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Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889)
and
The Old Master Copy in the Nineteenth Century

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

Virginia Nixon

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

September 1988

c Virginia Nixon 1988



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ABSTRACT

Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889)

and

The Old Master Copy in the Nineteenth Century

Virginia Nixon

This thesis examines the career of the Quebec-born Old Master copyist Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889), and the conceptual and physical milieu in which he worked.

Chapter one corrects and amplifies the biography of the artist. Chapter two proposes a framework within which to set the changes that occurred in the concept(s) and functions of the copy as a traditional way of understanding gave way to the modern. The earlier copy was an accepted part of a system of artistic production in which the work of art was seen as essentially reproducible. With the advent of the Romantic/modern conviction that the art work was the personal, spontaneous production of a specific individual, the copy lost status and its position shifted from the mainstream to the periphery of art production. The nineteenth-century-souvenir copy and the use of copies in the new museums founded to provide a morally-oriented public education are discussed, as is the situation of the copy in Quebec where earlier concepts and functions survived. In Chapter Three the structures and regulations that governed the production of copies in Florence are described. An appendix lists the works produced by Falardeau.

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the nineteenth-century professional Old Master copyist as exemplified in the career of the Quebec-born painter Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889). Falardeau serves as a subject in his own right and as an exemplar of a profession that played a role in the cultural economy of the Western world as a whole. The broader motivation in the choice of subject was the belief that marginal, popular, outmoded, even corrupted cultural practices and phenomena express and reveal the societies that produced them just as do practices that are more forward-looking.

My specific intentions were to provide a corrected and updated biography of the artist and to identify the conceptual models behind the earlier biographies; to compile an annotated list of Falardeau's works; to describe the day-to-day situation in which he and his fellow copyists in Florence produced and sold their work; and to provide hypotheses that might help clarify how the painted copy was used and understood in the nineteenth century.

In the course of researching these subjects I discovered other matters that called for examination. Some analysis of the process by which Emile Falardeau constructed his 1935 biography, Un Maître de la Peinture, seemed of value as a cautionary lesson in dealing with biographical texts. Egerton Ryerson's 1856 museum of copies has been treated to

a generous share of attention not only because Ryerson was a client of Falardeau, and because of the information Ryerson's papers shed on the buying of copies, but also because of the intrinsic interest of this episode in the history of Canadian art. Similarly, my consideration of the copy in Quebec led me to conclusions about the particularities of the situation there that seemed worthy of comment in their own right. Sensitized by Paul Duro's 1986 article on women copyists the Louvre,"¹ I have included some observations on nineteenth-century conceptions of the woman copyist.

The central subject, the artist himself, presented a difficult research project. Falardeau left no personal papers. His Italian descendants, last heard from when they sold a portrait of the artist to the Musée du Québec in the 1950s, have thus far proved impossible to trace. In 1984, when my interest in Falardeau had first been aroused, Raymond Falardeau kindly allowed me to look at papers his father Emile Falardeau had collected in preparation for a second, projected book on his ancestor. These papers were later thrown away as a result of flood damage in the summer of 1987 - before I was able to take a second, more informed look at them. However Mr. Falardeau went to the trouble of searching through the remainder of his father's collected

¹ Paul Duro, "The 'Demoiselles à Copier' in the Second Empire," Women's Art Journal, Spring / Summer, 1986, pp. 1-7.

papers and retrieved for me a second, and ultimately more useful box of notes and letters. I was able to spend a short time in Italy looking at some of the documents in the Archivio delle gallerie fiorentine pertaining to the copying activities of Falardeau and his fellow copyists. I received generous help from a number of individuals in Italy who were kind enough to answer letters, look through archives, and send me photocopies, though in some instances the capriciousness of the Italian postal system frustrated my search for information. The usual approaches to biography were difficult to employ with a subject for whom so little first-hand documentation exists. But the letters of Bourassa, and the fitful glimpses of personality in the copy permission correspondence, do seem to shed light on what one hesitantly calls the real Falardeau. The picture that emerges - that of a highly-strung, determined individual, cautious, even rigid, and at times perhaps insensitive, yet capable of generosity and high spirits - seems consistent with the "turnings" and "means of adaptation" evident in his career, to use terms from David Mandelbaum's schema for the analysis of biography.² These turnings or major transitions of Falardeau's life - leaving his farm home at an early age, leaving Quebec for Italy,

² David G. Mandelbaum, "The study of life-history: Gandhi. Current Anthropology, 1973, 14 (3): 177-206, cited in L.L. Langness and Gelya Frank, Lives: An Anthropological Approach to Biography, Novato, Calif., 1981, p. 71.

marriage into the nobility - all involved sudden, major, largely self-chosen shifts of geographical and social space, shifts that bespeak determination. On the other hand, his ways of adapting to changing circumstance, inasmuch as these can be discerned, seem to be based on a cautious, wait-and-see stance. Even his choice of a career as copyist can be seen as a choosing of the safe way.

The geographic dispersal of the approximately forty-extant works, the varied nature of the originals, and the varying conditions and locations of the copies, have imposed limitations on the study of the works. An analysis of Falardeau's style, should such be deemed a profitable exercise, would require sustained contact with a group of works and with appropriate materials for comparison.

With respect to the question of research on the nineteenth-century Old Master copyists in Italy, I am aware of only two specific studies on the subject, Rieke van Leeuwen's book Kopieren in Florence published in 1985, on Dutch and Belgian copyists, and Carol Bradley's paper on American copyists in Florence, presented at the conference on nineteenth-century art in Florence held at the Palazzo Strozzi in 1986.³ Both provide detailed information drawn

³ Rieke van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence: Kunstenaarsd uit de Lage Landen in Toscane en de 19de-eeuwse Kunstreis naar Italia, Florence, 1985; "Copisti americani nelle gallerie fiorentine," Convegno di studi, Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, [Gabinetto Vieusseux] Dec. 17-19, 1986. Publication of the conference papers is scheduled for Fall, 1988.

from research in the AGF archives, and both illuminate the activities and attitudes - in many respects quite different one from another (and again different from the Canadian situation) - of the authors' respective countries. Other more piecemeal information on the copying milieu has appeared in catalogues and articles prepared, in particular, by curators in the Florentine museums. Regina Soria's Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century American Artists in Italy 1760-1914⁴ is a useful background reference tool. Of crucial importance in filling in the background and details of the practice of copying have been the autobiographies, travel journals and letters of nineteenth-century artists and other travellers.

Copying in Paris, where the intensity of artistic discourse and practice implicated the copy as well as the original, has prompted stimulating research in recent years.⁵ The copy in Quebec has received increasingly generous attention in the past few years. John R. Porter in particular (alone and with Jean Trudel) and Yves Lacasse have published important studies on the copies of religious paintings. Laurier Lacroix has written on Canadian copyists on the Louvre. Didier Prioul's thesis-in-progress

⁴ Regina Soria, Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century American Artists in Italy: 1760-1914, Rutherford, 1982.

⁵ The publications of Albert Boime, Theodore Reff, Paul Duro and Rosalind Krauss deserve particular mention. (See bibliography.)

reveals the hitherto unremarked extent of the role played by the copy in the oeuvre of Joseph Legaré.⁶ Lise Drolet's article on the copyists of the Bon Pasteur convent⁷ exemplifies the growing interest in art works examined within broader social and cultural contexts. The copy in the Anglophone milieu has received less attention, Fern Bayer's 1984 book The Ontario Collection,⁸ on Egerton Ryerson's collection of copies and the provincial collection of Ontario art which grew out of it, being an exception. However it is in Ontario that the largest concentrations of nineteenth-century professional Old Master copies on permanent public exhibition are to be found, in the installation of the remains of the Ryerson Purchase at Queen's Park, and in The Grange (Art Gallery of Ontario), both of which collections include works by Falardeau. The largest collection of copies by Falardeau is in the Musée du Québec. Many individual paintings

⁶ See John R. Porter, "Antoine Plamondon (1804-1895) et le tableau religieux: perception et valorisation de la copie et de la composition," The Journal of Canadian Art History, 8, 1 (1984), pp. 1-25; Lacasse, Yves, Antoine Plamondon: The Way of the Cross of the Church of Notre-Dame de Montreal, Montreal, 1983; Laurier Lacroix, "Les artistes canadiens copistes au Louvre (1838-1908)," Journal of Canadian Art History, 2, 1 (Summer, 1975), pp. 54-70; Prioul, Didier, Joseph Legaré Paysagiste, Ph.D thesis [in progress], Laval University, 1988.

⁷ Lise Drolet, "L'atelier des soeurs du Bon-Pasteur de Québec: cent ans de peinture religieuse," Questions d'art Québécois, Cahiers du CELAT, No. 6 (Feb., 1987), pp. 189-220.

⁸ Fern Bayer, The Ontario Collection, Toronto, 1984.

undoubtedly remain in private hands in Quebec. Emile Falardeau, while his experience and resources were not entirely adequate to handle a career enacted on the other side of the Atlantic, was in his element in unravelling the minutiae of local history in Quebec. Using newspaper accounts of the original sales of Falardeau's paintings in Quebec in 1862 and 1864 he tracked a number of these works to their whereabouts in the 1930s. Some of these I was able to find as the result of his research. In time, others could no doubt be found, building on the information he amassed.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BIOGRAPHY OF ANTOINE-SEBASTIEN FALARDEAU

The Sources of the Information

The task of constructing an account of Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau's life is not an easy one. The sole extant written communications from the artist himself consist of a small number of brief, matter-of-fact letters requesting permission to copy in the Pitti Palace and the Uffizi¹ in Florence, and several equally brief letters published in Quebec newspapers.

The two most substantial sources of information on Falardeau, the short biography by the Quebec historian, the Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain (1831-1904),² published in 1862, when the artist still had twenty-seven years to live, and the biography Un maître de la peinture,³ published by the artist's great-nephew Emile Falardeau in 1936, are incomplete, and particularly in the latter case, unreliable. Together they provide generous if not always correct information on the artist's childhood, on selected incidents in his early years in Italy, and on his visits to Quebec in 1862 and 1882, but little on the later years.

¹ Archivio delle gallerie fiorentine, Soprintendenze degli Uffizi, Florence, hereafter referred to as AGF.

² H.R. Casgrain, Oeuvres Complètes, tome deuxième, Biographies Canadiennes, Montreal, 1885, pp. 8-41.

³ Emile Falardeau, Un Maître de la Peinture, Montreal, 1936.

Other sources of information are contemporary documents such as the requests for permission to copy and related memoranda in the Archivio delle gallerie fiorentine; contemporary newspaper and magazine references, largely from Quebec; and published and unpublished accounts by people who knew or had met the artist. Studies of the history and cultural life of mid-nineteenth century Florence, and travel accounts, memoirs, letters and autobiographies of individuals who lived there, have helped to create a context in which to set the life thus brought into view.

The contemporary sources present their own problems. Official documents as such convey their contents in relatively neutral language, though Italian documents indulge in considerable editorializing. The Quebec newspaper accounts, although they provide considerable factual information, particularly on Falardeau's sales on his visits to Quebec, are not infrequently incorrect in their accounts of his activities in Italy. They are on the other hand, revelatory of Quebec attitudes towards this native son in a distant land. The question of Falardeau's success was by no means a neutral matter in the artist's homeland. Newspaper texts, which may be letters⁴ or articles, sometimes reprinted, following nineteenth-century

⁴ Some letters were written to the newspapers. Others were reprinted personal letters.

practice,⁵ from other sources, reflect pride in the achievements of a Quebecer, as well as attempts to compensate for the lack of attention the writer feels the artist's works are receiving. In some cases discussions of his work appear to double as veiled commentaries on the work of other artists, in particular on that of Quebec's most prominent and polemical painter, Antoine Plamondon. Plamondon's own letter to Le Journal de Québec of Aug. 2, 1862,⁶ is an example of harsh criticism and palpable jealousy.

The descriptions of encounters with Falardeau by those who visited him in Italy are as one might expect often personal in tone. However there is usually sufficient contextual information to enable the reader to make some assessment of the accuracy and objectivity of the information presented. The private nature of such things as the letters written home by the Quebec artist and fellow visitor to Italy Napoléon Bourassa render these especially valuable as sources of information.

⁵ It was standard practice for newspapers in the 19th century to copy from one another. Information, especially from abroad, was difficult to come by. See Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada, Toronto, 1982, pp. 49 & 126. Antoine Plamondon closed his letter attacking Falardeau to the Journal de Québec of Aug. 2, 1862: "N.B. - Je prie le Courrier du Canada et tous les autres journaux français de la Province de reproduire cette correspondance."

⁶ Le Journal de Québec, Aug. 2, 1862, p. 4.

The problems posed by the contemporary sources are those of lack of continuity. We have here a report of a commission, there a visit, elsewhere an opinion. The opposite problem exists with Emile Falardeau's biography where events fall so neatly into patterns and are described with such abundant detail that even the most acquiescent reader cannot but wonder about their factuality. Emile Falardeau provides a list of written and oral sources but specific references are rarely given. Family tradition may perhaps be the source of some of the apocryphal stories set on Quebec soil. However it is neither the lack of a rigorous methodology nor the faulty memories of informants that are primarily responsible for the unreliability of Un maître de la peinture. Rather it is the result of the particular mold in which Emile Falardeau has chosen to cast his story - that of the humbly-born hero who conquers formidable obstacles on his road to success.

The Biographers: Emile Falardeau and the Abbé Casgrain

Like any text, a biography is a literary composition, and as such conforms to the requirements of its genre or sub-genre. Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz have shown in Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist⁷ how artists' biographies have since classical times been presented in

⁷ Ernst Kriss & Otto Kurz, Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist, New Haven & London, 1979, [first published in German, 1934].

terms of certain remarkably durable mythic formulae, for example the artist as the untaught child of nature, the predestined child, or the artist as divinely (or demonically) inspired. The myths according to which Emile Falardeau, author of the longer and more complete of the two biographies, has shaped his ancestor's story include those of the untaught child of nature and the predestined child.⁸ But his central myth is in fact not a myth of the artist, but a more general myth. What Emile Falardeau is really concerned with is not art but success.⁹ The shaping myth he employs is the familiar one of the lowly-born hero who succeeds against almost insurmountable odds, turning obstacles into triumphs to achieve success in art (and here perhaps we can read fame), money and love. The actual events of Falardeau's life - the child of (relatively) poor

⁸ The child predestined to glory, his early years marked by premonitory signs of future greatness, is a common motif in artists' biographies. (Kurz & Kris, pp. 26-32). E. Falardeau writes: "Vers l'âge de six ans (1828), il étonna une fois de plus ses parents....Sans qu'on le lui eût appris en aucune façon, il saisisait déjà les différentes nuances des nuages, distinguait avec une facilité surprenante les couleurs et en nommait même toutes les teintes, comme s'il avait connu ces mots depuis toujours. / Un jour, avec une facilité toute naturelle, il traça sur le sol detrempé par la pluie, à la grande surprise de ceux qui étaient avec lui, les traits d'une figure parfaite...." pp. 23-24.

⁹ Emile Falardeau was a genealogist, not an art historian. The difficulties he encountered in writing about art are evident in the manuscript of a second book, on Falardeau's paintings, which he began but did not finish. Coll. Raymond Falardeau, Montreal, Emile Falardeau papers, destroyed 1987; Coll. the author, Emile Falardeau Papers.

parents driven from home by punishments and lack of appreciation who achieves fame and fortune in a distant land, and marries, if not a princess, the daughter of a marquis, readily lend themselves to such a treatment. But as we shall see, Emile Falardeau shapes, embroiders and alters this basic structure so as to emphasize its mythic qualities.

The major theme is counterpointed against a minor theme of the exile, forever wanting to return home, forever prevented from doing so. The utility, even the necessity, of this particular minor theme for the purposes of a writer whose motivations are in part nationalist and familial is obvious.¹⁰ Falardeau must leave his native land to succeed, yet if that success is to have significance, he must remain a Quebecer.

¹⁰ The desire to "rehabilitate" his ancestor appears to have been a not inconsequential motive in the writing of Un maître de la peinture. See, for example, the description in Le Devoir, Nov. 30, 1934, of a talk given to the Société historique de Montréal: "Quoi que l'on en ait dit, ajoute M. Falardeau, notre peintre n'a pas signé que des décalques ou restauré des toiles anciennes. Il est vrai qu'il a fait cela. Par contre, artiste original et fécond, il est encore l'auteur de plus d'un millier de toiles, qui se retrouvent dans tous les pays d'Europe." There is no evidence to support the last statement. An article by the biographer in Le Petit Journal of Jan. 12, 1964 insists, contrary to fact, that Falardeau was not merely a copyist: "Que ce soit en 1862 ou en 1882 aucun journaliste n'a mentionné que Falardeau était seulement un copiste. Au contraire, tous ont insisté sur le fait qu'il réussissait dans tous les genres." The manuscript draft for the uncompleted book on the artist's paintings assert that originals in many museums are undoubtedly copies by skilled copyists such as Falardeau. E. Falardeau papers, collection the author.

The contemporary date, 1862, of the Abbé Casgrain's (1831-1904) brief biography suggests that it ought to be more accurate than the longer book. However comparison with other contemporary texts reveals errors of fact. For example, Casgrain places the initial encounter between Falardeau and Napoléon Bourassa in 1853,¹¹ whereas Bourassa's letter referring to the meeting is dated Dec. 19, 1852.¹²

Casgrain's decision to write the biography of the artist seems adequately explained by the latter's celebrity and the occasion of his 1862 visit to his native land. Jean-Paul Hudon in his thesis on the writer states that: "Casgrain profita de cette circonstance pour publier peu après la biographie de Falardeau, afin de rendre hommage aux talents de ce Canadien qui a réussi en Europe."¹³

¹¹ Biographies Canadiennes, Montreal, 1885, p. 33. Henceforth citations of the Casgrain and Emile Falardeau biographies will give only the name of the author.

¹² Archives nationales du Québec, Quebec [hereafter referred to as ANQ], Fonds Papineau-Bourassa, Napoléon Bourassa, letter to Théophile Hamel, Dec. 19, 1852. As well, Casgrain speaks as though Falardeau had not completely recovered from the serious illness that he suffered in this period, until 1854 (p.33). Yet the copy of Guido Reni's Christ on the Cross in the Musée du Séminaire de Québec (983.28 R 293) is inscribed on the verso "A.S. Falardeau d'après Guido Reni / Pinacoteca Bologna, 1853". (See Cat. No. 92).

¹³ Jean-Paul Hudon, L'Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, Ph.D thesis, University of Ottawa, 1977, Canadian Theses on Microfilm 44038, p.474. Large advertisements for the biography (at approximately six inches by four, by far the largest on the page), describing it as a "charmante petite brochure...avec superbe PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHIQUE et

Hudon's description of the thirty-four-page production as: "un bref aperçu".... [in which] "Plutôt que développer ce qui méritait de l'être, Casgrain préfère raconter divers événements sans valeur,"¹⁴ seems to suggest a somewhat opportunistic venture. (Casgrain had met the artist when he visited Europe in 1858¹⁵ but there is no evidence to suggest that the two were friends.)¹⁶

[facsimile] AUTOGRAPHE / Prix: 25 cents" appeared in Le Courrier du Canada of July 28, 1862 (and presumably in other issues and other newspapers). The booklet was available at Librairie L.G.R. Brousseau in Quebec, and at M.M. Fabre & Gravel, and J.B. Rolland & Fils in Montreal.

¹⁴ Hudon, p. 474. To what extent was Casgrain commenting on Falardeau and to what extent on his own text when he wrote twenty-three years later in the avant-propos to the 1885 edition of the Biographies: "Les unes, telles que celles de Garneau, de Parkman, etc., font connaître la vie et les oeuvres d'hommes importants et ont un intérêt général; les autres, telles que celles de Falardeau, de Laterrière, etc., n'offrent qu'un intérêt de curiosité."

¹⁵ Hudon, p. 49. It is possible that Casgrain bought his Falardeau copy of Netscher's Paiolaia or La Petite Cuisinière (see Cat. No. 68) while he was in Europe. (He visited Europe again in 1867 and 1873.) The fact that there is no mention of such a purchase in the Quebec newspaper reports of 1862 would certainly suggest that it was not bought at that time. These accounts do state that Casgrain bought his copy of Rosa's Baie de Castellamare (see Cat. No. 102) in Quebec in 1862. La Minerve, July 19, 1862. The Netscher work is mentioned as being owned by Casgrain in J.M. Le Moine's L'Album Du Touriste, Que., 1872, p. 24. Casgrain owned other copies, two Correggios copied at Naples by a painter named Rossano, and a copy of Kaulbach's Marguerite copied in Munich by J. Bertrand a "jeune peintre français" (Le Moine, p. 24).

¹⁶ Roger Le Moine remarks: "Selon moi il ne s'agit ici que d'une hypothèse - l'abbé Casgrain a pris lui-même l'initiative de rédiger le texte sur Falardeau comme il l'a fait dans le cas d'autres personnages importants. Cela lui rapportait financièrement. Le comportement de Casgrain s'explique par l'intérêt. On prétend même qu'il rédigea

Casgrain's references to the welcome the artist received in Quebec indicate that the biography was written after the artist arrived in Canada.¹⁷ The time available -the sixteen days that elapsed between the artist's arrival in Quebec on June 24, 1862 and the date of the biography, July 10 - was hardly a generous space of time in which to interview the artist and write the work, short as it was.¹⁸ And the fact that the "hard" information contained in it, apart from the artist's marriage which had been announced in the Quebec papers, stops at 1856, suggests that Casgrain relied heavily on earlier newspaper accounts for his material. The episodic structure also suggests hasty composition. The romanticism that informed Casgrain's literary personality,¹⁹ and that perhaps made him more interested in creating an impression of an artist in his milieu than in establishing a factual record, is evident in his choice of imagery and language, not least in the image

certaines textes biographiques en prévision de la mort de ses personnages et qu'il attendait de les publier au moment de celle-ci de façon à obtenir un succès de librairie." Roger Le Moine to the author, Ottawa, Oct. 13, 1987.

¹⁷ Casgrain, p. 36. Casgrain quotes the poem Louis-Honoré Fréchette wrote in Falardeau's honor on the occasion of his visit. p. 37.

¹⁸ "Quebec, July 10, 1862" appears at the end of the biography (p. 41) in the 1882 edition. An article on the book in the Courrier du Canada of July 28, 1862 states that each copy came with a facsimile signature and a photograph.

¹⁹ See "Mouvement littéraire de Québec, 1860," Archives des Lettres canadiennes, vol. 1, Ottawa, 1861, pp. 128 to 297.

of the artist's recent marriage with which he closes his text:²⁰

La douce compagne que le ciel lui a donnée, l'ange de son foyer, désormais le couvrira de ses ailes, l'abritera contre les orages de la vie, et n'écrira que des bonheurs sur les pages de son âme.²¹

Emile Falardeau's biography is in large measure based on Casgrain's.²² Comparison of the two reveals that Emile

²⁰ David M. Hayne, in his entry on Casgrain, remarks that "his scholarship was sometimes questioned, as was his lack of scruples in copyright matters." (The Canadian Encyclopedia, Edmonton, 1985, p. 300). Manon Brunet, Université de Montréal, Etudes françaises, who is presently engaged in editing Casgrain's correspondence, calls attention to the fact that to a certain extent Casgrain's biographies reflect a romantic point of view, in which it is portrayal of character that is of primary importance. Telephone conversation with the author, July 19, 1988.

²¹ Casgrain, p. 96.

²² Emile Falardeau contacted descendants of the artist in Italy and made repeated requests for information from them. However his labours appear to have produced little result. He seems to have first contacted members of the artist's family by writing, through the Italian Consulate in Montreal, to the Questura di Firenze, which put him in contact with the artist's niece Vittoria Manucci Benincasa (née Malrani), of Via Scipione Ammirato, Florence. In a letter dated March 26, 1925 (in which she refers to "mia povera Zia Caterina Manucci Benincasa Falardeau") she states that she cannot yet reply with precision to the questions he has sent through the Questura, especially those touching on dates, but she assures him that she will do so as soon as she can. She requests a copy of the work when it is completed. However no reply was found in the collections of Italian letters among the biographer's papers. In letters to the artist's daughter Dianora Carraresi Biogioli, with whom he corresponded from 1925 to c. 1934, E. Falardeau requested a photograph of the artist in his later years; photographs of the decorations he received; a list of works copied by him; and biographical information. Dianora sent a photograph of her father in hunting clothes, but she apparently could not provide the list of paintings. (In another letter he regrets "que vous ne pouvez pas me fournir un résumé du

Falardeau systematically embellished and expanded incidents mentioned by Casgrain in such a way as to shape his narrative in conformation with the mythic structures mentioned above. Not infrequently embellishment shades into invention. And whereas Casgrain presents his sequence of events in a relatively neutral way, Emile Falardeau makes extensive use of dramatic climax, structuring his text (particularly in the early years) as an alternation of low points with contrasting high ones. We shall look further at the methods of both biographers as we attempt to plot the events of the artist's life.

The Early Years in Quebec: 1822-1846

Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau's birth certificate states that he was born and baptized Aug. 13, 1822, the son of Joseph Falardeau, farmer, and his wife Isabelle Savarre, of the parish of Cap-Santé.²³ Both Casgrain and Emile Falardeau state that his childhood artistic activities, which are described in terms of motifs common to the "child

travail.") With respect to biographical details, it would seem that she offered him a copy of the Casgrain biography, which he declined, noting that: "La biographie que vous mentionnez..., je l'ai moi aussi, celle de mon grand père, mais ...je ne m'en contente pas parce que ce n'est pas suffisant pour le travail que je suis décidé à faire." E. Falardeau papers, collection of the author.

²³ ANQ, 1822, Sainte-Famille du Cap-Santé Registres d'état civil 03Q, CE 301-8 / 5.

of nature" myth,²⁴ resulted in beatings from his father which eventually led to his running away at the age of fourteen. One voice, not a contemporary one, echoes Emile Falardeau's presentation of the picturesque details pointing to future destiny. The violinist Camille Couture, retelling (and it would seem exemplifying the same mythologizing tendencies as Emile Falardeau), the youthful exploits of his grand-father, writes:

Mon grand-père maternel...était un des compagnons d'enfance de Falardeau et faisait de la sculpture.... Il fallait entendre Pierre L'Heureux raconter ses aventures avec le grand Falardeau! Ils passaient alors pour deux fous de ne pas vouloir travailler "sur la terre" et de préférer devenir des artisses! C'était à Ste-Geneviève de Québec [sic], canton pauvre, sans école, que les deux mécréants scandalisaient les bons habitants! A douze ans, ils ne savaient encore ni lire ni écrire. Mais par exemple, il savaient mieux que personne au monde (et avec

²⁴ Both biographers state that he made some of his own materials. According to Casgrain (p. 9) he coloured his drawings "avec du fiel et du jus de betterave". E. Falardeau says: "il commença à colorier ses dessins avec de l'encre, du jus de betteraves, de la cendre ou du bois calciné" (p. 23), adding that "Après divers essais et recherches pour satisfaire son goût, Antoine trouva enfin une certaine terre glaise séchée, généralement connue sous le nom d'ocre. Fier de sa découverte et fuyant l'oeil paternel le jeune artiste dessinait sur une espèce d'ardoise plate et bleue, dont il avait toujours une bonne provision" (p. 26). The claim that the young artist makes his own materials is a common motif in the myth of the artist as the untaught child of nature. Dennis Reid states of Ozias Leduc: "Legend has it that he crushed stones to make pigments..." (A Concise History of Canadian Painting, Toronto, 1978, p. 112). C. Edwards Lester says of Benjamin West that "Lewis, his American biographer, says his colours were 'charcoal and chalk mixed with the juice of berries' and he laid them on with brushes made of the hair of a cat drawn through a goose quill. He got 'from the Mohawk or Delaware Indians red and yellow earths used by them at their toilets;" The Artists of America, [1846] New York, 1970, p. 70.

de simples morceaux de charbon), dessiner des paysages immenses sur les portes de grange fraîchement blanchies à la chaux! Les paysans ne trouvaient pas cela de leur goût, paraît-il et finalement, le père Falardeau mit son fils à la porte de chez lui, pour ne plus avoir d'ennuis et pour que la vie se chargeât de le corriger!...²⁵

The Gazzetta Di Parma of Dec. 1, 1851, in an article on the artistic triumph the young artist achieved in that city, adds no details but confirms an atmosphere of familial disapproval, describing the artist as "sconfortato dai parenti che voleanlo nel commercio".²⁶

It would appear that Falardeau was in Quebec in the early 1830s. We learn from the two biographers that he lived with and/or worked for Doctor James A. Sewell,²⁷ Judge Louis Panet, Mme. Casgrain, the surveyor and topographical

²⁵ Eugène Lapierre, "M. Camille Couture, violoniste et luthier", La Petite Revue, Feb., 1935. That Falardeau at twelve could neither read nor write seems unlikely given his employment as a clerk a year or two later in Quebec. His letters in the AGF are written in correct French in a practised hand. Couture states, contrary to Casgrain and E. Falardeau, that Falardeau did not run away but was shown the door by his father.

²⁶ Gazetta Di Parma, Dec. 1, 1851. The article describes Falardeau's achievement in copying the Correggio Madonna di San Girolamo.

²⁷ In the mid-1870s Dr. James Arthur Sewell was dean of the medical faculty at Laval University (appointed 1863) (Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Toronto, vol. 11, p. 484). He may have been one of the sons of Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell (1766-1839). The elder Sewell was an active member of Quebec's cultural circles in the earlier 1800s. F. Murray Greenwood and James H. Lambert, "Jonathan Sewell," DCB, vol. 7, pp 782-791.

artist Joseph Bouchette,²⁸ (according to Casgrain, Mme. Bouchette), J.-B. Vézina²⁹ and other merchants. He took English lessons from James Thom, and lessons in art from Robert Todd³⁰ (for whom he also may have worked), from Bouchette, and in 1845, from the Italian-born miniature painter Gerome Fassio.³¹ At the time of his departure in 1846 he was apparently still studying art at night, as newspaper reports announcing his departure describe him as "commis chez M. François Parent, marchand à la Basse-Ville."³²

²⁸ This could have been either the Surveyor-General Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841), or his son Joseph Bouchette (1798-1879) also employed in the Surveyor-General's office. Claude Boudreau and Pierre Lépine, "Joseph Bouchette," DCB, vol. 7, pp. 95-98. The younger Bouchette was also a topographical artist according to J. Russell Harper (Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, Toronto, 1970, p. 39).

²⁹ Vézina died in the fire at the Théâtre du Québec in 1845, according to the obituary of the artist published in Le Courrier du Canada, Aug. 10, 1889.

³⁰ Edinburgh-trained Robert Clow Todd (1809-1867) arrived in 1834 from Berwick-on-Tweed, England. He left Quebec for Toronto in 1853. Anne McDougall, The Canadian Encyclopedia, vol. 3.

³¹ Casgrain, pp. 12-13; E. Falardeau, pp. 36-40. Fassio (1789-1851), whose name sometimes appears as Giuseppe Fascio, but who signed himself Gerome Fassio, moved between various Quebec and American locations in the typical fashion of the itinerant painter before he settled, probably in 1838, in Quebec, where he remained until his move to Bytown in 1850. David Karel, "Gerome Fassio," DCB, vol. 8, Toronto, 1985, pp. 289-91.

³² L'Aurore des Canadas, Dec. 1, 1846, reprinted from Le Canadien (date not given), "Beaux Arts."

The names that have come down to us indicate that Falardeau was associating as a junior member with that small group of persons interested in the arts in Quebec in the early decades of the century. These individuals-artists, amateurs and patrons alike - played their roles with vigour. They formed musical groups, founded theatres, created associations, and organized displays of paintings. The country home of Philippe Panet, brother of Louis Panet, was portrayed by Joseph Légaré in a 1831 painting, with the gates to Louis' property visible in the background.³³ James Sewell's father, Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell, who in 1824 had helped found the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, of which the elder Bouchette was also a member, founded the Theatre Royal in 1832. Sewell also played in a quartet. In 1838 he gave lodgings to Falardeau's teacher Fassio.³⁴ The notary Archibald Campbell,³⁵ who later helped raise a subscription to send Falardeau to Italy, played in the same quartet as Sewell.³⁶ John R. Porter, in his account of the environment in which

³³ John R. Porter, The Works of Joseph Légaré, Ottawa, 1978, pp.39-40.

³⁴ David Karel, "Gerome Fassio," CDB, vol. 8, 1985.

³⁵ Campbell (1790-1862) was another member of the cultured elite of Quebec. Théophile Hamel painted his portrait in 1847. Raymond Vézina, Théophile Hamel: Peintre national 1817-1870, vol. 1, Ottawa, 1975, p. 165.

³⁶ F. Murray Greenwood and James H. Lambert, "Jonathan Sewell," CDB, vol. 7, p. 790.

Joseph Légaré worked, describes the vitality of this milieu, as well as its smallness, and with respect to Légaré's clientele, its dependance on "transient foreigners, especially British."³⁷

Quebec newspaper accounts provide a general confirmation of this information on Falardeau's early years. La Minerve of March 26, 1852, refers to the young Falardeau as a "pauvre commis de Québec" and "the jeune élève du vieux Fassio, peintre en miniature."³⁸ An earlier report, in Le Canadien of May 15, 1846, reveals that the young man's artistic progress had not gone unnoted:

...je dirais quelques mots d'un vrai chef-d'oeuvre de miniature dont l'auteur, M. Antoine Falardeau, est un jeune Canadien. Le sujet qu'a choisi l'artiste est La Nymphé de la Fontaine,³⁹ imitée de l'Echo des Feuilletons. Le public amateur sera à même d'admirer la belle Naiade au magasin de M. Fréchette ou va être déposé cet échantillon d'un talent qu'un petit nombre de leçons n'ont pas encore pleinement développé.

Even before this, the youthful talent had manifested itself in a portrait of the Abbé Félix Gâtien (1776-1844), curé of Falardeau's native parish of Ste-Famille in Cap-Santé from 1817 to 1844, and a man of broad culture, formerly an educator at the Séminaire.⁴⁰ Gérard Morisset,

³⁷ Porter, Joseph Légaré, pp. 14-15.

³⁸ La Minerve, Mar. 26, 1852. The same information appears in Le Journal de Québec, Dec. 6, 1855.

³⁹ See Cat. No. 148.

⁴⁰ J.-B.-A. Allaire, Le Clergé Canadien-Français: les anciens, Montreal, 1910, p. 228. Musée du Québec. CROSS REF.

who judged the watercolour to have been done before Falardeau left home, described it as the "l'oeuvre d'un enfant bien doué."⁴¹ An article in L'Aurore des Canadas of Dec. 1, 1846, is perhaps ambiguous in speaking of "coups d'essai" and "admirées comme des chefs-d'oeuvres" in the same breath, but it introduces the motifs of talent and heroic dedication that will recur in later accounts of the artist's career:

Nous pouvons aujourd'hui annoncer le départ pour l'Italie d'un autre jeune Canadien de cette ville qu'un dévouement presque héroïque aux beaux-arts porte à visiter leur patrie. M. Falardeau, commis chez M. François Parent, marchand à la Basse-Ville, s'imposait depuis quelques années toutes sortes de privations, afin de se mettre en état de faire ce voyage. Ce jeune homme, apris d'un amour vraiment artistique et doué d'un talent peu ordinaire pour la peinture, et dont les coups d'essai ont été admirés comme des chefs-d'oeuvres, est parti avant-hier pour Florence avec une somme de [pounds] 150...⁴²

Emile Falardeau's statement that the artist left for Europe via New York in November of 1846 would seem to be correct.⁴³ Both biographers state that before he left he met Théophile Hamel⁴⁴ shortly after the latter's return

⁴¹ Gérard Morisset, "Antoine Falardeau, Une oeuvre de jeunesse," Le Canada, May 25, 1934.

⁴² L'Aurore des Canadas, Dec. 1, 1846, reprinted from "Beaux Arts," Le Canadien, (date not given). This article also appeared in Le Journal de Québec, Nov. 17, 1846.

⁴³ E. Falardeau, p. 51. Casgrain gives the date, it would seem incorrectly, as the summer of that same year. The Gazzetti Di Parma of Dec. 1, 1851 describes him as "venuto da Quebec sua patria nel 1846 in Italia,...".

⁴⁴ Casgrain states that Falardeau knew Théophile Hamel and received encouragement from him (p. 14). The Morning Chronicle of July 28, 1859, writing more than ten

from his sojourn in Italy and other parts of Europe (1843-1846). Given the intimacy of the cultured milieu of Quebec it is highly possible they had met before Hamel left. A subscription was raised to help Falardeau defray his expenses, the subscribers including the notary Archibald Campbell.⁴⁵ When Falardeau left for Italy following on Hamel's heels he was the fifth native-born Quebec artist to study in Europe. François Beaucourt had studied and worked in France in the late 1700s, François Baillairgé had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris from 1778 to 1781⁴⁶, and Hamel's teacher Antoine Plamondon had studied in Paris in the 1820s. His (Hamel's) pupil Napoléon Bourassa would follow Falardeau to Italy for a three-year stay from 1852 to 1855. These three, Hamel, Falardeau, Bourassa, were virtually alone in their experience of the Italian cultural milieu of the middle years of the century,

years after the event, is probably incorrect in stating that "The Chevalier Falardeau...took his first lessons from Mr. Hamel, and it was by his urgent advice that his pupil went to Europe to prosecute the study of the art." Falardeau's obituary in Le Courrier du Canada, Aug. 10, 1889, states incorrectly that he studied with Plamondon and Hamel.

⁴⁵ Casgrain, p. 14. Public and government subscriptions were not infrequently proposed and raised to help with the travelling expenses of needy talent. Guillaume Lamothe in his Mémoires refers to the artist as "Falardeau, que plusieurs Québécois avaient envoyé étudier la peinture en Italie." (Guillaume Lamothe, manuscript, Mémoires, 1899, typescript, Archives nationales du Québec (Montreal)).

⁴⁶ François Baillairgé (1759-1830): un portefeuille de dessins académiques, Montreal, 1985, p. 1.

and as such, with the possible addition of Hamel's nephew Eugène Hamel who studied in Rome in 1869⁴⁷, they constitute a distinct group among Quebec and Canadian artists.

The Early Years in Italy: 1846-1851

It is in Emile Falardeau's account of the artist's early months in Italy that the particularities of his method are most clearly demonstrated. The period of the young man's struggle to establish himself is especially amenable to mythic treatment. At the same time these are the years for which the biographer had very little source material. The primary sources are Casgrain's biography and the same not always reliable newspaper accounts that Casgrain himself had consulted. Emile Falardeau adapts and shapes this information using a repertoire of devices which, though they will reappear throughout the narrative, are found in particular abundance here.

The device of setting up an obstacle to be overcome by the protagonist is frequently encountered. Take for example the description of the young artist's entry into the Accademia Reale delle Belle Arti in Florence. Emile Falardeau states that initially the young man was refused admission because the Academy was full, and that even the

⁴⁷ Raymond Vézina, Théophile Hamel, Montreal, 1975, p. 243.

intervention of Archibald (sic) Scarlett,⁴⁸ secretary of the British minister at the Court of Tuscany, Sir George Hamilton, could not avail to open its doors. But, we are told, Scarlett obtained a job for Falardeau in a hotel where he managed to draw the attention of one of the Accademia's professors to his talents: Son stratagème réussit si bien que quelques jours après, les portes de l'Académie lui étaient ouvertes."⁴⁹

When we look at Casgrain, however, we find that he has merely stated that Falardeau "obtint d'entrer à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts par l'entremise de Sir George Hamilton, ministre plénipotentiaire et envoyé extraordinaire de l'Angleterre près de la cour de Toscane."⁵⁰ There is no explanation of how Sir George Hamilton helped, nor any mention of the Academy being full.⁵¹ In all probability

⁴⁸ The name is incorrect. The Hon. Peter Campbell scarlett, secretary of the legation at Florence 1844-1852, shared joint power with Minister Plenipotentiary Sir George Baillie Hamilton during the latter's illness in 1847. S.T. Bindoff, E.F. Ma'colm Smith & C.K. Webster, British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852, London, 1934. pp. 175-176.

⁴⁹ E. Falardeau, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁰ Casgrain, p. 18.

⁵¹ There is no contemporary confirmation of Falardeau's studies at the Accademia. But the description of the early years in Florence in the Dec. 1, 1851 Gazzetta Di Parma describes what is essentially an academic curriculum: "...per quasi quattr'anni in Firenze fu tutto a studiar sul vero di natura, il nudo, e sull'antiche pitture; a confrontare le svariate maniere de'maestri sommi; a trar copia di alcuno fra i più celebri dipinti. Ugualmente di poi a Roma, e in Bologna. Il giorno intero

"par l'entremise de" simply means that the British minister wrote a letter of recommendation for the young artist, the writing of such letters being, of course, a standard part of a diplomat's activities.

The procedure illustrated, that of selecting what is essentially a routine event from Casgrain and embellishing it in such a way as to turn it into a proof of his subject's singularity, is a device Emile Falardeau frequently employs for the advancing of his narrative.⁵²

In shifting our focus from the artist's studies to his political stance during the events of 1848, we encounter a second kind of problems as we examine the biographers' treatment of newspaper accounts which are themselves incorrect. According to Casgrain, Falardeau refused to join "la garde civique des Beaux-Arts" and in consequence "fut chassé de l'Académie."⁵³ If the date of 1848 is correct this would not have been the Tuscan Civic Guard, (one of the most important of the concessions of the Tuscan "quiet revolution" granted by the Grand Duke Leopold II),

dalle prime ore sino al tramonto faticava sui quadri; la sera fuggendo solazzi occupava in leggere vite di pittori, e le più lodate storie della pittura."

⁵² Space does not permit examination of every example of this or other such devices, or of every debatable statement in Un maître de la peinture. In general, discussion will be restricted to events for which comparative contemporary documentation is available.

⁵³ Casgrain, p. 19.

which was founded in September, 1847.⁵⁴ That it was some other, more actively political association,⁵⁵ is suggested by an 1858 report in Le Canadien:

C'était pendant les événements qui ont bouleversé l'Europe en 1848. M. Falardeau, déjà jaloux à cause de son éminence artistique, par tous ses concurrents, s'étant refusé de joindre le parti révolté, attendu qu'il se regardait comme simple étranger jouissant tranquillement des lois de l'hospitalité de l'état, sa résolution servit de prétexte aux vengeances de l'envie qui couvaient depuis longtemps contre lui. On lui fit subir des persécutions qu'on devine assez sans que nous ayons besoin de les détailler ici.⁵⁶

The article, which appears to be based on information provided by the Hon. Henry Black, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, who visited Falardeau with his friend, the lawyer, politician and later judge, George O'Kill Stuart, in the winter of 1858, tells us that Falardeau's anti-revolutionary conduct brought him to the attention of the Grand Duke. In lines which have a suspiciously dramatic ring the writer states:

⁵⁴ In any case, as member of the Tuscan Civic Guard had to be householders (Harry Hearder, Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento 1790-1870, London & New York, 1983, p. 80) Falardeau would not have been eligible.

⁵⁵ Such an association could well have been part of the Florence of 1848 described by Hearder: "The democratic-nationalist movement in the summer of 1848 was most coherently expressed in the press, rather less coherently in the activities of the clubs, and very ambivalently in street demonstrations, where the various forms of democratic sentiment - nationalist, republican and socialist - were all inevitably present." Hearder, Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, p. 87.

⁵⁶ Le Canadien, July 2, 1858.

Sa conduite pleine de prudence ayant attiré sur lui l'attention du grand duc de Toscane, celui-ci se rendit avec le duc de Parme dans l'atelier de M. Falardeau pour lui acheter quelque'une de ses études. Une entre autres frappa le duc de Parme, la duchesse surtout se prit de passion pour elle.⁵⁷

By this point the researcher has realized that the task at hand is not merely to clarify the precise nature of the "garde civique," but to separate fact from fiction in newspaper accounts that are in effect second and third-hand reports of events taking place at a considerable distance of time and space. Black and Stuart were themselves reporting on events that had supposedly happened ten years earlier.

What began as a plausible narrative takes on another colouring as one reads further. The realization that the grand-ducal incident is in fact a confused retelling of an episode "reported" three years earlier, with a different cast of characters by Le Canadien raises strong doubts about the accuracy of the article as a whole, including its comments on the artist's political activity or lack of it.⁵⁸ We shall return to the dukes and duchesses of Tuscany and Parma later. To continue with the subject at hand, a reluctance on Falardeau's part to take part in political activity, if such a reluctance existed, would not

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Also called into question is the authorship of the article. Is the whole article based on Black and Stewart's report, or is part of it based on earlier newspaper articles?

have been surprising. Not only was he a foreigner, but as a Catholic foreigner, once the opposition between papacy and liberalism had by April 29, 1848, become fact,⁵⁹ he would likely have shared the feelings described in Giuseppe Prezzolini's account of the attitudes of American Catholics towards the Risorgimento:

I cattolici americani videro nell'Italia il paese che albergava il capo della loro fede, destinato da Dio a sede del Papato...E così, quasi senza volerlo, si trovarono a militare contro le correnti politiche e di simpatia umana per il nostro Risorgimento. Perché una nuova unità Italia? Sia sufficiente onore per essa albergare il Papato...molti cattolici non ritenevano necessario l'unità e la libertà italiana, perché l'Italia poteva stimarsi felice com'era.⁶⁰

Yet though his background could in this case explain a possible reluctance to join the other students, one wonders if there is in this incident a hint of a tendency to stand back, to be careful, conservative. Suggestions of such a tendency will present themselves again. Pertinent for the moment is the summary of the young man's character provided in 1851 by the Tuscan ministry of external affairs in reponse to a request for information from the corresponding

⁵⁹ Before 1848, in words and actions Pius IX had shown himself in favour of liberal reform, and had been looked on as a hero by most Italians. Hence before 1848 there would have been no opposition between taking a liberal position and being a faithful subject of the pope. But following the 1848 upheavals in Rome, the Pope changed his position. See Chapter III, Practice, for a description of the Italian political situation.

⁶⁰ Giuseppe Prezzolini, Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, Bologna, p. 91.

department of the government of Parma. The request was occasioned by the quite unrevolutionary matter, to be discussed further on, of a proposal that the artist be given an honorary membership in the Parma Academy. Dated Dec. 13, 1851, the brief report refers to him as being "regolare rispetto la sua condotta tanto morale quanto politica, e si mostri sempre assiduo allo Studio e riservato nel conversare".⁶¹

With respect to the sequel of the Civic Guard incident, Casgrain states simply that after the battle of Novara, Austria's decisive defeat of the Piedmontese on April 23, 1849, following which the Grand Duke, who had fled his territory Feb. 8, 1849, returned to Tuscany under Austrian guard, Falardeau "... fut réintégré dans sa place à l'Académie."⁶² Emile Falardeau however transforms the readmittance to the academy into what is the most spectacularly improbable of all the anecdotes in his book. The artist, he informs us, had gone to Rome, whence, following the example of the pope who had fled to the Neapolitan port city of Gaeta following the assassination Nov. 14, 1848, of his minister Pellegrino Rossi, and the ensuing riots, he too left for Gaeta. There, we are told,

⁶¹ Parma, Archivio Di Stato Di Parma, segreteria Intima di Gabinetto, b631, Il Ministro di Stato del Dipartimento dell'Interno to Il Ministro di Stato del Dipartimento di Grazia, Giustizia e Buongoverno, Jan. 15, 1852.

⁶² Casgrain, p. 20.

he hid in a tree and surreptitiously sketched the pontiff taking his rest in a garden. Presenting the finished portrait to the pope, he was rewarded by the latter's intervention to have him reinstated at the Academy.⁶³

Now Pio Nono was a warm-hearted and sympathetic man who, as Alec Vidler says, "enjoyed social life and made himself easily accessible to all who visited Rome,"⁶⁴. But Emile Falardeau's is the only reference to such an incident. And the anecdote is cast in the biographer's characteristic mold: an incident from Casgrain is embellished in such a way as to reinforce the image of the vulnerable hero overcoming obstacles through a combination of luck, demonstration of artistic skill, and the help of a powerful person. Less dramatic but better documented are the privations of Falardeau's early years in Florence. Le Canadien of Dec. 5, 1855 states that:

Durant une année entière il dut ne vivre que d'un seul repas par jour;...dont il ressentit plus tard les effets lorsque pris de fièvre d'Italie, il en endura pendant sept mois de langueurs.

More ample and specific evidence of the poverty and illness endured by Falardeau appear in the memoirs and letters of two Montrealers travelling in Italy in these

⁶³ E. Falardeau, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁴ Alec Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 153.

years, Guillaume Lamothe⁶⁵, a member of a family of wealthy Montreal industrialists, and the artist Napoleon Bourassa.⁶⁶ Lamothe's account of his relationship with the artist begins with their meeting:

...Après une semaine passée à cet hôtel [Hôtel du Nord], je suis allé me loger sur la place Santa Maria Novella. A part mon banquier Ricordi, je ne connaissais encore personne quand au bout d'une semaine on frappe à ma porte et je vois entrer un individu à l'oeil vif, qui vint à moi me tendant la main comme une ancienne connaissance. De suite, je vis que j'avais affaire à un Canadien et je

⁶⁵ According to E. Falardeau Guillaume Lamothe left in 1844 to spend five years in Europe. In Florence he married an Italian of French descent, Marguerite de Savoye, a "jeune florentine, fille d'un ancien officier militaire français de la Lorraine, et protégée de la marquise Manucci-Benincaza, (guardian of Falardeau's future wife) grande dame d'honneur à la cour de Toscane" (p. 66). In later years he served as chief of police, and head of postal services in Montreal. E. Falardeau papers.

⁶⁶ Bourassa was in Italy on his own study trip (1852-1855). Falardeau had already been visited by other Quebecers, but no details of these visits have come to light. Casgrain states that "un jeune Canadien....M. Annibal M..., fils d'une des plus honorables familles de notre pays,.... logea quatre mois avec lui." This young man, who may have been Hannibal Macpherson, introduced him to a Parisian landscape painter, "Charles Lefebvre, qui devint son maître et qu'il compte aujourd'hui parmi ses amis" (p. 20). Bénézit lists a Charles Lefevre who painted in France and Tuscany (vol. 6, p. 533) exhibiting in the [Paris] Salon between 1831 and 1863. Thieme-Becker lists a Charles Lefebvre active c. 1860 in Florence (Vol. 22, p. 55). E. Falardeau refers to the same collection of visitors. But the visiting Canadian who "logea même quatre mois chez lui" has become Alphonse Martineau, and the Parisian Lefebvre (Lefevre) is now described as a portraitist (p. 59). The sequence of events for the years 1848-1851 as presented by E. Falardeau is different from that given by Casgrain. In 1853, Falardeau was probably visited by Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine on the latter's travels in Europe during the period from the summer of 1853 to the spring of 1854. La Fontaine encountered Bourassa in Florence in 1853; it is improbable that he would not have seen Falardeau as well (DCB, vol. 9, p. 450).

me rappelais d'un nommé Falardeau que plusieurs québécois avaient envoyé étudier la peinture à Florence. J'étais heureux de voir un Canadien et lui paraissait si joyeux de me rencontrer et nous devîmes de bons amis. Il me fit visiter Florence et je ne fus pas longtemps sans m'apercevoir que le pauvre garçon était misérable. Il me fit faire la connaissance de plusieurs artistes de renom. Il passait pour un excentrique, mais on lui reconnaissait du talent.⁶⁷

Lamothe's closing remark is not the first allusion to what appear to be certain distinctive personality traits. Emile Falardeau, referring to the artist's years in Quebec, mentions that Falardeau was a popular young man but that:

Seul, son sourire narquois gênait. Beau danseur, toujours bien vêtu, il avait tout pour se faire aimer si ce n'est cette mauvaise habitude de taquiner et de contredire.⁶⁸

As Emile Falardeau's pattern has been to embellish in order to create a positive picture, one is perhaps justified in believing these remarks to be based on a tradition that may have some basis in fact.

Yet whatever the nature of Falardeau's eccentricities, he had qualities that aroused admiration. Lamothe speaks of his generosity:

Un jour, j'étais invité à un pic-nic à Podge Impériale [sic], une villa du grand Duc, il me fallait de l'argent alors je dis à Falardo [sic] je vais mettre ma montre en

⁶⁷ Guillaume LaMothe, Mes Mémoires, BNQ (typescript, Montreal).

⁶⁸ E. Falardeau, p. 41. Speaking of the artist's childhood, he says: "aussi, il commençait à se révéler un trait de son caractère qui lui causera des désagréments toute sa vie: la taquinerie" (p. 24). He states that his father withdrew him from school following his first communion in 1833 "à cause de ses mauvaises dispositions" (p. 25).

gage, il voulait m'en dissuader mais lorsqu'il vit que j'étais décidé, il alla dans sa chambre et revint avec une vieille botte dans laquelle était renfermé une cinquantaine de dollars. Tenez, dit-il, voilà ce que j'ai épargné sur les dépenses, je voulais atteindre cent dollars avant de vous les donner, mais je ne puis pas vous voir aller mettre votre montre en gage. c'était bien l'homme.⁶⁹

A few years later both Ryerson and Bourassa were to comment on Falardeau's kindness and generosity. Lamothe's memoirs show him to have been a generous individual as well. By his own account not only did he help Falardeau financially, he helped him sell his work: "...tous les matins après le déjeuner nous allions consulter les registres des hôtels et quand nous trouvions des noms étrangers, Anglais ou Américains, je lui faisais adresser sa carte."⁷⁰ Lamothe describes a stratagem that induced a buyer to pay \$100 instead of \$30 for a painting:

Un jour nous recevons la visite d'un américain de la Nouvelle-Orléans, un M. Brett qui remarque une très jolie copie d'une tête de Béatrice et demande si elle était à vendre. Je prends la parole et lui dis qu'elle était déjà presque vendue à un monsieur qui devait revenir le lendemain. Combien? dit-il. Cent dollars, répondis-je. Le monsieur partit sans rien dire et Falardeau de me faire une scène. Vous savez que je suis pauvre et vous me faites perdre la chance de faire une vente. \$100. je l'aurais donnée pour \$30. Eh bien! lui dis-je, si ce monsieur ne revient pas, je vous donnerai les \$30. Le lendemain à onze heures, il est revenu, a payé et pris le tableau.⁷¹

⁶⁹ BNQ, Lamothe, Mes Mémoires.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid. The copy was of Beatrice Cenci then attributed to Guido Reni.

Lamothe's account is not without a certain storybook ring. One cannot help but wonder if his recollections did not undergo the shaping action of time: the manuscript is dated some fifty years after the events.⁷²

Lamothe states that Falardeau stayed with him eight

⁷² Lamothe's daughter, Mme. J. Rosaire Thibaudeau is incorrect when she states: "Mon père avait vingt ans lorsqu'il a écrit ses souvenirs qu'il destinait à mon frère pour qu'il les rédige, mais hélas! son fils est mort avant lui." (L. [Mme. J. Rosaire] Thibaudeau to La Revue Moderne, Mar., 1926, p. 14). Lamothe refers to Falardeau's death in his text. In any event, the typescript copy of the original version (ANQ in Quebec) in the ANQ in Montreal, which was consulted by the author, and some years earlier by Morisset and Harper but which is now unaccountably not to be found in its catalogues, bears the date 1899. The memoirs exist in four different versions. (1) The first is the original manuscript in the ANQ, a typescript of which was in the BNQ in Montreal. (2) Mme. Thibaudeau in a letter published in "Nos Amis nous écrivent," La Revue Moderne, Mar., 1926, p. 14, transposes a large part of her father's account into the third person, paraphrasing somewhat at the same time. (3) In an undated letter to E. Falardeau she gives a longer, also transposed, and further altered version of the relevant manuscript sections. (4) The "récit de LaMothe, tel qu'on le trouve dans ses mémoires, mis gracieusement à notre disposition par...Mme. J. Rosaire Thibaudeau" in E. Falardeau (pp. 64-66) appears to be this account, put back into the first person, and further altered. With the exception of the introductory section, which has been changed to make it sound as though LaMothe had a greater previous acquaintance with the artist than he did, the changes made by E. Falardeau are for the most part a matter of a more elaborate form of expression. There is however in the original (typescript) manuscript version an interesting reference to Lamothe's own activities which is not contained in the other versions: "J'avais pour maîtresse la femme d'un grand personnage de la cour et cela au su de tout le monde." which does not appear in Falardeau's version. Though some, among them the grand duke, regretted the "domestic vice" of the Italian upper classes, more or less public adulterous affairs were widely accepted in Italian society. Many visitors remarked on this.

months.⁷³ He sees the Beatrice Cenci sale as Falardeau's "départ pour le succès et la fortune." But according to Casgrain, the prosperous interlude initiated by Lamothe was followed by another difficult period during which he was robbed of painting equipment at Bagni di Lucca, the spa near Florence much frequented by the British community, where he went in search of commissions⁷⁴, and nearly drowned in Livorno where he went apparently with the same intention. But he did make some money in his seven months in Livorno,⁷⁵ after which he embarked on a tour of Italy, visiting and copying in Milan, Bologna, Venice, Rome, Naples and Parma.⁷⁶ It was Parma, according to Casgrain and Emile Falardeau, that was the real turning point.

Copying Correggio in Parma: 1851

Casgrain tells us that in December of 1851 Falardeau won a competition for the best copy of Correggio's Madonna di

⁷³ E. Falardeau, Casgrain and Lamothe all give somewhat different impressions of the dates involved. Casgrain seems to say that Lamothe was already married when he met Falardeau: "M. Lamothe lui commanda son portrait, ainsi que celui de sa femme, Mlle Marguerite de Savoie..." (p. 21). But if Lamothe had been married when he met Falardeau is it likely that he would lived eight months with him? Nor does it seem likely that he would have continued his affair with "la femme d'un grand personnage de la cour" as a newly married man.

⁷⁴ Probably portrait commissions.

⁷⁵ Casgrain, pp. 21-22.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

San Girolamo, commonly known as Il Giorno, and in consequence was made an honorary member of the Parma Academy and in addition was presented with an honorary knighthood by the Grand Duke of Parma.⁷⁷ He describes the competition as follows:

C'est ici que se place l'épisode du concours pour la copie du Saint-Jérôme de Corrège, pendant son séjour à Parme. Nous sommes en décembre 1851....Voilà le chef-d'oeuvre que Falardeau avait la témérité de vouloir reproduire. Plusieurs autres artistes éminents tenaient aussi le pinceau devant la célèbre toile....A mesure que l'oeuvre [Falardeau's] sortait de la toile, l'admiration croissait et attroupait la foule....Avant même la fin du concours et la décision du jury, qui allait bientôt lui décerner le premier prix, l'Académie des beaux-arts l'admit, à l'unanimité, au nombre de ses membres honoraires.⁷⁸

However, though there is no doubt that Falardeau's copy of the Correggio Madonna di San Girolamo⁷⁹ was an achievement of major importance for the young artist, there is no evidence whatsoever that it was done in the context of a competition.⁸⁰ Reading the contemporary Italian documents referring to Falardeau's copy, we find no mention a competition. Records in the Archivio di Stato of Parma

77 Casgrain, pp. 23-30.

78 Casgrain, p. 25.

79 See Cat. No. 27.

80 Competitions however were held in Parma. In 1760 the three-year-old Parma Academy instituted an annual international competition open, it would appear from L. Hauteceur's article "L'Académie de Parme et ses concours à la fin du XVIIIe siècle," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 4 (Aug., 1910) pp. 147-165, to students of painting and architecture. The competitions described by Hauteceur (1760s to 1790s) were all for originals.

say nothing of a competition dedicated to the copying of Correggio.⁸¹ In Canada, the Dec. 5, 1855 article in Le Canadien states only that: "M. Falardeau travaillait à un tableau de la Sainte-Famille qu'il se proposait, quand il serait fini, d'emporter au Canada."⁸²

With respect to the honorary membership in the Parma Academy, recordings of proceedings of the Academy confirm that Falardeau was indeed given an honorary membership in recognition of the excellence of his copy of the San Girolamo. A document dated Dec. 1, 1851, states:

Il soggetto ultimo tratto in questa sessione è stato la copia del San Girolamo del Correggio di fresco eseguita in questa R. Accademia da un valoroso pittore Americano, il Sig.^e Antonio Falardeau nativo di Quebec nel Canada. La maestria cola quale e condotto il lavoro ha meritato al giovane dipintore le lodi de' Professori, i quali han concordemente riconosciuto essere in questa Copia serbati il carattere e l'espressione dell' Originale, ed avere il Falardeau saputo [] la difficoltà somma che presentossi in ogni tempo ai più abili artefici.... Il Corpo Accademico propose quindi la nomina del Signor Falardeau ad Accademico d'Onore, tanto per tal modo una testimonianza del pregio in cui tiene l'opera di lui, la quale recata in lontane regioni fara [] gustare non poca parte delle sovrane bellézza di un Quadro...della Scuola Parmense.⁸³

⁸¹ "...non c'è notizia, dalle carte, [the documentation on the "concorsi accademici"] di un concorso dedicato a copie dal Correggio", Dott. Maria Parente, Archivio di Stato, Parma, letter to the author, Feb. 17, 1938.

⁸² "Un artiste Canadien à Florence," Le Canadien, Dec. 5, 1855, reprinted from the Toronto Leader [date not given].

⁸³ Parma, Archivio Di Stato Di Parma, Segreteria Intima di Gabinetto, b631, Ad...privata straordinario del giorno 1^e Dicembre 1851 / Parte quinta.

But neither it nor other documents having to do with Falardeau's honorary election mention a competition, though they reiterate the matter of the difficulties presented by the painting to "abile artiste" in "ogni tempo."⁸⁴ The lengthy letter praising Falardeau's copy written by Antonio Bertani, Director of the Royal Library of Parma, which appeared in the French journal L'Artiste and which was reproduced in Le Courrier du Canada at the time of Falardeau's 1862 visit, is similarly silent on the matter of a competition,⁸⁵ as is an article in the Gazzetta di Parma which praises the excellence of Falardeau's copy:

⁸⁴ Parma, Archivio Di Stato Di Parma, Segreteria Intima di Gabinetto, b.631, no. 223, copy of letter from Reale Accademia delle belle arti, Parma, to Ill^{mo} Signor Antonio Sebastiano Falardeau, Jan. 18, 1852.

⁸⁵ L'Artiste, Feb. 1, 1852, reproduced in Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862 (which itself states: "C'est cette copie du St. Jérôme du Corrège qui a valu à M. Falardeau le titre de membre honoraire de l'Académie Royale de peinture de Parme, et celui de Chevalier de St. Louis..). Bertani's letter is reproduced in Casgrain, pp. 26-27, and in E. Falardeau, pp. 74-76. The article in Le Courrier du Canada states: "La lettre suivante a paru, le 1^{er} février 1852, sur l'"ARTISTE" revue des beaux-arts, publié à Paris. Cette lettre écrite au sujet de la copie du Saint Jérôme du Corrège, par M. Falardeau, tombé par hasard sous les yeux d'un de nos amis, qui se trouvent à l'exposition de Paris en 1855. Elle n'a jamais été publiée, que nous sachions, en Canada; nous sommes parvenus à la retrouver, dans la collection de l'"ARTISTE", après d'assez longues recherches." Interlibrary Loan (Concordia University) was unable to locate the letter in L'Artiste. Bertani's letter is not listed in the indexes to the Feb., 1852 issues of L'Artiste: Beaux-Arts et Belles Lettres. Copies of L'Artiste (or similarly named publications) were not available in Montreal for perusal. There is however no doubt as to the authenticity of the letter. One cannot help but notice that the letter was reproduced after Falardeau's arrival in Quebec.

In due mesi è stata fatta una copia (ad ugual dimensione) del quadro che è suo gran decoro.... E son molti gl'intelligenti di Pittura; e v'hanno persino Professori Artisti dimentichi di qualsiasi rivalità (pur troppo non insolita) che attestano apertamente, di non aver veduto fra moltissime cui videro farsene altra più somigliante, più bella.⁸⁶

Falardeau himself, in a letter to Guillaume La Mcthe which was reproduced in Le Pays and Le Journal de Québec in 1852 simply says:

...j'ai fait un tableau qui m'a valu le titre d'Académicien de l'Académie de Parme. De plus j'ai été fait chevalier de première classe de l'ordre royal de St.

⁸⁶ A.C., "Appendice: Belle Arti", Gazzetta di Parma, Dec. 1, 1851. (Le Canadien, April 14, 1852, reproduces the Gazzetta di Parma article.) That the writer of this article makes much of Falardeau's youth, his devotion to art, and the fact that, "discendente da famiglia colà di Francia trapiantatasi, or son due secoli e mezzo" he had come to Italy to seek the training he could not get at home "dove non era pur una scuola di disegno," may have something to do with Parma's long connections with France. Parma had acquired Philip, brother of the king of Spain and son-in-law of Louis XIV as reigning duke by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Marie-Louise, second wife of Napoleon was a popular and relatively beneficent duchess from 1814 to 1847. But the bulk of the article is devoted to a discussion of the difficulties involved in copying the San Girolamo: Ne richiedarsi meno di si vivo zelo dell'Arte e cotanta perizia al sig. Falardeau per compier si bene, e si celermente una copia del S. Girolamo. Quadro che cimenta il valore e la costanza d'ogni esperto pittore. Cotanta è la difficoltà di tradurre con olii, e colori di recente preparati una dipintura che dopo ben più di tre secoli direbbesi velata da pochi anni. Nella quale non risaltano, e neppur traspajono contorni, sebbene si vedano ombre insinuantisi, e linee ed angoli di prospettiva perfetta. Talchè ad ogni crescere, o scemare della luce del giorno agli occhi dell'attento spettatore apparisce una mutazione quasi misteriosa in tutte le tinte, e agli occhi dell'artista crescono ad imitarle, con armonia di tutto l'insieme, le difficoltà"

Louis...le tout accompagné d'une épingle au diamants de plus de deux mille francs."⁸⁷

The fact that the three Parma texts share the motifs of the great difficulties and challenges - challenges which are not met by all aspirants - presented by the painting, along with the motif of the dissemination through copies of the beauties of this masterpiece of the Parmesan school, remind us that the praise accorded Falardeau was not entirely disinterested. In proclaiming the status of the San Girolamo as something approaching the copyists' ultimate test, the Gazzetta di Parma makes a statement for the benefit of artists and tourists alike. Not as generously endowed as its larger neighbour Florence, Parma made the most of what it had, and that was above all, Correggio, who reigned with Raphael and Titian as the painters' holy trinity of the later eighteenth century.

The American painter John Singleton Copley, writing to his wife in 1775, states that in 1758 the Madonna di San Girolamo, which had originally been painted for the church of Santo Antonio, was "placed in the Royal Academy for the

⁸⁷ Le Pays, March 1, 1852, Le Journal de Québec, Mar. 6, 1852. The letter seems to have been written to Lamothe while the latter was still in Italy. Falardeau may be referring to his benefactress (E. Falardeau pp. 71, 84; Casgrain, p. 23) and guardian of his future wife, the marchese Mannucci-Benincasa when he says "Si je vous écris en ce moment, je le dois aux bontés inépuisables de Mme. M." Ibid.

benefit of artists who wished to copy it."⁸⁸ And copy it they did, though they did not always complete their copies. The difficulties referred to in the texts cited earlier were quite real. An article by Paul McIntyre on the American painter James Smith, known as "Smith of Parma" who spent more than seven months copying the work in 1776-1777, provides further information on the celebrity of the painting, especially among the English, and the difficulties it posed to copyists, some of whom gave up before completing their works.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ John Singleton Copley to his wife, July 2, 1775, Parma, Martha Babcock Amory, The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, [1882] New York, 1969, p. 59. Copley copied the painting which was later to be Falardeau's ticket to fame, on commission from Lord Grosvenor (Ibid., p. 49). Cecil Gould, writing a hundred years later, implies that protection against possible sale of the much-coveted work rather than the convenience of copyists was the reason for its acquisition by the Accademia (Cecil Gould, The Paintings of Correggio, Ithaca, 1976, p. 262). For a somewhat cynical description of the political uses an 18th-century academy could serve, see L. Hautecoeur, "L'Academie de Parme et Ses Concours," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 4, (1910), pp. 147-165. The M.A. thesis by Paul McIntyre, The Importance of Correggio in Eighteenth-Century England, La Trobe University, Australia, 1986, is informative on the copying of Correggio.

⁸⁹ Among them Joseph Wright of Derby and William Parry. Paul McIntyre, "Un misterioso pittore Americano: Smith of Parma," Avrea Parma (Rivista di Lettere arte e storie), Vol. 69, No. 2 (May-Aug. 1985), pp. 67-73. Smith writes to the English artist Ozias Humphrey: "...the most difficult part of a picture is the management of the flesh: but none more especially than that of Correggio's; it is so exceedingly clear that it even sparkles, and triumphs in brilliancy above all other pictures that I have yet seen" (ibid, p. 70 [original English version provided by McIntyre]). Bertani's commentary in L'Artiste (Feb. 1, 1852, reproduced in Le Courrier du Canada, July 7, 1862,

To return to the subject of Falardeau's success, with Casgrain shown to be wrong in the matter of the alleged competition, it is unlikely that the reader's confidence will be strong enough to sustain his account of the second part of the Parma affair, the tale of how the artist received his knighthood.⁹⁰ The Almanacco di Corte Per l'Anno 1859 states simply that Falardeau was named Cavaliere di 1^a Classe of the Ordine di San Lodovico in 1852.⁹¹ Casgrain's detailed account of how this came about

Casgrain, pp. 26-28, Falardeau, pp. 74-76) makes the same points: "...il y avait bien des difficultés à surmonter dans l'immense tâche que vous vous étiez imposée!....Et combien d'artistes n'ai-je pas vus tomber sous le poids trop lourd de ce fardeau de géant!."

⁹⁰ The historian David Haynes, replying to the question "Would Casgrain alter an event to make it more dramatic?" replied "off-the-top-of-my-head": "Certainly he would. Our historian colleagues consider him a rather unreliable historian, and students of literature query his statements about literary history." letter to the author, June 20, 1988.

⁹¹ Almanacco Di Corte Per l'Anno 1859, Parma. The Ordine Costantiniano Di S. Giorgio archives in Parma report the knighthood, stating of Falardeau that "posso farle presente che egli fu fatto, dal Duca Carlo III, cavaliere del Real Ordine del Merito, sotto il titolo di San Lodovico, di prima classe (e cio risulta dalle nomine dell'anno 1852)." Prof. Marcello Turchi, L'Archivista, Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, Parma, to the author, Nov. 24, 1987. The knightly orders were awarded for service to the state in letters, science and the arts, as well as for acts of devotion towards the sovereign. Encyclopedia Italiana, Vol. XXV, p. 474. Francis Haskell mentions that the practice of conferring such honours on artists was operative in Italy by the mid-1600s. Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy, New Haven, 1980, p. 19. Other 1852 recipients included a count, the secretary of a subsection of the Department of the Interior ("Fabbriche, Acque e Strade"), the secretary of the Russian legation at Rome, a surgeon, and the director of the

can be summarized as follows. The Duke of Parma, Carlos III de Bourbon, wanted to see the painting:

Accompagné de la duchesse de Parme, de Don Carlos d'Espagne et de sa suite, il rendit visite à l'artiste....Et après quelques instants de silence:

- Si cette toile n'est pas achetée, ajouta-t-il, je la reclame pour moi.

Je regrette de ne pouvoir me rendre au désir de Votre Altesse, répondit Falardeau: mon tableau n'est pas à vendre. J'ai l'intention de retourner bientôt au Canada, mon pays natal, et je désire l'emporter avec moi.⁹²

But on the advice of the director of the Academy, Falardeau reconsidered, and when the Duke repeated his request he presented the painting to him as a gift. In turn, the Duke presented the artist with "une magnifique épingle en brillant" and made him a knight of the order of St. Louis."⁹³

Casgrain's account has the suspicious symmetry of invention. Examination of its sources and permutations sheds some interesting light on the possibilities for error in contemporary documents. The original invention was in fact not Casgrain's. A narrative with an identical plot, complete with the taciturn Don Carlos of Spain, appeared in the Journal de Quebec, Dec. 6, 1855, in the account of the

faculty of medicine in Paris. Almanacco Di Corte Per l'Anno 1859.

⁹² Casgrain, pp. 28-30.

⁹³ Casgrain, pp. 29-30. The artist states that he received "une épingle en diamants de plus de deux mille francs de valeur" in his letter to Lamothe reprinted in Le Journal de Québec of Mar. 6, 1852

artist receiving not his Parma knighthood, but a Tuscan knighthood from the Grand Duke of Tuscany.⁹⁴ Only the

⁹⁴ In preparation for his projected second book, E. Falardeau corresponded with the artist's daughters Cristina-Anna and Dianora (Signora Pietro Carraresi), requesting, among other things, photographs of these decorations. But his requests brought little in the way of results. April 9, 1934, he wrote in frustration to Dianora: "J'avais la conviction que vous viviez encore toutes deux et voilà pourquoi avant de faire lire mon manuscrit avant de le faire remettre à un imprimeur pour connaître le prix de l'impression j'ai écrit en Italie pour avoir certains détails que je croyais être d'un intérêt bien propre à illustrer des choses complètement inconnues." (copy of letter from E. Falardeau to Dianora Carraresi, Montreal, April 9, 1934, E. Falardeau papers, formerly collection of Raymond Falardeau, Montreal, destroyed as the result of flood, Summer, 1987). But did Dianora send something? In a letter to her dated Dec. 5, 1933 he says: "J'ai entendu dire que lors du passage des canadiens en Italie vous aviez remis un petit paquet pour m'être remis et dont je n'ai rien reçu car je viens de l'apprendre tout récemment." But E. Falardeau may have been wrong in believing the decorations were in the possession of the artist's daughters. Le Journal de Québec, May 27, 1882, p. 2, states: "On dit aussi que notre artiste agriculteur, a offert à l'Université Laval, pour son musée de numismatique, la croix de chevalier et la diplôme qui lui furent données par S.A.R. le duc de Parme, en 1852... Nous l'en félicitons et nous félicitons l'Université de posséder ce souvenir, qui est tout à la gloire de la patrie." Unfortunately records of the medals collection at the Musée du Séminaire in Québec were mislaid and it is no longer possible to verify if these decorations are there. However, the Musée du Séminaire possesses the Cross of the Order of the British Empire, which according to their records, was presented to the "Chevalier A.S. Falardeau le 17 janvier 1852" (Musée du Séminaire, list of decorations, p. 265, No. 42). But no contemporary references to this or any other British decoration have been found. In any event the Order of the British Empire was founded only in 1917 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1967, Vol. 13, p. 408). And the artist is not included in the list of knighthoods in W. A. Shaw's The Knights of England, London, 1971. E. Falardeau does not mention a British award in his list of the artist's titles: Chevalier Toscan, Chevalier de l'Ordre du Mérite de Saint-Louis de Parme, Chevalier de l'Ordre du Mérite de Saint-Wladimir, Russie; Officier de l'Académie Royale de Peinture de Parme;" but he includes the

details are different. The painting is a copy of an Andrea del Sarto, and the jewel is a diamond ring. The changing of the details suggests that Casgrain knowingly transferred the story from the Tuscan to the Parmesan knighthood. Emile Falardeau is even more inventive; he attaches the incident to both knighthoods.⁹⁵ He has realized though, that the Don Carlos of Spain mentioned by Casgrain and by the Journal de Québec was not a separate person as these two believed, but was merely another title of the Duke of Parma.

As for the factuality of the incident in the first place, any lingering faith dwindles on finding that it appears in yet another version in the July 2, 1858 Le Canadian article. This time the coveting of the painting, here an original depicting two cupids quarrelling over a rose, and the bestowing of the (Tuscan) knighthood, take place during the Grand Duke of Tuscany's visit (in company with the Duke of Parma) to the artist's studio, a visit made in recognition of his refusal to join "le parti révolté."⁹⁶

statement: "Décoré dix fois par différents gouvernements monarchiques." p. 157.

⁹⁵ E. Falardeau, pp. 77-83. The numerous details introduced by E. Falardeau in his version of the competition include an example of the "hostile Italians" theme: the other competitors, jealous of Falardeau, twice upset his easel. (pp. 72-73).

⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that Benjamin West, another artist who brought his copy of the Correggio to completion, fared similarly to Falardeau. According to C. Edwards Lester's 1846 biographical sketch: "At Parma he was

The survival and continued reappearance of the story seems not to have been impeded by the fact that the correct version of events, i.e. the Gazzetta di Parma article of Dec. 1, 1851, had been reprinted in Le Canadien on April 14, 1852.

Emile Falardeau aligns the Parma incident, as he has several others, with the theme of the exile longing to return home: "Quelle occasion aussi d'enrichir sa collection d'un si beau tableau! Cela valait bien la peine de retarder de quelques mois son retour au Canada."⁹⁷ Elsewhere he remarks: "Il avait la satisfaction, avant de partir pour le Canada, d'avoir réussi à se faire estimer."⁹⁸

elected a Member of the Academy - he painted for the Academy a copy of the St. Jerome of Correggio, of such excellence, that the reigning Prince desired to see the Artist. He went to Court, and, to the utter confusion of the attendants, appeared with his hat on. The Prince was a lover of William Penn, and he received the young artist with complacency, and dismissed him with many expressions of regard." C. Edwards Lester, The Artists of America, [1846] New York, 1970, pp. 84-85.

⁹⁷ E. Falardeau, p. 71.

⁹⁸ E. Falardeau, p. 77. Similar statements regarding the artist's desire to return home recur throughout the early part of the book. For example, in 1855, after having sold all the paintings in his studio: "Maintenant riche en argent, mais pauvre en tableaux, il ne pouvait pas songer à revenir au Canada les mains vides de ses preuves. Pour une autre fois, il fut obligé de retarder son retour au pays natal." (p. 77). And see p. 69: "Pour exécuter [in 1850] les portraits que plusieurs distingués personnages lui avaient commandés, Antoine dut parcourir la Lombardie, la Vénétie, le Piedmont, la Ligurie. Cela retardait bien d'un an son retour au Canada mais lui donnait en retour l'occasion de rentrer plus riche

But there is ample testimony in contemporary accounts that the intention to return home is pure invention. La Minerve of March 26, 1852, in a communication described as coming from Florence states that "Il ne parait pas songer à retourner en Canada; et certainement il peut faire beaucoup mieux ici que dans sa patrie, où les beaux-arts sont si peu appréciés." The same explanation for the artist's absenting himself from his native land is given by Quebec's unofficial poet laureate Louis-Honoré Frechette (1839-1908) in a poem written in honor of the artist on the occasion of the 1862 visit:

Un jour, jeune inconnu, sentant dans ta poitrine
 Couvert du feu sacré l'étincelle divine
 Et ton destin se révéler,
 Tu dis: Quittons ces lieux aux muses trop acerbes!
 A moi le large espace! à moi les monts superbes!
 Je suis aigle, je puis voler!⁹⁹

Napoleon Bourassa, in a letter to Théophile Hamel, gives the reasons more bluntly:

et mieux connu..."

⁹⁹ Louis-Honoré Frechette, "Hommage à M. Le Chevalier Falardeau", La Voix d'un exilé / Mes Loisirs, Chicago, 1868: reprint, Collection des "Introuvables Québécois," Montreal, originally published in Le Courrier du Canada, July 7, 1862. See also The Journal of Education, ("traduit du Courrier du Canada") March, 1857 (p.50): "...Falardeau however seems to have forgotten Canada and now resides at Florence, where, we are happy to learn, he is thriving well. He can scarcely be found fault with for the preference which on that account he gives to a foreign country; with us the wealthy and the mighty do very little for the fine arts."

ce à quoi il songe le moins, c'est à partir un beau matin pour le Canada, avec tout son bagage d'antiquités, et deux larmes aux yeux, abandonnant à Florence tous ces rêves d'or.¹⁰⁰

The artist himself, in a letter published in Le Canadien of May 7, 1862, makes the excuse of health:

Il ne me serait possible de retourner au pays pour y demeurer, car, maintenant que je suis accoutumé au climat de ce pays, qui me convient beaucoup, le froid du Canada serait sans aucun doute très nuisible à ma santé, et il en serait ainsi pour ma femme.¹⁰¹

However, though it seems that Falardeau fairly early decided to make his home in Italy, it may be that Casgrain was correct when he stated that in 1851 he wanted to bring his copy of the Correggio back to Quebec with him. Bertani, in his letter states that "C'est à Québec, lieu de naissance de M. Falardeau, que cette copie devait être envoyée."¹⁰² And the Parma Academicians may be making

¹⁰⁰ ANQ, Fonds Bourassa-Papineau, Bourassa to Théophile Hamel, Dec. 7, 1858, Florence. Another letter from Bourassa, to the Rev. [J.O.] Paré states: "S'il ne lui arrive plus rien d'adverse il se trouve un chemin de fortune. Il est d'ailleurs favorisé dans cette route, par une conduite bien régulière, et irréprochable, si ce n'est pas trop de travail, - Je ne sais pas s'il retournera jamais au Canada." Ibid. Bourassa to J.O. Paré, May 10, 1853, Florence.

¹⁰¹ Le Canadien, May 7, 1862, p. 2. The letter was "communiqué par un de nos amis."

¹⁰² L'Artiste, Feb. 1, 1852, cited in Casgrain, pp. 27-28, in Falardeau, pp. 74-76.

reference to such an intention when they describe the copy as "recata in lontane regioni..."¹⁰³

Relationship with Napoléon Bourassa: 1852-53

By the time of the Parma incident Falardeau had been copying in the Pitti Palace and the Uffizi for several years. Requests to copy in the Pitti appear as early as 1847.¹⁰⁴ At this point he appears to have been still studying. The account of these early years in Florence in the December 1, 1851 Gazzetta Di Parma, though it does not specifically mention studies at the Accademia, describes what is essentially an academic curriculum:

...per quasi quatr'anni in Firenze fu tutto a studiar sul vero di natura, il nudo, e sull'antiche pitture; a confrontare le svariate maniere de'maestri sommi; a trar copia di alcuno fra i piu celebri dipinti. Ugualmente dipoi a Roma, e in Bologna.¹⁰⁵ Il giorno intero dalle prime ore sino al tramonto faticava sui quadri; la sera

¹⁰³ Archivio Di Stato Di Parma, Segreteria Intima di Gabinetto, b.631. ...privata straordinario del giorno 1^e Dicembre 1851.

¹⁰⁴ His first request was likely that of Sept. 13, 1847, for the Sassoferrato Madonna (See Cat. No. 119). This request was written in Italian, unlike his other letters which were all written in French, and it was accompanied by a letter of recommendation dated Sept. 6, from Tommaso Pagganini.

¹⁰⁵ The paintings listed in Egerton Ryerson's 1856 account book include copies of paintings in Siena and Bologna as well as in Florence. Archives of Ontario, Ontario Department of Education Records, R.G. 2, Series L-3, vol. 15, Record of Purchases for the Educational Museum and Library.

fuggendo solazzi occupava in leggere vite di pittori, e le più lodate storie della pittura.¹⁰⁶

The Quebec artist Napoleon Bourassa, a pupil of Théophile Hamel who had left on his own study tour of Europe in 1852, had contacted Falardeau on his arrival in Florence in 1853. Bourassa was to spend a good deal of time with his compatriot over the next months. His letter to Hamel of December 7, 1853, indicates that Falardeau was by this time doing a great deal of copying and was well established in the profession.

The letters from this Canadian artist are of enormous value in helping us form a picture of Falardeau in these early years in Italy. As may not have been the case with Lamothe's memoirs, they were written at the same time as the events related. In addition, the precision and expressiveness of Bourassa's writing, his interest in character and motivation, and his habit of scrutinizing his own motives, make him an extremely valuable witness.

The Dec. 7, 1853 letter sheds light on Falardeau's working habits, and on his character:

Falardeau fait bien à Florence: il s'est monté ce printemps un logement, qui peut certainement témoigner son goût, de son travail et de ses économies. Il a, et ne manquera jamais, d'avoir, beaucoup à faire; aussi travaille-t-il en conséquence. Je crois qu'il réussira avant dix ans à doubler les galeries de Florence. Par

¹⁰⁶ Gazzetta di Parma, Dec. 1, 1851.

example, il n'a pas fait moins de douze à quinze Poesie de Carlo Dolci, depuis que je le connais.¹⁰⁷

As Bourassa arrived in Florence in Sept. of 1852,¹⁰⁸ this would have been a considerable output. (And he would have copied other works as well during this period.) The large quantity of paintings (twenty-six) bought by Egerton Ryerson in 1856 make it evident that by this date if not before, the artist was maintaining a considerable stockpile in his studio.¹⁰⁹ Most of the numerous copies of Poesie would have been done in the studio, only the first being copied in the gallery. Artists were not allowed to recopy the same painting in the gallery until a period of time had elapsed. Still referring to the work Poesie, Bourassa continues:

ce qui me faisais lui dire, un peu en riant, que c'était beaucoup faire de poésie pour un homme qui n'était pas poète; et je disais très vrai; aussi manque-t-il des deux grands TRAVERS des fabricants de VERS: l'ennui et l'amour; ce à quoi il songe le moins, c'est à partir un beau matin pour le Canada, avec tout son bagage d'antiquités, et deux larmes aux yeux, abandonnant à Florence tous ces rêves d'or; ou bien à faire tant et tant de beaux sentiments pour finir après tout, à mettre dans les neuf pièces de son logis, une femme et des enfants, qui en faisant le tapage CAUSENT TOUJOURS DES DEPENSES, l'énergie invincible qu'il a laissé voir en

¹⁰⁷ ANQ, Fonds Papineau-Bourassa, Bourassa to Hamel, Dec. 8, 1853, Florence. A large part of the Bourassa-Hamel correspondence is reproduced in Raymond Vézina, Napoléon Bourassa, p. 207 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Le Moine, 1974, p. 31.

¹⁰⁹ Archives of Ontario, Ontario Department of Education Records, R.G.2, Series L-3, vol. 15, Record of Purchases for the Educational Museum and Library, 1853-1861.

poursuivant sa carrière avec autant de constance, malgré les milles obstacles qui la croisaient prouve qu'il a du talent, et qu'il en sentait beaucoup en lui...¹¹⁰

The individual presented by Bourassa is possessed of an extraordinary determination to succeed, an inexhaustible energy - and a certain deficiency of sensitivity. Bourassa continues with a discussion of Falardeau's abilities as a painter:

Maintenant que puis-je vous dire de ce talent; je ne sais trop...j'ai vu, de lui d'excellents dessins d'après nature. Et des copies irréprochables; Pas plus. Peut-il faire un tableau, peut-il faire un portrait?...je ne le sais pas, je n'ai rien vu de semblable dans son atelier-les peintres qu'il me paraît le mieux comprendre, sont le Guide, et Carlo Dolci; pour les coloristes; je ne crois pas, qu'il les ait bien entendus. Mais en somme il reproduit les originaux avec exactitude, soit peindre les draperies et les accessoires d'un tableau, avec légèreté et sans rebattre trop son travail. Je crois véritablement qu'il aurait acquis une bonne couleur, ou qu'il pourrait encore y arriver en travaillant plus d'après nature, ou en ne copiant, que les coloristes. Pour aujourd'hui, je puis dire qu'il a peu d'égaux parmi ceux qui font profession de la copie à Florence - Vous saurez à quoi vous en tenir si vos souvenirs des Galeries de cette Ville vous sont encore présents.¹¹¹

But can he produce original work of merit, Bourassa asks:

Falardeau s'en tiendra-t-il à ce genre, toute sa vie...je l'ignore...Je ne puis pas croire qu'il ait choisi cette carrière par goût, pouvant avoir un mérite original et après avoir fait des études excellentes. Cet homme a senti rudement ce que vaut l'argent et il a pris la route la plus courte, pour s'en procurer au plus tôt: c'est un

¹¹⁰ ANQ (Québec) Fonds Papineau-Bourassa, Bourassa to Théophile Hamel, Dec. 7, 1853, Florence. The Gazzetta Di Parma article of Dec. 1, 1851, remarks on Falardeau's working habits: "Il giorno intero dalle prime ore sino al tramonto faticava sui quadri; la sera fuggendo solazzi occupava in leggere vite di pittori, e le più lodate storie della pittura."

¹¹¹ Ibid.

malheur chez lui bien plus qu'un tort, et on doit le regretter pour son talent. J'espère qu'il pourra et voudra le réparer plus tard - Aujourd'hui, il se trouve parfaitement bien, et tout à fait rétabli des maladies qu'il a fait l'année dernière...Veuillez donner de ses nouvelles aux siens; je ne sais pas s'il leur écrit bien souvent.¹¹²

The same month Bourassa speaks of Falardeau in a letter to Charles Laberge. He begins by remarking on the artist's health and determination:

[Il] vient de faire une maladie très dure et dont il se rétablira très difficilement. Je crains bien que ce jeune homme ait dépensé plusieurs années de sa vie dans les sept années qu'il a passées en Italie.

L'amour du travail qui est chez lui une qualité beaucoup trop prononcée pour la force de sa constitution, l'a porté à des excès qu'il regrette fort, maintenant.

Quand l'on sait d'ailleurs les privations auxquelles il s'est condamné pour accomplir ses résolutions, on est étonné même qu'il soit encore si bien. Il est de ceux qui ne meurent pas parce qu'ils ne veulent pas mourir, et qui sans ce courage à vivre serait mort cent fois. Un mois et demi à peu près avant mon arrivée à Florence, il avait eu cette attaque de pleurésie qui, se joignant à une fièvre maligne....le réduisit à une si grande faiblesse que les médecins furent étonnés de le voir s'en relever.

Quand je le vis à mon arrivée il était rétabli, mais il avait conservé une grande faiblesse.

A l'approche des froids de l'hiver, la pleurésie a reparue et depuis un mois à peu près, les médecins le traitent sans relâche.

Ils l'ont couvert de sangsues et de vésicatoires que je vais lui appliquer matin et soir. Il est seul, absolument seul, son garçon l'ayant abandonné au commencement de la maladie. Malgré sa grande faiblesse il se fait tout lui même et toujours en riant. J'ai passé d'abord quatre ou cinq jours avec lui, mais depuis il n'a plus voulu que j'y aille. Il est d'ailleurs bien mieux, il sort et travaille depuis plusieurs jours; ...[paper torn]...et ne peut être malade quand il voit de la poussière sur un de ses cadres dorés, ni même ailleurs. C'est l'homme le plus méticuleux qui soit au monde.

112 Ibid.

Along with the determination, Bourassa brings in a note of compulsiveness:

Et puisque je suis à t'en parler, je te dirai intimement que jusqu'à présent si sa connaissance m'a été utile elle n'a pas toujours été pour moi un bonheur. Sa maladie et son titre de compatriote me rapprochent bien plus de lui que cette pente sympathique qui existe toujours entre deux caractères nés l'un pour l'autre. Le sien est l'antipode du mien. Une de mes idées rencontre infailliblement le contraire chez lui. Il est absolu bien autant que moi dans les siennes et ne comprend pas comment l'on puisse penser autrement qu'il ne fait; et comme le monde est plein d'opinions différentes sur un même point, il arrive que si je ne tombe pas juste sur celle qu'il partage, j'ai tort, parce qu'il a raison. Mais tout cela serait niaiserie s'il n'existait pas toujours quelque chose d'incompris dans notre commerce habituel de société, ce qui laisse dans l'esprit une incertitude des doutes et des soupçons qui me rendent parfois cette société pénible au dernier point et me fait regretter d'être venu à Florence plutôt qu'à Rome. Si tu savais comme cela est désagréable d'être ce que j'appelle amis. Il est gai, et à l'esprit tourné pour faire rire l'homme le plus grave au monde, il m'a été très utile dans toutes les petites nécessités de mon déballage (comme dirait la Minerve à propos de toi) - un autre probablement trouverait en lui un excellent compagnon. Mais pour moi qui suis si bizarrement contourné d'esprit, qui suis si seul et voudrais...[illegible]...d'un amitié - Tous les jours je fais un visite au Chevalier Falardeau qui a pour habitude de me conter au long ce qu'il a fait après ma dernière, et tout ce qu'il fera le lendemain; toujours ses affaires de cuisine et d'atelier sont compris dans ce grand rapport.¹¹³

Bourassa speaks of the artist as recovered from his illnesses. However not long after (sometime between 1853 and 1855) he contracted what the biographers refer to as rabies from a cat bite. However as he survived (a finger

¹¹³ ANQ (Québec) Fonds Papineau Bourassa, Bourassa to Charles Laberge, Dec. 19, 1852, Florence. Laberge (1827 - 1874) was a lawyer, later solicitor-general, judge, member of the Quebec legislature, and twice mayor of Saint-Jean.

had to be amputated) it seems clear that he did not have rabies, which is invariably fatal. Most likely he developed a serious infection from the bite.¹¹⁴

Florence in the 1850s: Patronage, Status and Success

The 1850s were productive years for Falardeau. The majority of the requests to copy found in the Archivio delle Gallerie di Firenze, as well as other references to his copying activities, date from these years, as in fact do most of the dated works in Canadian collections.

The requests for permission, invariably brief and to-the-point, and the occurrence of Falardeau's name on lists of works copied, show him to have followed the mainstream tendencies in copy production, that is to say, an emphasis on works of the Baroque and High Renaissance, with a substantial number of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings, as well as portraits of historical figures such as Cromwell, Galileo, and self-portraits of artists. Consistent with the practice of other copyists whose choices were noted, Falardeau paid little (or more accurately no) attention to paintings of the early Renaissance.

Napoléon Bourassa had expressed reservations over Falardeau's ability to copy "les coloristes," but he had praised his exactitude, lightness and absence of

¹¹⁴ Casgrain, pp. 33-35; Falardeau, pp. 92-94.

overworking of touch, and in general found he had few equals among the numerous copyists of Florence.¹¹⁵ Egerton Ryerson, the Ontario Superintendent of Education, who came to Florence in January of 1856 to buy copies for the educational museum he was to found in Toronto in 1857, shared Bourassa's high opinion of Falardeau's abilities as a copyist. Ryerson said in a letter to his deputy superintendent George Hodgins:

I think his copies are among the best I have yet seen in Florence. I shall get several [of] his & he will aid me every way I desire. He is the cleverest & most intelligent, as well as amusing man I have yet seen in Florence. He is a perfect gentleman, is invited to the British Ambassadors; Grand Dukes, etc.¹¹⁶

Ryerson, it is true, lacked the artistic background and training of Bourassa, but his letters reveal him as a person of unusual intellectual acuteness. And the experience of buying some one hundred and eighty-two paintings, almost all of them copies, in Paris, Antwerp, Frankfurt, Munich and Bologna over a period of a few months could be expected to have sharpened his visual acuity.

¹¹⁵ ANQ (Québec) Fonds Papineau-Bourassa to Hamel, Dec. 7, 1853.

¹¹⁶ United Church Archives (Toronto), Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 17, 1856, Florence. It is not impossible that the Grand Duke's relations with Falardeau were on a more familiar level than that represented by the conversazioni and receptions put on for the tourists. Bayard Taylor reports of the American sculptor Hiram Powers, admittedly a more important artist, that he was "intimate with many of the principal Italian families....The Grand Duke has more than once visited his studio and expressed the highest admiration of his talents." Views Afoot, London, 1847, p. 237.

Bourassa had regretted that Falardeau was not doing originals. We know that Falardeau produced at least one original in these years, a landscape dated 1857,¹¹⁷ but Bourassa saw no originals apart from a few sketches.¹¹⁸ The progress of Falardeau's career seems to fit the description given in The Lions of Florence, a guidebook to the city published in 1847:

There are a number of artists here, who, though they in the beginning aimed at originality and gave proofs of their talent, have been compelled by necessity to turn copists and restorers. In Florence as in most such towns, the number of artists is much greater than the demand for original paintings requires: the churches are full usque ad nauseam; the passion for modern works is only just beginning to be developed amongst the nobility, and the orders from the wealthy merchants and bankers are but "few and far between;" so that un povero artisto, a poor artist ...must either be original and starve, or else turn copyist or return, where he has a fair chance of getting on in the market; for I am perfectly sure, that were all the copies sold here for the last thirty years, placed side by side, they would reach from London to St. Petersburg at least; no wonder then that the majority have been reduced to abandon their studies; and take up their abode in the galleries, where they have

¹¹⁷ Paysage à Florence, 1857, Musée du Québec 55.70. See Cat. No. 155.

¹¹⁸ ANQ (Quebec) Fonds Papineau-Bourassa, Bourassa to Hamel, dec. 7, 1853. The loss of catalogues, and inaccessibility due to reorganization, that have been the lot of some libraries in Florence in consequence of the flood of 1966, have hindered research in the area of Falardeau's possible participation in exhibitions (of original work). The one catalogue of the "Società Promotrice di Belle Arti," for 1865, in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence, makes no mention of Falardeau. Dott. Carla Bonnani Guiducci, dir. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Florence, to the author, Oct. 4, 1988.

neither to pay rent, nor to rack their brains in search of artistical novelty.¹¹⁹

Bourassa, though he speaks of ability, and implies that Falardeau is on the road to financial security, does not specifically mention his fame or status as a copyist.¹²⁰ Ryerson however had mentioned social contacts with the British Ambassador and the Grand Duke.¹²¹ The honorary knighthood, though not such an exclusive honour, would have carried some status with it. As well, the artist's marriage to a member of the nobility would argue for a measure of social status.

And Falardeau's income would of course be an indicator of his success. One can perceive a rise in fortunes through the 1850s. The artist probably moved sometime in the early 1850s¹²² to the flat at 1325 Via de' Bardi in the

¹¹⁹ [B. Spence], The Lions of Florence, Florence, [1847] 1852, p. 65. The author was probably the English sculptor B. Spence, who worked in Rome. (Bénézit, vol. 9, Thieme-Becker, vol. 31).

¹²⁰ He refers to him as le Chevalier Falardeau in his letter to Laberge (ANQ, Fonds Papineau Bourassa, Dec. 19, 1852), but he makes no actual reference to the knighthood(s).

¹²¹ Guillaume Lamothe (c. 1847) refers to women, evidently of high social status, visiting the atelier he shared with Falardeau in the Via Santi Apostoli. But it is not clear whether they came to visit the artist Falardeau or the wealthy Lamothe: "...poussé par les dames qui étaient venues visiter l'atelier, je me décidais à donner sous leur patronage un bal de 200 personnes, deux princes, le frère du roi de Naples, y étaient." Mes Mémoires.

¹²² As noted previously Napoléon Bourassa wrote to Théophile Hamel in Dec. 1853 that "...il s'est monté ce printemps un logement, qui peut certainement témoigner de son gout, de son travail et de ses économies" (ANQ, Fonds

fashionable Santo Spirito quarter of the Oltrarno, not far from the Pitti Palace.¹²³ Emile Falardeau states that in 1855 "Profitant d'une aubaine, il acquit l'immeuble qu'il habitait, et tout l'ameublement."¹²⁴ Owned or rented, it would appear that it was the Via de' Bardi residence at which he was visited in 1858 by two Quebecers, Henry Black and George O'Kill Stuart, members of Quebec's Anglophone professional and cultural establishment.¹²⁵ A report of their visit, published in the Courrier du Canada of July 7,

Papineau-Bourassa, Bourassa to Hamel, Dec. 7, 1853, Florence). Falardeau's letter requesting a permesso straordinario of Aug. 21, 1854, gives the Via de' Bardi address. AGF, 1853-54, Filza XIV, Permessi straordinarie. E. Falardeau implies the move took place c. 1852. p. 88.

¹²³ Numbering of the Via de' Bardi has changed since Falardeau's time. However if E. Falardeau is correct in saying the building was "à peu près à mi-chemin entre le Palais Pitti et la Galerie des Uffizi" it was possibly in a section of the street near the Ponte Vecchio which was torn down in the late 1800s to enlarge the Lungarno Torrigiani. Abbé A. Bulgaridi, Guide de Florence et ses Environs, [trans. from French, Gaspard Ricci], 1842.

¹²⁴ E. Falardeau, p. 95.

¹²⁵ Black (1799-1873) was a judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at the time of the visit. Stuart (1807-1873), at that time member of the Legislative Assembly for Quebec, was mayor of Quebec 1846-1850, appointed Vice-Admiralty Judge in 1873. The two men were connected by more than friendship. Stuart married Black's widow. He was the original collector of the group of Falardeau paintings which in 1933 were given to the Musée du Québec as part of the MacPherson bequest. But if Black and Stuart bought paintings from Falardeau in Florence traces of these have been lost. The paintings in the MacPherson bequest appear to have been bought in Quebec. See the introduction to Appendix A. A letter from V. Desjardins to Emile Falardeau states that Stuart subscribed to send Falardeau to Europe. V. Desjardins to E. Falardeau, Oct. 18, 1933, E. Falardeau papers, formerly coll. R. Falardeau.

1858, contains a description of the residence: "L'atelier de M. Falardeau" included six "salles" devoted to paintings (the artist's copies), antiques and objets d'art.¹²⁶ Each room was devoted to a different category of painting. Evidently Falardeau was doing well financially. His fortunes further increased during the 1860s. And early in that decade he crowned his position as an established and prosperous member of society with marriage to a young woman of the nobility.

¹²⁶ "meubles ... tous du quinzième siècle, admirablement sculptés et provenant des premières familles de la Toscane tels que: Les Medecis [sic]; les Strozzi; les Guicciardini; les Caponi; les Barbini; les Piccolomini; les Martelli; les Pucci; et même du temps de la republique de Florence"....as well as "des tentures brodées d'or et d'argent de Damas; des cristaux; des bronzes; des monnaies; des médailles; des plats des plus célèbres fabriques d'Urbain; de Pisina; de Faenza, de Forli, etc" (Le Courrier du Canada, July 7, 1858). Antiques and objets d'art were eagerly bought by visitors and foreign residents. It should perhaps be noted that the same article contains one of the variants of the apocryphal version of the bestowal of Falardeau's honorary knighthood. (The description of the rooms is reproduced in E. Falardeau, pp. 158-164.) Other Quebec newspapers also informed compatriots of Falardeau's success. L'Abeille, the organ of the Séminaire du Québec, repeats "une correspondance écrite de Florence au Herald de Montréal: 'Le Canada est dignement représenté ici par un de ses artistes. Le Chevalier Falardeau ...est considéré a Florence comme l'un des artistes qui donne les plus belles esperances. Personne n'est plus habile que lui comme copiste. Dans cette branche de l'art du peintre son execution est d'une fidelité que nul ne peut surpasser.'" L'Abeille, April 9, 1859. Ms copy, E. Falardeau papers.

Marriage: 1861

On Sept. 17, 1861, Falardeau married Caterina Mannucci-Benincasa, the orphaned daughter of a Tuscan marquis.¹²⁷ The marriage raises several questions. Let us consider first Emile Falardeau's remarkable and unsupported statement that the bride was a great-niece of Pius IX on

¹²⁷ The name is given as Caterina Mannucci-Benincasa de Montisi in the wedding announcements in La Minerve, Nov. 9, 1861, p. 3, and Le Journal de Québec, Nov. 12, 1861, p. 3. The marriage took place Sept. 7, 1861, in the "chapelle du Marquis Mannucci Benincasa Capponi of the church of Sant'Ambrogio in Florence," according to the newspaper reports. (E. Falardeau gives the church as San Spirito, nearer where the artist lived. p. 99.) Casgrain and E. Falardeau give the date as Sept. 17. Casgrain states that Caterina was the daughter of "le marquis Manucci-Benincasa", who "servit longtemps dans l'armée française, en qualité de capitaine d'état-major de Napoléon 1, et fut décoré sur le champ de bataille de Bautzen." Her father's ancestors included St. Catherine of Siena. Her mother was a descendant of the Counts Rossi. Both her parents died when she was young and she was raised by an uncle (p. 36). E. Falardeau gives the names of her parents as "le marquis Francesco Mannucci-Benincasa [sic] et de Orsola Petessi" (p. 99). He identifies her guardian also as a "marquis Mannucci-Benincasa" and his wife as "née Marquise Rucellai" (p. 99). The Marquise Mannucci-Benincasa (probably the same person) of whom Lamothe's future wife, Marguerite de Savoye, was a protégée, according to E. Falardeau was a "grande dame d'honneur à la cour de Toscane" (p. 66). [Count] Niccolo Capponi, Florence whose family is related by blood to some branches of the Mannucci-Benincasa family states that the latter were Jacobins (supporters of Napoléon) (Telephone conversation with the author, June 23, 1988). The other protégée of the marquise, the "fille d'un ancien officier militaire français de la Lorraine," who married Guillaume Lamothe also appears to have had French connections, according to E. Falardeau (p. 66), who no doubt got his information from Mme. Rosaire Thibaudeau, Lamothe's daughter.

her father's side.¹²⁸ No extant contemporary reference mentions a relationship to the pope. Furthermore, the subject is not mentioned in the correspondence between Emile Falardeau and the artist's daughter Dianora. In Emile Falardeau's notes it appears only in the form of a patently incorrect genealogical table drawn up in his hand and signed by him.¹²⁹ Given the absence of contemporary, or any other references to such a relationship,¹³⁰ not to mention Emile Falardeau's track record for invention, one would be inclined to conclude that the relationship with Pio Nono must, at least for the time being, be considered

¹²⁸ E. Falardeau, p. 99. The first published mention is in a La Presse article, "Peintre Canadien qui fut celebre en Europe," of April 17, 1925, which cites Casgrain and Emile Falardeau as sources. E.Z. Massicotte in a short article on the significance of the names Falardeau gave his son (Amerigo-Lorenzo-Jacopo Cartier-Pio-Giovanni-Tomasso-Pietro-Firenze, born Aug. 21, 1862) repeats the story: "...il dût être inclus en l'honneur du pape régnant, Pie IX, oncle de dame Falardeau." Massicotte, the provincial archivist, knew Falardeau (Raymond Falardeau, personal communication, Fall, 1988). Massicotte's name is included in the list of "Remerciements" in Un Maître de la peinture (p. 142).

¹²⁹ E. Falardeau papers.

¹³⁰ There is nothing to suggest a relationship between the Mannucci-Benincasa and Mastai-Ferretti families in any of the following: Giovanni Battista di Crollanza's Dizionario storico-blasonico (vol. 2, pp. 66, 105); Vittorio Spredi, Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana, Bologna, (v. 4, pp 322 & 482-84); Libro d'Oro della Nobiltà Italiana, Ed. 17, Vol. 28, Rome, 1977-1980, p. 1017; Albo Nazionale...Famiglie Nobili dello stato Italiano, part 1, Milan, 1971, pp. 414-426; Alberto Serafini, Pio Nono (Rome, 1958, p. 49). Giacomo Martina, author of Pio IX e Leopoldo II (Rome: Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 1967), knows of no such connection. Giacomo Martina to the author, Rome, Aug. 26, 1988.

an invention. A possible motive for the fabrication exists in the fact that a family connection with Pio Nono would have enhanced the image of the artist as the ideal Quebec hero.¹³¹ One wonders if the train of thought might have followed the pattern already noted, of the embellishing of a kernel of truth. The kernel of truth could have been the fact that some of the names of Falardeau's son - Amerigo, Lorenzo, Jacopo-Cartier, and Florence - obviously had personal meaning, were, in effect, a code for significant events in the artist's life, - a fictive genealogy. And if these had meaning, why not the others?¹³² All that remained was to surmise what the meanings might have been.

The second question concerns finances. Within a short time after his marriage Falardeau had moved from the Via de' Bardi flat to a palace that had belonged to the Machiavelli family.¹³³ The imposing four-story, eleven-bay

¹³¹ Emile Falardeau wastes no expressions of sympathy on the Risorgimento in Un Maître de la peinture.

¹³² E. Falardeau also provides a source for the name Tommaso: "parce que le batelier Tomasso, de Lucques, lui avait déjà sauvé la vie." p. 156. Casgrain mentions that "un batelier" had saved his life, but gives no name. p. 22.

¹³³ Falardeau's copy of Guido Reni's Cleopatra (Musée du Québec, 77.487, see Cat. No.93) is inscribed with the date 1862, and the address "1325 Via de Bardi." Yet Emile Falardeau states that on his return from his visit to Quebec in 1862 "[il] demeurait maintenant dans l'ancienne résidence de Niccolo Machiavelli.." (pp. 112-113). In fact the house, though it belonged to the Machiavelli family, had never been the residence of Niccolo. M. Bucci and R. Bencini refer to the building as the "palazzo Falardeau, in via Santo Spirito, appartenuto anche ai Machiavelli." (Palazzi di Firenze, vol. 4, Florence, 1973, p. 32.) Bucci

building occupying a full block (Nos. 5 and 7) Via S. Spirito bespeaks a degree of wealth even in a city where living was cheap. On the wall in each of the two entrance halls is a plaque bearing the following words: "Queste casa gia dei Machiavelli Il Cavalier Antonio Falardeau restaurava nel MDCCCLXIII."¹³⁴ A coat of arms bears the date MCCCCXXVI.

Was the house part of Caterina's dowry? One older though not contemporary source, La Minerve of July 6, 1882, states that it was:

Il a fini par rencontrer une épouse qui lui offrait en dote une fortune et un palais et ce palais est lui-même rempli des plus belles créations artistiques et religieuses.¹³⁵

But this tentative confirmation that the palace was part of a dowry raises another question. What were the circumstances that led a daughter of the nobility to marry a copyist of humble origin? Aristocrats normally married

and Bencini include a photograph of a terracotta ornament on an exterior wall of the palace.

¹³⁴ The vestibule at No. 5 is adorned with furnishings, among them a stone bench, two busts on consoles and two more on pillars, that might well have been installed by the artist. On the wall is an oval coat of arms, the right half showing a pyramid of six balls surmounted by a cross. The palace covers a full block. It's depth along the Via Coverelli (formerly Via de Vettori) is even greater than its facade in length.

¹³⁵ La Minerve, July 6, 1882. Georges Bellerive is the only later writer to repeat the assertion. Artistes-Peintres Canadiens-français, p. 65.

for title or money.¹³⁶ Was Caterina an impoverished dependant who needed a husband? Or had Falardeau-decorated, patronized by the nobility, and earning well, and very likely of exemplary character and industry-achieved a status that made him an acceptable husband? At the present time the information needed to answer these questions is lacking.¹³⁷

Years of Prosperity: the later 1850s and 1860s

In any event, the years of poverty were over. Contemporary and later reports mention the patronage of wealthy and prominent clients in the 1850s and 1860s. Both Casgrain and Falardeau mention the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Schwerin¹³⁸ and the Grand Duchess Olga (referred to erroneously it would seem, as the Dowager

¹³⁶ According to Niccolo Capponi, a branch of whose family acquired a connection with the Mannucci-Benincasa in the nineteenth century: "They [aristocrats] married for money or title....[the marriage to an artist] raises the possibility that perhaps she couldn't do any better - She could have been illegitimate." Niccolo Capponi, telephone conversation with the author, June 23, 1988.

¹³⁷ Guillaume Lamothe, who married another titled protégée of the Marquise Mannucci-Benincasa, Marguerite de Savoye (E. Falardeau, p. 66) was from a wealthy family. The painter Eugène Hamel, nephew of Théophile, married Ernesta de Cadilhac, "fille d'un chevalier et de la duchesse Teresa de Lante della Rovere" in Rome in 1882. Vézina, Théophile Hamel, p. 249.

¹³⁸ Casgrain, p. 31, E. Falardeau, pp. 87 & 88. Both appear to place the sales of these paintings in 1852. But the copy request for commissions for the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenbourg-Schwerin was made in Dec., 1854. AGF. 1853-54, Filza XIV, No. 57.

Empress by both).¹³⁹ Falardeau alone mentions Louis-Adolphe Thiers¹⁴⁰, and Prince Joachim [sic] Murat¹⁴¹ as clients during the 1850s, as well as the English politician

¹³⁹ Casgrain, p. 31; E. Falardeau, p. 87. Effie Ruskin confirms that the Russian Imperial party was in Italy in 1852: "The Grand Duke Constantine and his wife and suite of 50 Russians" spent five months in Venice, travelling from there to other cities in Italy. It is clear that Effie Ruskin and E. Falardeau are speaking of the same party: both mention the imperial yacht the Wladimir. Young Mrs. Ruskin in Venice, ed. Mary Lutyens, New York, 1965, pp. 215, 299, 300, and E. Falardeau, p. 87. John Bright mentions the Russians "The Grand Duchess Olga, sister of the present Emperor of Russia, and her husband, the Crown Prince," as being in Geneva May 14, 1852. The Diaries of John Bright, p. 227. In the article "Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau et ses oeuvres discutées" in Le Petit Journal, week of Jan. 12, 1964, E. Falardeau himself refers to her as "La grande-duchesse de Russie."

¹⁴⁰ E. Falardeau, p. 88. The French statesman scholar was one of the original organizers of the Musée des Copies in Paris. But at this time he was not collecting for the Musée. However he had his own private collection of copies. But if any were bought from Falardeau, their whereabouts are today unknown. The Bibliothèque Thiers (Institut de France) which now has Thiers' collection has no record of works by Falardeau. Madeleine Benoit, bibliothécaire, Bibliothèque Thiers, letter to the author, Paris, Feb. 18, 1988. There is an 1865 request for permission to copy the Madonna della Segiola and the Madonna Granduca submitted by a painter named Dubouchet, who was copying for Thiers. AGF, 1865, Filza B, No. 12.

¹⁴¹ It could not have been Joachim Murat, King of Naples, who had been executed in 1815. But his widow Queen Caroline was living in Florence in 1835. The American sculptor Horatio Greenough, a resident of Florence, remarks: "I was at Madame Murat's the other evening and saw a fine bust of the king her husband." Letter from Horatio Greenough to his son Harry, Jan. 18, 1835, Letters of Horatio Greenough, New York, 1970, p. 101. Perhaps the Murat in question was their son Napoléon-Lucien Charles, Prince Murat (1803-1878).

John Bright¹⁴² and the American General Winfield Scott, as clients in 1855.¹⁴³ And it was in this decade that Egerton Ryerson made his purchases.

Information about the artist's status as a copyist can also be drawn from the records in the Uffizi archives. It is perhaps significant to note that his letters are signed simply Antoine-Sebastien Falardeau, while the official memoranda always refer to him as Il Cavaliere Falardeau. Evidently his knighthood was known.

A letter and related memoranda of 1854 indicate that not only did Falardeau enjoy a certain status in the copying milieu, but that he saw himself as occupying a special position. An annotation in the file states tellingly: "Falardeau; pittore domanda più permessi Straordinarie per copiare alla galleria Palatina."¹⁴⁴ In his letter of request the artist mentions, almost impatiently, that he has gone over the head of the director of the gallery, the Marquis Luca Bourbon del Monte, to the Grand Duke himself:

¹⁴² E. Falardeau, p. 96. Bright was in Florence and other cities in Italy. R. J. Walling notes that "Before he left Rome he ordered copies of some pictures to be made for him." The Diaries of John Bright, vol. 4, ed. R.A.J. Walling, London, 1930, p. 227.

¹⁴³ E. Falardeau, p. 96. Falardeau also mentions the Montrealer Hannibal MacPherson as being among the visitors of 1855. However Casgrain puts MacPherson's visit in 1848. Casgrain, p. 20.

¹⁴⁴ AGF, 1853-54, Filza XIV, No. 57. Spelling of the terms permessi straordinari, permissione ordinarie etc. varies in the AGF files (e.g. permissioni, permessi, permissione).

Aujourd'hui pour le troisième fois, je suis allé ... pour annoncer à Votre Excellence que j'ai demandé à Son Altesse Imperiale et Royal Monseigneur Le Grand Duc, une permission extraordinaire [special permission, usually to go ahead of one's turn] pour pouvoir faire des Copies au Palais Pitti; une du Portrait de Rembrandt et l'autre de la Sainte Famille, avec Sainte Elisabeth, d'Andrea del Sarto.¹⁴⁵

Del Monte, in his memorandum to the Grand Duke, speaks of the artist and his request as follows:

Il Falardeau dimorante in questa citta da vari anni ha sempre frequentato le nostre gallerie, e non è molto che fece alla Galleria Pitti la Copia della Madonna della Seggiola, ed un pittore stabilito, per così dire a Firenze non è che darsi la precursore da fare in tempo debito le domande per copiare i quadri della Galleria Pitti, le permissione si succedono con [] distanza [] regola a parte.¹⁴⁶ Io non trovavo ragione di concedere al Falardeau un posto eccezionale...¹⁴⁷

The artist, it seems clear, was an established painter, a regular frequenter of the gallery, and one who had managed to irritate the gallery officials by the frequency of his requests for (presumably) permessi straordinarie. A letter written in French to the Prince Hughes de Windischgrätz, who appears to be acting as a representative of the Grand

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., Falardeau to Bourbon del Monte, Florence, Aug. 21, 1854. Going directly to the Grand Duke while not unheard-of, was rare. In Rieke van Leeuwen's annotated list of Belgian and Dutch artists who copied in the Pitti and Uffizi, of a total of 57 initial letters, five are addressed to the Grand Duke. "Appendix I, Kopieren in Florence, Florence, 1985, pp. 44-166.

¹⁴⁶ The handwriting is illegible, but the last three words "a rule apart" are perhaps meant to sum up Falardeau's attitude.

¹⁴⁷ AGF, 1853-54, Filza XIV, No. 57, Aug. 22, 1854.

Duke and Grand Duchess of Mecklenbourg-Schwerin,¹⁴⁸ makes this quite clear:

Votre Altesse a bien des titres à avoir des exceptions ce que ne pourrait de faire à Monsieur Falardeau, qui est toujours a demander des graces particulières.¹⁴⁹

The director also notes in his memorandum that "Ora troverei che facendo un favore speciale al Falardeau per il quale non concorrono circostanze straordinarie si darebbe large animo ad altre..." This observation was crossed out and replaced by the following:

Le speciale riguardi non militan a favorire il supplicante...la concorrenza di un costanza di concederle il permesso straordinario che egli domanda, ed io sono di sentimento che convenga usare un estero trattamento con tutte gli esercenti pittore senza di che nasce l'odio ed il malumore fra loro.¹⁵⁰

The fact that this was the only sustained discussion of the possibility of jealousy towards a specific copyist noted in the files consulted suggests that Falardeau did indeed stand out as something of a special case. One recalls the earlier allusions to a "difficult" personality.

The First Visit to Quebec: 1862

Knighted, established, properous, and now married to a young woman of the nobility, Falardeau not surprisingly

¹⁴⁸ It is not clear whether all this correspondence relates to the Mecklenbourg Schwerin commission or to another occasion as well.

¹⁴⁹ AGF, 1853-54, Filza XIV, No. 57, [Dec., 1854].

¹⁵⁰ AGF, 1853-54, Filza XIV, No. 57, Aug. 22, 1854.

made plans to revisit his native land. He left Italy April 23, 1862, arriving in Quebec, June 24.¹⁵¹ There may have been other reasons too for the trip besides a natural desire to show off his success. The approximately two hundred paintings He brought with him are evidence that he expected to benefit financially from the trip. And he had reason to believe he would be well-received. Articles over the years had kept Quebecers informed of the progress of his career.¹⁵² His success as an artist was the subject of an 1855 article in Le Canadien: "Ce jeune virtuose s'est fixé définitivement à Florence, où il est devenu l'émule heureux des artistes de réputation qui s'y distinguent."¹⁵³ In 1858 the paper had told its readers that "on ne séjourne pas à Florence, surtout quand on est canadien, sans faire visite au chevalier Falardeau, qui est là comme un représentant d'élite de son pays."¹⁵⁴ The following year Le Journal de Québec observed:

Le chevalier Falardeau,...est considéré à Florence comme l'un des artistes qui donne les plus belles espérances. Personne n'est plus habile que lui comme copiste. Dans

151 E. Falardeau, pp. 103-104.

152 Le Journal de Québec, Dec. 6, 1855, stated that: "Peu de Canadiens savent à quel degré de distinction est parvenue un de leurs compatriotes, qui réside à Florence depuis 10 ans."

153 "Un Artiste Canadien à Florence," Le Canadien, Dec. 5, 1855, reprinted from the Toronto Leader (date not given).

154 Le Canadien, July 2, 1858.

cette branche de l'art du peintre, son exécution est d'une fidélité que nul ne peut surpasser.¹⁵⁵

Le Courrier du Canada of April 3, 1857 ranked him with the most famous artists of Quebec: "Notre nationalité canadienne-française peut et doit s'honorer de nos quatre artistes suivants: MM. Plamondon, Hamel, Bourassa, et Falardeau."¹⁵⁶

The return of the artist, knighted and successful, was an event of considerable interest. The newspapers of Quebec and Montreal kept close track of Falardeau's itinerary. In Quebec, he exhibited in the house of the late John Ross, on Rue Saint-Jean.¹⁵⁷ In Montreal the paintings were shown at the Institut des Artisans.¹⁵⁸ The papers applauded the success of a Quebecer abroad. "...nous devons être fiers de ses succès dans un pays comme la Toscane, où il est si

¹⁵⁵ Le Journal de Québec, April 7, 1859, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ "Beaux-Arts", Le Courrier du Canada, April 3, 1857. The subject of the article was Plamondon's new copy of Poussin's Assumption for the church of the faubourg Saint-Jean.

¹⁵⁷ Le Journal de Québec, June 18, 1862, p. 2. Le Courrier du Canada (July 2, 1862, p. 2) refers to the building as "une des maisons à arcades de la rue St. Jean." Harper mentions a John Ross as active in musical circles in Quebec in 1860. He is described as later marrying the widow of James Gibb. (J. Russell Harper, Krieghoff, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979, p. 64.) Harper names the Ross family among Quebec's prominent timber merchants. (Ibid., p. 184, fn. 32).

¹⁵⁸ La Minerve, July 17, 1862, p.2. E. Falardeau identifies the Institut des Artisans [St. Pierre and St. Jacques] as the Mechanics [Institute] Hall (p. 110). A branch of the Mechanics Institute was in existence in Montreal at this time.

difficile d'arriver surtout pour un étranger," remarked Le Courrier. Letters in Le Canadien and Le Journal de Québec urged that banquets be held in the chevalier's honor.¹⁵⁹ The praise continued in Montreal, where La Minerve called him "l'artiste canadien qui occupe une si belle place dans l'histoire des peintres distingués de l'Europe."¹⁶⁰ Le Journal de Québec wrote:

A une époque où nous nous occupons tant et certes avec raison de notre nationalité menacée, n'est-il pas glorieux pour des Canadiens de pouvoir montrer à nos détracteurs un des nôtres à qui un talent remarquable et le mérite personnel seuls ont valu de la part d'un souverain étranger ses lettres de noblesse.¹⁶¹

The sales of the paintings received a good deal of attention. La Minerve announced that the artist: "sera obligé de vendre ses tableaux à l'encan, s'il ne peut en disposer avant par vente privée."¹⁶² On July 19, La Minerve published an announcement of the auction to be conducted that same day by Shaw & Frères, Encanteurs, at

¹⁵⁹ Le Canadien, June 30, 1862; Le Journal de Québec, July 15, 1862. However there is no mention that a banquet was held. Emile Falardeau's description of a banquet (p. 112) at which Guillaume Lamothe was host (the guests including Sir Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine, Côme-Seraphin Cherrier, the Mayor of Montreal Jean-Louis Beaudry, Napoléon Bourassa, and the de facto poet-laureate of Quebec, Louis-Honoré Frechette, who read to the company the poem he had written in Falardeau's honour), is not supported by contemporary evidence.

¹⁶⁰ La Minerve, July 12, 1862, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ Le Journal de Québec, July 15, 1862.

¹⁶² In fact, auctions of paintings were not infrequent in Quebec, and did not necessarily imply a lack of success.

the Institut des Artisans.¹⁶³ The paintings Falardeau had brought to Quebec were for the most part the ones whose names appear and reappear in the copying requests in Florence: works by Titian (Flora, John the Baptist); Raphael, Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, Guido Reni (Beatrice Cenci), and Carlo Dolci (Diogenes), portraits of the famous (Cromwell, Galileo), self-portraits by artists (Reynolds, Rembrandt, Raphael, Cromwell, Angelica Kauffman, Vigée-Lebrun), small Dutch genre and landscape paintings (van Mieris, Ruysch) and a certain number of seventeenth and eighteenth-century French works (Mignard, Grimoux). He did not put together a special group of paintings for Quebec.

The newspapers commented on the paintings in generalized, favourable terms: "Ses toiles sont charmantes, son pinceau est suave et sympathique, et ses prix sont raisonnables" observed La Minerve.¹⁶⁴ The well-travelled, more sophisticated author of the article "Le Chevalier Falardeau" in Le Courrier du Canada, of July 1, 1862, compared Falardeau to other, less expert (Quebec?) copyists:

Le grand défaut que l'on remarque généralement chez les artistes copistes, c'est ce coloris empourpré, cette

¹⁶³ The Institut des Artisans, corner of St. Jacques and St. Pierre, was the Mechanics Institute, the Montreal branch of which was founded in 1828. See Camille Bertrand, Histoire de Montréal, Montreal, 1942, p. 241.

¹⁶⁴ La Minerve, July 1, 1862.

hauteur de tons qui fait que, sans être le moins de monde connaisseur, on peut dire de suite: voilà qui n'est pas original. M. Falardeau est peut-être un des artistes d'Italie le plus éloigné de ce défaut; Une chose qui témoigne encore de la fidélité des copies de notre artiste, c'est cette variété que l'on remarque entre ses différents tableaux, selon qu'ils appartiennent aux Ecole Florentine, Romaine, Venitienne, ou Flamande, ...¹⁶⁵

Yet despite the praise, it seems that sales were disappointing. The newspapers leave the impression that all or most of the works were sold, but they imply that the prices realized were lower than anticipated. Le Pays of July 24, just before the artist's departure, stated that "Monsieur Falardeau a vendu toute sa belle collection de tableaux, mais il a du faire des sacrifices onéreux sur quelques-unes des meilleures toiles."¹⁶⁶ Did Falardeau overestimate the buying capacity of the province's collectors?¹⁶⁷

Emile Falardeau notes that "malheureusement...les communautés religieuses, et en général, le clergé québécois

¹⁶⁵ Le Courrier du Canada, July 1, 1862.

¹⁶⁶ Le Pays, July 24, 1862.

¹⁶⁷ Cornelius Krieghoff had enjoyed a spectacularly successful auction April 8, 1862 "at a new auction house on the rue St. Jean," according to Harper. [This would appear to be the same "bâtisse de Ross, rue St-Jean, Québec" (cited in Le Canadien, June 30, 1862) where Falardeau's Québec auction was held.] In addition Krieghoff had auctioned paintings by himself and others in December, 1861, and on Dec. 23, 1862. (Harper, Kriehoff, pp. 150-151.) According to Harper, Krieghoff was, in 1847, the first Canadian artist "to trust his paintings to the bidder's whims." Groups of Krieghoff paintings were successfully auctioned in January, 1847, February, 1850, and in 1852 in Montreal. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

n'accorda aucune attention à ses oeuvres."¹⁶⁸ But the lack of sales in these quarters is in fact not surprising. Religious institutions in general bought art when it was required for a church or chapel. The arrival of a celebrated painter would have probably been less of an inducement to buy in their case than in that of private citizens interested in collecting paintings. Additional reasons for the clergy's lack of patronage could have been Falardeau's lack of contacts in these circles, and the fact that the jealous and opinionated doyen of Quebec painting, Antoine Plamondon, largely controlled the religious market. However a few works were bought for churches. The Abbé Lahaye bought a copy of Guido Reni's Assumption for the church at Cap-Santé.¹⁶⁹ A year previously the same church had authorized its curé to commission a work from Falardeau, though no records concerning the completion of such a commission have come to light.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ E. Falardeau, p. 106.

¹⁶⁹ Falardeau, p. 106. See Cat. No. 89. Falardeau's copy of the Sassoferrato Madonna (see Cat. No. 118) is mistakenly proposed as the possible purchase of the Abbé in the reprint of Gérard Morisset, Le Cap-Santé: ses églises et son trésor, [1944] Montreal, 1980, p.110-11.

¹⁷⁰ January 13, 1861, it was resolved at a meeting of the marguilliers: "Que le curé est autorisée à écrire au chevalier Ant. Falardeau, en Italie, au sujet d'un tableau à faire pour l'Eglise" (Délibération des marguilliers, Archives de la fabrique de Cap-Santé, p. 52, cited in Morisset, Le Cap-Santé p. 210). The Montreal Cathedral's copy of Franceschini's Le Mort de Saint Joseph may have been a gift from a private citizen. A letter to E. Falardeau from the architect Ernest Cormier states that the

On July 14 Le Courrier du Canada published a letter expressing the artist's appreciation of the hospitality shown him:

Permettez-moi de vous offrir mes remerciements pour l'accueil si cordial et si patriotiquement indulgent que vous avez bien voulu me faire dès mon arrivée à Québec et pour les bonnes paroles que vous m'avez adressées dans votre journal.

Vous me permettrez aussi, M. le Rédacteur, de me servir de votre feuille pour mes remerciements bien sincères à toutes les personnes qui m'ont favorisé de leur patronage, ainsi qu'aux amis des beaux-arts qui ont bien voulu m'honorer presque quotidiennement de leurs visites à ma salle d'exposition.

Parmi toutes les impressions que je vais emporter de mon voyage en Canada, le souvenir de tant de bontés dont j'ai été l'objet à Québec, sera bien une des choses qui me feront le plus vivement regretter la patrie.¹⁷¹

Falardeau left for Italy July 22.¹⁷² That same day a curious rambling article appeared in Le Journal de Québec, in which the writer asserted that:

Nos productions canadiennes, à part le portrait et certaines heureuses copies, n'ont rien qui puissent empêcher d'autres artistes, et M. Falardeau en

work was bought as a gift for a religious institution by his grandfather Esprit-A. Genereux (E. Falardeau papers). See Cat. No. 42.

¹⁷¹ Le Courrier du Canada, July 14, 1862. The artist had found time for recreation on his trip. La Minerve of July 24, 1862, reports that he enjoyed his excursion on the Lachine Rapids.

¹⁷² Le Courrier du Canada (July 28, 1862) stated that he was to visit the London exposition on his way home. Falardeau arrived in Florence to be greeted by his wife and newly-born son. The birth was announced in the Journal de Québec, Sept. 13, 1862. The little boy died Nov. 21, 1864. The couple also had two daughters, Dianora Isabella, born Oct. 30, 1865, who married Pietro Carraresi April 30, 1890, and Cristina-Anna, born July 24, 1870, who died unmarried. E. Falardeau, p. 156.

particulier, de se mettre sur les rangs quand il s'agira d'exposer leurs oeuvres.¹⁷³

Then, though remarking that some have found fault with his colour, he continues:

Son talent, ses études, sa renommée, son séjour habituel au milieu des chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art, et son titre de canadien autorisent cette confiance. D'ailleurs, c'est là un moyen de concilier deux choses importantes pour certains amateurs canadiens. Vous voulez de l'art italien; allez à Florence, chez M. le chevalier Falardeau. Vous voulez aussi favoriser un artiste canadien, allez encore à Florence, le chevalier est canadien.¹⁷⁴

This is followed by a lengthy lamentation on the decline in patronage, insufficient commissions for paintings and sculpture for churches, the threat posed to painting by photography, the need to educate and employ artists, and the general deficiencies of "notre génération actuelle". Whether, as is possible, parts of the article were intended as criticisms of Plamondon's work, or whether they were not, the older artist was infuriated. Already notorious for outbursts against other painters,¹⁷⁵ he replied in a vitriolic communication published in the same paper August 2, 1862. C.D.'s advice to go to Florence had sparked the fuse:

¹⁷³ C.D. "Les Beaux-arts en Canada", Le Journal de Quebec, July 22, 1862, p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ For example, Yves Lacasse gives details on Plamondon's relations with James Bowman in "La Contribution du peintre américain James Bowman (1793-1842) au premier décor intérieur de l'Eglise Notre-Dame de Montréal," Journal of Canadian Art History, 7, No. 1 (1983), pp. 74-91.

Et quel conseil C.D. donne-t-il pour remédier au mal existant? Vous qui avez besoin de tableaux, allez à Florence; car il n'y a plus de peintres canadiens en Canada. Il n'y en a qu'à Florence....

Once launched, Plamondon loosed a flood of grievances. He began with the Italian copyists:

Vous enverra-t-on des copies de toutes ces qualités qui constituent une reproduction des merveilles de la nature?

Non. Et pourquoi non? Parce que les Florentins et tous les autres peintres de l'Italie se sont fait un système propre à eux de copier les merveilleuses toiles des anciens.

Ne pouvant comprendre ni deviner avec quelles couleurs ces maîtres ont obtenu cette profondeur de tons qui donne un effet si magique et si prodigieux à leurs tableaux, ces Florentins, ces Italiens qu'on appelle si grandement des peintres, copient toutes les demi-teintes et toutes les ombres des tableaux de ces maîtres de la peinture de la poussière!

He finds that: "Toutes les figures de Vierge et d'Enfant-Jésus, de ces tableaux qui viennent de Florence [i.e. Falardeau's], paraissent être arrivées à la dernière phase de la consommation."

"Et vous, Canadiens," he continues, "qui n'avez pas vu les originaux des maîtres vous vous écriez que ces copies sont faites comme les originaux. Allons? soyons moins enthousiastes, si nous ne voulons pas nous exposer à la risée de l'étranger."

But if C.D.'s words had been the immediate provocation, it is likely that the praises accorded Falardeau's copy of Titian's St. John the Baptist had been a continuing irritant. La Minerve had recommended that the Société St. Jean Baptiste purchase "ce magnifique tableau," and there is some evidence to suggest that such a purchase took

place.¹⁷⁶ Plamondon attacked the offending painting in these words:

Un saint Jean Baptiste!

Miséricorde, Seigneur!

C'est un brigand, oui, un brigand.

Il ne lui manque plus que la ceinture, des pistolets et des poignards pour être un brigand dans toutes les règles.

Croyez-vous que le Titien qui à toujours peint avec tant de profondeur et de convenance avec le sentiment religieux ait ainsi peint le Saint-Jean-Baptiste?

He invites his readers to compare Falardeau's Madonna of the Chair with his own ("faite à Quebec par un canadien pur sang"), in the chapel of the Seminary at la Canardière. The letter continues in a rambling manner, gathering indignation afresh with each new target. Plamondon closes with the invitation "Je pris le Courrier du Canada et tous les autres journaux français de la Province de reproduire cette correspondance." According to Emile Falardeau, the artist replied humorously, in a letter which he presents in paraphrased form, a letter whose recipient is not named, and which finds no other mention:

Saint-Jean-Baptiste, disait-il en rigolant, était un juif et il est difficile de trouver un beau juif. De plus il était un saint, vivant dans le desert ou il n'y avait ni eau ni peigne pour sa toilette;...¹⁷⁷

Most probably Emile Falardeau, unable to leave Plamondon with the last word, invented the rejoinder. However, the letter did draw a spirited defense of Falardeau. On Aug.

¹⁷⁶ La Minerve, July 24, 1862; Le Pays, July 17, 1862. See Cat. No. 139.

¹⁷⁷ E. Falardeau, pp. 119-120.

13 Le Canadian published a sarcastic reply signed "Un Laboureur," ridiculing the pretensions of Plamondon:

Mais où donc alors trouver des oeuvres d'art?....à Québec ous verrez avant peu, les amateurs venir de Florence, de Rome et de Paris, se disputer, s'accrocher les très brillantes toiles de votre véritable artiste [Plamondon];"¹⁷⁸

The Later Years in Italy: 1870-1882

In his later years Falardeau slowed down his artistic production. At some point after Florence was named capital of the new Italian nation (minus as yet Rome and Venice) in 1865¹⁷⁹, according to Emile Falardeau he bought a villa near Fiesole and rented his palace in Florence, reserving a piéd-à-terre for showing paintings¹⁸⁰. A visit from the Quebec-born singer Albani (Emma Lajeunesse) is mentioned by Emile Falardeau, but by no other source.

Characteristically, Emile Falardeau speaks as though the painter were responsible for launching the singer's career. "Un ami intime de Falardeau," he writes, "le célèbre professeur Signor Lamperti, ayant entendu chanter la nouvelle arrivée, consentit à se charger de cultiver cette voix remarquable."¹⁸¹ But Albani had already been recommended to Lamperti by Prince Poniatowski, whom she had

¹⁷⁸ Le Canadien, Aug. 13, 1862.

¹⁷⁹ It remained the capital only until 1871. (Rome was taken in 1870.)

¹⁸⁰ E. Falardeau, p. 120.

¹⁸¹ E. Falardeau, p. 121.

met in Paris where she had been studying with the celebrated teacher Gilbert-Louis Dupréz, until illness forced him to stop.¹⁸² Nevertheless Albani was in Florence in 1870 and again in 1872, and it is highly likely that she would have met Falardeau.¹⁸³ However there is no mention of a meeting with Falardeau in Albani's autobiography.¹⁸⁴ Théophile Hamel's nephew, the painter Eugène Hamel (1845-1932) visited the artist in 1869, and according to George Bellerive "a eu la bonne fortune d'examiner parfaitement tous ses objets d'art pendant son séjour chez lui en 1869, et il en a été émerveillé."¹⁸⁵

Emile Falardeau also states, probably incorrectly, that Falardeau went to Russia in the 1870s and received there the Order of Merit of Saint-Wladimir.¹⁸⁶ The only other reference to this voyage is a letter to Emile Falardeau from the demonstrably unreliable Mme. Rosaire Thibaudeau, Guillaume Lamothe's daughter, in which she states that her

¹⁸² Gilles Potvin, telephone communication to the author, Dec., 1988. It was in Milan that Albani (1847-1930) studied with Lamperti. See Gilles Potvin, "Albani," The Canadian Encyclopedia and The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, ed. Helmut Kallman, Gilles Potvin & Kenneth Winters, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981, pp. 9-12.

¹⁸³ Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, p. 10.

¹⁸⁴ There is no mention of him in her autobiography, Forty Years of Song, Toronto, 1911. But then, there is little mention of anyone besides the author. E. Falardeau states that the artist gave her three paintings (p. 122).

¹⁸⁵ Bellerive, 1927, p. 65.

¹⁸⁶ E. Falardeau, p. 122.

sister said he went to Russia and sold a painting to Tsar Alexander.¹⁸⁷

A torn manuscript page among Emile Falardeau's paper headed March 6, 1871 states that Robert Cassels, described as a Montreal financier, visited the artist, and borrowed a guidebook from him:¹⁸⁸

Dans ce guide sont mentionnées les tableaux que notre artiste avait déjà copiés comme étaient aussi soulignés ceux qu'il montrait alors dans sa collection de la Rue

¹⁸⁷ Perhaps Thibaudeau's sister had heard of the Grand Duchess Olga's purchases and assumed they had been made in Russia. Augustine Bourassa, daughter of Henri, who studied art in Florence in the early 1900s, had not heard of a voyage to Russia (Letter to E. Falardeau, Emile Falardeau papers, formerly collection of Raymond Falardeau). A letter from Dianora to E. Falardeau in reply to his letter of Dec. 21, 1933 (E. Falardeau papers) confirms the existence of a Russian decoration: "Ma soeur a toute les décorations de (mon) père donné par ma mère, une de Russie et plusieurs autres que ma mère lui a donné..." The Hermitage has no record of paintings by Falardeau (Mme. G. Katchalina, Head of Archives, The Hermitage, Leningrad, to the author, July 7, 1988). No other reference besides E. Falardeau's testifies to a Russian decoration. At least one other artist records receiving decorations from sovereigns away from home. The American sculptor Harriet Hosmer, writing in 1896, mentions receiving several from visiting rulers, including a Russian sash, coat-of-arms and large cross "which all go together" which was given to her by "the Empress of Russia...the old Empress....An imperial old lady, in those days so infirm that she was brought into the studio in a Sedan chair" (Harriet Hosmer Letters and Memories, ed. Cornelia Carr, New York, 1912, p. 343) Hosmer does not give the date of the visit.

¹⁸⁸ "...le guide nouvellement publié par Bettini," E. Falardeau papers. The note states that "Ce distingué financier" died of stomach cancer at his home, 708 Snerbrooke St. West, Montreal."

San Spirito. Cette circonstance nous a permis d'en dresser les listes suivantes:¹⁸⁹

No lists however, were found with the paper. The fact that no copy permissions for these later years were found in the files consulted may simply be the consequence of incomplete files. It could also reflect decreased production, and/or a reliance on copying from copies in the studio. The musician and writer Ernest Gagnon who visited in 1873 found the artist huncing, not painting:

Falardeau ne s'occupe plus de peinture. Il est en ce moment absent de la ville, partie de chasse. Sa maison, située au centre de la ville, est très spacieuse.¹⁹⁰

In 1877 when the Quebec Zouave Gustave Drolet, returning from his Roman sojourn, visited, he wrote to his friend and fellow Zouave, the Chevalier Alfred La Rocque, that Falardeau was "malheureusement d'une santé trop delicate aujourd'hui pour continuer ses travaux artistiques."¹⁹¹ However the artist had not ceased painting completely. A

189 Ibid. Born in 1834, Died died in 1915. The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, ed. W. Stewart Wallace, Toronto: MacMillan, 1978, p. 285.

190 Ernest Gagnon, Lettres de Voyage, Quebec, 1876. The date of the visit is given in "M. Antoine Falardeau", Le Journal de Quebec, May 23, 1882, p. 2. The plaque "sur un des murs de l'entrée principale" mentioned by Gagnon identifies the house as the palace in the Via San Spirito.

191 Gustave Drolet, Zouaviana, Montreal, 1893, p. 192. The same year, on June 2, 1877, Falardeau was visited by another Quebecer, the Rev. Antoine Martel. However Martel wrote merely "Visite au Chevalier Falardeau" in his "Journal de son voyage en Europe." Archives du Séminaire, Québec, MS 692.

portrait of Galileo by Sustermans, in no way inferior to earlier copies, is dated 1878¹⁹². Drolet also reported on the artist's finances:

Je m'entretiens longuement avec lui de la situation et comme Florentin, Monsieur Falardeau la trouve sombre. Florence regrette amerement son grand-duc, car de l'honneur d'avoir été la capitale de l'Italie, il ne lui est resté que deux cents millions de dettes municipales; un tas de maisons à louer, et la solitude au milieu de toutes ces constructions que l'on avait élevées pour recevoir la Cour. Un exemple: Monsieur Falardeau louait son palais trente mille francs, lorsque le roi était à Florence. Aujourd' hui il l'offre pour sept mille francs sans trouver de preneurs et il paie cinq mille francs d'impôts sur cet immeuble quand même. Tous les propriétaires de Florence en sont là: aussi la vie est-elle fort chère dans les hôtels. Le resultat est que personne ne s'y arrete pour faire une longue saison, comme dans le temps. On visite les trésors incomparables qu'elle renferme et l'on se hâte de partir pour Rome, au bout de quinze jours à trois semaines; ce que nous avons fait.¹⁹³

Others who lived in Florence at this time remarked on the depressed economic situation.¹⁹⁴ However Falardeau may have simply been making the typical complaint of the well-off in difficult times. According to the archivist in Fiesole, where he moved in 1877, in the tax registers of the commune the artist "viene costantemente definito

192 See Cat No. 122.

193 Drolet, p. 192.

194 Regina Soria remarks that "With Rome the capital of the Italian Kingdom, Florence became a provincial city. Even such persistent Anglo-Florentines as the Trollopes [Thomas Adolphus Trollope and his mother Frances, English writers who lived in Florence] found that their lovely villa outside of Florence had turned out to be a very bad investment, and they moved to Rome in 1874." Elihu Vedder / American Visionary Artist in Rome, Cranbury, N.J., 1970, p. 259.

'possidente' qualifica che indica una condizione economica molto buona."¹⁹⁵ The fact that he carried out extensive renovations in his sixteenth-century Fiesole villa Coniale, suggests that his financial situation was far from desperate.¹⁹⁶ An Italian publication on "the more important villas in the environs of Florence" describes the villa Coniale mentioning the improvements made by Falardeau:

Gl'ingrandimenti, i rifacimenti, i pretesi abbellimenti di questa casa solitaria, sono stati molti, troppi, specialmente nel tempo in cui la possedette Antonio Falardeau che si sbizzarri a suo piacere nel 1878, mai con tutto ciò l'aspetto esterno e ancor quello d'una serena casa di campagna cinquecentesca: due corpi di fabbrica riuniti insieme da una vasta e originale tettoia sorretta da un'unica colonna centrale. Nel giardino ottocentesco i lapidini delle tombe dei cani: Pelo, Nerina, Frida, Vicky, Delo.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Dott. Maura Borgioli, Archivio storico del Comune di Fiesole, letter to the author, Dec. 19, 1987. A "Cancellazione dal Registro" issued by the Comune di Viareggio, dated July 16, 1877, states that Antonio Falardeau is no longer a resident of Viareggio. However Viareggio records contain no mention of his residence there. Paolo Fornaciari, Responsabile, Centro Documentario Storico, Comune di Viareggio, letter to the author, June 9, 1988.

¹⁹⁶ "Egli viveva in una villa del XVI secolo, alla quale apporto molti miglioramenti." Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Giulio Lensi Orlandi, Le ville di Firenze di qua d'Arno, Florence: Vallecchi, 1978, cited in Maura Borgioli. As Falardeau owned dogs, and as the previous and subsequent owners of the house were Italians (the Popoleschi in the 15th century, later the Lorini, Gherardini, and after Falardeau, Olivieri) it seems likely that the tombstones are those of Falardeau's pets. As of 1988 the house was in good repair, giving the appearance perhaps of being occupied as a vacation residence. Jason Camlot, notes, July 23, 1988, coll. the author.

The Second Visit to Quebec: 1882

In 1882, the state of his health notwithstanding, the artist embarked on a second and last visit to Quebec, arriving in Montreal where he was met by Lamothe, June 22, 1882, after a steamer voyage of fourteen days.¹⁹⁸ The second visit did not receive as extensive press coverage as the first.¹⁹⁹

Newspaper articles and letters praised his paintings. But in Quebec, even more than in 1862, sales appear to have been disappointing. The Canadian Illustrated News reported that "His gallery was appreciated by only a few, and when the paintings went under the hammer, the prices offered were ridiculously low."²⁰⁰ La Minerve commented:

Les prix obtenus sont bien loin sans doute de correspondre au mérite des oeuvres. Mais il y a si peu de personnes ici qui soient en état d'encourager des artistes comme Monsieur Falardeau, qui du reste ne fait aucunement un métier de son art.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ E. Falardeau, p. 128. But the artist had not been forgotten since his earlier visit. In his native land, his fame was sufficiently solid to serve as a reference point in a humorous article published in La Scie illustrée of Dec. 1, 1865, which purports to report on "une espèce de chevalier Falardeau en embryon" who executed paintings in "huile-de-charbon" and "huile de foie de morue."

¹⁹⁹ We learn though, that Falardeau stayed at the Mountain Hill House in Quebec. Le Canadien July 12, 1882.

²⁰⁰ Canadian Illustrated News, Vol. 26, July 15, 1882.

²⁰¹ La Minerve, July 7, 1882. Also remarking on his retirement from painting, Le Journal de Québec of May 13, 1882 wrote: "M. Falardeau demeure à Florence, ou il s'est acquis l'aisance dans l'exercice de son art, qu'il néglige

Its observations were echoed by other papers.²⁰² But the Montreal Daily Star reported the Montreal sale and exhibition, which was held in the former Post Office at the corner of Saint-Jacques and Saint-Francois Xavier,²⁰³ in a more positive light: "The attendance was large, and the prices realized were fair, considering that most of our wealthy citizens are absent from the city. The entire catalogue was disposed of."²⁰⁴ But the writer added that "Upon the religious subjects it was expected there would have been keener competition."²⁰⁵

Many of the artists and paintings were the same as those brought on the earlier trip: Raphael, Titian (a self-portrait, Flora), Murillo, Andrea del Sarto (Madonna and Child), Salvator Rosa (Vieux Pont de Castellamare), Van

aujourd'hui pour la vie champêtre." Falardeau appears to have communicated this information personally. The article begins: "Nous avons été heureux de recevoir, ce matin, dans nos bureaux, la visite de M. Falardeau..." Ibid.

202 See "Les toiles de M. Falardeau" La Minerve, July 10, 1882, p. 3.: "Inutile de dire que les enchères n'ont été guère en harmonie avec la valeur de ces toiles, dont la plupart ont été sacrifié pour plus d'un quart de leur valeur. Mais comme nous l'avons déjà dit, M. Falardeau ne fait pas un commerce de son art."

203 La Minerve, July 6, 1882.

204 Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882. Mr. Elwes was auctioneer.

205 Ibid. Most prices ranged between \$30 and \$135. But one work, the copy of Baldassare Franceschini's Death of Joseph, which was sold after the auction (at which the bids had failed to reach the reserve price of \$400) went the very high sum of \$550. See Cat. No. 42.

Dyke, Vigée-Lebrun (Self-portrait), and Lely (portrait of Cromwell). But mentioned for the first time were Canaletto²⁰⁶ and Rubens²⁰⁷. It would appear that not only were the titles familiar, but in the majority of cases, the paintings themselves were not new. Of twenty-seven extant dated paintings known to have been acquired by sale or gift from the artist in Quebec,²⁰⁸ except for the 1878 work mentioned, the latest was painted in 1867. Nineteen of these works bear dates in the 1850s. The Conspiracy of Catiline, which was donated to the National Gallery in 1882 is dated 1864.²⁰⁹ The Guido Reni Christ on the Cross, given to Laval the same year, is dated 1853.²¹⁰ Did Falardeau bring to Quebec paintings that had not been sold in Italy?

A long article by Ernest Gagnon in Le Journal de Quebec, praising the artist's achievement and recounting the events of his life, remarks on his retirement:

Sans cesser tout à fait de s'occuper de peinture, notre artiste s'est fait agriculteur. Il possède une centaine d'acres de terre au pied des Apennins, non loin de Fiesole, à quelques milles de Florence. Il y cultive

²⁰⁶ "Les tableaux de M. Falardeau," La Minerve, July 6, 1882, p. 2.

²⁰⁷ La Minerve, July 10, 1882, p. 3.

²⁰⁸ A small number of these may have been bought from the artist in Italy.

²⁰⁹ See Cat. No. 21.

²¹⁰ See Le Journal de Québec, July 4, 1882, repr. in Falardeau, p. 129. See Cat. No. 93.

surtout la vigne et l'olivier. Il habite ordinairement Fiesole, mais il s'est réservé, comme pied-à-terre, quelques pièces dans sa grande propriété de Florence, - les maisons de la famille Machiavelli.²¹¹

La Minerve reports that a decision had been made to commission Falardeau to do a portrait of the premier of Quebec, the Honorable M. Chapleau, to be presented to "le premier ministre par les membres de la legislature provinciale, qui ont déjà souscrit \$500 à cet effet. Il sera executé à Florence."²¹² However, there is no record that this portrait was ever executed.²¹³ Falardeau left Montreal for Quebec July 11. July 15, he boarded the Peruvian for Europe.²¹⁴

²¹¹ E.G. [Ernest Gagnon], "M. Antoine Falardeau", Le Journal de Québec, May 27, 1882, p. 2. Gagnon also reports that the artist "à résolu de faire cadeau à son pays natal de trois tableaux, dont l'un, la Conjuration de Catilina, sera placé au Parlement d'Ottawa, un autre au musée des beaux-arts de Montreal, et le troisième au musée de peinture de l'Université de Quebec.

²¹² La Minerve, July 18, 1882, p. 2.

²¹³ The Parliament Buildings in Quebec have no record of the work (Personal communication, Gaston Deschênes, Parliament Buildings, Quebec, Aug., 1988). Art works were destroyed in the fire of 1883. However, it is unlikely the work could have been completed, delivered and installed in time to have been burnt. Other events reported in the newspapers were the artist's attendance at a banquet at the Hotel Richelieu attended by the French Zouave hero, General Charette, among others. The Montreal Herald & Daily Commercial Gazette, June 27, 1882. translated, cited in E. Falardeau, p. 131. E. Falardeau also states that Frechette read a second poem in honor of the artist, at a reception given in his honor. Ibid.

²¹⁴ Courrier de Montreal, July 17, 1882.

The Last Years: 1882-1889

Traces of the artist, faint for the later years, now all but disappear. Gustave Hamel (1862-1917), son of Théophile and an amateur artist himself, visited Falardeau when he was in Italy in 1887 and 1888, but his journal records only that: "Un peu plus tard nous sommes allés rendre visite au Chevalier Falardeau en ce moment à sa villa de Fiesole puis nous avons visité la cathédrale...."²¹⁵ Only one other reference appears before his death. The Quebec writer Jules-Paul Tardivel, who received a visit from the artist in his Florence hotel in February of 1889, reported that "Falardeau habite presque toujours la campagne près de Fiesole, mais il possède à Florence même, un grand palais où il s'est réservé un pied-a-terre."²¹⁶

Five months after Tardivel's visit Falardeau was dead, killed when the horse pulling his carriage bolted, frightened by the whistle of a train. The vehicle struck the parapet bordering the Mugnone River outside Florence with such force that the artist was thrown from it onto the rocks in the riverbed below. He had been driving from his

²¹⁵ Gustave Hamel, Journal de Voyage, vol. 2, Nov. 29, 1887, Archives Madeleine Hamel, ANQ, cited in Vézina, "Importance de la copie au 19^e siècle. Le cas Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889)," unpublished paper, 1984, p. 38.

²¹⁶ Jules-Paul Tardivel, Notes de Voyage, Montreal, 1890, p. 389.

home in Fiesole to the palace in Florence when the accident occurred.²¹⁷

Falardeau was buried in the cemetery of San Miniato on the outskirts of Florence. Unfortunately the grave markers of the artist and of his son are no longer in existence. Cemetery records verify that father and son were buried in Section XI of the columbaria sector, but that on March 30, 1946, Falardeau's body was exhumed and placed in the same tomb as the body of Leopoldo Biogioli.²¹⁸ The search for

²¹⁷ The two newspapers that reported his death differ on some details. La Nazione of July 16, 1889, states that Falardeau, who is described as a native of England, died instantly as the result of his fall of more than seven meters. Il Fieramosca of July 15-16, 1889, in a longer, more dramatically written account, says he died a few minutes after he was carried into a nearby house by passing soldiers and citizens. Both papers identify him as a painter. Il Fieramosca refers to him as Cavaliere. Le Journal de Quebec of Aug. 6, 1889, p. 2, "Mort d'un artiste canadien" reports that "Un journal italien, publié à New York, annonce que M. Falardeau, peintre à Florence, s'est noyé dans des circonstances assez dramatiques..."

²¹⁸ Father Christopher, Cemetary of San Miniato, Florence. July, 1988. Jason Camlot to the author, Florence, Aug., 1988 Father Christopher gave the impression that Biogioli's grave was also at San Miniato. However, this may not be the case. In letters written to E. Falardeau in the 1930s, Dianora expressed a desire to have her father's remains moved to another cemetary so that he could be buried with family members. (There was apparently no more space in San Miniato). Biogioli is the family name of the descendant of the artist, Mme. Fede-Augusta Biogioli-Carraresi, who sold the portrait of the artist by [David] Sani to the Musée du Québec in 1950. A letter from E. Falardeau (who was asked to provide an official verification of Dianora's identity as Falardeau's legitimate daughter to cemetery authorities) to Dianora dated Mar. 18, 1934 seems to imply that removal of the artist's body was being considered. "J'approuve grandement son intention, à ce qu'après sa mort, son corps repose dans le terrain où est inhumé le Chevalier Falardeau, son père,

Falardeau's grave meets another obstacle in the fact that many grave markers at the San Miniato cemetery were removed as part of restoration procedures carried out in 1946.²¹⁹

In his "Epilogue" Emile Falardeau states that following his death:

toutes les richesses d'art que l'artiste avait amassées...furent acquises...pour des chansons par des acheteurs qui profitèrent de l'ignorance des membres de sa famille, à qui il les avait laissées en héritage. De plus, quatre cents tableaux furent dispersés par toute l'Europe et l'Amérique.²²⁰

ou à l'endroit de son jeune frère Americ [sic]-Laurent; mais à la condition expresse, à ce que les restes exhumés [presumably those of Falardeau] soient mis dans une cassette, et à ce que la dalle mentionnant la sépulture du Chevalier Falardeau ne soit pas enlevée ou détruite." (E. Falardeau papers). E.Z. Massicotte, in a short article "Le fils du Chevalier Falardeau", in the Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. 37, No. 5, May 1931, p. 273, mentions that "...d'après une photographie, les inscriptions gravées sur la tombe du chevalier et celle de son fils, à Florence, sont en français." A photograph that accompanied an article in L'Action Catholique, July 31, 1925, announcing a pilgrimage tour to Rome planned for October of that year by members of La Société des Artisans canadiens-français, shows a different section of the cemetery than the one indicated to me (Columbaria, Section 12) by Father Christopher of the San Miniato cemetery, in May, 1987. Their records showed a wall (columbaria) location; the photograph shows a plaque on the ground on the nearby upper level of the cemetery. At the suggestion of Emile Falardeau, the tour group included in their itinerary a wreath-laying ceremony ("déposer une Couronne de Fleurs sur la tombe...") at the artist's grave. The organizer was "le Chevalier Emile Vaillancourt, Commandeur de l'ordre du Saint-Sépulchre." E. Falardeau to Dianora Cariaresi, undated letters, E. Falardeau papers.

²¹⁹ Families were asked to pay for new markers. If they declined or could not be found, the markers apparently were removed.

²²⁰ E. Falardeau, p. 137

But these statements are not backed up by the extant correspondence between the biographer and the artist's daughter Dianora. What Dianora does say, replying to his letter of Dec. 21, 1933, is that most of her father's works were outside Italy, but that she had some landscapes to sell, and a Rubens copy.²²¹

Was Falardeau still known as an artist at the time of his death? The two obituaries mention merely that he was an artist. There is not the editorial comment one would expect had he been well-known at this time.²²² However Augustine Bourassa, who studied art in Florence in the early part of the century, states in a letter to Emile Falardeau that at that time Falardeau had an excellent reputation as a copyist.²²³

In Canada Falardeau continued to receive due honors in traditionally oriented circles for some time. Georges

²²¹ She also states that there is a Carlo Dolci Hope at the prefecture at Parma. Dianora Carraresi to Emile Falardeau [in reply to his letter of Dec. 21, 1933], Emile Falardeau papers.

²²² And not for lack of space. The Fieramosca obituary digress on the deplorable condition of roadway safety at the site of the accident.

²²³ Emile Falardeau papers, formerly collection of Raymond Falardeau, Box Two, manila folder of correspondence, undated [c. 1933-34] letter to Emile Falardeau. Augustine Bourassa had spoken with people who lived in the Machiavelli palazzo. A note to E. Falardeau signed T. Hudon, states that in 1887, while in Florence in the Palace of "King Heribert," [Umberto] a guide pointed out a Christ by Falardeau. Hudon remarks that the incident proved that Falardeau was a celebrity in Italy. T. Hudon to E. Falardeau, Dec. 8, 1933. E. Falardeau papers.

Bellerive, writing in 1925, speaks admiringly of his work.²²⁴ Writers with a more modern approach were however calling into question the validity of Falardeau's very profession. In 1934 Gérard Morisset praised Falardeau's ability as a copyist: "Ses copies sont d'une impeccable exactitude et feraient croire à des répliques, tant il imite avec bonheur le coloris et jusqu'à la patine de ses modèles," though he added that: "Cela ne suffit pas à créer un artiste."²²⁵ By 1960, however, his view of Falardeau had hardened: "...un petit homme ambitieux, remuant plein de lui-même, glorieux, fort contrarié à ses débuts dans la peinture mais tenace, arriviste, et arrivé; au surplus, homme d'affaires avisé."²²⁶

Emile Falardeau's biography was written in part to defend his ancestor against assessments such as these. But the attention it brought to the artist was operative only within certain circles. In popular publications and in conservative circles there lingered an interest in the glamour and drama of Falardeau's life. However the

²²⁴ Artistes-Peintres Canadiens-français, Montreal, (1925) 1927.

²²⁵ "Une histoire de la peinture au Canada français," L'Ordre, May 19, 1934.

²²⁶ Morisset, La peinture traditionnelle au Canada français, Québec, Cercle du livre, 1960, p. 125. Raymond Vézina points out the stages, increasingly negative, in Morisset's assessment. Vézina, "Importance de la copie au 19 siècle. Le cas Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889)," p. 27.

scholarly world continued to guard its doors. In the text of Russell Harper's Painting in Canada Falardeau is mentioned only as Robert Todd's pupil.²²⁷ It is only in the past few years that new approaches to art and social history in Quebec have begun to create a place for individuals like Falardeau. The present study hopes to clarify the nature and extent of that place.

²²⁷ Russell Harper, Painting in Canada: a history, [1966] Toronto 1977, p. 102.

CHAPTER TWO
CONCEPTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE COPY IN THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY

Until recently in twentieth-century writing¹ the copy has either been ignored, at least with respect to its having any legitimate claim to the title of art, or else merely mentioned, usually disparagingly, in passing. An almost automatic association of the copy with inferiority and mediocrity has been the rule. The copy has not wanted for detractors in Canada. For Guy Robert, Falardeau returned from Italy "pour vendre à des amateurs québécois les produits de son manque d'inspiration."² Gerard Morisset, speaking of Hamel and Plamondon, states that "These portrait painters, as their predecessors, indulged in

¹ Recent writing, as well as considering the historical copy in its context, has addressed itself to the question of the concept of the copy and the value judgements associated with it. Rosalind Krauss raises the question of whether the categories of "the physical original, or the singular author as origin...are themselves far more fragile and open to question than it had seemed,"whether "the attacks on the cluster of notions-origin, original, originality - mounted by current theory at work outside the boundaries of the discipline of art history need to be taken seriously by that discipline." "Originality as Repetition: Introduction," October, no. 37, (Summer, 1986), pp. 35-40. An earlier article, "Sincerely Yours," (October, 20 (Spring, 1982), pp. 111-130) takes the "reproductions" of Rodin as a starting point for an examination of notions of originality and multiplication, and their relations with the marketplace.

² Guy Robert, La Peinture en Québec, Quebec, p. 27.

religious pictures, mostly worthless copies."³ Such statements would have shocked and puzzled Falardeau and his fellow copyists. Knighted for his expertise in his profession, patronized by the famous, the noble, and the respectable, he (and most others of his time) considered his profession an honorable one and his works worthy of respect and admiration.

This chapter will attempt to clarify how the Old Master copy in the nineteenth century was understood by those who produced and purchased it, and how their understanding of it differed from that of earlier and later periods. The height of the production of the Old Master copy was in the 1850s, the decade in which Falardeau established himself as a copyist. However an understanding of this phase requires attention to earlier (and later) periods as well. The chapter will propose a morphology of the copy in the nineteenth century, identifying some of the concepts of its nature operative at this time, commenting on their relationships to earlier concepts, and distinguishing some of the functions it served.

Beginning with a consideration of the broad distinction between the traditional or "classical"⁴ (c. 1500 - 1800)

³ Gerard Morisset, The Arts in French Canada, Quebec, 1952, p. 17

⁴ Terminology presents a problem. "Classical" is the most appropriate term to refer to the older period in view of the close and complex relationship this period enjoyed with classical antiquity, a relationship whose

and the modern understanding of the copy, it will show how the nineteenth-century Old Master copy occupied a transitional status between the classical and modern. In the earlier period the copy was part of mainstream artistic production, part of a spectrum of painting types that included originals, paintings that borrowed from other works, variants and other intermediate forms of the copy, and exact copies. Copies were produced by artists of all types, and they were collected, along with other kinds of art, by a broad spectrum of patrons.

In the transitional phase this broad, fluid concept and practice of the copy hardened or rigidified into rather specific, clearly defined forms. The most characteristic type of nineteenth-century copy, the Old Master copy,⁵ was

intensity continued unabated through major changes of artistic style. However to avoid confusion with its other uses, we shall distinguish it with quotation marks.

⁵ But other kinds of copies were also produced in the nineteenth century. For example, artists continued to produce replicas of their works. A painter named Charles Landelle produced some thirty-two copies, small copies, and variants of his 1866 Salon success Fellah Woman. J. Lethève, Daily Life of French Artists in the Nineteenth Century, [1968] trans. London, 1972, pp. 156-157. Some professional artists still did copy commissions: "From the age of seventeen Fantin-Latour made a living for a number of years from the copies he did for Americans." Ibid., p. 169. The Arundel Society's systematic production of water colour copies of early Renaissance frescoes and other art works to be transformed into prints are an example of the systematizing of the use of the copy to record art works in danger of deterioration. The growing interest in interpretative copies may be seen as an aspect of the increasingly personal approach, harbinger of the modern period when this type of copy became the only acceptable one.

the sole product of respectable but lower status professional copyists whose copies were relatively exact as compared with the range of copy types of the earlier period. The nineteenth-century copy enjoyed wide production and dissemination, but it was no longer, as it had been, part of the cultural mainstream. The major cultural shift which manifested itself in the new romantic/modern concept of art, with its emphasis on the original, the unique, the spontaneous, and the personal, had no room for the copy, and as the century progressed the copy was increasingly shunted to the sidelines. The expansion of photographic practice, and the development of the modern gallery system with its privileging of rarity also played their parts in the decline of the copy.

Following the examination of concepts we shall move to a consideration of some of the various functions served by the copy in the 19th century, functions which themselves exemplify the proposed model of broad fluid categories hardening into more rigid, specific ones. The chapter will close with some observations on the peculiar situation of the copy in Quebec where a combination of historical circumstance and the preservation of aspects of the "classical" cultural mentality created a milieu in which the copy thrived long after it was relegated to minor status elsewhere.

Falardeau makes a particularly appropriate focus for such a study because, thanks to his connections with both the new and old worlds, his career was touched by all of these various functions and changing concepts.

The "Classical" Copy

The distinctive nature of the nineteenth-century Old Master copy stands out clearly when we compare it with the "classical" copy. In what we could term the classical period, that is, from the Renaissance until some point in the nineteenth century, the exact date depending on the milieu in question, the copy was a part of normal artistic production.⁶ Leonardo copied his own Virgin of the Rocks. Alfred Moir in Caravaggio and His Copyists shows the range and quantity of copies, variant copies, and variants made of one artist's work.⁷ Miles Chappell cites twenty-eight

⁶ The copy was also a part of artistic production in the Greek and Roman world, and in the medieval period. However it is the specific approach and practice that begins in the Renaissance that is our concern here.

⁷ Alfred Moir, Caravaggio and His Copyists, New York, 1976. Moir states that variants far outnumber copies (of Caravaggios). Besides the major artists who did copies in the "classical" period, copies were also done, as Moir explains, by different types of artist: students [and apprentice-level artists]; provincial copyists; professionals, who ranged from "original" artists who did occasional or part-time professional copying to "urban hacks...who might grind out large numbers of inferior copies as their principal trade;" and travelling artists, part of whose motive for copying was personal edification. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

replicas and older copies made of Cristofano Allori's Judith.⁸

The making and disseminating of copies was a fundamental part of the classical approach to art, as much a part of that approach as was the establishment of a canon of images and a corpus of themes. As one commentator has pointed out, the Renaissance quite literally could not have spread beyond the borders of Italy without the painted, sculpted, and engraved copies⁹ that spread the new styles and motifs: "Copies et moulages représentent un véhicule culturel de premier plan dans la diffusion des canons classiques."¹⁰ On a more pedestrian level, noting the demand presented for antique statues by the classical garden, the same writer comments that "Tout ceci suppose un répertoire décoratif colossal auquel les originaux archéologiques n'auraient

⁸ Miles L. Chappell, Cristofano Allori 1577-1621, Florence, 1984, p. 120. "Replica" usually refers to an autograph copy or a copy produced in the artist's studio.

⁹ A discussion of the reproductive print is beyond the scope of this study. However it might be mentioned that the 18th century had developed a sophisticated discourse with which to address the question of how the printmaker finds suitable "equivalents" for the language of particular painters. George Levitine, in Regency to Empire French Printmaking 1715-1814, Minneapolis, 1984 cites Diderot in the Salon of 1765 in this connection, pp. 14-15. According to Levitine: "The concept of the original print - what today would overwhelmingly be acknowledged as a printmaker's most significant contribution-was given amazingly little attention in the eighteenth century," the concept existing then only "in a latent form." pp.15-16.

¹⁰ Axelle de Gaigneron, "Le temps des copies", Connaissance des Arts, No. 368, Oct. 1982, p. 92.

jamais pu suffire. Il faut donc bien faire appel à la reproduction."¹¹

The centrality of the classical copy, invisible to the modern eye because the category of copy as a respectable form of art no longer exists, was powerfully reinforced by the intimate relationships established between painting and sculpture on the one hand, and architecture and interior and landscape settings on the other, and by the high priority assigned to art works as carriers of content, be it statements of beliefs, ideas, power, or family status¹². But the classical copy was more than disseminator of visual information, and functional decorative object. The propensity to copy was not simply an aspect of artistic practice, but was rather a part of the culture's mode of approaching experience as a whole:

En poésie, en philosophie, en morale, en politique, parfois même dans les circonstances de la vie, voire de la religion, règne l'idée qu'il est possible de retrouver une situation identique à celle du modèle antique, que l'activité humaine peut apporter aux mêmes problèmes les mêmes solutions.¹³

¹¹ Ibid, p. 91.

¹² For studies of the nature and importance of the concept of imitation in the Renaissance see Jean-François Lavigne, "Representation, Modèles et Humanisme dans l'esthétique de la Renaissance.", pp. 145-162, Daniel Arasse, "Les miroirs de la peinture", pp. 63-88, and Louis Marin, "Imitation et trompe-l'oeil dans la théorie classique de la peinture au XVII^e siècle", in l'Imitation / aliénation ou source de liberté, Paris, 1985.

¹³ "La Renaissance/Le principe de l'imitation," Revue de l'Art, 21, 1973, p. 13. This issue of the Revue de l'Art is devoted entirely to the copy. The painted copy

The functions served by the classical copy were numerous. One thinks of the copy as a tool in the education and apprenticeship of the artist, the copy as the disseminator of an image, the copy as an agent of conservation, the copy as replacement for an art work that has been moved elsewhere, the copy as a transitional object in the production of a copy in another medium, the copy to be sold as a duplicate of the original, (and in some cases as the original), and the copy collected as an art work.¹⁴ Examples of all these, and indeed of other categories, can be readily collected in even the most random survey of secondary and primary source texts.¹⁵

has not yet found a historian to chronicle it as Francis Haskell has the sculpted and cast copies of antique sculpture in Taste and the Antique, New Haven, 1981. The introduction to this issue of Revue de l'Art (pp. 5 to 31) is a brief but very useful summary of the copy in general from antiquity to the present day.

¹⁴ Alfred Moir, Caravaggio and His Copyists, New York, 1976, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵ Examples could be cited ad infinitum: Alfred Moir mentions that copies of paintings made for religious orders and for families seem to have been copied for other branches of the order and for "members of families and...different family holdings, like those of the Borghese and the Costa." Caravaggio and his Copyists, pp. 13-14; With respect to portraits of Louis XIV we read that "De l'original en grand peint par le maître, les collaborateurs tirent une série de copies, retouchées ou non par Rigaud, et dont le prix varie selon la taille et l'étendue des parties retouchées par Rigaud," Editorial, Revue de l'Art, 21, p. 20; Nicos Hadjinicolaou reports that the "artist workers" of the national Gobelins factory requested copies of David's Marat and Le Peletier so that they could be worked in tapestry. Art History and Class Struggle, Southampton, 1979, p. 113; Catherine the Great "built a set of rooms corresponding to certain rooms in the Vatican,

Leaving aside the question of the roles and possible meanings of the copy within "classical" culture, let us lay our emphasis purely and simply on the concept of the copy that underlay all of these: the copy created and understood as a replica of the original, an original that retained superior status, but an original that was paradoxically believed to be essentially reproducible. Major artists included replicas as a normal part of their production. Major patrons bought copies. Contemporary references indicate that these copies were not considered an inferior form of art. A nineteenth-century writer sums up what we can call the practical results of this inclusive attitude to the copy:

Une conclusion s'impose donc; elle a été formulée depuis longtemps: originaux, copies, surmoules, pastiches, firent longtemps très bon ménage chez les mêmes amateurs et dans les mêmes vitrines.¹⁶

and had copies made of the fifty pictures by Raphael adorning those rooms." Marie-Louise Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Memoirs of Mme. Le Brun, New York, 1903, p. 113. Alfred Moir, speaking of Caravaggio, states that collectors would buy copies in order to fill a gap (when originals by the artist were not available) in a collection. Caravaggio and his Copyists, p. 17.

¹⁶ L. Courajod, "L'imitation et la contrefaçon des objets d'art antiques aux XVe et XVIe siècles," Paris, 1889. H. Ladendorf, Antikenstudium und antikenkopie, Berlin, 1953, cited in Revue de l'Art, 21, p. 15.

The Copy in the Transitional Phase

Clearly the copy had played an essential role in classical art practice, a role that it did not play in the Romantic period. Yet the change imposed itself gradually.¹⁷ At mid-century when Falardeau was working in Florence, perhaps the single most important centre of Old Master copying, the classical understanding of the copy still appeared to be firmly grounded. An 1851 memorandum in the Archivio delle Gallerie di Firenze concerning proposed changes in the copying regulations provides an insight into how this concept of the copy was understood in practice by one who was intimately involved with it. The Marquis Luca Bourbon Del Monte, director of the Florentine galleries from 1849 to 1859, was prompted to write his memorandum when, as the result of the theft of a small painting, presumably by a copyist, voices were raised suggesting tighter regulations, and in particular, proposing that copyists be required to copy in sizes other than those of the original.¹⁸ Del Monte's memorandum makes

¹⁷ A full discussion of the reasons for the change is beyond the scope of this study. Two factors of undoubted importance in the shift however were the rise of the new middle class patrons whose understanding of and demands on art were different from the "classical" patrons, and the systematizing effected by the bureaucracies that played an increasingly important role in cultural affairs.

¹⁸ AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No.8, "alcune Osservazioni sul un Progetto di obbligare i copiatori della Galleria Palatina a fare le loro copie in dimensioni diverse dagli Originale." Jan. 18, 1851.

it clear that he strongly disapproves of the proposed change:¹⁹

Una Copia che non è uguale in dimensioni ad un originale, non è più una copia esatta, perchè gran parte delle illusione della Pittura sta appunto nella proporzione stabilite del giudizio dell' Arte...e tale copie non darebbero che una incompleta idea degli Originali, essendo generalmente i sommi dipinti rappresentati in tali proporzioni da far parere i soggetti [esser...] dalla grandezza naturale. Così chi volesse per esempio, copiando la tanto celebre Madonna della Seggiola, alterarne o diminuirse le sue proporzione commetterebbe un errore grandissimo, e totalmente [] l'illusione di quel celebre dipinto.²⁰

The director goes on to speak about the importance of natural proportions in portraits, then continues to make a distinction between the faithful copy and other forms of copying:

Le Miniature, i disegni, le stampe e le piccole copiette non sono che reminiscenze, o ricordi dei sommi capi d'opera mentre una copia esatta non può essere se non è assolutamente una copia identiche in tutto all'Originale. [emphasis Del Monte's]

The intensity of the Del Monte's feelings about the importance of continuing to allow painters to copy in the original sizes²¹ is further evidenced by his insistence

¹⁹ Some writers have stated that copyists in the Pitti and Uffizi were required to copy in sizes other than that of the original. Del Monte's memorandum indicates that this was not the case, at any rate not before 1851. The response to his request that the regulation not be changed was not in the file. It is likely though that his recommendation was followed.

²⁰ AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No. 8, alcune Osservazioni...

²¹ How many artists were as scrupulous as Del Monte is another question. Benjamin West in his "Instructions to a Young painter [Johann Heinrich Ramberg, 1763-1840] for

that such a change would damage Florence's preeminence as a centre for cultural tourism. The large numbers of copies of Florentine art works, he argues, spread the fame of Florence's galleries and add lustre to the fame of her art works:

La fama della celebre Galleria Pitti è omai tale che le copie dei suoi quadri sono infinite e si aumentana (a dismisura) per tutta l'Europa, e queste a mio credere non fanno che sempre più accrescere la rinomanza degli Originali, e il desiderio di vederli d'appresso. - Chi avesse tenuto conto del numero immenso delle soltanto Copie della Madonna della Seggiola di Raffaello, farebbe tale da non credersi...²²

Del Monte wrote at the height of copy production in the Florentine galleries.²³ He and the other officials who

his *Studies in ITALY* recommends that "you had better make the copy the same size of the original." He does not take it for granted that he will do so. cited in Franziska Forster-Hahn, "The Sources of True Taste/Benjamin West's instructions to a young painter for His Studies in ITALY", Warburg Institute Journal, 30 (1967), pp. 367-382. Alfred Moir found that of a total of 70 Caravaggio copies of known dimensions, 23 were approximately the same size. Caravaggio and his Copyists, New York, 1976, Appendix III, p. 166. It is interesting to note however that the relatively recently installed coloured photographic copy of Veneziano's St. Lucy Altarpiece in the church of Santa Lucia in Florence is specifically labelled as being of natural size. It may be that Del Monte's insistence on the importance of identical size is a 19th century reaction against disparagement of the copy.

²² AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No. 8, alcune Osservazioni...

²³ The Louvre experienced an increase around the same time. According to Theodore Reff "...the number of copyists in the museum (Louvre) had increased considerably by the 1860s. The throng of art students, amateur painters, and professional copyists to be found working there is a familiar feature both in the views of the Louvre galleries which became so popular at this time, and in the large literature devoted to artistic life." "Copyists in the Louvre, 1850-1870," The Art Bulletin, 46 (1964), p 553.

laboured to refine the regulations governing copying in the Pitti and Uffizi with a view to establishing greater fairness and order could have had no idea that the profession was on its way out. The direction of Western art had irrevocably changed but this change of direction was not to be noticed in all sectors of the art world at the same time. The pace varied according to place and milieu. Florence was not an important centre of modern art activity. It's very definition was that of the cradle of the Renaissance. Its physical fabric, with its immense collections of the art of the past, its palaces with their wealth of painted ceilings - and the grand decorations of the Pitti were completed only in the nineteenth-century- continued implicitly to proclaim the viability of the copy. Florence itself was a museum of the art of the past. It was this, not the art of the present, that the tourists came to see, and it was the memory of the old art works that they wanted to preserve through the copies they bought from artists like Falardeau.

However the very abundance of copyists, which must have appeared as a sign of cultural vitality to Del Monte, was also a sign of change, a sign of the coming decline of the copy. The Florentine copying milieu of the nineteenth century can itself be seen as an ossified survival from an earlier period. At the same time, it is clear that its existence was due to the specificity of a new cultural,

social and economic situation. Though members of the nobility were frequent buyers of Old Master copies, the professional copyist was essentially dependant on the sheer quantity of tourists set in motion with the great wave of middle class travel that flowed over the central part of Western Europe in the nineteenth century.

The copy, as we have mentioned, no longer attracted the energies of important artists to anywhere near the degree it had in the past. Professional artists (as opposed to professional copyists) continued to copy for their own interest and edification, but this was much less often combined with wearing the hat of the professional copyist, as had been common in the past. J. Lethève recounts in The Daily Life of French Artists that "At the age of sixty-eight...Ingres still considered that he needed to make copies after the masters 'in order to learn' but he haughtily refused [Louis-Adolphe] Thiers' commission of a drawing after Raphael's Transfiguration: ...'I told him «Monsieur le Ministre, when I do drawings now I sign them Ingres.»'"²⁴ The professional copyists were specialists who, while they may have painted "originals" as well, essentially made their living by copying. And while they were respected professionals, they did not enjoy the same status as painters of originals. And in fact, despite general acceptance, even in more conservative circles, and

²⁴ Lethève, Daily Life of French Artists, p. 168.

even as far away, for example, as New York, there was no lack of criticism of the copy.²⁵

It is interesting to note that in Quebec, where a particular historical development resulted in the preservation of the older, "classical," mode that Antoine Plamondon's output ranged from original works, through interpretive copies, paintings incorporating borrowed elements, and pastiches drawing on more than one original, to faithful copies. By contrast, the professional copyist's product was the faithful copy. He sometimes painted in reduced sizes, sometimes painted only the central figure, or excerpted secondary details (for example angels from Raphael madonnas) from a work, and sometimes changed the size or format. Falardeau, in his copy of Cristofano Allori's Judith,²⁶ for example, omitted the head of Holofernes. But he did not interpret it, did not introduce variations in the parts he copied. There are

²⁵ Lillian Miller cites an 1838 newspaper article in which the writer finds himself forced to defend the copy: "some...have sneered at the idea of exhibiting so many copies; but we can assure such persons that a good copy from a good original is a work they may study with great profit....We cannot therefore join in the general condemnation of copies and would most heartily rejoice if the money spent upon spurious originals, purchased under the auspices of some notorious picture dealer, was spent in orders to our talented young artists in copies of good originals in their foreign studies..." "Apollo Gallery, First Fall exhibition, 1838" New York Mirror, Oct. 21, cited in Patrons and Patriotism, Chicago & London, 1966, p. 152.

²⁶ After Cristofano Allori, Judith, 1854, Musée de Vaudreuil, Vaudreuil, Québec, G.75.40P. See Cat. No. 9.

other differences too between the nineteenth-century specialist and the earlier artists who copied on one occasion or another. An important purpose for the earlier artist, even when an economic motive was also involved, was that of self-education. The artist copied the works he admired in order to understand them, and to understand how the original artist had painted them. These dual aims are evident in the advice Benjamin West gave the young German painter Johann Heinrich Ramberg in the post script to his "Instructions to a young painter for His Studies in ITALY." West recommends particular artists because he believes they are best suited to help Ramberg develop his own style. (The copies, while educational, also appear to be a commission for the King.)

Your disposition in the art of painting leaning to the line of grace and Eligence, I would recommend you to study the works of Correggio, Raphael, and Guido, as they are the Masters that have most excelled in this particular - You would therefore do well (and it is His Majestis wish) you should copy something from each of those Painters, I will point out the picture I think best for that purpose - The one by Correggio is at Parma and known by the name of the St. Jerolamo the picture is not large and you had better make the copy the size of the original.

The one by Raphael is at Florence, and known by the name of the Madona dela Saggala - not large and may be copyed the same size - Guido there are a many, and are very butifull in the Corsini Palace at Rome it is Herodious with the head of St. John but at Bolonia there are some I prefer in particular the St. Peter and St. Paul in the St. Perria Gallery - and; many others you will meet with that will most sute your Inclination-at Venice there is a fine picture by Titian of a St. John and at Florence by the same these contain a fine specimen of his Abilities in colouring - at Dresden is the fine picture by Correggio, of the Nota, a copy of that would be a desirable thing in Engl. that with the one at Parma

being nearly the same size will make a fine pair - at Antwerp -The Picture at Rubens Alter is nearly the same size of the two Correggio and is the most agreeable picture of his in the world.²⁷

A 1776 letter from the American artist James Smith (known as Smith of Parma) to the English artist Ozias Humphrey shows how much care an artist of the earlier period could expend seeking to understand how the original was created and how he should recreate it. The painting was Correggio's Il Giorno.

...the most difficult part of a picture is the management of the flesh: but none more especially than that of Correggio's;.... Your idea I found to be very just, little or no red should be made use of until it is brought near to the finishing, and it is owing to this conduct that, this happy painter has preserved a precious, pearly tint, which glides insensibly through the Picture, a good deal of trouble I had to give it that smooth superficie which so much contributes to give a fluid look, which the original has to a surprising degree. Most of all the flesh is prepared, that is I have gone over it three or four times....

I would rather let those parts of the most consequence dry pretty well before I give that last finishing, in this I do not follow Correggio for he either was necessitated or impatient to finish before the bodied colour was well fixed then running a thin colour over it, has caused a curdling in his colours,....

I observed before that a pearly tint runs through the picture, which gives a wonderful harmony to this

²⁷ Forster-Hahn, "The Sources of True Taste," pp. 280-282. The pictures West recommended included two, the Correggio St. Jerome and the Madonna della Seggiola that were extremely popular in Falardeau's time. West's list of painters - Correggio, Raphael, Guido Reni, Titian, (Falardeau painted the John the Baptist) and (Rubens) is typical of the 18th century taste that continued to prevail in non-avant-garde circles in the nineteenth-century.

owing to the great use he has made of ultramarine, the which he has been far from sparing.²⁸

Falardeau's paintings by contrast, give the impression that the artist's concern has been with reproducing the appearance of the surface rather than with understanding how the colour was achieved, an impression which is corroborated by the observations of those who have had occasion to restore copies.²⁹

²⁸ Humphry (sic) Correspondence, 2/3, Royal Academy, London, James Smith to Ozias Humphry, Nov. 19, 1776, cited in Paul McIntyre, "Un misterioso pittore Americano 'Smith of Parma, "Avrea Parma, 69, (No. 2, May-Aug. 1985), original English version supplied by Paul McIntyre, pp.2-3. Reynolds maintained that "the great use in copying, if it be at all useful" was in learning by "minute examination" the "manner of handling, the artifices of contrast, glazing, and other expedients..." "The Second Discourse," The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Kt., vol. 1, [London], 1819.

²⁹ Personal communication to the author, Robin Ashton, restorer and conservation expert (formerly head of the conservation department at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts). Didier Prioul, curator at the Musée du Séminaire in Quebec, remarking on a chipped surface in Falardeau's copy of Salvator Rosa's Baie de Castellamare in the Musée du Séminaire in Quebec (See Cat. No. 102), suggested that his technique did not involve underpainting. The prepared colours appear to have been applied directly onto the primed canvas. Théophile Hamel's lack of understanding of Rubens' colour is very evident in his reduced copy of The Education of the Virgin, painted in Antwerp in 1846 when Hamel, a student of Plamondon, was on his study tour. While the entire surface of the original is a kind of blend of silver and pink, a suffused atmosphere composed of both these (and other) hues, Hamel simply divided the canvas into separate colour areas. His attempts to reproduce Rubens' shimmering whole is reduced to the application of bits of silvery impasto. The task of reducing the work to such a small size of course imposed additional difficulties on Hamel, who acquitted himself better in his copy of Titian's The Martyrdom of Peter Martyr. These two Hamel copies are in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Just as the copyists now comprised a separate, and in a way, "inferior," (though respectable) class, so their clients no longer, it would appear, included the leaders of taste. While the classical patron bought or commissioned major new works hand in hand with buying copies, this appears to have been less often the case with the copy buyer of the nineteenth century. And while it is the writings of travelling artists and intellectuals that provide us with much of our information about copies, particularly in the early decades of the century, the evidence points to the lion's share of the copyist's clientele being people of conservative tastes, whether of the middle or upper classes.³⁰ The works copied by the Florentine copyists, in large part those paintings of the High Renaissance and Baroque periods, (Raphael, Titian, Guido Reni, Carlo Dolci), as well as certain Dutch works, were those favoured by the taste of the eighteenth century. The avant-garde collecting interests of the nineteenth century, notably the interest in earlier Italian paintings, are not reflected in the requests for permission to copy. The fact that these request the same paintings over and over again: Raphael's La Seggiola, (which had a waiting

³⁰ But it should be remembered that the new middle classes were not always conservative in their buying patterns; it was often they who supported new movements in art. The point to be made perhaps, is that the rise of the nineteenth-century middle class art consumer affected, in different ways, all aspects of art production.

time of several years in the 1850s), Titian's Flora and La Bella and several score others, while others were ignored, also speaks of conventional tastes. In Falardeau's case (and this was likely true of other copyists too) it would appear that he also copied works which he knew would be popular with his particular clientele. On his visits to Quebec he brought with him copies of small Dutch paintings, not too expensive, and likely to appeal to buyers not trained to appreciate the grand style, as well as portraits of famous people such as Galileo and Cromwell, and self-portraits of artists.

The Romantic Copy

In the foregoing we have attempted to illuminate the situation of the 19th century copy, in particular the Old Master copy as produced above all in Florence, by contrasting an earlier ("classical") concept of art in which the copy was an integrated part of normal art production with a transitional situation in which the copy was a specialized, peripheral form of production. This transitional phase itself however saw the emergence of a "sub-concept" of the copy which we could call the Romantic copy, a hybrid combining the traditional emphasis on fidelity of reproduction with the romantic image of the artist as embodying qualities of spontaneity, feeling and individuality. The romantic conception of the artist might

be assumed to have dealt a death blow to the copy. In fact, it took time for the full-blown modern attitude of disparagement to take shape and initially an accommodation was made. A Quebec example occurs in the Abbé Casgrain's commentary on Falardeau's Vigée-Lebrun Self-Portrait³¹ in which he describes the artist as expressing his own feelings through his painting:

Pendant ses longues luttes contre les tristes réalités de la vie...on dirait que tous les sentiments suaves, les frais rayons, les douces pensées, si longtemps exilées de son âme, se sont réfugiées au bout de son pinceau.³²

But the most intense evocation of the "originality" of the copyist is probably that given by the American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne in his description of the copyist Hilda in his novel The Marble Faun:

Her copies were indeed marvelous. Accuracy was not the phrase for them; a Chinese copy is accurate. Hilda's had that evanescent and ethereal life - that flitting fragrance, as it were, of the originals - which it is as difficult to catch and retain as it would be for a sculptor to get the very movement and varying color of a living man into his marble bust.

.....
If a picture had darkened into an indistinct shadow through time and neglect or had been injured by cleaning, or retouched by some profane hand, she seemed to possess the faculty of seeing it in its pristine glory. The copy would come from her hands with what the beholder felt must be the light which the old master had left upon the original in bestowing his final and most ethereal touch. In some instances even (at least, so those believed who best appreciated Hilda's power and sensibility), she had been enabled to execute what the great master had conceived in his imagination, but had not so perfectly

³¹ Casgrain, p. 41. Marie-Louise Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Self-Portrait. See Cat. No. 148.

³² Ibid.

succeeded in putting upon canvas; a result surely not impossible when such depth of sympathy as she possessed was assisted by the delicate skill and accuracy of her slender hand. In such cases, the girl was but a finer instrument, a more exquisitely effective piece of mechanism, by the help of which the spirit of some great but departed painter now first achieved his ideal, centuries after his own earthly hand, that other tool, had turned to dust.³³

In Hilda's hands the copy performs the paradoxical feat of being more original than the original.³⁴

Falardeau himself was the subject of a commentary in the same Romantic vein. A critique published in a French publication, L'Artiste, written by Antonio Bertani, director of the Royal Library of Parma, of Falardeau's copy of Il Giorno, portrays his achievement in Romantic terms:

...vous, dans cette copie-là, dans votre oeuvre nouvelle, vous ne vous êtes pas borné à reproduire servilement les traits du pinceau et la brillante harmonie du coloris du Corrège, comme beaucoup de vos devanciers ont tâché de

³³ Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, [1860], New York, 1971, pp. 49-50. Hawthorne's wife, Sophia Peabody (1809-71), an artist, had copied in Italy. Soria, p. 158. Chris Petteys, Dictionary of Women Artists, Boston, 1982, p. 551.

³⁴ The idea that the copy could be preferable, superior to, the original, was not confined to fiction. Nor was it necessarily associated with the Romantic copy concept. Rembrandt Peale remarks that copies "made by able Artists, either from their own works, or those of others, their merit may be nearly equal, sometimes superior to the originals: such were the copies by Stella, from the paintings of Raphael." (Peale's ms, undated, cited in C. Edwards Lester, The Artists of America, [1846], New York, 1970, p. 216). Samuel Morse states that Benjamin West, speaking of his Christ Healing the Sick told him: "This is the piece I intended for America, but the British would have it themselves; but I shall give America the better one [i.e., the copy he was working on]." Morse, Samuel F.B. Letters and Journals. Boston and New York, 1914] Reprint. New York: 1973, p. 46.

faire sans pouvoir parvenir à atteindre leur but: étude ingrate et froide, tour de force d'émailleurs.

Bertani suggests that the copyist shared the inspiration felt by Correggio:

Dans cette copie, vous avez pénétré les mystères de la palette magique du peintre immortel; vous avez approfondi sa sublime pensée, vous êtes inspiré du souffle de son âme toute divine, vous avez sondé les recoins les plus intimes de son coeur de poète et vous vous êtes enivré du doux parfum de son charme.

Vous avez saisi l'élan de sa brûlante imagination.³⁵

But Hilda's exquisite sympathies and Bertani's praises were cases of overripe bloom. The traditional concept of the work of art as inherently reproducible, not to mention the suggestion that the copyist could share the artist's creative impulse, did not survive the century. The sensitive, faithful copyist of the mid-nineteenth century, became the servile, slavish imitator of the twentieth.

Before leaving the concept of the copy, let us note again that the transitional phase was characterized on the one hand by a retention of the "classical" concept of the art work as inherently reproducible, on the other, by the development of a different, more specialized, more sharply categorized, practice, a specialization visible at once in the milieu, in the copyist, and in the copies.

³⁵ Anthony Bertani, l'Artiste, Feb. 1, 1852, cited in Casgrain, p. 27, and E. Falardeau, p. 74. See Cat. No. 27.

Functions of the Copy

An examination of the functions the copy served can further illuminate the situation of the nineteenth-century Old Master copy. The copy serving as travel souvenir, which we shall look at briefly, and the copy as an instrument of educational and moral uplift, which we shall treat at greater length, both exemplify the phenomenon of broad fluid functions narrowing their boundaries. The copy used as an aid to religious devotion in nineteenth-century Quebec will be examined as an example of how the survival of an older, classical, concept of art, combined with a particular historical development, created a situation in which the copy could flourish. The anachronisms of the Quebec situation will clarify by contrast mainstream developments elsewhere. Other functions, including the varieties of the educational copy, the copy as a means of preservation, and the "apprenticeship copy" - copy commissions from patrons back home, paid for sometimes in advance, by which young artists paid their way through Europe, will be mentioned from time to time where relevant to the main concerns of this study.

The Souvenir Copy

Travel souvenirs in the form of prints and paintings had long been bought by pilgrims and travellers. What is distinctive about the nineteenth-century souvenir copy can

perhaps best be understood by looking at those who bought it. The Grand Tour, once the preserve of the wealthy and aristocratic, in the nineteenth century became in an abbreviated and modified form, the possession of the newly prosperous sectors of the middle classes. The number of these newly (and compared with the older aristocratic clientele, barely) culturally aware travellers desiring a modestly priced remembrance of their travels was large. Their tastes were conventional. And perhaps what they wanted was not so much an art work as a souvenir, a remembrance, a ricordo, as Del Monte called it.

Travel brought out the urge to buy art. But the knowledge of the travellers was sometimes limited. An account of private collecting in nineteenth-century Boston remarks that copies were sometimes considered preferable to the originals, often poor in quality, misattributed, poorly restored, or outright fakes, that the buyer of originals were apt to come back with. At least, with copies, one knew what one had: "...a good copy of a Raphael or a Titian had the same inspiration quality as the original at the Louvre, it was believed, and was at least clearly what it seemed to be."³⁶ The popular guidebooks suggested what

³⁶ Carol Troyen & Pamela S. Tabbaa, The Great Boston Collectors / Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1984, p. 12. The authors remark that "Other collections, even when assembled by Bostonians as well educated and well traveled as Senator Charles Sumner, consisted largely of fakes, falsely attributed and overglamorized European paintings." Ibid.

paintings ought to be looked at. And the guidebooks sometimes included the names of copyists,³⁷ and of portraitists and other artists. The availability of such information - and the availability of the artists visibly engaged in their craft in the galleries - doubtless increased the chances that a traveller would buy. In addition copies were sold by dealers, and artists, both copyists and otherwise, held open house in their studios at specified times.

The Italian atmosphere in particular had a way of loosening purse strings hitherto closed to art. William Cullen Bryant's observation in Rome, though referring to art in general, would also have applied to copies:

Men who would never have thought of buying a picture or a statue at home, are infected by the contagion of the place the moment they arrive. No talk of the money market here; no discussion of any public measure; no conversation respecting new enterprises, and the ebb and flow of trade; no price current, except of marble and canvas; all the talk is of art and artists. The rich man who, at home, is contented with mirrors and rosewood, is here initiated into a new set of ideas, gets a taste, and orders a bust, a little statue of Eve, a Ruth, or a Rebecca, and half a dozen pictures, for his luxurious rooms in the United States.³⁸

³⁷ For example, John Murray's Hand-Book Part II for Tuscany, Lucca & Florence of 1856 mentions six painters, one of them specifically mentioned as a copyist. Baedeker's Italy / Handbook for Travellers / First Part / Northern Italy, London, 1882, mentions five painters.

³⁸ Letters of William Cullen Bryant, Vol. 4, to the Evening Post, Rome, May 21, 1858, p. 35.

The Copy as an Instrument of Public Education

In the second example of function to be discussed, the peculiarly nineteenth-century phenomenon of the museum of copies, the copy played an essential role as an instrument of moral education. The idea of art as having a moral function has always been part of Western art.³⁹ But the emphasis on social moral functions began to take on an increasingly urgent note in eighteenth-century France,⁴⁰ where ideas of social and political relationships were changing at an unprecedented rate. In England speculation about how art works affected the viewer was widespread.⁴¹ One of the ideas current was the view that the development of taste assisted in developing the moral character of the individual. Popularized by Reynolds,⁴² in turn vulgarized

39 For one among innumerable examples, see E.H. Gombrich's essay "Botticelli's Mythologies: A Study in the neo-Platonic Symbolism of his Circle," (Symbolic Images Oxford, 1972, pp. 31-81), in which he proposes that the Primavera was painted with the express purpose of providing a moral lesson to the young Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici.

40 See for example the writings of Diderot and the paintings of Greuze as described in Carol Duncan's "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in 18th Century French Art", The Art Bulletin, 55, Dec. 1973, pp. 570-83.

41 These ideas are described in W. Hippie's The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque in 18th Century British Aesthetic Theory, Carbondale, 1957.

42 For Reynolds the end of art, and indeed of all human activity was "the ethical enlargement of the individual character....in turn the more moral and intellectual art became, the greater usefulness and respectability it achieved." cited in Miller, p. 16. Lord Kames had pointed out that "A taste for the fine arts went hand in hand with the moral sense, to which indeed it is

in the popular press, this idea was widely diffused in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in England, and also in the United States. An American essayist writing in 1815 commented that for Reynolds:

the great object of all the pleasures of cultivated taste is to disentangle the mind from appetite and to teach it to look for its pleasures in intellectual gratification, till at length that freedom from the thralldom of sense, which began in taste, may, as it is exalted and refined, conclude in virtue.⁴³

In the process of diffusion the complexities of eighteenth century theorizing were replaced by the simpler idea that the individual profited by looking at exemplary behaviour depicted on canvas. And whereas the eighteenth-century thinkers often considered that only the leisured classes had the time and perhaps innate capacity to benefit from aesthetic experience, in the nineteenth century the emphasis, in terms of viewer, shifted to lower social levels. Lillian Miller in her book Patrons and Patriotism, an account of nationalistic trends in 19th century American art, describes how the eighteenth century belief in the value of art as a means of elevating morality along with taste was in nineteenth century American discourse broadened into a democratic concept of art and morality in

nearly allied." cited in Miller, p. 13.

⁴³ Analectic, 5 (June 15, 1815), p. 492, cited in Miller, p. 18. Miller also suggests that French and German writing about the necessity of an awareness of cultural differences and the peculiarities of nations and historical epochs played a part in forming American cultural attitudes.

which art works were viewed as capable of elevating the taste, knowledge and morality of all classes of society⁴⁴.

The connection between art and public morality was not of course exclusive to the New World, and both sides of the Atlantic looked on the museum as an ally in improving the design of manufactured goods.⁴⁵ But in the United States, the additional challenge to catch up culturally with Europe helped establish a climate in which the creation of art collections was a major goal. The feeling that one of the purposes of art was in a sense, to take over where religion had declined, in exercising moral influence, meant that subject matter was more important than originality. Paintings that could inspire the viewer to lofty spiritual and moral states, paintings that educated him with respect to past or distant cultures, were sought for these museums. Miller discusses a number of institutions founded in the

44 Calvin Tomkins quotes William Cullen Bryant at a meeting of a committee formed to plan the Metropolitan Museum: "It is important that we should counter the temptations to vice in this great and too rapidly growing capital by attracting entertainments of an innocent and improving character." Merchants and Masterpieces, London, 1970, p. 30.

45 Michael Levey cites contemporary hopes that the Gallery would provide "a cure...for low thoughted cares and uneasy passions", that "by easy access to such works of art the public taste might improve", and that "an improvement in manufacturers" might result, Introduction, A Guide to the National Gallery, H. Potterton, London, 1976, p. 12. Roy Strong reminds us that the Victoria and Albert "was founded as a teaching institution, deeply engaged in the struggle for improvement in design that began in the 1840s." Simon Jervis, High Victorian Design, Ottawa, 1974, p. ix.

early nineteenth-century in the United States for these purposes, among them the American Academy of Fine Arts formed in New York in the early 1800s,⁴⁶ the National Academy of Design, established in the same city in 1825, the American Art Union,⁴⁷ also in New York, and the Ladies Gallery of Cincinnati.⁴⁸ Many of these institutions bought copies.

In any event, if the people in the cities of North America were to benefit from the great works of art of the past it would have to be through the medium of copies. The belief in the possibility of the copy being a faithful reproduction of the original, together with the emphasis on the importance of subject matter, and of course the impossibility of obtaining the originals, made the copy not only eminently acceptable for such museums, but in fact their sine qua non.

Though these museums of copies were proportionately more numerous in the United States, France had an instructive example in the ill-fated Musée des Copies. The Musée des Copies opened its doors unpropitiously late, in

⁴⁶ Miller, Patrons and Patriots, Chapter Eight, p. 90ff.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 143

⁴⁸ Sarah Worthington Peters made five buying trips to Europe, buying among other copies, a half-size copy of The School of Athens, Murillo's Virgin of Seville, Poussin's Diogenes Casting Away the Cup, Van Dyck's Charles I, Raphael's Virgin with the Veil, and two self-portraits by Rembrandt. Titian's La Bella, and Michelangelo's Fates she received as gifts. Miller, p. 199.

1873. By this time the concept had largely lost its viability in France. The fall of the Second Empire in 1870⁴⁹ was followed by a change in policy towards the copy on the part of the French Government, and the Musée closed its doors a mere nine months after they opened. Most of the paintings were packed off to the Ecole des Beaux Arts, the only place where it was felt they could be of any use. When the Musée des Copies had first been envisioned in 1834 by Louis-Adolphe Thiers, then Minister of the Interior, the idea had received broad state support, according to Albert Boime, whose article in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts describes the misfortunes of the undertaking.⁵⁰ However, in 1873, when the project was being discussed in the National Assembly, the copies were described as works of a second order. One participant in the debate suggested a phototheque be created instead.⁵¹

49 The Second Empire had maintained the policy of commissioning dynastic portraits and of supplying copies of religious paintings to churches. State-supported copying was drastically reduced under the Third Republic. See Paul Duro's article "The Demoiselles à Copier" in the Second Empire", Woman's Art Journal, Spring/Summer, 1986., p.6.

50 Albert Boime, "Le Musée des Copies," Gazette des Beaux Arts, 64 (1964), pp. 237-247.

51 This was not the first time the idea of an official collection of photographic copies had been broached. Trevor Fawcett's article "Graphic versus photographic in the Nineteenth-Century Reproduction" states: "As early as 1851 Francis Wey was recommending that the Louvre should collect and exhibit photographs of works of art not represented in its collections. A year later in England Prince Albert's project to assemble a complete photographic corpus of Raphael's works began to be

The aim of the Musée des Copies was in part educational, but Boime also suggests that the Musée's director Charles Blanc hoped it would shore up the sagging state of the Academic tradition and provide a counterinfluence to that of the Barbizon and Impressionist landscape painters.⁵²

England too had an enterprise of this kind in the museum of copies John Ruskin established for the workmen of Sheffield in the Guild of St. George, the project he had begun in 1871 with the intent of reclaiming barren land for the foundation of agricultural communities. Jeanne Clegg's article on Ruskin's correspondence with Angelo Alessandri,⁵³ the Venetian artist he hired to make copies for him, reveals the development of Ruskin's thought on the subject of copies. His ideas reflect current concerns, though they are perhaps more typical as examples of Ruskin's characteristically contradictory way of thinking:

All copies are bad; because no painter who is worth a straw ever will copy. Whenever you buy a copy you buy so much misunderstanding of the original...I do not mean, however, that copies should never be made. A certain number of dull persons should always be employed in making the most accurate copies possible of all good pictures; these copies, though artistically valueless,

implemented. Art History, 9 (1986), pp. 186-211.

⁵² Paul Duro's article "Study Museums in Nineteenth-Century Paris" (Oxford Art Journal, 10, No. 1, pp. 44-57) looks further at the ideas underlying the Musée des Copies and similar projects.

⁵³ Jeanne Clegg, "John Ruskin's Correspondence with Angelo Alessandri", Bulletin of John Rylands Library Manchester, 60 (1977-78).

would be historically and documentarily valuable in the event of the destruction of the original.⁵⁴

But in 1872 he was making a distinction between the inferior and the genuinely good copyist, (who appears to belong to the category of Romantic copyist):

The common painter copyist who encumbers our European galleries with their easels and pots, are almost without exception, persons too stupid to be painters and too lazy to be engravers. The real copyists - the men who can put their soul into another's work - are employed at home, in their narrow rooms, striving to make their work profitable to all men.⁵⁵

How they are to copy paintings while "in their narrow rooms" he does not say. Clegg suggests that Ruskin felt it incumbent upon himself to devise a justification for turning an artist away from developing his own original talent to become instead a copyist, which was in effect what he was inducing Alessandri to do. In support of this she quotes the following from Ariadne Fiorentina mentioning that the argument reflects his belief that his age was not able to produce good art:

⁵⁴ The Works of John Ruskin, London: E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, London, 1903-12, XVI, p. 78, cited in Jeanne Clegg, "John Ruskin's Correspondence with Angelo Alessandri," p. 416. The motif of the copy as a protection against possible destruction runs through the nineteenth-century discourse on the copy. Nathaniel Hawthorne speaks of the ravages of time wrought on these [often uncleaned] pictures: "But even Titian's flesh cannot keep, and has not kept, its warmth through all these centuries. The illusion, and life-likeness, effervesces and exhales out of a picture, as it grows old; and we keep talking traditionally of a charm that has forever vanished." The French and Italian Notebooks, 1980, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Works [London, 1903-1912, ed. Cook & Wedderburn] XXII, 388, cited in Clegg, p. 416.

I shall also use all the strength I have to convince those, among our artists of the second order...that in the present state of art they only waste their powers in endeavouring to produce original pictures of human form or passion....they may, with far greater personal happiness, and incalculably greater advantage to others, devote themselves to the affectionate copying of men of just renown.⁵⁶

More typical of the model and function under discussion than Ruskin's museum was the museum of copies founded in Canada. In July, 1855, the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada left Canada for Europe with his nineteen-year-old daughter Sophia.⁵⁷ His purpose when he left was to buy natural history specimens⁵⁸ and other objects of educational value (for example agricultural implements), at the Paris Exposition and elsewhere, for the educational museum he intended to establish in the Toronto Normal School.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ariadne Fiorentina, Works [London, 1903-1912, ed. Cook & Wedderburn] xxii, pp. 473-4. cited in Clegg, p. 420.

⁵⁷ 1803-1882. He was Chief Superintendent 1844-1876.

⁵⁸ The combination of natural history and fine art had precedents in the United States and elsewhere, for example, Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia Museum (Miller, Patrons and Patriots, p. 90.

⁵⁹ Ryerson's was the first museum in Toronto. But earlier the Toronto Society of Arts, founded in 1847, had formed an exhibition collection of (at least) sixty-one casts, while copies of paintings (of Old Masters, among them Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyck, Greuze, Canaletto, Murillo, Raeburn, Titian, Raphael, Lorraine, Wouvermans, van Ostade, Reni, del Sarto, Spagnoletto [Ribera] and of contemporary Canadian and European works) were exhibited in quite large numbers in the Society's two exhibitions in 1847 and 1848. See Carol D. Lowrey, "The Toronto Society of Arts, 1847-48: Patriotism and the Pursuit of Culture in

However once in London, the advice of friends, in particular that of Capt. John Henry Lefroy,⁶⁰ decided him to include paintings, largely copies, and casts of sculpture as well. And in the end, though his collections of medals, "models of agricultural implements", "Statuettes of German Poets, Artists & Empererors,"⁶¹ engravings, lithographs and nearly 1000 plaster casts, were enormous, he was most proud of the one hundred and eighty-two paintings, almost all copies, that he bought in Paris, Antwerp, Germany, Bologna, Rome, and above all, Florence.

Ryerson's belief in the importance of universal, compulsory, and moral and religious education suggests him and his museum as likely candidates for the model proposed by Lillian Miller. His own statements confirm this. In his report for 1858 he observes that:

...in Canada, where there are no such Art Treasures, where we are so remote from them, where there is no private wealth available to procure them to any great extent, a collection (however limited) of copies of those paintings and statuary, which are most attractive and instructive in European Museums, and with which the trained teachers of our public schools may become familiar, and which will be accessible to the public,

Canada West," RACAR, 12 (No. 1, 1985), pp. 3 to 44.

⁶⁰ Ryerson refers to Lefroy's advice in several letters to Hodgins. For example: "...Capt. Lefroy is greatly delighted at the idea of his suggestion having been adopted..." United Church Archives, Victoria University Library, University of Toronto, Ryerson Letters from 1847-1865, microfilm, Roll 3, Ryerson to J.G. Hodgins, Sept. 28, 1855, London.

⁶¹ Ibid. Nov. 24, 1856, Paris, and Dec. 18, 1855, Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

cannot fail to be a means of enjoyment, to numbers in all parts of Upper Canada.⁶²

Remarks such as these reveal his concern for the educational aspect of his undertaking and his assumption of the democratic scope of his projected audience. Elsewhere he states:

From the introduction into our country of these new elements of civilization and refinement, I anticipate the happiest results as in places in Europe where there is an order and propriety of conduct in the labouring classes, a gentleness and cheerfulness of manners that I have not observed among the same classes elsewhere. If all cannot read and speculate on abstract questions, all can see, and feel, and derive both pleasure and instruction from what the creations of Art present to the eye, the heart and to the imagination.⁶³

Ryerson assumes that there will be differences in preference between the less and more refined sectors of society. The variety and everyday subject matter of the Northern painters will appeal, he believes, to the less educated, while the Italian paintings will have a special appeal to "persons of some culture in the fine arts."⁶⁴

⁶² The Educational Museum and School of Art and Design for Upper Canada with a Plan of the English Educational Museum, Etc., Etc., From the Chief Superintendent's Report for 1856 to Which is Added an Appendix, Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1858, p. 15.

⁶³ Ryerson to G.E. Cartier, Jan. 1, 1856, Munich, reprinted in J.G. Hodgins Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada from the Passing of the Constitutional act of 1791 to the Close of Rev. Dr. Ryerson's Administration of the Education Department in 1876, vol. 12, Toronto, 1894-1910, p. 127, cited in Fern Bayer, The Ontario Collection, p. 15.

⁶⁴ United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Feb. 18, 1856, Rome. He adds: "...But the copies of the Italian Paintings will much exceed the others in interest, as well

His interest in the social and educational utility of the collection is reflected in the divisions by subject matter and nationality according to which the paintings were arranged in the museum:

The first category included works of a scriptural nature and theme which were "calculated to touch the heart...please the eye, and gratify the taste." The second comprised historical subjects and events, serving to illustrate "costumes of different ages and Countries, important events of History and celebrated Characters." The genre pictures were to represent "Common life in its everyday relations, illustrating the Costumes, Habits, Usages of the People of Holland, Belgium and Germany." The other categories are landscapes and marine scenes, reflective of Animal Nature in action, at rest, alive and dead." The last category was that of still life, serving to show fruit and flowers "in undecaying beauty and brilliance...sometimes animated with examples of Insect life."⁶⁵

But Ryerson was far from insensitive to the beauty of his purchases. Writing to Hodgins from Rome he remarks:

...the paintings of sacred subjects by the Van Eycks,... and Matsys, Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt etc. can hardly be considered second to any Italian paintings of the same subjects. Yet there is an unrivalled charm, in both the Perugino, Leonardo da Vinci, Titian & Francia, Raphael, Fra Bartolomeo, Guercino, Domenichino, the Carracci, Guido etc. etc. that cannot be resisted & grows upon you every time you look at them.⁶⁶

as, I think, for the most part, in beauty, although they are less varied in subject, less domestic, less connected with common life, yet more classical, more historical, more elevated in style & character."

⁶⁵ Ryerson to G.E. Cartier, Jan. 1, 1856, Munich, reprinted in J.G. Hodgins, Documentary History, cited in Bayer, The Ontario Collection, p. 18.

⁶⁶ United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Feb. 18, 1856, Rome.

The Museum of Natural History and Fine Arts opened in 1857. Its significance declined when the Department of Education relocated in Queen's Park in 1912 and the Royal Ontario Museum opened the same year. It was closed in the 1920s, the copies being distributed to normal schools and other institutions throughout the province.⁶⁷

The Copy in Quebec

Ryerson's museum exemplified an essentially nineteenth-century function of the copy. The copy as it was produced and used in Quebec at this time was rather different. Copies of religious paintings were widespread in ecclesiastical settings in Quebec. They were produced by major artists and they enjoyed high status. Catholic liturgical practice required religious art. Historical circumstances had prevented the development of a school of native painting able to supply this demand, at the same time that it brought into being a set of conditions favorable to the production of copies.

Yet it was not need and circumstance alone that gave the copy such a large role in Quebec. Prevailing concepts of art and its function, concepts which were no longer strong in most parts of the Western world, in Quebec made what was necessary and possible, readily acceptable. On the one hand nineteenth-century Quebec enjoyed a cultural milieu

⁶⁷ Bayer, The Ontario Collection, pp. 64-65.

which could be described as classical, and a religious milieu which preserved an approach to art in which religious art works were judged on the basis of their ability to arouse sensations of religious devotion in the viewer, an attitude whose roots can be traced back to medieval precedents.

John R. Porter in his 1984 article, "Antoine Plamondon (1804-1895) et le tableau religieux: perception et valorisation de la copie et de la composition,"⁶⁸ on the extent, importance, and unjustified neglect by art historians, of the copy in Quebec, describes a situation which appears to be a survival in modified form of the classical model described earlier in this chapter. Both originals and copies, ranging from faithful to interpretative, were produced in large numbers by the culture's major artists. Porter estimates that Antoine Plamondon, one of the most important Quebec painters of the period, painted one hundred and seventy-five portraits, sixteen genre paintings, ten still lifes and eight landscapes, as compared with two hundred and fifty-seven religious paintings, the majority of which were copies of one kind or another.⁶⁹ Joseph Légaré also copied

⁶⁸ John R. Porter, "Antoine Plamondon (1804-1895) et le tableau religieux: perception et valorisation de la copie et de la composition", The Journal of Canadian Art History, 8 (I, 1984), pp. 1-25.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.

extensively.⁷⁰ So did Théophile Hamel in his religious paintings. Judging from the descriptions of Porter and others, it would seem that probably the majority of paintings in Quebec churches were copies, either free or faithful.

Artists placed a high value on their copies. Plamondon, the inveterate letter writer, complained in Le Canadien in 1833⁷¹ that the editor of the Quebec Mercury, who had visited his studio had mentioned only "some portraits of uncommon merit," but not the history paintings (which were largely copies):

Pourquoi n'a-t-il pas fait la critique d'aucun de ces tableaux d'histoire [he states that there were nine in the studio] suivant leur mérite? Pourquoi ne parle-t-il que de ces petits portraits qu'il dit être d'un rare mérite; pendant que c'étaient les moindres de mon atelier?

The community thought highly of copies. Porter comments:

...il est évident qu'aux yeux du public en général une bonne copie valait bien un original, surtout lorsque cet original était défraîchi ou encore inaccessible.⁷²

⁷⁰ Didier Prioul's Ph.D thesis in progress shows how Légiaré's copying activities fundamentally affected his entire oeuvre. Joseph Légiaré Paysagiste, Ph.D thesis [in progress], Laval University.

⁷¹ Le Canadien, Aug. 7, 1833, p. 1, cited in Porter, "Antoine Plamondon et le tableau religieux," p. 2.

⁷² Porter, *Ibid.*, p. 4. There were those who could appreciate the difference, but they were few. Porter cites a letter from the Abbé Jérôme Demers to the curé of Verchères: Je viens de voir les quatre tableaux que l'un de nos jeunes artistes de Québec vient d'achever pour vous.... Ces tableaux ne sont point sans doute des chefs-d'oeuvres sortis des mains des Raphaels, des Lebruns, des Rubens, des Vandicks; vous ne devriez pas vous y attendre

On one occasion the wardens of Charlesbourg gave Plamondon an original painting of St. Jerome in exchange for a copy!⁷³

Porter outlines the historical reasons for the widespread occurrence of the copy in Quebec. Paintings had adorned the churches and chapels of New France from the earliest years of the colony. During the French Regime paintings were imported from France, and some French artists came to Quebec to work. From early times the Quebec curé and his

mais tels qu'ils sont, ils auront l'avantage de vous plaire, et de plaire à vos anciens paroissiens..." Sept. 24, 1825, Bib. nat. du Québec à Montreal, Fonds J.M. Beauregard, boîte 6/10 (2) chemise Verchères, copie dac. lettre de l'abbé J. Demers au Curé Kimbert, 24 Sept., 1825, cited in Porter, p. 4) And the original did appear to have higher status. Originality is praised in contemporary descriptions of Plamondon's copies after prints: "L'artiste qui a copié d'une chétive gravure et qui par conséquent a été forcé de tout créer, l'expression et le coloris, a saisi comme il faut le caractère distinctif d'un pestiféré..." Le Journal de Québec, Oct. 5, 1846, p. 2, [referring to the Saint Charles Borromée distribuant la communion aux pestiférés de Milan, Cathedral, Joliette. Que.] cited in Porter p. 16. Porter's description of the feud carried on through the newspapers between Plamondon and Henry Daniel Thielcke (1787-1874) in which Thielcke challenged Plamondon to paint "Un tableau d'Histoire original, et un Paysage d'après nature..." (Le Canadien, Sept. 26, 1838, p. 2.) also indicates that despite the evident acceptance (and admiration) of copies, the original had a special status. It also suggests that the interested public was aware of which paintings were copies and which weren't.

⁷³ Porter, Ibid., p. 4. Another example of such an exchange occurred when Plamondon asked for the return of his Miracles de sainte Anne from the church of Sainte Famille at Cap-Santé in exchange (plus the cost of materials) for a copy of an Adoration of the Magi in the chapel of the Séminaire de Québec. Gérard Morisset, Le Cap-Sant: ses églises et son trésor, reprint, Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1980, p. 206.

parishioners were accustomed to a relatively lavishly decorated church.

When the English conquest cut off the supply of French paintings the artists of the colony were thrown back on their own resources, resources that generally speaking were not sufficient to meet the challenge of producing large religious compositions. A school of native sculpture which combined rococo traits with a homely vigour developed and flourished, but few Quebec painters in the eighteenth century attempted compositions more complicated than portraits. Quebec provided no opportunity for an artist to be trained to produce large complex figure compositions. And the handful of Quebec artists who studied in France did not spend as long a time in study as did their French counterparts.⁷⁴ The solution was to copy.⁷⁵ A number of admired works were available in Quebec churches to serve as models. Prints were readily available. And in 1817 and 1820 the original stock of models was augmented by the arrival through the Desjardins brothers of one hundred and eighty seventeenth and eighteenth century European paintings seized from the clergy during the Revolution. In

⁷⁴ François Baillairgé studied at the Académie Royale in Paris four years, (1778-1781) compared with the six to eight years a French student might have studied.

⁷⁵ Porter points out that cost played a role also. An original painting cost about twice as much as a copy, a sum beyond the means of many parishes. Porter, "Antoine Plamondon et le tableau religieux," p. 5.

fact the arrival of the Desjardins Collection in itself was probably a stimulus to copying.⁷⁶ Copies were also sometimes imported.⁷⁷

These paintings were drawn on as models when the demand for religious paintings began to increase with the creation of new parishes and with the proliferation of religious orders both imported and native that were part of the massive increase in organized religious activity that took place after 1837 thanks to the efforts of Montreal's Bishop Bourget.

Chapels in convents, monasteries and schools, as well as churches, needed paintings. The paintings that were created in response to the demand encompassed the spectrum from the faithful copy through the pastiche, and the painting that combined elements from different sources, to the interpretive copy.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ With its arrival "...le bassin des modèles à imiter se trouvait singulièrement augmenté et renouvelé." Ibid., p. 4.

⁷⁷ For example, Henry Vasseur of Quebec advertised "un assortiment magnifique de tableaux peints à l'huile", comprising 17 large copies after Philippe de Champaigne, P. Guérin, Le Brun, Rubens, Guido Reni and Raphael in Le Canadien of June 23, p. 2, and Oct. 20, p. 2, 1837, cited in Porter, Ibid., p. 22. footnote.

⁷⁸ The Stations of the Cross that Plamondon completed for Notre Dame Church in 1839 included a copy (Second Station: The Arrest of Christ from a print after Jacques Stella in which the figures were reproduced with near exactness, but the background was changed by reducing the height of the painting to eliminate the trees; a Christ at the Column, again from a print after Stella, in which secondary figures have been omitted, and the base of a

The Quebec painters thus stand in sharp contrast to Falardeau and his fellow specialists, who, except for the deviations already noted, ordinarily copied the entire picture. Similarly the buyers - the ecclesiastical authorities (who in Quebec formed a power block equal to the government) - represented a group different from the souvenir-buying middle class tourist, from the conservative art collector, and from the purchaser who bought for a specialized reason, such as Ryerson. (And though the Church was a conservative body, its leaders from time to time included relatively progressive patrons.) But the clergy and religious orders did not buy paintings as "art works" in the same way that collectors did. They bought when an art work was needed for a liturgical setting.

Porter remarks that the criticism of the time was adept in dealing with the copy, that a language had been developed to speak of it. The extract from the Journal de Quebec cited by him exhibits considerable sophistication, demonstrating a knowledge of the nature of artistic composition and the challenges involved in copying from a

column added on which clothing and a helmet have been placed; an Ecce Homo, copied from a print after Cigoli in which extensive draperies have been added. Yves Lacasse, Antoine Plamondon: The Way of the Cross of the Church of Notre-Dame de Montréal, Montreal, 1983, pp. 55-57, 60-61. Plamondon also produced exact copies, such as the S. Jérôme entendant la trompette du jugement dernier (1844) of D'Ulin kept in the Quebec Seminary Chapel. Légaré's works as well encompassed the complete spectrum of copy types.

print in its discussion of Plamondon's painting of Saint Charles Borromée distribuant la communion aux pestiférés de Milan of 1846.⁷⁹ But often newspaper texts show themselves as lacking the vocabulary and concepts necessary to discuss art works. The following, given by Porter, is an example:

Admirez donc, écrit-il, ce pinceau tantôt ferme et vigoureux, tantôt tendu et moelleux, quelquefois énergique et rapide comme la pensée qu'il exprime, quelquefois lent et paisible, sans être jamais timide ni traîné....Je voudrais m'arrêter un instant, non seulement sur l'expression des figures, mais encore et plus particulièrement ici sur le coloris, sur la beauté des draperies, sur leur harmonie, sur celle de tout l'ensemble, sur la correction et la perfection du dessin...⁸⁰

In effect, many of the newspaper texts - which display a remarkable consistency over the decades⁸¹ - say nothing

79. "Ce tableau a onze pieds de hauteur sur au moins huit pieds de largeur: les personnages sont presque de grandeur naturelle. La composition est de Mignard; mais le coloris est dû entièrement au pinceau de Mr. Plamondon dont on connaît les ressources sous ce rapport. Les couleurs s'harmonisent très bien et l'oeil se repose avec satisfaction sur toute l'étendue de la scène L'ensemble de la composition, qui se forme cependant de plusieurs épisodes, se groupe très bien. L'artiste qui a copié d'une chétive gravure et qui par conséquent a été forcé de tout créer, l'expression et le coloris, a saisi comme il faut le caractère distinctif d'un pestiféré et la langeur mortelle qui se peint sur sa figure et dans sa pose." Le Journal de Québec, Oct. 15, 1846, p. 2, cited by Porter, p.15.

80 Le Canadien, Dec. 6, 1839, p. 2, cited in Porter, p. 11. The painting is Plamondon's L'Agonie au jardin des Oliviers, one of the Stations of the Cross painted for Notre Dame Church in Montreal.

81 They praise the painter and painting in terms of qualities that would be considered positive in any circumstances. The writer begins by presenting a list of these qualities, presented in terms of oppositions, the sum total being a vague amalgam of generalized desirability:

that is specific to painting. But in one respect the newspapers do use language that is specific to the copy: copies are repeatedly praised for being true to the original:

Quand les messieurs du Séminaire virent qu'ils allaient perdre à jamais ce beau tableau (Dulin's St. Jerome), il se décidèrent à le remplacer par une copie, mais cette copie devait être parfaite et parfaitement conforme à l'original...⁸²

En ces tableaux on peut louer une grande fidélité et une grande délicatesse de dessin: une fraîcheur et une suavité de coloris qui ravissent.⁸³

the brush is firm and vigorous, tight yet soft, sometimes energetic and rapid, sometimes slow and peaceful, without ever being timid or dragged out. The second paragraph employs terms specific to art, but in such a way as to say no more than that the various requirements have all been (well) met: the viewer is arrested by the expression of the faces, the colour, the beauty of the draperies, of their harmony, and by the correctness and perfection of the drawing. The vagueness and lack of a specific vocabulary is also found in English language newspapers. The discourse on Gothic Revival architecture uses a different vocabulary but exhibits the same structure. See Virginia Nixon, St. George's Church, Montreal, paper presented at Conference, Recent Research in Canadian Architecture, University of Toronto, Spring, 1986. The reviews of the 1847 and 1848 exhibitions of the Toronto Society of Arts published in the Toronto newspapers occasionally display a degree of knowledge, but in general they follow the pattern mentioned above, though they too have their own vocabulary: "finely conceived, and beautifully finished,... inimitable....reflects great credit on his talents...This young lady possesses a good eye for colour - no mean accomplishment in an artist....We admire the...breadth of handling, and the depth of colouring....ad infinitum," from reviews cited in Carol D. Lowrey's "The Toronto Society of Arts," p.32 ff.

⁸² Le Journal de Québec, Feb. 23, 1850, p. 3, cited in Porter, p. 10.

⁸³ "Les Tableaux de M. Falardeau". La Minerve, July 6, 1882, p. 2.

Similarly, Le Courrier du Canada of July 2, 1862, proposes that the value of Falardeau's copy lies in its resemblance to the original:

[Falardeau] a le talent de donner à ses copies, d'ailleurs admirablement exécutées, un certain cachet d'antiquité.

...Une chose qui témoigne encore de la fidélité [de ses copies]...c'est cette variété que l'on remarque entre ses différents tableaux, selon qu'ils appartiennent aux Ecole florentine, Romaine, Venitienne, etc., et qui décèle à la fois le bon goût et les talents utiles de l'artiste.⁸⁴

Artists and public shared a belief in the importance of exact similitude. Légaré described his copy of the Immaculate Conception as "un superbe TABLEAU D'EGLISE...d'une grande habilité d'exécution et d'une ressemblance parfaite avec l'original...."⁸⁵ Porter mentions that "En 1845, la fabrique de Chambly refusa un Saint Jean-Baptiste peint par Plamondon parce qu'il n'était nullement ressemblant au modèle qui lui avait été remis."⁸⁶

But the discourse on aesthetic quality is not the only one that appears in Quebec. Another kind of language is used as well, a language which has to do with the religious functions of painting. Art works served a variety of religious functions, of course. But one in particular that calls attention to itself in contemporary texts is that of

⁸⁴ Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862.

⁸⁵ Cited in Porter, p. 10.

⁸⁶ Lacasse, Antoine Plamondon: The Way of the Cross of the Church of Notre-Dame de Montreal, Montreal, 1983, p. 104, fn 184.

serving as stimulants to feelings of religious devotion. The use of art works as visualization aids in meditation, and in general as objects intended and used to stimulate affective emotional response in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been described and referred to by a number of writers.⁸⁷ In time the mainstreams of religious art flowed into other channels. But alongside their role in the rhetoric of the Baroque, (which depicted rather than provoked religious feelings) art works continued to serve this older function.⁸⁸ To find mention of such functions in connection with art works in Quebec churches is hardly surprising. The preservation here of older religious practices has often been remarked on.

An examination of texts describing religious paintings suggests that along with the dissemination of religious messages and the establishment of a devotional atmosphere,

⁸⁷ Among them, James Marrow, Barbara Lane, The Altar and the Altarpiece/Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting, New York, 1984; Michael Baxendall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy, Oxford, 1972.

⁸⁸ For example, The Practical Methode of Meditation, by the English Jesuit Edward Dawson (written in 1614) describes one of the stages of meditation as "an imagination of seeing the places where the thinges we meditate on were wrought, by imagining our selves to be really present at those places; which we must endeavour to represent so lively, as though we saw them indeed, with our corporall eyes; which to performe well, it will help us much to behould before-hande some Image wherein that mistery is well represented...", cited in Louis L. Martz, The Meditative Poem: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Verse, New York, 1963, p. 11.

art works were often expected to fulfill the more specific function referred to above. The Petit Manuel des Pèlerins au Calvaire du Lac des Deux Montagnes published in 1876 is an example:

...les tableaux furent descendus à l'Eglise de la Mission, où la piété et l'admiration peuvent encore les contempler aujourd'hui....Toutefois, en sauvant ces tableaux d'une ruine certaine, on ne voulut pas laisser vides les sept oratoires des Stations, et enlever aux fidèles, en faisant disparaître les images, ces moyens puissants d'exciter la piété et d'animer la ferveur...aujourd'hui, les tableaux apparaissent avec des décors nouveaux, qui, sans être de la haute peinture, sont toutefois bien plus dignes de fixer l'attention et plus capables d'exciter la prière.⁸⁹

Several of the entries for individual stations begin by calling the pilgrim's attention to the image. The second station begins:

Le tableau de cette Station représente le Divin Sauveur, les mains liées, et attaché lui-même à la colonne de la flagellation. Déjà son corps meurtri répand des flots de sang par mille blessures, et les bourreaux préparent de nouveaux paquets de verges, afin de le tourmenter encore."⁹⁰

The prayers, each of which begins with a description of the event, are intended to be said in front of a depiction of the scene.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Petit Manuel des Pèlerins au Calvaire du Lac des Deux Montagnes, Montreal, 1876, p. 112, reproduced in Porter & Trudel, pp. 111-116.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 113.

⁹¹ Yves Lacasse points out the difficulties involved when paintings of the Stations of the Cross did not correspond to the sequence of events in the meditation guides used by those who prayed the Stations of the Cross. He cites an example where paintings were rejected expressly for this reason: "En 1850, l'église Saint-Jean-Baptiste de

Such observations of course would apply equally to originals and copies. The point to be noted is the fact that the stress in ecclesiastical circles on older religious rather than romantic-modern criteria for judging art would likely have been a factor in permitting copies to enjoy the acceptance and prestige they did in nineteenth-century Quebec.⁹²

The distinctiveness of this functional approach to art is underscored when one compares Francophone texts with those written by Anglophone Protestant Quebecers. Plamondon's complaint that his history paintings had been ignored was, after all, made against the editor of the Quebec Mercury, an English paper. The Petit Manuel des Pèlerins au

Québec est curieusement en possession d'un chemin de croix importé d'Europe 'ne renfermant pas les mêmes sujets de la Passion que les collections ordinaires.' De ce fait, '(...) il s'est trouvé que les Exercices pour le chemin de la Croix, imprimés dans nos livres de prières, ne correspondent pas avec les tableaux, et, conséquemment, force a été de s'en procurer d'autres'," Le Journal de Québec, April 6, 1850, p. 2, cited in Yves Lacasse, Antoine Plamondon, p. 95, fn 66.

⁹² Plamondon's ready pen, in a letter to the Journal de Québec, explains how the good painting and the religiously effective painting are one and the same: "Un mauvais tableau peut-il instruire, édifier, orner à un point même très minime la maison de Dieu? ou, n'est-il plutôt une diffamation pour la majesté du lieu saint? C'est-ce que je vais essayer de prouver. Ensuite, je citerai un exemple pour démontrer que les bons tableaux sont l'ornement le plus magnifique, le plus majestueux, le plus noble, le plus instructif, le plus édifiant, enfin celui qui émeut le plus le coeur de l'homme,.... Ces mauvaises croûtes ne produisent aucun effet sur les âmes vraiment pieuses, elles sont donc nulles pour elles?" Feb. 23, 1850, cited *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Calvaire du Lac des Deux Montagnes contains a quotation from an English source which similarly ignores the question of religious function:

An editor of the Star, a man of intelligence and taste, recently said of these pictures of which we are speaking: "Should one make a journey to Lac des Deux-Montagnes only to see the canvasses held in the Church of this little mission, one should not regret the journey; they are, in fact, some of the most beautiful pictures that Canada possesses."⁹³

The fact that the writer's interest is purely aesthetic is not surprising if one remembers that Anglican and Protestant churches in Canada contained little in the way of religious paintings or sculpture.⁹⁴ As Porter points out, later Canadian art historians seems to have followed the lead of Gerard Morisset in their disparagement of the copy.⁹⁵ Nevertheless one cannot help but wonder if a lack of (personal) familiarity with the practice of having

⁹³ Cited in the Petit Manuel des Pélerins, Porter and Trudel, The Calvary of Oka, pp. 111-112. For a Francophone account showing a contrasting implicit and explicit appreciation of the religious qualities of art works, combined with a fairly typical mainstream European response privileging expressivity with respect to character and narrative content, see "Un Amateur, 'Exposition de peinture. - La passion de S.N. Jésus-Christ, en 14 tableaux de 8 pieds sur 5, par M. Antoine Plamondon,'" Le Canadien, Dec. 6, 1839, p. 2, reproduced in Lacasse, Antoine Plamondon, pp. 84-90.

⁹⁴ Much Anglican church decoration followed the 18th century pattern: scriptural quotations painted on the walls; Royal arms; the Creed, the Our Father and the Ten Commandments decorating the altar; possibly stained or painted glass windows. John Poad Drake's copy of Leonardo's Last Supper in the first Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal was an exception.

⁹⁵ Porter, 1984, p. 2.

religious paintings in churches to fulfill religious functions is related to the neglect this kind of painting has suffered at the hands of Canada's English (Protestant) art historians.⁹⁶

But times were changing. The functional religious copy was not the only kind to be found in Quebec. Despite the complaints of Falardeau's supporters that his works were being neglected, he sold a large number of paintings on his trips to Quebec in 1862 and 1882. The newspaper reports of the auction sales in both Quebec and Montreal in 1862 and 1882 indicate that a slightly larger number of paintings were bought by Anglophones, despite the fact that neglect by Anglophones was another complaint which was raised in

⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that as late as 1927, Georges Bellerive, in his Artistes-Peintres Canadiens-français, speaks of copies in the same breath as originals, and with evident appreciation, as in such statements as "Chez Mme. Letarte, de Neuville, on peut voir une superbe copie de La Vierge à la Chaise," p. 2. Religious copies were still being produced in Quebec in the 20th century, for example those made by Sister Jerome de la Croix, S.N.J.M. for the chapel of her order's mother house in Outremont, Montreal. Frances Allison, SNJM, She Who Believed in Tomorrow, p. 11. For a study of the copying activities of the soeurs du Bon-Pasteur of Quebec which continued as late as 1960, see Lise Drolet, "L'atelier des soeurs du Bon-Pasteur de Québec: cent ans de peinture religieuse," Questions d'art Québécois, Cahiers du CELAT, No.6 (Feb., 1987), pp. 189-220. Contrast Bellerive with Russell Harper, who says of Ozias Leduc that he "was forced to earn his living from decorative painting." Painting in Canada, Toronto [1966], 1977 p. 220. But Dennis Reid, writing later, recognizes "the traditional Québec union of art and religion." A Concise History of Canadian Painting, Toronto, 1975, p. 112.

newspaper accounts).⁹⁷ But there were nonetheless many Francophone buyers. These French and English members of the professional and merchant classes were the people who supported the small but vigorous cultural life of the capital. As collectors they bought art works for much the same reasons as their counterparts in the United States and Europe, as objects of beauty and cultural significance.

⁹⁷ Janet Brooke, Curator of Nineteenth Century Art at the MMFA/MBAM, states that Anglophones outnumbered Francophone collectors in Montreal by a considerable margin in the late 1800s (Personal communication to the author). James Le Moine's L'Album du Touriste, Quebec, 1872, lists twenty-one "tableaux de prix" in private collections in Quebec. Seventeen are copies, 12 of them by Falardeau. The collectors named are W.D. Young, Beniah Gibb, Jos. Cauchon, George Okill Stuart and the Abbé Casgrain.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRACTISE OF THE OLD MASTER COPY IN FLORENCE

This chapter will describe the milieu in which the copies were produced, the people who bought or commissioned them, the artists who produced them, the structures that governed and organized their production, buying, and selling, and the copies themselves.

The Socio-political Conditions

The Florence that Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau found himself in in late 1846 or early 1847 was a comfortable, prosperous, clean, cheap,¹ and crime-free (and beggar-free) city, and one that enjoyed a humane, tolerant government and a salubrious climate. "An oasis of peace and modest well-being," one commentator on nineteenth-century Florence has called it."² The American artist James de Veaux, who

¹ References to the low cost of living in Florence in the first half of the century are frequent. Susan Augusta Fenimore Cooper, wife of James Fenimore Cooper wrote from Florence to her father April 9, 1829: "Florence is the cheapest place we have lived in, since being in Europe..." Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper, vol. 1, Nathalia Wright, ed., Freeport, New York, 1971, p.163. Henry James wrote: "The villas are innumerable,...Most of them are offered to rent (many of them for sale) at prices unnaturally low; you may have a tower and a garden, a chapel and an expanse of thirty windows, for five hundred dollars a year;" cited in Toby Cole, Portraits of Places, New York, 1948, p. 195.

² Giuliana Artom Treves, The Golden Ring, London, 1956, p. 20. Giuseppe Prezzolini in his account of American travellers in Italy, describes the attractions of Tuscany: "La vita abbastanza libera che vi si conduceva, la naturale pulizia e il garbo degli abitanti, la scioltezza e

arrived in Florence in late 1841 or early 1842 observed with Yankee directness: "It is better to be a doorkeeper in

ricchezza della lingua, la naturalezza e spigliatezza onesta delle donne rimasero impresse in molti. La Toscana granducale faceva un grande effetto per chi arrivava dagli Stati del Papa, o sbarcava a Livorno proveniente da Napoli. L'attività della regione, la bella agricoltura, il gusto artistico davano un sentimento di sollievo. Non più visioni di popolazioni miserabili e pensierose come nella Campagna Romana, o stranamente rumerose e vociferanti nella via per un nonnulla come Napoli; ma l'animazione d'un popolo civile e razionale....Anche la mendicizia era regolata, non permessa che in certi giorni e in certi luoghi; per le strade probita." (Come gli americani scoprirono l'Italia, Bologna, 1971, p. 155). The virtually inexhaustible literature that flowed from the pens of travellers and expatriates from the United States, England, and elsewhere supplies the details of the blessings enumerated by Prezzolini. Thomas Adolphus Trollope, brother of Anthony and son of the writer Frances Trollope, who lived in Florence from 1843 until c. 1888 recalls the safety and prosperity of the first half of the century : "I have mentioned...the very remarkable absence of all crimes of violence ...It was not due to rigorous repression or vigilance of the police....There was, in fact, no police that merited the name. But anything in the nature of burglary was unheard of. The streets were so absolutely safe that any lady might have traversed them alone at any hour of the day or night." (What I Remember, New York, 1888, p. 404). Trollope's assessments are in substance repeated by modern historians. See for example, Harry Hearder's Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento (London, 1983). Of the Tuscans Trollope remarks that: "...they were eating more and better there [than in other parts of Italy]. They were very lightly taxed. The mezzeria system of agriculture [also called mezzadria, a system in which the peasant kept half the proceeds of his labour]...rendered the lot of the peasant population very far better and more prosperous than that of the tillers of the earth in any of the other provinces. And, upon the whole, the people were contented....and had no craving whatsoever for those few special liberties which were denied them." What I Remember, p. 405.

the palace of the Grand Duke, than dwell in the White House forever."³

The House of Lorraine, a junior line of the Hapsburgs, had ruled Tuscany since the death of the last, childless, Medici, Gian Gastone, in 1737. The Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo whose rule from 1765 until 1790⁴ had been a model of Enlightenment tolerance, had left a legacy of reform and good government that still informed the benevolent if less dynamic reign of his grandson, the mild-mannered Grand Duke Leopold II, who ascended the throne in 1824.⁵ Florence and Rome were the cities preferred by most long-term and semi-permanent visitors in the early and mid-nineteenth century, and both were invariably visited by tourists even on short journeys. Some preferred the headier, more picturesque atmosphere of Rome. Others chose the more comfortable and ordered atmosphere of Florence.

Even in the 1840s when it was evident that the "revolutionary leaven was working in Tuscany"⁶ there was never in Florence the strength and bitterness of revolutionary feeling that existed almost everywhere else

³ Cited in C. Edwards Lester, The Artists of America: A Series of Biographical Sketches of American Artists, [1846] New York, 1970, p. 185.

⁴ In that year he ascended the Hapsburg imperial throne as Emperor Leopold II.

⁵ Harry Hearder, Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento 1790-1870, p.70.

⁶ Thomas Adolphus Trollope, What I Remember, p. 405.

in Italy. At the time of Falardeau's arrival King Carlo Alberto ruled the Kingdom of Piedmont Savoy in the north of Italy and part of what is now France; Lombardy was under Austrian rule, as were to one degree or other the duchies of Modena and Parma, and less directly, Tuscany; Venice was in Austrian hands; in the centre of Italy the Papal States were ruled by the pope, while in the south the Spanish Bourbons ruled the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The chronic political ferment of the first half of the nineteenth century culminated in the unsuccessful uprisings of 1848 in Sicily, Sardinia, Venice, Savoy, the Papal States and Lombardy, but not in Tuscany where the Grand Duke had managed to keep pace of a sort with his subjects' demands for reform, and where, especially in Florence,⁷ a pacific national character and tradition resulted in a general disinclination towards violence on all sides.

But the restoration of Austrian power after the events of 1848 was not to be permanent. Towards the end of the 1850s the tide turned in favour of the forces of liberation and unity. With the help of Napoleon III, Savoy wrested Northern Italy (apart from Venice) from Austria. Most of the papal states were annexed in 1860. In the same year Garibaldi brought in Sicily, and Italy was now united except for Venice and papal Rome. Florence was declared

⁷ Revolutionary feeling was more fervent in the port city of Livorno.

the new capital in 1864/65, only to lose that status in 1871 after Garibaldi took Rome.

The foreign community's response to these events tended to take the form of one of two extremes. Some English and American residents were intensely involved in Italian liberal political activity, for example, the American writer and intellectual Margaret Fuller, and in Florence, Elizabeth Barret Browning and the other English residents who founded the Tuscan Atheneum, the weekly English newspaper begun there in 1847.⁸ Others however, either ignored the political scene, or looked on as though at a performance. The American sculptor Harriet Hosmer, who lived in Rome for fifty years described Garibaldi's arrival thus:

Rome belongs no more to the dear old gentleman with the Tiara!!!...I, skeptical to the last, as one always is who has heard of a possibility for eighteen years, would not credit the fact that the Italians were really coming, though they were outside the gates....we had the full benefit of the noise and of the cannon balls too, as I found when I attempted to see a little of the fun outside my own walls....After just five and a half hours, the cannonading ceased and Rome became Italian. We can scarcely believe it....How many times I have thanked my

⁸ The paper ran for a year. Its editorial, "A Word to those Elderly Ladies of both Sexes who are afraid of coming into Tuscany, because it is in a state of revolution," informing the fearful that "We have an enlightened prince, who, working with his people heart and hand, is himself the head and captain of our revolution:" illustrates the ardour of the "politicized" foreigner and the euphoria that characterized this earlier phase of the era of political change. Vol. 1, No. 2, Nov. 6, 1847, p. 18.

stars that I was here / I wouldn't have missed it for the world.⁹

British interest was perhaps higher than American. The often held American perception of Italian political structures as hopelessly antiquated may have fostered in some an inability to take Italian politics seriously. Of Americans, Prezzolini says:

La vita politica italiana di questo periodo non poteva interessare molto i viaggiatori americani....Quando si manifestavano in forma violenta, di rivoluzioni e di guerre rappresentavano piuttosto una curiosità e servivano a dare una pennellata di colore local...¹⁰

Of more interest to visitors were Florence's art treasures. Though agriculture was the mainstay of the Tuscan economy, cultural tourism then as now was an important source of income and prestige. The copies produced by the artists assembled with their easels in front of the great works of art in the Uffizi and the Pitti Palace were viewed as part of the cultural matrix that drew the foreigners. The Marquis Luca Bourbon Del Monte, director of the Florentine state galleries, and an individual keenly aware of the importance of the copying industry, referred to it as "...una gran sorgento di guadagno e d'artistica

⁹ Letter to Wayman Crow, Sept. 21, 1870, Rome, Harriet Hosmer: Letters and Memories, New York, 1912, pp. 283-284.

¹⁰. Prezzolini, p. 109.

industria".¹¹ The attractions of the art works were enhanced by a round of receptions and conversazioni provided by the grand-ducal court and designed to make visitors feel welcome, and disposed to spend. Memoirs and travel accounts abound with descriptions of these social events,¹² which were of course separate from a more private and exclusive round, and the ease with which one acquired access to them. The informative Thomas Adolphus Trollope points out the role of the diplomatic community in this social network. Commenting on the matter of invitations to the grand-ducal receptions he explains that:

Generally, in such societies in foreign capitals, a fruitful source of jealousy and discord is found in the necessary selection of those to be presented at the court of the reigning sovereign. But this, as far as I remember, was avoided in those halcyon days by the simple expedient of presenting all who desired it.

When Mr. Hamilton became British minister [Sir George Baillie Hamilton, minister plenipotentiary to

¹¹ AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No. 8, alcuni osservazioni sul Progetto di obbligare i copiatori della Galleria Palatina a fare le loro copie in dimensioni diverse dagli Originale," Jan. 18, 1851. Anna Maria Luisa, the last of the Medici, and the person to whom Florence owed her public ownership of the Medici treasures, had been aware of their value in attracting travellers. In 1743 she had bequeathed the family art treasures not to the sovereign of the new reigning house, Pietro Leopoldo of Lorraine, but to the city of Florence "as an ornament of the State, for the utility of the public and to attract the curiosity of foreigners." cited in Uffizi Florence, New York, 1968, p. 13.

¹² And not only in Florence. At Bagni di Lucca, the spa near Florence popular with the English community (and where Falardeau went c. 1848 in the hope no doubt of getting portrait commissions), the state provided a gambling casino for the entertainment of visitors. The duchy of Lucca had been annexed to Tuscany in 1847.

Tuscany 1846 to 1850], it was announced that his intention was, for the avoiding of all trouble and jealousy on the subject, to adhere strictly to the proper and recognized rule. He would present everybody and anybody who had been presented at home, and nobody who had not been so presented. And he commenced his administration on these lines, and the grand duke's receptions at the Pitti became notably weeded. But this had not gone on for more than two or three weeks before it was whispered in the minister's ear that the grand duke would be pleased if he were less strict in the matter of his presentations. "Oh", said Hamilton, "that's what he wants! A la bonne heure! He shall have them all, rag, tag, and bobtail." And so we returned to the Saturnia regna of "the good old times" and the duke was credibly reported to have said that he kept the worst drawing-room in Europe. But of course, his highness was thinking of the pockets of his liege Florentine letters of apartments and tradesmen, and was anxious only to make his city a favorite place of resort for the gold-bringing foreigners from that distant and barbarous western isle. The pope, you see, had the pull in the matter of gorgeous Church ceremonies, but he couldn't have the fertilizing barbarians dancing in the Vatican once a week!¹³

Trollope's memories were warmed by the glow of nostalgia, but his descriptions are confirmed by others¹⁴. The

¹³ T.A. Trollope, What I Remember, p. 345. Once an invitation had been issued, the recipient was welcome indefinitely.

¹⁴ Trollope's near-contemporary, the American scholar George Ticknor, speaks in the 1830s of a ball at the Pitti Palace: "...Any strangers who are presented to him by their ministers may come whenever a ball occurs, without further invitation, but Tuscans come only as they are specially invited....About half past eight the Grand Duke and Duchess, with their Court, came in, all dressed simply....They passed round the room, and the strangers were presented to them, to the number, I should think, of sixty or seventy....The Grand Duke made some conversation with us, talked about the dress of ladies in America, about steamboats crossing the Atlantic, and seemed quite willing to be agreeable, though he was certainly awkward in his efforts,...After the presentations were over the dancing began, and the Duke and Duchess danced nearly every time. A part of the company went into four or five small rooms near the principal one, and lounged or played cards; and

upheavals of the late forties and fifties brought less turbulence to Tuscany than to most other parts of Italy, but something of the idyllic quality of the days described in those memoirs disappeared as the political situation took on a grimmer aspect. The Grand Duke had brought in reforms.¹⁵ But with the liberal take-over of the Tuscan government in 1848-49, he feared (probably groundlessly) for his safety and left Tuscany. His restoration in 1848 under armed Austrian protection (which remained as an occupying army causing serious drain on the Tuscan economy) and the subsequent imposition of reactionary measures caused a breach between himself and his subjects that was

between eleven and twelve a larger room was opened, with refreshments, but no regular supper. Soon after midnight the Court disappeared, and we were at home before one o'clock." (Life Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, vol. II, Boston, 1876, p. 54). Some got more to eat at a grand-ducal ball than Ticknor. N. Parker Willis enjoyed "...a table loaded with everything rare and luxurious, [including] a brace or two of pheasants" flavoured with truffles and accompanied with Rhine wine." (Pencillings by the Way, Auburn, Mass., 1853, p. 333). Giuliana Artom Treves in her book on the British community in Florence, observes that "Certainly Florence was easy with her guests and open-armed, asking no questions or credentials,...In the matter of hospitality the Grand Duke was the first to close an eye." She reports the anecdote about the English nobleman indignant at finding his tailor at a grand-ducal social function: "Qu'importe...[replied Leopold] They are all welcome if they come to spend at Florence what they have earned from you in London.", The Golden Ring, London, 1956, p. 21.

¹⁵ A civic guard had been instituted in 1847, a constitution granted, and Tuscan volunteer troops had gone to the aid of the Piedmontese army in its unsuccessful attempt to drive the Austrians from Lombardy.

not to be healed.¹⁶ The peaceful "rose-water revolution" of 1859¹⁷ and the melancholy final departure of Leopold are described by Trollope:

...perhaps the most remarkable and most singular scene of all that rose-water revolution was the duke's departure from his capital and his duchy. Other sovereigns in similar plight have hidden themselves, travestied themselves, had hairbreadth escapes, or have not escaped at all. In Tuscany the fallen ruler went forth in his own carriage, with one other following it, both rather heavily laden with luggage."¹⁸

Tourism was affected by the political upheavals and ensuing economic changes, and after unification, by the absence of the grand-ducal social round. Falardeau told a visitor in 1877 that high prices caused visitors to spend only two to three weeks in Florence compared with the long stays of the grand-ducal era.¹⁹ But the Florentine art works continued to exercise their attraction, and visitors came, looked, painted and bought. The Italian atmosphere

¹⁶ See Harry Hearder, Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento 1790-1870, and Edgar Holt, The Making of Italy (New York, 1971) for summaries of the events of the period. Regina Soria's introduction to her Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century American Artists in Italy: 1760-1914, (Rutherford, N.J., 1982) describes the interaction of visiting and resident artists within the social and political context of nineteenth-century Italy.

¹⁷ "On the first day of the war [between Piedmont and Austria] a working-class demonstration in Florence had persuaded the Grand Duke Leopold II to leave for Vienna. Subsequently an upper-class group, dominated by Baron Ricasoli, had assumed control in Tuscany and had declared their readiness for union with Piedmont." Hearder, Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, p. 225.

¹⁸ T.A. Trollope, What I Remember, p. 423.

¹⁹ Gustave Drolet, Zouaviana, Montreal, 1898, p. 192.

had a way of loosening purses hitherto closed to art. William Cullen Bryant's observation on Rome no doubt applied to Florence too:

It is remarkable that [the visiting American artists] find Rome a better place for obtaining orders from their own countrymen than any of the American cities. Men who would never have thought of buying a picture or a statue at home, are infected by the contagion of the place the moment they arrive. No talk of the money market here; no discussion of any public measure; no conversation respecting new enterprises, and the ebb and flow of trade; no price current, except of marble and canvas; all the talk is of art and artists. The rich man who, at home, is contented with mirrors and rosewood, is here initiated into a new set of ideas, gets a taste, and orders a bust, a little statue of Eve, a Ruth, or a Rebecca, and half a dozen pictures, for his luxurious rooms in the United States.²⁰

The buying of copies of course was only one of the cultural activities engaged in by the tourist. There were the museums and churches to look at, the studios of contemporary artists to visit, and perhaps a sitting for a portrait, and in some cases the visitor might try her own hand at copying. But the buying of copies was a widely practised activity. Copies were available in many cities where there were both important art works and tourists. Florence enjoyed a special preeminence as a centre for copyists, partly because of the many famous paintings conveniently located in the two main galleries, the Uffizi and the grand-ducal residence, the Pitti Palace, and partly

²⁰ Letters of a Traveller, 1859, cited in Van Wyck Brooks, Travelers in Arcadia: American Artists in Italy, New York, 1958, p. 12.

because of the systematic encouragement the practice received from the authorities.

The Market for the Copies

Those who bought the copies comprised a range of types that can be categorized on the basis of wealth, social class, cultural sophistication, and on whether or not the buyer was purchasing for himself or for an institution, with yet another category consisting of those who stayed at home and commissioned copies from young artists leaving on European study tours.

At the lower end of the economic scale were those travellers of modest income, wall space, and cultural aspirations, who might buy one or two copies. Tourists, and not only the less affluent among them, also bought prints and after the mid 1850s, photographs of art works.²¹

²¹ From 1850 on, with the introduction of wet plate collodion and albumen prints, photography became increasingly important in supplying tourists in Italy not only with the immensely popular architectural photographs, but with reproductions of art works as well. The Roman photographer Pietro Dovizielli "was awarded a bronze medal at the Paris Exposition of 1867 for his large photographic reproductions of paintings by Raphael and others." (Wendy M. Watson, Images of Italy Photography in the Nineteenth Century, South Hadley, Mass., 1980, p. xiii). The firm founded by Giacomo Brogi in Florence in the late 1850s was "particularly noted for its reproductions of paintings." (Ibid., p. xiv). The Alinari brothers were photographing art works in the Uffizi at least by 1860 (AGF, 1860, Filza LXXXIV, No. 51). In Rome, Watson says, "Tommaso Cuccioni and Giuseppe Ninci, ... were well-known for their elephantine panoramas of the Colosseum, the Roman Forum and St. Peter's. These six-foot wide views were made from two or three large glass negatives and were the most popular

Further up the scale one could find both the thoughtful collector who bought some originals, buying copies only where originals of highly valued works were not for sale, and the philistine described by Regina Soria:

The lowly but well-heeled tourist who came to Rome for three days, and who during this time managed to purchase a score of copies of Old Masters, to pose for a bust and have a full portrait of himself painted...²²

A typical collector, as Lillian Miller describes him, might have bought some copies, some partial attributions, a few original works of less important painters, and one or two really good works by important masters.²³

Though it is no doubt true that the nineteenth-century Old Master copy depended essentially on the middle class, it is evident from the fairly numerous requests for copying permissions arising out of commissions from members of the nobility that the aristocracy constituted a substantial market for copies.²⁴ Falardeau copied for the Duke of

product of their shops, according to Murray's Guide of 1881." (Ibid., p. xiii)

²² Regina Soria, Elihu Vedder: American Visionary Artist in Rome (1836-1923), Cranbury, N.J., 1970, p. 87.

²³ Miller, Patrons and Patriots, p. 147. See also p. 103.

²⁴ Riecke van Leeuwen in her study of Netherlandish copyists, Kopieren in Florence: kunstenaars uit de Lage Landen in Toscane en de 19de-eeuwse kunstreis naar Italie (Florence, 1985) mentions copies commissioned for or bought by the Duchesse de Berry, 1836 (p. 57), Princess Marianna of the Netherlands, 1854 (p. 139) and Prince Hendrik, 1823 (p. 145).

Mecklenbourg Schwerin²⁵, and according to Casgrain, sold works to the Grand Duchess Olga of Russia, and according to Emile Falardeau, to Prince Murat.²⁶

Yet the conventional newly rich and the old-fashioned old rich did not between them cover the market. Old master copies were also bought by people of elevated cultural status, particularly earlier in the century. James Fenimore Cooper speaks of the copies Samuel Morse was painting for him, as "...capital pictures,...among them a Rembrandt and a Teniers."²⁷ Major patrons bought copies. The American sculptor Horatio Greenough wrote to the Baltimore patron and collector, shipping merchant Robert Gilmore, Jr. (1774-1848), April 25, 1830:

I have by me a fine copy of a celebrated landscape of Salvator's which was made by a nephew of the famous Sabatelli. I gave only \$10 for this picture and was yesterday offered double my money by an American gentleman - Mr Peale borrowed it of me to finish a copy which he had commenced, of the same picture - I shall enclose it to you and if on the sight of it you overcome your aversion to copies far enough to pay me what I gave for it, it shall be yours-"²⁸.

People like these, of course, had taste to guide them, unlike the unfortunates in the (possibly apocryphal)

²⁵ AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No. 57.

²⁶ Misidentified as the Dowager Empress of Russia (Casgrain, p. 31) and Prince Joachim Murat (E. Falardeau, p. 88).

²⁷ Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper, Freeport, N.Y., 1971, p. 274. See also pp. 292-293.

²⁸ Letters of Horatio Greenough, Madison, Wisc., 1972, p. 57.

anecdote of the stereotypical American tourist told to William Cullen Bryant in Rome in 1853:

There is an occupation at Rome which, if I may judge from what I have seen and learned since I came here, meets with a very liberal encouragement from strangers - I mean the copying of old pictures. A great part of this, performed by native artists who make it their profession, is the merest and easiest journey-work. An American, the other day, bought a whole gallery of these copies, so ill-executed, I was told, that scarce anybody here would have allowed them to remain in his sight.²⁹

And even the better class of copy found its disparagers. Horatio Greenough (1805-52), who lived most of his working life in Florence wrote to the painter Washington Allston, referring it would seem to the professional Italian copyists rather than to the visiting foreign artists who did copying commissions:

I have lately received a letter from Mr. Brimmer in which he asks the expense of having copies made from the old masters here - I mentioned to him the prices stating at the same time my opinion that any copies made by the "craft" of Florence or Rome would in point of colour be no better perhaps worse (for they would mislead young artists) than prints while in drawing etc. they would hardly equal - I said thus much because I felt it my duty. You will agree with me in thinking it impossible that the youthful painters can study or the dilettanti stare with much profit at such caricatures of Titian & Paul as come from the dead palettes of the Italians of today.³⁰

Those who were commissioned to buy copies for institutions such as the new museums opening in the United

²⁹. Letters of William Cullen Bryant, New York, 1964, p. 297.

³⁰ Greenough to Washington Allston, Florence, April 18, 1829. Letters of Horatio Greenough / American Sculptor, [1887], New York, 1970, p. 45.

States were often artists themselves. But their choices might have reflected less their own tastes than the need to amass a representative collection. The American painter John Vanderlyn came to Europe with a salary of \$500 a year and a generous purse thanks to the seventy-nine individuals who subscribed fifty dollars each to buy copies for the American Academy of Arts, which was founded in 1802. Vanderlyn bought the established names and famous paintings that such an institution would have wanted: Raphael, Correggio, Domenichino, Titian, Caravaggio (Entombment), Rubens, Poussin, Rembrandt, Veronese (Feast in the House of Levi), and Paul Potter.³¹ Egerton Ryerson too planned to buy a representative selection, choosing, like Noah, two examples from each school.

The Example of Egerton Ryerson

Ryerson did not have Vanderlyn's expertise. But he made up for it by an extraordinarily conscientious application to the task of buying the copies for his museum project. His letters to his Deputy Superintendent in the Education Department, John George Hodgins, give us a rather full idea of what a buyer might have done, though one doubts that all purchasers would have gone through all the steps that

³¹ Lillian Miller, Patrons and Patriotism, p. 91. According to Miller, Vanderlyn believed the Potter "would attract crowds to see it at half a dollar a head."

Ryerson did. His program outlines the langue, so to speak, of copy buying.

Ryerson's adventures as a buyer of copies shall detain us at some length. The information he provides sheds considerable light both on the buying of copies and on a unique institution in the annals of Canadian culture, the Educational Museum in the Normal School in Toronto. Ryerson bought 236 paintings by 144 artists, all but a handful copies, as well as nearly 1000 plaster casts, along with a multitude of other items³² for the museum which opened in 1857.

When he left for Europe, Ryerson's intention had been to collect objects for what he envisioned as primarily a museum of natural history specimens and examples of such things as agricultural implements. In Paris where he, his daughter Sofia, and the latter's young lady companion,³³ arrived in the Fall of 1855 his attention was still in great measure taken up by the non-art works he was intent upon buying at the Paris Exposition.³⁴ But encouragement

³² American museums of this type, sometimes combining natural history with art works had been founded in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Miller, Patrons and Patriots.

³³ Sofia's companion is mentioned in "The Story of My Life," by the late Rev. Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D, John George Hodgins, ed., Toronto, 1883, p. 366.

³⁴ United Church Archives, Victoria University Library, University of Toronto, Roll 3, Ryerson Letters from 1847-1856, Egerton Ryerson to John George Hodgins, Sept. 12, 1855, Paris.

and advice from old acquaintances Chief Justice of Upper Canada, Sir John Beverley Robinson (1791-1863), and the latter's son-in-law, Capt. John Henry Lefroy, (1817-1890) as well as from others such as the Earl and Countess of Grey³⁵ led him to speculate enthusiastically on the prospect of an art collection:

I have received a long & excellent letter from Capt. Lefroy on taking measures to encourage & promote a taste for the fine arts in Upper Canada, by commencing a collection of paintings (copies) & statuary - one or two paintings of each school, & some statues & busts - in Plaster of course - such as have been proposed/proffered for the Sydenham Palace. I think I shall go to London next week, & confer with Capt. Lefroy more fully on the subject, & procure & order all that we may get from London, & then return to the Continent. But I do not wish to leave Paris until I have observed & selected all that I think advisable in the Exhibition, which (sic) I go from day to day, as regularly as I go to the office while at home. Every time I go I see new objects & become more conscious how little I know of the whole exhibition.³⁶

In London, and encouraged further by Lefroy and others, Ryerson committed himself to the idea of a collection of copies, and on his return to Paris began to buy in earnest. Over the next ten months he made purchases in eight cities. Of all these, he found Florence by far the best place for buying copies, distinctly better than Rome in this regard. In Italy he also visited Bologna. Of the more Northern cities, he rated Antwerp higher than Paris, Frankfurt, Munich, and Brussels: "The collections of copies here are

³⁵ Egerton Ryerson, "The Story of My Life", p. 516.

³⁶ United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 5, 188, Antwerp.

much much larger & the prices more moderate than I had expected," he remarks in his letter to Hodgins.³⁷ In Antwerp he examined copies in the Cathedral, in museums and in studios:

...of the Flemish School of Painting, here are the chief d'oeuvres of the Great Masters such as Q. Matsys, Rubens, Van Dyck etc.; and there a large number of artists are constantly employed in copying them for sale. I saw today no less than seven copies (for sale) of Rubens great painting Descent from the Cross.³⁸

Writing next from Frankfurt he adds that:

...the copies of Paul Veronese, Raphael & Guido de Reni, that I purchased in Antwerp are far superior to any that I have seen today in the Frankfurt Museum & better than any I saw in Paris....while the copies I got of Flemish, Dutch & German Masters are the best I have seen anywhere.³⁹

Two weeks later, in Munich, he relates:

To my disappointment I find objects of art dearer here than at Paris or in Belgium. Statuary is cheaper in Paris than here; & paintings & copies of celebrated Masters are cheaper in Belgium than here....I am now more gratified than ever at the cheap & advantageous purchases I have made at Antwerp - finding that the prices of the same pictures are much higher in Cologne, Frankfurt & Munich than at Antwerp.⁴⁰

³⁷ United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 5, 1855, Antwerp.

³⁸ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 5, 1855, Antwerp. He adds: "The prices varied from 12 pounds Sterling to 80 pounds. I also saw admirable copies of two of Van Dyke's master-pieces. I shall be able to get them for some 10 pounds each. I shall see them tomorrow. I think after having seen and examined & compared them all, as well as I can, as to both quality & price, I shall make a selection."

³⁹ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 18, 1855, Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Munich, Dec. 23, 1855, Munich.

Ryerson had at one point decided not to go as far as Italy, intending, he told Hodgins "to dispense with those copies of Italian Paintings which I cannot purchase on this side of the Alps."⁴¹ However in Munich he met an old Russian friend with whom he had "travelled on the Continent ten years ago", and who, he relates:

says I can scarcely form an idea of the facilities with which I can purchase any objects of art I may desire, either at Florence or Rome-especially at Rome.⁴²

The advice was good. Jan. 17, he wrote from Florence to Hodgins, saying: "I am very glad I came to Italy as my collection otherwise would have been so defective as to have proved unsatisfactory, if not a failure."⁴³

But it was Florence, not Rome, that proved to be the gold mine:

Here I found everything more favourable than I had anticipated....as regards copies of the Great Masters of successive periods, the prices, & facilities of transmitting these directly to New York at the rate of

⁴¹. Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 23, 1855, Munich. He continues "I propose to limit my further journey to Leipzig, Dresden & Berlin - the former for books, & the two latter for objects of art....I have reluctantly given up Vienna & Italy. In Vienna I had a reason to expect some handsome contributions from the Government. In Italy I had hoped to give full effect to the suggestions of Col. Lefroy, & do much more. But I have already gone far beyond what he proposed. What he proposed in regard to Statuary was nothing in comparison of what I have purchased & shall purchase."

⁴² Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 31, 1855, Munich.

⁴³ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 17, 1856, Florence.

about nine dollars inclusive of incidental charges.⁴⁴ The beauty of some of the paintings I shall get is beyond anything I have yet seen. There is also beautiful Statuary here very cheap.⁴⁵

Rome, in fact, was something of a disappointment: "The first day I was quite disappointed & thought I would get nothing in Rome, as the copies appeared...inferior in quality & higher in price than in Florence..."⁴⁶ He did find works he wanted to buy, but concludes:

The Collection of Paintings, with the exception of a few chef d'oeuvres, are incomparably superior in Florence than in Rome, & the copies better & cheaper. I buy no copies in Rome except those which are necessary to my purpose, & which can only be obtained in Rome."⁴⁷

Copies of certain paintings, it would seem, were available in cities other than those where the originals were located. The fact that Ryerson had planned to form his collection without visiting Italy suggests he expected to find an adequate selection of copies of the important

⁴⁴ Ryerson makes several references to the shipping of the copies. From Frankfurt, he wrote to Hodgins on Dec. 18, 1855: "Had it not been for the great expense of freight, I would have had them all shipped by the Government Mail steamer which is to start for New York the 29th of this month, but as it is, I have arranged to send some twenty or thirty, (embracing several of the largest) paintings by the Steamer ("Belgique", I believe), so that you will receive them about the 14th of February. The rest will be sent by the first sailing ship, & will not reach you before Spring. Ibid.,

⁴⁵ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 17, 1856, Florence.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 30, 1856, Rome.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Feb. 18, 1856, Rome.

Italian works north of the Alps.⁴⁸ However in some cases he seems to imply that copies were available only in the cities where the originals hung. He remarks that:

At Bologna I obtained copies of Francia, the Carraccis & Domenichino, whose chef d'oeuvres exist only at Bologna, & copies of whose works are essential to an exhibition of Italian art.⁴⁹

With respect to the marketing of copies, Ryerson's comments in his letter from Frankfurt makes one wonder if copies were not kept sometimes for long periods of time:" I have had all cleaned...that required it, new frames made for all that were without frames, & old frames repaired & regilded, as needed."⁵⁰ Or would the fact that some of the paintings he bought in Antwerp seem to have been sixteenth and seventeenth century works⁵¹ account for the decrepitude of the frames?

⁴⁸ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 23, 1855, Munich.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 17, 1856, Florence.

⁵⁰ E.R. to G.H., Dec. 18, 1855, Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

⁵¹ "But many that I have....are affirmed to be originals, & declared by artists & men of taste & integrity in Antwerp. But I bought them at the price of copies - early copies - & so I represent them." (United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 18, 1855, Frankfurt-on-the-Main). See Fern Bayer, pp. 17-18 & 35-57. In his Jan. 25, 1856, partially illegible letter to Hodgins from Florence, he seems to imply that he has bought older copies of Raphael: "...some of the best pictures I bought; especially two Raphaels (the one a copy by Julius Romano & the other by Sassoferato. A copy of Raphael by either of those....would sell here for L500." Does this mean that he bought copies of Julio Romano and Sassoferato replicas or versions of works by Raphael? Or is he implying he has actually bought copies by these artists?

In Antwerp Ryerson remarks that the off-season prices are lower: "This is the best season for buying paintings cheap here. Many Americans & others who have visited the Paris Exhibition have come here & bought paintings."⁵² A week later he writes:

As I am the only purchaser of these [copies] in Antwerp (that is from Abroad) I am sought for in every direction & by every person who wishes to sell paintings. I have usually placed my own value on [.illeg..] for the objects I had in view, after having heard the prices demanded, (&) in some instances I have bought for just half the price at first demanded.⁵³

He continues:

As a general rule I believe from what I am told that I have bought ...paintings for at least one third less than similar ones were sold a few months since; but all say it is more the dead season & there is no hope of selling any Paintings before next Summer.⁵⁴

While in London Ryerson had been provided with contacts.

In his letters from Rome he mentions that:

Lady Grey [aunt of Lord Grey] is going around with us to several Studios and other places, where she knows that there are good copies. I have also met with other persons who can give me all needful information on these matters....Among other Letters of Introduction, I had one to Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State, or rather "the King of Rome,"⁵⁵ as he is called....He told me that any Objects of which I wished to get a copy I need only let him know, and permission should be given immediately. I

⁵² United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 5, 1855, Antwerp.

⁵³ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 12, 1855, Antwerp.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 12, 1855, Antwerp. He notes that "Thousands of Paintings are bought here annually from England & the United States."

⁵⁵ Cardinal Antonelli was Pius IX's secretary of state from 1850 until his death in 1876.

had another Letter to Prince Hohenlohe, - Cousin to our Queen Victoria, - who resides at the Vatican...⁵⁶

In Florence he mentions that he has "met with several persons of much experience & knowledge of what I am now engaged in, & who favour me with their assistance."⁵⁷ One of them seems to have been Falardeau, of whom he says: "I think his copies are among the best I have yet seen in Florence. I shall get several [of] his & he will aid me every way I desire."⁵⁸ Falardeau provided him not only with approximately twenty-eight copies,⁵⁹ but with about the same number of frames for copies by other artists. Falardeau's framing operations seem to have been fairly extensive. Some invoices record the purchase of frames; some specify the paintings for which the frames were intended (paintings bought in Bologna, for example);⁶⁰ some specify that the frames are made to order; one refers to four frames from Carlo Bortolini, gilder, for copies by the

⁵⁶ United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 30, 1856, Rome.

⁵⁷ United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 17, 1856, Florence. In London he had been given "the names of the best copyists in Florence and Rome." Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Sept. 28, 1855, London.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Archives of Ontario, Ontario Department of Education Records, R.G.2, Series L-3, vol. 15, Record of Purchases for the Educational Museum and Library, 1853-1861.

⁶⁰ Ryerson's account book also lists paintings bought in Siena.

Bolognese copyist Giuseppe Viscardi;⁶¹ and one speaks of a consignment of "the following pictures, to be framed...."⁶² Given the number of copies bought and shipped at one time, it is evident that Ryerson must have bought from Falardeau's existing stock, an assumption that would seem to be confirmed by the fact that one invoice records an "Amt to be paid on delivery" for a copy of "Raffael's St. Jean the Baptist."⁶³ In addition to helping him, Falardeau presented Ryerson with a copy, a Head of a Young Pilgrim, as a gift.⁶⁴

But regardless of any assistance he may have received, Ryerson carried out a thorough program of research of his own. In Florence, for Sophia and himself it was:

2 meals a day. breakfast 8:30 dinner 5:30...once or twice a week up before 7 & never go to bed before 12. Nor have we gone to see anything that was not connected with the public objects I have in view. Yet the galleries, ateliers, & copies are so numerous, so various in subjects, sizes & quality that I am embarrassed & perplexed sometimes beyond expression. I find persons buying copies of paintings for themselves, are never less than three weeks & sometimes much longer...before they buy at all. But though I have worked as hard as I could for nearly two weeks here I seem only to have begun to see the ateliers & Marchands de Tableaux.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Ibid., Invoice 53.

⁶² Ibid., Invoice 48.

⁶³ AO, Record of Purchases for the Educational Museum and Library, 1853-1861, Invoice 49. See Cat. No. 81.

⁶⁴ See Cat. No. 45.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Ryerson to Hodgins, Jan. 25, 1856, Florence.

It was customary for artists to receive customers in their studios at specified hours. Studio visits, already "the vogue in the eighteenth-century, had become one of the "Meraviglia di Roma" that no tourist bypassed.⁶⁶

It was not only in Florence that Ryerson had imposed this rigorous schedule on himself. In the Dec. 12 letter from Antwerp, he refers to "a week during which I have examined some thousands of paintings & purchased 142."⁶⁷ Ryerson bargained, at least in the off-season, in Antwerp, and on occasion bought for half the price first demanded. And he compared works: "In some instances I have compared! two, three, four or six...(and) I have had recourse from time to time to examine the original paintings before buying copies."⁶⁸

Ryerson did not restrict himself to the paintings recommended by his advisors. Writing from Munich, he mentions that Lefroy:

did not mention the German, Dutch, Flemish, French & Spanish Schools of Paintings, of which we shall have a handsome collection....The large painting in (check wording) my house - Witch of Endor & Samuel,⁶⁹ - is a good specimen of Caravaggio - better than any specimen I have seen, & exactly corresponds with the account given

⁶⁶ Regina Soria, Dictionary of American Artists in Italy 1760-1914, Rutherford, N.J., 1982, p. 24.

⁶⁷ United Church Archives, Ryerson to Hodgins, Dec. 12, 1855.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Is Ryerson speaking here of a copy bought for himself on an earlier trip?

of the best paintings of that artist in Sir Charles Eastlake's Kugler. Col. Lefroy has not mentioned Carravaggio, although he merits more prominence in the history of Italian painting than Guido Reni.⁷⁰ I hope to be able to get copies of most of the other Italian Masters mentioned by Col. Lefroy, & of two or three not mentioned by him.

One would assume also that Ryerson did not depend on the guide books' brief lists of recommended copyists.⁷¹ However according to Fern Bayer three of the copyists Ryerson bought from are mentioned in the John Murray Guides.⁷²

⁷⁰ Gerard Reitlinger's The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760-1960, London, 1961, does not list Caravaggio. Requests to copy his paintings were infrequent, but they did occur in the copy request files consulted. Caravaggios were bought by some American institutions.

⁷¹ For example, the Murray Hand-Book Part II for Tuscany, Lucca & Florence of 1856, mentions only five artists, one of whom is designated as a copyist: "G. Tibaldi of Bologna, Borgo Ognissanti is a good copyist of paintings in oil and water, and is also a teacher." The visiting amateur also sometimes played the student.

⁷² Fern Bayer states that Murray (John Murray, pub., Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy, Including the Papal States, Rome and the Cities of Etruria, London: 1843;) mentions two of the copyists Ryerson patronized, Raimondo Campanile and Giuseppe Mazzolini. Ryerson also bought from Petrini Fece, Agostino Gagliardi and Antonio Sasso, among others. The Lions of Florence (1852 ed.) includes Pompignuoli, and a Petrini Faldi, in its brief list of recommended copyists, who "may be found in the galleries hard at work". p. 65. The Musée du Québec owns a copy of Titian's Flora, dated 1860, by Giuseppe Mazzolini (Musée du Québec, 34.608) previously thought to be by Falardeau (See Cat. No. 164). A Mazzolini copy of a painting titled the Bay of Sorrento (present location unknown) is listed in the Art Association of Montreal's 1870 exhibition catalogue (#5, coll. Jos. Mckay).

Buying for an institution, Ryerson took pains to be representative of what he considered good art. His Italian copies, as might be expected, privileged the High Renaissance and Baroque with (more than the projected two copies apiece of works by or attributed to) Raphael, Guido Reni, Carlo Dolci, Titian, Leonardo da Vinci and Cristofano Allori, and works by Murillo, the Carracci, Domenichino, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, as well as artists less well-known today, but whose names appear frequently in the requests for permission to copy in the Florentine galleries. The Northern copies included some Late Gothic painters such as Jan Van Eyck, Quentin Matsys, and some sixteenth century artists, notably Pieter Breughel, but the majority are 17th century Dutch works (Cuyp, Ostade, Nicolas Maes, Jan Steen, two Rembrandts), among them some Italianate pieces (Heemskerck, Leonaert Bramer), and seventeenth-century Flemish works.⁷³ Ryerson's list, in particular his Italian choices, echo the roll call of works known to have been painted by Falardeau, not to mention the works favoured by the Florentine copyists in general. It

⁷³ The Italian list is rounded out by two each of Francesco Francia, Correggio, Veronese, Domenichino, and Canaletto, and single paintings by Palma Vecchio, Luini, Daniele da Volterra, Giulio Romano, Alessandro Allori, F. Vanni, Caravaggio, Martinelli, F. Albani, Guercino, Castelfranco, Gherardo, Pietro da Cortona and C.P. Rotari. There are a handful of French and German copies as well, and "Twenty-five or thirty not yet classified." The Educational Museum and School of Art and design for Upper Canada, with a Plan of the English Educational Museum, etc. etc., Toronto, 1858, pp.32-40.

is, taken generally, the canon established in the eighteenth century. The interest in portraits noticeable both in Ryerson's purchases and Falardeau's sales may well be related to the conception of history as a portrait gallery of great individuals. The exemplification of this concept can be observed at least as far back as the Renaissance. But in nineteenth-century England the intense interest in character, in the grandeur of the larger-than-life (or larger than literature) hero or heroine, whether real or fictional, intensified and enriched public interest in the portrait.⁷⁴

We know from Ryerson and others that paintings were sold in the artists' studios and by dealers. In addition there are suggestions that copies may also have been sold in the museums. An 1885 letter filed in the AGF archives asks for the names of the painters who showed their copies in "la salle des copies de la galleria degli Uffizi."⁷⁵ Van Leeuwen refers to "schilderijen gekocht van kopiïsten in de Uffizi" by the Flemish painter Louis Jéhotte in 1847.⁷⁶ The author of The Lions of Florence does not mention the

⁷⁴ Nina Auerbach, who discusses some aspects of Victorian "character" in Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, pp. 218-229, points out that Madame Tussaud's and the National Portrait Gallery, institutionalized forms of this interest, were opened respectively in 1834 and 1858, pp. 195-196.

⁷⁵ AGF, Affari dell'Anno 1885, Cartella D., No. 38, Pos. 2.

⁷⁶ Van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. 101.

selling of paintings in the galleries, but he does imply that the gallery is the place for prospective clients to make contact with the copyists when he says that the five copyists whose names he gives "may be found in the galleries hard at work."⁷⁷ Some artists were dealers. Henry James notes in William Wetmore Story and His Friends: "Out of one of the books falls a little pale exotic card of 1847 - F. Antonio Sasso. Pittore al Olio e all'Acquerelle, Negoziante di Quadri e di Mobilia Antica."⁷⁸ Evidently Sasso, one of the copyists from whom Ryerson bought, also dealt in the antiquities so eagerly bought by visitors and foreign residents in Italy.⁷⁹ As we have noted, Falardeau supplied frames not only for his own works but for others as well. "I would wish you to pay Mr. Falardeau from time to time for the pictures and frames he has engaged to make for me...." Ryerson writes to the Florentine bankers Maquay & Pakenham.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ The Lions of Florence, p. 65.

⁷⁸ Henry James, William Wetmore Story and His Friends, New York, 1969, p. 97.

⁷⁹ The description of Falardeau's residence given by Black and Stuart make it clear that he was one such collector.

⁸⁰ AO, R.G. 2, Department of Public Instruction Series C Outgoing General Correspondence C-1, Letter Book R (Vol. 16), Letter #1211 (letter copy) Transcription 1211 R. A second letter, also to Maquay & Pakenham, asks that payment be made to Falardeau for pictures "which you have received from Bologna." Ibid., Vol. 18, Letter Book T, Transcription 3760, J.

The Copyists

Like the buyers, so too can the copyists be divided into categories. It is the professional Florentine Old Master copyist in oils who primarily concerns us. However before considering him, let us list the different kinds of copyist the tourist might have encountered on his or her visits to the Pitti and Uffizi in the mid-1800s. The amateurs, numerous in a tourist centre like Florence, included many women, in particular visiting English and American women and a certain number of continental aristocrats.⁸¹ Students included those studying locally and students from other countries, for example the French Prix de Rome winners and their counterparts from other countries. The copy had a dual function in the practice of the student. On the one hand he instilled in himself the principles of the classical tradition by copying casts of antique and other sculptures and the paintings of the Old Masters. As well, especially in the case of a Prix de Rome winner, the

⁸¹ For example, the Baroness Mayendorff, wife of an Imperial Russian State Councillor and diplomat, born Countess Wilhelmine de Puol-Schauenstein (1800-1868), who was described by Effie Ruskin as "a clever woman, copying pictures in the Churches here [in Venice], (who) after dinner recited to us in the manner of Rachel, & quite as good, extracts from Les Horaces, Phèdre, Attalie and other pieces....but to me she was quite [rep]ulsive, immensely fat and dressed in a very decoltée manner." Young Mrs. Ruskin in Venice, ed. Mary Lutyens, New York, 1965, pp. 214-215.

copies he made were often destined to be used as teaching tools in the academies of his homeland.⁸²

Young artists from abroad at what could be called the apprenticeship stage painted copies in fulfilment of commissions from collectors at home, the payment for which, paid in advance, helped finance their trips.⁸³ Carol Bradley remarks that for American artists of the first half of the century the idea of copying was inseparable from that of travel.⁸⁴

Professional artists (artists who were not professional copyists) copied for personal reasons in order to better understand, or to remember a work of special interest. They also, from time to time, continued what had been a

⁸² The production of copies for such purposes was part not only of the programme for French Prix de Rome winners but also for their counterparts in some other countries, for example those from the Netherlands. See Rieke van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence: Kunstenaars uit de Lage Landen in Toscane en de 19de-eeuwse kunstreis naar Italië, Florence, 1985, pp. 6-9.

⁸³ See Soria, Dictionary, p. 15. Lillian B. Miller states: "These trips [by young artists] were often financed by wealthy merchants and public-spirited gentlemen who commissioned the young artists to paint copies of the Old Masters, which then became the nucleus of their picture collections; these gentlemen were, in large measure, also the founders of the first art institutions in the country." pp. 90-92. Théophile Hamel and Napoléon Bourassa did copies of this type.

⁸⁴ Carol Bradley, "Copisti American nelle Gallerie Fiorentini," paper presented at the Convegno di studi, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, Dec. 17-19, 1986 [publication forthcoming], p. 1.

frequent practice with visiting artists in the eighteenth century, the carrying out of copy commissions.

The professional copyists produced copies on commission, copies to be sold from their studios, and in some cases copies to be used for other purposes, in particular to be translated into prints, but also to be reproduced in enamel on porcelain and even in sculpture.⁸⁵ Most of the copies were done as oil paintings, but they were also done as drawings, sketches and watercolours. And of course there might be photographers at work.

Italian names outnumber others in the files. However non-Italians supplied the bulk of the amateurs and apprentice-level copyists, many if not the majority of the visiting professional artists copying for personal

⁸⁵ For example, the beautiful and faithful enamel on porcelain copies, often quite large, (two feet by three) by the Genevan Abraham Constantin (1785-1855). (Raphael et la seconde main, Rainer Michael Mason and Mauro Natale, Geneva, 1984, p. 215). Thieme-Becker describes Constantin as "beruehmt durch seine Kopien alten Meister in Porzellanmalerei." Sculptors occasionally copied paintings. Horatio Greenough in a letter to Robert Gilmor, Jr., of Feb. 25, 1829, comments: "I am already considerably advanced in a group which I have undertaken for Mr. (James Fenimore) Cooper. Tis a copy of a passage in a picture of Raphael at the Pitti palace representing two cherub boys chaunting....I shall execute them in marble....(The Italian sculptor Lorenz) Bartolini is bringing to a close his copy of Titian's venus in marble for Lord Londonderry." (Letters of Horatio Greenough, pp. 22 & 24). Cooper's letter of May 25, 1829, to J.E. de Kay, speaks of both these sculptures (Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper, Freeport, N.Y., 1922, pp. 167-169). The Pitti and Uffizi files contain numerous records of copy permissions granted to artists commissioned by the print publisher Giuseppe Bardi.

edification, and a large number of the students. English, French and American names are particularly numerous in the files, though copyists also came from Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Russia and other European countries. Some foreigners worked as professional copyists, but Italians made up the greater part of these.⁸⁶

Rieke van Leeuwen's study of Dutch and Belgian copyists in Florence reveals that Prix de Rome winners, and others with academic connections formed the largest category within this group.⁸⁷ The two Canadians (apart from Falardeau) who copied in Florence before 1860, Théophile Hamel and Napoléon Bourassa, both fall into the apprentice category. Falardeau was, atypically, a member of the fraternity of professional copyists.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ The largest number of names overall in the files consulted were Italian.

⁸⁷ Van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, pp. 11 & 29.

⁸⁸ Van Leeuwen documents sixty-five Dutch and Belgian artists who copied in Florence between 1790 and 1860. Reasons for making the Italian journey also varied along national lines. Van Leeuwen points out that in 19th century Holland the trip was seen as an attempt to correct the long-postulated deficiency of the Dutch tradition with respect to exposure to and assimilation of classical art. Despite pride in Dutch art, a belief in the superiority of the "grand style" (due in part to the influence of Reynolds, according to van Leeuwen) was strongly rooted in Holland (Kopieren en Florence, pp. 1-5). Study purposes were of course important for Americans. But as well, the American cultural context may have presented him with motives that did not spur the Quebec and Ontario artist. The puritanical strain in American society, and that strain which rejected art as the degenerate companion of a degenerate (European) political structure, made for a climate that could be at times hostile to art. As well,

With respect to the question of the social class of the copyist, it is the social status of the amateur, rather than that of the professional artist that is - and was - of particular interest. As mentioned earlier, a small but noticeable number of the requests for permission to copy came from (amateur) members of the aristocracy, often women. Their requests for permessi straordinarie (special permissions, usually to go ahead of one's turn,) were virtually always granted, regardless of the reasons, if any, presented, if the petitioner was a member of the nobility. The numerous women copyists present a subject of interest in their own right. Women copyists appear frequently in the Uffizi and Pittia records, though they do not appear to have been as numerous in Florence as they were in Paris. Florence did not offer the kind of sinecure copying jobs, many of them held by women, offered by the French government during the Second Empire (1851-1870) when

paradoxically, the more advanced state of cultural development in the U.S. made American artists and intellectuals feel the lack of the stimulation that only Europe could provide, more keenly than artists in Canada. Regina Soria (Introduction, Dictionary) and Lillian Miller (Patrons and Patriots) discuss the American relationship with Europe. The writings of American artists of the 1700s and early 1800s reprinted in American Art 1700-1960, John W. McCoubrey, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., (Sources & Documents in the History of Art Series) 1965, illustrate at times quite dramatically what an artist in early America could be up against. By contrast, though Bourassa was to develop a considerable interest in the theoretical aspects of art, he and the other two pre-1860 Canadian travellers were probably motivated more purely by the simple need for further training and exposure to art.

dynastic portraits and religious works were copied in large numbers.⁸⁹ Also, the profession of copyist was perhaps not considered as acceptable an occupation for middle-class women of reduced circumstances in Italy as it was in Paris, where such women constituted a significant proportion of the professional copyists. The women copyists in Italy, though they included Italian noblewomen, and possibly some Italian professionals, were in most cases foreigners, frequently though not always amateurs.

Contemporary writing on women copyists sheds light on certain nineteenth-century attitudes towards women. Some of these attitudes will be familiar from other contexts. Others perhaps relate more specifically to the situation of the copyist. Paul Duro, in his article on the professional women copyists in Paris, calls attention to the motif of the woman artist as being able to copy but not create:

Thus 19th-century critics, who equated copying with a lack of originality and ascribed the attribute of creativity exclusively to the male, honored the "natural" connection between women and copying.⁹⁰

Duro also refers to another motif in the discourse about women copyists, the "popular assumption that young women only frequented the galleries in the hope of trapping into marriage an unwary bourgeois out for an afternoon's

⁸⁹ See Paul Duro, "'The Demoiselles à copier' in the Second Empire," Women's Art Journal, Spring/Summer, 1986, pp. 2-7.

⁹⁰ Duro cites a number of literary sources expressing these opinions. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

innocent picture study."⁹¹ The American writer Nathaniel Parker Willis, gives an example of what is probably another facet of the same image, the homely woman artist, in these remarks on a visit to the Louvre:

I found our distinguished countryman, Morse, copying a beautiful Murillo at the end of the gallery....Among the French artists, I noticed several soldiers, and some twenty or thirty females, the latter with every mark in their countenances of absorbed and extreme application....With the single exception of a lovely girl, drawing from a Madonna by Guido, and protected by the presence of an elderly companion, these lady painters were anything but interesting in their appearance.⁹²

Carel Vosmaer, a Dutch writer cited by Van Leeuwen, is even more explicit when he implies that the homely older copyist is the one who never got a man: "Een juffrow van vijftig zit op een hoge stellaadje voor de Madonna della Sedia med een roode neus."⁹³

Nathaniel Hawthorne's description of the copyist Hilda, as well as presenting the "romantic copyist," presents another nineteenth-century conception of woman, the

⁹¹. Ibid, p. 2. The twentieth-century version is the girl who goes to college to catch a man.

⁹². N.P. Willis, Pencillings by the Way, Auburn, 1853, p. 27. Willis (1806-67), American correspondent for the New York - Mirror, wrote these travel notes in the 1830s. See also Hawthorne's description of Hilda in The Marble Faun, "sitting at her easel among the wild-bearded young men, the white-haired old ones, and the shabbily dressed, painfully plain women, who make up the throng of copyists." p. 52.

⁹³ F.L. Bastet, Mr. Carel Vosmaer, cited in Van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. 31.

creature of exquisite empathy and sensitivity, who excels in interpreting the work of men:

...the girl was but a finer instrument, a more exquisitely effective piece of mechanism, by the help of which the spirit of some great departed painter now first achieved his ideal, centuries after his own earthly hand, that other tool, had turned to dust.⁹⁴

Hawthorne explains that: "...in her self-surrender, and the depth and tenderness of her sympathy, had lain Hilda's remarkable power as a copyist of the old masters."⁹⁵

Would it have been worth Hilda's while to relinquish this office for the sake of giving the world a picture or two which it would call original; pretty fancies of snow and moonlight; the counterpart in picture of so many feminine achievements in literature.⁹⁶

The fact that these particular images of the female copyist do not appear in the memoranda in the files in

⁹⁴ Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, p. 50. He emphasizes that Hilda's gifts, though of a high order, are not intellectual: "No other person, it is probable, recognized so adequately, and enjoyed with such deep delight, the pictorial wonders that were here displayed. She saw - no, not saw, but felt - through and through a picture; she bestowed upon it all the warmth and richness of a woman's sympathy; not by any intellectual effort, but by this strength of heart, and this guiding light of sympathy, she went straight to the central point, in which the master had conceived his work.", Ibid., p. 48. To be fair, Hawthorne also said that: "Had Hilda remained in her own country, it is not improbable that she might have produced original works worthy to hang in that gallery of native art...", p. 47. The image of woman as the embodiment of the finer feelings is widespread in the 1800s. Tamar Garb suggests how this and other views of women contributed to the development of a concept of feminine art in "L'art féminin: the Formation of a Critical Category in Late Nineteenth Century France and other attitudes to women," Art History, 12, 1 (Mar., 1989).

⁹⁵. Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, p. 242.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 51.

Florence may be due to the fact that those who wrote the memorie were part of a milieu that had not yet produced professional working women in any great number. What one finds occasionally implied here is the suggestion that in some cases the women copyists were amateurs (in the modern sense of the word) and therefore not deserving of the same consideration as the professional copyists. In a few cases women copyists in fact do seem to have displayed "amateurish" behaviour, in the unreasonableness of their demands, and on at least one occasion, in their actions.

In 1860 an American copyist, Miss Edgar, was ejected from the Pitti after she accidentally put her easel through the bosom of Titian's Flora; the memorandum comments that this "mediocrissima dilettante di pittura"...had had a habit of working "in tanta prossima dagli originali da farne continuamente temere un qualche danno..."⁹⁷ Despite recommendations that she be barred permanently Miss Edgar was readmitted seven months later.⁹⁸ To what degree her readmittance was due to the seemingly incorrigibly soft hearts of the gallery administration, to what degree to the pleas of the American consul, who pointed out that she hadn't meant to do it, is unknown. However her request to

⁹⁷ AGF, 1860, Filza LXXXIV, No. 57, Oct. 5, 1860.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

bring into the gallery a scaldino, a portable earthenware charcoal-burning heater, was firmly denied.⁹⁹

But cases like this were probably exceptions. The conjunction of women copyist and allusions to amateurism occurs almost often enough to make one suppose that the connection represented an established though not dominant stereotyped image. The connection could be put in positive as well as negative terms, for example in Prince Anatolio Demidoff's recommendation of a woman copyist on the grounds that she is "une personne que son goût a porté vers l'étude des arts et qui est tout à fait capable d'apprécier les chefs d'oeuvres....Vous n'aurez pas à satisfaire une curiosité vulgaire de touriste."¹⁰⁰

Hawthorne's Hilda had had the same problem of cold fingers as Miss Edgar: "Now too, there was especial discomfort in the stately picture galleries...." but Hilda, on finding "her fingers so much benumbed that the spiritual influence could not be transmitted to them" simply left "her easel before a picture" and went to visit a friend.¹⁰¹ The Marble Faun includes many details such as this that accurately reflect the Italian artistic world of the mid-nineteenth century. However in one respect Hilda

⁹⁹ Ibid, Dec. 3, 1861.

¹⁰⁰ AGF, 1849, Filza XIII, Parte 1a, No. 61, Sept. 2, 1849.

¹⁰¹ The Marble Faun, pp. 271-272.

is perhaps unrealistically portrayed. This is in the relatively low priority that earning a living plays in her story. The average professional copyist was less idealistic and more motivated by economic concerns. Hawthorne's account of a conversation with Fanny Howarth¹⁰² no doubt gives a more accurate description of the situation:

Miss Howarth says that the business of copying pictures, especially those of Raphael, is a regular profession, and she thinks it exceedingly obstructive to the progress or existence of a modern school of painting there being a regular demand and sure sale for all copies of the old masters, at prices proportioned to their merit; whereas, the effort to be original ensures nothing, except long neglect, at the beginning of a career, and probably ultimate failure, and the necessity of becoming a copyist at last. Some artists employ themselves from youth to age, in nothing else but the copying of one single and self-same picture of Raphael's, and grow at last to be perfectly mechanical, making, I suppose, the same identical stroke of the brush on fifty successive pictures.¹⁰³

B. Spence, the author of the English-language guidebook The Lions of Florence, first published in 1847,¹⁰⁴ states that most Florentine copyists plied their profession because the city was not able to support all of them as

¹⁰² Hawthorne refers to Fanny Howarth as "an English literary lady, whom I have met several times in Liverpool." French and Italian Notebooks, p. 302.

¹⁰³ Hawthorne, French and Italian Notebooks, Columbus, 1981, p. 315.

¹⁰⁴ B. Spence, The Lions of Florence, Florence, 1847. The author may have been Benjamin Edward Spence (England 1822 - Livorno, 1866), an English sculptor who lived in Rome 1849-66. Bénézit, vol. 9, p. 740; Thieme-Becker, vol. 31, p. 353.

original painters. For his part, James de Veaux, writing probably in the 1840s, of the decline of art in Italy, refers to:

...the constant demand for copies by foreigners travelling in this country, which has made (and kept) copyists of men, who, with the patronage that Raphael and others received, might have been their equals. If other causes exist, it must be in the general degeneracy of the race, -the climate is I suppose the same as then - the models the same, - the pictures finer than they had to study - but the incentives are wanting- "money, money, and again money." The adoration of the old masters has done its share of harm, for persons who for the last century have travelled here have been unwilling to pay for aught but copies from them, and the government and church are too poor, or have more pictures than they need, so modern artists of course dwindle into mere copyists - and poor miserable devils they are - cramped and disappointed in their first aspirings, who can wonder at their failures?¹⁰⁵

Conditions of the Copying Activity

With so many copyists active that Egerton Ryerson felt that after two weeks of looking he had barely scratched the surface, it is to be expected that copying in the Florentine galleries would be regulated by rules and procedures. These rules had grown in extent as copying activity had intensified over the decades, reaching a peak around mid-century.¹⁰⁶ The more casual, less regulated

¹⁰⁵ Cited in C. Edwards Lester, The Artists of America, p. 189.

¹⁰⁶ No doubt some of the rules represented the officializing of already established procedures. For example, according to van Leeuwen, formal requests for permission to copy in the Uffizi only became mandatory with the Regolamento of 1831, but it had nonetheless been the practice to make formal requests before that time.

state of affairs of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was subjected to the imposition of successive sets of regulations.¹⁰⁷

The Pitti Palace, as the residence of the Grand Duke, was more difficult of access than the Uffizi. Until 1860 only seven copyists were officially allowed to work in the Pitti at one time.¹⁰⁸ In that year the number was set at 80 for the Uffizi.¹⁰⁹ The new Regolamento in 1860 increased the seven to twenty five,¹¹⁰ allocating a specific number to each room and corridor. And provision was made to allow this number to be increased at times when visitors were not numerous. The document's closing affirmation of the superiority of the facilities offered to copyists in Florence: "...que tutte quante le facilite hanno gli artisti presso di noi, non le hanno certamente ne a Parigi

Kopieren in Florence, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ By 1848 nearly 500 copyists a year were working in the Uffizi, as compared with about 300 in 1830. In 1850 the number was 600, with the figures decreasing from then on. Van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, Appendix 2 [graph prepared by van Leeuwen].

¹⁰⁸ But the director had power to go over that number (Van Leeuwen, p. 28). The Pitti was only opened to the public in 1828, but copying had been permitted before that.

¹⁰⁹ AGU, 1860, Filza LXXXIV, parte 1a, No.19, Regolamento per copiatori nelle pubbliche Gallerie, cited in van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ AGF, 1860, Filza LXXXIV, Parte 1a, No. 19, Regolamento per copiatori nelle pubbliche Gallerie. Some of the figures in the files seem to indicate twenty-three.

ne a Torino ne a Dresde ne a Monaco..."¹¹¹ is a reminder of the economic importance of the copying profession.

The numbers of permissions granted and the number of exceptions made to the rules give the impression that the official numbers were not infrequently exceeded. Reading the memoranda and correspondance in the files related to copying in the Pitti and Uffizi, one is made aware of the difficult situation facing those in charge of granting the requests: on the one hand a desire to follow the procedures set down, and to maintain order and fairness, and on the other, a reluctance to disappoint those who in copying would ultimately spread the fame of Tuscany, her art works and her hospitality, combined with a virtual inability to say no where a title was concerned. It mattered little whether the title was attached to the name of the one who copied, the one who recommended the copyist, or the one who commissioned the copy. Not infrequently one reads memorie in which the director of the gallery vents his frustration in the face of plainly unreasonable requests, only to find in the end that the request has been granted. Sometimes face and fairness were salvaged after a fashion by making the unreasonable petitioner wait a little, or by giving him or her only one of several paintings asked for. Very rarely were outright refusals noted in the files consulted.

An artist wishing to do a painted oil copy wrote a letter

¹¹¹ Ibid.

asking permission to copy the picture in question. Sometimes letters requested two or three works, occasionally more. Non-Italians often wrote in French. Frequently letters were written in the third person. Falardeau's letter of Jan. 15, 1852, written as was characteristic of him, on a small sheet of thin blue paper, is almost typical; it is a little shorter and more terse than some, and it is in the first person:

Excellence

Désirant faire une copie du Saint Jean l'Evangelista, de Carlo Dolci, qui est au Palais Pitti, je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien accorder mon demand.

J'ai l'honneur d'être de Votre Excellence, le très humble, et très obéissant serviteur.

Antoine S. Falardeau.

Florence 15 Janvier
1852¹¹²

If permission was granted, as it usually was in the case of a permesso ordinario¹¹³ such as the above, (that is, a request that did not involve exceeding the quota of copyists and that was made for an available painting), the letter would in most cases be simply annotated to that effect, with the starting time and the time allotted to do the copy, in this case thirty days, noted. Permission to do an oil copy was always for a determined time period, and

¹¹² AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII.

¹¹³ The spelling of the terms *permessi ordinarie* etc. varies in the AGF files.

for a specified length of time, usually six weeks to two and a half months. Some artists requested a specific length of time; others did not. Sometimes letters named two or three works, rarely more, in their requests. Only the work(s) for which permission was granted could be copied, only one at a time, and no more than one copy of a painting could be done at one time. Only one copyist was ordinarily permitted to copy from a painting at a time.

A request for a permesso straordinario, which in most cases amounted to a request to be let in ahead of one's turn, or over and above the allotted numbers,¹¹⁴ involved additional papers. When the permesso straordinario gave permission simply to exceed the quota, (but to copy a work not being copied by someone else), the term posto supernumero was used. The director of the gallery, to whom the request was addressed would write a memorandum (memoria) which explained the reasons for the request, commented on the character, situation or ability of the artist and those who recommended him, and recommended whether or not to grant the request, with or without modifications. This was sent to the Grand Duke who seems normally to have ratified the director's suggestions. The request for a permesso straordinario was normally accompanied by a recommendation, either as a separate

¹¹⁴ Very occasionally other favours such as being allowed to work after hours were solicited.

letter or simply as an annotation, from the diplomatic representative of the country of the petitioner (or sometimes of another country if his country had no representative in Tuscany), from an artist, from a member of the nobility, or from other respectable persons.¹¹⁵

The requests for permessi straordinarie consulted were for the most part granted, though not always as soon as the petitioner might have wished. The fact that a copyist with a commission had a family to support was sometimes mentioned in the memoria as a factor in favour of granting the request, as was the situation of a visitor with limited time, or a copyist working for a patron in that situation. Invariably successful was the request that came with a recommendation from a member of the nobility, the request for a commission undertaken for an aristocrat, or the request to copy that came from an aristocrat her or

¹¹⁵ The signature "Powers" (of the American sculptor Hiram Powers) is scrawled across the bottom of a number of American requests.

himself.¹¹⁶ At times the director's memoria betrays irritation, but the request was normally granted.

Conflicting information exists as to whether or not a letter of recommendation was required with an (initial) request to copy. According to Carol Bradley, the Regolamento of 1831 stated that letters of recommendation were required to accompany the requests for permission from foreigners who were not members of the Accademia.¹¹⁷ And indeed letters, or postscripts, of introduction, as already noted, are frequently found with the requests, though these

¹¹⁶ A group of permessi straordinarie granted for the Pitti in 1843 included the following: W. Smith, an Englishman (Jan. 10, 1843) because of limited time, because the artist is "benissimo cognito", having already copied, "...e ha tenuto la più regolare condotta," because the paintings in question are not presently requested by others, and taking into account the intervention of the British minister; to Michele Cortazzo (Mar., 1843) because he has commissions for "il Conte di Siracusa"; to Baron Francesco di Zezza of Naples (April 25, 1843), (who asks only for two weeks) in spite of the fact that the director Antonio Ramirez di Montalvo objects that "...non essendo a me note se il Baron Zezza possa avere titoli particolari a sperimentare una grazie straordinaria in preferenza di molti artisti...che lo hanno preceduto colle loro istanze"; to Vincenzio Corsi (Aug. 19, 1843) who has commissions from an English family, and who is one of the most capable of the young painters in "tradurre fedilmente la bellezza dei capi d'opera dei grandi pittori che si ammirano nella nostra R.R. Gallerie", but nevertheless under protest, but agreeing because of the intervention of the British minister, and noting that the artist must not bother other copyists; Giacomo Conti di Messina (Dec. 13, 1843), recommended by the "Principessa Amelia alla sua augusta Sorella la nostra Gran Duchessa regnante" and granted "...principalmente delle dignità dei personaggi interessanti a Favore del Supplicante." AGF, 1842-43, Filza IX, No. 29 "Permissioni straordinarie per copiar quadri".

¹¹⁷ See also van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. 26.

are not always from diplomatic representatives. But there are also requests from newly arrived foreigners without accompanying post-scripts or letters of intervention. It is possible that attached letters could have become disattached, or that the letters on file were preceded by other letters which did include introductions and recommendations. However, it seems unlikely that this could have been true in all the cases noted. And the letters have the tone of self-sufficient communications. Typically they appear to be introducing the artist for the first time. However letters requesting Permessi straordinarie are in a higher proportion of cases accompanied by letters or post scripts of intervention.

An analogous problem of evidence exists with respect to refusals. The files consulted contained only a small number of outright refusals, such as one to a painter named Biagi who has made more than one request to copy La Seggiola.¹¹⁸ The Harding sisters, daughters of an English doctor, whose request for "Judith immediately" was refused, seem to typify another kind of refusal, that where abuse of the good will of the authorities was combined with a social status not quite high enough to ensure an affirmative answer to an unreasonable request. The sisters, reports an irritated Antonio Ramirez di Montalvo, have frequented the galleries at other times, they know the system, it is

¹¹⁸ AGF, Filza XVI 1857-58, No. 43.

impossible to satisfy their demands, there are other artists ahead of them, and having to wait will not hurt them because they are painting "por delectio e non per guadagno" and finally "la loro posizione sociale" does not merit special consideration.¹¹⁹ However the Harding sisters reappear later in the same file,¹²⁰ again asking for un passo straordinario. The notation "affare senza risoluzione," leads one to suspect the sisters may have gotten their ill-deserved special permissions after all - a not infrequent conclusion to cases of this type.

Yet one wonders if there were not more outright refusals. Greenough implies that getting permission to copy in the Pitti was not an easy task. He wrote to the American painter John Gadsby Chapman (1808-89) July 7, 1848:

I will not fail to address the Keeper of the Gallery-(Pitti) about permission for you. I am not sanguine as to the result for I know that young painters here generally despair of getting it.¹²¹

Or did Greenough mean special permissions were difficult to get? Perhaps correspondence relating to refusals was not kept. Both Rieke van Leeuwen and Carol Bradley have

¹¹⁹ AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No. 2..

¹²⁰ Ibid., No. 48.

¹²¹ Letters of Horatio Greenough American Sculptor, Madison, Wisc., 1972, p. 375.

concluded that not all correspondence connected with copying has been preserved.¹²²

Those whose requests were not granted as requested sometimes protested by going over the head of the director to the Grand Duke himself. The letters from Dutch and Belgian artists reproduced in van Leeuwen's book include at least five addressed to the Grand Duke or to Director Ramirez di Montalvo (in this case over the head of underdirector the Marquis Luca Bourbon del Monte). Some were addressed to the Grand Duke because the supplicant had been informed that all the places in the Pitti were full.¹²³ One artist, Franx Xaverius Boukart, complained that del Monte had been rude to him.¹²⁴ All five

¹²² Carol Bradley, telephone conversation with the author, April, 1987, Florence. Van Leeuwen calls attention to several instances of missing correspondence, for example those of A. Wiertz and A. Roberti (p. 42) and Jean Bouilliot (p. 54) (Kopieren in Florence, p. 54). Paul Duro ("Copyists in the Louvre in the Middle Decades of the Nineteenth Century," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, April, 1988, p. 253, n. 2) and Paul MacIntyre remark on missing copying correspondence respectively in the Louvre and the Parma Academy. McIntyre remarks that "given the number of these [English and American copyists in Parma in the late eighteenth century]...[the] dearth of archival material [only one such permission in the Archivio di Stato in Parma] is surprising indeed." "Smith of Parma," p. 2.

¹²³ For example, see van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. 128.

¹²⁴ "...Monsieur le Marquis del Monte m'a renvoyer [sic] et tellement decourager en une manière très facheuse, que j'ai perdu le courage de commence un autre ouvrage dans cette gallerie. Je suis persuadé, que, si je fais savoir cet' affaire a S.A. madame la Duchesse de Berry (the comissioner), elle ne me permettrait pas de continuer a copiér (sic) dans la Gallerie de Pitti." APP, 1837, Filza

petitioners received affirmative answers, answers that in some cases ignored the recommendations of the director.

As we saw in the case of Falardeau's request for a permesso straordinario the jealousy that real or perceived favouritism could cause was of concern to the authorities. An 1878 file discusses measures to deal with copyists' complaints: "...i provvedimenti di Lei per la formazione dei registri de copiatori alfine d'evitare il lagnarsi di questi e la possibile parzialità degli Ispettori."¹²⁵ Yet the American painter Rembrandt Peale's allusions to conversational practice (c. 1830) among copyists in the Pitti insuggests a relaxed and friendly atmosphere:

It is the custom of the Artists in the Galleries of Italy, when one is overlooking the work of another, to say, "ditemi qualche cose" - meaning, make some remark that I may be compensated for the interruption. The studies of each are thus successively examined. Being a stranger in the Palace Pitti, where I copied from Rubens, Raphael, Bronzino, etc., when I was about finishing a copy of Guido's Cleopatra, one of the regular copyists of the Palace asked me if I wished to know the judgement they had pronounced on me?¹²⁶

The regulation of copying was not the same everywhere. At the Louvre artists applied for permission to copy a particular painting, but the artists themselves were registered in one file, while the pictures they copied were

VI, Nr. 12, cited in van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. 57.

¹²⁵ AGF, 1878, Pos. 2a (check no.) No. 16. Oggetto Registro de Copiatori, Oct. 23, 1878.

¹²⁶ C. Edwards Lester, The Artists of America. New York, 1970, pp. 214-15.

registered separately.¹²⁷ A Venetian form dated 1871-79 reveals that at this time in Venice a blanket permission was extended that covered all the state galleries and churches.¹²⁸

In Florence blanket permissions were not issued for oil copies, but they were given for watercolours, drawings and oil sketches, that is for smaller works whose function was seen as that of souvenir (reminder) rather than true copy. Requests and permissions to do such copies, with in many cases no reference made to specific works, are numerous. The files are sprinkled with permissions to make "des souvenirs, soit en dessin soit en couleur," "petits souvenirs en huile et en dessin", "ricordi dipinti", "prendere in Disegno quelle Memorie." Van Leeuwen quotes one such request, in which the petitioner's term "copies" has been crossed out and changed to "souvenirs," "waarschijnlijk door de directeur," Ramirez di Montalvo,

¹²⁷ Figures given by Paul Duro, citing the Archives du Louvre, LL31 Ecole française 1893-1906, *Registre d'autorisations attribuées a des copistes*, to the effect that "259 copyists registered to copy La cruche cassé by Greuze between 1893 and 1903, works out to twenty-five per year which is considerably more than would have had access to one picture in Florence. Did more than one artist copy at a time? Or did each artist have a shorter period of time in front of the original? "The 'Demoiselles à Copier' in the Second Empire," Women's Art Journal, Spring/Summer, (1986), p. 6, footnote 4.

¹²⁸ Granted to "Signor Paolo Geoffrey di Parigi, Pittore," "di poter trarre copie, e fare studi parziali dai dipinti esistenti nelle Regie Gallerie di questo Stabilimento e nelle Chiese. Vale per Tre Mese". AGF, 1871-79, Filza 14, Pos. 5.

who evidently shared the conviction of his successor, the Marquis Lucas Bourbon del Monte, that a sketch was not the same thing as a copy.¹²⁹

Just as measures regulating the activities of the copyists were regularized as time passed and the numbers of copyists and visitors increased,¹³⁰ so too were the precautions taken to ensure the safety of the paintings. Precautions had always been taken,¹³¹ but the numerous requests to have paintings moved to better light found among the early permissions indicate that paintings were rather frequently moved. References to the moving of

¹²⁹ Van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. The letter had requested a "Carte d'Entree qui me permettra d'approcher des Tableaux de la Galerie afin de prendre des copies." Possibly the small number of other letters that give the impression they are requesting blanket permissions, for example "di essere ammesse a copiare nelle R.R. Galleria.", AGF, 1871-79, Filza 14, Pos. 35-36, either reflect the petitioners' ignorance of the procedures, or they may refer implicitly to sketches or water colour copies.

¹³⁰ The 1831 Regolamento stipulates that silence and respectful behaviour are to be observed in the galleries, and that the copyists are to be "sempre decentemente vestiti," with "giacchette, ed ogni altra sorta di vestiario da camera" prohibited. Bradley, citing AGF LV (Parte 2a 44 (1831) Regolamento per le Copie dei monumenti delle R(eale) Galleria dello Stato, p. 6.

¹³¹ Paul McIntyre mentions that the memorandum concerning Smith's request to copy Il Giorno in 1776 cautions that attention is to be paid to ensure that Smith "no tocchi ne pregiudichi il suddetto quadro con vernice, o con qualche arte, onde risentir ne dovesse il minimo danno." "Al Custode dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti," 23 Sept. 1776, Parma, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Carteggio: Accademia delle costituzioni a stampa (1860) e biblioteca. Dal 1760 al 1785," cited in "Smith of Parma," Aurea Parma, LXIX, May-Aug., 1985.

paintings for the convenience of copyists continue to occur¹³² but the Regolamento of 1831 stipulates that certain works are not to be moved.¹³³ The days when the authorities had to worry about "Forestieri che si son fatto lecito di staccare it quadri dalla muraglie, di montar sulle sedie per misurare, e toccare a lor talento le Statue" were no more.¹³⁴ An 1866 memorandum administers a scolding because an important work was moved without permission.¹³⁵ The Regolamento of 1860 mentions that some of the most-copied paintings in the Pitti were hinged, pivoted ("bilicate") so that they would be shifted to receive maximum light.¹³⁶

New measures to prevent theft had been put into effect in 1851. Bourbon del Monte had forestalled the move to forbid copying in the same dimensions as the original, proposing instead more guards, and more secure methods of attaching

¹³² Dionizio Calivoca requested that Cigoli's Ecce Homo be lowered (AGF, 1866, Filza B, No. 3, Mar. 4, 1866). Baroness Meyendorff received special permission to have Allori's Judith and a Murillo Madonna moved because of her poor vision. AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, p. 49.

¹³³ van Leeuwen, Kopieren in Florence, p. 26.

¹³⁴ AGF, 1817, Filza XII, 46, Dec. 26, 1817, cited in Carol Bradley, "Copisti Americani," p. 5.

¹³⁵ AGF, 1866, Filza B, No. 19.

¹³⁶ AGF, 1860, Filza LXXXIV, No. 19.

pictures to the wall.¹³⁷ He also spoke of affixing identifying seals to the canvasses, a procedure which would have had the additional benefit of preventing copyists from doing more than one copy of the same work.

Earlier, the 1831 Regolamento had made export permits mandatory for copies as well as for originals,¹³⁸ another measure which would have made theft of an original by a copyist more difficult. But in fact, apart from the "doloroso caso de rubamento di un quadretto," theft does not seem to have been a major problem.¹³⁹

There was also the non-copying public to be considered. Copying permits at times mention the necessity of not hindering the access of viewers. And one finds frequent

¹³⁷ AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, "alcune osservazioni sul Progetto di obbligare i copiatori della Gallerie Palatina a fare le loro copie in dimensioni diverse dagli Originale", Jan. 18, 1851. Lethève states that copyists in the Louvre were forbidden to copy in the same dimensions as the original. J. Lethève, Daily Life of French Artists, London, 1972, p. 169.

¹³⁸ Ibid. The Permessi di estrarre (the permits are called by a variety of names in the documents) include either the dimensions of the copy, or its proportions relative to the original, e.g. Perugino S. Girolamo, "alto 5/6 di maccio, largo 1/2 maccio." AGF.

¹³⁹ But Del Monte seems to imply that such thefts had occurred in private galleries where artists "restava solo". In such places, he says, copying in different sizes would be acceptable "...come farebbe a Roma nella Galleria Borghese e in quelle del Principe Doria," where, it has been said, a copyist exchanged his own work for Claude Lorrain's "famoso Mulino." AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No. 8, alcune osservazioni sul Progetto di obbligare i copiatori della Gallerie Palatina a fare le loro copie in dimensioni diverse dagli Originale, Jan. 18, 1851.

references in travel literature to the hindrance presented to visitors to the galleries by the copyists. Ruskin (not perhaps the most objective witness) wrote to his father from Florence in 1845:

In the galleries you can never feel a picture, for it's surrounded, if good, by villainous copyists, who talk and grin, and yawn and stretch, until they infect you with their apathy, and the picture sinks into a stained canvas.¹⁴⁰

The period of time granted to do an oil copy varied in general from perhaps fifteen days (rare) to three months, with the largest number of artists receiving periods of six weeks to two and a half months.¹⁴¹ But the copyist often had to wait before starting, especially in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s. Waiting times varied according to the popularity of the picture in question. In 1832 a painter requesting the Del Sarto Holy Family on Aug. 9 was given permission to begin copying Aug. 18 (until sept. 19).¹⁴² A request to copy Raphael's Madonna del'Impanata of Aug. 20, 1832, was met with a permission beginning the same day.¹⁴³ Even La Seggiola was accessible. Requests dated Aug. 18, and Nov. 16, 1832 brought permissions to begin copying Aug.

¹⁴⁰ John Ruskin, Works, London, 1903-12, Vol. 23, p. 48. cited in Treves, The Golden Ring, p. 67. Duro cites references, "The 'Demoiselles à Copier' in the Second Empire," p. 1.

¹⁴² AGF, 1832-1833-1834, Filza IV, No. 44.

¹⁴³ Ibid., No. 46. These short waiting periods were standard for this group of requests.

22 and Dec. 1 respectively. But in May, 1858 when Laura Crooke, an Englishwoman, wrote to ask when La Seggiola would be available, she was told 1859.¹⁴⁴ By now, this painting and the Madonna Granduca had been given separate sections in the files. Fanny Howarth had told Hawthorne in 1858 that "application must be made at least three years beforehand." for La Seggiola.¹⁴⁵ With the waiting list so long one desperate petitioner asked for "un sol giorno."¹⁴⁶ And though many artists received permessi straordinarie for La Seggiola, there were those who didn't. As a memoria of 1861 put it:

...che il Ministero non può con suo dispiacere concederlo un permesso speciale per copiare la Madonna della Seggiola, non potendosi ciò fare senza arrecare danno a quegli artisti che da anni ed anni domandarono di lavorare quelle copie e stanno sempre aspettando la loro volta.¹⁴⁷

And wait they did. Nicolas Fischer, an artist from Dresden waited eleven years for his madonna, only to find, when he finally arrived in Florence in June of 1871, that two copyists with permessi straordinarie had been put ahead of him.¹⁴⁸ One way the authorities tried to deal with the

144 AGF, 1857-58, Filza XVI.

145 Nathaniel Hawthorne, French and Italian Notebooks, Ohio, 1980, p. 306.

146 AGF, 1867, Filza A, No. 110.

147 AGF, 1871, Filza B, No. 9.

148 AGF, 1871, Filza B, No. 10. Why Fischer had to wait so long is not explained.

enormous number of requests for certain works, according to Carol Bradley, was to limit the time in front of the original:

In questo periodo [c. 1850], le Gallerie sono piene di artisti copisti che devono accettare di stare sempre meno tempo davanti a certi quadri. Per esempio, facendo domanda per la Venere sono obbligati ad incominciare il lavoro da una delle copie antiche completando la propria copia in pochi giorni davanti all'originale.¹⁴⁹

But how extensively was this solution used? In the 1860s, on behalf of the painter Ernest Winkler, the Secretary of the Prussian legation in Turin, observes that "Ayant appris que dix-huit autres peintres étaient déjà inscrits pour copier ce même tableau et qu'on leur accordait à cet effet deux mois à chacun il se voit dans l'impossibilité d'accepter la commande..." because it would take three years.¹⁵⁰ Winckler, who came with a recommendation from the painter Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, received a permesso straordinario. A memorandum of 1857-58 makes reference to a regulation that copy permissions for the work be limited to two per artist (a time period is not specified).¹⁵¹ However, though the memorandum refers to the "Questa misura adottata eguale per tutte," such a regulation is mentioned in memoranda concerning subsequent requests to copy La Seggiola.

¹⁴⁹ AGF, LXXXIV (Parte 2a) 631 July, 1850, cited by Bradley, p. 9.

¹⁵⁰ AGF, 1864, second vol., Nos. 50 to 114, No. 89.

¹⁵¹ AGF, Filza XVI 1857-58, No. 43.

Not all requests were for Old Masters. Contemporary paintings such as the Farinata degli Alberti of Giuseppe Sabatelli, and Vincenzo Chialli's Una Messa cantata and Un esequie funebre were often requested.¹⁵² But most requests were for paintings of the Italian High Renaissance and Baroque, with a certain number for Flemish and some Dutch works¹⁵³, and for the works of Murillo.¹⁵⁴ The choices of the copyists no doubt reflected the generally conservative taste of their clients. Already in the 1830s Sir Francis Palgrave, the author at that time of the Murray Handbook for Northern Italy, was vigorously recommending the Fra Angelicos of San Marco.¹⁵⁵ And while before the 1860s,

¹⁵² The MMFA/MBAM owns a copy of Una Messa cantata under the title Capuchin Monks at Prayer (87754-908, Gibb bequest) now attributed to an unknown French painter. The 1879 Art Association of Montreal exhibition catalogue lists copies of both Chialli works: Capuchin Monks at Prayer (no. 67) and Burial of a Capuchin Monk (no. 68), which is described as a copy of a work by "Chiar."

¹⁵³ Requests for the works of Van Mieris and Gaspar Netscher, for example, are numerous.

¹²¹ An 1857-58 file includes a list of the number of requests for certain paintings in the Pitti for varying periods (four to nine years) in the 1850s. A rough breakdown gives the following: 93 requests in nine years for La Fornarina; 72 requests in eight years for Titian's Flora; 56 requests in six years for the Sassoferrato Madonna; 44 requests in eight years for the Correggio Madonna; 22 requests in four years for the de Pozzo Madonna; 16 requests in four years for Raffael's San Giovanni; 31 requests in eight years for Correggio's Santa Famiglia; and 23 requests in seven years for the Del Sarto Madonna del arpie. AGF, 1857-58, Filza 10, Anni Diversi, Pos. no. 75.

¹⁵⁵ Francis Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art, Ithaca, N.Y., 1976, pp. 171-172.

when it came under state control, San Marco would have dealt with its own copy requests, still it is remarkable how very few requests there are for the early Renaissance paintings in the Uffizi and Pitti. The queen of paintings in the nineteenth century was the Madonna della Seggiola. But there were other stars. A list in a file for 1857-59 gives a breakdown of the numbers of requests received for certain paintings in the Pizzi over varying periods of time during that decade: Raphael's La Fornarina received ninety-three requests in nine years; Titian's Flora seventy-two requests in eight years; the Sassoferrato Madonna fifty-six requests in six years; the Correggio Madonna forty-four requests in eight years; the Holy Family of the same painter, thirty-one requests in eight years; Raphael's Saint John sixteen requests in four years; and Andrea del Sarto's Madonna del Arpie twenty-three requests in seven years; a de Pozzo Madonna twenty-two requests in four years.¹⁵⁶

Technique

The letter from "Smith of Parma" to his patron demonstrated the considerable analysis that one eighteenth-century painter was prepared to put into the working out of a method of imitating the colour of Correggio's S.

¹⁵⁶ AGF 1857-58, Filza 10, Pos. 75, Domande d'Artisti per riproduzione d'opere.

Girolamo.¹⁵⁷ But relatively few references to the nineteenth-century professional copyists' technique were found in the voluminous literature touching in one way or another on copies. In general, writers speak of effects, not means. An exception is the following anecdote from the pen of the American painter Rembrandt Peale, who had come to Italy c. 1830 to make "copies of celebrated pictures for some gentlemen of taste in New-York:"¹⁵⁸

...in the Palace Pitti, where I copied from Rubens, Raphael, Bronzino, etc., when I was about finishing a copy of Guido's Cleopatra, one of the regular copyists of the Palace asked me if I wished to know the judgment they had pronounced on me? This was, that my own style must be the style of Guido. When I inquired how they had come to that conclusion, he remarked that in making all the other copies, I studied, as others did, with my palette knife to match the tints; but in making what they are pleased to term my best copy of Guido, I mixed no tints, but with my brush rapidly compounded them from the original colors. I could not but smile, and informed him that this mode of proceeding rather arose from my ignorance of Guido's method, which I sought to ascertain with the materials he necessarily used to produce his beautiful penumbral effects.¹⁵⁹

Kurt Wehlte in The Materials and Techniques of Painting seems to imply that the copyist may have thought in terms of imitating what the original painting looked like rather than what its creator did to make it look like that. Speaking of nineteenth and early twentieth-century copies

¹⁵⁷ Paul McIntyre, "Un misterioso pittore Americano: Smith of Parma." See p.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in C. Edwards Lester, The Artists of America, p. 212.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 214-215.

he complains that "the layered painting of an old Dutch master has been reproduced alla prima."¹⁶⁰ According to conservationist Robin Ashton, formerly head of conservation at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, the copyist "did not build up the surface like a faker."¹⁶¹ It is precisely this point on which the faker often differs from the copyist, Ashton says. The faker does attempt to imitate the method, and materials of the original, whereas the copyist generally sought to reproduce only "the surface impression."

With respect to materials, Rodrigue Bédard, head of conservation at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts described the canvas of Falardeau's copy of the Rembrandt Self-Portrait as "not terribly good, but not bad, a fairly open weave with thin threads."¹⁶² Pat Legris, who did restoration work on paintings in The Ontario Collection recalled the use of a lot of oil resin glazes in Falardeau's work. He suggested that the time constraints copyists had to work under may have affected the quality of their copies. In Legris' opinion cracking on the paintings

¹⁶⁰ Kurt Wehlte, The Materials and Techniques of Painting, New York, 1975, first pub., Munich, 1967, p. 565.

¹⁶¹ Robin Ashton, telephone conversation, Aug. 5, 1988.

¹⁶² MMFA/MBAM 882.50. See catalogue. Rodrigue Bedard, MMFA/MBAM, personal communication to the author, Spring, 1988. See Cat. No. 88.

was due to the presence of a fast-drying layer put on over an undried layer of paint.¹⁶³

One other point calls our attention here. Sarah Walden in her book on restoration, The Ravished Image, states that "Local copyists...frequently rubbed the original paintings with oil to brighten" them for copying.¹⁶⁴ It is unthinkable to imagine such a thing taking place under the watchful eyes of Ramirez di Montalvo or Bourbon del Luca. But the 1817 document cited by Carol Bradley mentions that the copyists are to be watched that they do not take "alcuna libertà a di bagnare, o di fregare, or di verniciare, o altro."¹⁶⁵

The criteria by which professional Old Master copies were judged did not draw extensive comment within the milieu in which Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau worked. The kinds of attempts to define the copy from a theoretical point of view that were elaborated in Paris do not appear in the remarks of those who painted, supervised or bought copies in Florence.¹⁶⁶ Bourbon del Monte's discourse on the

¹⁶³ Pat Legris, Carp, Ont., telephone conversation with the author, Aug., 1988

¹⁶⁴ Sarah Walden, The Ravished Image, London, 1985, p. 91.

¹⁶⁵ AGF, 1817, Filza XL, April 14, 1817, cited in Carol Bradley, "Copisti Americani," p. 5.

¹⁶⁶ See Paul Duro, "Un Livre Ouvert à l'Instruction: Study Museum in Paris in the Nineteenth Century" (Oxford Art Journal, 10, 1 (1987), pp. 44-57). With respect to Italy, Filippo Zevi and John Berger in

qualities that distinguished the true copy, as opposed to the souvenir, constituted a theory of sorts,¹⁶⁷ though, as we have seen, the copyists frequently violated the cardinal tenet - copying in the original size - of his definition.

What concerned those who looked at and bought copies was the distinction between good and bad copies, and while there were few of the former, there were many of the latter. Samuel Morse, speaking of the collection of the American Academy in New York in 1828 states baldly: "There are some tolerable copies, and some few very good copies."¹⁶⁸ William Cullen Bryant confirms what seems to have been a common opinion - that the truly good copyist was rare:

...a good copy of a great picture is no common thing, and...it requires in him who works it, most of the requisites of a great painter. It is frequently said

their book on the Alinari photographic firm cite Roberto Longhi's 1830 definition (based on Diderot) of the translation (engraving], which he contrasted with the copy, which he saw as less desirable than the translation because it was less "free:" Their ultimate aim is the same...to preserve intact the creation, the composition, the proportions, the chiaroscuro and perspectives. However, it is only the copy which remains a slave to the original, whereas the "translation" finds its own means to express itself, in place of the identical artistic medium that is lacking. In other words the copy is closely linked to the original in substance and manner; the "translation" is bound to the substance but is free as regards manner (Bruno Zevi and John Berger, Alinari: Photographers of Florence 1852-1920, Florence, 1978, p. 13). The authors imply that the "translation" discourse migrated into photography, Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁶⁷ AGF, 1851-52, Filza XIII, No. 8, "alcune osservazioni..."

¹⁶⁸ Cited in Miller, p. 98.

that a good copy is better than a bad original, which is true enough; but it should be remembered that good originals are not so very much more rare than good copies.¹⁶⁹

Hawthorne, recalling a visit to the Borghese Palace, was even more glum about the possibility of finding a good copy: "...a good many artists...were making copies of the more celebrated pictures, and in all, or most cases, missing the especial points that made their celebrity and value."¹⁷⁰

What were the criteria that separated the sheep from the goats? One point of issue occasionally found in European texts is that of suppleness and fluidity as opposed to hardness, a distinction that one also finds in contemporary criticism of Early Renaissance painting, which was often described as "hard and dry."¹⁷¹ When used to describe a copy the words may be a way of saying that the likeness is not satisfactory due to the painter's lack of fluency. The concern with colour quality noted in the Quebec newspaper accounts is not found in texts referring to the European copy milieu, perhaps because European viewers had had less experience with unsatisfactory colour. Praise for fidelity to the original however does appear. The praise is

¹⁶⁹ The Letters of William Cullen Bryant, New York, 1964, to The Evening Post, May 17, 1853, Rome.

¹⁷⁰ Hawthorne, The French and Italian Notebooks, p. 110

¹⁷¹ See Reitlinger, The Economics of Taste, pp. 5-7.

explicit in a memoria of 1843 praised the copyist Vincenzo Corsi for his ability to "tradurre fedilmente la bellezza dei capi d'opere dei grandi pittori che si ammirano nelle nostre R.R. Gallerie."¹⁷² In other cases it seems implicit in the judgement. William Cullen Bryant may have been referring to the technique that achieved likeness when he remarked of the American painter John Chapman that: "He seems to penetrate, at once, the mechanical methods of the artist whose work is before him, and in his copies there is no trace of Chapman except his fidelity."¹⁷³ And in fact the essential desirable quality in a copy appears to have been likeness to the original, a desideratum implied in the assumption that it was in fact possible to replicate works of art. The work to be replicated though, was the work as it left the hands of the artist. Fears that time (and in some cases the efforts of restorers) had dimmed the glories of many a masterpiece are frequent in nineteenth-century writing. An anonymous journalist in Quebec expressed these sentiments succinctly in a remark directed at Antoine Plamondon's copy of the Dulin Saint Jérôme in the Séminaire de Québec. Not only must the copy be "parfaite et parfaitement conforme à l'original," but "le peintre devait

¹⁷² AGF, 1843, Filza IX, Aug. 16, 1843.

¹⁷³ Letters of William Cullen Bryant, Vol. III, to the Evening Post, Oct. 5, 1849, p. 106. But Bryant's allusion to Chapman's understanding of the method of the original artist is untypical.

faire la copie ce qu'était l'original sortant des mains de son auteur et non tel que l'a fait le temps."¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Le Journal de Québec, Mar. 21, 1844.

CONCLUSION

The praise and attention that flowed so effusively from the pens of earlier generations had dwindled to barely a trickle by the time the twentieth century had established itself in Quebec. Antoine-Sebastien Falardeau slipped through the net of modern art history. On the one hand, as a professional copyist he occupied the lowest rung in the hierarchy of cultural professions. On the other, as an artist who made his career outside Quebec he lacked the claim to attention that even an ill-developed talent might expect had it exercised itself in the building of a native culture.

But what can be seen as absence can also be seen as link. Though it was unique in the annals of Quebec's culture, Falardeau's career was not an anomaly to be appended in parenthesis to accounts of Canadian and Quebec art history. Placing him in context, we can see that he is one of many individuals who remind us of the numerous links that existed between Quebec and Europe, links that represented a continuous and thoughtful response to developments on the continent. As a European success story, and the records indicate that he stood out among the copyists of Florence, he may possibly have been a factor in the self-image of the cultured Quebecer of the mid-nineteenth century.

His profession too is a connection with the past, the last link in a chain, now close to breaking, with the

classical Renaissance-Baroque tradition in which the copy played an important and respected role. The volume of his production, the range of his clientele, and the quality of his best work, serve to define him as an epitome of the nineteenth-century professional copyist. The more than two hundred Falardeaus sold in Quebec, many of them to individuals who took an interest in collecting paintings, are a reminder that Quebec, despite its special situation, shared the general cultural orientation of the Western world. The fact that relatively few were bought by religious institutions calls to our attention the fact that religious art in Quebec was a very specific field with its own parameters of practise and patronage.

The early pattern of Falardeau's career - the youthful talent sent abroad by public subscription, eking out its meagre funds by copying - links him with young artists in the same situation from the United States and elsewhere. The chronology of that career coincides with the curve of the profession. Falardeau's success was achieved in the 1850s, the decade when copy production was at his highest. His declining years paralleled the years of the copy's decline. One wonders if the artist was aware of the changes in taste and in ideas about art that lay behind the surely evident decline in the numbers of copyists at work in the Uffizi and the Pitti Palace. As for the paintings, though one cannot propose that the recovery of the hundreds

of Falardeaus - each with a signature clearly visible on the back - "lost" in European and Canadian collections, should be considered a priority, nevertheless one cannot help but think of them with a certain regret. One also regrets the apparent disappearance of the Falardeau grave in Florence. Perhaps this loss can be rectified.

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APPENDIX

THE PAINTINGS OF ANTOINE-SEBASTIEN FALARDEAU

The appendix includes all the paintings, both copies and originals, known, or reported by contemporary or other reliable documentation, to have been done by Antoine-Sbastien Falardeau. Paintings formerly attributed to him, as well as some documentary material, are also included, in separate lists.¹ In many cases more than one source reference exists for the same title. In these cases the work is treated as a single work unless the references are such as to indicate that they refer to different paintings.² Later citations, for example twentieth-century newspaper articles, which merely repeat information given by Emile Falardeau or other earlier sources have not been included in the bibliographical listings in the catalogue entries. Paintings with the notation "Ryerson Purchase" are those which were bought by Egerton Ryerson in 1856; they are listed in his account book ("Record of Purchases for the Educational Museum and Library, 1856-1861,"

¹ La Minerve of July 18, 1882 reports that: "...M. Falardeau, a reu la commande d'un portrait l'huile de l'honorable M. Chapleau. Ce portrait sera prsent au premier ministre par les membres de la lgislature provinciale, qui ont dj souscrit \$500 cet effet. Il sera excut Florence..." However, there is no record of this painting being completed. It is not mentioned in the records of the Lgislature in Quebec.

² It should be noted that in several cases nineteenth-century Quebec newspapers carried two separate articles on Falardeau the same day.

Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario Department of Education Records, R.G. 2, Series L-3, vol. 15).

The Falardeaus in the collection of the Musée du Québec were acquired as part of the Macpherson bequest. According to a letter from Judge G.F. Gibsone,³ Judge of the Provincial Superior Court of Quebec, to Emile Falardeau, of Jan. 9, 1934, the Macpherson Collection was begun by the Hon. Henry Black (1798-1873),⁴ Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court in Quebec, and member of the Legislative Assembly in the 1840s. Black had visited Falardeau in Italy in company with George O'Kill Stuart (1807-1884) in 1858. In 1883 his widow married Stuart, who was Mayor of Quebec 1846 to 1850, twice member of the provincial legislature in the 1850s, and from 1873 judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court in Quebec. Mrs. Stuart was the aunt, and foster mother, of the "demoiselles Wotherspoon," one of whom married William Molson Macpherson, son of Sir David L. Macpherson of Toronto. Following the marriage the Macphersons resided in Quebec. On Mrs. Stuart's death, David Macpherson bought the contents of the Black, subsequently Stuart, home, and following his death, the collection was given to the

³ Gibsone was one of the executors of the MacPherson will. E. Falardeau, p. 138.

⁴ DCB, vol. 10.

Musée.⁵ The MacPherson collection included works purchased by both Black and O'kill Stuart.

Information in the catalogue entries attributed to Emile Falardeau, unless otherwise noted, has been taken from papers representing his research for the unfinished manuscript of a second, unpublished, book, Falardeau: Son Oeuvre; frequently sources for information were not included in his notes.⁶ Where the source of Emile Falardeau's information is known, it is given. The citation "E. Falardeau papers, formerly coll. R. Falardeau" refers to papers owned by the biographer's son, Raymond Falardeau, which were consulted by the author but which were destroyed as a result of the flood of the summer of 1987.

Some of Falardeau's letters requesting permission to copy in the Pitti and Uffizi have been preserved in the Archivio delle gallerie fiorentine file.⁷ Other requests and permissions granted are listed in subfiles of the file

⁵ Judge G. F. Gibsone (b.1874), Judge of the Provincial Superior Court of Quebec, to Emile Falardeau, Jan. 9, 1934, E. Falardeau papers. Biographical information on Black and Stuart is from P.-G. Roy, Les Juges de la Province de Québec, Quebec, 1933, pp. 57 & 517.

⁶ In some cases these notes refer to paintings mentioned in newspaper auction lists as having been sold "avant l'encan;" this information, for which E. Falardeau does not cite sources, has not been included in the catalogue entries.

⁷ The files in the AGF in the Uffizi, Via Lambertesca section, were consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

Affari trovati presso i Componenti la cerrata Direzione,
mancaenti della registrazione nei rispetti anni perchè non
passati all Archivio (AGF), some of which appear to repeat information. Not all of the entries in this file are dated. A number of titles were represented in these files by more than one permission to copy. For the sake of brevity, separate catalogue entries were not made for each such date; the additional permissions are simply listed in the original entry. Separate entries are made only where contemporary evidence indicates separate owners.

Dimensions have been given as provided by the owners. Dimensions in parentheses, where given, are those of the originals. The copies are not always the same size as the originals. In some cases the proportions have been altered. Unless otherwise noted inscriptions are those of the artist, whose practice it was to inscribe his name, the date, the title, artist, and sometimes the location of the original, on the back of each canvas, in rare cases on the frame. Owners of some of the extant paintings have not recorded these inscriptions in their records. Thus for some works not seen by the author, as well as in cases where paintings were relined or backed without the inscriptions being noted, this information was not available.

The medium is oil on canvas unless otherwise stated. The majority of the paintings retain their original carved,

ornamented, gilded wood and composition frames, some of them very elaborate. Information on the condition of the paintings is not consistent, as comparable data for all the extant paintings was not available. Condition varies greatly. Some works, for example the survivors of the Ryerson Purchase (since restored) had badly deteriorated through neglect. Deterioration due to the use of bitumen has been noted in some Falardeaus.

Where a well-established title for a painting exists, that title has been kept; in some cases the titles current in Falardeau's day have been retained - for example, Madonna della Seggiola in preference to Madonna della Sedia. In most other cases the names used by the present owners of the art works have been used. Variations in titles of copies known only by name, in particular those of works by Salvator Rosa, make exact identification difficult in certain cases. It should be noted that some works that were in the Uffizi when Falardeau painted them are now in the Pitti, and vice versa.

The dispersion of the forty paintings whose whereabouts are known, the differences in their state of preservation, the differences in style and aesthetic quality of the originals, and even differences in the film used to photograph them, have rendered judgements on their quality and character difficult. The one exception is the extremely fine copy of Correggio's Madonna di San Girolamo

in Florence, the painting which is probably the work which won the artist his Knighthood in 1852. With respect to the works in Canadian collections, a comparison of photographs reveals that while the copies vary in fidelity and attractiveness (and the latter quality is not independent of the attractiveness of the original), taken overall, they do not show either striking progression or decline with respect to dates. The 1852 Carlo Dolci Magdalen and the 1869 Titian Magdalen, both in the Muse du Qubec, are equally striking in their fidelity and skill of execution. The Sustermans Galileo dated 1878 (collection of Emilien Rhaume, Montreal) shows that Falardeau's skills had not declined even at a date when he was reported to have virtually ceased painting. In works such as these the artist has to a considerable degree retained the subtlety and mobility of expression that characterized the originals. Many of Falardeau's copies show particular facility with a soft style. Weaknesses - and some paintings are weaker than others - are apt to be those of perfunctory treatment of drapery, or a lack of richness in colour as compared with the originals. Modelling, for example in the hands of the Titian Christ in the College Brbeuf, is usually impressive, often even in copies that are weak in other respects.

Except for a small number bought in Europe, none of which

can be identified today,⁸ most if not all the Falardeaus in Canada were sold by the artist on his visits to Quebec in 1862 and 1882. A typical pattern of ownership seems to be that following the deaths of the original buyers, the paintings left the immediate families either by sale or by gift. Periodically over the decades Falardeaus have turned up at auctions, in galleries, and offered for sale or gift (not always accepted) to museums. Undoubtedly there are more in private collections in Quebec. The whereabouts of the Falardeaus and the other copies in the Ontario Collection present a greater mystery. Some of these works are known to have been destroyed by fire following their dispersal among the normal schools of Ontario in 1921. And some undoubtedly were destroyed or discarded. However it seems unlikely all of the others could have been destroyed.⁹ Only one work has been found in Europe - the copy of the Correggio Madonna di San Girolamo.

⁸ An examination of the export permits for works of art in the AGF might shed some light on clients who bought from Falardeau in Europe.

⁹ What happened for instance to the approximately fifty-four copies from the Toronto Normal School moved to the Ontario Legislative Building for display in 1941. Only eleven could be found in 1977, according to Fern Bayer, who researched the collection and installed the remains of the Ryerson Purchase in the new display in Queen's Park. The Ontario Collection, Toronto, 1984, p. 64.

Copies by Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau

- 1 After a painting by an unidentified artist
Amerigo Vespucci (Uffizi, Florence)
 1853
 67.7 x 55.2 cm
 Bibl.: Le Canadien, June 30, 1862, Le Courrier du
Canada, July 2, July 4, 1862
 Public Archives Canada C-101333. Presently hanging in
 East Block, House of Commons, Ottawa. (not examined)

 This work is cited in Le Canadien (June 30, 1862) as
 being on exhibition in "les bâtisses de Ross, rue St-
 Jean," Quebec. Le Courrier du Canada (July 4, 1862)
 states that it was purchased in Quebec in 1862 by the
 Hon. Joseph- Edouard Turcotte, "député du comté de
 Trois-Rivières" (E. Falardeau).¹⁰

- 2 After a painting by an unidentified artist
Amerigo Vespucci
 Before 1882
 Bibl.: Le Canadien, June 30, 1862; Montreal Daily Star,
 July 7, 1882
 Present location unknown

 Purchased by Dr. S. Lachapelle (of St. Henri, according
 to E. Falardeau) at auction in 1882 for \$50 (Montreal
Daily Star, July 7, 1882).

- 3 After a painting by an unidentified artist
Christopher Columbus (Uffizi, Florence)
 1853
 67.5 x 55.5 cm
 Bibl.: Le Canadien, June 30, 1862; Le Courrier du
Canada, July 2, July 4, 1862
 Public Archives Canada C-101332. Presently hanging in
 the East Block, House of Commons, Ottawa. (not examined)

¹⁰ Some newspaper accounts state whether paintings
 were sold before or at auction, others do not. In many
 cases it has not been possible to ascertain which was
 the case.

Le Courrier du Canada (July 4, 1862) states that a painting by this title was sold to the Hon Joseph-Edouard Turcotte in Quebec, 1862. A letter from Alonzo Cinq-Mars to Gerards Morisset (Falardeau dossier 12764) dated Dec. 17, 1935, states that the following is part of the inscription on the verso: ...De la collection de Monseigneur le chanoine Givra (?), maintenant dépositaire du gouvernement."

- 4 After a painting by an unidentified artist
Head of a Young Pilgrim
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

Ryerson's account book (AO, Record of Purchases, Invoice 49) states that the painting was presented to him "as a souvenir." This is probably a copy of Jean Grimoux' (1680-1740) Jeune Pélerin or his Jeune Pélerine, in the Uffizi.

- 5 After Albano (probably Francesco Albani, 1578-1660)
Jésus Enfant (Uffizi)
 1858
 16 3/4 x 22 3/4"
 Insc.: d'après Albano / Le chevalier Falardeau / 1825
 Via de' Bardi
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862
 Collection Hélène Archambault, St.-Pierre-les Becquets, Que.

The only painting of this title mentioned in accounts of the 1862 and 1882 sales was purchased in Quebec in 1862 by Samuel Derbshire (Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862). The work is a depiction of the child Jesus as a child of about twelve. Clad in a red robe, he stands alone against a landscape background. Samuel Derbshire was an associate of the printer Desbarats, and a resident of rue St. Jean, Québec according to E. Falardeau. Raymond Vézina notes that "Les Journeaux de l'Assemblée législative pour l'année 1844 nous apprennent que 'S. Derbshire, ecuyer, de la cité de Montréal [demande] une aide pour mettre Théophile Hamel, jeune peintre canadien, en état de compéter ses études à Rome,...'" (Théophile Hamel, p. 46). Mme. Archambault, who remembers seeing the painting as a small child, inherited it from her father who died c. 1987 at the age of 87. The work is in its original frame.

- 6 After Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515) formerly attributed to Fra Bartolomeo
Mary Magdalen (Accademia, Siena)
 Before c. 1856
 Bibl.: Fern Bayer, The Ontario Collection, pp. 30-31, repr.
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

- 7 After Mariotto Albertinelli, formerly attributed to Fra Bartolomeo)
Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Accademia, Siena)
 Before c. 1856
 105.4 x 66 c.m.
 Bibl.: Fern Bayer, The Ontario Collection, pp. 30-31
 Queen's Park, Toronto, MGS 692680 (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

Ryerson's Account Book records payment Jan. 22, 1856, to Falardeau for a "Copy of St. Catherine of Siena as well as the Holy Mary, original in the Academy of Fine Arts, Siena by Fra Bartolomeo." The inscription, which is visible but not legible in a pre-restoration photograph, was not recorded before the back of the painting was covered.

- 8 After Cristofano Allori (1577-1621)
The Infant Jesus Asleep on the Cross (Uffizi, Florence)
 Present location unknown

Permission was requested for one month for this painting and the Allori Magdalen Oct. 14, 1847; it was granted beginning Nov. 3, 1847. (AGF, 1847, Filza LXXI, parte 2a).

- 9 After Cristofano Allori
Judith, c. 1621 (Pitti Palace, Florence)
 1854
 80.5 x 59.5 cm, oval (1.39 x 1.16m)
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862
 Musée de Vaudreuil, G.75.40P (Gift of J.R. St-Germain, St-Hyacinthe, Que.)

A partial copy, the painting contains only the figure of Judith. And the format has been changed from rectangular to oval. The colours are clear and bright, though the gold of the robe and the reds and green of the cloak are less brilliant than in the original. The details, as is usual with Falardeau, have been copied with exactness. Though the work preserves the grace and elegance of the original to a considerable degree, the face has lost its "Jewish" quality (the forehead being less high, the neck less long). The haughty confidence of the original has been replaced with sweetness. By omitting the head of Holofernes Falardeau has subdued the drama and removed the sexual allegory of the original, leaving only the portrait of a beautiful young woman. One of the masterpieces of the Florentine seicento, Allori's Judith exists in five versions, not to mention numerous contemporary replicas and later copies. The Pitti version, the one Falardeau copied, is deservedly the best known. The belief that Holofernes and Judith were portraits of the artist and his mistress Maria di Giovanni Mazzafirri appealed to the nineteenth-century (and middle class) penchant for appreciating paintings in terms of narrative interest and real-life references. Le Courrier du Canada commented in 1862: "M. Falardeau expose en ce moment ... ses tableaux dans une des maisons à arcades de la rue Saint-Jean.... Cette dernière toile (the Judith) qui attire particulièrement les regards contient également plusieurs portraits authentiques" (July 2, 1862). A painting by this title was purchased by J.B. Renaud, Quebec, 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862). E. Falardeau describes Renaud as a merchant, rue St. Paul, residence 14 rue des Remparts, Québec. There is some cracking and repainting visible in the Vaudreuil work.

10 After C. Allori

Judith

Present location unknown

Bernard Desroches, of the Galerie Bernard Desroches, Montreal, reports selling an exact, rectangular, copy of the Judith approximately "fifteen years ago" (1973). There is a request for permission to copy this work dated Nov. 12, 1855 in the AGF (1855-56, Filza XV). Permission was granted for thirty days starting Aug. 28, 1856. An undated entry in Morisset's Falardeau dossier [12804] assigns an Allori Judith to the collection of Mme. Panet-Angers, 4 rue de la Sainte-Famille, Quebec.

According to Morriset "Madame Panet-Angers, qui tient cette toile de sa famille, prétend que c'est une oeuvre de Falardeau." However the fact that the work is not signed suggests that it may not be by Falardeau.

- 11 After C. Allori
Magdalen (Uffizi)
 Present location unknown

Permission was requested Oct. 14, 1847, for one month to copy this work along with The Infant Jesus Asleep on the Cross; it was granted for a month, beginning Nov. 3, 1847. (AGF, 1847, Filza LXXI, parte 2a). Allori's Magdalen was moved from the Uffizi to the Pitti in 1928.

- 12 After Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531)
Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth (Pitti Palace)
 Bibl.: E. Falardeau, p. 95
 Present location unknown

Falardeau was granted permission copy this work on commission for the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess of Mecklenbourg-Schwerin, probably in Dec., 1854 (at approximately the same time he received permission to copy La Seggiola for the same patron) (AGF, 1854, Filza XIV).

- 13 After Andrea del Sarto
Self-Portrait (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve, July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown

Sold at auction, July, 1882, for \$40, to Mr. L. Frechette (La Minerve, July 10, 1882). The address of the poet (L-H. Frechette) was 29 Ontario St., Montreal, according to E. Falardeau. A request for permission to copy the Self-Portrait is dated July 27, 1854. AGF, 1854, Filza LXXVIII, parte 2a.

- 14 Francesco Bassano (1549-92) (formerly attributed to Veronese)
Saint Catherine (Pitti Palace)
 1854
 79.2 x 63.4 cm
 Insc.: Sainte Catherine / A.S. Falardeau d'après / Paul Veronese / Galerie des Uffizi Florence 1854
 Bibl.: La Presse, Dec. 30, 1933
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.612 (Macpherson Bequest)

See the Introduction to Appendix A for a description of the Macpherson Bequest.

- 15 After Federico Barocci (1526-1612)
Le Triomphe de la Charité avec le Christianisme
 1860
 Oil on cardboard oval 37.5 x 37 cm, with four miniatures fixed into the frame
 Insc.: Le Triomphe de la Charite / avec la Christianisme / Le chevalier Falardeau / d'après Baroccio / Florence 1860
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, July 9, 1862; La Presse, Dec.30, 1933; J.M. Le Moine, p. 23; E. Falardeau, Artistes & Artisans du Canada, repr.
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.707.01 (Macpherson bequest)

The Barocci painting is in an elaborate frame which incorporates four miniatures, clockwise: Christ after Carlo Maratta (1625-1713), 1861, 11.6 x 10.2 cm, 34.707.02; Beatrice Cenci, after a painting formerly attributed to Guido Reni, 1861, 11.8 x 10.2 cm, 34.707.05; Flautist [La Musique] after Giovanni Martinelli, dated 1861, 11.8 x 10 cm, 34.707.04; Sibyl, after Guido Reni, 1861, 11.6 x 10 cm, 34.707.03. J.M. Le Moine lists this work as being in the collection of George O'Kill Stuart. Le Moine's description of the painting as an original may be the source of this frequently encountered error. Le Courrier du Québec of July 9, 1862 refers to it as being "en partie composé par M. Falardeau."

- 16 After Fra Bartolommeo (c.1475-1517)
Descent from the Cross (Pitti Palace)
 Before c. 1882
 (1.58 x 1.99)

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
July 10, 1882

Present location unknown.

Sold at auction, July, 1882, to Mr. (Dr. J.R.) Leman,
(of 329 Rue Saint Denis, according to E. Falardeau), for
\$115 (La Minerve, July 10, 1882). It was in the
possession of Mrs. F.B. Mathys, a daughter of Dr. Leman,
of 320 Kensington, Westmount, a daughter of Dr. Leman.
(Beaudry Leman to E. Falardeau, Oct. 18, 1933. E.
Falardeau papers). E. Falardeau's unpublished
manuscript on the paintings of Falardeau adds that "Les
journaux nous annoncent que cette propriété a été
détruite par un incendie."

17 After Fra Bartolommeo

Savonarola

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

18 After Canaletto (1697-1768)

Grand Canal, Venice

Before 1882

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882

Present location unknown

Sévère Rivard (327 Sherbrooke St., Montreal) lawyer and
former mayor of Montreal (he defeated Beaudry in 1879,
DCB, vol. 11, p. 61), bought this painting at auction in
1882 for \$65 (Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882).

19 After Annibale Carracci (1560-1609)

Annibale Carracci et son singe (Uffizi)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1852; L'Ordre,
July 21, 1862; La Minerve, July 22, 1862; Le Pays,
July 22, 1862

Present location unknown.

La Minerve (July 22, 1862) gives M. Bibaud as the
purchaser, at the Shaw & Frères, July 19 auction,
Montreal, of a work of this title. E. Falardeau gives

the address of Maximilien Bibaud, lawyer, as côte St. Lambert, Montreal.

- 20 After Niccolo Cassana (1659-1713)
The Conspiracy of Catiline (Pitti Palace, after the painting of the same title by Salvator Rosa, Casa Martelli, Florence, formerly attributed to Rosa)
 Before c. 1856
 100.3 x 120.6 cm (1.58 x 1.99)
 Insc.: Via de' Bardi, Chevalier Falardeau
 Bibl.: Fern Bayer, pp. 27-29, repr.
 Queens Park, Toronto, MGS 623802 (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

Ryerson's Account Book records payment on 10 May 1856 to Falardeau for a copy of the Conspiracy of Catiline by Rosa, with frame, two thirds the size of the original. The Pitti work is described in earlier literature as the work of Salvator Rosa.

- 21 After Niccolo Cassana
The Conspiracy of Catiline
 1864
 153.4 x 186.4 cm (1.58 x 1.99)
 Inscr.: Congiurazione de Catilina / Antoine S. Falardeau / d'après Salvator Rosa / Palais Pitti / Flor. 1864.
 On stretcher: Gallerie Pitti 1864
 Bibl.: E.G. [Ernest Gagnon], "M. Antoine Falardeau," Le Journal de Québec, May 27, 1882; Le Courrier de Montréal, Free Press, June 23, 1882; July 4, 1882; Le Canadien, July 10, 1882; R. H. Hubbard, The National Gallery of Canada Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture, Vol. 3, Ottawa & Toronto, 1960, p. 424; E. Falardeau, p. 128
 National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. 30, (gift of the artist, 1882)

Gagnon states that the work "sera placé au Parlement d'Ottawa,..."

- 22 After Carlo Cignani (1628-1719)
Madonna of the Rosary (Uffizi)
 1854

Inscr.: 1854 Chevalier A.S. Falardeau / 1325 Via de'
 Bardi, Florence; H.M. Boulton
 44.5 x 33 cm
 Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Goldwin Smith
 Collection GS9

The work depicts a softly contoured, smiling, girlish Virgin holding the Child who plays with a rosary. This work (identified as Mother and Child) and Martinelli's La Musique (identified as Girl with Musical Instrument) were part of the collection of Harriet Boulton of Toronto, collected when she and her husband were travelling in Europe [c. 1853-58] according to Dennis Reid, Curator at the Art Gallery of Ontario. After the death of her first husband, Harriet Boulton married the British journalist and historian Goldwin Smith (1823-1910) who had emigrated to Toronto in 1871. The Grange (originally the Boulton home) and its contents are now part of the AGO. Mrs. (Boulton) Smith did copies of her own in the Uffizi and other European galleries, some of which are on exhibition along with other copies in the Grange, in the same room where this Falardeau Madonna hangs.

23 After Carlo Cignani
Madonna of the Rosary
 1852

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862, Georges Bellerive, Artistes Peintres Canadiens-Français, 1927, p. 61;
 Destroyed, 1927

The property of the Asile du Bon-Pasteur, Quebec, the painting was destroyed when the Pensionnat St. Jean Berchmans, where it had been brought to be copied, was burnt in 1927. The work had been given to the Soeurs du Bon Pasteur by the Abbé David Martineau. Martineau (1815-1882) was vicar of the cathedral at Quebec 1841-1850, "premier chaplain" at the church of St.-Jean Baptiste, Quebec 1850-53, curé at St.-Joseph-de-Beauce 1853-56 and at St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse 1856-82 (J.-B.-A. Allaire, Dictionnaire biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français, Montreal, 1910, p. 372). A letter from Mère St. Marcel, secretary of the Asile, to E. Falardeau, dated Sept. 30, 1933 (E. Falardeau papers), which provides the history of the painting, and which gives the date of 1852, states that Martineau bought it in Europe. However Le Courrier du Canada of July 9, 1862, states that Martineau purchased it at auction in

Quebec in 1862. The title may refer to the same work as The Virgin with the Infant Christ cited below.

- 24 After Carlo Cignani
The Virgin with the Infant Christ
 Before c. 1865
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862
 Present location unknown

An undated Falardeau copying permission is listed "si permessa!" in the Affari trovati... (AGF).

- 25 After Antonio Allegri Correggio (1489-1534)
Holy Family (Galleria Nazionale, Parma)
 Present location unknown

Falardeau received permission to copy this painting in 1850 and 1857 (AGF, Affari trovati...).

- 26 After Correggio
Madonna (Uffizi)
 Present location unknown

Falardeau received permission to copy this work in 1850 and again in 1855 (AGF, Affari trovati...).

- 27 After Correggio
Madonna di San Girolamo (Galleria Nazionale, formerly Accademia, Parma)
 1851
 203 x 143 cm
 Bibl.: A.C., "Appendice: Belle Arti," Gazette di Parma, Dec. 1, 1851; Antonio Bertani, Artiste, Feb. 1, 1852, reproduced in Le Courrier du Canada, July 7, 1862, also in Casgrain, pp. 26-28, E. Falardeau, pp. 74-76; Casgrain, 22-30; Bellerive, 1927, p. 51; E. Falardeau, pp. 70-86.
 Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Pitti Palace, Ufficio capitano, stanza 602. Oggetti d'Arte, n. 814, Florence

The work, which hangs on the wall in a room in the Pitti Palace presently used for the storage of furniture, is an unusually fine copy. It was not possible to examine the verso. However it is virtually certain that this is the copy that resulted in Falardeau's being made a knight of the Order of St. Louis and an honorary member of the Parma Academy. It's quality alone speaks for such an assumption, as does its presence as part of the decor of a room in the Pitti Palace. The fanciful newspaper reports of the acquisition of the "prize-winning painting" may have some basis in fact; the painting's location suggests that it may have gone into the hands of the Grand-Duke as a gift or purchase. Further there is no contemporary mention of a second copy of Il Giorno. The Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali has no record as to when or how the painting was acquired. It's record state only that it is "Falardeau di Quebec." The Madonna di San Girolamo, or Il Giorno, a special favorite of copyists in the eighteenth century, retained much of its popularity in the nineteenth. It also retained its notoriety as being extraordinarily difficult to copy.

28 After Correggio

Le Printemps

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; Le Moine,
p. 23

Present location unknown.

Purchased by W.D. Young, Quebec, (rue d'Aiguillon, Québec, according to E. Falardeau) in 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862). No mention of this title appears in Cecil Gould (The Paintings of Correggio, Ithaca, 1976).

29 After Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669)

Eté

Before c. 1882

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
July 10, 1882

Present location unknown.

La Minerve states that the work was sold at auction in July, 1882, to Mayor Beaudry for \$20. E. Falardeau gives the Honorable Jean-Louis Beaudry's address as 31

Drummond St., Montreal. E. Falardeau states that the original hangs in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome.

- 30 After Carlo Dolci (1616-86)
Angel of the Annunciation (Ferroni Palace, Florence)
 Before 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)
- 31 After Carlo Dolci
Diogenes (Pitti Palace)
 Before c. 1862
 (88 x 72 cm)
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; Le Pays, July 17, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862; July 23, 1862; E. Falardeau, Artistes & Artisans du Canada, p.7, repr.
 Present location unknown

This title is given in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, 1862, auction list in La Minerve. The July 22 issue names L.H. Lafontaine (then Chief Justice, address rue Aqueduc, according to E. Falardeau) as the buyer. E. Falardeau's notes state that in 1934 the work was in the possession of Alfred LaRocque.

- 32 After Carlo Dolci
Madonna
 1857
 Oval, 94.6 x 77 c.m.
 Bibl.: La Presse, Dec. 30, 1933
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.706 (Macpherson bequest)

The work has been relined. Falardeau evidently painted many copies of this popular madonna. Among the permissions found were ones for Feb. 17, 1851, (AGF, Affari trovati presso i Componenti la cerrata Direzione, mancanti della registrazione nei rispetti anni perchè non passati all Archivio, Filza 10 Anni diversi, Affari trattati dalle Direzione delle R.Ra Gallerie e Musei). A permission is also recorded in the same file [in a different sub-file] for Feb. 17, 1852. There is a request to copy a Dolci Madonna in Filza XV, 1855-56

(AGF). A permesso straordinario was granted in 1855 (AGF, 1855, LXXIX, parte 1a).

33 After Carlo Dolci

Madonna

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: La Minerve, July 17, July 19, July 22, 1862; Le Pays, July 17, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862; July 23, 1862

Present location unknown

A work of this title is included in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, 1862, auction list in La Minerve of that date. The July 22 issue gives "M. le maire" [Beaudry] as the purchaser. E. Falardeau states in a note dated 1935 that after Beaudry's death the painting was auctioned and bought by Charles (?) Théophile Charlebois, "entrepreneur peintre."

34 After Carlo Dolci

Madonna (Pitti Palace)

Before c. 1862

Present location unknown

According to Morisset (Falardeau dossier 12789), a painting of "La Madonne regardant dormir l'Enfant Jésus, d'après ... Dolci" was given by the artist to the Congregation Notre-Dame in Montreal c. 1861.

35 After Carlo Dolci

Magdalen (Pitti Palace)

1852

73.2 x 58.9 cm (73 x 56 cm)

Ex.: Université Laval, 1951

Insc.: Le chevalier Falardeau / Florence 1852 / d'après Carlo Dolci Galerie des Uffizi

Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.604 (Macpherson bequest)

The Dolci Magdalen is today in the Pitti. Falardeau is listed as copying this painting in 1852 (AGF, Affari trovati...).

36 After Carlo Dolci

Magdalen

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, July 4, 1862

Present location unknown

Purchased in Quebec, 1862 by the Abbé [Zephirin] Charest, (Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862). Charest (1813-1876) was curé of St.-Roch de Québec from 1839. (Allaire, Clergé Canadien-Français, p. 112)

37 After Carlo Dolci

Magdalen

Present location unknown

According to Morisset (Falardeau dossier 12788) this painting was given by the artist to Mère Sainte-Ursule, (née Huot, at Chateau Richer) CND, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of her entrance into the religious life. According to Soeur Florence Bertrand, archivist of the CND, Montreal, the family name of Mère Sainte-Ursule, who was born at Chateau Richer in 1829, was Gibson, not Huot. Mère Ste-Ursule was in Kingston from 1887 until her death in 1897, in Vermont from 1877 to 1887, and prior to that, in Montreal (telephone conversation with the author, Jan. 24, 1988).

38 After Carlo Dolci

Magdalen

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

39 After Carlo Dolci

Poesia (Corsini Palace, Florence)

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

40 After Paul Ferg (1689-1740)

Environs de Rome (1)

1856

32.4 x 32.6

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; La Presse,
Dec. 30, 1933; J.M. Le Moine, p. 23Insc.: Le chevalier Falardeau / d'Après Paul Ferg /
Flor.1856. Paper pasted on frame inscribed: Environs
of Rome after Paul Ferg by Chevalier Falardeau
Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.703 (Macpherson bequest)Le Courrier du Québec of July 9, 1862, names George
O'Kill Stuart as purchaser (at auction) of a work of
this title.

41 After Paul Ferg

Environs de Rome (2)

1856

32.2 x 36.2

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; La Presse,
Dec. 30, 1933; J.M. Le Moine, p. 23Insc.: Le Chevalier Falardeau / d'après Paul Ferg / 1856
/ Florence

Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.704 (Macpherson bequest)

Le Moine gives the titles as Deux Paysages Romains.

42 After Baldassarre Franceschini (Volterrano) (1611-1689)

La Mort de Saint Joseph

1854

198 x 150.5 cm

Inscr.: Morte di S. Giuseppe / A.S. Falardeau d'après
Franceschini / Sta chiara Bologna 1854 A.S.F.Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; Mme. Rosaire
Thibodeau [sic] to La Revue Moderne, Mar. 1926, p.
14;Cathédrale de St. Jacques et Marie Reine du Monde,
Montreal (small sacristy annex)

A letter to E. Falardeau from the architect Ernest
Cormier states that the work was bought as a gift for a
religious institution by his grandfather Esprit-A.
Genereux (E. Falardeau papers), though Mme. J. Rosaire
Thibaudeau, daughter of the artist's friend Guillaume
Lamothe, and widow of the Liberal senator of the 1880s

(DCB, vol. 11, p. 62) states that the work was sold to the cathedral. (Though the name appears here and in some other sources as "Thibodeau," a letter in the writer's own hand spells it "Thibaudeau," the spelling used in the DCB.) The Montreal Daily Star (July 7, 1882) records that the highest auction bid of \$400 did not reach the reserve of \$500, and that the work was sold by private sale after the auction for \$550. This would appear to have been the highest price paid at the 1882 Montreal sale, the next highest sum listed in the Montreal Daily Star (July 7) being the \$135 paid for the copy of Fra Bartolomeo's Descent from the Cross. E. Falardeau's notes state: "...Ce tableau a été chromolithographié par Messieurs Georges-E. Desbarats & Cie / acheteur Monsieur Esprit-A. Genereux, Residence 11 Carré Dalhousie, Montréal."

- 43 After Francesco Furini, (1603-46)
La Foi
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862
 Present location unknown.

The work, the original attributed to "Forini" was purchased in Quebec, 1862, by Laurent Tetu (Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862). The original is probably the Allegorical Figure in the Pitti. E. Falardeau gives Tetu's address as rue des Grisons, Quebec.

- 44 After Benvenuto Tisi Garofalo (1481-1559)
Sibyl (Pitti Palace)
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

- 45 After Jean Grimoux (1680-1740)
Un Pelerin (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: L'Ordre, July 18, 1862; La Minerve, July 19, 1862
 Present location unknown.

La Minerve of July 19, 1862, includes this title in its Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19 auction list.

- 46 After Guercino (1591-1666)
Samian Sibyl (Uffizi)
 1864

Oil on cardboard, 115.9 x 95.6 cm.

Bibl.: Agenda: Art du Québec 1982, Que., 1982, repr.
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.705 (Macpherson bequest)

The painting has been relined. Permission to copy was granted Sept. 16, 1850 and Oct. 27, 1855 (AGF, Affari trovati...). Falardeau also requested permission to copy "la Sibylle / de Guercino" Oct. 1, 1854; permission for thirty days was granted beginning June 27, 1854 (AGF, 1854, Filza LXXVIII, parte 2a).

- 47 After Gerrit van Honthorst (Gherardo della Notte) (1590-1656)
Adoration of the Shepherds
 Present location unknown

Falardeau's name appears, undated, in a list of copying permissions in the Affari trovati... file (AGF).

- 48 After Angelica Kauffmann (1740-1807)
Self-Portrait (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; Le Pays, July 22, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 23, 1862
 Present location unknown

This title is included in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, 1862 auction list in La Minerve of that date. The July 22 issue gives the purchaser as P. M. Galarneau. Paul Médard Galarneau is identified by E. Falardeau as a "marchand importateur," rue St. Paul, residence Place Aberfoyle, Beaver Hall Hill, Montreal.

- 49 After Sir Peter Lely (1618-80)
Portrait of Oliver Cromwell (Pitti Palace)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Pays, July 17, July 22, 1862; La Minerve, July 10, 1862; July 17, July 19, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 23, 1862

Present location unknown

La Minerve (July 19, 1862) includes a work of this name among the paintings to be auctioned July 19 at Shaw & Frères, Montreal. The July 22 issue gives the purchaser as [Dr. T.] Sterry Hunt. Thomas Sterry Hunt (1826-92), (residence 58 rue St. Gabriel, Montreal, according to E. Falardeau) was a self-taught chemist and mineralogist whose investigations in the former field earned him a world-wide reputation, served in the Geological Survey of Canada (DCB, vol.10, p. 445). He was active in the Art Association of Montreal in the 1870s and 1880s. Residence 58 rue St. Gabriel, Montreal."

50 After Sir Peter Lely

Portrait of Oliver Cromwell

Before c. 1882

Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, 1882

Present location unknown.

The work was sold at auction in July, 1882, for \$109 to J.K. Ward (La Minerve, July 19, 1882). E. Falardeau identifies Ward as proprietor of the Mona Saw Co., residence Rosemont Ave, Cote St-Antoine, Montreal.

51 After Sir Peter Lely

Portrait of Oliver Cromwell

Before c. 1856

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882.

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

After a painting formerly believed to be by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Medusa (Uffizi)

Before 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

52 After Leonardo da Vinci

Self-Portrait (Uffizi)

Present location unknown

Permission was requested for ten days to copy this work in a letter written in Italian, not in Falardeau's hand. Permission was granted for ten days beginning March 15, 1855 (AGF, 1855, Filza LXXIX, parte 2a).

- 53 After Claude Lorrain (1600-1682)
Port avec Villa Médicis (Le Port)
 23 1/4 x 29 2/4"
 Present location unknown

This painting, under the title Le Port, was sold by Dominion Gallery, Montreal. It is possible this work and Coucher de Soleil are the same work.

- 54 After Claude Lorrain
Coucher de Soleil (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, July 4, July 23, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; La Minerve, July 17, July 19, July 22, 1862; Le Pays, July 17, July 22, 1862
 Present location unknown

La Minerve (July 19, 1862) includes this work in the Shaw & Frères auction (Montreal, July 19) list. The purchaser is given in the July 22 issue as "M. le Maire" [Beaudry]. E. Falardeau states that after the death of Beaudry in 1886 the painting was bought by his brother, Victor Beaudry, and that in 1933 it was in the possession of Mme. Veuve Victor Beaudry, 81 Sherbrooke W., Montreal. E. Falardeau gives Jean-Louis Beaudry's address in 1862 as Drummond and Dorchester.

- 54 After Claude Lorrain
Seaport at Sunset
 1867
 41 x 54"
 Mount Stephen Club, Montreal (property of Galerie Bernard Desroches, Montreal)

The painting has been relined.

- 55 After a painting of the Venetian school (formerly attributed to Lorenzo Lotto, c.1480-1556)
The Three Ages (Pitti Palace)
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; J.M. Le Moine, p. 23
 Present location unknown

Former collection of George O'Kill Stuart, Quebec, 1872, according to Le Moine. Le Courrier du Canada of July 9, 1862 states that Stuart bought the work at auction. E. Falardeau gives his address as rue Ste. Anne, Québec.

- 56 After Bernardino Luini (1485-1532)
Herodiade (Uffizi)
 20 1/4 x 24" (51 x 58 cm)
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22, 1862; Le Pays, July 19, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862; July 23, 1862
 Dominion Gallery, Montreal (Purchased 1968)

This may be the work named in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, 1862, auction list in La Minerve of that date. The July 22 issue gives Sir L.H. Lafontaine as the buyer. Le Pays, July 19, 1862, notes that Lafontaine bought this work and the Dolci Diogenes before the auction. No inscription is visible as the painting has been relined. Falardeau is listed as copying this painting in 1856 (AGF, Affari trovati...) An alternate title is the Décollation de Saint-Jean.

- 57 After Bernardino Luini (Uffizi)
Herodiade
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

- 58 After Carlo Maratta (1625-1713)
Head of Christ

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862

Present location unknown

Purchased by Samuel Derbishire, Quebec, 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 2). E. Falardeau gives the first name as Stewart.

59 After Giovanni Martinelli (1610-1659)

La Musique (Corsini Palace, Florence)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862

Present location unknown.

Purchased by Amable Dionne, Quebec, 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862). E. Falardeau describes Dionne as "membre au Conseil Special," and a resident of Kamouraska.

His portrait was painted by both Plamondon and Hamel.

60 After Giovanni Martinelli

La Musique

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

61 After Giovanni Martinelli

La Musique

1856

83.7 x 55.9 cm

Insc.: Chevalier Antoine S. Falardeau / 1325 Via de'

Bardi, Florence / 21 Mar (or Nov.) 1856

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Goldwin Smith

Collection GS3

The painting depicts a young woman in a deep red velvet dress playing a flute.

62 After Gabriel Metsu (1629-67)

Guitarist

Before c. 1882

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882;
La Minerve, July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown.

Sold at auction, July 1882, to Mr. Trottier for \$85.50
 (La Minerve, July 10, 1882).

- 63 After a painting formerly believed to be by Michelangelo
 (1475-1564)
Madonna del Arpie (Uffizi)
 Present location unknown

Falardeau is listed as copying this painting in 1853 and
 again in 1854 (AGF, Affari trovati...).

- 64 After a painting formerly believed to be by
 Michelangelo, possibly by Jacopino del Conte
Self-Portrait (Uffizi)
 1859
 Oil on carboard, oval 21.9 x 17.8 cm
 Insc.: Michelangelo / Le Chevalier Falardeau / d'après
 Michel Ange
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; La Presse,
 Dec. 30, 1933; J.M. Le Moine, p. 23
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 37.14 (Macpherson bequest)

Le Courrier du Canada of July 9, 1862, names George
 O'Kill Stuart as the purchaser.

- 65 After Pierre Mignard (1612-95)
Portrait of the Comtesse de Grignan (La Fille de Mme. de
Sévigné) (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July
 21, 1862; Le Pays, July 22, 1862; Le Courrier du
Canada, July 23, 1862
 Present location unknown.

The work is included in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal,
 July 19, 1862 auction list in La Minerve of that date
 under the title La Fille de Mme. de Sévigné. The July
 22 issue gives the purchaser as "M. le maire" [Beaudry].

- 66 After Bartolomeo Esteban Murillo (1617-82)
Madonna (Pitti Palace)
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
 July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown.

Sold at auction to George Stephen, president of the CPR, in 1882, for \$110 (La Minerve, July 10, 1882). A painting of this title was in the collection of A. Mildred (Mrs. I.S.) Wotherspoon of Ottawa. In 1941 Mrs. Wotherspoon offered the painting for sale to the Musée du Québec. The Musée declined to buy it. (Musée du Québec, Falardeau dossier, Wotherspoon to Paul Rainville, April 26, 1941, and subsequent correspondence). The Wotherspoon Madonna measured approximately 54 x 45 inches. A Falardeau request to copy a Murillo Madonna dated May 20 [?], 1855 was granted for thirty days beginning in August (AGF, 1855-56, Filza XV).

- 67 After Gaspar Netscher (c. 1636-1684)
La Petite Cuisinière
 Before c. 1872
 Bibl.: J.M. Le Moine, p. 24
 Present location unknown

This work was in the collection of the Abbé H.R. Casgrain, Quebec, in 1872 according to Le Moine. E. Falardeau states that it was bought by P.B. Casgrain, lawyer, of 8 Grande Allée, Levis, in 1862, elsewhere that it was bought by the Abbé. The original is probably the Uffizi Netscher The Servant.

- 68 After Gaspar Netscher
Young Girl with Watch
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
 July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown

Sold at auction, July 1882, to Mr. (A.) Trottier, for \$55 (La Minerve, July 10, 1882). E. Falardeau describes Trottier as "caissier à la Banque du Peuple, Residence 32 rue St. Mathieu, Montréal."

- 69 After Gaspar Netscher
Woman Cleaning a Teapot
 Before 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882.
 Present location unknown

This work (described in the Montreal Daily Star of July 7, 1882 as Woman Cleaning a Copper Kettle) was bought at auction in 1882 for \$30 by H.C. St. Pierre (lawyer, of 17 rue des Allemandes, Montreal, according to E. Falardeau).

- 70 After Horatio Paulyn, b. 1644
L'Avare
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862
 Present location unknown

Purchased by James Baley, Quebec, 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862). E. Falardeau refers to the purchaser as James Bailey, sculptor, of 36 Rue Richelieu, Faubourg St. Jean. In his advertisement in Le Canadien of July 7, 1862, Bailey refers to himself as "Doreur et sculpteur." He gives as his new address 37 Rue St-Jean.

- 71 After Andrea de Pozzo (1642-1709)
Madonna (Pitti Palace)
 Present location unknown

Falardeau is listed as copying this work in 1854 (AGF, Affari trovati...).

- 72 After Adam Pynacker (1622-73)
Paysage (Uffizi)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862

Present location unknown

Purchased by M. Baley, Quebec, 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862).

73 After Raphael (1483-1520)

La Fornarina

Present location unknown

Falardeau is listed in the Affari trovato... (AGF) with dates of June 14, 1853, and June 14, 1855, for this title. The original would be either the Raphael painting more commonly known as La Velata (Pitti Palace) or the Sebastiano del Piombo Portrait of an Unknown Woman.

74 After Raphael

Madonna del Cardellino (Uffizi)

Present location unknown

Falardeau is listed as requesting permission to copy June 25, 1855. (AGF, Affari trovati ...).

75 After a painting attributed to Raphael

Madonna del Impannata (Pitti Palace)

Before 1862

Present location unknown

76 After a painting attributed to Raphael

Madonna del Impannata

Before 1882

Bibl.: La Minerve, July 6, 1882

Present location unknown

Undated notes (c. 1930s) in E. Falardeau's papers state:
"Ce tableau est exposé dans le grand salon du Club Canadien, 438 Sherbrooke Est, Montréal."

77 After Raphael

Madonna della Seggiola (Pitti Palace)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Black and Stuart, Le Courrier du Canada, July 7, 1858, July 9, 1862; Le Moine, p. 23

Present location unknown

Le Moine states that a Raphael Madonna was in the collection of George O'Kill Stuart in 1872. Le Courrier du Canada of July 9, 1862 states that Stuart bought this work at auction. Black and Stuart's description of Falardeau's residence, the Via de' Bardi flat, names this as one of the paintings in the "troisième et quatrième salles." "...le clair obscur des tons et chaque teinte y sont rendus avec infiniment de talent et prouve à quel point d'habilité est arrivé notre jeune compatriote ..." remark the authors.

78 After Raphael

Madonna della Seggiola

c. 1854-55

Present location unknown

Falardeau was granted a permesso straordinario to do this copy on commission for the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess of Mecklenbourg-Schwerin Dec. 23, 1854 (AGF, 1853-1854, Filza XIV). Another record of permission granted for La Seggiola exists for 1855 (AGF, 1855-56, Filza XV).

79 After Raphael (1483-1520)

Sainte Famille

Before c. 1862

Present location unknown.

This title was included in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, 1862 auction list

- 80 After Raphael
Sainte Famille
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
 July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown.

 Sold at auction, July, 1882, to Mr. Trottier for \$75
 (Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882).
- 81 After Raphael
Saint John the Baptist (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)
- 82 After Raphael
Saint John the Baptist
 Present location unknown

 Falardeau is listed as having copied this work in April
 20, 1857 (AGF, Affari trovati...).
- 83 After a painting attributed to Raphael
Self-Portrait (Uffizi)
 1861
 Oil on cardboard, oval 21.9 x 17.8 cm (30 x 25 cm)
 Insc.: Raphael / Le Chevalier Falardeau / d'après
 Raphael
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; La Presse,
 Dec. 30, 1933; J.M. Le Moine, p. 23
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 37.13 (Macpherson bequest)

Le Courrier du Canada of July 9, 1862, states that
 George O'Kill Stuart purchased this work at auction in
 Montreal.
- 84 After a painting attributed to Raphael
Self-Portrait
 Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Pays, July 19, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862;
La Minerve, July 22, 1862, Le Courrier du Canada,
 July 23, 1862

Present location unknown

A work of this title is listed as being purchased by C.S. Cherrier (1798-1885), the noted Montreal lawyer, politician and businessman (DCB, vol.11, pp. 187-89) at the Shaw & Frère, Montreal, July 19, 1862 auction (La Minerve, July 22, 1862). Cherrier resided at this time at 43 rue St.-Denis, according to E. Falardeau.

85 After Raphael

Il Suonatore di violini

Palazzo Sciarra Colonna, Rome

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862

Present location unknown

Y. Tessier, named by Le Courrier du Canada as the buyer, is identified by E. Falardeau as Yves Tessier, "associé de Tessier & Ledroit, Marchands, Résidence 34 Rue Saint Georges, Faubourg Saint Jean, Québec." (Falardeau papers).

86 After Raphael

Two Angels

Before c. 1882

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882;

La Minerve, July 10, 1882

Present location unknown

Sold at auction, July, 1882, to the Hon. H. Starnes, (104 St. Alexandre St., Montreal, according to E. Falardeau) for \$80 (La Minerve, July 10, 1882). The work probably depicts the two angels from the Madonna del Baldacchino, a popular partial subject with copyists.

87 After Rembrandt (1606-69)

Self-Portrait (Pitti Palace)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; La Minerve, July 22,

1862; 1862; Le Pays, July 22, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 23, 1862
Present location unknown

La Minerve (July 22, 1862) names Mr. [William] Edmonstone (Allan Shipping Lines) as the purchaser of a painting of this title. E. Falardeau gives Edmonstone's address as "Place Devonshire," 148 rue Sherbrooke, Montreal. The artist requested permission to copy this work July 23, 1855. Permission was granted for twelve days beginning Oct. 23. (AGF, 1855-56, Filza XV)

88 After Rembrandt

Self-Portrait

Before c. 1882

72.4 x 57.8 cm

Bibl.: Le Courrier de Montreal, July 4, 1882; Art Association of Montreal, Catalogue of Permanent Collection, Montreal, 1902, pp. 20 & 21; 1908, p. 31; 1916, p. 13; E. Falardeau, p. 128

MBAM/MMFA, Montreal. 882.50 (given by the artist to the Art Association of Montreal, 1882)

The back of the painting has been covered with cardboard.

E. Falardeau gives a date of 1870.

89 After Guido Reni (1575-1642)

Assumption (S. Ambrogio, Genoa)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; E. Falardeau, p. 106

Present location unknown

Purchased in Quebec, 1862, by the Abbé [Pierre] Lahaye, (curé at Cap-Santé), according to Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862.

90 After a painting formerly attributed to Guido Reni

Beatrice Cenci (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, formerly Palazzo Barberini, Rome)

1859

64.3 x 54.3 cm

Bibl.: Guillaume Lamothe, Mes Memoires, cited in Falardeau, Un Maître de la Peinture, p. 65; La Presse, Dec. 30, 1933E. Falardeau, pp. 65, 161; Raymond Vézina, pp.224, 234; Guy Robert, La Peinture au Québec, p. 27, repr.;

Insc.: Beatrice Cenci / Le Chevalier Falardeau / d'apres Guido Reni / Florence 1859 / 1325 Via de' Bardi Musée du Québec 34.610 (Macpherson bequest)

According to Francis Haskell, this extraordinarily popular painting, "in the first half of the nineteenth century, enjoyed a degree of adulation fully as genuine as that now accorded the Mona Lisa - chiefly because of the (mistaken) belief that it represented the tragic Beatrice Cenci, executed in 1589 for having instigated the murder of her cruel, debauched, and incestuous father." (Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art, pp. 171-172). Nathaniel Hawthorne, in whom Italy aroused a sense of unresolvable duality, saw Beatrice as a paradoxical figure in which innocence and corruption were mingled. "The whole face is perfectly quiet; no distortion nor disturbance of any single feature; nor can I see why it should not be cheerful, nor why an imperceptible touch of the painter's brush should not suffice to brighten it into joyousness. Yet is is the very saddest picture that ever was painted....It is a sorrow that removes her out of the sphere of humanity; and yet she looks so innocent, that you feel as if it were only this sorrow, with its weight and darkness, that keeps her down upon the earth and brings her within our reach at all. She is like a fallen angel, fallen, without sin. It is infinitely pitiful to meet her eyes, and feel that nothing can be done to help or comfort her" (The French and Italian Notebooks, pp. 92-93). In The Marble Faun Hawthorne uses the painting as a motif alluding to this paradox.

- 91 After a painting formerly attributed to Guido Reni
Beatrice Cenci
1853

c. 26 x 22 inches

Bibl.: Le Pays, July 17, 19, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; La Minerve, July 22, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 23, 1862

Insc.: Béatrice Cenci / Le chevalier Falardeau / d'après le Guido Reni / Rome 1853 / Palais Barberini
Collection Paul Trépanier, Montreal

The painting was acquired by Mr. Trépanier at auction in the 1950s or early 1960s. A Beatrice Cenci is included in the Shaw & Frère, Montreal, July 19, 1862 auction list in La Minerve of that date. The July 22 issue names C.S. Cherrier as buyer. In 1934 a Falardeau copy of the Beatrice Cenci was in the possession of the family of Cherrier's grandson, F.A. Monk (F.A. Monk to E. Falardeau, Jan. 26, 1934, E. Falardeau papers). Le Pays of July 17, 1862, in an unusually expressive review, stated: "On sent que sous le suave regard de la jeune fille, il y a l'instinct profond de la dignité de la femme."

92 After Guido Reni

Christ on the Cross 1616 (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale) 1853

198.6 x 133.7 cm (397 x 266)

Bibl.: Catalogue, Université Laval, 1881-84, 1887, 1889, 1893, 1894, 1898, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1913, 1923, 1933; Le Courrier de Montréal, July 4, 1882; Journal de Québec, July 4, 1882, p. 2; Journal du Séminaire, vol.3 (1882), p. 197; vol. 5 (1900), p. 332. Annuaire de l'Université Laval, 1883, p. 76 [Morisset, 12798]; Georges Bellerive, Artistes- Peintres Canadiens-français, p. 61; E. Falardeau, pp. 128-129

Insc.: A.S. Falardeau d'après Guido Reni / Pinacoteca Bologna 1853

Musée du Séminaire de Québec, Quebec. 983.28 R 293 (gift of the artist, 1882)

93 After Guido Reni

Cleopatra (Pitti Palace)

1862

127.2 x 100.8 cm (122 x 96)

Bibl.: André Comeau, Artistes Plasticiens, p. 93 repr.

Insc.: Cleopatra / A.S. Falardeau / d'après Guido Reni a la Galerie Pitti / Florence 1862 / 1325 Via de' Bardi

Musée du Québec, Quebec. 77.487 (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Claude Michel, Sillery)

The artist was an ancestor of the donor (Musée du Québec, Falardeau dossier, correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Michel).

94 After Guido Reni

Head of the Madonna

Bibl.: Mme. Rosaire Thibaudeau to La Revue Moderne,
Mar., 1926, p. 14.

Present location unknown

Mme. Thibaudeau, daughter of Guillaume Lamothe, states in her letter that she has this work. In 1933 E. Falardeau noted that it was in her possession in her residence on Sherbrooke St. W.

95 After Guido Reni

Lucrezia (Corsini Palace, Florence)

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

96 After Guido Reni

Head of Bacchus (Pitti Palace)

Bibl.: Mme. Rosaire Thibaudeau to La Revue Moderne,
Mar., 1926, p. 14.

Present location unknown

Mme. Thibaudeau states that she gave this painting (which she refers to as Maestrus) to her daughter, Mme. Geoffrion. E. Falardeau, who states that the work was bought at auction by J. Rosaire Thibaudeau, notes that it was (c. 1934) in the Geoffrion residence, 875 Upper Belmont Ave., Westmount.

97 After Guido Reni

Head of the Magdalen

Before 1882

Present location unknown

According to E. Falardeau, this work was bought by Mons. François Venant Charest, Curé of Stoke, Que.

After Guido Reni

Massacre of the Innocents, (Bologna)

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

98 After Guido Reni

Self-Portrait

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; Mme. Rosaire

Thibaudeau to La Revue Moderne, Mar., 1926, p. 14.

Present location unknown

Mme. Thibaudeau states that she gave this painting to her son-in-law, Doctor Gurd. Guillaume Lamothe purchased the work at auction (Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882)..

99 After Guido Reni

Sibyl (Uffizi)

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882

Present location unknown

The painting, which E. Falardeau states was of Reni's Cumaen Sibyl, was in the possession of the Royal Canadian Academy in 1934 (Edmund Dyonnet, secretary, RCA, to Emile Falardeau, Jan. 24, 1934, E. Falardeau papers). The copy of Reni's "Christian Sybil" listed in the Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882, as having been bought by the Rev. [Zephirin] Charest for \$40 may be this work. Falardeau requested permission to copy the Guido Reni Sibyl Oct. 7, 1847. Permission was given for twenty days beginning Oct. 9 (AGF, 1847, Filza LXXI, parte 2a).

100 After Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92)

Self-Portrait (Uffizi)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: La Minerve, July 17, July 19, 1862

Present location unknown.

La Minerve (July 19, 1862) includes this work in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, auction list.

- 101 After Salvator Rosa (1615-1673)
Baie de Castellamare (Pitti Palace)
 1855
 43.1 x 54 cm. (50 x 94cm)
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, July 4, 1862; Le Canadien, July 4, 1862; Le Moine, p. 24; Bellerive, 1927, p. 61
 Inscr.: Baie de Castellamare / (Etats de l'Eglise) / Le chevalier Falardeau / d'après Salvator Rosa / Flor. 1855
 Le Musée du Séminaire de Québec, Quebec. Pc 984.49 R229
 (gift of the abbé H.R. Casgrain, 1904)

The proportions of the painting have been altered. The middle area has been telescoped and the height raised proportionately, so that the painting is considerably more square than the original. The Abbé Casgrain bought the painting in June of 1862 (Le Canadien, July 4, 1862).

- 102 After Salvator Rosa
Baie de Castellamare
 Bibl.: E. Falardeau, "Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau et ses oeuvres discutées," Le Petit Journal, week of Jan. 12, 1964
 Present location unknown

E. Falardeau states in Le Petit Journal that a copy of this work was bought by Maximilien Bibaud "influencé par Napoléon Bourassa." Later the work was in the hands of Dr. Stephen Langevin, "l'un de nos premiers grands collectionneurs (in Montreal) de tableaux."

- 103 After Salvator Rosa
The Broken Bridge (Pitti Palace)
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

Ryerson's account book refers to this as a small copy.

- 104 After Salvator Rosa
Coucher de Soleil

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
 July 10, 1882
 Before c. 1882
 Present location unknown.

Sold at auction, July, 1882, to Mayor Beaudry
 (residence, Drummond and Dorchester, according to E.
 Falardeau) for \$115 (La Minerve, July 10, 1882).
 Identification of paintings by Salvator Rosas is
 difficult as different titles are used for the same
 paintings, not only in older writing but in newer works
 as well. It is possible that this work is the same as
 No. 105. (The Montreal Daily Star of July 7, 1882
 referred to No. 104 as Large Marine Sunset).

- 105 After Salvator Rosa
Marina al tramonto del sole (Pitti Palace)
 1867
 114.8 x 159.4 cm (399 x 233 cm)
 Insc.: verso "A.S. Falardeau d'après / Salvator Rosa /
 Palazzo Pitti / Flor. 1867"
 Bibl.: Les Encans Pinney's Auctions, catalogue, June,
 1988, p. 19. repr., sold under the title Baie de
Naples
 Present location unknown.

Sold at auction, Pinney's, Montreal, lot V-55, \$4,500,
 June 7, 1988. The copy is virtually exact but for the
 dimensions. The height has been raised, increasing the
 sky area. The colours are clear and bright, less
 yellow-toned than in the Rosa copy in the MBAM/MMFA.

- 106 After Salvator Rosa
Marino del Porto (Pitti Palace)
 1864
 123.7 x 173.5 cm
 Bibl.: Art Association of Montreal, Catalogue of
Permanent Collection, Montreal, 1902, p. 17.
 Insc.: Antoine S. Falardeau / d'après Salvator Rosa /
 Palais Pitti/ Flo. 1864.
 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal. (Benaiah Gibb
 bequest, 1908)

Greens and blues lighten a palette dominated by an
 overall beige-gold tonality. Some impasto has been used
 for white highlights.

- 107 After Salvator Rosa
The Old Bridge of Castellamare
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, 1862
 Present location unknown

The painting was included in the Shaw & Frère, Montreal, July 19, 1862, auction list in La Minerve of that date. A note in Emile Falardeau's papers mentions a painting of this title dated 1854 (54 x 42) in the possession of Dr. G. Lamothe. Mentioned in the same note are: Ovide Ant. Richer, born Feb. 15, 1830; Pierre-Seraphin Richer; Nathalie Viger; Julie Barbeau, d. 1910.

- 108 After Salvator Rosa
The Old Bridge of Castellamare
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
 July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown

Bought by George Stephen along with Pont des Brigands (for \$125 each) (La Minerve July 10, 1882). The Montreal Daily Star of July 7, 1882 refers to this work as The Old Port of Castellamare.

- 109 After Salvator Rosa
Pont des Brigands en Sicile (Pitti)
 Before c. 1862
 c. 52 x 48"
 Bibl.: L'Ordre, July 18, 1862; La Minerve, July 19, 1862
 Present location unknown

The Montreal notary Casimir Dessaulles offered a painting with this title for sale to the Séminaire de Québec for \$1000 in a letter dated Mar. 31, 1942 (287, No. 57. Archives du Séminaire). He states that "mon père le Sénateur Dessaulles l'avait dans son salon depuis 1860 jusqu'à sa mort en 1930," and that it had been restored by "M. Antoine, 950 Square Victoria." (Ibid.) The Séminaire declined to buy the work. The work was also offered, without result, to the Musée du Québec, in the same year (Musée du Québec, Falardeau dossier,

Dessaules-Rainville correspondence). A work of this title is included in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, 1862, auction list in La Minerve of that date.

- 110 After Salvator Rosa
Pont des Brigands en Sicile
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
 July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown

The Montreal Daily Star (July 7, 1882) states that George Stephen purchased this painting at auction for \$125.

- 111 After Salvator Rosa
Pont des Brigands en Sicile
 1857
 101 x 137 cm
 Bibl.: Hôtel des Encans de Montréal: 17 et 18 Octobre 1989, catalogue, Montreal, 1989, No. 91.
 Inscr.: Le pont des Brigants / Le Chevalier Falardeau / d'Après Salvator Rosa / Florence 1857
 Present location unknown

The painting was sold at auction by the Hôtel des Encans de Montréal (4521 boul. St-Laurent, Montreal), October 17, 1989, for \$2,200.

- 112 After Salvator Rosa
La Selva dei Filosofi o Diogene che getta via la scodella (The Philosophers Grove) (Pitti Palace)
 1861
 23 1/3 x 29" (223 x 149 cm)
 Insc.: par le Chevalier Falardeau D'Après Salvator Rosa a la Gallerie Pettit (sic) Florence 1861 1325 Via di Bardi
 Present location unknown

Sold by Dominion Gallery, Montreal, in Sept. 1978. The format of the copy has been altered as well as reduced, the original long and narrow format changed to a nearly square one.

- 113 After Salvator Rosa
La Selva dei Filosofi o Diogene che getta via la scodella
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

 Ryerson's account book describes this as a small copy.
- 114 After Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)
Innocence
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
 July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown

 Sold at auction, July, 1882, to George Stephen for \$75
 (La Minerve, July 10, 1882).
- 115 After Rachel Ruysch (1664-1750)
Nature Morte
 1861
 Approx. 28 x 24
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22; L'Ordre, July 21,
 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862; July 23,
 1862
 Insc. Le Chevalier Falardeau, Via de' Bardi, Florence,
 1861
 Collection of Claude Ostiguy, Montreal (not examined)

 As the painting, according to family tradition, was
 acquired from a M. Masson, it is probably the same as
 the Echantillon de Fruits included in the Shaw & Frère,
 Montreal, July 19, 1862 auction list in La Minerve of
 that date. Louis Beaudry ("Agent de la Succession
 Masson," and resident of the Petite rue St. Jacques,
 Montreal, according to E. Falardeau) is given as the
 purchaser in La Minerve of July 22, 1862. Fruit and
 flower pieces by Ruysch are in both the Pitti and the
 Uffizi.

- 116 After Sassoferrato (1605-1685)
Madonna [Mater Dolorosa] (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1862
 219 x 17 cm, oil on cardboard
 Ex.: Le Cap-Santé: ses églises et son trésor, MMFA, 1980
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862; Casgrain, p. 33; Gérard Morisset, Le Cap-Santé / ses églises et son trésor, Montreal, MBAM/MMFA, 1980, p. 340, repr.

Collection of Madeleine Leduc-Brault, Montreal (not examined)

A painting of this title was purchased in Quebec, 1862, by Louis Falardeau (Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862). E. Falardeau identifies Louis Falardeau as a notary, "procureur de l'Hopital Général de Québec," and "fondateur de l'Hotel-Dieu du Sacre-Coeur de Jésus à Québec." Falardeau's request, the earliest found for the artist in the AGF, for twenty days to copy the Sassoferrato Madonna was granted beginning Sept. 13, 1847 (AGF, 1847, Filza LXXI, parte 2a). Casgrain states that this particular copy, which he describes as the first that Falardeau copied "a son arrivée à Florence," was the same one bought by Louis Falardeau, whom he describes as a "parent du peintre." Falardeau appears to have bought it for his own collection, as the Hôpital-Général has no record of it in its archives (S. Corinne Cloutier to the author, undated). Another request to copy this work is dated Feb. 17, 1851 (the context suggests 1852) (AGF, Registro delle Domande diverse, No. 10).

- 117 Sassoferrato
Madonna [Mater Dolorosa]
 1858
 Inscr.: "le chevalier Falardeau / d'après Sasso Ferrato / Flor. 1858
 Musée du Québec, Quebec, (not examined)

The painting was formerly in the collection of the Archives Nationales du Québec.

- 118 Sassoferrato
Madonna [Mater Dolorosa]
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

- 119 After Geoffrey Schalken (1643 - c. 1703)
La jeune fille lisant la lettre (Uffizi)
 1857
 68.6 x 56 cm
 Insc.: La jeune fille lisant une lettre / A.F. Falardeau
 d'après Schalken / Galerie des Uffizi / Flor. 1857
 Bibl.: La Presse, Dec. 30, 1933
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.609 (Macpherson bequest)

This may be the painting entitled Woman with a Lamp in the 1960 catalogue The Palatine Gallery in Florence (Istituto poligrafico dello stato).

- 120 After Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547) (formerly believed to be by Raphael)
Portrait of an Unknown Lady, formerly believed to be La Fornarina (Uffizi)
 1853
 68.4 x 55.3 cm
 Inscr.: "La Fornarina" d'après Raphael / a la galerie des Uffizi / Flor. 1853; Le chevalier A.L. Falardeau de Québec;
 Bibl.: La Presse, Dec. 30, 1933
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.611 (Macpherson bequest)

A permission to copy La Fornarina was granted to Falardeau in Aug., 1855 (AGF, Affari trovati...). Identification of paintings referred to as La Fornarina is difficult as Raphael's La Vellata (Pitti Palace) was sometimes referred to as La Fornarina. (The AGF files contain requests to copy the work under the former title.) Considerable cracking is visible and there are noticeable paint losses.

- 121 After (School of) Justus Sustermans (1597-1681)
Galileo (Pitti Palace)
 Before c. 1862
 29 x 23 inches
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; J.M. Le Moine, p. 23
 Present location unknown

Sold at auction, Pinney's Montreal, Lot K61, for \$700, June 10, 1976. A painting of this title was purchased by W.D. Young, Quebec, in 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; and see Le Moine, p. 23).

122 After (School of) Sustermans

Galileo (Uffizi)

1878

72.4 x 58.4 cm

Inscr.: Galileo / A.S. Falardeau d'après Sustermans / Galleria Florence 1878 / Uffizi; on a paper glued to the frame: Sustermans portrait of Galileo, the great astronomer, superb coloring; relief extraordinary; great nobility of attitude. / \$EL^{el} / 6 Juillet 82 - Falardeau (transcribed by the MMFA)

Coll. Emilien Rhéaume and Marie-Jeanne Archambault (Saint-Lambert, Montreal, in 1985). (Not examined)

The painting was offered to the MMFA as a donation in 1985 (17.1985) by Mr. and Mrs. Rhéaume, but was refused because of its poor state of conservation.

123 After (School of) Sustermans

Galileo

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

124 After David Teniers the Elder (1582-1640)

Saint Peter in Tears (Uffizi)

Before 1882

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882.

Present location unknown

The Montreal Daily Star of July 7, 1882 states that this work was bought at auction in 1882 for \$35 by E.L. de Bellefeuille (76 Cherrier, Montreal, lawyer, and secretary treasurer of the Laurentian Railway Company, according to E. Falardeau).

125 After Titian (1487-1576)

La Bella c. 1530-1540 (Pitti Palace)

Before c. 1882
 (89 x 75 cm)
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 10, 1882
 Present location unknown

Sold at auction, July 1882, for \$57.50, to Mr. Charbonneau (La Minerve, July 10, 1882). Napoléon Charbonneau (1853-1916), lawyer, later Liberal member of the Legislative Assembly, and judge (P.-G. Roy, Les Juges, p. 113), resided at 108 Drolet St., Montreal, according to E. Falardeau. La Bella was another work that aroused an appreciative response to the character of the individual depicted. Bayard Taylor's view was typical: "The countenance is that of vague, undefined thought, as of one who knew as yet nothing of the realities of life" (Views Afoot, London, 1871 [revision of 1847 edition], p. 222). There is a Sept. 27, 1856 request to copy this work in the AGF. Permission was granted for thirty days beginning in January, 1856 (AGF, 1855-56, Filza XV).

- 126 After Titian
Christ (Pitti Palace)
 1851
 (77 x 57 cm)
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve, July 10, 1882.
 Insc.: Le Christ / A.S. Falardeau / d'après le Titien de la Galleria Pitti / Flor. 1851
 College Brébeuf, Montreal

The copy has been in the college for three decades or more. It is possible that it is the work sold at auction July, 1882, for \$70 to J. Barsalou (La Minerve, July 10, 1882). E. Falardeau identifies Joseph Barsalou as a manufacturer of soap, residence "View Bank, Hochelaga Montreal." Paul-André Linteau et al name the Barsalou family (along with Beaubien, Beaudry, Rivard, Cherrier and others) as members of Montreal's "middle bourgeoisie." (Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert, Quebec: A History 1867-1929, 1983, p. 145).

- 127 After Titian
Christ
 Before c. 1856
 Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

128 After Titian

La Fille de Titien

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 9, 1862; Le Moine,
p. 23;

Present location unknown.

Purchased by W.D. Young, Quebec, 1862 (Le Courrier du
Canada, July 9, 1862).

129 After Titian

Flora (Uffizi)Bibl.: Black and Stuart, Le Courrier du Canada, Feb. 2,
1857.

Present location unknown.

The work is described by Black and Stuart as being in Falardeau's Via de' Bardi flat. Falardeau requested permission to copy the work Feb. 15, 1852; permission was granted for one month starting June 12. AGF, 1852, Filza LXXVI, parte 2a. Permission is also listed for 1853 or 1854 [the date appears to have been changed] and again for June 14, 1855 (AGF, Affari trovati ...).

130 After Titian

Flora

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Canadien, June 30, 1862; Le Courrier du
Canada, July 2, 1862

Present location unknown.

Purchased by Amable Dionne, Quebec, 1862 (Le Courrier du
Canada, July 2), "Membre au Conseil Special, Residence à Kamouraska, Que," according to E. Falardeau. Dionne was a member of Quebec's cultured elite according to Raymond Vézina, who notes that he was an assiduous borrower of books at the library of the Institut Canadien (Vézina, 1975, p. 71)

131 After Titian

Flora

Before c. 1882

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve,
July 10, 1882.

Present location unknown.

Sold at auction, July 1882, for \$57.50 to Mr. N.
Charbonneau (Montreal Daily Star, July 7).

132 After Titian

Flora

Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

133 After Titian

Madonna and Child (Uffizi)

Present location unknown

Permission to copy was requested Oct. 27, 1855.

Permission for one month was granted starting Dec. 11,
1855 (AGF, 1855, Filza LXXIX, parte 2a)

134 After Titian

Magdalen (Pitti Palace)

Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862.

Present location unknown.

The work was bought by Samuel Derbshire, Quebec, in
1862, (Le Courrier du Canada, July 2). E. Falardeau,
who gives Derbshire's first name as Stewart, cites an
address on the rue St. Jean, Québec.

135 After Titian

Magdalen

1869

93.2 x 73.2 (84 x 69 cm)

Insc.: Madeleine / Falardeau / d'Après Le Titien / a la

Galerie Pitti / Florence 1869; Palazzo dei
Machiavelli ...San Spirito
Bibl.: La Presse, Dec. 30, 1933
Musée du Québec 34.708 (Macpherson bequest)

136 After Titian

Saint John the Baptist, c.1545-1550 (Accademia, Venice)
Before c. 1862
192.6 x 127.3 cm
Insc.: Le chevalier Falardeau
Bibl.: Le Canadien, June 30, 1862; Le Courrier du
Canada, July 2, July 4, July 23, 1862; La Minerve,
July 17, July 19, July 22, July 24, 1862; Le Pays,
July 17, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862, July
25, 1862; Antoine Plamondon, Journal de Québec, July
22, 1862; E. Falardeau, pp.114-120; Musée Notre-
Dame, 8th edition, catalogue, Montreal, 1950, No.115
Notre-Dame Church, Montreal, corridor behind the main
church.

This handsome copy is probably the work that aroused Plamondon's ire: "C'est un brigand, oui, un brigand. Il ne lui manque plus que la ceinture, des pistolets et des poignards pour être un brigand dans toutes les règles." If so, it would have been painted before 1862. La Minerve, July 19, 1862, lists a Titian Jean Baptiste in the Shaw & Frères auction of that date. Inscriptions were not recorded when the painting was relined by the Montreal restorer Robin Ashton in the 1980s; the restoration photograph shows only the name "Le chevalier Falardeau." The distinctly favourable comments aroused by the painting at the time of its exhibition may have helped provoke Plamondon. Le Pays, July 17, 1862, states: "Le Saint Jean-Baptiste est une oeuvre capitale et de grande valeur; la noblesse de la pose; la hauteur de la conception, la puissance du coloris, surtout l'admirable perfection des détails anatomique, font de ce tableau un morceau exceptionnel." Le Pays (July 17) recommends that the Société St. Jean Baptiste purchase the painting. La Minerve of July 24, 1862 states: "Louis Beaudry Commissaire-Ordonnateur de la Société St. Jean Baptiste, a fait l'aquisition de ce magnifique tableau...pour offrir à notre société nationale si c'est le désir de celle-ci de se l'approprier....En effet, ce tableau serait le décoration la plus convenable pour la Salle St. Jean-Baptiste, et qui empêcherait au jour de notre fête nationale de l'exposer à l'Eglise Paroissiale au dessus du maître autel..." A letter dated Nov. 28, 1933, from Elzéar Roy to E. Falardeau making reference

to Beaudry's purchase, leaves the impression that the Société was at the time the letter was written unaware of such a transaction. E. Falardeau papers. (E. Falardeau's July 13, 1934, letter (Ibid.) to the curé of Notre Dame, Rev. Bouhier, asking if the church had purchased paintings by Falardeau in 1882, was answered with "Nous n'avons rien trouvé à ce sujet.") The painting has undergone restoration; some recent tears have been repaired.

- 137 After Titian
Self-Portrait
Before c. 1856

Present location unknown (Ryerson Purchase, 1856)

- 138 After Titian
Self-Portrait (Uffizi)
Before c. 1862

Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, 1862
Present location unknown

Purchased in Quebec, 1862, by Laurent Têtu (Le Courrier du Canada, July 4).

- 139 After Titian
Self-Portrait
Before 1882

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882
Present location unknown

J. Rosaire Thibaudeau purchased this work at auction in 1882 for \$40 (Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882).

- 140 After Dirck Vander Bergen, b. 1645
Paysage aux Animaux (Pitti Palace)
Before c. 1862

Bibl.: L'Ordre, July 18, 1862; La Minerve, July 19, 1862;
Present location unknown

The title is included in the Shaw & Frères, Montreal, July 19, 1862 auction list published in La Minerve of that date.

141 After Adrian Van der Velde (1639-1672)

Landscape with Animals (Pitti Palace)

1861

c. 1 ft. by 1 1/2 ft., oval

Insc.: Le Chevalier Falardeau / d'apres Vandervelt / a la gallerie d'Uffizi / Florence 1861 / 1325 Via de' Bardi; L.R.Masson Ec

Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862; Le Courrier du Canada, July 23, 1862
Collection of Mrs. W. Lees, Hampton Hill, Middlesex, England (not examined)

The painting has been in the Lotbinière-Harwood family, of which Mrs. Lees is a member, since it was bought (under the title Paysage aux animaux) at the Shaw & Frère, Montreal, July 19, 1862, auction by Louis Beaudry (La Minerve, July 22, 1862). who, according to a letter dated Dec. 6, 1933, from Emile Falardeau to "Monsieur [A.] Harwood" was buying for "Monsieur Masson," the father-in-law of "M. Harwood."

E. Falardeau in the manuscript Falardeau: son oeuvre gives Beaudry's address as Petite Rue St. Jacques, Montreal.

142 After Van Dyck (1599-1641)

Self-Portrait

Before 1882

Bibl.: La Minerve, July 6, 1882; Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882

Present location unknown

W.E. Blumhart (of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railroad, residence rue Saint-Jacques, Montreal, according to E. Falardeau) bought this work at auction in 1882 (Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882) for \$50.

- 143 After Frans Van Mieris (1635-1681)
Family of the Artist (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1862
 18 x 24 inches (49 x 37 cm)
 Bibl.: Le Courrier du Canada, July 4, July 23, 1862; La Minerve, July 17, July 19, 1862; Le Pays, July 17, July 22, 1862; L'Ordre, July 21, 1862
 Present location unknown.

La Minerve (July 17) lists this as one of the works Falardeau exhibited in Quebec. The July 19 issue includes it in the Shaw & Frère, Montreal, July 19 auction list. Le Courrier du Canada (July 4) gives the size commenting that "M. Falardeau a travaillé à cette copie six heures par jour pendant quatre-vingt-dix jours [a considerably longer time than would have been granted at the Uffizi]. C'est un petit bijou de l'exécution la plus délicate, du faire le plus exquis." Le Pays (July 17, 1862) also admired the work, calling it "la perle de la collection." E. Falardeau states that the painting was bought by Jean-Louis Beaudry, and in 1934 was in the possession of the Misses Roy.

- 144 After Van Mieris
Vieux Couple
 Before c. 1862
 Bibl.: La Minerve, July 19, July 22, 1862
 Present location unknown.

La Minerve, July 19, 1862, includes this title in its Shaw & Frère, Montreal, July 19 auction list. The July 22 issue gives "M. le maire" [Beaudry] as the purchaser. Merchant and politician, Jean-Louis Beaudry (1809-1886) was Mayor of Montreal during the 1860s, and again from 1881 to 1885 (CDB, vol. 11, pp. 59-62).

- 145 After Marie-Louise Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842)
Self-Portrait (Uffizi)
 Before 1862
 Bibl.: Casgrain, pp. 40-41; Le Courrier du Canada, July 2, 1862, Bellerive, 1927, p. 61
 Present location unknown

Purchased in Quebec by P.B. Casgrain, 1862 (Le Courrier du Canada, July 2).

- 146 After Vigée-Lebrun
Self-Portrait (Uffizi)
 Before c. 1882
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1982;
La Minerve, July 10, 1882; Bellerive, 1927, p. 61
 Present location unknown

Sold at auction, 1882, for \$135, to J.K. Ward (La Minerve, July 10).

Original Works by Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau

- 147 Portrait de l'Abbé Félix Gâtien
 c 1834? [date illegible]
 Watercolour on paper, transferred to canvas
 31 x 25 cm
 Signed at left "...FALARD...
 Bibl.: Gérard Morisset, "Antoine Falardeau: Une oeuvre de jeunesse," Le Canada, May 25, 1934
 Musée du Québec. Québec (Ancienne collection Archives Nationales du Québec)

According to Morisset [Falardeau dossier 12787] the painting, originally in the family of the artist, and later the possession of his brother Charles Falardeau, was found in the attic of Mrs. Charles Falardeau after her death. The Abbé Gâtien (1776-1844), teacher and administrator at the Séminaire de Québec from 1806 until 1817, was cure (1817-44) of the church of Ste. Famille, the parish church of Falardeau's native village of Cap-Santé. Gâtien commissioned a work for the church from the young Plamondon in 1825 (DCB, vol. 7, p. 341). Morisset's article describes the portrait as "fort abîmée," but "l'oeuvre d'un enfant bien doué. S'il est possible de relever quelque maladresse dans le dessin, le coloris est chaud et harmonieux, le personnage bien campé et l'ensemble spirituel." Armand Fafard, in a letter to Emile Falardeau dated Feb. 11, 1935, Cap-Santé, (E. Falardeau papers, formerly coll. Raymond Falardeau) stating that he had the painting, gave a date of 1843-45.

- 148 La Nymphé de la Fontaine
1845-46
Bibl.: Le Canadien, May 15, 1846
Present location unknown.

This miniature, which may have been copied from an illustration in the publication L'Echo des Feuilletons, is mentioned in Le Canadien of May 15, 1846 as being on exhibition "au magasin de notre établissement."

- 149 Boeufs Toscans au Travail
April 11, 1851
7 1/2 x 11 1/2"
Pencil on paper
Bibl.: E. Falardeau, Artistes & Artisans, p.51, repr.
Present location unknown.

The drawing, which depicts two oxen hauling a rough cart bearing a large log, was formerly in the collection of Emile Falardeau, Montreal.

- 150 Portraits of the Marquis and Marquise Mannucci-Benincasa
c. 1849-1850
Present location unknown

Mme. Rosaire Thibaudeau states that there were "two little portraits of the Marquise Mannuci," in a letter, undated, to Emile Falardeau, probably written c. 1930-35 (formerly coll. Raymond Falardeau). Emile Falardeau states in his notes that these two portraits were in the possession of Mrs. A.C. Barnard, Lamothe's daughter, 3491 Stanley, Montreal, in the 1930s.

- 151 Portrait of Guillaume Lamothe and Portrait of Mme. Guillaume Lamothe (Marguerite de Savoie)
c. 1849-1850
Bibl.: Georges Bellerive, 1927, p. 59; E. Falardeau, p. 66
Present location unknown

Mme. Rosaire Thibaudeau in her undated letter to Emile Falardeau, (Ibid.) states that the portraits of her parents disappeared after their deaths. E. Falardeau's notes (probably c. 1933-34) state that "Ces deux portraits sont en la possession de Madame A.C. Barnard, 3491 rue Stanley, Montreal."

151 Paysage à Florence

1857

58.6 x 77 cm

Bibl.: Gerard Morisset, La Peinture Traditionnelle au Canada Français, Vol. II, p. 129 (repr.)

Insc.: "Sopra a Firenze" pencilled on frame. On verso "Le Chevalier Falardeau / fait d'apres nature / au pied de Fiesole / Florence / 1857

Musée du Québec, Quebec. 55.70 (purchased from Gerard O. Beaulieu, 1955)

Falardeau appears here to be influenced by Paul Ferg, whose works he copied and who himself shows the influences both of Salvator Rosa and Claude Lorrain. The Falardeau and the Ferg Environs de Rome (2) are both characterized by compositional patterns of alternating diagonals. The absence of classical grace in Falardeau's figures perhaps betrays his work's later date, as do the comparatively large proportions of the farmhouse. The work was acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Beaulieu from the Masson family of Terrebonne.

152 Portrait of Lady Stuart

Present location unknown

A letter of Dec. 7, 1933, from Joseph Beaubien, mayor of Outremont, to E. Falardeau, states that "nous avons un portrait d'une de mes grand'mères, [Lady Stuart, née Elmiere Aubert de Gaspé], par Falardeau, et peut-être aussi un de mes grand'pères [Sir Andrew Stuart, son of the Judge Andrew Stuart whose portrait in the National Archives would appear not to be by Falardeau].

153 Portrait of Sir Andrew Stuart

Present location unknown

See Portrait of Lady Stuart

154 Miss Melville

Bibl.: Claire Gagnon, "Le chevalier Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau," La Patrie, Mar. 3, 1957, repr.
Present location unknown

The reproduction of the painting labelled "Portrait d'une demoiselle Melville, peint par Falardeau, à Florence," published in La Patrie gives the work as "également propriété du Musée de la province de la province de Québec." However it is not listed in the museum's holdings.

155 La Prière

Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882; La Minerve, July 10, 1882
Before c. 1882
Present location unknown

La Minerve (July 10, 1882) states that "La Prière, un tableau original, par M. Falardeau" was sold to Mayor Beaudry for \$57.50." E. Falardeau's MS states that (c. 1933) the work was in the possession of the Misses Rouer Roy, grand-daughters of Beaudry, in their residence, "Hampton Court," rue de la Montagne Montreal.

Works Formerly Attributed To Falardeau

156 After Annibale Carracci

Peasants Eating Beans (Rome)

1856

79.4 x 97.8 cm

The Art Gallery of Peterborough, Peterborough, Ont.
973.1.7 (Gift of the Peterborough Teacher's College, Ryerson Purchase) (not examined)

The Art Gallery's records list the work as a Falardeau. However, the painting, which has not been restored, does not bear the inscription which is invariably found on the verso of a Falardeau. Ryerson's account book

records a payment to Falardeau for a frame for this work, but not for the painting itself (Invoice 52).

157 Paysage

1871

Oil on canvas

63.5 x 89.3

Coll. Michel Bigué, St.-Sauveur, Que.

This work was bought by Mr. Emile Lamothe of Laval-des-Rapides, Que., from an antique dealer in St. Eustache, Que. in 1987 (personal communication from M. Lamothe to the author, Dec. 1987). The date appears to be 1871. The crude execution, the broadly brushed style, and the subject matter which suggests a North American setting, all indicate that the painting is not by Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau. The fact that the signature has been painted on the recto in large, separate, black letters, rather than inscribed in handwriting on the verso confirms that it is not. The stretcher is different from those used by Falardeau.

158 After a painting by an unknown artist

Portrait of Andrew Stuart

68.9 x 53.9 cm

Inscribed: "a.s." at top and bottom of stretcher

Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa. C-28211

Andrew Stuart Esq., youngest son of Rev. John Stuart, was born in 1789 and died in 1840, when Falardeau was eighteen. Falardeau's characteristic inscriptions are absent from these two portraits, neither of which has been relined.

159 After a painting by an unknown artist

Portrait of James Stuart Esq.

68.9 x 53.9 cm.

Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa. C-10659

See Andrew Stuart

James Stuart (1780-1853) later Sir James Stuart Bart., was a Chief Justice of Lower Canada. PAC files state: "Bequeathed in 1915 to the Dominion of Canada by the will of Sir James Stuart, of Mortimer, Berkshire, 4th Baronet. It is said to be by an artist named Falardeau". The two Stuart portraits were forwarded to the Government of Canada by P. & D. Colnaghi & Obach, London, in 1915.

- 160 After Raphael
La Vellata (Pitti Palace)
 Private collection

This copy, believed by its owners to be by Falardeau, was offered for sale to the Musée de Joliette in 1988. The absence of inscription and the absence of mention in the newspaper accounts of 1862 and 1882 would indicate that it is not by him. However the frame and stretcher are consistent with a Florentine origin.

- 161 Giuseppe Mazzolini
 After Titian
Flora (Uffizi)
 1860

87.7 x 62.2 cm

Bibl.: La Presse, Dec. 30, 1933; Raymond Vézina, Théophile Hamel, Peintre National (1817-1870), vol. 1, Montreal, 1975, p. 233, rep. identified as the work of Falardeau

Inscr.: indecipherable; signed, lower right: Mazzolini
 Musée du Québec, Quebec. 34.608 (MacPherson bequest)

This painting was formerly attributed to Falardeau. An inscription on the verso, different from Falardeau's characteristic inscription, is illegible. When the frame was removed the signature of the nineteenth century Roman copyist Mazzolini was found. Egerton Ryerson bought three copies from Mazzolini.

- 162 After August Riedel
The Orange Girl
 Bibl.: Montreal Daily Star, July 7, 1882
 Present location unknown

The Montreal Daily Star (July 7, 1882) includes this work (naming the artist as Riddel) in the list of Falardeaus sold at auction July 6 in Montreal, Mayor Beaudry being named as the buyer, with a price of \$90. A note in E. Falardeau's papers gives the artist's name as August Riedel and situates the original in the "Academie St. Luc à Rome." However the title appears in no other list of Falardeau's works.

Untitled Works by Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau

Egerton Ryerson's account books lists a "picture on parchment," School of Carlo Dolci, (Invoice 49), and a "Picture on Parchment, in Chiaroscuro, by Francesco Vasari" (Invoice 49). The Educational Museum... Toronto, 1858, lists a Holy Family "Specimen of Chiaroscuro" by F. Vanni in its "List of the Principal Paintings in the Educational Museum" (p. 33). There is a painting entitled Holy Family by Giorgio Vasari in the Pitti Palace.

Iconography of the Artist

D. Sani (b. c. 1835)

Portrait of Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau

Oil on canvas, 135.1 x 92.9 cm

Bibl.: L'Action Catholique, Mar. 20, 1951; The Gazette, April 21, 1951.

Musée du Québec 50.46. Purchased in 1950 from Mme. Fede-Augusta Biogioli Carraresi, a granddaughter of the artist.

The painting is not dated. However the fact that the painter is shown holding a photograph of his son (1862-1864) establishes it as no earlier than 1862, and probably after 1864. The stretcher is similar to those used by Falardeau. The gilded frame is decorated with bees. The Museum's records give the artist as Domenico Sani, but the artist was probably David Sani, a painter whose requests to copy are preserved in the AGF files (for example, 1872, Filza B., No. 6). Thieme-Becker lists no nineteenth-century Domenico Sani. The work is signed D. Sani.

Mme. Carraresi's address at the time of the sale was Via Redentoristi 9, Rome.

Possibly A. Hautmann and Co., Florence
Falardeau and his Wife Caterina Mannucci-Benincasa
 1862
 Photograph
 Coll. the author

No. 12765 of the Morisset dossier (dated 1938) states that "M. Elz. Garneau possède 2 photos de Falardeau et sa femme (A.-Hautmann et Co. Firenze)."

J.-B. Livernois, Quebec
Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau,
 Photograph 3.5 x 2.25"
 1862
 Insc.: [hand-written] photographie prise par/J.B. Livernois / Photographe / Quebec / 1862
 Bibl.: Letter to the editor, Le Canadien, June 30, 1862; La Revue Populaire, Aug. 1939, repr.; E. Falardeau, Artistes et Artisans
 Coll. the author

The letter signed "Un Canadien," published in Le Canadien refers to "son portrait qui serait photographié par une autre habile compatriote, M. Livernois, et qui ornant les salles de lecture de l'Institut [Canadien], inspirerait à la jeunesse studieuse les fréquentant, le noble ambition de s'illustrer aussi un jour par le talent et le verité."

Luigi [illeg.]ardi & C.
Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau with Hunting Dog
 Photograph 3.5 x 2.25"
 Insc.: [hand-written] "Mandone un'altro [illeg.] / al cugino Emile / Falardeau come [illeg.] / Dianora Carraresi / Falardeau; [printed] Stabilimento Fotografico / di / Luigi [illeg...]ardi & C./ Piazza S. Trinita Via Parione. 1./Firenze.
 Coll. the author



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4

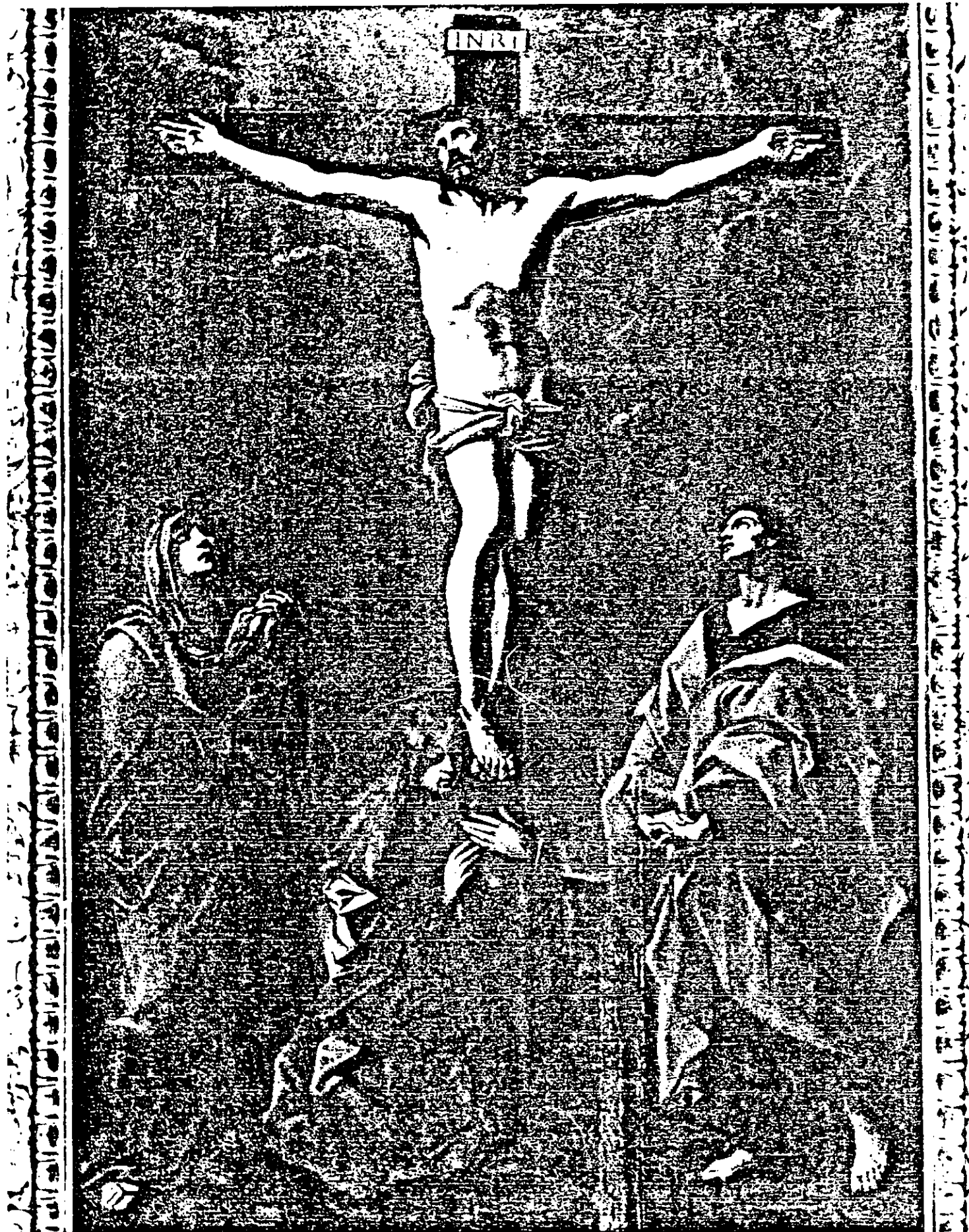


Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



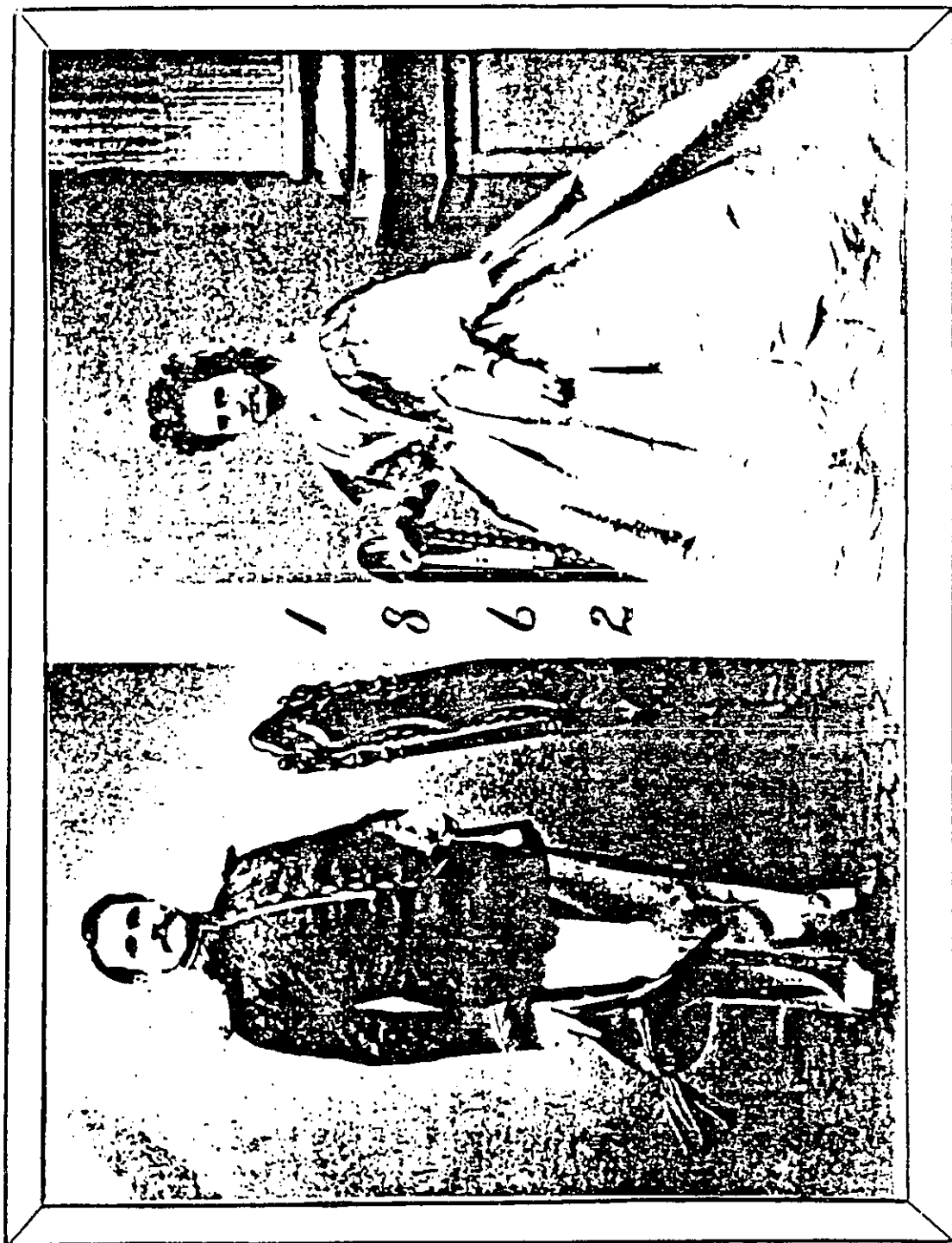
Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



LE CHEVALIER FALARDEN & SON L'ROUSE

39

C

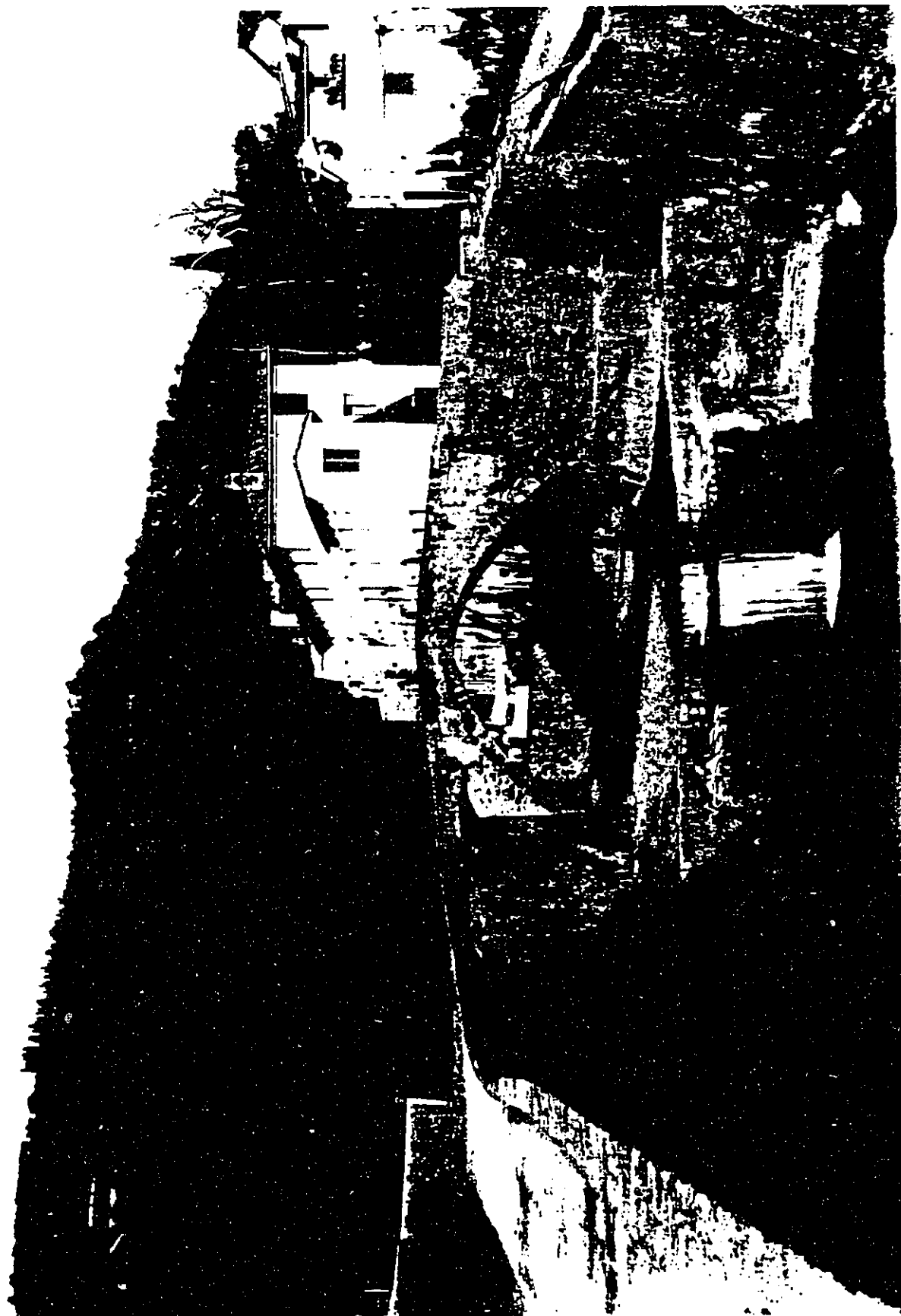
LA REVUE POPULAIRE



Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau, à Québec, en 1861.

Figure 20

86. The Crater of Etna.



87. Bridge at Badia near Florence.