

"Les hommes sont conduits par les symboles. C'est autre chose que les mensonges."

Rodin

PREFACE

Montreal in the years between 1895 and 1920 produced the greatest concentration of public sculpture in Canada. These monuments documented aspects of a growing Canadian nationalism which was struggling at the time to find adequate means of expression in the arts, and public sculpture was chosen as the most forceful means for this expression. In making this choice Montreal followed the pattern set in many European centres. Public sculpture is a social document. It tells us a good deal about the people who live in a community, their view of themselves and of particular aspects of their history. Vienna honours its musicians along with its emperors and generals; Shiraz in Iran has monuments to its poets; Prague commemorates its saints and religious martyrs.

Montreal's colourful past is mirrored in the statues of the pioneers who came to build the first settlement of Ville Marie here, and of those who followed after and contributed to the development of the city and the nation. Though Ottawa and Quebec led the way in commissioning public monuments to men and women important in the history of this country, it was in Montreal that a particular concentration of such monuments was produced. Most of these were erected within a relatively short space of time and they were, for

the most part, the work of three sculptors, all Quebec-born, namely: Philippe Hébert, George Hill, and Alfred Laliberté.

It is in this context of public sculpture as a medium for nationalist expression -- a nationalism which I take to be a confident assertion of identity -- that this study is placed. It reviews the background of Montreal's growth, the increase in knowledge and awareness of Canadian history on the part of its citizens, and examines the early life and work of the three sculptors who produced the city's major monuments. It looks in particular at three of these monuments, each a memorial to an important Canadian figure.

Published material on sculpture of the nineteenth century in general, and on Canadian sculpture in particular, is meagre. For this study, the most useful sources of information have proved to be contemporary newspapers and magazines, available in the original or on microfilm, at the Municipal Library of the City of Montreal, and the University libraries of Concordia and McGill. The Municipal Archives at Montreal's City Hall proved rewarding. The Public Archives at Quebec and Ottawa were much less fruitful, but did furnish a few items of interest not found elsewhere.

Published material on the sculptors involved in this study is sparse. Philippe Hébert's career is the only one so far to have been well documented. Some material exists on Laliberté, but almost nothing is in print on the life and

work of George Hill. My major source of information for these last two artists has come from members of their families. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Eleanor Venning, daughter of George Hill, for her kindness in receiving me so warmly, and allowing me such free access to the family scrapbook of her father. While not very copious, it did contain items and photographs I have not seen reproduced elsewhere. Ms. Odette Legendre, neice of Alfred Laliberté, proved equally generous in allowing me the freest possible access to the voluminous scrapbook kept by M. and Mme. Laliberté, throughout the artist's career, as well as to the unpublished writings of Laliberté. Professor Orson Wheeler was also kind enough to share with me his knowledge of the work of all three sculptors in this study.

My sincere thanks to Professor Sandra Paikowsky, for encouraging me at the outset to write about sculpture in Montreal, and for the help both she and Professor Hardy George gave me in helping define the subject matter for this thesis. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Laurier Lacroix, through whose initiative I was able to meet Ms. Legendre. Finally, my grateful thanks go to Professor J. Russell Harper my advisor, on whose immense knowledge of Canadian art history I drew consistently, and who unflinchingly and most generously provided the helpful suggestions and continuing support without which I would have been unable to pursue this study.

Aline Gubbay
December 1977
Montreal

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

- 1 George III
- 2 Louis XIV
- 3 Nelson Monument
- 4 Queen Victoria
- 5 Design by Napoleon Bourassa and Philippe Hébert
- 6 Design for Maisonneuve Monument by
Napoleon Bourassa
- 7-17 Maisonneuve Monument
- 18 Jeanne Mance
- 19-21 Strathcona Memorial
- 22 Westmount War Memorial
- 23 Maquette for war memorial
George Hill
- 24 Victoria Memorial
- 25-34 Cartier Memorial
- 35 Hill in his studio
- 36 The Boyd O'Reilly Monument
- 37-41 La Fontaine Allegorique
- 42-49 Dollard des Ormeaux Monument

Note: Unless otherwise stated all statues are of bronze.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	v
INTRODUCTION	1
<u>Chapter</u>	
I THE BACKGROUND	4
Early Monuments in Montreal Montreal in the 1870's An Emerging Nationalism	
II THE PILGRIMAGE TO PARIS	14
The Necessity -- Art Education in Montreal Napoleon Bourrassa The Opportunity -- Salons and Exhibitions The Ecole des Beaux Arts The Impact	
III PHILIPPE HEBERT AND THE MONUMENT TO MAISONNEUVE	30
Hébert's Early Life and Work The Proposal for a Maisonneuve Monument Hébert's Monument	
IV GEORGE HILL AND THE MONUMENT TO SIR GEORGE-ETIENNE CARTIER	57
Hill's Early Life and Work The Competition for the Monument The Monument	
V ALFRED LALIBERTE AND THE MONUMENT TO DOLLARD DES ORMEAUX	85
Laliberté's Early Life and Work The Competition for the Monument -- Laliberté's Letter from Paris The Monument	
VI CONCLUSION	110
ILLUSTRATIONS	117
BIBLIOGRAPHY	142
APPENDICES	147

INTRODUCTION

The Canadian Architect and Builder commented, in 1895, "Montreal may be called with some appropriateness in a few years from now, the City of Monuments, if their number continues to grow in the same proportion they have been during the last few years."¹ The remark was occasioned by the unveiling in July of that year, of the Maisonneuve monument in Place d'Armes. This was a milestone in Canadian art; it was the first major monument in Canada to a Canadian hero, by a Canadian-born sculptor. Other single statues by Philippe Hébert were erected in Ottawa and Quebec before this date, but this was the first full-scale commissioned monument. The Maisonneuve monument soon became so identified with Montreal that, like the Eiffel tower for Paris, or Nelson's column for London, its image alone was enough to evoke the city itself.

Montreal had comparatively few monuments in 1895, but in the next two decades they grew both in numbers and in the importance of individual works. These statues formed, for a time, the largest group of important public sculpture in Canada. Three main reasons account for this phenomenon.

¹Canadian Architect and Builder (Montreal, June, 1895): 38.

First, there was the growth of Montreal into a major city; indeed the metropolis of Canada. Secondly, there was the growing interest in Canada's past history which needed to find appropriate means of expression. Thirdly, three Quebec-born sculptors emerged, each with the ability to work on the scale necessary for public monuments of the kind popular in many parts of the world at this time.

The three sculptors were Philippe Hébert, George Hill and Alfred Laliberté, whose major monuments in Montreal are, respectively, those to Maisonneuve, Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier, and Dollard des Ormeaux. These three monuments were erected in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Montreal's two basic cultures -- the French and the English -- lived together in a curious mix of cooperation with, and separation from, each other. In these years of Canada's beginnings as a nation, it was important to find symbols which would reflect nationalist sentiment in both its French and English aspects. This was a wholly new enterprise for the city. The few public monuments which existed were symbols of Canada's British heritage, relating to people and events outside the Canadian experience. It took persistence, courage and talent, to establish new images which drew on Canadian roots and initiatives.

What was the role of the artist in this basically political dilemma? Herbert Read wrote of the artist's function in modern society as being "much the same as that of the

medicine man or magician in a primitive society; he is the man who mediates between our individual consciousness and the collective unconscious, and thus -- hopefully -- ensures social integration."² Consequently, Read felt the artist must hold himself aloof from the immediate passions of controversy, while he searched for the means which would best express the often confused feelings of the society in which he lived. When he succeeded in his task, the public would react with a spontaneous sense of recognition at seeing what he had achieved. When he failed, there was disappointment, a sense of frustration that thoughts and feelings had not found their true expression. There was a vague sense of fundamental failure.

²Herbert Read, To Hell With Culture (New York: Schlocken Books, 1963), p. 4.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

Early Monuments in Montreal

Montreal in the 1870's

An Emerging Nationalism

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

The three monuments on which this study concentrates were preceded in Montreal by three other statues, two of which still remain. The first sculpture placed on public display in the city was a portrait bust of His Britannic Majesty King George III (Fig. 1). It was set up on a pedestal on October 7, 1773 in the market area located at this time close to Place Royale, where John Ostell's neat classical Customs House was built in 1832. (The building is there today and in use providing municipal office space).

The bust was an unidealised but sensitive portrait in marble modelled by a perceptive and sympathetic artist who remains unidentified.¹ The portrait of their lawful king was no doubt meant to serve as a daily reminder to the local populace of the direction in which their loyalties should lie. A precedent had been set when the bust of Louis XIV was set up in Place Royale, Quebec City, in 1686 during the French regime (Fig. 2). In 1773, however, agitation among

¹The sculptor could be either Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823) or Joseph Wilton (1722-1803). Nollekens' portraits tend to a more generalised, classicising style; Wilton's to a greater individualisation. In my view, this work is certainly Wilton's.

the colonists across the border was reaching fever pitch, with the Boston Tea Party signalling the start of major protests. In Montreal sympathies swung between loyalty to Britain and fellow feeling for the Americans. Early in May 1775, news reached the city of the surrender to Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen of the British forces at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Excitement was intense and an irresistible target for those who sympathised with the American cause was the statue of George III.

On the morning of May 1st, 1775, the bust of the king was found, blackened in the face, the neck hung with a necklace of potatoes and a wooden crucifix. The indignity was climaxed by a sign with the legend, 'The Pope of Canada or the English Fool'.² The culprits were never identified in spite of rewards offered. Later the bust was knocked off its pedestal and disappeared. The sequel occurred many years later. Workmen in Place d'Armes uncovered an old well in the middle of the square, and to their great surprise, raised up from the bottom, the statue of George III. Its base was broken, but, astonishingly, the face and head were unharmed. The bust now rests on the storage shelves of the McCord Museum in Montreal.

Montreal's next public monument proved far less

² Article signed G. B. "Le Buste de Georges III a Montreal" in Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, VII, no. 11 (January 1902): 21-5.

controversial. During the winter of 1805-6, news of Admiral Nelson's death at the moment of victory at Trafalgar, was received in Montreal. There was an immediate emotional reaction. The local population had recently been swelled with British military personnel, retired or still in service, and they gave an enthusiastic response to the idea of a memorial to Nelson. A public subscription soon raised the necessary funds, and from the list of subscribers a committee of five was chosen to supervise the building of the monument. The five were Sir John Johnston, Knight and Baronet, John Richardson, the Hon. James Monk, Chief Justice of Montreal, John Ogilvie and Louis Chaboillez, Esquires. The result was that Montreal had its 'Nelson's column' by 1809, several years before London erected its famous landmark.

Nelson's column was designed in England by a London architect, Mr. Mitchell, with the statue of Nelson modelled by George Horatio Smith (Fig. 3). No precedent for such a column existed in Canada. It had a classical form -- columns as commemorative structures reach back to Egyptian and Roman prototypes -- but the monument incorporated some novel elements. Instead of the more usual bronze or marble, Coade stone was used for the statue of Nelson and for the bas reliefs at the base of the column. This stone was a type of artificial plaster made from a secret formula developed in the late eighteenth century by the London firm

of Coade and Sealy, and Nelson's column provided the first demonstration of its use outside Britain. It was later used in Montreal for the decorative relief panels on the outside walls of the first Bank of Montreal building on St. James Street in 1819.

The monument was erected in Montreal under the direction of William Gilmore, a local stonecutter and mason. He used "the best gray compact limestone ... which is found in the neighbourhood, and possesses all the requisites for dressing well, and being exceedingly durable."³ From a base approximately six feet square and ten feet high, rises a Doric column five feet in diameter and fifty feet high, crowned by the figure of Nelson in full dress uniform. The statue was confirmed at the time to be a true likeness of the Admiral. A sailor who had served with him saw the statue and is reported as saying, "This is really a grand figure of the noble Admiral: I hope it is made of good stuff, and will be as lasting as the world."⁴ Curiously, when the column was erected, the figure was placed facing inland with its back to the river "facing towards the west as if intently watching the termination of some great event."⁵

³Newton Bosworth, "Nelson's Monument in Notre Dame Street," Hochelaga Depicta (Montreal, 1839): 154.

⁴Ibid., p. 155.

⁵Ibid., p. 154.

The four reliefs around the base of the column represent events in Nelson's career, the battles of Aboukir and Trafalgar, the landing at Copenhagen after the naval engagement off the coast, and on the fourth side facing west, a design of naval trophies together with the main inscription and dedication of the monument. This is the first monument in Montreal to extend the expression of a central theme through utilisation of bas reliefs. (The original reliefs became worn and flattened with time and were replaced with replicas when the monument was renovated in 1900). Almost ninety years later, Philippe Hébert made use of the same technique to tell the story of Maisonneuve and his pioneer settlers, and later still Laliberté also combined statues and bas reliefs in his monument to Dollard des Ormeaux.

The Nelson monument took its place as a familiar feature in the city landscape. Its classical form blended well with the new buildings which began to surround it on every side; each structure from the Court House to the City Jail was built in the fashionable classical revival style. The monument further synthesised current trends with its romantic associations of drama and heroism, embodied in its subject matter, and in its dramatic form, dominating the surrounding area. During the following decades, Nelson's column provided a favourite focal point for countless drawings and watercolours of the city.

More than sixty years passed before the next monument, a statue to Queen Victoria, was erected in Montreal (Fig. 4). It was unveiled on November 21st, 1872, in Victoria Square, by the Governor General, the Marquess of Dufferin. The occasion was marked by a public holiday and Victoria Square was crowded, filled to overflowing for the ceremony. The Marquess made a graceful bilingual speech and later "danced all night at a ball, never flagging till four in the morning."⁶ The statue is by an English sculptor, Marshall Wood, and shows the Queen as a young woman, dressed in flowing robes covered by a heavy cloak. She wears a simple crown, and carries a sceptre in one hand and a wreath of laurel in the other. The Queen stands on a high shaped pedestal, and possesses the solemn simplicity of outline of the statue of a medieval monarch, more at home in some Gothic cathedral than at the centre of a bustling nineteenth century metropolis.

The comparative simplicity of the statue reflects the changes in taste in the arts by the mid-nineteenth century. These had led to a philosophical revolt against classical models, and a return to medieval art forms and ideals. John Ruskin remains the leading figure of this movement and its chief theoretician. Every aspect of art was affected. In sculpture the trend developed, in later Victorian times,

⁶ Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, My Canadian Journal 1872-8 (London, 1891): 47.

into the elaborate medieval iconography of the Albert Memorial. A. W. Pugin in England, and Viollet-le-Duc in France influenced a return to Gothic forms in architecture, and in painting, movements like the Nazarenes in Italy and France, and the Pre-Raphaelites in England, led the way. The ideals and techniques of this pre-Renaissance revival in art were brought back to Quebec by Napoleon Bourrassa in the 1850's, when he returned from years of study with the leaders of the Nazarenes. Marshall Woods' statue forms part of the early mainstream of the movement; a portrait of Majesty, which is not conceived in terms of Imperial Rome, but as Head of State under God, symbolizing the human, rather than the superhuman powers of the throne.

When Nelson's column was built in 1809, Montreal was a town with a population of 25,000. By 1872, when the statue to Queen Victoria was erected, changes of a fundamental kind had transformed the town into a city of 110,000 people. Immigrants fleeing the famine in Ireland, and a rural exodus to the city, attracted by the magnet of jobs in industry, helped swell the population to over 100,000 in 1870, and to double that number in the next twenty years.

By the 1870's, Montreal was the undisputed metropolis of Canada. It was the hub of a communications network which made the city the vital centre of a country in process of creating itself. The port had grown in importance until it

ranked second, after New York, on the eastern seaboard. The first railway in the British colonies was established in Montreal in 1836 -- a local line, the 'Champlain and St. Lawrence'. The Grand Trunk Railway followed, opening up lines to Portland, Maine, as well as to Toronto and the Maritimes by the 1850's. Later still came the greatest railway enterprise of all, the Canadian Pacific Company's project of a railway linking the country from the east to the west coast.

The entrepreneurs responsible for these aspects of the city's development, were the latest in a series of remarkable individuals who had contributed to the life of Montreal from its beginning. The city retained from its founding years a flavour of the 'frontier', and drew on the imaginative daring and calculated gambles of men and women of diverse abilities -- pioneer missionaries as well as politicians, churchmen and poets. This was the heritage which came to be reflected in the city's public monuments.

Civic pride grew with the increasing affluence and importance of the city. Parks and squares were planned to improve and beautify the area, with the largest project of this kind being Mount Royal Park, developed in the years 1873-81, by Frederick Law Olmstead, creator of Central Park in New York City. At the same time articles began to appear in the press urging the building of public monuments. Support for this last suggestion came from two main groups:

the wealthy who wished to see Montreal acquire public works of art in the tradition of the great centres of Europe, and secondly, from a growing circle of those devoted to the goal of encouraging pride in the Canadian heritage. French-Canadians had found their national historian in Francois-Xavier Garneau. "La frisson patriotique court dans toutes les pages," it was said of his monumental history of the French-Canadian people, and in 1867, at the unveiling of Garneau's tomb, the Premier of Quebec, M. Chauveau, expressed the essence of Garneau's influence when he said, "Il nous a donné de bien grandes choses, dont les moins grandes ne sont point le respect de nous même, l'amour exalté de notre pays, la foi dans notre avenir."⁷

This French circle was joined in increasing numbers by English Canadians, from the professions as well as from business and finance, who were deeply concerned with the rescuing of the Canadian past. Societies were formed with the specific purpose of studying and researching of Canadian history. The Société Historique de Montreal focused on the history of the city. Another group, the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal, was created in 1862 by the merger of two groups of numismatists, one French and one English. Over the years, this group expanded its field of interest from that of coins to a broader study of Canadian

⁷ Francois-Xavier Garneau, Histoire du Canada, 4th ed. (Montreal, 1883) first published 1845-8, Vol. IV, 273.

history, together with a particularly active and vigilant concern for all aspects of Montreal's historical environment.

Members of societies like these brought knowledge as well as enthusiasm to the task of defining Canada's cultural heritage, and they were among the first to give their support to native talent emerging in Quebec. This support for local talent was especially needed in these early years when artists in Canada had limited opportunity either for training in the arts or for working on public projects of importance.

CHAPTER II

THE PILGRIMAGE TO PARIS

The Necessity -- Art Education in Montreal
Napoleon Bourrassa

The Opportunity -- Salons and Exhibitions
Ecole des Beaux Arts

The Impact

CHAPTER II

THE PILGRIMAGE TO PARIS

Any opportunity for artistic education in Canada in the second half of the nineteenth century, was still very meagre. In Montreal, there were classes in drawing and modelling at the Conseil des Arts et Métiers, an amalgam of an English trade school started in 1857, and a French school of art founded in 1860 by Abbé Chabert, a professor of Arts at Ottawa College. This union later merged with a third group, the Société des Artisans Canadiens Français. Instruction was offered in drawing, stone-cutting, modelling and woodworking, but, as the name of the school implies, the objectives of the school were not those of a fine arts academy, but of a training school in the craft trades. •

In the area of Fine Arts, a tentative beginning was made in 1847 by the Montreal Society of Artists, when it held an exhibition to help launch a 'Montreal Gallery of Pictures', but it was ten years before this group mounted another exhibition. The Art Association of Montreal began to hold exhibitions of various kinds from 1860. Most of these exhibitions, with the exception of one annual exhibition, were made up of non-Canadian works loaned by Canadian collectors.

Sculpture was sparsely represented and Canadian examples even less so. These took place in different locales over the next twenty years. The list of prominent patrons began to grow, until in 1879, with the munificent gift of a benefactor, Benaiah Gibbs, a permanent gallery was established in a fine building on Phillips Square. In due course an Art School was established in association with the Art Gallery, but the school's activities were concentrated in the areas of drawing and painting, with minimal attention given to sculpture.

Another enterprise, with repercussions for young artists, and for one of our three sculptors in particular, was the effort of Napoleon Bourrassa (1827-1916) to establish a school for art students in 1861. Instruction was given in drawing only, though it was hoped other disciplines would follow. However, the school lasted only a few months before it was forced to close in the face of fierce political pressures. Bourrassa was a son-in-law of Louis-Joseph Papineau, and was unwillingly drawn into the conflicts of nationalist feelings in which Papineau was a central figure. Bourrassa's nationalist allegiance to French Quebec was questioned, and in the face of harrassment over this matter, the school was closed.

Napoleon Bourrassa remains, however, a key figure in Canadian art, less for his accomplishments as an artist than for his importance as a link between two traditions in art; that of the first native born painters of Quebec,

Theophile Hamel (1817-90) and Antoine Plamondon (1802-1895), and the newer European influences which Bourrassa himself brought back to Montreal from his studies abroad. Bourrassa began his studies in 1849 with Hamel, one of the first Canadian-born painters to have travelled and studied in Europe. Hamel was then at the height of his powers and fame as an artist, painting portraits and producing many religious works for churches and institutions. After four years with Hamel, Bourrassa left for Italy in 1853. He began to study in Rome where he came under the influence of Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869), the guiding force of the movement known as the Nazarenes. This movement was started in Vienna by a group of young German-speaking artists, as the Brotherhood of St. Luke, and was dedicated to the revival of pure religious and esthetic ideals in art. Protesting against what they considered to be empty Academic teaching, these young artists sought a return to those medieval studio practices which, they felt, had been imbued with deeply felt religious ideas. Bourrassa's major interest was painting, but he also cultivated a broad knowledge of architecture and sculpture, especially of the pre-High Renaissance period.

From this milieu in Rome, Bourrassa moved on to Paris, where he continued his studies with Jean-Baptiste Flandrin (1809-1864), a painter who had had contact with the German Nazarenes, and fired with similar concepts, had turned to painting church murals after the manner of early Renaissance

masters like Giotto. Bourrassa, a devout Catholic, was deeply moved by this example of art in the service of religion, and he remained devoted to these ideals to the end of his life. When he returned to Montreal in 1856, he began to write and lecture on these themes, and as author, lecturer and critic, grew to be an influential figure in art teaching. In recognition of his influence, he was appointed Vice-President of the Royal Academy of Canada at the time of its founding in 1880.

Though his own artistic output never rose above the mediocre, in one instance Bourrassa managed to create a genuinely impressive, integrated work, which served to illuminate the ideals he prized. This was the design for both the exterior and interior of the church of Notre Dame de Lourdes in Montreal. This was one of the many churches dedicated to the Virgin being erected all over the Catholic world to celebrate the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception pronounced by Pope Pius IX. Notre Dame de Lourdes took many years to build and decorate, and was finally officially opened on June 22nd, 1880. The exterior, with its cluster of golden domes, is in a rich Romanesque-Byzantine tradition, while the interior, with its intimate proportions and its walls covered with mural decoration, glows like a precious medieval reliquary. For this project, Bourrassa gathered around him a group of student-assistants who worked together as a fraternity in the manner of medieval craftsmen working

on the great churches of the Middle Ages.

This training, however, relied heavily on Bourrassa's own abilities as master and teacher, and though the experiment remained one of the most enterprising in the field of art training in the city, it could not provide the range, experience, and stimulation needed to help new talent grow and flourish.

Eventually, almost every aspiring Canadian artist sought the opportunity to make his way to Paris. There, if one could pass the entrance test, attendance at the Ecole des Beaux Arts was free. To enter the sculpture programme, students were required to model from life, in clay, for two hours daily for six days. This was a rigorous test for a Canadian who had little opportunity for practise of this kind at home. There were, however, besides the Ecole, many small private studios and academies where for a small fee students could draw from plaster casts and live models and have their work criticised by a leading French artist. The Académie Julian (where George Hill studied)¹ was the largest and most famous of these establishments, with an enrolment between a thousand and fifteen hundred students in 1890. In these private studios there were no formal exams or graduation exercises, but a student was free to submit his work to any

¹Hill family scrapbook.

one of several salons for exhibition, a procedure which provided a test of comparison with the work of other artists.

The richness of the stimulation offered to artists in Paris may be sampled by looking at one year, 1889, when so many Canadian artists were gathered there.² The Exposition Universelle of that year was full of exhibits which significantly influenced the arts for many years. Dominating the grounds of the Exposition itself was the Eiffel Tower, a spectacular example of the structural and decorative properties of cast iron; and among the exhibition buildings was Dutert's 'Palais des Machines', a huge showplace of glass and iron, which extended and explored the possibilities of these materials for architecture though the original initiative in this area belonged to Joseph Paxton's design for the 'Crystal Palace' built for the first International Exhibition in London in 1851. At Volpini's Café des Arts, in the exhibition grounds, Paul Gauguin and Emile Bernard had organised the first public showing of Symbolist art, with the title 'Groupe Impressioniste et Synthétiste'. This was an independent show, outside that of the official art exhibition at the Exposition. In this venture, Gauguin and Bernard followed in the footsteps of artists like Courbet

²They included Philippe Hébert, George Hill, Suzor-Coté, Ludger Lârose, Paul Peel, Joseph St. Charles, Maurice Cullen, Edouard Meloche, Henri Beau, Charles Gill and Napoleon Bourrassa. Alfred Laliberté arrived in 1902.

and Manet, each of whom had organised shows -- in 1855 and 1867 respectively -- independent of the official salons. Like its predecessors, the Symbolist Exhibition proved both controversial and influential.

In sculpture, the Exposition was showing a great deal of work from many countries including Canada, with Philippe Hébert's group "La Halte dans la Forêt" on display. The piece attracted a good deal of attention though it failed to win a prize. The Italian and Greek entries were dismissed with contempt by the critics, who turned their main attention to the English school which included the work of Leighton, Thorneycroft and Gilbert. Their work followed in the strict Academic tradition of classical Greek inspiration with Gilbert showing some initiative towards a freer, decorative 'Art Nouveau' line in his statue of Icarus.³ There were, of course, many French entries on display. Two of the most popular were equestrian statues of Joan of Arc, one by Eugene Fremiét and the other by Paul Dubois.⁴ The subject matter reflected the preoccupation of the French with symbols of nationalistic sentiment and patriotic valour, aspects in which the figure of Joan of Arc provided the most popular and effective example.

Sculpture was on display in shows outside the

³Gazette des Beaux Arts (Paris, 1889), Vol. II, p. 395

⁴Gazette des Beaux Arts (Paris, 1889), Vol. II, pp. 18, 26.

Exhibition: Exposition. At the Ecole des Beaux Arts, there was a large retrospective of Antoine Barye's magnificent animal sculpture which sparked a revival of interest in the genre. The Georges Petit gallery had a combined exhibition of the paintings of Monet together with the sculpture of Rodin. Rodin was by now the most controversial sculptor working in France, but he was also one of the most admired and respected. Though he worked outside the circle of official art throughout most of his life, he received many proofs of official recognition as, for example, when the French Government, in 1888, paid 20,000 francs for a marble copy of 'The Kiss'. Rodin himself admired many things about the Ecole des Beaux Arts, though he failed the entrance exam three times and was unable to study there. Though he often criticised the school's teaching programme, he spoke highly of its discipline, the master-student relationships and the insistence on study of the past. Indeed, he retained friendly relations with many of the Academy's most conservative artists. When Rodin's 'Balzac' was refused by the Societé des Gens de Lettres by whom it had been commissioned, the work was given to Rodin's friend, the Academician Jean-Alexandre Falguière (1831-1900) to whose studio George Hill was assigned on his entry to the Ecole des Beaux Arts in 1889. While the public was violently partisan about Rodin's statue of the great novelist -- the press likened the intensity of the controversy to that over the Dreyfus case -- the two

artists sculpted each other's portrait to demonstrate their mutual regard and affection.

Rodin's outstanding genius had great impact on the work of many artists. His range was so great that it was possible to place his work both within and also outside the traditional Academic school. Something of his influence is in the work of all three sculptors in this study, though it produced different results in the work of each. Philippe Hébert was attracted by the neo-classical aspects of Rodin's style. The noble head of a 'John the Baptist' with its idealised synthesis of powerful human emotion and suffering is echoed in Hébert's river god sculptured for the John Young monument of 1908, and in some of the figures in his monument to Bishop Bourget. It was Rodin's experiments with continuous movement in space which George Hill used to greatest effect in some of his War Memorials (Fig. 23), but it is Laliberté who shows most consistently the effects of Rodin's work on a younger generation of sculptors. In both his small scale work and his public monuments, Laliberté's sculpture is touched by Rodin's impressionistic surface quality, a radical departure from the highly finished, detailed, Academic approach.

Other artists with whom our three Canadian sculptors came into contact included Gabriel-Jules Thomas, a sculptor in the strictly classicist, Academic tradition, who remained virtually untouched by the newer trends in art, and Jean-Antoine Injalbert (1845-1933) another highly traditional

artist whose long career was full, as one critic complained, of a "superabondance de banalités."⁵ Less bound by Academic models were teachers like Emmanuel Fremiét (1845-1910), a complex and tortured personality, who had a struggle to achieve recognition, but who, once established, remained open to new ideas and current developments in art. There was also Jules Dalou, who became a good friend of Philippe Hébert's and was a possible influence on his work. He had a chequered career, part of which was spent teaching in London. He later returned to Paris, and soon re-established himself as a leading sculptor and outstanding teacher. And there was Falguière -- mentioned above -- a warm, lively man from Toulouse. His students loved him for his gaiety and humanity. His work, though well within Academic lines, was marked by a full, sensuous line, evident in the endless series of Bacchantes and Dianas which he produced year after year for the Salons.

Academic teaching was still weighted heavily in the direction of a classical tradition tied to a historicism which insisted on accuracy and detail. Changes, when they occurred, tended to be from one well accepted style to another. An American textbook on the history of sculpture noted rather belatedly, "Teaching (in Paris) no longer upholds the severely classical style. The romantic and

⁵Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1898.

naturalistic reaction has gained ground so far that even in conservative quarters, the French Renaissance or the Italian Renaissance is now of more immediate influence than Greece or Rome."⁶ (Emphasis mine). The writer goes on to remark that the new approach is characterised by "elegance, technical perfection and absence of inharmonious detail."⁷ Increasingly, however, it was this insistence on technical polish and perfection, which was draining the effectiveness of Academic teaching. Even the added drama from the repertoire of Renaissance and Baroque traditions, which was replacing some of the more coldly formal sculpture, was too often smoothed into a conventionalised formula of gesture and expression.

By the late '90's, thoughtful critics were openly questioning the quality of contemporary sculpture. Léonce Bénédite, the art critic, writing in the Gazette des Beaux Arts, asked, "Que nous font toutes ces divinités de l'Olympe ressassées depuis quatre cents ans sans modification qui ... encombrant encore nos Salons?"⁸ He described the difficulties for painting, an art so rich and malleable in form and materials, to find new ways to interpret the essence of

⁶Allan Marquand and Arthur L. Frothingham Jr., A Text-book of the History of Sculpture (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896), p. 262.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Leonce Benedite, "Les Salons de 1898: La Sculpture," Gazette des Beaux Arts (1898): 132.

current life and feeling, "le rêve interieur de notre âme contemporaine." How much more difficult for sculpture, "cet art si étroit, si borné ... à résoudre les problèmes complexes et indéchiffrables que nous lui posons?"⁹

The following year, another critic, Paul Desjardins, took up the theme.

Il faut, je crois, congédier toute la mythologie, dire adieu aux femmes symboliques harnachées de paire d'ailes en plumes de pigeon, aux draperies à l'antique, aux rameaux d'olivier et aux mufles de lions Il faut étudier le geste du bûcheron véhément, comme du greffeur attentif, de l'enfourneur de pain¹⁰

Thoughtful criticism of this kind had its impact. It was one of the revelations of life in Paris to the newcomer, that art was a common subject for debate and discussion. To a visitor from North America, it was astonishing to find how much space was devoted in the press to analysis and criticism of art and artists. As for the changes advocated by the critics quoted above, these came slowly. Both Hill and Hébert continued to use the conventional subject matter common to sculpture at this period. It was Laliberté who, of the three, spontaneously worked to express through his sculpture, some of the experiences of the every day lives of men and women, though in his public monuments he too resorted to the conventions most acceptable to the public.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Paul Desjardins, "Les Salons de 1899," Gazette des Beaux Arts (1899): 289.

What impact did this wealth of artistic activity in Paris have on an artist from a milieu like Montreal, a milieu far more restricted in its artistic resources, yet so complex in its social background? This city, so different in its origins and traditions from the cities of Europe, had changed in its three hundred year history -- brief by European standards -- from a tiny missionary outpost, to a metropolis in the first rank of North American cities. Though most Canadians had backgrounds rooted in European origins, it became clear to artists from Quebec who made the pilgrimage to Paris for their studies, that these origins were only a part of their experience and traditions. The rest were formed out of a uniquely Canadian history and background.

For Alfred Laliberté, the first years in Paris were difficult. Reserved and sensitive, he was quickly made aware of his strange accent, clothing and manners. His niece reports that Laliberté rarely spoke to his family about his reactions to life in Paris in these early years. He gave the impression that there were painful associations on which he preferred not to dwell. In the face of this adjustment to, an alien society, he clung tenaciously to the memory of his early background, never losing a clear vision of his roots in a way of life with its own distinct traditions. His teachers in Paris were among the most conservative of the Academicians, a circumstance probably not unwelcome to Laliberté. He came from a society with a deep respect for tradition, and he

himself had no ambition to play the revolutionary. Still, his instinctive artistic sense led him to use a less traditional style where he felt it necessary.

George Hill was twenty-seven years old when he came to Paris for the first time in 1889. We know little of how he fared apart from one letter to his mother, still in the possession of his family, assuring her he was well and happy. Though he never seems to have learnt to speak French with any fluency, this did not prevent him from living and working happily in a French milieu for much of his working life. Perhaps because of his English ancestry, he was accepted more simply by the French as another of the many foreigners who came to study in the greatest art centre in the world. Hill had had virtually no formal training in the arts before coming to Paris, and he drew on his student years at the Ecole and the Académie Julian, for most of the imagery and style he later used in his work.

From his teacher at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Hill received the traditional Academic training, tempered by Falguière's own individual style. This encompassed a freedom of line and movement which shows clearly in Hill's best work. Hill was also influenced, consciously or unconsciously, through study of sculpture erected in the streets of Paris. His English-American roots allowed him to draw on these cultural streams, and these are also visible in his work, as we shall see later.

Philippe Hébert first visited Europe in 1869 at the age of nineteen, and absorbed what he could at that time of art in Italy and France. He returned ten years later with his wife, soon after their marriage in Montreal, and spent several months travelling in France and Italy at this crucial point in his life, a period in which he had decided to launch out on his own as a sculptor. He returned to Paris for the third time in 1888. This time he brought his young and growing family, and carried in his pocket a contract for several government commissions and a grant to cover his living expenses for a six year stay.

Hébert was never officially inscribed at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, but over the years he had developed a circle of friends among his fellow artists in Paris, and he worked and studied informally in their studios. Like Laliberté, he maintained and cherished a profound sense of his Canadian heritage, nourished through childhood by the traditions and folk tales of the community in which he grew up. The foreign influences on his work are largely those of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque periods, which formed his first introduction to art in Europe, coupled with a nineteenth century devotion to a historical, storytelling approach. The drama and emotion of the Baroque in particular was a style he found sympathetic and familiar through traditions of French-Canadian painting and sculpture. As later commissions flowed in, his style took on more of the stereotypes of French Academic classicism.

These later monuments, accomplished as they are, lack the immediacy of vision which illuminates Hébert's best work. It is with one of his earlier works that we are primarily concerned in this study, the monument to Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve.

CHAPTER III

PHILIPPE HEBERT AND THE MONUMENT TO MAISONNEUVE

Hébert's early life and work

The Proposal For a Maisonneuve Monument

Hébert's Monument

CHAPTER III

PHILIPPE HEBERT AND THE MONUMENT TO MAISONNEUVE

Philippe Hébert was born in 1850 in the village of Ste-Sophie d'Halifax in the district of Bois Francs, Quebec. The Hébert family was one of many French-Canadian families who took part in the colonist movement of the 1840's dedicated to opening up new land in the province. The movement was governed by sentiments both nationalist and religious, and had adopted as its slogan 'Langue et Culture, sauvegarde de la Religion'. The land assigned to the colonists, however, was difficult to farm, and for many years yielded a meagre living, but in spite of the hardships, Philippe's childhood seems to have been a happy one. Formal education was limited to the local schoolhouse until the age of eleven, followed by a few months of high school when Philippe was in his early teens, but as compensation for this meagre formal schooling, family and community life abounded in rich traditions and folklore, and there were frequent, vigorous discussions on past and current politics.

When Philippe's schooling was over he went to work in an uncle's store in Stanfold, but was unhappy there and returned home within a year. For the next two years he helped

his father work the land, but family debts began to accumulate and Philippe's father decided to work on the Grand Trunk Railway to earn the money to clear these obligations. He was joined by Philippe, now sixteen years old, and for the next three years father and son worked on construction sites for the railway in Canada and the United States.

Philippe was nineteen when they returned home in 1869, and still undecided about his future. For some time he had shown an interest in art, but the prospect of life as an artist seemed so remote that it was not a serious subject for discussion within the family. An answer to Philippe's immediate dilemma came from an unexpected quarter. Pope Pius IX in Rome was beset by revolutionary forces, led by Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi, who were fighting for the unification of Italy. An emotional appeal went out to the Catholic world from the Vatican for help in defending the Papal States, an appeal which was promptly taken up in Montreal by Bishop Bourget who, with his customary zeal, set about organising volunteers to go to Rome. Seven successive detachments of Zouaves, as the soldiers were called, sailed from Quebec, and among the young men responding to the call was Philippe Hébert. No doubt he was fired by the emotional excitement of the cause, but there was also the fascinating prospect of seeing Rome and all its treasures:

Philippe's group of volunteers arrived in Rome at the end of October, 1869 to find the city relatively peaceful.

Shortly after, the French troops who formed the bulk of the Pope's army, were summoned home to France to fight the Prussians, and the revolutionary forces easily overcame the rest of the Papal army. Victor Emmanuel marched into Rome where he hastened to re-assure the Pope and Catholics everywhere of his good intentions towards the Church and its ministers. Philippe then found himself at leisure and made what use of it he could to explore the streets and museums of the city. His uncle Noel, aware of his nephew's longing to be a sculptor, wrote to him from Illinois: "Si tu as le goût pour la sculpture, c'est à Rome que tu pourras apprendre quelque chose, c'est là ou tu est maintenant que tu trouveras des modèles pour tous les ages, pour tous les temps et pour tous les lieux Chaque instant de ton voyage est précieux, c'est pour toi un cours d'étude."¹

It was indeed a precious opportunity for study, coming as it did at an impressionable moment in Hébert's life. He had had no formal instruction in art, and in the absence of pre-conceived ideas he was free to receive his own impressions and form his own judgements about what he saw. Rome's long history presented him with styles ranging from classical antiquity to contemporary, but it was High Renaissance and Baroque Rome which captured his imagination. Hébert's best work is marked with his personal re-interpretation of the

¹Bruno Hébert, Philippe Hébert Sculpteur (Montreal: Fides, 1973); p. 36.

moving grandeur of sculpture like Michaelangelo's 'Pietà' in the Cathedral of St. Peter's in Rome, and of the vigorous drama of Bernini's early Baroque sculpture. These were the styles which had formed much of the background for French-Canada's earliest artistic traditions, and perhaps for Philippe Hébert there was a sense of recognition in his first encounter with this art at its source.

Rome was an interlude, for on his return to Quebec Philippe was no closer to pursuing a career in art. His father continued to discourage such ambitions, saying: "Le pays est trop jeune pour une carrière comme sculpteur."² To reinforce his argument he could point to the daunting example of two of French Canada's best known artists. Théophile Hamel had just died, poor and forgotten, and Antoine Plamondon who had retired to his farm at Neuville, largely it was said, for want of work. So Philippe returned to farming and when that failed to earn a living, became a salesman. When this occupation proved equally unrewarding, he thought seriously of emigrating to the United States like other members of his family. It was at this time that a cousin, Edouard Richard came to see Philippe. Richard was a member of the Legislature, a writer and historian -- he wrote a history of the Acadians from whom part of the Hébert family descended -- and an amateur of art. He brought Philippe two carved portrait busts

² Ibid., p. 41.

which he had just brought back from Europe. One was of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the other of Pierre-Jean de Béranger, a popular French chansonnier-poet. Richard suggested that Philippe copy them. They were small carvings, little over four inches high. Philippe chose to copy the portrait of Béranger, and was encouraged to exhibit it at the Provincial Exhibition that year (1872) in Montreal. He did this and won first prize in the woodworking division for carvings.

Far more important than the prize, was the reaction of one judge, Napoleon Bourrassa, who recognised in this small work "un talent sérieux" and was impressed enough to communicate immediately with the curé of Ste-Sophie, l'abbé Brunet. Bourrassa asked the abbé to convey to Philippe Hébert an offer to come to Montreal and work in Bourrassa's studio. "Je fais des démarches," he wrote, "en vue de lui procurer les moyens de vivre à la ville, au moins pour un ans sans qu'il eût à s'occuper de trouver son pain de chaque jour."³ It was an unexpected and generous offer, stemming as it did, from a view of so limited a sample of the artist's work.

The following year, Philippe Hébert was installed in Bourrassa's studio at 7, rue Ste-Julie, in Montreal. He began lessons in drawing and modelling given by Bourrassa, and was assigned work on projects in hand in the studio workshop. These consisted largely of work for Bourrassa's major

³ Romain Gour, Philippe Hébert (Les Editions Eoliennes, 1953), p. 8.

preoccupation, Notre Dame de Lourdes Church. There was also a new commission to sculpture a decorative group for the recently completed Post Office building at the corner of St. Jacques and St-Francois Xavier streets, designed in a grandly conceived Beaux Arts style by the Montreal architect, H-Maurice Perrault. The design for the sculpture was drawn from the High Renaissance, and derived from Michaelangelo's group for the Medici tomb in Florence. Two reclining figures, here representing Industry and Commerce, with their appropriate symbols, are shown flanking a large coat-of-arms topped by a royal crown (Fig. 5).

7
The design is unlike most of Bourrassa's work which tended to draw on sources earlier than the sixteenth century, and it is tempting to see this group as one of Philippe Hébert's first professional efforts. He shared in the work, since the base is inscribed 'Bourrassa & Ph. Hébert, Sculp.,' but there is no information to tell us how much he was responsible for the finished design.⁴ It was a generous acknowledgment on the part of Bourrassa of his assistant's help, and served to bring Hébert's name before the public for the first time.

Philippe Hébert studied and worked with Napoleon Bourrassa for six years. Towards the end of this period a request was received for a design for a proposed monument to

⁴Montreal, Municipal Archives, City Hall, Maisonneuve File.

de Maisonneuve. Again Bourrassa called on Philippe's help, but this time the division of responsibility was clear -- the design is certainly Bourrassa's while the modelling was done by Hébert.

The request for the design had origins of some significance. Agitation for a monument to Montreal's founder, Paul de Chomedey, began in the years following the erection of Queen Victoria's statue in Montreal in 1872. This statue was never the target for vandalism as had been that of her grandfather George III, but the mood of the times increasingly sought expression through symbols originating in the Canadian experience. These included the struggles and debates which preceded Confederation, the pride in French Canada's past newly awakened by Garneau's monumental history, and the visible development of Montreal into a modern metropolis. These were achievements uniquely Canadian and they required new images for their expression.

On the 20th of October 1879, there was a meeting of members of the Société Historique de Montreal with several of the society's founding members present. At this meeting a unanimous decision was taken to promote with all possible speed, the building of a monument to Maisonneuve. The subject of their choice was a popular one for several reasons. Maisonneuve was a figure whom all sectors of the public could admire, His mission in coming to Montreal to found a settlement had required great vision and courage in the face of

severe hardship and many unknown dangers. Speaking in the funeral oration at the tomb of Francois Garneau, historian of French Canada, the Prime Minister of Quebec, M. Chauveau lauded the city's founder: "Maisonneuve et ses compagnons (sont venus) fonder au sein du pays Iroquois cette prodigieuse colonie de Montreal."⁵ The colony was also a missionary outpost founded as Ville Marie in the name of the church, as well as in the name of France, so that both clerical and anti-clerical factions in the city had their reasons for admiring Maisonneuve and his companions.

The site for the monument it was agreed, should be in the centre of Place d'Armes over the well from whose depths the marble bust of George III had been drawn up many years before. This was the area where Maisonneuve confronted and overcame the leader of the Iroquois in a crucial episode of the community's early history. For sculptor, the group turned to Napoleon Bourrassa, a native son, admired as much for his culture and knowledge of art, as for his abilities as an artist.

Bourrassa responded with a design for a monument-fountain in the European tradition. A short column, capped by a shaped, tiled roof, carried the large, solemn figure of Maisonneuve dressed as a medieval knight. Here Bourrassa demonstrated how closely he still clung to the teachings of

⁵ Francois-Xavier Garneau, Histoire du Canada (Montreal: Beauchemin et Valois, 1883) 4th ed., Vol. IV, p. 269.

his early training with the Nazarenes. The choice of pre-Renaissance imagery was intended to link Maisonneuve with a period of profound Christian belief rather than setting him in historical time or classicising him as a Greek or Roman hero. The rest of the monument included a surrounding wall over which fell a screen of falling water, and -- a Canadian touch -- two beavers, placed on either side of the column (Fig. 6).

An illustration of the design was published in most of the local newspapers where it was welcomed and admired. The Canadian Illustrated News noted that the proposed monument had been designed by Napoleon Bourrassa, and modelled by his pupil, Philippe Hébert, "a young man of very great promise."⁶ The public was urged to show its support for the venture and the writer added -- in order to reassure readers that no unnecessary extravagance was involved -- that "Mr. Bourrassa is wealthy and needs no compensation beyond what is required for the material outlay."⁷

The basis for this last statement is not clear, but it is likely that Bourrassa, as Laliberté was to do later, had been willing to undertake the assignment for a minimum fee in order that the project not be abandoned because of costs. The Société submitted the design to the City Council who sent it for approval to the Roads Committee. This committee

⁶Canadian Illustrated News, April 12, 1879.

⁷Ibid.

endorsed the project with enthusiasm:

Having considered the petition, and also the design of the proposed monument, and concurring as they do in the opinion that it will not only be a fitting souvenir of this illustrious hero, and the important event in the history of our country in which he played such a distinguished part, but an ornament to the city, they recommend that the prayer of the petitioners to have said monument placed in Place d'Armes be granted.⁸

News of the report's favourable reception at City Hall leaked to the press, and La Patrie reported that the project was "en bonne voie d'execution et que tout fait présager qu'il sera mené a un bon fin."⁹ L'Opinion Publique published a picture of the proposed design and stated confidently that "l'inauguration aura lieu le 18 Mai 1880, jour anniversaire de celui ou Maisonneuve prit possession de l'isle de Montreal au nom de Dieu et de la France en 1641 (sic). Il aura 34 pieds de hauteur et portera sur ses faces des armoiries et des inscriptions."¹⁰

The confidence proved misplaced. The project died in the council chamber, perhaps due to a marked downward turn in the economy, in which many large local fortunes were lost. Whatever the reasons, nothing more was heard on the matter for more than ten years, at which time a new sculptor and a new design were brought forward for consideration.

⁸Montreal, Municipal Archives, City Hall, 'Roads Committee Report', April 1, 1879.

⁹La Patrie, March 31, 1879.

¹⁰L'Opinion Publique, April 17, 1879.

Philippe Hébert, meanwhile, ended six years of association with Bourrassa and set up a studio of his own. In 1879 he married and, after a few months in France, returned to try and establish himself in Montreal. Commissions began to arrive. There were statues for the Cathedral at Ottawa, and others for the magnificently reconstructed interior of Notre Dame Church in Montreal. These works represent Hébert's most important work for religious institutions. But Hébert's ambitions lay in another direction. He wanted to portray secular Canadian history, and his first opportunity in this area came with the commission for a statue of Colonel de Salaberry at Chambly.

The monument to de Salaberry was finished in 1881. It showed the soldier in a tranquil, standing pose, confident and proud. It is an interesting portrait of a man of action, and affords a striking contrast with Hébert's second statue of de Salaberry, completed in 1894 for the Legislative building in Quebec. Both figures are dressed in contemporary costume, but the first relates to a serenely classical tradition, while the second, created after some years in Paris, echoes the romanticism of nineteenth century art and its glorification of military action. It is often remarked that the 1894 statue of de Salaberry bears a marked resemblance to the statue of Marshall Ney by Francois Rudé, 1853.

Shortly after the de Salaberry monument was completed, Hébert entered the contest for a statue to George-Etienne

Cartier to be placed on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. The contest was open on an international level, and when Hébert was awarded first prize, he gained considerable prestige and publicity especially since this statue was the first to be erected on Parliament Hill.

The most exciting project for secular sculpture in Canada at that time, however, centred on the Législative building in Quebec City. This handsome structure designed by the architect Eugène-Etienne Taché, was finished in 1877. The facade was conceived with the ambitious design of carrying a multitude of statues of individuals famous in Canadian history. The project took many years to realise, and the first sculptor entrusted with commissions for this enterprise was Philippe Hébert. It was the kind of work of which he had dreamed, providing him with the opportunity to give visual life to those shadowy figures of the past, the chance to create a new pantheon of Canadian heroes and heroines.

Among the first statues commissioned were those of Frontenac, Lord Elgin, Montcalm and Wolfe. There were also designs for an Indian family group and a single figure of an Indian to form part of a fountain planned for the forecourt of the Legislative building. Hébert began work on these figures in the spring and summer of 1887, and the models were on display at the Provincial Exhibition in Montreal in the autumn of that year. The public response was lukewarm -- a depressing blow to the artist. However, his old teacher and

friend, Napoleon Bourrassa, in a letter both thoughtful and critical, encouraged Philippe while advising him to allow himself time to develop his ideas more fully. "Croyez moi, mon cher Hébert," he wrote, "la facilité n'est pas votre heureux don. Vous avez celui d'acquérir sûrement par le travail des yeux et des mains. Cela vous coutera plus de peine mais vous donnera plus de mérite."¹¹

Bourrassa also spoke with government officials responsible for assigning the Legislative building commissions and he managed not only to dispel the negative impression made by the models, but persuaded these same officials that an artist of Hébert's talent deserved solid support in order to enable him to produce the kind of work of which he was capable. In an unprecedented gesture of generosity, Hébert was given a government contract for \$10,000 plus living expenses, to enable him to work in Paris on these commissions for six years. It was an unheard of measure of recognition and declaration of confidence in an artist on the part of the provincial government, and so in 1888, Hébert together with his young family, left for Paris.

The ambitious design for a collection of historical statues to decorate the facade of the Legislative buildings in Quebec City led to a revival of talk in Montreal for a

¹¹Bruno Hébert, p. 68.

monument to Maisonneuve. E. Z. Massicotte wrote a bitterly sarcastic article for Le Monde Illustré in which he noted that the accompanying illustration was the design for a monument to Maisonneuve which had been proposed for the city in 1879. Naturally, he wrote, the project had been abandoned. It was so much kinder to keep such designs comfortably stored away, rather than subject them to the rigors of the Montreal climate. Besides, enough had been written about these historical figures. No one needed to have such statues on view all the time. Only look at what had happened to ancient civilisations and all their monuments -- all gone, destroyed. Why bother? Now an Ice Palace -- there was something really stimulating intellectually speaking -- but monuments? The article ended with a serious and emotional plea:

Assex de Bêtises, presque des blasphèmes. N'y aura-t-il pas un homme énergique dans Montreal pour stimuler ses concitoyens? N'y aura-t-il personne pour former un comité? Avons-nous des sociétés historiques, des cercles littéraires, des journalistes patriotes, des citoyens reconnaissants?
Allons! Allons! une statue à de Maisonneuve.¹²

There was an immediate response. A powerful committee was formed under the Honorary Presidency of His Grace, Monseigneur Fabre, Archbishop of Montreal. The President was the Mayor himself, Jacques Grenier. The Vice-President, James Power Cleghorn, was President of the Board of Trade and a Director of the Sun Life Assurance Company, while the

¹²E. Z. Massicotte, "Une Statue a de Maisonneuve," Le Monde Illustré, February 25, 1890, p. 341.

Secretary was James Xavier Perrault, a brilliant agricultural expert, a widely travelled and cultured man who had founded the Chamber of Commerce in Montreal and was currently serving as its Vice-President.

This committee drew up a document on letter paper confidently headed 'The de Maisonneuve Monument', which was forwarded to City Hall. The letter stated firmly that,

when the people of the United States and of the whole continent are preparing to commemorate in 1892, by a grand universal celebration in Chicago, the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, it seems that the Commercial Metropolis of Canada should also commemorate at the same date, the 250th anniversary of the foundation of our city by Mr. de Maisonneuve, the first Governor of Montreal The proposition to erect a monument to this distinguished statesman has long been before the public but we have reasons to believe that with your concurrence, gentlemen, the scheme will now at last be in a fair way of being realised.

We therefore beg that you will grant us the authority to erect this monument on Place d'Armes Square, which we consider the most desirable location.¹³

While awaiting approval of the project, the committee underwent some changes. The President was now Judge Pagnuelo, a distinguished jurist, who had also published an historical account of religious liberties in Canada. (Jacques Grenier, no longer Mayor, continued as a member of the committee). New members included, as Treasurer, Richard White, a publisher from Ontario, who came to settle in Montreal when he acquired the Montreal Gazette. Other members were Dr. William Hales

¹³ Letter, Montreal, Municipal Archives, Maisonneuve File, Committee for the de Maisonneuve Monument to the Roads Committee, March 31, 1890.

Hingston, a surgeon with international credentials, who organized the first Board of Health in Canada; Joseph Raymond Prefontaine, a lawyer, was a member of an old established French-Canadian family and sat as Liberal member for Chambly, first in the Quebec Legislature and later in the House of Commons; Joseph Casgrain was founder of the Liberal Club and President of the Reform Club; Louis George Auguste Cresse, an eleventh generation lawyer, was President of the St-Jean Baptiste Society and Vice-President of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society; finally, J. O. Villeneuve, founder of the firm of groceries and spirits which bore his name, was a man active in municipal politics, first as Mayor of St-Jean Baptiste Village, and later as Mayor of Montreal in 1894-5. He was also President of the Commissioners of Mount Royal Park.

In the spring of 1891, the committee's proposal for a Maisonneuve monument was approved at City Hall. Now came the choice of sculptor. After some debate, it was decided to select Philippe Hébert. By the following year he had submitted his design which the secretary of the committee described in a letter to City Council which read in part:

I beg to submit to the approbation of your council the proposed design of the de Maisonneuve monument as received from our Montreal artist, Hébert, who is now engaged in Paris on commission of the Quebec government. This design represents de Maisonneuve planting the French flag, as he takes possession of the country and indicating where the fort of Montreal is to be built. The pedestal of red granit (sic) measuring twenty foot elevation, consists of two elegant reservoirs receiving

a large stream of water from the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers, represented by two allegorical heads On one side of the monument is a wild Indian in full feathers with his tomahawk and scouting for his white enemy -- On the reverse side a heavy sheath of golden wheat just reaped by the sickle of the farmer represents triumphant civilisation over desolate wilderness -- All these statues are bronze and are most creditable to the artist. The design is novel and appropriate and the total cost is put down at \$10,000¹⁴

The design circulated among the committee members, whose major preoccupation was not the artistic merit of Hébert's proposal but its historical emphasis. Some members who also belonged to the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal, discussed the design further with this latter group, and the consensus here was that the design was inadequate to the purpose. A vigorous counter-appeal was launched in a letter to City Council. The group pointed out that it had been on their initiative that preparations were under way to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the founding of Ville Marie the following year. They went on to set out in detail the events and personalities which the society considered should be incorporated in the proposed monument. They stressed first the need for a much grander and more complete monument, rather than a "simple statue." Their suggestions are worth quoting at length since they illustrate the members' sense of involvement in, and their knowledge of, the city's history:

¹⁴Letter, Montréal, Municipal Archives, City Hall, Maisonneuve File, Committee for the de Maisonneuve Monument to City Council, March 31, 1891.

¹⁵La Place d'Armes étant le point centrale de la ville, il faut élever à Paul de Chomedy, Sr. de Maisonneuve, un monument rappelant aux Générations qui vont suivre notre passé glorieux et l'heroïsme du premier Gouverneur de la Ville de Montréal.

On pourrait donner à la statue de Maisonneuve une attitude de commandement, l'épée à la main, et placer à ses côtés ses deux fidèles compagnons d'armes le Major Raphael Lambert Closse et Dollard des Ormeaux qui ont été les sauveurs du Canada

A ce groupe, nous voudrions aussi ajouter un souvenir particulier, topique, historique, la Chienne Pilote, qui par son instinct sauva à plusieurs reprises le fort Ville-Marie en faisant connaître la présence des sauvages qui, par ruse, cherchaient à s'en emparer.

C'est à l'artiste que vous choisirez qu'il appartiendra de tirer de ce groupe le meilleur parti, en ayant soin de réserver la partie la plus saillante pour Maisonneuve, et de lui donner la plus grand relief.

Sur les angles supérieures du piedestal, au dessous de ce [redacted], l'on pourrait mettre en les alternant, des [redacted] d'érables "Canada" et des Fleurs de Lis "France".

Le pedestal comporterait quatre bas reliefs supplémentaires rappelant les principaux événements de la vie de notre héros:

1° L'arrivée de Maisonneuve, le 18 Mai, 1642, et plantant sur les rives du St-Laurent à la Pointe à Callières, la croix de bois du Christ. Le célébration de la messe, premier acte de prise de possession de Maisonneuve entouré de ses soldats et de ces saintes filles Melle. Jeanne-Mance et Mme. de la Peltrie. Le Rev. Père Vimont qui dans son exhortation prononçait ces paroles prophétiques: Vous êtes le grain de senève qui multipliera etc.,

2° Le fait d'armes du Long Sault en 1660 qui sauva la Nouvelle France.

3° La mort tragique du Major Lambert Closse, à la côte St-Lambert, tombant sur la tranchée qu'il avait élevée pour se défendre contre les surprises des Iroquois.

4° Le fait d'armes important de la Place d'Armes

¹⁵Letter, Montreal, Municipal Archives, City Hall, Maisonneuve File, Antiquarian and Numismatic Society to City Council, April 23, 1891.

et tout à la gloire de notre héros qui, ses pistolets aux poings, combattant pied à pied pour protéger la retraite de ses soldats surpris sans munitions, seul, se défendait au péril de sa vie pour assurer le salut de tous, et tenant en respect les chefs sauvages qui voulaient s'emparer de lui.

Aux quatre angles inférieures du piédestal, on placerait en les alternant, et dans diverses attitudes un soldat Français et un sauvage

Nous sommes assez riches pour payer notre gloire. Ce n'est pas une simple statue que nous devons à Maisonneuve mais un monument; ce n'est pas un homme que nous voulons voir couler dans le bronze, mais la vie d'un homme et tout notre passé dont la Ville de Montréal doit se montrer fière et chercher à rappeler d'une façon digne d'elle.

The letter was signed by W. D. Lighthall, Viscomte de la Barthe, de Léry Macdonald and Jos. A. Beaudry. The proposal was favourably received, and the decision was taken to aim for the more ambitious monument as outlined in the letter. Philippe Hébert responded to the new challenge with enthusiasm and began work on a new model which was completed early the following year, 1892. In his final creation, Hébert incorporated many of the suggestions contained in the letter quoted, but omitted, modified and changed others to produce a concept both historically explicit and artistically integrated.

Sometime that winter, however, doubts must have been expressed concerning Hébert's competence to complete this important assignment. Whether unflattering reports of the finished model had made their way back to Montreal, or whether a move was being mounted to give the commission to another artist, the effect was to make Hébert in Paris, uneasy about the contract. Under pressure to retain the confidence of his

patrons, he turned for help to his friends and fellow artists, among whom were some of the leading sculptors in France.

Most famous of those who expressed approbation of Hébert's work was Frederic Bartholdi (1834-1904) whose Statue of Liberty erected in New York harbour during 1886, -- a gift from France to the United States -- had made his name familiar in North America as well as in Europe. Bartholdi now wrote in a letter to Hébert:

Mon cher Hébert,

J'ai eu un grand plaisir à voir votre intéressant projet; ce sera une oeuvre qui vous fera honneur, le sujet est très bien compris et d'une heureuse disposition.

Votre composition présente tous les éléments d'un charmant monument et je ne doute pas que l'exécution ne les réalise complètement.

Recevez mon cher Hébert, tous mes compliments avec mes meilleurs amitiés.¹⁶

This evidently quelled the doubters momentarily and the contract was signed in June, but to add further support, we find two more testimonials written in August. One is a brief note from Auguste Paris¹⁷:

Mon cher Hébert,

J'ai regretté de ne pas vous avoir trouvé à votre atelier.

J'ai vu votre modèle du Monument de Maisonneuve qui sera érigé à Montréal; je le trouve bien compris dans son ensemble, je suis persuadé que votre oeuvre gagnera à l'exécution.

Avec mes félicitations, une cordiale poignée de main.

¹⁶ Letter, Maisonneuve File, Frederic Bartholdi to Philippe Hébert, January 18, 1892.

¹⁷ Letter, Maisonneuve File, Auguste Paris to Philippe Hébert, August 27, 1892.

Another more effusive letter came from Hébert's good friend,
Jules Dalou¹⁸:

Cher Monsieur Hébert,

Laissez moi vous faire tous mes compliments de l'esquisse du monument que vous destinez à votre pays natal.

Non seulement l'ensemble présente un aspect des plus heureux à cause de ses proportions et de l'harmonie qui règne entre ses différentes parties architecturales, mais les figures accessoires ainsi que les bas reliefs, (du plus grand intérêt), contribuent à donner à la base une tournure très imposante; enfin les mascarons et les coquilles de la vasque étant d'une donnée toute nouvelle, cela ajoute un charme et une grâce de plus à votre composition, admirablement couronnée par la figure principale, d'un beau sentiment et d'un jet très décoratif.

C'est en un mot un travail qui, j'en suis convaincu fera le plus grand honneur à son auteur, ainsi qu'au pays où il va s'ériger.

Philippe Hébert's model for the Maisonneuve monument was received in Montreal in October, 1892. By the following August, the statues and bas reliefs arrived at the port where there was a brief delay while they were held for a duty tax of \$305. They were finally released duty free as 'works of art', and construction began on the monument. The first stone was laid early in September 1893, and two years later on July 1st, 1895, the monument was unveiled.

It was an occasion for deep emotion, as well as joyful celebration. The committee had brought together descendants of the settlers of 1663. Place d'Armes was hung with shields and banners; there was music and singing of the old French

¹⁸Letter, Maisonneuve File, of Jules Dalou to Philippe Hébert, undated.

songs. Through the speeches which occupied a large portion of the opening ceremony, one can sense the pride and satisfaction that Maisonneuve and the heroic band of Montreal's first pioneers had been given their due recognition at last.

An emotional account appeared in the papers next day, which read in part:

L'inauguration du Monument Maisonneuve restera dans l'histoire de Montréal comme une des plus belles fêtes dont les archives de la cité fussent mention. Le fondateur de notre belle ville, s'il a connaissance du haut du séjour éternel de cette imposante manifestation, doit en être heureux.¹⁹

The Maisonneuve monument was Philippe Hébert's favourite among the many works of his long productive career. He recognised that here it had all come together as he had dreamed -- history, legend, and the imaginative leap that could blend these and give them visual life. Here he had indeed 're-invented history' as he had longed to do. The monument is an individual work. It draws on many sources for inspiration, but the result is an integrated creation with its own sense of time and place (Fig. 7).

The monument's style derives in the main from Renaissance Italy and the early Baroque sculpture of Bernini. The latter's monument-fountains which are among the glories of the Baroque period in Rome, were the most visible of Bernini's works which Hébert would have seen there as a youth and again when he returned to visit Rome in

¹⁹ La Presse, July 2, 1895.

1879. Hébert seems also to have been influenced by Bernini's skilful blending of historical and contemporary figures, as he did with such startling impact in the Cornaro chapel of the Church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, where the spectacle of St. Theresa receiving Divine inspiration is witnessed by members of the Cornaro family as if at the theatre attending a play.

But Bernini's vivid drama and the agitated surface movement of his carving, are moderated by Hébert with a reserve and gravity stemming perhaps from a French-Canadian tradition of religious sculpture which makes its impact in more understated terms. While each figure, each group in the ensemble is filled with tension and movement, the qualities they portray of heroism and courage are expressed with restraint rather than being made explicit in more flamboyant terms. Influences from the Renaissance appear in the delicately modelled bas reliefs. These stem from the tradition of reliefs by Ghiberti and Donatello, but the genre was revived in the nineteenth century, and Hébert has used it with great skill and effect to tell his story.

The nineteenth century also saw the increasing emergence of historicism in French Academic art; this emphasised accuracy of historic detail in background, and costume and introduced another kind of theatrical quality into current art. Artists went to great lengths to ensure this accuracy of detail in their work. Meissonier, for

example, borrowed one of Napoleon's great coats from the Military Museum and had it copied in minute detail by a tailor, before copying it for a portrait of the General. Hébert shows himself to be in this Academic mainstream but manages to tread a fine line between unnecessary detail and a feeling for the times of which his figures are a part. The French glorification of military power, especially marked in the wake of their disastrous defeat at the hands of the Prussians in 1870, did not influence Hébert in his portrayal of Maisonneuve, whom he chose to show in the triumphant but peaceful attitude of planting the flag, rather than as soldier with sword in hand.

Hébert has used a subtle combination of mass and movement to bring his hero to life (Fig. 8). Maisonneuve stands gazing into the distance with a grave air of inner calm and pride. This calm is underlined by the clarity of line of his broad hat, the solid mass of the torso, and the gentle sweep of the arm which holds the flagpole whose vertical thrust adds stability to the figure. But the figure is far from static. The swirling outline of the flag is echoed in the wrinkled line of the breeches and the outward thrust of the broad boot cuffs. The feet stride in an arrested forward movement, and the diagonal line of the sword crosses behind the figure uniting the stability of the upper half with the furrowed outline below.

The monument is centred in the main square of the old

city facing south towards the river. When it was first erected, it had two large opposing buildings to contend with -- Notre Dame to the south and the Head Office of the Bank of Montreal to the north. Since then the delicate scale of the square has been progressively destroyed by the building of larger and larger structures on every side. Yet the monument retains its presence in the square to a remarkable degree. In the best Greek and Renaissance tradition, it seems measurable and definable in human terms. From its finely proportioned base by architects Mesnard and Perrault, to the top of the figure of Maisonneuve, the monument is a comfortable thirty feet in height. Maisonneuve is only marginally larger -- ten feet including the base on which he stands -- than the statues around the base which average seven feet. Looking up at Maisonneuve, he appears to the viewer remote enough to create a sense of mystery while remaining very human in scale.

In his final design Hébert adopted many of the suggestions made by the Numismatic group, omitted others, and added many personal touches of his own. Lambert Closse, Maisonneuve's brave comrade-in-arms, is there with the dog Pilote (Fig. 12). This group captured the public imagination and was often singled out for comment and for publication.²⁰ But Dollard des Ormeaux has been replaced by Charles Le Moyne,

²⁰ Stanley Casson, Sculpture Today (London: The Study Ltd., 1939), p. 104.

soldier and 'colon' of the settlement, shown with his farmer's sickle, representing the successful struggle to cultivate the land (Fig. 9). The Indian is there, who had figured in Hébert's earlier design -- the 'noble savage' of childhood story, alien in his strange clothing and fierce aspect, yet modelled with great sympathy and sensitivity (Fig. 10). The fourth statue shows Jeanne Mance, the only woman member of Maisonneuve's original band of settlers and founder of Montreal's first hospital -- Hôtel Dieu. She is shown bandaging the hurt of an Indian child. Hébert has idealised the figure as the 'healing Madonna' (Fig. 11).²¹

The four bas reliefs are among the finest things in the monument, each telling its story with a clearly composed economy of detail, rewarding to examine for the delicate quality of shallow modelling and richness of texture. The narrative quality of their design was probably influenced by Dalou's famous relief of 'Les Etats Generaux,' exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1889. Three of the four reliefs deal with the events suggested by the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society. For the fourth, replacing the death of Lambert Closse, Hébert chose to substitute the signing of the order sanctioning the founding of Ville Marie at the Conference of Meudon (Figs. 13-16).

²¹In his other sculpture of Jeanne Mance for the Hôtel Dieu Hospital, unveiled in 1909, Hébert expanded this concept into a finely conceived 'Pietà' (Fig. 18).

Finally, on each of the four sides, are the shells and masks which Jules Dalou found so novel and charming (Fig. 17). Eliminated from the design are the tiresome suggestions of alternating maple leaves and fleurs de lys, but included are the words of Père Vimont at the first Mass, and those of Maisonneuve at Quebec on arriving to undertake his mission. Montreal is fortunate in having so graphic yet so imaginative a memorial to the story of its founding.

CHAPTER IV

GEORGE HILL AND THE MONUMENT TO
SIR GEORGES-ETIENNE CARTIER

Hill's Early Life and Work

The Competition For the Monument

The Monument

CHAPTER IV

GEORGE HILL AND THE MONUMENT TO

SIR GEORGES-ETIENNE CARTIER

George William Hill was born in Richmond, Quebec, in an area settled by Empire Loyalists in the wake of the American Revolution of 1776. His father was a marble cutter and George trained early to work with stone, learning to love its complexities and possibilities. He seems to have decided early in life to become a sculptor. An early influence may have been his friend, Fred Coburn, the painter, who lived close by, and later left to study in Germany. However, it took years of saving before George Hill was able to make his own journey to Europe. He did so in 1889, and headed for Paris where so many other Canadian artists had converged to work and study. Hill studied with many of his fellow Canadians in the congenial atmosphere of the Académie Julian, but he also entered the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where he was assigned to the studio of Falguière (see Appendix II). He came into contact with other leading teachers of the day - Chapu, Jean-Paul Laurens and Injalbert. All were solid Academicians, working in the tradition of careful composition, well finished detail and historical accuracy. This tradition

was well observed by Hill who developed the ability to produce technically well finished models for submission to competitions, an accomplishment Laliberté scorned. His own models were -- like much of his finished work -- deliberately rougher and more impressionistic in finish.¹

Perhaps, due to Falguière's influence, there are in Hill's best works female figures of a rich ripeness, flowing with a sensuous grace which neither Hébert nor Laliberté achieved. Many of these figures occur in Hill's War Memorials. One of the best of these, in Westmount, has a winged figure, symbolising Fame, protecting and glorifying the soldier beside her. From every angle the two figures are rich in their interlocking forms, with the angel curving around and over and beside the soldier in a flowing movement (Fig. 22). Hill also absorbed and noted for future reference, the sculptures on public display throughout the city. He was also influenced by the current formulae for large scale sculpture, so criticised by the more thoughtful critics of the day in Paris (see Chapter II), namely, the classically draped female figures symbolising 'Genius', 'Inspiration' and so on. These personifications of abstract ideas, with their banal gestures and pompous solemnity, emerge at various times in the work of each of our three sculptors, but it is in Hill's memorial to Cartier that they prove most damaging.

¹Laliberté, Pensées.

obscuring the finer elements in the composition.

Hill returned to Montreal in 1894, and lost no time in entering the fight for sculpture commissions. The following year he entered the competition for a memorial to Sir John A. Macdonald, to be erected in Dominion Square. He won second prize, the contract going to an Englishman, George Wade, but the occasion served to bring Hill's name to the public's attention.

Hill's career at this time was largely concerned with decorative work in private homes and on public buildings in the city. In the course of these assignments, he established close working relationships with several architects, notably Robert Findlay and the Maxwell brothers, Edward and William. Findlay was a prolific worker, specialising in domestic architecture, designing dozens of homes for the wealthy families of Montreal. George Hill's most notable collaboration with Findlay, however, was on one of the architect's few public buildings, the Westmount Library, built in 1897 to commemorate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Hill designed and carved plaques for the main entrance, and for the huge fireplace in the interior, which was a central feature in the original building. Changes over the years have quite altered what was one of the finest interiors in a public building in Montreal, and Hill's work remains only on the outer facade of the entrance.

George Hill's first public monument was also produced

in collaboration with Robert Findlay. This was the Sun Life Fountain in Dominion Square, donated to the city by the Sun Life Assurance Company, to mark the Diamond Jubilee of 1897.² The rectangular base of rusticated stone was designed by Findlay, and the splendid lion reclining on the top is the work of George Hill. But the conception is not his. The lion is a copy of one by Bartholdi (Hébert's friend), a sculpture carved in broad, strong planes which underline the noble animal form.

Hill's association with the Maxwell brothers proved even more fruitful. Hill worked with them on several sumptuous homes like that for the Hosmer family (built in 1900, the house still stands at 3630 Drummond Avenue) and on public buildings like the Bank of Montreal on Greene Avenue in Westmount, for which he designed a handsome pedimental group placed over the entrance. The building has been demolished. The sculpture, in pieces, lies abandoned in a yard nearby). The partnership continued in the design of major public monuments, the first of which was the Boer War Memorial in Dominion Square. The Strathcona and Soldiers' monument, as Hill called it, was intended to honour both the regiment of the Strathcona Horse, and the

²Robert Findlay made his reputation as an architect in Montreal by winning the contest for the design of a Head Office for the Sun Life Assurance Company. Built in 1889, the building still stands at 226 Notre Dame Street. It is possible that he suggested Hill as sculptor for the Sun Life Fountain.

man, Lord Strathcona, who financed the entire undertaking of raising, equipping and transporting the regiment to South Africa to help the British, for whom the war was going badly. The commission was won by Hill "in open competition with the best European artists" reported his home town newspaper, and the writer goes on to describe the monument as being "by far the most striking memorial ever erected in Canada"³ (Fig. 19).

The Strathcona memorial is one of George Hill's finest works, well conceived and executed. The main sculptural group includes two figures. A soldier, dismounted to search for the Boer trail is restraining his horse who rears in fright at some unexpected noise. The rearing, agitated silhouette of the horse acts as a counterpoint to the sturdy strength of the soldier. The result is the most striking equestrian sculpture ever created in Canada. This group, twelve feet high, was said to be the largest equestrian statue ever shipped to this continent. The statue and bas reliefs took twenty months to model and six months to cast at the Barbedienne works in Paris. The choice of subject matter is an interesting one and draws on many sources. Laliberté noted that Hill was criticised for plagiarism. "On l'a accusé d'avoir copié un des chevaux de Marli de la Place de la Concorde"⁴ (Fig. 20). The similarities are there, but

³The Times, Richmond, May 24, 1907, p. 7.

⁴Alfred Laliberté, Les Artistes de mon Temps, unpublished manuscript.

there were other more contemporary influences. Animal sculpture was in great favour throughout the nineteenth century, with Antoine Barye, the greatest sculptor of animals of that day, being honoured with a large retrospective of his work in the year of the Paris Exposition of 1889. Many sculptors were experimenting with animal sculpture, including Emmanuel Fremiét whose St. George and the Dragon, completed in 1871, forms a striking equestrian group. Fremiét later saw Hill's work being cast at the foundry and commented: "The horse is well understood and finely composed and detailed."⁵

Hill described his method of sculpting the horse in a speech at a dinner in his honour in Richmond (August 1, 1907): "I had to study the skeleton of a horse, then I made a drawing of a skeleton in a rearing position, and then with a living horse I made a small working model I had the living horse pose in my studio (Fig. 24). I got one at a riding school to rear up for me when occasion required it and for the expression of fear, I resorted to subterfuge and by close observation succeeded in modelling this expression in my clay model" (Fig. 21).

Military glory was a favourite subject for French art. The country's disastrous defeat in the Franco-Prussian War left a need to recreate the country's image through symbols of heroic action. Napoleon at his most triumphant and Joan

The Times, Richmond, May 31, 1907.

of Arc, the archetypal symbol of successful French resistance in the face of the enemy, were very popular in French sculpture. But the view of combat changed markedly when it reached this continent, and the very different American approach to commemorative military monuments was another likely influence on Hill's Memorial. Sculptures like John Rogers' (1829-1904) 'Wounded to the Rear -- One More Shot' (the statue dates from 1865) highlight the heroism, and indicate more of the reality of war through the common soldier, rather than in glorification of the Generals. Similarly, Hill has chosen to emphasise a common occurrence in the daily duty of a soldier of the regiment. It was a view of war which became more common in Europe after the first World War of 1914-18, but long before, it was already a part of North American understanding.

The Boer War Memorial is marked too by the harmonious relationship between sculpture and pediment. The latter follows a finely proportioned design by the Maxwell brothers and carries two bas reliefs of incidents in the war involving Canadians. They are the battle of Paardeberg, where the Boers surrendered to Canadian Infantry and the capture of enemy guns by the Canadian Artillery at the Komati River. There is also a plaque with the carved profile head of Lord Strathcona. The monument was given a fine setting in a well-frequented public square and when it was unveiled on the 24th of May, 1907, the occasion was marked by one of the

biggest military displays ever seen in Montreal. From the time of its erection, the monument became one of the best known landmarks in the city and established George Hill as a sculptor capable of handling large scale public sculpture.

Hill's most grandiose public undertaking was the Cartier memorial. Proposals to erect a monument to Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier, whose diplomacy persuaded Quebec to enter Confederation in 1867, began soon after he died in 1873 at the age of fifty-nine. From the outset, the project was conceived as one of national importance. Cartier was a native son of Quebec, and had represented a Montreal riding in the Legislature, but his political achievements were national in scope, and fundamental in their importance to Canada as a whole.

However, Cartier, unlike Maisonneuve whose monument was also being discussed at this time, was a controversial figure to many of his compatriots. Cartier had not yet faded into legend, and the memory of painful confrontations and bitter debates on the unification question, were still fresh in the public mind. The Canadian Illustrated News took notice of these feelings in an article on 'The Cartier Monument'. It noted:

Among our engravings in the present number will be found a view of the grounds at Cote des Neiges Cemetery on Mount Royal, near the city, which are intended to be the site of the National Monument of the late Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier. The grounds are beautifully terraced and situated in a commanding locality near the

line of Mount Royal Cemetery and with a view of the Mountain Park.

It is now four years since this eminent statesman was prematurely cut off by death, and his friends and admirers consider that the time has come when the proposed monument to his memory should engage public attention. Now that the rumours and prejudices of politics have subsided in so far as he is concerned, it is supposed that his past services alone will be remembered. The idea is to make the monument a national one in every way, and if the contribution is made a popular one, say a small sum from every individual, we have no doubt the project will meet with instant encouragement and ultimate success.⁶

More than forty years went by before that 'ultimate success' was achieved. Time passed, and the bitterness of dissension began to fade, while the stature of the man continued to grow. Above all, the memory of Cartier himself, the disarming gaiety of the man and his great creative achievements merged into a figure all sectors of the population had come to admire.

In 1881, La Minerve renewed the call for a memorial to Cartier, and also announced its candidate for the work.

Comme il s'agit d'une oeuvre nationale il n'est que juste que le travail soit donné à un artiste Canadien. M. Hébert a fait ses épreuves en sculptant la statue de Colonel de Salaberry⁷ et nous pensons que cet artiste devrait être choisi pour faire ce travail.⁸

Hébert went on to receive many important commissions but the Cartier Monument was not among them. The project

⁶Canadian Illustrated News, August 25, 1877.

⁷Erected at Chambly in 1881.

⁸La Minerve, March 31, 1881.

dragged on to a time when Hébert was being challenged by other Canadian sculptors, eager to compete for so important a prize.

The project for a monument to Cartier finally began to take shape under the impetus to commemorate the centenary of his birth in 1914. The Federated Liberal and Conservative Clubs, meeting on October 26, 1911, decided to launch the idea once more. Eugene Villeneuve, son of the Honorable J. O. Villeneuve (whom we met on the committee for the Maisonneuve monument) was put in charge of a working committee to carry the project forward. The following month, on the 9th of November, a large and enthusiastic meeting at the Monument Nationale, recently built headquarters for the St-Jean Baptiste Society, endorsed the plan. In the interval, the federal government had changed hands with the Conservatives and their leader, Sir Robert Borden now in power. Fears that the Cartier monument would not win support from the new government proved unfounded, and the two parties continued to work together on the venture.

A committee of Patrons was chosen. It was headed by Sir Charles Tupper, only surviving 'Father of Confederation' as Honary Patron. The Governor General, the Duke of Connaught, was Patron and Vice Patrons included the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, and the Honorable Sir Jean Lomer Gouin, Premier of Quebec from 1905-1920. There were also Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, recently retired as

President and Chairman of the Board of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Sir Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, currently Canadian High Commissioner in London, and Sir Hugh Macdonald, only son of Sir John A. Macdonald. Sir Hugh, now a police magistrate in Winnipeg, brought the support of one of the newer provinces of Canada. The working committee headed by Mr. Villeneuve included a much wider cross-section of the public such as W. D. Lighthall and J. D. Rolland (who had served on the committee for the Maisonneuve monument), D. R. McCord, T. Labatt, Charles Gill and Carlo Mariotti. An open competition was announced for the work, but in view of the emphasis on the 'national' quality of the monument, entries were limited to Canadian artists only. The requirements called for models for a monument to cost 'no more than \$100,000, including pedestal' and the target date for completion and unveiling of the work was September 6, 1914. It was the most ambitious project of its kind ever planned for the city. The site chosen was a superb one, a large area of open ground at the foot of Mount Royal with the rise of the mountain as background and facing east along Rachel Street, a part of Cartier's old Montreal constituency. The area was well known to the Montreal public because of the many Provincial Exhibitions held on grounds nearby. Original plans called for the monument to be centred in a roundabout with landscaped lawns and flowerbeds, placed in the middle of Park Avenue. But the Roads Committee refused permission.

and the location was shifted off the roadway to the open field still known as 'Fletcher's Farm'. What was lost in drama of presentation, was retrieved by providing the monument with a backdrop of unique beauty changing with the seasons of the year.

The 'Canadian artists only' limitation served to show how few sculptors there were in the country able to compete for so important a commission. Nine sculptors announced their intention to enter. Of these, Kilpen⁹ dropped out of the contest at an early stage, and another, Aime Leger was virtually ignored by the press. There remained seven artists, of whom Philippe Hébert was by far the best known, but he seems to have been so busy with other commissions that his entry attracted surprisingly little notice.

Henri Hébert, a sculptor like his famous father, had achieved a measure of success on his own, but he was generally conceded to be an artist of limited ability and hardly of the stature to undertake a major assignment. Another sculptor son of a famous father was Coeur de Lion MacCarthy. His father was Hamilton Plantagenet MacCarthy, who came from England to settle in Toronto where he became one of the busiest sculptors in Canada. (Though MacCarthy did not win the Cartier commission, he received enough encouragement to persuade him to move to Montreal, which he did in 1918).

⁹Little information is available on this artist's work.

J. O. Gratton was an artist known for his church sculpture, notably a number of fine carved wood statues for the Sacre Coeur Chapel of Notre Dame Church in Montreal, and that of St-Jacques le Majeur, one of the saints crowning the roof-line of the Cathedral of Montreal. Gratton was a one-time pupil and later colleague of Philippe Hébert, but though in his religious works he could compare favourably with the latter, Gratton had not ventured into large scale secular work as had Hébert. Another contestant, Emile Brunet, was a rising star of acknowledged talent but he was young and had completed no important public work by which he might be assessed.

There remained two major contenders, George Hill and Alfred Laliberté. Both had had their disappointments in the scramble for commissions, and both were immensely eager to win this significant contest. Alfred Laliberté was at this time still a promising but youthful sculptor in whom the Quebec public continued to feel a sense of family pride. He was recognised as a major talent, and the progress of his Parisian studies had been detailed in the provincial press. Major commissions, however, eluded him. Again and again he found himself losing out in competition with other sculptors like Philippe Hébert or contenders from France, and at times he began to despair of being given the chance to use his talent on work of importance. George Hill, on the other hand, had the advantage of a major public monument, as well

as several other minor public works already completed and on display in the city, which could testify to his ability to handle large scale public work. It remained to be seen who could best capture both Cartier's complex qualities and the nature of his importance in Canadian history.

The models for the Cartier Monument went on display in September, 1912, in the old offices of the Grand Trunk Railway at the corner of St-Jacques and St-François Xavier Streets. (The Grand Trunk had moved its offices in 1900, into a magnificent new building designed by the American architect, Richard A. Waite. The building still stands at 360 McGill Street). The Judges' decision was to be announced by noon on September 19th and the general public was to be admitted to view the models the same afternoon.

The jury was composed of twelve members, six French and six English-speaking. They were: J. D. Rolland, owner and President of an old established group of paper works; Ucal Dandurand, member of a distinguished old French family, a real estate broker who was active in municipal politics; J. A. Vaillancourt, a wholesale produce merchant, who was also a Councillor at the Board of Trade; Theo. Labatt, a member of the brewing family of that name, and Dr. James Guerin, a physician and ex-Mayor of Montreal. Henry Ekers, a member of the brewing family, was another ex-Mayor of Montreal; the Honorable Nathaniel Curry, senator, was president of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company; D. R.

McCord was a lawyer and Secretary of the Liberal-Conservative Association; W. D. Lighthall, lawyer, author and antiquarian, who was devoted to the preservation of Montreal's past and the beautification of its present, and Carlo Mariotti.¹⁰

M. Eugene Villeneuve was President and the rest of the group was weighted heavily with prosperous business men, prominent in politics at all levels. Artists had a token presence in the person of Charles Gill, a painter and poet, but the list is otherwise remarkable for its lack of informed opinion in matters of artistic judgement.

The time came for the winner's name to be announced, but the judges could not reach a consensus. It was reported¹¹ the choice had narrowed to four models -- those of Hill, Laliberté, Philippe Hébert and MacCarthy. All four had chosen similar current Academic symbols. In every model were the winged females with laurel wreaths in their hands and clothed in classical draperies, which so distressed the Paris critics nearly twenty years before. All except Hill had a winged female figure to symbolise 'Fame' or, in Hébert's case, 'Confederation'. There were female figures personifying the Provinces, with little attempt at individualization. Cartier was standing in three of the models and sitting in an armchair in that of Hill.

¹⁰The Montreal Gazette, September 18, 1912.

¹¹La Presse, Montreal, September 18, 1912.

The number of entries was so small that from the beginning it had proved impossible to maintain anonymity regarding their creators, and rumour was rife that national prejudices were influencing individual judgements. Finally, it was announced that a group of six had been selected from the jury of twelve, and the final decision would be announced the following day. Charles Gill, the sole artist on the jury, was dropped in the final round of decision-making.

The next day, in an unprecedented judgement, the jury announced two artists in first place, Hill and Laliberté. In a further surprise announcement, both artists were asked to submit a second model incorporating certain changes. At this point, the public was admitted to see the exhibit. Among them was A. J. Lacointe, an 86-year-old sculpter from France who was asked for his opinion. Accompanied it seems by George Hill, he made the rounds of the exhibits, though communication between them must have been very limited, since Lacointe spoke no English, Hill spoke little French, and both were rather deaf. After due deliberation, Lacointe pronounced himself in favour of Hill, with Laliberté in second place. His main criticism of the latter's model was that the figure of Cartier was placed on the top of the central column. "Comment voulez-vous qu'on voit Cartier," he is reported as saying, "si on le pique sur une colonne

comme un coq sur un clocher?"¹² The general public disagreed. Opinions were polled and a substantial majority expressed themselves in favour of Laliberté, many of them expressing the feeling that his model was far superior to all the rest.

Controversy was compounded when details of the changes requested by the jury were announced. Laliberté was asked to bring Cartier down from his perch and place him closer to eye level. He was also asked to trim the wings of his angels. When Laliberté reported this to a journalist later, the latter burst out laughing. "Vous riez," said Laliberté, "ne riez pas, c'est exact. Un des juges a déclaré, 'Les ailes des anges de Laliberté selon moi sont trop longues et trop fragiles'."¹³ Hill, on the other hand, was asked to make several major changes. Two more figures, representing the two provinces most recently entered in Confederation, were to be added. Cartier was to be shown standing, the bas reliefs and fountains in the ensemble were to be eliminated, and the great winged horse crowning the high column was to be replaced by the more conventional symbol of Fame as a winged female figure.

The press was astonished: If Hill's conception required such major changes, ran the theme, surely it was

¹²Le Centenaire Cartier, p. 208.

¹³La Patrie, Montreal, October 1, 1912.

clearly less acceptable than that of Laliberté. Professor J. B. Lagacé, a well known teacher of Art History at the University of Laval, was asked for his views. "Si la decision du jury d'hier est finale," he remarked, "le monument Cartier ne sera pas l'oeuvre d'un artiste, mais l'oeuvre du jury. C'est la première fois qu'un tel procédé est employé. Si un jury avait fait en Europe ce qu'on fait a Montréal, l'artiste aurait brisé sa maquette dans un moment d'indignation."¹⁴

The professor was wrong in his statement that such major changes had never before been asked of an artist. The precedent in Montreal had been set in the negotiations over the monument to Maisonneuve, but the general public had not known of the extensive revisions asked of Philippe Hébert, in order to make his monument conform to the wishes of the committee sponsoring the project. However, those changes had their basis in history and tradition, and so could be seen as relevant to the significance of the Maisonneuve legend. The changes asked for by the Cartier Committee had no such claim. They appear trivial and even arbitrary; in fact, an expression of personal preferences which could do nothing to enrich the artist's concept.

There was a general feeling of discomfort about the Cartier Committee's decision to call on Hill and Laliberté

¹⁴ La Patrie, Montreal, September 19, 1912.

to produce new, modified models. Villeneuve defended the measure on the grounds that none of the submissions had been entirely satisfactory, and rather than reopen the entire contest, it had been decided to ask for changes in the two models worthy of serious consideration.¹⁵ When the uproar continued, with support for Laliberté surging up from all sides, Villeneuve was goaded into demanding, "Est-ce à Laliberté que l'on doit ériger un monument ou à Cartier?"¹⁶

The revised models were submitted for judgement by September 30th, and the decision was reported in the papers the following day. "By the unanimous decision of the jury of six, the \$100,000 commission for a statue to the memory of Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier was yesterday afternoon awarded to Mr. George W. Hill, A.R.C.A. Upon the motion of Mr. W. D. Lighthall, K.C., one of the jury, the recommendation was made that a grant of \$500 be made to Mr. Alfred Laliberté, who was in the final stage with the successful competitor."¹⁷

Reaction from the unsuccessful artists was bitter. MacCarthy asked why, if no model had proved acceptable on first showing, all the artists had not been allowed a second chance, instead of only two. He went on to say that Hill

¹⁵La Presse, Montreal, September 20, 1912.

¹⁶Alfred Laliberté, Pensees et Reflexions, unpublished manuscript.

¹⁷The Montreal Gazette, October 1, 1912.

had stolen two of his, MacCarthy's, ideas and incorporated them into his second model. (The ideas were not specified). Laliberté, understandably, felt deeply frustrated. Interviewed after the announcement of the results, he said he had been warned early in the proceedings that influential forces were stacked against him. "On m'a étouffé tout simplement."¹⁸

Years later, Laliberté commented on the 'Cartier Affair' in an unpublished memoir.¹⁹ He said Hill had had a struggle to win, but was more experienced in ways of influencing a decision in his favour. He went on to say that Hill, "avait une maniere a lui d'influencer un comité en sa faveur en disant qu'il y avait eu deux grands sculpteurs dans le monde, Michel Ange et lui, (emphasis mine) et avec son sens des affaires il savait les gagner a sa cause." The picture of George Hill, a man usually identified with traits of utmost modesty, comparing himself with Michaelangelo is one of the more diverting images to emerge from the bitter conflict between these artists.

For George Hill, of course, the decision was highly gratifying. When interviewed about his concept for the

¹⁸ Le pays, October 1, 1912. It was reported that a member of the committee made the statement, "Moi je suis Canadien Francais, et je crois que nous devrions donner le monument à un sculpteur anglais, car nous passerions comme des 'bloods' vis-a-vis des anglais, et nous aurions plus de sousscriptions." Laliberté also claimed later that he never received the token payment of \$500.

¹⁹ Laliberté, Les Artistes de Mon Temps, unpublished manuscript.

monument, he gave the following rather pedestrian account of his design:

The great statesman is, in a standing position engaged upon the problems of the confederation of the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which are represented by symbolical figures, with their coats of arms worn upon their breastplates, that are grouped about him. At his right hand side he is inspiring Quebec to enter into the union, thus bearing out the statement that without Cartier there would have been no confederation. The bonds of the Union are cemented together by the patriotic words 'O Canada mon pays, mes amours' traced on the ribbon and held aloft by the provinces.

At the rear are grouped the five provinces which came into the union after the Confederation. Right above these provinces is the figure of a standard bearer pressing the flag to his breast, a token of patriotic loyalty to the flag and country, and incidentally representing Cartier's connection with the militia.

Above is inscribed a quotation from Cartier's speech delivered at Halifax, April 14, 1845: 'The defense of the flag is one of the bases of Confederation'. The monument is crowned by a winged figure of Renown, holding the laurels over Cartier and his great work of Confederation, symbolising as it were, Obtained Renown. The group on the right hand side symbolises Law, while the one on the left Education, with a list of the great statesman's works inscribed on the panels.²⁰

Hill left shortly afterwards for Brussels where his studio, in the Bois de la Cambre just outside the city, was enlarged to accommodate the work involved on the many statues forming the monument. By midsummer of 1914, work was sufficiently advanced to make it seem possible the target date for completion would be reached. In an article which appeared that year in Montreal, the progress of the

²⁰The Montreal Gazette, October 3, 1912.

Cartier project was outlined from its initiation in 1911: "Since then the monumental enterprise has assumed not only national but Empire scope, and representatives of every portion of the Empire will be present at the commemoration celebration September 6, 1914."²¹

It became clear as the summer wore on, however, that the imminent outbreak of war in Europe threatened to swallow up all possibility of completing the monument in time. Hurriedly, the statues were shipped off as each was ready, and by July, sixteen statues, all that is except the figures of Cartier (Fig. 25) and the soldier (Fig. 26) had been sent and safely received in Montreal. After many trials, the statue of Cartier was also forwarded safely to Montreal. This was done in early August, when sailings had become utterly disorganised. In London, a Captain Kendall, in charge of the only C.P.R. boat still making the run to Anvers on the Belgian coast, offered to collect the statue, which he did. The statue was brought first to London and then shipped on to Montreal. There remained the soldier, still at the foundry. War broke out and Hill and his family barely made the journey to Ostend and the hazardous crossing to Canada. When the war was finally over, the soldier was found, unharmed, among the works the foundry owners had hidden to keep them out of German hands. This last statue

²¹William Henry Atherton, Montreal From 1535-1914 (Montreal: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), p. 163.

arrived in Montreal in July 1919.

The unveiling of the finished monument took place on the slopes of Mount Royal on the 6th of September, 1919 in a torrential downpour which gradually cleared towards the end of the ceremony. The Governor General, the Duke of Devonshire, was present together with the consuls of the Allied Nations, France, Belgium, Italy and the United States, and a large gathering of celebrities and officials of all kinds. In a spectacular finale, the unveiling itself was effected by remote control from Balmoral Castle, with King George V touching off the electric current.

How is one to evaluate the Cartier monument? (Fig. 25).

The grandiose nature of its original aims invites comparison with the 'national' monuments of Europe erected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, monuments like those to Prince Albert and Queen Victoria in London (Fig. 24) and to Victor Emmanuel in Rome. These costly structures, typical of the extravagance of High Victorian taste, were copied on a lesser scale, all over Europe and parts of the American continent.

Measured by these examples, the Cartier monument emerges as a modest essay in the genre (Figs. 26 and 27). The influence of the elaborate, pompous structures of Europe is muted in its journey to North America by meeting with the

traditions of a newer culture. George Hill, in designing the monument, drew in part from his French Academic background, but as in his Boer War Memorial, he also looked to American sculpture for inspiration. Unfortunately, he failed to find the unifying element which would merge these different viewpoints.

There are fine things in the ensemble which make up the monument, aspects which taken individually, give visual pleasure. But one searches in vain for the heart of it all, the moment when one may experience the sense of history made visual, an interpretation of events and personalities which will illuminate and inspire. Academic influence lays a heavy hand on the nine large female figures -- each nine feet high -- representing the provinces. Interchangeable in their identical classical draperies and their blank expressions, they are identifiable only by the shields bearing their respective coat of arms, which decorate their bosoms. Hill's ability to create female figures with a flowing sensual grace has deserted him here, and is replaced by a heavy solemnity in these vacuous forms (Figs. 26, 27, 31).

By contrast, the groups at each side of the monument representing 'Education' (Fig. 32) and 'Legislation' (Figs. 28 and 29) are compositions of quiet serenity marked by a quality of inner repose. For these Hill appears to have drawn his inspiration from certain other sources. There are similarities to the American school. Daniel Chester French's

with an intensity and an urgency that soon marked him out, and his singularity was both appreciated and encouraged by his teachers. Soon the Secretary of the Conseil des Arts, M. Berubé, and his professor in modelling, Alexandre Carli, began to take a personal interest in Alfred's training, and it was decided he should be helped to go to Paris for further study. The Conseil des Arts, with Berubé's urging, agreed to help sponsor the move to Paris, but its resources were meagre, and other help was needed. M. Cormier, a member of the Legislative Council, whose portrait Laliberté had modelled, came forward as co-sponsor, and it was understood that the Prime Minister retained a continuing interest in the young artist's progress. In an unusual move, the public was also invited to help, and a subscription list was opened in La Presse, inviting contributions, no matter how small, to help send Laliberté to study in Paris.

Sponsored by these various means, Laliberté left for Paris in 1902. He reported back regularly to M. Berubé, who then relayed to the press that "M. Laliberté nous rend compte de l'emploi de son temps." La Presse continued to urge its readers to show their support for the young artist. "Pas une minute n'était perdu en course folle," the paper earnestly assured its readers, whose ideas about life among the artists in Paris were highly coloured by visions of 'La Vie de Bohème'.

After a few months of drawing classes in Paris, Laliberté applied for entry to the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

Hector Fabre, the Canadian Commissioner General in Paris, was ready to ease Alfred's way into school, but the latter refused, preferring to take his chance in the regular entrance tests. He passed and was assigned to the studio of Jules-Gabriel Thomas (see Appendix II), a strict disciplinarian and an artist devoted to the classical style. Alfred also studied with Injalbert, another classicist and strict Academician.

Life in Paris for the first few months was very difficult for Laliberté. His allowance gave him a subsistence and no more. He grew used to a diet made up for the most part of bread and milk, a routine which remained with him all his life. His niece, Mlle. Legendre, remembers many suppers at her uncle's studio, when she and her aunt would eat the delicious food prepared by Mme. Laliberté while her uncle would have a bowl of bread and milk. He explained apologetically that he had acquired the habit long ago in Paris and found it difficult to change. At the Ecole there were other troubles. His fellow students teased him unmercifully about his clothes, his manners and his accent. Canada to them was an outlandish country, inhabited largely by wild Indians. It did not help to have Buffalo Bill in Paris at this time, exploiting the more 'primitive' aspects of life in North America. "Where," the students would ask him, "had he left his feathers?" Laliberté would reply that till that time he had never encountered savages --

'sauvages' -- but that he had now met them in Paris.² Still he could never hope to match the quick wit and sophistication of the French students, and began instead to work at imitating them. "Je m'efforçais de remarquer les mots employés par les camarades, d'étudier leur prononciation, la forme de leur phrases, leur manière de s'exprimer."³

Above all he studied and worked at his sculpture. The list of works he produced during these years in Paris is astounding. "Il était d'une école de travailleurs acharnés," noted a writer after Laliberté's death in 1953. "Son seul plaisir c'était le travail."⁴ This was an exaggeration, for Laliberté had an immense capacity for the appreciation and enjoyment of life. Still, the driving need to excel inhibited this capacity in his younger years, and it was only later, with the growing assurance which came from critical acclaim, that he was able to give free rein to his natural gaiety and warmth of feeling.

The hardship of these months in Paris was lightened by a happy circumstance one Christmas day. There was a knock at the door.

J'ouvre. C'était un beau gros monsieur, d'aspect imposant, portant le chapeau haut de forme, avec une

²Alfred Laliberté, Pensées et Reflexions.

³Ibid.

⁴Maurice Chevalier, "Le Sculpteur Alfred Laliberté," La Patrie, February 22, 1953, p. 35.

voix de stentor. Il avait l'allure de quelqu'un qui sait se présenter et n'était nullement intimidé par sa personne. C'était Suzor-Côte.⁵

It was a fortunate encounter. Suzor-Côte possessed all the social qualities Laliberté felt he himself lacked, and together they formed a complementary pair. Suzor-Côte took his new friend in hand, showing him how to dress, and generally to be more comfortable in society. Impatient at times, he would shake Laliberté, roaring 'Espèce d'habitant de Ste-Sophie!' but the warmth of his affection removed any possible sting from the remark. They went to the theatre and the opera together. Music was a passion of Laliberté's. At home in the village, he had played the violin and had brought it with him to Paris. However, on hearing what he called 'real' music, he took up his violin, broke the strings, and never played the instrument again.

Gradually, Laliberté's work was gaining recognition. In the Salon des Artistes Francaises of 1905, his sculpture 'Jeunes Indiens Chassant' won an Honourable Mention, the first time such a distinction had been awarded to a French-Canadian artist. A respected art critic, M. Péladan, wrote of the pretentious works in the Salon and went on:

Il faut préférer à ces ambitieuses reveries, le groupe vivant et vibrant de deux éphèbes indiens tirant de

⁵Laliberté. Pensées et Reflexions.

l'arc dans un mouvement simultané d'une souplesse étonnante. Cette jolie chose est signée Laliberté.⁶

Announcement of the award was given wide publicity in the Quebec press, but no one came forward, either in Paris or in Montreal, to buy the sculpture. Laliberté exhibited again in the Salons of 1906 ('Maple Leaf' and 'Le Scalpe') and 1907 ('La Femme au Sceau') but these works again found no buyers. Thoughtful observers were beginning to note the thrust and themes of his work. One critic, recognising in Laliberté his affinity for the life of those close to the soil and the countryside, wrote: "Il sculpte comme ont peint Millet, Rousseau, Daubigny, Breton et Diaz."⁷

Laliberté continued to work on these ideas, even though he found no buyers for the finished work. He reproached his fellow sculptors like Hill and Hébert for working only on commissions and not devoting part of their time and talent to a sculpture of ideas and fantasy.

Laliberté's inspiration came, for the most part, from the life of his native village. One by one he accumulated about him in model form the people he had known in a world very far removed from the urban sophistication of Paris. The format he chose for these figures was terra cotta, and the size a modest ten to twelve inches high. He modelled swiftly, leaving the finish often lumpy and rough, with the

⁶Le Canada, November 20, 1905.

⁷La Nation, November 23, 1907.

imprint of his fingers in the clay. In all, he produced one hundred and twenty-five of these figures during his four years in Paris. At one period, he finished seventy of them in three weeks, often finishing four in one day. It was the work of a man possessed, haunted by memories of his early life in rural Quebec, as if in sculpting and giving life to these individuals, he exorcised some part of his past, laying to rest the bitter memories, and leaving only a deep love for the traditional values and customs of his French-Canadian upbringing. He also worked on other, more abstract pieces -- 'La Rivière Blanche', 'Le Rocher de Quebec', 'Niagara Falls', and many more. He also worked on a self-portrait -- the beautiful head with its broad brow and fine features, the shock of hair swept back and eyes gazing into the distance, create a romantic aura of youthful beauty. He called it 'L'Artiste', and kept it in his studio till he died. Laliberté drew on this head as a model for Dollard des Ormeaux.

In the fall of 1906, Laliberté returned home. His appearance was changed from that of the serious youth, to a dapper, well-groomed man. When he went to visit his family, at Ste-Elizabeth, it proved an awkward encounter, yet not without certain satisfactions for Laliberté. The villagers found it hard to recognise in this urbane young man, the slight adolescent they had mocked in their youth. "J'avais déjà ma revanche sur ceux qui m'avaient dédaigné jadis," he

wrote in his memoirs.⁸

He went to live in Montreal, where he found work as a teacher of modelling alongside his old professor, Alexandre Carli, at the Conseil des Arts. The work Laliberté had done in Paris, most of it still unsold, arrived in Montreal and was put on display in various exhibitions in the city. There was a joint show with William Brymner, Maurice Cullen and others in the Art Gallery show of 1907 in Phillips Square, and there was a one-man show of his work at the Monument National which received extensive coverage in the press. A major part of the show was taken up with his parade of village life in Ste-Sophie, but these small scale sculptures found little acceptance from the general public. To the French-Canadian beginning to enter the mainstream of North American life, it was discomfoting to be confronted with the old traditions he was trying hard to lose. For the others to whom the subject matter was not an emotional threat, the sculpture appeared too rough, its content too mundane to be worthy of serious consideration. The figures lacked the sentimentality which might have endeared them to an Edwardian audience, and the noble qualities inherent in the sincerity with which the figures were carved, eluded them.

⁸Paid commissions remained few and far between.

⁸Laliberté, Pensées et Reflexions.

Reflecting on this time later, Laliberté wrote, "Le Canada était peut être encore trop jeune, pas assez populeux ou pas assez riche."⁹ Still, there were several portraits done at this time which were well received. One, of Jacques Viger, first Mayor of Montreal, was bought for \$500 and installed at City Hall. There was also a portrait of the incumbent Mayor, Louis Payette, which was presented to him on his retirement from office at a dinner in his honour.

These public occasions, and the displays of his work, brought Laliberté a good deal of publicity; if not a great deal of money. He was now constantly referred to in the press as the most brilliant of the younger sculptors, and he could hope to be a serious contender for one major commission among the several currently being planned. One of these was a monument to Honoré Mercier, statesman and patriot, a man whose career inspired a great fervour of enthusiasm in his compatriots. The monument was to be placed in Quebec City, and following a growing custom, an open competition was announced for the statue.

News leaked to the press, however, that the committee had already agreed among themselves to award the work to Paul Chevré, a French sculptor responsible for the important memorial to Champlain in Quebec City (completed in 1898). There was an angry reaction to the news, expressed in an

⁹ Ibid.

article, signed by Pierre Brière, in the Nationaliste, which read in part:

Si le gouvernement de Sir Lomer (Gouin) veut, dans un beau geste, élever des monuments à la mémoire de nos grands hommes, qu'il ait au moins la décence de confier l'exécution à des artistes canadiens. Qu'on n'invite pas, comme il vient de faire, à l'insu de tout le monde, des sculpteurs étrangers à prendre part au concours. Nous ne voulons pas discuter les mérites artistiques de M. Paul Chevré de France. Mais en quel honneur M. Paul Chevré de France recevrait-il l'entreprise d'une statue qu'un gouvernement canadien élève à un homme canadien, avec de l'argent canadien? Quebec a déjà fait la sottise de donner son monument Champlain à Chevré. Cela devait suffire, il nous semble. Allons, Labiberté, allons, Hébert, brisez vos maquettes! Vous êtes ridicules de concourir en de telles conditions.¹⁰

The controversy rose to boiling point when Chevré was awarded not only the monument to Mercier, but also that to Francois-Xavier Garneau, the historian who was in large measure responsible for the resurgence among French-Canadians of pride in their national heritage. It seemed incomprehensible to a growing sector of the knowledgeable public, that the task of honouring these Canadians should be given to non-Canadian artists. This was especially true when it was felt there were Canadians able to meet the challenge.

A year later, a large public celebration was planned to mark the 250th anniversary of the battle at Long Sault Rapids, where on May 21, 1660, Dollard des Ormeaux and his small band of fellow pioneers and Huron comrades, repelled the Iroquois attack and saved the infant settlement of Ville

¹⁰ Pierre Brière, Nationaliste, November 28, 1909.

Marie. The demonstration was such a huge success that it was agreed some more permanent commemoration should be planned. The following month a committee was formed. Its President was the man who had been the guiding spirit behind the Dollard Day celebrations, Jean-Baptiste Lagacé, professor of Art History at the University of Laval in Montreal. Vice President was J. C. Walsh, owner-editor of the Montreal Herald, and there were several members at large, including the ubiquitous W. D. Lighthall. Funds were raised by public subscription. The Dominion government sent \$5,000 and the provincial government, \$2,000. A handful of contributions, including one from Sir Wilfred Laurier, were for \$100. The great majority of contributions were of \$1 or less. School-children all over the province sent in their dimes and nickels and pennies, and it is remarkable to find that, in spite of the modesty of most contributions, the target of \$20,000 was raised without much difficulty. The major problem was how to assign the work.

Nationalist feelings were finding expression in monuments being erected all over Montreal and other parts of Quebec, and as we have seen, this feeling extended to the conviction that Canadian sculptors should be chosen for this work. Rumours were circulating of a proposed memorial to Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier, which would be a grand, 'national' monument, and that if a competition were held for the work, it would be open to Canadian artists only.

Should the Dollard committee follow suit? Or would it add greater prestige to their more modest venture if they were to announce an international competition open to the best sculptors in the world, and hope that a Canadian might win? The committee could not make up its mind.

Laliberté, in the meantime, had received two major commissions for the Legislative Buildings in Quebec. These were for statues of the missionary martyrs, the Fathers Bréboeuf and Marquette, and when his preliminary studies for the statues had been accepted, he left for Paris to complete the work. However, he kept in close touch with developments regarding the Dollard monument, and on the 12th of November, he wrote from Paris to M. Lagacé, asking if a competition was being planned. If so, he planned to enter. If, however, the commission had already been given to M. Hébert, he would not attempt to put forward his own offer.¹¹

In reply, Professor Lagacé wrote asking Laliberté's advice on the matter of a competition. Laliberté's reply¹² is so human a document and conveys so directly the dilemma of Canadian artists seeking for the chance to show what they could do, that it deserves quoting at length. After thanking

¹¹Letter, Montreal, Municipal Archives, Old Court House, 'Dollard des Ormeaux' file; Alfred Laliberté to Professor Lagacé, November 12, 1910.

¹²Letter, 'Dollard des Ormeaux' file; Alfred Laliberté to Professor Lagacé, March 23, 1911.

M. Lagacé for the encouraging remarks contained in his letter, Laliberté goes on:

Vous me faites l'honneur de me demander mon avis sur les moyens que vous devez prendre pour arrêter le choix de votre statuaire. Je suis bien intéressé pour formuler un avis qui paraisse impartial. Toutefois, au simple point de vue des beaux-arts canadiens, ne croyez-vous pas, comme moi, qu'il serait un peu excessif d'instituer un concours auquel tous les sculpteurs, de France (emphasis Laliberté's) comme de Canada, seraient invités prendre part? Notre pays commence à produire des artistes qui doivent compter sur l'encouragement de leurs compatriotes seuls pour travailler, pour se perfectionner, pour donner l'exemple à d'autres artistes canadiens, enfin, pour avancer les beaux-arts canadiens.

Croyez-vous que les artistes feront de grands pas dans la voie de la perfection, si leurs compatriotes, chaque fois qu'ils ont une commande à donner, leur préfèrent des artistes étrangers sous prétexte que les sculpteurs canadiens ne sont pas encore des Carpeaux, des Fremiêts ou des Rodins? Il est vrai que nous ne pouvons encore soutenir ce point de comparaison; mais ne croyez-vous pas cependant qu'un concours entre tous les sculpteurs canadiens puisse vous donner entière satisfaction, puisse vous procurer une maquette fort convenable sur ~~laquelle~~ pour une oeuvre essentiellement canadienne? Prechant un peu pour ma paroisse, je crois donc que -- si toutefois vous tenez au concours -- vous auriez raison de limiter aux sculpteurs canadiens, quand ce ne serait que pour aider du meme coup à l'avancement de nos beaux-arts et de ne pas établir l'habitude d'aller chercher des artistes à l'étranger, quand vous en avez chez vous. Rien ne vous empêchera de vous adresser à un étranger si aucun de nos artistes n'est capable de vous donner quelque chose de convenable; mais il me paraît plus juste d'essayer d'abord un concours de sculpteurs canadiens, si toutefois vous tenez absolument au concours.

Quoi qu'il en soit, en quoi que votre Comité décide, qu'il institue un concours ou qu'il n'en institue pas, voici, quant à moi, ce à quoi je m'arrête; et je vous saurais gré, à la première occasion, d'en faire part à vos collègues du Comité.

Pour obtenir votre commande du monument Dollard, je suis plaidé à sacrifier tout benefice personnel. Vous me dites que la decision de votre Comité est

d'ériger un monument de quinze a vingt mille dollars. Je me mets immédiatement à l'oeuvre pour vous préparer la maquette d'un monument de \$15,000. Je vais m'associer pour la partie architecturale, avec un jeune architecte de tres grand talent, qui poursuit actuellement ses études a Paris, le fils du docteur Cormier, de Montreal¹³; je suis à meme de me procurer les documents les plus precieux qui me permettront de faire un monument aussi exact que possible au point de vue historique. Quant au modelage, mes maitres francais verront à ce que ma maquette ne parte pas avant d'être parfaite en tous points. De cette facon vous verrez vous-meme que ce monument, s'il etait executé par un statuaire comptant son benefice, vous reviendrait a \$25,000.... J'aurai fait ce que j'aurai pu, et j'espererai que, de son côté, votre Comité fera aussi pour le mieux.

Je sais que j'ai des concurrents habiles et influents. Mais j'ai aussi confiance que votre Comité, qui se compose heureusement de jeunes gens, saura agir avec justice pour donner à Dollard le plus beau monument possible, et aussi pour encourager nos artistes. N'est-il pas juste que chacun ait sa part? J'ai fait toutes les demarches possible pour obtenir la commande du monument que l'on doit ériger bientôt a Mademoiselle de Verchères, et je recois a l'instant, d'Ottawa, une lettre m'informant que cette commande a été assurée a M. Hébert au prix coquet de \$25,000. Je me serais abstenu de vous mentionner ce fait si j'eusse pensé vous faire croire a quelque dépit de ma part. Je suis heureux des aubaines qui arrivent aux artistes canadiens; mais je souhaite en meme temps que l'encouragement aux artistes canadiens soit quelque peu partagé, et que les débutants surtout, ceux qui sont dans le plus grand besoin, ceux qui n'ont pas encore de grosses influences a leur service, aient aussi leur part à la bienveillance de leur compatriotes, surtout quand ils sont décidés, comme moi, a faire tous les efforts et meme tous les sacrifices pour mériter leurs suffrages.

J'espère, Monsieur le President, que vous me pardonnerez de vous avoir écrit si longuement et que vous prendrez mes remarques en bonne part, ainsi que je vous les ai faites, en toute sincerité et sans arrière-pensée, et que, pour toutes ces raisons vous

¹³This was Ernest Cormier, later architect of the New Court House and the University of Montreal.

voudrez bien me permettre de compter sur votre sympathie comme sur celle de votre Comité

Unfortunately, the Dollard project was now overshadowed by the projected plans for the Cartier memorial. The formation of that prestigious committee had been announced together with details of the grand objective of a monument to cost \$100,000. Inevitably, Laliberté felt compelled to enter the contest for the Cartier prize, which for the time being took precedence over the Dollard monument plans.

By the fall of 1912, the contest for the Cartier memorial was over, but the shock created by the jury's decision was still vivid in the public mind. It had been a cruel disappointment for Laliberté, and now followed another, for despite the eloquent pleading contained in his letter to the President, the Dollard Committee announced there would be an open, international competition for the monument (see Appendix II). How this decision was arrived at is not recorded. Perhaps the fiasco of the 'Canadian' contest for the Cartier memorial, which most observers felt had been grossly mismanaged, made the Dollard Committee shrink from following the same path.

Whatever the reasons, the contest for a monument to 'Dollard des Ormeaux et ses Compagnons', was announced on the 19th of January, 1914. Copies of the rules and conditions were sent to art centres all over Europe and North America. Artists were to be free to use what imagery they chose, if it conveyed the qualities of 'generosité, courage et

d'enthousiasme'. Cost of the entire work was not to exceed \$20,000. Prizes of \$300 and \$200 would be awarded to those artists who placed second and third. The location of the monument was to be Viger Square, one of the most beautiful and elegant squares in the city. (This location was changed to Lafontaine Park). Entries were to be anonymous, and the deadline was set for the first of September, 1914.

The contest received wide exposure all over Europe and North America. Copies of the rules were also mailed to individual artists. George Hill, at work in Brussels on the Cartier statues, sent a note of thanks on receipt of his copy. Frederic Lessore, sculptor of the statue of Lord Mount Stephen, recently erected in Windsor Station, wrote to say he was too busy, then changed his mind and announced he was planning an entry. Laliberté, now back in Montreal, sent a note to say he would be taking part. Other individual artists, hearing of the contest for the first time, wrote for information. Letters came from Zurich and Madrid, New York and Berlin, Florence and St. Petersburg. Some wrote in naive terms, asking that the commission be given to them, assuring the committee the work would be 'first class and reasonable'. Others wrote laying down their own terms for time limits, materials and price. It was an astonishing response to a project of relatively modest scope, which aimed at honouring a little known Canadian hero.¹⁴

¹⁴Competitors' correspondence, 'Dollard des Ormeaux' file.

In all, some forty entries were received. One of the first models to arrive came from Germany and consisted of Dollard mounted like a victorious General on horseback. Another, from France, showed Dollard and three of his companions paddling a canoe perched on a squat pedestal. There were many others in which it was difficult to find any Canadian content or understanding of the subject matter. Few artists had taken the trouble to inform themselves of the details of the battle at Long Sault, and the special significance of the event completely eluded them. Most remained satisfied with vaguely symbolic figures which might be read as signifying courage and heroism.

By the end of July, graver matters had to be faced than the quality of the entries. War appeared imminent. In an attempt to gather in all entries before hostilities broke out, an announcement was made that entries from Europe must reach Le Havre by August 7, when the Allan Steamship Company's steamer 'Corinthian' would make a final Atlantic crossing. There was a scramble of last minute arrivals, but it was clear the time allowed was too short. On the 5th of August, an announcement appeared in the press, and a letter circulated, stating the contest was postponed until the war was over.

While the Dollard project languished, Laliberté was busy with an important new commission. This was for a fountain to be placed in front of the splendid new market building in the town of Maisonneuve, in the east end of

Montreal (Fig. 37). The finished work is one in which Laliberté was able to indulge in his love of village life, and is one of the finest things he ever accomplished. There are four figures in the ensemble. At the top of the central column stands the figure of a market woman, 'une canadienne chargée de ses emplettes'. It is a figure of noble simplicity in the tradition of Daumier (Fig. 38). Around the base are statues of three young boys with produce of the kind traded at the market. The figures are alive with movement and a sense of fun, unlike anything else to be seen in the city (Figs. 39-41).

Laliberté was also working on statues for the Legislative Buildings in Quebec -- those of Lord Dorchester and Jean Talon -- and a monument, also for Quebec City, to Louis Hébert, first farmer of New France. With the confidence that came from experience of several major works completed and successfully installed, Laliberté felt able to go forward to the members of the Dollard Committee, and suggest he be awarded the contract for the Dollard monument. After some discussion, the committee agreed, and a contract was drawn up. It repeated the general terms of the contest; total cost of the monument to be \$20,000, with a new delivery date of May 22, 1920. Alphonse Venne was to be the architect for the base and general plan.

Soon, however, the committee learned that, having originally called an international competition, they could be

accused of a breach of faith in now assigning the commission to a sculptor of their choice. The matter was renegotiated with Laliberté, who had no choice but to agree to the cancellation of the contract. The way was now clear for the announcement declaring the contest re-opened, with the final date for entries set for October 1, 1918. The war was not yet over, and from an original entry list of forty in 1914, the number was now reduced to fifteen.

A jury was chosen which included J.-O. Marchand, the first French-Canadian architect to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. He was the man who awarded the Mercier contract to Paul Chevré in 1909 much to the fury of the public. Another architect on the panel was Ernest Cormier, also a graduate of the Beaux Arts School in Paris. It was with Cormier that Laliberté had hoped to plan his Dollard monument in 1911. Other jury members included Suzor-Côté, Laliberté's good friend, now increasingly well known as a painter and sculptor of small scale works, and Abbé Chartier, a learned professor and cultured connoisseur. The panel represented more knowledge and experience in the arts than any of the other juries and committees we have encountered in this study.

The judging took place on the 5th of October. Entries were anonymous so that the winners were announced by the titles given to their models. First prize was awarded to a group entitled 'Aux Immortels', second came 'Haut les Coeurs', and third, 'on ne passe pas'. When the accompanying

sealed envelopes were opened, the three winners proved to be Alfred Laliberté, André Vermare, a Frenchman, and Henri Hébert. Interest was high, and the public flocked to see the models on display at the University of Laval's premises on Mount Royal Avenue. The unanimous verdict seemed to be that Laliberté's model deserved to win.

Inevitably not everyone was happy with the decision. André Vermare in particular, was angry at placing second and whether from anger or indifference, Vermare never bothered to collect his model after the contest was over. It was sent to the Municipal Library, where it rests in storage, identified only by an entry in the library's inventory. Vermare was a Grand Prix de Rome winner, who had trained in 1898 at the Beaux Arts under Falguière (George Hill's teacher), had exhibited widely in Europe and received an impressive list of honours. Not long before this time, and in some circles still, such credentials would have appeared too dazzling for a Canadian jury to ignore. Vermare had also had particular exposure in Montreal, when a copy of his most famous sculpture, that of Joan of Arc, created for her home town of Domremy in the year of her beatification in 1909, was installed in 1912 in front of the French Consulate building on Viger Square where it still stands. Vermare was soon compensated for his disappointment by being awarded the commission for a prestigious monument to Cardinal Taschereau to be erected in Quebec City. (It was unveiled in 1923).

Angrier than Vermare was another contestant, Francis Sciortino. He was a graduate of the Fine Arts Institute of Rome, who had settled in Montreal. He wrote a bitterly angry letter to the press which was finally published by Le Pays.¹⁵ In it Sciortino declared it was common knowledge among artists, that Laliberté had been working on his model for a year before the October deadline was announced. He ended by asking, "A quoi bon organiser des concours nationaux ou internationaux?" It was an echo of the cries which had sounded six years before, at the announcement of the decision in the Cartier contest. Then it had been Laliberté who had felt unjustly treated. In competitions of this kind, it appeared no judgement could appear free of influence and prejudice.

The monument to Dollard des Ormeaux was unveiled in Lafontaine Park¹⁶ during a jubilant day long celebration of St-Jean Baptiste Day on June 24th, 1920. It was greatly admired and extravagantly praised, both for its artistic merits and its symbolic qualities as a nationalist monument to a French-Canadian hero. The occasion took place barely a year after the unveiling of George Hill's Cartier Memorial, but in spite of similarities, the two monuments seem far apart in style and spirit.

¹⁵Le Pays, January 4, 1919.

¹⁶The location was later changed to another part of the park to make way for the Children's Zoo.

Both the Cartier and Maisonneuve memorials belong to a familiar tradition of monuments set up in public places. Traditionally, this was the market place -- the ancient centre of a town's activity. In time the locales changed but public monuments continued to be designed for viewing in the round.

The Cartier and Maisonneuve sculptures, though they have a main facade are also planned to be viewed from all sides. Laliberté's design stems from another tradition closely linked to that of the funerary stele of ancient times. This tradition is different in form from that of either of the major monuments mentioned, and received renewed attention from artists with the discovery in the 1870's and 1880's of several antique statues in the genre including the famous 'Ludovisi Throne' of the 5th century, B.C. The flatter, decorative surface quality of the relief sculpture, together with a basic simplicity of outline in the overall design of these antique memorial stele is echoed in Laliberté's design. This is formed by a central column flanked by two low-lying parapets, the whole forming a frieze-like pattern meant to be seen from one viewpoint only (Figs. 42 and 43).¹⁷

Within this framework, the theme of the Dollard story

¹⁷A similar form -- central column with wings -- was used by the American sculptor, Augustus Saint Gaudens, as early as 1881 for his monument to Admiral Farragut in Central Park in New York City.

is developed through narrative bas reliefs, and through a sculpture group of three figures. On the low wings at either side of the central column are the bas reliefs which depict two events leading up to the battle of Long Sault. One shows the group of volunteers swearing the special oath which all had agreed to undertake. "Je jure de combattre jusqu'à la mort et de ne jamais reculer devant l'ennemi". The other shows the young men taking leave of their families. Carved on the stone beside the reliefs are the names of the little band of volunteers, and of the Indian leaders who accompanied them (Figs. 46 and 47). (This use of narrative reliefs forms a major part of the Maisonneuve monument as we have seen, and was used by George Hill in many of his monuments, though not in the Cartier memorial).

The stately quality of the design in the reliefs conveys a quiet strength, a classical idealisation of courage, and its acceptance of destiny. A decorative cartouche, placed at each end of the wings, bears both the French Fleur de Lys and the Canadian maple leaf; a simple symbolic device linking the old and new allegiances united in the Dollard story (Fig. 49). The story is carried forward in more romantic terms in the main sculpture group, placed against the central column, not far above eye level. Dollard is shown challenging the enemy with an air of defiant courage (Fig. 48). Laliberté has used his own self portrait as a model for the romantically beautiful head, and has dressed

the figure with great care in seventeenth-century costume. In this he follows the popular Academic approach to historical accuracy, as did Hébert in his figure of Maisonneuve. But Dollard, in his dramatic attitude of defiance, is more closely linked in mood to George Hill's soldier in the Cartier monument. Also linked to Hill's monument is the winged female figure, a guardian angel who leads Dollard forward to his destiny (Figs. 44 and 45). The figure is sister to Hill's figure of Renown crowning the Cartier column. Both belong to those 'femmes symboliques' so deplored by the critics at the end of the nineteenth century but which sculptors continued to use for some time to evoke the image of abstract ideas and emotions. Laliberté, however, has combined the elements of his two main figures to give a very different impact from that in Hill's sculpture. Dollard and his guardian angel are drawn together in a great sweeping arabesque of line which has Art Nouveau overtones in its swirling animated linear curve. The third figure in the group, that of a comrade who lies dying at Dollard's feet, acts as a counterpoint in line and mass to the other two.

Climaxing the design is a female head crowned with a laurel wreath, an allegory for the enduring fame and glory which honours Dollard's bravery. The monument as a whole has come to symbolise a sense of the heroic drawn from an inspiring moment in Canadian history.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The expression of a national identity through the medium of public sculpture is achieved in three ways: in the choice of individuals a community honours, the style in which these monuments are conceived, and the symbols chosen to convey the sense of a shared tradition. The choice of heroes will indicate that part of a community's history it wishes to commemorate, the men and women whose achievements appear significant to its traditions. Style will be influenced by prevailing ideas and trends in the arts, though these will be modified by the intangible quality of community experience, and by the individual vision of the artist. Symbols may be drawn from real life, that is, the physical surroundings in which a society exists or abstracted from a common source significant to the community.

Viewed in these terms, how well do the three monuments in this study achieve that 'social integration' between individual awareness and the 'collective unconscious' which Read felt to be the major function of the artist in contemporary society?¹ How effectively do these three Canadian

¹Read, p. 4.

artists interpret through their sculptures, the public's unarticulated hopes and ideals?

The Cartier Memorial, the most grandiose of the three monuments, is perhaps the least successful. Its hero remains a controversial figure. Though a move to honour his memory was made soon after Cartier's death, it took more than a generation for the project to reach final acceptance. Perhaps, because of this ambivalence of public feeling towards Cartier's role in Canada's development, the sculptor was unable to fashion a statue which could express the stature of this complex man. Hill put aside Cartier's personal qualities, his warmth, intelligence and wit, and chose to try to create the image of Cartier as statesman, highlighting his achievements through personalised figures and groups. The figure of Cartier himself is reduced to a slight, unimpressive figure. There is no eloquence in his gesture and no grandeur in his aspect. It is left to the other elements which make up the monument to try and spell out what Cartier means to Canada. Most successful are the groups which symbolise Cartier's achievements in the law, in education, and as Minister of Militia. In these figures, Hill has followed in the steps of a robust American tradition which includes the allegorical figures of Daniel Chester French, those richly symbolic personifications through which the sculptor was able to express the lofty goals and high ideals of his young and growing country.

Unfortunately, Hill, in his depiction of the nine provinces, has resorted to the empty Academism of a worn-out neo-classical tradition, and these figures, so large and so prominent in the composition of the monument, tend to obscure other more fully realised, sculptural qualities in the monument as a whole. The crowning figure of Fame, the focus of so much bitter criticism at the time the commission was awarded, possesses a flowing grace of movement, which, together with its impressive size, brings to the outline of the monument a note of splendour which the concept as a whole so sadly lacks. Over the years the Cartier monument has attracted its measure of respectful public attention, but it has failed to fire the imagination with a vision which would enrich our view of ourselves.

Alfred Laliberté was faced with a simpler task in creating a monument to Dollard des Ormeaux. Dollard is an authentic hero in the tradition of David and Goliath; the young novice, ill-armed but for his faith, who struggles and triumphs against overwhelming odds. He represents the secret wish in each of us to behave with gallantry in the face of danger. The Dollard story contains all the ingredients of which legends are made; the small band of settlers and their loyal Indian friends swearing to fight to the death against an enemy of unknown strength, sacrificing their lives for the sake of the community.

Laliberté chose to sculpt Dollard in a vigorously

romantic style, tempered with a naturalism evident in his use of a self-portrait as model for the head of his hero. The guardian angel who hovers over Dollard is an idealised personification of Fame, and the difference in style between the two proves an awkward element. Laliberté has solved this dilemma by uniting them with a flowing, undulating line of Art Nouveau inspiration which bridges the stylistic differences between them. The Dollard monument has found consistent public acceptance from the time of its inauguration. Proof that Laliberté touched a responsive chord with his concept is the continuing rediscovery of the monument by succeeding generations who have found in it a satisfying symbol of the ideal of heroism drawn specifically from a Canadian past.

Hébert's monument to Maisonneuve is undoubtedly the most successful of the three monuments surveyed here. Maisonneuve is an obvious choice for a community hero. From classical times the founders of cities have acquired legendary qualities in the folklore of their descendants, and Maisonneuve's achievements in establishing the settlement of Ville Marie place him securely among this company.

Maisonneuve played many roles in the drama of those early years: explorer, missionary, statesman and soldier. Hébert has given him the sturdy strength of a man of action together with the gravity of aspect of one guided by inner faith. It is a human creation very different in concept from

that of Bourrassa's remote medieval knight.

The human qualities given to Maisonneuve are evident in the other figures which surround the base of the monument and which give it unity and emotional depth. None of the figures is idealised beyond credibility, and all are sculpted in a style combining dramatic line and expression but which stops short of melodrama. Style here is married closely to concept, with proportion and scale playing an important part in the success of the overall design. The result has been the establishment of the Maisonneuve monument as a symbol of the city and which was recognised and accepted as such by the general public.

The three monuments described in this study vary so greatly in skills and style that it becomes difficult to identify those qualities they have in common which may mark them as uniquely 'Canadian'. Nevertheless, a few tentative remarks are offered here for consideration.

First, there is a tendency towards a simplicity of approach, a deliberate reserve which shuns the melodramatic as a means of expression. With the possible exception of Dollard des Ormeaux, these missionaries, statesmen, explorers, etc., are presented with a sense of their essential humanity. There are no 'larger than life' heroes among them even when their achievements might merit such treatment. Maisonneuve is shown, not flourishing a drawn sword, as some had

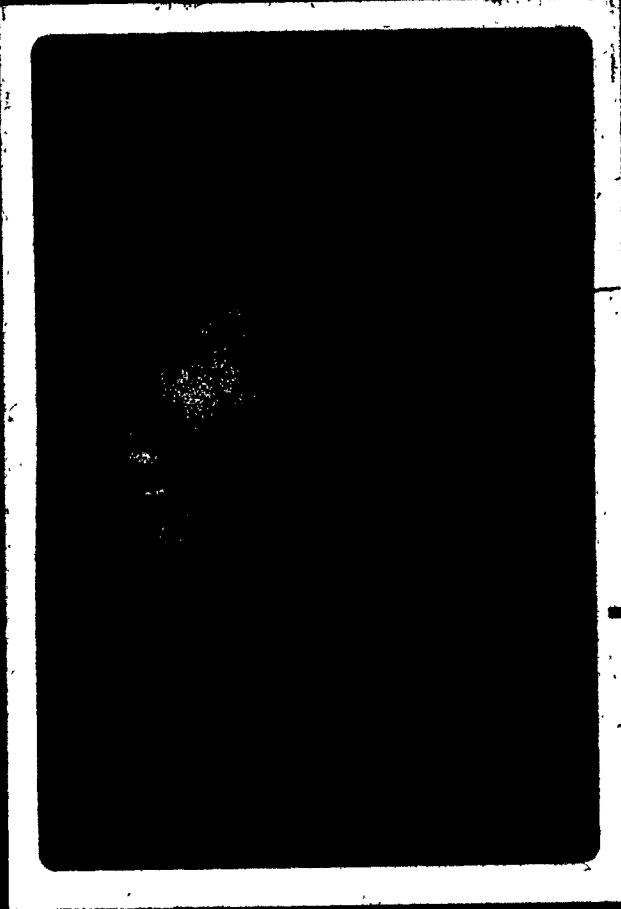
suggested he be portrayed, but in the peaceful moment of planting the flag. Cartier, in spite of the grandiose nature of the monument's all-over plan, remains, himself, a modest figure, the most human and least pretentious of all the statues which make up the ensemble. (If there is a figure who is raised to noble heights in public sculpture during this period, it is Laliberté's market woman on the Maisonneuve fountain).

Following on this sensitivity for the human rather than the rhetorical approach, the forms themselves become simplified, less agitated and complex than was generally common to the style of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century sculpture.

Finally, all these statues have in common a strongly realistic approach. Abstraction plays virtually no part in their design, and symbolism is spelled out with clarity. Here, the deeply conservative qualities of Quebec society are found to be best expressed through faces and forms which are recognisable as relating to the community. Jeanne Mance, ministering to the hurt of a child, Lambert Closse and the dog Pilote, these are satisfying in their recognisable resemblance to familiar figures. Even Hébert's Indian is not idealised or exaggerated beyond recognition. The use of narrative bas reliefs, common to many monuments, is a device which seems to parallel the traditional telling of tales, the oral history, from which so many Canadians drew their

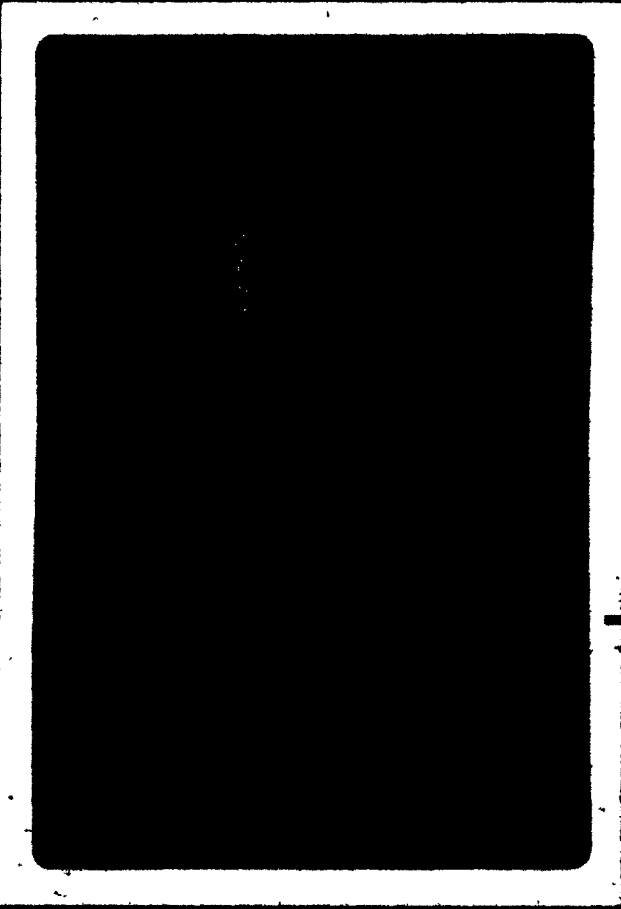
knowledge of their country's story. This conservative approach applied to art was expressed by Laliberté as follows: "the student may sometimes cut loose from all tradition and wander into the most wierd haunts of artistic endeavour, such as cubism or else sometimes into futuristic design, but the artist usually finds himself again, and returns a little closer to tradition which after all represents centuries of artistic progress."² Laliberté spoke for a generation to which all three sculptors in this study belonged; perhaps the last generation to be linked by physical memory with an earlier, profoundly traditional Canadian way of life. Because of this, the best of the sculpture these artists produced captures an essence of that early Canadian experience and translates it into visual symbols which still remain valid and recognisable.

²Laliberté, "The Modern Student," unidentified source. Scrapbook.



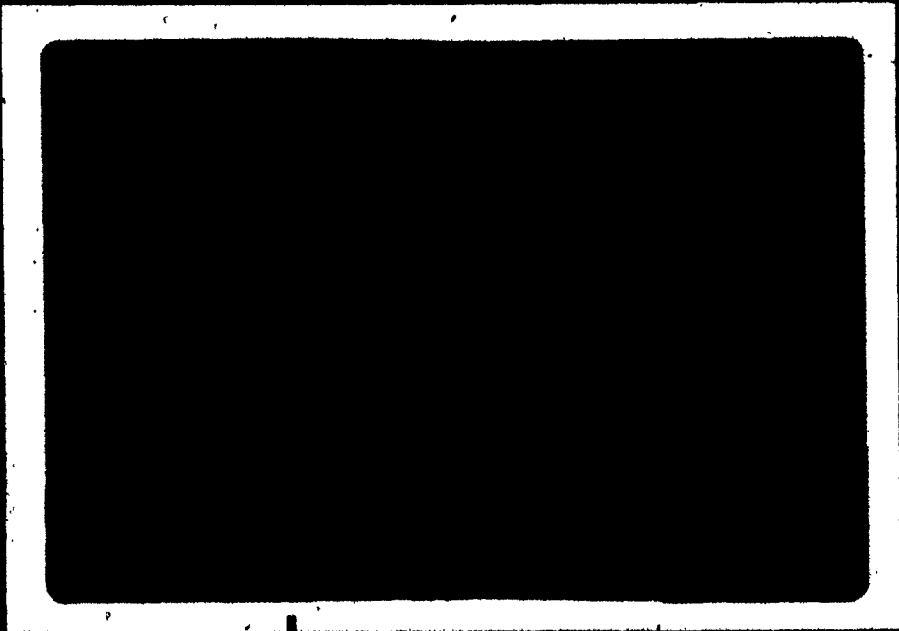
1

George III, sculptor unknown
c. 1770. Marble.
Ht. approx. 2 feet.
McCord Museum, Montreal



2

Louis XIV. Copy of bust
by Bernini c. 1670
Ht approx 3 feet.
Place Royale, Quebec.



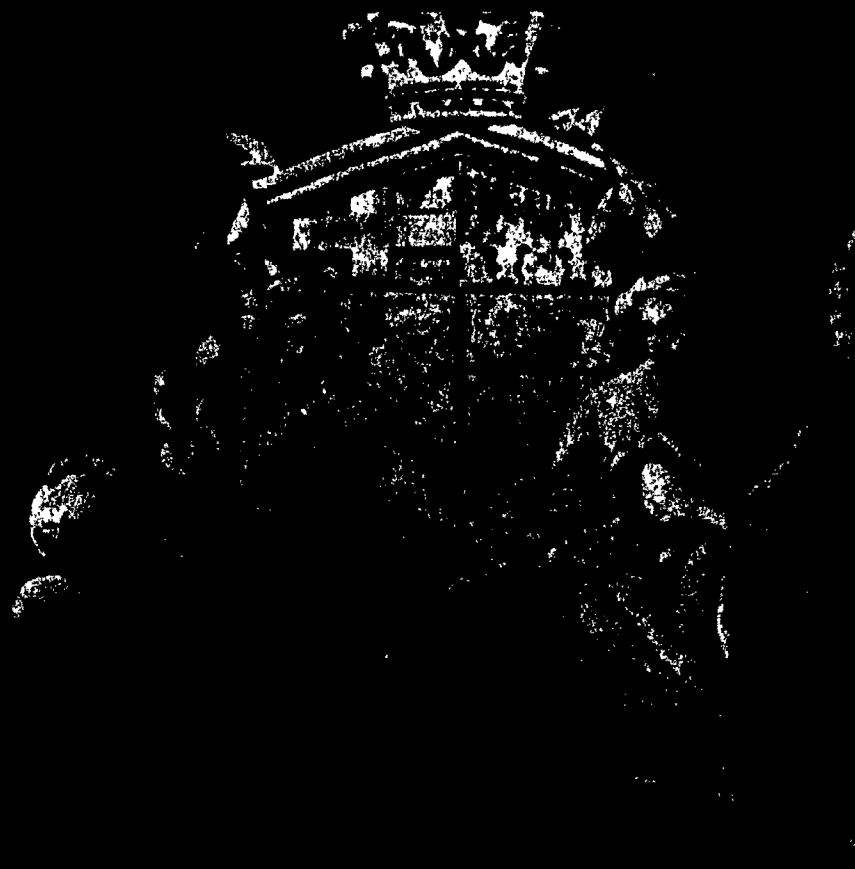
3

Nelson Monument. 1809. Total height Approx. 68'
Statue of Nelson 8' high, of Coade stone,
by George Horatio Smith. Monument designed
in England by Mr Mitchell.
Place Jacques Cartier, Montreal.



4

Marshall Wood.
Queen Victoria. 1872
Victoria Square, Montreal.



5

Napoleon Bourassa and Philippe Habert,
Design for a sculpture group for the new
Post Office, c. 1873.
From L'Opinion Publique, 1875



Napoleon Bourrassa. Design for a monument
to Maisonneuve. c. 1879. published in
L'Opinion Publique. 1879



Philippe Hébert. Maisonneuve Monument.
1895. Ht. approx. 30'. Base by Mesnard
and Ferrault. Place d'Armes, Montreal



Hebert. 'Maisonneuve'
Ht. including base 10'.



Hebert. 'Charles le Moyne'
Ht. approx. 7'.



10

Hebert. 'Indian'
Ht. approx. 7'.



17

Hébert, 'Jeanne Mance'
Ht. approx. 7'



16

Hébert, Lambert Classe
and 'Pilote' Ht. approx.
7'



Hébert. Relief. 'Dollard des Ormeaux at
the battle of Long Sault.'



Hébert. Relief. 'Battle of Place d'Armes.'



Robert. Relief.
'Conferece at Meuden',



Robert. Relief.
'The first Mass in
'Ville Marie'.

17

Hebert. Four masks. These acted as fountain heads for water which poured into the shell-like basins below each head.

Philippe Hebert
'Jeanne Mance' 1909.
Hotel Dieu (courtyard
of the hospital) Montreal.



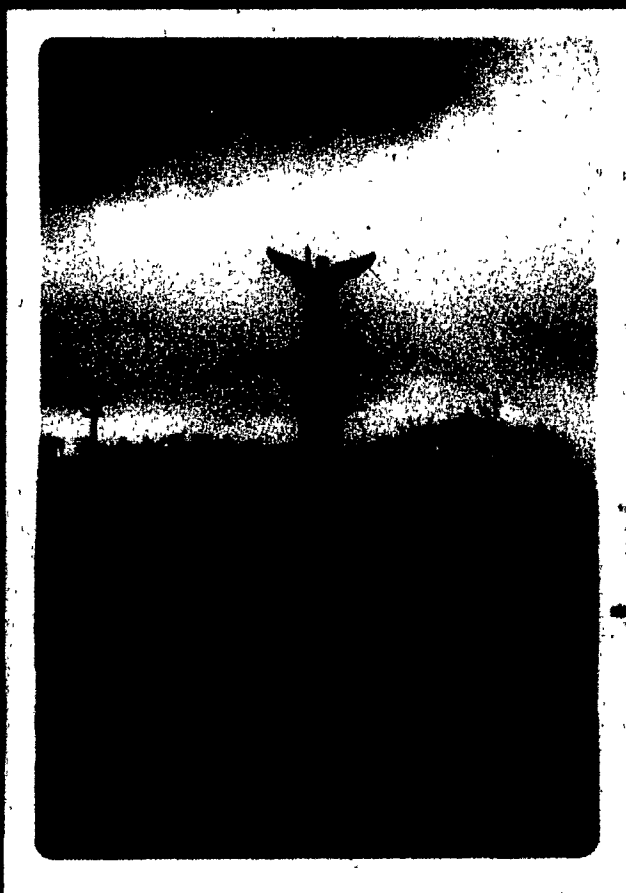
George Hill. 'The Strathcona Memorial'
1907. Dominion Square, Montreal. (above)
Below right. Hill in his Paris studio with
plaster statue of horse. Note live horse
which acted as model in background.
Below left. One of the 'Horses of Mary'
by Guillaume Coustou, 1740-45. Paris.



Hill: Westmount War Memorial
1922. City Hall Westmount.



Hill: Magazine for War
Memorial. This seems to
have been an uncommissioned
work and was never cast.



25

George Hill. 'The Cartier Memorial' 1919.
Ht. Approx. 100' Mount Royal, Montreal.
View of facade facing east.



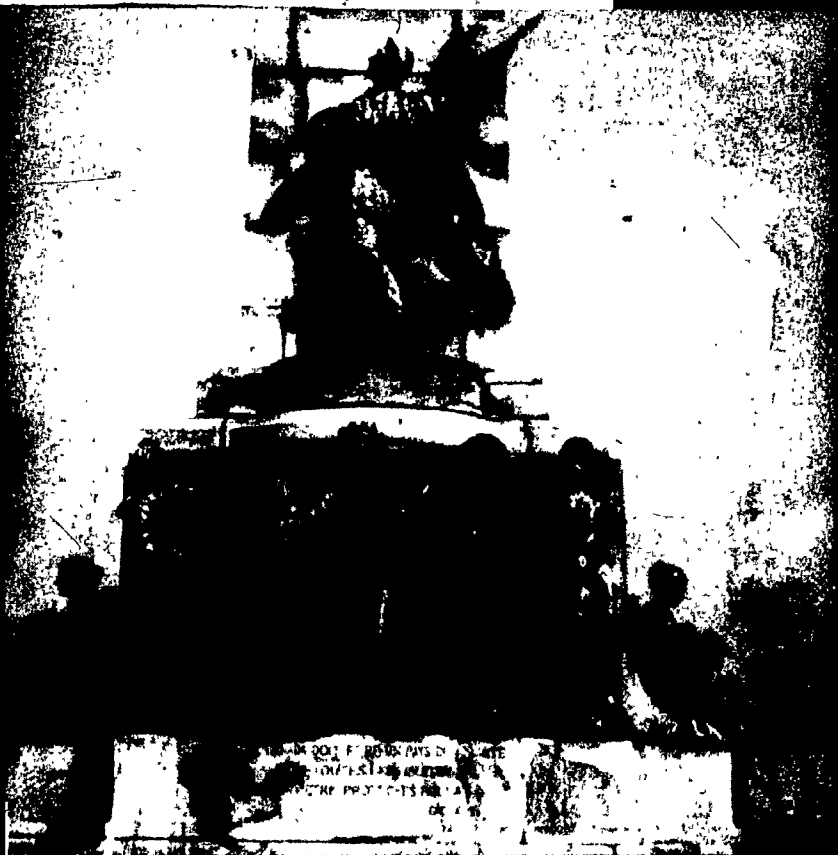
24

Thomas Brock.
'Victoria Memorial' 1911
Marble. Buckingham Palace
London.

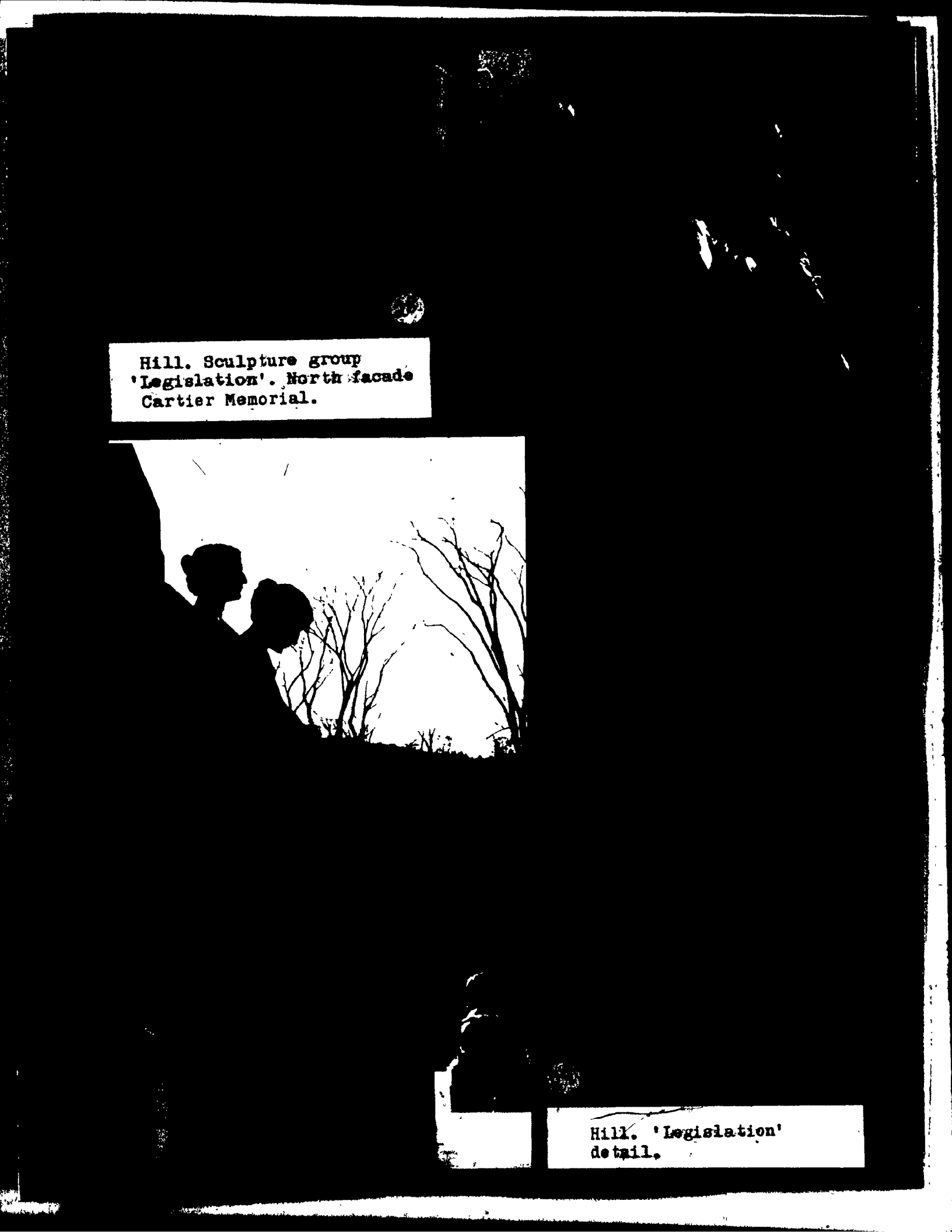


26


Hill. Cartier Memorial. Main facade facing east. Cartier, ht. 11', stands above figures of 'Quebec', 'Ontario', 'New Brunswick' and 'Nova Scotia' all 9' high. To the right (north) is the group 'Legislation'. To the left (south)



Right. West facade
The 'Soldier' stands above the figures of the five Provinces, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan.



Hill. Sculpture group
'Legislation'. North facade
Cartier Memorial.



Hill. 'Legislation'
detail.

Hill. 'Soldier' detail
west facade, Cartier
Memorial.

Hill's studio, Brussels.
with figure for 'Nova
Scotia'.



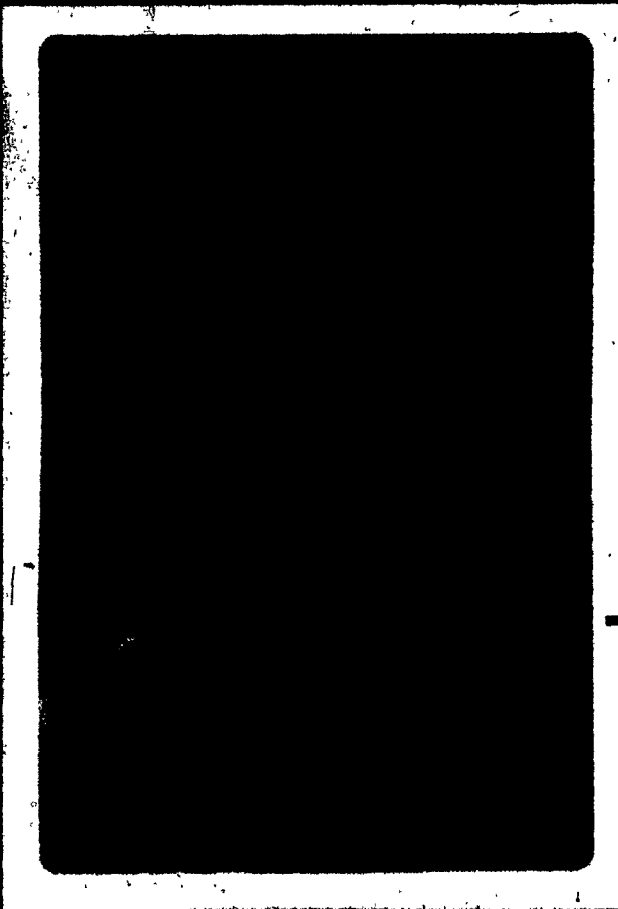
32

Hill. Sculpture group
'Education'. South
facade, Cartier Memorial.
Detail.



33

Louis Francois Etien.
'Lion'. One of four
placed at the four
corners of the Memorial.
They were added some years
after the monument was
unveiled. Length 9.



34

Hill. 'Fame'. Ht. 21'
including bronze ball
on which figure is poised.

35

Hill in his Brussels studio
with maquette for figure of
Cartier on modelling stand
and model for 'Fame' on
floor in background.



Daniel Chester French. 'The Boyd O'Reilly
Monument', Boston, Mass. n. d.

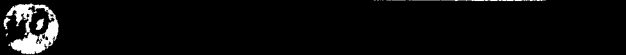
37

Alfred Laliberté. 'Fontaine Allegorique.'
1915. Maisonneuve Market, Montreal.

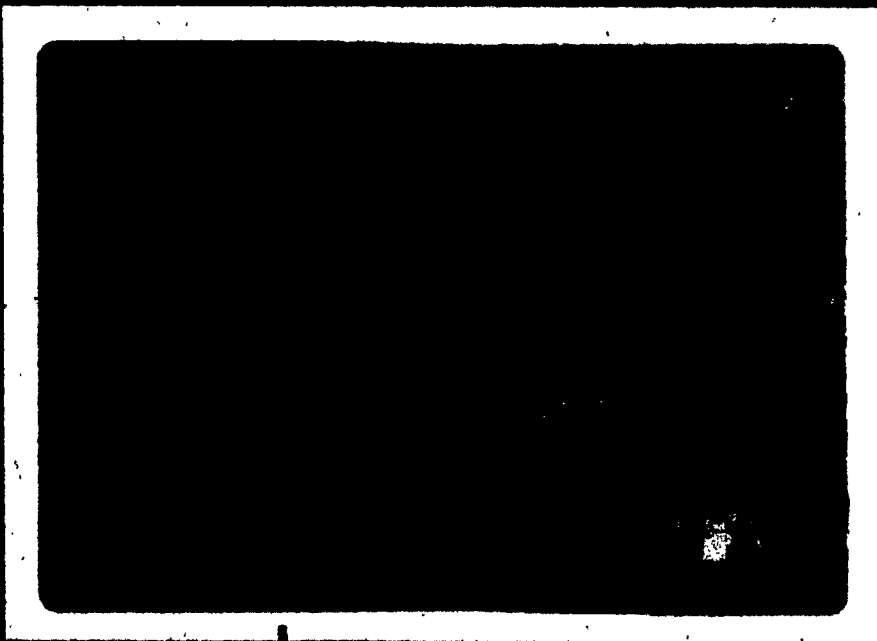


38

Laliberté. 'Market Woman'. Detail
Fontaine Allegorique.



Lattier's. Three young boys with 1) fish
2) calf 3) turkey, illustrating produce
available at the market. Base of
Fontaine Allegorique.



42



Alfred Laliberté. 42, 43
Monument to Dollard des
Ormeaux! 1920. Ht. approx.
30'. Parc Lafontaine,
Montreal. Above, front
view. Below at right,
view from the right
facing northeast.

43



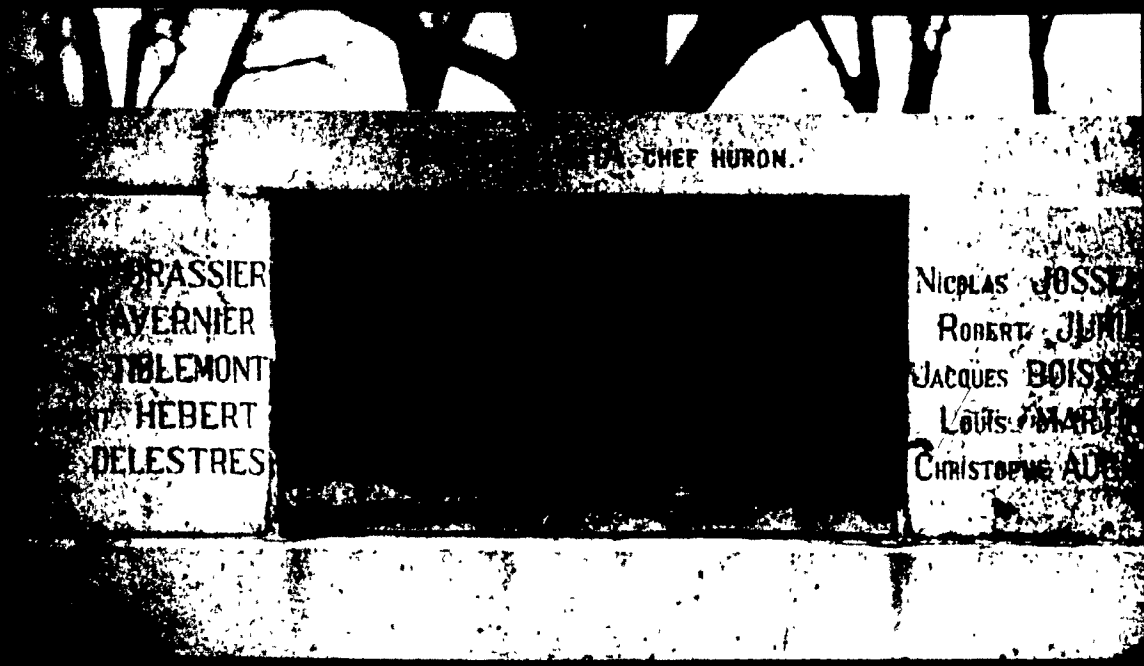
144

Laliberte. 'Dollard' Main
sculpture group.



145

Laliberte. Dollard with
'Fame'. detail.



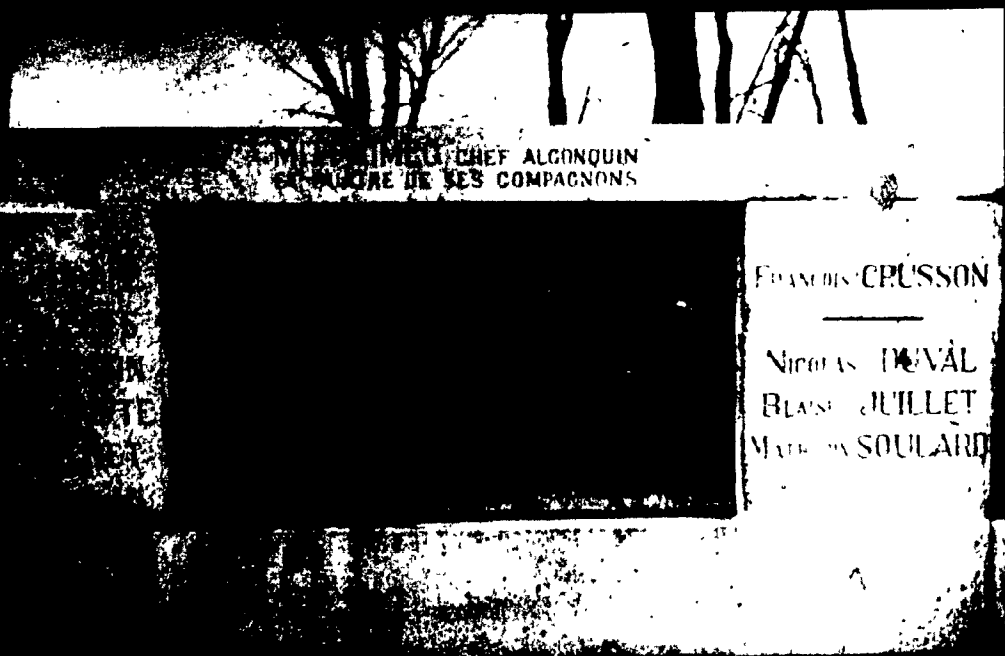
CHEF HURON.

BRASSIER
AVERNIER
TIBLEMONT
HEBERT
DELESTRES

NICOLAS JOSSE
ROBERT JUMI
JACQUES BOISSY
LOUIS MARTEL
CHRISTOPHE ADAM

Laliberté. Relief. Rt. side
'Swearing the Oath.'

4-6



CHEF ALGONQUIN
MARTELL DE SES COMPAGNONS

FRANCOIS CRUSSON
NICOLAS D'AVAL
BLAISE JUILLET
MARTELL SOULARD

Laliberté. Relief. Left side.
'The Departure for Long Sault.'

4-6



Laliberté. Figure
of Dollard. detail.

48



Laliberté. Cartouche with
fleur de lys and maple
leaves. Detail of parapet.

49

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Adams, Adeline. The Spirit of American Sculpture. New York: The National Sculpture Society, 1923.
- Atherton, William Henry. Montreal From 1535-1914. Montreal: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 3 vols., 1914.
- Bellerive, George. Artistes Peintres Canadien-Francais. Quebec: Librairie Garneau, 1936.
- Bennett, T. P. The Relation of Sculpture to Architecture. Cambridge: University Press, 1916.
- Boime, Albert. The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century. London: Phaidon, [1971/.
- Biggs, Asa (ed.). The Nineteenth Century. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.
- Burke, Joseph. English Art 1714-1800. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Busch, Harald and Bernd Lohse. Baroque Sculpture. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., [1965/.
- Casson, Stanley. Sculpture Today. London: The Studio Ltd., 1939.
- Chase, George Henry and Rathfon Chandler Post. A History of Sculpture. New York: Harper & Brothers, [1924/.
- Chauvin, Jean. Ateliers. Montreal et New York: Louis Carrier et Cie., Les Editions du Mercure, 1928.
- Cremazie, Octave. Poesies. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitee, 1912.
- Dodge, Pickering. Sculpture and the Plastic Art. Boston: John P. Jewett, 1850.
- Dufferin and Ava, Marchioness of. My Canadian Journal 1872-8 Extracts from my letters Home written while Lord Dufferin was Governor General. London: John Murray, 1891.

- Dunlop, Ian. The Shock of the New. London: Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, [1972].
- Garneau, Francois-Xavier. Histoire du Canada depuis sa decouverte a nos jours. Montreal: Beauchemin et Valois, 4th ed., 4 vols., 1883. (First published in 1845-8).
- Gour, Romain. Philippe Hébert. Les Editions Eoliennes, 1953.
- Hansen, Hans. Late 19th Century Art. New York: McGraw Hill, 1972.
- Harper, J. Russell. Painting in Canada: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.
- Hébert, Bruno. Philippe Hébert, Sculpteur. Montreal: Fides, [1973].
- Laberge, Albert. Peintres et Ecrivains d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui. Montreal: Edition Privée, 1938.
- Laflamme, J.-L. K. Le Centenaire Cartier 1814-1914. Montreal, 1927.
- Lami, Stanislas. Dictionnaire des Sculpteurs de l'Ecole Francaise au 19^e Siecle. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 4 vols., 1921.
- Marquand, Allan and Arthur L. Frothingham. A Textbook of the History of Sculpture. New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1896.
- Ministere des Affaires Culturelles. Sculpture Traditionelle du Quebec. Musee du Quebec, 1967.
- Morgan, Henry James. The Canadian Men and Women of the Time. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912. 2nd ed. (First ed. 1898).
- Morrisset, Gerard. La Peinture Traditionelle au Canada Francais. Le Cercle du Livre de France. [Ottawa, 1960].
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. Academies of Art. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.
- Pope-Hennessy. Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture. London: Phaidon Press, 1963.

- Read, Herbert. The Art of Sculpture. Princeton University Press, 1969.
- _____. To Hell With Culture. New York: Schocken Books, 1963.
- Reid, Dennis. A Concise History of Canadian Painting. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Rheims, Maurice. La Sculpture aux XIX^e Siecle. Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphiques, 1972.
- _____. The Age of Art Nouveau. London: Thames and Hudson, 1966.
- Roy, Pierre-Georges. Les Monuments Commemoratifs de la Province de Quebec. Quebec: Ls.-A. Proulx, 1923.
- Short, Ernest H. A History of Sculpture. London: William Heinemann, 1907.
- Taft, Lorado. The History of American Sculpture. New York: Macmillan Co., 1924 (First published 1903).
- Veronesi, Giulia. Style and Design 1909-1926. New York: George Braziller, 1968.

Articles

- Auclair, L'Abbe Elie J. "Les Fêtes du Monument Cartier a Montreal." La Revue Canadienne. Vol. XXIV (October 1919): 4.
- Benedite, Leonce. "Les Salon de 1898 -- La Sculpture." Gazette des Beaux Arts, Paris, 1898.
- Boucher, Pierre. "Alfred Laliberté, Sculpteur." La Revue Moderne (March 1920).
- Briere, Pierre. "Le Monument Mercier." Nationaliste (November 28, 1909).
- Collard, Edgar Andrew. "The Strathcona Horse." The Gazette (July 4, 1970).
- Desjardins, Noella. "Nos Ancêtres a l'Age de Bronze." La Presse (September 7, 1968).
- Desjardins, Paul. "Les Salons de 1899." Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1899.

Massicotte, E. Z. "Dollard des Ormeaux." Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, 3rd Series, Vol. IX (April 1912): 2.

"Le Buste de George III a Montreal." Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. XXI (January 1902).

Rod, Edouard. "L'Atelier de Rodin." Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1898.

Rosenberg, Harold. "Ideal and Real." The New Yorker (June 14, 1976).

Russell, Linda. "In Tribute to Louis-Philippe Hébert." Montreal Star (August 9, 1975).

Unsigned. "Hommage a M. Alfred Laliberté Sculpteur." L'Etudiant (Mars-Avril 1943).

Pamphlets

Illustrated Montreal Old and New, 1915.

Mansions of the Golden Square Mile, Christina Cameron, ed., Montreal, 1976.

The Town of Maisonneuve. The Commercial Magazine Co. Ltd. Montreal, 1911.

Periodicals

Canadian Architect and Builder, 1895.

Canadian Illustrated News, 1876, 1877.

Gazette des Beaux Arts, Paris, 1878, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1899.

The Gazette, Montreal, 1912, 1914.

La Minerve, Montreal, 1889, 1895, 1898.

La Nation, St. Jerome, 1907.

La Patrie, Montreal, September, 1912.

La Presse, Montreal, 1902, 1906, 1912, 1918.

Le Canada, Montreal, 1905.

Le Monde Illustré, Montreal, February 1890.

Le Nationaliste, Montreal, 1909.

Le Pays, Montreal, 1919.

L'Opinion Publique, Montreal, 1876.

Montreal Daily Herald, 1913..

The Times, Richmond, 1907.

Correspondence

Archives Nationales de France. Secretariat d'Etat a la Culture.

Macdonald, T. R. Hamilton, Ontario.

Ministère des Affaires Culturelles de Quebec. Direction Generale du Patrimoine. Michel Cauchon, Directeur.

National Gallery of Canada. Jean-René Ostiguy, Research Curator and Robert Derome.

National Portrait Gallery, London, England. Robin Gibson, Assistant Keeper.

Public Archives of Canada. G. Malette, Archivist, Public Records Division.

Unpublished Material

Laliberté, Alfred. "Les Artistes de Mon Temps."

_____. "Pensées et Reflexions."

Municipal Archives. "The File on the Dollard des Ormeaux Monument."

Interviews

Mlle. Odette Legendre, niece of Alfred Laliberté.

Dr. Eleanor Venning, daughter of George Hill.

Professor Orson Wheeler, Concordia University.

FOOTNOTES

Note: Some references from periodicals have been drawn from the clipping files of the Municipal Archives, and from the family scrapbooks of the families of George Hill and Alfred Laliberté. Often these clippings have eliminated not only page numbers but sometimes title and date of the periodical. I have tried to track down missing information of this kind but was often not successful. Where such data is omitted, therefore, it is for the reasons outlined and not because they have been overlooked.

APPENDICES

Monument à Adam Dollard des Ormeaux et ses compagnons.

CONDITIONS DU CONCOURS:

1° Le projet pour la construction d'un monument devant être érigé à la mémoire de Dollard des Ormeaux et de ses compagnons, morts héroïquement au Long-Sault, en 1660, est mis au Concours entre les artistes sculpteurs.

2° Le monument sera érigé dans le Square Viger, à Montréal, (Canada). Les plans de l'endroit choisi et de ses abords, seront, sur demande, envoyés aux artistes qui désirent prendre part au Concours.

3° Aucun style d'architecture, aucune forme spéciale à donner à ce monument ne sont imposés; mais l'artiste devra s'inspirer des données de l'histoire, du sentiment qui a inspiré l'acte de dévouement de ces fiers chevaliers de La Nouvelle France; de son œuvre, devra se dégager une leçon de générosité, de courage et d'enthousiasme.

4°—Il ne pourra être employé, dans la construction de ce monument, que des matériaux très solides, de première qualité, et pouvant résister aux rigueurs du climat.

5°—La nature et la provenance des matériaux seront indiqués dans un devis fourni par les concurrents.

6° La dépense totale du projet ne devra pas dépasser la somme de vingt mille piastres (\$20,000.00) (monnaie canadienne).

7°—Le projet se composera :—

A) — De plans, coupes et élévations à l'échelle de 5 centimètre par mètre.

B) — D'une maquette en terre, cire ou plâtre de l'ensemble du monument à l'échelle de 0.m. 15 par mètre.

C) — D'un devis descriptif et justificatif de la dépense totale.