propres dans chaque banc, tous peints en imitation de ces plaines ondes, vernis et numérotés; peinturé la couverture de l'Eglise et Sacristie en couleur d'ardoise le tout livrable à la clef à la main. S'engage encore le dit entrepreneur de fournir tous les bois .... et autres matériaux nécessaires. Les contribuables ne s'obligent qu'à donner 50 journées de corvée à sa demande. A commencer les travaux aussitôt qu'il sera nécessaire à la demande du maçon et à fure et mesure qu'il y aura besoin jusqu'à ce que le dit maçon ait achevé les .....maçonne....en telle manière que le tout soit livré fait et parfait dans cinq ans de la date du présent marché."

## Appendix A2

A.E.S.H., dossier St-Hilaire, Vol. 30, pp. 142-143. The conditions made by the "Syndics" to Joseph Doyon, were:

Devis, L'Eglise aura 100 X 50 pds au dessus des Retraites 32 pds. de haut ds les longs pans "y compris les fouilles." Le Choeur sera fait "à la Recollet" et aura 28 X 30 pds. de chaque côté, il y aura des chapelles de 13½ pds. de largeur. Le portail aura 60 pds. de hauteur et sera semblable "à celui de S. Jean (refers to St-Jean-Baptiste de Rouville Church) pour supporter deux clochers en imitation de tours. La voute sera faite "à mortier de chaux, coulée avec du poile de Boeuf et du plâtre" pour les deux prem. couches; la 3<sup>e</sup> couche devant être en plâtre.

Marché. Les synd. fourniront "à pied d'oeuvre" et à demande toute la pierre sable, chaux et bois nécessaires ainsi que "les boutins et étan perches; ils iront chercher la pierre de taille à Montr., et la transporteront sur places, de plus 200 "journées d'hommes décorée et 60 journées de harnais de corvée."

L'entrepreneur fournira la pierre de taille, plâtre, poile, lattes et clous dont il aura besoin; éteindra la chaux, . . . fera le mortier; employera "tous ouvriers connus pour bons . . ." En outre il fournira la Pierre angulaire ; a . . . être benite gravera dessus les noms des Synd. elle se placés à l'angle du clocher. Ils commencera les fondat. le 15 mai 1830, et dans le cours de l'Eté conduira les murs jusqu'à la hauteur des fenêtres; achevera la maçon juillet 1831 - et livra le tout parachevé en Eté 1832, "a peine de tous dommages." Les curés et Synd. auront l'inspection sur tous les ouvrages."

Appendix A3, A.E.S.H., dossier St-Hilaire, Vol. 30, pp. 146-147.

The compromise between the "Syndics" and the entrepreneur Augustin Leblanc. It assumed 4-conditions:

- "1) La Charpente de l'église sera faite pour recevoir une voute en bois, et non en plâtre;
- 2) qu lieu de faire deux clochers, l'entrepreneur n'en fera qu'un seul;
- 3) il fera recevoir la charpente de l'église et celle du clocher, lorsqu'elles seront taillées, et avant de les lever toutes de;
- 4) L'entrepreneur sera obligé de fournir de nouvelles "cautions solvables . . . avant de recommencer les travaux."

Appendix B1

The following is a summary of payments made to the workers who participated in the project to decorate St-Hilaire church in 1896.

These financial statistics are derived from four sources. The St. Hilaire Church Archives provides three types of payments: the first are many small squares of paper bearing the date, the name of the worker, and the amount paid on a weekly basis; the second comprizes cumulative time sheets indicating the date, identity of the worker, hours worked, rate per day, and totals calculated. This detailed account only records information for Louis Belisle, C. Milette, and partial payments made to Emery Martin, Félix Martin, and Ulric Martin.

The third source is drawn from the Cahiers de Comptes de la Fabrique de Saint-Hilaire (Jan. 1 1893 - December 31, 1932) showing partial payments to Ozias Leduc.

The fourth source is a list of St-Hilaire church canvases with corresponding prices for individual canvases and total amount recorded, which is preserved at the Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal.



Summary of information provided by 1895-1896 Time Sheets and loose sheets of paper. The assistants are in alphabetical order and the information has been arranged chronologically.

1. Louis Belisle worked from November 30, 1896 to December 19, 1896 at \$1.50 per 8 hour day. His total payment for an unspecified job was \$21.26.

November 30	1/2 day	0.75
December 1	6 days	9.00
" 3	3 hours	.45
" 4	3 hours	.45
" 5	1 hour	.15
" 7	8 1/2 hours	1.28
" 14	1/2 day	.75
" 15-19	5 days	7.50
" 17	3 hours	.45
6 feet of pinewood )		.48
		<u>\$ 21.26</u>

2. Chapdeleine and 3. Dollard Church (1879-1941) were identified in a photograph of workmen taken in the nave in front of the St-Hilaire church choir area, however, there is no documentation written or financial to substantiate their participation in the 1896 decoration of the interior of St-Hilaire church. Dollard Church was an assistant to Leduc on later church commissions. He and Paul-Emile Borduas worked on the decorative scheme designed by Ozias Leduc for St-Hilaire Convent in 1926 and participated in the 1928-1929 St-Hilaire church restoration.

4. Eugène Desautels' participation at St-Hilaire church was minimal.

September 26, 1896	46.00
November 21, 1896	25.50
December 5, 1898	18.00
	<u>\$89.00</u>

He was paid in large amounts on three occasions. This could

indicate that he was paid only monthly or perhaps it involved materials purchased but not documented. In 1902, Ozias Leduc and his cousin Eugène L. Desautels formed a partnership (Desautels usually supplying the material); see notaries letter August 28, 1902, A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, b3 c13. They advertised in a small Roman Catholic periodical published at St-Hyacinthe entitled Le Rosaire, from January - December 1906, see A.N.Q.M., Fonds Leduc, b3 c17, letter of November 24, 1906.

5. Raoul A. Tetro Ducharme (1875-1946) has been identified in the photograph, but is not represented in any documented source affirming his participation in the St-Hilaire project of 1896. Ducharme was an assistant at Antigonish in 1902-1903.
6. Edmond Lemoine (1877-1922) received one payment of \$15.75 on December 11, 1896.
7. Origène Leduc's name appeared once, for the amount of \$8.00 on December 31, 1896.
8. Ozias Leduc's name was recorded with the amounts paid to him on two occasions on separate pieces of paper. The first amount of \$220.35 was issued to him on December 31, 1896; the second payment to him was for \$100 on December 6, 1899. On another sheet at the Archives nationales du Québec, à Montréal, Leduc calculated the cost of each canvas and the Ways of the Cross. The sheet shows two prices for each canvas and the Ways of the Cross, indicating Leduc elevated nominally the cost of each. The initial total cost was \$850, then after consideration the amount was raised to \$1200. See sheet for specific price

of each canvas (see appendix B3).

9. Emery Martin, as indicated by the time sheets and individual payments:

on small pieces of paper, was one of the major participants. He worked from April 8-11; April 20-25; April 27-May 2; May 4-9; May 11-16; May 26-27.

He was paid \$1.50 per 8 hour day. The total amount paid to him for this work period was \$41.48, \$13.48 of which he received on July 22, 1896.

He resumed work on September 6, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, as recorded on his time sheet dated October 3, 1896. The money paid to him at this time totalled \$9.00 for 6 eight hour days at \$1.50 per hour rate.

His name appeared four more times on loose pieces of paper on the following dates: October 31, 1896 - 17.05; November 14, 1896 - 9.25; December 5, 1896 - 18.40; December 19, 1896 - 5.30; February 5, 30.00.

The total for this work period was \$80.00.

The total amount paid to him during the course of the project was \$130.48.

10. Félix Martin started work on April 8, 1896. He received the same \$1.50 per 8 hour day wage as did his 3 brothers during the project. According to a cumulative time sheet he worked on the following days: April 8-11; April 20-25; April 27 - May 2; May 4-9; May 11-16; May 26-27; June 9-10; plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  day on June 16.

He received payment for work done on these dates on July 22, 1896 (\$45.45 less \$5.00 paid to him on May 16) for a total of \$40.45.

On scraps of loose papers his name is recorded 7 times in relation to the decoration for St-Hilaire church. He received payment on the following dates:

*March 2, 1896	\$44.33
October 31, 1896	16.25
November 14, 1896	8.13
November 21, 1896	7.50
November 28, 1896	7.50
December 5, 1896	7.50
December 19, 1896	11.25
Total	<u>\$102.46</u>

\*The method of payment indicates he received money on a weekly basis.

Félix Martin was well-known in the parish of Saint-Hilaire, as he had constructed the new presbytery in a contract dating from November 1890.

The total amount received by F. Martin was \$147.91.

11. Louis-Philippe Martin (1873-1949), according to the time sheets, was the major contributor to executing the decorative scheme designed by Ozias Leduc. He had decorated the convent at Saint-Hilaire church in 1895 (completed Sept. 26). L.P. Martin was well-known in the Saint-Hilaire community and was the "chantre" of the church, as well as, a photographer, decorator and artist. This is the first time that Leduc and Martin worked on a commission. Leduc used L.-P. Martin as one of his chief assistants on church commissions from this time forward (Antigonish, 1902-1903; Rougemont, 1902; Farnham, 1906; Manchester, New Hampshire, 1906).

Louis-Philippe Martin received payment on 17 different occasions, the first payment received by him for work at the church was on May 2, 1896 and

\*The March 2, 1896 entry for \$44.33 indicates a partial payment to F. Martin for materials purchased from a Firmin Pariseau bill dated February 29, 1896.

the last payment on December 28, 1896. The total amount paid on a weekly basis from May 2 to December 28 was \$613.05.

May 2	-	\$25.00
May 8	-	40.00
June 6	-	110.00
June 20	-	40.00
July 4	-	48.00
July 11	-	30.00
July 18	-	30.00
September 5	-	50.00
September 26	-	23.25
October 31	-	30.75
November 14	-	45.60
November 21	-	22.20
November 28	-	27.00
December 5	-	29.65
December 12	-	23.35
December 19	-	30.00
December 28	-	8.25

Total 17 payments		<u>\$613.05</u>
-------------------	--	-----------------

12. Ulric Martin was paid \$1.50 per 8 hour day from April 8 to his final payment on December 26, 1896. According to the time sheets he worked from April 8-11; April 20-25; April 27-May 2; May 4-9; May 11-16; May 26-27; June 9-10; June 16. His total payments for work on these days was \$45.23. He had been paid May 2 - \$8.00; May 9-\$5.00; May 16-\$10.00; May 23 - \$5.00; for a total of \$28.00. His payment on July 22, 1896 for the remainder was \$17.23.

According to the loose scraps of paper Martin was paid the following amounts on particular dates.

April 15	-	\$20.00
October 17	-	27.30
October 31	-	11.10
November 14	-	20.65
November 21	-	9.00
November 28	-	9.00
December 26	-	28.00
Total		<u>\$125.05</u>

Total payments for the entire project were \$170.28.

13. C. Milette worked from September 19 to November 10, 1896 in a minor capacity. He was paid \$1.00 per 8 hour day and his time sheet shows he worked 9 days starting from September 19, October 25, 27, 30; November 2, 3, 4, 9, 10; a total of \$15.86.

Appendix B2Donations:Source: livre des Délibérations. . . .

Ursula and Celeste Plante 200  
 N. - Lap Côté 2,200  
 Dame Richer et Curé 955  
 Rev. Joseph Jodoin 1,000

pp. 108-110

p. 79

p. 79

Livres de Comptes Feb. 13, 1896

also p. 105

autres 200

subtotal 4,555

April 10, 1896 400

June 23, 1896 100

June 30, 1897 100

March 8, 1898 100

sub total 700

Jan. 2 - 7, 1897 2,130

Mar. 7, 1900 800

sub total 2,930

Cahiers de Comptes. . . .

(Dame Louise Goulet)

(Mr. Morin)

Bazaars &amp; Tombolas

La Presse & Courrier de St-Hyacinthe

Totals 4,555

2,930

700

\$8,185

- Total raised to pay for Saint-Hilaire project  
(1896-1900)

Appendix B3Source: Loose Sheet A.N.Q.M. b1 c9AOzias Leduc's First Estimate

choeur	2 tabx	a	125	=	250
petit autels	2 tabx	a	75	=	150
nef	9 tabx	1 a	75	=	75
		4 a	50	=	200
		4 a	25	=	100
chemin de la croix					90
					<u>\$ 865</u>

Final Estimate

2	150	300
2	100	200
1	100	100
4	75	300
4	50	200
1	100	100
		<u>\$ 1,200</u>

List of nine canvases in the nave

1. Baptême de N.S.
2. Magdelaine chez Simon
3. Institution de l'Euchariste
4. )
5. ) - Evangélistes
6. )
7. )
8. Jésus remettant les clefs à St-Pierre
9. Epousailles de la Ste-Vierge

Missing from both estimates are costs for two canvases located on the rear wall of St-Hilaire church, the Pentecost and the Death of St. Joseph. These two canvases can be dated from the same period as the others, as all the preliminary drawings were executed at the same time, using the same type of paper.



Appendix B4Bills for Materials From the 1896-1897 Project (A.P.S.H.)

L.G.E. Goulet. Paid October 10, 1896	128.62
L.G.E. Goulet	11.58
L.G.E. Goulet. Paid January 4, 1896	68.14
L.G.E. Goulet. Paid February 13, 1896	43.49
Firmin Pariseau. Paid April 11, 1896	89.69
L.G.E. Goulet. Dated November 19, 1896	90.37
L.G.E. Goulet. Dated December 25, 1896	62.44
N. Poirier. Dated September 24, 1897	112.24
N. Poirier. Dated October 26, 1896	3.07
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated April 15, 1896	99.12
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated May 19, 1896	56.42
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated May 28, 1896	45.50
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated May 29, 1896	12.50
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated June 5, 1896	37.50
Dupuis Freres. Dated June 11, 1896	8.10
A. Ramsay & Son. July 2, 1896	5.21
A. Ramsay & Son. July 22, 1896	22.50
Firmin Pariseau. Dated August 7, 1896	11.49
U. Beaunoyer. Dated September 26, 1896	4.15
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated October 6, 1896	39.00
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated October 8, 1896	0.30
A. Ramsay & Son. Dated October 20, 1896	53.00
U. Beaunoyer. Dated December 29, 1896	44.16

23 Bills	\$1,048.59
----------	------------

Appendix B5Leduc assistants for 1896-1897 ProjectTime Sheets

Ozias Leduc

Origène Leduc (1874-1952)

Emery Martin

Félix Martin

Louis-Philippe Martin

Ulric Martin

C. Milette

Louis Belisle

Eugène Desautel

Edmond Lemoine (1877-1922)

Photograph

Ozias Leduc (1864-1955)

Honorius Leduc (1876-1959)

Emery Martin

Louis-Philippe Martin (1873-1949)

Chapedelaine

• Dollard Church (1879-1941)

Raoul Ducharme (1875-1946)

plus trois men unidentified

Leduc assistants for 1928-1929 Restoration

J.B. Allaire

Armand Blain (1905-1961)

P.E. Borduas (1905-1960)

Henri Brouillet

Adelard Charbonneau

Dollard Church (1879-1941)

Francois Douville

Joseph Duxille

J.M. Fontaine (1883-1948)

Paul Guillotte

Stanislas Guillotte

Alphonse Jarret

Fernand Lapierre

Eugène Moreau

P.P.

Joseph Remy

Fortuna Rho

Omer Vézina

Raoul Vien (1907 - )

Appendix CList of Works Exhibited by Leduc at the AAM

Eighteen works were exhibited between 1891-1921

<u>Year</u>	<u>Catalogue No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Price</u>
1891	no. 79	<u>Nature Morte, Violon</u>	\$ 40.00
	no. 80	<u>Mater Dolorosa</u>	N.F.S.
1892	no. 93	<u>Nature Morte, Livres</u>	\$ 40.00
1894	no. 102	<u>Liseuse</u>	N.F.S.
1895	no. 74	<u>Still Life</u>	\$ 40.00
1897	no. 88	<u>The Young Student</u>	\$ 75.00
1898	no. 76	<u>Still Life</u>	\$ 40.00
1900	no. 71	<u>Pigeons</u>	\$ 40.00
1912	no. 236	<u>Portrait of the Poet, Guy Delahaye</u>	N.F.S.
1913	no. 243	<u>Cumulus bleu</u>	\$ 25.00
1914	no. 244	<u>Effet Gris (Neige)</u>	\$ 125.00
1915	no. 219	<u>Pommes Vertes</u>	\$ 225.00
1916	no. 182	<u>Lueurs du Soir</u>	\$ 80.00
1917	no. 200	<u>The Good Shepherd</u>	\$ 75.00
	no. 201	<u>L'Orage *</u>	\$ 15.00
	no. 202	<u>Pommiers en Fleurs *</u>	\$ 15.00
	no. 368	sculpture <u>Mme. Louise Lecours</u> plaster Medallion	
1921	no. 140	<u>L'Heure Mauve</u>	\$ 350.00
		N.F.S.	

N.F.S.- Not for Sale

\* - Black and White

List of Works Exhibited by Ozias Leduc at the R.C.A.  
Eight works were exhibited between 1893-1915

<u>Location</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Cat. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Price</u>
Toronto	1893	no. 92	<u>Nature Morte Oignons</u>	\$ 60.00
Toronto	1893	no. 93	<u>Etude à la lumière d'une Chandelle</u>	90.00
Ottawa	1894	no. 73	<u>Still Life - Open Book</u>	
Ottawa	1900	no. 69	<u>Still Life</u>	
Ottawa	1912	no. 147	<u>Portrait of Guy Delahaye</u>	
Montréal	1913	no. 174	<u>Fin de jour</u>	
Toronto	1914	no. 126	<u>Le Cumulus bleu</u>	
Montréal	1915	no. 128	<u>The Concrete Bridge</u>	

### Appendix D

#### Books in Leduc's Library:

It is difficult to recreate the visual imagery which Leduc had on hand because of the breakup of his library to a number of private collections. List A, B and C were compiled from three sources and include only books in Leduc's possession prior to the termination of the Saint-Hilaire commission in 1900.

The first source was a list of books belonging to Ozias Leduc published in J.R. Ostiguy's exhibition catalogue, Ozias Leduc: Symbolist and Religious Painting of 1974, page 223; the second source was compiled by this author on a visit to Mlle Gabrielle Messier's home, as she has retained a number of Leduc's books; the third source was deduced from brief notes Leduc made on religious symbolism, as he often noted the writer, and title of the book (A.N.Q.M., b2 c70). Both author and title were checked in the National Union Catalogue Pre-1956 Imprints to determine the date of each book.

Two important factors emerged from these lists. First, in most cases Leduc ordered books directly from the publishers, such as the Librairie Renouard and A. Quantin, both of Paris and L.C. Page of Boston. He continued this method of attaining books throughout his career, as evidenced by publishing house brochures on art books, preserved in his personal documents at A.N.Q.M. Secondly, he had a penchant for buying books in a series.

#### A. Sources of Inspiration for the Motifs chosen by Leduc in the Overall Decorative Scheme at St-Hilaire church

Gerspach, Edouard. La Mosaïque. par Gerspach, Paris: A. Quantin, 1881.

Gerlach, Martin, ed., Albert Ilg. Allegorien und embleme. . . Wien: Gerlach & Schenk, 1882-1885. Reprinted until 1896.

Hildebrandt, Adolphe Matthias. Heraldic Bookplates, Twenty-five Ex-libris. Berlin: Stargardt, 1892-1894.

James, William and George Ashdown Audsley. Polychromatic Decoration as Applied to Buildings in the Mediaeval Styles. London: Sotheman, 1882.

Mayeux, Henri. La composition décorative, Paris: A. Quantin, 1884. Reprinted throughout the 1890's.

Ollivier, T.R.P. Petites Méditations sur les Litanies de la Vierge, par le T.R.P. Ollivier, des Freres Prêcheurs, n.d.

Vermeuil, Maurice Pillard. Dictionnaire des symboles, emblèmes et attributs. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1897.

Viollet-le-Duc, Eugene Emmanuel. Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture Française du XI<sup>e</sup> en XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris: A. Morel, 1864 - 1867.

Pattern Books purchased by Leduc in Paris between  
May - December 1897

Guillot, Ernest. L'Ornementation des manuscrits du Moyen Age. Recueil de documents, lettres ornées, bordures, miniatures, etc., tirés des principaux manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale, de diverses bibliothèques et des monuments de l'époque. Dessinés par Ernest Guillot, Paris, Librairie Renouard-H. Laurens. s.d. 16p.

✓ Guillot, Ernest. Eléments d'ornementation du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle Tirés des manuscrits des imprimes, des estampes de la bibliothèque nationale et des monuments historiques de l'époque. Paris: Librairie Renouard-H. Laurens, s.d. 16p.

B. Books that contribute to understanding the philosophy and spirit in which the decoration was conceived

Bayet, Charles Marie Adolphe Louis. Précis d'histoire de l'art. Paris: A. Quantin, 1886.

Bournaud, François. La Sainte Vierge dans les arts. Paris: Tolra, 1896.

Clement, Clara Erskine. Angels in Art. Boston: L.C. Page, 1898.

Clement, Clara Erskine. Heroines of the Bible in Art. Boston. L.C. Page, 1900.

French, Joseph Lewis. Christ in Art. Boston: L.C. Page, 1900.

Histoire Ecclesiastique, Paris: H. Casterman, 1867.

Hurl, E. The Madonna in the Arts. Boston: L.C. Page, & Co., 1899.

Lecay de la Marche, A., La peinture religieuse. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1892.

Pontmartin, A. de- Souvenirs d'un vieux critique. Paris: Calmann Levy, 1884.

Rohaut de Fleury, Charles. La Sainte Vierge: études archéologiques et iconographiques. Paris: Poussielgue freres, 1878.

Salmon, F.R. Histoire de l'art chrétien aux dix premiers siècles. Lille: Desclée de Brouwer, 1891.

C. Books helpful to understanding how Leduc constructed his landscapes with figures

Harley, George. A guide to landscape drawing, in pencil and chalk. London: G. Rowney & Co., 1853. Reprinted in the 1890's.

Hicks, George Edgar. A guide to figure drawing. London: G. Rowney & Co., 1877. Reprinted in the 1890's.

- Keppelin, R. Cours de Physique. Paris: Jacques Lecoffre & Co., 1851.

Rowbotham, Thomas Leeson. Sketching from Nature. n.d.

Rowbotham, Thomas Charles Leeson. The Art of landscape painting in water-colour. n.d.

Appendix E1Total Monies Received by Leduc & Assistants for the 1928-1929 Restoration

J.B. Allaire	332.65
Armand Blain	39.24
P.E. Borduas	191.40
Henri Brouillet	39.25
Adelard Charbonneau	223.00
Dollard Church	464.00
François Douville	3.75
Joseph Douville	53.10
J.M. Fontaine	394.00
Paul Guillot(te)	87.51
Stanislas Guillot(te)	404.20
Alphonse Jarret	162.80
F.L. (Lapierre)	207.31
Ozias Leduc	1970.37
Eugène Moreau	32.20
P.P.	33.75
Joseph Remy	193.25
Fortunat Rho	71.15
Omer Vézina	53.47
Raoul Vien	165.80

---

Total \$ 5122.20



Appendix E2

- 1) J.B. Allaire worked from July 9-December 22, 1928 for \$332.65 (less \$6.00 for a barrel of apples from Ozias Leduc's orchards), totalling \$326.65; the amount which was paid to him on December 31, 1928.

Allaire's time sheet. (A.N.Q.M. b1 c30) indicates he was paid 0.50 per hour. He also provided some of the restoration materials. His name appears twice in the Daily Work Journal: July 9 - "Engage J.B. Allaire pour la peinture des panneaux de la voute et pour le fond des murs;" and on August 27-28 - "J.B. Allaire - 1 couche peinture murs petite section au haut et autres détails."

His name is recorded twice in the Livres de Comptes for work at St-Hilaire church he did after the Restoration had been completed.

A.P.S.H. (Livres de Comptes)

p. 358, September 27, 1929, \$62.90 received for "peinture-ouvrage."

p. 378, September 12, 1931, \$6.20 received for "peinture, bronze, ciment (9 heures à 0.50 = 4.50 + 1.70 ciment = \$6.20)."

J.B. Allaire's earliest association with Ozias Leduc was during the 1902 decoration of St. Ninians Cathedral, Antigonish, Nova Scotia where he was employed to carry out part of the work (A.N.Q.M. b1 c10).

Residents of Saint-Hilaire, Allaire, Dollard Church and Paul-Emile Borduas executed Leduc's designs for the Chapel in Convent of Jesus and Mary, Saint-Hilaire in 1926. (A.N.Q.M., b1 c27).

- 2) Armand Blain (1905-61)

Armand Blain's name appears twice in the Livres de Comptes: Once for payment for work related to the Restoration (p. 348 - July 14, 1928 - \$39.24) which coincides with the erection of the scaffolding and initial

cleaning; the second entry explains his absence from the account books for the duration of the work as he was married to Cécile Guillot(te), perhaps a sister of Blain's co-workers, Stanislas and Paul Guillot(te), on August 29, 1928.

### 3) Paul-Emile Borduas (1905-1960)

P.E. Borduas' name appears once in the Daily Work Journal, the entry for July 16.

"P.E. Borduas commence le nettoyage et les retouches des stations du chemin de la Croix et des tableaux coté évangile." His first payment was issued on July 21 and his final payment was Oct. 20, 1928, according to a document entitled "Restauration de la décoration de l'église de St-Hilaire, 1928-Dépensées pour les peintres et les décorateurs." (A.N:Q.M. b1 c30). He was paid 0.40 an hour rate. Borduas left St-Hilaire to study in France during the autumn of 1928, before the St-Hilaire church project was completed.

#### Time Sheet:

July 21	P.E.B.	13.40	
" 28	P.E.B.	17.20	
August 11	P.E.B.	10.60	26½ hours
" 18	P.E.B.	22.60	56½ "
" 25	P.E.B.	19.20	48 "
September 1	P.E.B.	23.60	59 "
" 8	P.E.B.	12.00	30 "
" 15	P.E.B.	22.80	57 "
" 22	P.E.B.	10.80	27 "
" 29	P.E.B.	22.80	57 "
October 20	P.E.B.	16.40	41 "

Total 191.40

### 4) Henri Brouillet

Henri Brouillet's name appears only once in the Saint-Hilaire Livre de Comptes. p. 350. August 25, 1928 - \$39.25.

5) Adelard Charbonneau

Adelard Charbonneau's name appears six times both in the Livre de Comptes and on another time sheet (A.P.S.H., loose sheet). The individual entries and totals from both sheets are identical.

<u>Time Sheet</u> : ( <u>Livre de Comptes</u> )	p. 350	August 13,	20.00
"travail à église"	p. "	" 25,	61.25
	p. "	September 10,	49.25
"travail 19 Oct."	p. 352	November 12,	39.25
"travail 10 Nov."	p. "	" "	29.50
"travail 3 Nov."	p. "	" "	23.75
		Total	\$223.00

6) Dollard Church (1879-1941)

Dollard Church worked on the original decoration of St-Hilaire church interior in 1896. He, P.E. Borduas and J.B. Allaire carried out the iconographic scheme designed by Ozias Leduc for the Chapel of the Convent of Jesus and Mary, Saint-Hilaire in 1926. Dollard Church's name is recorded once in the Daily Work Journal on July 23, 1928.

"Donne ordre à Dol. Church de réparer aux plâtres les murs par toute l'église et de donner une couche d'impression sur ce devant - du jubé"

His name appears in the "Dépensées pour les peintres et les décorateurs" (A.N.Q.M., b1 c30) and records payments made to him regularly from July 28, 1928 to January 14, 1929.

1928

Time Sheet:

July 28	D.C.	13.50	
August 4	"	25.75	(51½ hours)
" 18	"	19.50	(39 hours)
" 25	"	24.50	(49 hours)
September 1	"	23.00	(46 hours)
" 8	"	21.50	(43 hours)
" 15	"	22.00	(44 hours)
" 22	"	21.50	(43 hours)
" 29	"	22.75	(45½ hours)
October 6	"	22.50	(45 hours)
" 13	"	27.00	(54 hours)

October 20	"	25.50	(51 hours)
" 27	"	26.50	(53 hours)
November 3	"	21.50	(43 hours)
" 10	"	26.00	(52 hours)
" 17	"	27.00	(54 hours)
" 24	"	16.50	(33 hours)
December 1	"	6.50	(13 hours)
" 8	"	13.00	(26 hours)
" 19	"	35.50	(71 hours)

1929

January 14 " 23.00 (46 hours)

Total \$ 464.50

7) François Douville

François Douville's name appears once in the Livre de Comptes (p. 350, September 15 - \$3.75) and the same amount is recorded on a loose sheet A.P.S.H.

8) Joseph Douville

Joseph Douville's name appears in the Daily Work Journal on December 13, 1928.

"Jos. Douville comment couper et ajuster les stales du sanctuaire au dessous des tableaux de l'Ascension et de l'Adoration des Mages."

The Livre de Comptes indicates he was paid on two occasions (p. 354, December 22, 1928, 62 hres à 0.50 = \$31.00; p. 356, January 7, 1929, \$22.10). His payments totalled \$53.10.

9) J.M. Fontaine (1883-1948)

J.M. Fontaine's company was paid \$394.46 on November 12, 1928 for supplying materials and rented lumber (Livre de Comptes, p. 352). Fontaine's name is mentioned in the Daily Work Journal on July 1, 1928. "Bois loué de M. Fontaine et livré par lui ce jour."

10) Paul Guillot(te)

Paul Guillot(te)'s name is recorded in both the Livre de Comptes and loose sheet (A.P.S.H.) for the same amounts.

p. 348	July 14, 1928	8.80
p. 350	August 4, 1928	10.13
p. 350	August 25, 1928	40.00
p. 350	September 15, 1928	11.00
p. 352	November 12, 1928	11.00
p. 354	December 18, 1928	6.50

Total \$87.51

11) Stanislas Guillot(te)

Stanislas Guillot(te)'s name is recorded both in the Livre de Comptes and on a loose sheet (A.P.S.H.) for the same individual and total amounts paid to him.

Livre de Comptes

p. 348	July 14, 1928	42.90
p. 350	August 4, 1928	43.20
p. 350	August 25, 1928	92.10
p. 350	September 15, 1928	80.00
p. 352	November 12, 1928	80.00 (for work Oct.19)
p. 352	November 12, 1928	48.60 (for work Nov.7)
p. 354	December 18, 1928	17.40

Total \$404.20

12) Alphonse Jarret

Alphonse Jarret's name appears only once in the Livre de Comptes.

p. 352	November 28, 1928	\$162.80
--------	-------------------	----------

13) F.L. or Fernand Lapierre

Mr. Raoul Vien has identified the initials F.L. as those of his fellow restoration worker Fernand Lapierre. His initials are only found on a time sheet (A.N.Q.M. b1 c30), and indicate he was paid on a weekly basis from July 21 to October 9, 1928 at a rate of 0.30 per hour.

July 21	F.L.	21.38	
" 28	"	14.50	
August 4	"	14.23	(57 hours)
" 11	"	18.00	(60 hours)
" 18	"	18.00	(60 hours)
" 25	"	17.40	(58 hours)
September 1	"	17.10	(57 hours)
" 8	"	16.50	(55 hours)
" 15	"	17.10	(57 hours)
" 22	"	16.80	(56 hours)
" 29	"	15.60	(52 hours)
October 9	"	20.70	(69 hours)

Total \$207.31

#### 14) Ozias Leduc

In the contract for the 1928-1929 restoration Ozias Leduc requested that he be paid a total of \$1600, \$125 per week during the course of the project and the balance at the completion of the work. The A.P.S.H., Livre de Comptes indicate a different payment arrangement inconsistent with Leduc's initial request. The identical individual amounts and balance are also recorded on a loose sheet (A.P.S.H.)

#### Livre de Comptes

p. 348	July 20	\$200	
p. 350	August 4	300	
p. 350	August 13	200	
p. 350	September 8	200	
p. 350	October 6	300	
p. 352	November 28	200	(for work Nov.2)
p. 352	November 28	200	(for work Nov.26)

\$1600.00

He received an additional payment of \$370.37 on December 31, 1928 (Livre de Comptes, p. 354) for a total of \$1970.37.

#### 15) Eugène Moreau

Eugène Moreau's name appears only once in the A.P.S.H., Livre de Comptes

(p. 350, August 25, 1928 for \$32.20). The same amount is found beside Moreau's name on a loose sheet (A.P.S.H.).

16) P.P.

The person whose initials are P.P. has not been identified. It was known that P.P. was paid on two occasions, at a rate of 0.25 per hour (A.N.Q.M., b1 c30. "Restauration de la décoration de l'église de St-Hilaire, 1928. Dépensées pour les peintures et les décorateurs.").

October 20	P.P.	\$16.00	(64 hrs)
November 2	P.P.	\$17.75	(71 hrs)

Total \$33.75

17) Joseph Remy

Joseph Remy's name, with accompanying payments is found both on the loose sheet (A.P.S.H.) and the Livre de Comptes.

p. 348	July 14, 1928	\$44.50
p. 350	August 4, 1928	20.75
p. 350	August 25, 1928	72.25
p. 350	September 15, 1928	15.00
p. 352	November 2, 1928	12.25
p. 352	November 17, 1928	28.50
	Total	\$193.25

18) Fortunat Rho

Fortunat Rho arrived at Saint-Hilaire on the afternoon train from Montreal, July 5, 1928. His job was to direct the cleaning and painting of the area located above the "jubé" at the rear of St-Hilaire church. His name appears twice in the Daily Work Journal. The entry for July 5, 1928 records:

"Arrivée de Fortunat Rho - après midi;" and July 13 entry states:

"Il (J.B. Allaire) commence à aider Fortunat dans l'après midi de ce jour."

While in Saint-Hilaire Rho boarded at the home of Magloire Borduas, father of Paul-Emile Borduas, at a cost of \$9.50 for seven days.

Rho's name is listed in the "Restauration de la décoration de l'église de St-Hilaire. Dépensées pour les peintres et les décorateurs" (A.N.Q.M., b1 c30). His full salary covering the period July 5 - 13, 1928 is listed on a separate sheet (A.N.Q.M., b1 c30).

"85 heures à 0.75	-	63.75
		5.70
(aller retour Mtl - St-Hilaire)		1.70

Total \$71.15"

Ozias Leduc had apprenticed at the Bécancour Atelier with Joseph Adolphe Rho in the 1880's. This early contact with J.-A. Rho and his four sons resulted in the exchange of letters and ideas on art between Leduc and Rho's sons, particularly Victor and Fortunat.

See A.N.Q.M., b3 c20 (March, April, 1909; b3 c23 May, 1912); b3 c25 June, July, August, 1914); b4 c33 (November, 1921); b7 c90 (1922) etc.

#### 19) Omer Vezina

Omer Vezina's name is recorded once on a loose sheet (A.P.S.H.) and in the Livre de Comptes for the same amount.

Livre de Comptes p. 352 Nov. 12, 1928 - \$53.47

#### 20) Raoul Vien (1907 - )

Raoul Vien's name appears on a loose sheet (A.P.S.H.) and reveals he earned 0.40 per hour, receiving weekly payments from July 21 to September 15, 1928.

July 21	R.V.	14.00	
28	"	16.80	
August 4	"	20.40	(51 hrs)



August	11	"	20.80	(52 hrs)
"	18	"	21.80	(54½ hrs)
"	25	"	19.60	(49 hrs)
September	1	"	13.80	(34½ hrs)
"	8	"	20.00	(50 hrs)
"	15	"	18.60	(46½ hrs)
Total			\$165.80	

Raoul Vien, a resident of Saint-Hilaire, had been encouraged by Ozias Leduc at a young age to pursue a career as an artist. He had visited Leduc's atelier, Correlieu, frequently and had taken art lessons from Leduc in his studio and "en plein air". He attended the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Montreal and was a classmate of another Saint-Hilaire resident, Paul-Emile Borduas.

In La Presse dated June 1, 1927 Albert Laberge wrote:

"Les travaux de élèves de l'école des Beaux Arts . . . Parmi les élèves qui se sont placés au premier rang et qui promettent le plus nous citerons . . . Raoul Vien et Paul Emile Borduas, tous deux de la campagne également, de Saint-Hilaire où ils ont travaillé pendant quelque temps sous la direction de cet admirable artiste qu'est M. Ozias Leduc."

Ozias Leduc, Paul-Emile Borduas and Raoul Vien executed stage decorations for Dr. Ernest Choquette's five act play entitled Madeleine, which was presented on Saturday July 14, 1928 at Saint-Hilaire (while the St-Hilaire church restoration was underway).

In his journal (A.N.Q.M., b2 c7, Cahier #1, Dec. 12, 1948) dated December 12, 1948, Ozias Leduc commented about Raoul Vien after a visit to Correlieu.















"Mons. Vien est un ancien élève de l'Ecole des Beaux Arts de Montréal. Diplômé, son cours terminé, il fut empêché par la maladie de continuer la pratique de son art. La sculpture l'intéressait tout particulièrement. Certains de mes peintures murales ont été ébauchées par lui."

Raoul Vien verified the latter comment made by Leduc, stating that he had outlined the figures in the four canvases destined for the Bishop's

Chapel, Sherbrooke (1922-1932). Mr. Vien worked on them in Ozias Leduc's studio, Correlieu.

Appendix F36 Decorative Crosses located on the front of the Jubé

All the Latin crosses were taken from F.R. Webber's book, Church Symbolism  
 Cleveland: J.H. Jansen, 1927, see chapter VIII, The Cross, pages 99-132.

<u>Cross</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Reference</u>
	6	2,8,14,20,26,32	p. 93, fig. 14
	6	5,11,17,23,29,35	p. 93, fig. 12
	3	1,15,36	p. 110 (Anchor)
	2	6,22	pp.110-111 (Ank/ or Ansata)
	2	4,25	pp.122-124 (Pater noster)
	4	3,27 large terminating points	p. 119 (Fusilée)
		9,30 small terminating points	pp.108-109 (Passion)
	2	7,19	p. 108
	5	10,18,21,28,33 (10,21) (18,28,33)	p. 117 (Fleurée)
			p. 117 (Fleurette)
	2	12,34	p. 114 (Crenellée)
	3	16,24,31	(no.24)p. 122 (Millrine)
			(nos. 16,31)p. 117 (Fourchée)
	1	13	p. 124

# Appendix G

## List of Old Statues Exchanged for new ones from T. Carli

Sacré Coeur debout	hauteur	6
Marguerite Marie agenouillée		4'6"
La Ste - Vierge debout		5'
Marie Madeleine agenouillée et panchée		3'
Saint Jean debout		5'
Notre Dame de Lourde debout		6'2"
Bernadette agenouillée		4'
Saint Joseph tenant l'enfant sur son bras debout		5'6"
Ste - Anne de Beaupré avec la Vierge debout		5'6"
St - Hilaire debout		5'6"
St - Joseph debout		4'6"
Ste - Vierge assise avec l'enfant Jésus debout		3'6"
Saint Michel Vainqueur de satan		3'6"
Saint Vierge Mere de Misericorde		4'6"
Saint - Antoine de Padoue		4'6"
Groupe du St - Rosaire		4'
Pieta		4'6"
2 Anges agenouilles supportant chacun un benitié		4'6"

Appendix H1

These designs are derived from W.R. Webber, Church Symbolism, 1927.

The page numbers refer to where each symbol is described and visually presented.

<u>Symbols</u>	<u>No. of each</u>	<u>Page</u>
Club, Sword, Rope	3	137
Ships at Sea	4	236-7, fig. 2
Roses	10	77, 81-2, fig. 35
Harps	3	
Chalices	7	293
Fish in Cage	2	
Unidentifiable Flower (perhaps the Lily)	7	176-8, fig. 2
Greek Cross (IHS)	4	
Robe	3	142
Robe with 3 die	1	142
Pyramidal Temples	2	
Symbols of Virgin	3, (2 rectilinear; 1 curvilinear)	
IHS intertwined	5	
Censer	4	293
3 nails, hammer, pincers	2	141
Crown of Thorns	2	139-40
Crown of Thorns with 3 nails in center	2	139-40
Grinder	3 (Gospel Mill)	237, 240-1, fig. 7.
Column, Cock, Whips	2	
Censer, Wafer, Chalice	2	268, 293
3 die and thrower	1	

Appendix H2Description of Motifs on Nave WindowsFront Right Side: Blue Border

Window 1	<u>Left</u>	<u>Right</u>
Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)
2	Ship at Sea (gold)	Ship at Sea (silver)
3	Rose (gold)	Rose (gold)
4	Harp (gold)	Harp (silver)
5	Chalice (gold)	Fish in Cage (gold)
6	Censer, Wafer, Chalice (silver)	Censer, Wafer, Chalice (silver)

Red Border

Window 2		
Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (silver)	Sacred Heart (gold)
2	Club, Sword, Rope (gold)	Club, Sword, Rope (gold)
3	Greek Cross (gold)	Greek Cross (silver)
4	Three die & thrower (gold)	Grinder (gold)
5	Crown of Thorns (gold)	Crown of Thorns (gold)
6	Rose (gold)	Rose (silver)

Blue Border

Window 3		
Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)
2	Censer (gold)	Chalice (silver)
3	Unidentifiable Flower (gold)	Rose (silver)
4	Fish in Cage (gold)	3 nails, hammer, pincers (gold)
5	Club, Sword, Rope (gold)	Unidentifiable Flower (silver)
6	Virgin Symbol (silver)	Virgin Symbol (silver)

Red Border

## Window 4

Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)	Pierced Sacred Heart (silver)
2	Rose (silver)	Virgin Symbol (gold)
3		
4		
5	Pyramidal Temple (gold)	Pyramidal Temple (gold)
6	Robe (silver)	Robe (silver)

Front Left side: Blue Border

## Window 1

LeftRight

Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)
2	Grinder (gold)	Harp (gold)
3	Ship at Sea (gold)	Ship at Sea (silver)
4	Unidentifiable Flower (gold)	Unidentifiable Flower (silver)
5	Greek Cross (gold)	Greek Cross (silver)
6	Rose (gold)	Rose (gold)

Red Border

## Window 2

Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)
2	Column, Cock, Whip (gold)	Column, Cock, Whip (gold)
3	Chalice (gold)	Chalice (gold)
4	Robe (gold)	Unidentifiable Flower (silver)
5	Crown of Thorns, Nails (gold)	Crown of Thorns, Nails (gold)
6	IHS Intertwined (silver)	IHS intertwined (gold)

Blue Border

## Window 3

Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)	Sacred Heart (gold)
2	Chalice (gold)	Grinder (silver)
3	Rose (gold)	Rose (gold)
4	3 Nails, Hammer, pincer (silver)	IHS intertwined (gold)
5	Unidentifiable Flower (gold)	Censer (gold)
6	Chalice (gold)	Chalice (silver)

Red Border

## Window 4

Top Pane 1	Pierced Sacred Heart (gold)	Pierced Sacred Heart (silver)
2	Unidentifiable Flower (silver)	Robe with 3 die (gold)
3		
4		
5	IHS intertwined (gold)	IHS intertwined (gold)
6	Censer (gold)	Censer (gold)



ADDENDUM I

Daily Work Journal for the 1928-1929 Restoration

Restauration<sup>1</sup> de la  
décoration de l'égl  
se de S-Hilaire

1928

1<sup>er</sup> juil. Echafaudage  
à la tribune  
de l'orgue -  
voute central

Bois loué de  
Mr Fontaine  
et livré par lui  
ce jour -

Claus chez Mr  
Hibert

1<sup>er</sup> juil. 3 hommes pour  
la construction  
de cet échafau-  
dage - commen-  
cent à 11 h. -  
après-midi et finissent  
le lendemain

5 juil. après-midi Arrivée de Fortu-  
nat Rho

6 " " Engage le jeune Guil-  
lot et le jeune  
diapierre. Le  
nettoyage sous  
la direction  
de Fortunat.  
commence le  
soir de ce  
jour.

7 juil. Nettoyage d'une  
demi travée de  
la voute tribu-  
ne de l'orgue

8 " " Engage R. B. Ailai-  
re pour la pein-  
ture des panses  
aux de la voute  
et pour le  
fond des murs.

Il commence à  
aider Fortunat  
dans l'après-  
midi de ce jour.  
Les teintes pour  
la voute a  
été préparées.  
Le soir faite  
un peu plus  
grise et un peu  
plus foncée  
que celle qu'elle  
recoit - c'est  
à dire l'ancien-  
ne -

Les employés des  
facteurs d'orgue  
passant leur  
après-midi avec  
le nouveau  
orgue et com-  
mencer la dévotion

10 juil. <sup>3</sup> Martignage  
polissage et  
decoyage  
~~pylès~~  
Fonds voute  
Tribune de  
l'orgue.

11 juil et Martignage Broux  
12-13 = Fils essayé par  
moi-même.

~~12~~ Grand Fonds  
Tribune de l'Orgue. Fils,  
contours de  
l'Emblème

~~12~~ 13 juil. Echafaudage  
descendu et  
commence  
à le reconstruire  
dans les  
petites voutes

16 juil Echafaudage  
continué  
dans la nef  
côté Evangile  
Lavage voute  
2 petite nef  
au-dessus jubé  
commence à  
laver bas de  
l'église.

16 juil. <sup>4</sup> P.E. Borduas  
commence  
le nettoyage  
et les retouches  
de la station des  
chemins de la  
Croix et des  
tableaux côté  
évangile.

17 juil. Lavage voute,  
stations, Evan-  
gelistes.

18 juil. Aite absent à  
Montréal.

~~19~~ Lavage murs voute  
petites

19 juil Petites voutes, murs  
lavage.  
aide le matin  
au nettoyage  
des tableaux de  
la mort de  
S. Joseph.

20 juil Petites voutes,  
murs haut.  
Lavage.  
Tableaux côté  
épître.

21 juil. <sup>5</sup> Lavage petites  
voutes, murs,  
colonnes.  
Huile et terre  
sur les statues  
avant les re-  
touches à fai-  
re -

23 - ~~24~~ Lavage petites  
voute côté évan-  
gile, murs même côté.  
Donne ordre à  
Dal. Chuvah de  
réparer au  
plâtre, les murs  
par toute l'église  
et de donner une  
couche d'enduit.  
rien sur le  
devant du  
jubé -

24-25 Réparation au  
murs.  
Lavage petite  
voute côté  
Nettoyage  
de certains ta-  
bleaux. Retou-  
ches chemin  
de la Croix

26 juil. Retouches chemin  
de la Croix - pré-  
paration des

petites <sup>6</sup>  
voutes pour le  
passage de la teinte  
des ~~grands~~ panneaux.  
Lavage des colonnes  
et du mur, en par-  
tie, côté évangile.

27 Lavage murs côté  
évangile. Huile  
sur les panneaux  
des petites voutes  
même côté

28 Lavage murs côté  
évangile. Huile  
sur les panneaux  
petites voutes même  
côté

30 Lavage murs  
côté évang.  
Peinture des  
quelques pan-  
neaux, petites vou-  
tes côté évang.

31 juil. Shalac sur  
les fissures des  
murs, murs  
Peinture pan-  
neaux petites  
voutes bronze,

31 juil suite - Com-  
mence le la-  
vage des pe-  
tites, voutes, coté  
épître.

1 Aout Lavage voute et  
mur coté épître.

Retouches aux  
filets, et ornements  
coté évangile.

Préparations  
aux murs et à  
quelque fran-  
neaux de la  
voute, ou bien  
la peinture dif-  
finitive. Pein-  
ture en reprise  
de quelques bandes  
des crèmes.

2 Aout Lavage, voute et  
murs coté épître.  
Retouches aux filets  
et ornements coté  
évangile - préparations  
aux murs, peinture  
des franneaux voute  
même coté.

3 Aout Lavage, voutes et  
murs, coté épître.

Préparations aux  
murs et aux voutes.  
Peinture des franneaux  
voutes coté évangile.  
bronze - ornement  
coté.

Décalage pour  
le dessin des em-  
blèmes ~~du~~ de  
Salomon et  
l'étoile de la  
Création  
au du Créateur.



Revend de  
Salomon.

Couleur pour les  
murs.

4 aout Lavage <sup>cadre</sup> station  
chemin de la  
Croix.

Fleur de lis effa-  
cées, et brule  
les voutes petites  
voutes coté épi-  
tre.

6 " Finie petites voutes  
coté épître fini  
ce jours anciens  
du jubilé.

Peinture du mur  
coté évangile.

Lavage bordures  
des stations du  
chemin de la Croix  
Retouche aux  
panneaux des  
évangélistes. Com-  
mence à passer  
le papier sablé  
sur la couronne  
ment du jubé.  
Décalque pour  
modification  
des bordures des  
tableaux.

7 Aout - Papier sablé  
escaliers - banes.  
Retouches bordu-  
res <sup>petites</sup> voutes côté  
évangile. Com-  
blime. côté des  
évangile et côté  
épître.

8 Aout - Papier sablé banes  
Nettoyage bordures  
chemin de la  
Croix. Déplace  
les statues de  
l'autel de S-Hilaire  
afin de nettoyer  
de l'autel et des  
murs environnants

8 Aout suite 13  
Arrivée à la  
cité de bronze à la  
canadienne bronze  
poudre d'acier

9 Aout - Reçu de Mr Fontaine  
2.5 madiers 20  
colombage. 2.0 man-  
che. Construction  
d'un échafaudage  
de la chaire à  
l'autel de S-Hilaire  
et éloignement de  
la chaire et de son  
escalier. du mur  
en partant côté et  
autour de l'autel  
de S-Hilaire. Dessine  
un changement  
dans la bordure  
des tableaux.  
Nettoyage du bas  
des murs côté épître.  
Le bois menu  
d'œuvre plus blanc  
est remis.

10 Aout - Nettoyage chaire  
et murs côté épître.  
Construction d'un  
échafaudage pour  
nettoyer côté épître.

11 août Nettoyage chaire  
murs et parties  
des petites voûtes  
même côté

13 août Nettoyage chaire  
murs et parties  
des petites voûtes  
des deux côtés  
de l'église.

14 — murs et petites  
voûtes des deux  
côtés de l'église  
Le tableau de  
Saint Hilaire  
nettoyé et  
posé à la  
tereb. huile et  
cire.

15 août Lavage petites  
voûtes des deux  
côtés de l'église.  
Préparations  
murs et voûtes  
pour recevoir  
la peinture.  
Dessins améliorés  
pour les bordures  
des tableaux  
côté évangile  
et au dessus de  
l'autel de St Hilaire.

16 août Lavage petites  
voûtes côté épître  
Préparations pour  
recevoir couche  
de peinture.

17 août Mise couche de  
peinture pan-  
neaux petites  
voûtes. Bronze  
Préparations et  
améliorations  
bordures table-  
aux côté  
chaire.

18 — Peinture petites  
voûtes côté  
épître - retouches  
bandes de ces voû-  
tes. Bronze même  
côté. Lavage  
suite des  
voûtes côté épî-  
tre. Ornement  
bordure tableaux  
côté évangile  
Impression rac-  
modage grande  
voûte à l'orgue.

20 août Nettoyage petites voûtes  
côté épître. Peinture  
d'une partie des  
petites voûtes.  
Calle sur le mur  
même côté. Bronze

13

20 aout suite — Retouches  
— Tableau de Jesus  
remettant les  
clefs a Pierre.  
Compliment et  
rassure a la  
bordure de ce  
minor tableau.

21 aout. Peinture partie  
murs cote epitre  
et porte même  
cote — de l'un  
de l'autre  
au papier sablé  
Lavage finies  
cote epitre  
Préparation aux  
petites portes cote évan-  
gile — Echaraudage  
partie des petits  
portes — et devant  
du jubé pour la  
tier.

23. 24. } Petites portes.  
une couche de  
suavité pour  
ne pas cote évan-  
gile. Préparation  
cote epitre.  
Bronze. Retou-  
ches bordures. cote  
finies. Tableaux

22. 23. 24. suite 14

Vettoyage partie  
devant du jubé  
et colonnes.  
Peinture haut  
des colonnes.  
cote évan-  
gile

25 aout — Lavage autel  
de S. Hilaine. Re-  
touche "Jesus re-  
mettant les clefs  
a S. Pierre" et a  
la "Descente du  
S. Esprit" sur  
les apôtres. re-  
touche a la bor-  
dure du tableau  
de S. Hilaine.  
Echaraudage de-  
fait entre le jubé  
et la chaire, et re-  
fait vers l'autel  
de la vierge avant  
dernière travée.

24. 28 S. B. Hilaine — cou-  
che peinture murs  
petite section au  
haut et autres de-  
tails. Lavage



15  
27.28 nuit - murs cote  
epitre - retouches  
bordures et ta-  
bleau de S-Hilaire  
Echafaudage antel  
de la Ste-Vierge  
pour le mur et  
une partie de  
la voute -

29 Lavage parties  
petites voutes et  
murs cote epitre  
Peinture une  
couche dernière  
travée et bout  
de l'église cote  
de l'évangile  
Retouches ar-  
mentations et  
bordures - ainsi  
qu'au tableau  
de S-Hilaire

30 aout. Peinture refaite  
à deux panneaux  
dernière travée  
de la voute cote  
évangile - Cote  
epitre peinture  
murs et voute  
en parties - Net-  
toyage d'au-  
tre

16  
partie des voutes  
et du tableau  
de l'assomption  
Retouches bordures  
des voutes - même  
cote - Retouches  
tableau S-Hilaire  
et du mariage de  
la Vierge - Pein-  
ture colonnes.

31 aout. Peinture panneaux  
de la chaire - murs  
près de l'orgue cote  
évang. - bronze  
colonnes - Retou-  
ches - mariage de  
la Vierge - Saint-  
Hilaire - diverses  
bordures voutes et  
murs cote epitre.  
Dernière travée  
et échafaudage  
cote évang - des-  
cendre -

1er Sept. Echafaudage com-  
plète cote epitre  
Nettoyage partie  
de murs antel de  
la Ste-Vierge et par-  
tie des voutes,  
colonnes - Prépa-  
ration des murs  
au même cote

17  
3 sept. Nettoyage et  
préparation  
parties des  
voutes cote épi-  
tre. Echafau-  
dage d'une  
partie du choe-  
ur. Visite de  
M. L. Dupire  
et du Dr Lahai-  
ne.  
4. Nettoyage tableau  
de l'Assomption,  
partie des vou-  
tes cote épi-  
tre et grande voute.  
Préparation  
murs et voutes.  
Colonnes -

5 sept. Peinture voutes.  
Nettoyage murs. cote épi-  
tre et grande voute.  
Retouches orne-  
mentation des  
voutes, murs.  
même cote.  
Bronze des  
nervures. Tra-  
vail aux modi-  
fications des  
bordures des ta-  
bleaux -

18  
6 Sept. Cote épi-  
tre.  
Peinture  
des deux dermi-  
ers panneaux  
voutes voutes.  
Colonnes muf-  
et fuste.  
Retouches orne-  
mentation des  
voutes. Travail  
aux modifica-  
tions des bor-  
dures des tableaux.  
Nettoyage murs  
du choeur.  
Echafaudage  
en partie défait.  
7 sept. Bronze colonnes  
Nettoyage choeur  
Retouche bor-  
dures tableaux  
et décor  
voutes et murs  
cote épi-  
tre.  
Continuation  
de l'échafaudage  
du choeur.  
Perçage au  
partie de cote  
cote épi-  
tre -

8 sept. Retouche bordure  
de l'Assomption  
Nettoyage en par-  
tie de l'Assomption  
et du chœur du  
choeur - Bronze  
colonnes - aussi  
peintures.

Echafaudage  
suff en partie  
10 sept Continuation  
échafaudage  
net - Nettoyage  
tableaux du  
choeur - l'Assom-  
ption en partie  
et l'Adoration  
des mages  
Nettoyage des  
le chœur d'une  
partie des pilas-  
tres et des murs.

11-12 sept Nettoyage murs  
et parties des  
voutes du chœur.  
11 sept. Préparation  
des murs. avant la pein-  
ture des panneaux  
peinture des la voute.  
Peinture des  
murs.

20

14-15 sept. Peinture. Bron-  
ze. retouches.  
voutes, murs.  
colonnes du  
choeur.

Retouches table-  
aux l'Assomption  
et du baptême  
de Jesus - Lavage  
d'une partie  
de la boiserie  
au dessus des  
bancs - Desseu-  
te de l'échafau-  
dage, antel de  
la Ste Vierge.  
Construction  
d'une partie  
de l'échafaudage  
premier pavé  
au grand voute.

17 sept. Peinture panneau  
du chœur voute.  
Bronze nervures  
voute du chœur.  
Lavage première  
section grande  
voute. Echafau-  
dage complète pre-  
mier.

21  
panneaux grande  
voute.

18 sept Peinture pan-  
neaux voute  
du chœur Bronze  
voute du chœur.  
Nettoyage premi-  
ère travée vau-  
te nef.

19 Peinture pan-  
neaux voute  
du chœur, retou-  
ches bordures  
panneaux voute  
du chœur.  
Retouches  
bordures table-  
aux du chœur

20-21 Peinture pan-  
neaux voute du  
chœur. Fleurs  
de lys effacés  
première tra-  
vée grande  
voute. Retou-  
ches bordures  
des évangélistes.  
Savage boisserie  
en dessous des tableaux  
descente écha-

22  
faudage fond  
du chœur. et  
commence en-  
luis de la secon-  
de travée de la  
grande voute.  
Entèvement des  
statues de Saint  
Joseph et de Saint  
pour mettre à  
leur place des  
mitrains. plus-  
tard

22 sept. Peinture fond  
panneaux des  
la voute du chœur  
et retouches à leur  
ornementation.  
Retouches bordures  
évangélistes et  
saints de St Jov.  
Savage l'une  
partie de la voute  
series autour de  
l'église et d'une  
partie de l'autel  
de la Ste Vierge.  
Echafaudage des  
autels de celui d'une  
partie du chœur  
et construction  
l'autel zone trav. de voute

2.3

24 sept. Peinture fonds  
panneau fire  
travée grande  
voute. Retou-  
ches arnaments  
voutes du chœur  
et bordures des  
tableaux 2. Assen-  
sion et l'adorati-  
on des Mages.

Polissage des cou-  
ronnement des  
banes. Echafa-  
udage, descente  
d'une partie de  
celui du chœur  
et construction  
deuxième travée.  
grande voute nef.  
Bronze sur les  
nervures grande  
voute.

25 sept. Lavage 2<sup>ème</sup> tra-  
vée grande voute.  
Enlèvement des  
fleurs de lys de  
cette travée. Retou-  
che bordure et con-  
struction 1<sup>ère</sup> travée.

2.4

Enlèvement des  
restes de l'écha-  
faudage du chœur  
et construction du  
dernier étage de  
celui de la 2<sup>ème</sup>  
travée et com-  
mencement de  
celui de la 3<sup>ème</sup>

26 sept. L'échafaudage  
de la moitié de  
la 3<sup>ème</sup> travée  
de la grande vou-  
te terminé ain-  
si que celui du  
devant des jubé.  
Lavage et netto-  
yage 2<sup>ème</sup> travée  
fini. Enlèvement  
de fleurs de lys  
de cette travée.  
quelques unes. Re-  
touches au di-  
cors des bas des  
Murs.

27 sept. Grande voute -  
huile et terre sur

25

Les panneaux de  
la 3<sup>ème</sup> travée  
Bronze sur les  
mouures mêmes  
travée. Lavage  
et nettoyage de  
la 4<sup>ème</sup> travée  
pour une moi-  
tié. Retouches  
divers aux murs  
de l'église.

28 sept Peinture 3<sup>ème</sup>  
travée grande  
voute. Retouches  
à cette travée  
bordures et em-  
blèmes. Lavage  
et nettoyage  
devant du jubé  
en partie. Pa-  
choies autour des  
fonds des derniers  
fonds arrière de  
l'église.

29 sept Peinture après  
préparation du  
devant du jubé,  
fonds des panneaux  
et assemblages.  
Lavage des colon-  
nes dessous des

26

jubé, une partie  
des colonnes. Des-  
cente de l'écha-  
faudage 2<sup>ème</sup>  
travée nef et  
partie 3<sup>ème</sup> tra-  
vée, nef.

1<sup>er</sup> Oct Descente dernière  
partie 3<sup>ème</sup> travée  
voute nef. Écha-  
faudage. Écha-  
faudage voute,  
nef. 4<sup>ème</sup> travée  
moins la plus  
haute plate-forme.

2 Oct Nettoyage de la  
portion de la 4<sup>ème</sup>  
travée qui reste  
encore. Échafau-  
dage pour les pan-  
neaux au-dessus  
de l'orgue afin  
de les repeindre  
sur ce que la pein-  
ture de ces panne-  
aux n'avait pas  
été bien réussie  
au début des  
travaux de res-  
tauration.

2<sup>e</sup>  
2 Oct. note  
Disposition des  
croix symboliques  
et autres au de-  
vant du jubé.  
Calques des  
pochoirs du  
devant du jubé.

3 Oct. - Grande Voute -  
Nettoyage de la  
dernière partie  
du panneau  
côté épître, 4<sup>ème</sup>  
travée. Brulage  
du panneau cor-  
respondant même  
travée. Préparati-  
on pour refaire  
la 5<sup>ème</sup> travée  
déjà faite au  
début de l'auara-  
ge de restauration.  
Peinture de la de-  
mi travée près  
de la <sup>paroi</sup> tribune  
de la façade, au-  
dessus de l'orgue.  
Retouches aux  
vignes ornemen-  
tées du bas des  
cours de l'église.

2.8  
4 Oct. Travail au nettoya-  
ge de l'autel de  
la Vierge - a pas-  
ser de l'huile sur  
la paroi de la  
4<sup>ème</sup> travée. Bren-  
ge des nervures de  
cette travée. Pein-  
ture 5<sup>ème</sup> travée  
Prépare la demi-  
travée panneau  
côté épître au-  
dessus de l'orgue  
à être repeint  
pour la 3<sup>ème</sup> fois  
les deux couches  
précédentes ne  
donnant pas de  
résultat désiré.  
Entière. Trois mètres  
de la fenêtre de  
la façade au-des-  
sus de la tribune  
de l'orgue afin  
de les remplacer  
avant la nitro-  
phanie. On com-  
mence à défaire  
le mur de l'église  
au bas de la niche  
du choeur - dormant  
sur le chemin co-  
leur - afin d'y pra-  
tiquer un escalier  
pour le jubé des songes  
arriver de l'arche.

29

5 Oct. Préparation avant  
et derniers papiers  
au-dessus de l'orgue  
Peinture bandes  
bleues pour recevoir  
le pochoir vert  
en crème. Net-  
toyage à l'autel  
de la Vierge.

Préparation aux  
boîtes des tirants  
à vent de l'orgue  
de chaque côté du  
particul.

6 Oct. Pochoirs croix  
devant du Tabé.  
Retouches bas  
des murs. Passage  
d'une partie de la  
vitrophanie fenê-  
tre de la tribune  
de l'orgue.

Depuis une couple  
de jour on trav.  
forme en une tri-  
bune pour les di-  
verses des religieuses

Surveillance l'entrée en arri-  
ère de ces lieux d'audessus  
travaux du maître-autel  
Un escalier est  
préparé en arri-  
ère des fenêtres  
ou chaux. donnant  
sur le chemin  
l'ouest.

30

8 Oct. Peinture fume  
travée. Préparation  
de la partie de la  
dernière travée au-  
dessus de l'orgue  
doit la dernière  
couche n'avait  
pas donné de  
meilleurs résultats  
que les précédentes  
Retouches et préparations  
aux parties de  
boiserie à refaire  
et continuer à  
cause de change-  
ment de place  
de la porte condui-  
sant au clocher.  
Nettoyage du cadre  
de la fenêtre de  
la tribune de l'or-  
gue. Nettoyage à  
l'autel de la Vierge.  
Préparation pour  
une boiserie  
disposant les  
boiseries à air  
de l'orgue.

9 Oct. Lavage et nettoyage  
terminé à l'autel  
de la Vierge et com-  
mencer à celui  
de St Joseph.  
Vitrophanie ter-



31  
mine finit de  
la tribune de  
l'orgue. et pré-  
paration de deux  
autres fenêtres pour  
la rue voir. Pour  
avoir raccorde  
souti demi  
travée tribu-  
ne de l'orgue.  
Surveillance des  
travaux tribune  
des Religieuses.  
10-11 Lavage parti de  
l'autel S. Joseph.  
Partir de l'entrée  
de l'église. Vitré-  
phanie posée sur  
les deux fenêtres  
du jubé moins  
quelques carreaux.  
Echafaudage pour  
refaire les grancs  
panneaux de la  
2<sup>me</sup> travée de  
la Voute princi-  
pale. qui n'étaient  
pas parfaits. Les  
croix symboliques  
du devant du ju-  
bé complétées.  
Retaux aux  
filets des emblèmes  
et des bordures de  
la 3<sup>me</sup> et 4<sup>me</sup> travée

32  
de la grande  
voute  
Surveillance des  
travaux au  
jubé des Sœurs.  
12 Oct Peinture refaite  
à satisfaction  
dans la voute  
principale 2<sup>me</sup>  
travée. Retaux  
divers au bas  
de l'église. et  
bouts de bordures  
refaites petits  
panneaux voute  
tribune de l'orgue.  
Commence à  
descendre l'écha-  
faudage de la  
grande voute à  
partir de la 2<sup>me</sup>  
travée allant  
vers la tribune  
de l'orgue. Lava-  
ge des parties de  
l'entrée de l'église.  
Surveillance des  
travaux du  
jubé des sœurs.

33

13 oct. Fini de dem-  
re l'échafaudage  
de la grande voûte.  
Préparatif pour  
celui du dessous  
du jubé devant  
être monté lundi.  
Rattachés aussi  
ornements du  
devant du  
jubé. Lavage  
dans le portique  
vest. à l'instala-  
tion des cruci-  
fixes du jubé des  
sociés. Commence-  
ment des réparations à la  
crucifixion - petits  
brisures sur le  
plancher. mise en place.  
Surveillance les tra-  
vaux du jubé  
des sociés.

15-16 Lavage et netto-  
yage du dessous  
du jubé. Pose  
du mordant par-  
tie du devant du  
jubé à raccorder.

34

Surveillance des  
travaux du jubé  
des sociés. Le 14 sem-  
ble rent.

Prise des mesures  
pour la pose du  
mordant du  
chocur. Liste des  
statues à revendre.

17 oct. Lavage et netto-  
yage du dessous  
du jubé. Continua-  
tion du mor-  
dant devant du  
jubé.

Surveillance des  
travaux du jubé  
des sociés. Mise  
en exécution des  
grillages.

18 Lavage et netto-  
yage du dessous du  
jubé. Continuation  
et fin du mordant  
devant du jubé. Do-  
nner en partie du  
devant du jubé.

Surveillance jubé  
des sociés. Travaux  
des grillages.

35

oct. Fin du nettoyage et lavage du dessous du jubé. Travail complété. Nettoyage des colonnes. dessous du jubé. Commence à peindre ces colonnes. à passer le bronze jaune aux escaliers. Peinture d'une partie du dessus du jubé. construction des moulures de sa base. Jubé des religieux. exécution des grilles. Surveillance.

20 oct. Echafaudage du jubé descendu. Peinture des panneaux des escaliers. Bronze portique. et escaliers. Commence fillets aux ornements d'une nouvelle. In de vant du jubé.

36

Du 22 au 25 Oct.

Nettoyage des colonnes au dessous du jubé. Peinture de ces colonnes et le bronze refait sur leur ca-mellures. Bronze sur les moulures des escaliers. fini le fillet aux ornements d'une partie de moulure du devant du jubé. Retouches à quelques ornements du bas des murs de l'église. Nettoyage des murs dans le portique.

26 oct.

Bronze, fillets escaliers. fillets couleurs portique. Impression contre-marches escaliers. reprise murs du portique.

134  
28 oct. Peinture après pré-  
paration de la his-  
sue de couronnement  
des sauto. de couron-  
nement inscriptions lati-  
nes sudessus des  
bancs du fond  
de l'église. coli-  
cations.

30 oct. Peinture après  
préparation de la  
tringle de couron-  
nement des bancs  
surveillance des  
trouvans au  
jubi des sauto.

31 oct. Peinture intérieure  
partiquie. Batoni-  
ches aux tableaux de  
l'Assomption et  
du Mariage de la  
Vierge. Lavage  
à l'antel de St. Joseph  
surveillance  
jubi des sauto.

3 nov. Peinture exaliera  
jubi et chaire  
Lavage mural  
plafond jubi  
des sauto.  
surveillance  
balustrades jubi  
des sauto.

38  
5 nov. Rameodage au  
jubi des sauto  
re jube de  
sauto. de cour-  
nement pour la to-  
bleau de l'Assom-  
ption des sauto  
fin de l'ouvrage  
de l'antel de  
St. Joseph. com-  
mence celui du  
maître-autel.

surveillance des  
trouvans au jubi  
de sauto. tra-  
ce de la balustrade  
de. brefin de l'as-  
calier commens-  
ci. travail de  
l'installation  
des sauto. et est.  
de l'antel.

6 nov. Peinture intérieure  
jubi fini.  
surveillance jubi  
des sauto. Balustr-  
age et peinture  
des grilles. Minis-  
trerie des sauto.  
des commens.

39

2.11.10. Crèpi de l'escalier fini.

7 nov. Surveillance ju-  
bi des soeurs. Ma-  
stiquage et  
peinture des gril-  
lages. Constructi-  
on et tracé des  
balustrades des  
grillages continua-  
les.

8.9.10. Peinture - Les grillages.  
ju-  
bi des soeurs. Les  
murs et le plafond  
ju-  
bi des soeurs.

# 3. Surveillance de  
ces travaux.

12 nov. Peinture - Plafond  
ju-  
bi des soeurs.  
2ème couche -  
Travail de correc-  
tion à la main  
contrainte de l'es-  
calier. Préparati-  
on de couleur pour  
dernière couche.  
Murs et grillages.  
Dessin pour ame-  
nager au dessous  
des balustrades.  
Surveillance.

40.

13 nov. Peinture des murs  
ju-  
bi des soeurs.  
Dernière couche  
Impression de  
l'escalier. Po-  
choir pour qua-  
tre consoles  
ornementales.

14-15-16. Surveillance.

14-15-16. Travaux divers

17 nov. Peinture des  
grillages der-  
nière couche.  
Partie des murs  
ju-  
bi des soeurs.  
Retouches au  
crucifixe. Po-  
choirs aux bas  
de la balustra-  
de des grillages.

20. Surveillance.

19 nov. Préparation de  
l'escalier ju-  
bi des soeurs. Pochoir  
aux bas de la  
balustrade, grilla-  
ges. Retouches de  
des murs au-  
dessus de  
la Vierge. <sup>unif. pl.</sup>  
Surveillance. <sup>de l'ég.</sup>

42  
mentionnées le  
21 Nov.

27 nov. Dessins emble-  
mes-carreaux  
à remplacer

28 nov. Dessins-embli-  
mes-carreaux  
à remplacer.  
Dessin pour  
disposition  
au linoléum  
sanctuaire  
Calends des  
quantités.

5 Dec. Préparation  
du plancher  
pour poser  
le linoléum  
du sanctuaire  
200 | Surveillance

13 Dec. Visite au tra-  
vema de l'é-  
glise. Taillage  
et pressage du  
linoléum com-  
mencé. Expli-  
cation à M.

41.  
20 nov. Peinture escalier  
maître-autel.  
Ratouche cadres  
des portes du  
choeur. barres  
du jubé de l'é-  
glise.  
Surveillance

21 nov. Croquis d'em-  
blèmes pour  
les verres devant  
être remplacés.  
Sans les fenêtres  
autres fois cor-  
rées par l'abon-  
ge du grand jubé  
supprimé.  
Ratouche aux  
barres du jubé

26 nov. Peinture vernies  
triangle de cir-  
connement des  
barres du jubé  
de l'église. dessin  
du devant de ce  
jubé. le bras de  
carré des esca-  
liers. dernier  
item de mon  
contrat.  
Calque pour le  
dessin des car-  
reaux des fenêtres

43

Jas Danville com-  
ment couvrir  
et ajuster les  
stalles du sanc-  
tuaire au des-  
sous des tables  
aux de l'absi-  
side et de l'ad-  
oration des Ma-  
ges - et autres  
surveillance

300

21-22  
Dec

Desin de la  
croix du  
parquet de  
l'église.

1000

1929

1/2 jour

Visite a l'église  
de l'insolence et  
ajusté et se-  
paration a la  
voile avancée  
La restauration  
du m-stair scif-  
ture et ennuie-  
rie en cour

ADDENDUM 2

Contract for the 1928-1929 Restoration



Saint-Hilaire

Monsieur le curé de la  
Paroisse de Saint-Hilaire

Monsieur Oryas Leduc

résidant demeurant à Saint-Hilaire

Comté de Beauville P.Q., m'engage

par la présente à nettoyer et à

réparer les tableaux et la

statue de votre église de la

manière décrite au devis explicatif

ci-joint pour la somme de

un mille six cents dollars (\$1600)

payable par versement de cent

vingt-cinq dollars (\$25-) par

semaine durant le cours des tra-

vaux et la balance restant, à

la fin de ces travaux.

Fait en double.

Oryas Leduc

Dévis  
Eglise de Saint-Hilaire  
P.Q.

Restauration de la décoration et  
des tableaux - Chemin de la Croix  
et autres figures décoratives.

Surfaces à traiter

Eglise et son porche. - Les voûtes, les  
murs, les fenêtres intérieures, les  
portes intérieures - La chaire, les au-  
tels, les stalles, les boiseries, le  
devant du jubé, les escaliers,  
la triangle de couronnement des  
bancs et le couronnement du  
devant du jubé ainsi que celui  
des ~~travées~~ des escaliers.

Matériaux

Tous les matériaux employés pour  
cette restauration seront de premi-  
ère qualité - La dorure, ou <sup>gilt or brooming</sup> nécessaire,  
sera faite au mordant "Le franc"  
avec l'or allemand, marque  
"Germania".

## Exécution

Tout le travail, peintures, retouche au décor, au au tableaux, dorure sera fait par des ouvriers compétents sous la direction comme en chef, responsable de l'ouvrage.

## Détail des travaux

Les voûtes, nettoyées à fond, tel que corniches, recevront sur leur frangeaux principales une couche de peinture mate de la nuance voulue, après mastiquage et autres réparations jugés nécessaires.

Le bronze de leurs nervures sera renouvelé.

Les murs, également nettoyés à fond, les fissures et autres détériorations réparées au mastic au au plâtre, suivant le cas, recevront entre les bandes au décor, une couche de peinture, préparée comme celle des usages, et de nuances convenables.

La chaire et les autels - nettoyés avec  
soin. Les panneaux de la chaire  
appliqués au mur, actuellement frottés  
d'un vert éclatant, seront remis en  
leur couleur primitive semblable  
à celle de tous les autres panneaux  
de cette chaire. Les fonds du retable  
au maître-autel qui sont ornés d'un  
vase et d'une vigne dorés d'un  
mauvais dessin trop voyant, seront  
refaits en une teinte uniforme,  
comme celle des retables des petits au-  
tels.

Le devant du jubé et les escaliers du jubé

La menuiserie nouvelle nécessitée  
pour compléter le devant du jubé  
sera peinte à trois (3) <sup>couls</sup> couches,  
les noeuds shallacrés et le masti-  
quage fait. La décoration sera  
faite pour se raccorder à celle des  
parties anciennes comme couleur et  
comme exécution. Le couronne-  
ment du devant du jubé sera  
réparé et reverni de même que celui  
de la rampe des escaliers.

Les barres - La tringle de couronne-  
ment, actuellement de couleur brune

combien sera passé au papier  
sable et repeinte de la même  
couleur et ensuite vernie à  
coudre.

Les colonnes nettoyées comme les  
autres parties de l'église, deux couches  
de peinture à leur partie inférieure,  
leur fronton sera refait.

Comme entrepreneur je fournirai  
tous les matériaux, les ustensils,  
les échafaudages etc. nécessaires  
à la mise en œuvre et à l'exé-  
cution des travaux ici décrits, et  
à la terminaison de l'ouvrage au  
complet, tous les déchets et surplus  
de matériaux qui pourrait rester  
seront enlevés et tout dommage  
qui pourrait être causé à la déco-  
ration ou à quelques parties de  
l'église, par mes employés, en  
descendant l'échafaudage ou par  
leur faits, autrement - seront répa-  
rés - et je laisserai en ce qui con-  
cerne mon travail, l'intérieure

de l'église proprement balayée  
et en bon ordre.

L'échafaudage sera établi de  
manière à nuire le moins possi-  
ble au culte et enlevé aussitôt  
l'ouvrage terminé.

Ozias Leduc.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

#### A) Archive Material:

Archives du Couvent des Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et Marie, Saint-Hilaire  
Daily Journal, Book I (1850-1910), Book II (1911 - )

#### Archives de l'évêché de Saint-Hyacinthe

Registre des Lettres, Series I, Volume 17 (1 November, 1892-1 October 1894)

Registre des Lettres, Series I, Volume 18 (1 Oct. 1894 - 30 Dec. 1895)

Registre des Lettres, Series I, Volume 19 (January 1, 1896 - 14 November 1897)

Monograph on St-Hilaire church and community recording data from 1795-1880. Volume 30 and Volume 37.

Archives de la famille Borduas, Saint-Hilaire.

Archives de la Paroisse de Farnham.

#### Archives de la Paroisse de Saint-Hilaire

Troisième Livre des Délibération de l'oeuvre et Fabrique de la paroisse de Saint-Hilaire depuis 1889 à 1926.

Cahiers de comptes de la fabrique de Saint-Hilaire (Jan. 1, 1893 - Dec. 31, 1932).

Livre de Comptes

J.M. Laflamme's personal diary (70 pages).

Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, Fonds Ozias Leduc, 06-M, p. 50.

Archives for the Regional Notarial Documents, Marieville, Québec.

Archives Séminaire de St-Sulpice, Montréal.

Inventaires Biens culturels, Québec City, Fonds Gérard Morisset, Dossier St-Hilaire Church.

Société historique de Saint-Hilaire, Saint-Hilaire.

#### B) Newspapers:

#### La Presse

"La Boucane", La Presse, November 6, 1894, p. 1.

- "Les arts à Montréal", La Presse, November 13, 1894, p. 2.
- "La Boucane", La Presse, November 27, 1894, p. 3.
- "Une Eglise Incendiee", La Presse, December 7, 1895, p. 12.
- "L'église de Beloeil", La Presse, December 9, 1895, p. 1.
- "La Paroisse de St-Hilaire", La Presse, December 19, 1896, p. 1.
- "A Saint-Hilaire", La Presse, October 27, 1897, p. 8.
- "A Travers Les Provinces - St-Hilaire", La Presse, October 21, 1898, p. 3.
- "La vitrophanie", La Presse, October 22, 1898, p. 15.
- "M. Murray Prendergast", La Presse, April 12, 1899, p. 10.
- "Conference de M. Bessette", La Presse, August 16, 1899, p. 7.
- "Un Centenaire", La Presse, October 21, 1899, p. 9.
- "Les Tableaux de Tissot", La Presse, November 7, 1899, p. 9.
- "La Vie de Jésus Christ par James Tissot", La Presse, November 8, 1899, p. 5.
- "Nouvelles de Partout - St-Hilaire", La Presse, March 7, 1900, p. 3.
- "Les Funerailles du Revd. M.J.P. Dupuy", La Presse, May 4, 1900, p. 8.
- "Nouvelles de Partout - St. Hilaire", La Presse, May 9, 1900, p. 7.
- "Curé de Farnham", La Presse, June 2, 1900, p. 17.
- "A Farnham", La Presse, June 4, 1900, p. 8.
- "A Farnham", La Presse, June 6, 1900, p. 6.
- "Nouvelles de Partout - Farnham", La Presse, June 23, 1900, p. 16.

#### Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe

- "Evêche de St-Hyacinthe", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, April 17, 1894, no. 22, p. 3.
- "Echos du Jour", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, April 21, 1894, no. 24, p. 3.
- "L'incendie de Beloeil", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, December 10, 1895, no. 121, p. 3.
- "Bazar", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, January 12, 1897, no. 135, p. 3.



"Centenaire à St-Hilaire", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, October 21, 1899, no. 99, p. 3.

"Grand bazar à St-Hilaire", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, February 20, 1900, no. 146, p. 3.

"Changements ecclésiastiques", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, May 5, 1900, no. 28, p. 3.

"Le regrette curé de Farnham", Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, May 8, 1900, no. 29, p. 1.

#### L'Etoile du Nord

"Echos de Joliette", L'Etoile du Nord, October 8, 1891, no. 9, p. 3.

"Honneur à un Canadien", L'Etoile du Nord, October 29, 1891, no. 13, p. 3.

"Echos de Joliette", L'Etoile du Nord, November 5, 1891, no. 14, p. 3.

"Autour du monde", L'Etoile du Nord, August 16, 1892, no. 3, p. 3.

"Echos de Joliette", L'Etoile du Nord, November 2, 1893, no. 13, p. 3.

"Echos de Joliette", L'Etoile du Nord, February 15, 1894, no. 28, p. 3.

"Echos de Joliette", L'Etoile du Nord, October 18, 1894, no. 11, p. 3.

#### L'opinion publique

"Choses et Autres", L'opinion publique, December 21, 1882, p. 609.

#### Paris-Canada

"Les Canadiens à Paris", Paris-Canada, no. 11, June 1, 1897, p. 4.

"La société canadienne de Paris", Paris-Canada, no. 12, June 15, 1897, p. 5.

"La société canadienne de Paris", Paris-Canada, no. 13, July 1, 1897, p. 5.

"Les Canadiens à Paris", Paris-Canada, no. 19, October 1, 1897, p. 3.

"La Boucane", Paris-Canada, no. 21, November 1, 1897, p. 4.

C) Periodicals

Arcadia (Montréal), 1890-1892

Art et Décoration (Paris), 1900

Gazette des Beaux Arts (Paris), 1896-1900

Le Petit Messager du Très Saint-Sacrement (Montréal: Pères du Très Saint-Sacrement), 1898-1900

Le Rosaire (Saint-Hyacinthe: Pères dominicains), 1895-1902

Masters in Art (Boston), 1900

## Secondary Sources:

Books and Articles

- Addison, Agnes. Romanticism and the Gothic Revival. New York: Gordian Press Inc., 1967.
- Allaire, J.B. Dictionnaire Biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français. Montréal: 1908-34. Impr. de l'Ecole catholique des sourd-muets.
- Allaire, Sylvain. "Les canadiens au salon officiel de Paris entre 1870 et 1910: sections peinture et dessin." J.C.A.H., Volume IV, number 2, 1977-78, pp. 141-154.
- Andrews, Keith. The Nazarenes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Baldry, A.Lys. Modern Mural Decoration. London: G. Newnes Ltd., 1902.
- Barbier, Paul. La Vie de Saint-Hilaire. Paris: Poussielgue, 1887.
- Barnard, Julian. The Decorative Tradition. London: The Architectural Press, 1974.
- Bate, Percy H. The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters. New York: A.M.S. Press, 1972.
- Bergeron, René. L'Art et sa spiritualité. Québec: Editions du Pelican, 1961.
- Bertram, Gordon W. "Economic Growth in Canadian Industry, 1870-1915: The Staple Model and the Take-Off Hypothesis." The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Volume XXIX, number 2 (May, 1963), p. 162ff.
- Biron, Hervé. "Le chant du cygne d'Ozias Leduc." Le Mauricien Médical, Avril-Mai-Juin 1964, pp. 49-64.
- Borduas, Paul-Emile. "Quelques pensées sur l'oeuvre d'amour et de rêve de M. Ozias Leduc." Canadian Art, Vol. X, no. 4, 1953, p. 158.
- Caron, Abbé Napoleon. Histoire de la Paroisse d'Yamachiche. Trois Rivières: P.V. Ayotte, 1892.
- Cauchon, Michel. Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy, 1778 - c. 1848, Série Arts et métiers, Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1971.
- Cecil, David. The Visionary and Dreamer. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Chauvin, Jean. Ateliers. Montréal: Les Editions du Mercure, 1928.
- Constantine, Mildrid and Selz, Peter, ed. Art Nouveau. New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1959.
- Crane, Walter. Transaction of the Art Congress, Edinburgh: 1889.

- Denis, Maurice. Journal. Paris: 1957.
- Denis, Maurice. Théories, 1890-1910, du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Occident, 1913.
- de Vries, Ad. Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1974.
- Dorival, Bernard. Catalogue Raisoné de l'oeuvre de Philippe Champaigne. Paris: Léonce Laget Librairie, 1976.
- Evans, Joan. Pattern. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931.
- Falardeau, Emile. Artistes et artisans au Canada. Montreal: Ducharme, 1943.
- Friedlaender, Walter. Poussin. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1966.
- Gagnon, Maurice. "La Peinture moderne. Peinture religieuse." Technique (Montréal), Volume XV, number 4; avril, 1940, pp. 251-253.
- Gallego, Julian and Gudiol, José. Zurbaran. Translated by Kenneth Lyons. London: Secker and Warburg, 1977.
- Gervais, Albert. Joliette Illustré. Numéro- Souvenir de ses noces d'or, 1843-1893. Joliette: l'Etoile du Nord, 1893.
- Gladu, Paul. "L'ermite de Saint-Hilaire: le peintre Ozias Leduc", Le petit journal, November 29, 1953, p. 61.
- Goulet, Gérard. "Saint-Hilaire." Message Canadien Du Sacré-Coeur.
- Grabar, Oleg. Islamic Architecture and its Decoration A.D. 800-1500. London: Faber and Faber, 1964.
- Guindon, Henri M. "A propos d'un dessin" Ozias Leduc, peintre marial. Message de Marie Reine des Coeurs, Volume 46, number 5, Janvier, 1949, pp. 1-7.
- Hamelin, Jean, ed. Les travailleurs Québécois 1851-1896. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1973.
- Hamilton, George Heard. Painting and Sculpture in Europe (1880-1940). Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967.
- Harper, J. Russell. Early Painters and Engravers in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Hedges, James B. Building the Canadian West. . . Land and Colonization. New York: MacMillan Co., 1939.
- Histoire des Beaux Arts: Notions. Montréal: Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie, 1937.
- Huysmans, Joris-Karl. La Cathédrale. Paris: P.V. Stock, 1898.

Jette, René. Mariages de St-Charles, 1741-1967, St-Hilaire, 1799-1967, St-Jean Baptiste, 1797-1967, Otterburn Park, 1960-1967. Québec: Pontbriand, 1969.

Lacroix, Laurier. "Les Artistes Canadiens copistes au Louvre 1838-1908," J.C.A.H., Volume II, number 1, 1975, pp. 54-70.

Lacroix, Laurier. "The dream mountain of Ozias Leduc." Arts Canada, October/November 1978, issue number 222/223, pp. 9-15.

Lacroix, Laurier. La chapelle de l'évêché de Sherbrooke: quelques dessins préparatoires d'Ozias Leduc. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada Bulletin 30, 1977.

Laframboise, Yves. L'Architecture Religieuse dans la vallée du Richelieu. Documents 2, mai, 1971.

Landow, George P. W.H. Hunt and Typological Symbolism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Larivière - Derome, Céline. "Un professeur d'art au Canada au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'abbé Joseph Chabert." R.H.A.F. Volume 28, number 3, 1974, pp. 347-366.

Lecoutey, André. "Les Décorations Religieuses d'Ozias Leduc." Art et Pensée, number 18 (juillet-août) 1954, pp. 184-186.

Le Messager du Très Saint Sacrement, Volume LIII, November, 1950, pp. 289-296.

Lopez-Rey, José. Velasquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre. London: Faber and Faber, 1963.

Major-Frégeau, Madeleine. La Vie et l'oeuvre de François Malépart de Beaucourt (1740-1794). Série arts et métiers, Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1979.

Male, Emile. L'Art Religieux de la Fin Du Moyen Age en France. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1925.

Manner, George L. The Nabis. New York: Garland Publishing Inc. 1978.

Maurault, Olivier (pseudonym, Louis Deligny). Marges d'histoire Montréal: Librairie d'Action canadienne-française, 1929.

Maurault, Olivier. La Chapelle du Sacré Coeur, Eglise du Saint Enfant-Jesus, Montréal: 1921.

Maurault, Olivier. "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique." Le Mauricien, février, 1938, p. 4-5, 29.

Maurault, Olivier. Charles Gill: Peintre et Poète lyrique. Montréal: Les éditions Eoliennes, 1950.

Maurault, Olivier. La Paroisse. Histoire de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal. Montréal: Thérien Frères Ltée, 1957.

- Morisset, Gérard. La Peinture Traditionnelle au Canada-Français. Ottawa: Le Cercle du livre de France, 1960.
- Morisset, Gérard. Coup d'oeil sur les arts en Nouvelle France. Québec: Charrier et Dugal, 1941.
- Noppen, Luc. Les églises du Québec (1600-1850). Québec: Fides, 1977.
- Ostiguy, Jean René. Etude des dessins préparatoires à la décoration du baptistère de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada Bulletin 15, 1970.
- Pevsner, Nicolas. Academies of Art, Past and Present. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.
- Pevsner, Nicolas. Pioneers of Modern Design. New York: Penguin Books, 1968.
- Piron, E.A. Eugène Delacroix, sa vie et ses oeuvres. Paris: Jules Claye, 1865.
- Porter, John R. The Works of Joseph Légaré, 1795-1855. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada for the Corporation of the National Museums of Canada, 1978.
- Porter, John R. and Désy, Léopold. L'annonciation dans la sculpture au Québec. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1979.
- Rheims, Maurice. The Age of Art Nouveau. London: Thames and Hudson, 1966.
- Robert, Guy. Borduas. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1972.
- Savard, Pierre. "La vie du clergé québécois au XIX siècle." Recherches sociographiques. Volume VIII, number 3, 1967, pp. 259-273.
- Schiller, Gertrud. Iconography of Christian Art. London: Lund Humphries, 1971.
- Service, Robert. The Complete Poems of Robert Service. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1940.
- Stacey, Robert and Constantinidi, Mela, "The Poster in Canada", Canadian Collector (Jan/Feb 1979), pp. 11-15.
- Staley, Allan. Pre-Raphaelite Landscape. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973.
- Sussman, Herbert L. Fact into Figure. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1979.
- Sypher, Wylie. Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature. New York: Random House, 1960.
- Thibault, Marie-Thérèse, ed. Monuments et sites historiques du Québec. Cahiers 110. Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1978.

- Traquair, Ramsay. The Old Architecture of Québec. Toronto: MacMillan Company Ltd., 1947.
- Vachon, G.A.; Ethier-Blais, Jean; Gagnon, François; Le Gris, Françoise. Ozias Leduc et Paul-Emile Borduas. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1973.
- Vaughan, William. German Romanticism and English Art. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Vézina, Raymond. Napoléon Bourassa 1827-1916. Ottawa: Editions Elysée, 1976.
- Wattenmaker, Richard J. Puvis de Chavannes and the Modern Tradition. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975.
- Webber, F.R. Church Symbolism. Cleveland: J.H. Jansen, 1927.
- Worringer, Wilhelm. Form in Gothic. London: Alec Tiranti, 1957.
- Zevi, Bruno. Architecture as Space. New York: Horizon Press, 1957.
- Ziff, Norman D. Paul Delaroche: A Study in 19th Century French History Painting. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1977.

#### Exhibition Catalogues

- Lacroix, Laurier. Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman. Montréal: Sir George Williams Art Galleries, 1978.
- Ostiguy, Jean-René. Ozias Leduc, Symbolist and Religious Painting. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada for the Corporation of the National Museums of Canada, 1974.
- The Dusseldorf Academy and the Americans. Atlanta: The High Museum of Art, 1972.
- Canadian Department of Fine Art, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. Catalogue of Paintings. Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson Printer, 1893.
- Art Association of Montreal Exhibition Catalogues (1892-1900).

#### Unpublished Works

- Lacroix, Laurier. La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke. Unpublished M.A., thesis, University of Montréal, 1973.

Le Gris, Françoise. Borduas et la peinture religieuse. Unpublished  
M.A., thesis, University of Montréal, 1972.



Photographic Credits

A.N.Q.M.: 26, 27, 28, 29, 38, 39, 44, 45, 59, 92.

Laurier Lacroix: 13a, 13b, 14, 21, 22, 23, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35,

37, 40, 41, 42, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 61, 65, 66, 71

77, 83, 87, 89, 91, 94, 96, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107.

National Gallery of Canada: 25.

J.-René Ostiguy: 15, 16 .

Alan Pringle: 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 52, 56, 57,

63, 67, 68, 72, 78, 84, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102.

J. Craig Stirling: 11, 13c, 19, 20, 24, 31, 36, 43, 46, 47, 48, 54

58, 60, 62, 64, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81,

82, 85, 86, 88, 90, 93.

### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1) St-Hilaire church interior. Dimensions unknown. S.H.S.H.
- 2) Photograph showing Leduc and his assistants for the 1896-1897 project. S.H.S.H.
- 3) Four views of church interior. Pencil on paper. 19.0 x 25.5 cm. A.N.Q.M., bl c9A.
- 4) Study for vaulting decoration. Pencil on paper. Verso 2nd Station of the Cross 25.5 x 19.2 cm. A.N.Q.M., bl c9A.
- 5) Studies for dimensions of canvas shapes. Pencil on paper. 13.3 x 20.5 cm. A.N.Q.M., bl c9A.
- 6) Study for dimension of canvas shape (Evangelist). Pencil on paper. 9.5 x 13.7 cm. A.N.Q.M., bl c9A.
- 7) Study for canvas shape. Pencil on paper. 25.7 x 19.4 cm. A.N.Q.M., bl c9A.
- 8) Study for canvas shape. Pencil on paper. 33.3 x 20.3 cm. A.N.Q.M., bl c9A.
- 9) Number 9 has been deleted.
- 10) Study for church interior decoration. Pencil on paper. Dimensions unknown. Private collection.
- 11) Illustration from Adolphe Hildebrandt's Heraldic Book Plates: Twenty-five Ex-libris. Berlin : J.A. Stargardt, 1892-1894, plate 7.
- 12) Preliminary drawings for Twelve Religious Symbols for Nave Ceiling and High Lateral Walls. Pencil on paper. 13.2 x 7.8 cm. A.N.Q.M., b2 c9.
- 13) Preliminary drawings for Nineteen Religious Symbols for Nave Ceiling and High Lateral Walls. Ink on paper 21.0 x 21.5 cm. A.N.Q.M., b2 c9.
- 13a) View of the Choir Area.
- 13b) View of Seven ceiling panels of the Choir Area.
- 13c) Photograph of ivy in a squat pot.
- 14) Adoration of the Magi. Oil on canvas. 609 (est.) x 242 cm.
- 15) Preliminary drawings for the Adoration of the Magi. Pencil on paper, signed lower right, Ozias Leduc. Dimensions unknown, Private collection.
- 16) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Adoration of the Magi. Pencil on paper. Dimensions unknown. Private collection.

- 17) Philippe Champaigne, Adoration of the Magi, Oil on canvas. 280 x 121 cm. Musée Tessé, Le Mans. Bernard Dorival, Catalogue Raisonné de l'oeuvre de Philippe Champaigne, no. 42, pp. 28-29, 406.
- 18) Hippolyte Flandrin, L'Adoration des Mages, Mural painting. Saint-Germain-des-Près. François Bourmand, Histoire de l'art chrétienne, Vol. 2, no. 22, pp. 336-339.
- 19) John Lafarge, Ascension, Oil on canvas. 27'6" x 36'8". Church of the Ascension, New York. Royal Cortissoz, "Mural Decoration in America", Century, LI (November, 1895), pp. 110-121.
- 20) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Ascension. Pencil on paper. 13.5 x 6.5 cm. Private collection.
- 21) Ascension. Oil on canvas. 609 (est.) x 242 cm.
- 22) St. Hilary Writing His Treatise. Oil on canvas. 304 x 195 cm.
- 23) Individual studies for left and right hands of St. Hilary. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Private collection.
- 24) Compositional preliminary drawing for St. Hilary Writing His Treatise. Pencil on paper. 22 x 13 cm. Private collection.
- 25) Individual study of St. Hilary's head for the lost canvas St. Hilary Raising the Child Who Had Died Without Baptism. Graphite, black chalk and ink. 17.3 x 24.4 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
- 26) Photograph of Ulric and Honorius Leduc in front of partially completed canvas St. Hilary Writing His Treatise in Leduc's studio. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 27) Photograph of Ozias Leduc and his brother Ulric in front of the partially completed St. Hilary Writing His Treatise. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 28) Seated Ulric Leduc in front of lower right side of St. Hilary Writing His Treatise. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 29) Seated Ozias Leduc in front of St. Hilary Writing His Treatise. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 30) Assumption of the Virgin. Oil on canvas. 304 x 195 cm.
- 31) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Assumption of the Virgin. Pencil on paper. Signed lower right Ozias Leduc. 22 x 13 cm. Private collection.
- 32) Individual study of angels' hands holding ribbons. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Signed lower right Ozias Leduc, Paris 1897. Private collection.

- 33) Individual study of angel's hand holding guitar, top left and right side, the head and upper torso of the kneeling Mary Magdalen for Christ in the House of Simon. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Private collection.
- 34) Individual study of upper torso of the elongated female figure at the lower right, and at the top left, the study for the left foot of Mary Magdalene for Christ in the House of Simon. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Private collection.
- 35) Individual study of Virgin's head. Charcoal on paper. Signed lower right Ozias Leduc 1898. Inscribed lower right. Résemblance de ma soeur - Ozema. 40 x 31 cm. Private collection. See Lacroix, 1978, p. 26, number 10.
- 36) Individual study of Virgin's head. Charcoal on paper. Initialed and dated lower right O.L. '98. 41.3 x 30.5 cm. Private collection. See Ostiguy, 1974, pp. 124-125, number 15.
- 37) Individual study of the Virgin's folded hands. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Private collection.
- 38) Photograph of the Assumption of the Virgin. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 39) Photograph of partially completed Assumption of the Virgin with grid system. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 40) Close-up of Mary Magdalen in the canvas Christ in the House of Simon.
- 41) Medallion Head of an Angel. 60 x 60 cm.
- 42) Individual head and hand study. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Private collection.
- 43) Couronnement de Marie dans le ciel, Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours, Montréal, 1908-1909. Oil on canvas.
- 44) Photograph of canvas Couronnement de Marie dans le ciel prior to installation. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 45) Photograph of seated Louis-Philippe Martin and standing Félix Martin in front of the Assumption of the Virgin in Leduc's studio. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 46) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Baptism of Christ. Pencil on paper. 18.0 x 9.5 cm. Private collection.
- 47) Three figure studies for the Baptism of Christ. Pencil on paper. 13.0 x 18.5 cm. Private collection.
- 48) Detailed figure and landscape study for the Baptism of Christ. Pencil on paper. 9.5 x 7.0 cm. Private collection.

- 49) Baptism of Christ. Oil on canvas. 304 x 147 cm.
- 50) Detail of St. John the Baptist.
- 51) Detail of Christ.
- 52) Philippe Champaigne, Baptism of Christ, Oil on canvas. Bernard Dorival, Catalogue Raisonné de l'oeuvre de Philippe Champaigne, no. 1639, pp. 290, 480.
- 53) Individual hand studies of Christ for Christ in the House of Simon. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Private collection.
- 54) Compositional preliminary drawing for Christ in the House of Simon. Pencil on paper. 18 x 11 cm. Private collection.
- 55) Christ in the House of Simon. Oil on canvas. 304 x 175 cm.
- 56) Eugene Delacroix, La Prise de Constantinople, Oil on canvas. Louvre, Paris. Raymond Escholier, Delacroix, Vol. 2, 272.
- 57) Molitor, La Sainte Cene. Oil on canvas. Le Petit Messenger, April, 1907, pp. 104-105.
- 58) Johann Hofmann, Madeleine oint les pieds de Jésus. Oil on canvas. Le Rosaire, 1904, pp. 196-197.
- 59) Photograph of Christ in the House of Simon before installation in St-Hilaire church. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographic file.
- 60) Compositional preliminary drawing for Supper at Emmaus. Pencil on blotting paper. 18.0 x 7.0 cm. Private collection.
- 61) Supper at Emmaus. Oil on canvas. 304 x 104 cm.
- 62) Pontormo, Supper at Emmaus. Oil on wood 230 x 175 cm. Uffizi, Florence.
- 63) Carl Muller, Supper at Emmaus. Oil on canvas, Le Petit Messenger du Tres-Saint-Sacrement, June 1900, p. 161.
- 64) Compositional preliminary drawing with grid system for the Pentecost. Pencil on paper. 11 x 10 cm. Private collection.
- 65) Pentecost. Oil on canvas. 168 x 153 cm.
- 66) Individual study of Mary's hands in the Pentecost. Graphite on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Inscribed lower right - O.L. Paris, 1897. Private collection.
- 67) Philippe Champaigne, Pentecost. Oil on canvas. 326 x 228 cm. Eglise Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Libourne. Bernard Dorival, Catalogue Raisonné de l'oeuvre de Philippe Champaigne, no. 80, pp. 51, 414.
- 68) Zurbaran, Pentecost. Oil on canvas. 160 x 116 cm. Cadiz, Provincial Museum of Fine Arts. Julian Gallego and José Gudiol, Zurbaran, fig. 155, p. 219; cat. no. 146.

- 69) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Marriage of the Virgin. Pencil and ink on paper. 18.0 x 9.5 cm. Private collection.
- 70) Compositional preliminary drawing with grid system for the Marriage of the Virgin. Pencil on paper. 17.5 x 9.0 cm. Private collection.
- 71) Marriage of the Virgin. Oil on canvas. 304 x 147 cm.
- 72) Raphael, Marriage of the Virgin. Oil on panel. 67 x 46½ inches. Brera Gallery, Milan.
- 73) Compositional preliminary drawing for Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter. Pencil on paper. 18.0 x 7.0 cm. Private collection.
- 74) Compositional preliminary drawing for Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter. Pencil on paper. 19.0 x 8.2 cm. Private collection.
- 75) Oil coloured sketch for Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter. Oil on paper. 19.0 x 8.2 cm. Inscribed top left, Paris, top right - 1897 and signed lower right, Oziás Leduc.
- 76) Compositional preliminary drawing, with grid system, for Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter. Pencil on paper. 19.5 x 7.5 cm. Private collection.
- 77) Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter. Oil on canvas. 304 x 104 cm.
- 78) Friedrich Overbeck, The Incredulity of St. Thomas. Oil on canvas. 213.5 x 152.5 cm. Durand-Matthiesen, S.A., Geneva. Keith Andrews, The Nazarenes, plate 70a.
- 79) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Death of St. Joseph. Pencil on paper. 10.5 x 10 cm. Private collection.
- 80) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Death of St. Joseph. Pencil on paper. 11 x 10 cm. Private collection.
- 81) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Death of St. Joseph. Pencil on paper. 10.5 x 10 cm. Private collection.
- 82) Compositional preliminary drawing for the Death of St. Joseph. Pencil on paper. 10.5 x 10 cm. Private collection.
- 83) Death of St. Joseph. Oil on canvas. 168 x 153 cm.
- 84) Paul Delaroche, Conversion of Mary Magdalene. Panel. 20.0 x 42.5 cm. The Wallace Collection, London. Normand Ziff, Paul Delaroche: A Study in 19th Century French History Painting, no. 63, p. 358.
- 85) Compositional preliminary drawing for St. John the Evangelist. Pencil on paper. 6.5 x 8 cm. Private collection.
- 86) Compositional drawing for St. John the Evangelist. Pencil on blue blotting paper. 7 x 8 cm. Private collection.

- 87) St. John the Evangelist. Oil on canvas. 108 x 116 cm.
- 88) Compositional preliminary drawing for St. Matthew the Evangelist. Pencil on paper. 6.5 x 7.5 cm. Private collection.
- 89) St. Matthew the Evangelist. Oil on canvas. 108 x 116 cm.
- 90) Compositional preliminary drawing for St. Mark the Evangelist. Pencil on paper. 9 x 10 cm. Inscribed lower left O.L. Private collection.
- 91) St. Mark the Evangelist. Oil on canvas. 137 x 156 cm.
- 92) Photograph of Ozias Leduc seated in front of the St. Luke and St. Mark canvases. A.N.Q.M., Fonds Ozias Leduc, photographique file.
- 93) Compositional preliminary drawing for St. Luke the Evangelist. Pencil on paper. 9 x 10 cm. Private collection.
- 94) St. Luke the Evangelist. Oil on canvas. 137 x 156 cm.
- 95) Preliminary drawing for front of the jubé. Pencil on paper. 9 x 21.5 cm.
- 96) View of rear of St-Hilaire church. Front of jubé with decorative crosses.
- 97) Preliminary drawings for decorative crosses for front of the jubé. Pencil on paper. 11 x 12.5 cm. A.N.Q.M., b2 c9.
- 98) First plan of Choir Area indicating changes during the Restoration. Pencil on paper. 14.5 x 20.3 cm. A.N.Q.M., b1 c30.
- 99) Second plan of Choir Area before Restoration indicating the incorporation of more extensive changes. Pencil on paper. 25.3 x 20.3 cm. A.N.Q.M. b1 c30.
- 100) Preliminary drawing for wooden grillwork. Pencil on paper. 20.5 x 21.5 cm. A.N.Q.M., b1 c30.
- 101) Preliminary drawings for Nave Window motifs. Ink on paper. 14.5 x 9 cm. A.N.Q.M., b1 c30.
- 102) Preliminary drawing for Suspension Lamps. Pencil on onion skin paper. 16 x 14.2 cm. Inscribed top left - Suspension a l'étude trois ou quatre lumieres celle du bas l'allumant isolément. Plan carré. Top right - Plomb et verre carpenté métallique. Ozs. Leduc.
- 103) Suspension Lamp.
- 104) Notre-Dame de Pitie - stained glass (346 est. x 65 cm.).
- 105) Christ in Majesty - stained glass (346 est. x 65 cm.).
- 106) Two angels holding heraldic shield with monogram of Christ (above Christ in Majesty stained glass). P  
X
- 107) Two angels holding heraldic shield with M (above Pieta stained glass).