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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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WILLIAM RAPHAEL, R.C.A.

(1833-1914)

Sharon Rose Goelman

A Thesis
in
The Faculty
of
Fine Arts

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History,
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

September, 1978

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ABSTRACT

WILLIAM RAPHAEL R.C.A. 1833-1914

Sharon Rose Goelman

This thesis examines the biography and professional life of the artist William Raphael, who immigrated to Canada in 1857. Equipped with an academic education from the Royal Academy of Berlin, Raphael engaged in painting portraits, landscapes, genre scenes and still life from the time of his arrival. Initially, he worked in photography with William Notman and others. Aside from the art he produced, one of his greatest contributions lay in the field of art education, both in public institutions and in his own school. Raphael helped build important new 19th century Canadian art organizations and institutions. He was a charter member of the Royal Canadian Academy, a founder of the Society of Canadian Artists and the National Art Gallery of Canada. He was an original member of the Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal as well as a participant in the Ontario Society of

Artists, the Art Association of Montreal and the Council of Arts and Manufacturers of Quebec. The vicissitudes surrounding the artist's association within these societies is covered in detail. Emphasis has been placed upon an assessment of his style and the spectrum of his work, particularly the witty genre scenes. These depict what were to him the more exotic aspects of Canadian life. An attempt was made to examine the artist's work within the context of the German Biedermeier realist tradition and its adaptation to the Canadian scene.

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S. R. G.

NOTES ABOUT PRESENTATION OF THE THESIS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Sketchbooks

Raphael's personal sketchbooks are written in German and English but for the purposes of this thesis all passages appear in English.

Illustrations

Slides are numbered from numbers 1 - 334. Photographs, photocopies and miscellaneous are numbered from 335 - 401.

Abbreviations

The National Gallery of Canada's six sketchbooks are referred to by number and page only. The R and the V refer to recto and verso sides of the page, e.g., Sketchbook 1, page 2 recto is written as 1, 2R.

The McCord Museum's two sketchbooks M 17373 and M 17374 are referred to as M17373 or M17374 along with the page.

The Wener sketchbook, now lost, is referred to as Wener, without pagination.

A.A.M.	Art Association of Montreal
C.S.A.	Congrégation Sainte-Anne, Lachine
C.N.D.	Congrégation Notre-Dame
M.M.F.A.	The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
O.S.A.	The Ontario Society of Artists
P.P.S.	Priest of Saint-Sulpice
Q.C.A.M.	The Quebec Council of the Arts, Montreal
R.C.A.	The Royal Canadian Academy
S.C.A.	The Society of Canadian Artists
S.S.A.	Sisters of Sainte-Anne

Media

Unless otherwise stated, the art works discussed in the text are painted in the oil medium.

FOREWORD

My interest in William Raphael began in undergraduate school, when Professor J. Russell Harper in a Canadian Art course suggested as a topic for original research "An Analysis of the Work of Montreal Jewish Artists from 1945 to the Present". The challenge for me was to investigate whether their collective background in fact did influence the individual's work. Six months of interviewing artists in their homes and studios proved invaluable toward this end and I finally completed this controversial project with much satisfaction. Therefore, when the opportunity presented itself to meet the last living grandchild of the first known Jewish artist to come to Canada,¹ I found myself interested. This took the form of a visit by Professor Harper and myself to the home of Mrs. Jacob Wener. In the atmosphere of her hospitality over tea and conversation, surrounded by William Raphael portraits, landscapes and still lifes, I decided to pursue the study of this artist. The final impetus came from a desire to see a broader range of his work. Until that afternoon, although I was familiar with two coloured

reproductions, Behind Bonsecours Market Montreal and with

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his diploma work, Indian Encampment Along the Lower St.

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Lawrence (both in the collection of the National Gallery),

I had not seen other Raphael paintings. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and the McCord Museum each held two paintings in storage but I had never viewed these. The wealth of impressive material before me was therefore startling.

My teacher's initial support, the prospect of doing original research on Canada's first professional Jewish artist and the challenge of discovering as yet undisclosed works sparked my inspiration. Admittedly, after a great deal of delving into the man's life and work, I see my original expectations much modified. It was a surprise after such a positive outset to realize the unevenness in the quality of the paintings. The rewards for my efforts, however, lay in unexpected areas and in the discovery that, within the corpus of Canadian Art History, my subject lay in practically uncharted territory.

INTRODUCTION

Loneliness is never so overwhelming as in man-made
surroundings,
In virgin forests and on mountain tops she is pleasant
and comforting,
But between dwellings side by side she shows a ghostly
flavour.

William Raphael (Sketchbook 5, p. 15R)

William Raphael has received little recognition by
Canadian art historians and by Canadian galleries, although
his work was frequently exhibited and reviewed in his own
time. In 1971, when I began my research, his paintings were
located in only seven museums, but no more than five paint-
ings were exhibited simultaneously at any given time.
Presently, nine provincial and municipal galleries own fifteen
of his works.

There is a paucity of published literature on the
artist. Although several writers have approached the
subject, none devotes more than a paragraph to Raphael. In
1898 and in 1912, he is mentioned in The Canadian Men &
Women of the Time,¹ edited by H. J. Morgan. The description
briefly accounts only a few biographical facts, mentions
three major paintings, lists some of his affiliations and

notes that his most prominent student was Wyatt Eaton. Like some of the later writings, Morgan's biography includes some inaccuracies. For example, the date of Raphael's immigration to Canada took place in 1857, rather than 1860.

Newton MacTavish, in The Fine Arts in Canada² briefly mentions him as a member of the R.C.A. It is noticeable, however, that he omits Raphael's name from his list of artists whose illustrations were published in Picturesque Canada. In La Peinture traditionnelle au Canada français,³ Gérard Morisset criticizes Raphael for lacking innovation or any exceptional qualities of style. William Colgate's Canadian Art⁴ merely names him as a founding member of the R.C.A. and a prominent Quebec artist. The National Gallery of Canada Catalogue,⁵ published in 1960, lists Bonsecours Market 128 and there are only a few lines about Raphael in the catalogue of its Centenary exhibition Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art⁶ which reproduces his Hollyhocks. In Everyman's 190 Canada,⁷ an exhibition catalogue of the McCord Museum's collection, J. Russell Harper includes two of Raphael's pencil studies taken from his sketch books and notes his extensive use of these, particularly when he travelled. In Painting in Canada⁸ Harper relates Raphael to contemporary Canadian German artists and includes Bonsecours Market.

R. H. Hubbard in The Development of Canadian Art,⁹ again reproduces Raphael's Bonsecours Market and discusses it in some detail. He points out that Raphael, an immigrant, packed his picture, "full of realistic and authentic detail. But it is of aesthetic importance as well because of the solid arrangement of masses of the Bonsecours Church and other buildings and assortment of bright colors".

In 1959, the Canadian Jewish Congress sponsored an Exhibition of Works by Canadian Jewish Artists in commemoration of the National Bicentenary of Canadian Jewry.¹⁰ Three of Raphael's paintings and six sketch books were shown. In Elizabeth Kilbourn's Great Canadian Painting,¹¹ the favourite Bonsecours Market is illustrated as a representation of immigrant art.

Dennis Reid's A Concise History of Canadian Painting¹² follows the ideas of Russell Harper and suggests a more serious consideration of Raphael as a German artist to be considered in context with Adolphe Vogt and Otto Reinhold Jacobi. Reid points out the complexity of Raphael's genre paintings and hints that "the luminous clarity and studied composure of Raphael's canvas can be seen reflected in later Canadian works".¹³ This concept represents a new approach.

The most complete and accurate information on William Raphael appears in J. Russell Harper's Early Painters and Engravers in Canada.¹⁴ He lists relevant biographical details, professional accomplishments, organizational affiliations, locales of exhibitions and names of public museums that own works. Harper's concise but rather detailed entry reflects an excellent use of primary sources.

The most detailed description of Bonsecours Market appears in The History of Painting in Canada¹⁵ published in 1974 by art historian Barry Lord. His particular Maoist political bias leads him to perceive social elements in the painting which range from the obvious to the prophetic. He describes the immigrants and says of their children, "They represent the second generation, the children of the immigrants who will grow up into a lifetime of social struggle and change".¹⁶

As this summary indicates, only a minimal amount of information has been published concerning Raphael, and few of his works have been publicly noted. It was with the purpose of amplifying the body of knowledge concerning the artist and with the hopes of uncovering more of his artistic output that I began research towards this thesis.

Through the use of primary sources, several informants, 19th century newspaper articles and a variety of archival repositories, I collated material delineating Raphael's life in Germany and Canada. After outlining his biography and his professional involvement in the Canadian art scene, I will discuss his artistic production in various media. An analysis of this art has been attempted in order to present an overall perspective. A great number of his finished works have been included, although by no means exhaustively.¹⁷

CHAPTER ONE

BIOGRAPHY (1833-1914)

A. Personal History

It is a note of good fortune for any person interested in Raphael that throughout most of his life he kept personal and artistic records. At the age of seventeen he began a series of sketchbooks¹ in which he noted his preoccupations, ranging from private and professional matters to actual working plans. Through these we first read about his birthplace and his early life.

In 1833, Raphael was born into a Jewish family in the small East Prussian town of Nakef near the Polish border. His family was probably of German-Polish origin and known as Rafalsky. He had at least three brothers—Saul, who is mentioned when Raphael was a student in Berlin,² another M. Raphaelsky,³ who was residing in Montreal when Raphael arrived⁴ and a third, Abraham. He also had two sisters whose tombstones he drew—Chranchah, who passed away in 1845, and Kalah who died in 1853.⁵ He mentions a third, Bertha, who died in 1854.⁶ After Raphael received news of the loss of his mother, his notes suggest a preoccupation with death. He expressed his mourning on four different

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occasion in his notebooks. First, he notes reminders of his Mother's death⁷ and later sketches a grave with a sketelon

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next to it.⁸ Although nowhere in the sketchbooks does he elaborate on this or other aspects of his emotional life, Raphael does indicate the closeness of his family ties.

While in Berlin, he kept careful records of the dates of letters received from Nakel, and notes the name of the relative or friend who brought news. Visits to relatives are also mentioned. He notes his trip to Uncle Benjamin Levy in Alt Stettin, Politz,⁹ and to Meier, whose son Raphael drew a sketch of while he was there.¹⁰

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While Raphael was studying in Berlin, he rarely mentioned family events until July 3, 1856 when there is an entry about his father's death. It simply states, "Father died July 3, 1856".¹¹ This trumatic event probably contributed to Raphael's decision to emigrate to North America, where he already had a brother.

Before leaving Europe, Raphael made a last visit to Nakel, where he painted several portraits of family and friends. He lists their names as if in a memorial. Löwenheim; Abraham; Itzig; Cohn; Adam; Lohman; Teichman; Baumann; Arnot; David; Rafalsky; Cheim; Haiman and Dore Meier are but some of the names deciphered.¹²

It is interesting to note that the further Raphael went from his close ties in Nakel, the fewer references he made to his Jewish background. These are barely noticeable in the sketchbooks. His orthodox upbringing is suggested

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by a portrait of his father, a typical 19th century Jew with beard, curled sidelocks and skullcap. That Raphael received a well-grounded Hebrew and Yiddish education is clear from his fluent writing in both languages. Among the few references made in his sketchbooks to his religion are the Hebrew reminders to light a candle on the anniversary

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of the death of his relatives, as well as the depiction of tombstones with Hebrew writing on them and notations of Hebrew dates of importance. Another revealing exception

is the scene of a Purim Masquerade Ball, probably sketched

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in Nakel in 1850. Here, a central male figure holds a noisebox, traditionally swirled at the mention of Haman's name in the holiday celebration. The costumed group behind him is obviously celebrating the survival of the ancient Persian Jewish community saved during the reign of Queen Esther and King Ahashuerus. In two other places in his sketchbooks, Raphael mentioned other Jewish holidays.

He refers to Passover, when he notes on April 2, 1852,

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"I received matzos". The second mention of a holiday

came years later, during Raphael's last trip to Nakel. On top of one of the sketches of a man in a cap who has fallen asleep at the table, he wrote, "Nakel", then below, in

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Hebrew, "Erev Succoth, Meier('s)".¹⁷ This indicates that on the eve of the Feast of the Tabernacles, he was at Meier's house in Nakel. Meier may well be the subject of the sketch.

Evidently, once Raphael was away from his hometown,¹⁸ he was engrossed in other cultural concerns. None of the many borrowed or bought books he lists relate to Jewish life, indicating that he was probably not a part of the "Wissenschaft des Judentums" popular amongst young Jewish intellectuals in Germany and Prussia who sought to modernize traditional Judaism. One may speculate that although Raphael was a product of an Orthodox home, he was a child of his era which experienced great changes in Judaism. In Germany, particularly Berlin, the movement of Reform Judaism in the 1840's and 1850's was gaining popularity. "Not bound by age-old tradition",¹⁹ this movement lent modern Jews, by-products of their recent political and cultural emancipation, the opportunity to be part of contemporary society. In these circles, it was acceptable for a Jew to become an artist without fearing that the prohibition against graven images applied to painting and drawing. It was most likely

that an artist, free now to mingle within society at large, would cast off outward traditional modes which might get him apart from others in the big city. Raphael's move away from orthodoxy corresponded with the liberalization of German-Jewish life.

There is only one reference in Raphael's paintings that may reflect his attachment to his parents' way of life and to his formative years in Nakel. It is an article he holds in his hands in an alleged portrait of himself as an immigrant. Elizabeth Kilbourne writes, "He may well be the man at the precise center [of the scene Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal] who holds an artist's portfolio and a Jewish ceremonial candelabra".

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Raphael's sketchbooks are full of isolated details that seldom connect. He mentioned several trips in 1850-1 and noted addresses in Berlin from trips taken on June 13, 1850 and August 3, 1851. From 1851-1856 he listed several trips home to Nakel. The sole reflection of his travels is an observation during his last trip with Itzig from Nakel to Berlin November 25, 1856 before he left to North America. It was a "slow train"! These scanty references were in keeping with the man's reluctance to disclose details of his inner life. He does not describe any of his

personal sentiments or major decisions but includes a few adolescent poems. Other notations are haphazard and disorganized, only permitting glimpses into his everyday life. One could try to piece certain facts together but with what certainty? Raphael, for example, lists the name of a pharmacist, Dr. E. Pasf in Aken. On the same page he sketches one man (seemingly unable to walk) hanging onto another's shoulders. Above the drawing is the name Rosalie Kallman who lent him books of literature and history. Another ladyfriend was Rosalie Falk in Stubben. Her face merited a rough sketch, but no comments.

In a list of Raphael's hometown friends appears the name "Cohn". He notes elsewhere a Mrs. Cohn, residing in New York, but during a later visit there, the name is not repeated. Itzig seems to figure prominently in his notes. He brought him mail from his family, was painted by him during his last trip home, and was a frequent companion.

Raphael's sketchbooks reveal most predominantly an interest in art. He does however note his other interests. Music is obviously one of them. In 1850 he notes his first music lesson and lists dates of twelve consecutive ones. On the same page, dated February 5, 1851 when he was at school in Berlin, he mentions his violin which had been sent

to Glogow and repaired. On the other side of the page he intricately and painstakingly drew a clarinet with a faint sketch behind it of a young girl's whimsical face.³⁴ Elsewhere, in 1854, Raphael drew a harpsichord in great detail.³⁵

Aside from his interest in instruments, he borrowed music from friends,³⁶ listened to Beethoven and also attempted to compose his own music. He attempted a song of eleven stanzas entitled Traurige Erinnerung, (Sad Memories)³⁷ dated June 17, 1851. This rather romantic and melancholy ballad may have commemorated an unhappy romance, experienced at the age of eighteen.

I will never forget the country,
In which I was so happy,
And the places we went together,
That made us happy last year.

Now those days have disappeared,
Gone by as quick as a dream.
With them that dream
That we lived and didn't realize.

Forgive me if ever I made you sad.
It won't happen any more.
You must have known how much I loved you
And how much I adored your being with me.

How often did we sit alone, together,
And made plans for a future so near?
But now I sit alone and cry,
And all I can say is "Oh my God".

Why should we trust in love?
Parting wounds the heart.
Just when two lovers meet
Fate divides them with heartbreak.

Because I love you so much
And only you
That makes our parting so painful.
I will never really be happy again.

Oh, Protector of Lovers,
Bring my sorrow to the ear of my beloved,
And make it clear to her
That I had actually thought her to become my wife.

Am I meant to see you again,
I don't think it will happen,
But should it ever occur,
It would be my happiest moment.

I could not think of a pleasure greater
Than to be peacefully with you,
Far away from all human beings,
Just very quiet, only with you.

I would like to be so happy,
But it cannot be.
Far is the splendour of all stars.
What now could bring happiness into my heart?

Farewell Love, I won't forget you ever.
But listen to the utter truth.
I shall always cherish you in my heart 38
Because our togetherness is built on love.

Raphael's literary interests were romantic, ranging from Schiller to Sir Walter Scott. One of the former's poems is interpreted through a sketch of two men on horseback, meeting at a crossroads. The latter's Song of the Lost Minstrel, written in 1836, is found in German translation in one of Raphael's sketchbooks,³⁹ with Scott's insinuations about nature and death well emphasized. 322

On September 6, 1851, beneath a sketch of a young boy leaning on a tree stump, Raphael wrote a romantic poem in praise of Das Landliche Leben (Life in the Country):

How wonderful country life is,
With my little house standing on the green meadow,
Surrounded by shade-giving trees.
My happiness is connected with this nature.
In the shade of flowering trees
I love to sit alone.
I have my golden dreams here,
Dreaming of days gone by.

Content is my life in the country
And even though I am not born into nobility
Here I too am middle class.
The days I spend here are so gay.
A ray of the upcoming sun
Enters my little abode.
I feel tremendously happy.
No nobleman could be happier than I in my little
abode.

The swallow sings on the roof above me.
She sings me her morning song.
I can hear as I awaken
A chorus of all the surrounding birds.
The quail calls me in the fields
The nightingale up there in the hay.
And in the green meadow
The skylark complements the choir.

I never should envy people of the cities
Only obsessed by luxury and ambition.
Those are merely fantastic pleasures
That actually bring on more worries.
I love my simple clothes,
Handmade and very plain.
Nobody will envy me that,
Nor am I seeking titles.
The simple smock does not suit the glamour. 40

Raphael seems fascinated by the popular 18th century German author of historical narratives, C. M. Weiland. In his list of literature he brought to North America is included Weiland's Don Sylvio in two volumes, his Egathon in four volumes, Musarion, as well as some of his poetry. Other books included The Golden Mirror, Klopstock Missias and Gellert Farben.⁴¹

In the same column as the above, Raphael also listed Appian's Roman History Volume 12; Goldsmith's Greek History in two parts, Thucydides Greek Classics; Claudius; Dialogue of Diogenes and from Meier's home, his Greek Library. The above books, along with Raphael's notes of his having read Alexander of Macedonia, the Greek-Roman History and Homer, are suggestive that the artist pursued an interest in classical history.⁴² This may well have provided background material for his study of Antique art at the Academy of Berlin.

B. Academic Training

Raphael's formal art training in Berlin became an issue of some controversy in his adult life. In 1886 the merit of Raphael's art education came into dispute. The Secretary of the Art Association of Montreal accused him of never having "had any education in Europe and crediting him,

at the most, with having studied for a few months in Dusseldorf at the worst school".⁴³ This accusation elicited an unusually heated response from Raphael in the form of a public letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette. Among his claims he asserted that he "studied at the Royal Academy of Berlin for eight years uninterruptedly and received a first class education as an artist there".⁴⁴

If the above statement is to be accepted, it certainly is uncorroborated by the artist's personal records, for Raphael would have had to enter the Academy in 1848 at a mere fifteen years of age. Data are incomplete on this controversy. Until further details are discovered, the issue must remain unconcluded. For the present, assumptions must be based on the following information. In his sketchbooks, he clearly notes that he left home on August 3, 1851. "On Aug. 3, 1851 at 4:00 P.M. I left the flat of my parents and arrived in Berlin on August 7, 1851 at 4:30 A.M.". ⁴⁵ Six days later, on August 13, 1851 he returned to Nakel.⁴⁶ Seemingly, this trip was to make arrangements for his forthcoming school year in Berlin. By November 16th of that same year he notes his return to the big city,⁴⁷ this time presumably to settle there. (A previous notation, extremely confusing, places Raphael in Berlin by June 13, 1850⁴⁸ but that was likely a short trip the artist took while he still

lived in Nakel.) The 1851 departure from his home is an important event in the artist's life. As if to assure himself of it, he reiterates elsewhere in another diary on Tuesday, 1851, "I left my father's home on August 3rd".⁴⁹ By August 12, 1851, Raphael wrote from Berlin, "Different is the world with each new step away from my parent's home . . . how the sun is cold . . . everything seems so foreign to me".⁵⁰ This is the only comment that gives any hint of the artist's initial adjustment problems. Most other diary references relating to his studies in Berlin are sparse and ambiguous.

In September, 1851, Raphael notes that he paid 3 marks and 2 pennies for his Academy dues. He notes too that he "had lessons with Professor Wolff on November 4, 1851".⁵¹ This is the first diary record that convincingly places him in the Royal Academy of Berlin. Whether professor Wolff was at the Berlin Academy or elsewhere at a private atelier is now known, but, as will be indicated later, he was the one professor with whom Raphael maintained contact after his move to North America.⁵² An October 8, 1855 reference states, "I left the atelier in order to go to the painting class at the Academy".⁵³ This ambiguous statement could mean that he left the atelier at one time of the day in order to attend a later class at the Academy, or it could

mean he stopped studying at a given teacher's atelier (no name was mentioned) so as to start attending painting sessions at the Academy.

While most of Raphael's development as a student is expressed in his actual sketches and drawings of the Berlin period, we learn relatively few details of his lengthy stay there. They are limited to a September 1851 calendar,⁵⁴ where he lists his expenses, notes his rent, his breakfast money, and as mentioned earlier, his Academy fees. In the ensuing years similar brief insignificant comments are made.

In 1852, on January 2nd and January 24th, Raphael mentions receiving letters "at the Institute",⁵⁵ so we assume he is still in Berlin. Were the "Institute" and the "Academy" referred to earlier one and the same, or would Raphael have attended two schools, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon? Until further records are found in Germany, this is still a mystery.⁵⁶

Unfortunately, an exhaustive list of art teachers available to Raphael is not accessible.⁵⁷ His own notations are incomplete and ambiguous. The name Hartmann is the first artist mentioned by Raphael. He figures prominently as one of Raphael's contacts, but through the sketchbooks it is difficult to grasp whether Hartmann was a colleague or a

teacher he befriended. The former seems more likely, since in 1850 Hartmann moved away and left the following in Raphael's care: "10 small brushes, white paint, a box of dry colours, a book of anatomy, 6 fine brushes and 3 strong ones".⁵⁸ Raphael mentions writing to Hartmann in 1852,⁵⁹ but there is no hint as to where the former was studying or working at the time.⁶⁰

The first artist Raphael explicitly named as his teacher was "Professor Wolff",⁶¹ whose first name or even initial is unfortunately omitted. Possible identifications are: Johann Eduard Wolff the portraitist who was born in Königsberg in 1786 and who studied at the Berlin Academy in 1819. He was a teaching fellow there (dates unknown) and his paintings are in the Berlin National Gallery;⁶² the sculptor and animal painter Friederich Wilhelm Wolff, 1816-1887 who studied in Berlin, Paris and Munich and eventually established himself in Berlin until his death.⁶³ He could also have meant his brother Karl Konrad Albert Wolff, 1814-1892, who is registered as having taught in the Berlin Academy from 1866 until his death. Although this last mentioned Wolff started teaching at the Berlin Academy after Raphael left there, he could have been his teacher elsewhere in Berlin at an earlier date. Information concerning this artist does not indicate where else he taught.⁶⁴

Raphael refers to a Heilbuth often. He could have been his teacher or a friend. In one of his sketchbooks, he lists his address as "W. Heilbuth, 19 Aöt/J.F. Hamburger/
 65 in Fbraila". Records only remain of a Ferdinand Heilbuth, 1826-1889. This particular artist was a genre and portrait painter, born in Hamburg. The son of a rabbi, he was educated at Dusseldorf, Rome and Paris under Charles Gleyre. He exhibited at the Salon in 1863 and in London from 1871-1878. He was undoubtedly quite successful in France, as his work hangs in Paris, Bayeux, Bordeaux and Dijon Museums. Perhaps coincidentally, a significant aspect of this artist's work is his choice of subject matter. The titles Woman with a Dog, Life in the Chateau, In the Garden and Walk Around the
 66 Lake all have a great deal in common with Raphael's own subject matter.

Raphael makes reference to yet another teacher. In
 67 the back of one of his sketchbooks there is a drawing of a large house accompanied by a blurred date that reads Berlin 22/6/56. Above the drawing is written, "the flat of my Professor in Berlin" and below he writes, "Marcus Goldstein/Kur Str. No. 49a bei Froni [sic]/born on January
 68 21, 1826 in Nakel". Unfortunately the name Marcus Goldstein could not be traced in major biographical encyclopedias.

It is curious that although Raphael lists a significant number of names, some of which seem obscure, he omits the well known Karl Begas (1794-1854) from his sketchbooks. In an 1886 letter to the editor of The Montreal Gazette, he claimed to have studied at the Berlin Academy for eight years⁶⁹ and in a form he answered for the National Gallery of Canada (undated) he wrote that he studied under Begas in that institution.⁷⁰ Elsewhere, in a biography written during his lifetime, both in 1898 and 1912, he repeats the information.⁷¹ However, since Begas' teaching career (1848-1854) overlapped with at least part of Raphael's student years, it is very possible that he was taught by the painter. If the relationship did occur, Begas would represent a link between William Raphael and the German Biedermeier painters.

Karl Begas, often called "Begas the Elder", was well known as a Biedermeier, a minor master of portrait and genre painting. He gained respect in Berlin for his education in France in the atelier of Baron Antoine Gros. In Berlin, he studied the old German masters, and in Italy he came under the influence of Nazarene Romantic painting. He brought the tradition of the Romantic style from Dusseldorf to Berlin, where from 1824 he steadily grew in influence as an academic teacher. In her book Deutsche Malerei Im 19

Jahrhundert. Realismus & Naturalismus,⁷² Maria Von Buchbaum selects Begas as one of the most important artists of the 19th century. She devotes a full page to a reproduction of his famous 1821 family portrait Die Familie Begas, done during Begas' Nazarene period, and now in the Wollraf Richardt Museum in Köln.⁷³ Yet, after 1840 and during the period Raphael would have known him, Begas turned away from Romanticism toward Realism, becoming much more objective in his historical paintings, genre and portraits. The result was that his work became less pretentious, more literal and somewhat more restrained in colour.

Many artists sought this new trend toward Realism.⁷⁴ Gottfried Lindemann in his History of German Art attributes this to two main factors. Firstly, he sees Daguerre's 1839 invention of photography as parallel to the artist's interest in objective reality. Secondly, he suggests that the 1848 revolution in France had definite repercussions in Germany. The new freedoms inherent in the industrial age were reflected in the trend toward realism.⁷⁵

It is difficult to know the extent of Begas' influence on Raphael. The actual length of their association is unclear, as is the frequency of their meetings and the nature of the subject matter studied. Did Begas, the master of portraiture,

influence Raphael's development in this art form? Were there influences from the elder's landscapes, still lifes or religious paintings? Raphael's sketchbooks do not provide a clue and research in the Berlin Academy Library and Archives has yielded no information.⁷⁶ From a visual point of view, Raphael's development and even his limitations throughout his career in Canada from 1856 to 1914 suggest his reliance on Realist German Biedermeier attitudes and style, likely learned in Berlin during his formative years. This could have been acquired through contact with teachers, as well as from the many contemporary Biedermeier exhibitions Raphael could have seen while still a student. One conclusion is certain—he did not align his interests with the 19th century German Romantics or with those mysterious qualities of the popular Northern School, the Nazarenes.

Raphael's oeuvre fits in best with the group labelled by Fritz Novotny as the Realist Biedermeiers,⁷⁷ of which Begas was a prominent member during the latter part of his life. This group differs from the Realist painters Leibl, Trubner and Munkasy, who shared the attitudes of Courbet. The former, albeit narrow "in artistic tendency", reflected "a bourgeois spirit and soberness toward nature" that "combined with traits such as the sincerity of the factual approach, a restrained gracefulness and a kind of cool gaiety".⁷⁸

Little remains of Raphael's paintings before he came to Canada. In Montreal, his work was closer in style to the Realist Biedermeiers, who at one point were narrowed down even further by Novotny as the "Early Naturalists", as opposed to the German "Biedermeier Romantics". Both Raphael's style and subject matter corroborate his affiliation with the "Early Naturalists".

Parallels with the Early Naturalists are especially clear in Raphael's portraiture, genre and landscape. In his concern for the factual, Raphael drew a very candid untitled

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⁷⁹
pencil portrait of his professor from Germany. This depiction, although done in "Montreal, 1861", reflects the same attitude toward portraiture as Franz Kruger's pencil drawing of the Sculptor Friedrich Tieck (c. 1840), in the ⁸⁰ Berlin State Museum. Both give a detached view of the facial features, clothing and social position of the sitter, but with little intensity or evaluation of his inner being.

The same is true of Raphael's genre studies, e.g., the chromolithograph The Early Bird Catches the Worm, which

303

is closer to the Dusseldorf genre where the anecdotal element is added. Raphael treated groups of people in an ordered way. He showed an interest in man fulfilling his daily chores, but there is rarely a deep analysis of his innermost concerns. Raphael's St. Jean Baptiste Parade

81
Outside the Montreal Bank shows a similarity with the 338
 Biedermeier artists' interest in recording official
 events. A typical German example is Kruger's military parade
 titled Parade on the Operplatz, painted in Berlin, 1829. 82
 People in their varied costumes stand in different poses
 and participate in varied activities around an important
 Berlin monument. Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal shows 128
 a similar subject.

Raphael approached most of his paintings of land-
 scapes with a similar detachment. Autumn Scene, Lake
 83
Memphremagog exemplifies his recording of the landscape 124
 without any philosophical, moral or emotional over-
 tones. Sometimes he included romantic devices in his
 paintings, but they were usually based on a combination of
 real observations grouped together to create a narrative.
 An example of a romantic theme placed in a realistic setting
 84
 is seen in Habitants Attacked by Wolves. Another charac- 132
 teristic Raphael sometimes shared with the Biedermeier
 landscape painters is an unabashed simplicity and
 unpretentiousness of subject matter. His Backyard View of 50
 85
Farmhouses, Nakel, Prussia is akin to the Biedermeier
 Karl Blechen's View of Houses and Gardens, Berlin (painted c.
 86
 1838), Berlin State Museum. Raphael failed to concentrate
 on the larger aspects of space, volume and atmosphere in

his work. The academic approach he learned in Berlin limited his development. He rarely produced powerful images. Along with the Biedermeiers, he simply lacked the philosophical and spiritual side of the Northern German Romantics.

What can we learn about Raphael's early academic training from his Berlin sketchbooks? What accounts for his limited outlook? Differing greatly from his later, landscape-filled ones in subject matter and interest, they reflect the systematic and analytical approach of the Academy, where artists were taught to draw parts of the body before they approached the whole figure. There they studied the hand, the foot, the mouth, the anatomy, muscle by muscle. Raphael had earlier drawn complete figures from memory in the 1850's before he arrived at the Academy. But once there, in 1851, he reverted to drawing individual parts of the body. In these latter sketches, he drew, for example, a leg sketched with hatching along the calf and shading
87
around the toes. A study of figures is repeated twice
88
on another page and elsewhere he draws faces with an
89
emphasis on eyes showing various expressions.

329

Anatomical studies were repeated with consistency, in accordance with academic tradition. Leg bones were

meticulously sketched and labelled and later drawn over 248

with the appropriate muscles. He did drawings of the muscles 249

from the waist to the neck, front view and side view, and 92

the seratus anticus with the same scientific exactitude. 93

He also drew the cranium naming the various parts with Latin

labelling and included neurological terms relating to the

eyes, mouth and ears. 94 The Academy, which stood for "high

art" and strove for ideal beauty, associated the accurate

naming of anatomical parts with the pursuit of Truth. For

similar reasons, copying of plaster casts from traditional

Greek classical works was of utmost importance. This was

seen as the stepping stone to drawing from the nude. Yet 95

drawings such as a statue from the antique, a Kouros, 96 97

a classical bust of a man and an angel flying while holding 253

torches, 98 all lack life-like quality. The contact with

classical antiquity was believed to set the artist on the 323

road to Enlightenment, Harmony, Beauty and Expressiveness,

but it was limiting in many ways. This method overlooked

the general assessment of a subject in favor of its

particular parts. It sacrificed the inner spirit of the

subject in its subservience to copying of detail.

Even in his early life studies, Raphael drew the

muscles as though working from a cast rather than a live

model. In these he tried to include muscles drawn over the

rib cage, buttocks, thighs, thus exaggerating the particular.

In the process, the resulting contours are too rigid, deny- 324

ing the form its lifelike qualities. This seems to be

little more than a transitional phase from the inanimate

plaster casts. When drawing clothed figures, he veered away from the above tendencies and seemed more capable of imbuing

them with life. The clothed fencing model with his arm in 223

bandages 100 is an example of an active participant in a

fencing match. Another sketch, that of a boy sleeping, 101

is similarly natural.

It was not only Greek and Roman plaster casts that were copied. The state-owned company of Humboltschlossen

in Berlin manufactured plaster casts which were copies of

sculpture from every period in art. 102 His Seated Nude 229

Lady 103 appears to be drawn from a neoclassical cast or

engraving. There are other drawings that indicate that

Raphael studied engravings. Berkhayden, dated 24/12/53, 104 252

is a highly finished neoclassical drawing of a child carry-

ing a load on his head. A peasant girl, lifting up her

skirt as she gracefully walks 105 along, suggests a similar 251

stylistic concern for mass and volume. Neither of these

drawings is similar to the rest of the sketches in technique

and style, although they do substantiate the influence of

engravings.

An interesting aspect of Raphael's early sketches from the Berlin period is the total omission of any landscape scenes. Rough portraits of friends and relatives are the most prominent subjects. Other studies centered around the human figure, obviously Raphael's main interest at the time and a reflection of his schooling. Women are drawn in a variety of positions, shown holding either an umbrella, a muff, pleading for help, or being greeted by loved ones. Male figures are shown playing cards, fencing, engaged in war, reclining or peering through an open window at a lovely lady. Group studies of people seated around a table, participating in a drama on stage, or saying goodbye, also interested the artist.

Raphael portrayed scenes from both extremities of life—youth and old age. Children (e.g., Meier's son) and the aged (e.g., an old woman with a cane) were included in the early sketchbooks. He expressed his special sentiments for his aged grandmother in a fine watercolour portrait, one of the few in this medium. Another of Raphael's approaches to interpreting human situations is reflected in his cartoons, satirical vignettes from life. In these early sketches can be seen the beginnings of Raphael's special fondness of animals, for example, in the

drawing of "Mein Hund/Nakel 1850".¹²³ This was a subject that he continued to draw in his later sketchbooks.

C. Emigration

Raphael seems to have ended his stay in Berlin rather abruptly, for there is no indication in the preserved sketchbooks of any tying up of his affairs there, of a planned termination of his studies, or for that matter, of any careful preparation for the future. There seems to have been no obvious reason to leave Berlin, but there certainly was cause for going to Nakel. His father died on July 3, 1856,¹²⁴ and the previous months were probably a time of anxiety for the artist, as indicated by his repeated trips to his hometown. The first mention of Raphael's final departure and of a previous trip is in his April 7, 1856 entry, where he writes "a second trip to Nakel".¹²⁵ Unexpectedly, he had to leave. An undated sketch signed, "Berlin"¹²⁶ appears to commemorate the experience of parting from close friends made over the years in that city.

This stay was unusually long as can be noted from the dates on the sketches. The watercolour drawing of his grandmother, "Baba"¹²⁷ is dated April 23, 1856. On May 18, 1856 he sketched the back of the old woman walking and noted the setting as being Nakel.¹²⁸ A sketch of a stage

129
 drama, Nakel, 7/7/56 indicates that Raphael had been 327
 there at the time of his father's death. Another of a man
 peering through a young woman's window is dated Nakel,
 130
 11/7/56. It was drawn one day after the traditional
 seven day period of mourning for a parent. Sketches continue
 to occur into the fall 13/10/56, the date of a picture of
 131
 Meier. Meier playing cards at a table, repeated on the
 next page, is labelled in the artist's Hebrew writing as
 132
 having been drawn on "Erev Succoth", a holiday that 321
 usually takes place in October. One of two dated sketches
 done during that month suggests that there was fighting
 going on in the small town, while another shows the backs of
 133
 three soldiers at war, aiming their guns. The last sketch, 126
 134
 a portrait of a young woman, is dated 26/10/56.

Raphael wrote in his sketchbook a list of 34
 sitters for portraits, including names of relatives and
 friends. When were all these portraits "gemacht in Nakel
 135
 1856 (lastezeit)" executed? They probably were painted
 between April 7, 1856 and November 25, 1856, during his long
 but final visit to his birthplace.

Based on the above dates, it seems that Raphael
 was away from Berlin for seven and a half months, until his

departure for North America. What would have contributed to his decision to go to North America instead of returning to Berlin, a city where he no doubt already had many contacts, a city which was the center of art?

Many possibilities exist, the likeliest being the fact that he had a brother in Montreal.¹³⁶ Once his father had passed away, there were fewer personal reasons keeping him in Europe. There was a great wave of emigration from Germany in 1855 due to the economic and political discontent in Europe. It seems that as a result, "many tradesmen and artisans lost their economic position because of the growth of large-scale industries"¹³⁷ and "unemployment, poverty and displacement were the economic factors which forced the uprooted persons to find new homes in the growing cities or to seek better opportunities overseas".¹³⁸ Evidently, for the German Jew "the situation was much more precarious, the spirit of Teutomania prevailed after the failure of the Revolution of 1848. The economic crisis resulted in the re-introduction of anti-Jewish laws and discrimination, making the situation for the Jew in Germany difficult."¹³⁹ This reality was reflected in immigration patterns. Fifty thousand Jews emigrated from Germany to North America between 1840 and 1870. The majority settled in the United States, but many came to Canada. In Montreal, Raphael's

destination, census figures show a population of 154 Jews for the year 1841. This number jumped to 1,195 Jews in 1861, a sign of the swelling number anxious to leave¹⁴⁰ their countries of origin.

These were probably some of the reasons which contributed to Raphael's emigration. Tuesday, November 25, 1856 is a significant date in his sketchbooks. This was the last time he saw Nakel and it was then that he "travelled with J. F. Itzig from Nakel to Berlin by an ordinary slow train arriving at eleven o'clock in the morning".¹⁴¹ His sketchbooks record his departure.¹⁴²

Raphael owned a 5-3/4 X 3-3/4 inch sketchbook which he kept throughout his life.¹⁴³ Evidently, before he boarded the boat he had written in it addresses of contacts in North America (New York, Maine, Washington, Ohio, and California). He accumulated many new names during his trip;¹⁴⁴ those of his "schiffsbrüder", who like himself, were embarking on a new life in different parts of the New World. The sketchbook gives us a varied and interesting glimpse at the various people who were Raphael's travelling companions.

Within the first day of the trip, he drew a profile of the doctor on board, who appears elegant in his coat,

scarf and hat.¹⁴⁵ By the seventh day, he drew the man a 327
 second time, now appearing somewhat harassed. The doctor
 is shown holding a spoon as a conductor would wave his
 baton, as if to indicate "anyone with a sick stomach can
 come to me for medicine".¹⁴⁶ Raphael displays the humour
 sensed in the works of earlier sketchbooks. He draws
 the doctor again on the eighth day of the trip and we see
 him having to "take his own medicine" for he is vomiting
 into a little round sink. Raphael signed the sketch "Scene/ 342
 S. S. Bourrussia/8.12.56."¹⁴⁷ During the voyage he made
 sketches of sailors, young boys, women with children and a
 variety of men in different poses, wearing top hats and 343
 sporting cigars. Others, far less formal, wear caps. One
 figure is shown playing cards, a means to pass the time.¹⁴⁸
 Sea sickness was not the worst of the passengers' fears.
 They were aware that their rocky sojourn in the rough sea
 could end in disaster. Raphael writes on December 19, 1856
 from the Bourrussia, next to a sketch of a scene he witnessed,
 "The Schooner Industry is sinking. The sea is bad".¹⁴⁹ He 344
 portrays a broken capsized schooner with torn masts, battered
 amidst the relentless choppy waves of the sea. Understandably,
 Raphael did not sleep that night. On the next page he noted
 the time next to another sketch of a ship as 3:30 A.M.

He wrote, "on board the ship Bourrussia December 19, 1856, 3:30 in the night".¹⁵⁰

In the same sketchbook are drawn anatomical sketches with associated Latin terminology.¹⁵¹ It is difficult, however, to know how many of these sketches he did on board ship and how many he may have added later, for none of these are dated.

Raphael presumably practiced some new English words on the voyage. His vocabulary lists include words like "chair, table, floor, meat, bread, potatoes" and later more complicated ones like "fingers, stage, washstand". He consistently placed their German translation alongside. He then progressed to writing expressions such as "Would you go out today?" "Do you want to play?" "Do you like the country?" or "I tell you, say the truth". The English columns seem to be written in another handwriting.¹⁵²

Raphael and his "Schiffsbrüder" were together for twenty days. They entered New York harbour on Saturday, December 20th, but were only permitted to disembark on Monday, December 22, 1856. Raphael found himself in the heart of New York City at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.¹⁵³

According to notations kept in 1854 in his sketch-book, he had relatives in the United States. Their number and their identity is unclear. One address mentions a Samuel Raphael/c/o Mr. H. P. Spits/Bangor, Maine".¹⁵⁴ Above this, Raphael wrote, "On December 16, 1854 I sent a letter to Saul".¹⁵⁵ Also on May 29, 1855 he noted, "I wrote my brother Saul a letter". On the opposite page is written, "My brother in America's address, c/o Mr. A. Myerson, Bangor, Maine, North America".¹⁵⁶ These disjointed notations indicate that Saul resided with more than one relative. The name of Morris Hirscheim, whose family name had been mentioned in Nakel,¹⁵⁸ is noted as living in St. Louis, Missouri,¹⁵⁹ c/o Mr. M. Herrmann.¹⁶⁰ It may have been these relatives whom Raphael's brother from Montreal went to visit. It is also possible that one of these family members sent Raphael his "schiffscarte".¹⁶¹

There are few details of the time spent in New York. Initially, he may have resided in boarding houses. He had a long list of places to choose from.¹⁶² One address at 267 Grand Street, New York, has the name "Hartmann" above it. Could this be a reference to the Hartmann Raphael knew in Europe? He obviously made many contacts in New York, considering the short duration of his stay as indicated by a list of sitters whom he painted while there.¹⁶³

In January, he painted the portrait of a Mr. Chooock as well as a "Winter landscaep" (sic) and portraits of Mr.

164

and Mrs. Franklin. In February and March he worked on

those of Mr. and Mrs. Knott and their daughter. He

completed a portrait of Mrs. Ella in March as well as one

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of Mr. Bach's son. Elsewhere he drew a sketch of a

spectacled man in a cap playing cards, and named it "Mr.

166

Bach, New York, January '57". We know little about

Raphael's activities in New York. One can, however, surmise

that before leaving for Montreal, Raphael spent a good deal

of his times learning English. His writing shows signif-

icant improvement by this time.

Raphaël seemed fairly active in New York but decided that spring to go to Montreal. The only suggestion in the

sketchbook of his connections in Montreal lay in three

addresses, "Mr. Levy of St. Antoine Street", "Mr. Louis or

Jacob Anthony, Montreal" and "Mr. Silverstein, 164 Notre

167

Dame Street". The most significant name entered after

Raphael's arrival was of a M. Raphaelsky, about whom the

artist wrote, "On October 8th my brother travelled from

Montreal to St. Louis 1857". Above this he writes the address,

"Mr. M. Raphaelsky/118 Third Street opposite the City Hotel/

168

St. Louis, Mr. [sic]".

On Tuesday, April 21, 1857, Raphael left New York
 169
 for Montreal at 5 P.M. He stayed in Troy overnight
 170
 and left on Wednesday morning at 10:30 A.M. He
 arrived in Burlington, Vermont at 6 P.M. that night,
 slept there and departed for Montreal on Thursday morning.
 171
 He arrived by train on April 23, 1857 at 6 P.M.

D. Canadian Years

Raphael did not record his first impression of
 Montreal. One can assume that he met his brother
 172 173
 Raphaelsky, went about finding a room and making
 himself familiar with the city. He contacted a Louis
 174 175
 Anthony and a Mr. Levy at 57 St. Antoine Street.
 As he did in New York, he probably sought out the nearest
 176
 art supply shop and almost immediately succeeded in
 177
 finding a job, with William Notman the photographer.
 He wrote, "When I arrived in this country, a stranger to
 the people and the language, Mr. Notman proposed to me an
 engagement for a year, to paint for him the portraits taken
 178
 by photography, and I gladly accepted". Earliest records
 179
 of payment from Notman's are dated July, 1859 but as he

claimed, Raphael may well have started working there shortly after his arrival two years earlier.¹⁸⁰ It may have been through these initial contacts that William Raphael began his career as a portraitist in Montreal.

Raphael recorded two aspects of his early life in Canada. One relates to the portraits painted during the first three years and the second to the expenses incurred during trips and in daily life. Unfortunately, his method of keeping records makes it difficult to sort out this next phase of his life in a coherent fashion, since he jumbles all the above information into merely four sketchbook pages.

By 1857, Raphael had gained commissions from Montrealers of different backgrounds. He painted the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Silvermann, and their two sons; in May, Marguerite Chante and Mrs. Eldridge; in July, the Sneitzer girl; in August, Mr. and Mrs. Fak Anthony¹⁸¹ and Mr. Danziger in August.¹⁸² He portrayed both Mr. and Mrs. Solomon in October, Mr. D. Moss and Mrs. D. Moss in November, as well as Mr. L. Moss and his wife in December.¹⁸³ In January 1858 he painted H. Roman, T. Roman,¹⁸⁴ a certain Littiner, Fanny Anthony and Dr. Monagen. In May 1858, Raphael travelled to Quebec, where he did three

portraits, one of Ship Captain David and his wife Fanny, his daughter and a Mr. Harris.¹⁸⁵ Toward the summer of 1858 he recorded painting more commissioned works. Raphael painted portraits of Mr. Warner, Mrs. Warner and Mrs. Besfunger in June. In January 1859, after a quiet summer and fall, he painted Mr. Brennan and one month later his wife. His next subjects were Mr. Donnelly in June 1859, Mr. O'Brien the priest in July 1859, and the Herb Doctor.¹⁸⁶ The last title in this group was the "Head of a Turk" for Reverend Dr. DeSola done in December 1859.¹⁸⁷

During the early years in Montreal the earnings derived from portraiture would have comprised a heavy portion of Raphael's income. He augmented this by painting various works in oils, e.g., a landscape view of Montreal for Mrs. Besfunger in March 1857,¹⁸⁸ and a still life for Brahard in August 1857.¹⁸⁹ He also resorted to making signs, indicating his difficult financial situation. He recorded commissions for one sign in April 1858 and two more in June of that year for Fak Anthony.¹⁹⁰

After the first year, Raphael decided to journey to areas outside of Montreal. He noted in his sketchbook, "I left to Quebec on Thursday, April 23, 1858, leaving Montreal at 4 P.M. and arriving at my destination at 8 P.M." "Tuesday,

May 25th, I left Québec for Montreal". He briefly notes

elsewhere, "Monday, July 19, 1858, I left Montreal for

London City and went to Windsor". No further references

to this trip can be found. The following summer, July,

1859, Raphael visited New York, returning home July 11,

1859. Although he may have been there again in October,

there is no record of it. A "Phrenological Character"

by L. N. Fowler, Professor of Phrenology was completed

for Raphael on October 3, 1859 at 308 Broadway, New York.

It is, however, possible that Raphael had the convolutions

of his skull examined in July and only received the full

written results by mail in October or that he mailed his

portrait to be examined.

Raphael left Montreal July 23, 1859 for St.

Grégoire, with intentions of "living there" for a while.

He did not specify his interest there. He kept careful

accounts of expenses incurred for a second trip to St.

Grégoire July 23, 1861. Before he left for this trip

he obviously had intentions of doing landscape painting.

He had bought the appropriate paints for \$6 from Dian on

July 23, 1861. They were "No. 1 large tube of flake white, /

[one of] sandy brown, /chrome green No. 3, /ultramarine, /

cobalt and /base madder [sic]".

There is no extraordinary event noted in Raphael's life until he writes under an 1862 hand-drawn calendar, "My wedding day took place October 29, 1862".¹⁹⁸ The short marriage contract reads,

William Raphael of the City of Montreal and Ernestina, daughter of Hermann Danziger of the City of Montreal were this 29th day of October 1862, married together by me at 3 o'clock in the afternoon in the presence of the undersigned witnesses/Abraham DeSola, Minister/Witness/Joseph Levy/Michel Jacobs.¹⁹⁹

Raphael had known Ernestina's father from the time he had painted his portrait five years earlier,²⁰⁰ and had subsequently borrowed money from him on several occasions.²⁰¹

He would certainly have met Ernestina in 1861 when he was a boarder in her home.²⁰² In 1862, the year of their marriage,²⁰³

Ernestina was only sixteen years old.²⁰³ Under Raphael's initial mention of his wedding date he lists the birth date of several of his nine children.²⁰⁴

The artist informs us that on March 15, 1864 he was "proposed as a freemason by H.D." his father-in-law, Hermann Danziger.³⁴⁵ "Tuesday, April 19, 1864 I received the first degree".²⁰⁵ Immediately after divulging this information, for the first time the artist reveals some emotional concern. He starts out by giving background to what never becomes a clear issue.

On Sunday, May 15, 1864 someone confirmed the first symptoms of my wife's illness. I became excited and could not sleep. On Monday, May 16, around midday there was a great fight between my wife and the wife of H.D. H.D. himself was absent and in the country and my wife was excited. On Tuesday, May 17, 1864 my wife was quiet all day. Her father came back from the country at 4 o'clock but I was not at home. My wife told him about the incident but he didn't put any weight on this. Between 5 and 6 o'clock when I returned home, my wife told me everything that happened. She prepared my dinner, was quiet and upset and did not eat. I had no idea about the coming disaster that would befall my dear wife in the near future. I was very excited and downhearted when I went that evening to the lodge where I received my second degree as freemason. Only at 12 midnight did I arrive home.²⁰⁶

He stops short, leaving the reader to guess the nature of this misfortune. The next time he mentions his wife, Raphael says, "On August 15, 1864 I went with [my] wife and [my] brother to visit Dr. Brattleboro (. . .) on August 27, 1864 came the first news from Dr. Brattleboro that my wife is getting better".²⁰⁷

Shortly after this mysterious conflict with Hermann Danziger's wife and Ernestina's illness, the couple moved out of Danziger's 63 1/2 German Street residence into their own house. By 1865, the Mackay's Montreal Directory lists "William Raphael, artist, 98 German Street".²⁰⁸


This same year he travelled abroad. His 1865 sketchbook²⁰⁹ records details of a trip to Scotland. They reflect his interest in Highland scenery and indicate the

many places he visited.²¹⁰ Raphael was not in Scotland for an extended period. He is listed in the 1866 MacKay's Directory as "artist and teacher of figure and landscape painting". His studio was at 147 Great St. James Street. During that year, the Raphael's moved to 303 German Street²¹¹ and in 1867 to 302 German Street.²¹² (From 1868 to 1872, O.R. Jacobi and his wife were their neighbours.) They lived at this fourth and last address on the same street for the next twenty years, evidently among other immigrants from Germany. After this, their next two addresses were, 39 Victoria Street and from 1911 on, 30²¹³ Durocher.

Unfortunately, few details are known of Raphael's private or social life over the years. An exception to this is a document in the form of an invitation to his twenty-fifth wedding anniversary party celebration. It reads:

1862

1887


 Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Raphael
 present their compliments
 and are pleased to announce
 the celebration of their twenty-fifth
 Wedding Anniversary
 At Home

Saturday, Oct. 29, 1887

39 Victoria Street

Montreal²¹⁴

This sparse evidence gives no clue as to the actual names which comprised the guest list. It would have been revealing to see whether there was any interaction between Raphael's private and professional contacts. He appeared essentially as a working artist and teacher. These two preoccupations may in fact have been the major concerns of his life.

E. Personality and Social Milieu

It would seem that Raphael was a quiet, formal, private person. He was sensitive and possessed a sense of humour. As his sketchbooks indicate, his main concerns were his family and his art in that order. Most of the relationships he developed focused on these two interests. According to his granddaughter,

He was a quiet but warm human being. He was very fond of his grandchildren and visited them regularly. Yet there was always a formal feeling when you were with my grandfather. I never remember him being addressed by his first name. Even his father-in-law who lived in his house when he was an old man, used to address him as 'Mr. Raphael'. Yet he was always interested in my endeavours. When I was away at MacDonald College he would write me encouraging letters.²¹⁵

Indeed he expressed himself warmly when he assured Ruth,

You may be quiet [sic] sure we deeply sympathize with you, especially your Grandma, who knows from experience what such work means, but you must not be

discouraged, the fleeing time will soon pass without leaving on you any trace of fatigue and you will only retain in your memory the pleasant days you have spent in the college where you gained valuable instruction. I wanted to say goodbye to you and to thank you for the nice cheese you brought me, but the cruel train carried you away to [sic] quick (. . .) I hope when this reaches you it will find you well and strong and half of the working days have passed (. . .) We are all well and with our love and best wishes of your success./ Your aff. Grandpa/Wm. Raphael.²¹⁶

Evidently Raphael was anxious to teach Ruth to draw when she was twelve.

He was extremely patient as he instructed me how to use the charcoal and how to place my subject on paper. I wasn't really interested and he must have sensed this. After repeated efforts, he finally admitted to my Mother that I was hopeless, and that he had better not waste more of his time.²¹⁷

He consequently limited his artistic efforts to his relationship with students and colleagues.²¹⁸

Beyond his family commitments, Mrs. Wener recalls her grandfather's friendship with two prominent Montreal families. One of them was that of Sir William Van Horne, the famous railway magnate and art collector. Their relationship centered mainly around the subject of art and travel. She also remembers childhood visits with her grandfather to a red stone house on the east side of Bishop Street between St. Catherine and Sherbrooke Streets. This was the home of Robert Bickerdike,²¹⁹ cattle merchant and philanthropist who was involved with the construction of the

Canadian Pacific Railways. Raphael evidently painted portraits of Bickerdike family members, but none have been found.

He apparently was friendly at one time with J. T. Whiteaves, the Minister of the Interior who wrote to him about a pencil study for Enoch Arden's Return,

I haven't seen it for more than ten years but shall prize it highly, not alone for its merit, which is very considerable in my judgment, but also as a souvenir of the many pleasant and to me very profitable afternoons in the days of 'ault lang signe'.²²⁰

Raphael also took great pride in his friendship with Sir William Osler. According to his granddaughter, he would speak of him repeatedly. He had great respect for this doctor and author who left an abiding influence upon the teaching of medicine. It spanned from Montreal hospitals, McGill University, the University of Philadelphia, John Hopkins University and finally Oxford in England. Osler evidently thought well of Raphael too, for he wrote from Philadelphia, "Miss you. There is nobody who can do such fine anatomical work".²²¹

Another friend in the medical profession was Dr. Albert Laurendau of St. Gabriel de Brandon. His grandson, Guy Tassé, tells of Raphael's warm relationship with the

family. Their outstanding impression was that of a man of patience and humour. During the early 1900's he had the habit of spending one month of each summer at their home and painted landscapes in the area.²²² Eventually he taught Laurendau's daughters to paint as well.

Dr. W. D. Lighthall, a former student and friend, told his family about his stimulating experiences with the artist. His daughter, Alice Lighthall, remembers her father talking about Raphael as a man with a fine sense of humour. Lighthall had an extremely active association with the Château de Ramezay, both in his capacity as longtime President of the Antiquarian and Numismatic Association and as an expert in these two areas. He proved his admiration for the artist in 1905 when he commissioned Raphael to copy for that institution a series of portraits of prominent Canadian leaders which then hung in private homes.²²³

Mr. Emile Falardeau, the well known Montreal genealogist and author of books on Canadian artists, recalls his own close friendship with the artist during the years 1906-1914. He regularly stopped by the second floor studio at 314 St. Catherine Street West. He always found Raphael to be "most outgoing and helpful" and "much cognizant of obscure aspects of the Montreal art scene". In his own quest

for the scattered paintings of his grandfather's brother, Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau, He was astonished to learn from Raphael about specific art galleries which conserved them. Evidently Raphael himself had coincidentally repaired many damaged canvases of the latter's Italian copies. ²²⁴

Mr. Falardeau described Raphael as being "five foot seven, sandy haired, kind, unassuming and a man from whom you could ask anything". By and large however,

He was anti-establishment in his own way, never promoting himself or his own work. He didn't use a private dealer or push his paintings through social contacts. The man seemed totally immersed in his metier. He worked at his teaching and paintings from morning until night, and often engaged simultaneously in several projects. Even his private conversation centered around art. As he worked, he would talk about his attachment to nature and how different lighting would alter any of her truths. He would complain that the new paintings that were popular were a passing fashion and not at all good art. ²²⁵

The information available concerning Raphael's life until 1864 is very sparse. Both his training and the reasons for his coming to Montreal have been assimilated from meagre facts. Moreover, the artist himself guarded his privacy. He included few anecdotes and little embellishment in his diaries. Fortunately there is more source material relating to his professional activities in Montreal.

CHAPTER TWO

PROFESSIONAL LIFE (1857-1914)

A. Personal Associations Within the Art World

Within the Canadian art establishment, Raphael sporadically enjoyed a degree of professional respect, as indicated by several letters from well known Canadian artists. Correspondence from Lucius O'Brien and John Fraser in the early 1880's certainly shows an interest in the German artist. O'Brien added his personal comments to a notice from Secretary Marmaduke Mathews inviting Raphael "to attend the Annual Meeting of the General Assembly of the R.C.A. in the Exhibition Rooms on Saturday, March 8th, (1880) at 2:30 P.M. when the Council will be formed".

O'Brien wrote:

Dear Raphael,

Be sure to come. It is worth while. This affair is turning out better than any of us expected. Lord Lorne and the Princess are doing everything to help us.

Yours,

L. R. O'Brien¹

J. A. Fraser courted Raphael's talents for his own uses. In a letter dated September 23, 1880, he tried to convince him to submit examples of his work for a proposed illustrated book on Canada. He intended to "use the new photoengraving process patented in April last by Mop of New York" and was convinced that Raphael's "character drawings of Lower Canadian figures would be very useful".² In this letter Fraser is openly resentful of O'Brien and his successful "Picturesque Canada". Fraser obviously did not realize that Raphael was one of the few Canadian artists included in that publication when he confided,

I suppose you have not been engaged any more than the rest of us for the Toronto Book Picturesque Canada which O'Brien seems to have gobbled all up for himself as far as the Canadian artists are concerned. Kindly let me know if you are disposed to join for the new book.

There is no evidence of Raphael's reply. In any event, the project never materialized.

On February 2, 1887, Raphael was invited to dinner by the Governor General.⁴ Over the years he became personally acquainted with several Governors General and was known to have been commissioned to paint their portraits. Several were reputed to have hung in the Senate Library of the Houses of Parliament in Ottawa.⁵ The 1916 fire which destroyed these buildings destroyed any proof of their existence.⁶

It is not unlikely that Raphael maintained a position as portraitist of prominent figures. There is a photograph of a signed Raphael painting, Gladstone and Laurier at Hawarden Castle, July 10, 1897, in which the Prime Ministers stand arm in arm. Although the original oil has not been traced, this must have been an important commission.⁷ The photograph was a joint effort by E. C. Humbolt of London, England and Andrew Stuart of Montreal.⁸

There is little other correspondence from colleagues relating to art. The only other artist's letter was from a James Moodie who wrote to Raphael from Chesterfield in 1904. This letter is more personal in tone, for he seems interested in the man as well as the artist, "I have been wondering frequently lately how you have been weathering this terrible winter". He then goes on to give Raphael his opinion about politics and inquires, "Have you read any interesting books this winter? (. . .) I hope you have had prosperous classes and that your health has been good (. . .) Remember me to your son when you write. I suppose he is still in New York. It is not likely I shall be down before June./Au revoir mon ami,/James Moodie".⁹

Although no related correspondence between them exists, two artists Raphael seemed to have admired were

Henry Sandham and Thomas Mower Martin. Included among Raphael's belongings at the time of his death were articles about Sandham's accomplishments. The two must have worked together at Notman's. They were both original members of the Society of Canadian Artists in 1867 and the only two Montrealers active in the Ontario Society of Artists. By the time they became charter members of the Royal Canadian Academy in 1880 they must have been well acquainted. The records of that organization's early years show that Sandham's motions were frequently seconded by Raphael, indicating their similar opinions on professional matters. Thomas Mower Martin, a Toronto artist who travelled widely, was admired by Raphael for his art work, especially for his hunting scenes and Indian encampments.¹⁰ Raphael must have been in contact with many other artists in this fledgling Canadian art community. It is difficult to establish any other relationships until more primary source material is found. He would have mingled with many colleagues and become friendly with at least a few at dinners, art exhibitions, openings and Governors General Balls.¹¹

B. Involvement with Professional Art Organizations

Raphael was active in the establishment of many art associations in the young Dominion. Although not a major

figure in any one specific organization, he was a charter member of the Society of Canadian Artists, a charter member of the Royal Canadian Academy, among the founders of the National Art Gallery of Canada, an original member of the Pen and Pencil Club, a member of the Ontario Society of Artists and of the Council of Arts and Manufacturers of Quebec.

1. The Society of Canadian Artists

The Society of Canadian Artists, founded by John Fraser in 1867, the year of Confederation, has Raphael as one of its first members. Otto R. Jacobi, Henry Sandham and Adolphe Vogt have also been credited with being members.¹² Dennis Reid in A Concise History of Canadian Painting calls Raphael a charter member,¹³ but proof of this is unsubstantiated. The Society seems to have dissolved after a relatively short existence. It was with this group in 1869 that Raphael exhibited the first Canadian-made chromolithograph of a Canadian subject.¹⁴ Raphael produced a chromolithographic series on this subject based on an original painting of The Early Bird Catches the Worm shown in 1868 at this Society. It sold widely.¹⁵

2. The Ontario Society of Artists

Raphael was also a member of the Ontario Society of Artists, formed in 1872 in Toronto. John A. Fraser, who missed the stimulation of Montreal artists' regular gatherings, was its founder. Raphael was not listed as a member until 1879. This same year and in 1897 he is recorded in the Society's annual catalogue as an exhibitor.¹⁶ This Society was responsible for the establishment of an art school in Toronto in 1876 where Fraser, O'Brien and Matthews were teachers. By 1878-1879 members active in both the Ontario Society of Artists and the Art Association of Montreal were attempting to establish a Canadian academy of art. They hoped to later have an affiliated school in Montreal which was to be located in the new Art Gallery finished in May 1879 on Phillips Square and establish an Art Gallery in Ottawa. Raphael was involved with the planning.¹⁷

3. The Royal Canadian Academy

Lucius O'Brien, Vice President of the Ontario Society of Artists, was the prime mover in making the Royal Canadian Academy a reality. He enlisted the support of the Marquis of Lorne and sent both a letter and draft of a proposed constitution for the formation of this Society to the Secretary of the Art Association of Montreal. He

suggested eight specific names as the most suitable Academicians. Among these, Raphael and Henry Sandham were the only two Montrealers.¹⁸ The proposal states,

for the present not more than eight painters should be named as Academicians . . . a vote was taken by ballot as to who these eight should be and the following were chosen unanimously, or rather suggested for your consideration. Henry Sandham/Wm. Raphael, Montreal/D. Fowler, Amherst Island/W. N. Cresswell, Seaforth/J. A. Fraser/O. R. Jacobi/H. Perré/L. R. O'Brien, Toronto . . . I have undertaken to lay the whole correspondence before the Governor General who, as well as Her Royal Highness, has shown the most active interest in this as in all other art matters, and indeed in everything which promises to be useful in forwarding the unity and progress of the Dominion.¹⁹

Why was Raphael one of the two chosen Montrealers?

He, along with Sandham would have been respected in Ontario because of their participation at the Ontario Society of Artists' Exhibit in 1879. Raphael would have been known to Fraser and Jacobi,²⁰ two former Montrealers, for his dedication to his work at Notman's, The Society of Canadian Artists, as well as the Art Association of Montreal. Through his participation in the 1879 Exhibition they had the opportunity to see his current work. The four paintings Raphael showed²¹ on this occasion were Pointe-au-Pic Murray Bay, Indian Encampment at the Lower St. Lawrence,²² Tandem²³ and Preparing for a Smoke.²⁴ O'Brien and others who visited the opening of the Art Association's new building

in May would have been familiar with Raphael's paintings on display at the inaugural exhibition. There his dynamic Habitants Attacked by Wolves was "deserving of more than a passing notice".²⁵ They may have been aware too that Raphael's Game and Still Life was included in Works Exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists the previous year.²⁶

After the proposal was considered and a resolution was reached, the Academy was formed. Its officers were Lucius O'Brien as President, James Smith as Treasurer, M. Matthews, Secretary, all of Toronto, and N. Bourassa of Montreal as Vice President. Raphael was "respectfully invited to attend the annual meeting of the General Assembly of the Council of Arts in the Exhibition Rooms on March 6 at 2:30 P.M. when the Council [was] formed".²⁷ He attended this important First Annual Meeting in Ottawa and signed the Minute Book²⁸ as well as the roll of Academicians. The undersigned promised to "conform to the constitution and laws of the Royal Canadian Academy and to work to the best of my power to support and further the objects of the said Academy".²⁹ Instead of the original eight Academicians proposed by O'Brien earlier, there now were fourteen nominated.³⁰ Architects were later included, bringing the number of Academicians to eighteen. At this meeting, it was

also learned that some artists' diploma pictures had been accepted. Raphael's Indian Encampment Along the Lower St. Lawrence was one of them.³¹ These paintings were kept for the National Gallery that was to be formed as an extension of the Canadian Academy. The same meeting of March 6 records his participation,

At being shown that [the] nominated Academicians had complied with the conditions besides the President and the Vice President, it was moved by Hy Sandham and seconded by W. Raphael and resolved that the names of Academicians be announced in rotation . . . for membership in the Council.³²

Raphael was one of the Council members that first year.³³

His current prominence in the art world was reflected in an article of the Montreal Herald of March 11, 1880 which acclaimed him as "one of our Montreal artists who has distinguished himself. He has painted a picture of much excellence that has been purchased by His Excellence the Marquis of Lorne".

Raphael attended the meeting of Council held in Halifax at the Provincial Building, July 5, 1881, along with O'Brien, Harris, Griffiths and Mower T. Martin.³⁴ That same day, the General Assembly of the R.C.A. was held with only O'Brien, Harris and Raphael present. At this time the new R.C.A. Council was formed for the year 1881-2. Raphael himself was reelected, along with Sandham, Scott, Smith,

Cresswell, Hopkins, Langley, Van Luppen, Edson and Fowler.³⁵

Raphael was not present at the next meeting of Council which took place in Toronto on December 15, 1881. Here, "The President presented and read a memorandum on the condition and prospects of the Academy, suggesting the establishment of Art Schools in Montreal and Toronto to be supported by an annual grant from the Government of Canada".³⁶

(Raphael was to be one of the first teachers of the school to be set up in Montreal.) He was also absent from the February 10, 1882 meeting of Council in Toronto, where it was resolved that he, along with N. Bourassa, T. M. Martin and W. N. Cresswell be the gentlemen on the Committee of Arrangements for the Academy Art Exhibition to be held in Montreal.³⁷ Raphael, extremely active in the R.C.A. during its founding years, continued to attend Council and General Assembly meetings throughout the year.³⁸

In 1883, the Marquis of Lorne and Her Royal Highness Princess Louise left Canada and Lord Lansdowne became the new patron of the arts. Changes followed rapidly at the R.C.A. Raphael's good friend Sandham emigrated to the United States.³⁹ William Brymner was elected as an Associate Painter along with Percy Woodcock, Arthur Cox and A. P. Coleman.⁴⁰ Jacobi, an older artist, finally submitted his

diploma work and he was made a full Academician. Raphael, although again on the R.C.A. Council, no longer taught at the Art Association School. A new teacher, Robert Harris, was appointed to take over its classes and by 1883-4⁴¹ a whole new element was rising to power. If Raphael considered opening his own art school he knew not to ask for grants in the political climate of the R.C.A. in 1883. This is reflected in "a discussion [that] took place [concerning] the means of establishing Art Schools in Montreal, etc. [and] it was concluded that the funds of the Academy would not permit any grants of money at present beyond what had already been made".⁴² The motion was introduced by Robert Harris and J. W. H. Watts.

In 1884, Raphael, through his position on the R.C.A. Council,⁴³ knew that Lucius O'Brien, President of the R.C.A. had written the Governor General asking for "a \$5,000 grant to carry out art education in the principal cities of the Dominion".⁴⁴ Raphael therefore felt that this was an opportune time to apply for a grant. His application was discussed at a meeting of Council, May 18, 1884 by those present, L. R. O'Brien, John W. H. Watts, Homer Watson, H. Perré and M. Matthews who was Secretary. The minutes note,

W. Raphael's application re School grant . . .⁴⁵
 [It was] resolved that the communication of Mr. Raphael be received and that he be informed that the monies for the formation and support of life classes in Montreal are entirely under the control of the Montreal Committee of which he is a member and that only one hundred dollars has so far been expended in each of the three cities. The additional one hundred and seventy-five dollars was voted by the Council subject to the Government continuing the vote of two thousand five hundred dollars.⁴⁶
 As there is little likelihood of the Government continuing the vote, the matter must remain in abeyance. Moved by J. W. H. Watts, seconded by H. Perré.⁴⁷

Although his self-esteem must have suffered as a result of this rejection, Raphael persisted. The minutes of a December 5, 1885 Council meeting that took place in Toronto show that, "a letter from W. Raphael of Montreal to the Council asking for a grant in aid of his Art School was ordered to be referred to the local Committee of Academicians in that City./approved by L. R. O'Brien/Chairman".⁴⁸ The matter was back in the hands of the local art committee in Montreal, whose members were generally unsympathetic to their colleague's needs.

In 1886-1887, Raphael sat on the R.C.A. Council along with Brymner and O'Brien as the prime movers, and James Griffiths, James Smith, Alex Hutchison and Marmaduke Matthews (Secretary). He was also on the Annual Exhibition Planning Committee with Brymner, Griffiths and T. Martin,⁴⁹ for the

1887 Exhibition held in Montreal. These affiliations were of no help in his efforts to obtain a grant. At the February 2, 1886 Annual Meeting of Council, Raphael again asked for financial aid for his school; he learned that Governor General Lansdowne gave "\$250.00 to be applied at its discretion to supplementing the work of Art Education in the Dominion".⁵⁰ That same day, after "Mr. Hutchison reported for the Art Association of Montreal that classes had been well attended and much success achieved both in the Study from the Antique and from the living model",⁵¹ the Raphael issue was re-opened.

Mr. Raphael, also from Montreal, pressed his claims upon the Academy for some recognition for his efforts in the same direction. After some discussion the matter was left to the local committee of Montreal. The election of officers for the ensuing year 1886-1887 was then proceeded with.⁵²

Raphael was disappointed that his efforts on behalf of the R.C.A. went unrecognized. The only female R.C.A. Academician, Mrs. Charlotte Shreiber must have experienced similar frustration with this new guard. At a meeting of Council of April 20, 1887, at which Raphael was present as a Council member, she had requested the secretary "to hand in her resignation but the Council instructed her to obtain the same in writing".⁵³

Raphael continued to sit on Council for the years 1888,⁵⁴ 1889, 1890⁵⁵ and 1893-4.⁵⁶ By 1896 Raphael became discouraged and finally submitted his resignation. The minutes of the March 13, 1896 meeting of the R.C.A. Council record this event. Robert Harris, Alex Hutchison, J. W. Hopkins, Homer Watson, Marmaduke Matthews and Lucius O'Brien reviewed the matter.

The correspondence before the Council was a letter from Wm. Raphael resigning his membership in the Academy, when the following Resolution in regard to it was adopted.

Moved by Mr. Matthews, seconded by Homer Watson and resolved that owing to the impossibility of communicating with Mr. Raphael previous to the dispersion of members of the Council today, action in his Letter conveying his resignation just received be deferred to the meeting of Council next December, and that the Secretary communicate this Resolution to Mr. Raphael.⁵⁷

At the next meeting,⁵⁸ it was decided,

Mr. William Raphael, having sent his resignation to the R.C.A. Council last March its acceptance was postponed to the present Council meeting and as no answer has been received from him in regard to Letter from the Council, the following Resolution was adopted.

Moved by J. W. H. Watts, seconded by M. E. Wyly Grier and Resolved that in view of receiving no Reply from Mr. Raphael as to Reconsidering his Resignation, the Presidents Mr. Taylor and Mr. Brymner be a Committee to interview Mr. Raphael so that a Settlement be arrived at before next meeting of Council.⁵⁹

Evidently they could not appease the artist, who felt that the R.C.A. had little to offer him in the way of

financial or moral support. In the Minutes of the Council Meeting held at the National Gallery in Ottawa, March 10, 1897, it is noted that there was another

letter from Mr. Wm. Raphael resigning his position as a member of the R.C.A.

The following resolution in regard to Mr. Raphael's Resignation was carried.

Moved by Mr. Wm. Cruishank, seconded by E. Wyly Grier and Resolved that Mr. Raphael's resignation be accepted.⁶⁰

No letters concerning this issue have been traced in the Public Archives of Ottawa, in the Art Association of Montreal, or among those of Raphael's belongings left with his family. Therefore it is difficult to pinpoint with certainty the problems which disturbed Raphael, other than that of his disappointment in not receiving financial aid for his school and his frustration at having to repeatedly confront the same power figures at the R.C.A. and the Art Association of Montreal who seemed to imprison his scope of action. Mr. J. W. H. Watts, Curator of the National Gallery of Ottawa in 1896, when Raphael resigned, and a participant at the March 13, 1896 meeting provides one explanation. (He was obviously well informed concerning all angles of the issue as it was he who moved that "the President Mr. Taylor and Mr. Brymner be a Committee to interview Mr. Raphael so that a settlement be arrived at before next meeting of

Council".⁶¹) In his personal handwritten diary, he wrote in 1902 that Raphael "resigned lately from the R.C.A. on the grounds of injustice by Brymner monopolizing the criticizing and refusal of the R.C.A. to give a grant to his private school".⁶² About Brymner, with whom Watts had been active on R.C.A. committees for years, he wrote a revealing comment. "[He has] a high appreciation of superiority over many of his fellows--fond of criticizing and pretty sure when on the buying committees to have all his pictures in the line which is often a case of bitterness to his brethren. Poor Raphael, an old member, used this as his reason for his resignation".⁶³ This criticism is echoed in similar opinions voiced by others about the monopoly of power on the part of R.C.A. and A.A.M. leadership back in 1886. The Daily Star, Monday, February 22, 1886 in an article about the Canadian pictures selected for the Colonial Exhibition in London, pinpoints this tendency toward self-patronage and favouritism.

. . . If the proposal to exhibit Canadian art be insisted upon, it were to be hoped that the pictures would be chosen by those who could have no selfish interests to serve in making a choice. These objections and recommendations appear to have been disregarded (. . .) The selection has been made by a sub-committee of The Royal Canadian Academy. In reading the list we are much surprised at the names which are absent as are many which are present (. . .) Why, it may be asked are not some of the works of Wyatt Eaton procured? Why not add pictures by Plamondon, a Canadian artist (. . .) of Hamel,

another French Canadian? Why did Allan Edson not compete for no competent judge could honestly pronounce his drawings inferior to those of the President himself! Why were two drawings by C. J. Way both rejected (. . .) while every one, no less than ten of Mr. L. R. O'Brien's were selected? [This shows] more selfishness than professional emulation.⁶⁴

Brymner, Harris, O'Brien and Griffiths comprised this sub-committee for making the crucial selections. Brymner was President of the A.A.M., while Robert Harris was head teacher there. Griffiths was President of the A.A.M. in London, Ontario, and O'Brien was President of the R.C.A. as well as of the O.S.A.

Despite his break with the R.C.A., in 1896, Raphael submitted but one more of his paintings to the R.C.A. Exhibition in 1898. He had exhibited annually with that organization since its inception in 1880 until 1896--the date of his resignation. This last 1898 painting was ironically labelled A Difficult Problem.⁶⁵

4. The Art Association of Montreal

Three years after Raphael arrived in Canada, The Art Association of Montreal,⁶⁶ the forerunner of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and the oldest museum in the country, was incorporated. Its first "Conversazione" was held in 1861; the second took place three years later. Thereafter it was

held annually. Newspaper records indicate that Raphael was a regular participant,⁶⁷ and was most active in the 1860's and 1870's. After the Marquis of Lorne announced at the Art Association of Montreal exhibition in 1879,⁶⁸ that he intended to help establish a Royal Canadian Academy, these organizations remained closely linked. Raphael exhibited most frequently at the R.C.A. Only after his resignation from that group did he again regularly exhibit with the A.A.M.

Raphael's vicissitudes with artists in the A.A.M. were a barometer of his subsequent problems in the R.C.A., for the same Montreal artists belonged to both organizations. In the 1860's and 1870's he was well recognized as a German influence along with Jacobi and Vogt. When the new Art Association rooms bequeathed by Benaiah Gibb on Phillips Square were opened he was considered important enough to be one of a staff of three with Alan Edson and Van Luppen to teach the advanced students.

Russell Harper mentions in Painting in Canada,

to improve Canadian art generally each Academician [R.C.A.] as a condition of membership was pledged to donate free time to student instruction. The Academy co-operated in the operation of art classes for some years in Montreal, etc.⁶⁹

Yet in a newspaper article titled "Art Education" it was asserted that "the Association derives no pecuniary benefit

from these courses, as all the fees paid by the students are handed over to the instructors".⁷⁰ The classes seemed to have been a great success.

The experiment, for such it is, has so far been attended by most encouraging success. The classes have been well attended and in fact it has been found necessary to divide one into two divisions, as the number attending could not be accommodated at one time.⁷¹

They were "steadily increasing in membership and general usefulness".⁷²

The Art Association Report for 1882 does not state why Raphael was no longer teaching the A.A.M. classes. It does however indicate that the A.A.M. was anxious to change the system of teaching to the British mode, and reorganized its staff for that reason. The Report states, "Communication will be shortly opened with authorities at South Kensington with the view of obtaining one or more specifically trained teachers and to establish our classes upon a basis similar to that of Schools of Design in Great Britain".⁷³ Council had nothing to report as yet. Mr. John Popham approached the Chief of Science and Art Department of the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), asking for recommendation of a suitable teacher for the Art Association classes. Mr. George Morton was deemed "most suitable in his qualifications" but "the income he derived in

London was, he feared, too large to permit Mr. Morton going to Montreal on the increment" offered. Mr. Popham wrote in his letter to the President of the Art Association of Montreal,

I explained to him very clearly the position. I told him you could offer him no salary, nor guarantee any, but that you would be prepared to offer him a suitable classroom in your building, allow him to enjoy the fees derivable from the pupils, and do all you could to recommend him to other colleagues and private art schools as a Teacher. He promised to give these proposals a careful thought, and to write to you or myself sometime during the following spring.⁷⁴

By December, Popham changed his mind concerning an artist with British background and reports it "impossible to carry this desire into effect at the time. Mr. R. Harris, R.C.A., pupil of Paris Masters, has been engaged as teacher".⁷⁵ The Gazette, September 21, 1883, touts the fact that Harris is a "Canadian by birth and has become familiar in the studio of Bonnat [and] with the teaching of French studios" and that "he possessed the equally important gift of imparting his knowledge to others". The Montreal Herald, December 20, 1883 reported for the Art Association of Montreal, "We have opened a school under the direction of an efficient teacher, Mr. Harris, and twenty-five pupils have joined the class which will perhaps prove self-supporting".⁷⁶

Form was important in this new teaching method and the students drew "from the cast in light and shade.

proceeding from simple objects. There were intentions for a live model".⁷⁷ Like Raphael, Harris used the method of teaching "to draw from the plaster cast before proceeding to the living figure".⁷⁸ He warned, "the school was a place of serious work, which requires thought if it is to be of any use; that it is not a place to pass an hour in the futile multiplication of chromos".⁷⁹ This indirect criticism may well have been directed at Raphael, who was known to have been active in producing chromolithographs.

In 1886, Harris went to England and William Brymner, R.C.A., became the new director of the Art Association.⁸⁰ It was during this year that Raphael seemed to have experienced the most conflict with the leadership of the Art Association of Montreal. His professional status seemed to suffer in competition with the domineering Brymner, who consistently promoted himself and his school in the public eye. If Raphael had problems with Brymner, as Watts suggests, he had similar conflicts with the Secretary of the Art Association. These conflicts appear rather obvious in the comments of the A.A.M. Secretary, Mr. English, during a conversation with Raphael's student, a Mr. Wm. Townley Benson. The latter sensed favouritism in many of Mr. English's remarks, evidently shared by the majority of the

leadership of the A.A.M. He wrote a letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette, June 5, 1886 relating the incident.

While Benson was watching the Secretary hang a Woodcock picture of a graveyard, he learned from English that

"Woodcock is one of our best men. There are Barris and Woodcock in Montreal, O'Brien and possibly Matthews in Toronto, but beyond them, no one. Of course, there are Grey and Raphael here, but Grey does not amount to anything, and Raphael being a teacher, cannot be expected to paint, besides, he never had any education except what he got in Notman's studio, painting photographs. All the pictures which he has sent to the gallery for the past few years have been failures". When pressed as to whether Raphael ever studied in Europe, he replied, "Oh yes, I believe he did, for a few months at Dusseldorf, the worst school, the worst school in Europe". I said Raphael studied in Berlin, at the Academy. "Berlin was it?" said he, "well it is six of one and half a dozen of the other". Much more was said in the same strain, but the foregoing is sufficient for the purpose.

I need not say that these remarks, coming from the secretary of the Art Association, the object of which is supposed to be the encouragement of art and artists, astonished me greatly, and being a stranger to him, though a member of the association, and the conversation having been entirely unprovoked by me, I can have no doubt that many others have been spoken to in a similar manner.

Now, was the expression of such sentiment the result of dense ignorance or of favoritism? As far as I am concerned he is welcome to either horn.

In your interview he is endeavouring to put the responsibility upon the Council, but the public will surely acquit those gentlemen without trial.

I remain/Yours truly/ Wm. Townley Benson/Montreal,
3rd June, 1886".

In response to his student's article, Raphael wrote a letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette dated Montreal, June 11, 1886.

Formerly there seemed to be no paper in Montreal independent enough to allow an artist so assailed, a space in their column to defend himself.../The secretary stated to Mr. Benson that I never had any training except what I got in Mr. Notman's studio, painting photographs. The fact is that Mr. English never was in Germany and can know nothing about my antecedents. For those of the public who may have been misled by the information received from this gentleman concerning me, I may state that I was born and educated in Germany, that I was a student of The Royal Academy of Berlin for nearly eight years uninterruptedly and received a first class education as an artist and that I can give ample proof of these facts to anyone who would desire to see it. When I arrived in this country, a stranger to the people and the language, Mr. Notman proposed to me an engagement for a year, to paint for him the portraits taken by photography, which I gladly accepted. Does the secretary mean to imply that such an engagement carried any disgrace with it?

He says that all the pictures I have sent to the gallery the last few years have been failures. My friends express a different opinion; so do the newspapers of Toronto and Ottawa, where my pictures have been exhibited. He airs his knowledge by proclaiming Dusseldorf and Berlin to be the worst schools in Europe. This is sufficient to show that the gentleman is not qualified to express an opinion about Dusseldorf, Berlin, or any other school. Besides what he has said to Mr. Benson, many other parties have been told by the secretary that my mode of teaching drawing and painting is antiquated and is going out of fashion, as if it were a bonnet. Did the secretary think he could palm off such trash on an intelligent public? The faithful transference of truth and beauty is not a thing that depends on fashion. He states the art classes have been doing grand work and their influence has been felt all over the country. This is a broad assertion, but

coming from the secretary of the art association, I take such an outburst of enthusiasm with a good grain of salt, though, no doubt, the mere establishment of anything of the kind could not fail to awaken interest. He further states that the students of the class are making their mark in American Art Centres, which proves indisputedly the excellence of the training received here. The ladies the secretary speaks of learned to paint and draw from the cast and life [Raphael's courses] before they went to the art classes, but this the secretary forgot to tell. Probably other classes can claim as much of this honour as the classes of the Art Association. I too have a pupil of mine in New York who has made his mark in American art circles. His name is Mr. Wyatt Eaton who received his first drawing lessons from me. This ought to prove at least as indisputably the excellence of training received by me.

He accuses some of the local artists of jealousy on account of these classes. I, for one, have no cause for jealousy. My pupils last winter numbered about twice as many as those of the Art Association, and of the quality of the work done, I leave to judge those who have seen both. I have had struggles in Montreal, like most artists who have lived here, but thanks to the intelligence and staunch faith of my patrons and pupils, I now enjoy a fair measure of prosperity and I hope to do good work for many years to come, and finally, to see the public of this city led through the learning generation, to an appreciation of sound and faithful art, in place of the superficiality and 'paint' which seem up to the present to satisfy its taste.

Yours truly,

Wm. Raphael

Montreal, June 11, 1886

In your leading article of the 30th of April, speaking of the annual exhibition at the art gallery, you say, "Do they [the artists] all contribute, or if any decline doing so, on what grounds do they take

a course apparently so opposed to their own interests? Do you not think the above incident a fair answer to the question?

Wm. R.

Raphael's letter and the tension surrounding the controversy at the Art Association was far-reaching for it received attention outside of Montreal. A letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette was received from a J. S. McL., Sydney, Cape Breton, June 22, 1886.

Sir, - The Gazette of the 18th instant which today has reached this distant island, contains a letter on the Art Gallery (. . .) The contention of certain artists seems to be that the management of the Art Gallery is in the hands of persons interested not for the purposes of their organization, but in alternately puffing certain artists presumably inferior, and thwarting certain other artists presumably superior to the favoured ones. (. . .) If these artists who complain sent their works to Ottawa, Toronto, London or Paris and found access to the exhibitions in these cities, as some Canadian artists have done, but were denied room on the walls of the Art Gallery, this might be a charge worth examining (. . .) All persons interested in art will rejoice that there is more than one school in Montreal doing good work, and that Mr. Raphael, an excellent teacher and artist, whose work I, for one of many, have regretted not seeing in public, can, with justifiable confidence, look forward to continued prosperous labor. If the association can be improved let us, without bickering or jealousies, unite our energies in its support. / Yours truly, / J. S. McL.

It is now clear that the refusal of the R.C.A. to award Raphael a grant for his school is related to the tensions mounting at the Art Association and with the perception on

the part of the latter group that Raphael did not have modern enough methods for teaching their art classes. They therefore looked to men with newer ideas. Harris, who taught at the A.A.M. from 1883-1885 and Brymner, active from 1886 to 1921, advocated the vogue of "French Studio Methods" which were in opposition to Raphael's approach and subsequently to the practices of his own school. Brymner, now director of the Art Association and active in the R.C.A., preferred to keep all support and growth within the confines of his own A.A.M. school. This became obvious to Raphael by 1886, the date of the above articles. By this point, he had exhausted every available channel for recognition and there remained no doubt in his mind as to the prevailing attitudes of his colleagues towards his professional status. He was a frustrated private man driven to defend himself publicly against those who he was convinced were unfairly prejudiced against him.

5. The Pen and Pencil Club

Raphael was an original member of The Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal, a group whose purpose was "the social enjoyment and promotion of the arts and letters".⁸¹ At the first meeting held on March 5, 1890, R. W. Boodle, Wm. Brymner, J. Fry Davies, Robert Harris and John Logan met at

the home of Wm. Hope and decided to hold a second meeting, to which they planned to invite artists, writers and other interested parties. E. B. Browlow, E. Colonor, S. E. Dawson, O. R. Jacobi, Percy Woodcock, Paul Lafleur, Wm. McLennan, C. E. Moyse, J. C. Pinney, Norman T. Rulle, Forbes Torrance, Louis Fréchette and Wm. Raphael attended. It was decided from the start that members would bring a "brush or pen contribution" on a particular subject "for appraisal and criticism"⁸² and that there would be nominal annual dues. Other members who joined the group in 1890 were Wm. C. Van Horne, Ivan Wetherspoon and Edmond Dyonnet. It was deemed that they too "may be fairly considered original members of the Club".⁸³ Raphael attended the January 24, 1891 meeting of the Pen and Pencil Club. Members were asked to respond to the subject "Faith".⁸⁴ Raphael's contribution indicated that nature was the source of his inspiration. He presented a watercolour sketch in black and white of Landscape at St. Hilaire. It was pasted into the Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal's album, 1890 to 1891,⁸⁵ and can still be seen today. He attended the meeting of February 7 of that year and paid his seven dollars dues. The subject that had been assigned for this meeting was "Wine". Raphael contributed a black and white water colour

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sketch of that title⁸⁶ which also was placed in the Club album.⁸⁷ The new subject chosen for the following meeting was "The Theatre". The minute Book of 1890 to 1905 records Raphael's oil sketch submission⁸⁸ but it is no longer located in the album. Raphael completed two works the following week. The Street, also missing from the compilation, was a black and white sketch submitted on April 14, 1891.⁸⁹ His illustration Spring was submitted on April 18, 1891 and is still in the album.⁹⁰ Something, however, must have happened to cool his enthusiasm. At the last meeting which Raphael attended, on May 2, the subject for the evening was optional.⁹¹ He contributed The Dreamer, a black and white sketch which is still in the album.⁹² He was not present at the Annual Meeting of Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal which took place at the Racquet Court, on December 19th, chaired by Mr. Harris. Brymner, Dyonnet, Lafleur, Logan, Brown and Davies were also present.⁹³ From the Minutes of that session, one surmises that a group of "gentlemen" was no longer interested in the benefits the Club had to offer; Raphael was among them. It is simply noted, "The resignation of Messrs. Ivan Wotherspoon, W. Raphael, J. C. Pinney and M. Seymour were accepted with regret".⁹⁴ There remain no letters of resignation nor is there any further explanation of the issue. There appears to

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be a repeated pattern of Raphael's disassociation from, and discomfort with, many of his professional affiliations. It is most unfortunate that there is such a great gap in the source material, which might have revealed some underlying cause for his resignations.

6. Quebec Council of Arts and Manufacturers

In 1904 Raphael was appointed a member of the Council of Arts and Manufacturers of Quebec. Nothing is known of his activities in this group.⁹⁵ There is almost no information about the Association itself during the years of his involvement except that it conducted a large art school which gave free evening classes at the Montreal School.

C. Work in Photography

Raphael may have acquired his experience in painting photographs in Europe. Certainly, during his initial years in Canada he was involved with this occupation. He wrote to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette, as noted earlier,

When I arrived in this country as a stranger to the people and the language, Mr. Notman proposed to me an engagement for a year, to paint for him the portraits taken by photography, which I gladly accepted.⁹⁶

Portrait of a Period, the only book on William Notman's photographic firm does not give any hint of his having worked

for the company during its first years.⁹⁷ Indeed Stanley Triggs, its author, ascertained that, based on records of the last years, Vogt, Sandham, Fraser, Hammond, Jacobi, Weston, Russell and Topley worked there, but that no indications of Raphael's having been on staff have been found. He concedes that records were probably not kept from 1856 (the year of the firm's founding) to the early 1860's. Raphael may not have been listed as a staff member because "he may well have worked on a commission basis and may also have done freehand paintings of photographic subjects"⁹⁸ based on some private arrangement. His earnings seemed to have been as high as later staff members, suggesting his merit as an artist and his responsibility within the firm.⁹⁹

According to Raphael's letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette, it would appear that he started working for William Notman in 1857, the date of his arrival to Canada. It seems that he continued to work for Notman for more than the one year initially arranged. The artist lists payments "Received from Mr. Notman . . . "¹⁰⁰ From July until December 28th of that year he earned a total of \$365.00 according to his accounting.¹⁰¹ At one point the artist noted that he was paid \$249.75 (of this) on December 28, 1859. "\$25.75 was for photography and \$224.00 was Cash".¹⁰²

One may question whether the paintings listed in Raphael's sketchbook from 1857 onward were painted freehand from a subject or if there was some connection between them and photography. Many may have been freehand paintings done from photographs. Certainly in one case this seems true. Among the portraits he listed as having been painted in Montreal from 1858 to 1859, he included a sketch of a "Herb Doctor" done in "November 1859".¹⁰³ A stereotype photograph of "The Herb Doctor c. 1859" was found¹⁰⁴ in the "People file" at Notman Archives. In the "Painting file" there was a photograph of a corresponding oil painting labelled "The Herb Doctor". It definitely related to Raphael's 1859 diary notation. It is a genre portrait of a bearded herb seller whose basket is laden with many species of plants. The freehand version seems far more interesting. The artist has pushed back the vendor's hat to reveal more personality in his face. He also added a tin cup to the contents of the basket. Raphael may well have been the photographer of this genre subject. It is certain that he executed the sketch and the painting.

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Another portrait subject which Raphael painted related to his career in photography is an ancestor of the Holmes family, of Bramalea, Ontario. The signature

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on the back states "W. Notman/W.R./Montreal/1860. The initials refer to William Raphael and is the first written proof that he was still with Notman's in 1860. It has been deemed a Notman work painted in "oil on paper attached to paper".¹⁰⁵

At least one photograph of the artist was taken while he was in the employ of the Notman firm. A "photogr. by W. Notman [Notman] Montreal, Febr. 1859" is titled in Raphael's own handwriting at the bottom of the picture.¹⁰⁶ It represents a stereotype half of Raphael seated in profile, reading a book. To the left of the photograph is a heavy curtain swag. This stereotype would have been inserted into a "stereoscope viewer" to give the impression of a three dimensional portrait of the artist. Another full length standing Notman photo left with the artist's belongings and deemed by experts to have been taken in 1861 was also signed by Raphael.¹⁰⁷ (This time he spelled the firm's name with one "t".) It is possible that Raphael was still working for the company at this date. A third full length photograph¹⁰⁸ of the artist, seated behind his easel in front of a large religious painting probably dates twenty-five years later.¹⁰⁹ It seems to have been taken in the artist's studio during the

late 1880's or early 1890's. Certainly, Raphael was no longer in Notman's employ for he was running an art school at the time. An earlier group photograph of the Notman art staff does not include him. Titled "Mr. Sandham and Friends, 1880",¹¹⁰ from left to right it depicts Henry Sandham sitting, Otto Jacobi sitting and Robert Harris, Fraser and Napoléon Bourassa standing.¹¹¹ These were all contemporaries of Raphael.

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During 1863-4, William Raphael seems to have worked for another photographer—A. B. Taber. Taber's firm that year was located at Excelsior Hall, 62 1/2 Great St. James Street.¹¹² He was "a photographic artist in Montreal" who finished large photographs in "oil, water color, crayons and indian ink".¹¹³ William Raphael is listed as having "worked for the firm from 1863 to 1864".¹¹⁴ Nothing more is known about their business relationship.¹¹⁵

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An advertisement has been found in Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1880-1881 which suggests Raphael's continued association with photography. It indicates that at 141 St. Peter Street, there were four associates sharing quarters. "Martin G. photographic goods/Walford A.G. photographer/Raphael William, artist/Appleton D. & Co., publishers,/ New York, O.S. Capen, agent."¹¹⁶ Beyond this date there are

no records proving that Raphael had affiliations with any other photographic firms.

D. Role as a Teacher

As early as 1859 the Phrenological Report on Raphael's qualifications stressed, "you have good talents for a teacher." Probably he left Notman's in the early 1860's to take heed of this advice. Since the earliest Notman Wage Book of the 1860's does not include his name among those of the other artists who supplemented their income by working in photography, one must assume that Raphael had by then left the firm. Few artists lived by the sale of their paintings alone, and Raphael was no exception. He now began to supplement the income derived from his paintings by teaching both privately, as well as at various institutions. Teaching provided an element of stability and of fulfillment which creative work alone could not guarantee. There was an organized schedule, a gratifying follow-up with the more serious students, and a dependable income. He began to advertise himself as "William Raphael, artist and teacher of figure and landscape painting".¹¹⁷

In a newspaper interview granted while he was teaching his pupils in 1888, the artist spoke from personal

experience. "Without teaching, no artist could live here. If he depended upon the sale of his pictures, he would starve".¹¹⁸ When asked "What cause do you assign for this state of things?" Raphael replied,

The market is glittered with foreign work. The picture dealers are the art critics. The trade is in their hands. They have not the means to buy direct from the artists. They buy in the market. The buying class in Montreal is small (. . .) That class, with a few notable exceptions, buys — signatures, not pictures (. . .) The dealers flood the market with worthless stuff and the buying class buy without knowledge. Native artists have no chance that I can see (. . .) It is simply the indifference of the public to work done in their midst.¹¹⁹

Raphael reasoned that Canadian paintings did not sell well due to a "small buying class" and "the taste for French and Dutch" (art) above good Canadian work.¹²⁰

1. Teaching Positions and Methods

Raphael probably made his greatest contribution in the field of secondary level art education. He taught at the Villa Maria Convent, Congrégation Notre-Dame; St. Anne's Convent, Congregation of the Sisters of St. Anne's in Lachine and St. Jerome; the Art Association, Montreal; the Montreal (High) School and in his own private art school.

1) Villa Maria Convent

The first school in which Raphael taught seems to have been the Villa Maria Convent attached to the influential order of Congrégation Notre-Dame.¹²¹ He first instructed at the Motherhouse located on St. Jean Baptiste Street and then in its old neo-Gothic successor which stood at the corner of Monkland Avenue and Decarie Boulevard from 1889 to 1893. The fire which destroyed the building also destroyed any archival proof that Raphael was the Order's art teacher.¹²² He did several drawings of the Convent in his Sketchbook of 1883. He labelled one "Villa Maria" 1/6/83,¹²³ and another "Ville Marie June 7, 1883".¹²⁴ Several others appear to refer to the same institution.¹²⁵ However, one painting, La Sainte Famille (The Holy Family), done under the tutelage of Wm. Raphael by a Congrégation Notre-Dame Nun in 1884 and presently in the Motherhouse, Sherbrooke Street, provided proof of his involvement as a teacher there. The canvas was signed on the back,¹²⁶ "Copie par S.S. Sylvestre sous le Professeur Raphael en 1884 à la Maison Mère incendiée en 1893". (These words were obviously added after the painting had been saved from the fire. Possibly Sister Saint-Sylvestre had made the notation herself.) Her teacher's original, signed and dated "W. Raphael/1882", has been located at Congrégation Notre-Dame's historical museum, "La Ferme St.

Gabriel"¹²⁷ but unfortunately it is damaged. Sister Saint-Sylvestre's painting is very close in appearance to her teacher's. Evidently his in turn is one of several¹²⁸ that he was asked to reproduce by the Order from a highly venerated 1662 version of La Ste-Famille.¹²⁹ Reputedly, the old canvas was painted by Abbé Hugues Pommier and presented to Marguerite Bourgeoys, the Order's Founder, by Father Souart p.s.s. when she helped establish the "Confrérie de la Sainte Famille".¹³⁰ This Society hoped to popularize the virtues of Jesus, Mary and Joseph through copies of the Holy Family that would spread the image to a broad spectrum of Catholics.¹³¹ Raphael's interpretation of the 1662 version is much more dynamic in expression and gesture. He maintained the position of the three figures but succeeded in drawing greater attention to the Christ Child through the use of brighter lighting and more vivid colours. In the original, the Christ Child wears white garments covered with dark drapery. Raphaël pushed the drapery to the back, revealing an all white-clad figure in the center. Sister Saint-Sylvestre's copy is almost identical to her teacher's work in coloring. Only Christ's face appears changed in expression and the background foliage and mountains are slightly re-arranged.

Raphael's teaching methodology at Congrégation Notre-Dame is not fully known. Through comparison of the above paintings one reaches the conclusion that his ultimate goal must have been to have his students copy his work. In the case of Sister Saint-Sylvestre (Marie Ann Hoffman) she would not have experienced a language barrier with her teacher for she was also of German descent.¹³² Many others in the order may have welcomed copying the master, since he did not communicate well in French.¹³³

ii) Congrégation Ste-Anne

Raphael seems to have been well respected in various religious orders. Records of Congrégation Ste-Anne assist in mapping out at least partly his career in that institution.¹³⁴ He taught for the Congregation in Lachine from 1879 until the time of his death.¹³⁵ He was the first professional teacher of the Nuns who would partially fulfill their holy duty by either painting religious works for the church or teaching art to novices throughout Canada. Sister Marie Arsène, the director of the art studio at St. Anne's Motherhouse and art teacher of the novices until 1886, herself a devoted student of Raphael's, kept a "cahier de mémoires". She wrote about the artist, "Enfin est venu en 1879 M. W. Raphael, c'est lui qui a donné le véritable essor à la

peinture chez nous".¹³⁶ Elsewhere she wrote "1879, Premières leçons de peinture".¹³⁷

Raphael was recommended by Bishop Bourget as art teacher for St. Anne's.¹³⁸ He must have been familiar with the artist's teaching and religious works in other convents.

Raphael indeed lived up to Bourget's assessment and developed an unusually close relationship with leading sisters in the Order. Sister Marie Arsène used Raphael's help to her best advantage by applying his methods in her own teaching of novices. She was a member of a group of nuns he taught privately.¹³⁹ "Les soeurs qui ont suivi ses leçons sont: pour le crayon S. M. Aimé de Jésus, Marie Hermas, Marie Barthélemy, S. Marie Columban, S. Marie Léontine et S. Marie Hélène de la Croix".¹⁴⁰ For this group he would leave works to study, "Il reste de ces leçons à l'atelier sept portraits à l'huile d'après nature à l'atelier de Mont Ste-Anne".¹⁴¹

Sister Helen of the Cross¹⁴² wrote of the teaching methods Raphael used when teaching Sister Marie Arsène.

Elle préparait un portrait, ou autre figure agrandie, et ébauchée en peinture et demandait M. Raphael qui ne tardait pas à venir. A chaque leçon, il préparait son coloris devant ses élèves, l'appliquait, sur la

figure d'abord (. . .) Pour qui en était susceptible, il était facile d'apprendre et le mélange des couleurs pour les différents tons d'ombre et de lumière, et la manière de les appliquer en observant les valeurs qui sont l'orthographe de tons et l'atmosphère à mêler en tout.

Il va sans dire que l'expression des figures laissait le plus souvent à désirer, il ne pouvait tout faire en si peu de temps. Il fallait ensuite travailler tout en gardant les couleurs autant que possible. S. M. Arsène a fait ainsi bon nombre de portraits pour les besoins.¹⁴³

Raphael always seemed available to assist S. M.

Arsène. He would improve upon her work and even complete her copies. It is noted, "1883 . . . Le tableau de St-Joseph avec l'Enfant Jésus pour la chapelle du couvent. D'après un St-Joseph qui était dans l'Eglise de Lachine il n'était que de trois-quart. Monsieur Raphael a ajouté le reste".¹⁴⁴

He also assisted in an 1884 portrait of Monseigneur Bourget. "Il a assisté avec un portrait de Mgr. Bourget pour les Soeurs de la Congrégation Notre-Dame".¹⁴⁵ The version Raphael corrected is still at the St. Anne's Mother House. Another copy that S. M. Arsène made now hangs in the Musée de Joliette.

In 1886 when S. M. Arsène was sent as head of the art school to St. Anne's Convent in St-Gabriel-de-Brandon, Raphael visited her there during the summer. For many consecutive summers he took his vacation in that area.

Raphael did not speak French well. "M. Raphael aurait pu nous donner des leçons de dessin d'après nature mais, comme il ne parlait pas français c'était plus avantageux pour nous d'avoir les termes techniques en français".¹⁴⁶

Consequently, from 1893 on, Edmond Dyonnet was hired to teach the younger group. "1893-1894, Leçons de M. Dyonnet (Edmond) pour le dessin d'après nature ce qui nous a ouvert de vastes horizons pour le dessin et la peinture. S. M. Arsène assistait aux leçons sans y prendre part".¹⁴⁷

According to a Livre de Caisse (an account book) kept from 1886 by Sister Helen of the Cross, Raphael continued to receive an income from the convent until his death.¹⁴⁸ By 1893, along with a list of lessons taught, it noted that Raphael was paid for eleven of his own landscapes. After 1897, lessons with Raphael continued to take place, although not registered in the book. For example, each time Sister Helen engaged in an important project, she had a private lesson with Raphael. Also, he went to outlying convents attached to the Order to give art lessons. There is evidence that he taught at the St. Anne's Convent in St. Jérôme. One student's waterfall scene, which she copied from William Raphael while he was her teacher at that institute, has been located at her children's home in St. Jean, Quebec.¹⁴⁹ His students

remained devoted to his instruction, which often took the form of imitation.

Many canvases of Sister Helen of the Cross are direct copies of her teacher's models; they are labelled on the back "copie de W. R.", often with an accompanying number. Raphael also taught her many portraiture techniques by correcting her canvases.¹⁵⁰ She confided to her companion Sister Germaine Leclair that a studio portrait of the fair-haired child in a red velvet dress initially presented difficulties for her. Raphael assisted by painting in the hair and an intricate lace collar. He instructed her to apply these techniques to her next effort.¹⁵¹ Sister Helen of the Cross herself jotted down a brief sentence concerning this work. "pour l'atelier le portrait d'enfant longue chevelure était corrigé par M. Raphael".¹⁵²

Raphael's approach to the teaching of landscape reflected his insistence upon strong discipline. First he encouraged his students to mix subtle gradations of colour from the three basic primers, yellow ochre, Indian red and Prussian or ultra-marine blue. From these, mixed with black and white, they were expected to interpret the whole gamut of nature's hues. On rare occasions, exception was made for the very advanced student, and permission given to use other colours.

Only later in Raphael's own career did he himself use a broader range of colours.

The stringent methodical system of landscape painting which he himself likely learned in the Berlin Academy can be followed through a succession of various demonstration canvases still at St. Anne's today. First he warned the student to "observe nature carefully, particularly tricky cloud formations and aerial perspective".¹⁵³ He then proceeded on canvas No. 1 to show how these clouds were properly arranged in their atmospheric setting. Varying tones of blue, white, yellow ochre and red were mixed. More white was added to clouds for a bright day. Red and blue were used to form shadows of grey. These were blended into the sky with dry brush. After that, on a second canvas, he showed how to paint a mountain in front of the atmospheric sky. Where both met, the paint was blended when wet. Next, he demonstrated the treatment of successive planes. He developed his perspective by progressing from the background first, with its mountains, then he painted the middle ground and finally the frontal plane. The next canvas showed the placement of trees, shrubs and their foliage. He reserved the treatment of water for a special canvas since its gradations of tone and reflections were the most difficult of

all to paint. Instruction in painting rocks, flowers, and other details in the foreground plane were left for the end. If human figures were to be included to give scale to the landscape, they were added last. The canvas was then checked for final touches of light and shade in foliage and water.

In the 1892 Livre de Caisse Raphael is noted as "having taken the sisters outdoors to paint"¹⁵⁴ where they would reinforce their teacher's studio methods. If outdoor conditions changed and proved inappropriate, the landscapes were completed indoors. Raphael was very precise about the necessity for developing technique before permitting his students to attempt portraiture. He first encouraged them to do numerous exercises in charcoal and crayon drawings. Still life objects and classic Greek and Italian plaster casts of varying sizes were to be carefully analyzed and sketched to show differences of light and shade. Plaster casts such as Apollo of the Belvedere or Michelangelo's Virgin (still on display at the convent today) served as the students' most common models. Once the student was adept at painting from the cast he could graduate to real life subjects.¹⁵⁵ Examples of this graduation can be seen in two Raphael studies of the human hand¹⁵⁶ left at St. Anne's convent.

Raphael's method of teaching portraiture painting from life was similar to that of outdoor landscape. The pupil was to make a good sketch of the subject in burnt sienna. Again, a limited range of colours were mixed with black and white for gradations. The flesh tones mixed on the palette had to relate to the sitter's complexion.

Raphael advocated starting with the eyes, then painting the forehead, cheeks, nose and mouth in that order with the first coat being rather thick. Delicate nuances of half tones and shadows were then added. The canvas was left to dry for several days. A second thinner coat was added to the skin tones and the remaining colours from the palette were blended into the hair area. A third coat was added to make the skin appear more lifelike. When dry, varnish was applied for finish and protection.

Through observing their master, the students certainly received a good model of how to scale a small black and white print onto a huge canvas. A favoured reproduction, Virgo Immaculata by a little-known Italian artist, Annould, was selected by the authorities of the Congregation for Raphael to copy for their new chapel. This reproduction, published by Boumard et Fils, Paris, (a five by three inch card) may still be seen at the Lachine Mother House's art studio.

Raphael's enlarged art copy compares quite closely with this small reproduction.

Classes continued until 1908 in the old Mother House by the canal, at 1300 St. Joseph Street, in Lachine. Only in 1909 did the Mother House and the art studio move to the massive new building at 1350 Provost Street. Evidently religious paintings left in the convent before the move have been lost. A Guardian Angel by Raphael, one of a pair flank- 358 ing St. Anne on the Great Chapel was photographed before 1968 at the old building. It, and its companion piece were taken down shortly afterwards, but neither can now be found.¹⁵⁷

Another canvas that Raphael painted for the old chapel was traced through the help of a photograph found at Notman 359 Archives.¹⁵⁸ It shows the artist sitting proudly on a high stool in front of his easel with a huge religious painting behind him. The painting depicted in the photograph had been hanging next to the upper gallery of the Provost Street studio. This 36 X 48 inch Annunciation was known to have been brought from the old convent and to have been copied from a small reproduction by Pietro Berradini (da Cortona). It is only recently that it has become known to have been painted by Raphael. The stool in the photograph that was transferred to the new convent was repainted and is still in excellent condition in the art studio. There are records of payments

to Raphael from the accounts of the new studio until 1913, although it is not certain whether the money was for art lessons or for religious paintings such as the Annunciation.

It was in honour of the main Holy Chapel for the new Mother House that Raphael was commissioned in 1909 to paint the focal, imposing canvas of the Blessed Virgin. This nine foot eight inch by six foot eighteen inch painting still hangs there. The artist was proud of the honour bestowed upon him despite last minute changes the Assistant Mother General Mélanie made to Raphael's preparatory drawings of the Virgin.¹⁶⁰ "In order to meet the wishes of [the] Rev. Mother General who [had] a special liking for the picture".¹⁶¹ It ensured that he would be remembered by the Congregation at least as long as his contribution hung. He was thanked for his "great act of generosity and kindness in dowering the new chapel with one of [his] magnificent productions",¹⁶² and was assured by Mother Mélanie that "it is deeply appreciated by the whole community but by none more than [herself]".¹⁶³

Raphael obviously derived great pleasure from working in the convent environment. In contrast to his other experiences, he felt appreciated and respected there. It was to St. Anne's, therefore, that he chose to sell the plaster casts

he had collected over the years. He wrote to Sister Helen of the Cross on September 17, 1910,

I was pleased to hear the Honorable Lady Mother General consented to the purchase of my Collection of Caste, [sic] for the price of \$50.00. I am much pleased to know that my Collection will be in an Institution in which I had the pleasure to be for many years so well acquainted with many of the Sisters. I will be in my studio next week from 9 to 12 and 1 to 5 daily and you may come whenever you find it convenient, and take the Castes away. [A] good big Drygoods Boy with some Hay or Straw, will be quite safe to bring the whole collection to the Convent. I believe I mentioned to you that I will keep 3 pieces for myself, these [sic] are pieces unsuitable for the Convent, one is an anatomical, and the other two are nude figures.

I am most respectfully

Wm. Raphael¹⁶⁴

Raphael was often to be reminded of his students' fondness for him. For his golden anniversary they made him a "Family Remembrance" collage. It depicted a cornucopia full of dried coloured flowers and was decorated with assorted strands of hair saved from the heads of his children twined with colourful ribbons.¹⁶⁵ In response to this gesture he wrote to Lady Superior General Sister M. Anastasia October 30, 1912,

I thankfully acknowledge the receipt of the beautiful ornament that you and the sisters of St. Anne's have been so kind to present to me and Mrs. Raphael (. . .), it will always be much appreciated by us, and be a standing memento of the kind treatment I received from you and the good sisters during the many years I had the honor to be at your Convent. I beg [you] to accept

our hearty thanks, and I am wishing you, and all the sisters of St. Ann, [sic] the best of health and success, in which Mrs. Raphael heartily joins me,

I remain Most Respectfully Yours,

Wm. Raphael¹⁶⁶

That same year he wrote to Honorable Mother another letter of appreciation for the gift of his portrait. (With old age, Raphael's English seems to have regressed.)

Please to accept the nice new years gift and good wishes, you was so kind to sent [sic] to me. You have given me and my family a most pleasant surprise. They all admire and think the portrait is a splendid likeness of me, and it is the only one they will have in the House (. . .) with my best compliments of the Season,

I remain

Most respectfully

Wm. Raphael¹⁶⁷

The convent administration indeed felt very close to Raphael. After his death in 1914, the sisters offered to buy from the Raphael family some of his paintings left in their studio. An August 18, 1914 letter from Harry Raphael, the writer's son, remains, disclosing the family's sentiments.

Your kind letter of the 7th re oil paintings to hand. After consulting other members of the family, I have decided to accept your offer of \$150.00, as we all feel that the works of our late father could not be

in better hands. I am sure that they will be preserved and appreciated.

I Remain

Respy Yours

H. Raphael¹⁶⁸

The artist's son showed great insight in this decision. The convent indeed proved a worthy guardian of his father's paintings. To this day they all remain intact. The placement of a number of works in one central location allows for easy access to his paintings.

iii) Art Association, Montreal

In the 1879 Report of The Art Association of Montreal, the Marquis of Lorne, then Governor General of Canada, proposed the establishment of art classes to enable advanced students to "be able to paint in a Canadian School of Painting, so Canada may be favourably compared with any country".¹⁶⁹ In the same speech he advocated that Education was crucial in order to "make Canada's natural resources the beauty of her landscape as well known as those of the picturesque districts of Europe".¹⁷⁰ On December 11, 1880 there was an announcement headed "Art Education" in The Montreal Gazette. "The Council, with the view of increasing active interest in art matters, and educating the taste of citizens, has established a series of art classes for advanced students".¹⁷¹

The article describes the courses offered. "Course I is in figure painting and drawing under the instruction of Mr. Raphael. Course 2 is in composition and landscape painting, under the instruction of Mr. Edson, and Course 3 in modelling and sculpture under the instruction of Mr. Van Luppen".¹⁷² Then, to entice new art association members, the article notes, "the Council [has] determined to present every member for 1880 and 1881 with a portfolio containing ten autotype copies of original pictures (. . .) mostly taken from the works of Canadian artists such as Edson, Sandham, O'Brien, Way, Raphael, Fraser and others".¹⁷³

(Raphael's contributions were a sketch of a Scene at Murray Bay and a head of Iroquois Chief, Caughnawaga. He was the

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only artist to contribute two works.¹⁷⁴) The classes were held at the Art Association rooms, corner Phillips Square and St. Catherine Street from January 11, 1881, under an original committee of three artists. Raphael's pedagogic career had thus far centered around private students. His involvement in the Art Association School's new venture marks a challenging development, as well as increasing his already busy teaching schedule. He taught the initial course titled "Figure Painting and Drawing". Allan Edson instructed "Landscape Painting" in water colours. Van Luppen taught "Modelling in Sculpture".¹⁷⁵ Out of a total of forty-two

students, fourteen studied under Raphael. For the 1881-82 season, the second year of advanced classes, Raphael taught the method--"Figure Painting and Drawing from the Antique"¹⁷⁶ and also took over Edson's class when the latter left for Europe. Transferring the water colour media to oils, Raphael called it "Composition and Landscape Painting".¹⁷⁷

After the 1882 teaching session, Raphael left his post at The Art Association, Montreal. He was not replaced until January 1884, when Robert Harris, R.C.A., filled the position. The courses were then revamped along French studio methods. Now a live model and new painting quarters were available. Harris' methods aimed "to study those essential qualities of proportion, contour and values which are the first and most important facts of appearance and revealing the character of objects".¹⁷⁸ William Brymner was to teach the advanced art classes at the Art Association from 1886 along similar lines. It is through Brymner's criticism of the artist that we first learn that Raphael's teaching practices were not highly respected.

How did Raphael's ideas about art teaching and methodology compare with Brymner's? They both strove to imitate nature. Yet for Brymner, success in the pictorial arts depended on "how you start out and what road you take".¹⁷⁹

Raphael learned to copy the works of great masters to some extent in the Academy. To Brymner,

It is bad to begin by copying the great masters' ways of working. If you begin by doing what is called clever handling, using large brushes, putting on quantities of paint, you can only be imitating the workmanship of men who have evolved their own style by long and hard study of nature. (. . .) It is only by digging deeply for yourself and laying your own foundation that your work can have 'character of its own and be more than imitation'.¹⁸⁰

Whereas Raphael taught the students to imitate his method of painting a landscape or a portrait, Brymner felt,

art training should not teach you to imitate anyone, but should teach you how to study, and should help you see with your own eyes. Do not allow yourself to be confused by useless theories. Take nature as your guide and you will come out right in the end (. . .) you need not think about it at all . . . Be yourself.¹⁸¹

From the above one can surmise why Raphael came under criticism for his teaching methods at the Art Association.

J. W. H. Watts' personal notes marked him for "getting pupils to copy poor work".¹⁸² This was a reflection of the opinion of his contemporaries at the school and of those who followed. Raphael was well aware of the criticism directed at him, and in his letter published on June 11, 1886 in The Montreal Gazette he fully expressed his bitterness.¹⁸³

Over the years little was said of Raphael's contribution to the Art Association. An exception was an October 15,

1904 retrospective article about the history of the Art Association, Montreal, in which Raphael was given credit as having been one of the first teachers. "In 1880 (. . .) an experimental series of advanced art classes was formed under the supervision of a committee taught by Mr. Raphael, Mr. Edson, Mr. Van Luppen (. . .)".¹⁸⁴ In 1908, another article made it appear as if Raphael never participated in the Art Association school's foundation. The article was exhaustive enough to mention that the first classes were held in the shops on St. Catherine Street. Yet it only boasted of Robert Harris, R.C.A., the late C.E. Moss, J.M. Barnsley, R.C.A. and William Brymner, R.C.A., as having been teachers there. By this time Raphael had been completely eliminated from the inner circle of the art school.

iv) Montreal High School

Evidently Raphael briefly taught at the Montreal High School. Mr. Allan J. Hart studied with him there. "He produced many paintings under his tutelage around 1893".¹⁸⁵ No written records can be traced, however, to show any details of his work at this post.

v) Raphael's Private Art School

Undoubtedly once settled, Raphael found his own private art studio more comfortable and eventually more

lucrative despite the initial frustrations he suffered while trying to get financial backing. He was able to advocate his methods of art education without having to account to "a local R.C.A. Committee" or to anyone threateningly aggressive and avant-garde. Newspaper notices about Raphael's school first seem to appear in June 1885, so one can assume that it opened that year.¹⁸⁶ It was located at 1310 St. Catherine Street between Phillips Square and University (across the street from Christ's Cathedral) and ironically one block from the Art Association Building at 1266, 1268 and 1270 St. Catherine Street.¹⁸⁷ It had a successful start. The Montreal Star reported, "Mr. Raphael has about 30 [pupils]".¹⁸⁸ In that same year, the Art Association which boasted of having "first rate rooms complete with models and figures, while the course includes drawing from the cast and from life, as well as lectures and books of reference relating to art", only had 37 students under Robert Harris.¹⁸⁹

Another article from The Montreal Gazette, June 9, 1885 describes the school in its beginning stages.

"Art Exhibition"
Mr. Raphael's Classes

On more than one occasion lately we had the pleasure of observing the growing evidences of progress in Canadian art. There could be no better example of our advancement in this respect than that which is

afforded by the drawings of Mr. Raphael's pupils to be seen this week at his studio, 1310 St. Catherine Street.

The collection on exhibition takes a good portion of one large room and represents different stages of the learner's career. (¶ . .) The pictures, mainly in charcoal and crayon, are all taken directly from nature or the object. The first thought that comes to the beholder is that the teacher had undoubtedly impressed upon his pupils the duty of striving after truth above all things.

But perhaps it is a more praiseworthy proof of the instructor's tact and assiduity that, while aiding the innate gift of each of his pupils to unfold in its own way, he has been able to impart to them all a real appreciation of artistic truthfulness with the feeling for accuracy in technique.

By 1887, Raphael expanded his studio at 2204 St. Catherine Street.¹⁹⁰ (The civic number was changed but the location remained the same.) One room was for beginning students, the second for the more advanced pupils. The Montreal Herald, June 8, 1887 reports about their work,

"An Exhibition of Merit"

The really excellent exhibition of drawings, sketches and paintings by the pupils of Mr. Raphael's art classes at present open at 2204 St. Catherine Street goes far to show that art is not dead in Montreal, and that there are among us many promising amateur artists. A Herald reporter visited the rooms yesterday afternoon, and was shown the various works of art by Mr. Raphael.

In the first room visited the walls are covered with drawings in crayon and charcoal, the work of the pupils consisting of studies from living models, statuary busts and masks. Particularly fine are

the charcoal sketches from life. The various phases of art are here exhibited from the sketches of hands, feet, eyes, etc. Mr. Raphael explained that it is exceedingly hard to secure living female models in Montreal, male posturers being more easily obtainable. To his knowledge there is only one girl model in Montreal. He explained that for the completed picture the models generally have to give four sittings of three hours each. In a casual visit one cannot do justice to the many beautiful drawings exhibited in the sketch room. Suffice to say they are well worth seeing and all show the taste and skill of the pupils and the proficiency of Mr. Raphael as a teacher. In an adjoining room are exhibited paintings in oil by the more advanced pupils. These consist entirely of landscapes from nature and still life. From an artistic standpoint, to our thinking, the gem of the landscape collection is "Peter's Point, Lake Champlain," showing in the distance Fort Montgomery. In this picture the details of the foreground are well worked. The perspective too is capital. The gem of the still life studies is a good collection of fruit, with a background of purple drapery. The effect of light and shade in this painting is realistic to a degree, while the colours of the fruit are skillfully blended. Peculiarly pleasing pictures are some studies of sea shells. These are really works of art, the shining of the pearl in the pictures being almost as natural as in the original. Mr. Raphael has some society pupils and all have one or more works on exhibition. No charge is made for admission to the rooms, the exhibition as a whole being far above the average for amateurs.

An undated and unlabelled newspaper article included with the artist's belongings at the time of his death, but likely from June 1887, also tells somewhat more about the students' activities and the compounded problems involved in finding suitable models. Raphael's class had doubled in size in its first two years. Now sixty pupils attended.

Mr. W. Raphael's art class (to the number of about sixty) is, probably, at this moment making studies from nature in the country—with the aid of the family umbrella—but Mr. Raphael himself is in town, and is just now engaged in showing to the friends of his pupils their work for the past winter. This covers the walls of the two large rooms forming the studio, and comprises crayon and charcoal drawings from casts and from life, and drawings in oils. The work throughout is stamped with conscientiousness. In many instances it is marked by a high degree of merit. Even the crudest beginners from elementary casts, betoken care. The life drawings are very creditable. Models are difficult to procure, and, as Mr. Raphael remarked, "without any training in pose, the results could hardly be as satisfactory as might be expected in art centres where professional models can be obtained. But see that girl. Here she is as we got her from the street,"—pointing to her presentment—"a little waif, with dirty face and tangled black hair. See further on what the young ladies made of her." The little girl had been put into a Mother Hubbard costume, and, with the old-fashioned cap, from which a few curls strayed upon the forehead, looked just sweet in crayon and charcoal. The young ladies had drawn her in dozens of different poses, and in each, with her expressive mouth and large dark eyes, she was a success. "These male models we get from the House of Refuge. See this one here. This man made a fine model." So he ought, he had a nose as fine, as delicate, as aristocratically aquiline as ever Bulwer Lytton touched with his perfumed lace handkerchief. Yet this man was a pauper! If you had been told that he was a great poet or thinker you would not have been a bit surprised. The exhibition undoubtedly reflects credit upon the teacher and pupils.¹⁹¹

In 1889, the Toronto Week reported on Raphael's classes:

The classes in Mr. Raphael's studio are large this winter, and the work done more than repays a visit.¹⁹²

In 1893, Raphael was still at the same location. He advertised his art school in the important Chronology of Montreal and of Canada from A.D. 1752 - A.D. 1893.

W. RAPHAEL, R.C.A. ART CLASSES FOR INSTRUCTION IN PAINTING AND DRAWING. OPEN FROM OCTOBER TO END OF MAY. 2204 ST. CATHERINE STREET, MONTREAL.¹⁹³

An 1895 Gazette article reflected the continuing success of the school.

"The First Studio Day" And "A Phillistines Impression Thereof - Studio to Be OPEN Monthly".

Mr. Raphael evidently has a number of pupils, judging by the easels standing ready for use. Many pictures, both portraits and landscapes adorn the walls of these studios, and one can see that they are the work of an artist who has devoted much time to the study of landscape painting.¹⁹⁴

The Montreal Star discussed different aspects of the same open house exhibition.

"The First Studio Day, Artist's Workshops Open on Saturday "

At the studio of Mr. William Raphael, St. Catherine Street, a large number of pictures and sketches in oils were on exhibition. Two studies of an organ grinder and the old street tinker were among the best portrait sketches. "An Amateur" was very good, the expression of wrapt contemplation suggested by a pose of the portly priest was admirable. A rocky point lying in the sunlight was a boat drawn into safety. It was a pretty study in green.¹⁹⁵

The address of Raphael's studio was again changed, in 1910, now to 314 St. Catherine Street because the city

streets of the district were divided between East and West.¹⁹⁶ By this time his second floor studio may have served more as an atelier for the artist to produce his own canvases rather than as a classroom. According to an old friend of Raphael, who would often visit the studio, the studio was one large room with huge windows facing North.¹⁹⁷

A poignant view of Raphael alone in his studio is captured in a photograph taken of him there.¹⁹⁸ His stools, easels, chairs, and the general equipment of a working atmosphere suggest the vitality and action of the studio when in use. The last mention of the existence of organized classes is in the above 1895 newspaper article, but they may have continued beyond this date.

2. Students

Raphael advertised in the Montreal Directory of 1866-7 "William Raphael, Artist and Teacher of figure and landscape painting, 147 Great St. James, h 303 German".¹⁹⁹ He moved his studio to 67 Great St. James in 1867-8,²⁰⁰ and in 1870-1, he changed his studio to 171 St. James.²⁰¹ In 1877 he did not seem to rent a studio.²⁰² Again in 1879 he moved to 193 St. Peter.²⁰³ He evidently used his studio to work in²⁰⁴ and to teach private students until 1884-5 when he opened his own art school at 1310 St. Catherine Street.²⁰⁵ Although

the civic number changed several times thereafter, the artist's studio remained in the same location.

i) Wyatt Eaton

Wyatt Eaton (1849-1896) was a private student who had his earliest drawing lessons from William Raphael. In an article Raphael stated "I too have a pupil of mine in New York who has made his mark in American art circles. His name is Mr. Wyatt Eaton, who received his first drawing lessons from me".²⁰⁶ Eaton would have studied under Raphael sometime before 1867, the year that he went to New York to study at the "National Academy of Design under Samuel Coleman, David Huntington and E. Lewtze".²⁰⁷

There is an oil portrait of a young man²⁰⁸ that was kept at St. Anne's along with other studies of relatives and friends.²⁰⁹ This unfinished portrait is strikingly similar to the oil painting of Wyatt Eaton, A Portrait of the Artist at Seventeen, c. 1866, in the collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and reproduced in J. Russell Harper's Painting in Canada.²¹⁰ The high broad forehead, narrow, cleft chin, lips, hair line and hair style are remarkably similar and likely depict the same person,²¹¹ although the angle of the sitter is different. The youth in both cases appears to be about seventeen years of age,

just the age Wyatt Eaton would have been when he studied under Raphael in 1866. The span of time spent by Eaton under Raphael's instruction is uncertain. Certainly, he had learned portraiture well at an early age. Later, "his lucrative New York success in portrait painting drew him away from both Canada and the Barbizon tradition".²¹² He only briefly returned to Canada from 1892 to 1893 after studying in New York, France and Italy.²¹³

ii) Society students

A June 8, 1887 review about Raphael's students' exhibitions states, "Mr. Raphael has some society pupils. All have one or more works on exhibition".²¹⁴ No names are mentioned although a long list of individual pupils' names are recorded in The Montreal Gazette, June 9, 1885. Many of them came from highly respected Montreal families. The female students were

Miss K. Lighthall, Miss Emily Tiffin, Miss H. Morgan, Miss E. M. Lyman, Miss Anne Greenshields, Miss H. A. Bagg, Mrs. Dawson, Miss Cooper, Miller, Thomas and Stephens . . . [Their] work is creditable alike to themselves and to Mr. Raphael . . . It is impossible not to recognize the excellence on the whole . . . Of gentlemen pupils we noticed on the walls drawings from casts and life by Messrs. Benson, Scott, MacArthur, Huxley and Distin, all of which revealed careful training, while some gave assurance of high achievement in days to come.²¹⁵

Some of the above "society pupils" can be traced.

Miss Katherine Lighthall was the niece of W. D. Lighthall, notary and respected numismatic and fine art expert. Mrs. Tiffin, Katherine Lighthall's best friend, organized private art classes at her home in the late seventies, early eighties. W. D. Lighthall attended these classes and became a close friend to his teacher during these years.²¹⁶ When Raphael opened his art school on Phillips Square they were still his students. Miss Tiffin later moved to England, but Katherine Lighthall continued further studies with Raphael for years. Miss Harriet Morgan, a close friend of Miss Lighthall and Mrs. Tiffin, was the niece of the original President of Henry Morgan's Department Store. Miss E. M. Lyman, another friend, was the sister of industrialist Clarence Lyman. She became well known for her philosophical writings. She moved to England as well. Miss Anne Greenshields was the sister of Chief Justice Greenshields. Miss H. A. Bagg was the daughter of the industrialist Stanley Bagg, financier of the Lachine Canal and associate of Peter Redpath. Mrs. Dawson's husband owned a publishing company, known today as "Dawson Stationery".

Of the gentlemen pupils, Scott may well refer to W. D. Lighthall's McGill classmate, Frederick G. Scott from

Quebec City. He was to become known as a writer and Archdeacon of the Anglican Church until the end of World War

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iii) William Townley Benson

Mr. Benson seems to be the only one of the above group who became a professional artist. Raphael felt particularly warm toward this student. On June 3, 1886 Benson wrote to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette defending his teacher's professionalism.

Sir, I am prompted to back up your commendable efforts to reach the root of the trouble in the Art Gallery which took place between the secretary and myself early last spring. I had no desire to make it public... I need not say that these remarks, coming from the secretary of the Art Association (. . .) astonished me greatly.

Now was the expression of such sentiments the result of dense ignorance or of favoritism. As far as I am concerned, he is welcome to either horn.

I remain,
Yours truly,
Wm. Townley Benson²¹⁸

Their relationship continued for many years. In 1906, Benson sent Raphael a newspaper clipping marking his success in Mexico. Raphael kept this along with his personal effects.

"Art Exhibition by Best

Mexican Landscape Artist"

The exhibition of paintings by William Townley Benson at the Hotel Jardin is an interesting one from every point of view. Mr. Benson as a painter of Mexican landscapes has never been excelled, and his pictures are gems of color and composition; full of life and realism.

Mr. Benson has been in Mexico sixteen years, and in that time has painted many of the beautiful and charming bits of landscape that are to be found around Cuernavaca, Guadalajara and Lake Chapala. He is an artist who, like many others of his profession came to Mexico many years ago and has remained here because the field is a large and not overworked one, and the opportunities for wielding a brush in a telling way are unlimited. "And," says Mr. Benson, "the artist finds an abundance of sympathy in Mexico that is rare in other countries. The people really seem to appreciate the effects of color and to unconsciously devise color effects in things artificial." To hear the artist's enthusiastic delineation of the natural beauties of the country and to see the pictures he has painted to accompany his impressions is to create and revive an enthusiastic interest in the artistic atmosphere of Mexico that one had never before seen, or if it had been seen had been forgotten. Mr. Benson is a real artist. That is to say, he is one who knows how to get the full value out of a piece of landscape. He can impress you with the fact that you are not looking at a piece of work in the "art for art's sake" class, nor a colored photograph; but a real piece of work that has all the natural elements in the scene portrayed, with just enough mixture of the artist's own self in it to give that "personal feeling" charm that makes a picture worth the owning. Mr. Benson was for six years a pupil in Montreal, Canada, of the famous German artist William Raphael, who was, for many years, a student in the Royal Academy of Berlin. For several years after he completed his studies with Raphael, he painted in various parts of the United States, principally in Colorado, California and Utah, preferring the localities that abound in rich coloring. Mr.

Benson is a slave of no school of painting and the result is the usual one, a charming realism that is not so realistic that it borders on the painful. A touch of impressionism here; a touch of classicalism there, and over and under and through all a great big touch of himself that makes his display of paintings a bright, pleasing array. Mr. Benson has been an intimate with all the artists of note that have visited Mexico at different times, and there have been many. The late Frederick S. Church, who used to spend the winter in Mexico, was a friend of Mr. Benson, and it was largely through Mr. Church's encouragement and interest that the artist has made such a success of his work in Mexico. Every lover of art in Mexico should have one of Mr. Benson's landscapes. They are true to the beauties of the natural scenes, in every respect.

The opportunity to see the pictures will be a limited one, as Mr. Benson will be in the city but a short time.²¹⁹

iv) Miss Pennington

Another student, Miss Pennington, provided a personal impression of the artist. She spoke of Raphael with the greatest respect and enthusiasm, and admired him for "his many fine qualities, especially his kindness. He was a great gentleman. He was consistently meticulously dressed and always wore spats".²²⁰

v) Harriet Pinkerton

Harriet Pinkerton (1852-1936) "studied in Toronto, in Montreal under Wm. Raphael and in Philadelphia under Lambert".²²¹ Mrs. Pinkerton "visited France to see the original of Millet's Angelus which she copied and exhibited

in Montreal in 1891. She exhibited at the A.A.M. from 1892 until 1924".²²²

vi) Dr. Francis Campbell

Dr. Francis W. Campbell, active from 1883 to 1903, may have been a pupil of Raphael's. "An amateur artist at Montreal" he "executed [a] series of New Brunswick sketches from which William Raphael prepared paintings for reproduction in the Canadian Illustrated News", Feb. 7, 1880. He was "in Montreal in 1903 as Dean of the Medical Faculty of University of Bishop's College".²²³ Raphael painted a portrait of Dr. Campbell which still hangs in Bishop's College. It is possible that the two met during one of Raphael's many trips to the Eastern Townships.

vii) Sister St-Sylvestre

Sister St-Sylvestre (1847-1927), Raphael's pupil at Villa Maria, was of German descent. She entered the Congregation in 1871, but it is impossible to trace the year she started studying with Raphael. A painting dated 1884 indicates that she was working with him at the time in the Villa Maria Motherhouse. Her biography refers to a class of design for teachers there which Raphael may have taught.

"Soeur Saint-Sylvestre dut laisser l'enseignement d'une classe

régulière pour celui du dessin, art qu'elle affectionnait et pour lequel elle avait de véritables aptitudes. Elle fut préparée à sa nouvelle mission par des leçons de maître. Et pendant cinquante ans, nous la verrons palette et pinceau à la main".²²⁴ Sister St-Sylvestre decorated the Order's Churches throughout Canada and the United States. Examples are in Ottawa, Sherbrooke, Providence, L'Assomption, Richmond, Arthabaska, Saint-Jean and Montreal.

viii) Sister Helen of the Cross

Sister Helen of the Cross (1861-1956) was the student who maintained the longest contact with Raphael. Raphael had taught Sister Marie Arsène before her, when Mary Martin (Sister of the Cross) originally entered St. Anne's Convent for drawing lessons. Only later was she convinced by a priest to become a nun and combine the two disciplines. Despite the fact that she eventually ran the Art Studio after Sister Marie Arsène, she consulted with her teacher long after he taught her on a regular basis. She had studied with Dyonnet as well in 1893-1894 but sought the advice and discipline of Raphael. As late as 1911, Raphael, in a letter, agreed to help her with her work. He wrote "Your Pastel thankfully received (. . .) I will be at my Studio on Friday from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4 PM and I will be pleased to receive you when you call".²²⁵

Sister Helen of the Cross painted her teacher's portrait in 1911²²⁶ and gave it to him as a gift for the following New Year. The appreciative artist wrote, "The portrait is a splendid likeness of me, (. . .) I have to compliment the artist who painted it, it is well rendered and artistically treated".²²⁷ This warm relationship continued into the artist's last years. In his last letter to the Sister, June 21, 1913, he greatly looked forward to seeing her and her work.

Your letter has been delivered to me only today (. . .) I hasten to reply and to say that I will be delighted to come to Mount St. Anne's on Sunday, June 29 early in the afternoon. I will go to the old Convent and tell the Sisters to telephone to you to send a carriage and I will come over and shall have the pleasure to see your Painting of St. Joseph. Should it already have been placed in the Chapel then we will go to the Chapel and see it there.²²⁸

In her works, Helen of the Cross sought Raphael's approval and in completed works his confirmation.²²⁹

A fifteen-page pamphlet about the accomplishments of Sister Helen of the Cross states,

notre chère artiste ne connaîtra qu'une seule obédience: le studio de la Maison-mère au Couvent de la rue Saint-Joseph ou au Mont-Sainte-Anne, après le transfert en 1909. Sous la direction de maîtres tels que Monsieur Dyonnet et Monsieur William Raphael diplômé de l'Académie impériale de Berlin, notre artiste parfait son art et apprend les secrets de la perspective et du coloris. Au cours des quelque 70 ans dépensés au service de l'art, notre chère Soeur exécuta plus de

deux cents tableaux. Leur nomenclature dépasserait le cadre de cette modeste nécrologie. Enumérons parmi les oeuvres d'envergure: la crèche du Pensionnat de Lachine, les grands tableaux de sainte Anne semblables à celui qui orne la chapelle de la Maison-Mère; les Martyrs Canadiens de l'église de l'Immaculée-Conception de Montréal; Notre-Dame de l'Assomption de la cathédrale des Cayes, en Haiti, Saint-Joachim Sainte-Anne et Marie de l'église de la Broquerie, Manitoba; Sainte-Anne des Mineurs de l'église de Juneau, Alaska; six chemins de la croix.

Si l'art religieux a les préférences (. . .) elle n'excelle pas moins dans le genre du portrait (. . .) les portraits de Monseigneur Bruchési, à son avis le plus beau et le mieux réussi, et de Monseigneur Bourget.²³⁰

Ozias Leduc commented that: "The only nun in the City of Montreal that can paint is Sister Helen of the Cross".²³¹ Many of her paintings can still be seen in Congrégation Ste-Anne. Her oil portraits of Mother Karey (undated), Sister Marie Arsène, her predecessor as Head of the Art Studio and Mother Marie Anne founder of Congrégation Ste-Anne are particularly outstanding. All portray a strong character and life-like expression. Often these portraits are painted from photographs. The 1891 one of Marquerite d'Youville, foundress of the Grey Nuns, was inspired by François Malepart de Beaucourt's 1792 painting.²³² Those of children are done directly from impressions of the sitter. Most of her landscape paintings have also remained in the St. Anne's studio. On the back of many of the canvases is written, "copie de

W.R." often with number 426 following.²³³ In humility she would say, "Je ne cherche pas ma gloire, mais la gloire de Celui qui m'a donné ce talent".²³⁴

Other sisters from Congrégation Ste-Anne studied with Raphael as well. Of these, Marie Barthélémy, S. M^{re} Aimé de Jésus and S. Marie Colombar, classmates of S. M. Helen of the Cross, are well recognized for their contribution of many religious paintings located in institutions across the country.²³⁵

ix) Alberta and Alice Laurendau

Raphael taught Alberta and Alice Laurendau, two daughters of Dr. Albert Laurendau during the summers of 1908-1912 in their St-Gabriel-de-Brandon home. The family was affiliated with Congrégation Ste-Anne and it was through Sister Marie Arsène that Raphael met Dr. Laurendau. The daughters painted subjects similar to their teacher's, such as a blacksmith, or the wood mill of Victor L. Tassé Fibre Company in St-Gabriel-de-Brandon. Laurendau's daughters were students who studied art for the sheer enjoyment of producing paintings for their family home. They did not aspire to become professional painters.

E. Critical Appreciation

Raphael may have encountered problems both as a teacher and a member of art organizations. At times, however, his professional activities were well received. In Canada of the 1860's, the German-Jewish Raphael was looked upon as "a Young Canadian Artist",²³⁶ one of three newly-arrived Germans who were well respected for their European training. (The other two were Adolphe Vogt and Otto Reinhold Jacobi.) For example, the picture Bonsecours exhibited at the first "Fine Arts Conversazione" on February 12, 1864 received following note:

An extremely clever picture was sent by Mr. Raphael, a young Canadian Artist. The subject was a very characteristic street scene in front of the Bonsecours Market in the height of the early morning business in the winter time. The figures are all full of life and animation, and the costumes, the carriages, the snow and the winter atmosphere just after sunrise are all rendered with remarkable happiness and faithfulness. This is a genuine picture in every sense of the word.²³⁷

An article about the second "Conversazione" sponsored by the Art Association at Mechanics Hall one year later reviewed Raphael's work,

Another Canadian artist, Raphael, not unknown to fame, perhaps one of the most thoroughly educated historical painters in Canada, we see slightly represented. His Dog and Sleigh is however a spirited little group, though we might have expected a second great work of local interest like that of his Bonsecours Market

which did such credit to Canadian art in our first Exhibition.²³⁸

The Art Journal of London, England, on October 1, 1866 reported on "Art in the Continental States",

Mr. William Raphael, a Prussian artist, who studied for eight years in the Royal Academy of Berlin, and who now is a resident of Montreal evidently possesses some of the spirit of an immortal Hogarth.²³⁹

The next month Raphael was discussed again in the same British journal.

Lovers of the Fine Arts will thereby have an opportunity of seeing a good Canadian production, and at the same time, a graphic representation of a scene in rear of the Bonsecours Market and Church, Montreal, together with the St. Lawrence River, and part of the Island. We must here state that the same artist has just completed another picture entitled "The Fortune Teller". It carries us back to long, long ago, and sets us down in a wood situated near an old castle, a glimpse of which may be had through the trees. In the foreground are an elderly man and his family, who are having the future unveiled to them by a gypsy fortune-teller, several of whose companions, in a variety of attitudes, are standing around. The picture displays considerable genius, and speaks well for the artist.²⁴⁰

The year of Confederation, Bonsecours was still being reviewed. Likely it was the same painting the artist displayed in London. Now it was being exhibited at the Conversazione of the Art Association of Montreal.

Mr. Raphael has a scene of Bonsecours Market which though perhaps something heavy in effect illustrates

in a very characteristic way the appearance of the frequenters of our market, the older architecture and some portions of our river scenery.²⁴¹

This description fits the painting of the same subject in the National Gallery Collection. Seemingly he painted different versions of this landmark. The Montreal Gazette of February 7th, one day later, described Bonsecours as "a well known scene in the rear of Bonsecours Market, painted in much spirit by W. Raphael, a clever Montreal artist who has already immortalized this locality".²⁴²

There were confident reviews of Raphael's work in the late 1860's.

The Lovers of Fine Arts will be pleased to learn that Roberts and Reinhold have just finished a beautiful chromo entitled The Early Bird Picks up the Worm from an original oil painting by William Raphael of this city, which attracted considerable attention at the Annual Exhibition of the Society of Canadian Artists. It was selected as a souvenir of what at this early stage of Colonial Art can be achieved in Canada.²⁴³

About the same painting it was said:

We feel assured that an English verdict of this picture will verify the late comments of our Canadian press. And we will indeed experience supreme gratifications if such verdict will act as incentive to those who take interest in our native talent to accord substantial appreciation to well deserved merit, thus encouraging the labors of those amongst us who are the pioneers of our Ambrigo Art.²⁴⁴

Robert and Reinhold was not the only company that selected

work by Raphael to be made into chromolithography. Burland l'Africain & Co. also chose Raphael's oil, Habitants Chased by Wolves done in 1869 from which to make a chromolithographic series. Of the original it was written, "for imaginative honor and subtle significance in composition [it] would be remarkable in any pictorial exhibition".²⁴⁵ Elsewhere it said, "The winter scene is well conceived and well executed by the artist. Every form in it, animate and inanimate is expressed with a faithfulness of delineation rarely equalled. The appearance of the occupants (. . .) are all depicted by Mr. Raphael to perfection".²⁴⁶

The Canadian Illustrated News, February 12, 1870, described Raphael's Falls of Trou as "an admirable picture after nature in all its detail and can hardly be surpassed by any painting of its kind on exhibition. The coloring is exceedingly good".²⁴⁷

The Montreal Gazette of September 29, 1875 discussed a portrait of a deceased son of an unnamed but prominent citizen of Montreal,

It is in every aspect a fine picture--its various parts being in well expressed harmony with each other. The coloring is remarkably good, and many praises have been uttered by passers-by on the admirably modulated hues of the boy's dress (. . .) The fresh, healthy complexion of the youth, his

posture as though uncertain whether to continue his play or return homeward, and the happy naturalness of the varied scene around him, all make a picture of which any artist may be proud. It bears the name of W. Raphael, of this city, and we congratulate him on his success.²⁴⁸

In 1879 other works of Raphael were said to have attracted special attention.²⁴⁹ In an article entitled "A Gossip About the First Dominion Art Exhibition" which appeared in the Canadian Monthly and National Review, Raphael does not receive major prominence but is mentioned as an important artist. The critic described his work as,

both studies of our French Canadian compatriots, one of which is called L'Habitant [is] to our taste, by far the finest examples of figure studies proper in the collection. They are perfect in their way, and Mr. Gilmour to whom they are sold, is to be congratulated on their acquisition.²⁵⁰

Raphael's reputation remained solid during these years. He was admitted as an original Academician of the R.C.A. in 1880. His diploma painting was accepted along with the first group in April of that year. The Montreal Herald of March 11, 1880 reported that His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne purchased a painting of his.

William Raphael is another of our Montreal artists who has distinguished himself. L'Habitant, a picture of much excellence, has been purchased by His Excellency. An Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence is a diploma picture and goes to the National Gallery. It has attracted a great deal of

attention. Pointe-Au-Pic, Murray Bay, is a beautiful landscape.²⁵¹

Notman and Sandham reproduced Raphael's diploma painting in the April 10, 1880 issue of the Canadian Illustrated News. They included it as one of several reproductions favoured from that important first Exhibition of the Canadian Academy in Ottawa.²⁵² That same year, Art Association members were offered a portfolio of prints, "taken from the works of Canadian Artists".²⁵³ Raphael was the only artist represented by two examples.

In 1881, Raphael was employed along with several other Canadian artists to provide illustrations for Picturesque Canada.²⁵⁴ It is also during this period²⁵⁵ that he was commissioned to do anatomical drawings for Dr. William Osler to be used for teaching medical students.²⁵⁶

In 1883, he was still receiving good reviews but they were much less frequent. "Raphael is singularly unequal in his work. The picture he shows this year is one of his most fortunate".²⁵⁷ During the laying of the C.P.R. tracks from 1883 on, other artists were beginning to journey out West and attracted much publicity.²⁵⁸ Raphael, however, remained in Montreal, travelling only to outlying areas.²⁵⁹ In contrast to that of O'Brien, Harris, Edson, Peel and Wyatt Eaton, his

popularity appeared to be waning. There was the occasional good review such as one that appeared in The Montreal Herald April 10, 1885. Raphael's work in "The Spring Exhibition of Oils and Watercolors" of the Art Association was singled out.

Another figure picture, by an old and well known artist, Mr. Raphael, is particularly good. The title is A Sketch from Life, yet the picture is anything but sketchy in its work, as it is admirably and solidly painted and particularly happy in the combination of colors. It illustrates a street scene frequently witnessed in our city.²⁶⁰

It represents "an old tinman busily repairing an old can".²⁶¹

The Montreal Gazette writes:

. . . Mr. W. Raphael R.C.A. claims some warm words of commendation. It is entitled The Path Through the Woods and gives us a charming glimpse along a leafy woodland path. It is strongly painted, the forms of the trees being well drawn, and is a decided advance on any previous works of his we have seen.²⁶²

Raphael's work and his methods became progressively less popular amongst his colleagues and critics, mainly because of his reliance upon copying. But he was still supported by students and patrons.

Copying was frowned upon in art circles as well as in the Art Association. The following is an indication of this attitude. In a December 29, 1885 letter from Homer Watson to art dealer James Spooner, Watson defended his colleague Daniel Fowler, denying gossip that he copied his subject matter from prints.

In the matter of Mr. Fowler copying prints, I do not, nor cannot believe it. I have heard some remarks made about some of his street scenes; but anyone who has brains enough to think, will come to the conclusion that the scene the artist visited on his sketching rambles were ones that (. . .) were noteworthy, (. . .) visited before (. . .) also illustrated (. . .) No doubt some of the scenes Mr. Fowler sketched have appeared in such books; or illustrated articles in the magazines, and a similarity of work in the locality no doubt gave color to some minds of copyism (. . .) When the midget minded individual sees a black and white reproduction of a Fowlerian subject, he straight away thumps his sides and gaffaws: Ho, Ho! here's Fowler's subject; got him now: and he shouts, "He copies." Such an individual no doubt feels great in pulling to pieces a really great man. (. . .) I say in his work it is color, drawing tone, forcible line that is interesting. Subject matter is of no particular value only as it lends itself to be filtered through his personality (. . .). It is the manner with him and not the matter.²⁶³

In 1886, generally a difficult year for Raphael, he still received some positive comments about his work. Dr. Wm. Osler thanked him for his anatomical drawings and encouraged him to do further assignments.²⁶⁴ Also four of his paintings were selected as part of "The Canadian Art Treasures" to be sent to the Colonial Exhibition, London. Only pictures "worthy of a place in the English Exhibition"²⁶⁵ were selected by the R.C.A. Committee for this honour.

In 1887, Raphael was interviewed and his opinion sought concerning the "Carnival Star" a special printing related to different national games at the Carnival, containing

illustrations by Octave Henry Julien. None of the bitterness in his earlier editorials is reflected in his comments.

As an artist I think it very gratifying to see such creditable work done here. "The Carnival Star" is a gem in its way and thoroughly satisfying and most pleasing. I have naught but words of praise for it. The "Bounce" is new and extremely good. The attack on the ice castle is in Julien's best style, the massing is excellent, the composition perfect. The whole number does great credit to the proprietors of the STAR and must be a great success financially as it is artistically.²⁶⁶

The same year, the artist himself exhibited his work abroad, showing a floral and still life in London,²⁶⁷ while he exhibited and sold a painting for \$200 at the R.C.A. Exhibition at home.²⁶⁸ During the later 1880's little was said of his paintings. The Star of April 18, 1889 comments on his entry into the Spring Exhibition. "Homeward Bound by Mr. Raphael, coloring soft, drawing excellent, very characteristic of Canada".²⁶⁹ Generally most issues of the 1890's merely mention that he contributed work. On occasion, as in 1892, there was some comment.

Mr. William Raphael, R.C.A. shows several works this year. The Mill Dam is a pretty little scene, well executed; the details are carefully manipulated and the general effect is good. Harvest Time, by the same author is a larger canvas. The principal objection of the critics is want of life in the figures. The Oat Field is a fresh, breezy little scene. The arrangement of light and shade being excellent.²⁷⁰

Another newspaper claimed, "Raphael is much more successful than usual, especially in No. 117 (The Oat Field)".²⁷¹

On May 7, 1892, there were popular prizes allotted at the Art Association of Montreal. A loose paper recorded the results of the votes. Raphael's No. 115 (Harvest Time) placed eighth with thirty votes. In that same contest, Barnsley placed first, Suzor Côté second, Wm. Brymner third, Ozias Leduc fourth, G. A. Reid fifth, J. C. Pinhey sixth, D. P. MacMillan seventh and Robert Harris ninth.²⁷²

In 1893, Raphael received the following credit,

The landscapes in the exhibition are particularly striking and some are absolutely startling in their effects. A harvest scene by William Raphael; an orchard bright with apple blossoms under which two rustic lovers are engaged in telling the old story that is ever new.²⁷³

The review appeared in the Royal Academy Exhibit, Spring Exhibition. The last time Raphael seemed to have exhibited here regularly was in 1896. He was hardly represented after that date,²⁷⁴ the year of his resignation from the R.C.A. He did show work at the O.S.A. in 1897.²⁷⁵ In 1900 and 1901 he again exhibited at the Spring Exhibition,²⁷⁶ but his work was not reviewed in the newspapers. A career that received significant public notice during its early years gradually lapsed into obscurity.

CHAPTER THREE

CREATIVE WORK

A general survey of Raphael's works does not seem to show chronological evolution in development of style. Therefore they have been organized into divisions which represent categories created by the Academies. Although hierarchical, they have been rearranged in the body of the thesis according to the importance they seemed to have occupied for Raphael himself. Instead of the traditional order of discussing historical (methodological and religious subjects), portraits, landscapes, genre and still life, this presentation will deal with portrait, landscape, genre, still life and religious paintings, in that order. Special sections have been devoted to the study of the sketchbooks and prints in order to give a fuller view of Raphael's production.

The main ambition of this chapter is to present for the first time new works recently discovered in private collections and to correlate them with the known few in public collections. Since there is an unwieldy amount of material and no accompanying catalogue, numerous examples have been merely listed in groups. The basis for these groupings is the relationship of paintings to one another, and where known, to preliminary sketches or associated material. Due to the great quantity, an in-depth

art historical analysis of Raphael's individual paintings is limited and is left for later research.

A. Portraits

The artist's obituary stated, "besides painting general pictures, Mr. Raphael was industrious as a portrait painter and many of Canada's prominent personages sat for him".¹ His sketchbooks indicate that he executed portraits steadily during the late fifties in Nakel and subsequently in New York and in Montreal.² None of these early works have been located. We can only assess Raphael's portrait painting career by examining undated examples and those traced to dates after 1866. The following portraits of his family, character portraits, commissioned portraits and copies of famous men are not recorded in the artist's sketchbooks.

1. Family Portraits

Raphael recorded in oil or canvas the faces of many members of his own family. His father is depicted in his late sixties.³ His wife Ernestine Danziger Raphael, is known through two portraits,⁴ one done in her late forties and another one ten years later. He painted his father-in-law, Hermann Danziger,⁵ in his old age. He made two portraits of his daughter Bertha⁶ ("Becky"), aged approximately twenty and two others of his granddaughter Ruth⁷, at the age of six

and one of his grandson Arthur,⁸ at about age four. His 9
Self Portrait⁹ may have been executed when he was approx- 10
 imately forty years of age.

Except for Bertha's face shown in a three quarter profile, all the other family portraits are positioned in a frontal pose, only slightly turned to the left, with the head and varying amounts of the torso included. An early full-length watercolour sketch of his grandmother "Baba" in Nakel 11
 dated 1856 is an exception¹⁰ to the above oils.

None of these portraits are idealized. They all represent ordinary individuals in common poses. Colour is worked up on the facial surface, dictated by the effect of light and dark on the skin, Raphael's main consideration. Light more strongly contrasts on the faces of Bertha, Ernestine Danziger Raphael and her husband's Self Portrait. Brushstroke is generally thin but broadens in the monotone background. It never reaches an impasto anywhere. In these paintings, the artist was concerned with recording the objective appearance of his loved ones as opposed to epic or dramatic values.

The Portrait of William Raphael's Father, Mrs. Wm. Raphael and his Self Portrait are all done from photographs 360
 that have been found in the Wener Collection. These provide 361 362
 an explanation for the limited way the artist dealt with

expression, position of the head within the frame, as well as lack of varied brushstroke or background space in these portraits and similarly in many commissioned ones. By succumbing to photograph reportage the artist spared himself aesthetic decisions such as aligning features of the face and varying form in space. An analysis of the few photographs available indicate that he neither flattered beyond the truth nor provided much deeper insight into character or personality. He even dared not interpret his own emotional values in depicting himself.

2. Character Portraits

There are some portraits, mainly studies of heads and shoulders in varying positions, that delve deeper into the sitter's state of mind and pinpoint his mood rather than report only surface physiognomy. These include his Study of a Young Boy¹¹ of about twelve and the Study of a Girl¹² about fifteen. He was so challenged by the expression of the Girl in a Pink Bonnet,¹³ 1881, that he labelled the second version, a near replica, A Difficult Problem.¹⁴ The Man with Van Dyck Beard¹⁵ and tilted hat and William Raphael's Professor¹⁶ with pipe in hand have animate, determined expressions on their faces. The artist depicts the Italian Model¹⁷ as though seen at an angle from a higher vantage point. The composition is characterized by the inclusion of the hand supporting her chin. This gesture effectively helps add to her meditative mood. The Portrait of

a Young Woman¹⁸ in a black hat contrasts with the above pose in that it is less mysterious. The sitter is shown in a direct fully frontal pose, with her hat and form filling most of the canvas.

When Raphael wants to emphasize the sitter's inner thoughts, he brings the face forward to the frontal plane. In some, such as the superb Portrait of a Young Man,¹⁹ Portrait of a Bearded Gentleman,²⁰ Head of a Young Gentleman²¹ (probably Wyatt Eaton) and the two studies of the same Old Man²² (all in varying angles to the frontal plane), Raphael pulls the spectator up close. He does not reveal to him anything below the sitter's shoulders.

All the above portraits differ from the family objective representations in that they are all close ups and the artist here enhances liveliness by a more direct rapport. His goal is to give sensitive psychological insight into their character.

3. Commissioned Portraits

This next group differs from the family portraits and from the closeup studies in that the paintings were commissioned by the sitter or by his relatives. For the first time the subjects are well known personages, information about whose lives is publicly ascertainable. They also reflect the circumference

of Raphael's professional contacts within his varying social milieu.

Reverend Dr. Abraham DeSola,²³ painted twice by the 23
 artist, was an old friend. Raphael noted that he was commis-
 sioned by this gentleman in 1859.²⁴ As spiritual leader and
 scholar of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue from 1847,
 DeSola performed the marriage ceremony for William Raphael and
 Ernestine Danziger in 1862.²⁵ The scholar commissioned his old
 acquaintance to paint him and his wife Esther Joseph DeSola²⁶ 24
 in 1870 and 1871 consecutively. Earlier, Raphael executed an
 official portrait of Reverend Dr. Abraham DeSola²⁷ in his 25
 Doctoral robes as professor of Oriental Languages at McGill
 University. It was painted after a carte de visite commemorating
 his receiving an honorary L.L.D. degree conferred by McGill in
 1858. Raphael was commissioned by the Hart family, descendants
 of the first Jewish family to come to Lower Canada, to paint
 the posthumous portrait of Dr. Aaron David Hart²⁸ from a 364
 photograph. Dr. Hart was the brother-in-law of Reverend Dr.
 Abraham DeSola. Raphael was also commissioned to paint Dr.
Francis W. Campbell,²⁹ the Dean of the faculty of Medicine,
 Bishop's College from 1880 to 1903.

Raphael's popularity as a portraitist extended into
 various social sectors in Montreal. Due to his respected
 reputation in the convents, he became acquainted with many
 individuals in the religious orders. Canon Joseph Octave 26

Paré,³⁰ whose portrait was painted in 1868, was Secretary to 26
 Bishop Bourget whom Raphael knew well.³¹ He recommended the
 portrait painter to a younger member of his family, Mrs. Louis
 Edouard Desjardins (née, Zaide Paré). A select number of her
 descendants were painted posthumously by the artist, through
 the aid of photographs. These must have been given to him by
Dr. Louis Edouard Desjardins³² and his wife Zaide Paré³³ who 27 28
 themselves had their portraits painted from photographs by
 Raphael in 1877. Dr. Desjardins was the first French Ophthal-
 mologist in Montreal. He founded the Department of Ophthal-
 mology at Hotel Dieu Hospital as well as The School of Medicine
 and Surgery, Montreal. His parents were Edouard Desjardins³⁴ 29
 and Joséphine Panneton,³⁵ both of whom Raphael painted in 1876. 30
 The father was the Sheriff of Terrebonne, Québec; the mother
 had nineteen children. Zaide Paré's parents were painted one
 year earlier, the year of her mother Justine Souigny dit 31
Vinet's³⁶ death. Her father Hubert Paré³⁷ a founder of the 32
 Montreal City and District Savings Bank, was a benefactor of
 the Notre Dame Church to which he donated one bell. He was
 buried in the refectory of the Dominican Fathers, Notre-Dame-
 de-Grâce Church on January 24, 1869. Raphael had to have
 relied on a photograph of him in 1875, the year he was first
 commissioned to do a portrait for the Paré-Desjardins families.
 The Desjardins family relationships help explain the close
 chronology of the six portraits. They also lead one to believe

that they were painted to hang as a set, because of their similar triangular forms in oval frames and common grey, brown and mauve tones.

Raphael painted a distinguished Portrait of a Free- 33
mason³⁸ in the 1870's. He himself became a Freemason in 1864³⁹
and likely made many contacts within that Order.⁴⁰ It may have
been for this reason that he so clearly depicted the shiny gold
Freemason's tie pin worn by the confident, inquisitive, robust 34
sitter.

The Major in Full Dress⁴¹ wanted to immortalize his 35
accomplishments. This officer was part of the 6th Regiment of 36
the Duke of Connaught, Royal Canadian Hussars, Montreal Militia.
His costume shows that he fought in the Fenian raids and the
Boer War.⁴² This three-quarter depiction in a landscape, dated
1913, is the latest recorded Raphael portrait.

The earliest extant portrait was done in 1886, a
painting from life of Mrs. Benjamin,⁴³ an elegantly clad 37
seated elderly woman. She is shown in an almost full size
pose, and seems to be pausing for but a moment. She holds a
closed book in her hand. In later portraits derived from
photographs, the artist rarely attains this imposing quality
of a living presence. Outstanding features here are the
looseness of brush-strokes in her velvet dress and bonnet and
the brightness of her eyes. Her direct gaze is rarely caught
in later portraits. Portrait of a Lady,⁴⁴ 1884, albeit an 38

excellent study of a woman approximately the same age, lacks interest by contrast. This is a bust portrait with a monotone background. It, like most of the other commissioned portraits, incorporates a slightly lighter value of colour to suggest space at the back of the head. The Portrait of a Lady lacks the compositional devices used in the portrait of Mrs. Benjamin. The latter's head and body form a triangular shape which is repeated by the shape created through light in both her hands and face.

The children's portraits suggest that the subjects are on the brink of some action. One, Baby with Kitten⁴⁵ done in 1874, shows the influence of a cabinet photograph, to which the artist probably added more animation. While the child embraces his kitten to keep it from getting away, he points to something beyond. The typical Victorian props of a cup and spoon, a shoe and sock are all strewn about him. 39

Two similar commissioned portraits depict a boy in kilts. One, Portrait of a Boy,⁴⁶ dates 1875; the other, Portrait of a Boy in Kilts,⁴⁷ was done two years later. The boy differs in each portrait, but the Highland costume and the Scottish scenery are quite close. Although Raphael himself visited Scotland, the influence for both these paintings comes from a photograph. They may even be photo montages, with the portrait of the individual child added to the costumed body. The 1877 version is a far more harmonious and 40 41

appealing blend of the figure within the landscape. The subject seems more natural by contrast and the inclusion of the dog adds a personal element.

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4. Copies of Paintings of Historical Figures

Raphael was commissioned to paint copies of rare and/or damaged canvases of personalities active in the building of New France. These paintings were copied for historical purposes, initiating little invention on the artist's part. They were located in the Château de Ramezay's "Portrait Gallery" from 1908 until 1976, along with a variety of paintings of famous men executed by Louis Dulongpré, Charles Gill, Ludger Larose, Joseph-Charles Franchère and D. B. Hill.

The artists of the original paintings are unknown, as is the present whereabouts of these early works. Raphael's copies in this area were done late in his career, after 1905. They obviously did not influence his development in portrait painting. In that same year, he was commissioned by Justice George Baby and W. D. Lighthall to copy four portraits, the first of Phillipe de Rigaud, Marquis de

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Vaudreuil.⁴⁸ This illustrious Canadian was "born at Vaudreuil in France c. 1643, came to Canada as Commander of

the troops in 1687, became governor of Montreal in 1688 and governor of New France in 1703. He died in 1725".⁴⁹ The second was of Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-

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Cavagnal.⁵⁰ He was "born in Quebec in 1698, the fourth son of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, became the governor of Three Rivers in 1733, and in 1742 governor of Louisiana and of New France in 1755".⁵¹ He died in 1778 as the last French

Governor of Quebec. The third was of François Pierre, Marquis de Rigaud.⁵² "born in 1703, the seventh son of the Marquis of Vaudreuil. He became Governor of Three Rivers in 1749 and of Montreal in 1757".⁵³ He died in France in 1779.

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() The fourth copy commissioned in 1905 was of Michel Chartier, Marquis de Lotbinière.⁵⁴ born in 1723, who served in Acadia from 1746, built the forts of Ticonderoga and Ile-aux-Noix, and was granted extensive lands on Lake Champlain which fell into American hands at the Revolution. Siding with the Americans, he relinquished the seigneuries of Lotbinière, Rigaud and Vaudreuil to his son. Louis XVI made him a Marquis in 1784. He died in New York in 1799.⁵⁵ In 1908

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A. C. de Lery McDonald and W. D. Lighthall commissioned Raphael to copy the portrait of William MacGillivray.⁵⁶

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(3) The subject, born c. 1769 in Scotland, nephew of Simon McTavish, joined the North West Company in 1784 and became its chief

director in 1804. Fort William was named after him in 1807. He died in London, 1825.⁵⁷ A replica of Isaac Todd⁵⁸ 48 was commissioned the same year. Raphael may have copied his subject from an original Louis Dulongpré of Sir Isaac Todd, McCord Museum.⁵⁹ or one at the Musée du Québec,⁶⁰ 49 incorrectly labelled James McGill. Actually, Isaac Todd (1740-1815), a member of the North West Company, was James McGill's close friend and partner in the fur trade.

The predominant characteristic of most of the commissioned portraits, like the family ones, is that they relate to techniques used in a photographic studio. Examples are the Desjardins portraits, in their medallion shape, that reflect photographic models, and the boys in landscapes, reminiscent of photographed montages. They lack spontaneity as well as the loose painterly quality of Mrs. Benjamin, done early in Raphael's career. Yet some are more powerful and expressive than others, possibly depending upon the artistic quality of the original photograph presented to the artist. Despite the fact that many of Raphael's portraits were inspired by photography, some were excellent original, free hand character portraits, like Hamel's sitters that possess exceptional vitality.

B. Landscape

Many of Raphael's landscapes represent areas where he had travelled over the years. Some are finished oil paintings that relate directly to sketches in his sketchbooks. The earliest oil on canvas that is signed and dated depicts the first house Raphaël lived in while growing up in Nakel, Prussia. On back of the painting is written Backyard View, Nakel, Prussia, /Where I was Born.⁶¹ The painting, executed about 1851, is a view of the back of the family's farmhouse, with smaller wooden sheds and a well in front. In the distance, to the right, a woman is hanging her clothes on the line. A goat, dog, cats and chickens are dispersed throughout the landscape. This painting provides a more complete environment than the closeup watercolour sketch on the same locale labelled by the artist on May 6, 1851, as Unser Heim fun Nakel.⁶² Here the foreground and middle ground of the early version are elevated so that the scene is one of the farmhouse and the two sheds in front. None of the animals found in the oil painting are included. This is the only landscape dated and labelled in Europe. One undated oil of Roosters Fenced In⁶³ left with the family may depict another backyard scene from Nakel (but this is not conclusive).

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It is unfortunate that to date no finished, dated, labelled oil landscapes have been found that reflect the artist's early experiences in the United States or Canada between 1856 and 1870. (This does not discount the possibility that some may have in fact been done.) Similarly, the sketchbooks include no North American landscapes until the latter 1870's. Raphael probably did many that were lost. One book of scenic drawings done during 1865 must be noted. These were solely devoted to the hills of Scotland.⁶⁴ Again, only the sketches are known, not their related canvases.

The earliest labelled oils, mostly of the Murray Bay area, date from the late 1870's. That Raphael visited this locale was well advertised in the 1878 newspapers.

Mr. Raphael, the well known Canadian artist has just returned to town from a lengthy stay in Murray Bay, where combining business with pleasure, he took sketches of all the most noted points in the magnificent scenery - Le Trou, Cap à l'Aigle, Cap Blanc, the Murray River, Coast, etc., etc., and by next Artist's Exhibition will probably have some of them transmuted unto all their native glowing coloring and beautifully picturesque finish and outline.⁶⁵

This article certainly related to the artist's sketchbook drawings done in the summer of 1878⁶⁶ and later to oils inspired by the trip.

Approaching Storm Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay,⁶⁷

signed and dated W. Raphael, 1878 is but one of the paintings

depicting the area. Three Montagnais Wigwams on the Shore

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Beneath the Cliffs at Pointe-au-Pic⁶⁸ was probably done at

the same time. It was handled by Raphael's art dealer W.

Scott⁶⁹ and is probably the same as or similar to a canvas

that reappeared in the O.S.A., Toronto 1879 Exhibition as

well as in the R.C.A. and A.A.M. exhibitions of 1880. It

was titled Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay and was described in

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the Montreal Herald, March 11, 1880 and the Witness, April

23, 1880. This and a similar painting Last of the Wigwams⁷⁰

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have much in common. The bulk of the composition weighted

to the left, three bark malecite wigwams,⁷¹ encamped in

front of cliffs to the left and Montagnais Indians encamped

on shore are but some of the features they share. Both these

paintings may relate to specific compositions⁷² in a sketch-

book at the National Gallery of Canada but undoubtedly

relate to Raphael's large diploma painting of 1879, known as

Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence in the same

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collection. The latter appears to be a combination of these

two smaller preliminary oils. The scene of the more dramatic

diploma piece occurs in the mysterious night darkness and

is an excellent study of light as it reflects from the moon,

behind the clouds onto background and foreground water

and onto the small waterfall on the cliff as it pervades the

night sky. Enough light is provided for the spectator to view Indians conversing inside and outside their birchbark wigwams while one figure gets logs for the fire. Two others pull their boat onto shore. The beacon in the distance with a hut next to it (excluded from the two preliminary oils, but supported by an undated sketch, also in a National Gallery's Sketchbook⁷³) provides a secondary faint glimmer of light. This cliff at the left is recalled through a closeup sketch dated Murray Bay, 30 July, 1878.⁷⁴

A similar print made in 1878 also shows a Scene at Murray

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Bay, a closeup, although a somewhat altered view, with an added road and a boat more prominently in the foreground.⁷⁵ The diploma painting is not only the largest (23 1/4 x 41 1/4")

but the most complex of all the Murray Bay scenes. In this composition the mood of the landscape is unequalled; even

the related painting, the dramatic Approaching Storm, Pointe-

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au-Pic Murray Bay, dated 1878⁷⁶ does not contain the same intensity of mood. In the latter work the threatening sky⁷⁷

provides a secondary source of light, but less subtle

because of the primary source of light radiating from the

foreground. It illuminates the boy, catches the hands placed

over his head as he leaves his boat to protect himself from

nature's harsh elements. In the larger diploma work, mystery emanates from the powerfully controlled light in the sky.

While Raphael was in the Murray Bay area he tackled less dramatic subjects as well. An oil painting, Houses on the Mountainside⁷⁸ supported by stilts on one side, is signed and dated August 5, 1878. The Sketchbook drawing to it dictates every feature of the finished work.⁷⁹ Another oil, Church at Tadoussac, Sunset, dated 1879⁸⁰ is very similar to a church drawn from varying vantage points by Raphael in a National Gallery Sketchbook.⁸¹ It is found among other sketches labelled Below Quebec, Murray River and Cap L'Aigle, 1878. The oil version of Church at Tadoussac, Sunset was probably painted somewhat after Raphael's extensive trip to the area. A drawing of the church from another view is found in the same Sketchbook.⁸² Although the oil discussed above is labelled Church at Tadoussac, Sunset this structure appears to be more like that of St. Joachim de Montmorency, further down the river from Tadoussac.

Raphael enjoyed painting views of churches during his travels. In a July 29, 1880 oil, he included another St. Joachim Church, this time in Pointe-Claire. This historic structure was built in 1709, along with the adjacent windmill that still stands. There are no sketches of Pointe Claire⁸³ in the Sketchbooks. Neither are there drawings for his 1880 oils Autumn Scene, Owl's Head Lake Memphremagog⁸⁴

and Landscape, Lake Champlain⁸⁵ done in 1882. There are many other canvases signed and dated for which there are no studies in the Sketchbooks. Some examples are St. Gabriel (1887),⁸⁶ Lachine Swamp (the same year),⁸⁷ Woodstock, New York (1890),⁸⁸ Sunset in the Laurentians (1891),⁸⁹ Lake of Two Mountains (1894),⁹⁰ Près de Sherbrooke (1898),⁹¹ Virginia Beach, Norfolk (1908)⁹² and St. Gabriel de Brandon (1910).⁹³

Other finished landscape oils are undated. No corresponding sketches for these are found in the Sketchbooks. A few examples are, Longueuil Boat Scene,⁹⁴ Montebello Boating Scene⁹⁵ and Peering Through the Trees at Lake Champlain.⁹⁶

When Raphael's landscapes are viewed in chronological order, no obvious developments or evolutions in style are evident. Even the choice of colour remained much the same over the years. This may have been due to his formula for landscape learned in Berlin. Under analysis the paintings are best classified into several main compositional types which may correspond to the different positions from which Raphael painted. He seemed to merely follow the dictates of what was in front of him. In front of a lake he showed a shore, lake, the far shore and mountains. If he was in a boat the view then lacks a foreground. If he was in front of rocks he painted them in closeup detail. Very seldom did he rearrange the

distances he saw. His aesthetic judgement modified nature only when he chose to alter the composition to what he deemed as a more pleasing format. He would leave out objects that would be obtrusive or include others for the sake of compositional balance. This is obvious both in the sketchbooks and the paintings. The area that Raphael used his aesthetic judgement most was in that of his interpretation of colour. He created a colour range that would create harmony on the canvas, not necessarily that which he saw in nature.

Landscapes have been divided arbitrarily into the following compositional groupings. The first and most typical group emphasizes the centre or the middle ground of the painting.

Within this grouping, there are two sub-groups, one which gives little view of the background, the other which gives limited detailing of the foreground. The following paintings emphasize a middle ground and some of the foreground planes that precede the focal area. Subjects vary as the titles indicate. Some

examples are, <u>Roosters Fenced In</u> ,	⁹⁷	<u>Cows Grazing in</u>	53
<u>Pasture</u> ,	⁹⁸	<u>Birch Tree in a Cleared Path</u> ,	⁹⁹
		<u>The Cascade</u> ,	¹⁰⁰ 367 54
<u>Reflecting Trees</u> ,	¹⁰¹	<u>A Walk Through the Woods in Winter</u> ,	¹⁰² 55 56
<u>Settler's Cabin in the Forest</u> ,	¹⁰³	<u>Reflecting Red Tree</u> ,	¹⁰⁴ 57 58
<u>With the Current</u> ,	¹⁰⁵	<u>Last of the Wigwams</u> ,	¹⁰⁶
		<u>Montreal</u>	59 60 368
<u>Cadastre Farms</u> ,	¹⁰⁷	<u>Charlo River, N.B.</u> ,	¹⁰⁸
		<u>Dam Scene</u> ,	¹⁰⁹
		<u>The</u>	369 61

Lily Pond, Laurentians,¹¹⁰ View of Trees and Water¹¹¹ and 62 63
Autumn Scene, Falling Leaves.¹¹² Some of these give a 64
 suggestion of background. For example, a glimpse of back-
 ground mountains can be seen behind the watercolor Scene of 65
Trees and Rocks¹¹³ or the predominant grey Fortress,¹¹⁴ as 66
 well as behind the colourful trees in Toward Autumn¹¹⁵ in the 67
 National Gallery's The Boating Party scene, or the 68
 similar On the Richelieu River.¹¹⁶ Farm Scene with Horse and 370 69
Cart,¹¹⁷ Farm House with Ducks,¹¹⁸ Milkmaid on the Fence¹¹⁹ 70 71
 and Milkmaid on Broken Fence Accompanied by Cow¹²⁰ are 72
 others. The last two paintings are almost identical and in
 fact are signed by the artist on the same day.¹²¹ Both
 suggest background in the spaces where the sky shows through
 the back row of trees behind the milkmaid seated on the
 fence. Trees to the far right in the background of Backyard 50
View of Farm House Nakel, Where I was Born and Summer on the 73
Farm¹²² suggest the same. Storm Threatening Over Mountains 74
and Water¹²³ and Storm Approaching¹²⁴ both allude to 75
 mountains behind the dark heavy distant clouds.

In the second sub-group, the middle ground is still
 the most important part of the composition, but now less of
 the foreground is suggested and more of the background is
 depicted. Many of Raphael's landscapes can be grouped in this

section. The background is sometimes shown as being of limited depth and otherwise reaching well into the distance. The artist concentrates solely on the middle ground in Water Dam with Falls Behind¹²⁵. The background includes falls in the distance. The background does not seem too distant in Woodgatherer at Dusk,¹²⁶ Summer Landscape with Ladder Leaning on Front Tree,¹²⁷ Lachine Swamp,¹²⁸ Elm Trees by Water¹²⁹ and Landscape with Girl in Straw Hat.¹³⁰ It however seems somewhat further away in Fishing From the Red Canoe,¹³¹ Lake of Two Mountains,¹³² St. Gabriel de Brandon,¹³⁴ Woodstock, New York,¹³⁴ Montebello Boating Scene¹³⁵ and Paddle Boat Steam on the Richelieu.¹³⁶

The second main compositional treatment for landscapes is the more conventional inclusion of foreground, middle ground and background. They are fewer in number than the first group of landscapes where the middle ground predominates. Most of these are expansive views involving water. Tree with Mansion Behind¹³⁷ is an exception. Most show vistas of rocks in the foreground, water, mountains, or some jagged projections of land in the middle ground and distant mountains or trees in the most distant planes. Examples are the colourful Summer Landscape with Pink Rocks,¹³⁸ contrasting Cliffs Near the Water, Cloudy Day,¹³⁹ Church at

<u>Tadoussac, Sunset</u> , ¹⁴⁰	<u>Pointe Claire</u> , ¹⁴¹	<u>Sunset in the</u>	92	93
<u>Laurentians</u> , ¹⁴²	or the almost identical	<u>Sunset Behind Trees</u> , ¹⁴³	94	

The artist animated the background planes through illuminating objects by the use of light from the sky, thus directing the spectator's eyes away from the foreground or middle planes. Such is the case with the boats in Lake Champlain¹⁴⁴ and Longueuil Boat Scene¹⁴⁵ or the lighthouse in Indian Encampment Along the Lower St. Lawrence. These contrast with the importance given the frontal plane by the red row boat in Boat Scene with Flag.¹⁴⁶ Usually, in this second group, people add prominence to the foreground, middle ground or background. They draw the viewer into the plane they occupy. In Summer Landscape with Man on Bridge, Watching Woman in Boat,¹⁴⁷ Two Boys Fishing on a Rock,¹⁴⁸ Boy Fishing¹⁴⁹ from a rock or Boy Fishing near Mill¹⁵⁰ the figure forces the eye to settle on the foreground. In Summer Vista, Mother and Child Walking,¹⁵¹ Lake of Two Mountains,¹⁵² Boy Approaching Shore, Autumn,¹⁵³ Montebello Boat Scene,¹⁵⁴ Springtime Walk,¹⁵⁵ Moonscape with Windmill,¹⁵⁶ and The Sunset¹⁵⁷ the figure adds interest to the middle ground. In Logging Scene with Paddle Steamer¹⁵⁸ there is no figure in the middle plane. The above paintings that have

various objects and people in them are of greater interest and animation than those that don't.

There is a group of landscapes that have the foreground, middle ground and background as do the above, but they are condensed in such a way that there is no great depth to the painting. This is true of Falls,¹⁵⁹ Boating Scene¹⁶⁰ 110 111 and Hut with White Fence,¹⁶¹ the only water colour painting 112 in the group.

The rare closeup views that focus on a specific area create a more immediate impression. Forest Scene,¹⁶² 113 Woodland Scene, Closeup,¹⁶³ a Closeup of Pink Rocks,¹⁶⁴ or 114 115 Murray Bay¹⁶⁵ are several good examples. These last two 116 were studies of the same rock area seen in the foreground of the scene Summer Landscape, Pink Rocks.¹⁶⁶ 89

The above landscapes vary in their horizontal, vertical and oblique emphasis. Amongst a group of seventy-four landscapes considered here, there are thirty-eight emphatically horizontal ones, twenty predominantly vertical ones and an assortment of sixteen that are heavily dominated by oblique lines. Twelve have an oblique emphasis to the right and four have it to the left. The oblique landscapes are particularly interesting because generally the weight of

the composition is placed on one side of the canvas. Often they are coastline scenes. The eye follows the oblique line from the objects in the foreground, past the middle ground and beyond. The spectator senses continuation. This is true of Landscape, Lake Champlain,¹⁶⁷ Three Montagnais Wigwams on the Sea Shore Beneath the Cliffs at Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay,¹⁶⁸ Houses on the Mountainside¹⁶⁹ and Houses on Stilts on the Mountain.¹⁷⁰ The eye is similarly led beyond, to distant mountains in St. Gabriel.¹⁷¹ Other scenes that include more of the foreground and use a similar device but don't have as straight an oblique line to the right or left are Virginia Beach, Norfolk,¹⁷² and the almost duplicated composition By the Sea.¹⁷³ Autumn Scene, Owl's Head, Lake Memphremagog,¹⁷⁴ Approaching Storm, Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay¹⁷⁵ and Lake Champlain¹⁷⁶ are examples of an oblique composition interrupted by jagged or distracting deviations in its thrust backward. One such devised format is particularly interesting. In the romantic night water scene of Près de Sherbrooke,¹⁷⁷ one can see the pale sailboat and the expansive stretch of water that catches the reflective light of the moon. In an effort to hide his decision to include the large figure Raphael has covered her over with sand and water. The figure has somehow faintly surfaced over the years. A prominent figure in the

middle ground would indeed have distracted from this cohesive landscape.

Many of Raphael's landscapes have overall, evenly distributed direct light. However, in his desire to emphasize the picturesque, he bathed objects of importance in a light that animates the composition. There is a play of light on the backs of Cows Grazing in the Pasture¹⁷⁸ and on the water 53 in Cascade.¹⁷⁹ The light radiates on the pink rocks and 54 flowers in Closeup of Pink Rocks¹⁸⁰ and the overall light 115 shines on the young woman in Fishing from the Red Cance¹⁸¹ 82 and on the Landscape with Girl in Straw Hat,¹⁸² all examples 81 of daytime scenes. Light effects are handled especially well in some night scenes. Selected examples are Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence, discussed earlier and the equally well handled dual light sources in Près de 127 Sherbrooke.¹⁸³ In the latter there is a primary light that lights the foreground and blends the colours of blue, brown and white. The background light created by the moon emerges from the heavy clouds. It illuminates the background reflecting light onto the water and back onto the sky. The lighting effects from the setting sun in Sunset in the 93 Laurentians¹⁸⁴ and Sunset Behind the Trees¹⁸⁵ unifies and 94 animates the night scene. In Church at Tadoussac, Sunset,¹⁸⁶ 91

it effects the colour tones with its warm light so the green

and blue colours so often used in other landscapes blend

softly. The blues, browns and oranges merge in Pointe 92

Claire,¹⁸⁷ as they do in Lake of Two Mountains.¹⁸⁸ In 83

Approaching Storm, Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay,¹⁸⁹ a storm is 125

stirring. The moon hides behind a black cloud, barely

shining through. Primary light, radiating from the front

of the painting illuminates the foreground rocks and

the boy passing them, running for cover from the approaching

storm. The greys, browns, greens and whites strategically

placed on the canvas do not blend into one another.

Raphael's landscapes are certainly varied, despite their seemingly standard formulas and their lack of stylistic change. A study of the visual material affirms this. The

more animated paintings with picturesque detail and people are of greater interest. Settler's Cabin in the Forest,¹⁹⁰

Summer on the Farm,¹⁹¹ Milkmaid on Broken Fence Accompanied

by Cow,¹⁹² or Boy Fishing Near Mill¹⁹³ are among the more

stimulating and unique.

C. Genre

Raphael painted many genre scenes over the years.

Most are reminiscent of 19th century German Romantic painting.

One particular school in Germany, the Dusseldorf Academy was noted for its elaborate genre characterized by anecdote and humour. While Raphael studied at the Berlin Academy scenes of everyday life became equally popular there. Some of his genre paintings done in Canada reflect this interest.

1. Group Scenes

Raphael's best scenes are derived from individual studies brought together in an elaborate environment. One very popular example of this, Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal,¹⁹⁴ gives a glimpse of bourgeois life along the wharf in the 1860's. The canvas is extremely crowded. It incorporates a kaleidoscopic documentary record of a market crowd involved in varying transactions on the left. On the right, individual activities take place against a backdrop of the busy harbour. The wide range of colours throughout unifies the canvas and adds excitement. Each person is treated separately with his unique facial features, costume and accessories. The representational architecture behind the marketers has been portrayed carefully for its characteristics, as have been the individual ships, boats and steamers in the St. Lawrence River on the right. The clear lighting basically comes from one overall frontal source somewhat to the left. It unifies

the canvas, highlighting areas of light and detail which contrast to well worked out counterparts in shadow. This juxtaposition of light and shade is evident in every corner of the canvas, particularly in the depiction of the architecture and costumes of the central group of people. It certainly contributes to the overall balance and symmetry of this studied composition.

Important sketches are extant that relate to this harbour scene. In a sketch in one of the artist's sketch-books now in the National Gallery of Canada,¹⁹⁵ the buildings at the left can be seen as they were planned for their vertical and oblique lines, balanced with those of the street below. A second version of the sides of the building behind Bonsecours can be found in another Sketchbook in the same collection.¹⁹⁶ From both these preliminary sketches, it seems that the artist originally intended to place an oblique arrangement of smaller buildings behind the main building that exists in the completed oil. A small sketch of a market stall in one of the sketchbooks¹⁹⁷ was a study for the one at the left in Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal. The finished version has only one barrel in front and jewelry and fruit hanging from its top. Other harbour scenes were drawn in this latter sketchbook too. One large boat sketched on the fold suggests the central one in the oil painting.¹⁹⁸ Others may

have related to this or different scenes of the market area that Raphael is known to have painted during the early 1860's.¹⁹⁹ One small study of a Bonsecours Market exhibited in Montreal was reviewed as, "une toile de plus petite dimension" in the Journal de Québec in 1865.²⁰⁰ This was a year before the bigger Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal was painted. However the description sounds close enough to be a preliminary study.

C'est le marché Bonsecours au bord du fleuve.
Il y a de l'air, de la vie, de l'entrain dans
tout cela, le groupe des paysans est bien réussi,
cependant quelques types, les auditeurs surtout,
du violoniste ambulant, frisent la caricature et
c'est un tort.²⁰¹

The later canvas reached London by October. The Art Journal of that city advertised it in its discussion on "Art in Continental States" as a painting sent first to Glasgow²⁰² and later to London. It was deemed "a good Canadian production [of] . . . a graphic presentation of a scene in the rear of Bonsecours Market and Church, Montreal, together with the St. Lawrence River and part of St. Helen's Island".²⁰³ Raphael had earlier been generously complimented by the British critic who wrote for The Art Journal who said, "Mr. William Raphael . . . a resident of Montreal evidently possesses some of the spirit of the immortal Hogarth".²⁰⁴ Despite these encouraging comments the painting was not sold. In 1867 it was

exhibited at the A.A.M. annual Conversazione. The Montreal and Daily Commercial Gazette, Wednesday, February 6, 1867, commented, "Mr. Raphael has a scene of Bonsecours Market which though perhaps something heavy in effect illustrates in a very characteristic way the appearance of the frequenters of our market; the older architecture of the city and some portions of our river scenery".²⁰⁵ The Daily News of February 6, 1867 merely listed the painting, but The Montreal Gazette of the next day acknowledged it and other previous paintings of the same subject as, "A well known scene in the rear of the Bonsecours Market, painted in much spirit by W. Raphael, a clever Montreal artist who has already immortalized this locality".²⁰⁶

A winter version of the front of the Bonsecours Market 131 signed and dated 1880 is a splendid composition of the bustling activity on 19th century St. Paul Street. In spite of the date indicated, the work may have been executed much earlier or it may be a close copy of a painting described in 1864.

The subject was a very characteristic street scene in front of the Bonsecours Market in the height of the early morning business in the winter time. The figures are full of life and animation, and the costumes, the carriages, the snow and the winter atmosphere just after sunrise are all rendered with remarkable happiness and faithfulness.²⁰⁷

Another 1864 review of the same painting supplied additional information, "[It] depicts a scene on St. Paul Street opposite the Bonsecours Market".²⁰⁸

Some interesting undated oil studies may relate to this winter version, or to the original 1864 canvas on

which it may have been based. The Flower Vendor²⁰⁹ may be

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a study for the lady seated in front of the street lamp on the left, holding a basket in her hand. Also the habitant

sitting, smoking a pipe, was similarly depicted in repeated paintings by Raphael.²¹⁰

The position of the boy seated next to a companion in his sleigh, whipping his horse, has some characteristics in common with the gesture of the

driver of the one horse sleigh in Habitants Attacked by

132

Wolves.²¹¹ However one was not necessarily the study for the other.

In L'Opinion Publique of January 8, 1870, there is an engraving of a winter scene of the same locale, this time labelled Le Marché Bonsecours la Veille de Noël. The viewpoint and arrangement of the building along St. Paul Street is close to that of Raphael's 1880 version. The presence and interaction of people and animals along the street, although not identical, is similar.²¹² There is no proof that it was engraved from a Raphael painting or drawing.

Recently, an 1869 oil painting titled Three Habitants in a Horse-Drawn Sled was sold.²¹³ It is identical in appearance and measurement to a coloured chromolithograph in a rare, probably unique album of twenty-two chromolithographs titled Wolves Pursuing Habitants,²¹⁴ and was probably the 133 oil from which the series was made. An undated but smaller oil sketch of the same subject called Habitants Chased by Wolves²¹⁵ 134 may have been the original model for the painting as well as for the chromolithograph. The final chromolithograph of the album is signed W. Raphael, 1869 in the lower right corner as is the oil of the same size. All copies later made from the stones are dated identically.²¹⁶ The excitement of this genre scene comes through in the large impressive oil of the same subject painted one year later, called Habitants Attacked by Wolves.²¹⁷ Here the white snow and the light behind the threatening clouds contrast with the dark colours of the horse and the frightened drivers behind. The wolves are fierce in their chase and the little dog in front of the escaping sleigh is almost trampled by the escaping horse. The massing of dark and shadow toward the center of the composition creates a strong contrast with the surrounding snow. The balance of the central horizontal oblique thrust directs the eyes to the wolves nearby. The

vertical trees and cemetery cross on either side are used in contrast.

Full of movement, this romantic genre scene would certainly appeal to the 19th century public since Europeans liked to think of Canada as exotic and dangerous. The vivid portrayal of wild animals and harsh natural elements stimulated their curiosity. The painting which depicted the habitant's lifestyle and appearance would have been of interest in foreign countries.²¹⁸

A similar winter genre composition without inclusion of the wolves was painted earlier, in 1861. Called The Royal Mail: New Brunswick,²¹⁹ it has less animation and movement, probably due to the weak oblique 45° angle created by the horses and sled. Habitants Attacked by Wolves is placed on an oblique that is approximately 75° from lines parallel to the right side, giving the horse more horizontal space in which to run. The motion in the former is almost frozen due to the reinforced verticals of the trees on either side and those parallels created by the horses and the driver and sled. The contrasts are lacking too. The artist muted the sky to a gun metal grey. The trees to the right are a subdued grey-brown colour with a slight tint of mauve. The stacked wood in the right and left foreground is an orange-

brown. Even the snow in the foreground is pale grey with mauve overtones. The horses are medium brown and wear blue grey plumes on their heads. The sleigh packed with the "Royal Mail" is in a subdued red. This painting, located in Britain until 1956 juxtaposes a common genre scene depicting mid-19th century mail delivery with the primitive conditions of the harsh Canadian winter landscape.

Another Canadian winter scene closer in date and approach to Habitants Attacked by Wolves is Avant la tempête.²²⁰ Slightly smaller than the former, this genre scene is more jovial and colourful than the 1869 chromolithograph or the larger 1870 oil. The only sombre note in the painting is evoked by the mother and child, trudging behind, against a gloomy sky. The three playful youngsters may be trying to convince the two dogs pulling the sled to stop and wait. There is nothing to distract the spectator, save for the dimly lit area on the left in which stands an indistinct log cabin with a lady and dog in front.

135

In a similar, slightly smaller canvas, titled Canadian Winter,²²¹ a woman stands by herself. A child lags behind with his scarf flying in the wind. The snow is greyer and more trampled. This was executed in 1869, the same year as the chromolithograph Wolves Pursuing Habitants. Both compositions successfully create a sense of motion.

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137

Another more jovial genre scene, is Mardi Gras,²²²

138

a pencil sketch with a slight amount of beige tinting. The five people clowning in the carriage contrast to the sixth, the driver who is taking them to the celebration. The wayfarer's plea for them to stop falls on dead ears. The detailed treatment of light and shade, particularly on the horses and the people, and the resulting three dimensionality of the horses and carriage is commendable in this highly finished drawing.

A delightful closeup depiction of two old beggars is titled The Early Bird Catches the Worm or The Early Bird Picks up the Worm.²²³

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The composition is symmetrically divided in half by the open door which separates the two subjects. One beggar seems to have just arrived, while the other is about to leave, his pouch full. The late arrival appears angry and disappointed while the successful one looks down smugly at him. His expression reveals his thought, "the early bird catches the worm". The brown sandstone building with a crest above the door may have been an actual building near Bonsecours Market. The dome appears hazily on the right of the canvas.

140

A spring scene labelled Lover's Quarrel²²⁴ depicts two women sitting on a log fence, apparently discussing a

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problem. The forlorn looking girl on the right, in pink dress and white bonnet, holds an unpleasant letter in her hand, while her friend consoles her. An ironic element is added to the genre. Down the distant path a man is approaching, holding flowers in his hand. The two girls and a dog in front of them are lit up by frontal lighting. The fence winds up the path, leading the spectator's eyes to the gentleman in the distance and unifying the two areas of interest in the composition.

The last genre group scene is Fletchers Field.²²⁵

142

It is a simple stark scene depicting two boys fallen off a sled and tumbling down the hill. While one faces forward, the other is shown from the back. The oblique line created by their dark forms and sled is echoed by the slant of the hill. Other oblique lines in the background created by a row of hedges and trees run in the opposite direction countering the dominating lines. Colours are simple--greys, blues, browns and white. The only exception to this is an unusually large house painted in the distance. It is of pink brick and is topped by a dark grey roof. Ironically, this is very similar in shape and colour to the house the artist lived in from 1887 and twice depicted in water colour and identified as his own in 1908.²²⁶

It is a personal

143 144

inclusion, as are the chubby facial features of the boy facing us. Dr. D. W. Lighthall, who was a long time student of Raphael and owner of this painting, wrote on the back, "The boys were sons of the artist who taught me drawing. W.D.L.".

2. Individuals

i) Trades

Raphael painted people at work in various activities.

He depicted a hatted, bespectacled old tinsmith in a red shirt and white apron holding a pail up close to examine a hole in it.²²⁷ The subject fills the entire canvas. A

Montreal Gazette article of 1885 referred to this as A Sketch from Life and described "an old tin man busily engaged in repairing an old can".²²⁸ The artist dated the canvas

1880. There is no indication as to whether the tradesman is indoors or outdoors. This contrasts to the Habitat Grinding Grain²²⁹ 145

who sits in a cluttered backyard amid logs, wood and a chicken. There is little consideration for balanced composition in this highly detailed, overcrowded canvas.

The same can be said about The Village Blacksmith²³⁰ where 147 the central figure peers out the window while he heats his tongs in the fire. The well lit forge is filled with a brick furnace and many tools of the trade. Light comes from

three sources, from within the room, through the window and from the fire in the open furnace.

The Street Tinker²³¹ more of a caricature, is 148-
reminiscent of the Herb Doctor. The old man roams the 332
streets carrying a straw basket full of his wares on his
back. Care has been given to light and shadow in this water-
colour of bright blues, red, browns and greys. The choice of
subject matter in Raphael's genre paintings harkens back to
the significant place given to menial workers in the European
tradition. In the pencil and watercolour drawing of a
Habitant Mending a Snowshoe²³² this is applied to the 149
Canadian environment. Raphael depicts a man seriously
involved in his job as he sits in what appears to be an in-
door setting. One thousand lithographs were made of this
subject for The First Portfolio of Canadian Drawings from the
Collection of the National Gallery.²³³

Raphael also depicted various women at work. The 150
Flower Vendor²³⁴ is presumably seated outdoors, although the
artist gives the spectator no outdoor frame of reference. The
background around the old woman is beige. This is reminiscent
of the background of Princess Rose Taieronhoete,²³⁵ Squaw of 151
Chief Taieronhoete of the Iroquois. She is meticulously
portrayed in colourful tribal costume sitting on a form that

appears to be a rock. Yet the rock is incongruous with the neutral background. The probable reason for this in both cases is that these were oil studies to be later used for larger canvases. The Flower Vendor is a case in point. She may be the study for the seated lady holding a basket in Bonsecours Market.²³⁶ The costume in the 1863 painting indicates that the woman depicted in The Flower Vendor is a postulate. She is attired in the blue apron, black dress and "Therese bonnet" of the Ste. Anne Postulates. Except for the hat and skirt, the colouring of the costume of the seated lady in Bonsecours Market is somewhat different. Finally, A Girl With Basket²³⁷ in a brown dress and white bonnet is put 152 into an obvious outdoor composition. There is a suggestion of grass and a thicket to the right. A cloudy blue sky fills the top three quarters of the canvas. Another, slightly older girl, the Caughnawaga Lake Seller,²³⁸ in her red and 153 blue layered skirts and black shawl, is seated indoors with her baskets. This, or the shadowed figure at her side, may have been a study for another figure in Bonsecours Market, that of the foreground woman on the left wrapped in her shawl. The blue skirt with its red embroidery suggests similar Caughnawaga dress.

Another typical occupation in the Lower Canadian society that Raphael captured is that of spinning. The subject

in Old Lady Spinning²³⁹ is seated at an angle in an interior 154
 similar to a second version of this scene, in that of an
Old Woman Spinning.²⁴⁰ The former, however, is at closer 155
 range and does not appear quite as old in her facial features
 and attire. A buxom woman, she wears a pale grey blouse, a
 darker grey skirt and kerchief. The latter wears a blue
 bonnet and dress, smokes a pipe and is more wrinkled with age.
 Her spinning wheel is parallel to the picture plane. This
 makes it less interesting than the position of the large
 wheel of the Old Lady Spinning which fills the composition
 at an angle to the back wall and the frontal plane. There is
 as well less contrast with the tone of grey and brown used in
 the background.

Both these working figures differ from the young Lady 156
in Pink Knitting Outdoors²⁴¹ relaxing outside her house. She
 is positioned up close to the frontal plane under the foliage
 of a lush green tree, accompanied by her dog. She sits attired
 in a bright pink dress that contrasts with the light grey
 stairs. Highlights fall on her warm brown hair, her pink
 dress, the ball of yarn, the dog, the white material she is
 knitting and on the fence at the side of the balcony. There
 is no foreground to this composition.

An outdoor painting of Milk Maids²⁴² is well 157
 conceived compositionally. Two cows stand at oblique angles

to one another drinking from their troughs. They are being milked by milkmaids in white aprons and blue skirts. The colours are well dispersed and balanced in different areas of the canvas. The red of the can on which one lady sits is carried out in the combs on the roosters' heads. The light on her back and apron reappears in the well lit apron of her companion. The horn and utter of the cow the latter milks is also lit. An undated preparatory sketch is in one of the artist's sketchbooks.²⁴³

ii) Habitants

The German artist was fascinated by French Canadians in their habitant attire. Raphael usually portrayed them as being relaxed in leisurely positions. Perhaps he painted so many of these folk subjects due to their potential popularity in the art market. The Habitant with Roosters²⁴⁴ but one

example, is slightly more active than the other more meditative figures. Seated, with a pipe in his mouth, wearing a fur hat and mocassins, he tends to roosters in an open barn. Another, Habitant Holding a Fish²⁴⁵ in a more

quiet pose, is sitting on a tree stump near the sea. He, too, smokes a pipe and wears a tuque. Painted in 1897, this oil is derived from Raphael's similar sketch Halfbreed Fisherman, published in George Monroe Grant's famous Picturesque Canada.²⁴⁶

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159

An Afternoon Smoke²⁴⁷

is a genre painting in a land-

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scape that focuses on two men resting on a boulder under the shade of a tree. A dog relaxes between them and the nearby fire. The hired hand on the right rests his head back, in between smokes. The habitant to the left, legs crossed, arms folded and again, a pipe in his mouth, is pensive as he gazes at the plants and rocks below. The mountains and water beyond the log fence lend a peaceful air to the entire scene.²⁴⁸

An oil sketch to this larger painting has been found. Called

Habitant St. Eustache,²⁴⁹ it echoes in almost every way the

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habitant facing the spectator in the former. The small sketch includes the boulder and trees, but the landscape in the background is not as fully developed. The mountains are not included, nor is the dog next to his master. The habitant, instead of looking straight ahead, has his eyelids lowered in the finished work. His position and clothing are similar to those of the habitant in Old Palisade.²⁵⁰

The latter is accom-

161

panied by his dog and a woman who lurks behind the rectangular stove in back of his chair. The chair, the spittoon, the dog, the rug and the stove are features that commonly appear in Raphael's habitant interior scenes. A

typical example is The Habitant²⁵¹ in his hooded blue winter

162

garment and mocassins, cutting his tobacco while seated under a clotheline next to a pot bellied stove. The same clothing can

be seen in Habitant Cutting Tobacco,²⁵² Habitant Cutting 163 164
Tobacco Near Window²⁵³ and in The Wood Carver.²⁵⁴ The latter 165
 wears his hood down, revealing a red tuque. This is
 complemented by the red sash of his ceinture fléchée; not
 seen in previous habitant interior compositions. In all the
 above, the composition is rearranged with slight variations.
 Some of the habitants painted in outdoor settings have more
 individualized facial features than do those in the interior
 scenes. Habitant Smoking a Pipe on Balcony²⁵⁵ is a good 166
 example of this. His long, white, flowing hair showing under
 his broad straw hat and distinctive facial features are an
 innovation. The same can be said of the pencil drawing of
Habitant²⁵⁶ seated outdoors wearing a cap over his scraggly 167
 hair. His face is weatherworn and his eyes and mouth express 168
 distinct character. The upright posture in which he is seated
 almost suggests a self-conscious pose in contrast with the
 others who are more casual and preoccupied. Habitant Mending 307
a Snowshoe²⁵⁷ and Seated Habitant Holding Tobacco,²⁵⁸ two water 306
 colour and pencil drawings executed in 1907 and from which
 lithographs were made, lack facial individuality. The above
 habitant scenes perpetuate the popular image of a French
 Canadian folk type in the nineteenth century.

iii) Adolescents

Raphael depicted individual adolescents in varying activities. A three quarter pose of the Irish Immigrant²⁵⁹ 169 shows a handsome boy. On his back he supports a bird cage held on a stick over his shoulder. Much care has been taken to focus light on his eyes and mouth. Again the basic colours are greys and browns. Boy Carrying Branches on his Back²⁶⁰ carries sticks down a snow covered hill. A youngster is seen in Boy and a Barrel,²⁶¹ Study of Boy, (Ducks and Cats)²⁶² 170 171 and Boy with Stick.²⁶³ They all portray the same youth 172
 264 the artist's son, Harry. There are excellent preliminary 173 sketches to all these oil studies of this child in the artist's sketchbooks.²⁶⁵

An undated depiction of a priest in a top hat painting a landscape contrasts with the individual adolescents at play. He sits under the shade of his white umbrella that is part of his folding seat contraption. His easel is in front of him and his open paint box is on the ground at his left. With a palette in hand, he paints the landscape, A Sketch From Nature.²⁶⁶ 174 The Witness, April 11, 1883, notes that this painting "represents a priest painting with a high white umbrella over him". The critic of the Star, April 11, 1895, passed judgment on what seems to be the same or a similar painting.

"An Amateur was very good, the expression of rapt contemplation suggested by the pose of the portly priest was admirable". 267

This priest was known to have taken many field trips with his teacher, Raphael. In the painting, the varying heights of the vertical parallels of the easel legs, umbrella pole and trees make a strong counter movement to the horizontality of the grass, the placement of water and the fence in the distance. These features stabilize the structure of the composition like an underlying grid. Forms, even those created by shadow, take on importance. Except for the bright, white accents placed strategically throughout the canvas, and some bright tones of green in the grass, colour is subdued. Raphael, himself, is indirectly involved in this genre painting. Although he is not visible in its content as he is in Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, the painting reflects his presence. It is in fact a representation of the activity in which he is himself involved. The difference is that the priest paints a landscape; Raphael transforms this act into a genre painting.

D. Animals

Raphael's fondness for animals can be seen from his recorded daily habits and his sketchbooks. He had the habit of taking long walks daily with his dog, regardless of the climate. He would walk to Fletcher's Field from his home at

Victoria Street corner Burnside. Even after 1911, at an advanced age, when he moved to 30 Durocher, he would walk his dog this now somewhat shorter distance daily. ²⁶⁸ Raphael's last dog, ²⁶⁹ Jack, a white Spitz, was affectionately portrayed in 175 1913. The white and beige brush strokes are loosely painted, giving the effect of thick fur. His black button eyes and nose contrast with his bright pink tongue. There is a sketch of Jack/Waiting for Dinner in one of the artist's sketch- 176 ²⁷⁰ books and another in a lying position, chewing a bone, when he was smaller, titled Jack/Sherbrooke, 1898. ²⁷¹ Three 177 undated sketches seem to depict the same dog. One shows him ²⁷² lying on his back while in two other side views, he has a 178 376 ²⁷³ pensive expression. Raphael's dog Togo, a brown and ²⁷⁴ white spotted fox terrier, preceded Jack. Before him, ²⁷⁵ Raphael painted Niny, another of his pet dogs, relaxing 179 on a red cloth. The light reflects on her fur, shades of white, grey and rust, as well as her right paw of the same colours. These areas contrast with the brown and black fur on its back. A study for the above oil is in the artist's ²⁷⁶ sketchbook and labelled, Niny 13.5.94. In the same sketch- book, Niny is depicted in other positions, once curled up and 180 ²⁷⁷ once seated in profile. In another book she is again drawn ²⁷⁸ seated in profile. This time the artist wrote My Dog Niny/ 377 1894. On another occasion he depicted the face of a dog in

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279 profile that might have been a dog of his and on another 181
280 a spotted dog in lying position. 182

Raphael enjoyed drawing animals, most often his own.
One of the earliest sketches in his European sketchbooks is
281 labelled, Mein Hund/Nakel June 1850. Below, on the same
page, are sketched two groups of cats curled up, dated "July
282 50". In the same book is a drawing of his dog in Berlin,
283 dated "2 Sept. 1851/Berlin".

Some of the artist's animal sketches can be related
284 to oil paintings. Several sketches of cats relate to the
285 oil painting Study of Boy. Ducks and Cats, as does one of
286 ducks. Other very fine pencil sketches are attempts at
287 capturing ducks in various positions. Elsewhere, the
288 289 artist drew cows, horses and buffalo as well. 183

E. Still Life

1. Game

Raphael's interest in painting animals carried over
into his still life subjects. He seems to have enjoyed
painting fish and fowl, very much the 19th century vogue. In
290 The Catch painted in 1880, three fish are strung by their 184
mouths on a hook on the wall. Their pink and black glassy

eyes are prominent. Their shadows contrast with the well lit shiny bodies of the two types; one a bass in tones of pink, the others whitefish in varying greys. One of Raphael's closest students, Sister Helen of the Cross, related that her master repeatedly painted still life studies of fish and fowl. Presumably this was a favourite subject that

he taught during art instruction. Three Trout Hanging on A 185
291
Wooden Door, one of her undated oil paintings which still hangs at St. Anne's, is close in format and style to Raphael's The Catch.

Raphael's Hanging Fowl appears more daring in 186

composition. The wings radiate out filling most of the canvas. Protruding forms are echoed by unifying shadows. The use of light on the bodies and wings emphasizes the texture of the feathers and the contrasts of highlighted areas to darker ones. The plain turquoise wall is the backdrop to this careful study of the game. The painting once belonged to Miss

293
Tiffin, Raphael's student. Another one of Fowl is a study 187
of a snipe and a woodcock. The treatment of the dark, speckled bodies against the brown wall and the spread out black left wing contrasts with the white inside of the right wing. The central mass of the closed-winged bird divides the composition in two. The red bill of the woodcock's head brightens the

canvas. The way the fowl hangs is reminiscent in technique of

The Catch. A composition in the style of Raphael, Hanging 188

Fowl on a Wooden Door has been found at Congrégation Ste-Anne.

The date, January 1894, is the only information provided by the artist. This painting²⁹⁴ is brighter in colouring than the others, its texture and lighting are superbly handled.

2. Flowers

In the category of Still Life Raphael did many floral arrangements. Some are more realistic than others, like the Pink Peonies in a Vase²⁹⁵ which fill the entire 189 canvas. They function both decoratively as well as express a moral and didactic message. The bright pink of the flowers liven up the rest of the canvas which is in subdued tones of browns and greens. The falling petals and leaves are symbolic, a reminder of the effects of passing time. There is known to be a second, almost identical version of this painting,²⁹⁶ Pink and White Roses,²⁹⁷ which depicts meticulously rendered roses 378 closeup, but without vitality. This is akin to a detailed anatomical study where the particular dominates the general overall life-like quality. Its function is purely decorative, with the pink, white and red displayed against a dark, unnatural, almost black background.

In contrast to the previously mentioned paintings of flowers, Hollyhocks²⁹⁸ in its density and colour is 190 natural. Sunlight falls on some petals and leaves, revealing careful detail, yet the spectator also gets a general impression of an overall patch of garden. Contrasting shade, which is strongest at the bottom but maintained throughout, provides a dark surrounding within which pockets of light are focused. Despite the dispersal of white, there is emphasis on the centrally located red flowers. The cat in the corner is not a distracting element. He is hardly noticeable as he peers out through the wall of plants.

Raphael included four rectangles of still lifes of chrysanthemums, tulips, leaves amid flowers and roses in an ornate wooden folding screen that he constructed as a divider 191 192 for his livingroom. The dead flowers are arranged like trophies along the top, while four circular inlaid paintings below consist of birds and scenery. During the artist's life this gold screen was painted black. Its eight paintings are purely decorative.

F. Religious Subjects

Raphael's religious paintings were commissioned works. It was the tradition of 19th century Catholic churches to order

paintings by contemporary artists to be based on older European works. The church requested the specific religious subject and indicated the painting whose imagery they most desired imitated. A case in point is Raphael's La Sainte Famille 193 194 299 painted for Congrégation Notre-Dame in 1882. This was commissioned to be done after the Ste-Famille, reputedly 195 196 painted by Abbé Hugues Pommier in 1662. The Congrégation's devotion to this Holy Family was partly because Bishop Laval had placed New France under the patronage of the Ste-Famille.

The artist was strictly limited in the commissioned work, but was moved to initiate the brightening of colours and alter the type of foliage on the background vegetation. He did not however change the imagery of the Holy Family with the inclusion of the Holy Spirit. He maintained the format of the Holy Ghost in the form of a hovering dove but allotted it greater prominence. The light radiating from it and a second frontal source focuses better on the face and body of the Christ Child at the center of the canvas than in the version it imitates. A closeup of the individual figures shows Raphael's respect for the former, but also for his own contemporary interpretations. His Madonna is less a swooning type as her eyes look down modestly. Joseph focuses attention on Jesus rather than on some object in the foreground.

There were many examples of La Sainte Famille in Quebec; but
 a few versions are those in the Flemish tradition or in the 197
 French vein ³⁰⁰ found in Canadian religious institutions. 198
 Raphael was obviously pleased with his adaptation. He
 permitted his student Sister St-Sylvestre to copy it during 199
 her apprenticeship with him in 1884.

There were many images the church chose to venerate.
 Raphael likely was instrumental in doing many canvases in
 religious institutions on the Island of Montreal. He seemed
 to have spent much of his teaching career in convents. The
 authorities at Congrégation Ste-Anne had their own ideas
 about what they wanted for their new chapel in Lachine. A
 1909 letter to Raphael from Mother Melanie, Assistant Mother
 General of the convent states:

We send you the prepared canvas for the tableau
 of the Virgin. You will be somewhat surprised to
 see by the tracing that we have made on the model
 and that instead of choosing one of the two virgins
 in question, we have substituted another one. This
 was done, good Mr. Raphael, to meet the wishes of our
 Rev. Mother General who has a special liking for the
 picture and who desires to have it honored in our new
 chapel. Feeling confident that you will not object
 to the choice, particularly as it is so pleasing to
 our Mother, we have taken the liberty to make the
 change. ³⁰¹

The contour of the Blessed Virgin was prepared. The three 200
 dimensionality of the drawing of the Immaculate Virgin, the

consideration of light and shade and, above all, the coloration were all that he was free to interpret. Basically, the oil does not differ from the engraving except for slight alterations to the clouds and landscape. The card from which this was adapted is still in the Motherhouse archives. ³⁰² It is a 3 x 5 inch engraving of Virgo Immaculata produced by Boumard ³⁰³ et Fils, Paris. On top is the artist's name, Annould. 379

Another canvas, perhaps the most outstanding religious work, is Two Figures in a Landscape. ³⁰⁴ The figures are 201 beautifully rendered, although they don't quite belong in their setting. The locale appears to be the Alps. A Franciscan Monk, who has been wandering there with the aid of a cane, stops to listen to the young shepherd play his flute. Pierre ³⁰⁵ Théberge attributed this painting to Raphael, however it is not typically his style. The figures are inappropriately large and the mountains are unnaturally low and out of perspective. Both of the subjects' facial expressions are full of character. The handling of light as it reflects on their faces, the monk's pouch and their clothing is excellent. A variety of textures are effectively represented in the flowing robes, fur vest, leather shoes, straw bag and corded belt. It was not Raphael's habit to render textures so meticulously.

G. Sketchbooks

Nine William Raphael pen and pencil Sketchbooks
³⁰⁶
have been traced, and are dispersed in three major
³⁰⁷
collections. They are not labelled in chronological
order and overlap in date. None consist of regular daily
records ³⁰⁸ so they will not be considered chronologically.
Yet examined in a close sequence, they serve an important
function for the researcher as they played an important role
for the artist. Through them most biographical information
about Raphael can be derived. His training, family life,
travels, literary interests and even his own writings are here
³⁰⁹
elucidated. The sketchbooks served as a place to record
³¹⁰
such private information as parents' memorial dates,
³¹¹ ³¹²
inscriptions on tombstones, youthful love poems, or lyrics
³¹³
to a song composed. They recorded memories of family in
³¹⁴ ³¹⁵
Nakel, personal experiences on the ship to America, or
³¹⁶
concern over his wife's illness. The sketchbooks were
appropriate for documenting events that were milestones in
³¹⁷
his life such as leaving home, a first trip to Berlin,
³¹⁸ ³¹⁹
lessons with Professor Wolf, lessons at Berlin Academy,
³²⁰ ³²¹
the wedding date, initiation as a mason, and the chil-
³²²
dren's births to the hour.

Obviously the most important function of the sketch-books was their handiness for recording visual impressions of the moment. These were jotted down over the years at random, not necessarily in sequential order. Often writing and several unrelated impressions were placed on the same page. Sometimes the images were sketched upside down, such as the sketch of a dog which shares the page with a clenched hand. Interests were diverse in subject and approach. The artist sketched a detailed study of a plant, a boulder, a harpsichord, a fence. He recorded a general impression of a horse latched to a carriage, the back of an old lady with a cane, and cooking utensils on a shelf. Boats particularly fascinated him. He sketched many types, steamboats, sailboats, rowboats, and canoes. He portrayed women posing, sewing, reading, sketching, strolling or dressed in their Sunday best. They worked too, carrying small buckets, large ones, or tying up hay on the farm. Men were shown in many views. They court a woman through an open window, relax on park benches, are soldiers on the front in his hometown, or pose as habitants in a Canadian environment. Children are engaged in all types of activities. They sleep, stretch out upon awakening, study, stand between two tree stumps, launch their boat, play fiddle under a lamp-

190
 353 post, prepare to do the milking, wait in a stooping 233 234
 355 position, relax against a post, or toboggan down the 235 236
 357 mountain at Fletcher's Field. As indicated earlier,
 Raphael sketched many animals throughout his life. The
 goat standing, 358 cats viewed from the back, 359 or a 237 238
 study of a horse pulling a buggy with a large faint image of
 360 a cow drawn on the same page, are typical. The artist
 sketched houses throughout his career. He began with early 239
 361 views of Nakel, continued to record them in Montreal, 362 240
 363 Pointe Claire, 1884, Westport, 1885, St. Hyacinthe 241 242 380
 365 1886, Norfolk, Virginia, 1892, 365 Richmond, Virginia, 381 382
 367 1892, and in many unlabelled drawings. He also sketched
 the varied architecture of churches, such as at Louiseville, 243
 368 1883, of hotels, such as at St. Leon, and convents, such 244
 as Sacred Heart. 370 These newer buildings differ from 245
 the historic Old Windmill on Lower Lachine Road, 371 a land- 246 247
 mark even when it was drawn by Raphael in 1883.

An analysis of the style of the artist's sketchbooks
 reveals his preference throughout for jotting down generalized
 impressions of his subject, an overall view of what he
 observed, rather than meticulous detail. This is interesting
 because in his earliest works he was trained to do the opposite.
 372
 He studied individual parts of the body, generally depicting 248

them with a stiff solid line. The anatomical drawings
 analyzed specific areas. ³⁷³ The part of the body was finally ²⁴⁹
 attempted, with the flesh covering the muscles, as seen in
 the study of a leg dated Berlin, 1851. ³⁷⁴ Attempts at other ³⁸³
 types of detail can be seen in the study of a clarinet. ³⁷⁵ ²⁵⁰
 In his detailed depiction of a girl gracefully lifting up ²⁵¹
 her skirt as she walks, dated 30/12/53, ³⁷⁶ one senses a care-
 fully conceived neoclassical drawing that shows concern for
 detail. The boy carrying hay in "Berkheydon 24/12/53," is a ²⁵²
 similar type study, only the volume and mass is somewhat more
 generalized, ³⁷⁷ the contours are less rigid. Evidence of the
 artist's use of plaster casts is clear in the flying angel ²⁵³
 placed next to the neoclassical bust of a man ³⁷⁸ and in his
 study of a male nude. ³⁷⁹ The latter appears to be copied from ²⁵⁴
 a Greek statue. At these early stages the artist had a
 difficult time incorporating detail into a general overall
 impression. This can be seen in the pleading woman with
 outstretched arm. ³⁸⁰ One senses a change in his development. ²⁵⁵
 With continued practice his manner loosened. He soon began
 to grasp the entire general sense of his subject and moved
 away from depicting details. What dominates his style through-
 out the sketchbooks is a sense of outline and balanced
 composition sketched from a first impression, not his earlier
 concern for mass and volume. This can be seen in landscape

sketches of which there are no fully rendered examples in the
1850's or 1860's. In Landscape with Broken Tree Trunk,³⁸¹

the general impression of how the light falls on the bare
tree trunk, water and trees is what is important to the artist.

The same is true of On the Mountain,³⁸² House Behind Tree,³⁸³ 384 385
St. Anne's Convent in 1891,³⁸⁴ and in Montebello 1893.³⁸⁵ 386 257

In these Raphael uses a few dominant lines to set structure
and tone. He sketched figures with this same approach. The 258
boy under the tree in Berlin 1851,³⁸⁶ and the lady under the
tree³⁸⁷ done many years later are handled in much the same 217
way for effects of light and shade. Even the habitant's
pants³⁸⁸ that were singled out to be studied for the creases 259
of the material are treated similarly.

One of the most interesting aspects of an artist's
sketchbook for the art historian is the analysis of how the
— artist incorporated his rough sketches into paintings (when
appropriate). Raphael used preliminary sketches to oil paint-
ings in several ways. Some of his sketches are almost
identical to finished oil compositions. In fact, the outline
is borrowed directly from the sketch with little adaptation,
except for the obvious change of media and size. Boy With the 260
Barrel³⁸⁹ is extremely close in appearance to the oil Boy 170
and a Barrel.³⁹⁰ Boy with a Stick³⁹¹ is inspired by Boy with a 261 172

Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal. Examples are the prelim-
 inary sketch of the building behind the market, the 129 130
 stall, 406 and related harbour studies. 407 Many Murray Bay
 sketches 408 in one of the artist's sketchbooks relate to
Indian Encampment Along the Lower St. Lawrence as well, but 97
 don't dictate the entire composition. The young milkmaid 269
 holding her jug and staff 409 appears in different farm
 scenes. She is sitting as a Milkmaid on a Broken Fence 410 71
 and as a Milkmaid on a Fence with a Cow Behind. 411 The same 72
 child is found standing in a Landscape with Girl in a Straw 81
Hat. 412 She was probably used as a model for many Raphael
 oils. Often there are several studies of the same subject
 and it is difficult to ascertain what specific ones were
 supportive for individual paintings. A case in point is the
 variety of cows in the artist's sketchbooks. 413 Likely some
 were relied on for the depictions of cows in Cows Grazing in
the Pasture, 414 and those in Milk Maids, 415 but it is
 difficult to be sure which ones. Yet a fourth type of
 preliminary sketch presents itself. These are drawings that
 have similar compositional features to that of finished paint-
 ings but lack some of their qualities. The sketch of the 270
Bridge Suspended over Logs 416 for example, is reminiscent
 of Summer Landscape with Man on Bridge Observing Girl in 99
Boat. 417 The figures and boat are missing in the former.

The sketchbooks are extremely important from another point of view. They reveal a great deal about where the artist has been over the years. In Raphael's case, this is particularly interesting. From the time he arrived in Canada from New York in 1857, he travelled extensively.

After fulfilling portrait commissions in Montreal in his first year, Raphael travelled to Quebec City in May 1858 to take on more work. He was again painting signs and portraits and restoring paintings in Montreal by June. The next month he left for Windsor, Ontario. He noted, "Monday, July 19, 1858, I left London City and went to Windsor". Next summer, July 4, 1859 he "travelled to New York City" for a week. Possibly then he had his phrenological assessment made. July 23, 1859, he travelled to St-Grégoire. He must have enjoyed his trip there because he frequented the area. Two years later he writes, "[I] left Three Rivers Thursday, July 23, 1861. On July 30, 1861 I returned to St. Gregoire". Raphael does not notate trips in his sketchbooks in the same way after this. One can only realize that he has been in a specific area because he labels his sketches accordingly. For example, there is an entire sketchbook of highly finished landscape scenes with no notes. It was treated carefully by the artist; he

respected it as an entity unto itself. Its general appearance is more carefully finished. It is the first one found to contain full landscapes. Also, none of the sketches in it are known to be studies for paintings. It was perhaps, as opposed to the others, intended as an effort to perpetuate the memory of a trip abroad. One sketch, labelled

Strathhaven, August 2, 1865 provides the clue that Raphael 271
427
travelled abroad to Scotland that year. The book mainly depicts Scottish scenery. The first landscape, although unidentified, sets the peaceful tone of the Highlands.

The Loch, still and unrippled, spans the entire breadth of the 428
foreground. Next is a scenic view of a waterfall with a 272
wooden bridge above. The artist has made an effort at contrasts of light and shade in the foreground rocks, the mountains and trees. This view, probably in the area of 429
Dumbartonshire or Stirlingshire, is restful too. It has not been possible to locate the area referred to in "Wild

430
Flower/near/Cadgois Castle". There is no actual castle 273

in the drawing, just the closeup of detailed leaves clustered in the centre of the composition, evidently a telescopic view of those on the left that are on the flower's stem. No

flowers are depicted in the quiet view of the upper end of 431
Loch Lomond. Foliage abounds around the U-shaped shore 274
that encompasses the tranquil water depicted in bright light.

Shade of the trees on either side contrast with it and the bare looming mountains ahead. Of all compositions, this is probably the most harmonious and well conceived. It certainly is superior in its sweeping line to the next scene ⁴³² that may well show Ben Lomond in the background. ⁴³³ The first labelled sketch is one signed Arrocher ⁴³⁴ in the lower left corner, and has all the features of a picturesque landscape. Boaters on the lake, a habitation on its far end, a fully delineated foreground of grass, rocks, shrubs and trees on either side of the water that swerves around to the back are crowned by a sky that spans the entire top half of the sketch. This site can be identified as Arrocher in "N. W. Dumbartonshire at the north end of Loch Lomond, fourteen miles north of Helensburg." ⁴³⁵ In contrast, the next scene ⁴³⁶ includes a multi-arched bridge with runs along the side, commonly found in the Lower Highland region of Scotland and ideal for the formation of a picturesque landscape. Another sketch of Oaks, ⁴³⁶ whose branches are intertwined with growth, indicates the artist's preference for the general image despite the intricate detail of the foliage. In truth all the little leaves are patterned, rather than being individualized oak-shaped leaves. The light and shade of heavily overlapping trees is not depicted in specific terms, but again in a generalized design. A twisting, dancing pattern is formed by

their intertwining branches. Then there is the study of a
 single, stately, well spread oak, ⁴³⁸ In yet another, Raphael 279
 sketched row houses, typical of early Scottish 18th century 71
 architecture ⁴³⁹ spread horizontally across the sketch,
 dominating the entire middle ground of the scene labelled
Strathaven, August 2, 1865. ⁴⁴⁰ This site suggests that
 Raphael travelled south to Avondale parish, west central
 Lanark, Scotland on Avon Water, seven miles north of
 Hamilton. ⁴⁴¹ Other sketches are not labelled but some appear 280
 to be of Lanarkshire ⁴⁴² with its rolling hills. ⁴⁴³ The two
 waterfall scenes and the view of a stream ⁴⁴⁴ which fill the 281 282
 remainder of the sketchbook must refer to specific picturesque
 views the artist saw while roaming recommended sights of the
 Scottish Highlands. Remembering his poems about the virtues
 of the country versus the ills of the city, this area must
 have proven a haven. Understandably, this book had a special
 value and held concrete memories in which to escape.

The next labelled landscapes date from 1875. They 445 446
 are of St. Helen's Island, and Fletcher's Field. July
 28, 1878 is the date he sketched St. Hilaire. 447 The
 following day the artist recorded a scene in St. Lambert, 448 389
 an area nearby. By July 30, 1878, Raphael had taken a
 longer jaunt, as shown in Lower Quebec. 449 283 This was the

beginning of his well publicized Murray Bay trip, during which he did numerous sketches. Examples of the variety of scenery can be seen in Murray Bay, July 30, 1878 ⁴⁵⁰ Murray River, August 5, 1878, ⁴⁵¹ Murray Bay, August 8, 1878, ⁴⁵² Cap-à-L'Aigle, August 8, 1878 ⁴⁵³ and the undated Kamouraska. ⁴⁵⁴ 391 283a

By September 16, 1878, Raphael was in Valois. The next sketches are of the Montreal area, Mountain Park, June 1883, ⁴⁵⁶ Villa Maria, June 5th and 7th, 1883, ⁴⁵⁷ and Dunn Station, Lachine, June 25, 1883. ⁴⁵⁸ Drawings of Hochelaga date to June 27, 1883. ⁴⁵⁹ That year, Raphael frequented the Lachine Convent, and again drew Lachine Road, June 30, 1883. By July he was on vacation and there appear numerous depictions of St. Leon's Hotel, St. Leon's Spring, from July 25 until July 30, 1883. ⁴⁶¹ He had taken a side trip to "Louiseville" July 29th, 1883. ⁴⁶² On August 1, 1883 the artist visited a Miss Morgan who was identified by the newspapers as one of his students. He labelled his sketch Miss Morgan's Garden, Hochelaga, 1883. ⁴⁶³ In 1884 Raphael travelled widely in the vicinity of Montreal. He was in Park East June 28, 1884, ⁴⁶⁴ in The Glen, July 11, 1884, ⁴⁶⁵ in Pointe Claire, August 12, and 13, ⁴⁶⁶ and returned to the Glen later in the month. On July 16, 1885 he was in Cowansville ⁴⁶⁷ In July 1885 he took a trip to the United States. By July 20, 1885 he was in the Adirondacks ⁴⁶⁸ and on July 23, 1885

he went to Westport, Lake Champlain and sketched the area
 470
 of Camelback the same day. In 1886, he painted canvases 293
 471
 of the Lake Champlain area, recorded the summer before;
 yet he himself was now travelling in areas close to home. He
 472
 did a sketch of St. Hyacinthe, in July, but failed to label
 any other drawings. Actually, his records in the sketchbooks
 become quite sparse around this period. We only know of the
 areas he visited through the locations shown in some paintings.
 473
 In 1887 he painted St-Gabriel-de-Brandon and Lachine Swamp.
 On August 10, 1890 he painted a landscape related to Woodstock,
 474
New York. Possibly he visited there, but his sketchbooks
 fail to certify this. In 1891 they record his impressions of
 475 476
 St. Anne's Convent and Beaconsfield. The pace of his
 travels increases in 1892. Raphael had an active summer that
 477
 year. He sketched the bridge at St. Hilaire and Otterburn 392 393
 478 479
Park in June. By July he was in Long Island, New York. 394
 His son Samuel, also an artist, was known to have lived
 there. 480 He must have visited with him for a while before
 481
 visiting his daughter who lived in Norfolk, Virginia.
 482
 According to the sketches, Raphael was in both Norfolk and
 483
Richmond, Virginia, the latter on August 5, 1892. He
 records his impressions of a female cyclist and the stores on
 484
Cumberland Street. The character of the area is well 485
 captured. The wooden architecture of the houses of Norfolk 395

and the black woman and children waiting in front of the shed seemingly fascinated the artist. The southern architecture certainly contrasted with that of the farmhouse, St. Hyacinthe,⁴⁸⁶ painted in the same sketchbook. In 1893 Raphael sketched On the Mountain,⁴⁸⁷ and Montebello.⁴⁸⁸ He went to Richmond⁴⁸⁹ 396 294 in 1894; now he seems to be in the Richmond of the 295 Eastern Townships, near Sherbrooke.⁴⁹⁰ St. Francis River,⁴⁹¹ 296 done one day later, must refer to that Canadian River rising in South East Quebec, flowing past Sherbrooke to Lake St-Peter of the St. Lawrence on the North East of Sorel. In this case, surrounding sketches are supportive in differentiating specific geographical areas that share a common name with American locales. In April 1897 Raphael recorded impressions in Cowansville.⁴⁹² This was quite early in spring for the 397 artist to be out sketching. Most others span from May until September, indicating that the artist usually sketched in the late spring and summer and developed these impressions in his studio during the winter.

Raphael repeatedly returned to sketch in the Eastern Townships. In early August 1898 he drew the dog Jack/Sherbrooke⁴⁹³ and moved on to the Richmond area August 494 7th, 1898. Two years later, in 1900, he returned there and 495 visited Maplemore on July 6, 1900. The year 1905 is the 297

last recorded date relating to the Eastern Townships in the sketchbooks. A highly finished drawing of Haseville, 298 Stanbury,⁴⁹⁶ is a charming depiction of a farm house, a path and the sheds across the street with the peaceful hills rolling in the distance.

The sketchbooks reveal that Raphael did not go farther West than London, Ontario. They show that he favored landscape and genre scenes in that order. For the former he chose simple compositions, rarely deviating to anything dramatic or complex, using them as a basis for larger paintings. For the latter, he amalgamated many individual studies into a simple scene in the studio.

Not all of the sketchbooks are complete. Unfortunately, some of them have been tampered with. Certain highly finished drawings have been cut out. Sketchbook 1 has not been divided. In Sketchbook 2 at least one pencil drawing of a landscape depicting water and sky was taken out and possibly three or more figure studies done in Berlin were removed. Two Men 299 Playing Cards, Berlin,⁴⁹⁷ Two Women at the Table (possibly 300 depicting the artist's mother on the left), done in Berlin, January 16, 1854, and Two Seated Men, Berlin, December 17, 301 1853 are examples of torn out drawings. They are very close in modelling to a card player, wearing his winter cap, sketched in New York, January 1857, still a part of Sketchbook 2. 302

Also, Sketchbook 3 once had a bright copper and white colour sketch of a lake and clouds above, but it is no longer in place. An undated sketch of three buffalo was an important and interesting part of this book before it was cut out. Sketchbook 4 is falling apart. Some of the more finished sketches have been torn out and sold separately. Sketchbooks 5 and 6 were however not affected. The McCord Museum's two books are complete and in excellent condition. Mrs Wener's sketchbook recounting her grandfather's trip to North America has been lost, hopefully temporarily.

H. Prints

The artist had some of his work made into prints. His imagery was reproduced in varied media and techniques, chromolithography (colour lithography), lithography, photo-prints and illustrations reproduced for periodicals. In the first two media he may have exercised some control over the use of his preparatory drawings. In the last two, a technician interpreted his work. The following is an account of the various processes that applied to his work.

1. Chromolithographs

In 1868 Raphael's oil painting, The Early Bird Catches the Worm was shown at the first exhibition of the Society of

Canadian Artists. In the 1860's Raphael was particularly pre-occupied with genre but more specifically with complex group scenes. This closeup of the two beggars was an exception, and it was evidently well received by the public. The following undated article left with Raphael's belongings tells a great deal about the original and the coloured reproduction lithographed after it, presumably a first in Canada.⁴⁹⁹

The Chromolithograph of the "Early Bird Catching the Worm"⁵⁰⁰ from the excellent painting in oil by W. Raphael of this city, so highly appreciated at the last Exhibition of the Society of Canadian Artists, has just been reproduced by Roberts and Reinhold in chromolithography. The artist has preserved the beauty of the original, and has given it the peculiarities of an oil, even to the roughness characteristic to that species of production (. . .). We are reminded that this is the first chromolithograph of a Canadian subject, from an artist of established reputation, it is a cause for satisfaction that it dwarfs in merit some attempts at the same sort of thing that were some time since imported. The original⁵⁰¹ was purchased a few days ago by a gentleman of our city, who is not ashamed, but on the contrary, takes a pride in encouraging by his special patronage home production and who we believe was stimulated to invest by the truth and beauty of the copy.

This was evidently directed at the public. The article continues:

In so far as appearance and durability are concerned, any man of refined taste and moderate means has an opportunity of ornamenting his walls with this Chromolithograph at one thirtieth part of the price of the original oil painting, and we believe many hundreds will take advantage of its low price to obtain a copy.⁵⁰²

Another article dated March 6, 1869, emphasizes:

This picture is very moderate in price, and we believe it will have an extensive sale, both from its intrinsic worth and as a souvenir of what at this early stage of Colonial Art can be achieved in Canada.⁵⁰³

Seemingly, there was another motivation, that of supporting Canadian talent and culture and improving under-developed Canadian tastes.

Canada, being a young country--has in a great measure retained the development of our native talent (. . .). Very few of our native men understand what constitutes a good picture, or can define what real sculpture means (. . .). What took centuries to accomplish in England cannot be achieved here in a single generation. We are confident that time and time only will work the necessary reform, and imbue the national mind with a comprehensive love of the beautiful so that our standards of home criticism may attain a full and just dignity. There is now on exhibition at Messrs. Dawson Bros., a chromolithograph of Raphael's well known cabinet picture, entitled "The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm". The lithographers Messrs. Roberts and Reinhold have achieved a decided success in this reproduction. The very fact of Canada never having identified itself with any works of this kind, except one or two mediocre landscapes, has no doubt spurred on Mr. Reinhold, who in his way is an artist of no mean order to show us Canadians the perfection that can be attained here in that particular branch of art termed chromolithography. The present picture is undoubtedly superior in execution to the best examples of American chromo (. . .) and will compare most favorably with any specimen of English or Continental production.

The article continues to tell about the materials and technique employed.

"The roughing stone" used by Mr. Reinhold is a great improvement on the American "canvas" finish (. . .). In all, twenty seven stones have been employed with a result that speaks highly for the skill and taste of the lithographer. The depth and richness of tone, the

delicacy of finish, the soft brilliancy of coloring and the total absence of any description of etching or positive block are especially observable. The drawing is of course perfect, and the facial expressions of the two beggars marvellously true to the original composition. Mr. Raphael's style, if he likes, is eminently adapted for transposition in chromolithography. In the present instance, his minuteness of detail and contrast of light and shade, combined with fidelity to nature and the true rendering of the language of his subject are well exemplified. Characteristic to a high degree, he reminds us forcibly of Schwodter's inimitable humour--a humour so separately connected with the Dusseldorf school (. . .). We will indeed experience supreme gratifications if [this] will act as an incentive to those who take interest in our native talent, to accord substantial appreciation to well-deserved merit, thus encouraging the labors of those amongst us who are pioneers of our Ambrigo Art.⁵⁰⁴

According to the foreign and highly respected London Art Journal of 1869, The Early Bird Catches the Worm was deemed "a chromolithograph of a clever picture (. . .) it is a good imitation of an oil-picture, and is specially to be commended as a first attempt in Canada (. . .) of the chromo process".⁵⁰⁵ No related article mentions how many chromolithographs were produced. There are four of the Early Bird Catches the Worm that have been located in Montreal.⁵⁰⁶

303

In 1869 a notice appeared in a circular dated Montreal, January 26, 1869, that announced an open competition from among Canadian artists.

The Council of the Art Association of Montreal being desirous of procuring a painting in oil or water color by a Canadian artist residing in the Dominion for

their permanent collection and with a view to its being chromolithographed for presentation to the subscribers of the Association for the year 1870, offer the sum of \$200 for a suitable picture.

By order, John Popham
Secretary. 507

This chromolithograph was to be given to Art Association Members along with tickets for the *Conversazione* in March 1870 for the annual subscription of \$5. 508

Presumably, Raphael applied for the opportunity to have a second chromolithograph made of his work. His dramatic winter snow scene was accepted. 509 By February, 1870, a large version, Habitants Attacked by Wolves, 510 was exhibited at the 132 Art Association, Montreal, at the Second Exhibition of the Société of Canadian Artists. By March, 1870, the chromolithographic series that was produced by Burland, L'Africain and Company in 1869 was released to the public at "the very low rate of Five dollars". 511 Again, the purpose of the series was to bring "such a piece of art within the reach of every household". 512 One newspaper suggested it as "A very agreeable little present for friends at a distance as illustrative not only of our scenery and of an occasional incident in Canadian life, but also of the progress which the country is making in the arts." 513 Again, no related article mentions the number of copies produced.

An unlabelled article titled "Chromolithographic Art" gives the public technical background to this demanding process.

We lately were favored with an invitation to the studio of our Canadian artist, Mr. W. Raphael, where we inspected the proofs from the stones--twenty-three in number--of the chromolithograph of his late picture, "Habitants Chased by Wolves."

As some readers may be unacquainted with the process by which a chromolithograph is produced, we venture to say a few words in explanation of this beautiful art.

The system is not, as many suppose, purely mechanical, as much depends on the artistic ability and manipulation of the lithographer. A rigidly correct etching of the picture is first made on Stone 1, and which throughout the process is a guide to the future development of the lithograph.

Stone 2, on which is prepared a sort of light neutral tint, gives the slight warmth of color to the bristol board.

Stone 3, containing another tint, not covering the entire surface, but marked only in the required places, and assimilating with that of stone 2, gives a second impression to the board, producing perchance the form and faint lines of the clouds and snow.

Stone 4, prepared with the solemnity of an indigo, gives the shadow and realization to these clouds and snow. But now the effect, as seen on proof, is cold and inartistic, and stone 5 has to come to our relief in the shape of a very light vermillion, which tones down the murky blue. Then the rich browns of the picture appear with stone 6, to be followed by the golden yellows brought into existence by stone 7.

The proper shading of one or both of these colors is produced by the carefully marked patches in relief of stone 7, to be succeeded again by the neutral tint.

of stone 8, which softens the harshness of the "bister" or deadens the unnatural brilliancy of the ochre. Then perchance stone 9 spreads one uniform shade of grey over three-fourths of the composition, giving a depth to the dark portions and bringing out in contrast and relief the lighter parts. So, thus in accordance and the skill and taste of the artisan, stone after stone is used, each bearing and lending its required tint, so as to perfect the work by a gradual and proper overlaying of the several colors. Each stone has its own particular and important part to play in the composition; and the greater the number of stones employed the higher the perfection attained in the lithograph. The bristol board receives the impression of these stones in consecutive order; the stones print the desired color, on the same principle as a copper-plate prints an engraved visiting card. Of course, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a judicious use made of the various colors, when properly assimilated and overlayed, produce a counterfeit presentment of the finest water color, or oil painting. In fact so closely can the imitation be made that even the rough patches of thick paint which characterise the Turner School, or the graceful canvas finish of the Dutch, can be copied as well as every particle of color.

The same reviewer praised the finished reproduction and described the subject.

Messrs. Burland and L'Africain are entitled to a full meed of praise for their success in the present work, which is harmonious and pleasant in treatment and true to the original painting. The original is in Mr. Raphael's best view, and highly characteristic. The subject is somewhat trite, though handled with our artist's vigor and accurate knowledge of detail. A party of closely muffled habitants returning from market in a rude sleigh—pursuing their course rather hurriedly on account of a threatening snowstorm are suddenly menaced by a pack of wolves, who break forth from an adjoining thicket. The fiery glitter in the eyes of the bounding lous-garous, whom hunger has made so bold—is perfectly horrible; and the terror and dismay of the unarmed voyagers is well shown, as they lash forward their horse who, already scenting the

danger, rushes madly on. But the looming storm is not less wild than the travellers' mad career; and the gathering darkness and snow drifts to be presently hurled across their path, seem but the prelude to the more terrible fate of a fight with the blood thirsty foe.

All is action, well sustained and powerful, and every object seems to contribute to the realization of the main idea--danger.

To have embodied that one leading idea differently exemplified and expressed, is a success of which higher artists than Mr. Raphael might be proud.

Elsewhere the scene was described with gusto.

The scene is Winter, a solitary spot, wild and solemn in its aspect--the ground covered with snow--three habitants are speeding on their homeward journey in a rude sleigh when suddenly some hunger-starved wolves, their eyes glaring, their sides lank and lean, emerge from the forest and give them chase. The frightened driver, his cheeks blanched with fear, is urging his horse to its topmost speed, the startled animal seems to partake of his master's terror, which lends swiftness to its heels--the pace is severe as the apparent snorting and panting of the poor jade testifies. The habitant in the rear of the sleigh has a very defiant look, and is standing in doubtful equipoise, with a stout branch of a tree in his hand ready to break the head of the first attacking wolf, while the central figure, half crouched, has a sort of doubtful and anxious expression as to the issue of the race, and of the living freight.⁵¹⁴

One article was even humorous in its review.

The appearance of the occupants of the sledge,--the driver about whose purpose to escape there can be no mistake--the improvised weapons of resistance, among which is a carrot, which would do credit to an agricultural show, however ineffectual it may be to repel aggression,--the whole gear of man, horse and vehicle,--the scared aspect of the dog, who evidently thinks prudence the best part of valour--the wolves

issuing from their ambuscado amid the wintry trees, and the gathering storm, are all depicted by Mr. Raphael to perfection.⁵¹⁵

Yet another unlabelled article informs us that Gilbert Scott, Raphael's art dealer bought the canvas in 1871.

Many will doubtless remember a striking picture exhibited last winter in the Gallery of the Art Association of Montreal painted by Raphael entitled "Habitants Attacked by Wolves". It was purchased by Mr. Gilbert Scott and received from the critics in our local journals during the time it was on exhibition some very flattering encomiums.⁵¹⁶

He paid the artist \$200.⁵¹⁷ It was Scott's daughters who later bequeathed this painting to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 1923.⁵¹⁸ Therefore one may conclude that their work was the original that was exhibited at the Society of Canadian Artists Second exhibition at the Gallery of the Art Association of Montreal, 1870.⁵¹⁹ This is not to be confused with an almost identical original 1869 oil version that Raphael produced to work from in preparation for the stones⁵²⁰ used in making the chromolithograph. Identical in size to the chromolithograph,⁵²¹ this oil has just recently become known.

A rare treasure of a leather-bound album⁵²² has been found that reflects the various steps in the making of the chromolithograph Wolves Pursuing Habitants. According to one of the unlabelled newspaper articles cited above, twenty-three stones⁵²³ were used for this process. This album has

twenty-one leaves and one complete finished chromolithograph on bristleboard at the end that resulted from the various colour impressions seen on each page. Each page has only the individual parts and forms of the total simulated print required at a specific stage. Page one consists of a part of the background scenery in beige, page two shows in dark brown the horse, dog and wolves amongst the trees. Page four includes the same and additional features in tones of purple-grey. Page six is the only one bearing the artist's signature and date on the lower right, W. RAPHAEL 1869. Other pages are in green, grey, rust, medium brown, blue, red, pink, yellow ochre and orange-red tones. As described in one of the above articles, the overlaying of each of the stones on the bristleboard produced the final finished chromolithograph.

2. Lithographs

One thousand lithographs were made of a set of seated Habitants for the First Portfolio of Canadian Watercolors, published by the National Gallery of Canada in association with Bristol Laboratories of Canada Ltd., and lithographed by Cambridge Press of Montreal in the mid 1950's. The signature and date on the lithograph of the Seated Habitant 524 Holding His Pipe is W. RAPHAEL 1872; that on the Habitant 525 Mending a Snowshoe is W. RAPHAEL 1873. The originals from

which these lithographs were made were lent by the National
 526
 Gallery of Canada.

There are two pencil and white watercolor drawings 306 307
 527
 on brown manilla paper of the same two subjects. They are
 each signed W. RAPHAEL 1907. The obvious difference between
 the drawing of the 1907 Habitant Holding His Pipe and the
 lithograph is that in the former the habitant is seated more
 squarely on the chair, while in the latter the chair is lower
 and placed awkwardly beneath him. The Habitant Mending
a Snowshoe of the lithograph dangles his pipe on his chin. In
 the 1907 drawing, his pipe points upward.

The process of these lithographs was relatively simple
 when compared to that of a chromolithograph. In lithography
 the image of the figure is traced from a special paper by
 the lithographer onto a block of porous fine-grained lime-
 stone. The drawing is drawn over with a greasy crayon, water
 is poured on and seeps into the stone where the crayon has not
 touched. When the ink roller is passed over the stone, the
 ink does not stick to the wet surface, but only adheres to
 where the crayon has touched. The print pulled off the stone
 is a reproduction of the crayon picture. In the chromo-
 lithographic process there is a different stone for every
 tint, and great skill is needed in order to produce fine
 results.

3. Photoprints

Raphael designed two Canadian subjects that were made into photoprints. His Scene at Murray Bay and a Head of Iroquois Chief were included in a Portfolio of Photo Prints from Paintings, The Property of the Art Association of Montreal and from Sketches by Canadian Artists. This 398
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portfolio was presented to the Members of the Association in 1881. It was artotyped and printed by George E. Desbarats. The artotypes were photo-mechanical prints, produced in printer's ink on a hand press from ordinary negatives. The 529
process was patented in Canada and the United States.

The Scene at Murray Bay was photoprinted from an 1878 308
sketch by the artist. It is similar to a sketch of the same 530
view in that sketchbook which incorporated sketches of the Murray Bay area. The Head of Iroquois Chief, Caughnawaga was 309
done after an original pencil and watercolor sketch of 310
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1874. The photoprint is extremely close to the sketch.

4. Illustrations

Raphael's work was reproduced in illustrated periodicals. Probably the most important one was Picturesque Canada 532
promoted and edited by Lucius O'Brien in 1892. Raphael's involvement with this illustrated travel book on Canada was considerable. One of the few Canadians, along with F.M. Bell

Smith, Robert Harris, Henri Julien and Lucius O'Brien who were also employed, he provided four illustrations. He was evidently chosen for his specialty—the depiction of French Canadian life in Lower Canada. One illustration was of a seated Habitant Holding a Pipe,⁵³³ another was An Old Habitant,⁵³⁴ the third was Habitant and Snowshoes^{534a} and the fourth was of a Half Breed Fisherman.⁵³⁵ The Habitant Holding a Pipe and Habitant and Snowshoes are very similar to the original 1872 and 1873 drawings of the same subjects owned by the National Gallery of Canada.⁵³⁶ It was probably from these originals that the imagery for the periodical illustrations were derived. The artist most likely prepared a similar monochromatic watercolour and pencil sketch for reproduction that would dictate the tone modelling for the woodblock engraving.

Raphael had little to do with the technical aspect of how his drawings were used for Picturesque Canada. He only submitted the illustrations. The engraver took over the rest of the production. In one case, Habitant and Snowshoes, Raphael's signature is on the right and the name Edith Cooper and Co. appears in the lower left corner. This may have been an American wood-block engraving company. Just as most of the other contributing artists were Americans, the engraving experience gained in America in creating the highly successful

Picturesque America may have been utilized too.

Apparently Picturesque Canada used a simplistic technique of outmoded wood-block engraving. One senses this in a letter from John A. Fraser to Raphael, dated September 23, 1880. Here he asks him to participate in a venture competitive in technique with Picturesque Canada, seemingly unaware that he was already employed for this project.

The members of the Academy and other artists who have material and ability for the work intend to prepare the illustrations for a book on Canada. They propose to use the new Photo-Engraving process patented in April last by Mop of New York; it is actually a first rate thing, not like dozens of those that have preceded it—it reproduces the artist's work in facsimile therefore while he alone is responsible for the qualities or defects of his work—he is not at the mercy of an Engraver who as you know frequently spoils the artist's work and never improves it—the process gives relief to blocks to print along with type exactly like blocks that are engraved. They cost about a tenth the price of wood blocks. Harper and Scribner are both making use of it in their magazines. Very freely too. Now we want you to co-operate with us. Your character drawings of Lower Canadian figures would be very useful. I suppose you have not been engaged any more than the rest of us for the Toronto book Picturesque Canada which O'Brien seems to have gobbled all up for himself as far as the Canadian artists are concerned—Kindly let me know if you are disposed to go in for the new book. If so I will send particulars as to the manner of drawing for the process and terms etcetera.

With kind regards I am yours,
Very truly,

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J. A. Fraser

Raphael's reply to Fraser is unknown. It was a compliment to his skills, that he was sought out for his material on "Lower Canadian figures". The book on Canada that Fraser refers to never did materialize despite his efforts. If O'Brien was art editor of one travelogue, Fraser wanted to initiate one that was better. His intentions of progressive "photo engraving" versus being "at the mercy of the engraver" may have been just one more difference of opinion between the two. Certainly Fraser's accusation about O'Brien's monopoly of power and his disappointment at not being included in Picturesque Canada comes through in his letter to Raphael.

Raphael occasionally had his work reproduced in periodicals and newspapers at home and abroad. However, his accomplishment of having had his anatomical drawings included in medical books, treatises and teaching illustrations was a source of pride. It also helped provide extra income. Raphael attached much importance to perfecting these anatomical drawings over the years. That he trained himself long after he left school can be seen by the many varied and intricate anatomical sketches of muscles and bones that fill the pages of his sketchbooks, particularly those dating after his arrival in Canada. Thus, it is likely that the artist earned a

partial living as an anatomical illustrator for hospitals from the time he first came to Canada. It is certain that from the 1870's until 1884 Raphael did consistent anatomical work for Dr. William Osler, until such time as he left McGill as Professor of Medicine and his practice at the Montreal General Hospital to go to the University of Pennsylvania. Even after he lived in Philadelphia, Raphael was under his employ.

Most of the anatomical drawings were not signed, however some do bear Raphael's signature. In the Journal of Anatomy and Physiology, Vol. XIII, plate XVII, there is a 399
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labelled illustration of the heart. Two original drawings that also relate to the heart, the Malformation of the Heart Valves, signed W. Raphael, 1878, and The Thrombi on Atheromatous Ulcers of the Aorta signed W. Raphael, 1882, 539
were found amongst Osler's papers. They were likely drawings used as a basis for printed illustration but only the originals can be accounted for. In the Montreal General's Reports Clinical and Pathological 540
compiled by the Medical staff and edited by Osler himself, Raphael contributed many specialized anatomical studies. They are signed "W. Raphael del." Diverse examples cover Atresia of Pulmonary Artery With Patent Ductus Arteriosus, 541
Ductus Arteriosus and Arch of Aorta in Case of General Dropsy of Fetus, 542
Illustrating Dr. Roddick's

Case of Occipital Meningocele, showing the position of the
tumour and the occipital bone with the key shaped orifice
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through which the sac communicated with meninges. These

drawings were probably illustrated from organs dissected
after autopsies had been done. The plate showing Dr.

Roddick's Remarkable Case of Favus, Showing the Distribution
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of the Crusts and extent of the eruption of the body was

probably drawn from life. A walking child is shown with
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thick scales over his body.

Several letters show the extent of Raphael's involvement with Osler. The renowned Medical Professor seemingly used his illustrations in his lectures and continued to keep him busy.

Dear Raphael,

I want you to do a drawing for me of a heart which Dr. Sutherland will leave with you. Do it in pencil and just about natural size. The ragged [?] in the wall and the torn valve are the important parts. I would like it done before next week as I leave for London and give some lectures on the 12th. Let me know how much it is. I like Philadelphia, very much. Your colored drawings which I have with me are much admired. I hope you keep well and are busy.

Yours sincerely,

Wm. Osler⁵⁴⁶

Evidently corrections had to be made to the anatomical study.

A sequel to the above letter suggests this.

Dear Raphael,

The drawing is lovely but there are one or two points I wish touched up. Dr. Sutherland will take the heart to you and show you. I want the drawings to get off by Thursday Eve to London.

Yours in haste.

Wm. Osler

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P.S. Change is all right.

It is difficult to trace whether the above illustrations of the heart were printed in medical journals after Dr. Osler gave his lecture series in England. Raphael's work in anatomical sketches added to his repertoire of artistic activities, while his skills served a most useful purpose in the medical field. His work in prints was exceptionally versatile and varied from richly human genre scenes to very dry and technical anatomical sketches.

The foregoing discussion attempted to describe the variety and content of Raphael's artistic output. The works have been introduced in chronological order, where possible, or according to subject matter. The large number of works discovered reveal a fairly consistent use of the elements that Raphael applied to his art. In the following chapter the paintings will be analysed stylistically.

CHAPTER FOUR
COMPARISON WITH OTHER ARTISTS
AND ASSESSMENT OF STYLE

There are several deterrents to discussing a pattern of development of Raphael's work. First, numerous paintings that have been discussed in 19th century newspaper articles, have not been found, and of those that have been located, a great number are undated. Even among those that are dated, there are different versions of the same subject that were done years apart, without any significant stylistic changes. Furthermore, the artist's work is extremely uneven in quality. It is therefore difficult to trace a clear evolution of style that could be categorized into early, middle or late periods, or to show the development of themes and clear areas of interest in specific periods of his life.

Raphael's style remained basically the same over the years. This was probably due to the combination of several elements: his approach to nature, the methodology he learned in Berlin and the rigidity of his own personality. Most of his views on art, as described earlier, fall into the category of objective realism of the Biedermeier School that Fritz Novotny in Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880¹

classifies as Early Naturalism, a sub-group within the Biedermeier Realists; yet, in spite of similar stylistic tendencies and shared subject matter, Raphael's work shows no close affinity with that of any one specific artist affiliated with this school. His approach was objective, literal, sober, unpretentious, controlled and detached. This is well demonstrated in his portraiture by the lack of analysis of any spiritual inner being, in the landscapes by the absence of any underlying metaphysical energy or heroic qualities, and by the failure of the genre paintings to incorporate into the narrative any deep moral or religious symbolism.

A broad spectrum of Raphael's paintings has been examined in chapter three. Now his interpretation of nature in his art may be compared with that of two German artists contemporary with him, Otto Reinhold Jacobi (1812-1901) and Adolph Vogt (1843-1870).

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Jacobi's values are closer to those of the German theoretician and practitioner of romantic art, Anton Koch (1768-1839) who is said to have influenced Wilhelm Schirmer,² Jacobi's teacher.³ Jacobi incorporates stylized brushstroke as a shorthand impression of foliage, in accordance with Koch's theory that "art is more than mere imitation"; and that

even when art appears natural, it should transform nature by formulating it stylistically.⁴ This alone is a good indication that Jacobi's paintings belong not to Biedermeier naturalism, but to the German Biedermeier School of Munich that was taught at the Berlin Academy.⁵ Examination of

Moses Rock⁶ and an Untitled⁷ landscape reveals them as 311 312 being somewhat painterly despite their tranquillity and constrained forms. Jacobi shares the romantic German interest in water falls and huge mountains which is typified by Goethe's description of the sensations of awe inspired by landscape. Yet his paintings do not convey the feeling that "man, sensing the immense magnificence of nature feels his own insignificance and feeling himself to be in God, enters into this infinity and abandons his individual existence".⁸ There is a strong element of studio atmosphere in Jacobi's oeuvre, similar to Raphael's and typical of Biedermeier painting, positioned somewhere between realism and idealization, but closer to Biedermeier German romanticism before the middle of the century. Actually, Jacobi still retained this approach even after he came to Canada. He did not change his style much. He consistently used light as a compositional element, manipulating it at will. The Splungen Pass,⁹ an oil done in 1855, before he 313

came to Canada, is a good example. Its dramatic lighting has no connection with the heavy background clouds as it vividly highlights the figures crossing the pass, leaving most of the complex composition in relative darkness. In Shawinigan Falls,¹⁰ done in 1860, when Jacobi first came

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to Canada, the tiny, unclear people occupying the frontal planes are hardly noticeable in the dark, unlit foreground. Obviously, in contrast with Raphael's Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, light and nature are overlooked in favour of imaginative interpretation--especially in the dark brown tonality reminiscent of Dutch painting. Colour in Jacobi's paintings hardly conveys the fresh greenery or autumn dazzle evident in Canadian landscapes; European habits are superimposed upon the work.

Jacobi's people differ from Raphael's too. In St. Anne's Falls,¹¹ they are included in the foreground, minute and not at all clear. This is in keeping with the romantic idea that the human being is very small in the vast scheme of nature. Jacobi's many autumn scenes repeat the typical format layout of trees on either side of a water fall, often with a mountain in the background, with heavy clouds hovering overhead. Rocks stick out in the foreground

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or are strewn about the ground near broken stumps or drift-wood. Raphael also often used this format, but in Jacobi's work, the stylized brushstroke, (most often in the water colour medium) can be seen in detail in the far distance. This is an unmistakable characteristic of his paintings.

Edgar Andrew Collard made a valid point concerning Jacobi when he said that his early work refers to specific places but later "ceases to take its form or inspiration from any particular scene".¹² Many Jacobi oils and water colours need not have used the Canadian landscape as their source; they are the same familiar, stylized European scene with slight alterations. Even his autumn scenes particular to the Canadian climate could have been done from memory. One incident related in Gagen's manuscript describes O. R. Jacobi as painting in that manner for his pupil H. T. Sandham. When Sandham confessed to finding difficulty in painting a sky, Jacobi produced "the desired effect", explaining "the difficulties. Later in his studio, he "finished the rest of the landscape to harmonize with the sky".¹³

More than Raphael, Jacobi seems to have venerated the Dutch for their atmospheric effects. In a letter to James Spooner, dated 1876, he confessed that he "repeatedly thinks

of a little Dutch painting hanging in his [Spooner's] art gallery". Seemingly, he had not been able to reproduce its effects but admired "in this school of Holland a certain fine simplicity and a poetry in harmony that makes up for everything".¹⁴

Adolphe Vogt, who was also born in Germany, came to Philadelphia in 1854. He is the only one of the three to have studied in the United States. He studied with the German painters Schmitz and Kromer and returned to Germany in 1861 to study in Munich and Zurich, Switzerland. Here he studied cattle-painting under M. Koller. By 1865 he was in Montreal, but left again in 1866 to go to Paris where he stayed a year, and then returned to Montreal for three years, when he worked at Notman's. He died of smallpox in New York in 1870.¹⁵

Judging from Approaching Storm,¹⁶ 1870, and Niagara Falls,¹⁷ 1869, Vogt enjoyed depicting drama. He painted Approaching Storm one year after Raphael did Avant la tempête, and the two paintings are strikingly similar in diagonal emphasis of composition and placement of figures and animals. Vogt's hayriders rush to get home before the storm. The driver whips his four horses to hurry. As a boy runs ahead with a dog, two female hay-gatherers follow behind. 316

The dark, threatening sky seems not to concern the relaxed young couple walking on one side of the haywagon. Light dramatically illuminates the essential subject matter from the front left corner. All the rest of the canvas is left in darkness. The strong shadows created by the horses' feet seem to slow their movement, as if holding them down to the road. The light and shade under the two women in the back create parallel lines to the shadows, counterbalancing the many verticals. Certainly this drama is more in keeping with the French Romantics than with any German style. There is not the cool gaiety or optimism one detects in Raphael's narrative, where children appear merry despite the threatening storm.

Vogt's romantic version of the Niagara Falls, 1869, topped by heavy storm clouds in a deep-blue sky-setting, contrasts with Raphael's Biedermeier Realism. The scene is lit by even lighting coming from the foreground. This was a bold close-up way of depicting the phenomenon. The choppy waters are in keeping with the mood, which is not very different from Edwin Church's version of the same subject, 1857, at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Unfortunately, very few of Vogt's works are in public collections.

After comparing and contrasting Raphael's art with that of Jacobi and Vogt, a stylistic assessment of his paintings as they relate to each other will be attempted. Discussion of the paintings will be general. First they will be analyzed under the categories set out in chapter three and then according to the treatment of specific art elements important to Raphael's work.

Raphael's portraits have some common characteristics. The figures are generally of bust-length, with the head and shoulders forming a stable pyramidal composition that contrasts with the rectangular or oval shape of the canvas. Against a background which is usually painted in neutral dark colours, the sitter is in an angular position. Generally, clothes are dark. The fleshtones of the face are the focal point. Most, except for Canon Octave Paré, who is painted in profile, look straight ahead, but their eyes are rarely directed at the spectator. Instead, they gaze off into the distance as if engrossed in their own thoughts. The portraits of Mrs. William Raphael, of Mrs. Benjamin and of Arthur Raphael as a baby show a distinctly direct gaze, but they are exceptions.

Most of Raphael's portraits are interpreted in colours that have been blended on the artist's palette and applied in

smooth thin layers. Unblended brushstroke can only be seen in rare cases, such as the faces in Study of a Young Boy, Portrait of a Young Man and Reverend Dr. Abraham DeSola.

These give the impression of being painted from life. Colours are never pure. Light and shade dictate the use of varying tone. In his Portrait of Bertha and Man With a Van Dyke Beard, the sitters appear full of vitality and this is due to a combination of the three quarter profile, the strong tilt of their heads which creates interesting angular forms and strong shadows which contrast with their fleshtones and the colour of their clothes.

It has been established that many of Raphael's portraits were actually copies of photographs. Those of the Desjardins family, for example, were dated after the subjects' deaths, yet those of the younger Desjardins couple who commissioned them show no marked difference in style. Raphael's Self Portrait is also a close copy of an extant photograph. The paintings of his father and of his wife show a close resemblance to photographs of the subjects, but the paintings depict his wife as a younger woman, and his father as an older, more pious man. It is difficult to conclude whether Raphael used technical or photographic devices to project and enlarge

desired images onto the bare canvas or whether he just copied them free hand.

Raphael did not always depend upon the aid of photographs. The artist was known to have taught his students at Congrégation Ste-Anne how to paint portraits from life. This can be perceived by the immediacy and vitality of a Portrait of a Young Man and of the closeup painting, Italian Model, an exceptionally life-like example that goes well beyond the likeness of a photograph. Her strong expression, particularly around the mouth, the painstakingly painted fleshy hand supporting her chin, and the triangular reinforcements, all suggest a composition painted from life. The texture of her lace collar, the treatment of her earring, and the quality of naturally blended hair and skin tones are all well handled. It is probable that many portraits of similar high quality done from life exist as family keepsakes in private collections, just as do the copies from photographs.

Raphael's work in landscape is more complex than his portraiture. He used a variety of compositional formats, although his colouration remains basically the same throughout, as in the portraiture. The tones of browns and blues describe forms affected by light and shade rather than

filled-in lines, heavy contours or three dimensional volumes. The pure bright colours sometimes found in nature, rarely exist in his works. However, the physical aspects of the Canadian landscape are based on actual scenes the artist has observed, but may be differently contrived for pleasing compositional effect. Sometimes they include people or reminders of their presence. A boy may be fishing offshore. There may be a paddle steamboat in the water, a lumber mill off shore, or evidence of a house or fortress in the distance. The solitude in nature that the artist cherished so highly, can be sensed in his many peaceful landscapes; Cliffs Near the Water, Cloudy Day or Summer Landscape, Pink Rocks are but two examples. The latter is exceptional in the breadth and distance of the view depicted. Generally, the landscape views are local, depicted at relatively close range. Raphael never indulged in symbolic, panoramic, unending vistas such as seen in Sunrise on the Saguenay by Lucius O'Brien. Neither did he aim for the height, depth, aerial perspective or tour de force of the American Hudson River artists.

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A development can be seen in some dated landscapes. In contrast to the bulk of the paintings which are characterized by blended subdued colours, heavy hovering clouds, early

morning light, and repeated compositional formulae, typified by Dam Scene, Falls Behind, done in 1874, there are some that prove more interesting. Approaching Storm, Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay, 1878, and Indian Encampment Along the Lower St. Lawrence, 1880, were the first of a series of night scenes that had a romantic subject matter. They also gave the impression that the artist was not painting the landscape in sections, area by area, but was handling them with a general, broader treatment in order to capture the overall mood that sets them apart from the others. Other excellent night scenes followed. Lake of Two Mountains, 1894, and The Sunset, 1908, are examples. Yet others were platitudinous and less successful. Examples of these can be seen in the overcrowded Moonscape with Windmill (undated) or the trite Près de Sherbrooke, 1902.

Dated daytime-scenes show progressively brighter colours. They characterize the artist's best work, although they are scarce. On the Richelieu, 1881, is excellent in its incorporation of many of Raphael's traits of composition and technique. It includes clear water in the foreground, autumn colours in the trees across the shore, blue-grey mountains and colourful pink cloud formations above. Human figures appear

in the form of a couple transporting hay in their rowboat. With the Current, 1892, is a closeup scene of another couple in a boat. The pure red of the boat contrasting with the huge white rock, backed by brighter than usual trees is an innovation. Forest Scene, 1889, and Woodland Scene, 1902, are each a close-range view of a forest interior. The former incorporates the reds, oranges and yellows of the fall season. In the latter, there are pure greens highlighted by yellow tones of light, never seen in earlier landscapes. Similarly, refreshing greens and colourful pink foreground flowers and rocks can be seen in Close Up of Pink Rocks, 1887. The brightest, most effective landscape the artist produced was the last one he dated. In The Lily Pond, Laurentians, 1911, he freed himself from his usual formulae. Here, instead, is an overall treatment of the scene, expressed in clear Canadian light and colour. Fresh, pure greens, yellows, reds, pinks and white prevail, all painted in a looser, more confident brushstroke.

Much the same type of evolution can be sensed in still life, although few works of this category have been traced. However, by contrast to the Hanging Fowl, (undated) Hollyhocks, 1908, corresponds to The Lily Pond in its vivacious bright greens, reds, yellows, and whites. It is especially

different in its atypical overall loose compositional design and the lifelike three-dimensional quality of the flowers.

Genre paintings prove to be Raphael's best work over the years. These scenes, in contrast to his straightforward, somber landscapes, are characterized by excitement, zestful action and brighter colour. His ability as a genre painter was recognized in contemporary reviews. It was "Bonsecours" in its many variations, Early Bird Catches the Worm and Habitants Attacked by Wolves that brought the artist most recognition. Despite this encouragement, Raphael may have felt he overworked the group scenes. Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, 1866, Avant la tempête, 1869, and Habitants Attacked by Wolves, 1870, are the best typical examples of complex compositions that incorporated many individual figure studies. After Bonsecours Market, 1880, genre group scenes no longer appeared. Noticeably, witty anecdotal vignettes akin to Early Bird Catches the Worm, 1868, were not pursued either as Raphael's interest in genre subjects changed. He still painted Canadians, but they were treated as single studies, usually of serious figures occupied in their work or play. However, along with this change, there was a corresponding tendency towards cluttered compositions in which

the focus of interest is unclear. This can be seen in The Village Blacksmith¹⁸ and Habitant Grinding Grain, 1891. In this last scene the colour is now pure, and the canvas is less European in appearance, but the artist has relaxed his former commitment to simple composition and form.

There are identifying features that recur and characterize Raphael's style throughout his career. If all the elements incorporated into his compositions were to be assessed, colour would be found to dominate throughout the portraits, landscapes, genre, still life and religious paintings. All other elements such as light and shade, line composition, form and brushstroke must be discussed in relation to it, as they are either masked by it or directly tied to it. This is best seen in the portrait paintings. Here colour is restrained and limited in range. The flesh tones and the generally moderate choice of clothing are blended according to their gradations of tone. These vary according to the play of light and shade as it falls on the planes of the sitter's faces. Tonal values as opposed to pure colour from the tube seem uppermost in Raphael's mind. One example of this is the portrait of his daughter Bertha Raphael, where the light falling on her forehead, the flesh of her cheeks and nose dictates

the use of lighter tones of pink, brown, yellow and off-white. Shadow affects the darker gradations between her eyebrows and eyelids, under her nose and lips. The artist has moved to darker browns and pinks. The shadow under her chin, almost black in colour, creates a shape of its own. The brown of her hair and the green of her eyes affect the choice of the green Raphael used for her dress and that of the brown he selected for the typically monochromatic background. In short, the relationships between all components of the portrait are expressed through colour. Similarly, in the Study of a Boy, the yellow of his blond hair and the blue of his eyes were again chosen by Raphael for light and shadow. In William Raphael's Professor, green and blue tonal effects are used to depict shadows and facial stubble. These colours suggest the contours of his face as well. In Girl in a Pink Bonnet, the pink of her hat is reflected in her cheeks. The white on her forehead, chin and nose on the left suggest light; the darker flesh tones on the right suggest shade. Lines and shadows are clearly taken over by a clever use of colour gradations in the shiny skin of An Old Man. The light is effectively portrayed through highlights of white mixed with yellow ochre and darker brown-pink tones. In all these paintings with the exception of the Study of a Boy,

brushstroke is tight, resulting in subtle gradations of colour.

In Raphaël's landscapes, colour is the key to his expression of nature's hues in light and shade as well, but now line plays a more important role, influencing the composition itself. There is rarely a change in approach to colour. In all, they seldom veer from the blended tones of dark greens, browns, greys and blues highlighted by an occasional yellow ochre, white and vermilion. These colours are the same as those first used in the earliest landscape, that of Backyard View, Nakel, Prussia, Where I was Born, c. 1881. He continued using them throughout his career. They only differed in the last few years of his life.

Except in his drawings, where the composition seems directly organized around a few very definite lines, there is no mathematical or apparently structured geometrical organization in Raphael's canvases. The space is arranged according to a few formulas (described in chapter three). These play a dominating role in the composition.

The dominant lines either lead the eyes to the principal subject or underline and echo it by repetitious

lines, following the rules of design summarized by John Ruskin¹⁹ in his various treatises on the composition of a painting. Line rarely outlines objects.

Brushstroke used by Raphael is generally tight. It never reaches an overall, painterly quality, although it is looser in sections of some paintings. This can be found on the face of the Study of a Young Boy, in Mrs. Benjamin, in the hair and face of Portrait of a Young Man, in the snow of Avant la tempête and the rocks and foreground of Approaching Storm, Pointe-au-Pic. Also the fields in Cows Grazing in Pasture and Boating Scene exemplify looser, heavier brushstroke than usual.

Direction of light source must be considered separately from light and shade (as attached to and inseparable from colour). An overall frontal light source dominates most of Raphael's portraits, landscapes, genre, still life and religious paintings. Often this light comes from one side. Some examples are Portrait of Mrs. Benjamin where it comes from the left or Portrait of Mrs. William Raphael where it emanates from the right. Some paintings have a secondary light source in addition to a frontal one.

Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, Moonscape with Windmill
and Lake of Two Mountains are but a few examples of this.

Raphael's treatment of the various elements
(colour, brushstroke, line, light, shade, and specific
composition formats) did not alter very noticeably. His
compositions were like his life. They embodied order and
constancy.

CONCLUSION

Raphael, a quiet determined man, was throughout his life more at peace with the world of nature¹ than with that of civilized society. His sketchbooks reveal a private, introverted personality whose actions were pragmatically directed. He veered away from embellishment or exaggeration. Even during his European school years he noted in his sketchbooks only the bare essentials that pertained to his life. In those kept during his fifty-seven years in Canada, there is little beside practical records which pertained to portraits painted, income or expenses. He disclosed a minimum about himself and his personal feelings and strangely enough, he did not once mention the name of another Canadian artist. On the other hand, he did record in pictorial form the many peaceful scenes of areas outside Montreal which he visited and loved. In these, even if a human figure is included, it is at leisure, walking, boating or fishing; it fits into Raphael's framework of the country, as part of nature's harmony. When depicting the city, Raphael at times presented people in large, busy groups as well as individuals intent on their own affairs. In the two Bonsecours paintings

he presents an ordered view of city life that compares with the order of nature in the country as he understood it. Striving people, preoccupied and engrossed, within the limits of their structured roles, represent the tensions of the city, in contrast to the leisure of the country. The farmer hurriedly pushes his vegetable cart. The street fiddler plays his fiddle, the children play, the market vendors sell and the women barter. There are no frivolous activities taking place. This is reflected in the order of the composition as well. Raphael expressed the converse side of this in Habitants Attacked by Wolves. The painting presents the world of the forest and wild life. The domesticated horse and sleigh carrying its passengers has trespassed into the wolves' territory and therefore is being chased. The conflict has arisen because those involved have stepped out of their natural environment. The wolves fiercely protect their own territory from civilization.

Raphael's paintings reflect the structure and order of his personal life. He expected life in the city to be more complex and less harmonious, as the natural order of things. He had to live in the city because this was the best place for him to earn his livelihood as an artist and

teacher. He was able to accept his personal disappointments as part of the character of the city.

It was in the marketplace of culture that Raphael suffered in dealings with colleagues. He was neither a leader nor a blind follower. Through his membership and suggestions he contributed to the major art institutions and societies in their formative years.

Raphael was not a man of compromise, and when his integrity as an artist was questioned openly, he had the strength of character to take a firm stand. With the support of his students, he spoke against those who attempted to malign his reputation. He felt that he was unfairly treated in the Art Association because of the lack of integrity there. When attacked, he reacted vehemently, even aggressively, speaking his mind to the Montreal community in an open letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette. If he could not convince the inner group in the Art Association of his integrity as an artist, he would try to reason with the public.

Raphael, an independent individual, could live a life of his own as long as he felt that he was following his own principles. He resigned himself to the fact that involvement

in formal art groups brought only suffering, disappointment and sorrow. He withdrew from all conflict within the social side of the field of art and relied upon himself and his personal associations for intellectual stimulation. It is interesting to note a parallel in his art after the 1880's with this development in his personal life. All of his genre scenes are studies of individuals, alone, as opposed to the earlier cityscapes with crowds. Now his habitants are self-contained and quietly ruminating.

Through his diversity he survived without sustained social acclaim. It was difficult for an artist to support himself solely on his art in the small Montreal community. He worked in photography, made prints of his paintings, was an anatomical artist, taught, did religious paintings, restoration and on rare occasions painted signs. Raphael's use of his talents, as well as his technical skills for survival, decidedly marred his reputation among influential artists. His work in education and in more commercial fields did not, however, deter him from producing some excellent paintings of lasting quality.

Among contemporary artists, Raphael was outstanding for his emphasis on genre painting. Landscapes, portraiture

and still life filled the career of the majority of 19th century Canadian artists. (Only Kane and Kreighoff before him had showed an interest in Indian life.) Genre scenes had been painted occasionally by Joseph Légaré, Antoine Plamondon, Napoléon Bourassa and James Duncan. Duncan painted street scenes in watercolour such as Old Market,² 1850, and had prints made of some of his other works, such as Notre Dame St. Montreal,³ 1850, and Steamboat Wharf, Montreal,⁴ 1850. Unlike Duncan, Raphael, the German immigrant, was interested in the exotic. He painted habitants in their daily life with a fresh eye, as opposed to the more romantic Kreighoff, whose habitants were idealized and not as genuinely involved in daily Canadian life. Raphael, however, must have been impressed by Kreighoff's subject matter. Many of the scenes covered earlier by Kreighoff are painted by Raphael in altered compositions. They are similar to Kreighoff's various renderings of Indian encampments⁵ and his Habitants Driving Sleigh,⁶ Caught in a Blizzard,⁷ Tobogganing Near Quebec City,⁸ or Habitant with Red Tuque.⁹ Raphael's closeups of tradesmen suggest a greater interest in the individual himself. Kreighoff's paintings of habitants, on the other hand, were done against backgrounds of ideal mountains and lakes, usually with a dramatized sunset or storm in view,

although they were painted in his studio. Aside from Place D'Armes à Montréal, reproduced in chromolithography, Kreighoff rarely painted a specific identifiable locale like that of Behind Bonsecours Market or Bonsecours Market. The same is true of still life. Raphael painted Hollyhocks that were common in Quebec, not idealized flowers in a vase that are closer to 19th century Dutch treatment of the subject. Yet, in many ways, Raphael looked to the older, more successful artist as a model.

() Raphael's disciplined and rigorous training in Germany set the pattern for his art and attitude toward it throughout his life. There is a direct connection between his copying of casts in school and his later copying of photographs for oil portraits. This approach was reinforced when Raphael started on photography in 1857 or 1859. It persisted in his painting of scenes similar to those popular during the period and in copies of scenes which he himself developed and repeatedly reworked.

() What is Raphael's contribution to Canadian art and what place does he occupy among other contemporary German artists active in Canada such as O. R. Jacobi and Adolphe Vogt? If Raphael was earlier labelled an Early Naturalist

of the Biedermeier Realists for his bourgeois spirit, soberness toward nature, and restrained gracefulness, then Jacobi and Vogt are closer to the German Biedermeier Romantics. Certainly, Raphael related to the new land more honestly than Jacobi¹⁰ or Vogt. His people are more authentic in appearance. For example, in Three Montagnais Wigwams Beneath the Shore at Pointe-au-Pic Murray Bay, the people and the objects share an authenticity. The spectator senses volume. The boat is Malacite, the wigwams are Montagnais, the Indians are dressed in their costumes. Light is natural and brushstroke is used loosely in the wigwams. With the Current has a smooth glassy surface to its water. The reflection of the boat is convincing. The Lily Pond, Laurentians is natural in light, so much so that the quiet view of nature is near and vital. The religious serenity of nature is captured here. This contrasts with Jacobi, whose landscapes falsify reality for the sake of pictorial composition and harmonious impressions.

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Raphael, Jacobi and Vogt all made important contributions to Canadian art. The first two were influential in their teaching of younger Canadian artists.¹¹ (The third was not in Canada long enough to make his influence felt.) The

three German artists were indeed very different in approach from one another. Of the three, Raphael's work is the closest to the Biedermeier Early Naturalists. Certainly it is the most faithful to the Canadian landscape and way of life as well.

Why, after a promising start, did Raphael not gain greater acclaim as a favored artist in the growing 19th century Canadian art community? Why did his potential remain unfulfilled after he had initially gained the respect and admiration of the public and of his colleagues? He lost favour with the younger generation of leaders in the art societies who were convinced that newer approaches to painting constituted superior art. They also criticized him for his method of teaching, considering it out of vogue.

There were few other artists in Montreal who shared Raphael's background and convictions, and with whom he could fraternize. Retreating further within himself, he was cut off from professional exchanges of ideas and incentives which often stimulate the imagination. As he became more isolated, his work began to stagnate and more of his time was spent teaching. This reinforced the methods for which he was criticized.

Raphael found fulfillment in teaching and in promoting interest in the fine arts. His private art school attracted a large number of students year after year, and in addition, he taught at various other institutes. He exerted a considerable influence on the Montreal art scene for over fifty years.

It is only recently that art galleries and private collectors have renewed their interest in Raphael's works. Many more documented¹² paintings have yet to be located, and once found, they will add to our store of knowledge about this important early Canadian artist. It is hoped that the presentation in this thesis of the hundreds of his paintings, (most of which have never before been seen by the public) as well as the account of his background and life, will contribute to a greater understanding of Raphael's career and place in the history of 19th century Canadian art.

NOTES

Notes to Foreword

1. There are no records of any other Jewish artist active in Canada, although a portrait and genre painter by the name of Frederick E. Cohen, an English Jew, is mentioned as coming to Detroit from Woodstock Upper Canada during the Canadian Rebellion of 1837. "He was the teacher of Lewis F. Ives and Robert Hopkin and exhibited in 1848 at the American Art Union. In 1855, he moved from Detroit to Oberlin, Ohio." Groce and Wallace (ed.) New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564 - 1860 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957), p. 136.

Notes to Introduction

1. H. J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 927.
2. Newton McTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada (Toronto: The MacMillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1925), p. 26.
3. Gérard Morisset, La Peinture traditionnelle au Canada français (Montreal: Cercle du Livre de France, 1960), pp. 170-171.
4. William Colgate, Canadian Art (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943), pp. 29-31, 130.
5. R. H. Hubbard, The National Gallery of Canada Catalogue, Paintings and Sculpture (Ottawa, 1960), Vol. III, pp. 253-254.
6. R. H. Hubbard and J. R. Ostiguy, Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art (Ottawa, 1967), p. 98.

7. J. Russell Harper, Everyman's Canada (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1962), pp. 65-66.
8. J. Russell Harper, Painting in Canada. A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp. 196-197.
9. R. H. Hubbard, The Development of Canadian Art (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964), pp. 63-64.
10. Catalogue of the Exhibition of Works by Canadian Jewish Artists (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, October 29 - November 15, 1959), p. 1.
11. Elizabeth Kilbourn, Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1966), pp. 54-55. In this publication, there is an error concerning the date of Raphael's arrival in Montreal.
12. Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 79-82, 85, 87.
13. Ibid., p. 80.
14. J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 259-260.
15. Barry Lord, The History of Painting in Canada (Toronto: N. C. Press, 1974), pp. 56, 77-78.
16. Ibid., p. 56.
17. Newspaper accounts refer to paintings which have not yet been traced and the artist's sketchbooks also include drawings on which as yet untraced oil paintings may be based.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Nine sketchbooks have been traced, kept in public and private collections. They are listed below:
 National Gallery of Canada Sketchbook No. 1 (18087) 11 X 17 cm., 1893 - 1910, 58 sheets. National Gallery of Canada Sketchbook No. 2 (18088) 12 X 20.3 cm., 1853-1857, 30 sheets. National Gallery of Canada Sketchbook No. 3 (18089) 17.3 X 11.5 cm., 1853-1876, 70 sheets. National Gallery of Canada Sketchbook No. 4 (18090) 10 X 16.5 cm., 1875-1878, 34 sheets. National Gallery of Canada Sketchbook No. 5 (18091) 16.5 X 11.5 cm., 1856-1859, 76 1/2 sheets. National Gallery of Canada Sketchbook No. 6 (18092) 12.2 X 18.5 cm., 1886-1897, 46 sheets. Collection: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Two are in the McCord Museum, McGill University, M17373, 43 X 7 inches, 1881-1885, 48 sheets, and M17374, 1865, 9 3/4 X 6 7/8, 16 sheets. There is one sketchbook in the collection of Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal. This is unpaginated. It has been misplaced since 1974 and therefore will be referred to simply as Wener, without specific page references.
2. "I received a letter through my brother Saul". 5, 17V.
3. Raphael's spelling changes from Rafalsky to Raphaelsky when referring to his brother.
4. "On October 8th my brother took a trip from Montreal to St. Louis, 1857". Above that Raphael writes his brother's name and the address where he will lodge. (Wener Sketchbook.) Another brother, Abraham, was the only one who lived into Raphael's old age. In his Last Will and Testament, the artist mentions him for the first time. "To my only brother Abraham, \$100.00 should be given to him as a memento from me. March 15, 1913". (Last Will and Testament, June 8, 1914, no. 89, p. 2.
5. 3, 13R. The tombstones have clear inscriptions in Hebrew. The exact dates of their deaths are recorded according to the Hebrew calendar.

6. 3, 70R.
7. 5, 17V and 3, 70R.
8. 3, 15R. Beneath is written, "the resting place of my beloved mother".
9. 5, 73V.
10. "Meier's sohn". 5, 5R.
11. 3, 70R.
12. 3, 63V.
13. This portrait used to hang in William Raphael's home. Now it is the property of his granddaughter, Mrs. Jacob Weher, Montreal.
14. In Yiddish and in Hebrew Raphael writes, "The memorial of my precious Mother's death is on the 8th day of the Hebrew month of Iyar. On the eve of the seventh day of this same month (each year) a candle is to be lit". 3, 70R.
15. 5, 2R.
16. 5, 17V.
17. 2, 28R.
18. In his later sketchbooks there are no further references to his religious background except for "yarzeit" dates kept, reminders to light a candle in memory of deceased family members.
19. Cecil Roth, Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. G, p. 475.
20. When Raphael was to come to Canada there was as yet no movement of Reform Judaism. He married in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, 1862, (marriage registered by Reverend Abraham DeSola, No. J 36, 11862, Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Registry, Superior Court, Montreal). But in 1880, when Montreal's first Reform Temple was conceived, the artist was a founding member, listed under "new

members of the congregation" in The Emanuel Story, Montreal, 1960, unpaginated. According to Raphael's obituary he is buried in the cemetery affiliated with Temple Emanuel. The Mail, March 18, 1914.

21. Kilbourn, Great Canadian Painting, p. 54.
22. 5, 2V and 5, 73V.
23. 5, 6R.
24. 5, 5V indicates that on June 13, 1850 he was in Berlin and draws one of the restaurants he visited there.
25. 3, 61V.
26. Ibid. He crowds important notes concerning the years 1851 to 1856 all onto the same page.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. 3, 71V.
30. 3, 12V.
31. 5, 15R.
32. The artist was to live in New York in 1851 for a period of under four months.
33. 5, 11R.
34. v, 11V.
35. 2, 1V.
36. 3, 11V.
37. 5, 44R.
38. Translated by Mr. Heinz Heinemann from the German. 5, 43V.

39. 3, 68V.
40. Translated by Mr. Heinz Heinemann, 5, 44V and 45R.
41. Wener.
42. 3, 71V.
43. The Montreal Gazette, "Letter to the Editor", June 3, 1886.
44. The Montreal Gazette, "Letter to the Editor", June 11, 1886.
45. 3, 61V.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. 5, 5V.
49. 5, 18V.
50. Ibid.
51. 5, 20R.
52. Wener, 2V. He notes Professor Wolff's address as Potsdam 120. (Potsdam is a suburb of Berlin.)
53. 5, 20R.
54. Ibid.
55. 5, 16V.
56. Heinz Heinemann and a librarian spent 5 hours in the Berlin Academy Library files sifting through what was left of student records and seemingly no information could be found. They searched for the name William Raphael, Raphaelsky, Rafalsky and Rafaelsky from the years 1848-1856 in an effort to learn what classes he attended and who his teachers were. There were no class records or student lists, but it was ascertained that Karl Begas taught Composition and

Drapery at the school from 1829 until 1854, the year of his death. They traced that a Karl Wolff only started teaching there in 1866. His brother F. Wolff also taught in the Berlin Academy but no dates could be ascertained.

57. Since Raphael himself gave so little information about his education in Berlin in his sketchbooks cum diary, I attempted to fill in the gaps by investigating official records there. Unfortunately my numerous letters to several Berlin academic institutions yielded no information. Archivist Frau Ahlsdorf at the Berlin Academy of Art, on Steinplatz West, Berlin, claims that either records were not kept during the years 1848-1856 or that the school archives destroyed by fire during World War II make verification impossible. She relayed this message through Mr. Heinemann.
58. 5, 9R.
59. 5, 16V.
60. The Hartmann whom Raphael referred to could have been any number of contemporary Hartmanns mentioned in encyclopedias. One possibly could be Ernst Hartmann, a historical painter who was born in Welsbenden in 1818, studied in Dresden, Berlin and Rome and died in 1900 in Dusseldorf. Then too, he could have been Friederich Hermann Hartmann, a painter of landscape, who was born in Frankfort am Main in 1822 and died in Bale in 1902. (Benezit, 1954, vol. 4, p. 603). Yet another, Joseph Hartmann was a painter of portraits from 1812-1885 (Benezit, p. 604) and Raphael could well have known him.
61. 5, 20R.
62. E. Benezit, Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs (Paris: Librairie Grond, 1954), vol. 8, p. 785.
63. E. Benezit, Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs (Paris: Librairie Grond, 1976), vol. 10, p. 282.
64. Ibid., p. 783.

65. 2, 2V.
66. E. Benezit, Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs (Paris: Librairie Grund, 1976), vol. 5, p. 463.
67. 3, 72V.
68. Ibid.
69. The Montreal Gazette, "Letter to the Editor", dated June 11, 1886.
70. National Gallery of Canada, Library, William Raphael file.
71. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, p. 927.
72. Maria Von Buchbaum, Deutsche Malerei Im 19 Jahrhundert. Realismus und Naturalismus (Munich & Wien: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., undated), p. 16.
73. Ibid.
74. Linda Nochlin, The Nature of Realism (Maryland: Penguin, 1970), pp. 13-15.
75. Gottfried Lindemann, The History of German Art (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 160.
76. See note 56.
77. Fritz Novotny, Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880 (England: Penguin, 1960), p. 121.
78. Id., p. 120.
79. He painted an oil version as well. Both are in the collection of his granddaughter, Mrs. Jacob Wener.
80. It is reproduced in Novotny, 1971 edition, p. 214.
81. A photograph of this previously titled painting is kept in the Notman Collection, McGill University, Montreal.

82. This painting is reproduced in Novotny, Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880, 1971 edition, p. 215.
83. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
84. Collection, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
85. Collection, Wener.
86. This painting is reproduced in Novotny, Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880, 1971 edition, p. 224.
87. 5, 8V.
88. 5, 18R.
89. 5, 18V.
90. 3, 14V.
91. 2, 17R and 17V.
92. 2, 14V and 15R.
93. 2, 16V.
94. 3, 67V.
95. Thomas Hess and John Ashbury, Academic Art (New York: 1968), p. 80.
96. 2, 4R.
97. 2, 2V.
98. 3, 1R.
99. 2, 23R.
100. 2, 21R.
101. 2, 12V.
102. Lindemann, History of German Art, p. 138.

103. 2, 2R.
104. 2, 13R.
105. 2, 12R.
106. 2, 15R; 2, 8V; 2, 15R; 2, 18V; 2, 22V; 3, 15R;
3, 63V; 5, 13R and 18V.
107. 5, 13R.
108. 2, 8V.
109. 2, 11V.
110. 2, 18V.
111. 2, 27V.
112. 2, 21R.
113. 2, 9V.
114. 2, 10V.
115. 2, 8R.
116. 2, 21V.
117. 2, 18V.
118. 5, 5R.
119. 2, 24V.
120. 2, 19R.
121. There are only several watercolours left. Others
have been torn out.
122. 2, 13V and 5, 17V.
123. 5, 73V.
124. 3, 70R.

125. 3, 61V.
126. 2, 18V.
127. 2, 19R.
128. 2, 24V.
129. 2, 21V.
130. No. 2, 10V.
131. 2, 27V.
132. 2, 28R.
133. 2, 9V.
134. 2, 7V.
135. 3, 63V.
136. Wener, "Den 8 October reiste mein Bruder von Montreal Nach St. Louis, 1857". He lists him as M. Rafaelsky. No such name is listed in the MacKay's Montreal Directory, 1856-7 but a T. W. Raphael is listed in 1861, p. 257. To date there is no evidence T.W. Raphael or his children, later listed, were related to the artist. Raphael's brother may not have been listed in 1857 for the same reason the artist was not included in the MacKay's Montreal Directory from the time he arrived in Canada until 1865-1866, p. 257. He boarded in someone else's home.
137. Joseph Kage, With Faith and Thanksgiving (Montreal: Eagle Publishing Co., 1962), p. 17.
138. Id., pp. 17-18.
139. Id., p. 18.
140. Ibid.
141. 3, 61V.
142. He fails to state what day he arrived in Berlin, but

he does mention that on "Tuesday, November 28, 1856 he went from Berlin to Hamburg with a carrier train at ten forty-five in the evening" (3, 61v) and arrived there on Saturday, November 29, 1856 at 5 A.M. (3, 61v). Once in Hamburg, Raphael stopped to get his ticket at the Hamburg America Steamship Co., 62 Beaver Strasse, Hamburg. (Wener). At 11 A.M. Sunday, November 30, Raphael evidently took a steamer to connect with the main ship that would bring him to North America. (3, 61v) On Monday, December 1, 1856 he started his voyage on the Ship Bourrussia. (3, 61v). There are no notes about his adjustment to his new environment.

143. This particular sketchbook still remains in the family today. It is the only one Mrs. Wener did not sell. Some pages have been torn out. Others are loose. Most of the references below about Raphael's trip to North America have been culled from this sketchbook.
144. Ship brothers.
145. Wener.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid.
153. 3, 61v.
154. Wener. This is the first mention of Samuel who is possibly the same person as Saul, acknowledged in Chapter One. Perhaps his Hebrew name has been anglicized.

155. Wener.
156. Wener. He omits the addressee's name.
157. Myerson is the anglicized version of Meier's sohn, a relative from Nakel.
158. 3, 63V.
159. Wener.
160. For some reason Raphael kept Herrmann's marriage certificate with his belongings.
161. Boat ticket to go abroad.
162. Wener. One was at 141 Bowery Street, 84 East Broadway, one on 26 or 192 William Street, 60 1/2 Division Street, Eldridge Street or 38 Piedmont Street.
163. 3, 64R. The artist titled this page "Portraits in New York gemacht 1857".
164. 3, 64R. This name was mentioned in the Wener Sketchbook too and possibly a new friend he met on the ship.
165. 3, 64R. Mr. Bach's name and portrait appear in Raphael's material drawn on the Bourrussia, Wener Sketchbook.
166. 2, 7R.
167. Wener.
168. Ibid.
169. 3, 61V.
170. Ibid.
171. 3, 62R.
172. Even though no Raphaelsky was listed in the MacKay's Montreal Directory in 1851 or later, the possibility

does exist that Thomas W. Raphael, listed at 3 Cottage Row, City Councillor Street, Montreal (MacKay's Montreal Directory, John Lovell, St. Nicholas Street, 1861, p. 257) was the artist's brother, Mr. Raphaelsky, who may have shortened his last name as well and anglicized his first names. This Thomas Raphael moved to different addresses over the years and lived in Montreal until the time of Raphael's death. Raphael's only mention of his Montreal brother was when his wife Ernestina was ill. He said, "August 15, 1864 at 4 o'clock in the afternoon I went with my wife and brother to Dr. Brattleboro". 3, 19R.

173. Raphael is not listed in the years 1857-1864 in the MacKay's Montreal Directory. The first year he is listed as having his own residence is in 1865.
174. Listed in the MacKay's Montreal Directory as living at 77 1/2 McGill Street.
175. This name in the Wener Sketchbook may refer to a member of the Benjamin Levy family in Politz, Alt Stettin, where Raphael used to visit. Raphael's marriage contract had as one of the signing witnesses a Joseph Levy.
176. Wener. He lists the name Goupil and Co., 366 Broadway as "good for painting and drawing materials".
177. It is not known how the two first met. Notman was just starting out in business in 1857.
178. The Montreal Gazette, "Letter to the Editor" dated July 11, 1886.
179. 5, 48V.
180. This is less than one year after William Notman himself started out in business.
181. 3, 64R.

182. Ibid. This gentleman was to become his father-in-law in 1862.
183. 3, 64R.
184. Ibid.
185. 3, 64V..
186. Ibid. A painted portrait of the old Herb Doctor holding a basket has been located at the Notman Archives, McGill University. It is a freehand painting after a stereotype, also at Notman's.
187. 3, 64V. Reverend DeSola would be the minister to marry Wm. Raphael and Ernestina Danziger three years later.
188. 3, 64V.
189. 3, 64R.
190. 3, 64V.
191. 3, 62R.
192. 3, 16V.
193. 3, 62R. The first July date is unknown.
194. Fowler and Wells Phrenological Report left with the artist's belongings, now in the Wener Collection. At the beginning of this report there is an advertisement that offers The Character from the Portrait. "Persons who cannot visit us can have reliable examinations from their portraits. For full directions how to take likenesses for this purpose, please order by mail "The Mirror of the Mind. Sent free."
195. 3, 62R.
196. He notes that the journey was via Three Rivers. (3, 16R) The price of the ticket was \$1.50 on the Steamer Columbia. Supper there cost 35¢, Bay rum 23¢, tobacco 75¢, cigars 12¢, cakes 12¢, etc. Charge for the Steamer Dore to St. Gregoire was 25¢ and board once there was \$2.60. (3, 16R)

197. 3, 15V.
198. 3, 69V.
199. Superior Court, Marriage Register, Reverend Abraham DeSola, Jewish Religion, Montreal, 1862. Record No. 36. Box of Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Montreal.
200. 3, 64R.
201. 5, 47V and 5, 48R.
202. Montreal Census, 1861 lists Raphael as living at Hermann Danziger's home at 63 1/2 German Street in that year.
203. I was told this fact by her granddaughter, Mrs. Jacob Wener (January 18, 1978).
204. "The birthday of my Rudolf is October 3, 1863, 5 o'clock in the morning. (3, 69V) Daughter Pauline was born September 5, 1867, 11 A.M./2nd daughter Saturday, March, 1870, 6 A.M. (Clara)/2nd son Julius, born March 9, 1872, 8 P.M./My youngest son Samuel born July 9, 1874. (There would later be three younger sons.) My youngest and last son Morris was born November 29, 1878/My youngest son Harry was born November 12, 1876 at 2 o'clock in the morning." (3, 70R) (Two names are missing from the list, that of Walter and his youngest child Bertha Raphael.)
205. 3, 18R.
206. 3, 18R and 18V.
207. 3, 19R.
208. MacKay's Montreal Directory for 1865-1866, Montreal, (John Lovell, 1865), p. 257.
209. McCord Museum, M17374.
210. Further details of this working trip abroad will follow under the discussion of Raphaël's Sketchbooks.

211. Lovell's, 1866-1867, p. 268.
212. Lovell's, 1867-1868, p. 271.
213. In 1887 they changed their residence to 39 Victoria Street. (Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1866-1867, p. 268). They lived there until 1912, when they moved to 30 Durocher Street. They were to live there until Raphael's death. (Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1913-1914, p. 1801.)
214. Left with his belongings. In the Wener Collection.
215. Interview with Mrs. Jacob Wener, Tuesday, January 3, 1978.
216. Letter from Wm. Raphael, 30 Durocher Street, Montreal, November 22, 1912, to Ruth Levine, MacDonald College, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Quebec.
217. Interview with Mrs. Jacob Wener, January 3, 1978.
218. Ibid.
219. William Wood (ed.), The Storied Province of Quebec, Past and Present (Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Company Ltd., 1931), vol. 4, pp. 393-395. It is after Robert Bickedike that the Bickedike pier at the Montreal harbour was named.
220. Letter from J. F. Whiteaves, Department of the Interior Canada, Sussex Street, Ottawa, September 6, 1884 to Wm. Raphael, Montreal. McCord Museum.
221. Letter from Wm. Osler, Philadelphia to Wm. Raphael, Montreal, c. 1886. Wener Collection.
222. Source of information was a conversation with Guy Tassé, January 5, 1978.
223. Between 1905-1908 Raphael copied paintings of François Pierre, Marquis de Rigaud, Phillipe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Michel Chartier, Marquis de Lathinfière,

Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal,
William McGillivray and Sir Isaac Todd. Château
de Ramezay.

224. This was learned during an interview with Emile Falardeau (now aged 91) at his residence, March 19, 1978. This is the first reference alluding to Raphael as a restorer of other artists' damaged canvases late in his career.
225. Ibid.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. McCord Museum, handwritten notice from M. Mathews, Secretary of the Canadian Academy of Arts, Ottawa, March 2, 1880, to Wm. Raphael, Montreal.
2. McCord Museum, letter from J. A. Fraser, Toronto, September 23, 1880, to Wm. Raphael, Montreal.
3. Ibid.
4. The invitation was left with the artist's belongings and is now in the Wener Collection.
5. This information came from Mrs. Jacob Wener in conversation and Wallace, in The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, states, "There are several portraits by him in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa"; p. 549.
6. No records have been found that relate to these portraits in the Public Archives of Canada, the Library of Parliament or in the National Art Gallery of Canada.
7. Two photographs of this painting have been located in Canada indicating that many were made.
8. This is noted in the corner of each of the photographs. The photograph was registered in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1897.

9. Letter from James Moodie, Artist, Chesterville, March 3, 1904 to Wm. Raphael, Montreal. Letter in collection of Wm. P. Wolfe, Antiquarian, Montreal.
10. As told by Mr. Oberland, a Montreal Art Dealer who learned this fact from a friend of Raphael's, Mr. Parker, an amateur painter who met with the artist almost daily.
11. Several ball and dinner invitations from the Aide-de-Camp in waiting of the Governor General (The Marquis of Lorne and Lord Lansdowne after him), were left with his belongings at the time of his death. They are now in the collection of Mrs. Jacob Wener. Raphael received formal invitations from Lord Dufferin, then the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise when they were the patrons of the Arts as well as from Lord Lansdowne after them. One invitation from The Marquis of Lorne reads "In Honour of the Royal Canadian Academy/The Aide-de-Camp in waiting is commanded by/His Excellency The Governor General/to invite/Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Raphael/to a Ball at The Queens Hotel and Assembly Rooms Montreal/on Tuesday the 13th of April at 9 p.m. o'clock, The A.D.C. in Waiting, Rideau Hall, Ottawa". A rough copy remains of Raphael's reply, "Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Raphael have the honor/of accepting His Excellency/the Governor General's/invitation for the 13th/April at 9 o'clock".
12. Colgate Canadian Art, p. 22.
13. Reid, A Concise History, p. 82, says, "The Society of Canadian Artists, founded in Montreal in 1867 by a group of professional painters (Jacobi, Raphael and Vogt were all charter members), reflected the potential they then believed the city held as a center for arts".
14. Wener Collection. Unlabelled newspaper article dated March 6, 1869.
15. Wener Collection. An unidentified and undated newspaper article.
16. O.S.A. catalogues from 1872-1914 were reviewed. Raphael was only listed as an O.S.A. member in 1879. He was evidently not a member in 1897 even though he exhibited then.

17. Library of the National Gallery of Canada, Artist's file. Raphael filled out an Information Form for artists dated 1895. He noted, "[I] have been one of the first Members that formed the National Gallery of Ottawa".
18. A September 20, 1879 letter from Lucius O'Brien to Mr. English of the Art Association of Montreal, exists in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, in the Art Association Scrap Book I, p. 71, with a copy of the Draft Constitution (3 pages) by the Governor General, The Marquis of Lorne for a proposed Dominion Academy with eight named Academicians, of which Raphael was one.
19. Ibid.
20. Jacobi had painted a portrait of a Raphael family member as early as 1861. Reports of the Art Association, 1929, No. 177, p. 4 lists a Miss Raphael for sale, exhibited at the Toronto Art Gallery, 1929. Jacobi was Raphael's neighbour, two doors down the block on German Street, from 1868 until 1872.
21. Listed in the O.S.A. Catalogue, 1879, Nos. 26, 30, 50 and 52.
22. This was to be the artist's diploma painting, currently hanging in the National Gallery of Canada.
23. Possibly this was the painting called Avant la tempête in the Musée du Québec, Quebec City.
24. Reproduced on the cover of The Kennedy Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 4, December 1973, but titled An Afternoon Smoke.
25. The Montreal Gazette, May 27, 1879.
26. Works Exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists, vol. 2, London, The New English Art Club, 1888-1917, p. 387. The selling price for Game and Still Life was listed as £ 32.105. The artist gave an address c/o W. J. Muckley, Esq., Royal Institute,

Manchester. This was probably a friend of Raphael's since there is no indication of the artist having been in London in 1877-1878.

27. Letter from M. Matthews, Secretary of the Canadian Academy of Arts, Ottawa, March 2, 1880, to Wm. Raphael, Montreal.
28. Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Minute Book 1880-1895, MG 28, I, 126, vol. 3, p. 29.
29. MG 28, I, 126, vol. 1, unpaginated. (p. 1)
30. The final list included Napoléon Bourassa, Montreal, Wm. Cresswell, Seaforth, Ontario, Allan Edson, Montreal, Daniel Fowler, Amherst Island, John A. Fraser, Toronto, James Griffiths, London, Ontario, Robert Harris, Toronto, Eugène Hamel, Quebec, Thomas Mower Martin, Toronto, William Raphael, Montreal, Charlotte Schreiber, Toronto, Lucius O'Brien, Toronto and F. C. Van Luppen, Montreal.
R.C.A. Minute Book 1880-1895, MG 28, I, 126, vol. 3, p. 29.
31. Id., pp. 30-31.
32. Id., pp. 31-32.
33. Id., p. 32.
34. Id., p. 51.
35. Id., p. 53.
36. Id., p. 60.
37. Id., pp. 63-64.
38. Id., pp. 68, 70.
39. Id., pp. 94-95. After several trips back and forth in 1883-1884, Henry Sandham finally moved to the United States. In 1884, he became an honorary non-resident Academician at Raphael's suggestion.

40. Id., p. 85.
41. Art Association Reports, December 1883, p. 7.
42. R.C.A. Minute book, MG 28, I, 126, vol. 3, p. 89, June 1, 1883.
43. Id., p. 92.
44. Id., pp. 96-99.
45. Id., p. 118.
46. Ibid.
47. Id., p. 119.
48. Id., p. 130.
49. Id., p. 146.
50. Id., p. 135.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Id., p. 150.
54. Id., p. 151.
55. Id., p. 181 1/2.
56. Id., p. 253.
57. R.C.A. Minute Book, 1895-1925, vol. 3, p. 6.
58. Id., undated. Difficult to pinpoint because the previous page of minutes is missing.
59. R.C.A. Minute Book, 1895-1925, vol. 3, pp. 17-18.
60. Id., p. 20.
61. Ibid.

62. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Watts Diary, p. 221.
63. Id., p. 244.
64. The Montreal Gazette, February 22, 1886.
65. This is not listed in the M.M.F.A. Exhibitions Book, March 6, 1895 - April 12, 1902 but is listed on the list of exhibitions Raphael contributed to, M.M.F.A. Raphael file.
66. Henceforth identified as A.A.M.
67. Found in the Art Association of Montreal Scrap Books; Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
68. The Marquis of Lorne had stressed in his speech at the opening of the new Art Gallery on Phillips Square that "we should be able to point to a Canadian School of Painting [so that] Canada may favorably compare with any country". (A.A.M. Reports, 1879-1888, p. 17.) He implored the artists to make "natural resources the beauty of her landscapes as well known as those of the picturesque districts of Europe". (Ibid., p. 20.)
69. Harper, Paintings in Canada, p. 177.
70. The Montreal Gazette, December 11, 1880. The Art Association of Montreal Report of 1881-2 states the fee was \$5 per month for each course payable in advance.
71. The Montreal Gazette, December 11, 1880.
72. Witness, "Montreal Art Association," January 30, 1881.
73. A.A.M. Reports 1879-1888, p. 11.
74. Report of Mr. John Popham on the matter of securing an art teacher for the Art Association of Montreal art classes to the President and Council of the Art Association, May 2, 1883. In M.M.F.A. Scrap Book I, p. 92.

75. A.A.M. Report ending December 1883, p. 7.
76. Montreal Herald, December 20, 1883.
77. A.A.M. Report ending December 1883, p. 7.
78. The Montreal Gazette, "The Art Classes", June 4, 1884.
79. This comment is revealing because it was never earlier ascertained that Raphael did the process of chromolithography on his own.
80. A.A.M. Reports 1886, p. 5.
81. Leo Cox and J. Harry Smith, The Pen and Pencil Club, 1890-1959 (Montreal, 1959), p. 2.
82. Id., p. 3.
83. Ibid.
84. McCord Museum, Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Minute Book, 1890-1905, p. 17.
85. McCord Museum, Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Album 1890-1891, Folio 1, p. 147.
86. Recorded in Pen and Pencil Club Minute Book, 1890-1905, p. 18.
87. Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Album, 1890-1891, Folio 1, p. 153.
88. Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Minute Book, p. 19.
89. Id., p. 20.
90. Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Album, Folio 1, p. 217.
91. Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Minute Book, 1890-1905, p. 20.
92. Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Album, 1890-1891, Folio 1, p. 245.

93. Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Minute Book, p. 22.
94. Id., p. 23.
95. Mention of his involvement with the Q.C.A.M. is recorded in Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, "[He was] approved a member of the Council of Arts and Manufacturers, P.Q., 1904." p. 297. Repeated in Wallace, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 549.
96. The Montreal Gazette, "Letter to the Editor" dated June 3, 1886.
97. Russell Harper and Stanley Triggs, Portrait of a Period (Montreal, 1967).
98. This was suggested by Stanley Triggs, curator of Notman Photographic Archives, after seeing photo-stats of records of payment received by Raphael. Interview, January 16, 1978.
99. Notman's Wage Book, 1863-1917 indicated that some artists received much lower wages than Raphael. Records were only kept after 1863. J.A. Fraser, head of the art department was paid \$61.50 every two weeks when he arrived in 1864. This was the highest salary. In 1868, when he left, he was paid the same amount. Henry Sandham was paid \$18.00 in 1864 and left the firm in 1877 at \$80.00. The average wage for a highly skilled painter was \$35.00 every two weeks in the mid 1860's.
100. 5, 47V.
101. 5, 47V, 5, 48R and 5, 48V record how much he was paid in installments for each month. In July he earned \$40, in August \$81, and in September \$67. For October he leaves no records. In November he earned \$40 and December \$111.25. For photographs he received \$25.75. The sum total was \$365.00 earned from July 1859 until December 1859. This is approximately \$62.00 every month derived from this isolated group of figures only.
102. 5, 48V. It is not stated why he arrived at this total or how many months it covered.

103. 3, 64V.
104. McCord Museum, Notman Archives, No. 7086.
105. A letter from Mrs. Alberta Holmes, Bramalea, Ontario, dated February 7, 1978 to Mr. Stanley Triggs, Curator of Notman Photographic Archives, states that this portrait was examined by Mary Allodi of the Canadian Division of the Royal Ontario Museum. She judged it to be "oil on paper attached to paper". After receiving a photograph of this oil portrait, Mr. Triggs ascertained that it was a painted photograph.
106. It is kept among old photographs in the Wener collection.
107. A Notman archivist, Nora Hague, found a duplicate filed as No. 2362-I and dated 1861.
108. McCord Museum, Notman Archives, Artist's File.
109. Stanley Triggs' estimation.
110. Notman Archives No. 56375-II.
111. These identifications are the ones provided by Notman's.
112. Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1863-1864, p. 286. Before 1863 he was listed at a Notre Dame Street address.
113. Canada Census, Montreal, 1861 and Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1863-1864, p. 286. Full page advertisement.
114. Ibid., and Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, p. 302. In her 1976 Master's Thesis, Ann Thomas makes a claim based on an "unpublished manuscript" Luminism in Canada by S. Goelman (her footnote No. 60) that "Raphael is purported to have opened a photography studio in Montreal with E. Taber and in the last years of his life pasted photographed figures onto his canvas and painted over them." (Ann Thomas, The Role of Photography in Canadian Painting (1860-1900: Relationship Between the Photographic Image and a Style of Realism in Painting, Master's of

Fine Arts, Concordia University, p. 73.)

I don't recall Ann ever asking to read my unpublished manuscript; however, she did attend my lecture in 1976 called American Luminism and the Exploration of its Presence in Canadian Art. Unfortunately Ann mis- construed what I said in the lecture in one instance and totally misquoted me in the second. I said that Raphael was under the "employ" of A.B. Taber not E. Taber, in 1863, based on information from an ad in Lovell's Montreal Directory 1863-4, p. 286. Ann had previous knowledge that the two worked together since initially it was she who, in a 1975 seminar related to her thesis topic, suggested this to me. My research indicated that the artist only worked for the photographer as I've pointed out in this thesis, not "opened a photography studio with E. Taber" as Ann claimed.

At the same lecture, I indicated that I had found a letter in the National Gallery Library that discussed a hitherto unpublicized oil method of figure painting on canvas. I read the following excerpts of the document aloud. "Apparently Saïdham and Jacobi used to photograph his people, and transfer the impression to canvas, which he then painted in oils. Jacobi, however, photographed them on thin paper which he attached to canvas. In time the paper peels, and as the oils did not penetrate, the canvas is blank underneath. It is impossible however to keep it in place by glass." (National Gallery of Canada Library, Jacobi file. Letter from Major G. Lanctot, Dominion Archivist Public Archives, Ottawa, November 8, 1945 to H. O. McCurry, Director, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.) It was Jacobi, not Raphael as Ann stated in her thesis, who "pasted photographed figures onto his canvas and painted over them." Ann knew I was doing extensive research on William Raphael and may have assumed I was referring to him.

115. Research at the Public Archives of Canada, National Archives of Quebec, McCord Museum and the Château de Ramezay have failed to turn up material about Taber's firm. Presumably the firm was rather small.

116. Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1880-1881, p. 198.

117. Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1867-1868, p. 271.
118. Witness, March 14, 1888.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Mrs. Wener recalls that her grandfather was known to have taught there. Because of his affiliation with this private school, her mother, Clara Raphael and her Aunt, Bertha Raphael attended this Convent. Her mother studied there during the late seventies while Raphael was teaching.
122. Account Books could not be found either in the Villa Maria Convent or in the Archives of the C.N.D. Mother House (Sherbrooke Street West).
123. McCord Museum, M 17323, 7R.
124. Ibid., 7V.
125. Ibid., 3R and 4R.
126. Nuns were not permitted to sign their own names on the front of their art work at this early date.
127. Inventaire de la Maison St-Gabriel, 1971. La Sainte-Famille, No. 5:194, p. 47.
128. "Ce tableau fut remplacé par celui de La Sainte-Famille, bonne peinture venue d'Europe dont on a fait plusieurs copies". Congrégation Notre-Dame, Mère Ste-Ursule's notes, No. 1, unpaginated.
129. Now in the Memorial Chapel of Marguerite Bourgeoys behind glass.
130. The signed document establishing this Society, July 31, 1663.
131. M. Etienne Michel Faillon, p.s.s., Vie de Marguerite Bourgeoys (Montreal, 1853), p. 170, and Soeur Ste-Henriette Marsolais-Lemire, Histoire de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, Vol. 1 (1910), pp. 324-327.

132. Congrégation Notre-Dame Archives, Annales de la Maison Mère, Biography of Sister St-Sylvestre, pp. 46-49.
133. In the notes of another nun from the Convent of Ste-Anne, we learn "M. W. Raphael aurait pu nous donner ces leçons de dessin d'après nature . . . comme il ne parlait pas français". Notebook of Sister Helen of the Cross, C.S.A., p. 3.
134. The Order of Congrégation Ste-Anne was founded in 1850 by Bishop Bourget.
135. C.S.A., Livre de Caisse, payments recorded from 1886-1914.
136. C.S.A., Cahier de Mémoire, written by Sister Marie Arsène under "Enseignement de la peinture", p. 2.
137. Ibid.
138. Told by the present head of the art department at Congrégation Ste-Anne, Sister Germaine Leclair, in an interview January 1975.
139. Records were kept of some of the private lessons and the payment Raphael received each time.
140. C.S.A., Notebook of Sister Helen of the Cross, p. 3.
141. Ibid.
142. This was the Sister who was to succeed Arsène as head of the Art Department. She was the keeper of records in the Art Department from 1886-1956, and had remained Raphael's devoted student until his death.
143. C.S.A., Notebook of Sister Helen of the Cross, p. 2.
144. Id., pp. 2-3.
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.
148. The following are excerpts quoted from various pages of her records. "Sept. 1887 for eleven lessons, Raphael was paid \$55" (C.S.A., Livre de Caisse, 1886-1956, p.19). "For October 1888 he was paid \$20 for 4 lessons, November 1888 and December 1888, \$40 for 8 lessons" (Ibid., p. 20). "In August 1889 [he was still being paid \$5 a lesson. For five lessons that month] he earned \$25" (Ibid).
149. "The late Mrs. Parizeau painted this waterfall as a student at the St. Jerome Convent but did not date it. The St. Jerome Convent burnt to the ground could not be traced there.
150. This was still the case after she became head art teacher.
151. Told by Sister ~~Germaine~~ Leclair, January 1975.
152. C.S.A., Livre de Caisse 1891, p. 40.
153. Recounted by Sister Germaine Leclair, April 14, 1976.
154. C.S.A., Livre de Caisse, 1892, p. 44.
155. This was the same procedure followed in Raphael's sketches done at
156. Both are in the collection of Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine. One is signed WR 31/, 54. The other is dated 3/8 58. Montr.
157. No related correspondence has been found in the Archives of Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine. Only the one photograph brought to light by Sister Germaine Leclair records the painting. Measurements and date remain unknown.
158. Notman Archives, Artistic file, photograph of William Raphael sitting at an easel with a larger religious painting behind.
159. C.S.A., Livre de Caisse, "1913, \$125.00 payé à M. Raphael".

160. C.S.A. Archives, Letter from Mother Melanie, Lachine, Quebec, May 18, 1909 to Wm. Raphael, Montreal, which states "You will be somewhat surprised to see by the tracing that we have made in the model and that instead of choosing one of the two virgins in question, we have substituted another one." p. 1.
161. Ibid.
162. Ibid., p. 2.
163. Ibid.
164. C.S.A. Archives, Letter from Wm. Raphael to Sister Helen of the Cross, St. Anne's, Lachine, September 17, 1910 from William Raphael, 314 St. Catherine Street West, Montreal.
165. Wener Collection. Similar work can be seen at Ferme St-Gabriel, Pointe-St-Charles.
166. C.S.A. Archives, Letter from William Raphael, 30 Durocher Street, October 30, 1912 to Lady Superior General of Congregation St. Anne's, M. Anastasia, Lachine, Que.
167. C.S.A. Archives, Letter from Wm. Raphael, 314 St. Catherine Street West, (his studio) June 18, 1912, to the Lady Superior General, St. Anne's Convent, Lachine. This portrait is kept in the Wener Collection.
168. C.S.A. Archives, Letter from Harry Raphael, 30 Durocher St., August 8, 1914, to Sister Helen of the Cross, Lachine.
169. Art Association Reports, 1879, pp. 17-20.
170. Ibid.
171. The Montreal Gazette, "Art Education," December 11, 1880.
172. Ibid.
173. Ibid.

174. Portfolio of Photoprints, Art Association of Montreal, 1881.
175. Art Association Reports, 1881-1882.
176. M.M.F.A. file on Raphael prepared by a E.H.R. states that Raphael was the "first one to introduce in Montreal drawing from the cast and from life."
177. Ibid. "Prospectus of Classes."
178. The Montreal Gazette, June 4, 1884.
179. "Views of Art Teaching, A very interesting Lecture by Mr. William Brymner (The Montreal Gazette, March 26, 1895).
180. Ibid.
181. Ibid.
182. Watts Manuscript, p. 221.
183. Raphael's letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette, dated June 11, 1886.
184. Witness, October 15, 1904.
185. Told by his daughter Miss Alma Hart in an interview in 1973.
186. Raphael had moved to 1310 St. Catherine Street in 1884 from his St. Peter Street studio. Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1884, p. 563.
187. Evaluation Roll, St. Antoine Ward, 1885 indicates that the Art Association was between St. Alexander and Phillip's Square. In 1887 Raphael's civic number would change to 2204 St. Catherine, but his cadastral number remained the same. The same with the Art Association. Both buildings remained in their same location until the end of 1910, when the Art Association moved to Sherbrooke Street and Raphael's civic number again changed to 314 St. Catherine but retained the same cadastral number. Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1910, p. 427.

188. "Our Artists at Work," Star, March 14, 1885.
189. Ibid.
190. The address is the same as 1310 St. Catherine Street. Evaluation Roll 1887, St. Antoine Ward, lists it as the same cadastral number 1268 indicating that the civic numbers were changed.
191. Unlabelled article left with the artist's belongings.
192. The Toronto Week, August 29, 1889.
193. Frederick W. M. Terrill, Chronology of Montreal and of Canada from AD 1752 - AD 1893, Montreal, John Lovell & Sons, p. 347.
194. The Montreal Gazette, November 4, 1895.
195. Star, April 11, 1895. An undated watercolor sketch of a Street Tinker appears in the collection of Mr. & Mrs. Edward Wener, Montreal. That of a portly priest called A Sketch from Nature (An Amateur) is in the possession of Dr. & Mrs. M. Raff, Montreal. It is possible that these are two of the works referred to in this article.
196. Evaluation Roll, St. Andrews Ward, 1910. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1910, p. 427.
197. Mr. Emile Falardeau, in conversation, May 27, 1978.
198. Wener Collection.
199. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1866-1867, p. 268.
200. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1867-1868, p. 271.
201. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1870-1871, p. 414. This civic number was changed in 1876, but his studio remained at the same location.
202. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1877-1878 merely lists him as William Raphael, artist, 202 German Street, p. 604.

203. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1879, p. 530.
204. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1883, p. 498 lists him at 141 St. Peter. The civic address changed.
205. Lovell's Montreal Directory 1884, p. 563 indicates that he moved to 1310 St. Catherine St. He remained at this address in 1885 and for years later.
206. The Montreal Gazette, Letter to the Editor dated June 11, 1886.
207. Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, p. 101.
208. 13 1/2" X 12".
209. Dates seem to have been added that would make some of the group appear to have been done before Raphael came to Canada. The case of the portrait of Raphael's own daughter, Bertha, identified as such by his granddaughter, is proof. The portrait is signed W. Raphael and dated 8.6.55. Raphaël was only married in 1862. Bertha was his youngest child. It is likely that other dates were also added later.
210. Harper, Painting in Canada, illustration, p. 207.
211. Stanley Triggs, when showed the two photographs deemed them to be the same sitter.
212. Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 207.
213. Ibid.
214. Montreal Herald, June 8, 1887.
215. The Montreal Gazette, June 9, 1885.
216. Told by Alice Lighthall, his daughter, February, 1978.
217. All the above information about these pupils was provided by Alice Lighthall who herself remembers many of them well. Told in an interview, February, 1978.

218. Letter to the Editor of The Montreal Gazette dated June 3, 1886.
219. The Mexican Herald, December 15, 1906.
220. Told by Miss Pennington in 1955, when in her 90's, to Mrs. Harry Handel who bought a Raphael painting from her. She talked often with her about Raphael her teacher, but did not make clear the years of her studies with him.
221. Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, pp. 251-252.
222. Ibid.
223. Ibid., p. 56.
224. C.N.D. Archives, Annales de la Maison Mère, pp. 46-47.
225. Letter from William Raphael, 314 St. Catherine Street West to Sister Helen of the Cross, Lachine, June 21, 1911.
226. Livre de Caisse, 1910-1911, Sister Helen of the Cross valued it as being worth \$50.00, p. 84.
227. Letter from William Raphael Montreal to Hon. Mary Anastasia, January 18, 1912.
228. Letter from Raphael, Montreal, to Sister Helen of the Cross, June 24, 1913.
229. Told by Sister Germaine Leclair in an interview, January, 1978.
230. Livre de Caisse, Sister Helen of the Cross, pp. 5 and 6.
231. Told by Sister Germaine Leclair, January, 1978.
232. Grey Nuns, Pierrefonds, Quebec.
233. This number 426 on the back of these landscapes is the equivalent of her signature.
234. Ibid., p. 9.

235. C.S.A. Notebook of Sister Helen of the Cross and related verified by Sister Germaine Leclair.
236. Montreal Herald, February 12, 1864.
237. Ibid.
238. The Evening Telegraph, February 27, 1865.
239. The Art Journal, London, October 1, 1866, p. 306.
240. The Art Journal, London, November 1, 1866, p. 330.
241. Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, February 6, 1867.
242. The Montreal Gazette, February 7, 1867.
243. Wener Collection. Unlabelled newspaper article dated Montreal, March 6, 1869.
244. Wener Collection. Unlabelled, undated article.
245. Wener Collection. Unlabelled newspaper article.
246. Wener Collection. Unlabelled newspaper article.
247. Canadian Illustrated News, February 12, 1870, vol. 1, pp. 230-231.
248. The Montreal Gazette, September 29, 1875.
249. Witness, May 27, 1879.
250. Canadian Monthly and National Review, "A Gossip About the First Dominion Art Exhibition," vol. IV, January - June, 1880, p. 552.
251. Montreal Herald, March 11, 1880.
252. Canadian Illustrated News, April 10, 1880, p. 233.
253. The Montreal Gazette, December 11, 1880.
254. George Munro, Picturesque Canada, 2 vols., Belden Bros., Toronto, 1882.

255. The first dated work is marked 1878 but he may have done drawings for Dr. Osler before that date which have not been located. In 1882 Raphael signed a drawing of the "Thrombi of the Aorta". Osler Library, McGill University.
256. William Osler Medical Library, McGill University, has these drawings.
257. Witness, April 11, 1883.
258. J. C. Forbes, F. M. Bell Smith, William Cruishank, Marmaduke Mathews, Lucius O'Brien, A. P. Coleman, Robert Harris, Foreshaw Day, John Fraser and much later Brymner recorded scenery out West.
259. A McCord Sketchbook of 1883-1885 records him as being in places such as Montreal, Hochelaga, Lake Champlain, Lachine, Pointe Claire, St. Rose, Adirondacks. M17373. Sketchbooks of later years record trips to areas outside of Montreal, but none to Western Canada.
260. The Montreal Herald, April 10, 1885.
261. The Montreal Gazette, April 14, 1885.
262. The Montreal Gazette, April 13, 1885.
263. Ontario Archives, Colgate Papers, Letter from Homer Watson, Doon, Ontario, December 29, 1885 to James Spooner, Toronto. 8 pages.
264. Wener Collection. Undated letter from Wm. Osler, 131 South 15th Street, Philadelphia to Raphael. Envelope stamped 1886.
265. The Montreal Gazette, February 12, 1886.
266. The Star, February 3, 1887.
267. E. Benezit, Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs (Paris: Librairie Grun, 1952), vol. 7, p. 118.
268. Montreal Herald, August 6, 1887.

- 269. The Star, August 18, 1889.
- 270. Witness, April 22, 1892.
- 271. The Montreal Gazette, May 7, 1892.
- 272. Loose page recording the prizes was found in the Art Association Scrap Book.
- 273. The Montreal Gazette, March 1, 1893.
- 274. M.M.F.A. Exhibition Book, March 1895 - April 1902.
- 275. O.S.A. Catalogue 1897. The Woods in Winter was listed for \$75.
R.C.A. Catalogue, 1898. A Different Problem.
- 276. M.M.F.A. Exhibition Book of March, 1895 - April, 1902 lists Raphael as contributing three paintings in 1900, p. 231 and in 1901, two paintings, p. 251.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

- 1. The Montreal Gazette, March 16, 1914.
- 2. He made lists of sitters in each city.
- 3. His father died in 1850. This may have been executed posthumously.
- 4. One is in the Lehman Collection, New York, 1887.
The other is in the Wener Collection, undated.
- 5. Collection, Lehman, signed 187? (The last number is unclear.)
- 6. One is in the Raff Collection, undated. The other is in Congrégation Ste-Anne's. (An incorrect date has been added to the latter.)
- 7. Both are in the Wener Collection, undated.

8. Collection, Lehman. Undated.
9. Collection, Raff. Undated.
10. 2, 19R. Nakel/23/4/56. The others are formal portraits.
11. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
12. Ibid. Undated.
13. Ibid., 1881.
14. Collection, Wener. Undated.
15. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
16. Collection, Wener. Undated.
17. Collection, Miss Frances Jacobson, Montreal. Undated.
18. Ibid., 1892.
19. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
20. Collection, McCready's Art Gallery, Toronto in 1977.
21. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Date was likely added later.
22. One is in the Raff Collection, 1880. The other is in Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine. Undated.
23. A bust portrait is in a private collection, Montreal, 1870. A second full-length portrait is in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. Undated.
24. He wrote, Head of a Turk for Rev. DeSola. 3, '64V.
25. Raphael was to become one of the founders of the Reform Temple Emanuel in Montreal, but that would have been in 1880. In 1862, the Spanish and Portuguese was the only synagogue in the city.
26. Private Collection, Montreal, 1871.

27. Collection, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Montreal. Undated.
28. Collection, Dr. Harry Ballon, Montreal, 1882.
29. Collection, Bishops University, Sherbrooke, Quebec. (This has not been seen by the author.)
30. Collection, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montreal, 1868.
31. It was Bourget who recommended this artist as teacher to Congrégation Ste-Anne.
32. Collection, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, 1877.
33. Collection, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, 1877.
34. Collection, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, 1876.
35. Collection, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, 1876.
36. Collection, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, 1875.
37. Collection, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, 1875.
38. Collection, Louis Melzak, University of Montreal, Canadiana Collection 187(?). (The date is not fully legible.)
39. 3, 13R.
40. His studio at 1310 St. Catherine Street was in the same building that housed the Hochelaga and Mount Royal Lodge of the Masonic Hall.
41. Collection, Mr. & Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto. 1913.
42. Information supplied by Col. Heard, R.C.M.P., Ottawa.
43. Collection, Mr. & Mrs. Jules Loeb, Toronto. 1866.
44. Collection, The Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg, Manitoba, G-65-87. 1884.
45. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. J. Raff. 1874.

46. Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1875.
47. Collection, Dr. Gerald Archibald, Toronto, 1877.
48. Collection, Château de Ramezay, 1905.
49. Château de Ramezay record book under entry of his name.
50. Collection, Château de Ramezay. 1905.
51. See note 49.
52. Collection, Château de Ramezay, 1905.
53. See note 49.
54. Collection, Château de Ramezay, 1905.
55. See note 49.
56. Collection, Château de Ramezay. 1908.
57. See note 49. A glass negative of a Raphael painting at Notman Photographic Archives, No. 14860 - View Series is of this copy of William McGillivray.
58. Collection, Château de Ramezay. Undated.
59. McCord, No. 969, 77.
60. Collection, Musée de Québec, No. 1471. Signed Louis Dulongpré. 1806.
61. This painting in the Mrs. Jacob Wener Collection was left with the family at the time of Raphael's death.
62. 5, 17R.
63. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
64. McCord Museum, M. 17374.
65. Unlabelled, undated newspaper article.

66. 4, various pages.
67. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1878.
68. McCord Museum, M. 6016. Undated.
69. Label on back is from W. Scott, the same dealer that lent the Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence to the R.C.A. in 1880.
70. Collection, Mrs. Harry Handel. Undated.
71. Labelled as such by D. W. Lighthall in the McCord acquisition book. M. 6016. "The canoe is melacite. Nov. 1928."
72. Such as IV, 4R or 8V.
73. 4, 2R.
74. 4, 4R.
75. This scene was included in a Portfolio of Photo Prints from Paintings, the Property of the Art Association of Montreal and from Sketches by Canadian Artists . . . Presented to Members of the Art Association, 1881. One such copy is in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
76. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
77. Raphael rarely includes mysterious cloud formations such as these.
78. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine, 1878.
79. 4. 7R.
80. National Gallery 18370.
81. 2, 30R. The steeple in the sketch is at the front of the church near the water. In the oil painting however the steeple is at the back of the church.
82. 4, 32R.

83. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto, 1880.
84. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1880.
85. Ibid., 1882.
86. Ibid., 1887.
87. Ibid., 1887.
88. Ibid., 1890.
89. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine, 1891.
90. Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1894.
91. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1898.
92. Ibid., 1908.
93. Ibid., 1910.
94. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
95. Private Collection. Undated.
96. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
97. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
98. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal, 1897.
99. Ibid., 1908.
100. Dr. and Mrs. Harry Glick, Montreal, 1887.
101. Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
102. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
103. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Gimple, Toronto, 1890.
104. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.

105. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1892.
106. Collection, Mrs. H. Handel, Montreal. Undated.
107. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Raymond, 1898.
108. Collection, Agnes Etherington Art Gallery, Kingston, 1892.
109. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1874.
110. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener, 1911.
111. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1885.
112. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
113. Collection, Mr. and Mrs Jacob Wener. Undated.
114. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
115. Ibid.
116. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto, 1881.
117. Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1890. 4, 26R might be the preparatory sketch to the horse and cart in the painting.
118. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York, 1884.
119. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1890.
120. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York, 1890.
121. Both are dated 15.8.90 and measure 12" X 18".
122. Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1890. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener, c. 1850.
123. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
124. Ibid.

125. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1889.
126. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
127. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1905.
128. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1887.
129. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1870.
130. Ibid., 1890.
131. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1895.
132. Ibid., 1894.
133. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1910.
134. Ibid., 1890.
135. Private Collection. Undated.
136. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. James Raymond. Undated.
137. Collection, Lee Mendelson, 1889.
138. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
139. Ibid.
140. Collection, National Gallery, Canada, 1879.
141. Collection, Fred Schaeffer, 1880.
142. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine, Montreal, 1891.
143. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
144. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1886.
145. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
146. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine. Undated.

147. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
148. Collection, National Gallery of Canada. Undated.
149. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
150. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
151. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
152. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1894.
153. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
154. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
155. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
156. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
157. Collection, Joliette Museum, 1908.
158. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine. Undated.
159. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
160. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine. Undated.
161. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
162. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York, 1889.
163. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1902.
164. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1887.
165. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
166. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
167. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1882.
168. McCord Museum, Montreal. Undated.
169. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1887.

170. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1878.
171. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1887.
172. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1908.
173. Collection, Concordia University. Undated.
174. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1880.
175. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1878.
176. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
177. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1898.
178. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1897.
179. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Harry Glick, 1887.
180. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1887.
181. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1895.
182. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1890.
183. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1898.
184. Collection, Dr. Robert Levine. Undated.
185. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
186. National Gallery of Canada, 1879.
187. Collection, Fred Schaeffer, 1880.
188. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1894.
189. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1878.
190. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Gimple, 1890.
191. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1890.
192. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1890.

193. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1890.
194. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1866. This painting was formerly called Immigrants at Montreal.
195. 2, 5R.
196. 3, ?
197. 2, 6V.
198. 3, 52V, 53R.
199. There are newspaper reviews discussing other versions. "Scene on St. Paul Street, opposite the Bonsecours Market." Daily Witness, Friday, February 12, 1864. A later 1880 version is in the collection of Peter Winkworth, London. Others probably were painted as well. A Toronto art dealer claims to have four Montreal Market scenes in his possession but he "cannot locate them for the present time."
200. Journal de Québec, September 27, 1865, p. 2.
201. Ibid.
202. Raphael may have made art contacts in Scotland when he was there in 1865 and therefore tried to sell in Glasgow first.
203. The Art Journal, London, November 1, 1866, p. 330.
204. The Art Journal, London, October 1, 1866, p. 306.
205. The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, February 6, 1867.
206. The Montreal Gazette, February 7, 1867.
207. The Montreal Herald, February 12, 1864.
208. The Daily Witness, February 12, 1864.
209. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1863.

210. Many Habitant versions are discussed further on in this chapter in the section on Genre, pp. 175-177.
211. Collection, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1870.
212. L'Opinion Publique, January 8, 1870, p. 12.
213. It measured 13 1/2 inches X 22 inches and was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet Auction, Toronto, May 15-16, 1978.
214. Collection, Château de Ramezay, Montreal, 1869.
215. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Lande, Montreal. Undated.
216. Two are in the collection of the Château de Ramezay, Montreal. Chromolithograph Wolves Pursuing Habitants, 1869. At least two others are in private collections in the City of Montreal.
217. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1870.
218. Today it is still fascinating. This painting was selected by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts for a loan to the Smithsonian's National Museum of History and Technology in Washington, D.C., because of its genre interest. One hundred years earlier it was sent by Canada to the Philadelphia Art Exhibition in 1876. It was therefore fitting that it was on view for two years from June 1976 until June 1978 in honour of the American Bicentenary celebrations. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts quarterly newsletter Transition 3, March 1976, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 2.
219. Collection, Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, N.B., 1861.
220. Musée du Québec, 1869, formerly called Canadian Winter Scene, Dog Tandem; Dog Tandem; Tandem and Homeward Before the Storm. These diverse titles appeared in various newspapers in the 19th century.
221. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Gimple, Toronto, 1869.

222. Exhibited and auctioned at Fraser Brothers, Montreal, March 1977.
223. Two undated newspaper articles refer to the painting, using these alternate titles.
224. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1878.
225. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto, 1880.
226. One is a frontal view. The other is the back of the house, situated at 39 Victoria Avenue, corner Burnside. They are in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, and are dated 1908.
227. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1880.
228. The Montreal Gazette, April 7, 1885. This same painting was mentioned in the Montreal Herald, April 10, 1885, the Witness, April 11, 1883, and in The Montreal Gazette, April 16, 1883. It was exhibited at least twice. Once at the 1885 A.A.M. Annual Spring Exhibition and another time at the R.C.A. 1887 Show. A painting of a tinsmith was reviewed in the Herald, April 19, 1887, and the Herald, April 21, 1887, but this was titled A Bad Case. The Witness discussed the same painting November 26, 1887.
229. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1891.
230. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
231. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Wener, Montreal. Undated.
232. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York, 1907.
233. This was published by the National Gallery of Canada in Association with Bristol Laboratories Canada Ltd., and lithographed by Cambridge Press. The date on the lithograph is 1873. There is no indication as to the year they were actually produced. Watercolor and pencil sketches based on them are dated 1907.
234. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1863.

235. McCord Museum. Undated.
236. Collection, Peter Winkworth, 1880.
237. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
238. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, 1873.
239. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
240. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
241. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
242. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
243. 1, 9V. This will be discussed further in Chapter Three, under Sketchbooks, p. 193 and p. 195.
244. Collection, Montefiore Club, Montreal. Undated.
245. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Smolkin, Montreal, 1897.
246. George Monroe Grant, Picturesque Canada (Toronto: Belden Brothers, 1881 and 1882). Illustration No. 93. Halfbreed Fishermen.
247. Kennedy Quarterly, December 1973, vol. 12, no. 4, cover illustration.
248. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and Exhibitions Book, March 1895 - April 1902, lists under the Spring Exhibition 1900, No. 87, A Smoke Before Starting by William Raphael. This may be the same painting or a similar one.
249. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Norman Levine, Toronto. Dated but unclear. 6/8 5? indicating that it was done in the 1850's, a very early Raphael painting executed in Canada.
250. Collection, Dr. Robert S. D'Aloisio, Sudbury, Ontario, 1900.

251. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, 1873.
252. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1902.
253. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
254. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine. Undated.
255. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
256. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1870.
257. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1907. Discussed earlier.
258. Ibid.
259. The Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg, Alberta. H-33-20. Undated.
260. Private collection, 1889.
261. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1883.
262. Private collection 1884.
263. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1884.
264. McCord Museum. Sketchbook M.17373, p. 14R portrays a pencil sketch of this same child leaning against a post. The artist signed the drawing "Harry Sept. 1883".
265. McCord Museum. Sketchbook M.17373. They will be discussed later under Sketchbooks, p. 192 and p. 193.
266. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
267. Star, April 11, 1895.
268. Told by his granddaughter, Ruth Wener.
269. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, 1913.
270. 1, 11v.

271. 1, 2V.
272. 1, 4V.
273. Both in 4, 28R.
274. Told by the artist's granddaughter. Probably 1, 16V is a sketch to a larger painting of the master's dog.
275. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
276. 1, 1R.
277. 1, 2R.
278. 6, 31R.
279. M.17373, 28R.
280. 1, 16V.
281. 5, 73V.
282. Ibid.
283. 5, 17R.
284. M.17373, 4V and 35R, the latter dated 1885/June 16.
285. Private collection, 3.8.1884.
286. M.17373, 43R.
287. 1, 52V or 6, 21V.
288. 1, 51R, 8V, 13V, 14R and 14V.
289. Sketchbook No. 3 originally had a drawing of three buffaloes. When the sketchbooks were in Toronto in 1973, it seems to have been torn out.
290. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. James Raymond, 1880.
291. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.

292. Formerly in Gemst Gallery, Montreal. Undated.
293. The name is written on the back of the frame.
Cross, who often made her own adaptations
294. It may well be by the hand of Sister Helen of the
after basing her studies on those of her teacher.
295. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener. Undated.
296. This was for sale at West End Art Gallery, Westmount,
in 1971 and appeared in Dominion Gallery for a brief
period in 1972. It was withdrawn from sale by its
owner.
297. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
298. Collection, Vancouver Art Gallery, 1908.
299. Hangs at Ferme St-Gabriel. 1882.
300. Both these canvases are at Hotel Dieu, Quebec City.
301. Letter from Sister Mélanie, Assistant-General of
Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine, Quebec, to Mr. William
Raphael, Montreal.
302. Congrégation Ste-Anne, post card file.
303. Raphael's version was enlarged to 9 feet 8 inches by
6 feet 18 inches for Ste-Anne's Chapel. In the lower
right corner it is signed W. Raphael/Montreal 1909.
304. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Jules Loeb, Toronto. Undated.
305. Loeb Collection Catalogue attributes this work
(no. 39) Two Figures in a Landscape, to William Raphael.
It is unsigned and undated.
306. See footnote 1, Chapter One, for technical information.
These are complete, although there are several pages
torn out of those in the collection at the National
Gallery of Canada. There were others that have been
torn apart. They were of varied sizes, as can be seen

by those of drawings on sketch pad paper, framed separately. Unless otherwise indicated it should be assumed that the medium of the drawings discussed is in pencil.

307. National Gallery of Canada, McCord Museum of McGill University, Montreal and in the private collection of the artist's granddaughter, Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
308. The most orderly visual records are in the 1865 depictions of Scotland in M.17374, McCord Museum, Montreal.
309. See references in chapter one particularly.
310. 3, 70R.
311. 3, 13R.
312. 5, 43V.
313. 5, 44R.
314. 3, 63V.
315. Wener Sketchbook and 2, 61V.
316. 3, 18V.
317. 3, 61V.
318. 5, 20R.
319. Ibid.
320. 2, 69V.
321. 3, 18R.
322. 3, 69V.
323. 4, 1R.
324. M.17374, 3R.
325. 4, 5R.

326. 2, 2R.
327. 4, 12R.
328. 4, 26R.
329. 2, 24V.
330. 1, 18V.
331. M.17373, 25V.
332. 4, 4V.
333. 4, 14R.
334. 4, 24V.
335. 4, 3R.
336. 1, 13R.
337. 1, 58V.
338. 4, 16R.
339. 2, 8V.
340. M.17373, 8V.
341. 1, 56R.
342. M.17373, 44R.
343. 4, 12V.
344. 2, 10V.
345. 4, 22V.
346. 2, 9V.
347. 1, 16R.
348. 2, 12V.

- 349. 2, 26R.
- 350. 3, 64V.
- 351. 2, 3R.
- 352. 4, 3V.
- 353. 2, 11V.
- 354. M.17373, 14V.
- 355. M.17373, 33R.
- 356. M.17373, 15R.
- 357. 4, 19R.
- 358. 1, 15R.
- 359. M.17373, 35R.
- 360. 6, 46V.
- 361. 2, 24R.
- 362. 3, 33V, 34R.
- 363. M.17373, 27R.
- 364. M.17373, 21R and 22R.
- 365. 6, 27R.
- 366. 6, 45R.
- 367. 6, 18V.
- 368. M.17373, 35V.
- 369. M.17373, 11V.
- 370. M.17373, 20V.
- 371. M.17373, 10R and 44V.

372. 2, 17R.

373. 2, 15R. There are many other anatomical sketches in this same Sketchbook. 2, 14R, 14V, 15V, 16R, 16V, 17R, 17V and 17R.

374. 5, 8V.

375. 5, 11V.

376. 2, 12R.

377. 2, 13R.

378. 3, 1R.

379. 2, 2V.

380. 2, 11V.

381. 1, 25R.

382. 6, 1R.

383. 6, 3R.

384. 6, 19R.

385. 1, 51V.

386. 5, 44V.

387. 4, 16R. Shown earlier.

388. 1, 54V.

389. M.17373, 32V.

390. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M.J. Raff, 1883.

391. M.17373, 30V.

392. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M.J. Raff, 1883.

393. 4, 7R.

- 394. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1878. 1, 9V.
- 395. 1, 9V.
- 396. Collection, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff. Undated.
- 397. Collection, Mrs. Jacob Wener, c. 1851.
- 398. 5, 17R.
- 399. M.17373, 35R.
- 400. M.17373, 43R and 42V.
- 401. M.17373, 4V and 30V.
- 402. Private collection, 1884.
- 403. 4, 30R and 32R.
- 404. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, 1879.
- 405. 2, 5R.
- 406. 2, 6V.
- 407. 3, 48R, 3, 40R, 3; 50V, 51R, 51V, 52V, 53R.
- 408. 4, 2R, 4R, 8V, and 9R.
- 409. M.17373, 14V.
- 410. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1890.
- 411. Congrégation Ste-Anne, 1890.
- 412. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, 1890.
- 413. 1, 8V, 10V, 13V, 14R, 14V, 12R and 51R. 6, 47R.
- 414. Dr. and Mrs. Raff, 1891.
- 415. Dr. and Mrs. Raff. Undated.
- 416. 4, 10R.

417. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Undated.
418. 3, 64V.
419. Ibid.
420. 3, 16V.
421. 3, 62R.
422. Ibid.
423. He received the written report October 3, 1859.
424. 3, 62R.
425. 3, 16R.
426. M.17374.
427. M.17374. The watermark on leaf 1 reads MAN 1863.
On leaf 11 and 12 WHEATMAN is spelled out fully.
428. M.17374, 1R.
429. M.17374, 2R. The location was suggested by Conrad
Graham, Curator, McCord Museum, McGill University in
an interview July 13, 1978.
430. M.17374, 3R.
431. M.17374, 4R.
432. M.17374, 5R.
433. M.17374, 5R.
434. M.17374, 6R.
435. The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World (New
York, Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 103.
436. M.17374, 7R.
437. M.17374, 8R.

438. M.17374, 9R.
439. Identified as a familiar sight of the area by Conrad Graham, McCord Museum.
440. M.17374, 10R.
441. The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World (New York, Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 1833.
442. Suggested by Conrad Graham.
443. M.17374, 11R, 12R.
444. M.17374, 13R, 14R, 18R.
445. 4, 13R.
446. 4, 19R.
447. 6, 19V and 4, 2R.
448. 4, 33R.
449. 4, 32V.
450. 4, 4R.
451. 4, 27V.
452. 4, 8V and 9R.
453. 4, 30V.
454. 4, 11V and 32V.
455. 4, 24V.
456. M.17373, 1R.
457. M.17373, 4R, 8R and 7V.
458. M.17373, 42R.
459. M.17373, 8V.

460. M.17373, 10R.
461. M.17373, 10R, 39V, 38V, 11V, 13R and 37V.
462. M.17373, 35V.
463. M.17373, 34V.
464. M.17373, 29V.
465. M.17373, 17R.
466. M.17373, 27V and 27R.
467. M.17373, 23V.
468. M.17373, 36R and 39R.
469. M.17373, 21R and 22R.
470. M.17373, 22V.
471. Several remained at Congrégation Ste-Anne.
472. M.17373, 27R.
473. Collection, Congrégation Ste-Anne. Both dated 1887..
474. Ibid.
475. 6, 19R.
476. 6, 22R.
477. 6, 19V.
478. 6, 23R.
479. 6, 25R.
480. Indicated by Mrs. Jacob Wener. In Raphael's obituary it mentions "Samuel Raphael, an artist in New York." as a child. The Montreal Gazette, March 16, 1914.
481. Ibid., "Mrs. Kayton, Norfolk, Virginia as a daughter."

- 482. 6, 45R.
- 483. 6, 18V.
- 484. 6, 44V.
- 485. 6, 45R and 26R.
- 486. 6, 27R.
- 487. 6, 2R.
- 488. 1, 51V.
- 489. 1, 5R and 7R.
- 490. Now torn out from 1, but dated July 1894.
- 491. 1, 3R and 4R.
- 492. 6, 43V.
- 493. 1, torn out.
- 494. 1, 5V.
- 495. 1, 17R.
- 496. 1, 21R.
- 497. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Wener. Undated.
On back is a sketch of a soldier in uniform with a
twisted handlebar mustache. Undated. The sketch
on either side indicates this was cut from a sketch-
book. Judging by its size (it measures approximately
4 3/4" X 8") and period (approximately 1853-5) this
may have been cut from Sketchbook 2.
- 498. Before the Sketchbooks were sold to the National
Gallery of Canada in 1974, the former owner sent them
to a now defunct art gallery in Toronto. It was during
this period that some sketches were cut out.
- 499. Other chromolithographs of Canadian artists were
produced such as Pour l'amour du Bon Dieu and Va au

Diable, 1859 after 1858 oil paintings by Kreighoff. However, these were executed in London. They were \$5.00 a pair. (Exhibition of Prints in Honour of C. Kreighoff, 1815-1872, McCord Museum, Montreal.) In 1866, at the first conversations, chromolithographs executed in London, England, based on O. R. Jacobi's watercolor Ottawa Crowned by Parliament Buildings were given to Art Association of Montreal members.

500. This painting has been given alternate titles by varying reviewers.
501. Probably refers to the 1867 original oil, possibly in a private collection in Victoria, B.C.
502. Undated newspaper article.
503. Unlabelled newspaper article dated March 6, 1869.
504. Unlabelled newspaper article left with the artist's belongings.
- * 505. The Art Journal, London, January 1, 1869, p. 157.
506. Two are in the Château de Ramezay, one in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Percy Jacobson, Montreal, and a fourth is in a private collection.
507. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Scrap Book I 1865-1867, p. 35.
508. Ibid.
509. This may be the undated canvas of 12-5/8 X 22-1/2 inches labelled in this paper as Habitants Chased by Wolves, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Lande. Undated.
510. Collection, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. 23-3/4 X 41-3/4 inches. 1870.
511. Unlabelled newspaper article.
512. Undated newspaper article.

513. Undated newspaper article.
514. Unlabelled newspaper article.
515. Unlabelled newspaper article.
516. Unlabelled newspaper article.
517. Society of Canadian Artists Catalogue lists No. 10 as sold for \$200.00 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
518. Provenance in the Museum's records indicates the painting was "presented in 1923 by the Misses Scott
519. This same painting was exhibited in the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. In commemoration of this, it was sent to the National Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institute, as part of the American Bicentennial celebrations.
520. It has been said that these stones were once kept at the Château de Ramezay.
521. Sotheby's Catalogue, May 1978, lot 12, illustration, p. 11, titled "Three Habitants in a Horse Drawn Sled". Measuring 13-1/2 X 22 inches, this is signed 1869 as well.
522. Collection, Château de Ramezay, Montreal. No. 1772 Received through donor Justice Baby, July 5, 1900. The cover of the album measures 16-1/2 X 26-3/4 inches. The individual pages and the finished chromolithograph at the back measure 13-1/2 X 22 inches.
523. Seemingly, these stones were boxed in the Château de Ramezay for many years but were lost or thrown out during one of the renovations done to the building.
524. Collection, McCord Museum, 1872.
525. Collection, McCord Museum, 1873.
526. These original drawings were possibly the ones on which two illustrations in Picturesque Canada, 1882.

were based. The ones of French Canadian Life and Character and Habitant and Snow Shoes appear to be very similar.

527. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York, 1907.
528. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, 1881.
529. Portfolio of Photo Prints from Paintings, the Property of the Art Association of Montreal, Montreal, George E. Desbarats, 1881.
530. 4, 4R done July 30, 1878..
531. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman,
532. George Munro Grant, Picturesque Canada, 2 vols., (Toronto: Belden Brothers, 1882).
533. Ibid., p. 62.
534. Ibid., p. 65.
- 534a. Ibid., p. 67.
535. Ibid., p. 93.
536. Discussed under section on Lithographs.
537. McCord Museum, Letter from J. A. Fraser, Toronto, September 23, 1880 to William Raphael, Montreal.
538. Journal of Anatomy and Physiology, Vol. XIII, plate XVII (1879), unpaginated.
539. Osler Library, Bibliotheca Osleriana, McGill University 7666 (M).
540. Dr. Wm. Osler (ed.), Montreal General Hospital, Reports, Clinical and Pathological, vol. 1 (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1880).
541. Ibid., plate III, fig. 1, p. 192.
542. Ibid., plate III, fig. 2, p. 192.
543. Ibid., plate VII, figs. 1 and 2, p. 206.

544. Ibid., plate VIII, p. 232.
545. That it was painted from life was suggested by Librarian Marilyn Fransiszyn, Wm. Osler Medical Library, McGill University.
546. Collection, Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York. This letter was the only one Raphael kept of Osler's. It came from Philadelphia, late January, 1885.
547. Wm. Osler Medical Library, McGill University. Letters from Wm. Osler, Philadelphia (postmark on envelope is February 10, 1885) to Wm. Raphael.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Novotny, Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880, 1971 edition, p. 195.
2. Ibid., p. 73.
3. Art Gallery of Ontario, states that "Jacobi studied at Dusseldorf Academy under Johann Wilhelm Schirmer from 1833-1837." p. 213.
4. Gottfried Lindemann, History of German Art (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 15a.
5. Novotny, Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880, 1971 edition, p. 127.
6. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, 1862.
7. Collection, Mrs. Florence Millman, Montreal, 1873.
8. Carl Gustave in translation, Lorenz Etner, Neo-classicism and Romanticism, 1750-1859, Sources and Documents II (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1970), p. 48.

9. Collection, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1855.
10. Collection, Hydro. Quebec, 1860.
11. Collection, National Gallery of Canada.
12. Edgar Andrew Collard, "An Early Artist in Montreal," The Montreal Gazette, September 22, 1962.
13. Art Gallery of Ontario, Robert Ford Gagen, Unpublished Manuscript, p. 43.
14. Art Gallery of Ontario letter files, Letter from O. R. Jacobi to James Spooner, July 30, 1876.
15. "The Late Adolphe Vogt of Montreal," Canadian Illustrated News, March 11, 1871.
16. Edmonton Art Gallery, Edmonton, 1870.
17. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, 1869.
18. Undated, but said by Guy Tassé, grandson of Dr. Laurendau that Raphael painted the Blacksmith at St-Gabriel-de-Brandon during one of the summers he stayed there, from 1908-1912.
19. John Ruskin, The Elements of Drawing (London: 1857).

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. His poem Das Landliche Leben states, "my happiness is connected with this nature". (5, 44V).
2. George Spendlove, The Face of Early Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958).
3. Id., plate 102.

4. Id., plate 103.
5. Several are in the Power Corporation Collection, Montreal. Examples are Indian Chippewa at Lake Huron, undated, or Indian Camp under the Moon near Grandpré, 1855.
6. Collection, Public Archives, 1860.
7. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. M. Dobrin, Montreal, 1856.
8. Private collection, Undated.
9. Collection, Mr. and Mrs. K. P. Thompson. Undated.
10. Jacobi was older than Raphael and his German conventions were more deeply rooted. He had an affable personality and became very active in the associations. He rose to become President of the R.C.A. from 1890 to 1892, and Vice President of the Pen and Pencil Club in 1890. Robert Harris was one who thought highly of him for a combination of reasons. "He is about the only regularly educated artist here." (Moncrieff Williamson, Robert Harris 1849-1914 An Unconventional Biography (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), p. 65.) He was "witty, clever, and drank rye mit water." (Ibid.)
11. In Toronto, Jacobi taught at the Ontario College of Art. (MacTavish, p. 7.) He is known to have taught Allan Edson and Malka Rose Auerbach privately in Montreal. Gagen, in his manuscript (pp. 42-3) claims that Jacobi inspected Edson's Eastern Townships sketches. Jacobi was known to have had a close relationship with his student Malka Rose Auerbach, whose family still has letters of correspondence between the two.
12. An example of documentation is the eighty-five paintings whose titles do not relate to paintings known today, referred to in various 19th century newspaper reviews found.

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The Witness, March 14, 1888.

The Witness, April 22, 1892.

The Witness, October 15, 1904.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A. Slides

[Unless otherwise stated, the paintings listed below are in the oil medium.]

1. Portrait of William Raphael's Father, undated, sight 18 7/8 x 15 3/4 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
2. Ernestine Danziger Raphael (Portrait of Mrs. William Raphael), 1887, 19 x 15 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
3. Mrs. Wm. Raphael, undated, 25 1/2 x 20 1/2 in. (oval), Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
4. Herman Danziger, 1877, 9 9/10 x 8 1/2 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
5. Bertha Raphael, undated, 18 x 13 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
6. Bertha Raphael, 8.6.55, (incorrectly dated), 14 1/4 x 11 1/2 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
7. Ruth (Granddaughter of the Artist in the White Plumed Hat), undated, watercolour, approx. 19 x 16 1/2 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
8. Ruth (Portrait of Ruth Levine), undated, 14 x 12 1/4 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
9. Arthur Raphael, undated, 12 1/2 x 10 1/2 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
10. Self Portrait, undated, 23 3/8 x 19 7/8 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.

11. Baba, Nakel, 1856, watercolour, 2, 19R, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
12. Study of a Young Boy, undated, 13 3/4 x 10 1/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
13. Study of a Young Girl, undated, 10 x 8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
14. Girl in Pink Bonnet, 1881, 17 5/8 x 13 1/2 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
15. A Difficult Problem, undated, 18 1/8 x 14 1/8 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
16. Man With Van Dyck Beard, undated, 18 1/4 x 14 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
17. William Raphael's Professor, undated, 12 3/8 x 10 1/8 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
18. Portrait of a Young Man, undated, 13 1/2 x 10 1/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
19. Portrait of a Bearded Gentleman, 1889, 18 1/8 x 15 1/4 in., The Framing Gallery, Toronto.
20. Head of a Young Gentleman, 1855, 13 1/2 x 12 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
21. An Old Man, 1880, 18 x 15 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
22. Old Man, undated, 10 x 8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
23. Rev. Dr. Abraham DeSola, 1870, 28 1/8 x 20 1/2 in., Private collection, Montreal.
24. Mrs. Abraham DeSola (Esther Joseph DeSola), 1871, 25 5/8 x 20 3/8 in., Private collection, Montreal.
25. Rev. Dr. Abraham DeSola in His Doctoral Robes, undated, 48 1/8 x 34 3/8 in., Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Montreal.

26. Canon Joseph Octave, 1868, Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montreal.
27. Dr. Louis Edouard Desjardins, 1877, 29 x 23 3/4 in., Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montreal.
28. Zaïde Paré, 1877, 26 x 20 3/4 in., Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montréal.
29. Edouard Desjardins, 187(6)? 25 1/2 x 20 5/8 in., Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montreal.
30. Joséphine Panneton, 187(6)? 26 x 21 in., Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montreal.
31. Justine Souigny dit Vinet, 1875, 26 x 21 in., Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montreal.
32. Hubert Paré, 1875, 26 3/8 x 21 in., Dr. Edouard Desjardins, Montréal.
33. Portrait of a Freemason, 1871, 23 1/8 x 19 in., Louis Melzac Collection, University of Montreal.
34. Closeup of above.
35. The Major in Full Dress, 1913, 30 x 20 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
36. Detail of above.
37. Mrs. Benjamin, 1866, 20 x 16 in. Formerly, Mr. and Mrs. Jules Loeb, Toronto.
38. Portrait of a Lady, 1884, 11 x 9 in., The Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg.
39. Baby with Kitten, 1874, 19 1/8 x 14 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
40. Portrait of a Boy, 1875, 33 x 25 in., Art Gallery of Toronto.
41. Portrait of a Boy in Kilts, 1877, 18 1/2 x 13 1/2 in., Dr. Gerald Archibald, Toronto.

42. Closeup of above.
43. Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, 1905,
29 x 24 in., Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
44. Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal,
1905, 29 x 24 1/2 in., Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
45. François Pierre, Marquis de Rigaud, 1905, 31 1/2 x
26 1/2 in., Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
46. Michel Chartier, Marquis de Lotbinière, 1905,
31 x 26 in., Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
47. William McGillivray, 1908, 24 1/4 x 30 1/2 in.,
Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
48. Isaac Todd, undated, 32 1/4 x 25 1/2 in., Château
de Ramezay, Montreal.
49. James McGill, 1806, painted by Louis Dulongpré,
Musée du Québec, Quebec City.
50. Backyard View of Farm House, Nakel, Prussia, Where
I was Born, undated, 12 x 9 3/8 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener,
Montreal.
51. Unser Heim für Nakel, 1851, watercolour, 5, 17R.,
National Gallery of Canada.
52. Roosters Fenced In, undated, 17 1/4 x 12 1/2 in.,
Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
53. Cows Grazing in Pasture, 1897, 12 x 16 7/8 in.,
Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
54. The Cascade, 1887, 16 x 11 in., Dr. and Mrs. Harry
Glick, Montreal.
55. Reflecting Trees, undated, 16 x 12 7/8 in., Congrégation
Ste-Anne, Lachine.
56. A Walk Through the Woods in Winter, undated, 16 7/8 x
12 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.

57. Settler's Cabin In The Forest, 1890, 16 x 11 1/2 in., Mr. and Mrs. Walter Gimple, Toronto.
58. Reflecting Red Tree, undated, 13 x 10 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
59. With the Current, 1892, 16 1/4 x 25 1/4 in., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (63.1433).
60. Last of the Wigwams, undated, 14 1/8 x 19 1/2 in., Mrs. Harry Handel, Montreal.
61. Dam Scene, 1874, 13 3/8 x 10 7/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
62. The Lily Pond, Laurentians, 1911, 18 1/2 x 28 3/4 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
63. View of Trees and Water, 1885, 16 x 12 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
64. Autumn Scene, Falling Leaves, undated, 17 x 12 1/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
65. Scene of Trees and Rocks, undated, watercolour, sight 13 x 9 9/10 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
66. Fortress, undated, 9 1/4 x 12 1/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
67. Toward Autumn, undated, 9 1/8 x 12 3/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
68. The Boating Party, 1876, 13 1/8 x 20 5/8 in., National Gallery of Canada.
69. Farm Scene with Horse and Cart, 1890, approx. 16 x 12 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
70. Farm House with Ducks, 1884, 11 x 16 1/4 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
71. Milkmaid on Fence, 1890, 12 x 18 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.

72. Milkmaid on a Broken Fence Accompanied by Cow, 1890, 12 x 18 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
73. Summer on the Farm, 1890, 18 x 12 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
74. Storm Threatening Over Mountains and Water, undated, 8 x 12 1/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
75. Storm Approaching, undated, 27 x 18 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
76. Water Dam With Falls Behind, 1885? 17 3/4 x 12 1/4 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
77. Wood Gatherer at Dusk, undated, 12 x 9 1/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
78. Summer Landscape With Ladder Leaning in Front of Tree, 1905, sight 12 1/8 x 16 3/4 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
79. Lachine Swamp, 1887, 11 3/8 x 15 1/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
80. Elm Trees by the Water, 1870, 13 x 9 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
81. Landscape With Girl in Straw Hat, 1890, 12 x 16 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
82. Fishing from the Red Canoe, 1895, 17 3/8 x 27 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
83. Lake of Two Mountains, 1894, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
84. St-Gabriel-de-Brandon, 1910, 12 x 17 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
85. Woodstock, New York, 1890, 13 3/8 x 10 7/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
86. Monte Bello Boating Scene, undated, 12 x 18 3/8 in., Private collection.

87. Paddle Steamer on the St. Lawrence, undated, approx. 12 1/4 x 16 in., Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Raymond, Montreal.
88. Tree With Mansion Behind, 1889, 17 1/2 x 12 in., Mr. Lee Mendelson, Montreal.
89. Summer Landscape With Pink Rocks, undated, 9 9/10 x 14 3/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
90. Cliffs Near the Water, Cloudy Day, undated, 8 7/8 x 12 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
91. Church at Tadoussac, Sunset, 1879, 12 1/4 x 20 in., National Gallery of Canada (No. 18370).
92. Pointe-Claire, 1880, 12 x 18 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
93. Sunset in the Laurentians, 1891, 12 x 18 1/8 in., Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine, Montreal.
94. Sunset Behind Trees and Lake, undated, 9 x 13 1/2 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
95. Lake Champlain, 1886, 10 7/8 x 16 1/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
96. Longueuil Boat Scene, undated, approx. 17 1/2 x 21 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
97. Indian Encampment Along the Lower St. Lawrence, 1879, 23 1/4 x 41 1/4 in., National Gallery of Canada.
98. Boat Scene With Flag, undated, 12 x 17 in., Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine, Montreal.
99. Summer Landscape With Man on Bridge Observing Girl in Boat, undated, 16 1/8 x 11 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
100. Two Boys Fishing, 1876, 13 1/4 x 21 5/8 in., National Gallery of Canada.
101. Boy Fishing From Rock, undated, 7 7/8 x 11 7/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.

102. Boy Fishing Near Mill, undated, Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
103. Summer Vista, Mother and Child Walking up Path, undated, 8 3/8 x 12 5/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
104. Boy Approaching Shore, Autumn, undated, 16 x 11 1/2 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
105. Montebello Boat Scene, undated, 13 3/8 x 16 1/4 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
106. Springtime Walk, undated, 16 x 10 7/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
107. Moonscape with Windmill, undated, 19 x 24 1/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
108. The Sunset, 1908, 12 x 18 in., Joliette Museum.
109. Logging Scene with Paddle Steamer, undated, 12 x 17 in., Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine, Montreal.
110. Falls, undated, 27 x 18 1/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
111. Boating Scene, undated, 12 x 17 in., Dr. and Mrs. Robert Levine, Montreal.
112. Hut and White Fence, undated, watercolour, sight 10 1/2 x 9 1/4 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
113. Forest Scene, 1889, 18 x 13 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
114. Woodland Scene Closeup, 1902, 17 x 12 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
115. Closeup of Pink Rocks, 1887, 16 x 12 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
116. Murray Bay, undated, 11 7/8 x 16 7/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.

117. Landscape, Lake Champlain, 1882, 10 7/8 x 17 1/4 in.,
Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
118. Three Montagnais Wigwams on the Shore Beneath the
Cliffs at Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay, undated, 11 3/4
x 17 11/2 in., McCord Museum (M6016), McGill
University, Montreal.
119. House on Mountainside, 1887, 11 x 16 in., Congrégation
Ste-Anne, Lachine.
120. Houses on Stilts on the Mountain, 1878, 13 1/2 x
11 1/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
121. St. Gabriel, 1887, 15 3/4 x 10 7/8 in., Congrégation
Ste-Anne, Lachine.
122. Virginia Beach, Norfolk, 1908, 12 1/4 x 17 1/4 in.,
Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
123. By The Sea, undated, 7 3/4 x 10 3/4 in., Concordia
University, Montreal.
124. Autumn Scene, Owl's Head, Lake Memphremagog, 1880,
11 x 17 1/2 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
125. Approaching Storm, Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay, 1878,
11 x 17 7/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
126. Lake Champlain, undated, 12 x 16 in., Congrégation
Ste-Anne, Lachine.
127. Près de Sherbrooke, 1898, 9 3/8 x 13 3/8 in.,
Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
128. Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, 1866, 26 1/2 x
43 in., National Gallery of Canada.
129. Preliminary sketch of buildings for Behind Bonsecours
Market, Montreal, undated, 3, 33V and 34R. National
Gallery of Canada.
130. Preliminary sketch of stall for Behind Bonsecours
Market, 2, 6V. National Gallery of Canada.

131. Bonsecours Market, 1880, 12 x 16 in., Peter Winkworth, London, England.
132. Habitants Attacked By Wolves, 1870, 23 3/4 x 41 3/4 in., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
133. Wolves Pursuing Habitants, undated, 13 1/4 x 22 in., Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
134. Habitants Chased By Wolves, undated, 12 5/8 x 22 1/2 in., Mrs. and Mrs. Theodore Lande, Montreal.
135. Avant la tempête, 1869, 24 x 42 in., Musée du Québec, Quebec City.
136. Canadian Winter, 1869, 24 x 42 in., Mr. and Mrs. Walter Gimple, New York.
137. Detail of above.
138. Mardi Gras, 1885, pencil sketch on paper, 5 3/4 x 8 in., (oval). Exhibited at Fraser Bros., Montreal.
139. Two Beggars, undated, 14 x 16 in. Formerly in the collection of Mr. Webb, Vancouver, and last known to be in an art gallery in Victoria, B.C.
140. Detail of above.
141. Lovers' Quarrel, undated, 15 7/8 x 24 7/8 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
142. Fletcher's Field, Montreal 1880, 1880, 11 1/2 x 18 1/2 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
143. Front View of William Raphael's House at 39 Victoria St. corner Burnside, 1908, watercolour, sight approx. 11 3/8 x 13 1/4 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
144. Side View of William Raphael's House at 39 Victoria St. corner Burnside, 1908, watercolour, approx. 10 1/2 x 12 1/2 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.

145. Sketch From Life, 1880, 28 1/8 x 18 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
146. Habitant Grinding Grain, 1891, 19 7/8 x 16 1/4 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
147. The Village Blacksmith, undated, 12 x 17 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
148. Street Tinker, undated, watercolour, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Wener, Montreal.
149. Habitant Mending A Snowshoe, 1907, pencil and watercolour drawing on light brown manila paper, 13 1/8 x 9 5/8 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
150. The Flower Vendor, 1863, 16 3/4 x 12 5/8 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
151. Princess Rose Taieronhoete, undated, 17 x 11 in., McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
152. Girl With Basket, undated, 9 1/2 x 7 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
153. Caughnawaga Lake Seller, 1873, 10 x 7 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
154. Old Lady Spinning, undated, 17 3/4 x 12 3/8 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
155. Old Woman Spinning, undated, 16 x 12 1/8 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
156. Lady in Pink Knitting Outdoors, undated, 17 x 12 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
157. Milk Maids, undated, 15 x 18 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
158. Habitant With Roosters, undated, 14 x 11 1/4 in., Montefiore Club, Montreal.
159. Habitant Holding a Fish, 1897, 13 1/4 x 10 in., Mr. and Mrs. M. Smolkin, Montreal.

- 160. Habitant, Saint-Eustache, 1857, 11 3/4 x 9 in.,
Dr. Norman Levine, Toronto.
- 161. Old Pals, 1900, 10 1/2 x 8 in., Dr. Robert S. D'Aloisio,
Sudbury, Ontario.
- 162. The Habitant, 1873, 10 x 7 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred
Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
- 163. Habitant Cutting Tobacco, 1902, 14 1/2 x 17 1/4 in.,
Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
- 164. Habitant Cutting Tobacco Near Window, undated, 14 x
11 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
- 165. The Wood Carver, undated, 14 1/8 x 11 in., Dr. and
Mrs. Robert Levine, Montreal.
- 166. Habitant Smoking Pipe on Balcony, undated, 18 1/2 x
14 3/8 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
- 167. Habitant, 1870, pencil, 22 x 16 in., Mrs. Howard
Lehman, New York.
- 168. Closeup of above.
- 169. Irish Immigrant, undated, 22 1/3 x 17 1/2 in.,
Winnipeg Art. Gallery (H-33-20).
- 170. Boy And A Barrel, 1883, 10 1/4 x 7 1/2 in., Dr. and
Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
- 171. Study of Boy, Ducks and Cats, 1884, 11 7/8 x 16 7/8 in.,
Private collection, Montreal.
- 172. Boy With Stick, 1884, 10 3/8 x 7 in., Dr. and Mrs.
M. J. Raff, Montreal.
- 173. Harry, 1883, pencil, Sketchbook M17373, McCord Museum,
McGill University, Montreal.
- 174. Sketch From Nature, undated, 17 x 14 in., Dr. and Mrs.
M. J. Raff, Montreal.

175. Raphael's Dog Jack, 1913, 20 1/8 x 19 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
176. Jack Waiting for His Dinner, undated, pencil. 1, 11V.
177. Jack, Sherbrooke, 1898, pencil. 1, 2V.
178. Jack, lying on his back, undated, pencil. 1, 4V.
179. Niny, undated, sight 12 1/2 x 16 1/2 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.
180. Niny, in varying positions, undated, pencil. 1, 2R.
181. Dog in profile, undated, pencil. M173, 28R.
182. Dog in lying positions, undated, pencil. 1, 2R.
183. Animals, undated, pencil. 1, 58R.
184. The Catch, 1880, 16 1/2 x 10 3/4 in., Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Raymond, Montreal.
185. Three Trout Hanging on Wooden Door, by Sister Helen of the Cross, undated, 27 x 18 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
186. Hanging Fowl, undated, 25 5/8 x 10 5/8 in. Formerly Gemst Bros., Montreal.
187. Fowl, undated, 21 3/8 x 14 1/4 in. Formerly Gemst Bros., Montreal.
188. Hanging Fowl on Wooden Door, 1894, 34 1/4 x 22 1/8 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
189. Pink Peonies in a Vase, undated, 22 x 15 in., Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
190. Hollyhocks, 1908, 43 x 33 7/8 in. The Vancouver Art Gallery.

191. Folding Screen, two panels of a four-panelled wooden screen. Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
192. Folding Screen, two panels of a four-panelled wooden screen, Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
193. La Sainte Famille, 1882, 28 7/8 x 30 1/2 in., Ferme St-Gabriel, Congrégation Notre-Dame, Pointe St-Charles, Quebec.
194. Detail of above.
195. Sainte Famille, reputedly by Abbé Pommier, 1662, Mother House, Congrégation Notre-Dame, Montreal.
196. Detail of above.
197. Sainte Famille, Flemish, Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec City.
198. Sainte Famille, French, Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec City.
199. Sister Sylvestre's copy of Raphael's 1882 Sainte Famille, 1884, Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
200. The Blessed Virgin, 1909, 9 ft. 8 in. x 6 ft. 18 in., Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
201. Two Figures in a Landscape, undated, 25 x 30 in., Mr. and Mrs. Jules Loeb, Toronto.

In the following sketches, titles and dates are only used when found in the sketchbooks themselves. Dimensions always relate to the size of the individual sketchbook which can be found in Footnote 1, Chapter One. Unless otherwise noted, the medium is pencil.

202. Clenched hand. (Fickar) 4, 1R.
203. Study of a plant. 17374, 3R.
204. A boulder. 4, 5R.

205. A harpsichord. 2, 2R.
206. A fence. 4, 12R.
207. A horse hitched to a carriage. 4, 26R.
208. An old lady with a cane. 2, 24V.
209. Cooking utensils. 1, 18V.
210. Steamship. M.17373, 25V.
211. Sailboat. 4, 4V.
212. Rowboats. 4, 14R.
213. Canoe. (Valois, 16/9.78). 4, 24V.
214. Woman, posing. 4, 3R.
215. Lady sewing. 27, 7, 98. 1, 13R.
216. Lady reading. 1, 58V.
217. Lady sketching. 4, 16R.
218. Women, strolling. 2, 8V.
219. Ladies, dressed in their Sunday best. M.17373, 8V.
220. Girl carrying bucket. 1, 56R.
221. Girl carrying large pail. M.17373, 44R.
222. Tying up hay. 4, 12V.
223. Man fencing. 2, 2V.
224. Courting through a window. 2, 10V.
225. Relaxing on a park bench. 4, 22V.
226. Soldiers at the front, Nakel 20/10 56. 2, 9V.

227. Habitant. 1, 16R.
228. Boy asleep. 2, 12V.
229. Boy Stretching, Seated Nude Lady Beside, Berlin, 55.
2, 26R.
230. Standing between two tree stumps. 2, 3R.
231. Launching a boat. 4, 3V.
232. Playing the fiddle. 2, 11R.
233. Getting ready to milk the cows. M.17373, 14V.
234. In stooping position. Sept. 23, 1883, M.17373, 14V.
235. Relaxing against a post. M.17373, 15R.
236. Fletcher's Field. 4, 19R.
237. Goat, standing. 1, 15R.
238. Cats viewed from the back. M.17373, 35R.
239. Buildings of Nakel. 2, 24.
240. Buildings in Montreal. 3, 33V and 34R.
241. Pointe-Claire, 1884. M.17373, 27R.
242. Westport. M.17373, 22R.
243. Louiseville. 27.7.83, M.17373, 11V.
244. St. Leon's Hotel, 25 July 1882. M.17373, 35V.
245. Convent Sacred Heart. M.17373, 20V.
246. Lower Lachine, 29 June, 1883, M.17373, 10R.
247. Lachine, 7 May 1883. M.17373, 44V.

248. Anatomical sketch. 2, 17R.
249. Anatomical sketch. 2, 15R.
250. Clarinet. 5, 11V.
251. Girl walking. 2, 12R.
252. Berkhayden, 24/12/53. 2, 13R.
253. Neoclassical bust of a man. 3, 1R.
254. Study of a nude. 2, 2V.
255. Woman with outstretched arm. 2, 11V.
256. Landscape with broken tree trunk. 1, 25R.
257. Montebello, 1893. 1, 51V.
258. Boy under a tree. 5, 44V.
259. Pants. 1, 54V.
260. Boy with the barrel. M.17373, 32V.
261. Boy with a stick. M.17373, 30V.
262. Maiden milking a cow. 1, 9V.
263. Cows grazing. 1, 10V.
264. Cow seen from the back. 1, 12R.
265. Ducks. M.17373, 43R.
266. Study of a church. 4, 30R.
267. Kamouraska. 4, 32R.
268. Murray Bay, 30 July 1878. 4, 4R.
269. Maiden holding a jug. M.17373, 14V.

- 270. Bridge suspended over logs. 4, 10
- 271. Strathaven, August 2, 1865. M.17374, 10R.
- 272. Waterfall with wooden bridge. M.17374, 2R.
- 273. Wild Flower Near Cadgois. M.17374, 3R.
- 274. Upper end of Loch Lomond. M.17374, 4R.
- 275. Scenic view. M.17374, 7R.
- 276. Arrocher. M.17374, 6R.
- 277. Multi-arched bridge. M.17374, 7R.
- 278. Oak. M.17374, 8R.
- 279. A stately oak. M.17374, 9R.
- 280. Scottish hills. M.17374, 11R.
- 281. Waterfall. M.17374, 14R.
- 282. Waterfall scene. M.17374, 14R.
- 283. Lower Quebec, 30 July 1879, 4, 32V.
- 283a. Kamohraska. 4, 11V.
- 284. Mountain Park, June 1883. M.17373, 1R.
- 285. Waiting for the Train, Dunn Station Lachine,
June 25, 1883. M.17373, 42R.
- 285a. Lachine Road, June 30, 1883. M.17373, 10R.
- 286. St. Leon's Hotel, St. Leon's Spring, 28.7.83.
M.17373, 13R.
- 287. Miss Morgan's Garden, Hochelaga, August 1, 83. M.17373,
34V.
- 288. Park East, June 28, 1884. M.17373, 29V.

289. The Glen, July 11, 1884. M.17373, 17R.
290. Pointe-Claire, August 12, 1884. M.17373, 27V.
291. Cowansville, 16.7.85. M.17373, 23V.
292. Adirondacks, 20.7.85. M.17374, 36R.
293. Camelback Westport Lake Champlain, 23.7.85. M.17373, 22V.
294. Richmond, 16.7.94. 1, 5R.
295. Sherbrooke, July 94. (now torn out of book 1.)
296. St. Francis River, 15.7.94. 1, 4R.
297. Maplemore, 6.7.1900. 1, 17R.
298. Haseville, 1905 Stanbury. 1, 21R.
299. Two men playing cards, Berlin, undated, 4 3/4 x 6 in., Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Wener, Montreal.
300. Two Women at the Table. Berlin, 16/1/54, 4 3/4 x 8 in., Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Wener, Montreal.
301. Two seated men, Berlin, Dec. 17/12/53, 4 3/4 x 8 in., Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Wener, Montreal.
302. New York, January 1857. 2, 7R.
303. The Early Bird Catches the Worm, 1868, chromolithograph. Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
304. Photographs of a leather-bound album, 16 1/2 x 26 3/4 in., Inner chromolithographic pages measure 13 1/2 x 22 in., Château de Ramezay, Montreal.
305. Seated Habitant Holding his Pipe, lithograph, 9 3/8 x 6 1/2 in., Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Wener, Montreal.
306. Seated Habitant Holding Tobacco, 1907, pencil and watercolour, 13 x 9 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.

307. Habitant Mending Snowshoe, 1907, pencil and watercolour, 13 1/8 x 9 5/8 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
308. Scene at Murray Bay, photoprint, 6 3/4 x 10 1/2 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
309. Head of Iroquois Chief Caughnawaga, photoprint, 6 3/4 x 10 1/2 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
310. Iroquois Chief, pencil and watercolour, 9 4/5 x 13 2/5 in., Mrs. Howard Lehman, New York.
311. Moses Rock Near Murray Bay, 1862, by O. R. Jacobi, National Gallery of Canada.
312. Untitled, 1873, by O. R. Jacobi. Florence Millman.
313. The Splungen Pass, 1855, by O. R. Jacobi. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
314. Shawinigan Falls, 1860, by O. R. Jacobi. Hydro Quebec.
315. St. Anne's Falls, 1865, by O. R. Jacobi. National Gallery of Canada.
316. Niagara Falls, 1869, by Adolphe Vogt. National Gallery of Canada.
317. Sunrise on the Saguenay, 1880, by Lucius O'Brien. National Gallery of Canada.
318. Untitled, 1873, by O. R. Jacobi. Florence Millman.
319. Tombstones of Chranah and Kalah, pencil sketch. 3, 13R.
320. The Resting Place of My Beloved Mother, pencil. 3, 19V.
321. Seated man with a cap, Nakel, 13/10/56. 2, 27V.
322. Two men on horseback meeting at the crossroads, Nakel, 1850, pencil, 3,

- 323. Drawing of a statue from the antique, Berlin 54, pencil. 2, 4R.
- 324. Drawing of a nude, pencil. 2, 23R.
- 325. Caricature drawing of a couple around the table, pencil. 2, 8R.
- 326. Old Lady, Nakel, Octob. 56, pencil. 2, 9R.
- 327. Stage drama, Nakel/7.7.56, pencil. 2, 21V.
- 328. St. Hilaire, 1891, watercolour, Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Album, 1890-1891, Folio 1, p. 147. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
- 329. Wine, 1891, watercolour, Pen and Pencil Club Minute Book, 1890-1905, p. 18.
- 330. Spring, 1891, watercolour, Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Album, 1890-1891, Folio 1, p. 217. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
- 331. The Dreamer, watercolour, 1891, Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal Album, 1890-1891, Folio 1, p. 245. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
- 332. Stereotype of The Herb Doctor, c. 1859. Notman Archives no. 1086. McCord Museum, McGill University.
- 333. Photograph of a painting of the Herb Doctor, Portrait of a Pedlar [sic] Peddler, 1860, 26 x 19 1/2 in., Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University.
- 334. Portrait of an Unknown Woman, W. NOTMAN/W.R./1860, 16 x 20 in. Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.

B. Miscellaneous Illustrations

- 335. Meier's sohn, pencil. 5, 5R.

336. Purim masquerade, pencil. 5, 2R.
337. Portrait of William Raphael's Professor, pencil, Montreal, 1861, Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
338. St. Jean Baptiste Parade Outside the Montreal Bank, 1872, (Photograph of a painting). Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
339. Anatomical study of leg bones, pencil. Wener.
340. Drawing of a cartoon, 1851, pencil. 2, 13V.
341. Doctor as Conductor on the S. S. Bourrusia, 7.12.58, pencil. Wener.
342. Scene on the S. S. Bourrusia, 8.12.56, pencil. Wener.
343. Young boy on the Bourrusia, December 1856, pencil. Wener.
344. Man, sporting a cigar, pencil. Wener.
345. Capsized schooner, pencil. Wener.
346. A page of Raphael's notes. This discusses his wife's illness and his having become a Freemason. 3, 18R.
347. Photograph of Henry Sandham, 1871. Notman Archives, no. 65408. McCord Museum, McGill University.
348. Stereotype of Raphael, seated. A photograph by W. Notman, Montreal, February 1859.
349. Notman Staff, 1880. Notman Archives 56375.II, McCord Museum, McGill University.
350. Taber advertisement, Lovell's Directory, 1863-1864, p. 286.
351. Canvas used in teaching the formation of clouds. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
352. Canvas showing the painting of a mountain in front of a sky. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.

353. Canvas showing the development of progressive planes. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
354. Canvas showing the placement of trees and shrubs. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
355. Canvas showing the treatment of a single tree with foliage near water. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
356. Canvas showing the treatment of water. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
357. Canvas showing the painting of rocks near shore. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
358. Photograph of a painting of the Guardian Angel that hung in the original chapel of Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
359. Photograph of Raphael in his studio with painting of the Annunciation behind. Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University.
360. Photograph of Raphael's father. Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
361. Photograph of Mrs. William Raphael. Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
362. Photograph of William Raphael. Mrs. Jacob Wener, Montreal.
363. Italian Model, 1883, 12 1/2 x 10 5/16 in., Miss Frances Jacobson, Montreal.
364. Portrait of a Young Woman, 1892, 19 1/4 x 15 3/8 in., Miss Frances Jacobson, Montreal.
365. Dr. Aaron David Hart, 1882, 26 x 21 in., Dr. Harry G. Ballon, Montreal.
366. Murray Bay area, pencil. 4, 28V.
367. Birch Tree in a Cleared Path, 1908, 14 x 9 1/2 in., Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Raff, Montreal.

368. Montreal Cadastre Farms, 1898, watercolour, sight 6 1/2 x 9 1/4 in., Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Raymond, Montreal.
369. Charlo River, N. B., 1882, 22.7 x 33.1 cm. Agnes Etherington Art Gallery, Kingston, Ontario.
370. On the Richelieu River, 1881, 13 x 20 in., Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
371. Buildings for Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, 1866, pencil. 2, 5R.
372. Harbour scene, pencil. 3, 52V and 53R.
373. Boats in harbour, pencil. 3, 50V.
374. Royal Mail: New Brunswick, 1861, 12 x 14 in., Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, N. B.
375. An Afternoon Smoke, 1860, 20 x 16 in., Kennedy Gallery, New York.
376. Side view of Jack, 1809, pencil. 4, 28R.
377. My Dog Niny, 1894, pencil. 6, 31R.
378. Pink and White Roses, undated, 20 x 14 in., Miss Frances Jacobson, Montreal.
379. Engraving of Virgo Immaculata by Annould, undated. Congrégation Ste-Anne, Lachine.
380. St. Hyacinthe, July 1886, pencil. 6, 27R.
381. Norfolk, August 5, 1892, pencil. 6, 45R.
382. Richmond, 1892, pencil. 6, 18V.
383. Study of a leg, July 1851, pencil. 5, 8V.
384. On the Mountain, 15.7.93, pencil. 6, 1R.
385. House behind tree, pencil. 6, 3R.

386. St. Ann's Convent, Lachine, 15.7.91, pencil. 6, 19R.
387. House on stilts, pencil. 4, 7R.
388. Cats, June 16, 1885, pencil. M.17373, 35R.
389. St. Lambert, July 29, 1878, pencil. 4, 33R.
390. Murray Bay, Aug. 1, 1878, pencil. 4, 31V.
391. Cap à L'Aigle, pencil. 4, 11R.
392. St. Hilaire, 1892, pencil. 6, 19V.
393. Otterburn Park, 3 June 1892, pencil. 6, 23R.
394. Long Island, July 20, 1892, pencil. 6, 25R.
395. Cumberland Str., pencil. 6, 44V.
396. On the Mountain, 15.7.93, pencil. 6, 2R.
397. Cowansville, April, 1897, pencil. 6, 43V.
398. Portfolio of Photo-Prints from Paintings of the Property of the Art Association of Montreal, 1881. Mr. and Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto.
399. Illustration of the heart, Journal of Anatomy and Physiology, Vol. XIII, Plate XVII.
400. Otto Reinhold Jacobi, drawing by Robert Harris in the Pen and Pencil Club Album, 1890-1891, p. 231. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
401. Adolphe Vogt, 1868, photograph. Notman Archives, no. 39055.