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The
OLD ARCHITECTURE
of
QUEBEC

**A Study of the Buildings Erected
in New France from the Earliest
Explorers to the Middle of the
Nineteenth Century**

By the Same Author
THE OLD SILVER OF QUEBEC

THE
OLD ARCHITECTURE
OF
QUEBEC

A STUDY OF THE BUILDINGS ERECTED
IN NEW FRANCE FROM THE EARLIEST
EXPLORERS TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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by

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	xvii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER	
I BUILDING IN THE EARLY WRITTEN RECORD	5
Champlain—the Habitations—the Jesuit Relations—the Venerable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation—Pierre Boucher—construction and materials—stone—brick—wood-frame—colombage pierotté—shingles—tiles—slates—ferblanc—early fire regulations—glass—half-timber work—the log cabin.	
II THE EARLY RELIGIOUS HOUSES	19
The Hôpital Général at Quebec—the Ursuline convent at Quebec—the Ursuline convent at Three Rivers.	
III THE OLDEST DWELLING-HOUSES	37
The fortified manors—the Ferme Saint Gabriel—the old presbytery at Batiscan—the manor at Baie St. Paul—the Villeneuve house and the Paradis house at Charlesbourg—the Château de Ramezay.	
IV THE QUEBEC COTTAGE	55
The age of old houses, date stones—the general type of gabled cottage—plan and construction—chimneys—eaves—the gallery—the French buildings of Missouri—the mansard roof—colour—the pavilion roof—structural notes—frame houses—colombage pierotté—en pièce—Fort Ste. Marie—poteaux en terre—the verandah in French and English building.	
V MANORS, PRESBYTERIES, VACATION HOUSES AND MILLS	71
VI TOWN AND PUBLIC BUILDING	85
The Short drawings—the Fargues house—the Intendant's palace and the Château Saint Louis—the Bishop's palace—the Jesuit College—Montreal—travellers' descriptions—the architect—the mason architect—the civil and military engineer—the sculptor architect.	
VII INTERNAL WOODWORK	97
The refectory of the Hôpital Général—the staircase in the Ursuline convent—the Hôpital Général—the Grand Seminary—the woodwork of the later eighteenth century—the Fargues house—the Ursuline convent—the Briand chapel—the presbytery of the Basilica—Montreal, the McTavish house—1190 Clarke Street—Batiscan—Sillery—Verchères.	

VIII	THE CHURCHES	- - - - -	135
	Wooden churches—the building of a church—St. Pierre (I. O.)—square endings—transepts—cruciform churches—the Cathedral at Quebec—galleries—façades—spires—roofs—statues—the later west fronts—the classic type—the influence of James Gibbs—technical terms in the parish records.		
IX	THE WOODCARVING	- - - - -	165
	I. The general development of the school, material and technique—applied carving—the character and technique of the early carving—carving in pine—the influence of plaster—the master-sculptors—the general scheme of decoration—the tabernacles—gilding—figure sculpture—ornaments.		
	II. The woodcarving to the mid-eighteenth century—the Seminary schools—LeBlond de LaTour—Ste. Anne de Beaupré—L'Ange Gardien—the Sieurs Vasseur—the Hôpital Général—Jeune Lorette—the Ursuline convent—the rocaille scroll—Stoneham—Three Rivers—Gilles Bolvin—Lachenaie and Boucherville—Montreal—Chaboillez and the Labrosse family.		
X	WOODCARVING AFTER THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	- - -	209
	The Hôpital Général—rétable of Nôtre Dame des Anges—St. Pierre (I. O.)—Jean and François Baillairgé at the cathedral, Quebec—Neuville—Nôtre Dame de Montréal—St. Eustache—St. Jérôme—St. Charles, Rivière Boyer—St. Jean Port Joli—St. Joachim—La Sainte Famille (I. O.)—André Paquet.		
XI	THE MONTREAL SCULPTORS	- - - - -	229
	Sault au Récollet—St. Martin (I. J.)—Maître Liébert—Quevillon, Pépin, St. James and Rollin—the Finsterers—Urbain Brien—Vincent Chartrand—Fleury David—Amable Charron—Chrysostome Perrault—Etienne Bercier—St. Mathias, Chambly—St. Roch de Lachigan—L'Acadie—St. Jean Port Joli—l'abbé Demers—Pointe aux Trembles—St. Denis sur Richelieu—Verchères—Ste. Jeanne Chantal—Sault au Récollet—the two schools.		
XII	PULPITS, BANCS D'OEUVRE, FONTS AND CANDLESTICKS		269
XIII	IRONWORK	- - - - -	281
XIV	SCULPTORS AND ARCHITECTS	-	287
XV	BOOKS AND REFERENCES	- - -	306
	APPENDIX	- - - - -	313
	INDEX		317
	INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS	- - -	321

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE	PAGE
I The Habitation at Port Royal - - -	4
The Habitation at Quebec - - -	4
II The Habitation at Port Royal - - -	6
Plan of Quebec in 1660 - - -	6
III The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - -	18
The St. Ours Plan of the Hôpital - - -	18
Key to the St. Ours Plan. Inset, Plan of the Récollet Monastery - - -	18
IV The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - -	20
The East Side - - -	20
The Infirmary Wing from the Garden - - -	20
V The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - -	21
The Refectory - - -	21
Corridor on the North Side of the Cloister. Corridor of the Refectory Wing - - -	21
VI The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - -	24
Interior of the Church - - -	24
Panelling in the Church - - -	24
VII The Church of the Hôpital Général - - -	25
VIII The Ursuline Convent, Quebec - - -	28
Short's View of the Convent in 1761. Plans of the Buildings	28
IX The Ursuline Convent, Quebec - - -	30
From the West, showing the Aile Ste. Famille. The Aile St. Augustine - - -	30
X The Ursuline Convent, Quebec - - -	32
The Kitchen Wing. The Corridor in the Aile Ste. Famille	32
XI The Ursuline Convent, Three Rivers. The "de Ramezay House" - - -	34
The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. The Stair of St. Augustine	34
XII The Ursuline Convent, Three Rivers - - -	35
The West Gable. The Old Wing	35
XIII The Towers of the Fort des Messieurs, Grand Seminary, Montreal - - -	36
The Ferme St. Gabriel, Montreal	36
XIV The Ferme St. Gabriel, Montreal. Two Views in the Com- munity Room - - -	39
XV The Ferme St. Gabriel, Montreal - - -	40
Old House, Baie St. Paul - - -	40
XVI The Ferme St. Gabriel - - -	41
XVII The Old Presbytery at Batiscan - - -	43
From the North-west - - -	43
From the South-west - - -	43
XVIII The Old Presbytery at Batiscan - - -	44
XIX The Old Manor at Baie St. Paul - - -	45
XX The Villeneuve House, Charlesbourg - - -	47
The Paradis House, Charlesbourg - - -	47

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE		PAGE
XXI	The Villeneuve House. The Manoir de Longueil - - -	48
	The Villeneuve House. The Paradis House - - -	48
XXII	The Château de Ramezay, Montreal - - -	49
XXIII	House near Ste. Petronille, I. O. Gendreau House, I. O. - - -	54
	House near Beaumont. House near Bellechasse - - -	54
XXXIV	Houses on the Island of Orleans - - -	56
	The Asselin House. The Morency House - - -	56
	The Hébert House. The Pichette House - - -	56
XXV	The "Jesuits' Mill", La Tortue - - -	57
	The House of Athanase Denis, Neuville - - -	57
XXVI	On the Montmorency Road - - -	58
	The Bouthillier House, Anse au Griffon - - -	58
XXVII	House at Sault au Récollet - - -	62
	Houses at Oka - - -	62
XXVIII	The Urban Type of Montreal - - -	63
	At St. Denis sur Richelieu. At St. Eustache - - -	63
	At Terrebonne. The Heureux House, Lavaltrie - - -	63
XXIX	Verandah Houses - - -	64
	On St. Charles Road, Montreal. At Jeune Lorette - - -	64
	At Jeune Lorette. At Lachenaie - - -	64
XXX	French Houses in the Mississippi Valley - - -	65
XXXI	The Manoir Mauvide, I. O., before restoration - - -	70
XXXII	The Manoir Couillard-Dupuis, Montmagny, Quebec - - -	72
XXXIII	The Langlois Manor, Portneuf - - -	75
	The School house, Parc Laval, Montreal - - -	75
XXXIV	Plan of St. François Xavier, Caughnawaga - - -	76
XXXV	The Presbytery, Caughnawaga - - -	77
XXXVI	The Presbytery, Pointe Claire - - -	78
	The Presbytery, Ste. Adele - - -	78
XXXVII	The House of Simon McTavish, Montreal - - -	79
XXXVIII	The Berthelet Manor House, St. Geneviève - - -	80
XXXIX	The Gaudreau Mill, Deschambeau - - -	81
	The Moulin au Crochet, Laval des Rapides - - -	81
XL	Château Bellevue at Petit Cap - - -	82
XLI	Drawings of Quebec in 1760 by Richard Short - - -	84
	The Church of Nôtre Dame de la Victoire - - -	84
	View of the Treasury and Jesuits' College - - -	84
XLII	Drawings of Quebec in 1760 by Richard Short - - -	86
	A View of the Intendant's Palace - - -	86
	A View of the Bishop's Palace - - -	86
XLIII	The Old Presbytery of the Basilica, Quebec - - -	88
	The Fargues House, 92 St. Peter St., Quebec - - -	88
XLIV	The Fargues House - - -	89
XLV	A View of the Jesuits' College and Church - - -	90
	Old Nôtre Dame, Montreal - - -	90
XLVI	Montreal Houses - - -	92
	163 St. Urbain St. - - -	92
	House in St. Vincent St. - - -	92
XLVII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec. The Refectory - - -	96
XLVIII	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. The Stair of St. Augustine - - -	98
XLIX	The Ursuline Monastery, Quebec. The Stair of St. Augustine - - -	99
L	The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - -	100
	The Staircase. First-floor Landing of the Stair - - -	100
LI	Two Eighteenth-Century Staircases in Quebec - - -	101
	The Main Stair in the Hôpital Dieu. St. Joseph's Stair in the Seminary - - -	101

LIST OF PLATES

xi

PLATE		PAGE
LII	The Fargues House, 92 St. Peter St., Quebec. The Parlour	- 104
LIII	The Fargues House, 92 St. Peter St., Quebec	- - - - 105
	Panelling in the Parlour. Mantelpiece on the Second Floor	105
LIV	92 St. Peter St.	- - - - 106
LV	92 St. Peter St.	- - - - 107
LVI	92 St. Peter St.	- - - - 108
LVII	92 St. Peter St.	- - - - 109
LVIII	The Chapel of Mgr. Olivier Briand in the Seminary at Quebec	110
LIX	The Chapel of Mgr. Olivier Briand	- - - - 111
	Statue of Our Lady. Niche Bracket	- - - - 111
LX	The Chapel of Mgr. Olivier Briand	- - - - 112
LXI	The Dispensary in the Hôpital Général, Quebec	- 113
	The Cupboard. Panelling and Presses	- - - - 113
LXII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec. Mantelpiece in the Dispensary	114
LXIII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec. Panelling in the Dispensary	- 115
LXIV	Room in the Old Presbytery of the Basilica, Quebec	116
LXV	The Presbytery of the Basilica, Panelled Room	120
LXVI	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec	121
	Mantelpiece in the Community Room. Panelling in the	
	Community Room	- - - - 121
LXVII	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. Panelling in the Community	
	Room	- - - - 122
LXVIII	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. Mantelpiece in the Com-	
	munity Room	- - - - 123
LXIX	No. 27 St. Jean Baptiste St., Montreal	124
LXX	Mantelpiece from No. 1190 Clarke St., Montreal	125
	Room in House at Pointe St. Jacques, near Senneville	125
LXXI	Panelled Room from the Paradis House, St. Jean Port Joli	126
	The Sacristy at Verchères	- - - - 126
LXXII	The Old Presbytery at Batiscan	128
	Wainscot in a Bedroom. The Staircase	128
LXXIII	Three Doors	- - - - 129
	From the Hôpital Général	- - - - 129
	From a Cottage near Beaupré	- - - - 129
	From the Presbytery at Batiscan	129
LXXIV	The Old Presbytery at Batiscan	- - - - 130
LXXV	The Old Presbytery at Batiscan	131
LXXVI	The Hôpital Général, Quebec	132
	Mgr. de Saint Vallier's Room	132
LXXVII	The "Jesuit House", Sillery	133
	The Panelled Rooms on the Ground Floor	- - - - 133
LXXVIII	Ste. Famille, I. O. West Front	- - - - 134
	St. Pierre, I. O. from the N. W.	134
LXXIX	The Old Church of Lachenaie	136
LXXX	Parish Churches	- - - - 144
	The Old Church of St. Laurent, I.O. Nôtre Dame de	
	Bonsecours, Montreal	- - - - 144
LXXXI	Parish Churches	- - - - 145
	St. Jean Port Joli, from the East. Old Church of St. Louis,	
	Terrebonne	- - - - 145
LXXXII	Parish Churches	- - - - 146
	West Door of St. Denis sur Richelieu. St. Alexis	146
LXXXIII	Parish Churches	147
	The Indian Church of Jeune Lorette	- - - - 147

PLATE		PAGE
LXXXIV	Parish Churches - - - - -	148
	Pointe aux Trembles. St. Denis sur Richelieu - -	148
LXXXV	Parish Churches - - - - -	149
	Ste. Famille, I. O. St. Denis sur Richelieu	149
LXXXVI	Parish Churches - - - - -	150
	St. Pierre les Becquets, 1837. Bécancourt - -	150
	St. Roch, Lachigan, 1795. St. Roch, Lachigan	150
	St. Sulpice. Vaudreuil - - - - -	150
	St. Roch, Lachigan. St. Michel, Bellechasse, 1828	150
LXXXVII	Parish Churches - - - - -	151
	Berthier en Haut, 1812. Champlain, 1879 - - -	151
	L'Islet, 1830. Cap Santé, 1763 - - - - -	151
	St. Mathias, 1785. Boucherville, 1844 - - - -	151
	St. Joseph, Lauzun, 1836. L'Acadie, 1801 - - -	151
LXXXVIII	Château Richer - - - - -	152
LXXXIX	Parish Churches - - - - -	153
	The Old Church of Ste. Anne de Beaupré	153
	Sault au Recollet, 1850 - - - - -	153
	Charlesbourg, 1830 - - - - -	153
XC	St. Etienne, Beaumont - - - - -	154
XCI	St. Etienne, Beaumont - - - - -	155
XCII	Ste. Famille, I. O. - - - - -	156
XCIII	Church of Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot	157
	Plan, Longitudinal Section - - - - -	157
XCIV	Church of St. Pierre, I. O. - - - - -	158
	Church of St. Jean, I. O. - - - - -	158
XCV	Church of St. Jean at St. Jean Port Joli, Quebec	159
XCVI	Ste. Marguerite de L'Acadie - - - - -	160
XCVII	Church of the Infant Jesus, Pointe aux Trembles	161
	Church of St. Mathias - - - - -	161
XCVIII	Church of the Visitation at Sault au Récollet -	162
XCIX	The Old Church of Ste. Anne de Beaupré	164
	The Rétable and High Altar - - - - -	164
	A Side Altar - - - - -	164
C	L'Ange Gardien. Altar and Rétable Columns - - -	170
	Ste. Anne de Beaupré. Altar of the Old Church	170
CI	L'Ange Gardien - - - - -	172
	Rétable and Side Altar. Detail from the Tabernacle	172
CII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - - - -	176
	The Chapel of the Sacred Heart. The High Altar	176
CIII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - - - -	177
	Detail of the Tabernacle in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart	177
	Detail of the Tabernacle on the High Altar - - -	177
CIV	The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - - - -	178
	A Medallion from the Altar in the Chapel of the Sacred	178
	Heart - - - - -	178
	The Altar of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier - - - - -	178
CV	The Hôpital Général, Quebec. Two Reliquaries in the	179
	Church - - - - -	179
CVI	Jeune Lorette - - - - -	180
	The Indian Frontal. Drawing of the Lower Part of the	180
	Frontal - - - - -	180
CVII	Jeune Lorette. Detail from the Indian Frontal - -	182
CVIII	Jeune Lorette - - - - -	183
	Interior, before Alterations. The Brass Altar Rail	183
CIX	Jeune Lorette. The High Altar - - - - -	184

LIST OF PLATES

xiii

PLATE		PAGE
CX	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. The Interior of the Chapel	187
CXI	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec	188
	The Tabernacle of the High Altar. The Tabernacle of the Side Altar - - - - -	188
CXII	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. Carved Panels on the Rétable	189
CXIII	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. Carved Panels on the Rétable	190
CXIV	La Sainte Famille, I. O. Interior - - - - -	191
	St. François, I. O. Tabernacle in the Boundary Chapel - -	191
CXV	Stoneham Church - - - - -	192
	The Tabernacle of the High Altar. The Tabernacle of the Side Altar - - - - -	192
CXVI	Lachenaie. Interior of the Old Church - - - - -	193
	Batiscan. The Old Tabernacle - - - - -	193
CXVII	The Tabernacle at Lachenaie - - - - -	194
CXVIII	Details of Tabernacle Carving from Boucherville and St. Gérard de Magella - - - - -	195
CXIX	Longueuil. Detail of the Old Tabernacle - - - - -	200
	St. Gérard de Magella. The Tabernacle - - - - -	200
CXX	Ste. Famille, I. O. The High Altar - - - - -	201
CXXI	The Hôpital Général. The High Altar of the Church -	202
CXXII	The Hôpital Général. The Altar in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart - - - - -	203
CXXIII	Nôtre Dame de la Jeune Lorette. Details of the Tabernacle	204
CXXIV	The Ursuline Convent. The Rétable - - - - -	205
CXXV	The Church of La Sainte Famille, Boucherville. The High Altar - - - - -	206
CXXVI	The Church of St. Antoine, Longueuil. Altar in the Sacristy -	207
CXXVII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec. The Interior of the Church -	208
CXXVIII	St. Pierre, I. O. - - - - -	210
	The High Altar. A Panel of the Rétable - - - - -	210
CXXIX	The Interior of the Basilica at Quebec - - - - -	212
CXXX	Pointe aux Trembles (Neuville). The High Altar and Baldaquin - - - - -	217
CXXXI	St. Eustache, before the Alterations of 1910 - - - - -	218
	St. Jérôme, Mille Isles - - - - -	218
CXXXII	St. Joachim de Montmorency	219
	The High Altar. Part of the Rétable - - - - -	219
CXXXIII	Ste. Famille. Side Altar - - - - -	220
	St. Joachim. Panels from the Pedestals - - - - -	220
CXXXIV	La Sainte Famille, I. O. - - - - -	221
	A Panel of the Rétable. A Panel of the Dado	221
CXXXV	St. François, I. O. The Panelling of the Rétable - - -	222
CXXXVI	St. Luce, Rimouski - - - - -	223
	St. Charles, Charlesbourg - - - - -	223
CXXXVII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec. The Rétable	224
CXXXVIII	The Church of St. Joachim de Montmorency. The High Altar and Rétable - - - - -	225
CXXXIX	St. François de Sales, I. O. Altar and Banc d'Oeuvre	226
CXL	St. François de Sales, I. O. Details of the Rétable -	227
CXLI	Sault au Recollet. The Sanctuary Doors - - - - -	228
	St. Martin, Ile Jesus. The Carved Panels - - - - -	228
CXLII	Vaudreuil. The High Altar - - - - -	232
	St. Mathias. The High Altar - - - - -	232
CXLIII	St. Mathias, Chambly - - - - -	233
	The Interior. The Gallery Front - - - - -	233
CXLIV	St. Roch de Lachigan - - - - -	236

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE		PAGE
	Details of Pedestals. Interior - - -	236
	Carving on the High Altar. The High Altar - - -	236
CXLV	Ste. Marguerite de L'Acadie - - -	237
	Interior. Central Arch of the Rétable - - -	237
	High Altar and Rétable. Details of Pedestals - - -	237
CXLVI	St. Etienne de Beaumont. The Interior - - -	240
CXLVII	St. Etienne de Beaumont. The High Altar - - -	241
CXLVIII	St. Jean Port Joli - - -	242
	The Rétable. The High Altar - - -	242
CXLIX	St. Jean Port Joli. Interior - - -	243
	Pointe aux Trembles. Interior - - -	243
CL	Pointe aux Trembles, Montreal. Details of the Old Church -	244
CLI	Sault au Récollet. Detail from the Vault -	245
	St. Roch. Sanctuary Panelling - - -	245
	Vaudreuil. Panelling in the Sanctuary - - -	245
	Vaudreuil. Canopy in the Sanctuary - - -	245
CLII	Sault au Récollet. Interior - - -	251
	Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot. Interior - - -	251
CLIII	Ste. Jeanne de Chantal, Ile Perrot. The Rétable - - -	252
CLIV	Ste. Jeanne de Chantal, Ile Perrot. The High Altar - - -	253
CLV	Ste. Jeanne de Chantal, Ile Perrot. The Central Panel of the Vault - - - - -	254
CLVI	Sault au Récollet. The High Altar - - -	255
	Berthier en Haut. The High Altar - - -	255
CLVII	St. Etienne, Beaumont. Altar in boundary chapel - - -	256
	Verchères. Interior and Pedestals - - -	256
CLVIII	St. Roch. Side Altar - - - - -	257
	Sault au Récollet. Side Altar - - - - -	257
	Verchères. Detail of Grade on High Altar - - -	257
CLIX	St. Etienne de Beaumont - - - - -	258
CLX	St. Jean Port Joli. The High Altar - - - - -	259
CLXI	St. Jean Port Joli. The Rétable - - - - -	260
CLXII	Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot. The Rétable - - - - -	261
CLXIII	Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot. The Rétable - - - - -	262
CLXIV	Ste. Marguerite de L'Acadie. The Rétable - - - - -	263
CLXV	Church of the Infant Jesus, Pointe aux Trembles. The Rétable -	264
CLXVI	Church of the Infant Jesus, Pointe aux Trembles. The Side Altar - - - - -	265
CLXVII	Church of the Visitation, Sault au Récollet. The High Altar -	266
CLXVIII	Pulpits - - - - -	268
	St. Denis sur Richelieu, the Pulpit. St. Roch, the Banc d'Oeuvre - - - - -	268
	St. Roch, the Pulpit - - - - -	268
CLXIX	St. François de Sales, I. O. The Pulpit and Font - - -	270
CLXX	Pulpits - - - - -	272
	St. Joseph, Lauzun. L'Acadie - - - - -	272
	Charlesbourg. St. Luce, Rimouski - - - - -	272
CLXXI	Ste. Jeanne de Chantal, Ile Perrot. Easter Candlestick and Wood Font - - - - -	274
CLXXII	Neuville. Easter Candlestick - - - - -	276
	Hôpital Général. Easter Candlestick - - - - -	276
	St. Eustache. Easter Candlestick - - - - -	276
	St. Roch. Easter Candlestick - - - - -	276
	St. Roch. Reliquary - - - - -	276
CLXXIII	The Hôpital Général, Quebec - - - - -	277
	Gilt Wood Candle Sconces. Gilt Wood Wall Bracket - - -	277

LIST OF PLATES

XV

PLATE		PAGE
CLXXIV	Wood Candelabra in the McCord Museum -	278
CLXXV	The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. Two Wrought-Iron Crosses	280
CLXXVI	The Hôpital Général, Quebec. A Window Grille	283
CLXXVII	Wrought-Iron Crosses - - - - -	284
CLXXVIII	Wrought-Iron Door and Window Furniture - - -	285
CLXXIX	Wrought-Iron Door Furniture - - -	286

PREFACE

This book is a study of the old buildings of French Canada from the earliest habitations of Champlain and de Monts in the seventeenth century to the close of the French tradition in the middle of the nineteenth. It is largely based on a series of architectural surveys of important buildings made between 1924 and 1930. Each survey consists of complete measured drawings of the building, with the important decorative features, their mouldings and ornament, drawn to a scale large enough to allow of comparison with other examples. Such measured surveys are the first essential to any understanding of the architecture; they were done by myself or by students working under my supervision and have resulted in a large collection of drawings which are now in the Blackader Library of McGill University. In addition the buildings were fully photographed, both in general appearance and in detail, so as to form, with the drawings, as complete a record as possible of the structure and its decoration.

For the investigation of the documentary history, I was fortunate in obtaining the co-operation of such scholars as Professor E. R. Adair of McGill, Mr. Marius Barbeau, and the late Mr. G. A. Neilson. They undertook the difficult and tedious work of reading and copying endless church accounts, deliberations and similar documents, and of extracting therefrom the architectural material. A series of monographs, based on these materials, was published in the Journals of the Royal Institute of British Architects and of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. A list of these publications will be found in chapter XVI.

Studies of this kind are the foundation of any history of architecture but, in themselves, they do not constitute a history. Much valuable material is not suited to journal publication. In particular a collection of old photographs had been acquired by McGill University. These seem to have been taken about 1880 and illustrate many old buildings which have since been destroyed by fire, restoration or demolition. I have also made use of the historic labours of others and would here acknowledge my indebtedness to their works, a list of which forms the greater part of chapter XVI. This chapter does not pretend to be a full bibliography; it is simply a list of those authorities which I have used in writing the book.

This is a book about buildings, their form, construction and decoration, about the traditions which led to those forms, about the materials and the techniques employed. In a word, it is a book about their architecture. In chapter XIV I have given a list of those sculptors and architects whose names I have met and whose work I have studied, with short biographical notes. For those students who may wish to go further into the lives of these artists, I have added references but no attempt has been made here to give full biographies. It may here be noted that authorities occasionally differ as to the exact dates in these men's lives. I have

accepted Tanguay's *Dictionnaire Biographique* as my principal authority, although there appears to be a tendency in some writers to belittle this monumental work.

But the work is greater than the artist. The dates of buildings have been derived mainly from the contemporary church accounts and deliberations and other documents, supplemented always by stylistic evidence. This latter is of great importance; the mouldings of the menuisier of 1770 were very different from those used by his father some thirty years earlier; the carving of François Baillairgé and his pupils can be distinguished at a glance from that of a sculptor of the Montreal school. Such evidence is as valid as any documentary statement, it is only a little more difficult to read. Footnotes and references are necessary but I have tried to reduce them to a serviceable minimum.

Some recent writers have laid stress on the influence of clerical advisers. We know for instance that M. Demers supplied a plan for the lengthening of the church to the fabrique of L'Ange Gardien in 1827. A vote of thanks was duly given but we do not hear that he ever supervised the execution of his plan. The Church of La Sainte Famille, on the Island of Orleans, owes much of its charm to the two side towers which were added by M. Gagnon, the curé, in 1807, to accommodate two bells which had been presented to the church. Such influence was of course continual; the clergy were interested in the building of their churches and were the ultimate authority on many points, but we may doubt how much influence they had upon the architecture. I have gone no further into this subject than the actual building accounts indicate.

I would conclude with an affectionate tribute to the late Gordon Antoine Neilson of Corsock in Quebec. For many years he was my assistant at McGill and my companion on many architectural travels. He shared in the work, had he lived he would have shared in the authorship. To his memory this book is dedicated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For help and encouragement I am deeply indebted to the late Mgr. Camille Roy and Mgr. Amedée Gosselin of Quebec, to Mgr. Olivier Maurault, Rector of the University of Montreal and to Dr. H. M. Tory of Carleton College, Ottawa. To the curés and guardians of the churches and other buildings which I have visited I give my thanks for the courtesy and help which they have always extended to me. Particularly I should thank the Mothers Superior of the Hôpital Général and of the Ursuline Convent in Quebec for permission to enter and examine their buildings and records.

For permission to use photographs and other documents as illustrations I thank the Public Archives of Canada, the Engineering and Construction Service of the Department of Mines and Resources, Canada, the Province of Quebec Association of Architects, Mr. C. E. Peterson of the U. S. National Park Service, Mr. J. F. Booton of the Department of Public Works, Illinois, the Royal Ontario Museum and Messrs. Notman and Son of Montreal.

Professor E. R. Adair has kindly read the text and to him I owe many valuable corrections and suggestions.

Credit is given in the usual manner for all illustrations whose origin is known to me. The authorship of a number of photographs, particularly old ones, has been lost. Apart from these, uncredited photographs are by Mr. Neilson or myself.

From McGill University I received much help both in the preliminary research upon which the book is founded and also in the publication. Finally, I must thank the Canadian Social Science Research Council for the very generous financial support without which the book could not have been published.

R. T.

Guysborough, N.S.,
1946.

CONTRACTIONS

B. R. H.	<i>Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.</i>
Gosselin	Mgr. Amedée. <i>L'Instruction en Canada.</i>
Can. Hist. Ass.	Canadian Historical Association.
H. G. Q.	Mgr. de Saint Vallier et l'Hôpital Général de Québec.
I. O.	The Island of Orleans.
I. J.	Isle Jésus.
J. R.	The Jesuit Relations.
M.	Montreal.
Que.	The Province of Quebec.
T.	Tanguay, Mgr. Cyprien. <i>Dictionnaire Biographique.</i>
V.	Vaillancourt, E. <i>Une Maitrise d'Art en Canada.</i>

THE OLD ARCHITECTURE OF QUEBEC

INTRODUCTION

THE old architecture of Quebec is the colonial architecture of France as that of the United States is the colonial architecture of England. The early settlers brought with them the simple building methods of the French countryside, the only methods they knew, these they adapted and modified to suit the new climate and the new living conditions of North America. So rose an architecture whose roots were French whilst its blossom was Canadian. French-Canadian architecture is very thoroughly French but it is not the French of Europe. It is the French of Canada.

To work out the precise relationship between the architecture of New France and that of the mother country would be a study of interest but of considerable difficulty. For, whilst the great official and court architecture of France has been most fully studied, its buildings illustrated and published in detail, so that it is easily accessible to the student, the minor rural and regional architecture is much less known. It is difficult to obtain any exact knowledge of its forms, details and local variations. In thinking of French architecture of the seventeenth century we inevitably call up the glories of Versailles and the salons of Paris. But it was not upon these that Canadian architecture was founded. The early settlers knew nothing of the magnificent court life. They did not bring with them the scholarly architects of Versailles; they were not burdened with the overwhelming magnificences of the Roi Soleil. They knew only the buildings and the carvings of their own countryside.

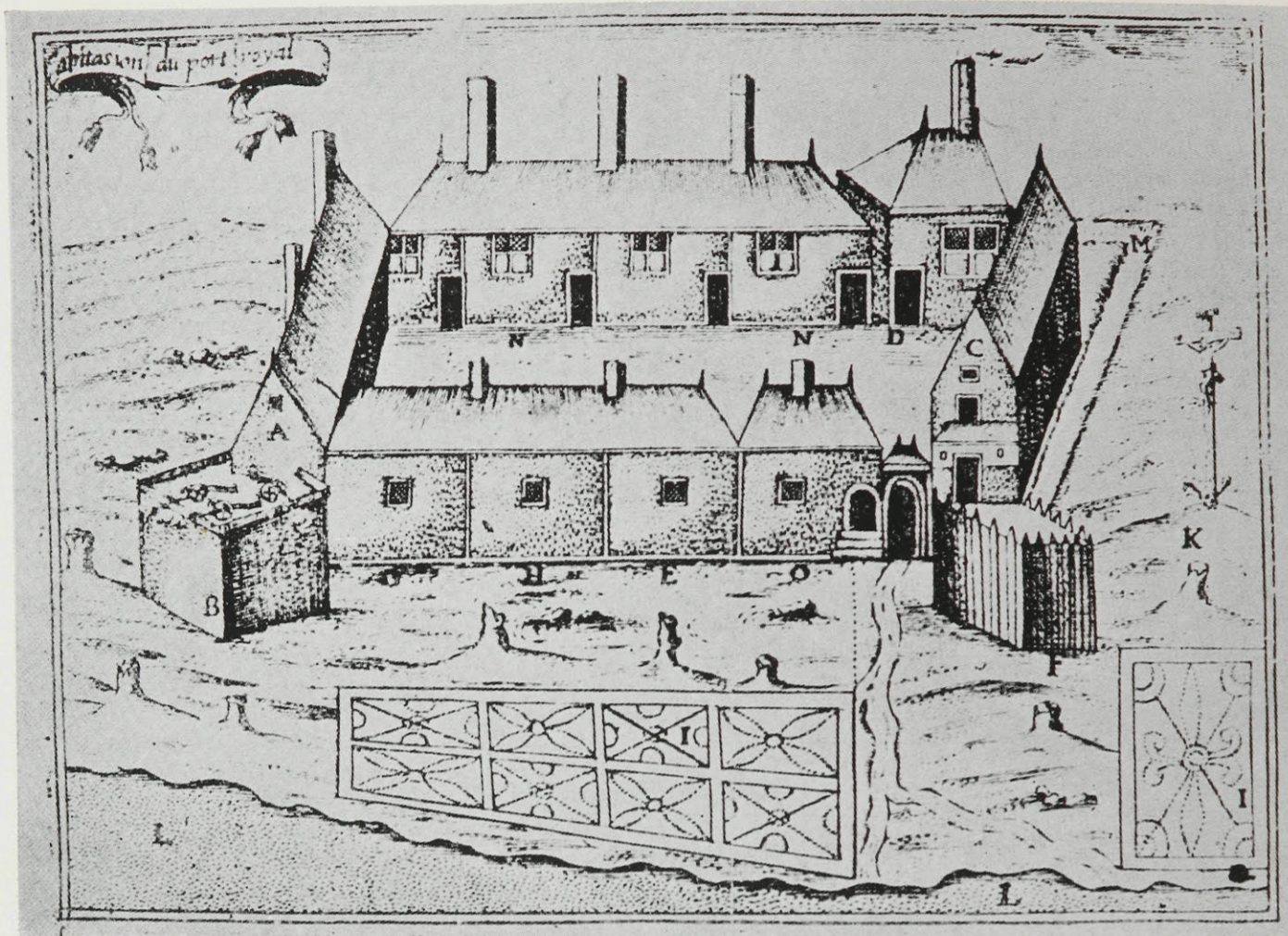
This is the knowledge which it is difficult to obtain. Yet, from such publications of French regional architecture as I have been able to consult and from my own observations in rural France—material all too slight—I am persuaded that the Canadian settlers took many liberties. They developed their traditions very freely and so produced a real Canadian architecture, moulded by climate and life and by a genuine feeling for beauty. The architecture of old Quebec is emphatically not a degraded copy of the great French renaissance.

In one field the great tradition came to Canada. The wood sculpture which decorates our old churches is in the "Grand Manner", simplified and made human. Our earliest wood-sculptors, trained in France, used all the apparatus of the French renaissance. Their Canadian apprentices carried on the tradition, the art was fostered by the Church and taught in the Seminary. But even here we can detect local traditions. How shall we account for the stylistic differences between the carving of Gilles Bolvin, with its almost mediaeval quality, and that of Noël Levasseur, reminiscent in some ways of the delicate renaissance of Francis First? A close study of French and possibly of Flemish local architecture might provide an explanation. But we may be sure that the wood sculpture of Quebec rises from more sources than one.

This woodcarving is one of the most brilliant artistic achievements of North America. The work varies from little wall sconces and turned candlesticks to the great carved rétables of the Ursuline Convent or of St. Joachim de Montmorency. The figure sculpture includes little statuettes a foot high for the tabernacle and heroic-size figures to fill the niches on the west front of some parish church. The standard of skill is high. This is no crude backwoodsman's effort, "hacked out with a pocket-knife" as I was once assured, nor is it the work of self-taught geniuses as has often been asserted. It is the work of well trained artists, masters of their craft. They were trained as apprentices and so inherited and handed down the great tradition in a way almost impossible for the technical school products of our own day. Apprenticeship was more than teaching, it was a full induction into the recognized body of craftsmen.

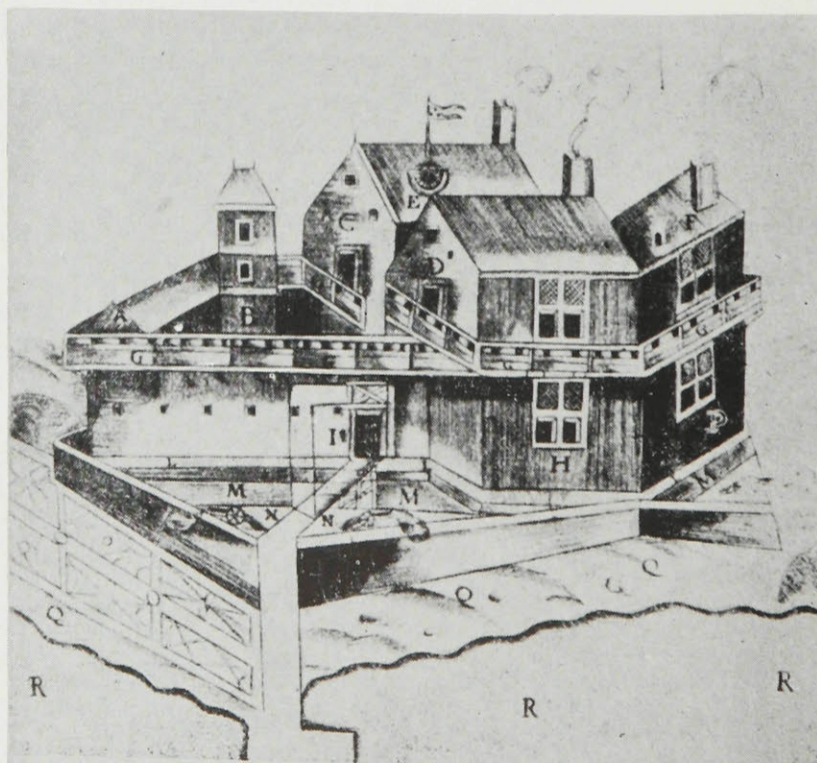
The English conquest of 1763 left surprisingly little mark on the progress of Canadian architecture. It was not until 1790 or so that English influence became apparent and then only in the cities. The decoration of St. François on the Island of Orleans, executed between 1835 and 1844, is purely French, untouched by the revivals which were fashionable elsewhere. Quevillon who worked under English rule is as French as was Noël Levasseur of the French régime.

But in 1824 Nôtre Dame de Montréal was rebuilt in a bastard American Gothic. This was the first great blow to the old French tradition; it died hard, even today traces of it can be found, but we may close our history in the mid-nineteenth century. After that there were a few individual sculptors but there was no great school.



From Champlain's "Voyages"

The Habitation at Port Royal



CHAMPLAIN'S DRAWING OF THE HABITATION OF QUEBEC

- | | |
|---|---|
| A Storehouse. | I Main door with drawbridge. |
| B Pigeon-house. | L Walk (10 feet wide) all round the building. |
| C Building for storing arms and housing workmen. | M Ditch surrounding the building. |
| D Workmen's quarters. | N Platforms for artillery. |
| E Sun-dial. | O Champlain's garden. |
| F Building containing forge and artisans' quarters. | P Kitchen. |
| G Outside galleries. | Q Terrace in front of the building on the river-bank. |
| H Champlain's private quarters. | R The St Lawrence river. |

From Laverdiere's *Champlain* in McGill University Library

From Champlain's "Voyages"

The Habitation at Quebec

CHAPTER I

BUILDING IN THE EARLY WRITTEN RECORD

THE explorers of Canada left very full accounts of their voyages and of the trading-posts, or *habitations*, which they established on the new continent. Lescarbot and Champlain give long descriptions of de Monts' habitations, first on the island of Ste. Croix and later, in 1605, at Port Royal, at the entrance to the Bay of Fundy. Champlain tells us of the famous habitation which he built at Quebec in 1608. We have picture-plates of these buildings, drawn in the curious diagram perspective of the time and by an artist who can never have seen the actual buildings.

These drawings must be read with great caution. The artist undoubtedly supplied the details from his own imagination, but, if we read the drawings along with the written descriptions, we may get a very clear idea of the kind of building to which these French explorers were accustomed and which they naturally built in the new land.

The Jesuit fathers wrote home regular reports of their missionary work and into them they put quite detailed accounts of their churches and houses and of the manner in which they were built.

At a slightly later date in the mid-seventeenth century, when a small colony had been established, the letters of the Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation to her son in Paris and the *True Description of New France* of Pierre Boucher tell us how the nuns were building their cloisters and the settlers their houses. Pierre Boucher's little book was the first settlers' guide to Canada. The *Voyages* of Champlain, the *Jesuit Relations*, the *Letters of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation* and Boucher's *True Description* are our principal authorities for seventeenth-century building in New France and to them we must first turn our attention.

THE HABITATIONS

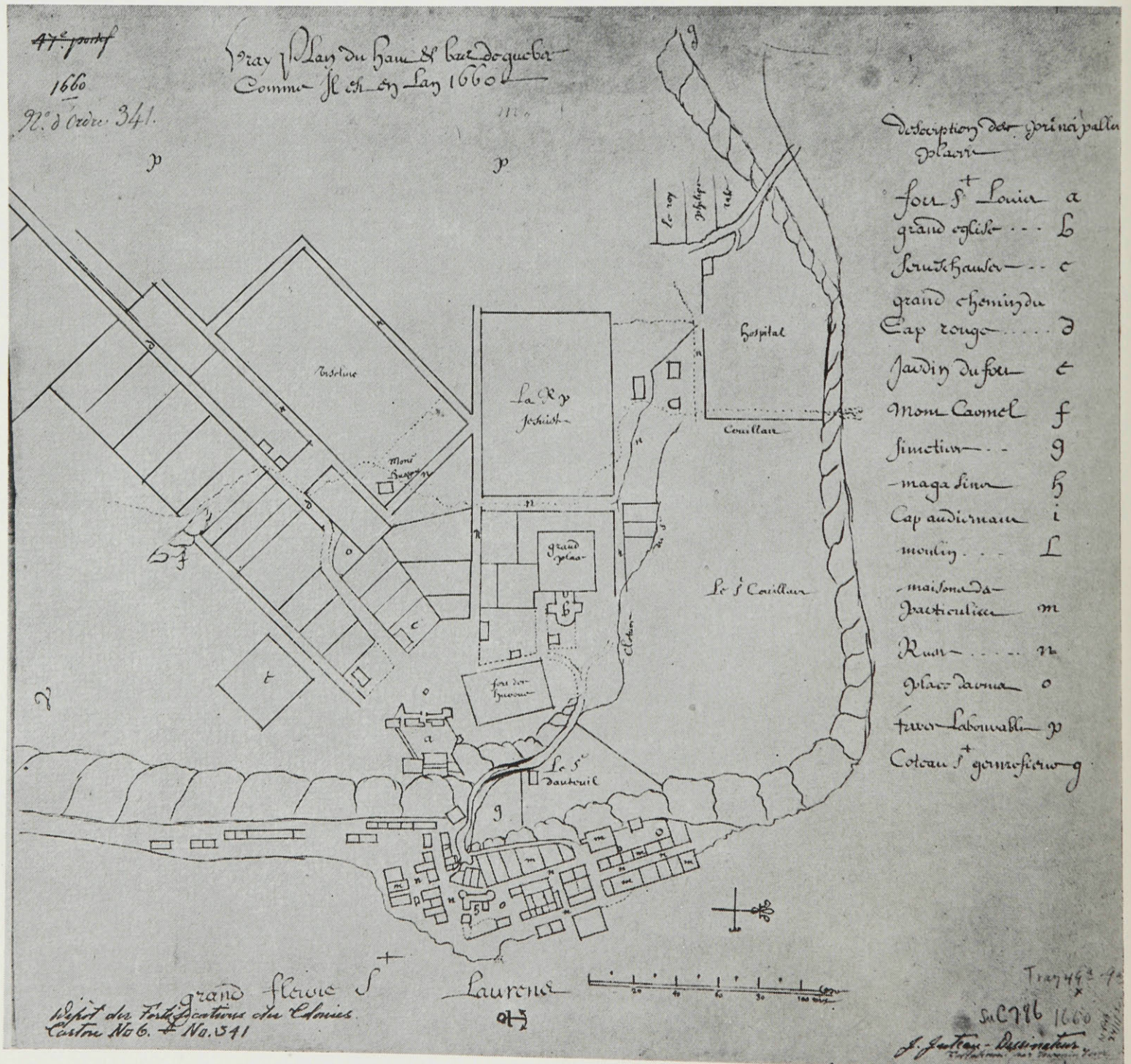
A habitation was a permanent trading post. It consisted of a group of buildings built round a courtyard and was fortified against Indian raids by bastions and palisades. A habitation included all the buildings necessary to house the expedition and for trading with the Indians. It contained a lodging, or apartment, for the head of the expedition, quarters for the officers and for the men, dining-hall, kitchen, bakery, smith's forge, a large store and trading-room. At Quebec, if we may trust the picture, they had a dovecote, though Champlain is silent as to where the pigeons came from. It has been suggested that it was a watch-tower. Outside was the vegetable garden where seeds, brought from France, were grown.

The first habitation was that built by de Monts on the Island of Ste. Croix. In Lescarbot's *Nova Francia* we read:—



Dept. of Mines, Canada

The Habitation at Port Royal as Restored



Plan of Quebec in 1660

"This island where the French settled was called Sainte-Croix, lying twenty-five leagues beyond Port Royal. Now leaving them meanwhile to fell and lay low the cedars and other trees of the said island in order to make the necessary buildings. . .¹

In Champlain's *Voyages*:—

"Then, without loss of time, the Sieur de Monts proceeded to set the workmen to build houses for our residence and allowed me (Champlain) to draw up the plan of our settlement. After the Sieur de Monts had chosen the site for the store-house, which was 54 feet long, eighteen broad and twelve feet high, he settled the plan for his own house which he had built quickly by good workmen."²

Again, in Lescarbot:—

"But, within the fort was the lodging of the Sieur de Monts, made of good and artificial carpenter work with the banner of France above it. At another point was the store-house wherein lay the safety and the life of everyone, made similarly with good carpenter work, and covered with shingles. Opposite the store were the lodgings and houses of the Sieur d'Orville, de Champlain, Champ-Doré and other notable personages. Opposite to the lodging of the Sieur de Monts was a gallery covered for exercise, either of games or for the workmen in time of rain."³

The Island of Ste. Croix turned out to be very exposed and a move was accordingly made to the mouth of the Bay of Fundy where, at Port Royal, a more sheltered site was chosen:—

"We fitted out two pinnaces which we loaded with the woodwork of the houses at Ste Croix to transport it to Port Royal, twenty-five leagues distant, where we judged the climate to be more agreeable and temperate."⁴

This did not include the woodwork of the store-house which was too large to transport.⁵ At Port Royal the buildings were re-erected; they were evidently substantial and well built, de Monts had plenty of good workmen, indeed Lescarbot tells us:—

"Suffice it to say that we had numerous joiners, carpenters, masons, stone-cutters, locksmiths, workers in iron, tailors, wood-sawyers, sailors, etc."⁶

In the days of wooden ships ship-carpenters were the best in the world. Sawyers, smiths and tailors were necessary in any expedition. Scant traces of this habitation have been found at Lower Granville, near Digby in Nova Scotia. They amount only to rather imperfect remains of the stone foundations but with the aid of the picture-plan they were sufficient to allow of a reconstruction. This restoration was carried out in 1939 by the Association of Port Royal and the Dominion government. The present buildings of course have no historic authority but they probably look very like the original habitation of de Monts.

¹ H. P. Biggar (ed.), Lescarbot, *History of New France*. (Champlain Society), p. 242.

² H. P. Biggar (ed.), *Voyages of the Sieur de Champlain*. (Champlain Society). Vol. I, p. 275. Referred to as Champlain's *Voyages*.

³ Lescarbot, p. 514. For the French see appendix.

⁴ Champlain's *Voyages*, Vol. I, p. 367.

⁵ Lescarbot, p. 280

⁶ Lescarbot, p. 319.

In his *Voyages* Samuel Champlain gives a long description of the habitation which he built at Quebec in 1608, and supplements it with a drawing whose perspective has never been quite satisfactorily solved. Unfortunately he tells us nothing of the methods of construction excepting what we can gather from one short reference:—"Whilst the carpenters, sawyers and other workmen were busy at our quarters".⁷

The building, then, was of sawn wood. But the description must be given in full:—

"I continued the construction of our quarters, which contained three main buildings of two storeys. Each one was three fathoms long and two and a half wide. The storehouse was six long and three wide with a fine cellar six feet high. All the way round the buildings I had a gallery made, outside the second storey, which was a very convenient thing. There were also ditches fifteen feet wide and six deep and outside these I made several salients which enclosed a part of the buildings and there we put our cannon. In front of the building there is an open space four fathoms wide and six or seven long which abuts on the river's bank."

The well-known plate which accompanies this description shows the two-storeyed buildings with the gallery, or balcony, at the second floor, steep roofs with gables, one of which is crowned by a windvane and sundial, high chimneys and casement windows of the French *croisée* pattern filled in with an indication of diamond panes. The dovecote in the court has a steep hipped roof with finials.

It is probable that both for this, and for the drawing of the Port Royal habitation, Champlain gave the engraver nothing beyond a slight sketch and a verbal description. The engraver probably filled in such details as the window-panes, the weathervane, the wall and roof textures and so on, as he thought best.

The habitation of Quebec stood, roughly, on the site of the existing church of Nôtre-Dame des Victoires. It was still in use in 1647 when we hear of the "boeufs de labitation" in a building contract in the Ursuline convent.⁹ A map of 1664 shows on the site a building, with two towers, called "magasine" and a bird's-eye view of 1663 shows the same building.¹⁰ It has not the slightest resemblance to Champlain's drawing. The original building had long ago been altered out of all resemblance.

THE JESUIT RELATIONS

From the trading posts we now pass to the descriptions of building which we find in the *Jesuit Relations*, and in other early writings. The first buildings in Quebec were of wood but there was plenty of stone available and good lime could be burnt from the local limestone. The settlers were quite accustomed to stone houses and they very soon began to build them. There was, and still is, an abundant supply of field stones. The farmer had to clean these off his ground before he could plough and he soon learnt to build an excellent rough rubble wall with them. Clay, suitable for brick-making, was available in many places and, as soon as a permanent settlement was formed, we find buildings being erected in stone or brick as well as in wood.

⁷ Champlain's *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 44.

⁸ Champlain's *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 34. For the French see appendix.

⁹ B. R. H. 1901, p. 268 Contract for the construction of the church and fort at Quebec.

¹⁰ See appendix.

The Jesuit Fathers, in the main, describe wooden frame buildings. So Père Charles Lalemant writing from Quebec in 1626 says:—

“About the middle of Lent I ventured to ask the Captain to give us the carpenters of the settlement to help us to erect a little cabin at the place we had begun to clear away and he very courteously granted my request . . . they worked with such good-will that . . . they had finished our cabin by Monday of Holy Week and besides they had sawed over 250 planks (*aix*) both for the roof and for the sides of the cabin, twenty rafters (*chevrons*) and hewn over twenty-five large pieces necessary for the erection of the cabin.”¹¹

In 1642 we read:—

“Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, having learnt that His Majesty and His Eminence were sending out men to fortify the country at once caused the framework of a house to be prepared.”¹²

In 1684 the church of the Mission du Sault was blown down; the missionary describes the rebuilding in a letter of that year:—

“When the logs were squared, carting was out of the question; but the savages carried pieces sixty feet long and proportionately thick and thus accumulated all the timbers where the frame of the building was to be hewn. . . . When spring had come, we began to erect the chapel which had been hewn into shape during the winter . . . the posts and beams are clumsy and heavy—for one may imagine that the timbers of a building sixty feet long and twenty-five long are not light.”¹³

At a later date, in 1748, the missionary at Detroit reports a contract which he has made:—

“I have made a contract with Meloche for the framework of my church, house, roof, etc., for the sum of 1000 livres, and for every 100 boards and planks at 60 livres; and, for what he shall saw me, at 30 livres a 100. Item with janis for 2 stone chimneys and hearths and for lathing (*later*) roughcasting (*crepi*) plastering and floating (*blanchir*).”¹⁴

His church and presbytery, according to these notes, were wood-framed buildings, boarded on the outside and plastered inside, with stone chimneys. Excepting that the timbers were larger, the construction was that of the modern framed house. Frame construction was in use in northern France and in southern England from the seventeenth century onwards. The English settlers brought it to New England, where all the earliest buildings are framed. The French settlers brought it to Canada.

Many of the existing church roofs and barns in Quebec are framed of 12” timber beams, squared with the axe and fastened with mortice, tenon and wooden pins. These show that the old structural technique remained in use until about a century ago.

¹¹ R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations*. Vol. 4, p. 217. Referred to as J. R.

¹² J. R., Vol. 22, p. 247.

¹³ J. R., Vol. 63, p. 233.

¹⁴ J. R., Vol. 32, p. 31.

THE VÉNÉRABLE MÈRE MARIE DE L'INCARNATION

Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the first superior of the Ursuline order in Quebec, was a woman of great organizing ability. She superintended the building of the first convent, on the site where the present buildings stand. When this was burnt to the ground, nine years after it had been built, she applied herself at once to the building of a second convent. In her letters to her son in Paris she gives a most interesting account of the erection of both these buildings and of the difficulties which she had to overcome. This passage relates to the first building of 1641:—

“In answer to what you wish to know about the country I can tell you that there are houses of stone, of wood and of bark. Ours, which is entirely of stone, is ninety-two feet long and twenty-eight broad. It is the finest and the largest in Canada as houses are built here. In this is included the church, which has its length in the breadth of the house, and is seventeen feet broad. You may think that small, but the excessive cold does not permit us to make larger spaces. There are times when the priests are in danger of having their fingers and their ears frozen. The fort is of stone, as are the houses dependent on it. Those of the reverend fathers, of Madame our foundress, of the hospital nuns and of the settled Indians are also of stone. Those of the settlers, excepting for one or two, are of wood with stone filling. Some of the Indians have portable houses of birch bark which they put up very neatly with poles. We had one of this kind at first for our classroom. When I say that our houses are of stone I do not wish to say that they are of cut stone, no, only the corners, which are of a kind of marble almost black which can be taken out in very well cut pieces. The corners, being of this kind of stone, are very fine, but they are expensive to cut because of the hardness. A man costs thirty sols a day and in addition we must support him on feast-days, Sundays and during bad weather. We have our artisans sent out to us from France and hire them for three years or more. We have ten who do all our work excepting that the settlers provide us with lime, sand and brick. Our building is in three floors, in the middle one of which we have our cells made like those of France. Our fireplace is at the end to heat the dormitory and the cells, of which the partitions are only of pine wood for otherwise we could not heat them. . . Our beds are of wood and shut up like cupboards. . . In winter our Indians leave their stone houses and live in cabins in the woods, where it is not so cold. In the four fireplaces which we have we burn a hundred and seventy-five cords of large wood a year. . . Our enclosing wall is only of big tree trunks ten feet high and connected together by planks. The coverings of the houses are in two layers of planks or of shingles laid on planks.”

This building, of which we have no further record, was completely burnt in December 1650 by a fire originating in the bakery, where one of the sisters had placed a pan of embers under her bread pan to make the dough rise.

The rebuilding was commenced at once. The fire-ruined walls were pulled down and the new building was erected upon the old foundations. Mme. de la Peltrie laid the first stone in 1651 and the building was occupied on 29 May. 1652. Of this building, the Venerable Mother gives an account in a letter of 1651:—
“Our building is already at the wall head. The chimneys are being built and in eight days the rooftrusses will be raised. . . It is astonishing how dear artisans and

operations are here, we have men at forty-five and at fifty-five sols a day. Our accident having occurred unexpectedly we found ourselves without any of these people and that is why they are very expensive for us; for, in case of necessity we could have them sent out from France at a more reasonable rate. We hire them for three years and in that way they make their profit, and we also. At present there are days when we are paying thirty livres a day for men, not counting those who are working by the job. Four oxen, who do our work, are dragging materials of wood and of sand. The stone we are quarrying on the spot.”¹⁵

The Vénérable Mère Marie was an excellent letter-writer, and this gives a vivid picture of the construction of an important building in the mid-seventeenth century. Her second building was burnt in 1686 but much of its walling is still probably part of the present convent.

PIERRE BOUCHER

In 1663 Pierre Boucher, founder and first seigneur of Boucherville, wrote his celebrated *True and Genuine Description of New France*. His purpose was to attract settlers and to give them some idea of what awaited them in their new country. So he describes the construction of the houses, the different kinds of wood in Canada and their uses, and the various building materials which could be got. He is naturally describing the farmhouse, such a house as the new settler might hope to build for himself, not a great monastic establishment; so he writes:—

“Quebec is built on rocky ground and, in excavating for cellars one gets stone to build with, but this stone is not very good and mortar does not stick to it; it is a kind of black marble; but a league from here, both up and down the riverside, perfectly good stone that dresses well is to be found. At Quebec there is limestone and clay for making bricks, tiles for paving or roofing, and other like things.”¹⁶

He gives much information on the wood which is to be got in the country:—

“I begin with the one which is the most useful of these here and which we call pine, but which does not have any fruit as pines in Europe do. These trees are of various sizes and heights; but they generally grow to fifty or sixty feet without branches. Their wood is used for making planks and boards which are very fine and good.”¹⁷

“Cedars also grow here. Their leaves are flat and their wood is soft but almost imperishable, for which reason it is used here for making garden fences and beams in cellars. The American or black larch or tamarac has a harder and heavier wood which is very good to build with . . . there is still another kind of these trees, which we call hemlock . . . their wood does not rot so soon as that of the others for which reason it is used very generally for building purposes . . . the tree called cherry birch grows big and high and very straight. Its wood is used for making household furniture.”¹⁸

“Two sorts of oak are found here, the one of which is of a more open grain than that of the other, and is therefore more fit for the making of household furniture and for joiners and carpenters work, while the other is good for shipbuilding pur-

¹⁵ B. Sulte, *Lettres historiques de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, pp. 29, 64. Author's trans.

¹⁶ E. L. Montizambert, *Canada in the XVII Century*. (Translation of Pierre Boucher, *Vraie Description*, of 1663), p. 18. Referred to as Pierre Boucher.

¹⁷ Pierre Boucher, p. 29.

¹⁸ Pierre Boucher, p. 31.

poses. These trees grow tall and large and straight, particularly in the neighbourhood of Montreal.¹⁹

“What are the houses built of? Some are built entirely of stone and covered with boards or planks of pine: others are built of wooden framework or uprights, with masonry between; others are built wholly of wood; but all the houses are covered, as I have said, with boards.”²⁰

Summarizing these, and other early records, we can form a fairly complete picture of building in Canada in the early seventeenth century. The first houses were of wood, framed and covered with shingles, but stone was abundant and it was not long before stone houses were being built. Father le Jeune, describing the ruins of Quebec in 1632 writes:—“that poor settlement of which nothing is now to be seen but the ruins of its stone walls.”²¹ Both Mère Marie, in 1641, and Pierre Boucher, in 1663, mention stone houses. From the beginning the larger buildings were of stone.

Walls were usually of field rubble, water-worn stones bedded deeply in lime mortar. Such walls had to be thick for stability, and we find them from two to four feet thick according to the size of the building. Such walls give good protection. They are cool in summer and in winter, once warmed, they retain heat for a long time. But if a rubble wall is exposed to the alternate frosts and thaws of a Canadian winter, the mortar will be forced out, the interior of the wall will get wet and eventually the whole wall will disintegrate. To guard against this it was a common practice to cover the outside of a stone wall with wood boarding, particularly on the exposed north and east sides. The boarding kept the stone dry and a dry wall is immune to frost. This very practicable device is referred to by Pierre Boucher, and may be seen, on a large scale, today on the Hôpital Général at Quebec.

Cut stone was required for angles, windows and doors; for this the Quebec limestone was used. It is a hard grey stone, full of small cavities; it weathers well but is quite unfit for carving or for any but the simplest mouldings. It is still used and is still expensive to cut. The “*espèce de marbre noir*”, mentioned by Mère Marie, was probably this limestone quarried at Beauport. Pierre Boucher mentions brick and tiles for roofing and paving. Good brick clay is found in many parts of the province and brick seems to have been made from early days.

The *Jesuit Relations* of 1636 give an account of the building of the first fort:—

“Monsieur de Montmagny, our governor, has traced the plan, as I have already said, of a fortress which is to be regularly built. Some are working at the lime, others at the brick, others are hauling stones and others levelling the ground. They have drawn the plans of a city, in order that all buildings hereafter shall be done systematically.”²² Like so many others, this effort at town planning seems to have petered out.

Again, in the same year:—“For a distance of two leagues round about Kebec

¹⁹ Pierre Boucher, p. 32.

²⁰ Pierre Boucher, p. 73.

²¹ J. R., Vol. 5, p. 39.

²² J. R., Vol. 9, p. 137.

lime is made; good building stone is quarried, which can be easily cut; excellent brick is made and sand is to be found almost everywhere.”²³

A father at Tadoussac writes in 1642:—“The father wished to have the bricks carried up that had been brought for building the house at Tadoussac.”²⁴

In 1673 we read of the chapel at Ancienne Lorette:—“As early as the summer of 1673, while we were having made, nine or ten leagues from there, the bricks wherewith the chapel was to be built.”²⁵

In 1651 we hear of a brickyard at Three Rivers.²⁶ Bricks must have been extensively used yet I have been unable to find a single brick that could definitely be recognized as seventeenth or early eighteenth century make. Probably these old bricks were too soft to stand the severe frosts and have simply disintegrated.

Mère Marie and Pierre Boucher both mention wood-framed houses. Mère Marie notes that many houses were of stone, including those of the *Sauvages sédentaires*, the settled Indians who had a village at the top of Mountain Street, but that the habitants' houses were of “colombage pierotté”, that is, of frame work filled with stone. Pierre Boucher mentions both the plain frame construction and also the “pierotté”, both kinds of houses being covered with boarding.

Simple wood-framed houses seem to have been common at all periods, from the first Habitations to the present day. The “colombage pierotté”, the stone-filled frame house, was a simple way of insulating a wooden house and was very much used both in Canada and in New England. In 1768 one of the oldest buildings in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, was described as follows:—

“A dwellinghouse, 56' x 268', one storey with a pitched roof, shingled and clapboarded and filled in between the studs with stone laid in rough mortar.”²⁷ To-day we use other materials for insulating wooden houses but they do the same work.

Pierre Boucher tells us that the roofs were made of boards, which were probably laid running down the roof. Mère Marie mentions both boards and shingles and these seem to have been the usual roof coverings. Thatch was undoubtedly used later, in some localities, but we find no mention of it in the early records.

In a country with a cold and therefore a dry winter climate, fire is a very serious danger and a wood-covered roof is not safe. From early times fire-resisting roofing materials were sought and their use enforced if practicable.

Boucher writes of tiles for roofing and paving and such tiles were undoubtedly made, but like the brick they do not seem to have been very satisfactory. They were probably soft. No trace of them now remains nor are they ever named in the building accounts.

Slates were imported. In 1666 Père Beschefer writes:—“Our house is in two

²³ J. R., Vol. 9, p. 165.

²⁴ J. R., Vol. 26, p. 119.

²⁵ J. R., Vol. 58, p. 147.

²⁶ J. R., Vol. 37, pp. 107-9.

²⁷ *Can. Geogr. Mag.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, April 1932, p. 205.

storeys, all of stone and covered in slate with a fine cupola for a clock. The Ursuline and Hospital nuns have well-built houses."²⁸

The accounts of the Ursuline convent mention slates for the period 1672 to 1686.²⁹ Maître Robert Pépin, "piqueur dardoise" receives in various payments 2,203 livres for slates and shingles, and in 1674, 20,000 slates were purchased for 940 livres. In 1679 Pépin was paid for "se quil a couvert de nôtre maison" and the nuns bought 38,000 slates for 1,720 livres and slate nails for 329 livres. In 1681 they paid 100 livres for lead to cover part of the roof. These slates were probably imported, since, in 1721, M. Chaussegros de Léry, *ingenieur du Roy*, writes to the Conseil de Marine in Paris:—

"J'ai remis à M. l'Intendant un état des ardoises nécessaires pour couvrir les magazins du Roi, de Québec et de Montréal, ne l'étant que de bardeaux, par ce moyen les effets de Sa Majesté seront en sureté. Il est nécessaire aussi de couvrir avec de l'ardoise les autres bâtiments qui lui appartiennent. Il a arrivé dans ce pays que lorsqu'une maison est en feu on ne peut pas garantir celles qui sont auprès à cause qu'elles sont couvert en planches ou en bardeaux. Je supplie le conseil de nous envoyer les ardoises que j'ai l'honneur de demander."³⁰

In 1428 slate quarries were opened at the Grand Étang,³¹ apparently with little success. The slates were of poor quality and probably perished very rapidly from the frosts. But in 1674 the accounts of the Ursuline convent record the purchase of twenty-four leaves of tinned iron (feuilles de fer blanc); in 1678 tin-plate is mentioned in the accounts of Nôtre-Dame de Montréal and thereafter we frequently meet with this material, the "tin tile" which covers so many old buildings in Quebec.³²

The tariff-list of 1748 tells us that "ferblanc" was imported in barrels, in two sizes, large and small. Between 1741 and 1755 there were in Montreal four workers in tin-plate.³³ There is no tin in Canada and tin-plate was always imported.³⁴ No better roofing material for the Canadian climate could be asked. It is light, durable and fireproof and in time it turns to a beautiful bronze colour. It came to be very extensively used for churches and important buildings, but for the farmhouse it must have been too expensive. Ordinary houses continued to be shingled.

The regulations for fire protection in Quebec of 1673 give us a good idea of the better class of building in a town. They require:—

"That noone shall erect a new building in the lower town which has not at least the two gables in masonry. That ladders must be provided for reaching the roof. That stoves in houses must not be placed otherwise than in fireplaces."

And in 1727, the Intendant Dupuy in his "Ordonnance pour la construction des maisons en matériaux incombustibles" forbids:—

²⁸ B. R. H., 1929, p. 335.

²⁹ Ursuline Convent, Quebec, *Livre de Comptes 1672-73*, f. 46; 1673 f. 296 et seq.

³⁰ *Documents Historiques*, Correspondance VI, Quebec 1893.

³¹ B. R. H., 1910, p. 185.

³² *Canadian Antiquary*, 1916, p. 9.

³³ B. R. H., 1924, p. 280.

³⁴ See appendix.

- (1) To build any house in the towns and large villages where stone can be conveniently found, otherwise than in stone.
- (2) To build otherwise than in two storeys.
- (3) To use exposed (*apparent*) wood in lintels for doors or windows.
- (4) To cover with shingles.³⁵

Glass was in use for windows, certainly in the larger buildings though it must have been imported. In 1674 the accounts of the Ursuline convent note the purchase of 100 panes of glass at 46 livres 10 sols.

The Vénérable Mère Marie complained that workmen were scarce and expensive, but Quebec, in the mid-seventeenth century had craftsmen. At a procession of the Blessed Sacrament at Sillery in June of 1648, torches of twelve trades were carried. They were "Turner, Joiner, Shoemaker, Cooper, Locksmith, Gun-Smith, Carpenter, Mason, Tool-Maker, Baker, Wheelwright and Nailmaker."³⁶ This should dispose of the legend that the seventeenth century French settlers were rough backwoodsmen, building their log cabins with no better tools than an axe and a sheath-knife. From the first these settlers included men of education. Hébert, the first habitant, was an apothecary and carried out experiments in naturalizing trees.

The first real community in Quebec was that established after the treaty of St. Germain in 1632. It was an organized body and included a certain number of well-trained craftsmen. These early Quebecquois built for themselves substantial stone or wooden houses. They followed the building methods of northern France, to which they were accustomed. They had from the beginning educational facilities and they had neither the need nor the inclination to live as backwoodsmen.

Before leaving the subject of early building construction in Canada we must consider two theories which are at times put forward and indeed taken for granted. They are that the early explorers and settlers built "half-timber work" and that they built log cabins.

The statement that half-timber work was used in early times may possibly be due to a misunderstanding of the technical term "half-timber". This term was originally applied by nineteenth century antiquarians to houses having one half of the wall composed of heavy wood framing, usually of oak, the other half being filled in with plaster, brick or even stone rubble, and in which the timber framing remains exposed, forming a decorative feature of the building. It has come to be used for any wood-framed building in which the framing is visible, as part of the architecture. Half-timber houses are not boarded or shingled outside.

True half-timber was in use in Northern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The framework is usually of oak, often constructed so as to show elaborate patternings on the exterior; by the seventeenth century it had given way to frame building, boarded on the exterior.

The spaces between the framing posts in a frame building may be left vacant or they may be filled in with some form of insulation. One form of this was in common use as early as the seventeenth century under the name "colombage

³⁵ B. R. H., 1924, p. 131.

³⁶ J. R., Vol. 32, p. 91.

pierotté". In this the spaces were filled with rough rubble and plaster, the entire wall was then boarded or shingled outside and plastered inside. But this hardly constitutes "half-timber" work as it is understood by the architect.

In the Archives at Ottawa is a drawing of houses built in 1753 at Isle Royal in Cap Breton.³⁷ The houses, three in a continuous row, are of one storey with an attic. The walls are of upright wood posts some three or four feet apart resting on a wood sill and are filled in with brick between the posts. This may be called half-timber, but it is half-timber of a very crude kind, it is rather "colombage pierotté" without the external boarding. No existing old buildings in Quebec are of half-timber and the descriptions of old buildings all correspond to a frame construction. It is, I think, better to call them frame houses. "Half-timber" must always bring up visions of the elaborate and highly decorative wooden houses of fifteenth century England, France and Germany.

True half-timber work has been found in a few old houses built by German settlers in America. The Spengler House near York and the Moravian meeting-house at Oley Valley, both in Pennsylvania, are cited as examples.

THE LOG CABIN

There is a common belief that the early explorers and settlers built "log cabins". This seems to be based upon a belief that they had no skilled craftsmen and that, in consequence, their houses must have resembled those of the typical backwoodsman, crudely built, of unsquared logs, fitted together with the axe.

But Lescarbot expressly states that the Port Royal expedition had joiners, carpenters, masons, stonecutters, locksmiths, workers in iron, tailors, woodsawyers, etc. Any expedition of those days had to carry with it craftsmen; they might have to rebuild their ship at any time. The ship-carpenters were quite able to build a house and to build it better than most carpenters of today. De Mont's house at Ste. Croix was of "une belle et artificielle charpenterie". The store was "de belle charpenterie couvert de bardeaux".

Lescarbot writes:—"Quelquesuns s'étoient cabannes en la terre-ferme". This Dr. Biggar translates:—"Some had built log-huts on the mainland."³⁸

In his introduction Dr. Biggar writes:—

"Mont's residence was, Lescarbot informs us, built of timbers brought from France and the same was true apparently of the storehouse, but all the other buildings were apparently log-huts." He further translates, in the passage quoted, "couvert de bardeaux" as "covered with reeds" in place of the usual meaning "shingles".³⁹

I have not been able to find the passage referred to in Lescarbot and the suggestion seems very questionable. Why should an expedition well equipped with craftsmen, going to a country well furnished with timber, burden itself with the bulky beams and framing of a house, and a storehouse over fifty feet long? When the expedition moved to Port Royal it took two "barques" to carry the timbers

³⁷ "Facade du bâtiment . . . construit en bois de charpente d'un Pied decarillage et en brique entre les poteaux . . ." In the Public Archives of Canada. Published in the *Revue de Québec*, Vol. V, No. 2, by M. Barbeau.

³⁸ Lescarbot, p. 255. French on p. 514.

³⁹ Champlain's *Voyages*, Vol. I, p. 276.

of the house only and that for a few miles. They could not take the timbers of the storehouse which were too big to carry. Yet it is suggested that they had been brought across the Atlantic.

Why render *bardeaux* as "reeds"? Any skilled carpenter of the old school could make shingles quite easily. Why translate *cabane* as "log house"? Early French writers commonly use it for the bark houses of the Indians. Père Charles Lalemant uses the word *cabane* for a small house boarded on the sides and roof and quite evidently a framed house. Here it simply means hut or shack.

These assumptions are really based upon the idea that the early explorers could not build a frame house. It would I think be truer to say that they did not know how to build a log cabin, for the art of log building seems to have been brought to North America by the first Scandinavian settlers. It must have been quite unknown to the early French or English colonists.

Log houses are found in Scandinavia, Russia and Switzerland, countries with great pine forests whose long straight poles originated the peculiar log construction. The walls are made of unsquared logs laid one upon another, crossing at the corners where they are halved together. So at each angle we see the log ends projecting in a cross and these projecting ends are necessary for the stability of the wall. For the backwoodsman it had the great advantage that a log house could be built with no other tool than an axe and required no nails. But log-building is quite a specialized art with a skilled technique of its own; it is difficult to imagine de Mont's or Champlain's skilled carpenters abandoning their well-tried frames to invent the log cabin.

The passages in the *Jesuit Relations* show that the early settlers built frame houses; one passage only, in a letter from Three Rivers of 1635, says:—

"Nôtre maison, en la première commencement, n'était que quelques bûches de bois jointes les unes auprès des autres enduites par les ouvertures d'une peu de terre, et couvertes d'herbes; nous avons en tout douze pieds en quarré pour la chapelle et pour nôtre demeure, attendant qu'un bâtiment de charpente qu'on dressait fut achevé."⁴⁰

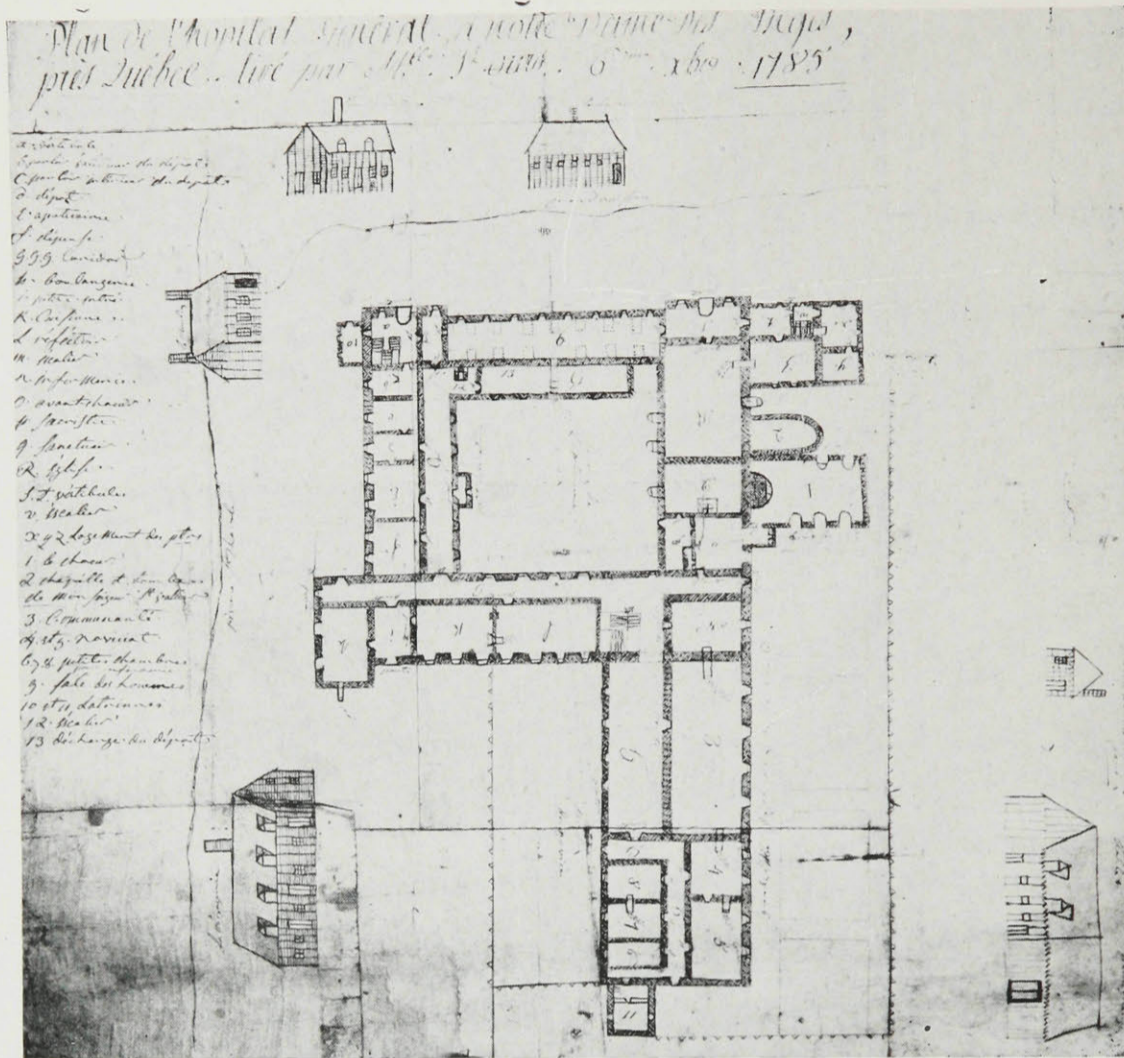
This is evidently a log structure for temporary use in the wilderness. Mr. Shurtleff, in *The Log Cabin Myth* suggests that it was a "log tent", a crude form of house used in early times and made of long logs, one end resting on the ground and the other supported on a ridge piece, like the roof of a house. This agrees well with the description.⁴¹

The peculiar construction "en pièce", or block-house construction, will be considered later.

⁴⁰ B. Sulte, *Histoire de la Ville de Trois-Rivières*, Mont., 1870.

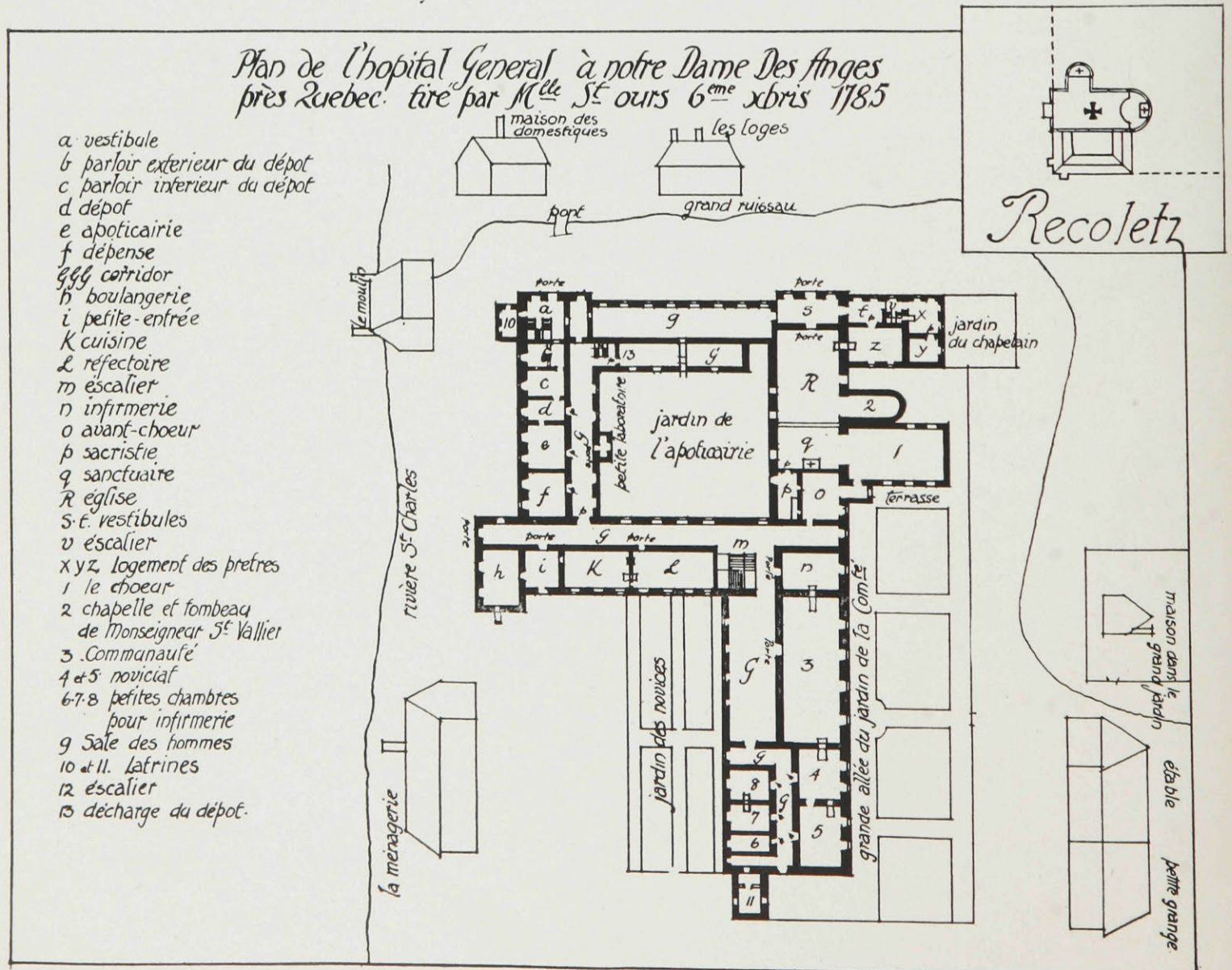
⁴¹ See appendix.

PLATE III
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



The St. Ours Plan

Drawn in 1785 by Mlle. St. Ours in the Archives of the Hôpital



Key to the St. Ours Plan

Inset Plan of the Récollet Monastery from the Villeneuve Map of Quebec of 1685

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY RELIGIOUS HOUSES

MONASTIC buildings were amongst the first to be erected in New France. As early as 1616 the Récollet Fathers had built a chapel near the Habitation; a few years later, in 1620, they built a monastery and a church, dedicated to Nôtre Dame des Anges, on the banks of the St. Charles River, a few miles to the north of Quebec.¹

In 1634 the Jesuit Fathers commenced their house and the church of Nôtre Dame de Recouvrance² and in 1637 they established the mission and chapel at Sillery on the bank of the St. Lawrence above Quebec.³ In 1639 the hospital nuns of St. Augustine founded the Hôtel Dieu; in 1641 the Ursulines began to build their convent in the Upper Town; in 1646 the parish church and a stone fort were begun.⁴

Of these early buildings no trace now remains that can be identified. They were largely of wood and fires were all too frequent. The first Ursuline convent, that described in the letters of the Vénérable Mère Marie, was burnt; the Hôtel Dieu was repeatedly burnt and, as it stands today is, in appearance, a modern building. Parts of the underbuilding in both these buildings are very early and may belong to the first work, but they cannot be identified.

The Jesuit buildings were used as a barracks in 1776 and pulled down in 1877. Short's drawing shows their appearance just after the English occupation.

Two ancient foundations remain in Quebec of such importance that we must consider them at some length. They are the Hôpital Général of which parts must date from shortly after 1671 and the Ursuline convent where the oldest existing parts were built in 1687. Both are convents and undoubtedly owe their preservation to this. The nuns are very conservative; they love their old ways and their old buildings and they have preserved much in the quiet of the cloister which elsewhere would have been lost.

THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC

In 1692 Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, second bishop of Quebec, received from Louis XIV letters patent for the foundation of a general hospital at Quebec. For the use of his new institution he purchased the Récollet monastery on the St. Charles River. The first buildings of this monastery had long been destroyed. In 1629, when Quebec was captured by the English, the Récollet fathers had to leave Canada; when they returned in 1670 their old buildings were in ruins.

¹ Marquis, T. G., *Chronicles of Canada*, p. 2.

² *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 8, p. 103.

³ *Liber Baptisatorum de Sillery*, Archives of the Archevêché de Quebec.

⁴ *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 1901, p. 268.

PLATE IV
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



The East Side, 1710-12, with later additions



The Infirmary Wing from the Garden

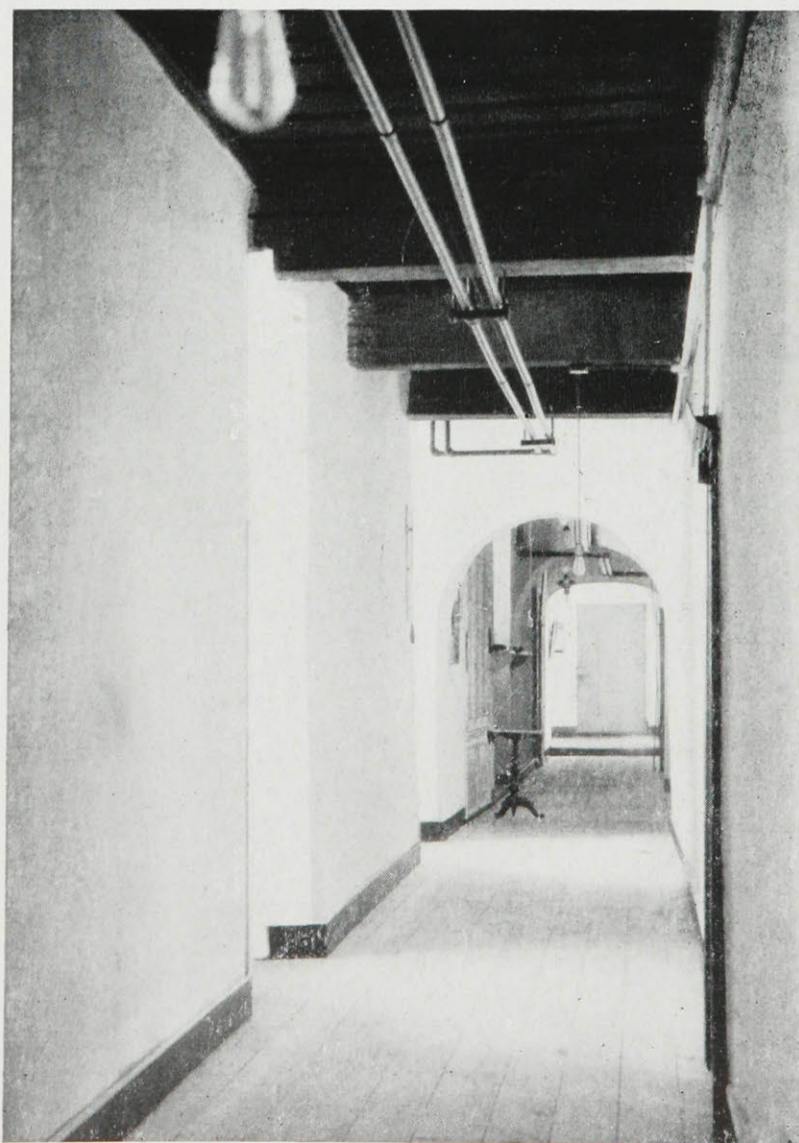
PLATE V
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



The Refectory



The Corridor on the North Side of the Cloister



The Corridor of the Refectory Wing

They began rebuilding at once. The first stone of the church was laid by M. Talon in 1671; in 1677 the Comte de Frontenac built a wing, in which he reserved an apartment for himself. Next year the fathers added a chapel, a sacristy, a dormitory and offices in stone, and a cloister.⁵

The deed of sale to Mgr. de Saint-Vallier is still preserved in the archives of the hospital. It contains a detailed description of the buildings which consisted:—
 “In an oblong cloister formed of seven or eight arcades on each side: of which one of these sides to the south was built along the said church, the second was partly formed by and ran the whole length of a stone dormitory wing which contained twenty-four cells; beneath which dormitory were the pantry (*dépense*), kitchen, refectory and vestibule and the cellars beneath; above was a loft over the entire length; the third of the said sides of the said cloister ran along the side of a wooden building which consisted in rooms and offices which had been built by Monseigneur the Count de Frontenac and which are called for the purposes of this deed *le bâtiment de Monsieur le Comte*; on the fourth side to the north-east was a simple cloister way without buildings.”⁶

Also included were furnishings left in the monastery:—“The rétable and balustrade of the altar; the wall panelling (*lambris*) of the refectory and of the choir, the planks which closed the arcade of the cloister, the firewood, two refectory tables, the two confessionals and the church pews, the ironwork and locks of all the doors. . .”⁷

A plan of this Récollet monastery is shown on the plan of Quebec made in 1685 by the Sieur de Villeneuve.⁸ It is to a very small scale but it shows the church with an apsidal end, and a side chapel and attached to it a small rectangular cloister.

Between 1695 and 1712 this building was converted into the Hôpital Général. The old refectory, with its panelled walls, was retained and is still in use, probably one of the oldest continually inhabited rooms in North America.

The cost of converting the monastery was met by Mgr. de Saint-Vallier.⁹ In the beginning of the eighteenth century he was a prisoner of war in England and the nuns had written to him telling him of the ruinous condition of the “*bâtiment des pauvres*” (the old Frontenac wing). In 1708 the bishop writes to M. de la Colombière:—

“I am quite convinced of the need to build and I can well see that we must not further delay for fear that death should prevent us doing what we have always intended doing. I have thought that the first plan that we made eight years ago was too elaborate: that is why it is better to reduce it and to carry it out. Therefore this is what I think should be done; build a wing which should begin at the end of the nuns’ building and which would extend as far as the road leading to the mill dam and then another wing which would extend towards the church and even cover the gable of the church, wishing that in this part apartments should be reserved for me having an opening into the church by which one might see the

⁵ Mgr. de Saint-Vallier et l’Hôpital Général de Québec. Que., 1882. Referred to hereafter as H. G. Q.

⁶ H. G. Q., pp. 99-100.

⁷ H. G. Q., p. 100.

⁸ See plate III, No. 2 inset.

⁹ H. G. Q., p. 100. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier had promised at the time of the foundation to give one thousand livres annually (p. 105)

Blessed Sacrament. Arrange with M. Levallet, the sister Saint-Augustine, and the Sieur Mailloux to examine the question on the grounds so that you may draw up a little plan and specification which you will send to me so that I may judge how much I can give annually until the work is completed and that I may give you an answer next year in the event of my being still detained in England."

This was done and the bishop wrote to MM. de la Colombière and Levallet approving the design and bidding them to commence work as soon as possible.¹⁰ Work was begun in 1710 and completed in 1712. A comparison of the bishop's letter with the existing buildings shows that the alterations were carried out very much as he had planned. The old refectory and the kitchen of the Récollets, which was in use as the "nuns' building", was retained and is in use today. The refectory has been lengthened and a new kitchen has been added, but the wood panelling mentioned in the bill of sale still covers the walls and the old ovens and fireplace can still be seen in the kitchen. On the floor above, the Récollet cells with their arched doors and windows remained until 1843 when they were removed in the course of alterations.

The wooden "bâtiment de M. le Comte" on the north side was removed to make way for the present wing containing the dispensary and other offices, and the cloister way on the east side was replaced by the present hospital wards, marked on the St. Ours plan *Parloir extérieure du dépôt*.¹¹ This wing was extended past the entrance of the church and in this southern projection was placed the apartment of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier which is now used as the chaplain's lodging. The Sieur Mailloux mentioned in Mgr. de Saint-Vallier's letter was probably Joseph Mailloux, entrepreneur-maçon, to whom the bishop had given the contract for a wing of his episcopal palace in 1697.¹² The accounts of the Hôpital contain two items of fees paid to M. Mailloux:

1717-18. "de la somme de 1200 li. paye a M. Maillou architect pour reste de son compte."¹³

1719-20. "de la somme de 450 li. payez au Sieur Maillou architect pour sol de son compte."¹⁴

Mr. Morisset has suggested that these entries refer to Jean Baptiste Mailloux, an architect of Quebec who died there in 1753. But it seems more probable that the Bishop would consult Joseph Mailloux who had already carried out work for him and that he was employed at the Hôpital in the work which followed. The functions of the architect at this time were not those of today, the architect was usually a craftsman and contractor who acted as a professional consultant when required.

At a later date, in 1757-58 we find in the accounts of the Hôpital a payment of 3,600 li. to a Sieur Mailloux "pour de la maçonne". This is evidently a payment to a contractor and at this date cannot refer either to Joseph or to Jean-Baptiste but it suggests as a possibility that three generations of the family acted as architect contractors to the Hôpital.

¹⁰ H. G. Q., pp. 209-210.

¹¹ See plate III.

¹² Roy. P. G., *La Ville de Québec sous le régime Français*, p. 533, quoting Têtu. *Histoire du Palais épiscopal de Québec*.

¹³ *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. I, f. 90b.

¹⁴ *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. II, f. 116a.

PLATE VI
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



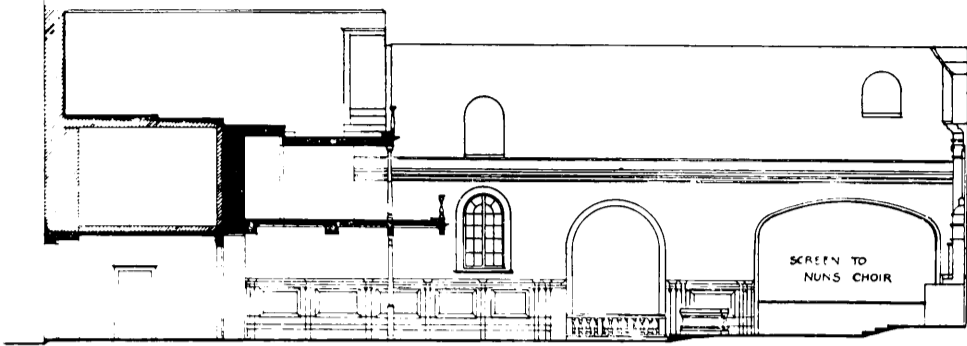
Interior of the Church, showing the Chapel of the Sacred Heart



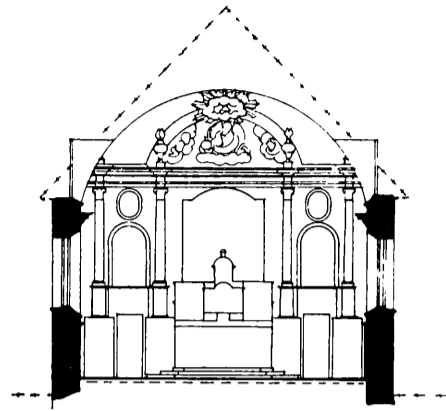
Panelling in the Church

THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL QUEBEC THE CHAPEL

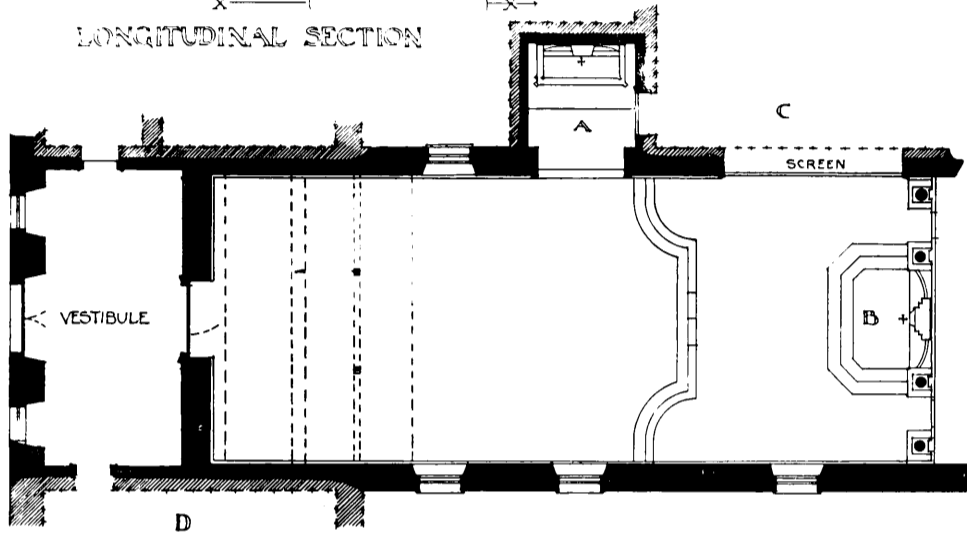
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LONGITUDINAL SECTION

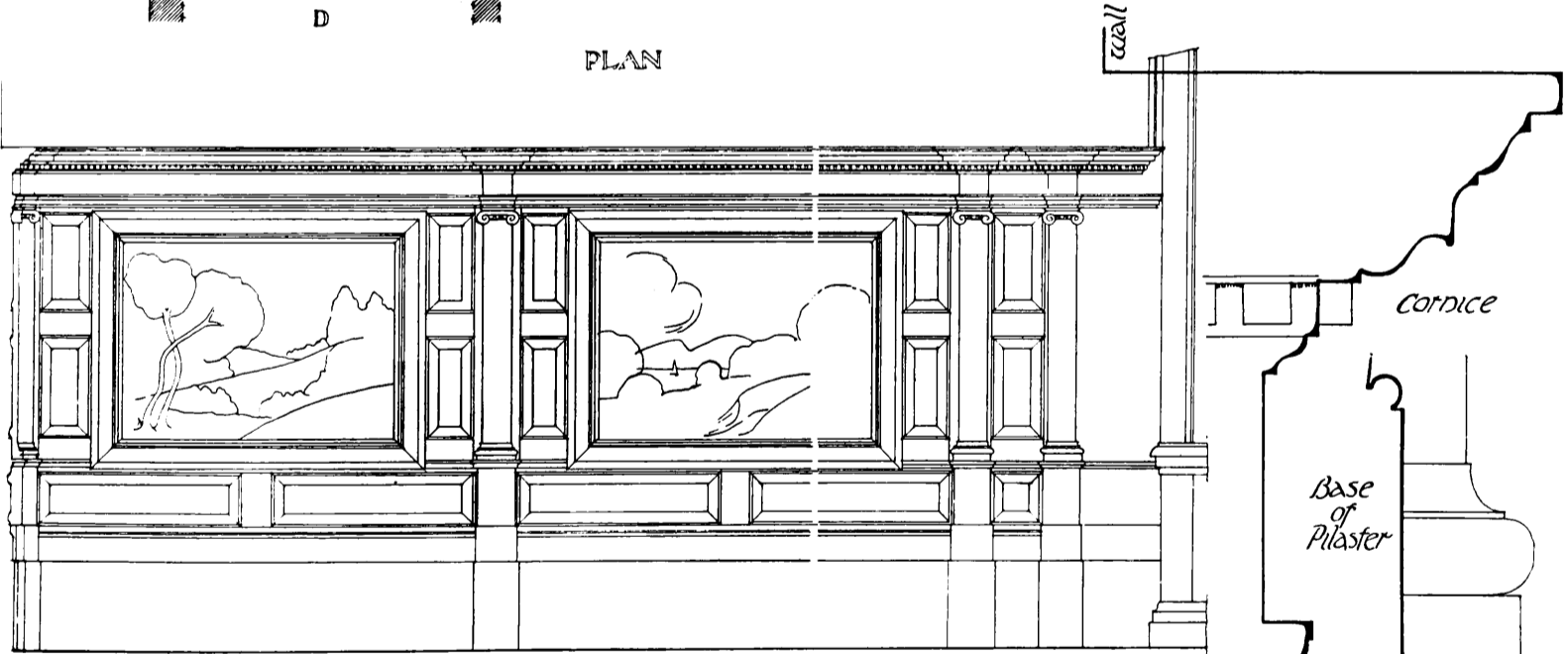


CROSS SECTION



PLAN

- A CHAPEL OF THE SACRED HEART OF MARY — BURIAL PLACE OF M^{RS} DE SAINT-VALLIER
 - B HIGH ALTAR
 - C NUN'S CHOIR
 - D WARD
- NOTE · THE PARTS DRAWN WITH A BROKEN LINE WERE NOT MEASURED SO -----



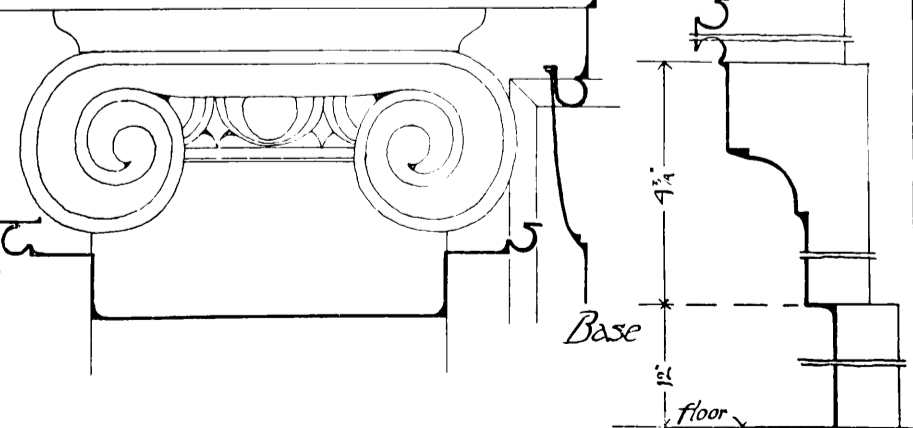
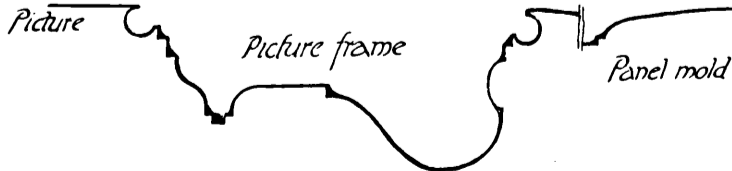
THE WALL PANELLING

12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 FEET

NOTE · THE PART OF THE PANELLING DRAWN IS SHOWN ON THE SECTION BY X — X

Details to full size

1 1/2 0 1 2 3 4 5 inches



R.T. 1830. 4

No further alterations were made to the cloister buildings until 1737 when the wing extending westwards from the chapel and containing the infirmary, community room and novitiate, was begun. It was further extended in the nineteenth century. Traditionally this wing is said to have been built by the Comte de Frontenac in 1677, as part of the Récollet monastery. But we have seen that the wooden "bâtiment de M. le Comte" was on the site now occupied by the dispensary wing and the Villeneuve plan of 1685 shows no western extension of the church. Moreover, the Livres de Comptes contain items for materials and labour at this time such as:—"488 li. paye a de lorme avance sur la charpente de l'infirmerie",¹⁵ which definitely establish the date of this wing and indicate that the nuns paid for it out of their own funds. It was at this time that the fine staircase adjoining the refectory was built.

We must now go back to consider the chapel of the community, the parish church of Nôtre Dame des Anges. The walls here are those of the old Récollet chapel and an account of the work done to it between 1695 and 1697 is given in the annals of the Hôpital:—¹⁶

"The reverend Récollet fathers had carried off the panelling, the pictures, the tabernacle and in general all that they had been able to detach. They had left nothing but the bare rétable, no doubt because it appeared so old and so used that they did not deign to take it down to carry it away. The flooring was all in pieces from decay and the walls were so black and dirty that the church in this dismemberment looked like an old ruined house. . . The floors were renewed, the walls were panelled up to the height of the windows, the pulpit, the balustrade, the rétable, the tabernacle, everything was restored. The panels of the panelling were decorated with paintings, two pictures were procured to put on each side of the rétable, these are those of our father St. Augustine and of St. Mary Magdalene, patroness of the contemplative life."

In 1701 the chapel of St. Joseph "dans le rond point des Récollets" was converted into a choir for the nuns.¹⁷ At this time the church still retained its semi-circular apse, the sanctuary was narrower than it is at present and this chapel must have been on the left hand side of the altar. In 1726 the nuns' choir was rebuilt and the Sieur Levasseur made new stalls¹⁸ and finally the whole choir was remodelled in 1769, after the siege. The convent itself had not suffered very seriously, but some damage had been done to the church. At any rate the reconstruction was very complete. An account of it is given in the annals:—

"The whole interior of the church was, so to speak, renewed; the arch and cornice of the vault broken in great part by the bullets was still in tatters and was renewed; but as the sanctuary was very narrow, to give it greater width we took down the two walls which made the angles of the side chapels which we had to suppress, and the walls were rebuilt to the same width as the nave and for that we took several feet from the (nuns') choir and in consequence had to replace the door which is outside the vestibule to the choir, but by means of a little penthouse (appentis) we made the entrance to the choir in a not too disagreeable

¹⁵ *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. II, f. 224, year 1736-37.

¹⁶ The annals are a continuous contemporary account of the community and are not open to outsiders. The Mother-secretary has kindly furnished excerpts.

¹⁷ H. G. Q., p. 160.

¹⁸ H. G. Q., p. 256. *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. II, fol. 73-74.

manner; . . . The panelling was taken up to be repaired; the balustrade was straightened and the pulpit was placed in the bay between the two windows of the nave where it had been before. . . As for the chapel of the Sacred Heart of Mary, we took advantage of the great need of repair which it had to reconstruct it adjacent to the choir and by this means to open a grille in it which gave on to the said choir at the same time that an arch gave entrance to the church as has been said above. Consequently it was now 8½ feet distant from the apartments of Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier which it formerly adjoined."

This reconstruction left the church very much as it is at present. The semi-circular apse of the Récollets disappeared with its side chapels and in its place was set the present square sanctuary with the large arch to the nuns' choir on the left-hand side. Into the new rétable were put the two pictures from the old, St. Augustine and St. Mary Magdalene. The wall panelling of the nave is evidently also of this date as it is made to suit the new divisions of the walls. The panels are decorated with pictures in oils. There are twenty-two of these pictures, conventional landscapes with trees, lakes and distant hills; one shows a hermitage beneath a beetling cliff. We are told that the original panelling, put in the first reconstruction of 1695-97, was decorated with paintings. The panelling now on the walls is eighteenth century work, indeed the annals state that the panelling was repaired, but the landscape panels may have been re-used. The tabernacle was not altered, it is the work of Noël Levasseur in 1722.¹⁹

The chapel of the Sacred Heart of Mary contains the tomb of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier and adjoins the choir, as described in the annals. The little penthouse, connecting the nuns' choir with the Avant-choeur, is shown clearly on the St. Ours plan; it is still in use and shows in the view of the infirmary wing from the garden.

This St.-Ours plan, to which reference has been made, is a manuscript plan of the monastery drawn in 1785 by Mlle. St. Ours; it shows these alterations clearly. Since then more buildings have been added, none of them of architectural importance. The old Récollet monastery of 1671 is still the heart of the Hôpital and the additions of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier remain almost entire.

The present buildings are of stone, three storeys high, with ferblanc tile roofing. The buildings of the eighteenth century were only two storeys in height. As at the Ursulines, the third storey has been added during the nineteenth century. In the oldest parts of the cloister the doors and windows are covered by flat segmental arches. This was the usual construction in the seventeenth century; in the Ursulines the openings of the oldest parts are all arched. But in the St. Vallier additions the openings, both doors and windows, are lintelled and square-headed. The old floors, so far as could be seen, are of the same simple construction that we find in the oldest houses, as at Batiscan or the Ferme St. Gabriel, a solid floor of two layers of planking laid on widely spaced beams.

The view of the corridor in the refectory wing shows the arched openings in the cross wall and the beamed floors, that of the corridor on the north side shows the work of Saint-Vallier with square-headed doorways. On the east and north exposures the stone walls are lined on the outside with wood boarding as

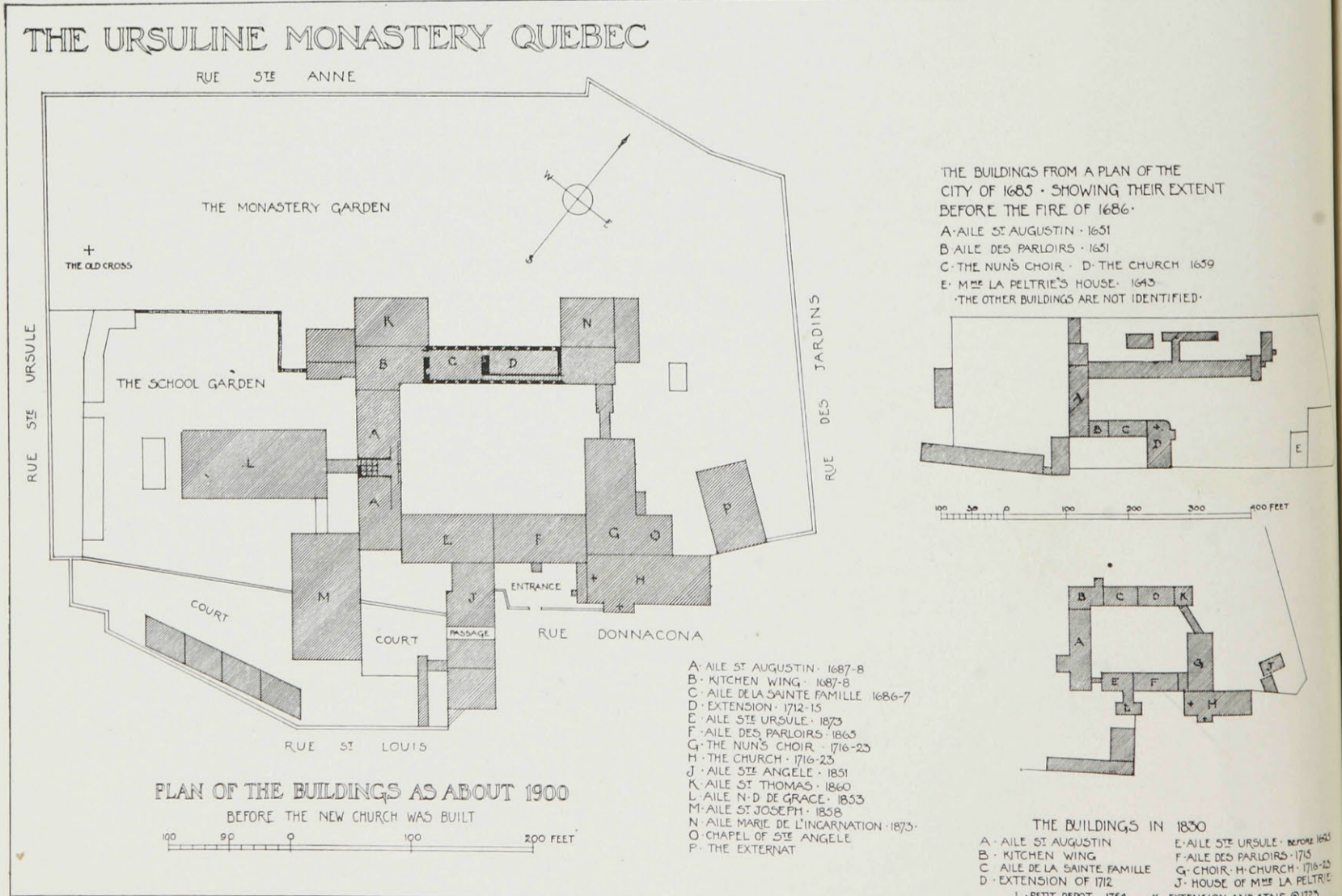
¹⁹ *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. I, fol. 133b and 148b.

PLATE VIII
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC



Public Archives of Canada

Short's View of the Convent in 1761



Plans of the Buildings

a protection against frost. The appearance of a wooden building here is illusory.

The old panellings in the refectory and the dispensary, the staircase, the tabernacle and rétable in the church, are treated more fully in the chapters dealing with woodwork.

THE URSULINE CONVENT IN QUEBEC²⁰

On the first of August, 1639, three Ursuline nuns, headed by the Venerable Mother Marie Guyard de l'Incarnation, landed in Quebec. They came for the purpose of founding in New France a school for the education of French and Indian girls, and were accompanied by Madame Madeleine de Chauvigny de la Peltrie, a wealthy and pious young widow, whose generosity made possible their design. For some time they occupied a house in the lower town but at length, in the early part of 1641, Mme. de la Peltrie laid the first stone of a new building on the site in the upper town which is still occupied by the convent. This is the building described by the Vénérable Mère Marie; it was completely burnt in 1650. The second building, erected on the ashes of the first, was destroyed by fire six years later in 1686 and the oldest parts of the existing convent are of the third building, after this fire of 1686.

A plan of the city of Quebec dated 1685 shows the convent as it was before the second fire. Though the scale is very small yet the principal parts can be identified. On the site occupied by the present Aile St. Augustin is the second building, of 1651, from the south-east corner stretches a wing which must have contained the parlours (1651) and the nuns' choir (1659), then comes the church whose first stone was laid by Mme. de la Peltrie in 1659, its entrance facing towards St. Louis street. On the opposite side is a long narrow wing with various projections. The buildings form three sides of a quadrangle open on the north-east side. Mme. de la Peltrie's house is shown at the south-east corner, but the whole site, as compared with the existing site, is impossibly long and it seems probable that the draughtsman has made an error which results in the north side being unduly lengthened. It is evident that at the time of the second fire there were a considerable number of buildings which are not specifically mentioned in the annals. They were probably of wood.

In 1686 the foundations were laid of a wing sixty feet long, dedicated to the Holy Family. This was on the north side of the present quadrangle, where the community room is now, not touching the old wing of St. Augustine. The work was pushed on rapidly and had reached the level of the first floor when, on October 20th, 1686, the entire convent was once more burnt. Some of the ornaments in the sacristy and some of the historical records were saved but the main buildings, parlours, choir, church, and part of the outbuildings were destroyed.

The nuns remitted to M. de Maizerets, their superior, the Jesuit Fathers and M. de Soumande, Canon of the Diocese, the decision as to their re-establishment. A meeting was held in the Jesuit College on March 3rd and it was resolved to re-

²⁰ The authorities for the history of the Ursuline convent are:

Les Ursulines de Québec, 4 vols., Que. C. Darveau, 1863.

Sulte, *Lettres Historiques de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, Que. 1927.

The Livres de Comptes, MSS. commencing in 1672 and examined up to 1850.

L'Abbé Thomas Maguire, chaplain from 1832 to 1854.

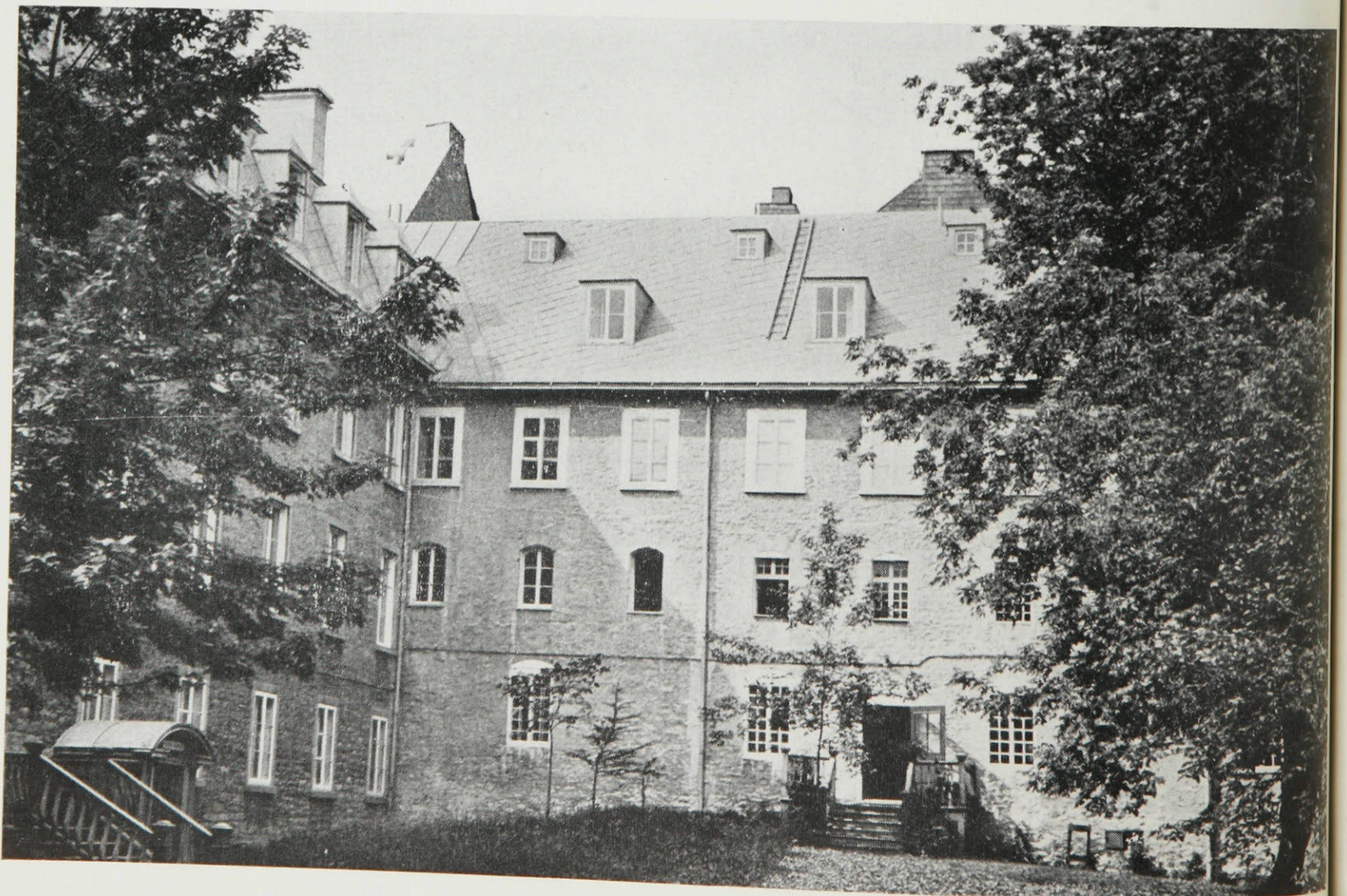
A MS. history with two sketch plans, probably written in 1833 and now in the archives of the monastery.

The Annals. These are not open to outsiders but the Revd. Mother Superior kindly provided excerpts where desirable.

PLATE IX
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC



From the West, showing the Aile Ste. Famille



The Aile St. Augustin

build with additions. The new building (the Aile Ste. Famille) was to be built as intended but with an extension at the west end connecting it with the old Aile St. Augustin from which it should be separated by a partition wall reaching to the roof, to guard against fire. In this angle were to be placed the kitchens. The old building was to be rebuilt on the same foundations, the walls of which had been found good.

On July 19, 1687, the first stone of the kitchen wing was laid; the Aile Ste. Famille was finished by November of the same year and the Aile St. Augustin seems to have been finished about 1690. In 1712 the Aile Ste. Famille was lengthened seventy-five feet to enlarge the noviciate.

These buildings today form the north and west sides of the quadrangle. An extra storey was added to the Aile St. Augustin in 1832²¹ and the interiors have been very much altered but, from the outside the general character must be very much what it was in the early years of the eighteenth century. M. Sulte is of the opinion that the walls of the Aile St. Augustin are those built by the Vénérable Mère Marie in 1650²² but it seems more probable that they were rebuilt on the old foundations.

The walls are of rubble stone about two feet thick; the Aile St. Augustin shows cut stone dressings and rubble walling, the other buildings are plastered. The windows are covered by flat segmental arches, as are those in the early parts of the Hôpital Général, the sashes are double, opening inwards with twelve panes in each sash. The roofs are of ferblanc tiles laid diagonally.²³ The kitchens and the ground floor corridors of the 1712 addition still retain their old stone-vaulted ceilings.

In the centre of the Aile St. Augustin is an oak staircase which must be part of the building of 1690. This, and the eighteenth century panelling in the community room, will be considered more fully in the chapter on woodwork.

In 1695 the Aile Ste. Ursule was erected on the southern side of the quadrangle, to furnish classrooms. After 1715 plans were made for the building of the Aile des Parloirs and the church. The first scheme intended two squares, but the scheme was too expensive and was abandoned in favour of the existing large quadrangle.²⁴ The Aile des Parloirs was finished in 1717,²⁵ the church begun in 1715, was consecrated in 1722.²⁶ For this work the mason, le Sieur Gratis, received 5,126 livres. Sieur Belleville was carpenter and M. la Joue was architect.²⁷

The Church terminated in a square sanctuary and for this the Levasseurs made the existing fine rétable and tabernacle between 1732 and 1736. "They were paid for in small sums arranged together in a friendly way as can be seen by the details in the account books."²⁸ When the old church was taken down in 1901 this woodwork was re-erected in the new one with practically no change.

²¹ L'Abbé Maguire.

²² *Lettres Historiques*, note on p. 64.

²³ Accounts for 1673. "Payé a Mr. Bazire pour traute de sel 24 feuilles de fer blanc et pour le fret de 6 tables de plomb. 149b 19". This seems to be the earliest reference to ferblanc tiles in Canada.

²⁴ *Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. II, p. 107.

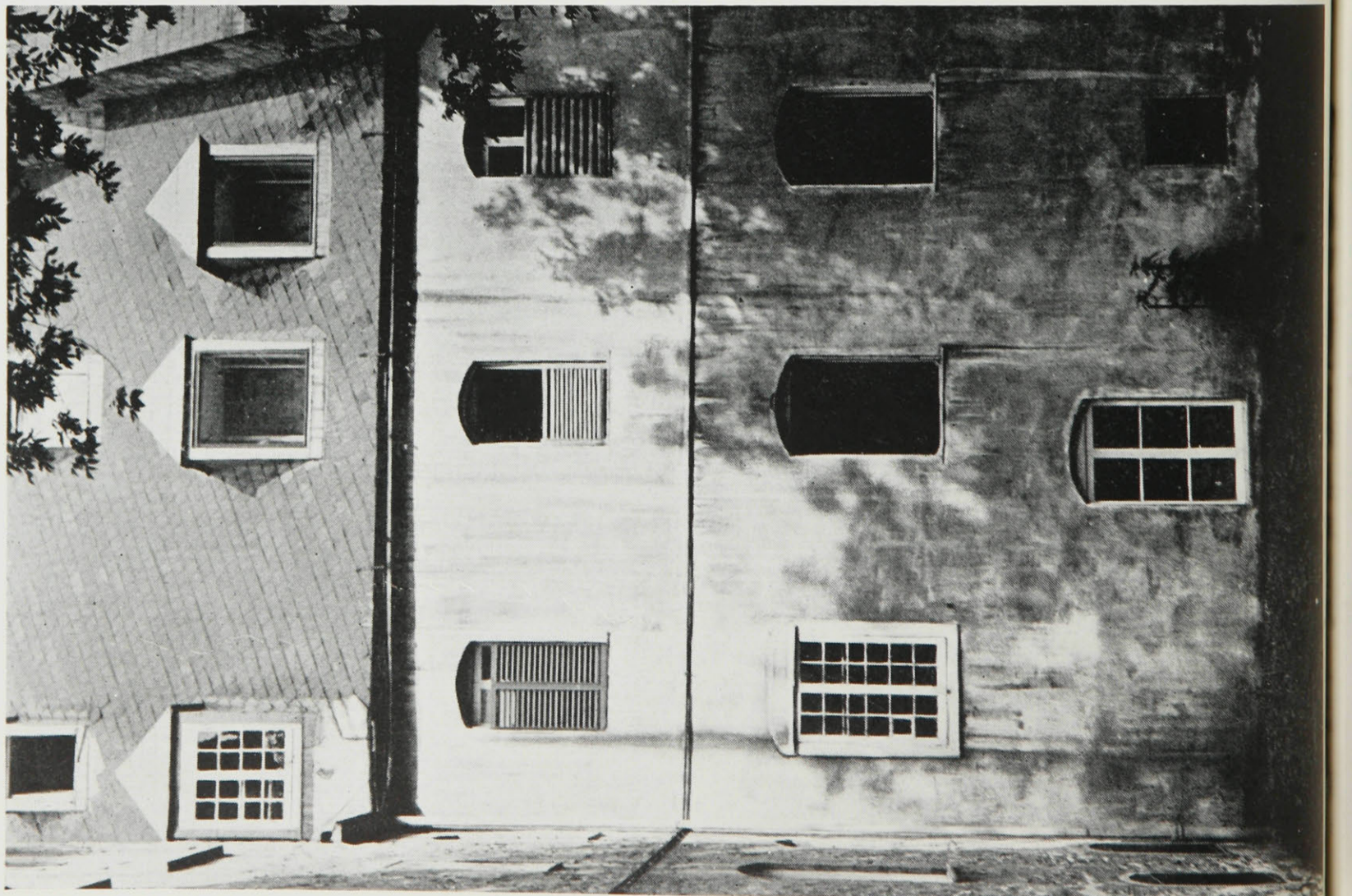
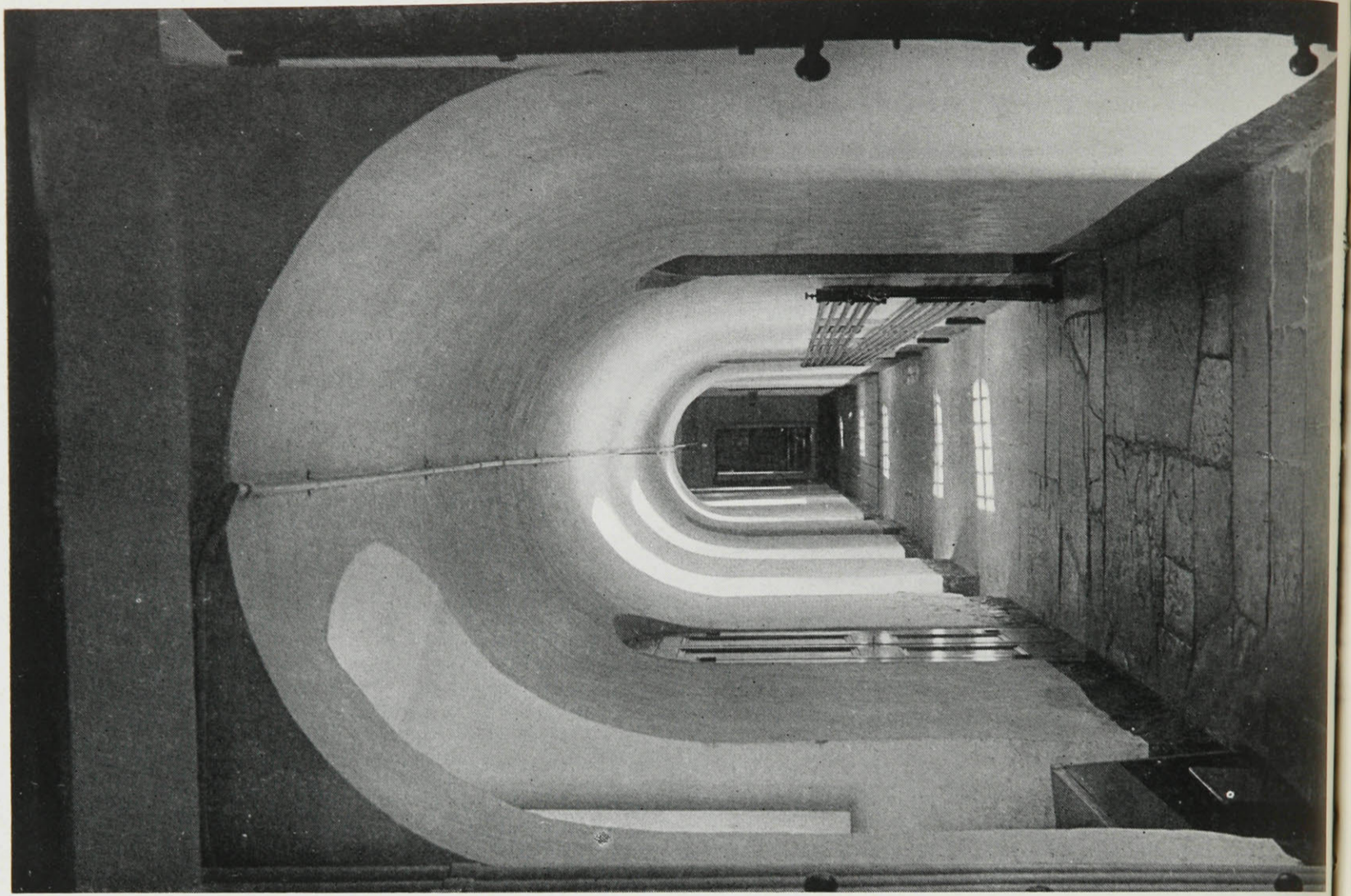
²⁵ *Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. II, p. 109.

²⁶ L'Abbé Maguire.

²⁷ *Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. II, p. 112.

²⁸ *Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. II, p. 110.

PLATE X
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC



During the siege of 1759 the buildings suffered some damage. Cannon balls had fallen through the roofs of the church and the dormitory and two chimneys were damaged. This, however, was not beyond repair for we are told that "nôtre illustre général (General Murray) a eu la bonté de voir aux réparations nécessaires pour rendre le monastère habitable."²⁹

The church was for some time used as a parish church and the convent as a hospital for the wounded. The well-known incident occurred at this time when the nuns, struck with pity for a dress unsuited to the Quebec winter, set themselves to knit long stockings for the Highland soldiers.

Short's drawing, made just after the English occupation shows the buildings looking very complete, though the Basilica, just behind, is in ruins. After this there seem to have been no considerable changes until 1832 when the internal arrangements of the Aile St. Augustin and the Aile Ste. Ursule were remodelled and the extra storey added to the former, but after 1850 very extensive additions were made until 1872 when the buildings took very much their present form.³⁰

THE URSULINE CONVENT AT THREE RIVERS

The Ursuline nuns came to Three Rivers in 1697 and acquired the site for their convent in 1700. This building was burnt in 1752 and rebuilt in the following year. The convent was again burnt in 1806 and again rebuilt.

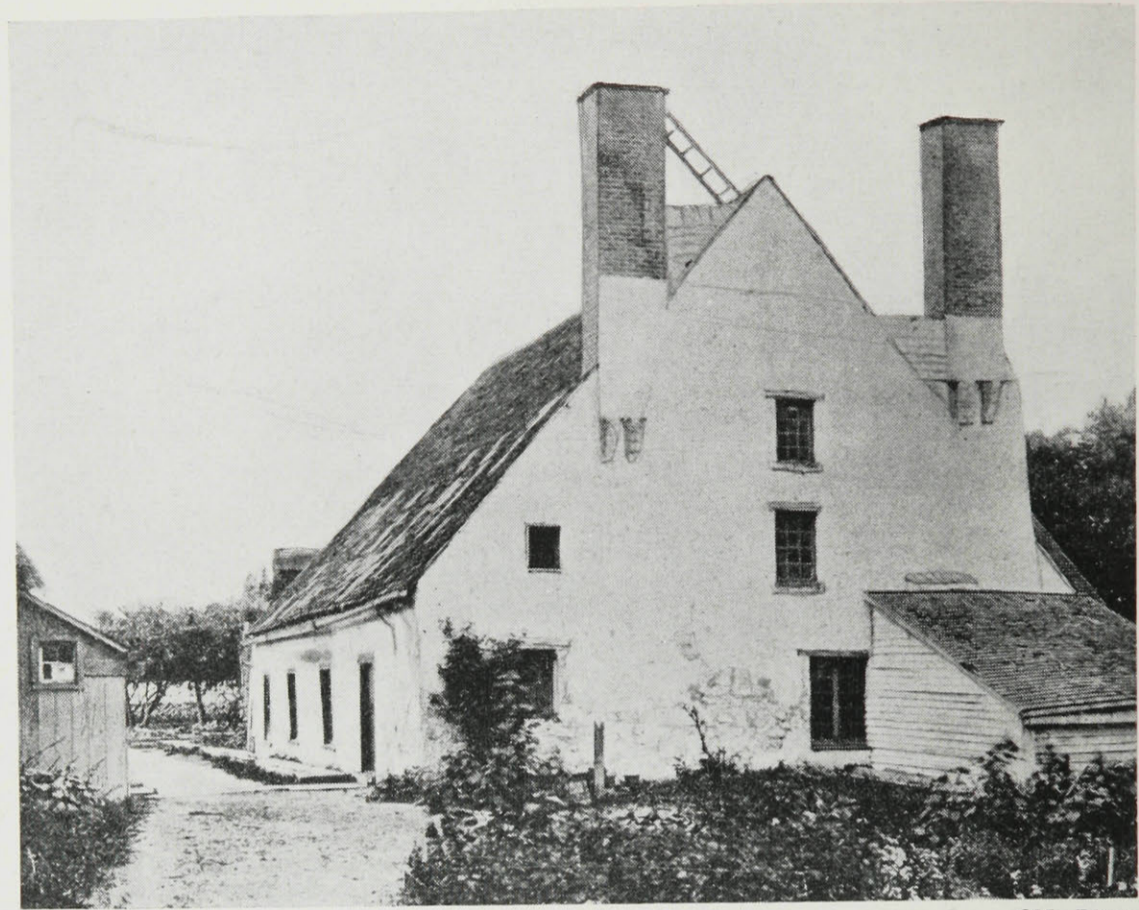
As it now stands it is a long low building with a dome and pedimented gable in the centre. The only part of interest is the wing on the west side, a building of two storeys and an attic, with white plastered walls.

This very simple, but very delightful building shows how the tradition of the cottage and farmhouse could develop into a public building with even an addition of charm. The great gable at the west end with its sundial, niche and irregularly spaced windows, is so far as I know the best example of the Quebec farmhouse on a large scale. It appears to have been built after the fire of 1752.

In the garden of the convent stood an old house, said to be that of Governor de Ramezay, where the nuns stayed from 1697 until they built their monastery after 1700. It is curious that it has a gable not unlike that of the convent. But lack of certain information forbids us to speculate further. The building was pulled down some years ago

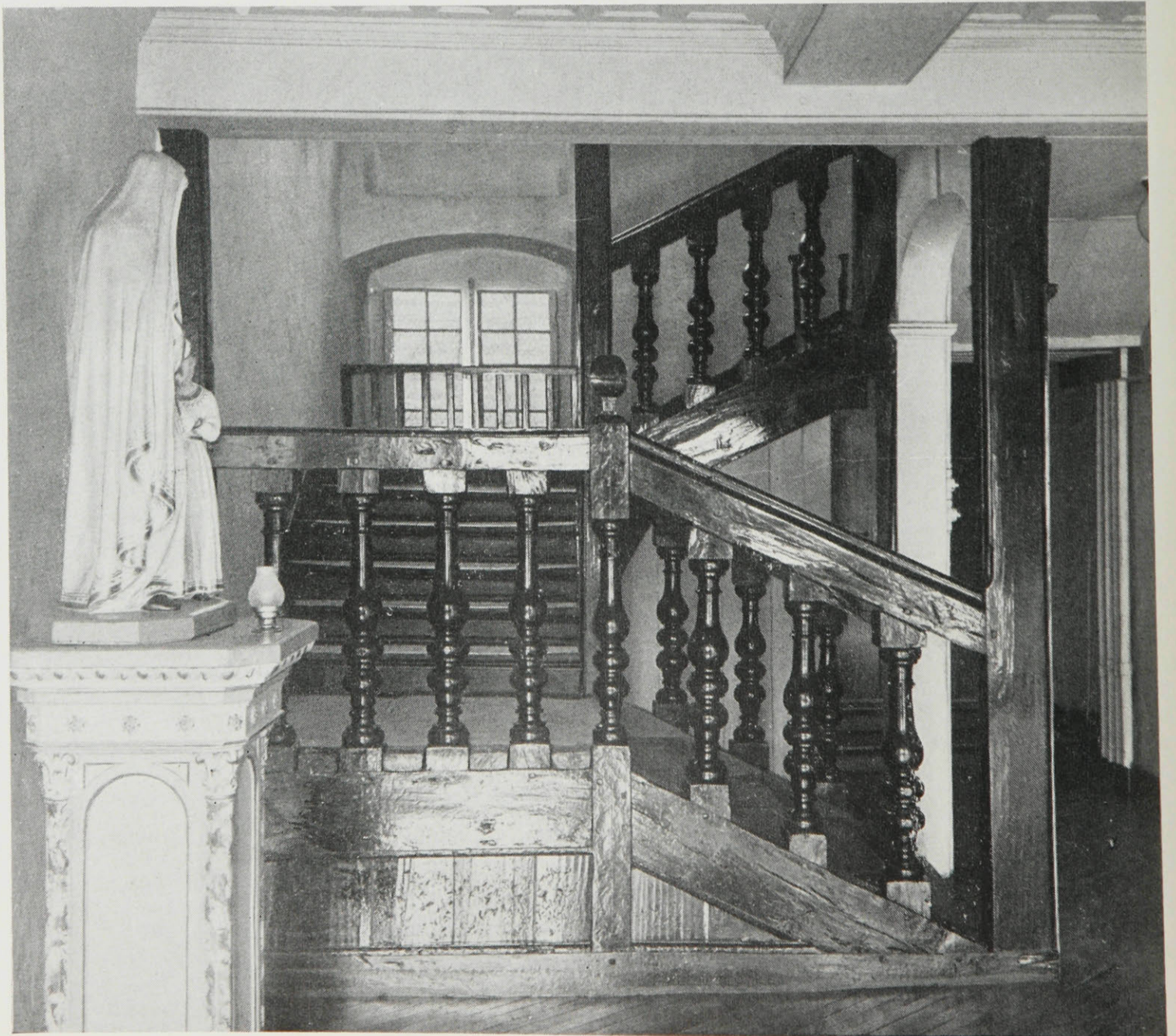
²⁹ *Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. III, p. 16.

³⁰ The dates of the later additions, from the *Annals* are:—
 1851 Aile Ste. Angèle, raised a storey in 1872.
 1853 Aile Nôtre Dame des Graces.
 1858 Aile St. Joseph.
 1860 Aile St. Thomas, at the kitchen corner
 1865 Aile des Parloirs rebuilt.
 1901 Church rebuilt.



Old Photo

The Ursuline Convent, Three Rivers. The "de Ramezay House"



The Ursuline Convent, Quebec. The Stair of St. Augustine

PLATE XII
THE URSULINE CONVENT, THREE RIVERS



The West Gable

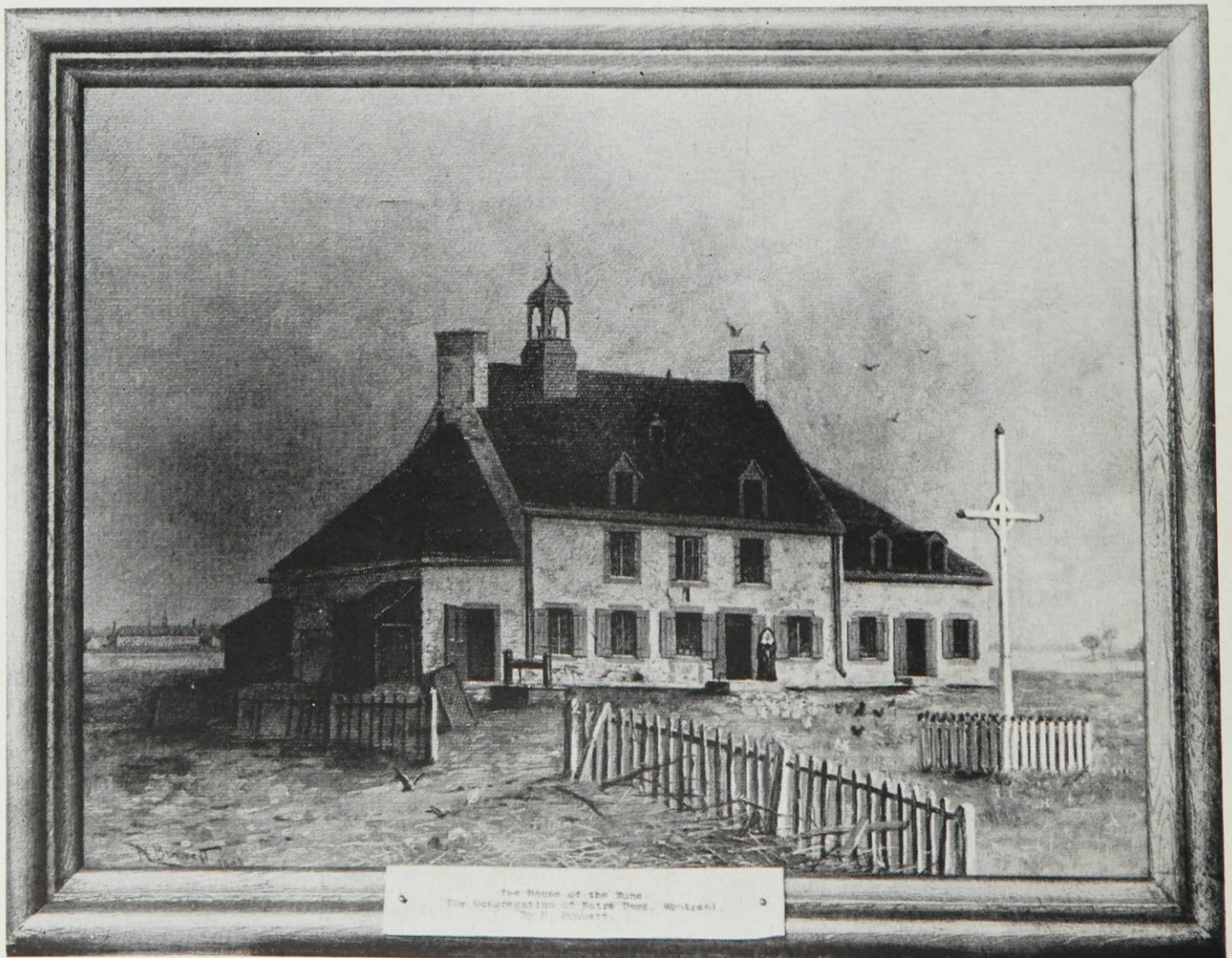


The Old Wing



Notman, Montreal

The Towers of the Fort des Messieurs, Grand Seminary, Montreal



The House of the Bine
The Occupation of Notre Dame, Montreal,
By H. Bunnett

Notman, Montreal

The Ferme St. Gabriel, Montreal, from a painting by H. Bunnett in the McCord Museum

CHAPTER III

THE OLDEST DWELLING-HOUSES

THE FORTIFIED MANORS

DURING the seventeenth century Indian raids were a serious danger and some of the outlying manors were provided with simple fortifications, usually a stone wall with angle towers, enclosing a courtyard. A declaration of the lands held by the Jesuit Fathers, of 1663, says of Sillery, near Quebec:—¹

“The aforesaid fathers have had a stone fort, flanked by four turrets, constructed in which the Indians take refuge to live there in security with the fathers, who have built in it a chapel and a house in which they live.” No trace, which can be identified, now remains of these buildings. The existing house on the Sillery site was almost certainly built in the nineteenth century.

In 1676 the Sulpicians established a fort at the foot of the Côte des Neiges near Montreal for the protection of their Indian converts. It is described by Bacqueville de la Potherie:—²

“The house of M. l'Abbé de Belmont . . . is a fort of stone with four bastions. It has a chapel . . . whose walls are covered with panelling. The cabins of the Iroquois of which there are more than a hundred and twenty adjoin this fort and are surrounded by palisades.”

A print of this fort shows an oblong enclosure with towers at the four angles. Inside this is a small house. The chapel, with a spire, is at the foot of the enclosure facing south. The Indian wigwams are scattered about outside. The building was known as the “Fort des Messieurs”. Two of the towers still stand in the grounds of the Grand Seminary on Côte des Neiges.

M. le Moyne between 1685 and 1690 built a fort at Longueuil to protect his manor-house. It is described in a “lettre de noblesse de Louis XIV”.³

“He has had a fort built at his expense. It is flanked by four good towers and is all of stone and masonry. It has a guard house, several large lodgings and a very fine church, all decorated with all the marks of nobility. There is a fine outer-court in which is stable, sheepfold, dovecote and other buildings all of masonry, enclosed in the said fort beside which there is a communal mill and a fine brewery also of masonry.” This seems to have been an exceptionally complete seigneurial establishment. It was burnt in 1792 and finally demolished in 1810.

The “Maison de Kebec” the Habitation of 1663, had, as we have seen, two towers or bastions on one side. This is so far as I know the only case in which

¹ Scott, l'Abbé H. A., *Nôtre Dame de Sainte Foy*, Que., 1902, p. 393.

² Roy, P. G., *Vieux Manoirs*, p. 5.

³ B. R. H., 1900, p. 76, also *Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada*, Champlain Society, p. 66

formal fortifications were added to a dwelling-house. Towers are no part of the old Canadian House, although they were used in these fortified courtyards.

THE OLDEST DWELLING-HOUSES

Dwelling-houses rarely know their age. Monasteries, churches, buildings of State have their archives, their accounts are carefully made out and their records preserved. But the townsman who buys a new house, the farmer who builds his own, keeps no records. At most he may inscribe a stone with initials and a date, and set it above the door. Seventy years later the house is rebuilt, the stone, a relic of his great-great-grandfather, is carefully reset above the new doorway and a trap is unwittingly set for the architectural historian of the twentieth century.

So we are thrown back upon the evidence of the buildings themselves. Some of the larger houses have records, particularly those connected with the Church. The construction, the mouldings and detail which were used in the convents whose dates we know, serve as guides to the cottages whose dates are lost but which were built by the same craftsmen. So we have some standards, though we must use them with caution. We must always remember that French Canada was very conservative; many a turn of design or of workmanship which in France would determine a period, may in Quebec be decades later. Quebec was a home of lost architectural causes.

The pride of being the oldest house in Quebec must be divided between the Ferme St. Gabriel at Pointe St. Charles near Montreal, built in 1698 and the presbytery at Batiscan of which the structure almost certainly dates from 1696. Both buildings were owned by the Church, and to this we owe their preservation and their recorded history. Both have been altered and refitted since their first building, but they remain excellent examples of the early farmhouse or small manor.

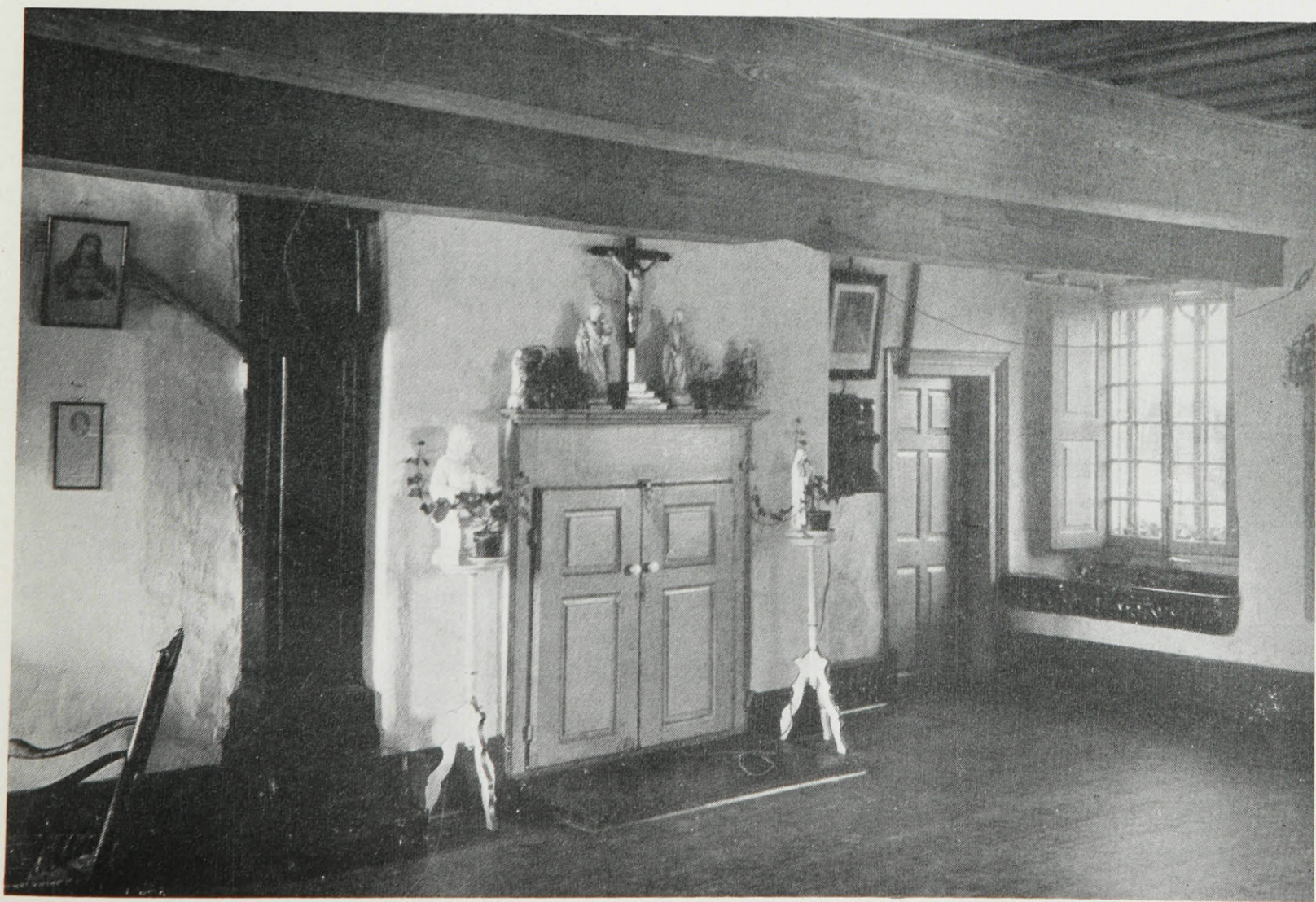
THE FERME ST. GABRIEL

In 1668 Soeur Bourgeoys, of the Congrégation de Nôtre Dame de Montréal, bought from François le Ber a farm, with a wooden farmhouse, at Pointe St. Charles near Montreal. The wooden house was burnt in 1694 and in 1698 the existing stone house was erected. The low wings at each end were added some years later, in 1726 and 1728.⁴ From 1698 to the present day this has been the "home farm" of the Ladies of the Congregation. Structurally the house seems to have been little altered. The internal woodwork has been renewed from time to time and its oldest parts date from the latter part of the eighteenth century, but the structural woodwork, the beams and floors, are those of the original building and the general form of the house is unchanged.

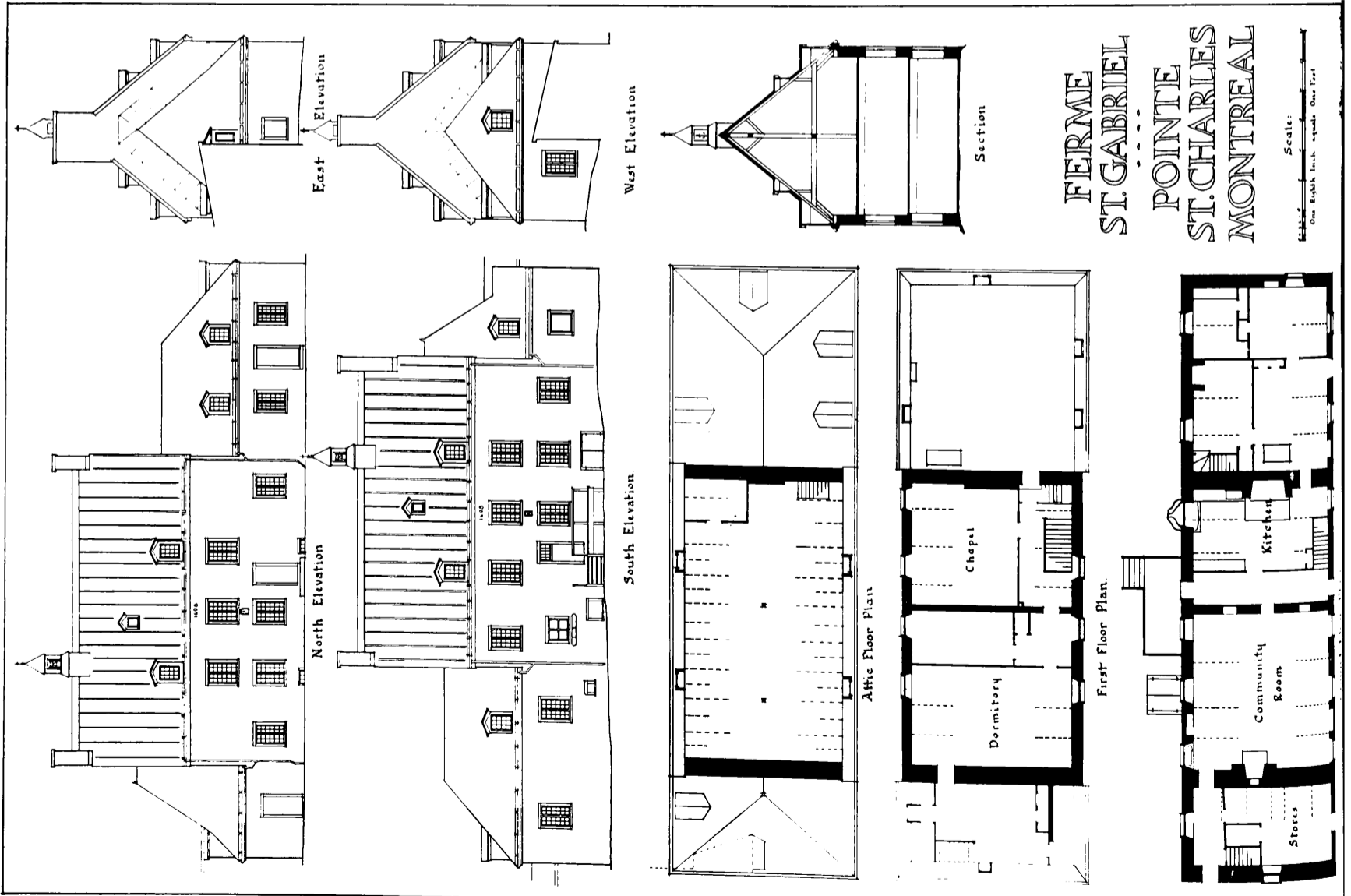
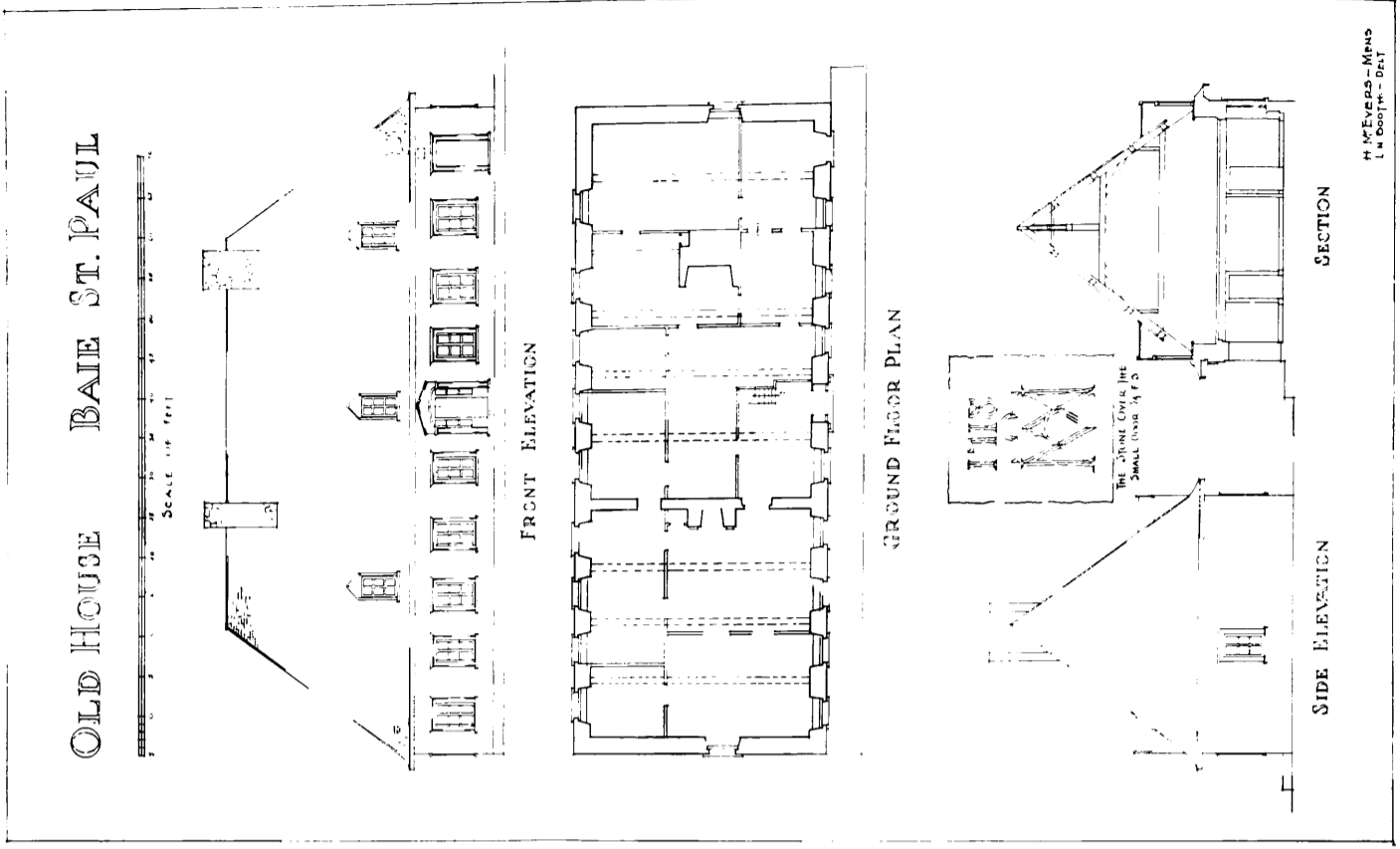
The house is a rectangle, fifty-two feet long by thirty wide with rubble stone walls two feet thick. Following a plan common to many old houses in the province it is divided on the ground floor into two unequal rooms. To the east is the community room, twenty-six feet long, separated from the kitchen, to the west, by a thick stone partition wall which rises to roof level. The two outer doors are opposite one another and open into the kitchen side. They are at present connected by a cross passage off which leads the steep stair to the upper floor, but it is prob-

⁴ Roy, P. G., *Vieilles Eglises*, p. 103 and MS. History of the building in the archives of the Congregation.

PLATE XIV
THE FERME ST. GABRIEL, MONTREAL



Two Views in the Community Room



able that originally the doors entered into the kitchen and that the cross passage partition was put in later.

The cross beams of the first floor, some seven inches broad by ten deep, span the building from side to side, dividing it into irregular bays from five to eight feet wide. On them is laid a floor made of two layers of 1½ inch boards laid cross-wise. There are no joists and no ceiling, the beams and boards are visible from below. This very simple kind of floor is found in many old buildings, in Batiscan and, so far as could be seen, in the older parts of the Hôpital Général. It seems to have been quite usual in the seventeenth century and it had many advantages. It is astonishingly soundproof. (This I tested personally.) It does not harbour rats or squirrels, those pests of Canadian wooden houses; it resists fire better than a joisted and ceiled floor; it saves head room, the floor between the beams is only three inches thick; finally it looks very well.

The walls are carried up to just over two feet above the first floor. Here they finish with a double wall-plate, two six-inch square beams, one on each side of the wall, connected at intervals by dovetailed cross-pieces. On this the roof is framed, the foot of the truss being tenoned onto the other plate, with a strut to the inner. The sills of the small dormer windows rest on the wall-plate. This is the usual French construction, to be distinguished from the English method in which the wall-plate is at floor level and the dormers are set at some height up in the roof.

The present roof may not be the original of 1698, but it is a fine old roof of the traditional construction. Fairly extensive repairs seem to have been made to the house in the later eighteenth century and the roof may well be later than the walls. But, if it is, we may still be confident that it preserves the character and pitch of the old one. The pitch is fifty degrees, there is a slight bellcast and an eaves projection of about six inches. At present it is covered in ferblanc. The main trusses have collar beams, king-posts and windbracing. Between them are lighter secondary trusses. The spacing of the main trusses is irregular, between five and six feet and the roof boarding is laid direct upon the trusses, without purlins. The scantlings are shown on the drawing, they vary from 9" x 12" for the heaviest collars to 4" x 4½" for the lightest struts. Mortice and tenon joints, with wood pins, are used throughout.

Two of the windows on the river side have stone sinks, with drains passing through the wall to the outside. That in the kitchen has a large slab outside, with a channel cut in it so as to throw the waste water well away from the wall. This is unique, so far as I know. The windows and shutters with their shaped panels are late eighteenth century work.

BATISCAN

The old presbytery at Batiscan was for long thought to be a Jesuit foundation. Unfortunately this attractive theory cannot be maintained in face of the historic record. We know that, in 1670, the missionary priest was living in the house of *Sieur* Nicholas Rivard de la Vigne, Lieutenant of the Militia and that there was no presbytery in the parish.⁵

⁵ *Livres de Comptes de Batiscan*, Vol. I.

PLATE XVII
THE OLD PRESBYTERY AT BATISCAN

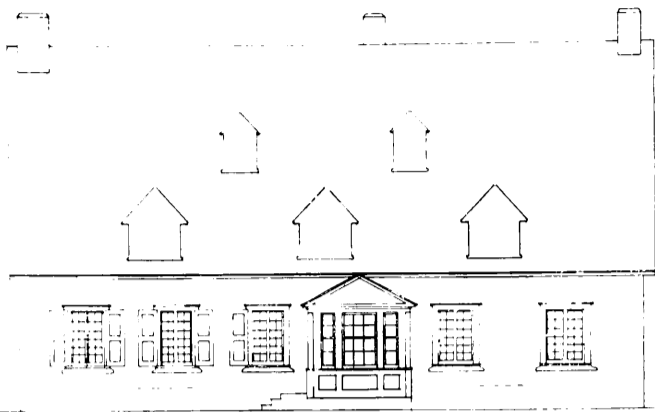
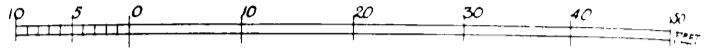


From the North-west, before Restoration

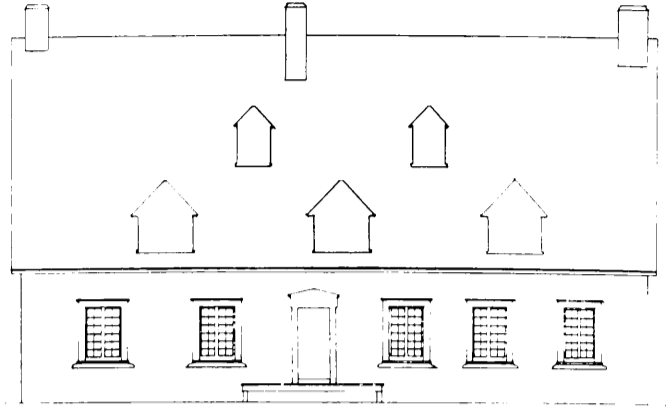


From the South-west, before Restoration

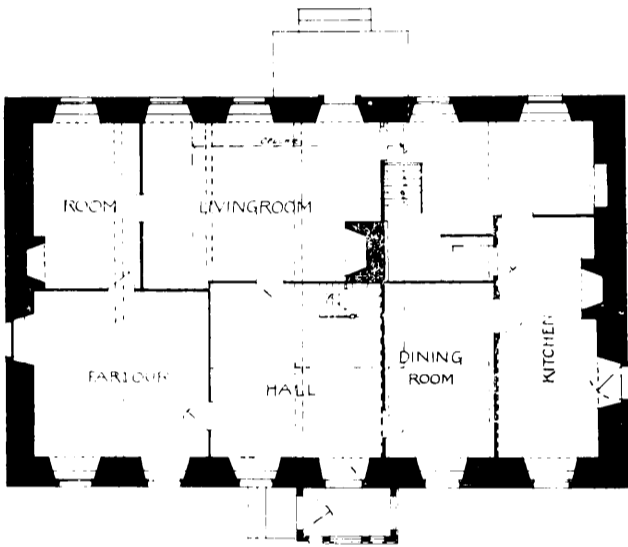
THE OLD PRESBYTERY AT BATISCAN



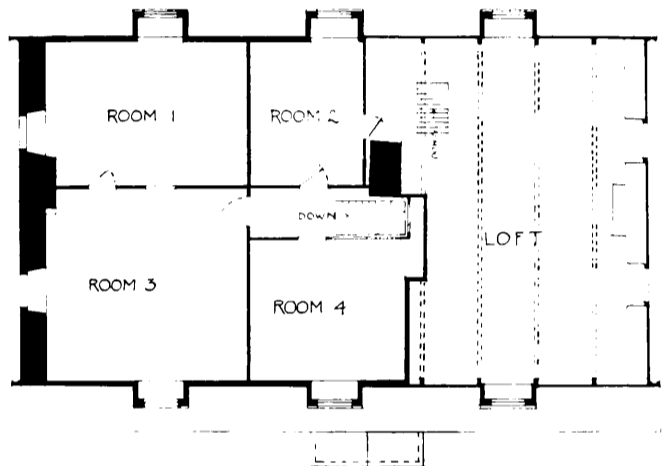
FRONT TO THE RIVER



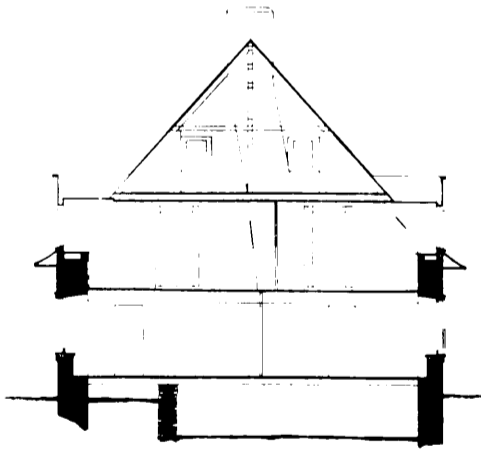
BACK TO THE ROAD



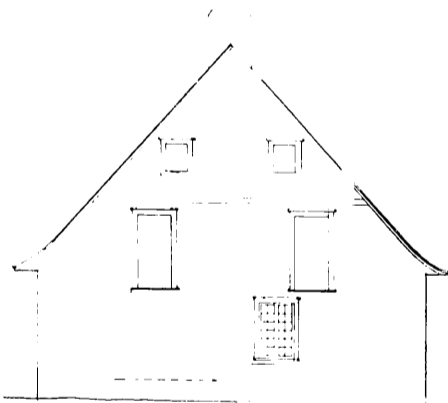
GROUND FLOOR PLAN



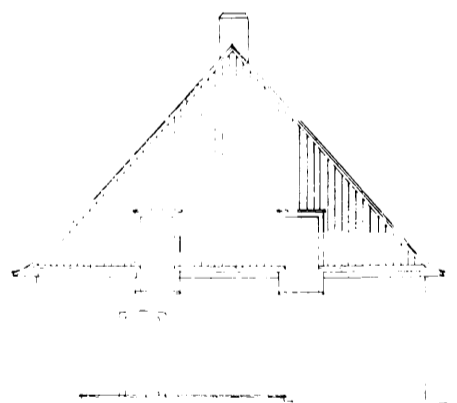
UPPER FLOOR PLAN



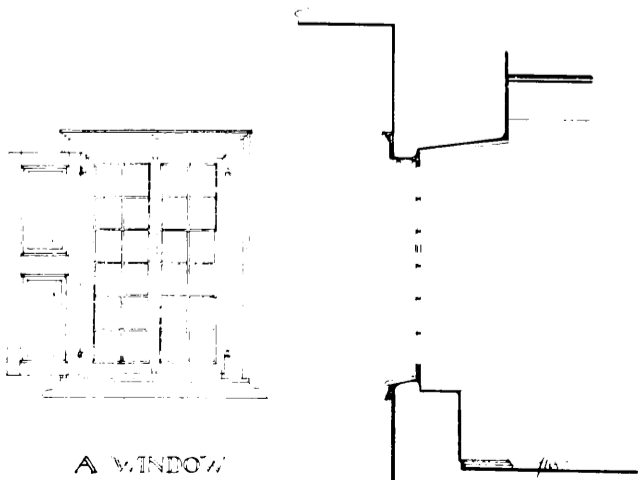
CROSS SECTION



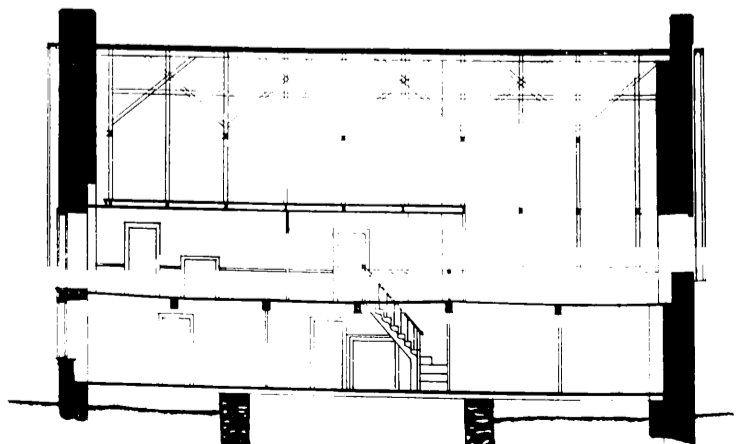
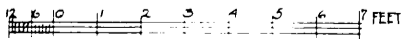
WEST END



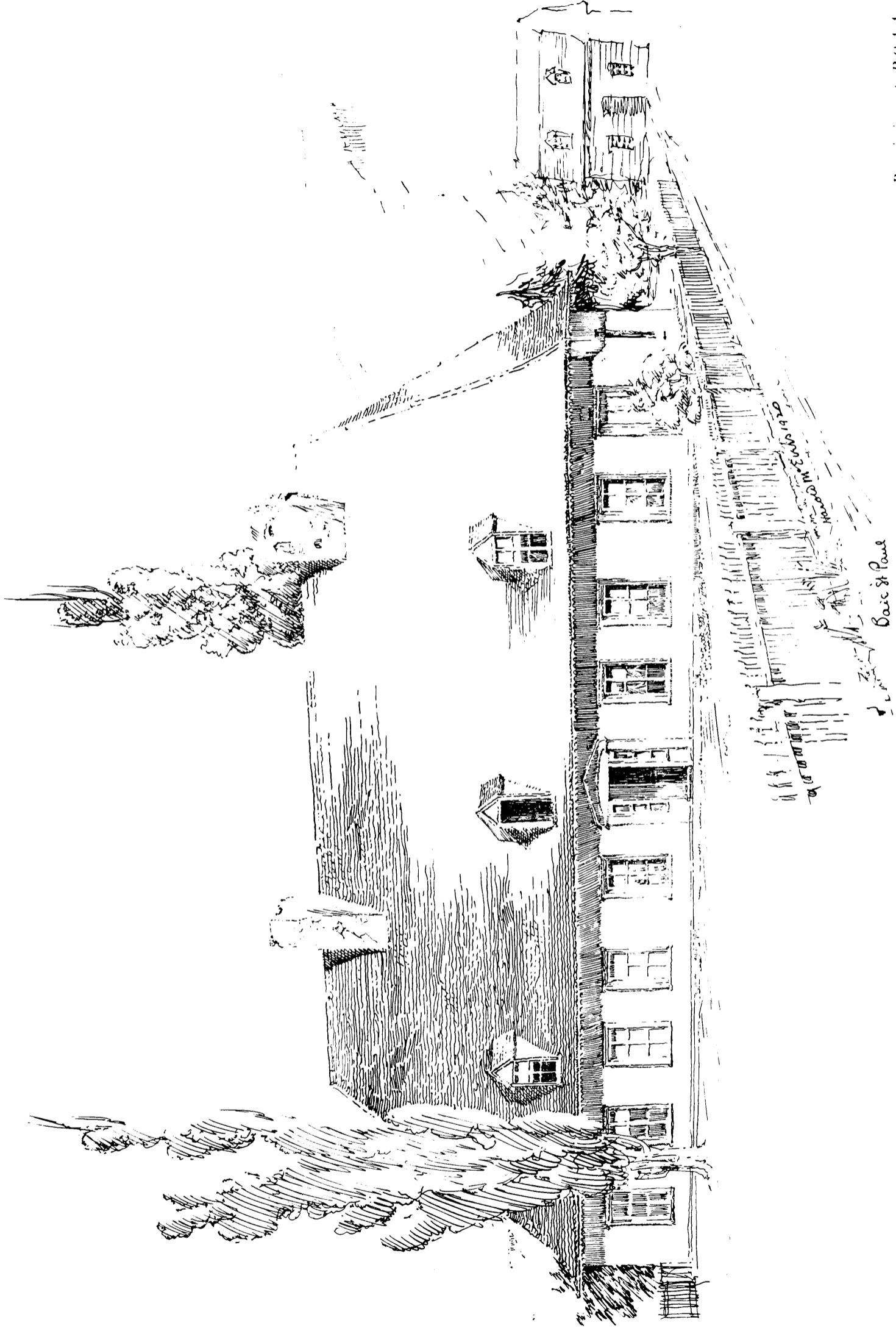
EAST END



A WINDOW



LONG SECTION



Baie St Paul

The Old Manor at Baie St. Paul, from a drawing by H. McEvers

Permission of P.O.A.A.

When M. Chartier de Lotbinière visited the parish in 1734 he found that the presbytery was in very bad repair.⁶ He ordered repairs, but nothing was done and, four months later, the Intendant Hocquart issued an ordonnance ordering work to be commenced at once. This ordonnance states that the presbytery had been built in 1696, by the curé M. Foucault, and that this presbytery was now in bad repair. Flood water had penetrated into the cellar, decaying the beams, the roof was incapable of resisting the weather and the north gable was beginning to fall.⁷ The necessary repairs were done and in the "*Aveu et Denombrement des terrains des Pères Jésuites en Canada*" of 1781, it is stated that there was a church and clergy house on the Fief and Seignory of Batiscan.⁸

The building was again repaired in 1836⁹ and in 1855.¹⁰ In 1866 the church was rebuilt in the village, some distance from the old site, and the presbytery became a farmhouse. It so remained until 1926 when it was restored for use as a summer cottage by Mr. A. R. Decary, the present owner.

The structure of the walls and floor is old. It is similar to what we find at the Ferme St. Gabriel and in the older parts of the Hôpital Général. The accounts frequently mention repairs but never any suggestion that a new presbytery was being built. It seems certain that the present building is the old one of 1696, though the internal woodwork and the present roof date probably from the repairs of the mid-nineteenth century.

The presbytery is a rectangular building, slightly larger than the Ferme St. Gabriel. It is in one storey with an attic with walls of rubble two feet eight inches thick. Both ends were originally carried up to stone gables but that to the north-east which was threatening to fall in 1734, was evidently then cut down to wall-head level and the present gable is of wood. There are three chimneys, one at each end and one in the gable.

The house has a regular structure. It is divided into six bays by strong cross beams on which rests the solid floor of two layers of 1½" boards laid crosswise. The beams are 8" x 10" deep with a moulding on the lower edges, the spans vary from seven to nine feet, yet the ¾" floor is still quite stiff, although the beams have sagged a little from time. This is the typical floor construction of our oldest buildings, quite unlike the modern method in which the joists bear no relation to the walls, and there is no bay division. Each bay has a window at each side, excepting the fourth from the west in which are the two doors. The two eastern bays are larger than the others and originally formed a parish room with a separate entrance.

The wall-head is a little over three feet from the floor and has the usual double wall-plate on which rest the dormer windows. The roof of course cannot be the original one, it was probably made in the mid-nineteenth century, but it is framed in the old manner, with heavy, almost square, posts and rafters. It is in ten bays which have no relation to the beams below. It has a moderate bellcast and eaves

⁶ *Livres de Comptes de Batiscan*, Vol. I, f. 16a.

⁷ Archives de l'Evêché des Trois-Rivières, Cartable de St. Frs. X. de Batiscan, piece no. 3.

⁸ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 72, pp. 81, 82.

⁹ *Livres de Comptes de Batiscan*, Vol. II, part 1, f. 149a.

¹⁰ *Livres de Comptes de Batiscan*, Vol. I, part 2, f. 16b.

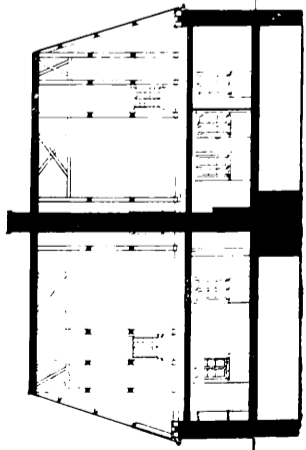
THE VILLENEUVE HOUSE
CHARLESBOURG.

P. O.

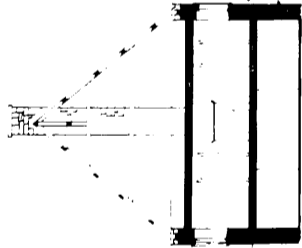
SCALE ONE EIGHTH INCH

EQUAL ONE FOOT

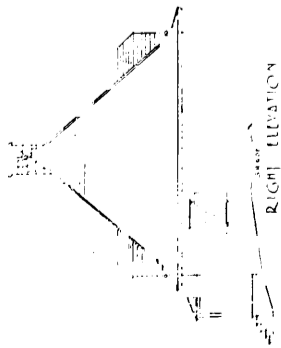
DRAWN BY O. LOUVEAUX



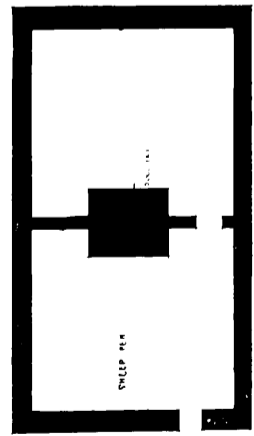
LONGITUDINAL SECTION



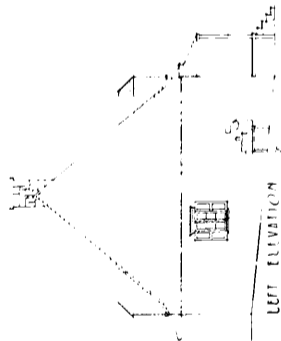
CROSS SECTION



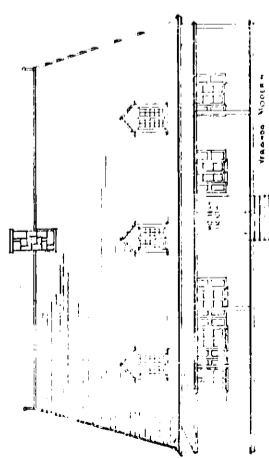
RIGHT ELEVATION



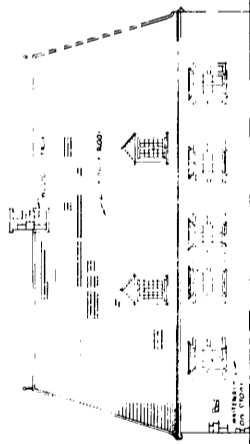
BASEMENT PLAN



LEFT ELEVATION



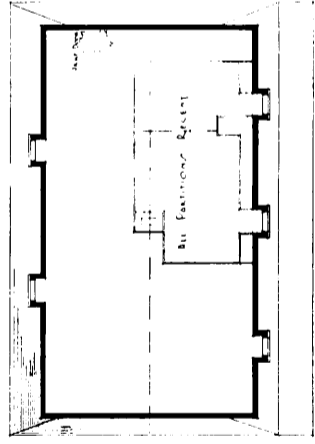
FRONT ELEVATION



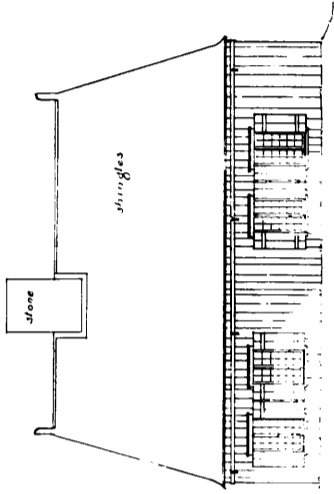
REAR ELEVATION



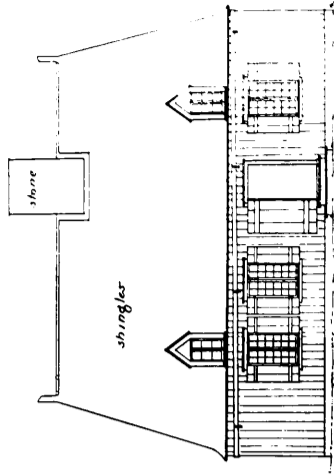
GROUND FLOOR PLAN



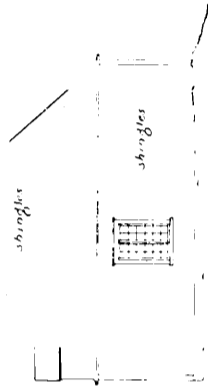
FIRST FLOOR PLAN



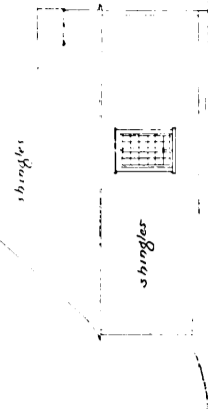
North Elevation



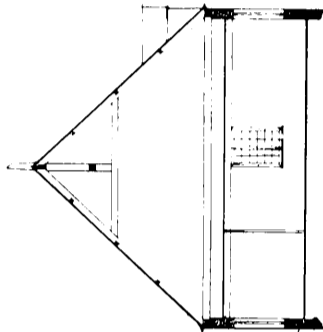
South Elevation



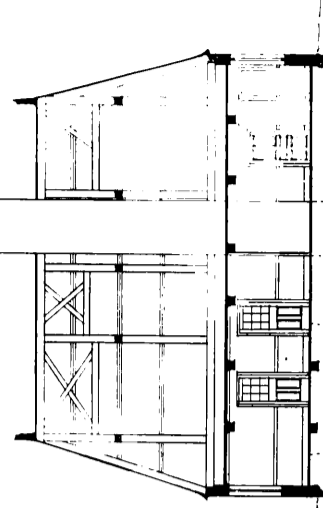
East Elevation



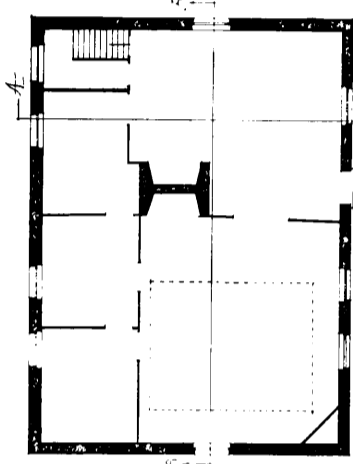
West Elevation



Section A A



Section B B



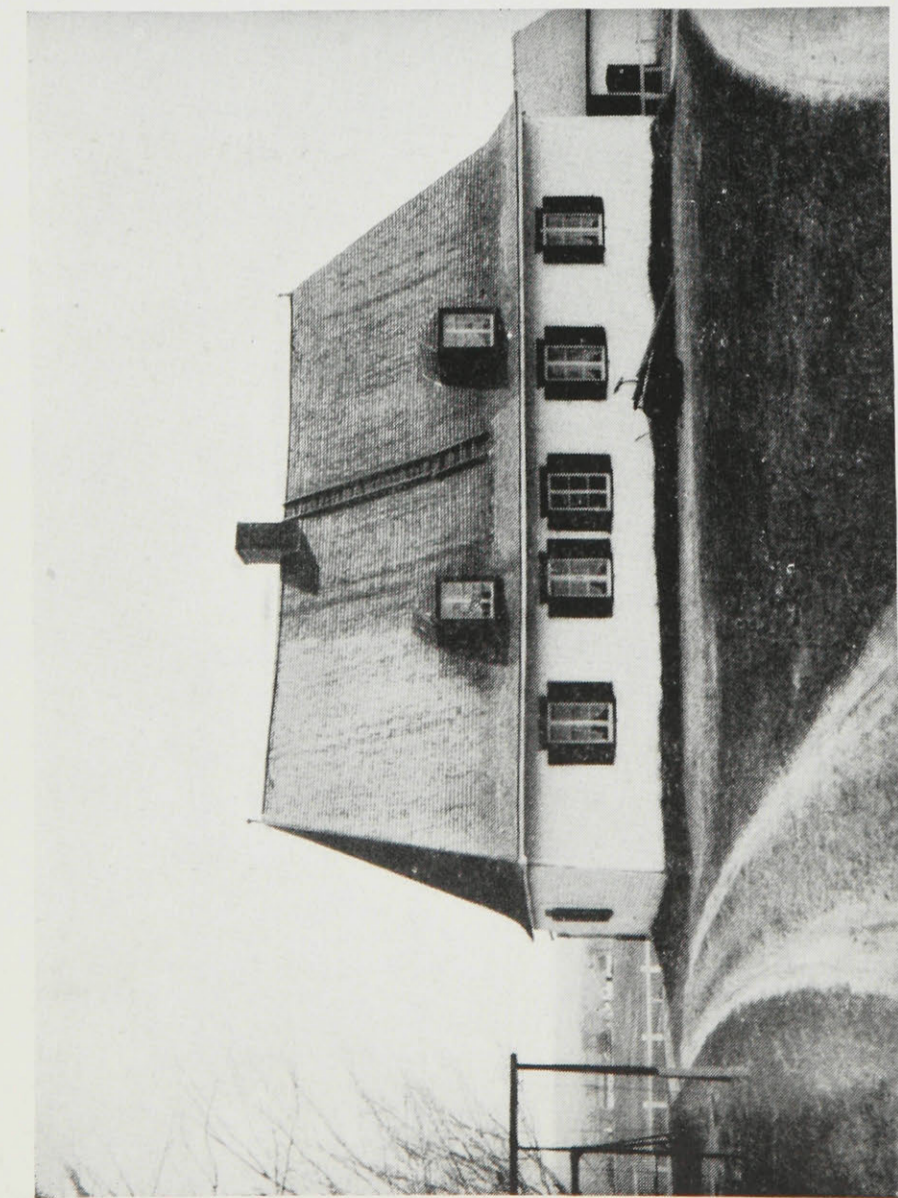
Plan

PARADIS HOUSE
CHARLESBOURG-COUE.

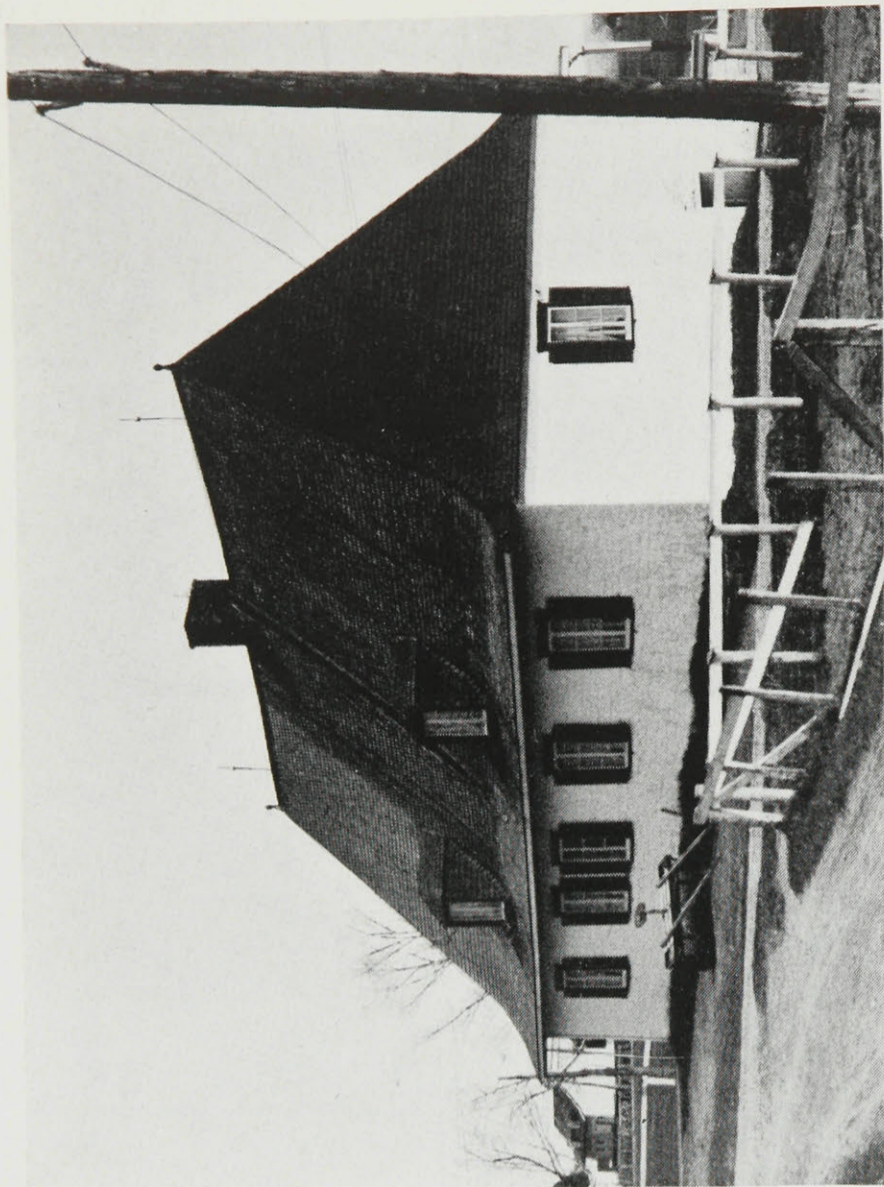
PLAN - ELEVATIONS - SECTIONS



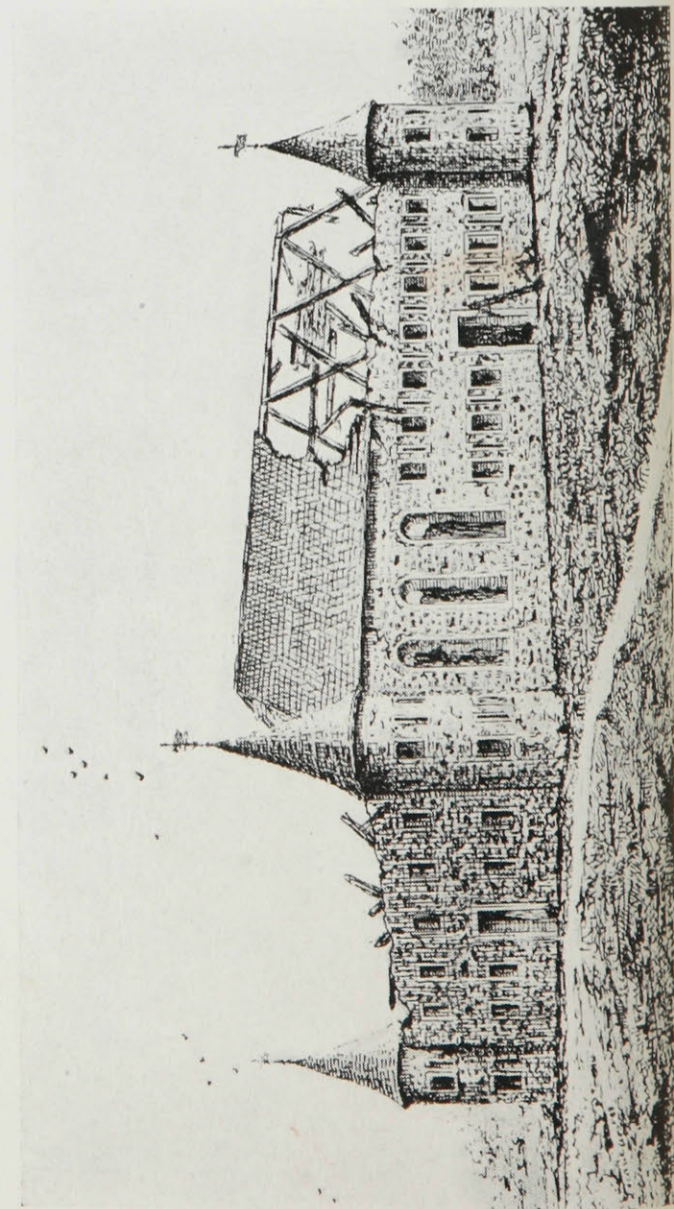
Dotted lines on plan represent the approximate position of the basement. Partitions are of wainscoting and are, apparently in their original position.



The Villeneuve House

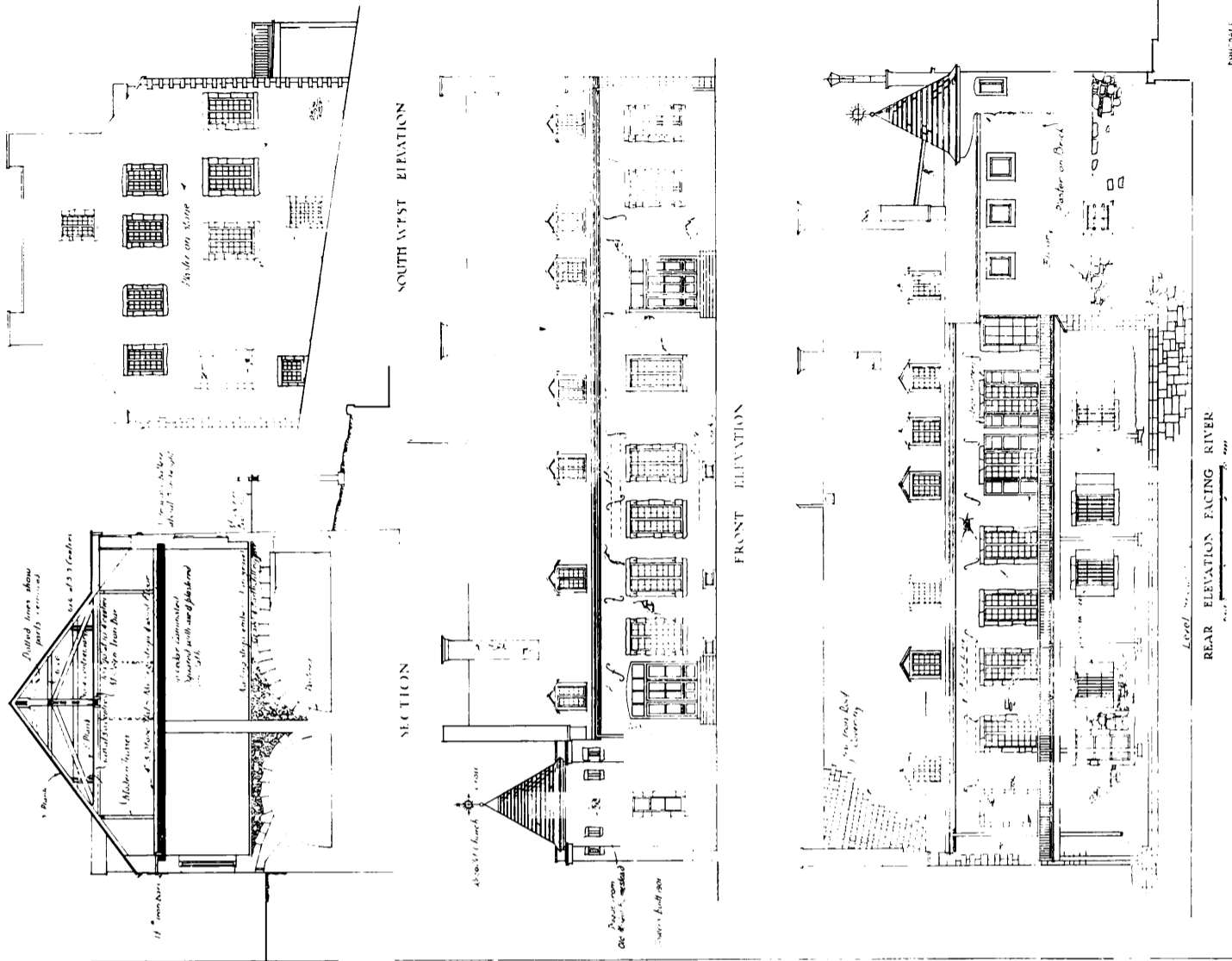


The Villeneuve House

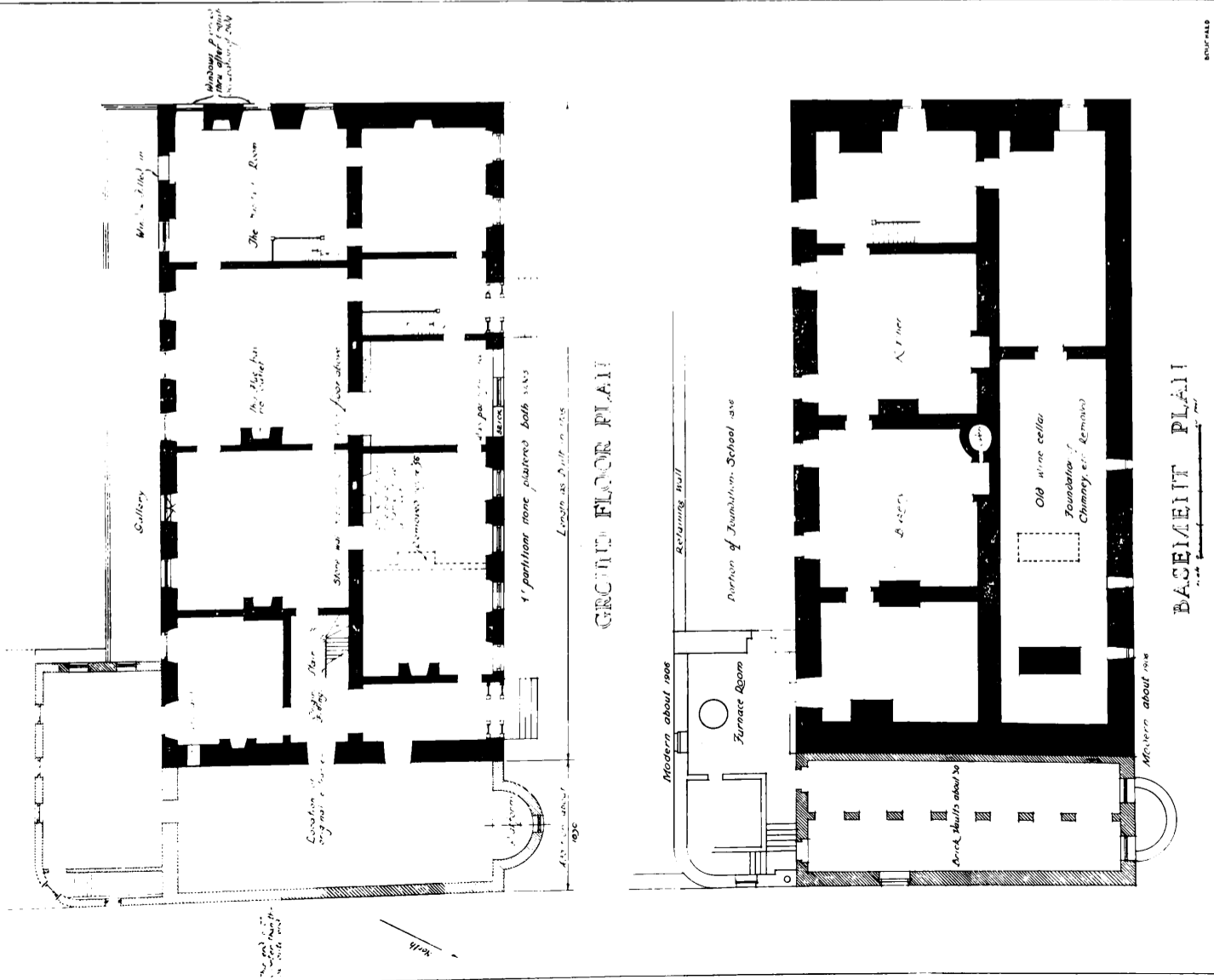


The Villeneuve House

CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY • MONTREAL.



CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY • MONTREAL.



projecting twenty-six inches. This alone would show that it is not a very old roof for the wide eaves and bellcast are not found in the oldest houses. The internal woodwork is of considerable interest and will be described later. It was put in during the nineteenth century alterations, in 1836 or 1855.

At Baie St. Paul there stood, until recently, a very fine old manor-house. Fortunately it was measured and recorded before it was burnt, a few years ago, and these drawings, together with a few external photographs are now the only record of one of the finest manor-houses in the province. Over one of the doors was a stone inscribed with the date 1718 and the Sulpician monogram, for the Gentlemen of Saint Sulpice were the owners of the manor. The character of the building accords well with the date and it may be accepted.

The house was of the usual simple oblong plan, eighty-one feet long by thirty-two wide, in one storey and an attic. It was divided internally into three parts by chimneys and into ten bays by the cross beams. The ground floor had a height of about eight feet to the solid wood floor and the wall-head was about three feet above the floor, giving an external wall height of some eleven to twelve feet. From this long low wall, pierced by eight windows and two doors, rises the immense and hardly broken by the insignificant do fifty-five degree pitch, hipped at the ends slight bellcast and deep eaves projecting rmers and the two chimneys. It has a pavilion roof, twenty-four feet high, of some two feet.

The Villeneuve house, near Charlesbourg, is a smaller edition of Baie St. Paul, with the same low stone walls and immense hipped roof. This house is said to have been occupied by the same family since 1684¹¹ and there is nothing in its character to discredit the tradition.

The Paradis house, also at Charlesbourg, is of the same type but even smaller, only some thirty by forty feet. It is a little, squarish cottage with wooden walls held together by the strong beams of the attic floor. It has a steep pavilion roof with a central chimney and wood finials on the points of the hips.

The end hips are very steep; in both this and the Villeneuve house the side pitch is a little over 45° but the ends are nearly vertical, some 80° to 85° of pitch.

The age of the Paradis house is unknown but it must be a very old house. At latest it probably comes from the early eighteenth century. The wooden walls show a curious and interesting construction. Excepting for a very small cellar the foundations are no more than a few stones on the ground on which is laid the twelve-inch square sill. Into this are framed angle posts of the same size and uprights, about 7" x 8" at intervals of three or four feet, so far as could be ascertained. These angle posts and uprights are deeply grooved at the sides to take four-inch thick pieces, about eight inches deep, resting upon one another to form a complete wood infilling from sill to eaves. Externally the walls are then covered by vertical sheathing boards on the north and south sides, and by shingles on the ends.

This is a wood-filled frame wall, in place of the usual *colombage pierotté*. It is well carpentered, the grooves and tenons are well cut, though in so small a

¹¹ Roy, P. G., *Vieux Manoirs*, p. 331. The verandah on the south side is recent.

ERRATA

Page 50—lines 18, 19 and 20, should read as follows:

pavilion roof, twenty-four feet high, of fifty-five degree pitch, hipped at the ends and hardly broken by the insignificant dormers and the two chimneys. It has a slight bellcast and deep eaves projecting some two feet.

house. It is the only example I have met in Quebec, but it was apparently an accepted construction of its day. Only the fact that age has opened the joints and twisted the frames has allowed the details to be examined for, as a rule, it is very difficult to ascertain the construction of a wood house when its external boarding and internal plaster are in good condition.

THE CHÂTEAU DE RAMEZAY

The Château de Ramezay in Montreal was built between 1704, when M. de Ramezay acquired the property, and 1723 when the house is shown on a map of Montreal. The house has passed through many hands, but its history is well authenticated.¹²

In 1745 it passed to the Compagnie des Indes and became a store. On the English occupation it was used as the official residence of the governor. In 1784 the Baron de Saint-Leger restored it and for a short time lived in it. From 1849 it was used as a Court of Justice, a Department of Education, and by Laval University until in 1895 it was bought by the City of Montreal and let to the Archaeological and Numismatic Society to be used as their headquarters and as a museum. In their hands it remains.

Such a history could not but leave its mark upon the building. All internal fittings are later than the mid-nineteenth century excepting for a scrap of late eighteenth century woodwork which may be due to the Baron de Saint-Leger. The entire eastern wing with its turret was added about 1830. But the main walls and the plan, and accordingly the general external appearance of the house are unchanged from 1706 or so, always excepting the incongruous modern tower.

The original house is an unbroken oblong some fifty feet wide by a hundred in length. On plan the building is traversed from end to end by a heavy central wall; the rooms face front or back, somewhat irregularly divided. The walls are of rubble stone about two feet six inches thick on the sides and three feet six to four feet on the great end gables. These are carried up to form parapets above the roof and are surmounted by double chimneys connected by a straight parapet wall. The roof is low in pitch, some 35°.

This is the gabled house of the Montreal district. It takes its form from the city house built as one of a continuous row with its long side to the street and its end gables, common to the neighbouring houses, carried up above the roof to form fire partitions. The plan with its front and back rooms and central wall is also a street plan, the double chimneys of the gable rise, of course, from the double rooms.

This type, which originated in the needs of a street house, came to be used in free-standing houses, particularly in the district round Montreal. The Château de Ramezay is the earliest known house of the type but similar houses continued to be built in the country until about the middle of the nineteenth century. It has a very impressive quality. The heavy gables with their moulded brackets, give a great sense of strength and permanence. They defy the weather. The attic floors are covered, from wall to wall, with a layer of four-inch thick stone slabs,

¹² Roy, P. G., *Vieux Manoirs*, p. 1.

laid on the floor beams. This was intended to prevent any fire, which might attack the roof, from spreading to the main building. It is not uncommon in the old houses of Montreal. Like all old and large houses, particularly in the towns, the Château de Ramezay stands upon a stone vaulted basement. When during the siege of 1754 the lower town of Quebec was destroyed we are told that only these vaulted basements were left. We have examined the old records and we have looked at some of the oldest houses in the province. These represent the first tradition brought from France, which, during the eighteenth century, was to develop into a distinctive French-Canadian tradition. Indeed in the gabled houses of Montreal it was already doing so. Our conclusions may be summarized:

The earliest houses were wood-frame buildings.

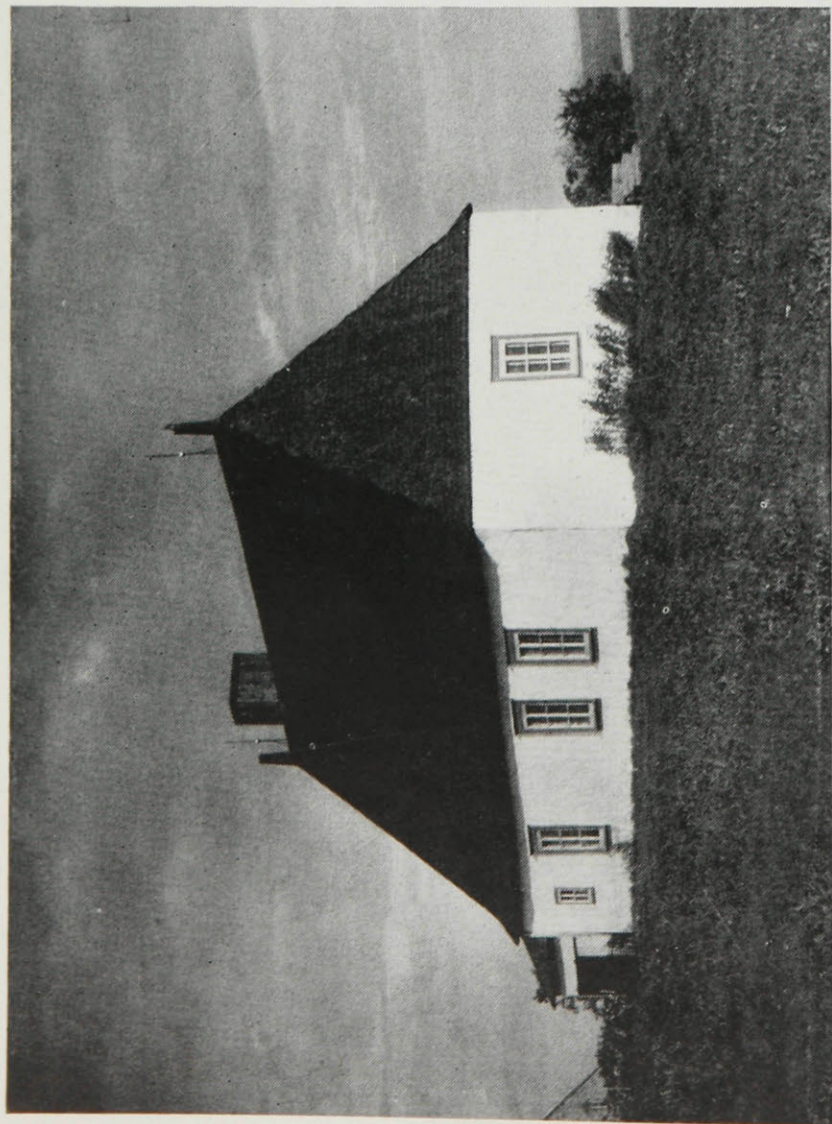
Stone walls were used from a very early date. The Récollet Fathers were building in stone in 1620 and some of the earliest existing houses are of stone.

We can distinguish three types:

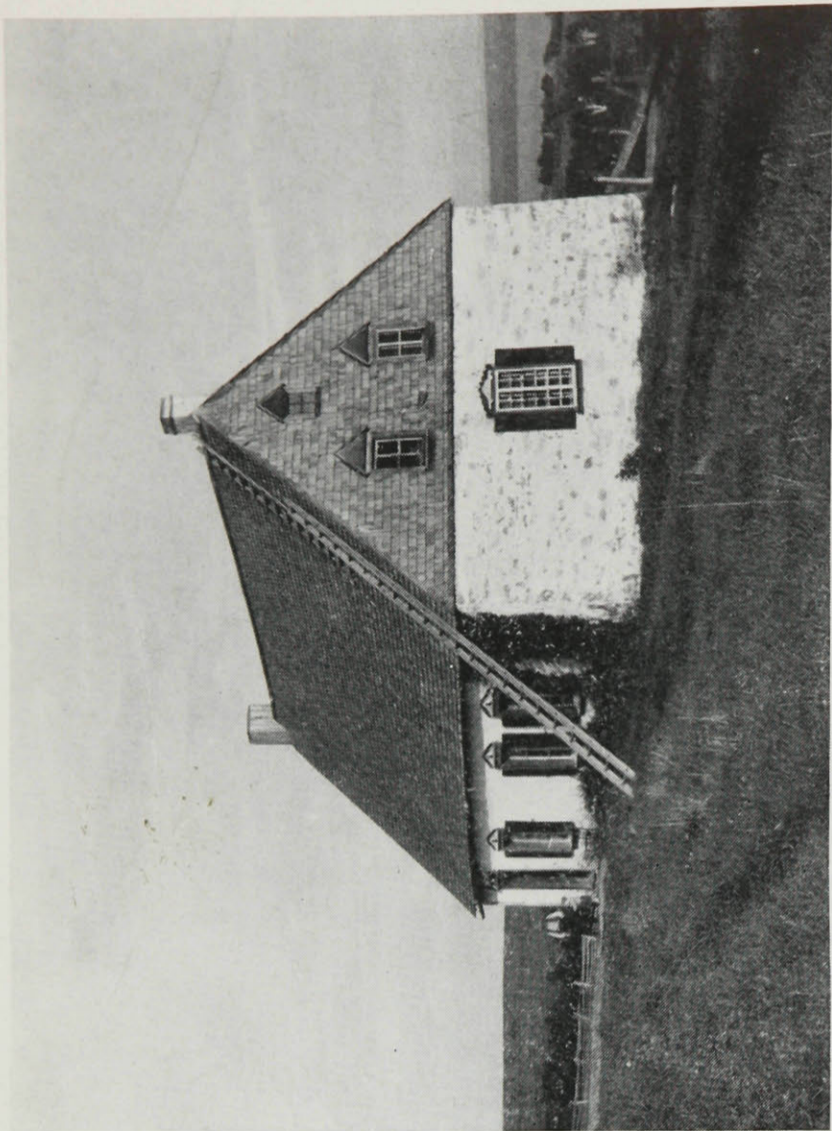
- (a) The plain gabled house with small eaves, such as the Ferme St. Gabriel, practical and prosaic.
- (b) The pavilion roof type of the Baie St. Paul Manor, a very attractive type.
- (c) The urban type of the Château de Ramezay.

The first two types represent the building tradition brought from France. The pavilion roof is a very French feature.

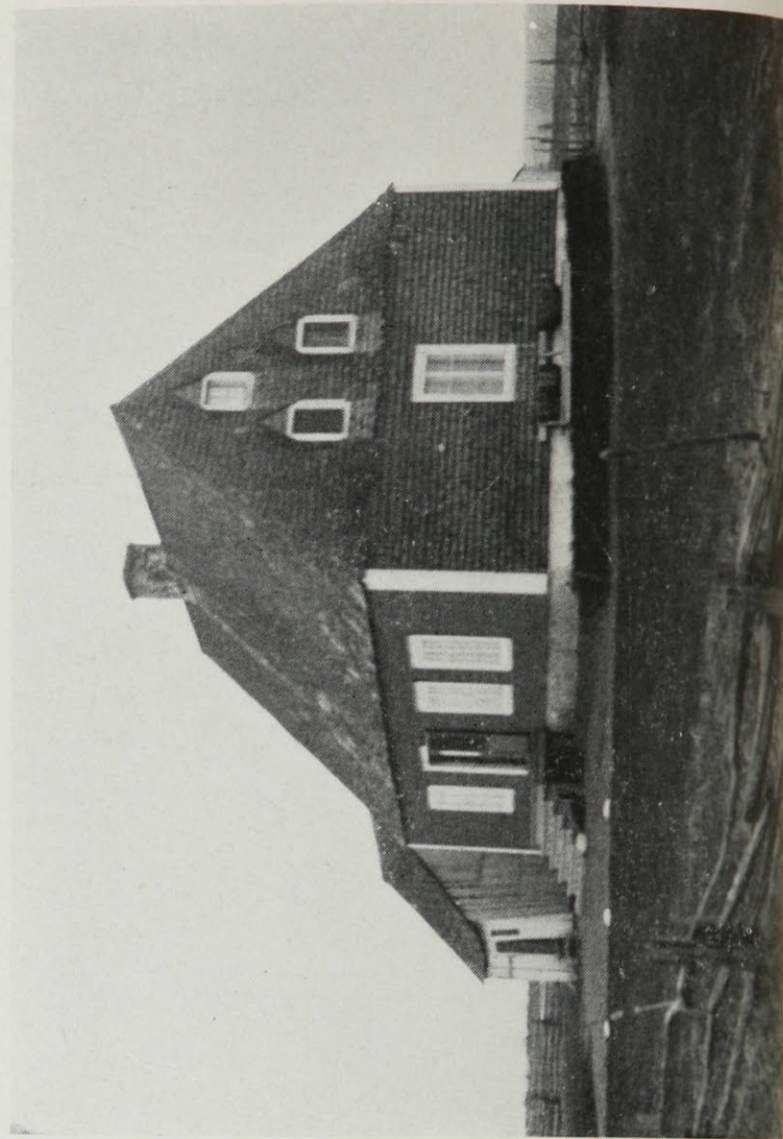
The third type is Canadian. Its use argues the previous existence of towns with streets. The fire regulations of Quebec in 1673 require that new buildings in the lower town must have masonry gables and by this time we may conclude that both Quebec and Montreal had continuous streets whose houses were separated by fire gables. The development of this street house into a detached country house is a native Canadian innovation.



House near Ste. Petronille, I. O.



Gendreau House, I. O.



House near Ste. Petronille, I. O.

CHAPTER IV

THE QUEBEC COTTAGE

NO FEATURE of our old Quebec architecture has attracted more general attention than the cottage. This is but natural. The main highways near Quebec are lined by single-storeyed cottages and these are quite unlike anything which the traveller may have seen in New England or in Ontario. They testify to a French culture different from that of the rest of Canada; they are indeed the representatives of a Canadian culture, of French origin, but isolated for so long that it struck strong roots of its own.

We will seek in vain for houses in France like those broad-roofed cottages which line the Beauport road, or the great gabled houses of the Island of Montreal. The tradition is French; the forms are developed from those older houses which we have already described, but a Quebec cottage is not a rustic copy of French architecture. Climate and manner of life have impressed new qualities on the old tradition; there is nothing really like a Quebec cottage outside Quebec.

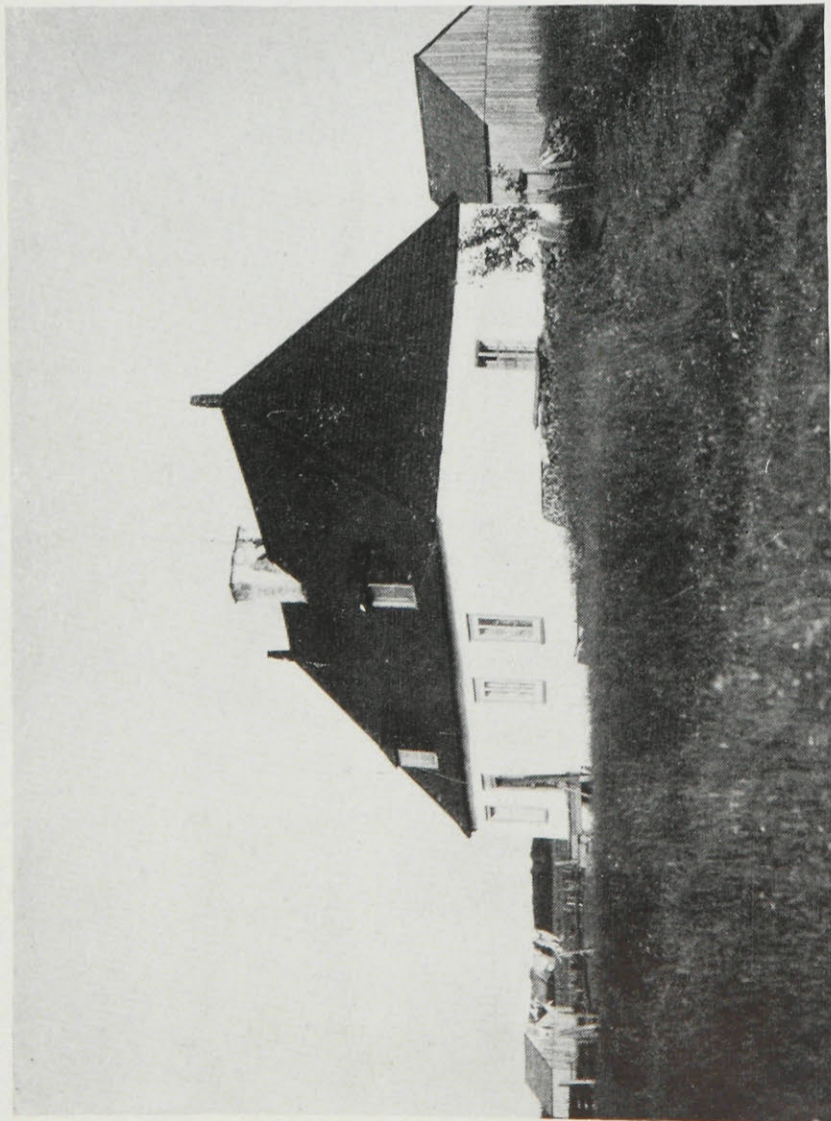
Most of these small houses cannot be dated. Many have date stones built in over the door, but these are not trustworthy. They were, one suspects, regarded as honourable family relics, to be replaced on each successive rebuilding, not as cold statements of historic fact. The family house might be completely rebuilt; it remained the same house.

Most of the old houses on the banks of the St. Lawrence, near Quebec, or on the Island of Orleans are of the third or later generation of building; very few of them antedate the English occupation. Yet this is the oldest settled part of the Province. Speaking generally it is always well to assume a late date, late eighteenth century at earliest, even if the house looks older.

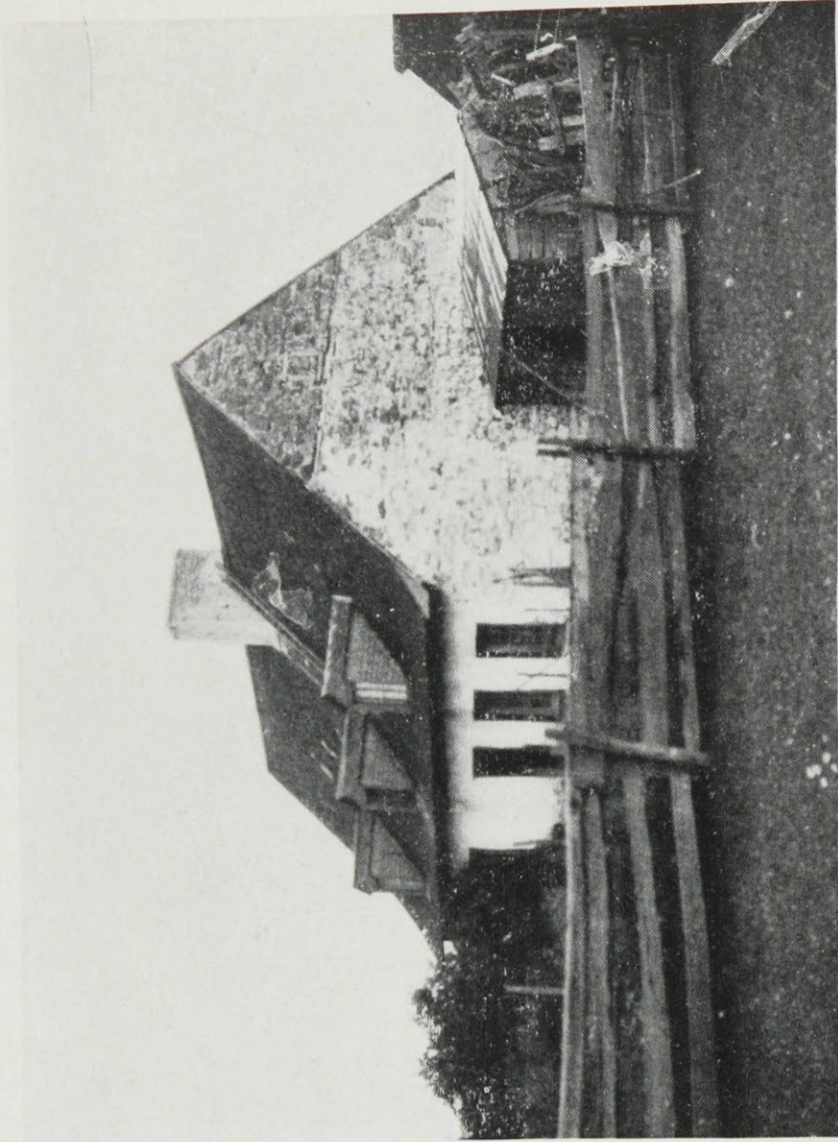
We have to remember that old building traditions survived in Quebec until the middle of the nineteenth century. Comparisons with European architecture have misled many unwary historians. Quebec in fact went on building in the eighteenth century manner until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The cottage most generally found is a rectangular building with low walls of whitewashed stone rubble, high pitched roof with gable verges and a large stone chimney on the ridge. Sometimes the gables are carried up in stone but, more usually the end walls are carried up in stone only to the wall-plate level; above that the gables are filled with framing and shingled. This is the type of the presbytery at Batiscan, it is found throughout the Province and predominates in the district round Quebec.

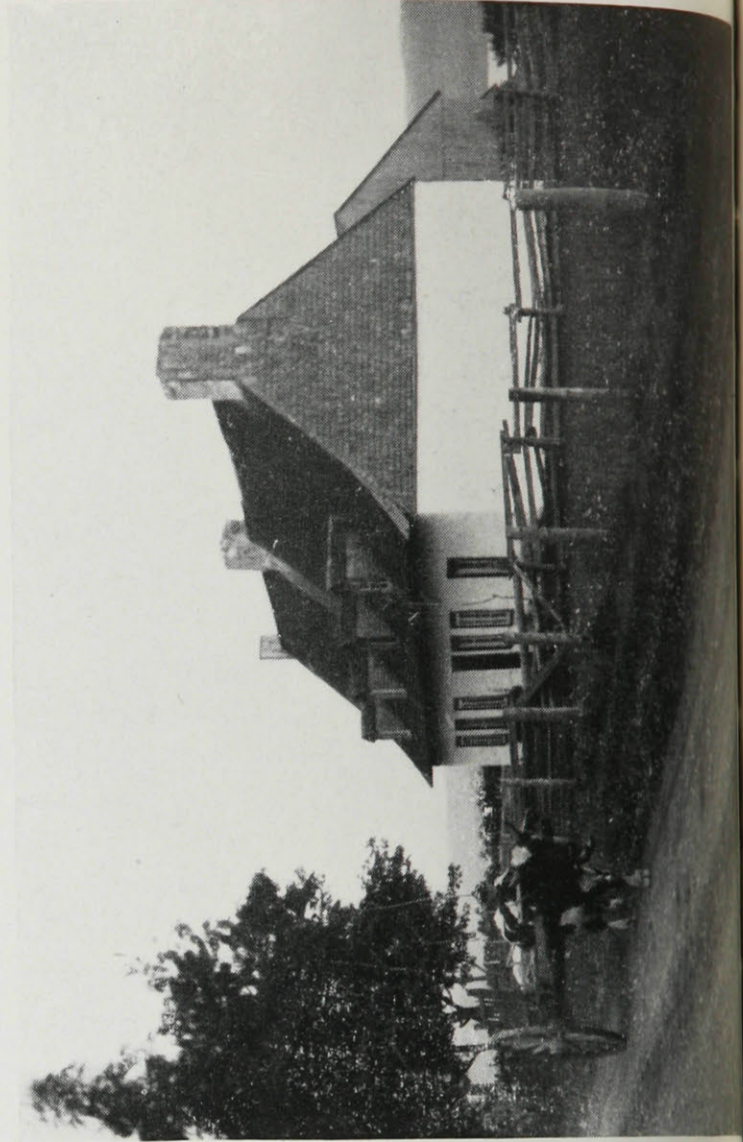
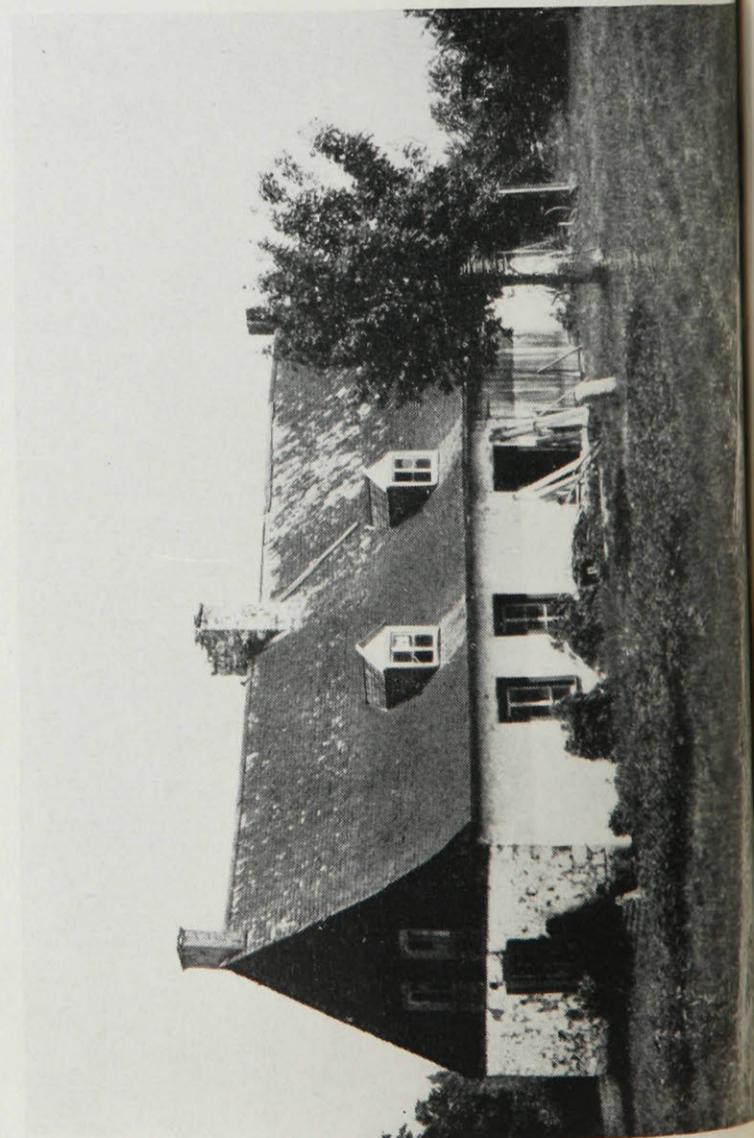
PLATE XXIV
HOUSES ON THE ISLAND OF ORLEANS



The Assclin House



The Morency House, 1798





The "Jesuits' Mill", La Tortue

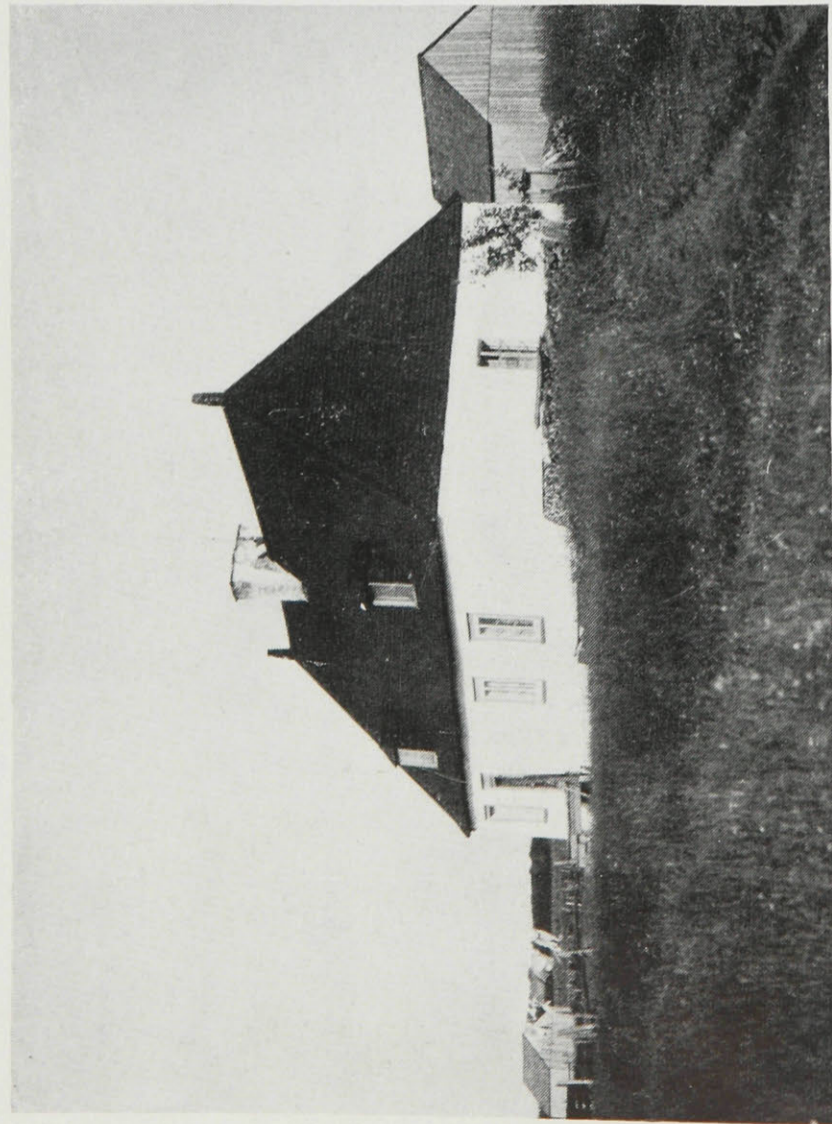
Photo, E. Gariepy, Montreal



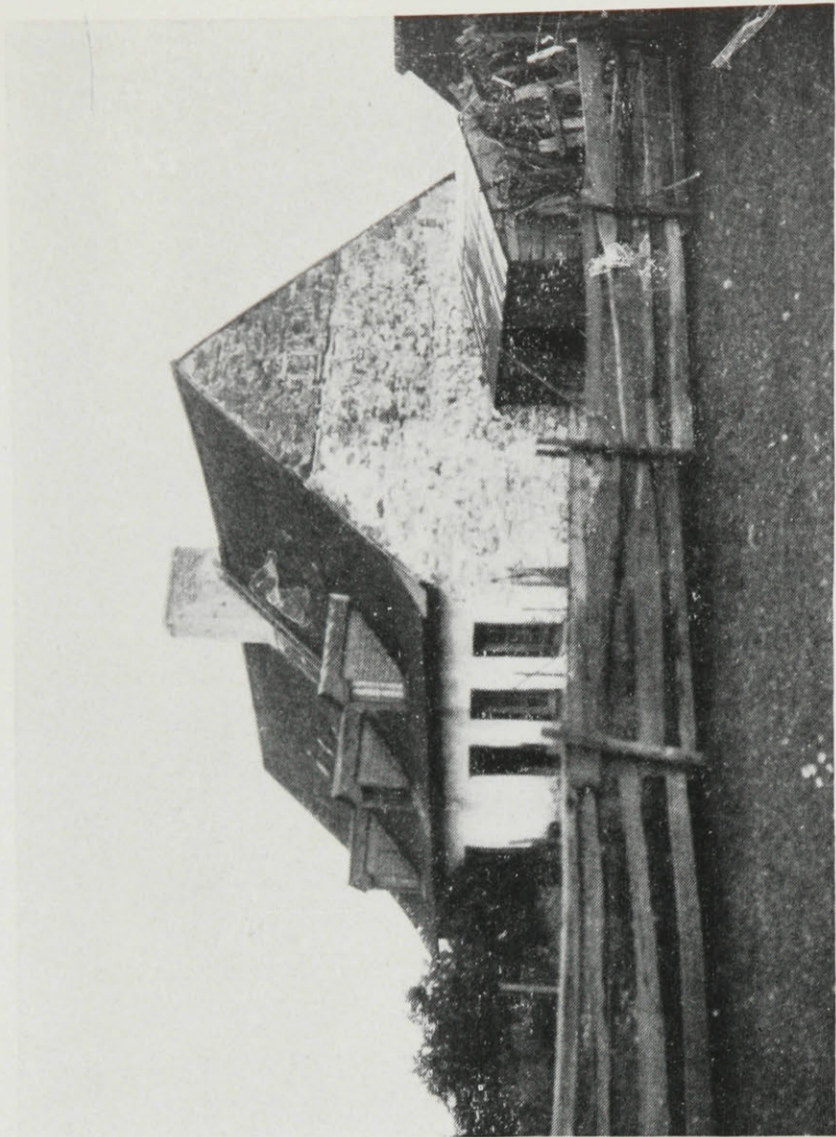
The House of Athanase Denis, Neuville, about 1725

Photo, E. Gariepy, Montreal

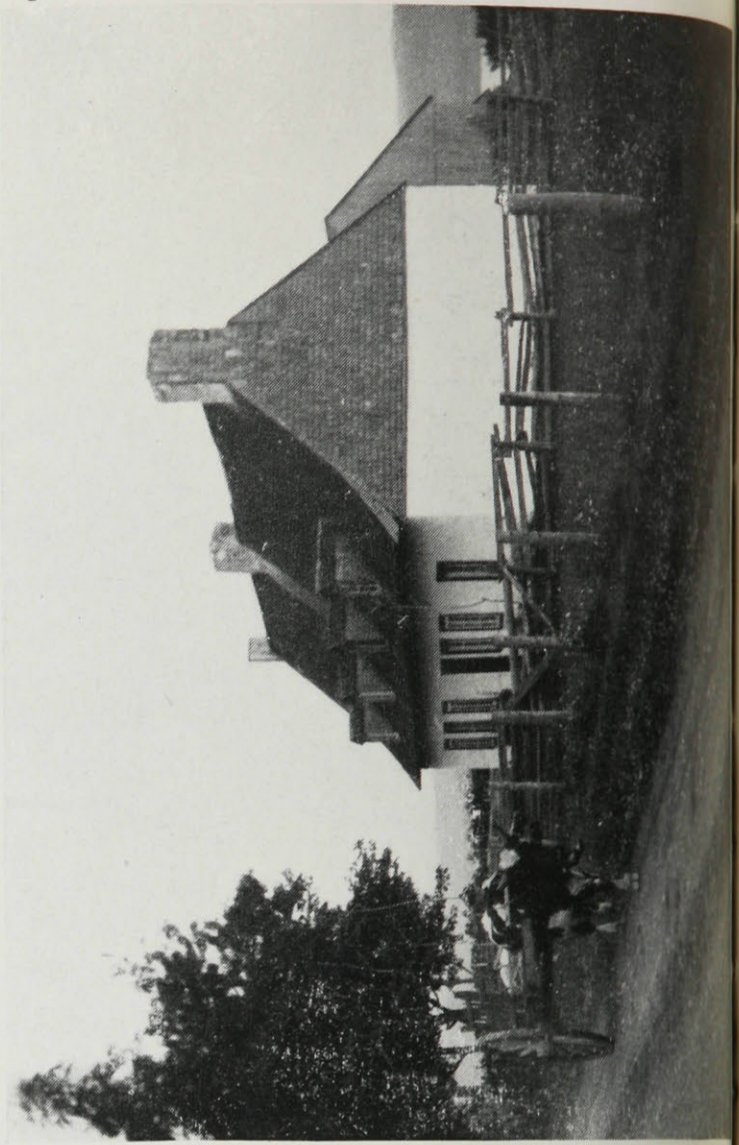
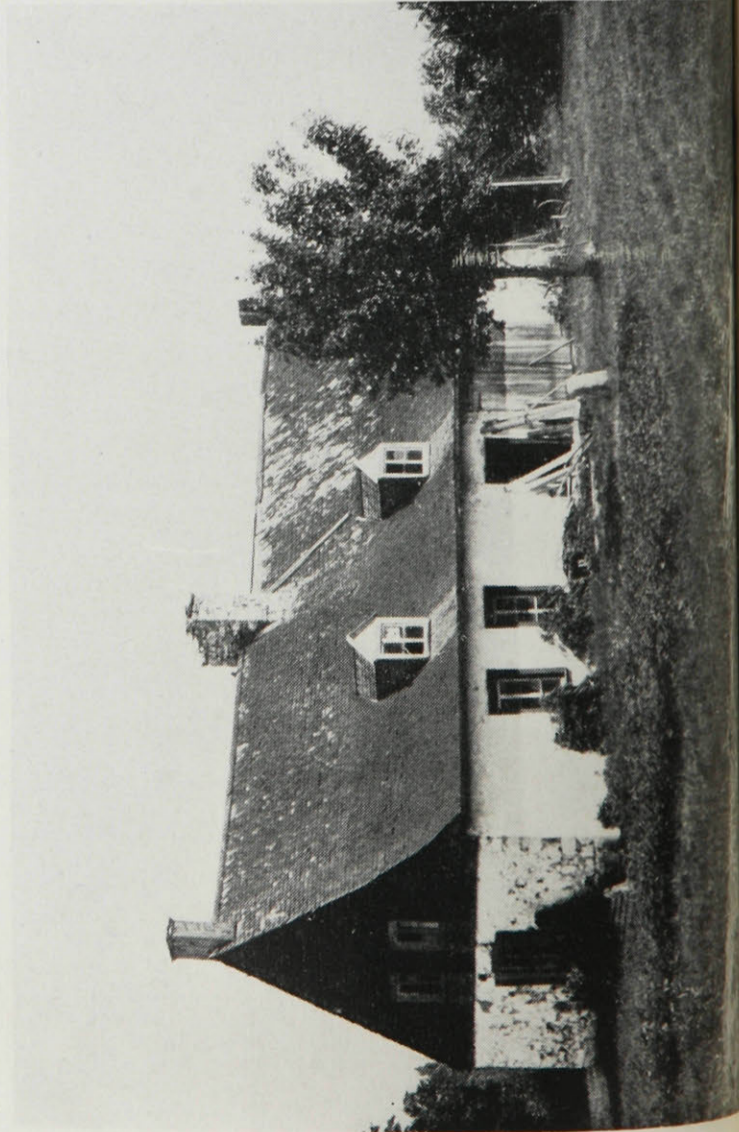
PLATE XXIV
HOUSES ON THE ISLAND OF ORLEANS



The Asselin House



The Morency House, 1798





The "Jesuits' Mill", La Tortue

Photo, E. Gariépy, Montreal



The House of Athanase Denis, Neuville, about 1725

Photo, E. Gariépy, Montreal



On the Montmorency Road



The Bouthillier House, Anse au Griffon

The typical plan is that of the Ferme St. Gabriel. The ground floor is divided into two rooms of unequal size. The front door enters direct into the smaller of these, the "summer room". It has a large fireplace with the oven beside it, usually replaced today by a stove. In one corner a steep ladder-like stair leads up to the attic. This room is required for little more than cooking meals since, in summer, life is spent in the open. It is a rather bare working room.

From it a door opens into a large room occupying the rest of the ground floor. This is the "winter room" used in summer only as a state room in which to receive a distinguished visitor, but in which the family live during the cold months. This room is elaborately furnished. The floors are painted yellow and covered with gaily coloured "catalogne" carpets and hooked rugs. The walls are hung with religious pictures and family photographs; against them are great chests of drawers in which are laid away the garments of ceremony. The windows have lace curtains. The raftered ceiling is often painted blue, and at one end, in the place of the old open fireplace, stands a brightly polished stove. All through the summer this room is kept carefully darkened, the windows filled with bright blue paper, which gives a most brilliant effect from the outside as well as preserving the carpets from fading. I am told that the blue is also supposed to keep away flies. The carpets are all home made and the furniture is probably of local manufacture.

Sometimes a couple of tiny bedrooms are partitioned off in this room, each just large enough to accommodate an immense wooden bed and a chest of drawers. Here the elders of the family sleep whilst the others must climb the stair to the attic. In the roof the space is partitioned off by screens or wood divisions into numerous cubicles and little rooms for the younger members of the family. There is plenty of space in the big roof and it serves as a store for clothes, spinning wheels, flax choppers, candle moulds, farm implements and all the other material which collects in a house where three generations have lived together for many years. In one corner is the loom on which the blankets and homespuns are woven, in another the girls have cleared a space where they can sit and sew. There is room for everything in a Quebec attic. The house is a family house with a continuous life and tradition passing on from one generation to the next, not a temporary habitation to be bought or sold.

The two-room plan leads to the central chimney rising from the cross wall. In larger houses there may also be fireplaces in the end walls but, whether there are fireplaces or not, there will probably be chimneys on the gables. When these are not real chimneys, rising from an end fireplace, they are made of wood, shingled and are purely ornamental.

A chimney seems to have been regarded as the proper termination for a gable, possibly it was a sign of social standing as indicating a house of many fireplaces. Certainly these ornamental chimneys are common. The chimney in fact was on its way to becoming a finial, an architectural ornament, as so many practical features have become before it. It is said that ocean liners at one time had to be provided with three funnels, only one of which was functional, in order to satisfy the demand of immigrants for a really powerful and distinguished ship. So with the Quebec cottage and its chimneys. This is the way architecture grows, in houses or in ships.

The roofs are framed together with heavy timbers, about seven or eight inches square, tenoned and morticed at the joints and fastened with long wooden pins. They usually have strong longitudinal windbracing in the ridge and collar beams about half-way up. A large roof will have double collars, with struts. From end to end this is carpenter work, made without nails or metal fastening of any kind. The method of construction has hardly changed since the seventeenth century.

Today we associate deep eaves with the Quebec cottage yet the oldest houses, the Ferme St. Gabriel or Batiscan, had only very small eaves. The wide eaves are undoubtedly a late development, they were not derived from French mediaeval architecture as has often been asserted. Quebec has a sunny climate. To suit this the eaves of the roof grew farther and farther out to shade the walls and their occupants. These unsupported eaves sometimes stretch out some four feet from the wall and this necessarily led to the large curving bellcast at the bottom of the roof. This is not a good snow form since snow tends to collect at the change of slope, but it is unavoidable if the deep eaves are required.

From this to the verandah with supporting posts is but a step; how that step came to be taken is a difficult and much debated question. I have not been able to find in Quebec a verandah which can definitely be dated earlier than the first years of the nineteenth century, but verandahs are quite common in the French buildings of the Mississippi valley, and these were the work of Quebec builders.¹ The old Court House at Cahokia, recently restored, was built between 1737 and 1763, and has a wide verandah all round. The old French houses at Ste. Geneviève, Missouri, have verandahs, either right round the houses, or to front and back, which are exactly like those we find in Quebec. The contract for a house at Ste. Geneviève in 1770, specifies that the house shall have a porch 4½ feet wide all round it.

Mr. C. E. Peterson, who has made a study of these houses, believes that the verandahs were introduced from Louisiana and the West Indies. Our Quebec verandahs may possibly have come by this route.² The verandah is eminently a feature of a dry and sunny climate; once introduced into Quebec, verandahs were added to numberless old houses whose original design did not include them. They gave shelter from the sun in summer and to some degree from the snow in winter.

In Quebec snow lies for several months to a depth of four feet or so, and provision must be made for it. Houses were accordingly placed as near the road as possible and the floor was raised some three or four feet above the ground with a gallery along the front and back or, at least, a platform at the door with steps leading up to it. This snow gallery is a feature of the French-Canadian house and it combined very easily with the wide eaves to form a verandah.

The double sloped mansard roof is not uncommon. It was originally, of course, French and first appears in French architecture in the seventeenth century. Yet its use in Quebec seems to be quite recent. Indeed it was almost certainly introduced from the United States in the nineteenth century. We find it however in

¹ For information on the buildings at Cahokia I am indebted to Mr. J. T. Borton of the Dept. of Public Works, State of Illinois. For the French Buildings at Ste. Geneviève I have to thank Mr. C. E. Peterson of the U. S. Dept. of the Interior.

² See note on the verandah at the end of this chapter.

the barns and here its use may be older. When used along with the projecting eaves and large bellcast it produces a very pagoda-like effect somewhat startling in a quiet Quebec village.

The habitant has a good eye for colour and will produce the most astonishing effects with the common house paints of commerce. On this account the Quebec village has for long been a favourite with the painters, especially in the winter when its bright pinks, reds and blacks flare up against the snow. The roofs are usually shingle, weathered to a velvety black, though in larger buildings they may be of "tin tiles" which turn to bronze-green with time. The wooden gable ends are in some districts normally coloured a dull strong red, the walls are washed white or pink; the woodwork is of all colours, blue, yellow, green or purple, the whole conspiring to produce contrasts of the most startling kind. The only dull houses are those where modest browns or dull yellows have unfortunately been introduced, for the brighter the colours are the better they look. To take an actual example, a house on the Island of Orleans had the following somewhat remarkable colouring. The roof was black, the walls whitewash, the window-frames pea-green picked out with bright yellow, the shutters purple. The effect was excellent.

With such colouring even the garish advertisements of modern commerce disappear in the general brilliancy, and, if only the lettering were illegible, the poster would take its modest place in the scheme. This suggests a means of getting rid of our more violent bill-boards. If the advertiser will not tone down his posters, can we not tone up the neighbourhood?

Inside, yellow is the traditional floor colour with blue for the ceilings, recalling perhaps the brown earth and the blue sky. Brightly striped catalogue rugs cover the floors and the windows are shaded by blue homespun curtains with traditional patterns in white, fleurs de lys or "little Maries".

This gabled cottage, with slight modifications, is found all through French Canada. In the eastern part of the province, from Bellechasse down the river, we find the wide eaves supported by a curved, boarded cove. On the Beauport road the eaves are sometimes panelled in simple patterns, elsewhere they are plain boarded.

Cottages on the model of the Baie St. Paul manor or the Villeneuve house, with steep double hipped roof, are not uncommon; there are quite a number of them on the Island of Orleans. The house of Pierre Asselin is a good example and, on a larger scale, the Manoir Mauvide, built in 1734. Near Montreal the old presbytery buildings at Caughnawaga are of this type.

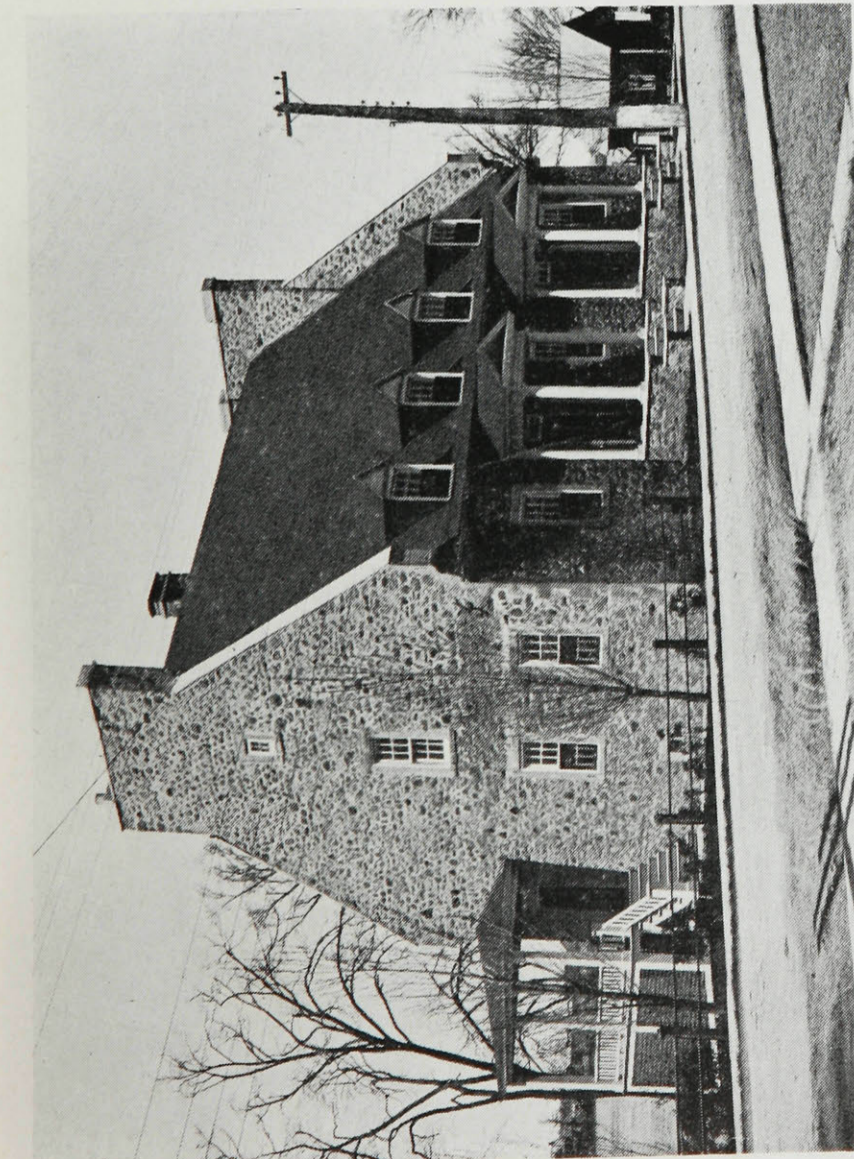
We seem to trace a gradual development in some of these houses from hip end to gable end. The hip pitch of Baie St. Paul is about 55° , the same as that of the main roof. But in the Villeneuve house, which must be as old, if not older the hip pitch is much steeper than the sides—hips about 72° and sides a little over 50° . In the Paradis house the pitches are 73° and 50° . On the road between Beaumont and Bellechasse are several houses with hipped gables which are nearly perpendicular and, finally, in the Gendreau house on the Island of Orleans the hips have turned into perpendicular gables, crowned with ornamental chimneys. But the gables are shingled and the windows in them retain the gablets of the dormer window, like the ornamental window pediments of the Italian Renaissance.



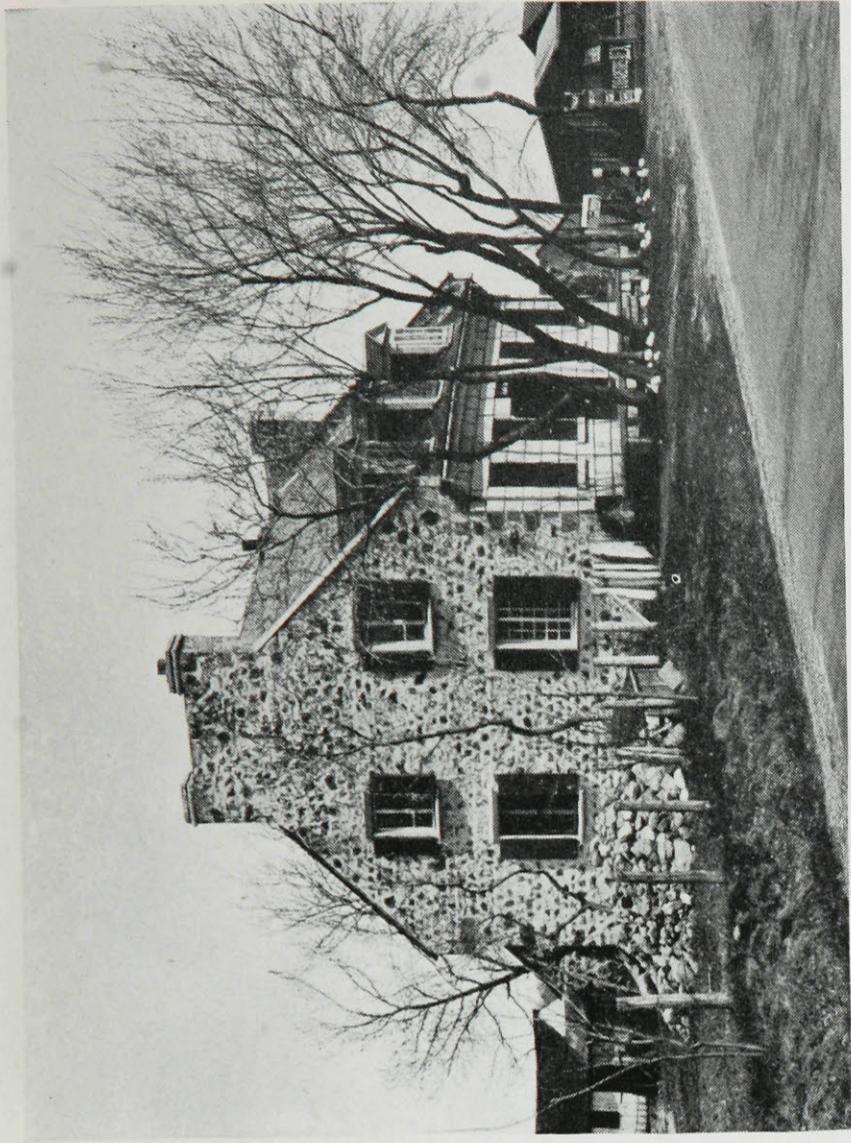
House at Sault au Récollet



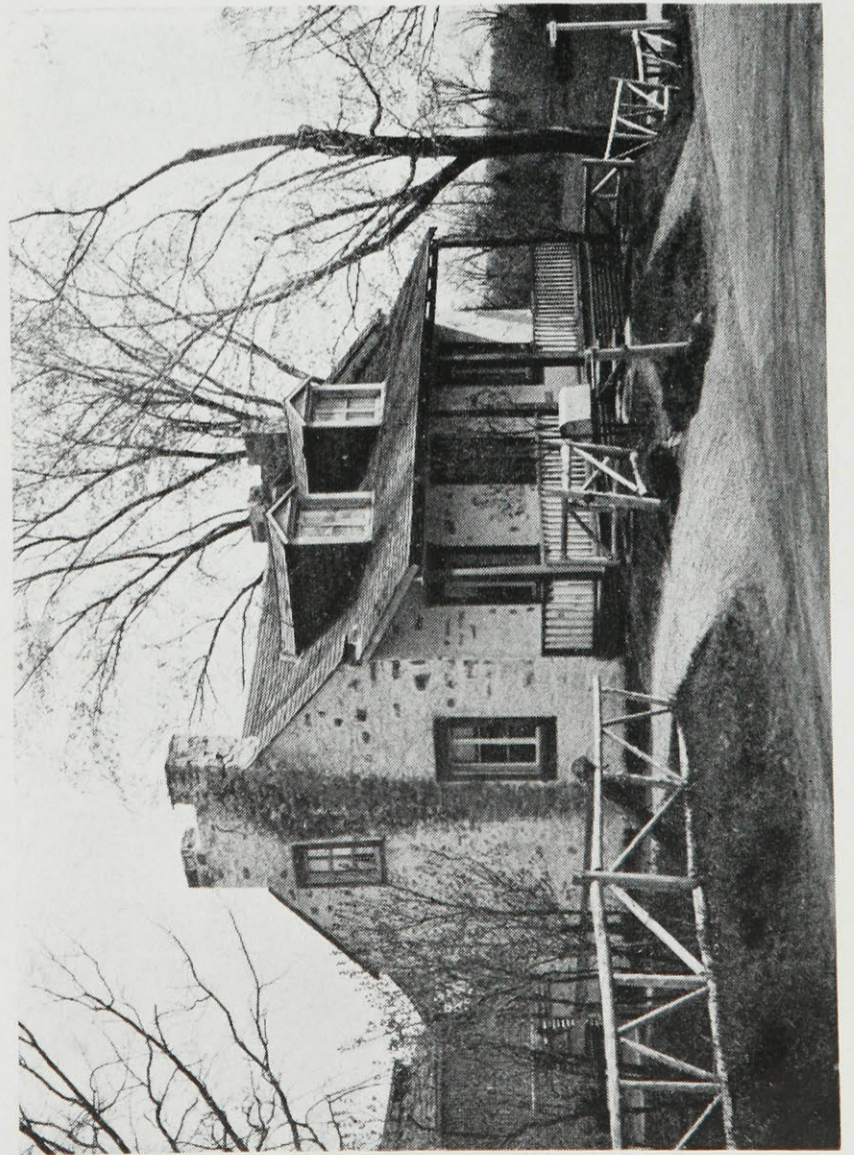
Houses at Oka



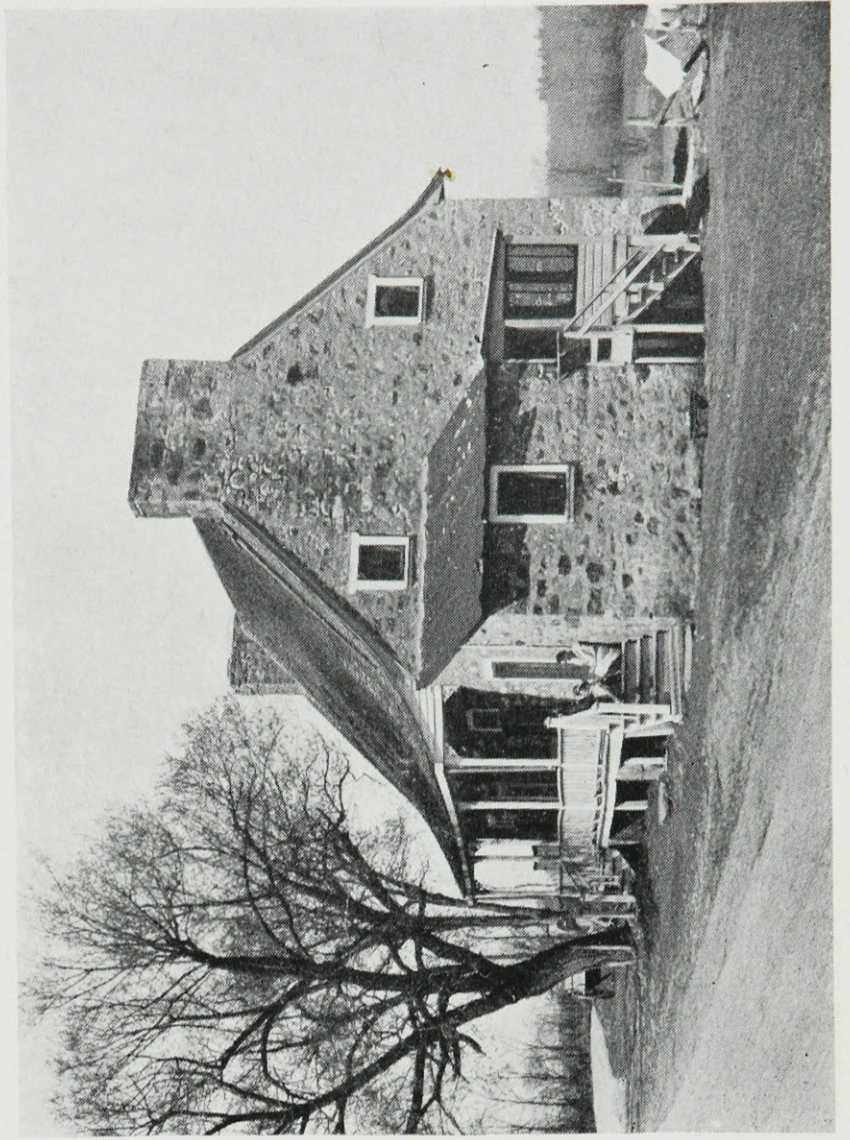
At St. Denis sur Richelieu



At Terrebonne

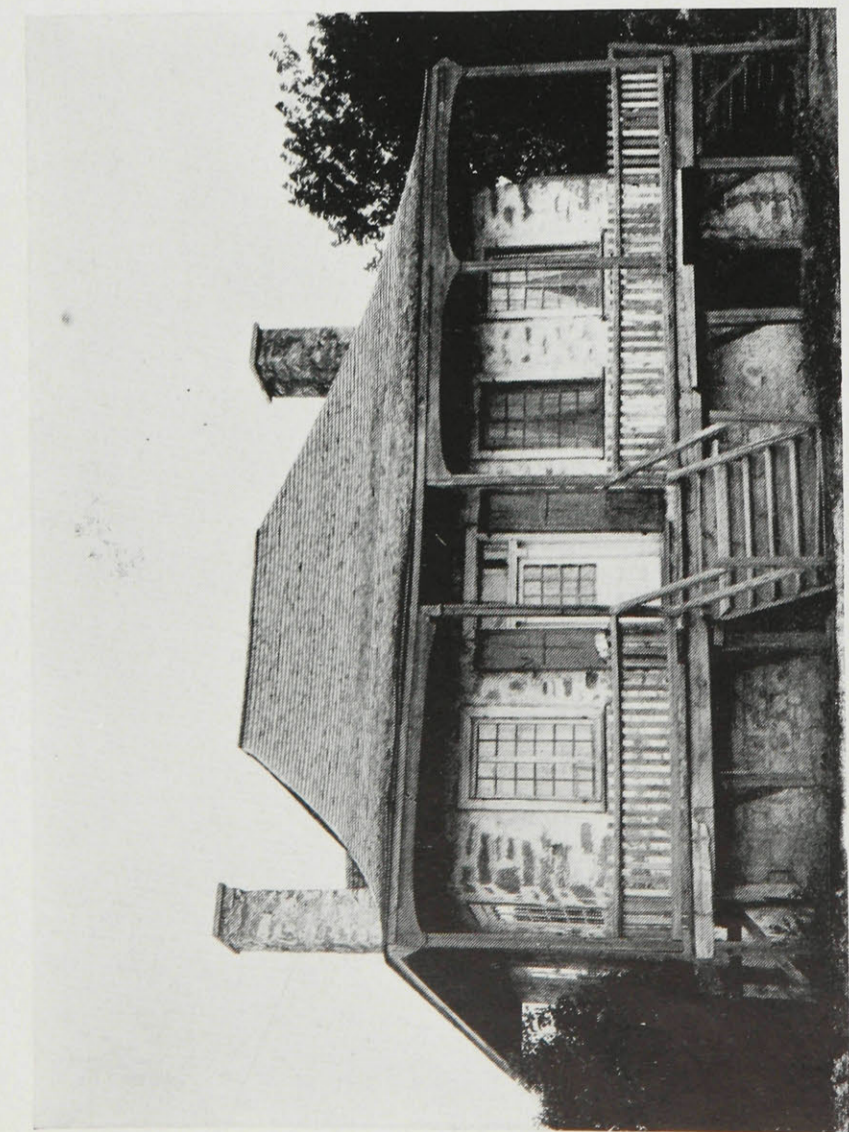


At St. Eustache



The Heureux House, Lavaltrie, 1835

PLATE XXIX
VERANDAH HOUSES



On the St. Charles Road, Montreal



At Jcune Lorette

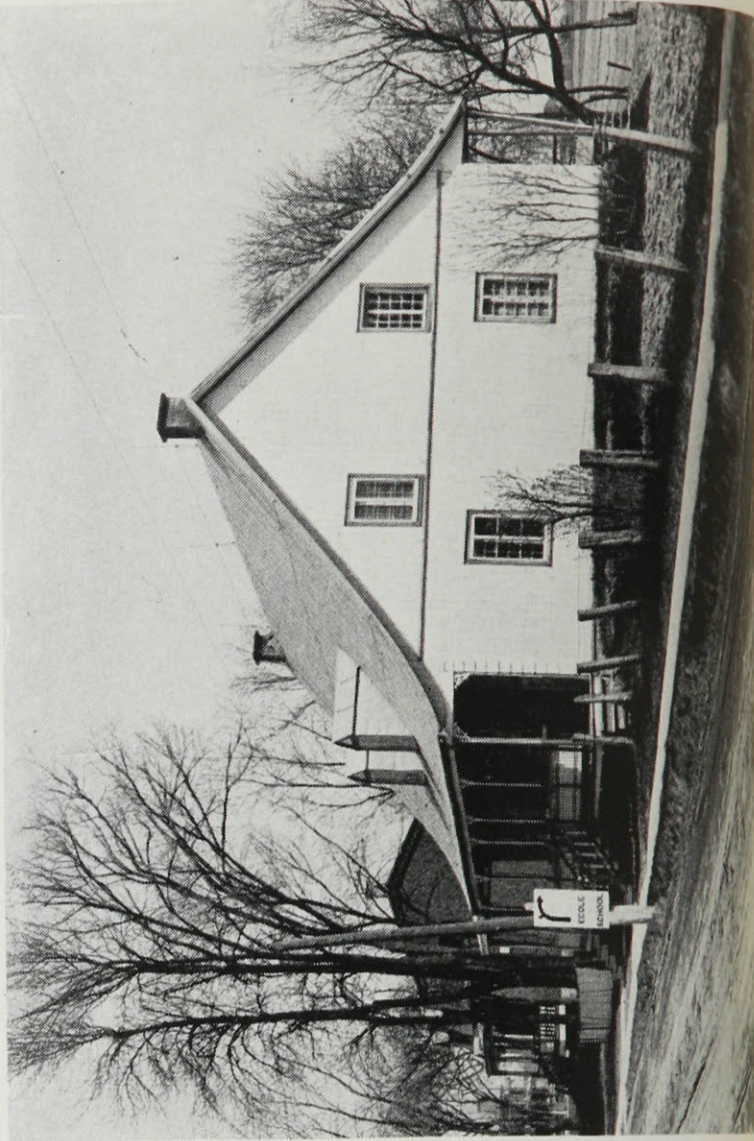
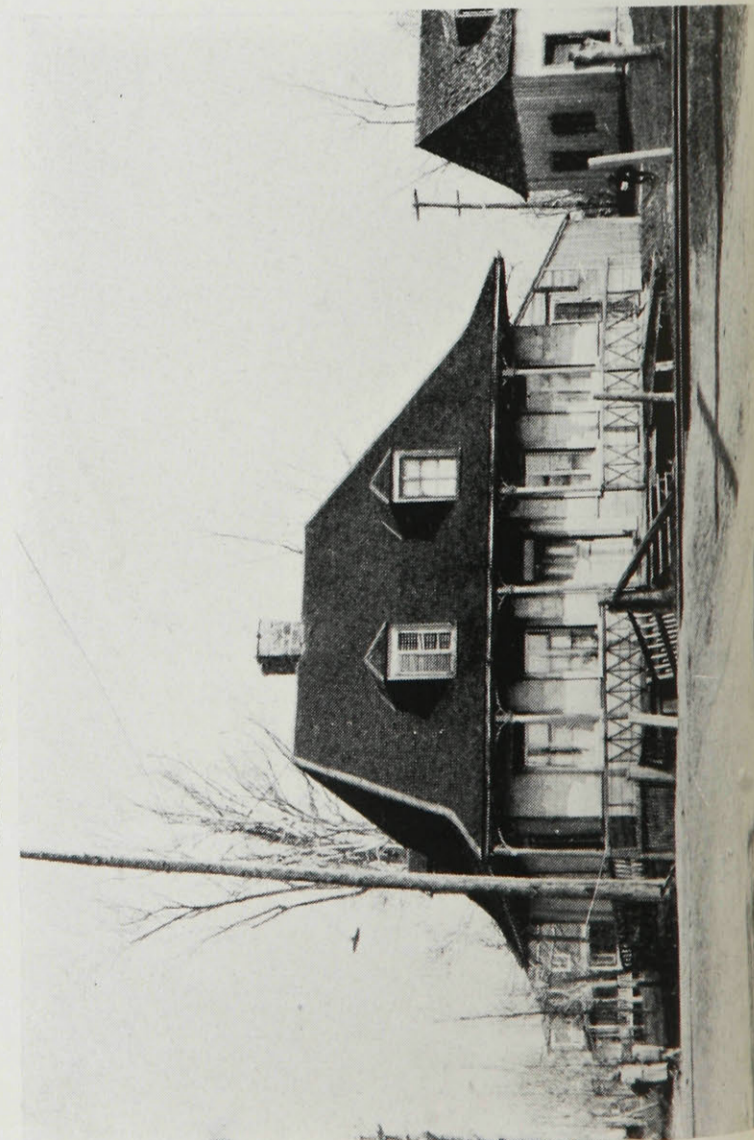


PLATE XXX
FRENCH HOUSES IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY



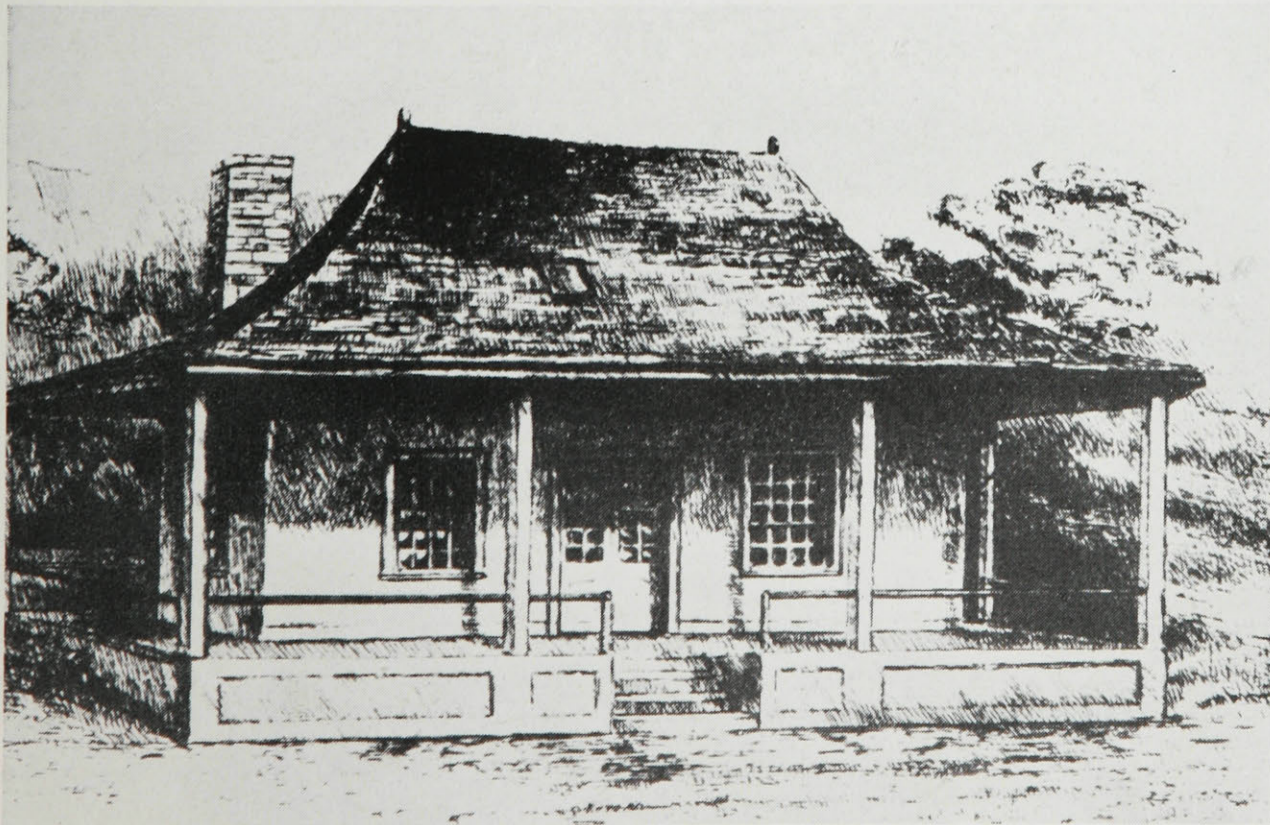
C. E. Peterson
The Bolduc House, St. Geneviève



C. E. Peterson
The Valle House, St. Geneviève



Dept. of Public Works, Ill.
The Court House, Cahokia, restored



C. E. Peterson
The Manuel Liza House, St. Louis

The stone gabled or "Urban" house is found mainly on the Island of Montreal and in the district round it and the Château de Ramezay is probably the oldest house of this kind in the province. East of Three Rivers it is uncommon. Most of those now found near Montreal seem to have been built in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Widely distributed throughout the countryside we find a very pleasant small wooden cottage with a flattish hipped roof and a verandah, about four feet deep, all round. Many of these are in the Ottawa Valley and on the Island of Montreal and the form has been associated with the Hudson's Bay Company. None of them seem to be older than the nineteenth century.

STRUCTURAL NOTES

Pierre Boucher in the mid-seventeenth century had written:

"Some (houses) are built entirely of stone and covered with boards or planks of pine, others are built of wooden framework or uprights with masonry between, others are built wholly of wood: but all the houses are covered as I have said, with boards." All these kinds of building are found at the present day. Boucher, curiously, does not mention stone houses with the stone walls left exposed; he writes definitely—"All the houses are covered with boards." It seems hardly possible that all stone houses were boarded yet many houses which appear, at first glance, to be wooden turn out on examination to be stone houses boarded, as Boucher describes.

Frame houses and stone-filled frame houses (*colombage pierotté*) must have been built at all periods.

We occasionally find a wall construction known as "en pièce". The walls are of squared logs, dovetailed at the angles but with no projecting ends. They are usually boarded or shingled outside. This is the block-house construction. It was well known in military architecture throughout Europe. It was used, as a house construction, by the German and Swedish colonists of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.³ Such walls had the advantage of stopping a musket ball and of being much more resistant to fire than the frame wall. Our Canadian examples may well have been derived from military block-houses for use in situations exposed to Indian raids. Unfortunately we have no dated example; those which I have seen are small and unimportant. The construction was undoubtedly used for houses long after the danger of raids had passed. This is the nearest to a "log cabin" to be found in the old architecture of Quebec, but a block-house is not a log cabin.

During the excavations of Fort Ste. Marie, the old Jesuit Mission in Ontario, the remains were found of a small structure with wooden walls.⁴ It was approximately nine feet five inches square and extended below ground level so that it was probably a cellar or store-house. The walls were of posts or logs standing upright on sills formed of large cedar logs which had U-shaped grooves on the upper surface to receive them. I do not know of any old buildings in Quebec with walls made of upright posts but similar methods of construction were in use

³ Shurtleff, H. R., *The Log Cabin Myth*, p. 9.

⁴ Kidd, K. E., *The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie*, *Can. Hist. Review*, Jan., 1941.

as early as the mid-eighteenth century in the French settlements of the Mississippi valley.⁵ Here the "maison de poteaux en terre" was a house built of squared logs planted in the ground close to one another and connected together only by the wall-plate at the top. This construction was used for quite large buildings. A church built in St. Louis in 1775, sixty feet long and thirty broad, is specified to be "de poteau en terre de trois pieds dans la terre".⁶

A cruder method with unsquared logs was known as "de pieux en terre". These were simply palisade walls and the method must have been quite well known in Quebec for fortification. But so far as I know it was never used here for churches or houses. The winter frosts would have lifted the stakes out of the ground and the house would have had to be hammered back every spring.

When the upright posts rested on a wooden sill and that, in turn, on a stone foundation, the house was "de poteaux sur solle". This is the construction of the cellar at Fort Ste. Marie. The posts were usually spaced at small intervals and the spaces filled with rubble masonry or with clay mixed with grass. The old court house at Cahokia, built between 1737 and 1763, was constructed in this manner and it was a usual method of house construction. I have not met any example of it in Quebec and it is possible that it was a Spanish tradition brought from the Gulf to the Mississippi settlements.

THE VERANDAH

Open wooden galleries, with a roof supported by posts were common features in mediaeval buildings. The well known galleries round the courtyards of the old inns may be instanced and loggias are a common feature of the early Italian and French Renaissance. But such galleries were not used quite as the verandah is and were rather external passage-ways. They went out of use during the seventeenth century and hardly occur in small houses or cottages.

The classic portico of the eighteenth century is rather an architectural embellishment than a verandah and the great columned verandahs of the southern States of the U. S. A. are monuments of the Greek revival.

The verandah of the small house, a roofed gallery on the ground floor, serving as an open-air lounge seems to have come to England in the late eighteenth century from India and, with its name, to have been introduced by the "Nabobs" along with curries and the morning cold tub.

But, in the Hudson Valley, in Bergen county, N. J. and on Long Island are a number of houses with deep curved overhanging eaves, often supported by posts. They occur on houses dating from the seventeenth century, such as the Nicholas Vareth House (1664) in Westfield, N. J., the David Des Marest House (1679-80) and the Ackerman House (1701), both in Bergen County.⁷

These galleries are considered by American historians to be contemporary with the buildings; an article in the *Architectural Record* of 1894 states that deep projecting roofs became universal in New Jersey early in the eighteenth cen-

⁵ Peterson, C. E., "Early Ste. Genevieve and Its Architecture," *Missouri Hist. Review*, Jan., 1941.

⁶ Communicated by Mr. Peterson.

⁷ Holland Society, *Prerevolutionary Dutch Houses and Families in Northern New Jersey and Southern New York*.

ture. There is one slight difficulty about the verandahs of these early American houses. In one example at least the window breasts are pierced by loopholes for defense. Now it seems very unlikely that a house which was liable to be attacked would have a broad, inflammable, verandah built all round it. But as I have not personally examined these houses I am not qualified to give a final judgment.

Attempts have been made to derive these verandahs from a Dutch "stoep". But we will search the seventeenth century houses of Holland and Germany in vain for any such feature. Professor Wertenbaker believes that the wide spreading eaves and gallery were imported from Flanders.⁹ The early Canadian settlers came from Normandy, Paris and Poitou, and they certainly did not bring with them any flaring eaves or wide verandahs. I know of no wave of Flemish immigration sufficient to have affected the architecture of the Quebec farmhouse, or which could possibly have influenced the buildings of the French settlements in the Mississippi valley.

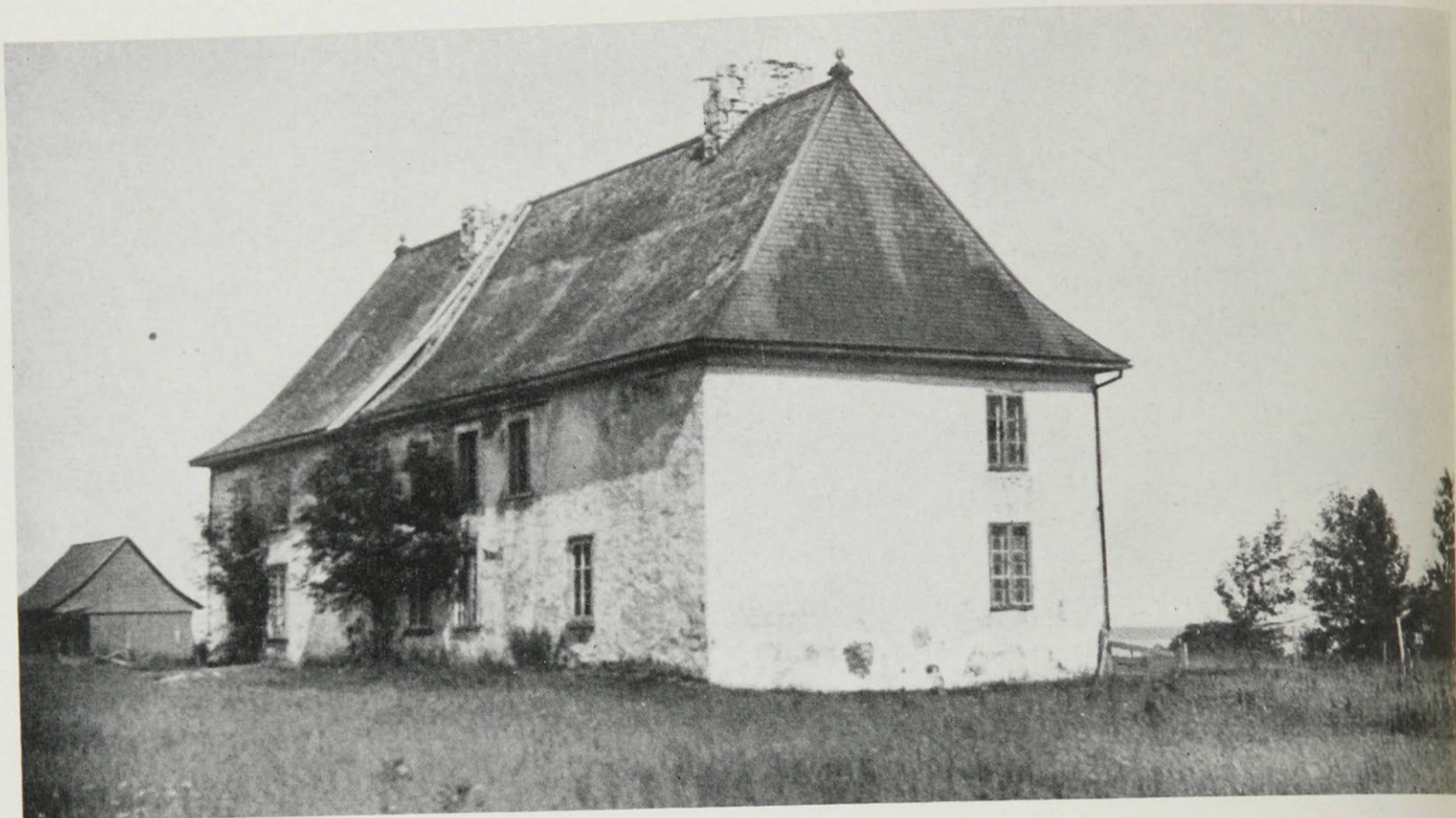
Many of our Quebec verandah houses are very like the Hudson valley "Dutch" houses. But such houses occur also, as early at least as 1750, in the French settlements on the Mississippi. Here they were probably derived from Louisiana, Mexico or the West Indies.

American influence on Canada was virtually nil before the end of the eighteenth century and then it showed itself rather in the delicate classic detail of the later American Georgian than in any larger structural forms.

Further evidence is desirable. The verandah was not an original feature in Quebec and must have come to us from the south at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. This naturally suggests that the source was the old English colonies, yet as early as the mid-eighteenth century French settlers, from Quebec, were building verandah houses in Missouri and they appear to have got their inspiration from farther south.

⁸ Communicated by Mr. Marshall Davidson, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

⁹ Wertenbaker, T. J., *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies*, N.Y., 1938, pp. 46, 47.



The Manoir Mauvide, Island of Orleans, before restoration

CHAPTER V

MANORS, PRESBYTERIES, VACATION HOUSES AND MILLS

THE name "manoir" properly refers to the seigneur's house but today it is somewhat loosely given to any large old house in the country. Fortified manorial enclosures such as the Château de Longueuil were exceptional even in the early times. The seigneur lived in a farmhouse. It was larger and better furnished, it contained more and larger rooms but architecturally the manor, the farmhouse and the cottage were built alike, of the same tradition and with the same materials. The presbytery, the residence of the curé, followed the same tradition. Sometimes, as at Batiscan, it included a parish room; architecturally it was a good-sized cottage.

Not until the nineteenth century do we find these larger houses built in a different manner from the simpler dwellings of the habitant. Then came a fashion for country houses of an English, or American, classic type. Soon the dullest kind of Italianate or French villa replaced the simple and dignified forms of tradition.

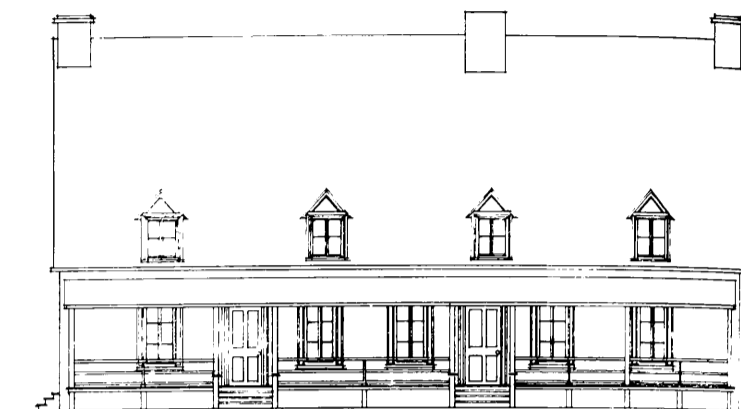
The Manoir Mauvide on the Island of Orleans was built about 1734. In 1928 it was rapidly falling into ruin, one chimney stack had already collapsed. Fortunately it was rescued by Judge Pouliot and converted by him into a country house. Like most old Quebec houses it is a simple rectangular building, without gables, wings or projections. The roof is hipped with a large bellcast and moderately wide eaves. The walls are of stone rubble with cut-stone dressings.

The Manoir Couillard-Dupuis at Montmagny is believed to have been built in 1774. It is of the usual rectangular form, 64 feet long by 34 wide, or two squares long. The plan shows the traditional division into two unequal parts. The smaller part is the kitchen wing and has a fireplace in the gable. The larger residential part has a central chimney. The end gable has an ornamental chimney. The verandah is a later addition, as is very frequently the case.

In the Langlois Manor, at Portneuf, the verandah is formed by the sweep of the roof and seems to be part of the original design. The decorative posts and railings are characteristic of the early nineteenth century and the patterning often takes very interesting forms.

The school-house at Parc Laval has verandahs on both sides. It shows well the broad, square form of the Quebec house and the immense spread of roof which results from it. The snow platform at the front should be noticed. The gable walls are lined with vertical wood sheathing and decorated with slender doric pilasters. These, with the little wooden belfry give this little rural school just that touch of the public building which is appropriate.

MANOIR COUILLARD-DUPUIS · MONTMAGNY QUEBEC · 1774 ·



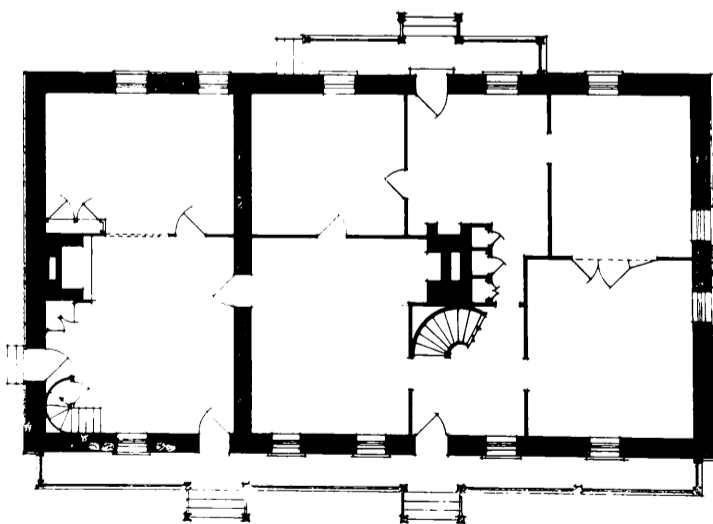
·FRONT·ELEVATION·



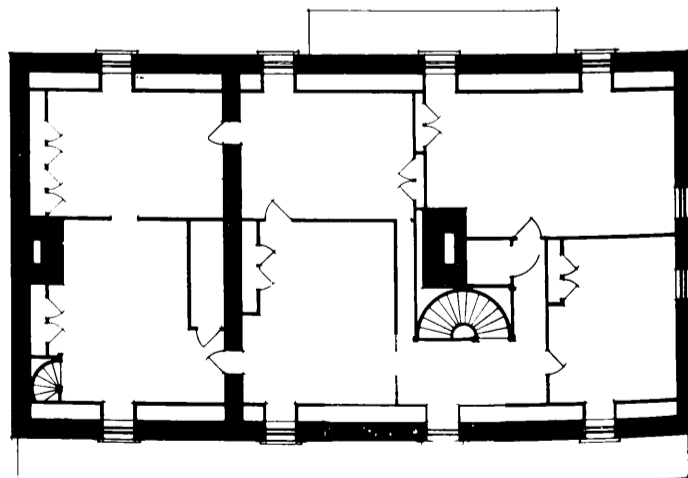
·END·ELEVATION·



·SECTION·



·GROUND·FLOOR·PLAN·



·FIRST·FLOOR·PLAN·

MEASURED · BY · L · P · FURUIS ·
DRAWN · BY · H · S · ROSS ·

The school-house at Oka is a simpler edition of the same design. It has no verandah, but widespreading eaves and a snow platform and stair to the front door. It had originally pilasters at the angles—one still remains though rather damaged. The manner in which the stone chimneys are taken through the wood gables should be noted.

The presbytery at Point Claire is a stone-walled house with an added verandah. The presbytery at Ste. Adele is a framed building of the same pattern but with broad eaves and gallery only and no verandah posts.

With the exception of the Manoir Mauvide, which is quite evidently a *gentil-hommière*, this group of houses show clearly the "large cottage" character of the majority of French-Canadian houses up to the last years of the eighteenth century. But, after this, many of the houses show English or American classic influence. The house of Simon McTavish in Montreal, built in 1786 is stated in the bill of sale to be "in the English taste". This is the earliest actual date which we can find for this tendency. By the early years of the nineteenth century it was well established and more or less classic mansions were being erected throughout the province, though the Canadian house has never altogether died out.

The Berthelet Manor at Ste. Geneviève on the Island of Montreal is an interesting example of English features in a French design. We do not know its exact date but it must be from the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a one-storey cottage of fine dressed stone set upon a full height basement. The roof is of low pitch, hipped and with a very large and elaborate eaves cornice projecting some four feet all round. The windows and doors are symmetrically placed and are covered by elliptical arches. Round the house at the main floor level is a gallery supported by posts to the ground, with an interlaced wood railing and wooden pots, or finials on the posts. The segmental arches and the details of the woodwork show the influence of the late eighteenth century Adam school, yet the main form is Canadian. The house was recently restored and has now lost its original character and it was unfortunately impossible to make a full examination of it before restoration.

The Archambeau house at l'Assomption is English in its general form, plan and details. But the strongly overhanging eaves cornice, the casement windows opening inwards and the platform at the door are equally French-Canadian.

The de Salaberry house at Chambly was built shortly after 1812. This is a Georgian house and could easily be matched in Virginia. There are many such in the province.

The de Bleury Manor at Saint Vincent de Paul, built between 1827 and 1857 is a very charming little holiday house. It is one storey high, with delicate classic porticos to front and back. The tradition here is English of the Adam School. This house has recently been pulled down. A similar classic tradition is evident in the manor at St. Andrews, where the classic portico extends along the whole front.

In Longueuil there stood until recently a very attractive little house of mixed tradition. It too has been pulled down. The front was typical Georgian with a

little "Venetian" window over the arched front door and a pedimental gablet in the roof above it. But the windows are the regulation French casement type. It was exactly such a house as one might meet on an English sampler.

The Seminary of Quebec has two vacation houses, one for the use of the Grand Séminaire at Petit Cap, the other where the boys of the Petit Séminaire spend their vacations, at la Canadière near Quebec, known as le Château de Maizerets.¹ They are very simple buildings of rubble stone, plastered, with big steep pitched roof, hipped at the ends. Such quality as they have they owe entirely to their proportions, for ornament they have none. Maizerets was built in 1778, after an older building had been destroyed by fire; Petit Cap must be of about the same date. The architectural form is that of the Manoir Mauvide, a simple version of French seventeenth century renaissance.

This type was in general use throughout the eighteenth century in Quebec for large buildings. The old mill at Deschambeau and the Moulin du Crochet² at Laval des Rapides show it in use in purely utilitarian structures. It is the great roof which gives dignity to such buildings. The Moulin du Crochet was built by the Seminary of Quebec and was pulled down some years ago.

¹ Maizerets. See P. G. Roy, *Vieux Manoirs*, p. 246.

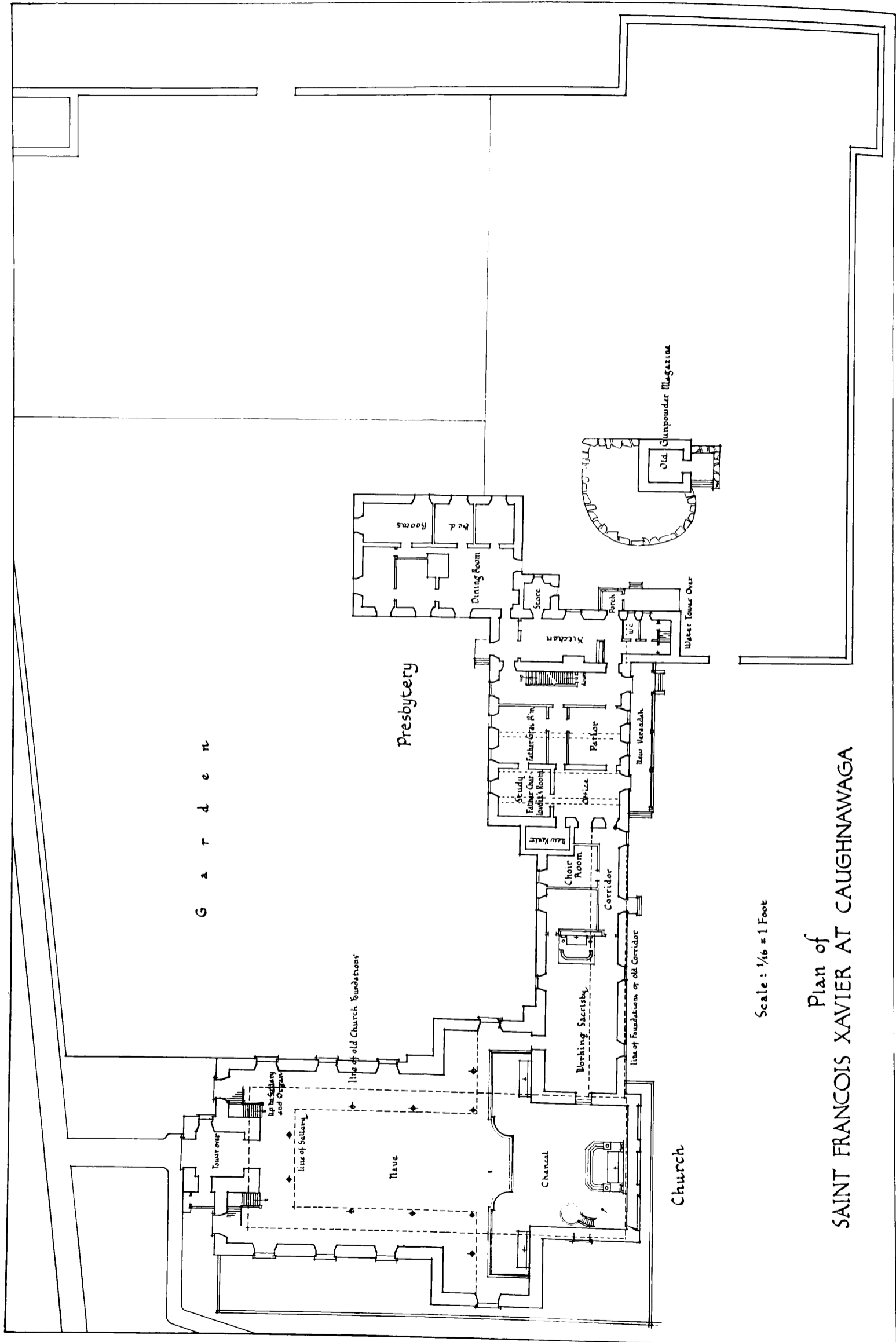
² Roy, P. G., *Vieux Manoirs*, p. 30.



The Langlois Manor, Portneuf



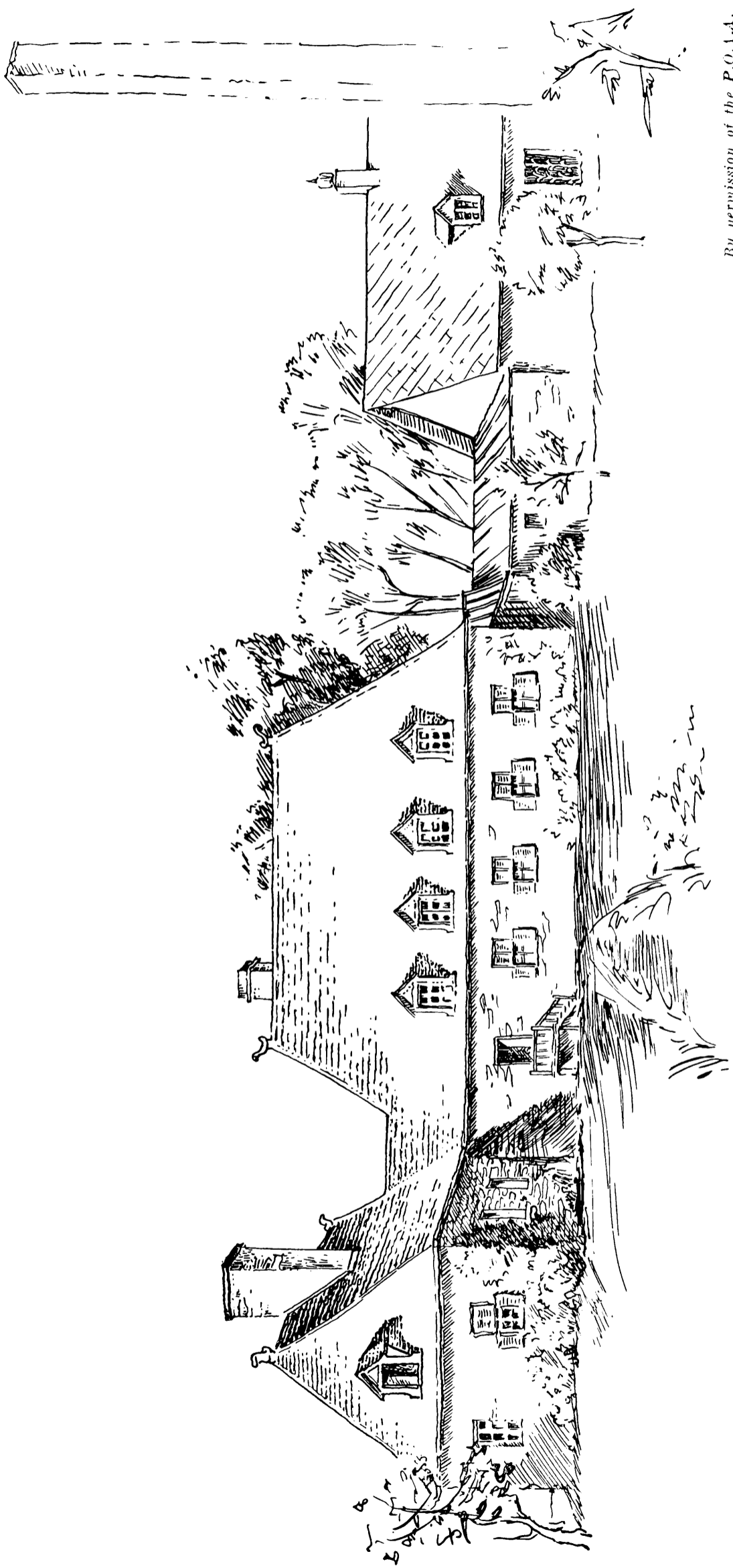
The School-house, Parc Laval, Montreal



Scale : 1/16" = 1 Foot

Plan of
 SAINT FRANCOIS XAVIER AT CAUGHNAWAGA

By permission of the P. O. S. I.



By permission of the P.O. Ltd.

The Presbytery, Caughnawaga, from a sketch by H. McEvers



Old photo

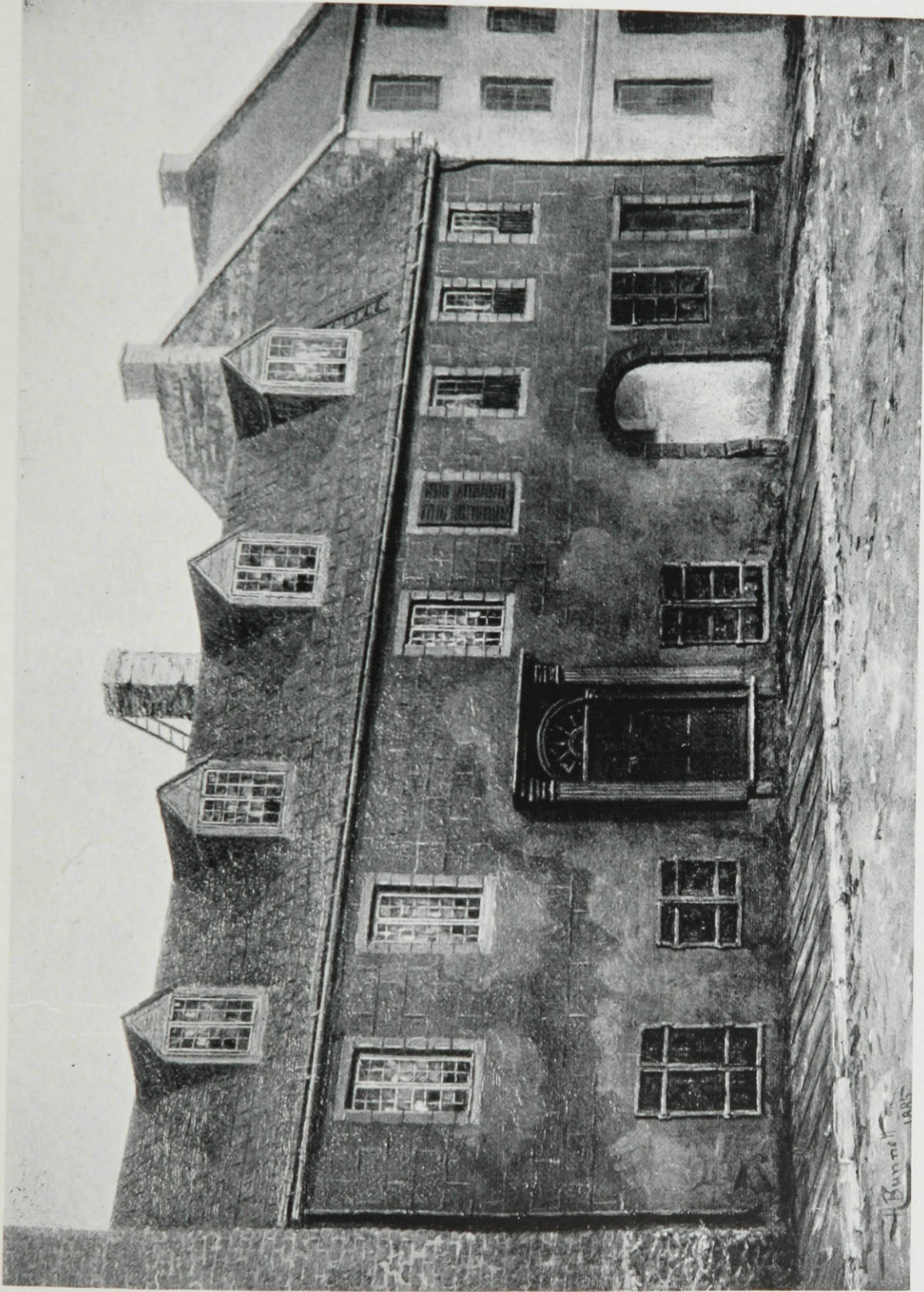
The Presbytery, Pointe Claire



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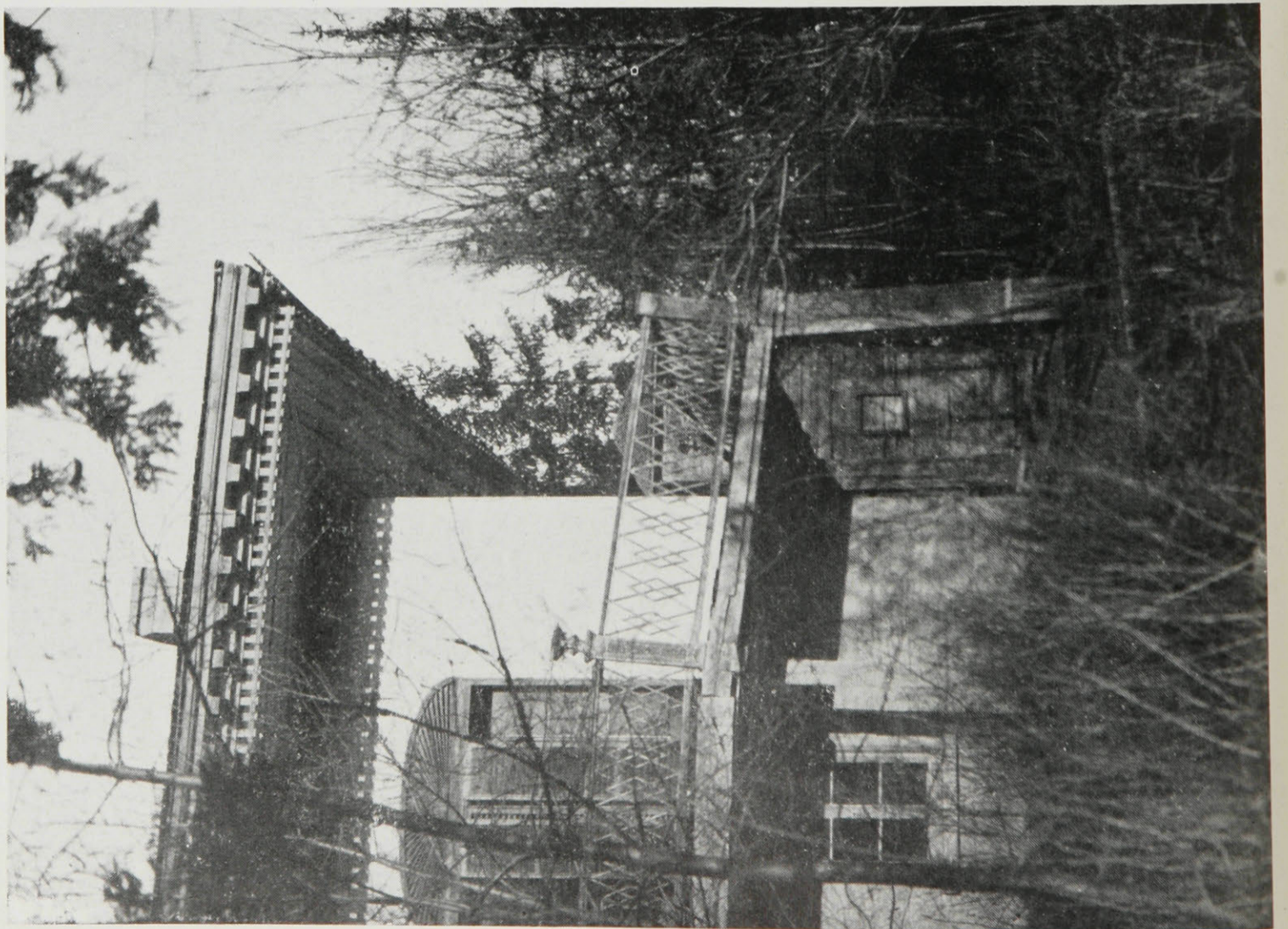
The Presbytery, Ste. Adele

PLATE XXXVII



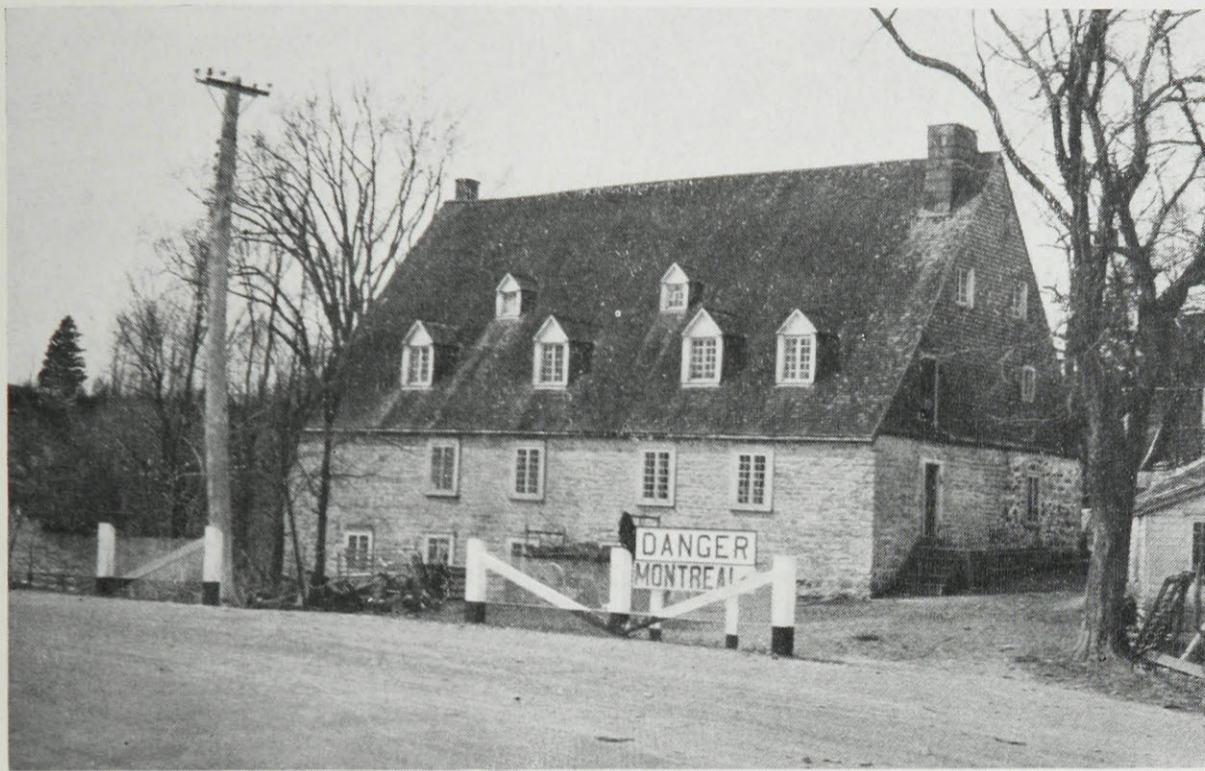
The House of Simon McTavish, Montreal. From a painting by H. Bunnett in the McCord Museum

PLATE XXXVIII



The Berthelet Manor House, Ste. Geneviève

PLATE XXXIX



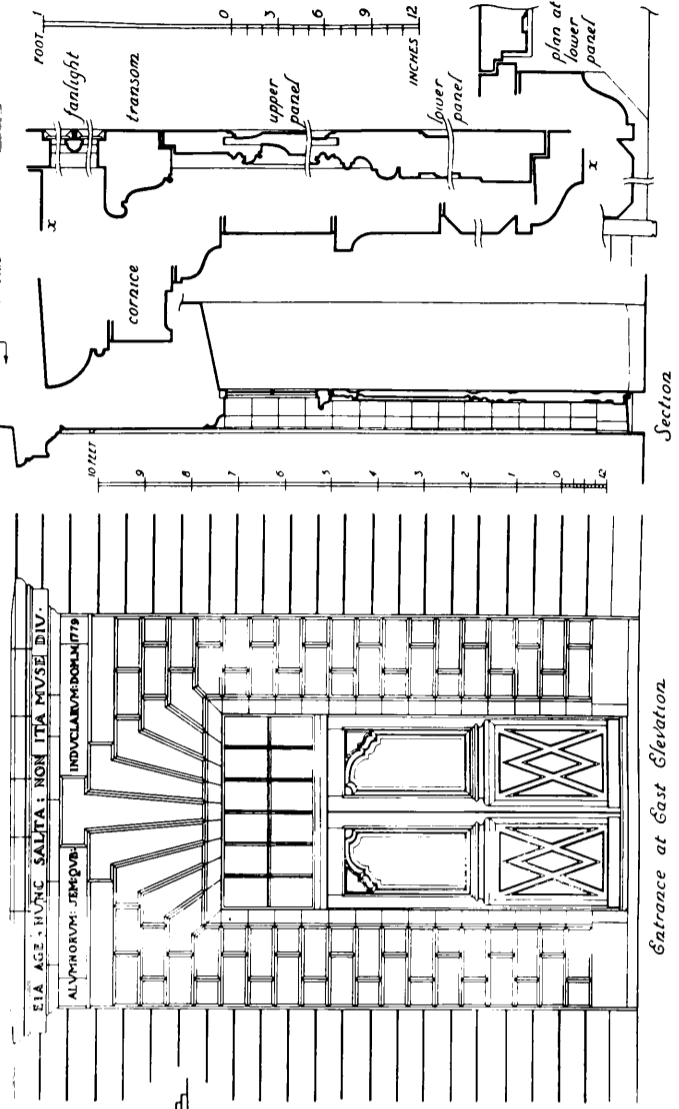
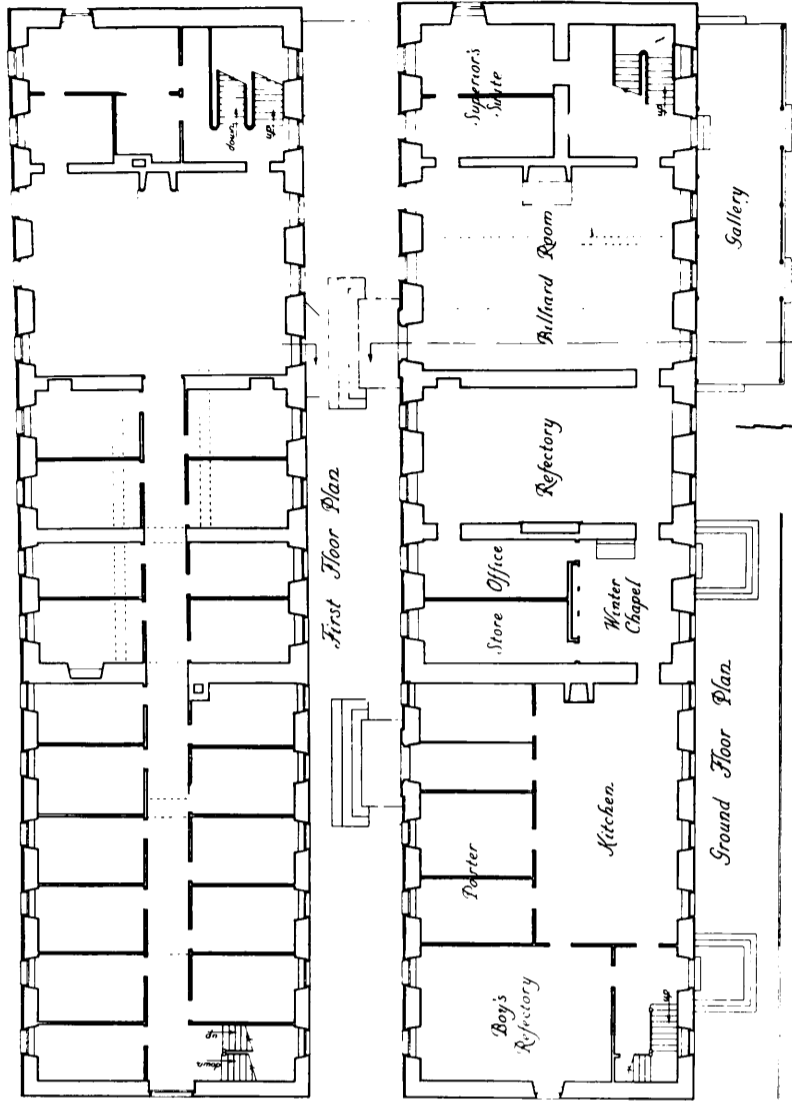
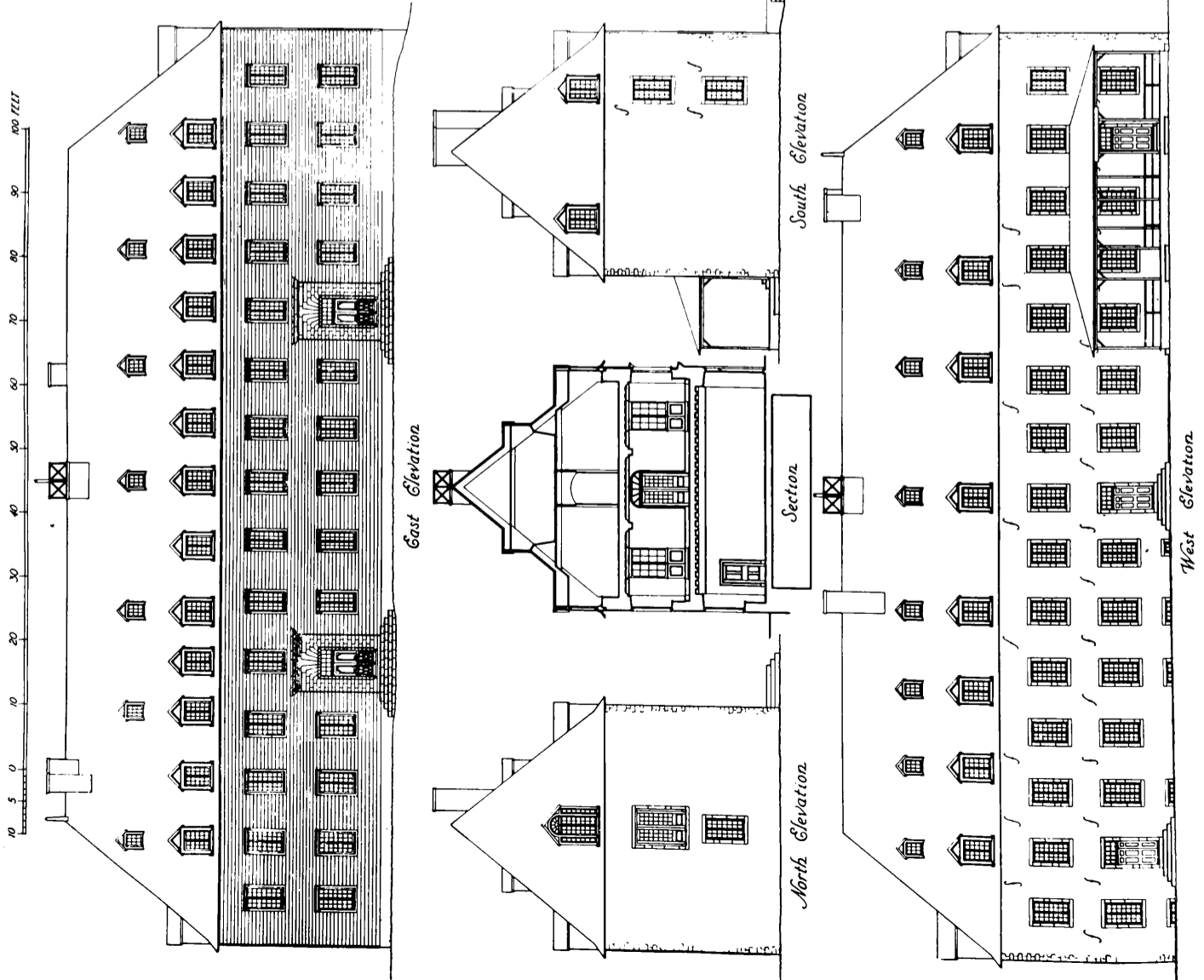
The Gaudreau Mill, Deschambeau



The Moulin au Crochet, Laval des Rapides

PLATE XL

The CHATEAU BELLEVUE at PETIT CAP, PROV. of QUEBEC



CHATEAU BELLEVUE at PETIT CAP
 BY PERMISSION OF THE P.C.S.A.
 SERIES 1940
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View of the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire - Built in Commemoration of the raising the Siege, ending with the Surrender in 1760. Drawn on the Spot by Rich^d Short Engraved by A. Bennett. Vue de l'Eglise de Notre Dame de la Victoire - Bâtie en l'honneur de la levée du Siège, en finissant en 1760. Dessinée sur le Terrain par Rich^d Short Gravée par A. Bennett.

The Public Archives of Canada

The Church of Nôtre Dame de la Victoire



View of the Treasury and Jesuits' College. Drawn on the Spot by Rich^d Short. Engraved by C. Grignon. Vue de la Trésorerie, ou du Collège des Jésuites. Dessinée sur le Terrain par Rich^d Short Gravée par C. Grignon.

The Public Archives of Canada

View of the Treasury and Jesuits' College

CHAPTER VI

TOWN AND PUBLIC BUILDING

BY THE year 1660 Quebec was a little town. The lower town where the merchants lived along the river-side was laid out in regular streets and houses were being built in continuous rows with heavy partition gables between them. On the upper plateau, reached by the steep and winding rue de la Montagne, were the fort, the parish church, the Jesuit College, the Ursuline convent, the Hôtel Dieu and a few farmhouses. The celebrated Indian village was at the top of the rue de la Montagne, where now stands the Post Office. As yet the ground was open; there was hardly a street in the upper town before 1730 or 1740.

We do not know what kind of buildings lined these early streets, either in Quebec or Montreal. They were apparently wood-framed houses of one or two storeys with here and there a stone building. The fire regulations of 1673¹ suggest that wooden houses were allowed provided that they had masonry partition gables but the ordonnance of 1727 requires (by inference), stone houses of two storeys with roof of slate or ferblanc. But we do not know how strictly these regulations were observed and they only apply to the lower town.

On the capture of Quebec, in 1760, Admiral Saunders instructed Mr. Richard Short, Purser of H. M. S. *Prince of Orange*, to make a series of drawings of the town. *Twelve Views of the Principal Buildings in Quebec* was published in London. These twelve engravings are the first really reliable record of old Quebec; Short was a trained topographical artist and we may rely upon the accuracy of his drawings.

The city was in bad shape after the siege. The lower town was destroyed; it is said that only one house was left, the rest were reduced to stone walls and gables. But Short drew the ruins carefully and from them we can form a very good idea of the appearance of the town in the mid-eighteenth century. The upper town was not so badly damaged. The parish church was a ruin and some of the houses were burnt out. But, though there were a good many holes in the roofs, the important buildings were not beyond repair. The Intendance does not seem to have been much injured. The Jesuit College and the Récollet Church though damaged were not burnt. The Ursuline convent and the Hôpital Général were only slightly damaged.

Short gives one view of the lower town. It shows the church of Nôtre Dame des Victoires with the houses and streets on each side of it. The streets seem to

¹ See Chap. I.

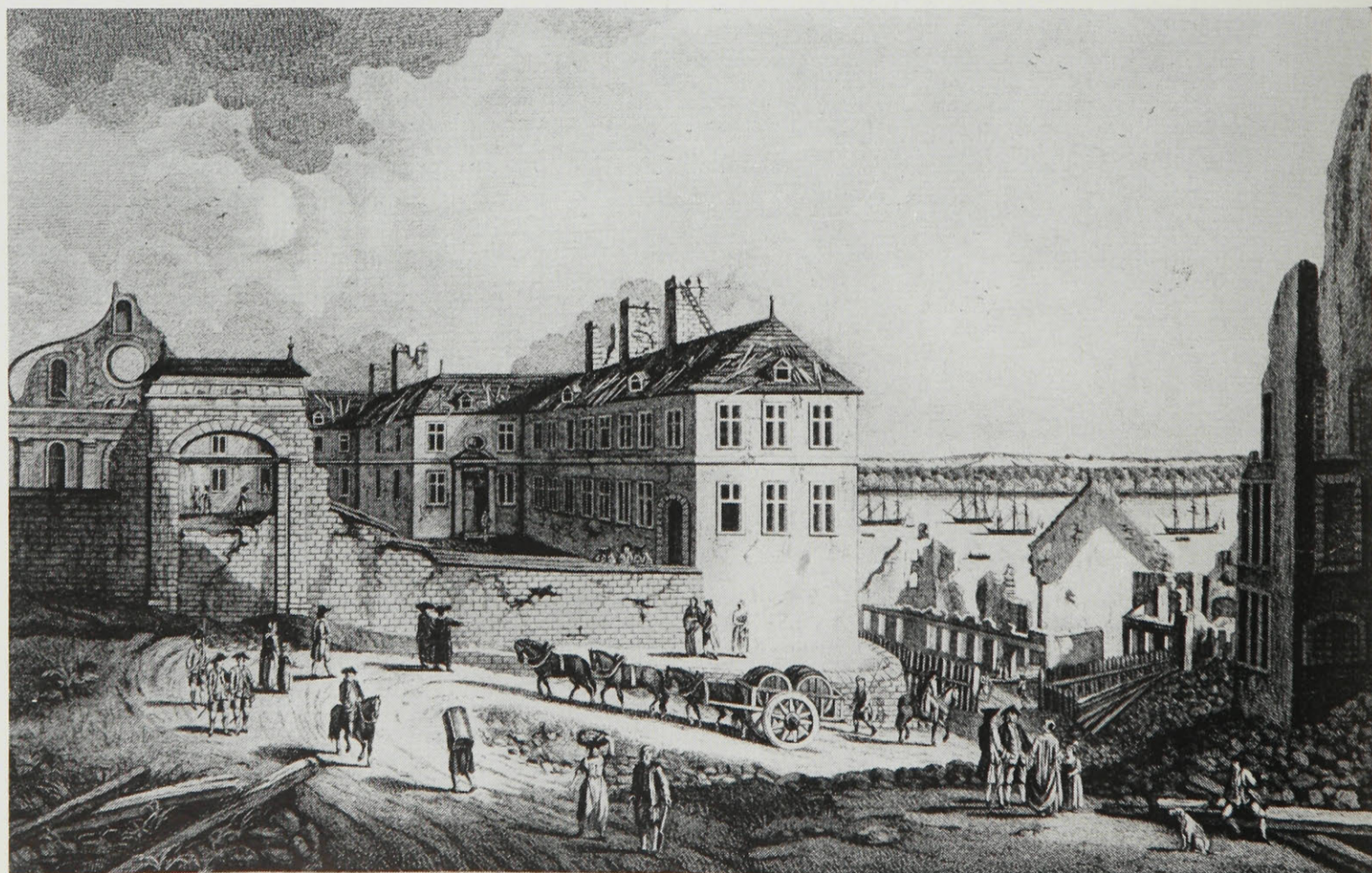
PLATE XLII
DRAWINGS OF QUEBEC IN 1760 BY RICHARD SHORT



View of the Intendant's Palace *Vue du Palais de l'Intendant*
 Drawn on the Spot by Rich^d Short Engraved by William Elliott
 Published according to the Act of Parliament in 1794 by R. Short and sold at the Office of the General Post Office in London

A View of the Intendant's Palace

The Public Archives of Canada



View of the Bishop's House with the Ruins as they appear in going down the Hill from the Upper to the Lower Town *Vue du Palais Episcopal et de ses Ruines ainsi qu'elles paroissent en descendant de la Colline de la Haute-Ville à la Basse-Ville*
 Drawn on the Spot by Rich^d Short Engraved by J. Ferguson
 Published according to the Act of Parliament in 1794 by R. Short and sold at the Office of the General Post Office in London

A View of the Bishop's Palace

The Public Archives of Canada

be unpaved with no sidewalks. The houses are of two or three storeys, of stone with cut stone margins to doors and windows, and are separated by massive stone gables in which are the chimneys.

Today one eighteenth century house still remains in the lower town. The Fargues house, No. 92 St. Peter Street, was built about 1784, but the type had not changed since the days before the siege. This was the kind of house that lined the streets of old Quebec.

The "View of the Treasury and Jesuits' College" in the upper town shows the junction of the rue St. Joseph and the rue de la Fabrique. The street is partially paved and down it runs an open gutter, public sewers had not yet been thought of. On the left is the Treasury, a two-storeyed building with an escutcheon of France on its wall, it was apparently a plastered building with door and window dressings of cut stone. The rest of the street had houses of one or two storeys high, some of them are simply cottages.

The "Intendant's Palace" which stood at the north east corner of the city, was a long, low building of two storeys high with a central flèche and pedimented wings. In the centre a small horseshoe stair led to a rusticated door. The walls were plastered, with plain stone dressings to the windows. No trace remains today of this building. The Château St. Louis, the residence of the Governor, was not included in Mr. Short's drawings; it stood inside the fort, on the edge of the cliff overlooking the river, where the Durham terrace is today and was, to judge by the few sketches which have come down, a building very like the Intendance, but with a central pedimented bay as well as the side pediments. It was chiefly famous for the view from the terrace looking down the river. Heriot, writing in 1807, tells us that the "apartments are spacious and plain".²

The Bishop's Palace of 1760 stood on the high ground above Mountain Street where now is a public garden. It was an irregularly planned two storey building forming two sides of a courtyard. The architect was Claude Baillif. The building was begun shortly before 1690 when a contract was made with:—

"Claude Baillif, entrepreneur de bâtiments, de cette ville, lequel entreprend tous les ouvrages de maçonnerie pour parachever le portail commencé de la cour du palais épiscopal." This portal had a tuscan order and was made to a design signed by both parties.³ A glimpse of it appears on Short's view of the palace. It had a pilaster order and was surmounted by a curved gable. For the rest the Palace was as plain as the Château.

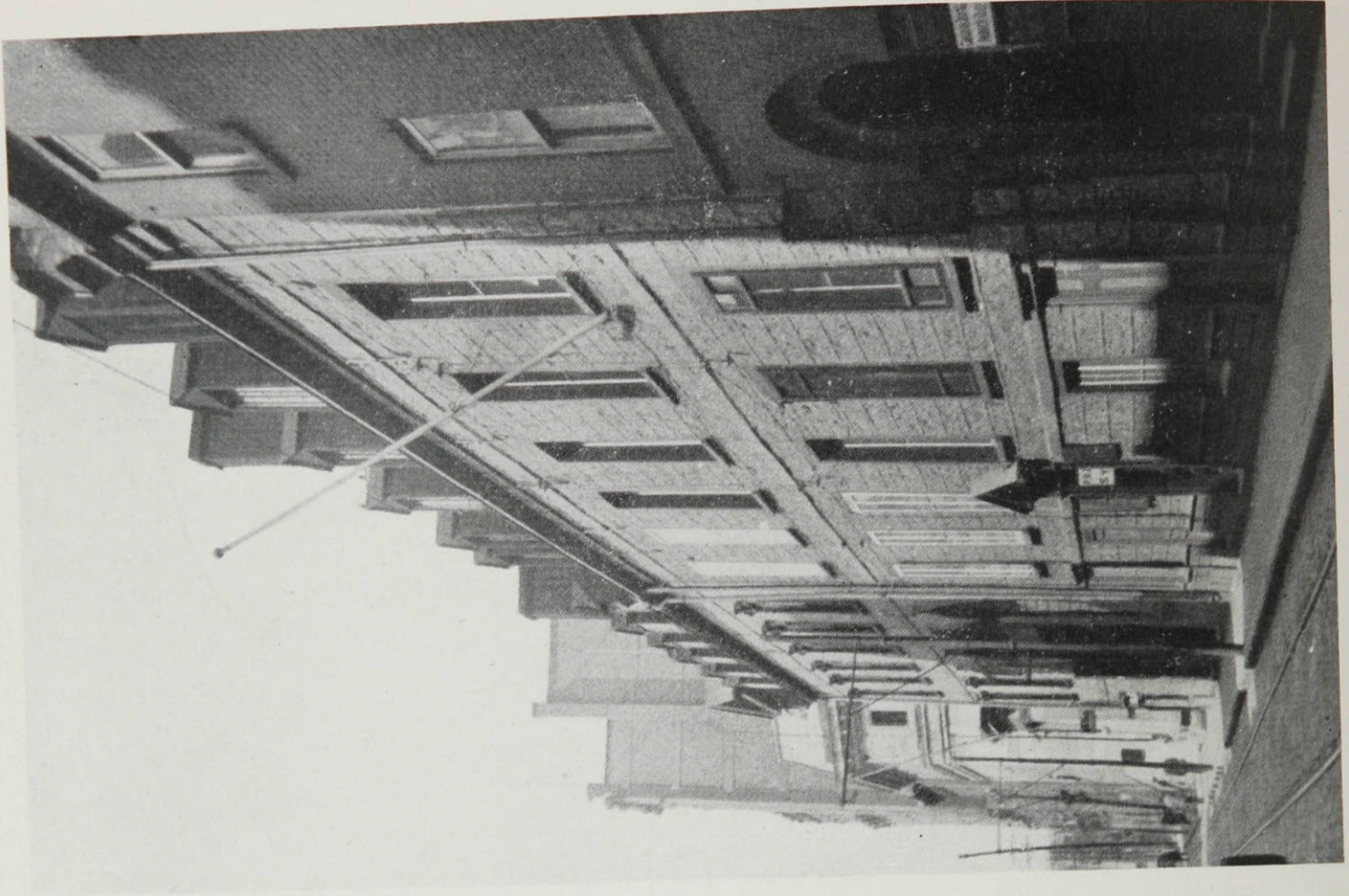
The Jesuit College stood on the market-place opposite to the Basilica, on the site now occupied by the City Hall. It was built about 1730 and pulled down in 1877.⁴ It was a large square building of two storeys and a basement, built round a central court. It was of the same rather bare architecture as the Palace and the Château, a doric porch with a pediment at the front door was its sole decoration. The church was a cruciform building with a central spire and was attached to the

² Heriot, George, *Travels Through the Canadas*, London, 1807.

Têtu, *Le Palais Épiscopal de Québec*, p. 81.

³ A photograph was published in *La Nouvelle Abéille* of Jan. 1933. (Organe de l'association des Anciens Élèves du Petit Séminaire de Québec.)

PLATE XLIII



The Fargues House, 92 St. Peter Street, Quebec

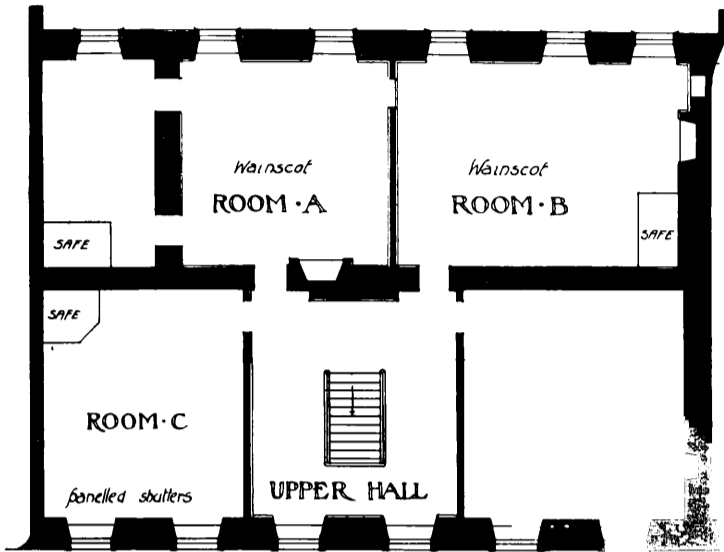


The Old Presbytery of the Basilica, Quebec

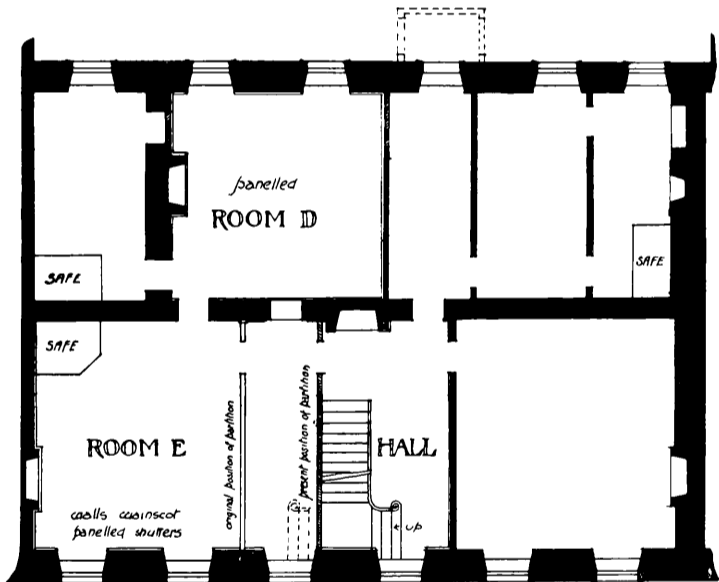
PLATE XLIV
THE FARGUES HOUSE

Nº 92 ST. PETER STREET.
QUEBEC ° PLANS AND ELEVATIONS

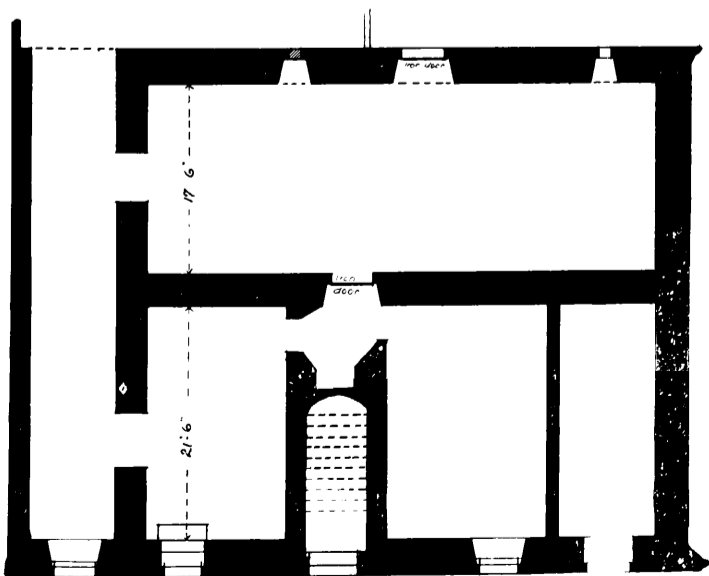
The temporary partitions, dividing many of the rooms, have been omitted on this drawing
The letters on the rooms are for reference to the drawings of details



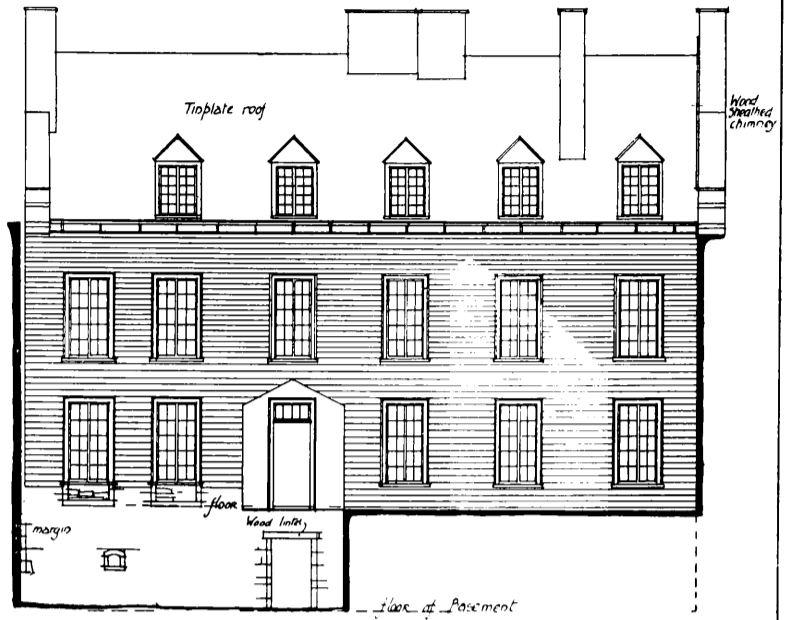
UPPER FLOOR PLAN



MAIN FLOOR PLAN



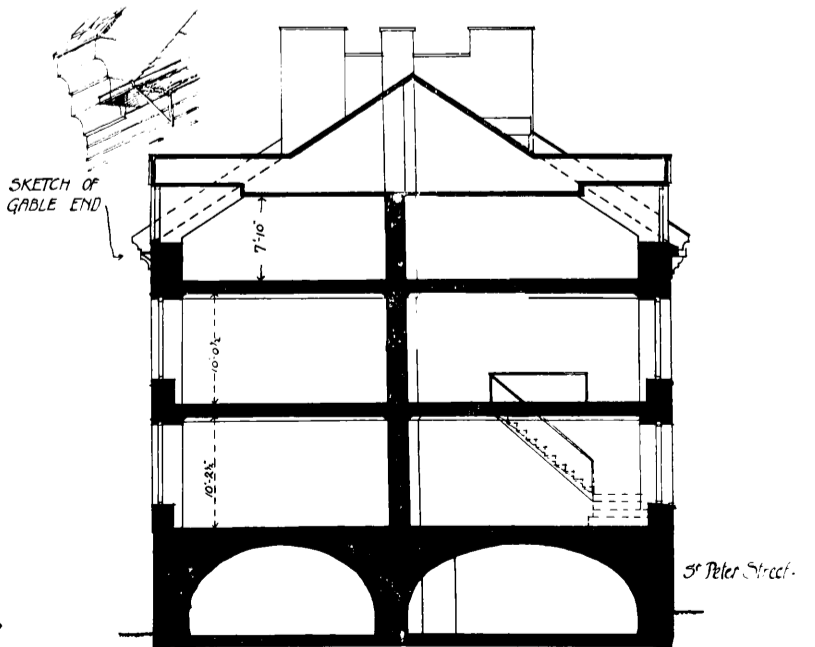
BASEMENT PLAN



BACK ELEVATION



FRONT TO ST PETER ST



CROSS SECTION





The Public Archives of Canada

A View of the Jesuits' College and Church, Quebec, by Richard Short



Photo. E. Garipey, Montreal

Old Notre Dame, Montreal, from a painting by Georges Delfosse

south-western angle of the college. The façade was, for Quebec, ornate with a pilaster order in two storeys framing panels, and a rose window above the door.

This façade recalls that of the parish church of Nôtre Dame de Montreal, designed in 1721 by Chaussegros de Léry. It too had superimposed orders of doric pilasters.⁵

Until well into the nineteenth century Montreal was a smaller and less important place than Quebec. It never seems to have had any public buildings of any architectural importance and today very little survives from the French regime. The old seminary of St. Sulpice, of which the existing walls date from 1712, is a plain building with only an amusing little clock belfry and an ionic door-porch. The Château de Ramezay is simply a big house. Sproule's well-known drawing of the old parish church, made in 1830, shows some of the houses in the heart of the city. They are of one or two storeys, of stone, with steps leading up to the front door and high fire partition gables.

Joseph Hadfield, writing in 1785, says:—"Most of the houses in the town are built of stone but there are very few elegant buildings. The streets are not paved, which renders the place very disagreeable in bad weather and at all times very painful to the feet from the unevenness. The suburbs are extensive, but the houses in general very mean and mostly built of wood."

Other travellers were more complimentary. One, writing in 1795, tells us that:—

"Montreal is not equal in size to Quebec but has considerably the advantage in point of cleanliness. On the whole Montreal has more the appearance of a middle sized country town in England than any place I saw in America. . . I have seen few places where a veteran officer of moderate income might intrench himself for life better than at Montreal."

A description of the city as it was in 1818 reads:—

"The city was composed of one and two storey houses, very few of three storeys, built with very few exceptions of rubble stone plastered over. All the stores and many of the houses had iron doors and shutters, many buildings had vaulted cellars and many had the garret floored with heavy logs covered with several inches of earth and flat paving stones with a stone staircase outside so that a roof might burn without doing other damage. Four streets leading to the country, St. Mary's, St. Laurent, St. Joseph and St. Antoine, were bordered by houses mostly of wood—one storey."

This is a recollection of fifty years, but it is confirmed by a description written in 1824 by Mr. E. A. Talbot:—⁶

"The streets (of Montreal) are in general very narrow; and to add to the inconvenience which this occasions, the side paths or causeways are rendered almost impassable by a barbarous practice which prevails in every part of the city, of erecting outside the doors wooden steps which project from three to four feet into the streets

⁵ This church was pulled down in 1830, after the present Nôtre Dame was built. The tower remained until 1843. A drawing of the façade is preserved in the Seminary.

⁶ Hadfield's *Diary*, 1785, p. 43.

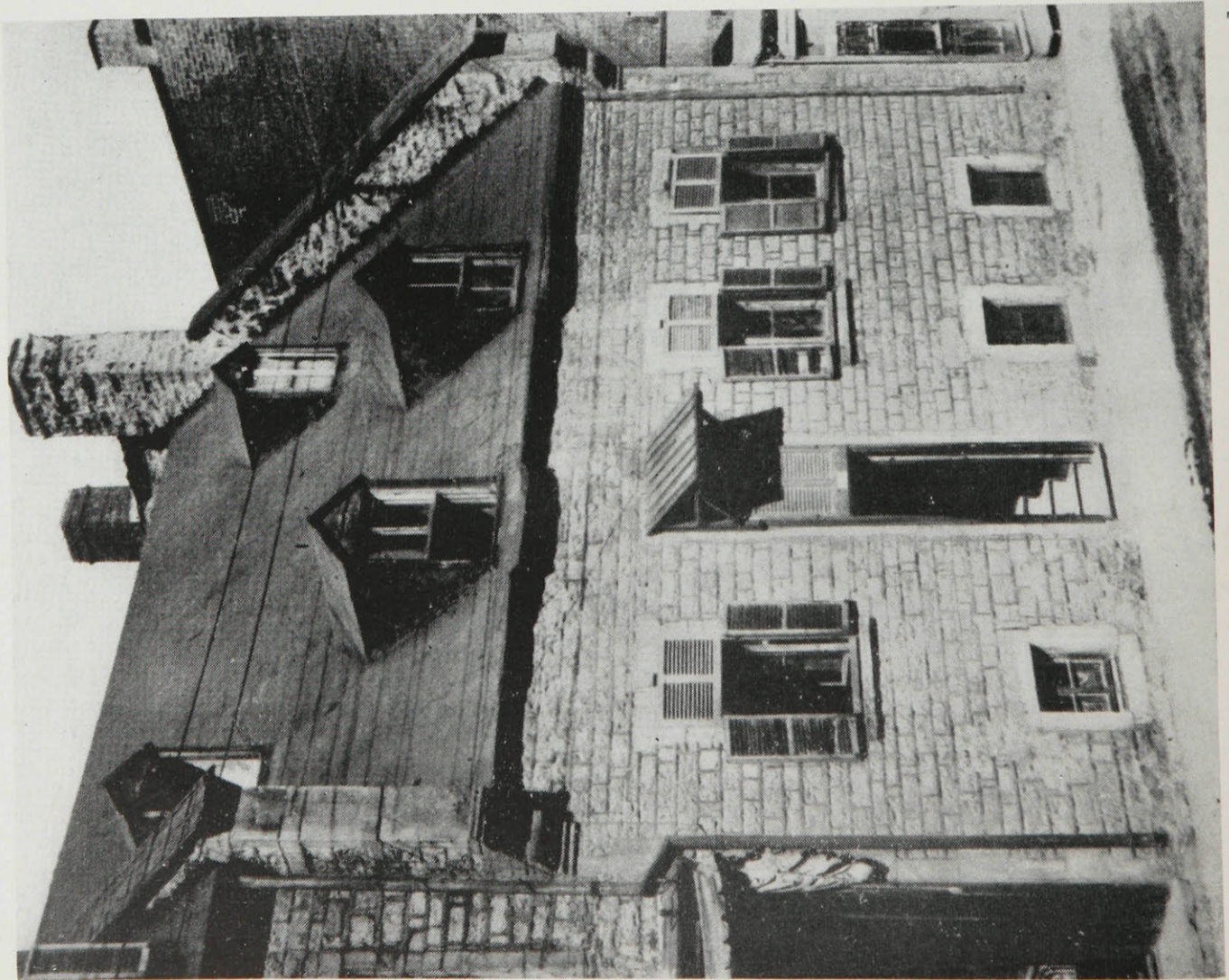
⁷ Brown, T. S., *Montreal 50 Years Ago*, Mont., 1870.

⁸ Talbot, E. A., *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, London, 1824, p. 65.

PLATE XLVI
MONTREAL HOUSES



House in St. Vincent Street. Early nineteenth century. Now destroyed



163 St. Urbain Street. Probably eighteenth century. Now destroyed

. . . The houses are generally built of a durable kind of limestone but those which were erected previous to the late war (of 1812) assume the most forbidding appearance, in consequence of the outer doors and window-shutters being made of strong sheet iron. The use of these massive securities is now so general, and their value so highly appreciated, that scarcely a house can be found without them. They have been adopted to counteract the effects of fire, which in this city frequently rages to the destruction of immense property. It is impossible to walk along the streets of Montreal on a Sunday or other holiday, when the shops are all closed, without receiving the most gloomy impressions. The whole city appears one vast prison."

Mr. Talbot is very gloomy. But Montreal was probably not quite so bad as this. Still, we must not think of either old Montreal or old Quebec as "quaint old towns". The fact is that French-Canadian architecture was not at its best in the cities.

Old Quebec is at its best in the cottage, the manor and the parish church. These were the work of the people, unassisted by academic architects, and passed entirely unnoticed at the time of their creation. Today we are more inclined to trace architecture from the cottage up than were the men of the eighteenth century. They inevitably traced it from the palace down; where there were no palaces there could be no architecture and the palaces of Quebec were not very important.

THE ARCHITECT

By the middle of the seventeenth century we meet the architect in Quebec and Mr. Massicotte has collected a number of references to architects during the French regime.⁹ We also, but rarely, find mention of an architect in early church accounts. For the most part these architects were mason-contractors, who undertook both the design and the construction of a building, but the name is sometimes given to clerics or engineers who, like the modern architect, designed and superintended, but did not build.

A notarial act of 1683 mentions François Bailly and Michel Bouvier as "maîtres architectes maçons" and François de la Joue, who lived in Montreal from 1689 to 1693, is referred to as "maître tailleur de pierre, architect et bourgeois". This must be the same as the Sieur Lajoue, architect, who was instructed by the Intendant in 1702 to report on defective foundations in the church of la Sainte Famille on the Island of Orleans.¹⁰ Le Sieur Lajoue was also architect for the Ursuline chapel in Quebec in 1715. Here he seems to have acted as a consultant, or designer, as the mason was a Sieur Gratis.¹¹

These men were trained as masons like so many of the early architects of the French renaissance. The title architect was given to mason-contractors until the nineteenth century. But there were others who were not masons. Mr. Massicotte cites a Hilaire Bernard de Larivière who died in Quebec in 1729. He was a notary, surveyor and architect. Presumably he was prepared first to negotiate the sale and undertake the measurement of the land, and then to supervise the building upon it.

⁹ B. R. H., 1929, p. 132.

¹⁰ Archives of Ste. Famille, I. O. MSS. of Mr. J. Gagnon, curé in the early XIX century.

¹¹ Ursulines de Québec, Vol. II, p. 112.

Jacques le Blond de Latour, who taught sculpture at the Grand Seminary in Quebec is mentioned as a painter of Bordeaux, as a sculptor and as an architect. He eventually joined the Church and died curé of Baie St. Paul in 1715.¹²

Gédeon de Catalogne has already been mentioned as the architect of the Château Saint Louis. He was a military engineer.

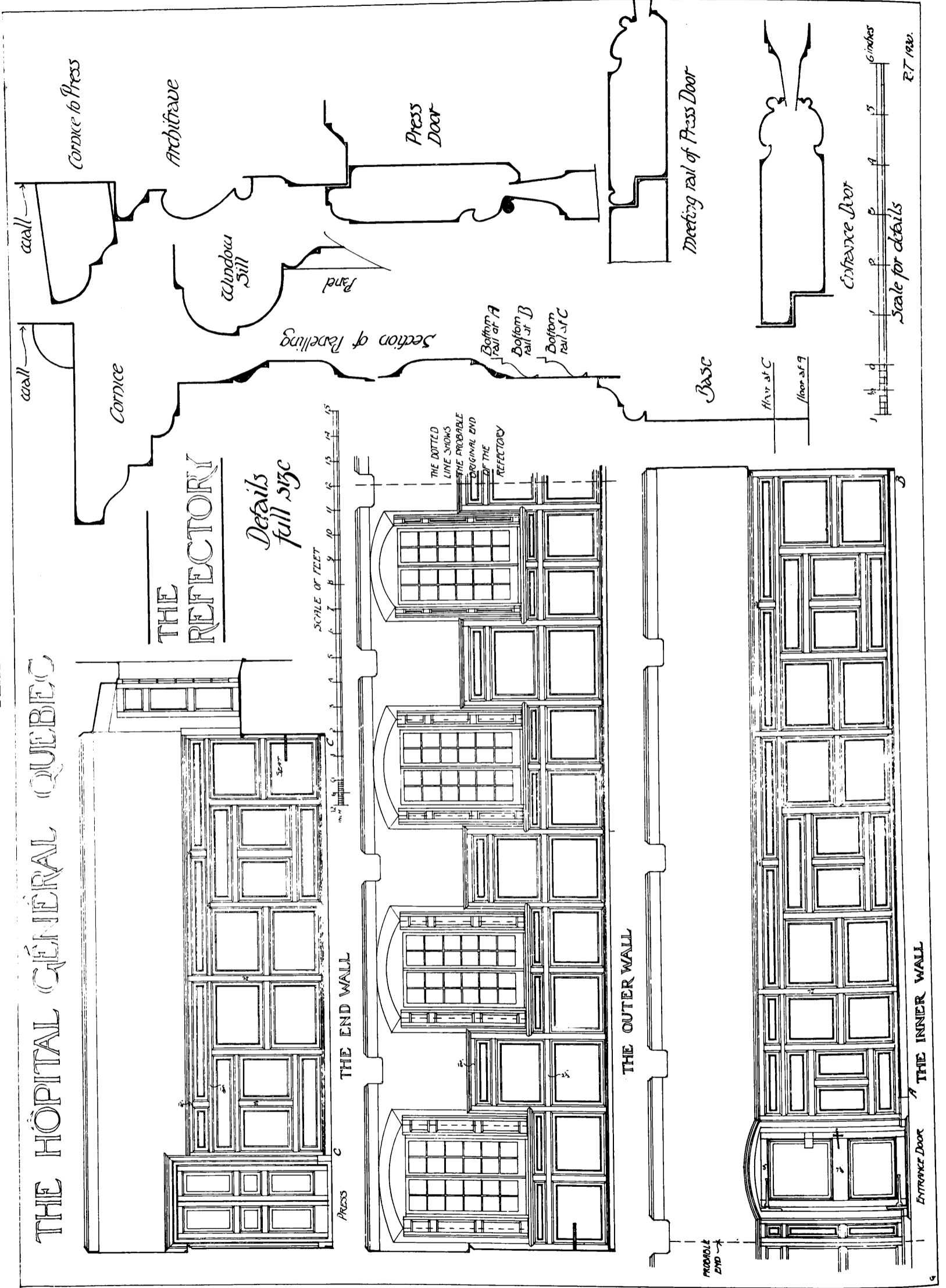
Chaussegros de Léry, "ingenieur du Roy", was also a military engineer. He was a man of good family and held an important public office. He is responsible for the front of old Nôtre Dame at Montreal erected in 1722, and later worked at the Basilica in Quebec. If the front of Nôtre Dame is to be taken as a good example of his quality as an architect, his knowledge and designing abilities were very slight indeed.

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the military engineer was also a "civil" engineer, and an architect. Leonardo Da Vinci and San Michele were military engineers and the English Cathedral at Quebec was designed by two officers of the Royal Engineers. It is a dignified, if not very brilliant building.

Most of the wood-sculptors of Quebec are, in one place or another, given the title of architect. It is not until about the mid-nineteenth century that we meet the architect who is only an architect and, in Quebec, he seems rather to have developed out of the woodcarver. Thomas Baillairgé was a modern architect, but he was also a woodcarver and a painter and came of a distinguished family of woodcarvers. The most interesting and important architectural work of French Canada was in fact designed by the men who executed it, by whatever name they were known. But the idea of an architect responsible for the entire design and supervision of a building from foundation to finish was apparently quite unknown before the mid-seventeenth century.

¹² Gosselin, *L Instruction au Canada*, p. 362.

THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL QUÉBEC



CHAPTER VII

INTERNAL WOODWORK

DESPITE destruction by fire, and the even more effective destruction by man, a considerable amount of fine old woodwork still remains. The woodcarving is confined to the churches and will be taken up later. Here we will consider the panelling and similar fittings in the convents and dwelling-houses.

The material is white pine. It was probably always intended to be painted, the fashion for unpainted woodwork was unknown to the eighteenth century. But, in a few cases, the wood has been left unpainted and has turned with time to a beautiful cool brown with a soft velvety surface.

By 1670 there were good craftsmen in Canada and there can be no doubt that the woodwork we are going to examine was made in the country. White pine, for one thing, was not a common wood in France; panelling, if imported, would probably have been of oak. We know from the historic record that there were good woodworkers in Quebec. A document in the archives of the Seminary dated 1685, says of the school at St. Joachim: "L'on y enseigne actuellement la menuiserie, la sculpture, la peinture, la dorure pour l'ornement des églises, la maçonnerie et la charpente." And Latour, in his *Mémoires de la vie de Mgr. de Laval* writes of the same school "on y trouve en tous genres de fort bons ouvriers." Unless we have clear proof to the contrary we may assume that the old woodwork of Quebec was made in Quebec.

The refectory of the Hôpital Général at Quebec is panelled in pine to a height of six feet, more or less, from the floor. This panelling is one of the furnishings (effets) specifically mentioned in the deed of sale from the Récollet Fathers to Mgr. de Laval in 1692, and there can be no doubt that the panelling still in the refectory is that of the old Récollet monastery. It must have been made between 1670, when the Récollet Fathers returned to Quebec, and 1692 when they sold the buildings. The most probable date is 1678, for it is known that considerable additions were made at that time. This is the oldest woodwork in Canada and the refectory is certainly one of our most beautiful old rooms. The panelling has never been painted; time has turned the pine to a cool dark brown; the walls and beamed ceiling are white, and the lighting from a range of arched windows on one side is simple. The panelling forms a pattern. Below the small cornice is a range of long, narrow panels forming a frieze. Below this groups of four large panels alternate with groups of four, two long and two square. Such patterned panelling is very characteristic of the seventeenth century

¹ Gosselin, l'abbé Amedée, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 349.

PLATE XLVIII
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC

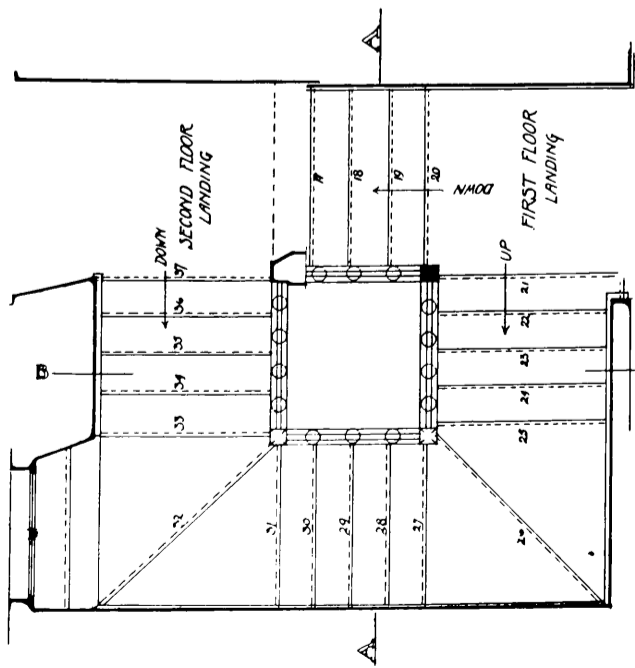


The Stair of St. Augustine

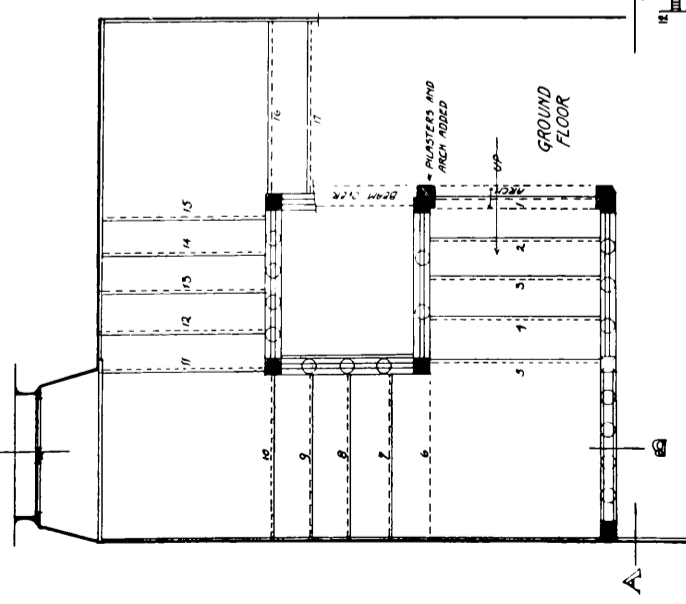
THE URSULINE MONASTERY QUEBEC

THE STAIR OF ST AUGUSTINE

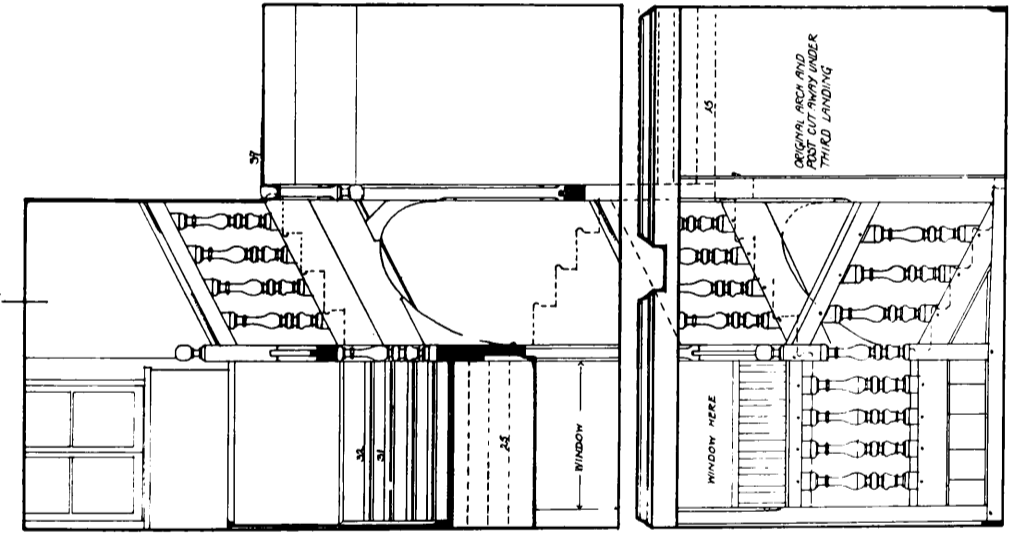
Details to 1/4 full size



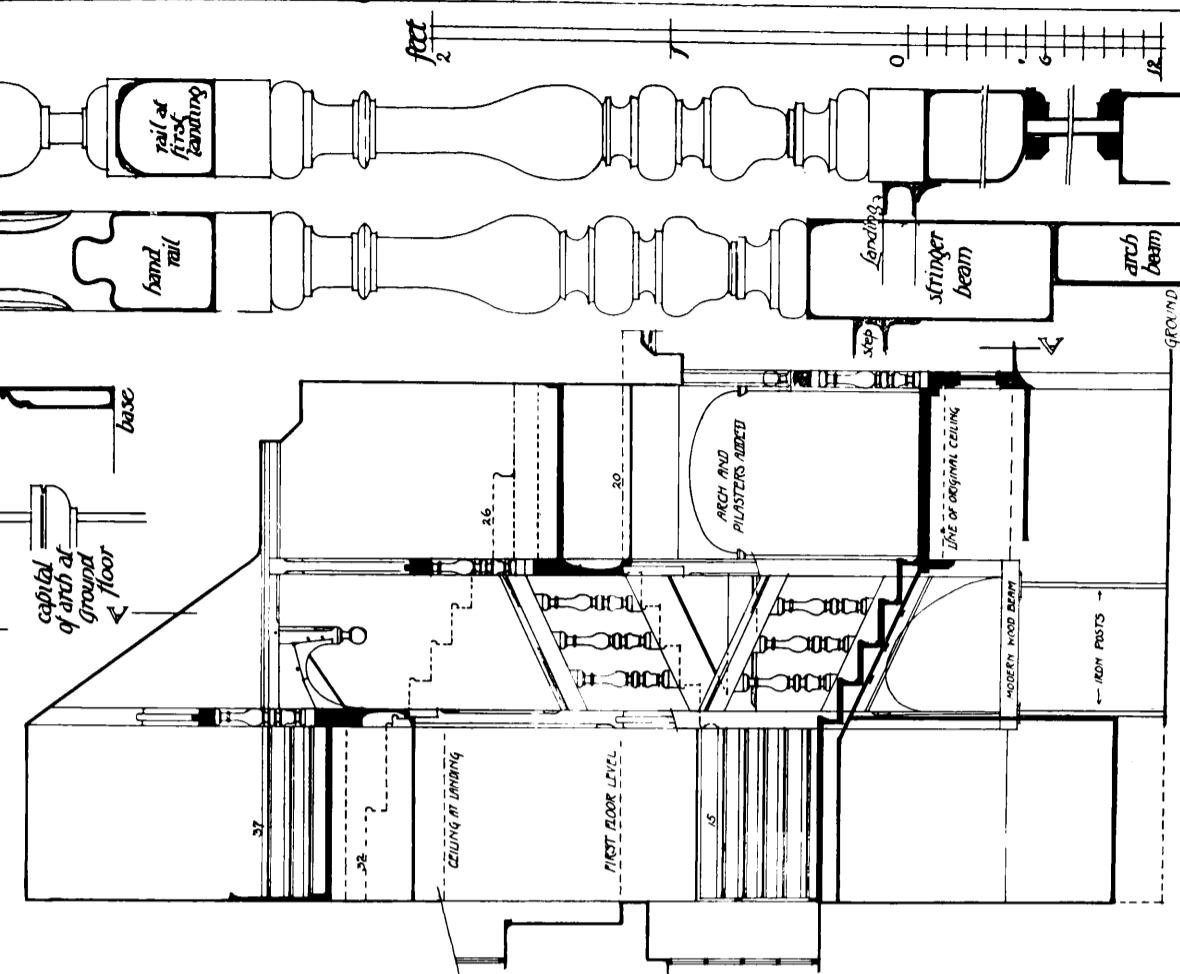
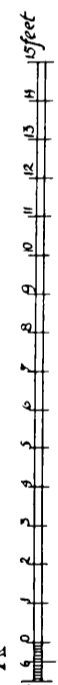
PLAN OF THE UPPER FLIGHT



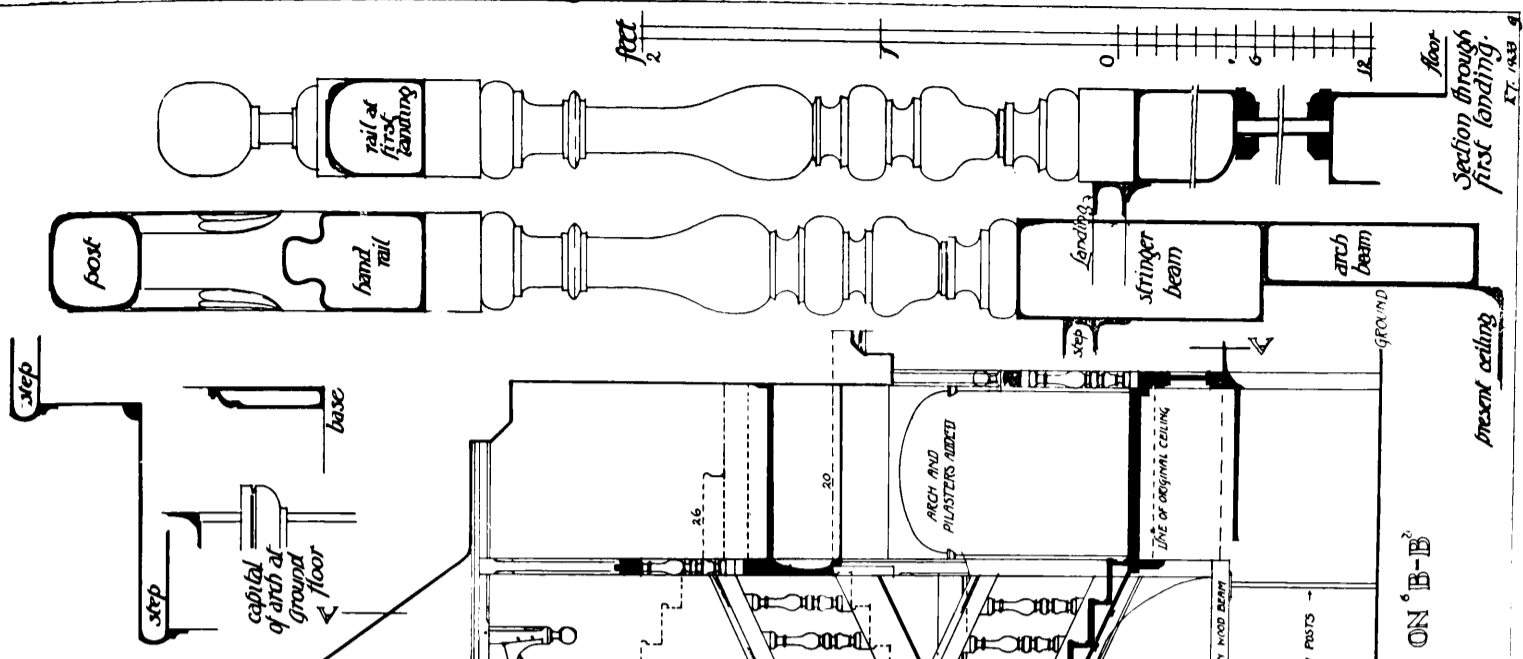
PLAN OF THE FIRST FLIGHT



SECTION ON 'A-A'



SECTION ON 'B-B'

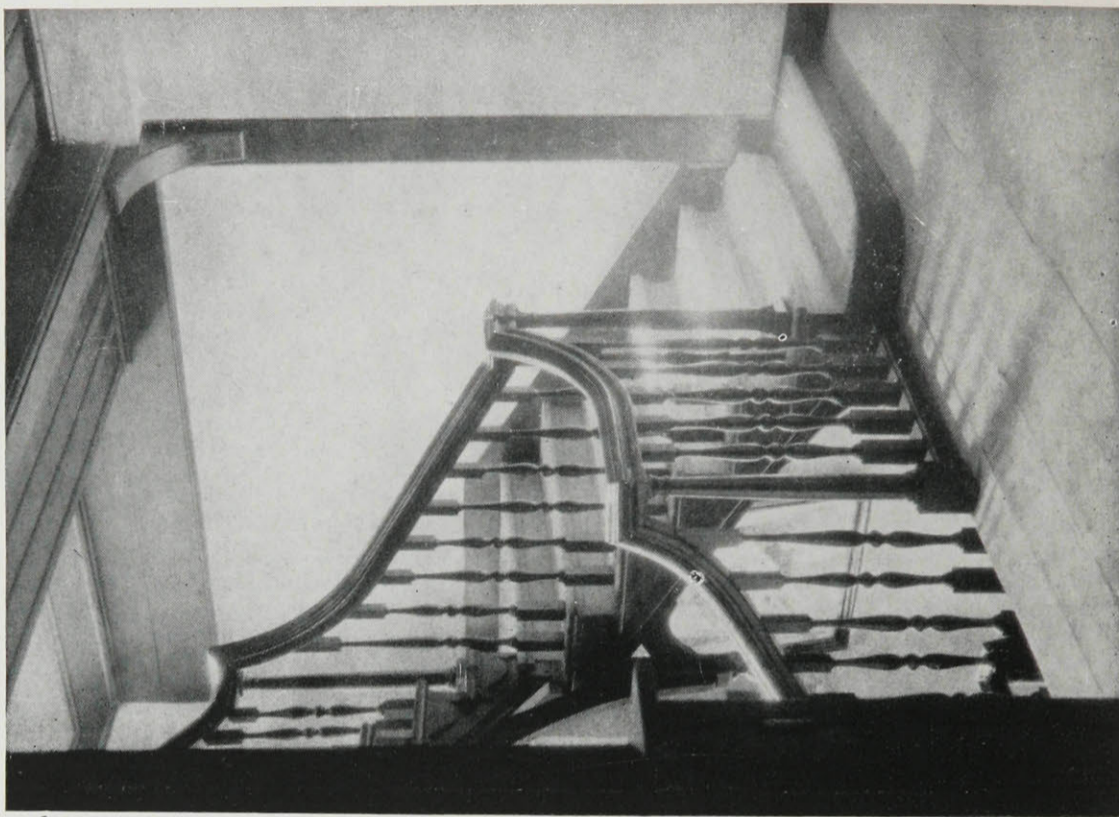


Section through first landing.

PLATE I
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC

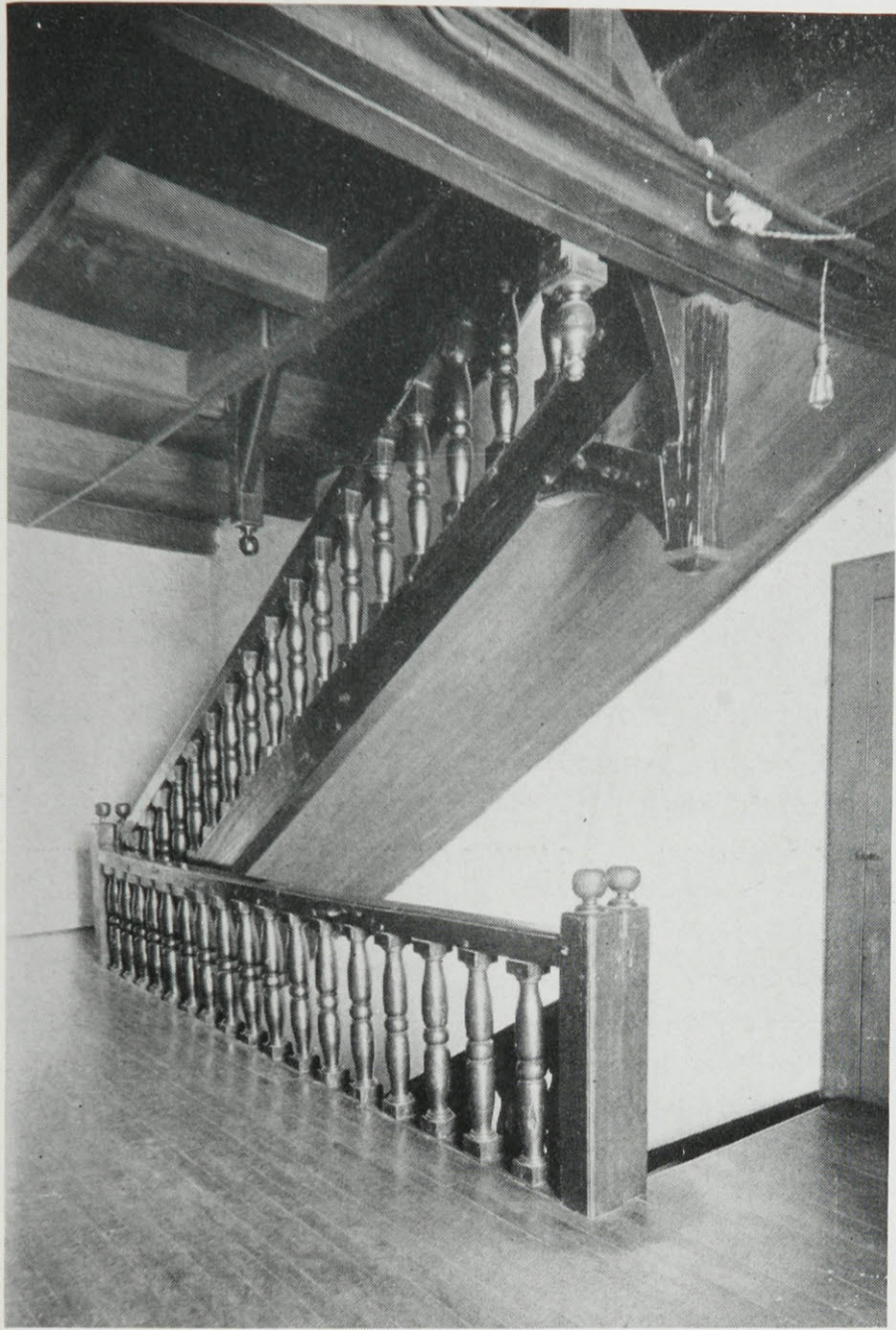


The Staircase

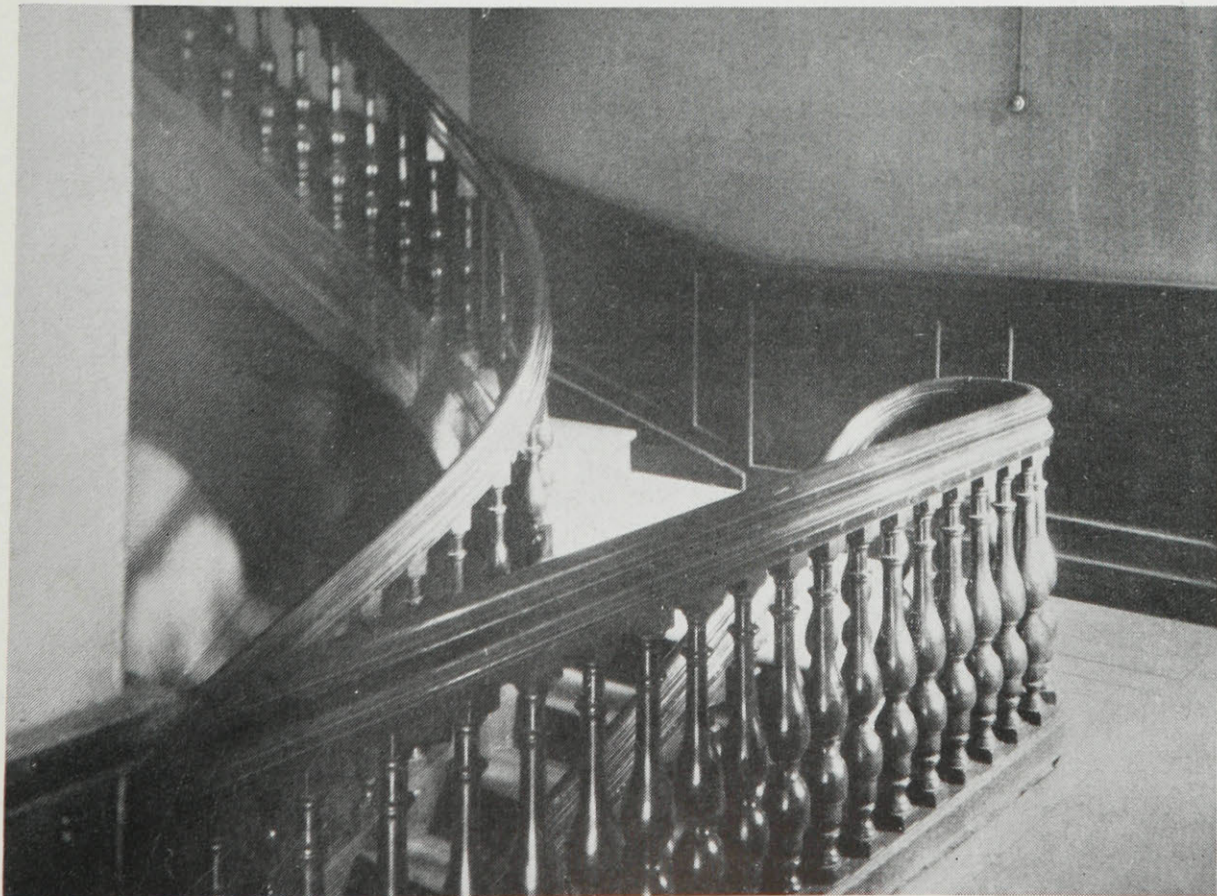


First-floor Landing of the Stair

PLATE LI
TWO EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STAIRCASES IN QUEBEC



The Main Stair in the Hôtel Dieu



St. Joseph's Stair in the Seminary

The panel moulding is a flat ogee with a delicate field moulding which varies in width in the different panels. The stiles and rails also vary, from 2½" to 1¾" broad and this variation is evidently intentional for the narrow panels have a narrow field. The doors are of a later pattern, with an ovolo and bead moulding, and date from the late eighteenth century.

Next in date to this is the oak staircase in the Aile St. Augustin of the Ursuline convent, built in 1686. It is constructed within a square of thirteen feet, winding about a square central well formed by four newels. The stair mounts in straight flights of four steps with a winder in each angle. Between the newels are raking arches of three-inch planks set under the stringers; the balusters are turned from four-inch square posts. Originally the stair was open under the steps but soffit linings of thin boarding and an arched entrance at the foot were added, probably in 1832. The stair is an excellent example of late seventeenth century craftsmanship.

Domestic woodwork of the early eighteenth century is very rare. Much must have perished in the siege of Quebec when practically the whole lower town was burnt. In the Hôpital Général of Quebec is a fine staircase the date of whose construction is not mentioned in the monastery accounts. It was probably made in 1737 when this part of the cloister was remodelled.

The stair rises from the corridor with a sweep of circling steps and swirling balustrade and mounts in straight flights with square angle landings to the second floor. It is of hardwood, birch or maple, and is unpainted. The stringers are cut, with shaped brackets under the steps. The balusters are quite delicately turned, two to each step with heavier doric columns at the angles. The stringers are framed into square newels which project below with acorn drops and raking arches. The cut stringers, the swept handrail and the circled steps at the foot all mark this as eighteenth century work. But the acorn drops and soffit arches are reminiscent of earlier work.

St. Joseph's Stair in the Grand Seminary at Quebec is similar in detail and must be of about the same date. The middle of the eighteenth century was not favourable to building activity, though we have record that the church at Cap Santé was actually being built during the war. But, from about 1770 onwards, there was a revival of the arts. Houses were built and decorated, churches were built and fitted with carving, silversmithing flourished; from 1770 to nearly 1850 is the richest period of French-Canadian woodwork and decoration.

Woodwork during this period follows, in the main, the French models of the mid-eighteenth century, the style Louis Quinze, but with differences which we should expect in a style severed from its native country but developing in Canada as a living tradition. From 1760 onwards there can have been little direct communication with France for some forty or fifty years at any rate; the habitants were not in sympathy with the French revolution and, in consequence, the French population of Canada was, for nearly two generations, isolated to a degree which it never had been before. Under these conditions they carried on their French traditions in architecture and decoration and produced work very free from English influence, very distinctively French but equally distinctively Canadian. Que-

bec woodcarving and decoration from 1760 to the mid-nineteenth century is a survival of the French renaissance at a time when the original models had become historic styles. It was a popular survival, not derived from books nor inspired by scholarly antiquarians, but handed down from master to apprentice, almost to the present day.

Panels usually have shaped heads, often shaped rails also. Fireplaces have lintels curved in plan and in elevation, and are often fitted with panelled "summer doors" which were taken off in winter when a fire was required. Doors are of two, or three panels and often have glazed top panels. Panel mouldings usually have a soft ovolo or ogee with beads or fillets on either side; a field moulding is general. These mouldings are usually cut from the solid but sometimes very heavy mouldings are used, and these are built into the panels. Generally speaking moulding is delicate and well cut, tending to coarsen at the end of the period. Press doors are made overlapping the jambs with a thumb mould and have large pillar hinges. Metal keyhole escutcheons are usual.

As our first example we may take the Fargues house, No. 92 St. Peter Street, Quebec, a house which was built about 1784 by Dame Henriette Guichaux, widow of Pierre Fargues, a Quebec merchant.² Here the staircase hall and the parlour are fully panelled in pine and two of the smaller rooms are wainscotted with panelled mantels.³ This panelling has been a little altered in adapting the house for use as commercial offices but, at the time of examination in 1930, it was still very complete. It is of the same general design throughout the house, a low dado and chair rail above which are triple panels with shaped cross rails. The panelling reaches to the ceiling with a wood cornice, the ceilings are of wood, in long narrow panels resembling wainscot. The shaped heads are all of the same general pattern but adapted to the varying breadth of the panels. In the parlour the narrow panels between the windows are filled with rocaille scroll carving of the type which we associate with the later Levasseur work. Three of the rooms are covered with wainscot, long narrow panels reaching from floor to ceiling and interrupted by a chair rail and moulding. This form of wall covering will be fully considered when we examine the woodwork of the presbytery at Batiscan. The Fargues house is the most perfect example we have of a rich citizen's house of the eighteenth century.

Next we may take the private chapel of Mgr. Olivier Briand in the Seminary. The accounts for this work are in the papers of the Abbé Henri Gravé, the bishop's secretary and executor.⁴ Here we find a receipt for the work:—

"J'ai rescus de Monsieur Gravé pour le rétable de la petite chapelle de	
Monseigneur	1000 li
et pour la croisée double du cabinet de Monseigneur	21 li
Le tout monte à	1021

"Pour aqui à Québec 27 novembre 1786

(Signé) P. Emond."

² Archives of the Seminary, Quebec. Carton B B, Contrat No. 73.

³ A distinction is made here and elsewhere between panelling and wainscot. Strictly speaking wainscot is any wood lining and includes all internal boarding or framed panelling. Here "wainscot" will be used for the wood sheathing of a wall with upright boards, "panelling" will be used for a framed wood covering with stiles and rails filled in with panels.

⁴ Archives of the Seminary, Quebec.

PLATE LII
THE FARGUES HOUSE, 92 ST. PETER ST., QUEBEC



The Parlour

PLATE LIII
THE FARGUES HOUSE, 92 ST. PETER STREET, QUEBEC



Paneling in the Parlour

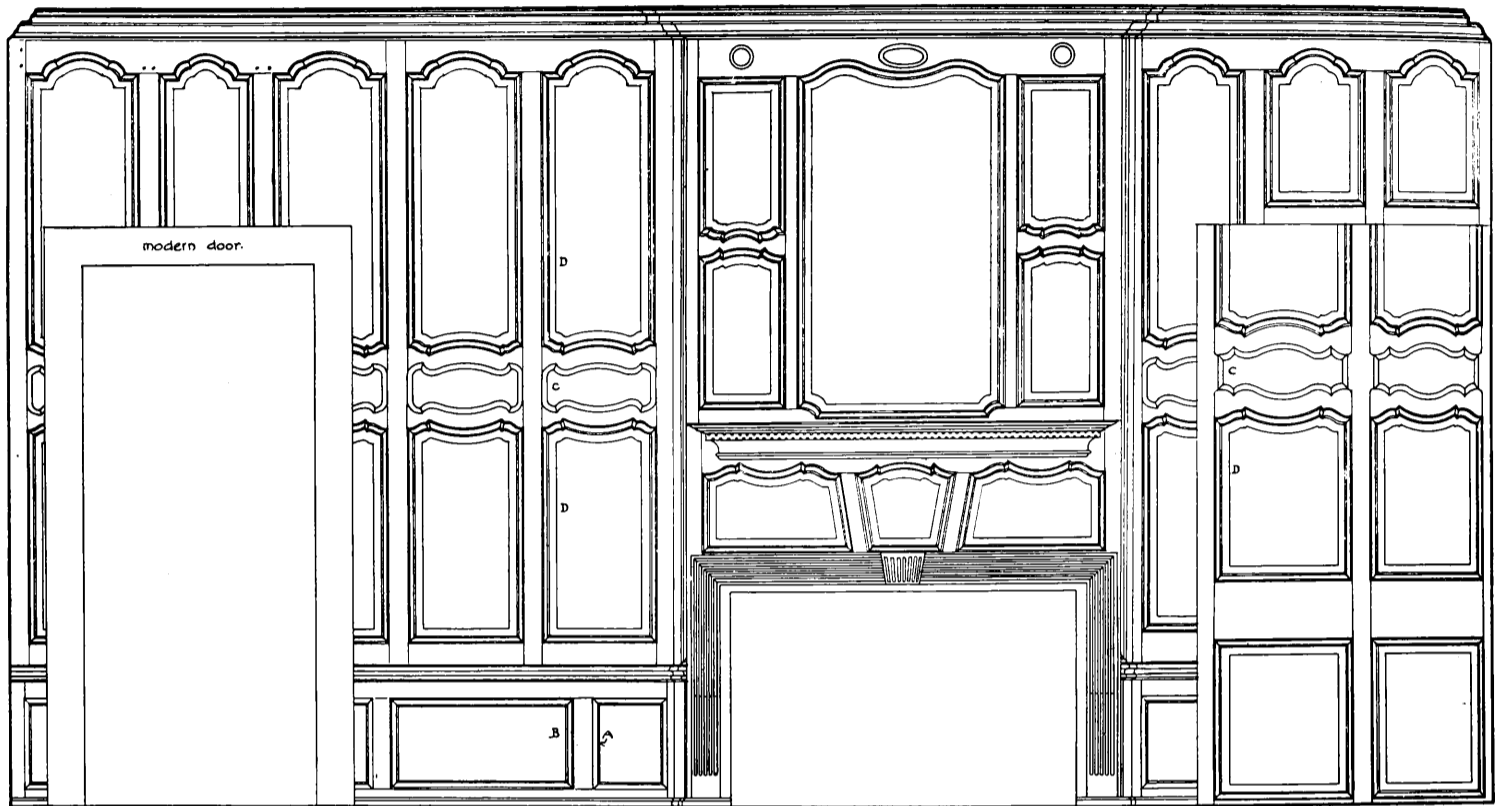


Mantelpiece on the Second Floor

NO 92 ST PETER STREET QUEBEC

PANELLING IN ROOM ·D·

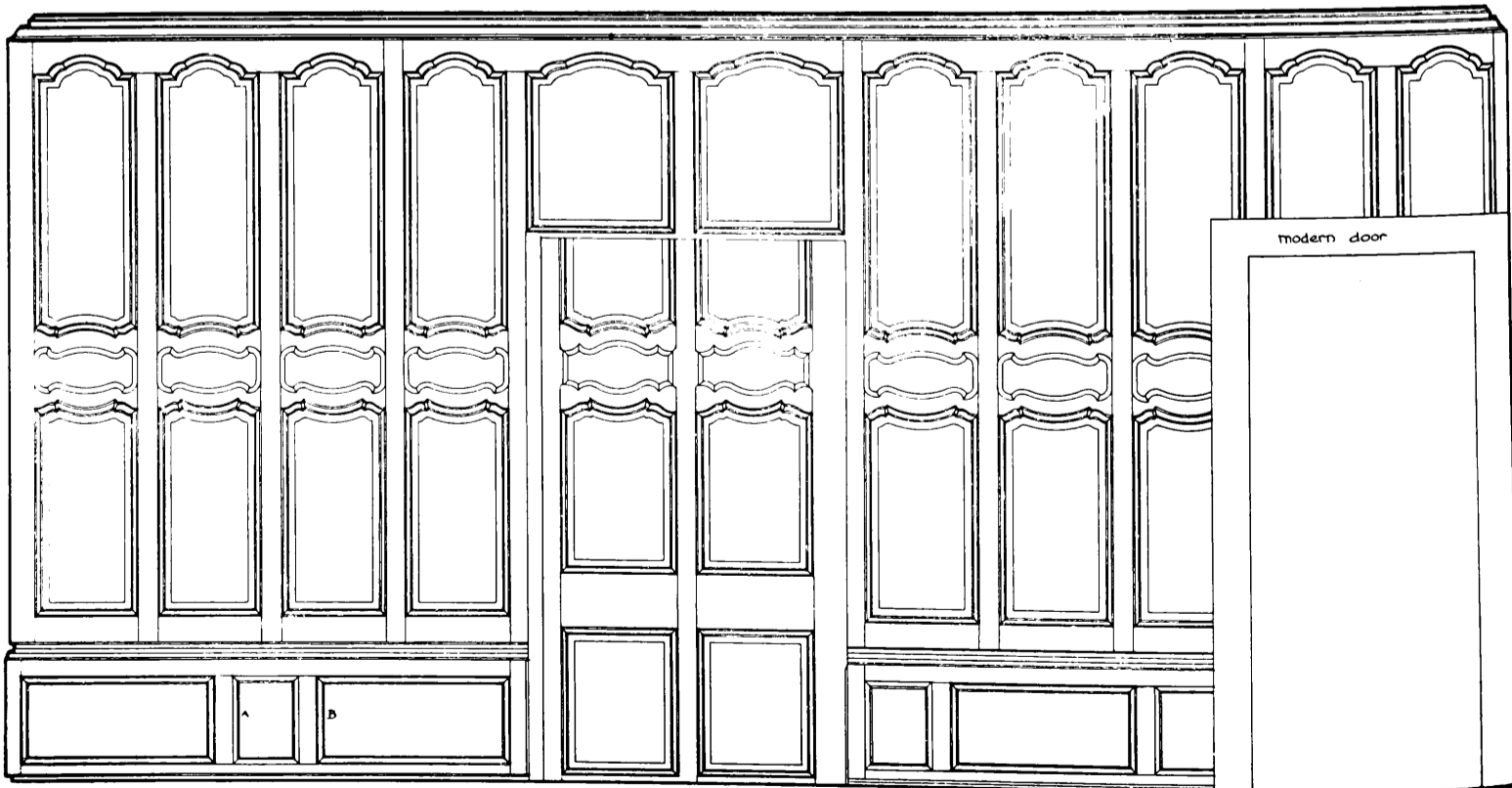
INCHES 12 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET



ELEVATION OF EAST WALL



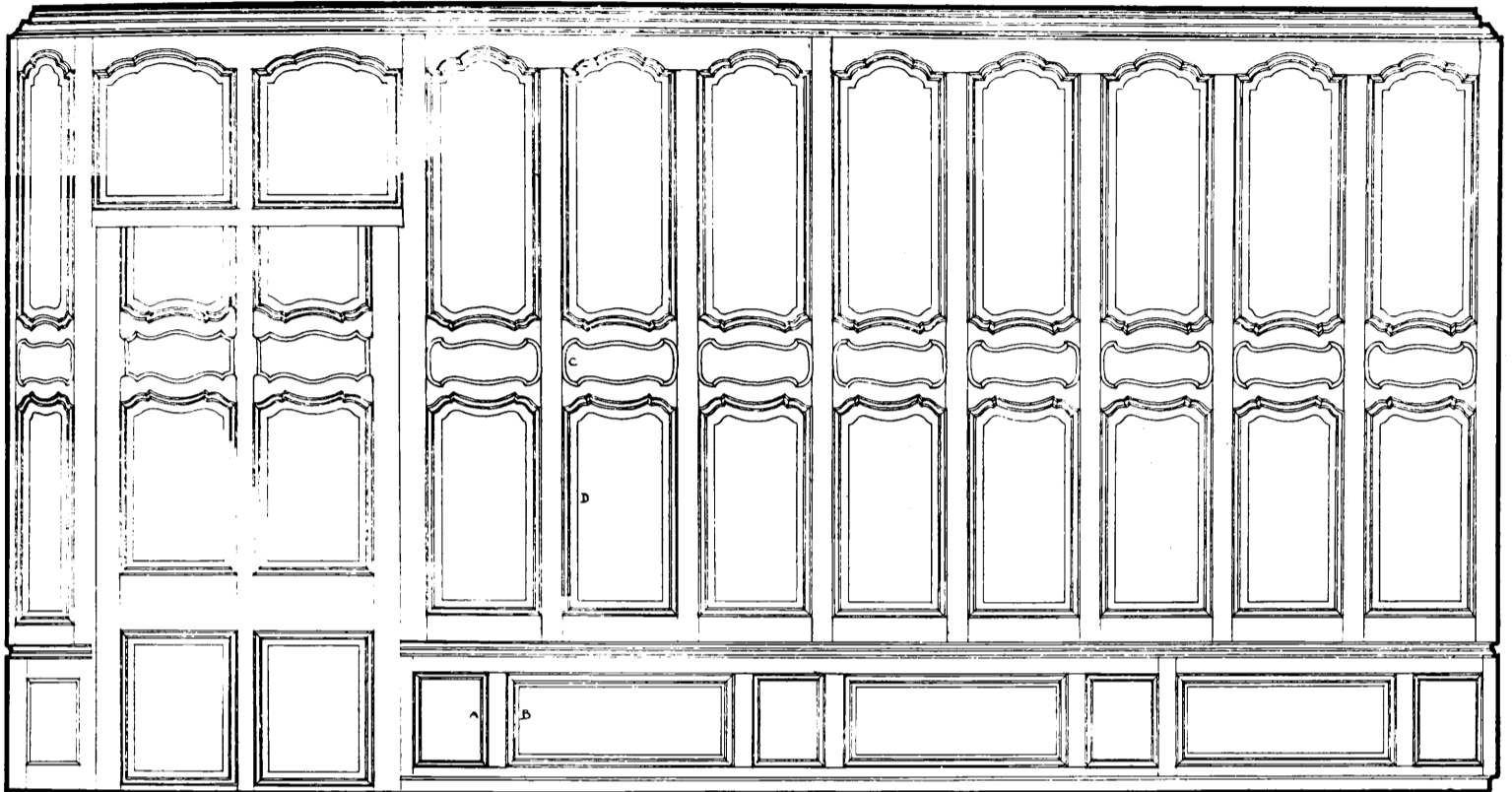
PLAN



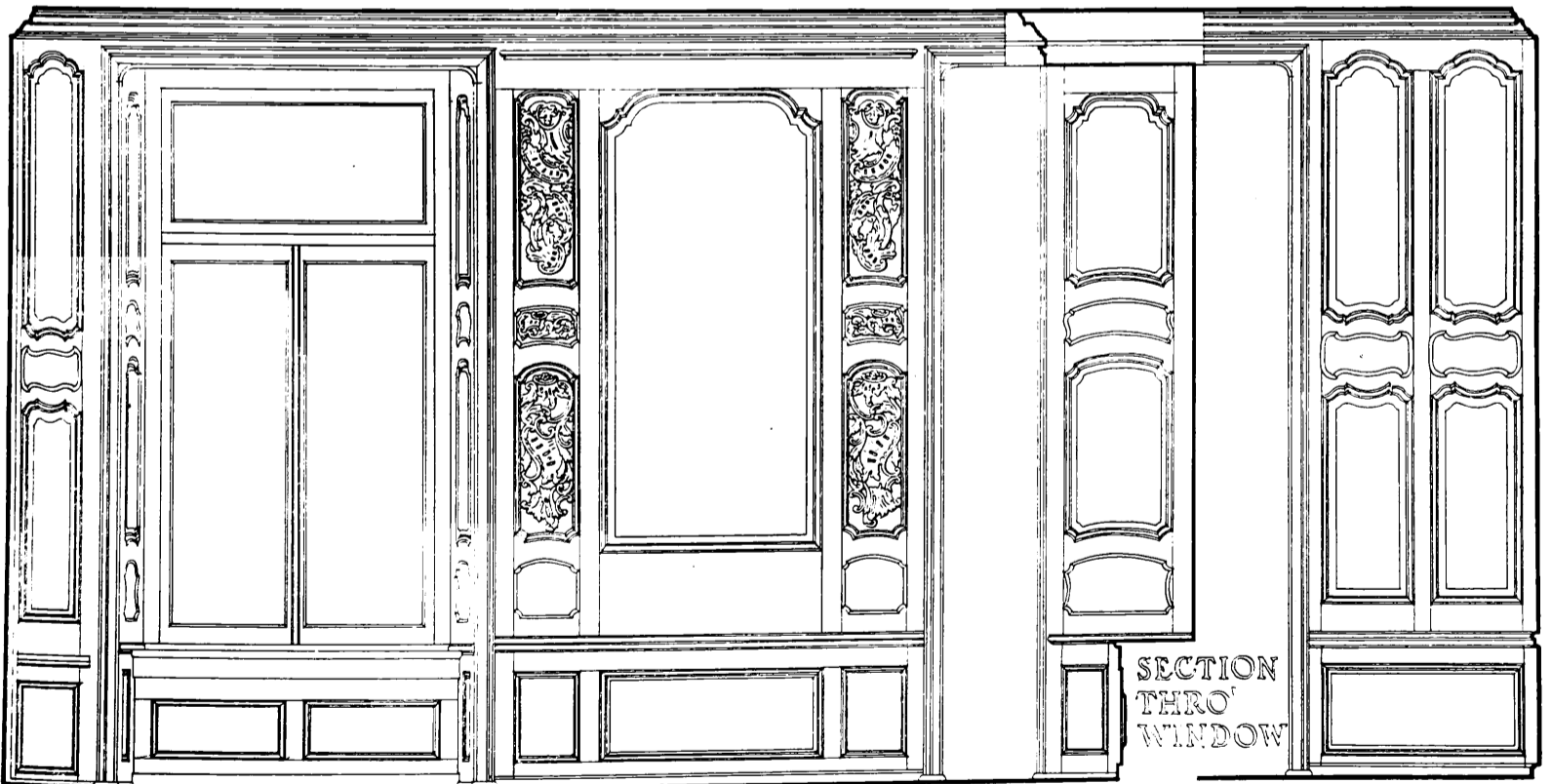
ELEVATION OF NORTH WALL

NO 92 ST PETER STREET QUEBEC PANELLING IN ROOM D

INCHES 12 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 FEET

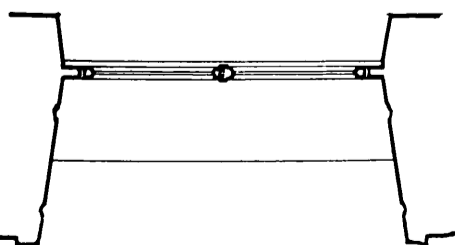


ELEVATION OF WEST WALL

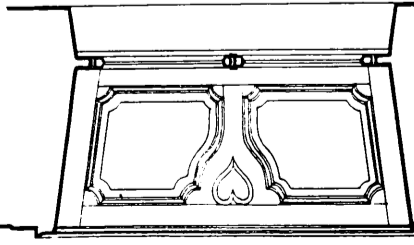


SECTION THRO' WINDOW

NORTH WALL



PLAN

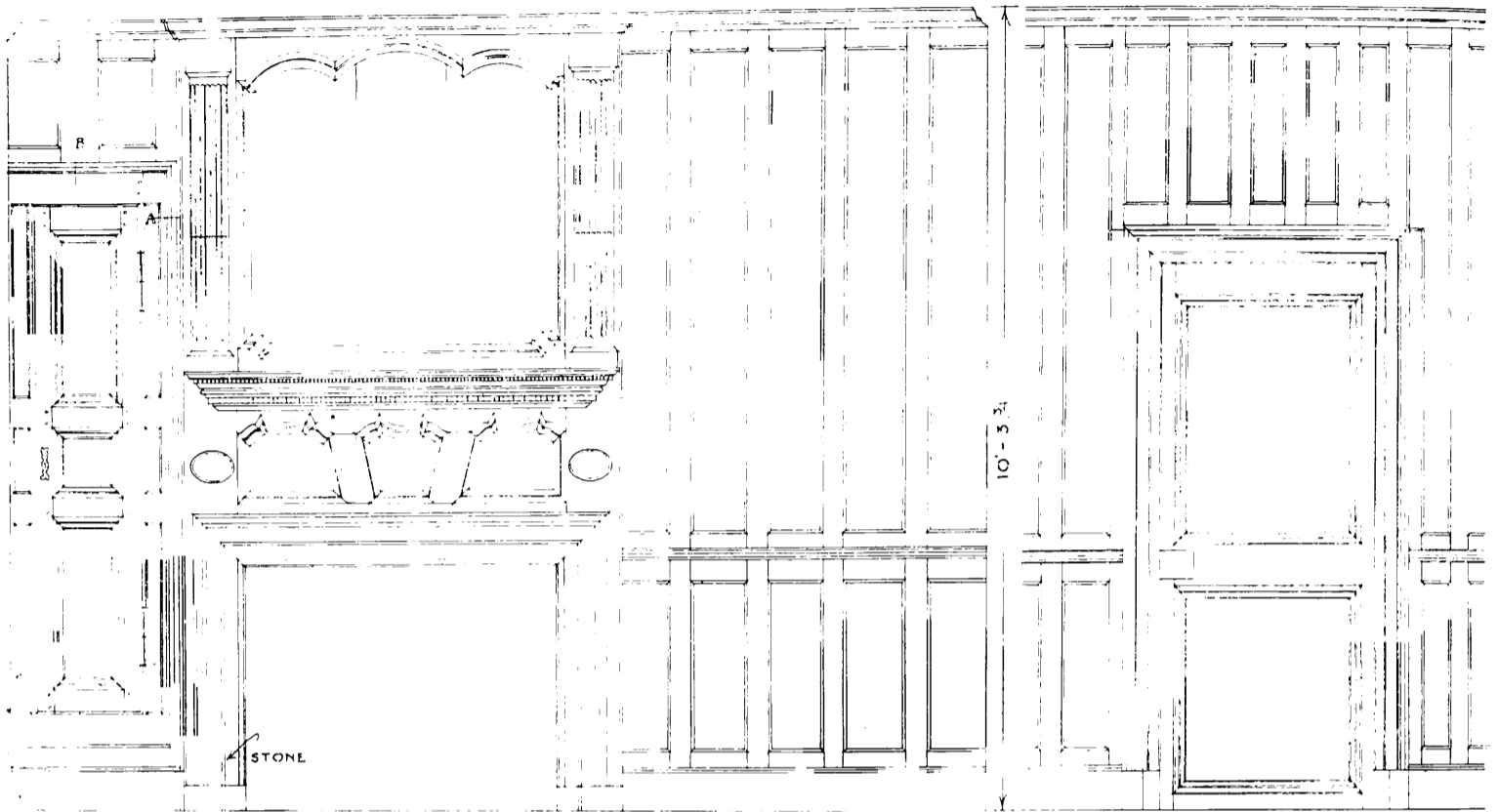


SOFFIT

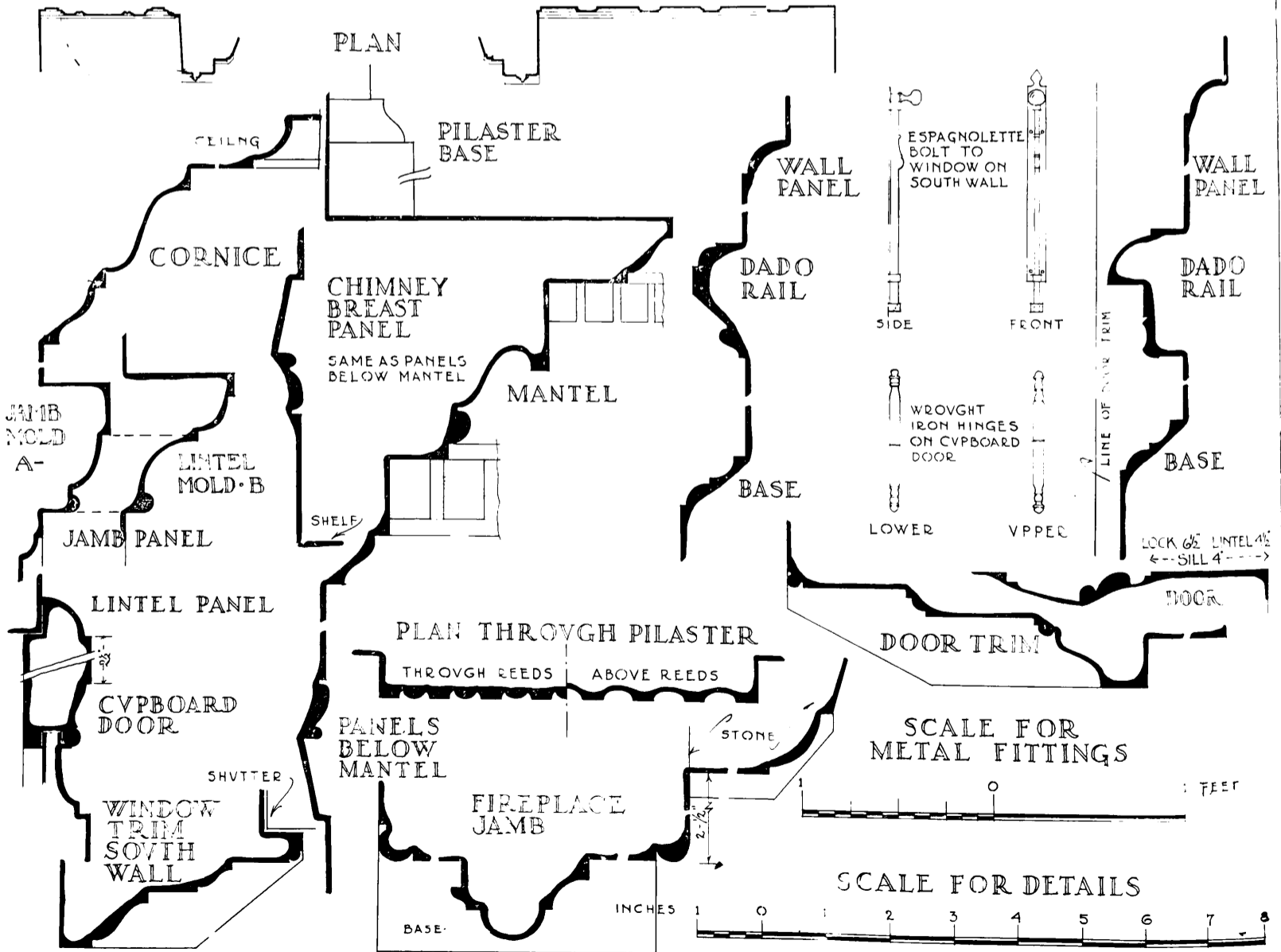
No 92 ST PETER STREET QUEBEC

FIREPLACE IN ROOM B DOOR IN ROOM B & DETAILS

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 SCALE OF FEET

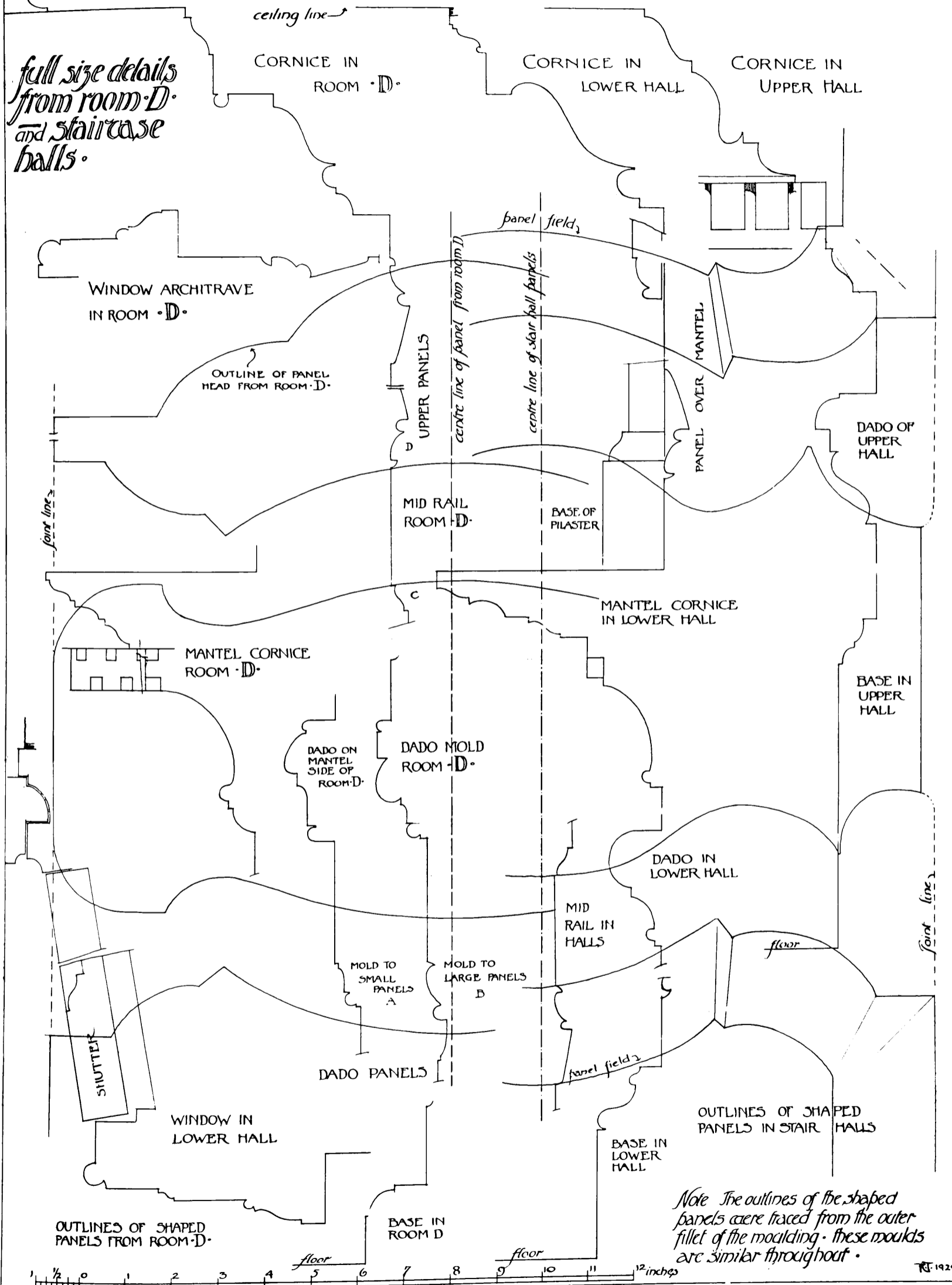


CVPBOARD FIREPLACE DOOR



NO 92 ST PETER STREET QUEBEC.

*full size details
from room D.
and staircase
halls.*



Note The outlines of the shaped panels were traced from the outer fillet of the moulding. these moulds are similar throughout.

PLATE LVIII

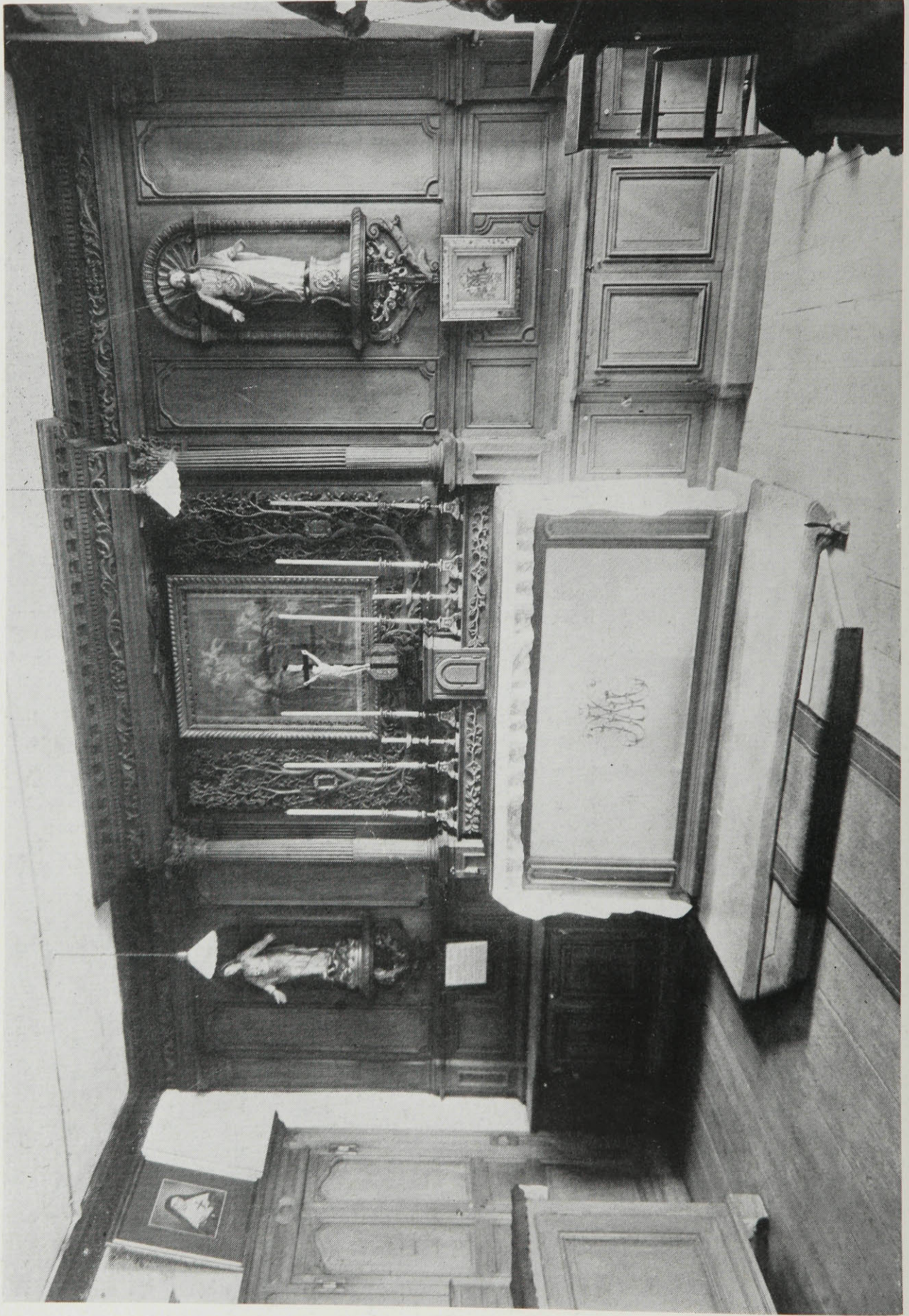


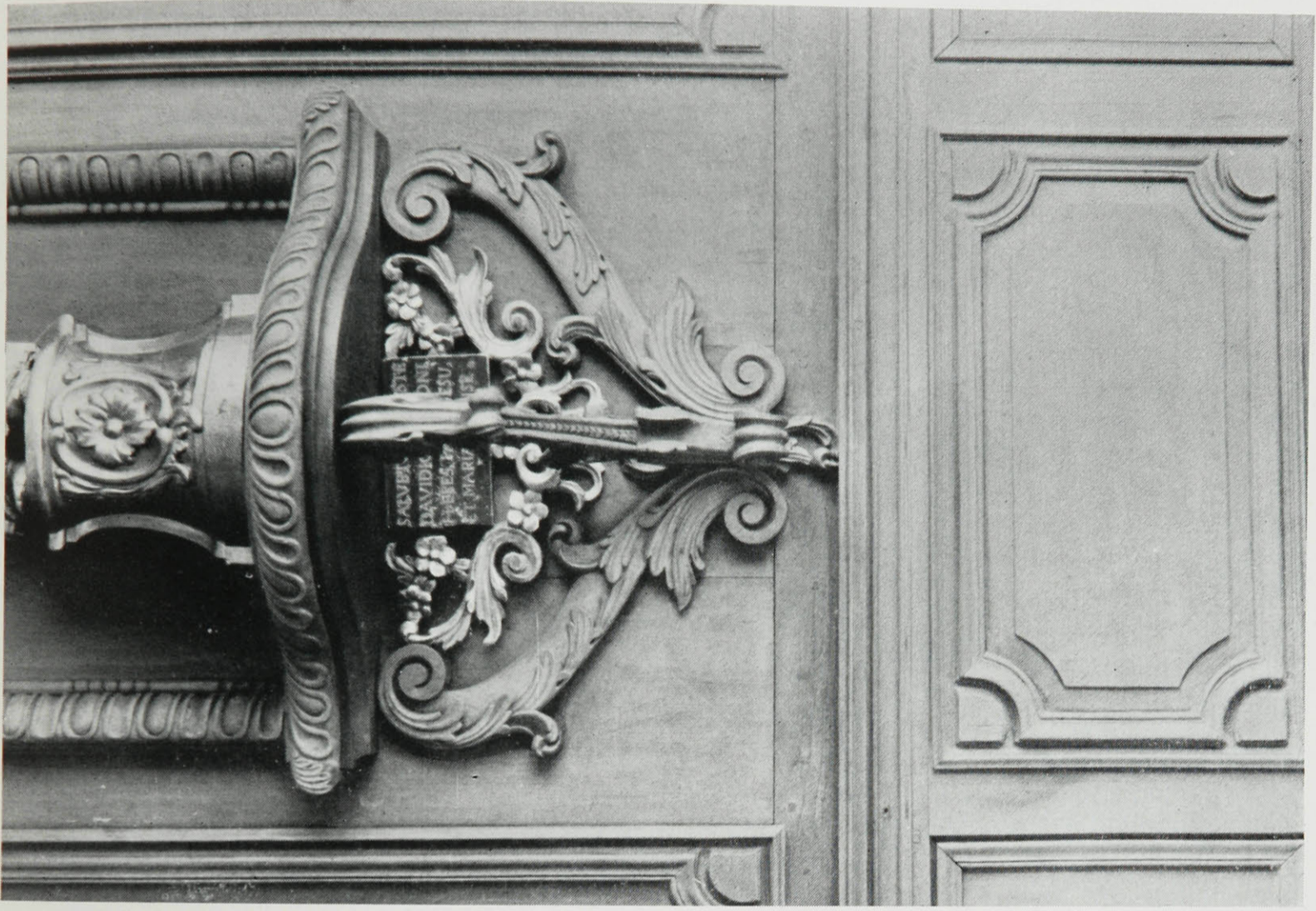
Photo by Edwards, Quebec

The Chapel of Mgr. Olivier Briand in the Seminary at Quebec

THE CHAPEL OF MGR. OLIVIER BRIAND



Statue of Our Lady

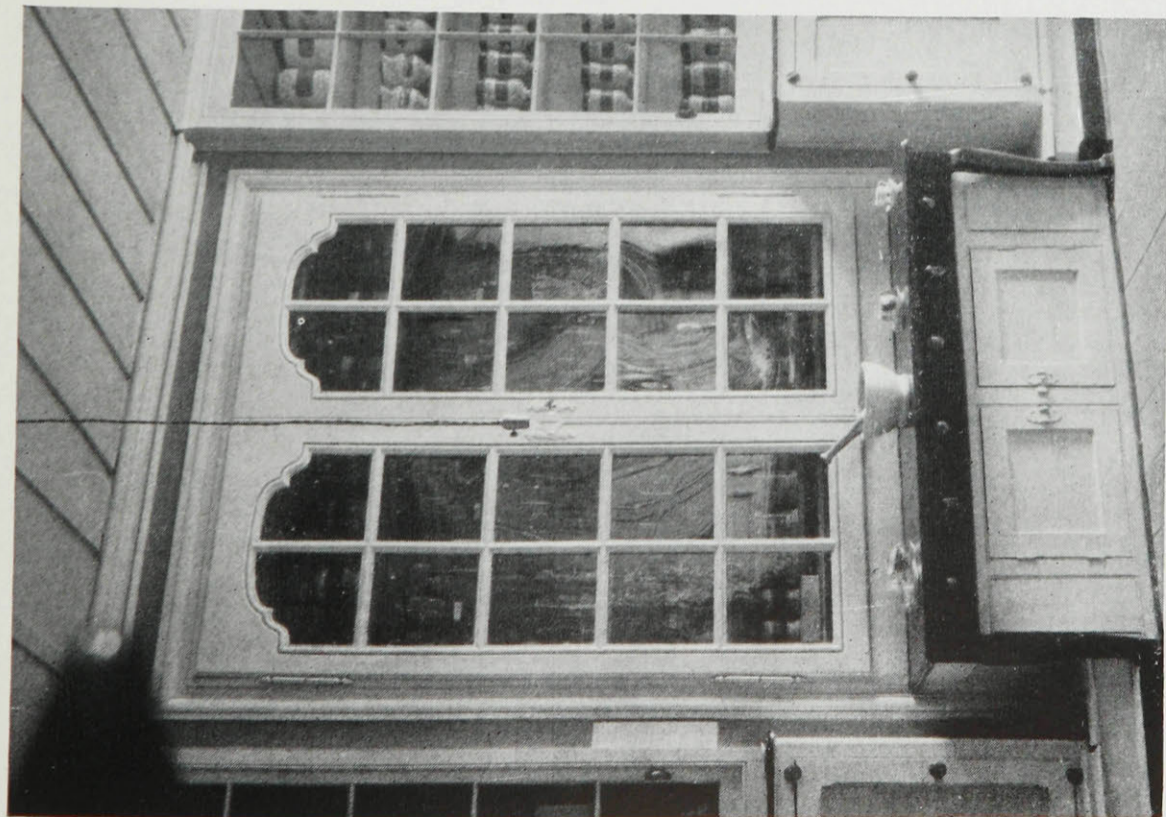


Niche Bracket

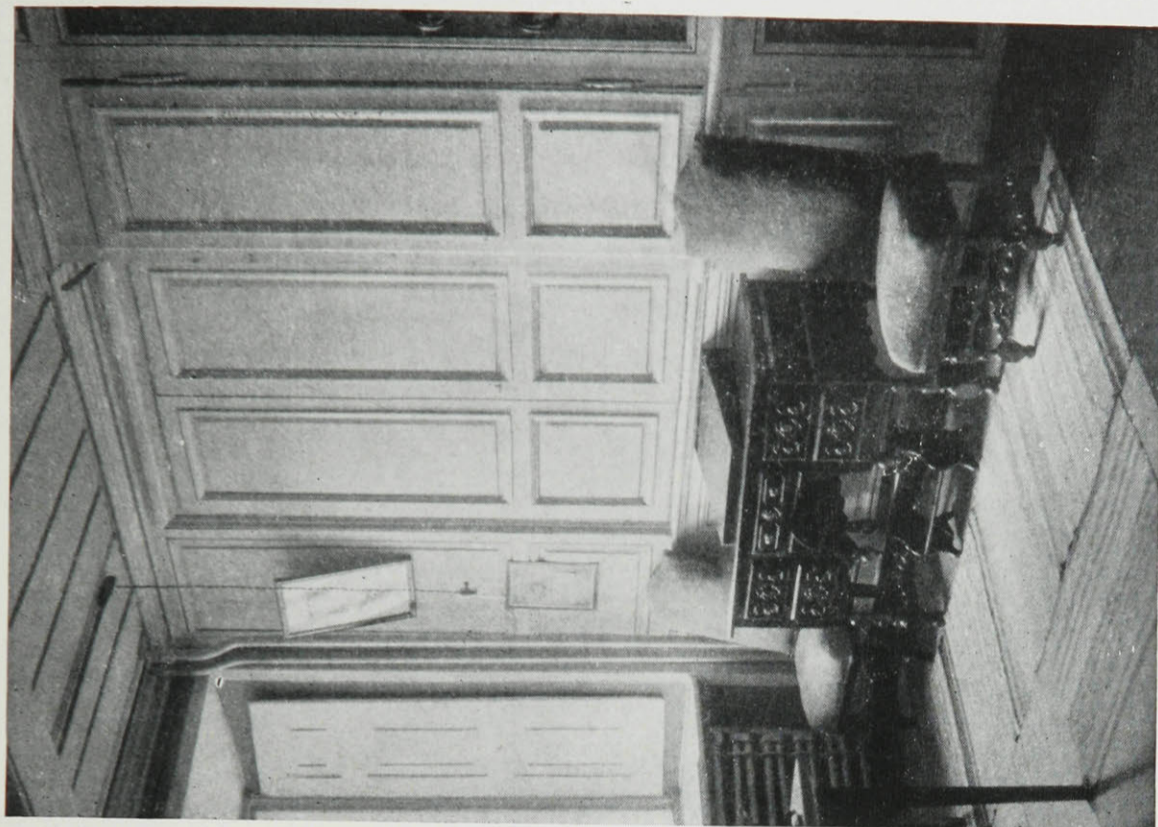
CHAPEL OF M^{GR} BRIAND · THE SEMINARY · QUEBEC ·

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ " = 1' 0" $\frac{1}{4}$ " = 3' 0" $\frac{1}{2}$ " = 6' 0" $\frac{3}{4}$ " = 9' 0" 1 " = 12' 0" $1\frac{1}{4}$ " = 15' 0" $1\frac{1}{2}$ " = 18' 0" $1\frac{3}{4}$ " = 21' 0" 2 " = 24' 0" $2\frac{1}{4}$ " = 27' 0" $2\frac{1}{2}$ " = 30' 0" $2\frac{3}{4}$ " = 33' 0" 3 " = 36' 0" $3\frac{1}{4}$ " = 39' 0" $3\frac{1}{2}$ " = 42' 0" $3\frac{3}{4}$ " = 45' 0" 4 " = 48' 0" $4\frac{1}{4}$ " = 51' 0" $4\frac{1}{2}$ " = 54' 0" $4\frac{3}{4}$ " = 57' 0" 5 " = 60' 0" $5\frac{1}{4}$ " = 63' 0" $5\frac{1}{2}$ " = 66' 0" $5\frac{3}{4}$ " = 69' 0" 6 " = 72' 0" $6\frac{1}{4}$ " = 75' 0" $6\frac{1}{2}$ " = 78' 0" $6\frac{3}{4}$ " = 81' 0" 7 " = 84' 0" $7\frac{1}{4}$ " = 87' 0" $7\frac{1}{2}$ " = 90' 0" $7\frac{3}{4}$ " = 93' 0" 8 " = 96' 0" $8\frac{1}{4}$ " = 99' 0" $8\frac{1}{2}$ " = 102' 0" $8\frac{3}{4}$ " = 105' 0" 9 " = 108' 0" $9\frac{1}{4}$ " = 111' 0" $9\frac{1}{2}$ " = 114' 0" $9\frac{3}{4}$ " = 117' 0" 10 " = 120' 0" $10\frac{1}{4}$ " = 123' 0" $10\frac{1}{2}$ " = 126' 0" 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PLATE LXI
THE DISPENSARY IN THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC

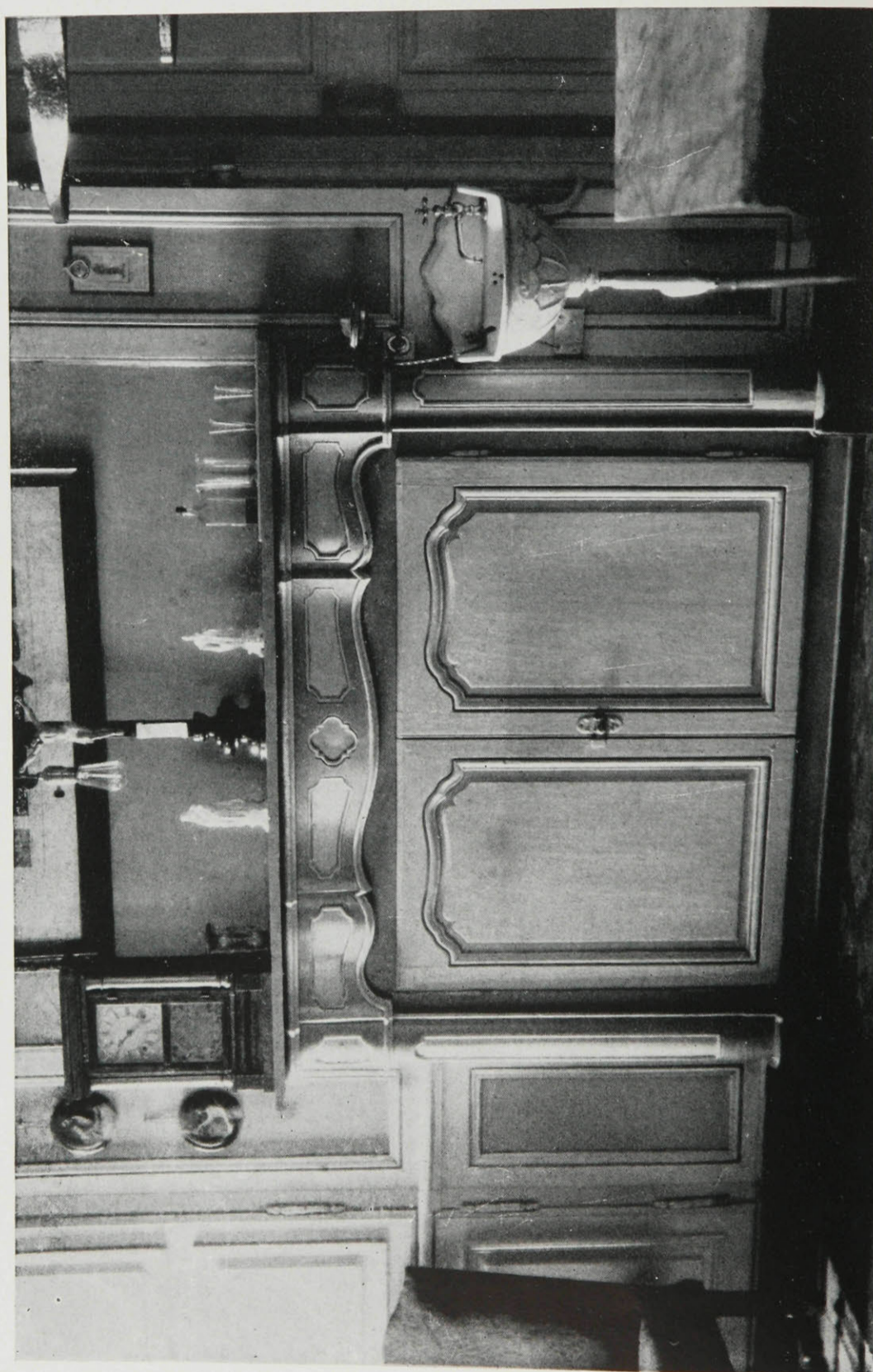


The Cupboard



Panelling and Presses

PLATE LXII
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



Mantelpiece in the Dispensary

PLATE LXIV



Photo by Edwards, Quebec

Room in the Old Presbytery of the Basilica, Quebec

Amongst other accounts dealing with the work in the chapel are:—

1 septembre 1784

Paye a jaque, Sont pr L'esculture des gradins 18 li

22 décembre 1786:

Pour les deux Lauriers et les trois reliquaires et le piedestal de la chapelle 139 li

The chapel is a room some eighteen feet square opening on to the corridor by a door on one side, and lighted by two windows on the opposite side. The altar and rétable occupy one end. They are in pine which has never been painted and has weathered to a beautiful honey brown. The altar is flanked by two corinthian columns above which the entablature is broken forward to form a shallow canopy. In the centre is a framed engraving of the Marriage of the Virgin, mentioned in Mr. Gravé's notes as part of the original furnishings. This is framed in a rich border of laurel branches springing from a boss above the tabernacle and spreading in a tangle of branches and leaves on each side of the picture. Olive foliage is a favourite motive for altar carvings and here was additionally appropriate as referring to the Bishop's Christian name "Olivier". The design, with its strongly accentuated branches and tangled, interlacing pattern is both decorative and original. Loose foliage of this kind is not uncommon in seventeenth and eighteenth century renaissance and is even to be found in Canadian churches of the early nineteenth century.⁵

The sides have a projecting dado, with presses below, forming a low pedestal; on this are corinthian pilasters supporting a fully enriched entablature. In the centre of each bay is a round arched niche with a scroll bracket for the statue. The two statues are painted and Mgr. Gosselin, who has made a study of this work, believes that they were presented to the Bishop and are not by Emond.

The panels have very finely cut mouldings, some are square, some have simple shaped tops and angles. The grades are of much coarser workmanship than the rest. They were sculptured by "jaque", whoever he was, and are definitely inferior to the rest of the work." It may be noted that the "deux lauriers et les trois reliquaires" are included in a separate account, a month later than Emond's receipt for the rétable. So it is just possible that Emond did not carve them. The work is a fine example of the later eighteenth century school of Quebec; the mouldings and panelling are delicately worked and are important as being accurately dated and the work of a known master.

In the chapel is a double door, with architraves and a large armoire. Both are contemporary with the rétable and are good examples of their period. The armoire is painted.

The panelling and the large wall cupboard in the dispensary of the Hôpital Général were made by Emond at some time between 1770 and 1780, when he was doing much general work there. The panelling is plain and good with projecting, built up mouldings. The large cupboard has glazed doors with shaped

⁵ Compare the font in St. François de Sales, I. O. by Samson in 1854, the wall panels in Beaumont by Bercier in 1812 and the wall panels in Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot, by Turcault in 1812-19.

⁶ It might be conjectured that "jaque Sont" in the accounts is a mistake for Jacson (Antoine), a Quebec sculptor of the late XVIII century.

heads. It contains a fine set of Rouen blue and white apothecaries' pots. They were given to the Hôpital by Père Glapion, the last of the Canadian Jesuits, about 1790.⁷ The mantelpiece is typical work of the period. It is of wood, though clearly modelled upon a marble original and is almost identical with the mantelpiece in the Presbytery of the Basilica. The "summer doors" are shown in the photograph.

The old presbytery of the Basilica at Quebec was built between 1773 and 1775.⁸ In 1929, there remained in one of the rooms, probably originally used as a meeting room for the marguilliers, a mantelpiece, a double doored press and parts of a panelled dado which were part of the original decoration. The fireplace was similar to that in the dispensary of the Hôpital. Above it was a large panel with a shaped head, flanked by broad panelled pilasters. The cornice was modern plaster. Originally the room had a low panelled dado, three feet high, of which parts were left. Panelled rooms like this are not common and it is a misfortune that it is now lost. It was good simple work of the period. We do not know who made it, the accounts are fairly full and give Mr. Laffèche as paid 337 li 18 "pour la charpente", "Mr. Germain fils 8 li 11 pour furniture" and "Carier (?) menuisier pour facon douvrages & . . . 72 li 14". We have no other record of "Carier".

The eastern wall of the community room in the Ursuline convent in Quebec is covered with panelling of a simple, massive type. In the centre is an altar, at the sides are large double doors. The panels are plain rectangles, without decoration; the mouldings are built up and are very heavy. We have no record of the date at which it was put up, but the mouldings resemble those of the rétable in the church of the Hôpital Général, the Briand Chapel and the Fargues house, and show that the work must be assigned to the period between 1770 and 1790. The simple, massive character strongly recalls the rétable in the Hôpital, and suggests that this too may be by Pierre Emond, whose work, as has already been noted, is rather architectural than sculptural. In some ways this panelling reminds one of the English work of the late seventeenth century, though it is hardly possible that there could be any connection with English models.

The mantelpiece at the opposite end of the room shows clearly the Adam influence in its small, delicate mouldings. It was probably made in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Beside it is a little lavabo with a lead cistern on which is embossed an I.H.S. monogram and two fleurs-de-lys. This is, almost certainly, a relic of the original building of 1686; the fleurs-de-lys could hardly have been used after the English conquest.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century English, or American, influence becomes stronger. In 1768 Simon McTavish leased a newly-built house in St. Jean Baptiste Street, Montreal and eleven years later bought it outright.⁹ The house is English in all characteristics, the mantels may well have been imported from New England: the whole work is of that delicate Adam school which prevailed in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth.

⁷ H. G. Q. p. 457.

⁸ Livres des Deliberations de la Fabrique, 1742 à 1777, MS. 16. First meeting, p. 268. Meeting for final payment, p. 283. The old building was pulled down in 1931, the panelling was stored in a builder's yard in Quebec, where it was destroyed in a fire.

⁹ I am indebted to Mr. E. Z. Massicotte, Archivist of Montreal, for the leases and other documents recording the history of this house.

The house is described in the deed of sale as "a stone dwelling-house built in the English taste, stables and outhouses with an ice-house and a small garden". We may suppose that a house of this character was something of a novelty in Montreal at this time. It was used as a dwelling-house until about the end of the nineteenth century, then converted into a factory and finally dismantled about 1932. The mantelpiece of the principal room is now in the McCord Museum.

At No. 1190 Clarke Street, Montreal, is another old dwelling-house which until a few years ago retained part of its panelling. The work is much more elaborate than that in the McTavish house, but is purely English in character. The house is now used as a workshop and the panelling has been removed. It dates from the early nineteenth century. So we see that by 1800 English influence was well established in Montreal and it spread rapidly through the province. Yet for another fifty years or more the traditions of the French craftsmen remained strong and the English influence is seen mainly in mouldings and in scraps of decoration of Adam type, delicate and hard, in contrast to the soft, juicy rococo of the French craftsmen.

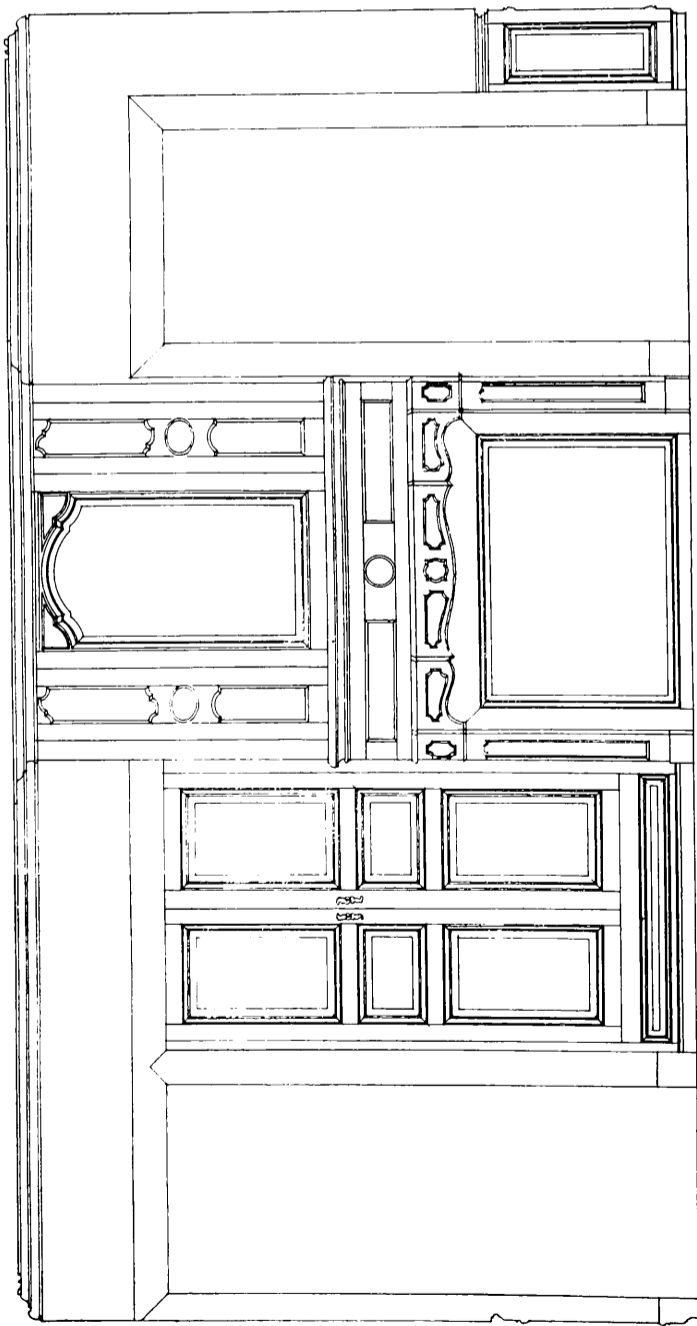
In the Royal Ontario Museum is a panelled room from the Paradis house at Port Joli. The panelling is simple, with a chair mould, and is divided by corinthian columns standing on fluted pilasters. The doors have segmental arches with arch and archivolt mouldings fully decorated with tiny flutes, dentils, and leaf mouldings. In the tympanums are rather crude rosettes. The fireplace has a very simple mantelshelf on brackets, and the usual summer door. The doors are six-panelled of the usual English early nineteenth century pattern. The ceiling is beamed and wainscotted in the regular French-Canadian manner. The work is clearly that of French menuisiers working in their traditional manner but incorporating into their work mouldings and enrichments of the new English style, "English" here being probably "American". The effect is very pleasant, somewhat more restrained and austere than the work, shall we say, of the Fargues house at Quebec and probably made about twenty or thirty years later.

From this we shall go to Batiscan, where the existing internal woodwork of the presbytery was probably made in 1855, though it may have been as early as 1836.¹⁰ Extensive repairs were made to the house at both these dates and a comparison of the existing woodwork with that of other houses in the neighbourhood, whose age is approximately known, show that none of the existing wood fittings in the presbytery can be older than the repairs of 1836.

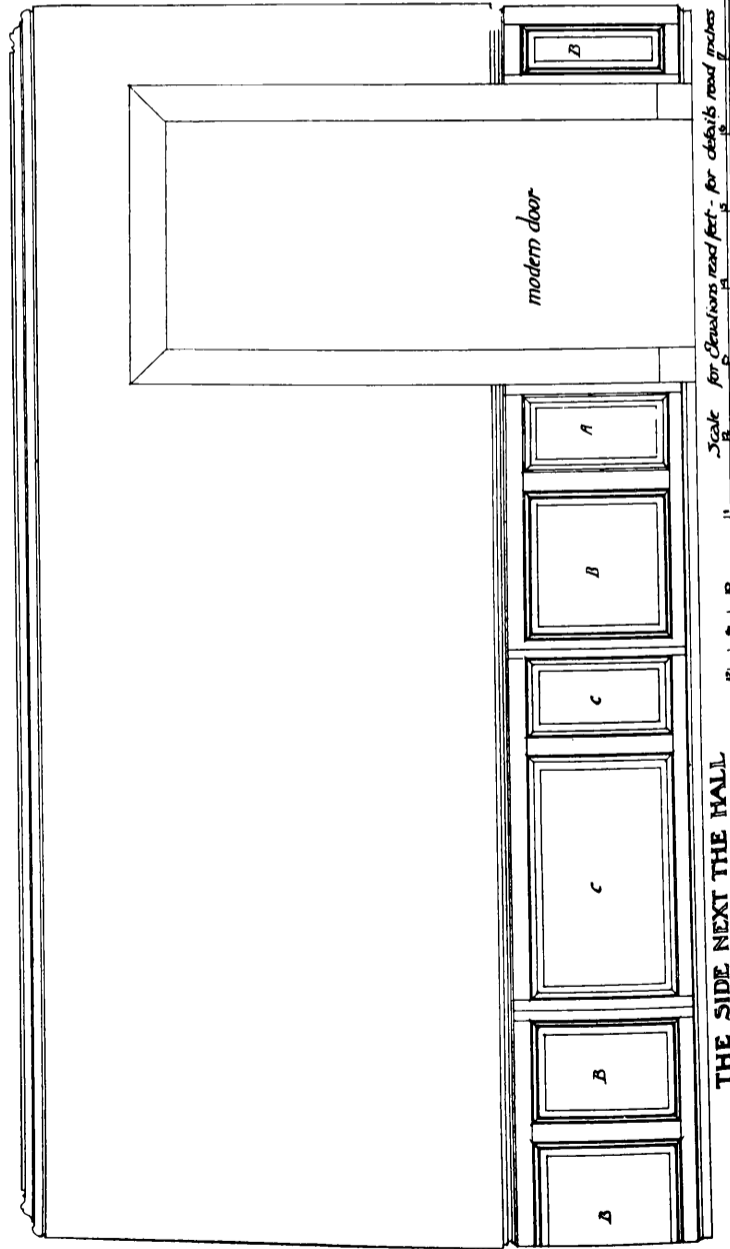
The partitions and the wall linings on the upper floor are of wainscot, that is of tongued and grooved boards set upright and rising from floor to ceiling. The partitions on the ground floor are of inch and a quarter thick boards grooved and tongued and finished with a small bead. These boards vary from about 12" to 9" broad and are, alternately, either grooved on both edges, or tongued and beaded, not as in modern practice grooved on one edge and tongued on the other. The doors are six panelled with L wrought-iron hinges and brass latches. The character of the mouldings as well as the pattern of the panels is early nineteenth century. The hinges and the latches might be earlier, they are of a pattern in use in the

¹⁰ *Livres de Comptes de Batiscan*, Vol. II, part 1, f. 148a & b, f. 149a and f. 166. And archives de l'Evêché des Trois Rivières, Cartable de St. Frs. X. de Batiscan, pièces nos. 17, 25, 31.

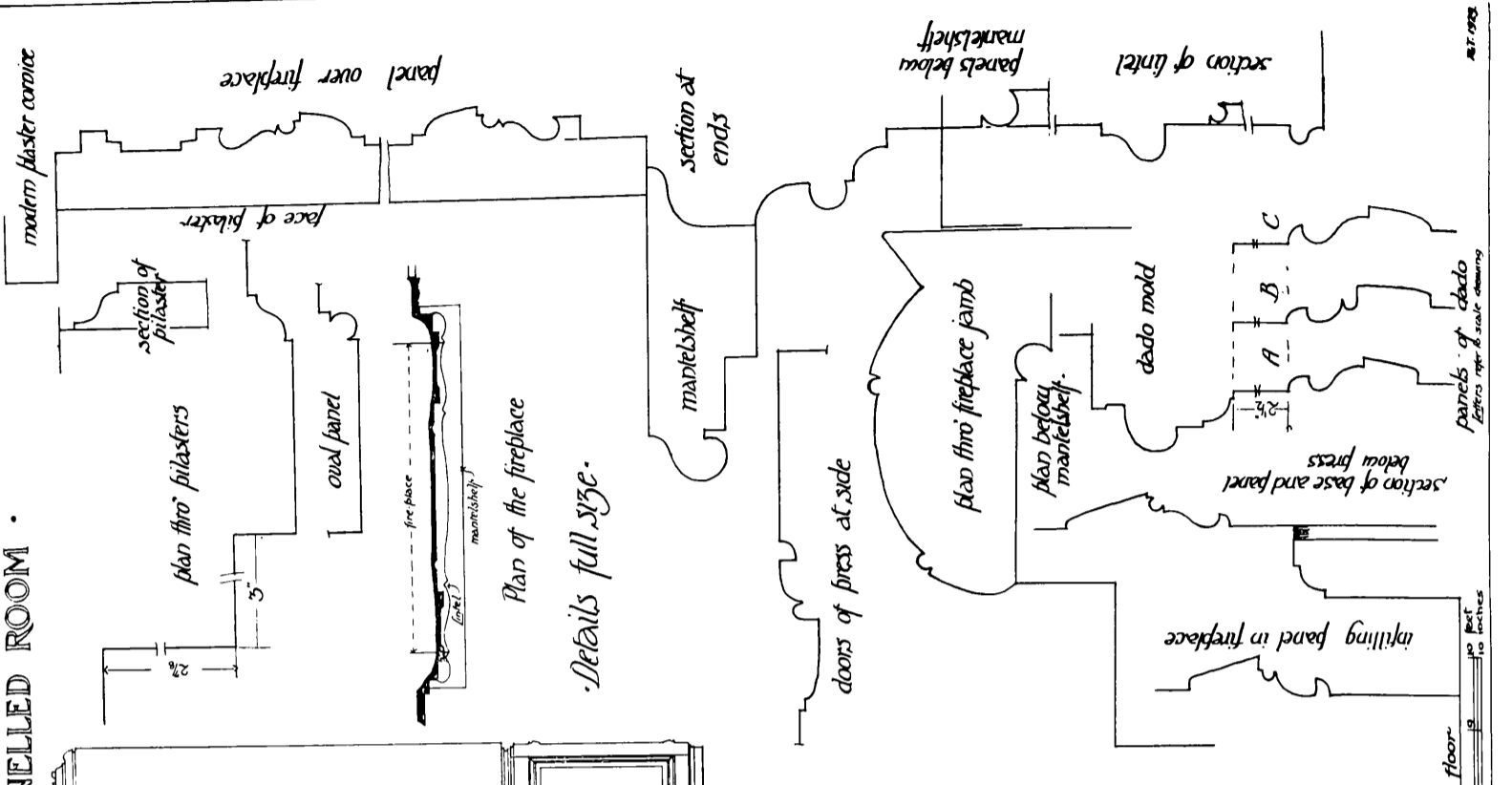
THE PRESBYTERY OF THE BASILICA QUEBEC · THE PANELLER ROOM ·



THE SIDE FACING THE WINDOWS



THE SIDE NEXT THE HALL



Plan of the fireplace
Details full size.

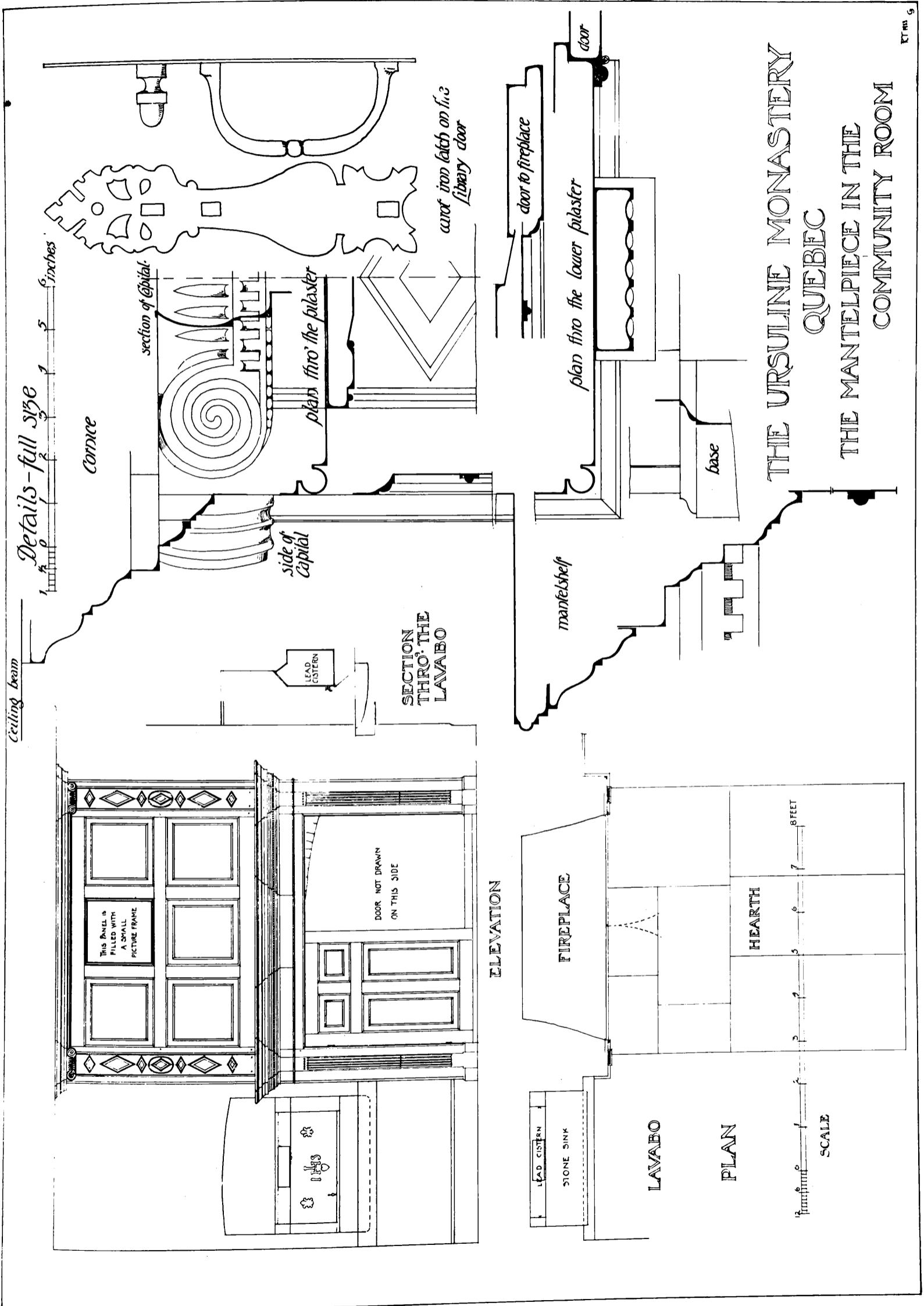
PLATE LXVI
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC



Mantelpiece in the Community Room



Panelling in the Community Room



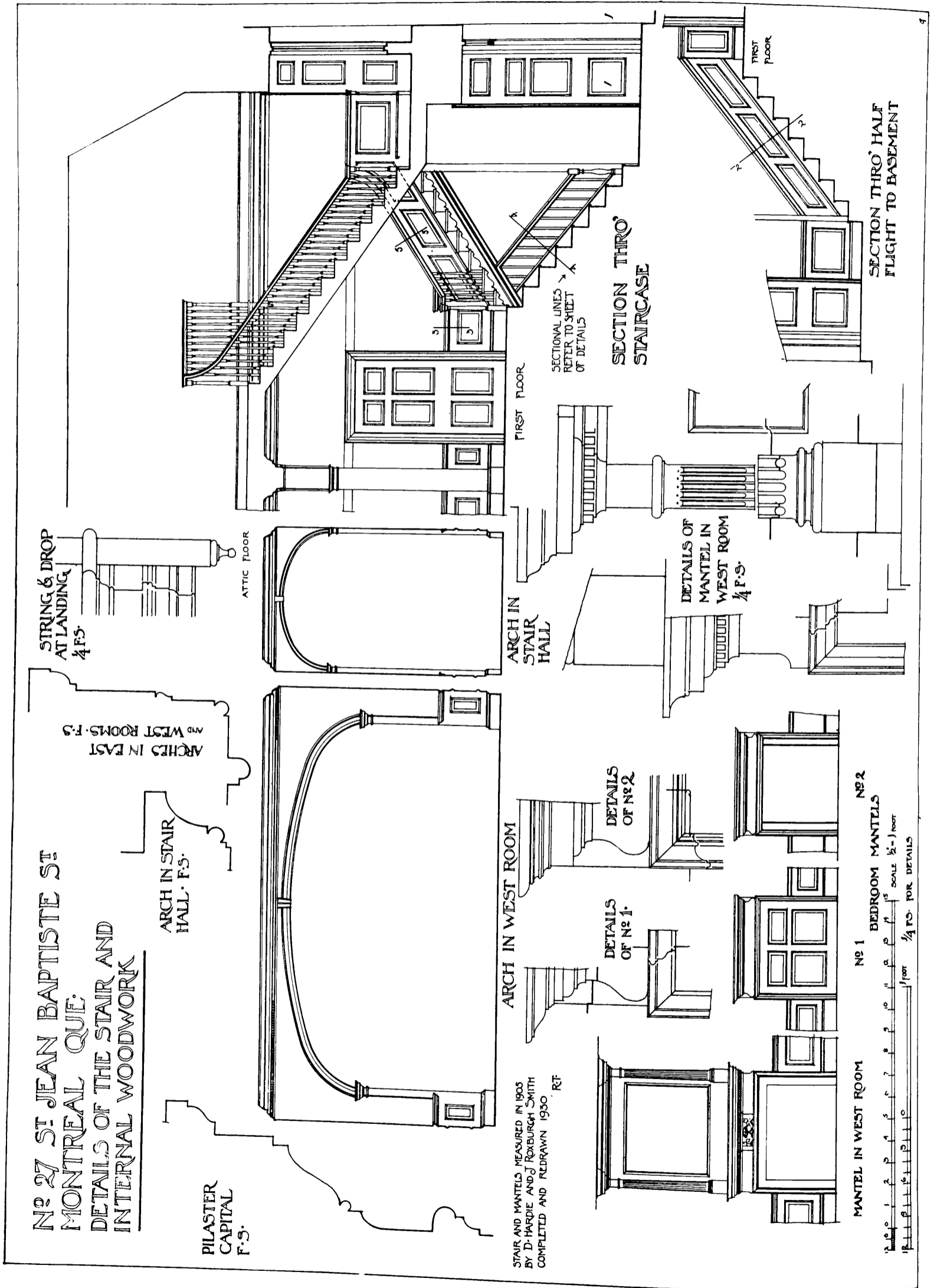
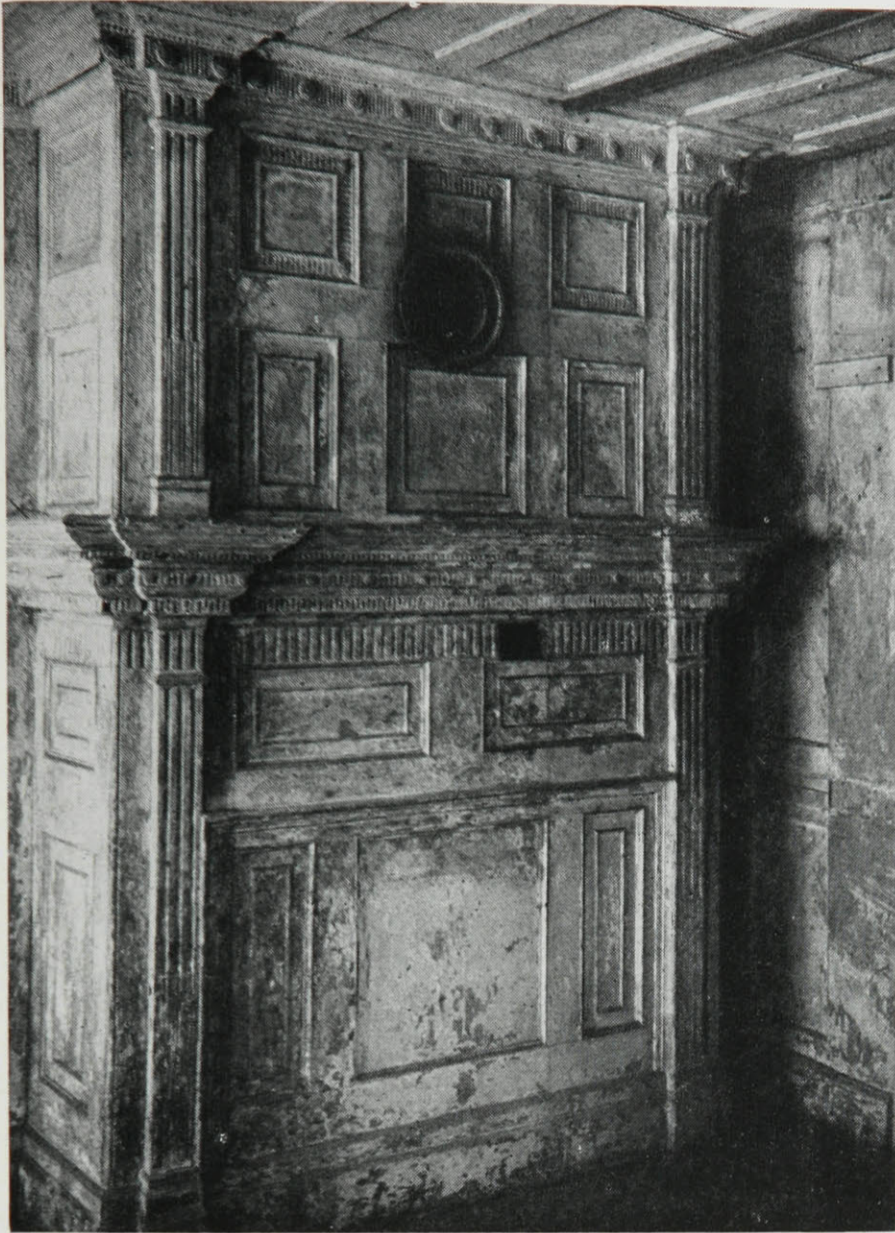
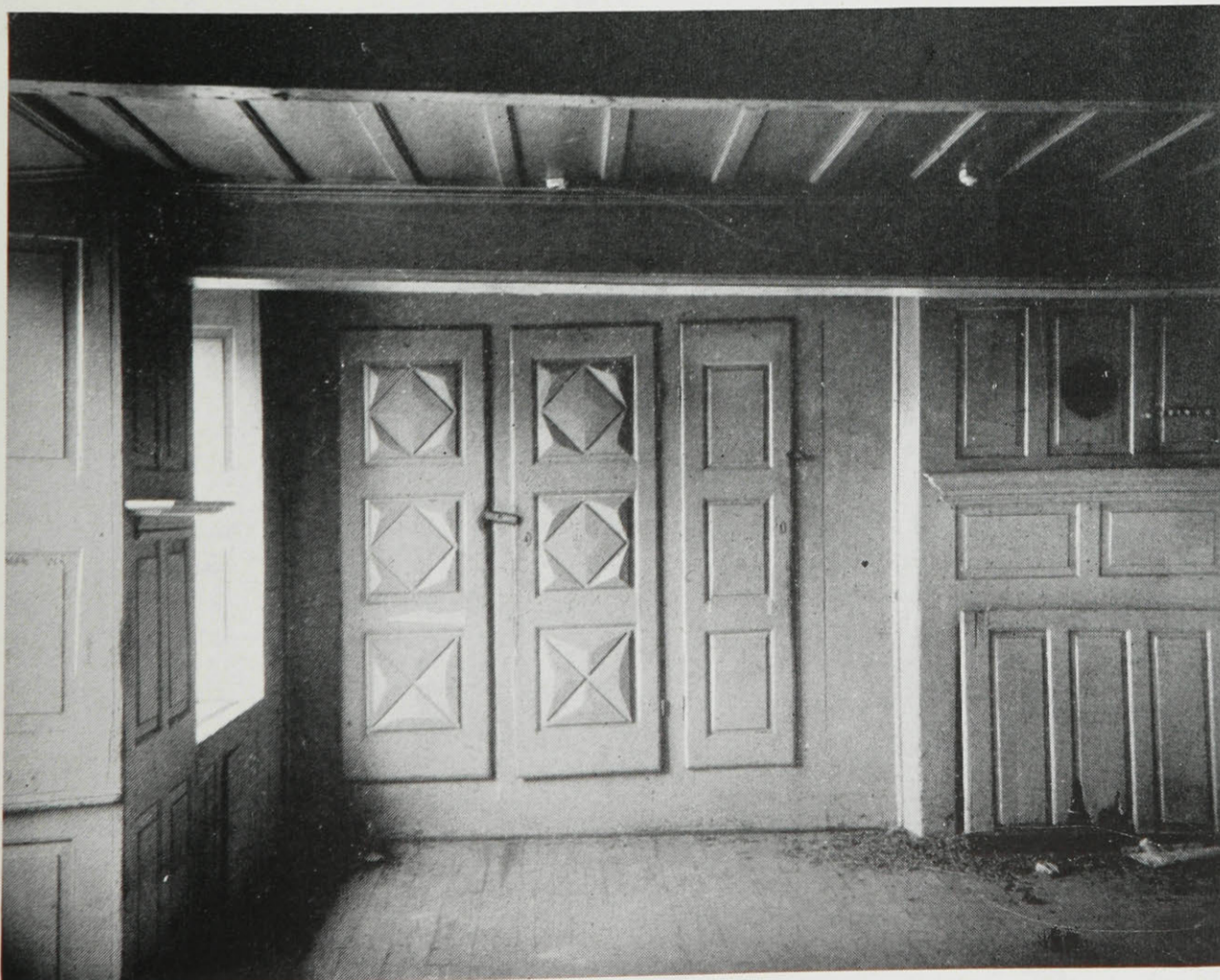


PLATE LXX



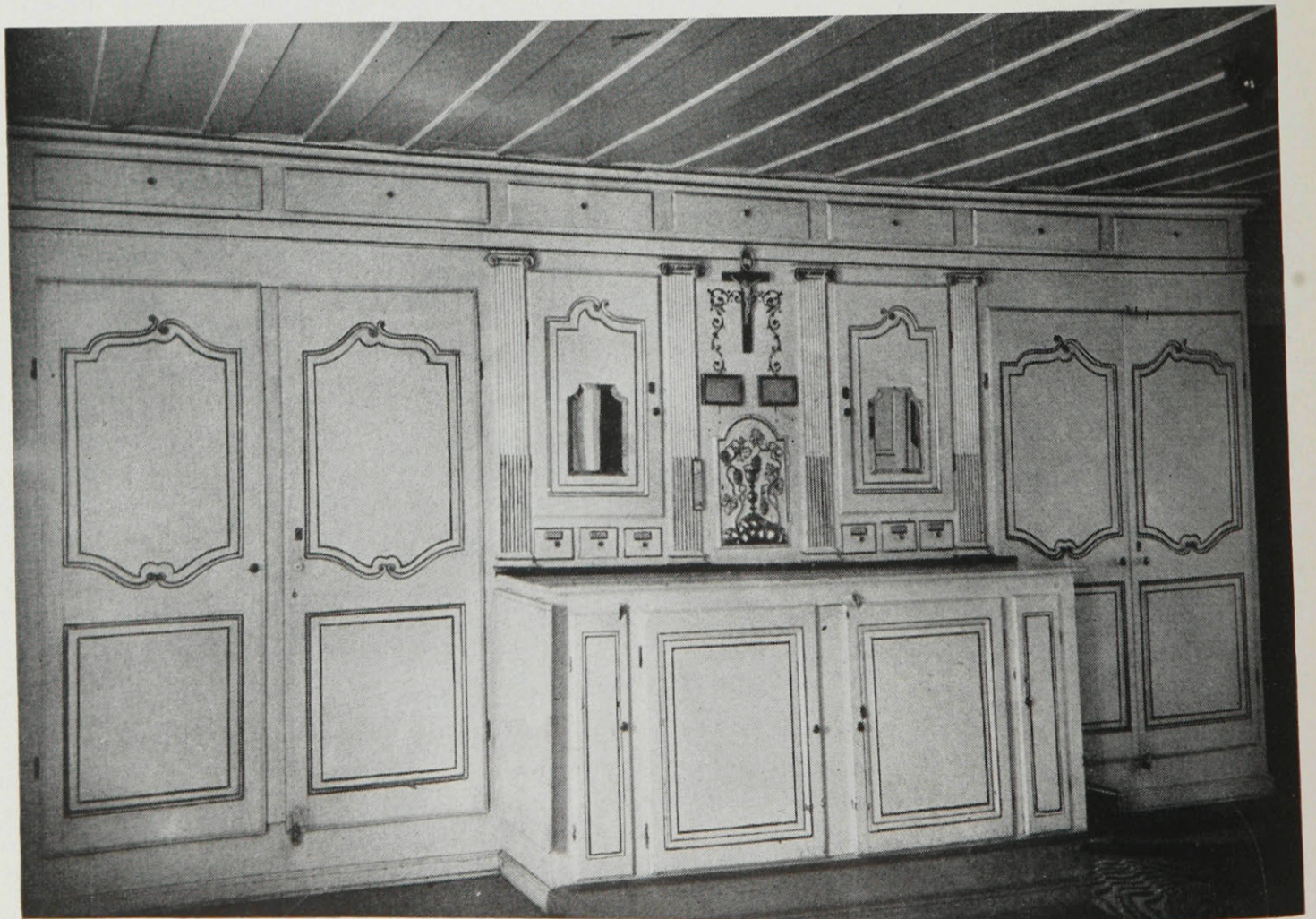
Mantelpiece from No. 1190 Clarke Street, Montreal



Room in House at Pointe St. Jacques, near Senneville



Permission of the Royal Ontario Museum
 Panelled Room from the Paradis House, St. Jean Port Joli, in the Royal Ontario Museum



The Sacristy at Verchères

late eighteenth century, but such patterns continued in use in Quebec long after they had gone out of use elsewhere.

The wood linings on the upper floor are of two varieties. Linings meant to be exposed on both sides and forming partitions, and linings meant to be exposed on one side only and used on walls or on partitions which are plastered on the other side. The latter is the normal wainscot. It is of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch boards grooved and tongued and reaching from floor to ceiling. Alternate boards have a thumb moulding and groove, and project beyond the intermediate, plain boards, thus forming long panels the whole height of the room. At floor and ceiling, and at chair height, if a rail is required, thin pieces are inserted, scribed to the moulding, a cornice is added at the top, a base at the floor, a small dado mold at the chair rail and the result, in appearance, is a pattern of long narrow panels varying in width with the width of the boards. This wainscotting is certainly an old French tradition. It is used in the Fargues house in Quebec of 1784, and in small houses in Batiscan which cannot be much older than 1850. Some of the partitions are designed to show panels on both sides. These are of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch boards, grooved and moulded and so fitted that a projection on one side forms a panel on the other. Then top, bottom and rail are formed with thin scribed pieces as before. This is a very ingenious method, and very effective.

The stair, rising from a corner of the living room is a good example of simple, well made carpenter work. Like most cottage stairs it is very steep, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inch risers and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inch treads. The windows have casements opening inwards, in the French manner.

Batiscan, with its seventeenth century structure and mid-nineteenth century woodwork, all the work of local Canadian craftsmen, is one of the most interesting small houses in Quebec. The wood mouldings, architraves and doors all show English influence but the construction is French. A comparison of the glazed door in the living room with a glazed door from a cottage near Beaupré will show the difference. The Beaupré door must be late eighteenth century.

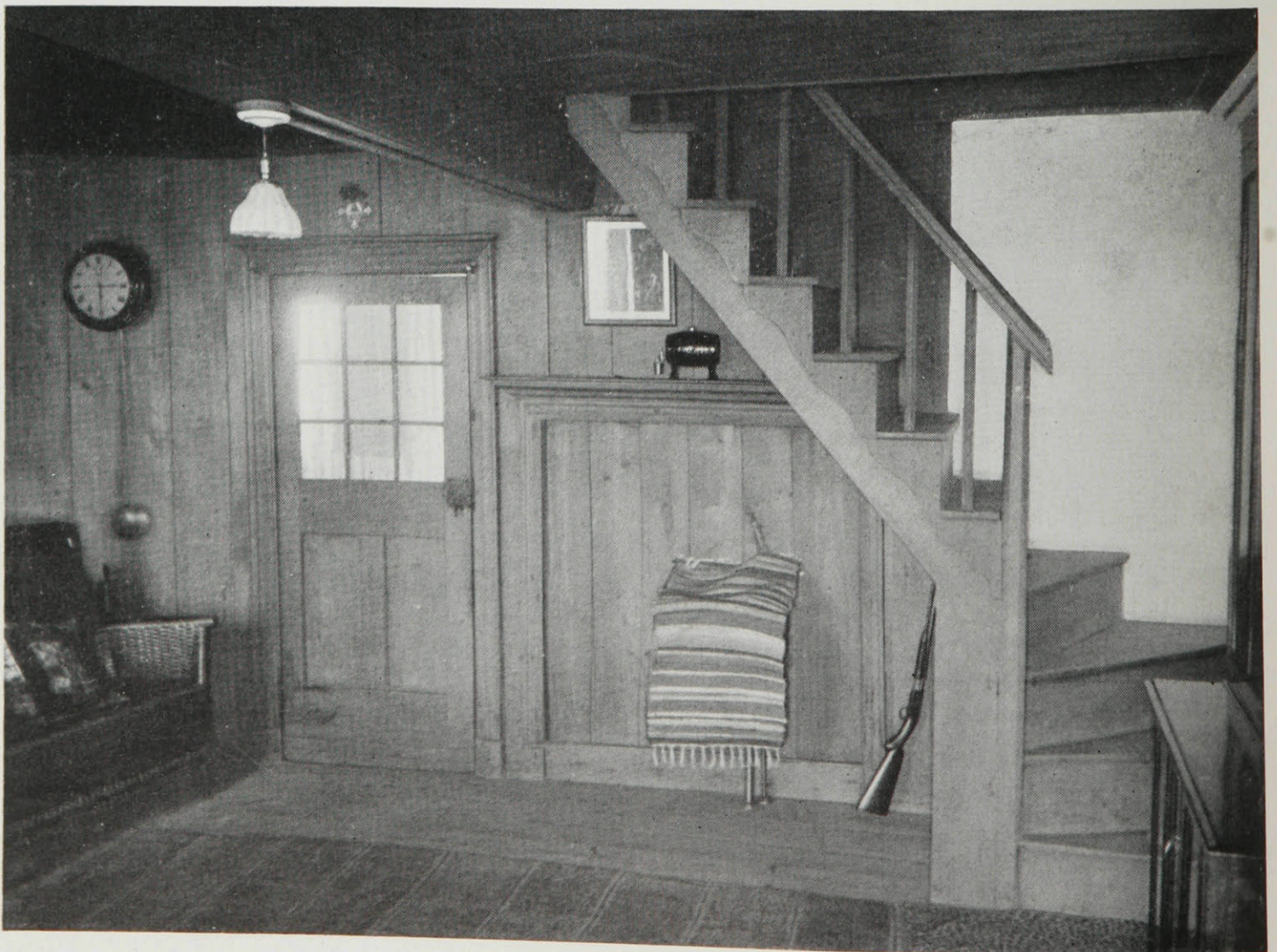
The panelling in the "Jesuit" house at Sillery was put in by Messrs. Dobell in the early nineteenth century when this house was used by their agent. It is of English type with two "Adam" mantelpieces. One of the rooms has wainscot linings like those in the Fargues house. The details of mouldings and doors show quite clearly that the woodwork is of the nineteenth century. It may indeed be doubted whether any part of the house itself is much earlier. The history of the house is a blank from the time when the Jesuits left Sillery to the occupation of the house by Messrs. Dobell's agent, a gap of a century. The existing house has none of the characteristics of an old French dwelling and was probably built in the early nineteenth century.

We have seen the growing strength of English influence all through the first half of the nineteenth century, first in town houses, then in a country presbytery. The French tradition died very slowly and, as was natural, lasted longest in church work. The sacristy presses and panelling in Verchères church, made by Quevillon about 1820, might be eighteenth century, and show no smallest trace of the "English taste" which had invaded Montreal thirty years earlier.

PLATE LXXII
THE OLD PRESBYTERY AT BATISCAN

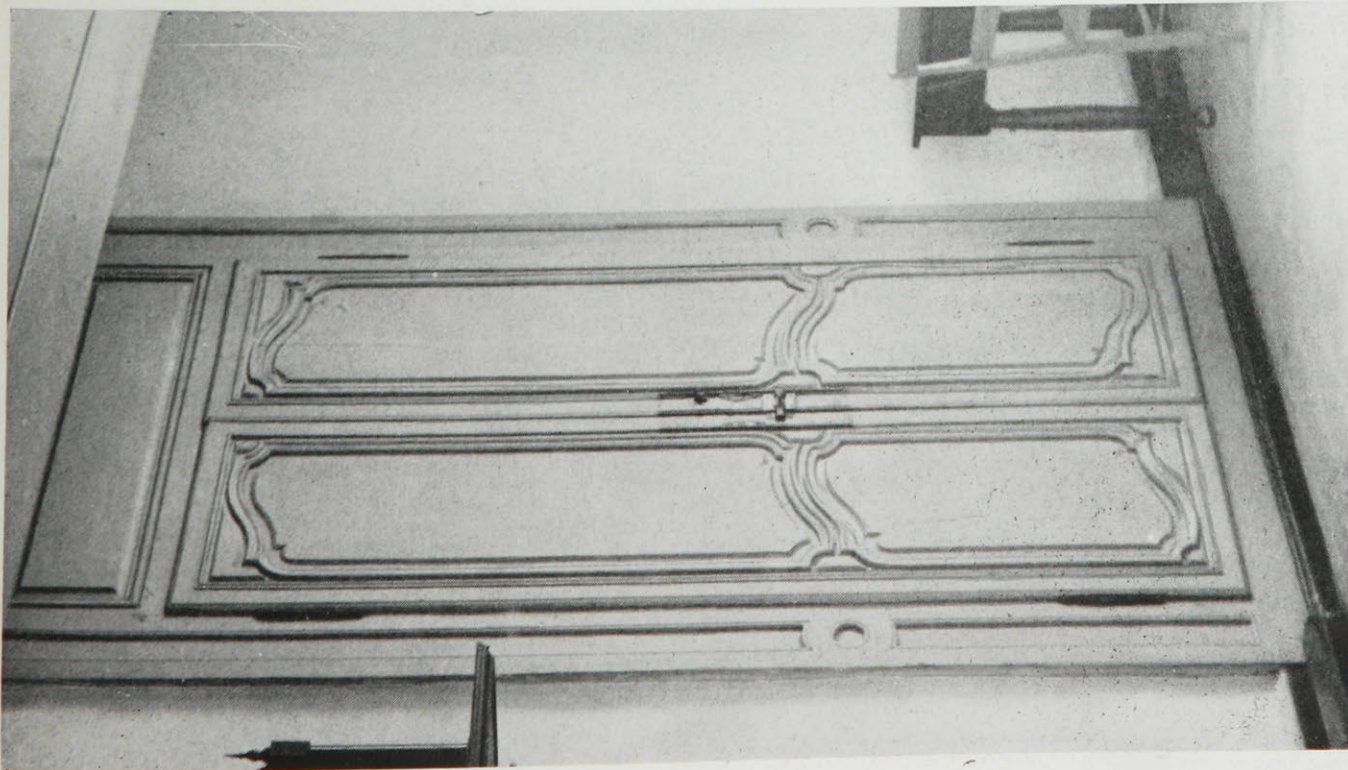


Wainscot in a Bedroom

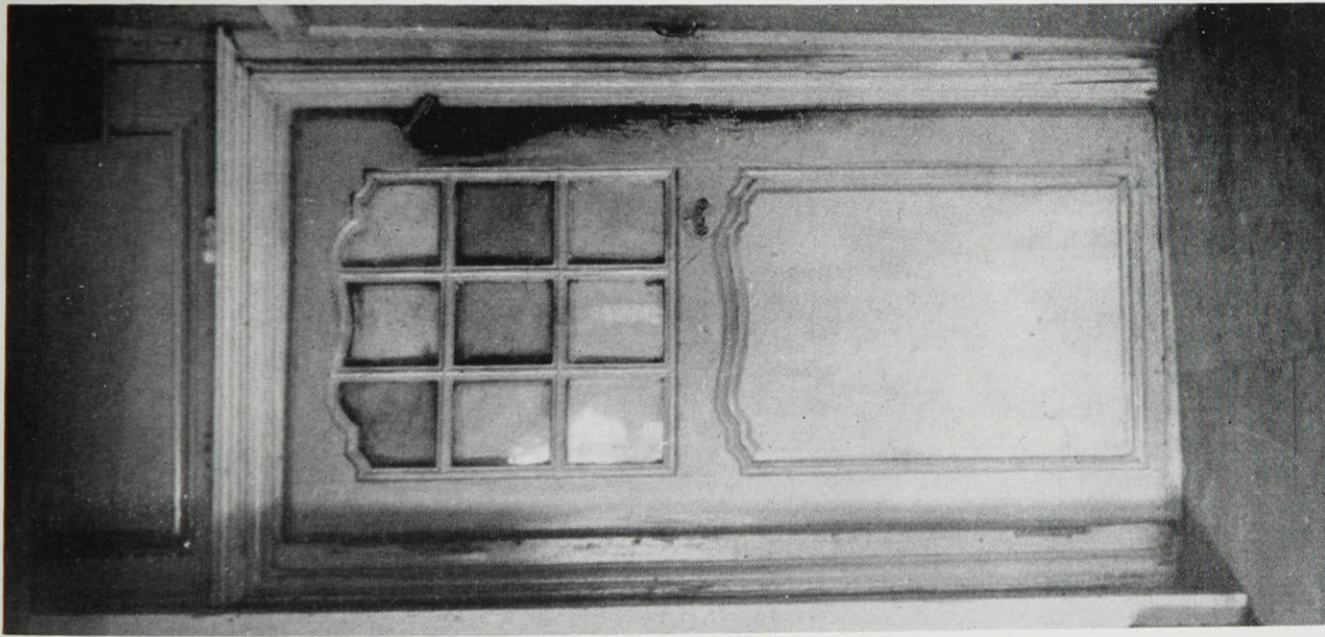


The Staircase

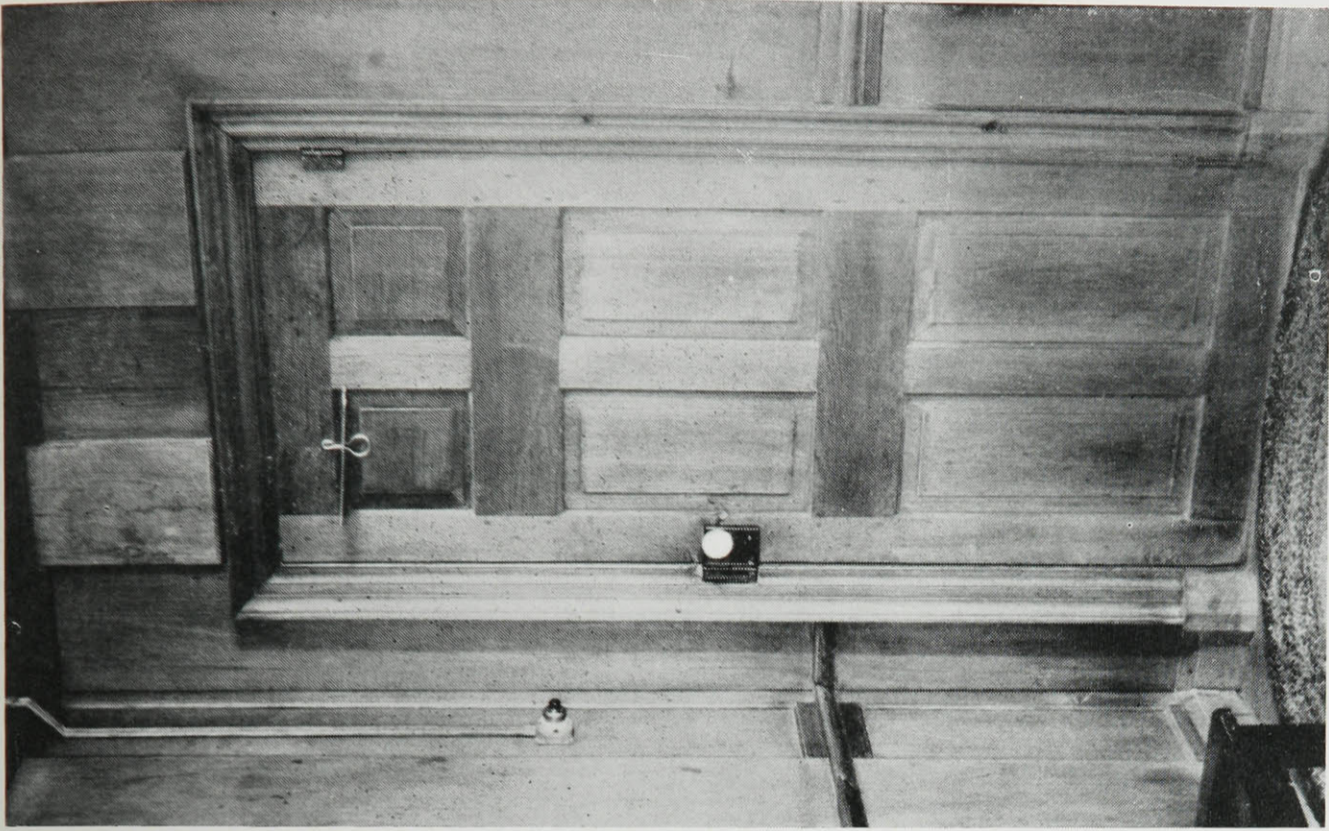
PLATE LXXIII
THREE DOORS



From the Hôpital Général, late eight-
eenth century



From a cottage near Beaupré, late eight-
eenth century



From the Presbytery at Batiscan, 1836

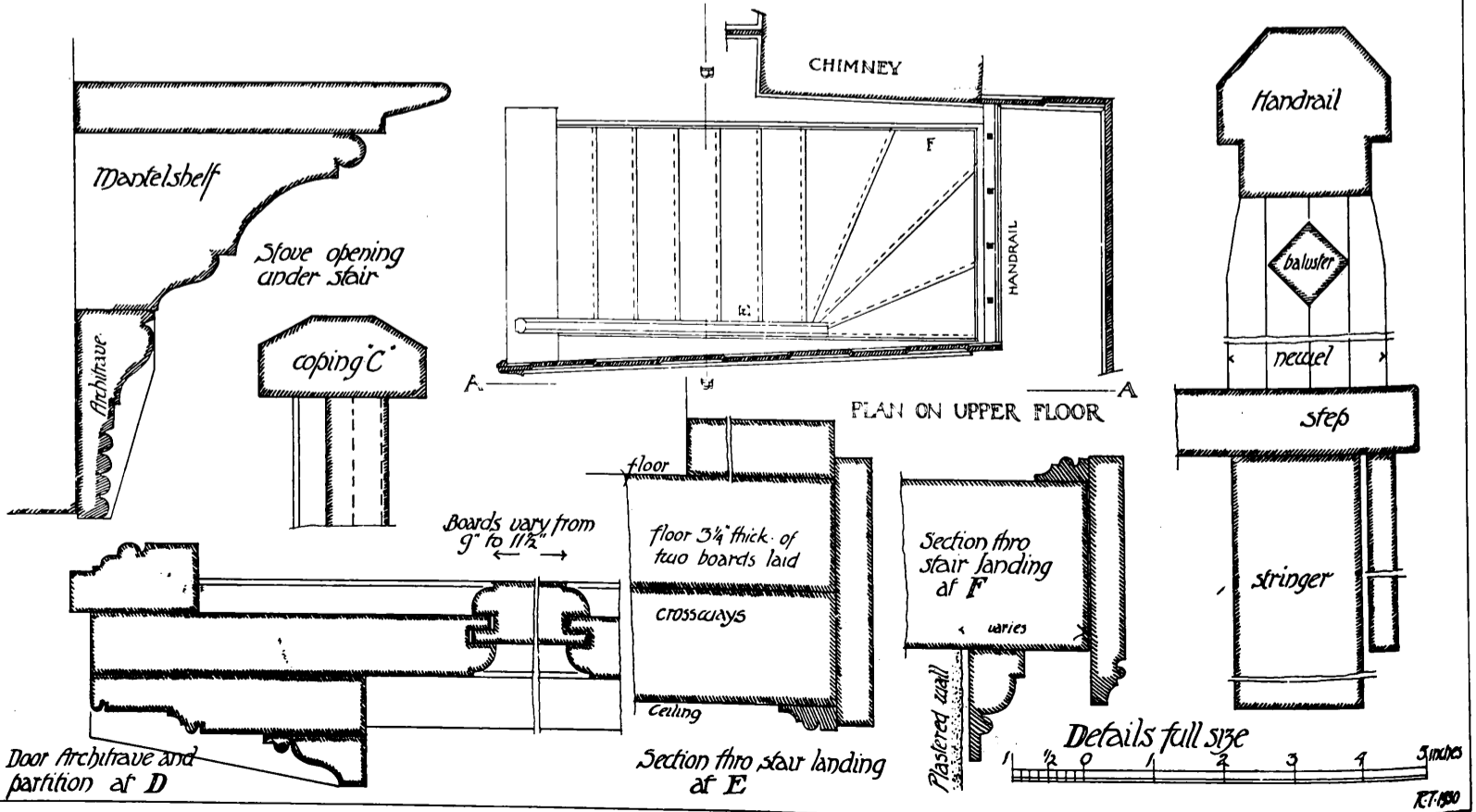
THE OLD PRESBYTERY AT BATISCAN



THE STAIR AND ROOM ABOVE ON THE LINE A-A

SECTION ON B-B

THE NEWEL POST IS OCTAGONAL AND TAPERS FROM $3\frac{7}{8}$ AT THE FLOOR TO $2\frac{1}{4}$ AT THE TOP



CHIMNEY

Mantelshelf

Stove opening under stair

coping C

Boards vary from 9" to 11 1/2"

floor 3/4" thick of two boards laid

crossways

Section thro stair landing at E

Section thro stair landing at F

varies

Plastered wall

Handrail

baluster

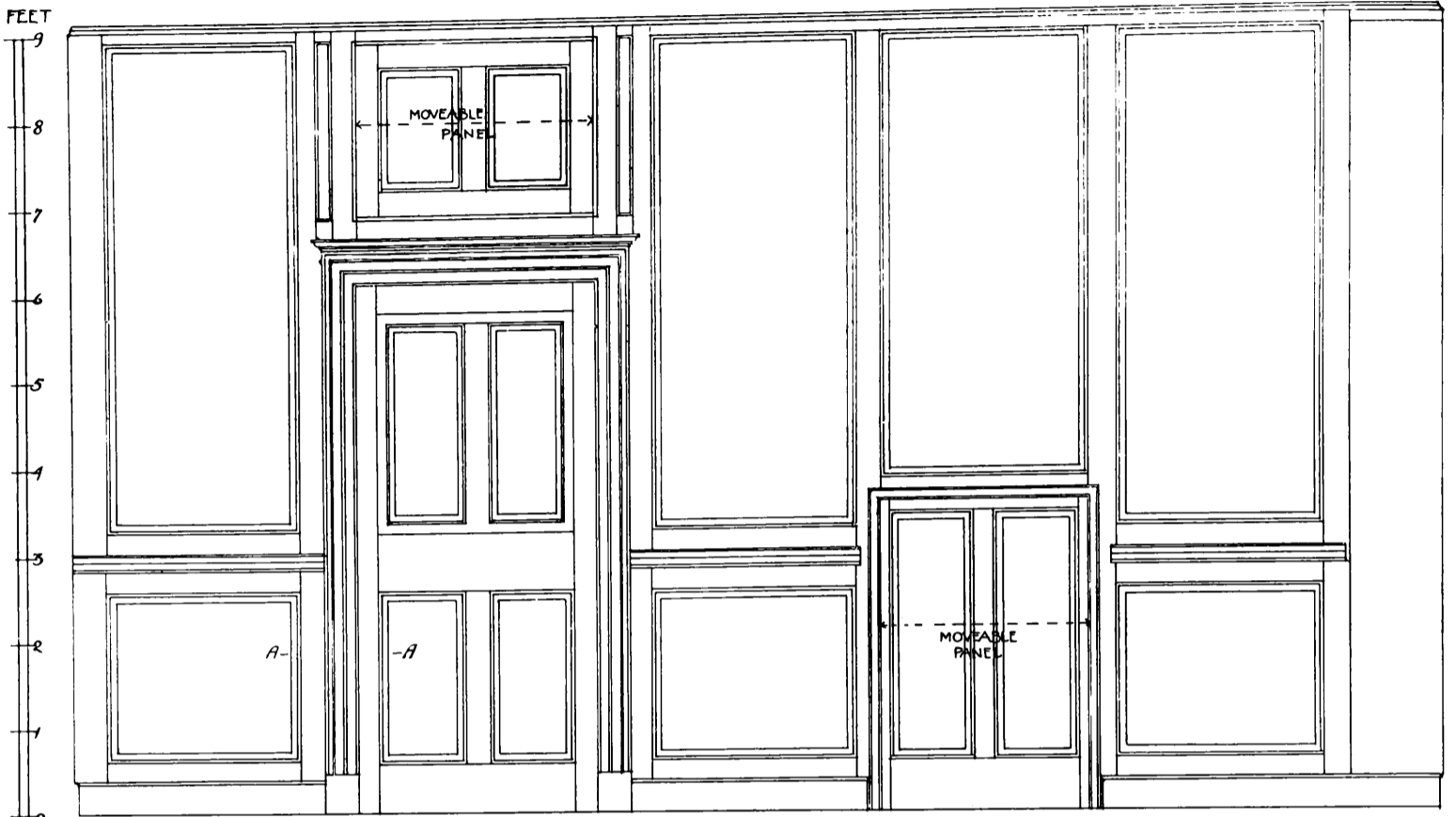
newel

step

stringer

Details full size

THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL QUEBEC



PANEL PARTITION IN M^{rs} DE SAINT VALLIER'S ROOM

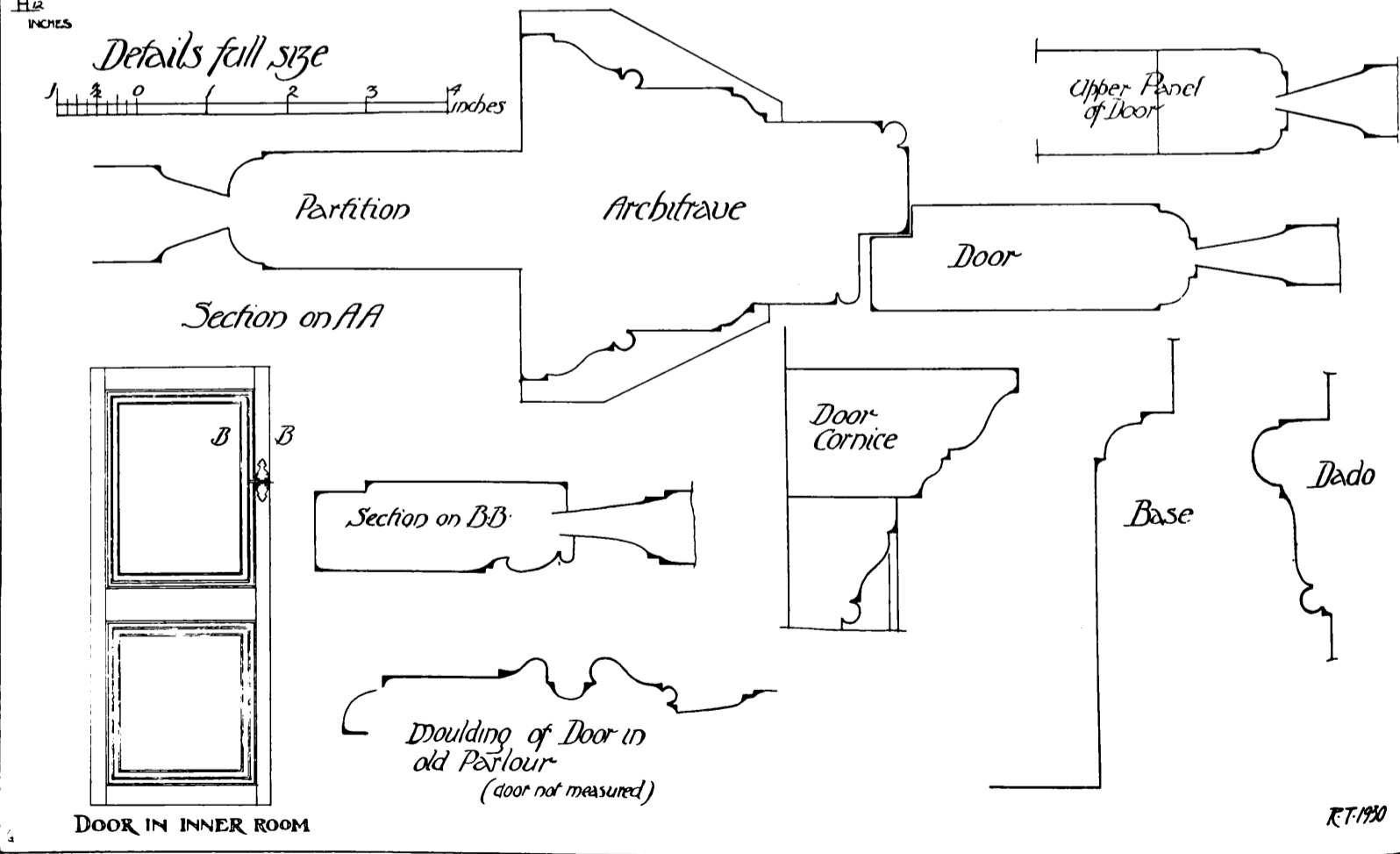
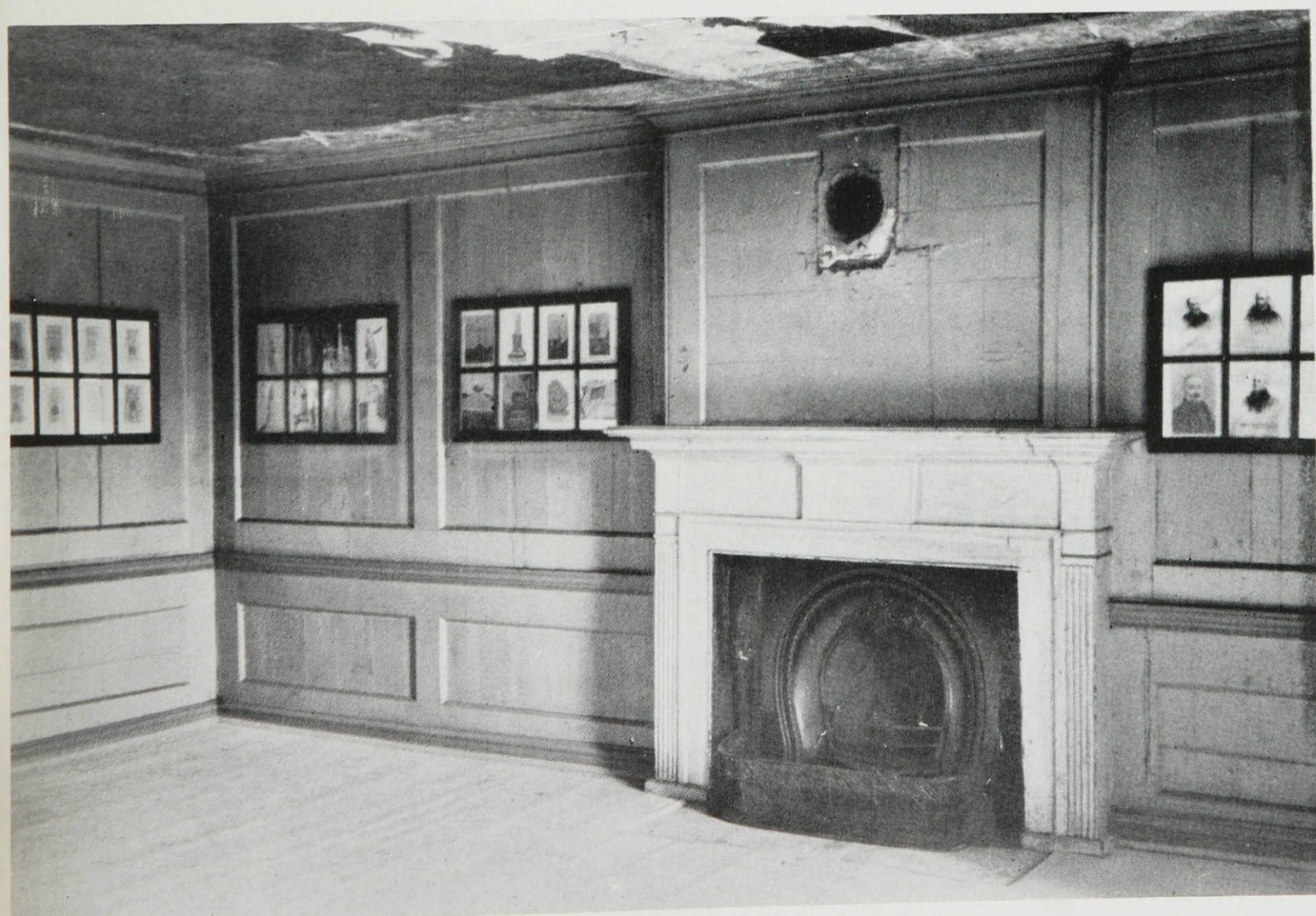
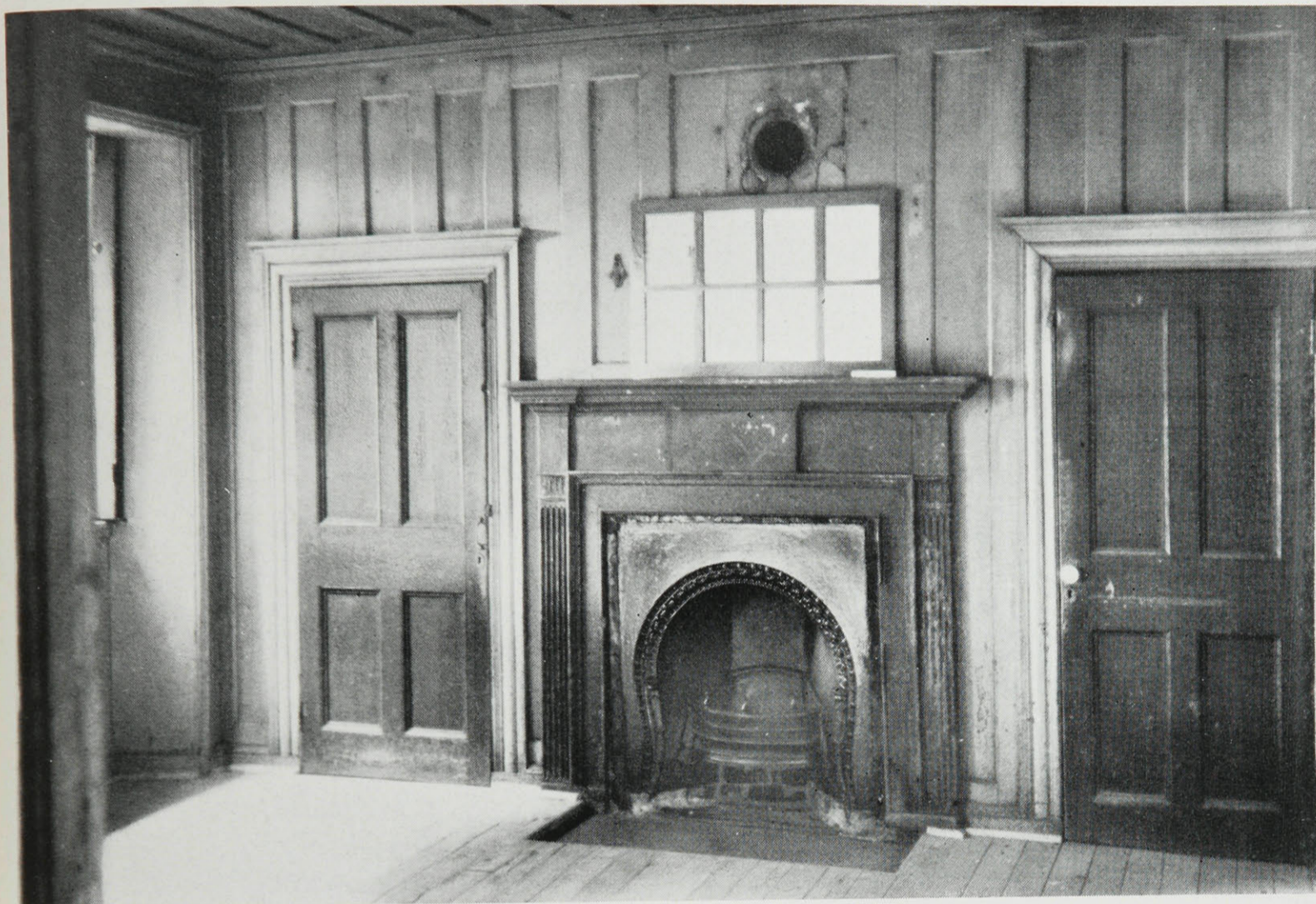
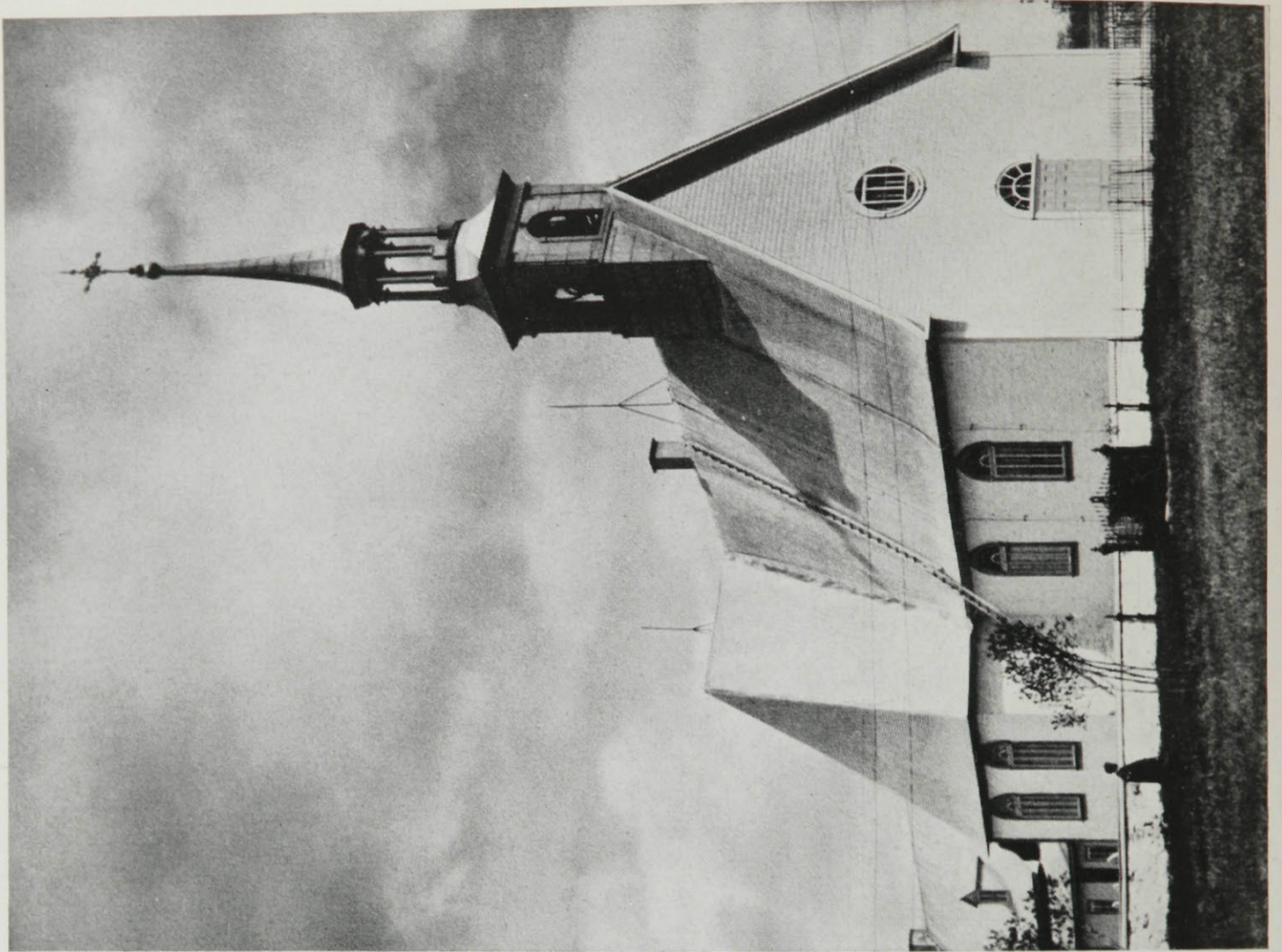


PLATE LXXVII
THE "JESUIT HOUSE", SILLERY

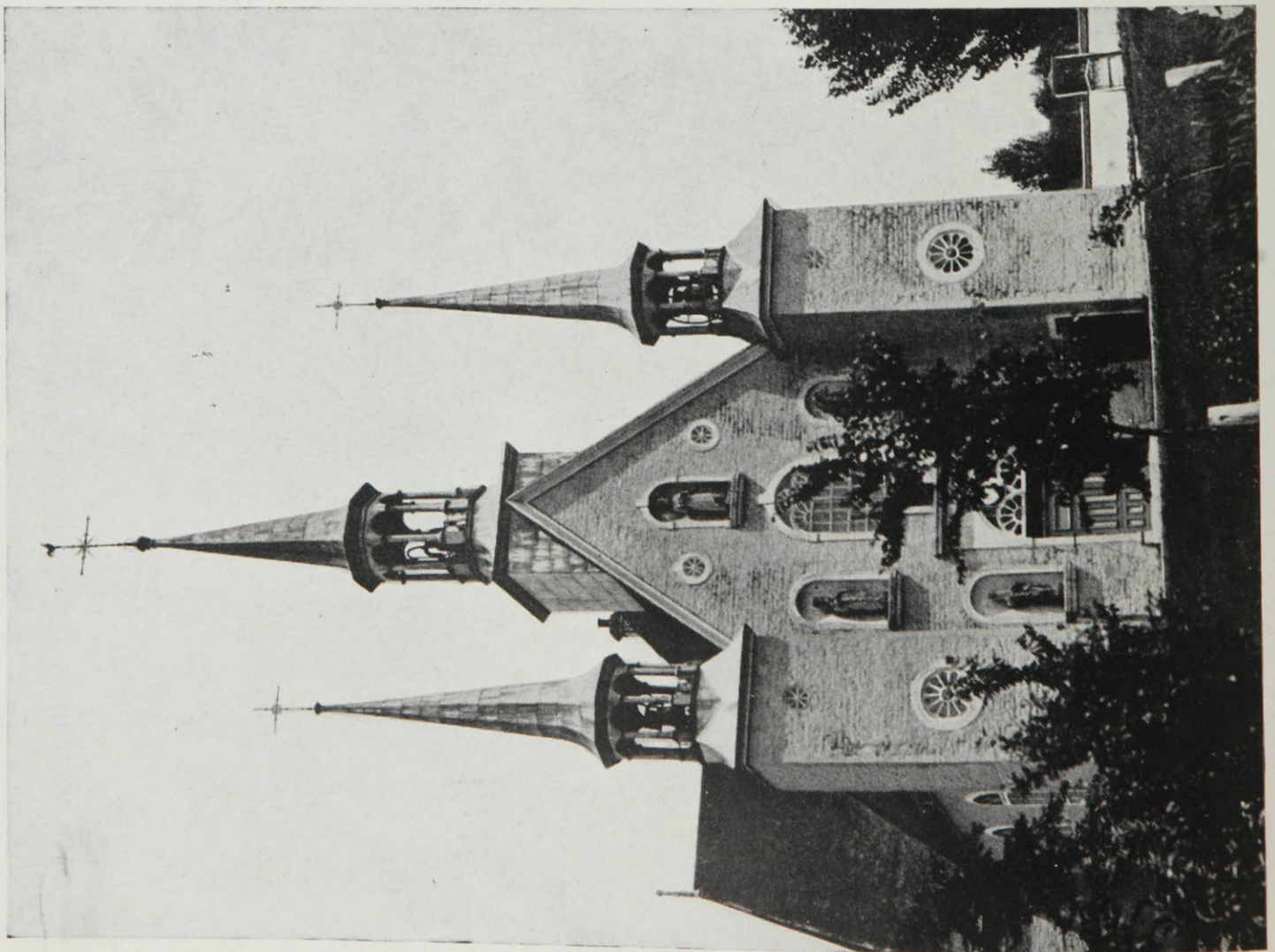


The Panelled Rooms on the Ground Floor

PLATE LXXVIII
WEST GABLES



St. Pierre, Island of Orleans



Ste. Famille, Island of Orleans

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCHES

QUEBEC is a flat land, rimmed by blue mountains. Here and there a point of higher ground breaks the level plain, the Montreal Mountain, the St. Hilaire Mountain, but generally it is a flat land with a line of distant hills. Through it runs the great river and its tributaries the Richelieu, the Yamaska, the Ottawa, broad quiet streams broken only occasionally by rapids. These rivers were the early highways and along their banks grew up the early settlements. Such a land calls for landmarks and in flat countries the church steeple has always been a landmark. The early travellers in Quebec all remark upon the slender church spires, tin covered and sparkling in the distance. A flat country seems to grow slender spires.

The French-Canadian church, like the house, had its origins in France but, just as the trees and flowers of New France were very like those of the Old,—like yet different—so the churches, their simple architecture rooted in the traditions of France, are yet different from French churches. Every feature is French but one would search France vainly for a Quebec parish church.

The earliest churches were framed of wood, as is described in the *Jesuit Relations* and the records of the oldest parishes usually tell us of a first wooden church. The first chapel of Nôtre Dame de Bonsecours, built in 1657, was of oak and was replaced by a stone church in 1676. At St. François de Sales on the Island of Orleans the first church, of about 1707, was of wood; it was replaced by a stone building in 1731. The original mission chapel at Sault au Récollet, built about 1696, was of wood and the first stone church was apparently built in 1751. The first church of St. Pierre (I. O.) was built of wood in 1676 and replaced in stone between 1717 and 1730. St. Jean, also on the Island, had a wooden church, built in 1683 and rebuilt in stone in 1732. The church of La Sainte Famille, begun in 1669, was of stone, and was stated to be one of the first parish churches to be built in stone at a time when there were but few masons in the country.¹

Stone parish churches seem to have been quite uncommon until about 1730. All these old wooden buildings have long ago been replaced by stone, indeed those which we see today in the old parishes are usually the third, or even the fourth built on the site. In these rebuildings little respect was shown for the old edifice; usually it and its decorations disappear entirely, though an old altar might be preserved, placed in a wayside chapel or given to some other parish.

The manner in which a church was built is well illustrated from the archives of Sault au Récollet where the old wooden church was falling to ruins in 1747 and

¹ Archives of Ste. Famille. History by the Revd. J. Gagnon written about 1820 from early documents now no longer in existence. The other references to wooden churches are taken from the archives of the respective churches.



Old photo

The Old Church of Lachenaie

Mgr. de Pontbriand, Bishop of Quebec, ordered that a new one should be built. A meeting of the parishioners was held and the marguilliers—or church-wardens—laid before them the need of contributions proportional to their holdings of land. Payments were to be made in money, labour and materials, “pour la lère annee chacun une toise de pierre de maconne, chacun deux voyages pierre de carrière soit pour la chaux soit pour les escoinson. Chacun une pistole en argent savoir cent sols des le quinze du janvier prochain et 100 sols au quinze de juin pour tout terme et delà. La seconde année pareillement une pistole payable dans les memes termes, une semaine de leur temps et une pièce de bois de pin, ceci pour estre sciée au moulin en planche ou madrier de douze poulce d’échantilon. La troisième année pareillement et ainsy d’année jusqu’a la perfection de l’ouvrage.”²

Kalm, who visited the site in 1749, tells us that the stone for the new building was already on the site.³

Walls were of field stones laid in lime mortar. They were from two to three feet thick and were heavily mortared on the outside. Sometimes they were plastered and whitewashed.⁴ The “tailleur de pierre” was a separate trade. Cut stone was usually confined to five inch margins to doors and windows and to stone angles. Stone mouldings or carving of any kind are a sign of late date in a parish church; only large town churches showed any such architectural elaboration.

Roofs were framed of heavy timbers, 10 inches to 12 inches square, dressed with the adze, tenoned and pinned with wood pins. A wooden ceiling is invariable, usually an elliptical vault decorated with ribs and carving.

Contracts were made for each trade separately with local craftsmen. At Sault au Récollet the general conduct of the work was given to Charles Guilbault, “maçon entrepreneur de la batisse de l’église” and a native of the parish. He, no doubt, made any simple plans that were necessary. In general, contracts were for labour only. The proprietors were expected to supply, or to pay separately for, such materials as nails, timber, glass, ironwork and for carriage. We even find refreshments for the workmen entered as a separate item. When finished, the work was examined, measured and passed by outside experts.

The carved wood decorations and fittings which formed so important a part of the work were the subject of separate contracts with the master sculptor and were not considered until the work was well advanced. They were designed by the sculptor for a church already built, not, as at present, designed by the architect as part of the building.

So the community built its church, to a pattern already well established by tradition and in the making of which every craftsman knew his part. It was the mediaeval method.

As a typical church we may take St. Pierre, on the Island of Orleans, of which the structure was completed about 1720.⁵

² Acte de l’Assemblée générale. In the actes de la Fabrique de Sault au Récollet.

³ *Memoirs de la Société historique de Montreal*. Livre VII. *Voyage de P. Kalm*, traduit par L. W. Marchand, p. 220.

⁴ E.g., at the old church of Beaupré; at Charlesbourg.

⁵ The complete history is given in Traquair, *The Church of Saint Pierre*, *Journal R. A. I. C.*, Feb., 1929.

The church is an open hall, covered by a wooden elliptical vault and terminating in a semicircular apse. Projecting some ten feet on the north and south sides are shallow transepts which form side chapels on each side of the apse. At the west end is a large gallery in which is the organ. Lighting is by large round-arched windows with cut stone margins and deep internal splays. There are two on each side of the sanctuary. The church is fully, almost brilliantly, lighted. The main door is at the west end. In St. Pierre it is quite plain, but it is often marked by a pediment on pilasters or by a wooden porch. Above it is a circular "oeil de bouc" window. There is a small side entrance, on the south side, framed in wooden doric pilasters.

Eastwards from the transepts is the deep apsidal sanctuary in which stands the high altar. The walls are lined with wood and decorated with corinthian pilasters framing carved panels. This, which constitutes the "rétable", is the work of André Paquet, made between 1834 and 1848. It is of pure traditional French renaissance, with no signs of the Gothic or other revivals which elsewhere were dominating architecture.

The altar consists of a table, or tombeau, surmounted by a carved wood tabernacle. This name is always given to the entire structure of grades, tabernacle, niches and canopy placed upon the altar table.

The sanctuary has been decorated at least twice, possibly three times in the century which elapsed between the first rétable and the work which we now see. The church accounts refer to no less than seven wood sculptors who executed decorations, Louis Jacques, Maître Vezina, Les Vasseurs, Jean Bussière, Gabriel Gosselin, Antoine Jacson and Pierre Emond. Excepting for the high altar which is probably by Emond no work by these sculptors now remains.

The pulpit stands at the corner of the north transept. It replaced an older one in 1872, and is hardly worthy of the church. The old pulpits were frequently fully carved and surmounted by a canopy or soundingboard. Opposite the pulpit is the "banc d'oeuvre", the pew reserved for the marguilliers, or church wardens. It has a high sculptured back surmounted by a segmental pediment.

Turning to the exterior. The roofs are steep, between 50 and 60 degrees, and are nearly twice the height of the walls. The actual figures are 17 feet for the side walls and 30 feet, in vertical height, for the roof. These big roofs are usual in old churches, a church with high walls is usually mid-nineteenth century at earliest. At the west end a square wooden belfry, surmounted by an open octagonal lantern and a slender flèche, crowns the gable. This spire has been renewed at least twice.

At the east end is a sacristy communicating with the church by a door behind the altar and with a separate side entrance. It is furnished inside with presses and an altar. It is of brick and was built in 1900, replacing an older one which was probably not the first.

This is quite a typical history. In every old parish church we find the same series of events; the early wooden church, replaced during the early eighteenth century by a stone church; the series of decorations and repairs by which this

stone church is gradually modified to its present form. A parish church is not the finished design of an architect, built once and for all, not to be altered from its original design. It is a living history of the parish and is still growing.

We have described St. Pierre as a typical old church but of course every church was different from every other one. The sanctuary is sometimes square-ended, in place of the semicircular apse. In this plan there are two doors to the sacristy, one on each side of the altar, which is set against the back wall. This was a convenient form for a conventual chapel which had to fit in with other square rooms and it is used both in the Ursulines and in the Hôpital Général. It is not uncommon in parish churches. The old church at Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Sault au Récollet, built in 1750, the Indian Church at Jeune Lorette, Ste. Jeanne on Ile Perrot of 1786, are all square-ended.

The transepts are sometimes very small as at St. Jean Port Joli, barely large enough to hold the side altars. Sometimes, as at St. Jean (I. O.), there are no transepts, the apse is narrower than the nave and the side altars are set upon the end walls of the nave. Sometimes, as at St. Etienne de Beaumont the church is simply a long hall terminating in an apse, and there is no architectural provision for side altars.

The Jesuit church in Quebec was cruciform with a spire on the crossing and one tower, apparently never finished, attached to the west end. It had a flat ceiling of carved wood and an octagonal sanctuary. But to judge from Short's drawings, and they are our best record, the Jesuit church was quite unlike any other in the province of Quebec.⁶ The old Récollet church, which stood to the south of the present English cathedral, had a slender flèche at the east end and a square apse, like that of Sault au Récollet near Montreal.

The old cathedral, later the Basilica, at Quebec apparently had aisles, for the walls show quite clearly in Short's drawing of the ruins, and Mgr. Gosselin states that the building of 1744 had aisles, twenty-eight feet deep.⁷ In this it was, so far as I know, unique. In old parish churches aisles, when they occur, are always nineteenth century additions. But M. Chaussegros de Léry is said to have drawn the plans of the Cathedral, and he was no doubt influenced by what he knew of French cathedrals.

Galleries at the west end are usual. They hold the organ and choir. The addition of a second gallery was probably the first step in enlarging a church. If this did not prove sufficient the church was lengthened at the west end and a new west front built.

The simple gable with round-arched door and "oeil de bouc" surmounted by a wooden belfry seems to have been the usual west end in early times. Decoration of any kind was unusual; we occasionally find a date stone or a niche for a wooden statue of the patron saint as at L'Acadie (1801). As time went on we find further decoration, but elaborate stone carving or moulding is foreign to Quebec architecture, neither the limestone nor the climate were suited to it.

⁶ The old church of St. Denis sur Richelieu had a crossing surmounted by a large open lantern. See below.
⁷ Roy, P. G., *Les Vieilles Églises de la Province de Québec*, p. 3, quoting Mgr. Gosselin. The building was a parish church until 1674, a cathedral until 1874, a basilica since then.

The slender spires of Quebec are derived from the little octagon lanterns which are so common a feature of French architecture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The drawings of Du Cerceau, in the mid-sixteenth century are full of them, and we may see them today crowning the roofs and towers of Chambord in France. These, in turn, were derived from the lanterns which universally surmounted the domes of the Italian renaissance.

In Quebec the lantern becomes the belfry stage of a wooden spire, it rests upon a square base, set astride the ridge of the roof, and rises above in a slender *flèche*. One lantern stage was all that was strictly necessary to hang the bells, and many churches have only one,—*Ste. Famille*, *Charlesbourg* and the old churches at *Lachenaie* and *L'Ange Gardien* are single storey spires. But two storeys are more usual, especially perhaps in the later, and larger churches.

The lantern is sometimes domed as in the old churches of *Beaupré* and *Ste. Foy*, both demolished. This was the original French lantern, but the commoner Quebec form is a very slender needle spire with a pronounced bellcast. Over the sanctuary was often a smaller *flèche* to hold a bell. As a protection against the weather the woodwork of spires and *flèches* was covered with beaten sheet lead. This gives a very soft quality to the large simple mouldings which is often lost in modern restorations where the mouldings are sharpened up.

We have already commented on the great roofs which are so important in Quebec architecture, both in the houses and in the churches. In this connection it is usually worth while to take a look at the back of any old church. Here the grouping of the various parts often produces very interesting effects. The steep high roofs of the transepts and the curving line of the apse contrast with the slender spire above and the flatter roof of the sacristy below. We may instance *St. Jean Port Joli*, where the sacristy has an octagonal termination and the sanctuary *flèche* is unusually large, *Ste. Famille* on the Island of Orleans, *Boucherville* and that strange church, the old *St. Denis sur Richelieu* with its cruciform plan and square lanterns.

Many churches of the early nineteenth century near Montreal have the west door framed in ionic pilasters surmounted by a pediment in which is the interlacing M monogram of the Sulpician Order, Seigneur of much land near Montreal. Thomas Baillairgé was fond of doric pilasters with a straight entablature and this form is not uncommon in churches near Quebec. *St. Denis sur Richelieu* had a rococo strap pediment over the west door, with the Sulpician monogram.

Ste. Famille on the Island of Orleans has triple western towers and five niches for statues on the west gable. This is unique and very attractive. The two side towers were the happy result of a gift of bells in 1807 but the five niches were part of the church erected in 1743.

The cathedral at Quebec never had more than one tower and even this does not seem to have been part of the original design. Apparently the first church designed with double western towers was *Cap Santé* which was built between 1755

⁸ *Vieilles Églises*, p. 2.

and 1763, during the English invasion; the two towers seem to have been built in 1763.⁹ The central gable is comparatively flat in pitch and the towers are surmounted by wooden spires with double lanterns of the usual kind, but which are fitted on to the square towers in a very makeshift manner. There are three circular windows and a wooden porch with two little doric columns, this latter clearly an addition, and in the gable above are three niches for statues. The result is rather bald; the features are too small for the large flat front.

Western fronts of this type are found in a number of large churches of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We may instance St. Denis sur Richelieu (1793), Berthier en haut (1812), St. Pierre de Sorel (1826), L'Islet (1830) and Repentigny, about 1850. The spires are always of wood and always look like the additions that they are. However they are usually the redeeming points of the design.

Town churches of the French régime sometimes had fairly elaborate west fronts. We have noticed those of the Jesuit church at Quebec and of Nôtre Dame at Montreal, yet the west front of the cathedral at Quebec remained perfectly plain until 1843 when Thomas Baillairgé designed the classic front which, after the burning of the Basilica in 1921, was restored and still stands.

In the country, formal west fronts only begin to appear in the nineteenth century, and are a sign of the modern architect. A few of them are well suited to their position and deserve special notice. They were probably designed by "mason-architects"; at any rate we have no architect's name attached to them. Charlesbourg, built in 1827, has plastered white-washed walls with a large gable pediment between two flèches, attractive if not very "correct". Chateauguay has a curly gable between two stumpy towers. The front is inscribed with no less than six dates between 1683 and 1914. The present rather attractive front was built in 1840.¹⁰ St. Louis de Terrebonne had a very pleasant curved gable with a central tower and flèche and a simple pedimented door. This church was pulled down in 1885 and all record of it is lost. The gable and central tower composition is fairly common from about 1850; unfortunately most of these examples are very commonplace in proportion and detail; the gothic revival was creeping into French-Canadian architecture in a strange rococo combination with the traditional forms.

At about the same time quite a number of church fronts in and near Montreal were built in a heavy Italian renaissance. This fashion may have been introduced by John Ostell, an English architect who married a French-Canadian lady and designed many buildings in Montreal. He is responsible for the west front of Sault au Récollet in 1850. Other fronts of the same heavy type are L'Assomption (1864), St. Eustache (1831), Ste. Geneviève, Ste. Rose and St. Aimé.

Whatever can be said for this monumental work in a city, where cut stone is polite, it looks very much out of place in a country parish. However, in all cases, the money seems to have run out before the spires were built. Work was dropped and, a few years later, the village carpenter put up a couple of belfried flèches of the old Canadian kind, perhaps a little smarter and curlier but unmistakably Canadian flèches; they save the design.

⁹ *Vieilles Églises*, p. 220.

¹⁰ *Vieilles Églises*, p. 227. There is a good photograph of the front on p. 229.

Efforts in the English style are rare, if we exclude the dreadful pseudo-gothic. Château Richer has a graceful steeple in the Gibbs manner. It was built in 1865 by Mr. F. X. Berlinguet, a leading architect of Quebec. The front of St. Jean on the Island of Orleans by the same architect shows strong English influence and is much more successful than most classic façades of its time. We know that the architects of this period were studying English examples; in the library of Thomas Baillairgé (1791-1859) was a copy of Gibbs *Book of Architecture*, carefully annotated. It is now in the Redpath Library of McGill University.

TECHNICAL TERMS

In the parish records, from which so much of our information is derived, many terms are used technically with a meaning rather different from their accepted and dictionary sense. Following the example of previous writers on the subject we shall simply anglicize these terms, using the French word with the significance given to it in the old records. The references for the usages will be given at the end of the chapter.

TABERNACLE. This term includes the entire superstructure of the altar, the grades (*gradin*), the central shrine for the Host and the superstructure. It corresponds to the English "reredos" and is entirely placed on the altar-table. It usually stands free of the wall and the *rétable* passes behind it.

AUTEL usually means the altar-table but is sometimes extended to include the tabernacle as well.

TOMBEAU or **CADRE D'AUTEL** is the altar-table.

AUTEL BOMBÉ or **À LA ROMAINE** is an altar-table with a curved swelling front.

CUSTODE is the central locked shrine for the Host. The tabernacle was made in sections of which the lowest consisted of a custode and two grades, which was made in one piece. Early tabernacles had, in addition to the "custode du gradin", also an upper custode with a lock and key, for the monstrance or "soleil". This is referred to in an entry at Beaumont of 1725 as "la grande custode du tabernacle". Such "grandes custodes" have been found in the following tabernacles, the high altars of the Hôpital Général and the Ursuline chapel in Quebec, the high altars of Boucherville, St. Gérard de Magella, Jeune Lorette and St. Jean Port Joli, and the old tabernacle at Batiscan. The latest of these is that at St. Jean Port Joli which appears to have been made about 1780; generally the upper custode seems to have gone out of use about the middle of the eighteenth century.

RÉTABLE. This term is used for the wall decoration, in carved wood, of the sanctuary walls. It may be confined to an architectural composition behind the high altar or it may include a full decorative treatment of the sanctuary walls, including the walls behind the side altars. The *rétable* is not part of the altar, though the altar may be set against it.

JUBÉ means a gallery, usually at the west end of the church but sometimes in the transepts. French-Canadian churches have nothing corresponding to a roodloft or screen. The term "gallerie" is rarely used.

REFERENCES

St. Pierre, I. O. Notes in the livre de comptes, probably of the end of the XIX century.

"Tabernacle du Maître Autel . . . fait par M. Emond. . .

Le rétable et la voute de choeur par André Paquet en 1832.

Livre de comptes 1795.

"Donné a M. Emond pour facon 1. du tabernacle. 2. du cadre du tableau. 3. de l'autel bombé. 1,035."

This work is still in the church. The work of Paquet includes the entire decoration of the sanctuary, including the two side chapels. The high altar-table has a curved console front and the superstructure is of late eighteenth century type, clearly that made by Emond in 1795. The distinction between the rétable and the tabernacle is quite clear.

For a complete description of a tabernacle, see the contract by Bolvin for the tabernacle at Lachenaie (in the appendix.) The contract is for the entire superstructure of the altar, with grades, reliquaries and crowning globe and cross. The accounts show that this tabernacle was delivered in three sections, in 1739, 1740, and 1744. It is still in the church.

L'Ange Gardien, Note of 1893 in the deliberations:

" . . . on a transporté l'autel dans la sacristie—le tombeau est le même, le tabernacle est nouveau.

St. Laurent I. O. Livre de comptes 1801:

"pour avoir doré le tombeau et le tabernacle 96

In these two entries the "tombeau" is the altar table, the "tabernacle" is the superstructure. Examples could be multiplied.

St. François, I. O. Livre de comptes 1764.

"Paye au Vasseur pour la custode et les gradins. 53.8

L'Acadie. L. de C. 1786.

"Payé a Joseph Lavoye, menuisier, pour une custode. 4

St. Joachim. L. de C. 1783.

"A. M. Baillargé sur le tabernacle 801.17

Pour garniture de la custode du gradin 39.11

Vaudreuil. L. de C. 1793.

"Pour parfait payement de la dorure du tabernacle 1464.16
et garniture de la custode

St. Etienne de Beaumont. L. de C. 1719.

"Paye pr huit feuilles depapiers doré pour doubler la grande custode du tabernacle.
1725.

"Paye pr une serrure et penture pr une custode cy 4

The lowest section of a tabernacle consisted of the central tabernacle, called the "custode" and the two grades. This was made in one piece and was, in itself, sufficient furniture for the altar. Early tabernacles had, in addition to the "custode du gradin" an upper custode, with lock and key, for the monstrance, or "soleil". This is the "grand custode" referred to in the last entry.

St. Etienne de Beaumont. L. de C. 1895.

1 petit jubé et 6 bancs. 175.00

St. Jean, I. O. Livre de Deliberations 1850.

" . . . les banc du jubé payent le meme rente que ceux de la nef.

St. Famille, I. O. Resolution 1881.

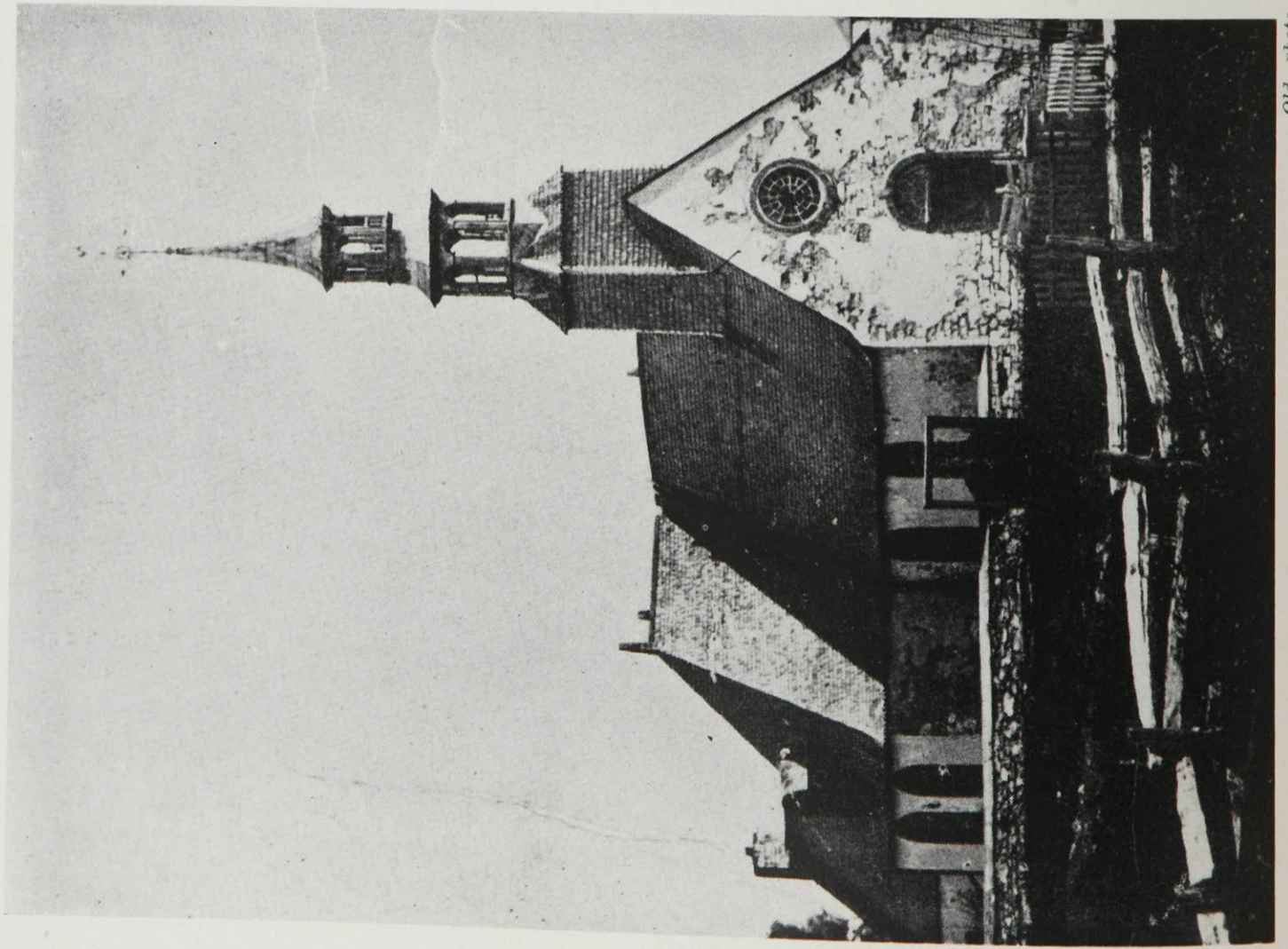
" . . . agrandir le jubé d'en bas d'environ 6 pieds sur la largeur de l'église, dont le milieu servira pour orgue et choeur.

The word "galerie" is rarely used:—

L'Ange Gardien. 1901. "Construire 2 galeries laterales".

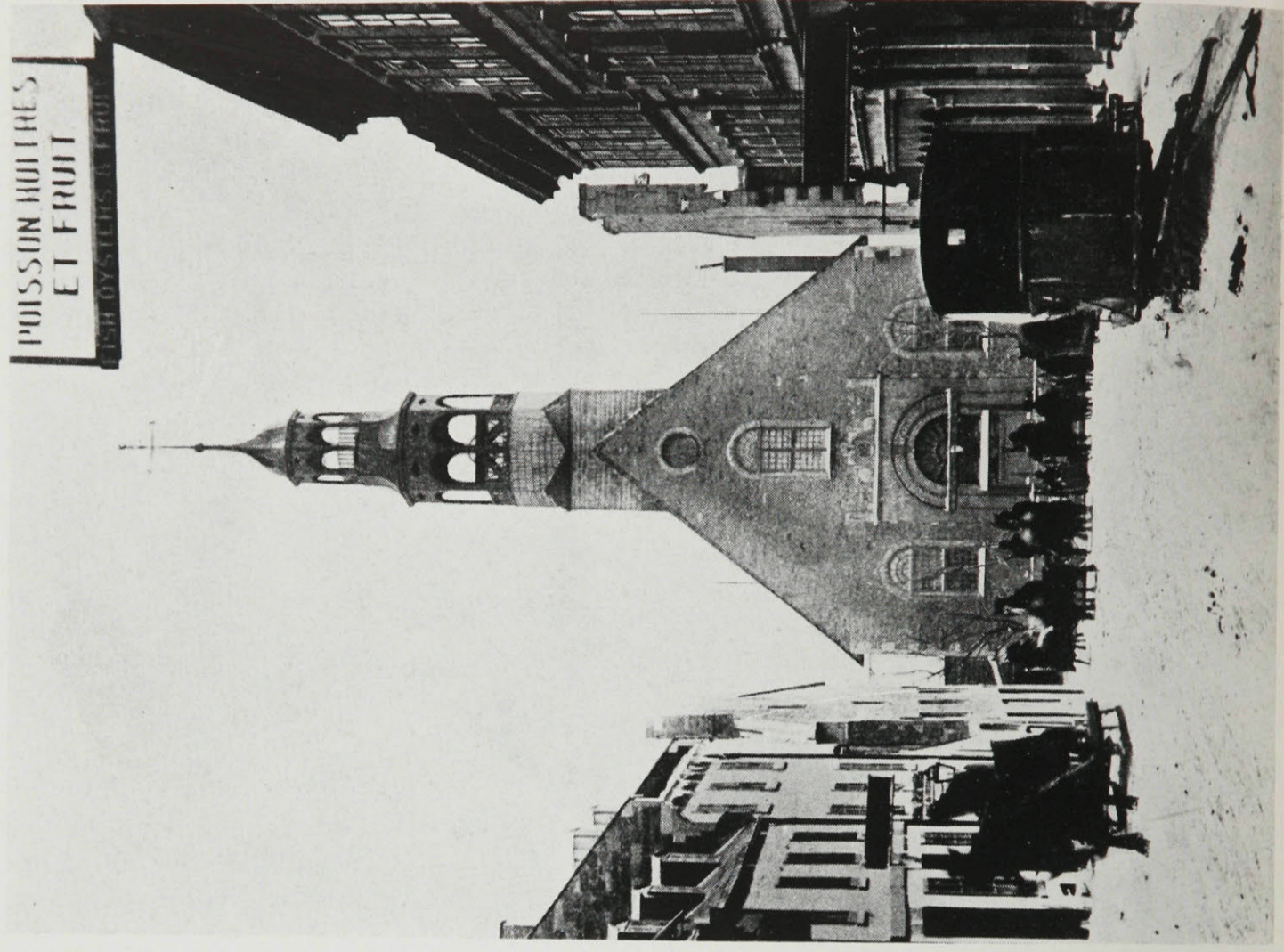
The following tabernacles have large upper custodes with doors, locks and keys. The Hôpital Général, high altar; the Ursuline chapel, Quebec, high altar; the old tabernacle at Batiscau; the tabernacles of the high altars at Boucherville, St. Gérard de Magella, Jeune Lorette, St. Jean Port Joli. The upper custode seems to have been usual to about the middle of the eighteenth century.

PLATE LXXX
PARISH CHURCHES



The Old Church of St. Laurent, Isle of Orleans

Old photo



Notre Dame de Bonsecours, Montreal. Before Alteration (1880)

E. Gariepy, Montreal

PLATE LXXXI
PARISH CHURCHES



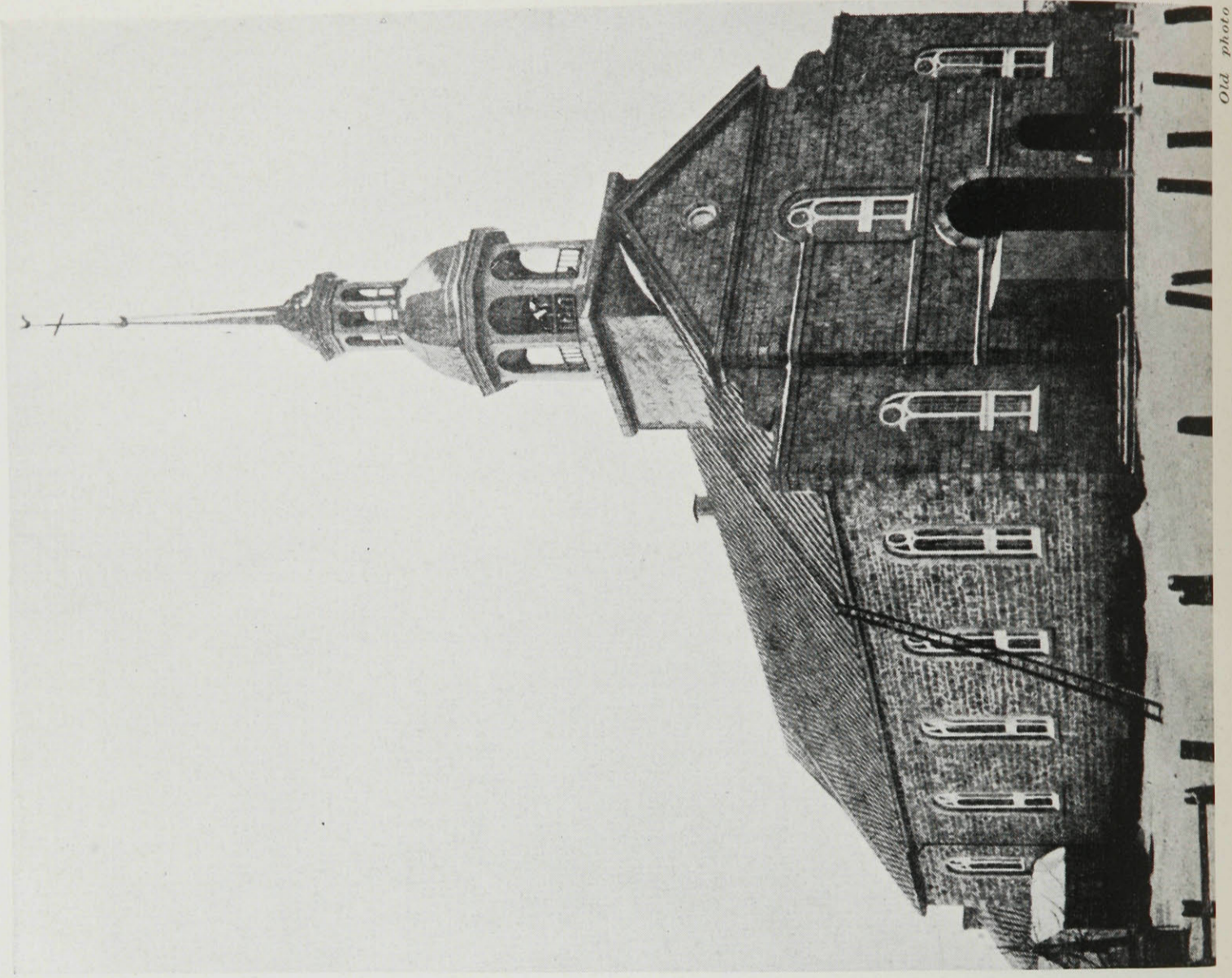
St. Jean Port Joli, from the East



Old Church of St. Louis, Terrebonne

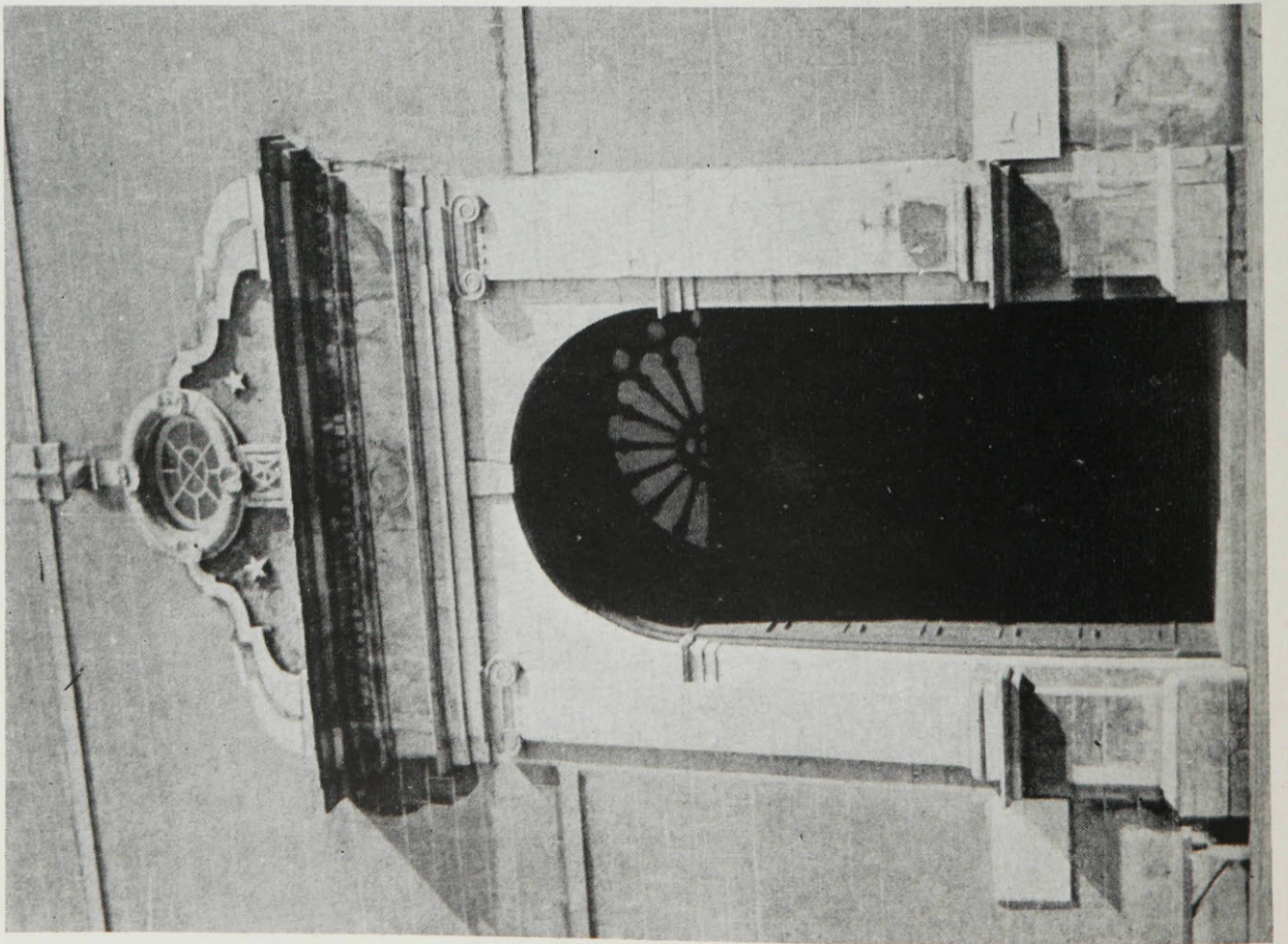
Old photo

PLATE LXXXII
PARISH CHURCHES



St. Alexis, 1857

Old photo



West Door of St. Denis sur Richelieu, 1793

PLATE LXXXIII
PARISH CHURCHES



The Indian Church of Jeune Lorette

PLATE LXXXIV
PARISH CHURCHES



Photo about 1880

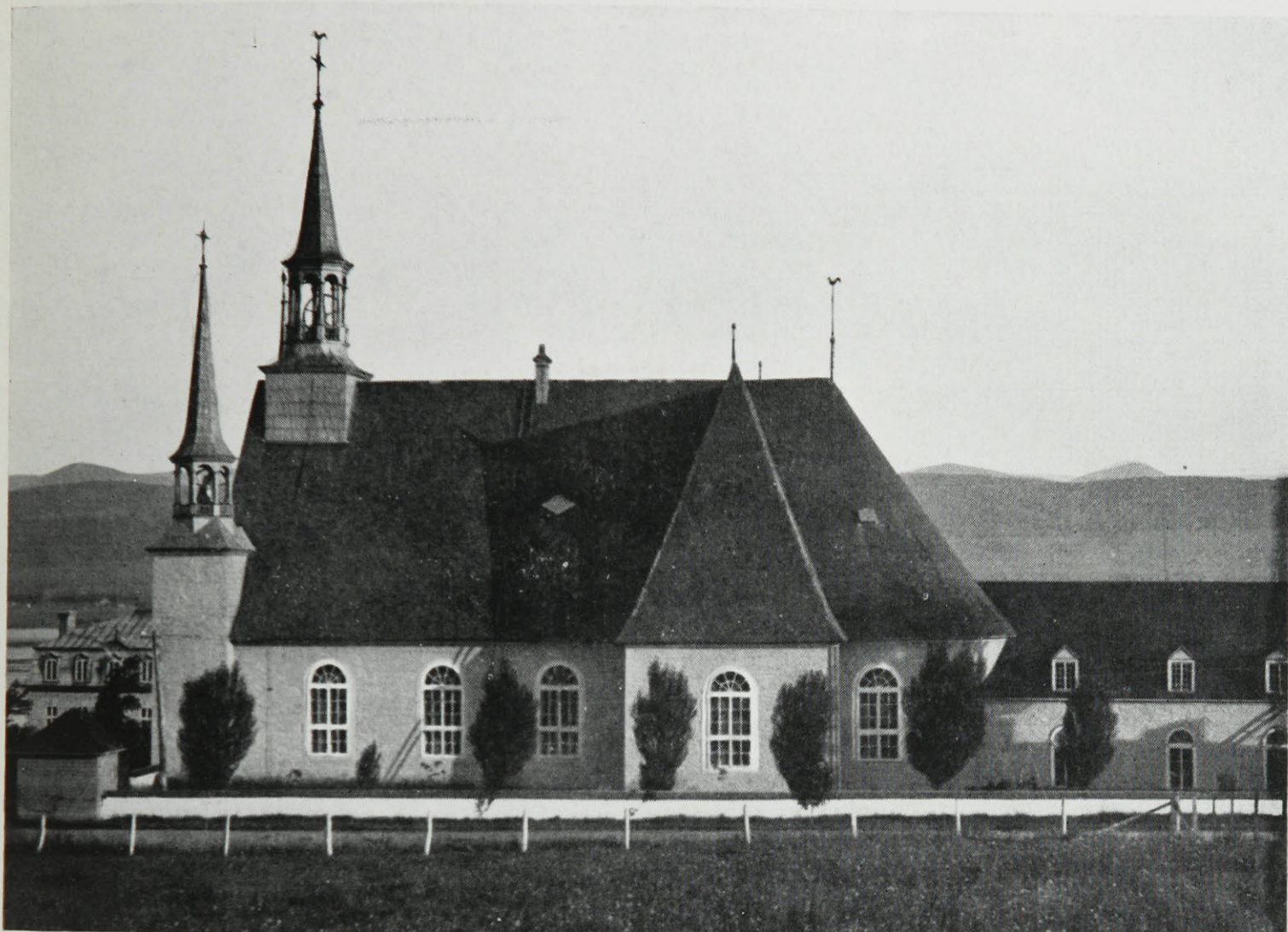
Pointe aux Trembles



Old photo

St. Denis sur Richelieu

PLATE LXXXV
PARISH CHURCHES



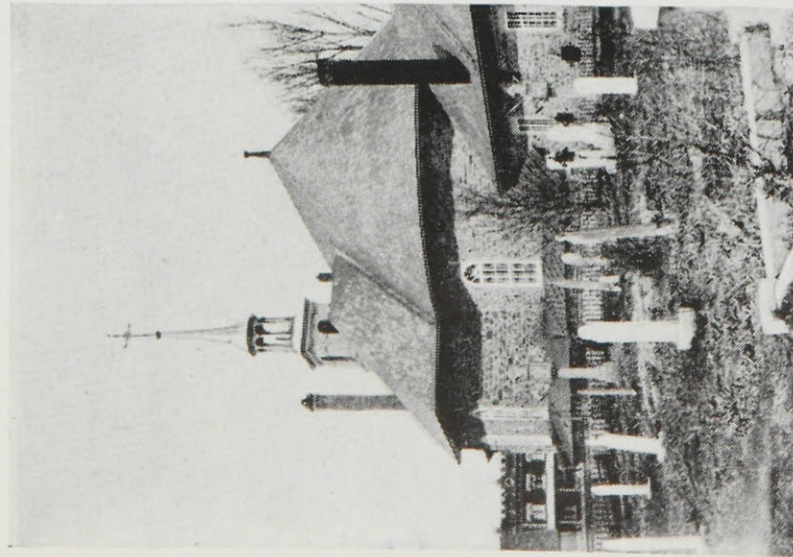
Ste. Famille, Island of Orleans



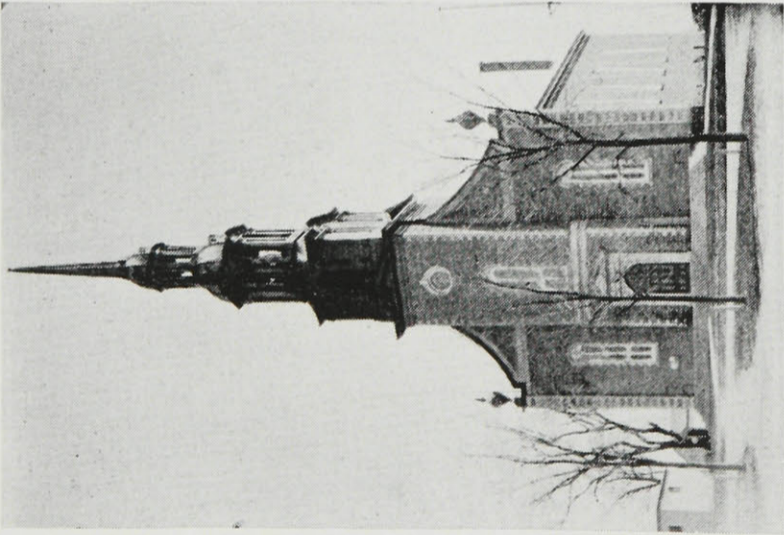
St. Denis sur Richelieu

Old photo

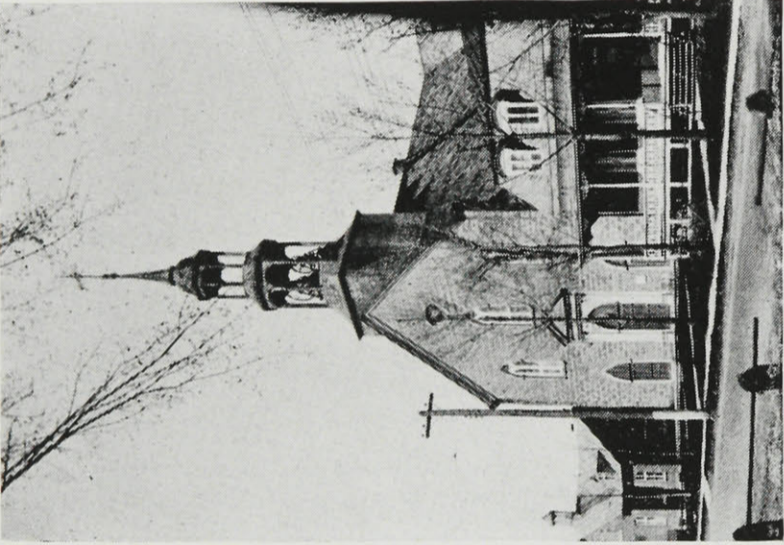
PLATE LXXXVI
PARISH CHURCHES



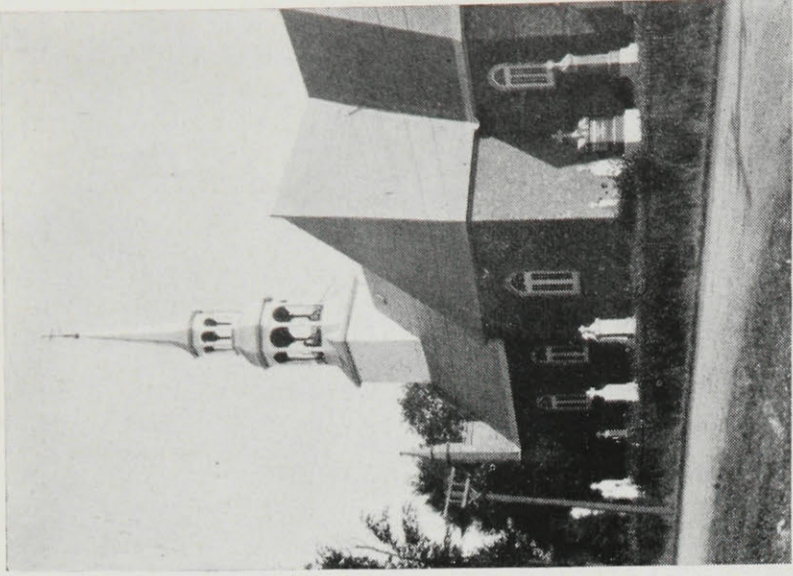
St. Pierre les Becquets, 1837



Bécancourt



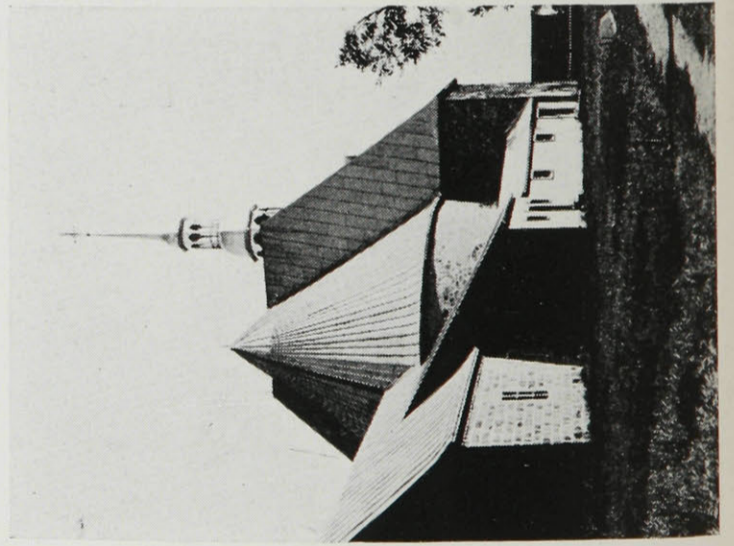
St. Sulpice



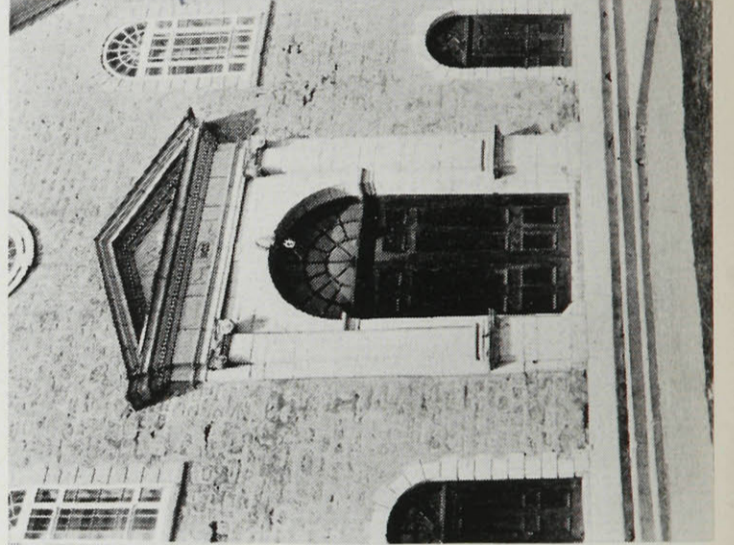
Vaudreuil



St. Roch, Lachigan, 1795



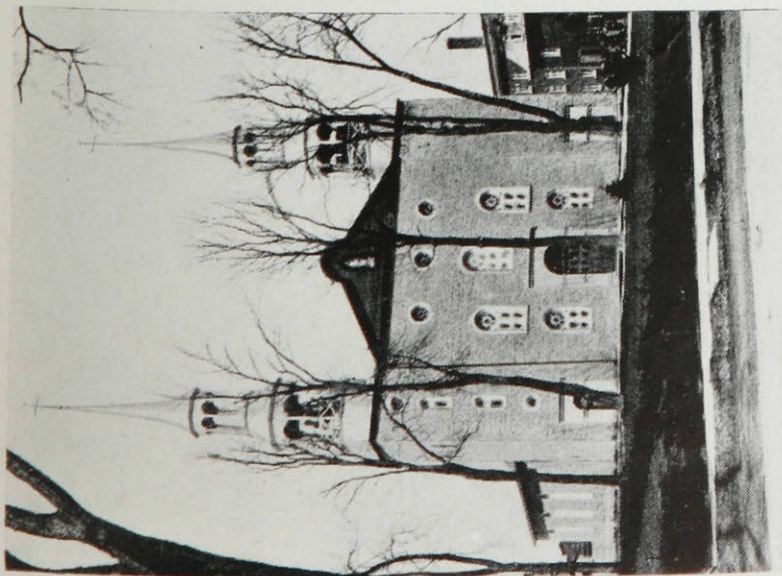
St. Roch, Lachigan



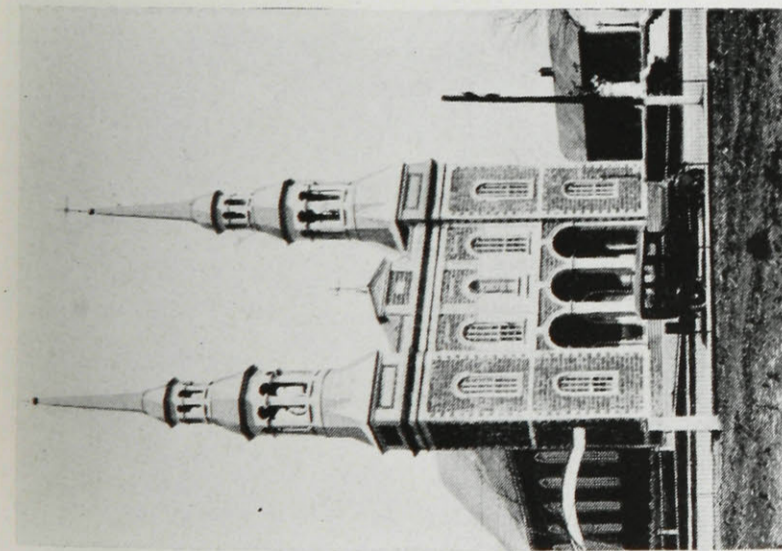
St. Roch, Lachigan



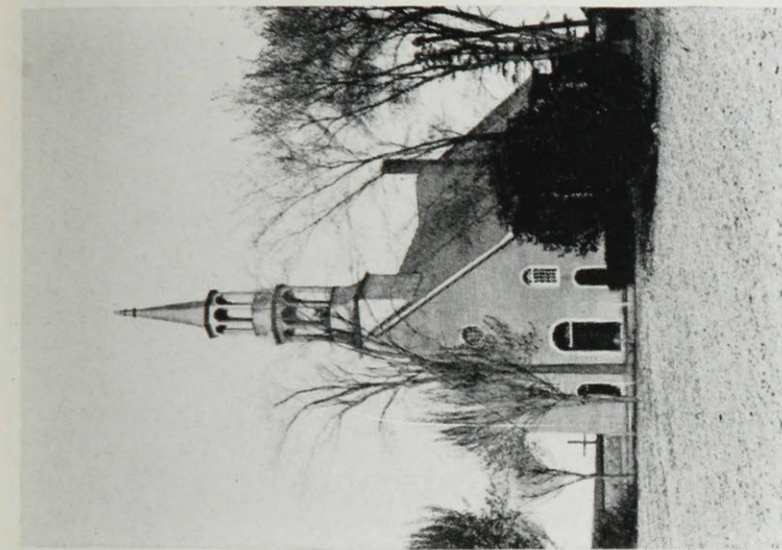
St. Michel, Bellechasse, 1828



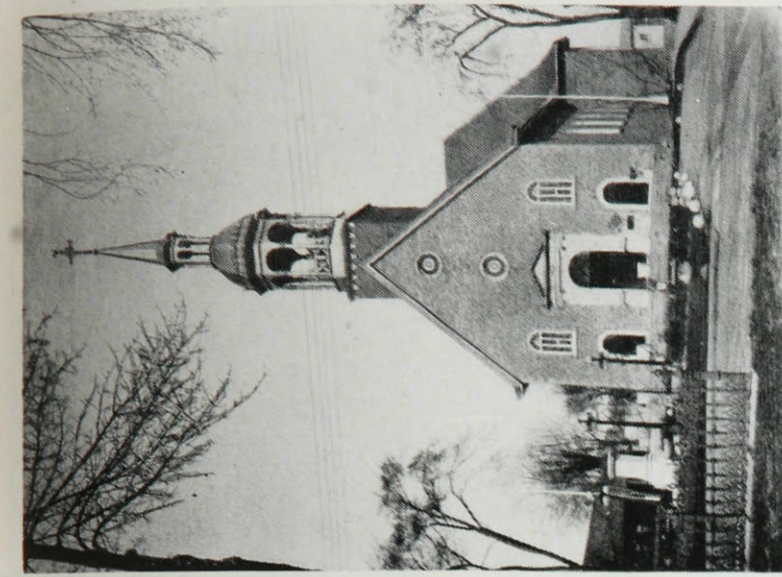
Berthier en Haut, 1812



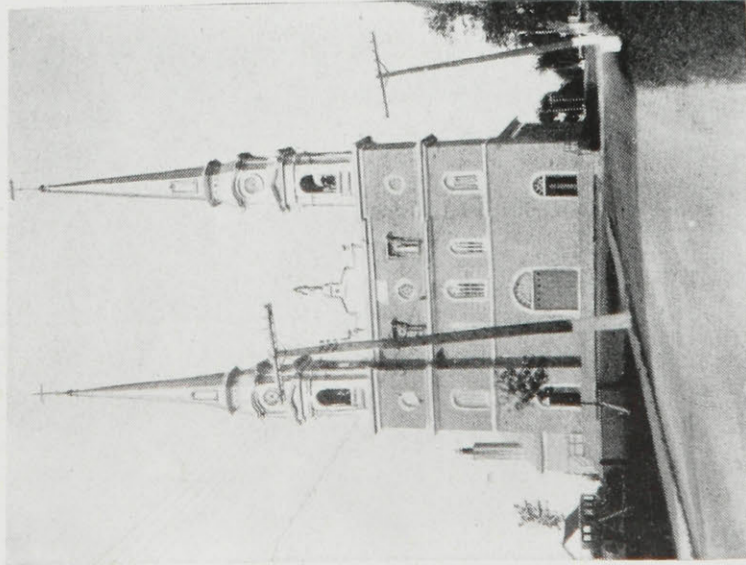
Champlain, 1879



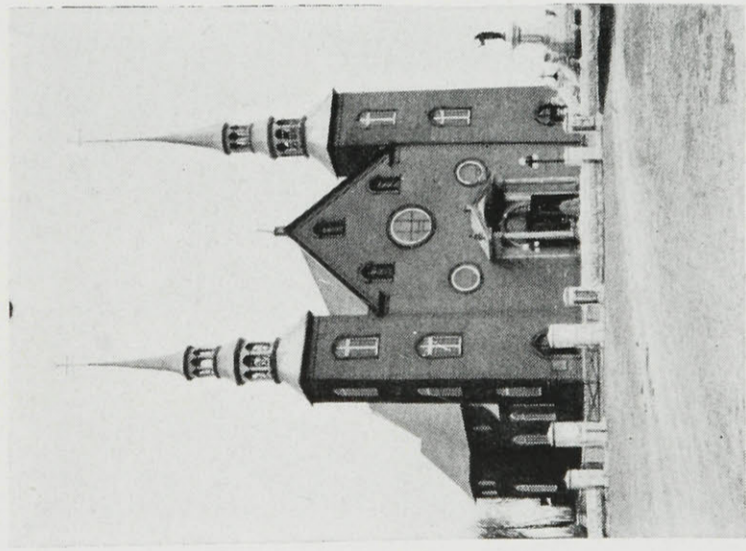
St. Mathias, 1785



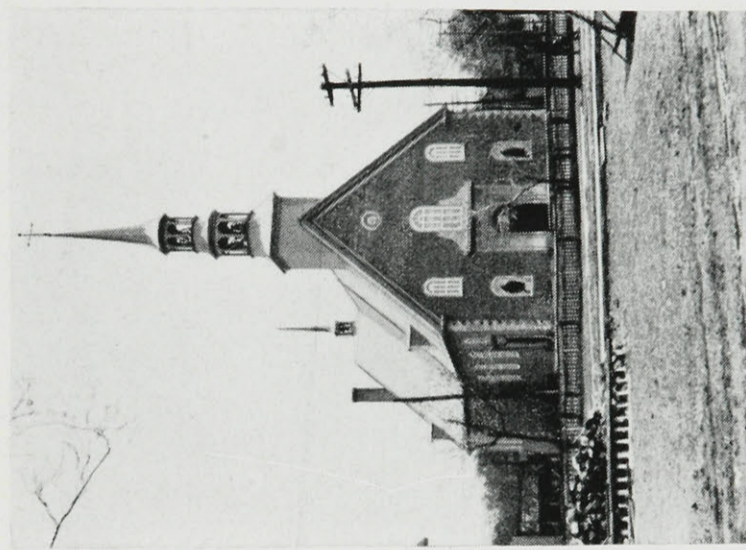
Boucherville, 1844



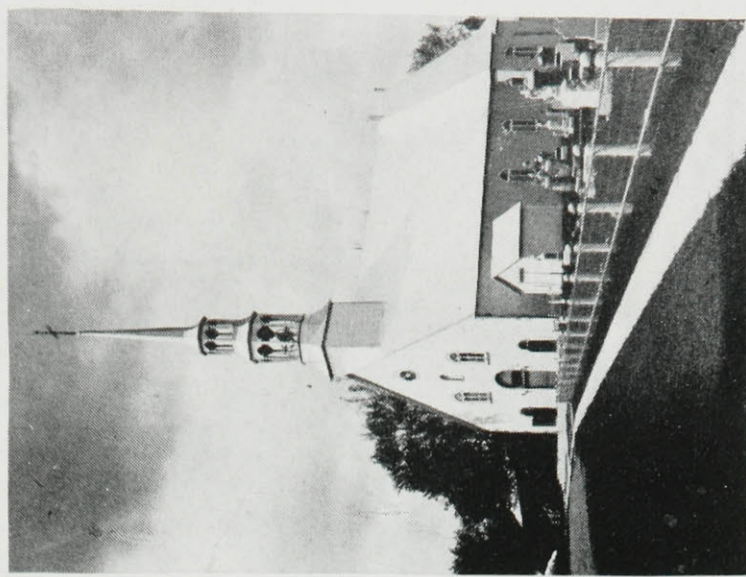
L'Islet, 1830



Cap Santé, 1763



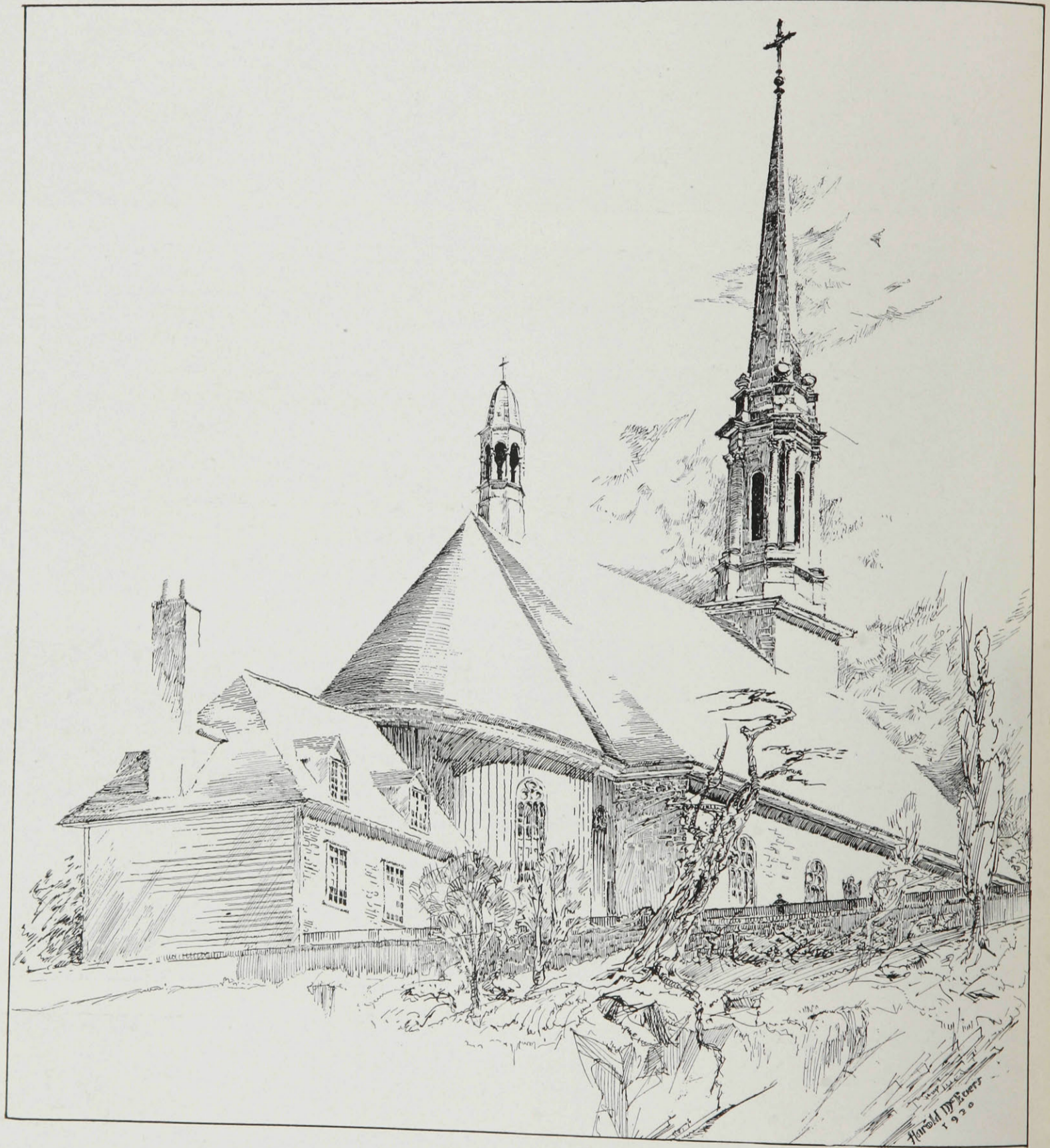
St. Joseph, Lauzun, 1836



L'Acadie, 1801

The dates are those of the Existing West Fronts

PLATE LXXXVIII



Permission of the P.Q.A.A.

Château Richer, from a sketch by H. McEvers

PLATE LXXXIX
PARISH CHURCHES



Photo, Livernois, 1886
The Old Church of Ste. Anne de Beaupré

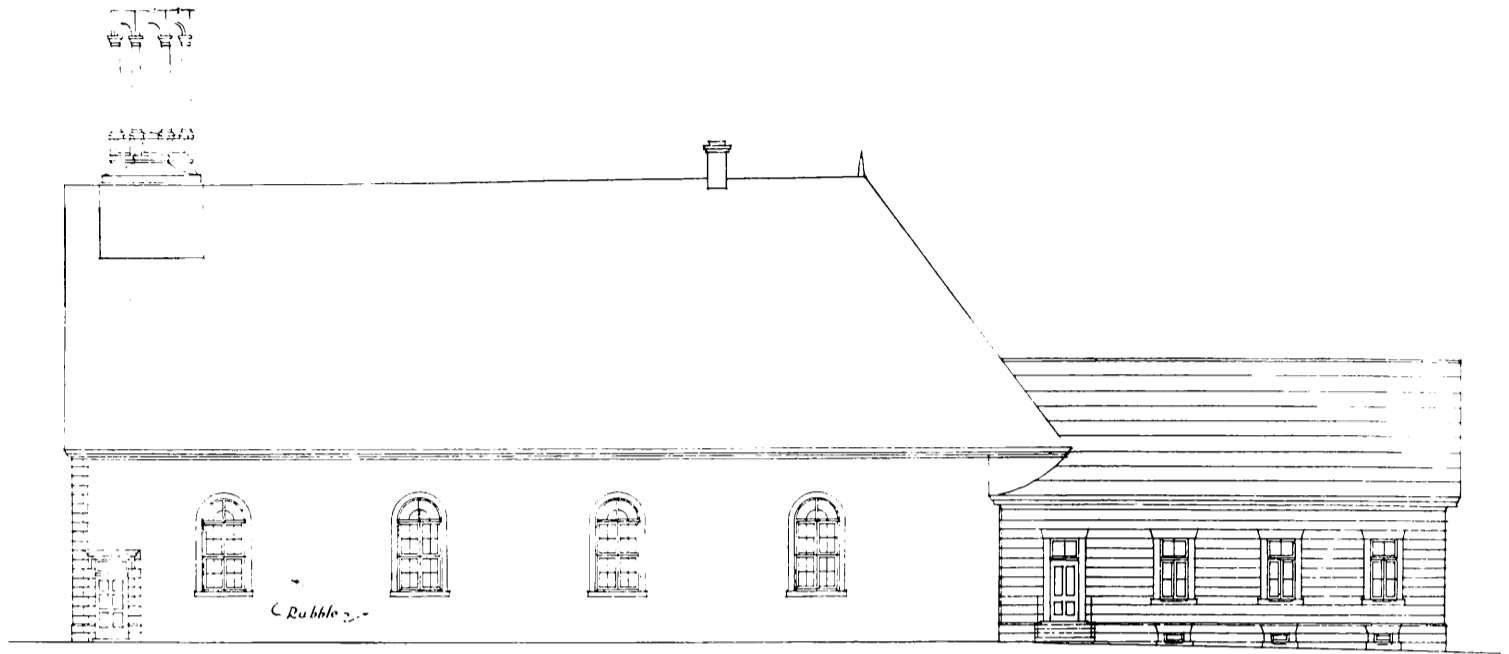


Sault au Récollet, 1850

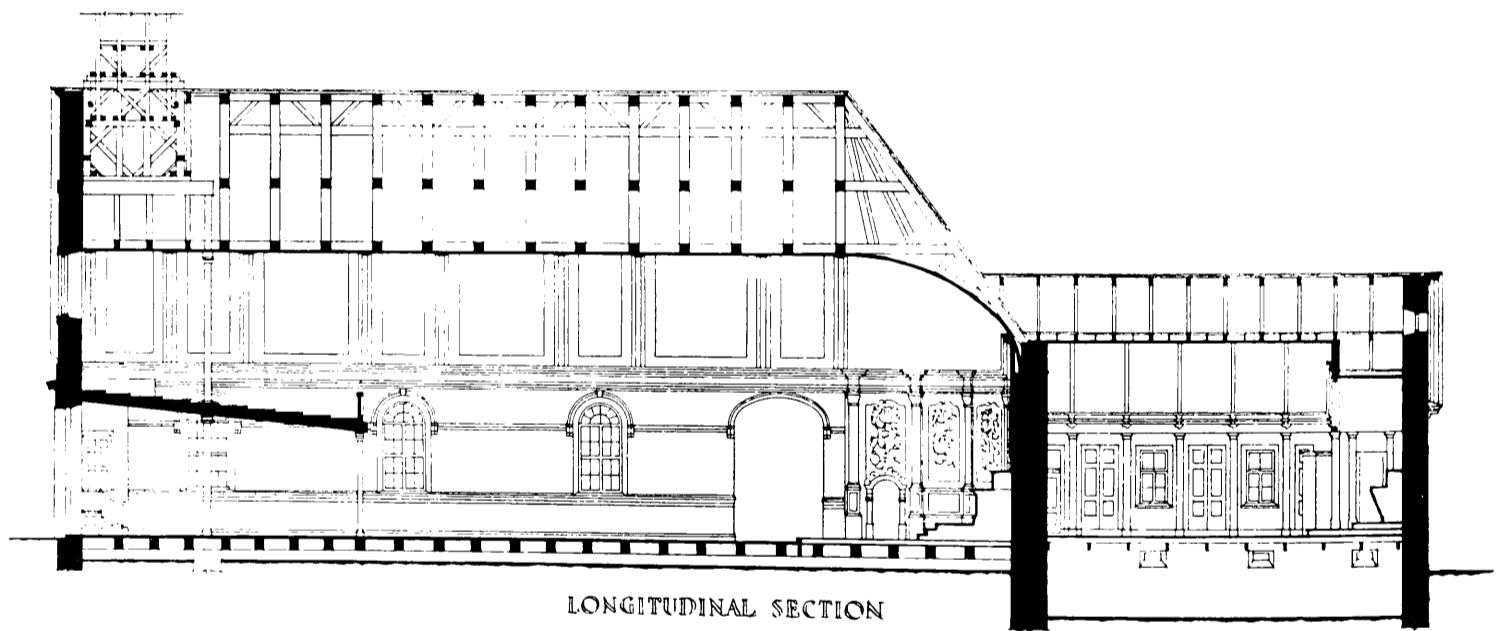


Charlesbourg, 1830

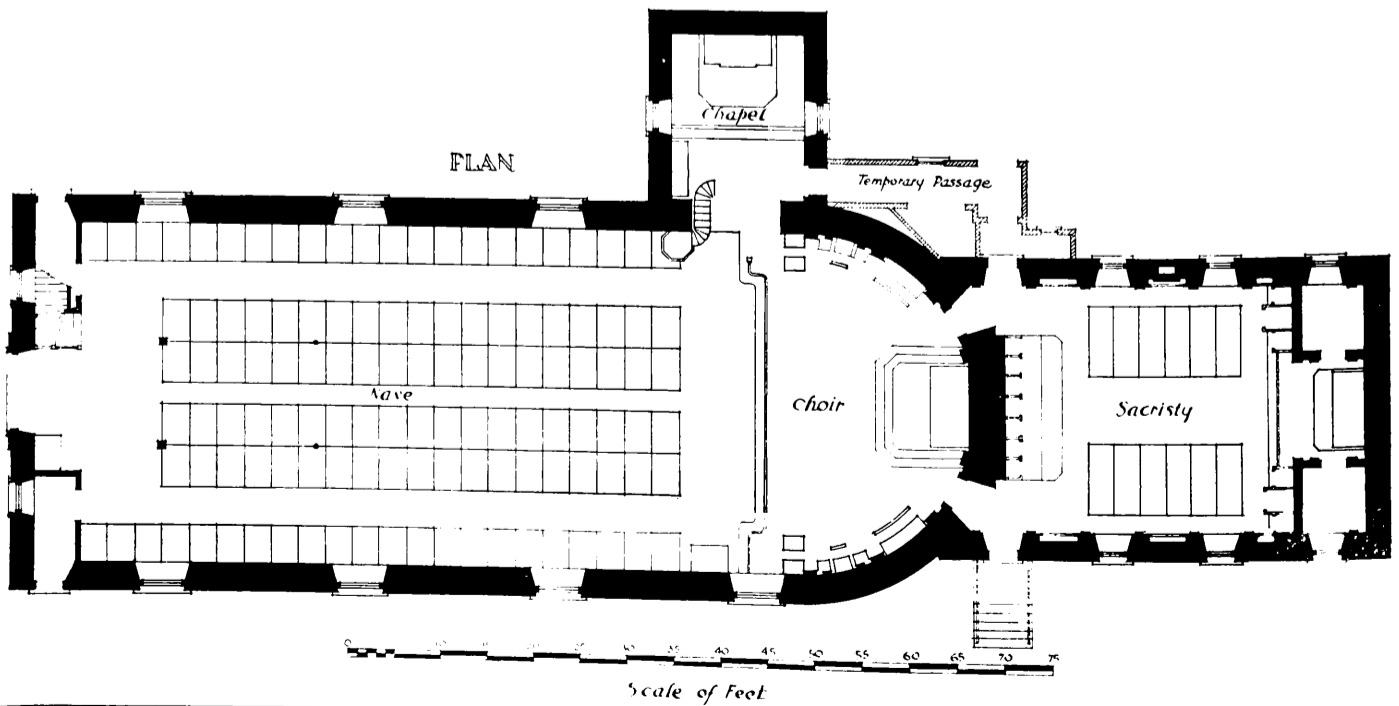
THE CHURCH OF ST. ETIENNE AT BEAUMONT, QUE.



SOUTH ELEVATION



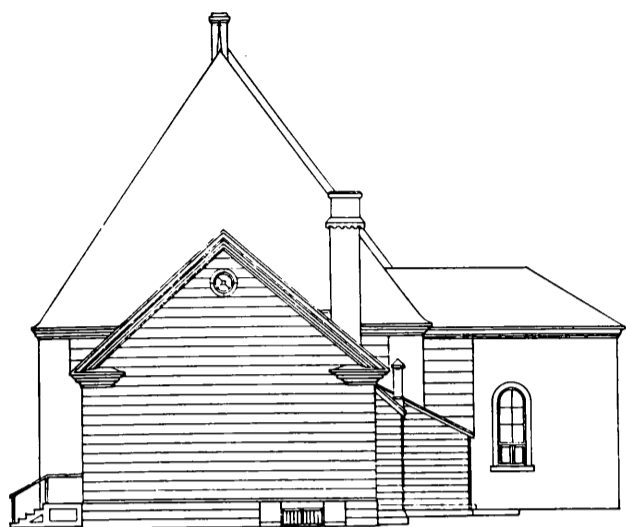
LONGITUDINAL SECTION



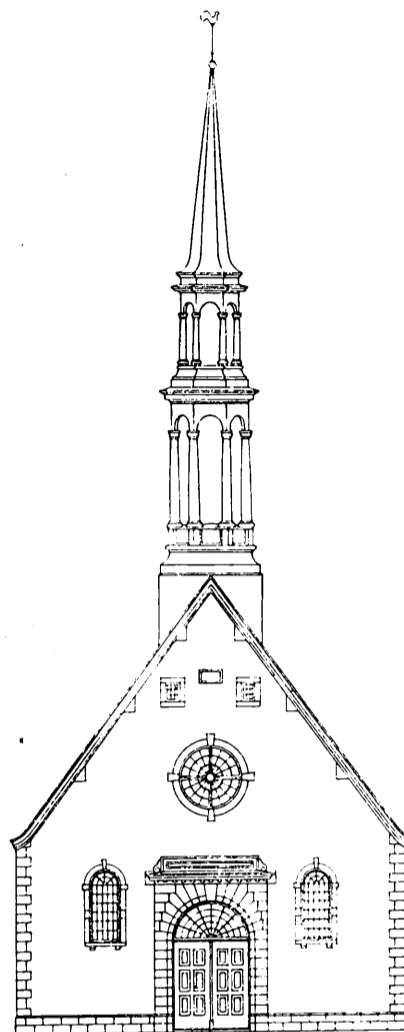
PLAN

Scale of Feet

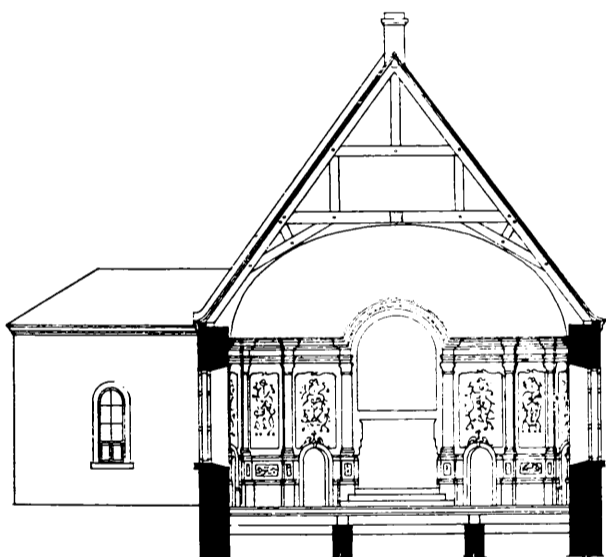
THE CHURCH OF ST. ETIENNE AT BEAUMONT, QUE.



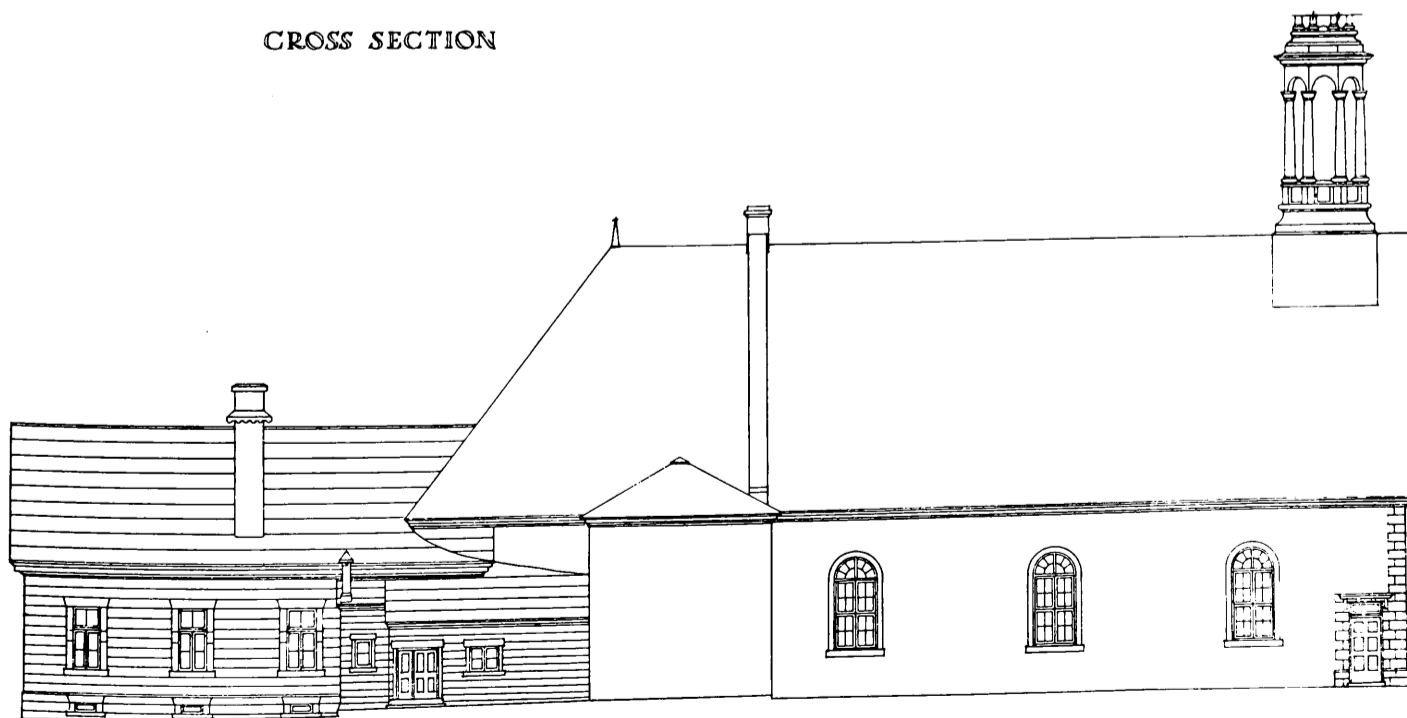
EAST ELEVATION



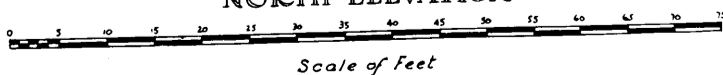
WEST ELEVATION



CROSS SECTION



NORTH ELEVATION



Scale of Feet

SAINTE FAMILLE
ISLAND OF ORLEANS · QUEBEC

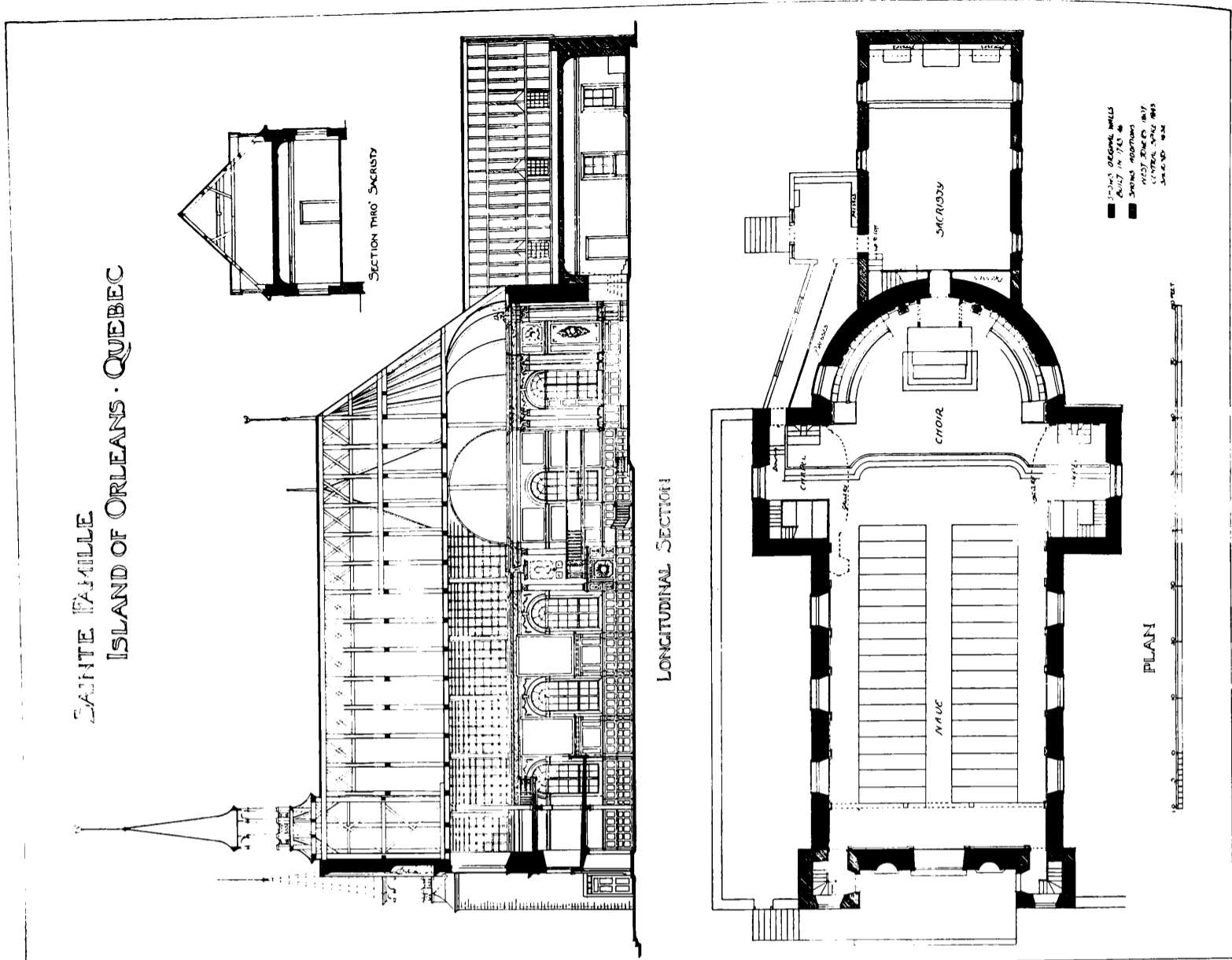
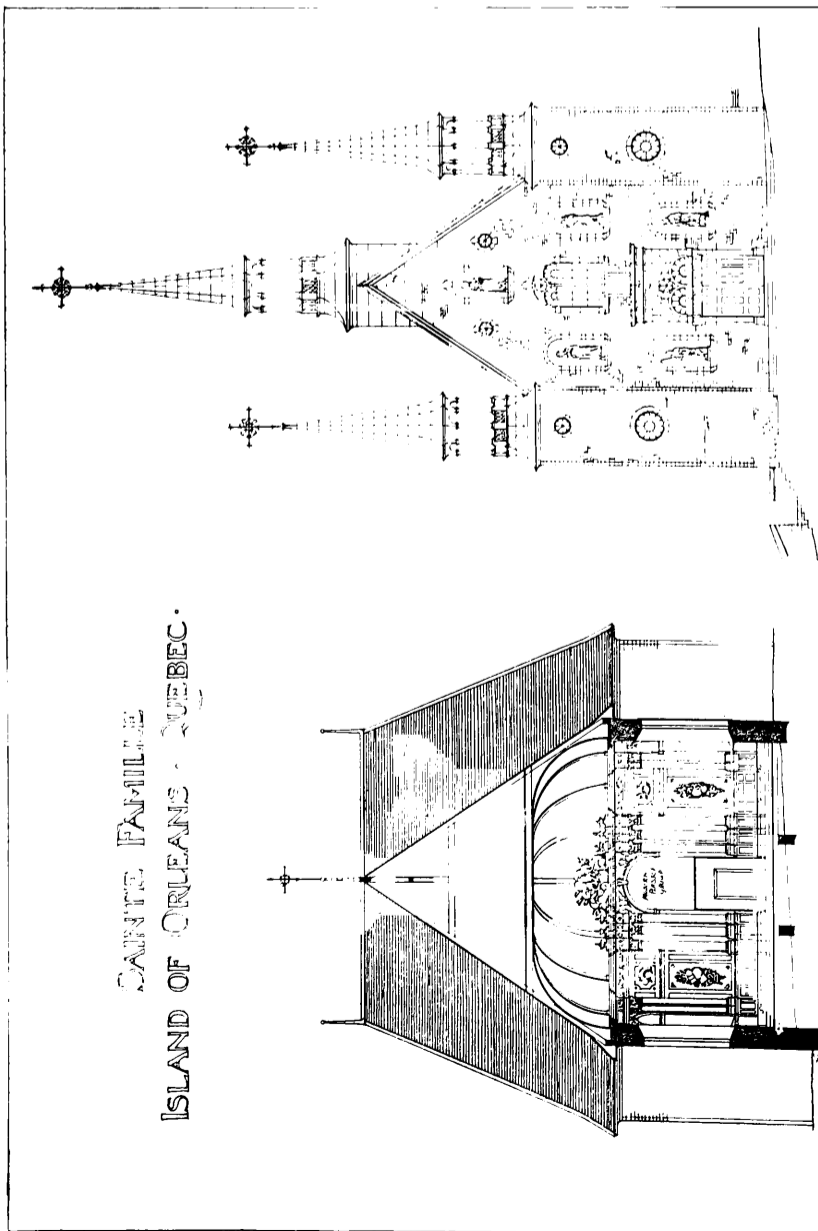
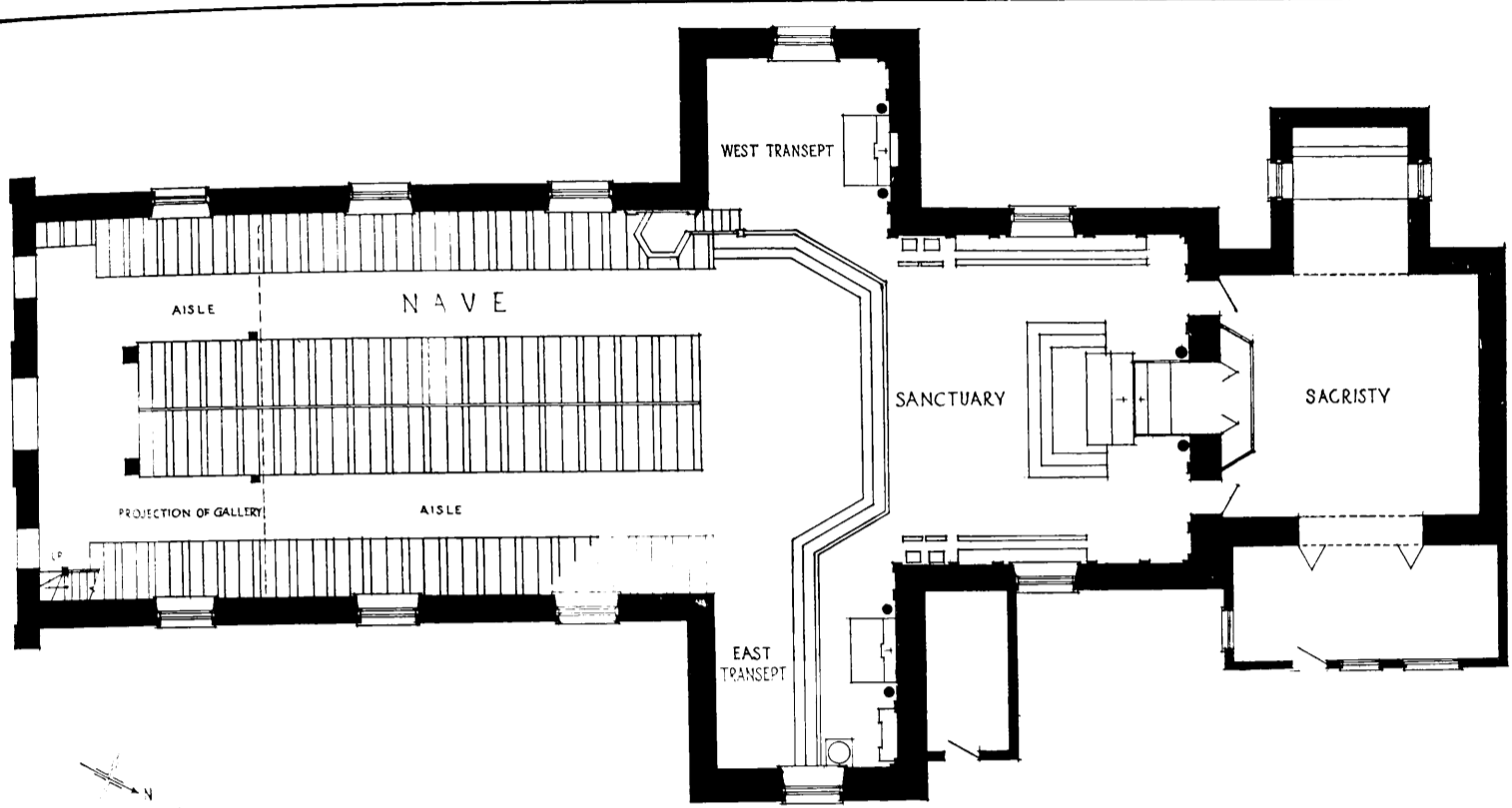
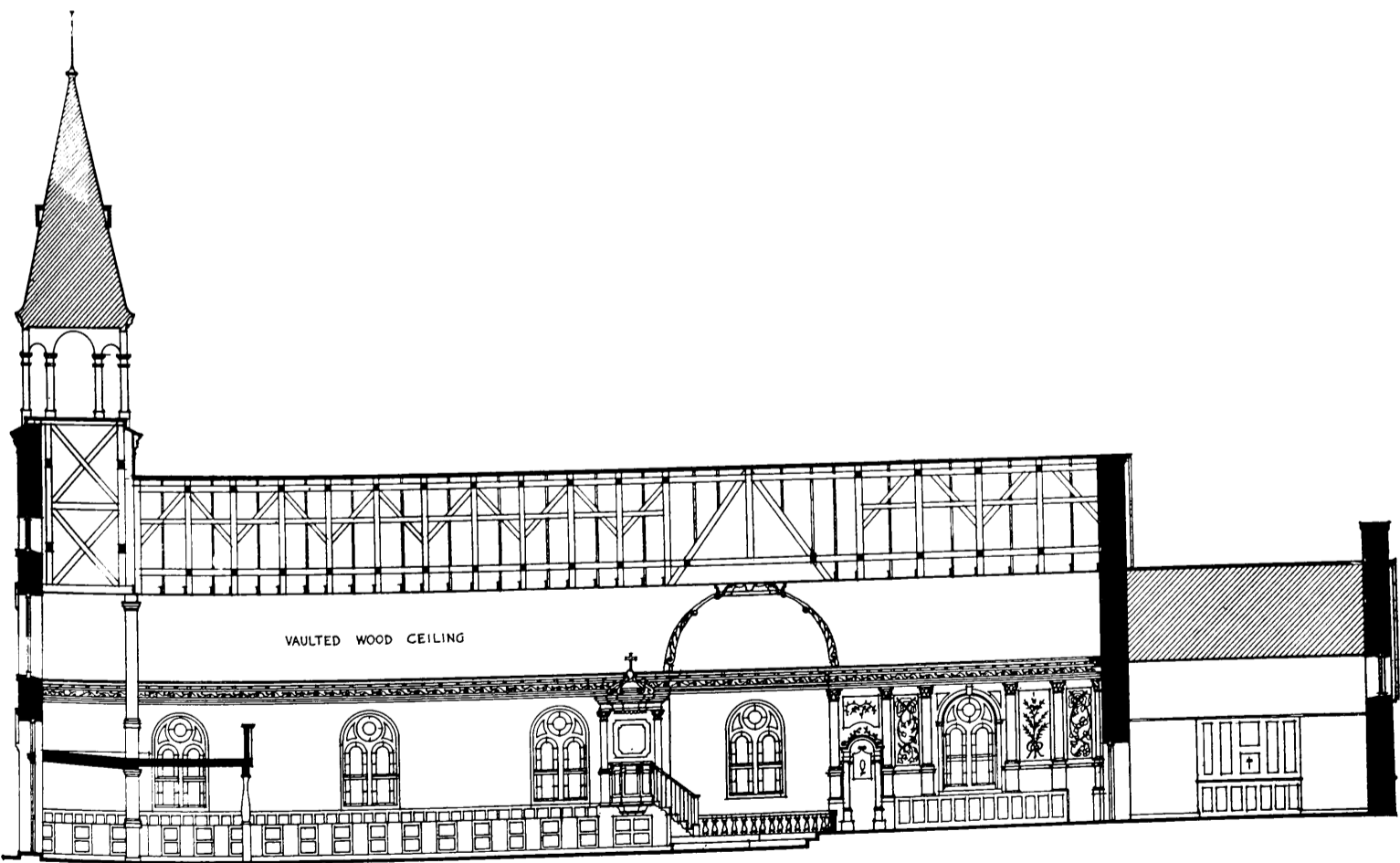


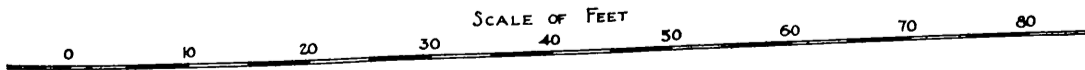
PLATE XCIII
CHURCH OF STE. JEANNE ILE PERROT



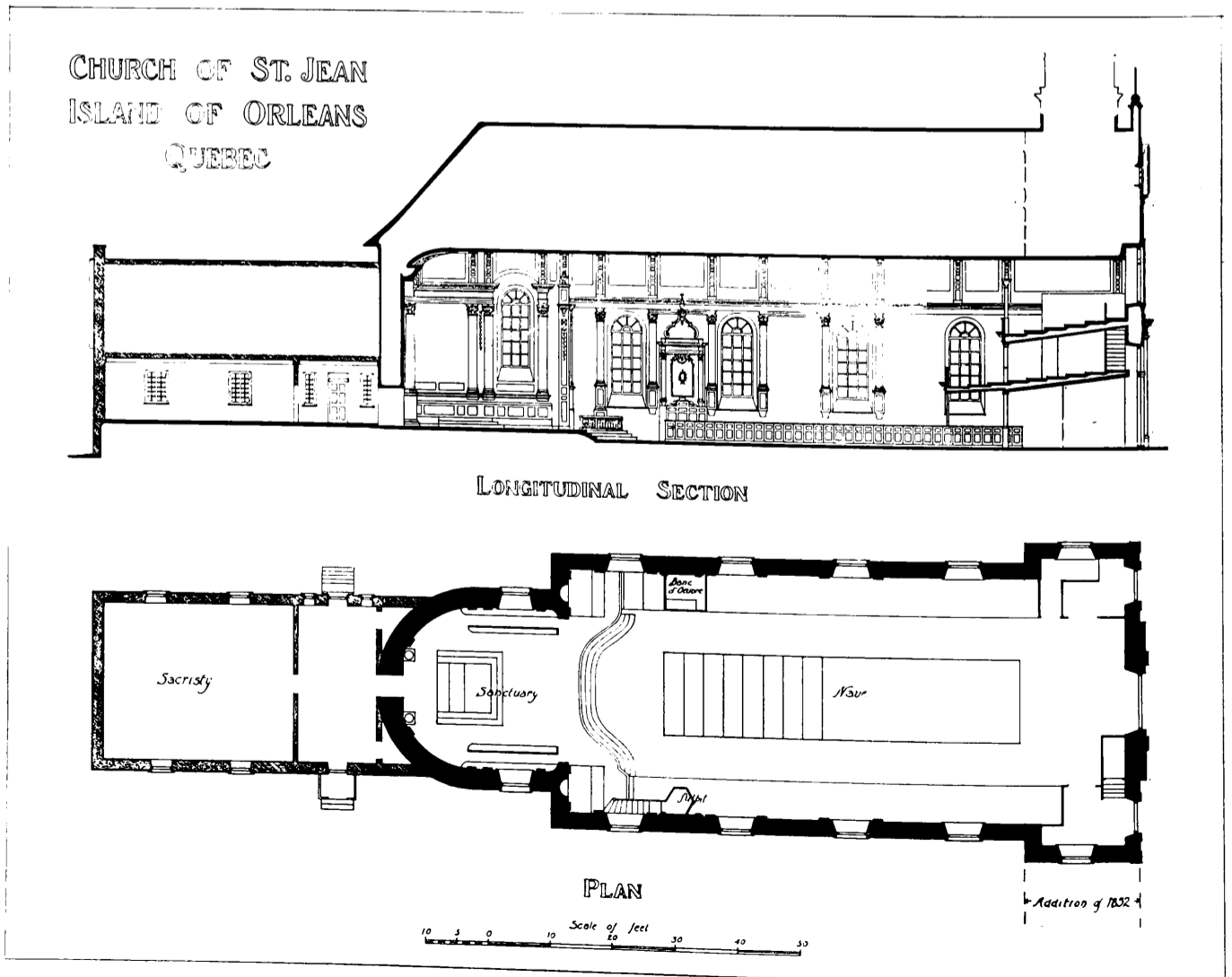
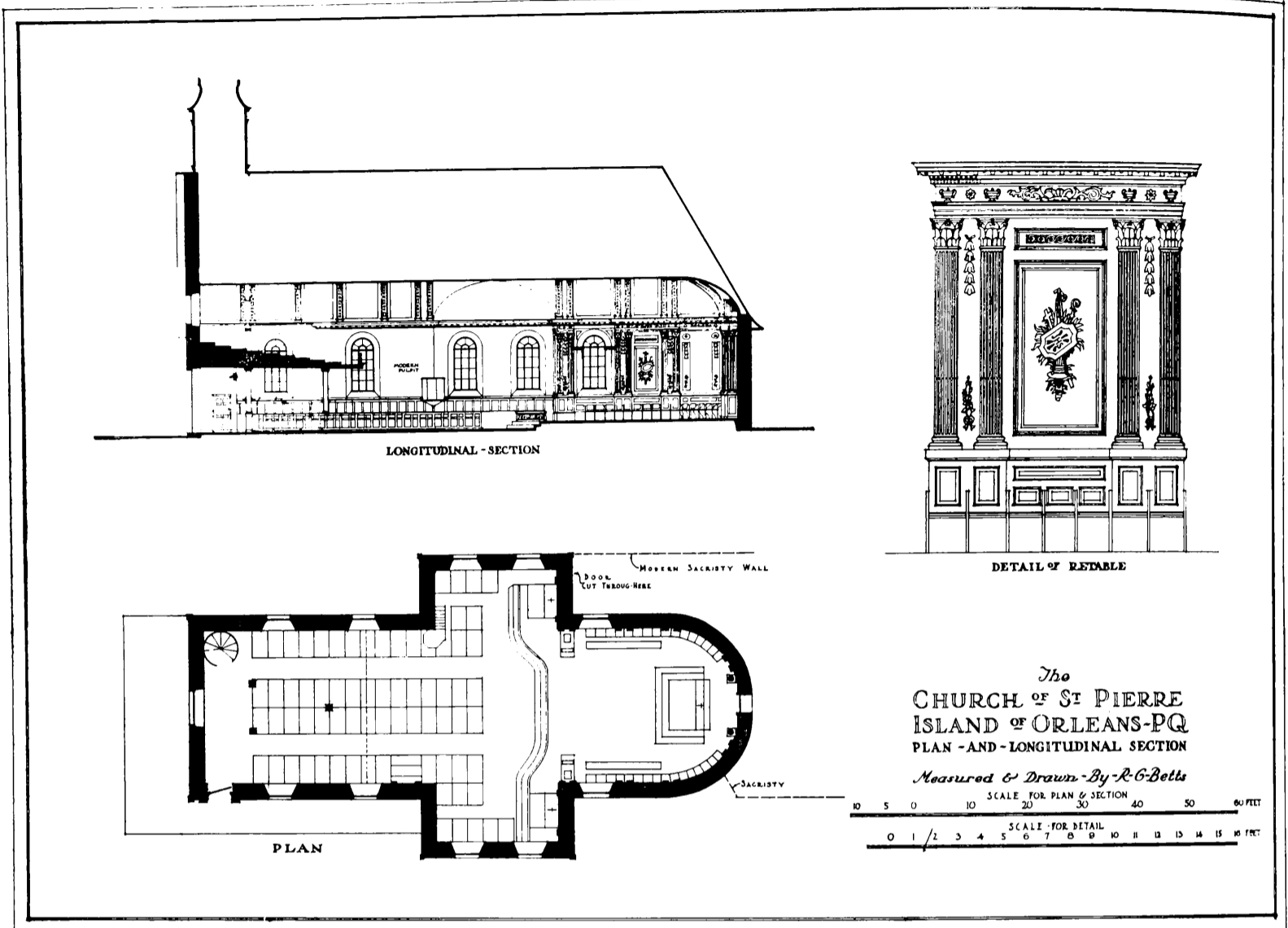
Plan



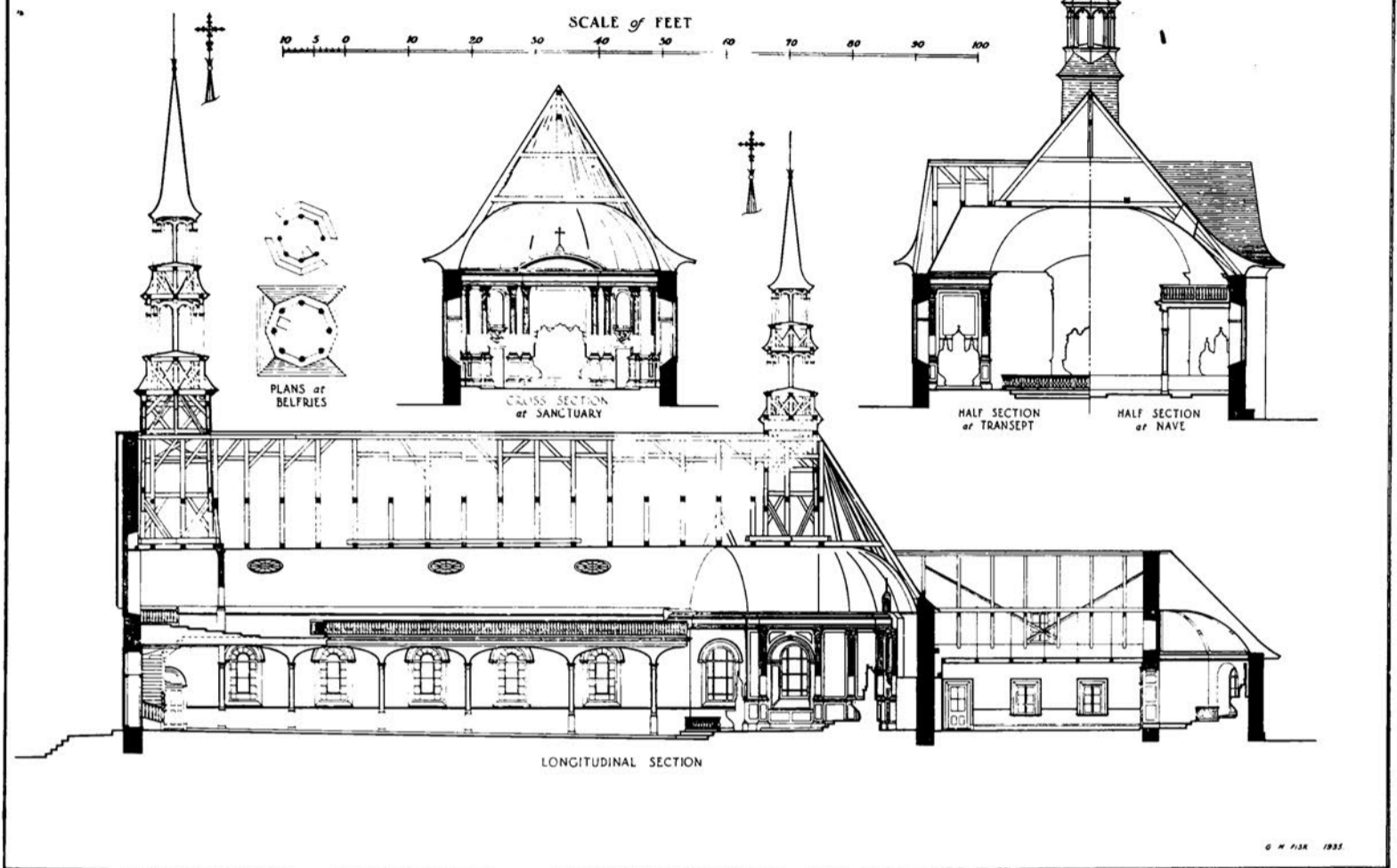
VAULTED WOOD CEILING



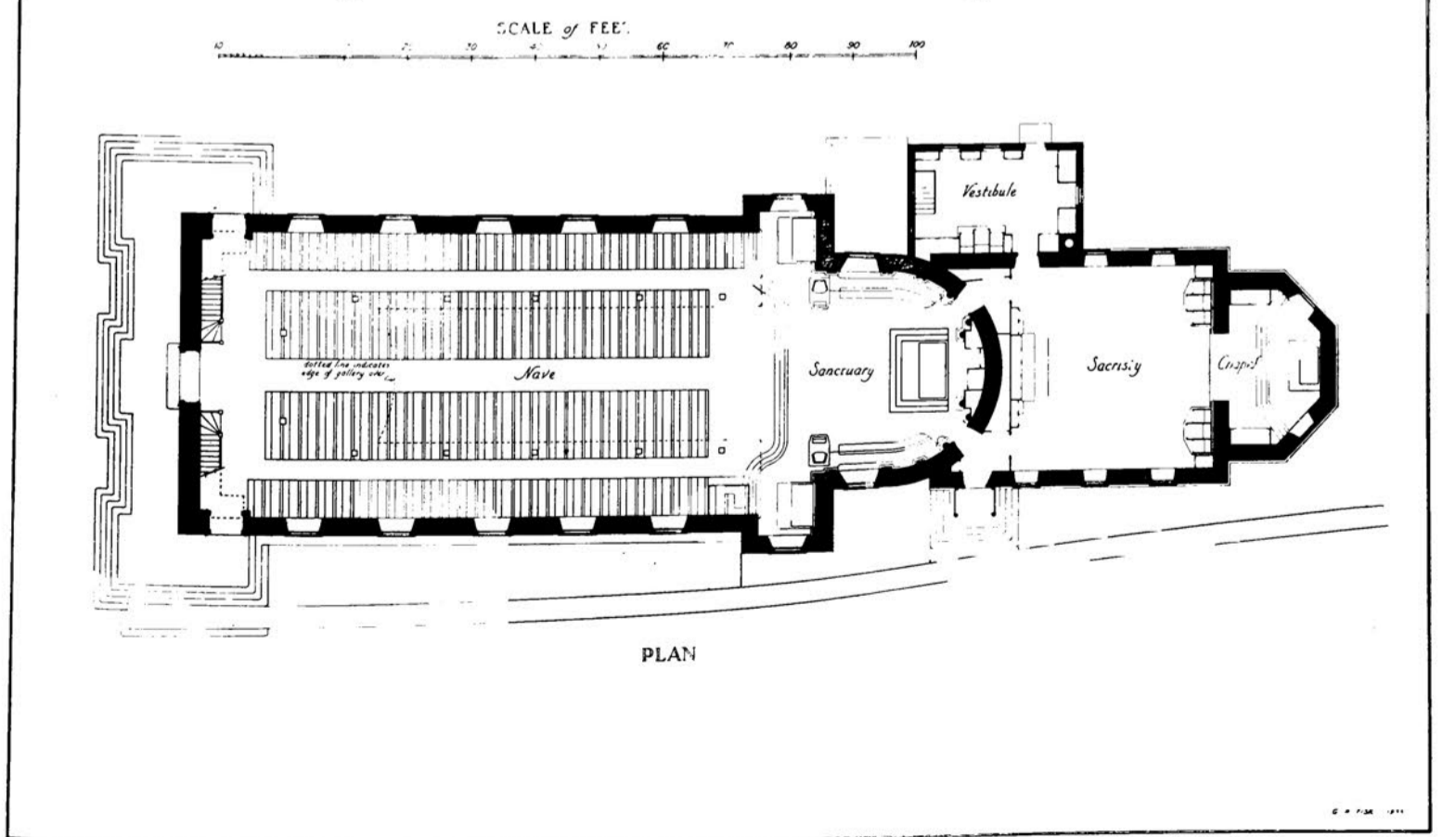
Longitudinal Section

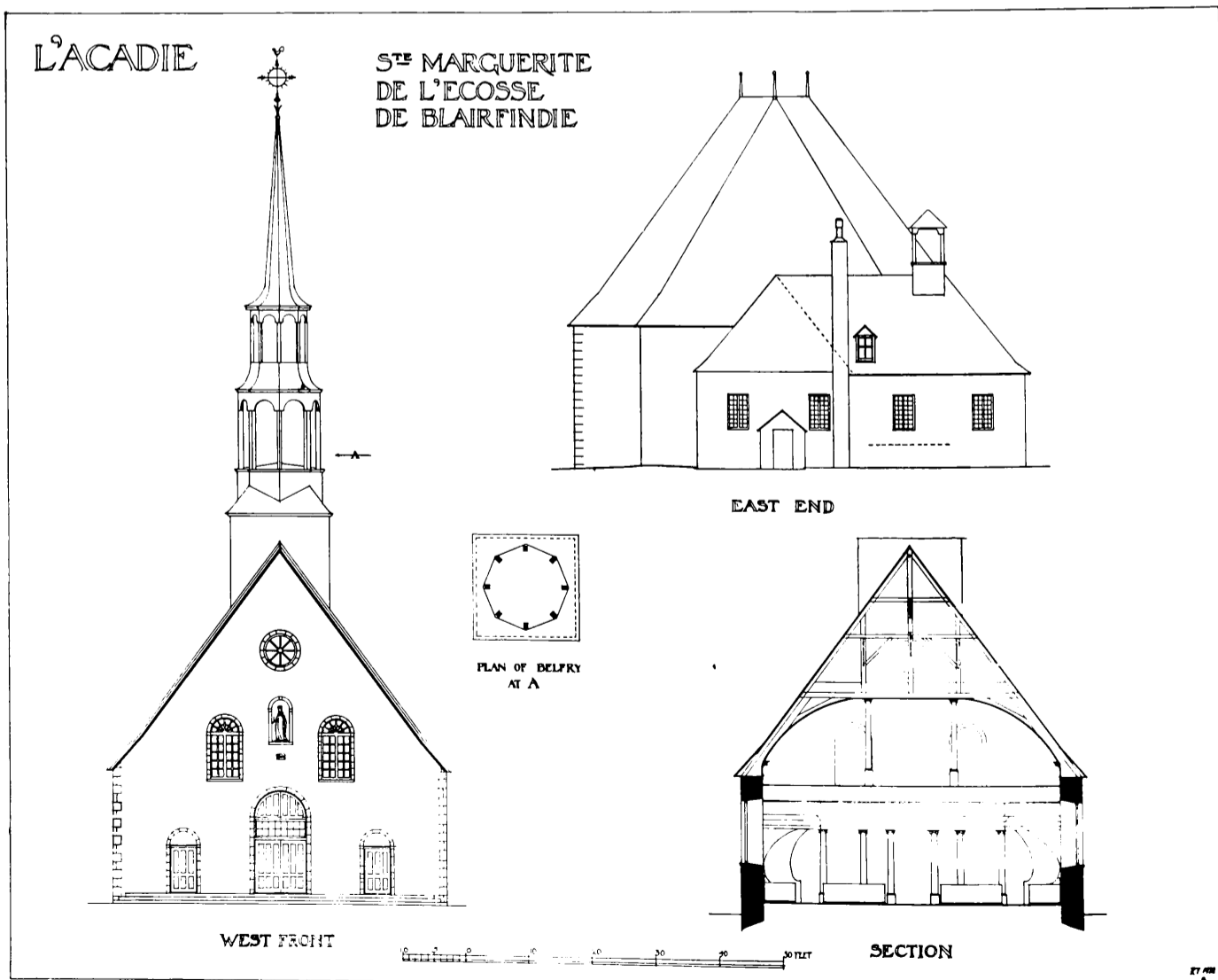
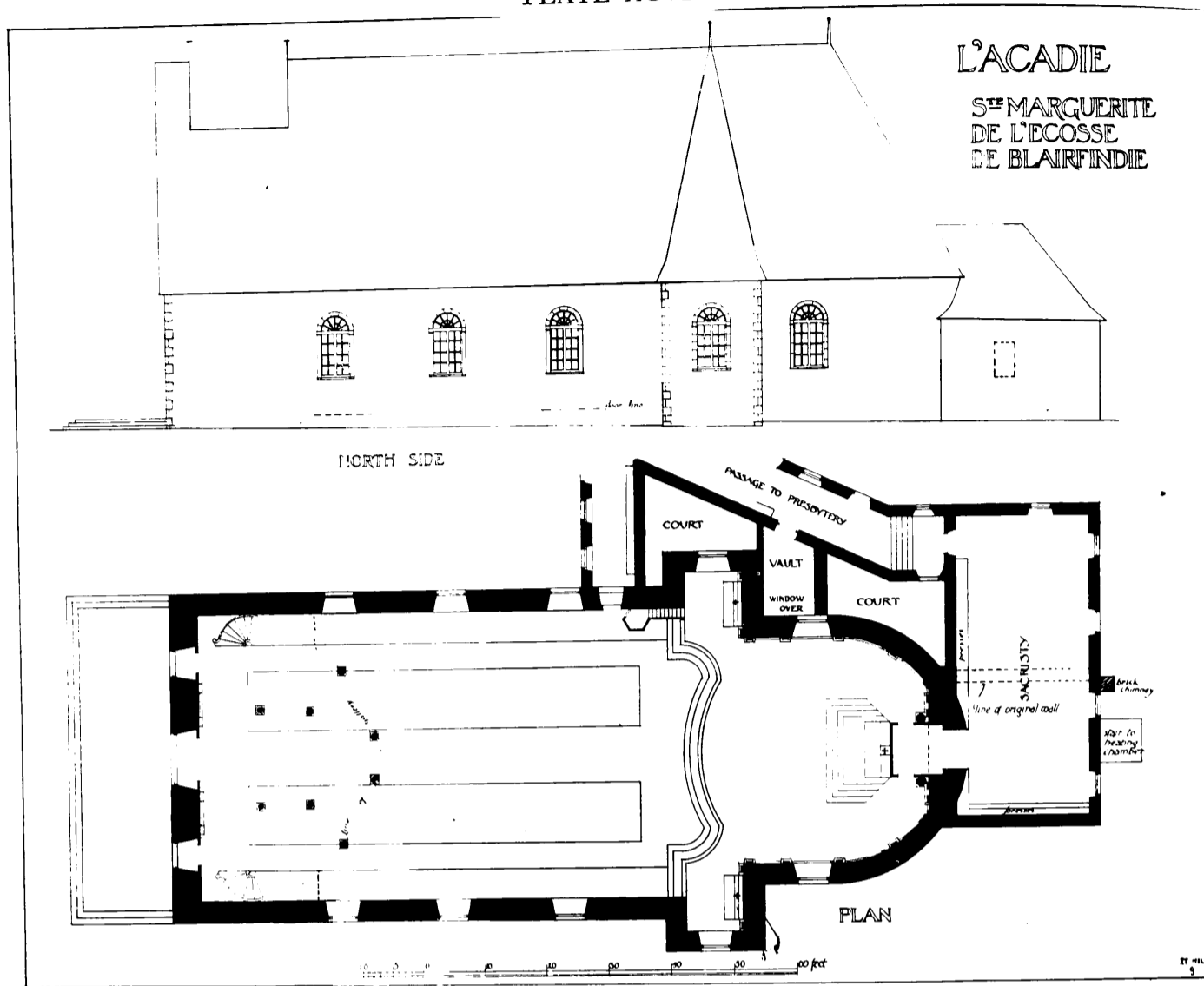


The CHURCH of ST. JEAN at ST. JEAN PORT JOLI, QUE.



The CHURCH of ST. JEAN at ST. JEAN PORT JOLI, QUE.





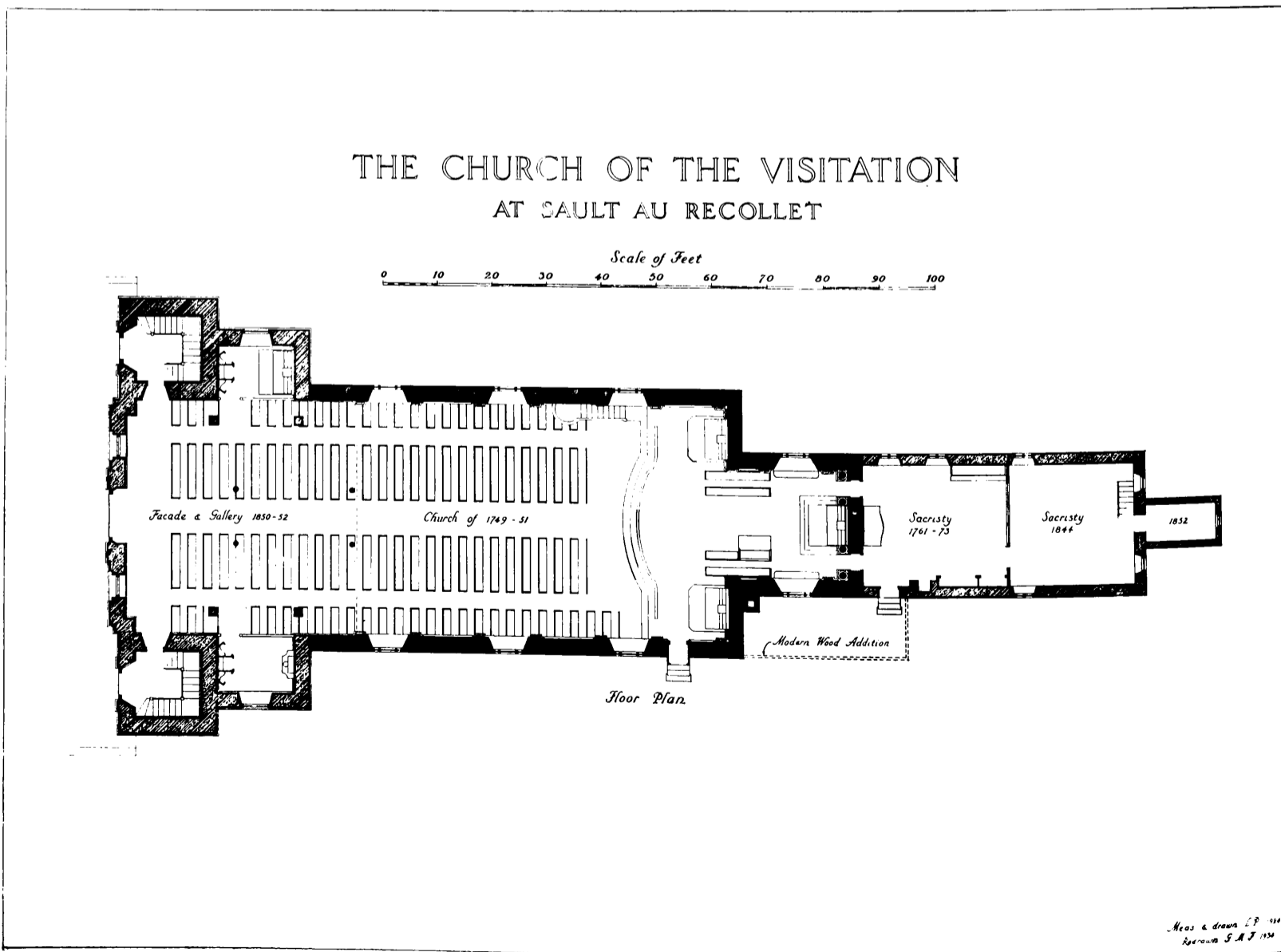
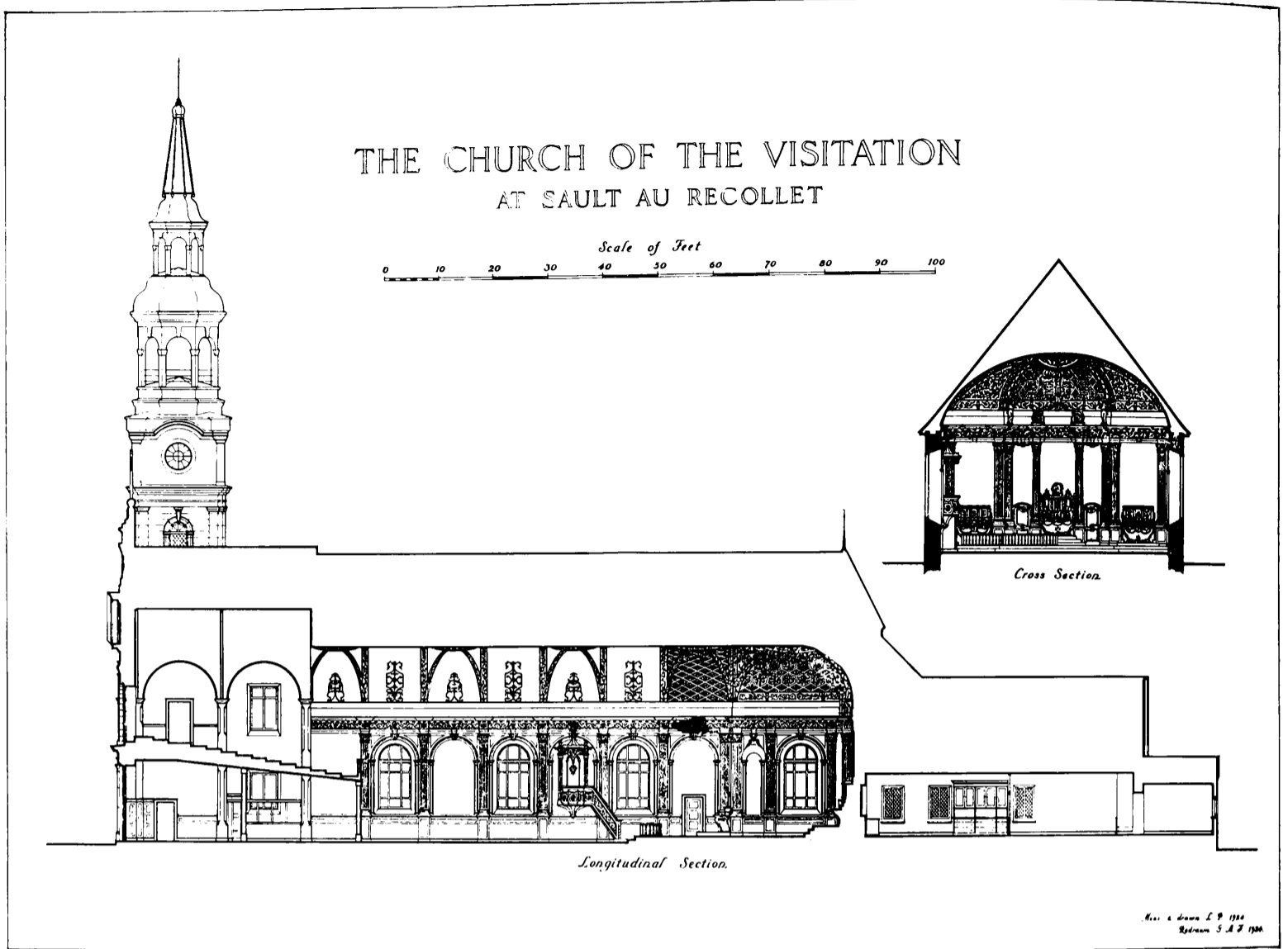
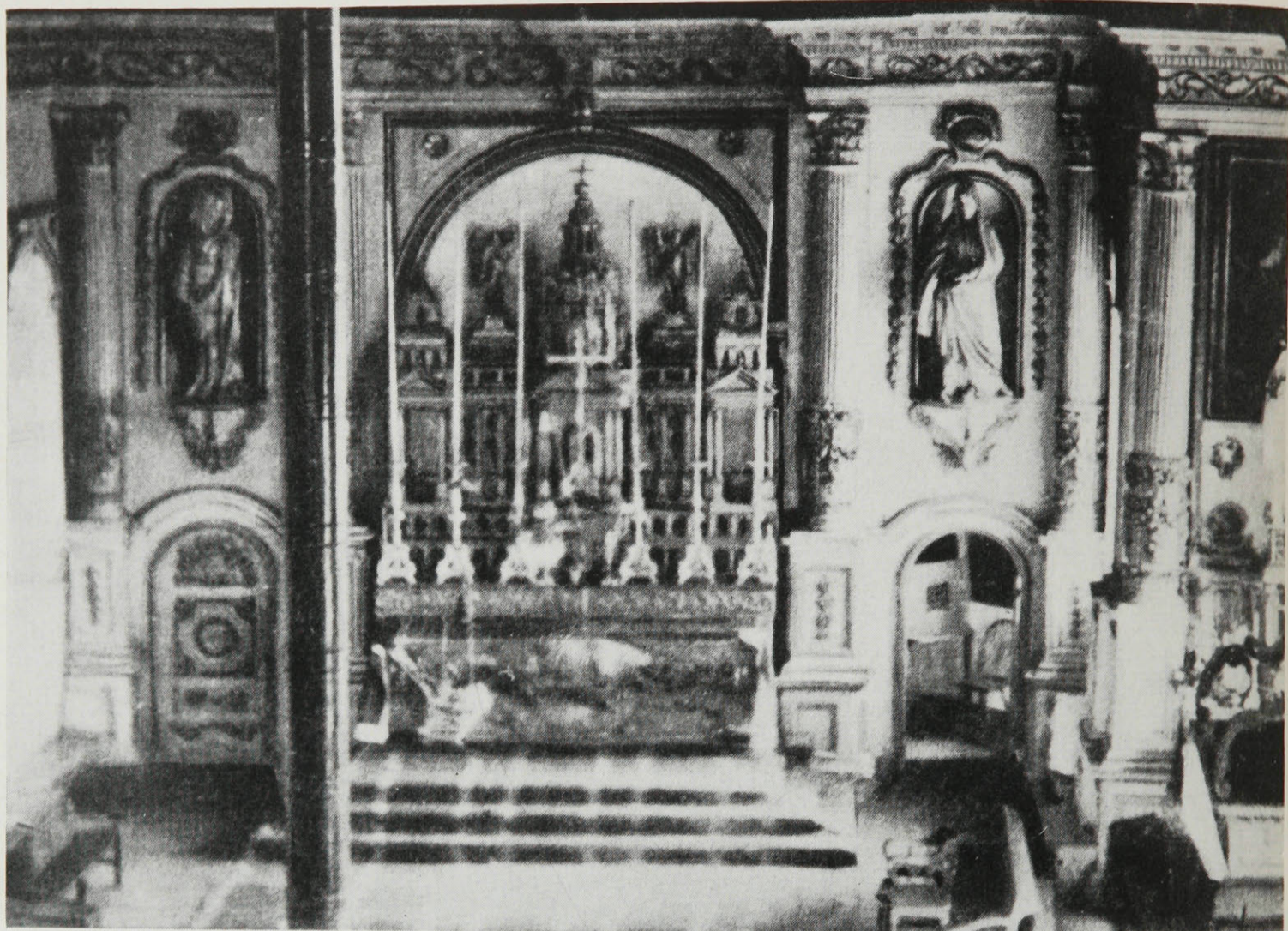
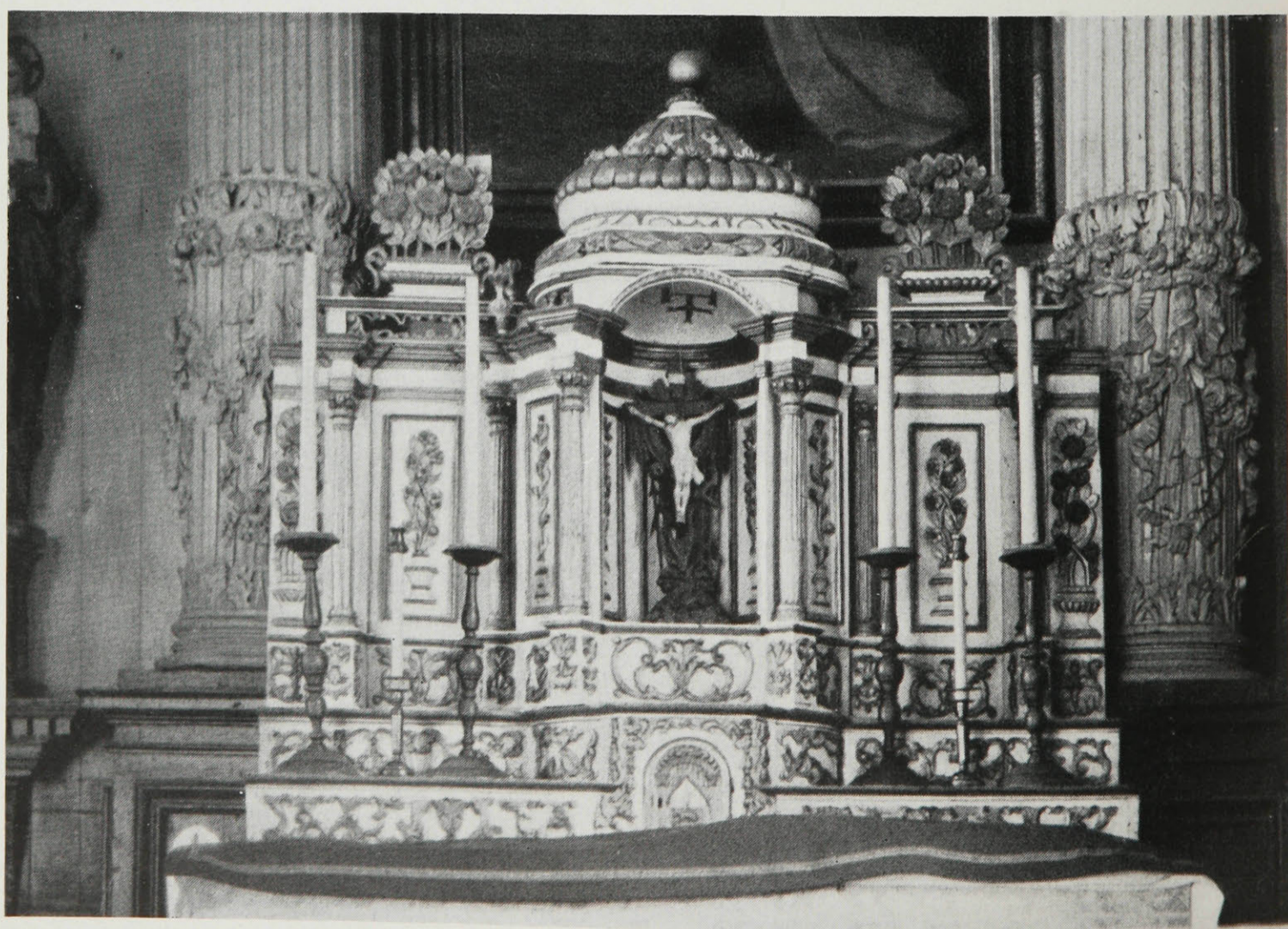


PLATE XCIX
THE OLD CHURCH OF STE. ANNE DE BEAUPRÉ



The Rétible and High Altar

Photo. Livernois



A Side Altar, 1787-88

CHAPTER IX

THE WOODCARVING

I

THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL. MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUE

THE DEVELOPMENT of the Canadian school of woodcarving and the succession of its craftsmen can be traced from the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. Not till then did the stream of tradition fail; during the first half of the nineteenth century work was being executed in French Canada whose methods were those of a century earlier, untouched by the revival schools, classic or gothic, which were dominant in Europe and America. Both in design and in technique this tradition was continuous. The development was unbroken, as was natural in an art handed down from master to apprentice and whose principles were taken for granted by its practitioners. It may be well then to take a general oversight of the whole school, considering both design, materials and technique, before considering the individual sculptors and their works.

All decoration is in carved wood. Hardwood was sometimes used for a statue or even a tabernacle, but the usual material was the clean white pine of Canada. Plaster was used as a wall covering but plaster ornament is invariably modern.

On flat panels and friezes the carving is usually attached. The ornament was first carved from a board and was then pinned on to its background. This technique, which we find in the earliest tabernacles, was in the nineteenth century used for the large wall surfaces of the rétables. In these the walls between the pilasters were first completely covered with upright boarding, on to this the whole of the mouldings and carved decoration was pinned. The same method was used in the decoration of the elliptical wood vaults, as is very finely shown in the great vault ceiling of Sault au Récollet. It is, of course, not always possible to tell whether a heavily gilt or painted piece of carving is attached or is cut from the solid, but the carvers seem to have used this attached technique by preference.

The carving of the early eighteenth century, as we see it in the tabernacles of the Hôpital Général or of La Jeune Lorette, is small and delicate: the technique is that of hardwood carving, a series of short chipping cuts, indeed we know that the early carvers occasionally used the hardwoods. The tabernacle of L'Ange Gardien is reported to be of walnut and we find Levasseur charging for a block of this wood to make a statue. Mediaeval woodcarving is usually executed in hardwood, often in oak, and shows this same technique; some of Bolvin's vine trails, of the mid-eighteenth century, have a very fourteenth century air.

The richest and finest carving is that of the thirties in the eighteenth century when the Levasseurs were carving the rétable of the Ursuline chapel and Gilles Bolvin was carving the magnificent tabernacle at Lachenaie. The work here is strong, not too small in scale, and fine in design without losing in any way the quality of woodcarving.

Now the hardwoods which the seventeenth century carvers of Europe loved and which enabled Grinling Gibbons to execute his miracles of craftsmanship, box and lime, are not known in Canada. In their place the Canadian carvers had the native white pine, a clean, knotless wood but one requiring a different technique.

If anything, pine is more difficult to carve than oak. Unless the tool is clean and sharp the wood will fluff or splinter under the stroke, so that each cut must be perfectly conceived and executed. To make a comparison with painting, pine demands the firm watercolour stroke, direct and unalterable. In the hands of a skilful carver the results can be very beautiful and the Canadian carvers were skilful. The carvings of François and Thomas Baillairgé, of André Paquet, of Joseph Turcault or of Fleury David lack nothing of skill. They use the clean firm cut which is necessary for the pine in which they worked.

In this late eighteenth and early nineteenth century work we can also see the influence of plaster. This material is the easiest of all the sculptural crafts; the method of modelling with the artist's thumb and fingers almost compels a "slick" sweeping stroke. Plaster is facile, grainless, of even texture and allows of easy repetition by casting. It is an old story in art that a facile technique is dangerous; art lives on its difficulties and the facility of plaster moulding was its ruin. But in Quebec plaster was never used as a decorative material until well on in the nineteenth century.

The work of Thomas Baillairgé and of his pupils shows very distinctly the influence of French originals in plaster. The rétables of Sainte Famille or of St. François on the Island of Orleans are almost plaster in design. The delightful baskets of flowers with which Baillairgé and Paquet enriched their rétables might be plaster, but, if they were, they would not be so crisp and clean. As they are, they show the joy of the craftsman exercising his skill.

The carved wood ceiling-vault of Sault au Récollet clearly derives much of its design from plaster originals of the Empire school but, as Fleury David never visited Europe, he can only have known these from illustrations. So he made his vault of carved wood. He cut each leaf or stem or scroll separately and the work is fresh and crisp beyond plasterwork. The same can be said of many vaults of the Quevillon school.

Design follows the French renaissance of Louis XIV and Louis XV, but it was executed by French Canadians, trained in New France. François Baillairgé, in the late eighteenth century was, so far as we know, the only Canadian wood-sculptor to receive a formal artistic education in France. As a result the work of the Canadian sculptors is not quite that of France; it shows just those variations which we should expect to find in a colonial school far separated from the Motherland, much more separated indeed in its later days than was the English colonial school of America.

These carvers, who were also the designers, were known as "sculpteur" or "maître-sculpteur", the title "maître" having the significance of an employer of labour. The leading Maître-sculpteurs kept large establishments for the supply of church ornaments and furniture as well as carrying out schemes of decoration in the churches. They trained apprentices and were themselves highly trained and educated men. They were the artists of French Canada, for the picture painting is poor and stone carving hardly exists.

The general scheme of decoration for a church was established by tradition; neither the congregation nor the master-carvers desired originality or novelty. Indeed the contract frequently specifies that the rétable, the pulpit or the banc d'oeuvre should be the same as that in some other church. The fine tabernacles at Lachenaie and at Boucherville are almost identical, those at Sault au Récollet and at Vaudreuil, both by Liebert, are clearly made to the same design.

This conservatism did not prevent personality or development in the work. Early eighteenth century work by Noël Levasseur can be distinguished at a glance from that of Thomas Baillaigé, a century later. The decorations of Ste. Jeanne on Ile Perrot by Joseph Turcault, of St. Roch de Lachigan by Joseph Pépin and of Pointe aux Trembles by Urbain Brien, were all three executed by men trained in the Montreal district in the beginning of the nineteenth century, yet they are very different in feeling and design.

In a parish church the walls of the nave were occasionally treated with a panelled dado or even with pilasters. But usually they were simply plastered from pew level to the wooden cornice of the vault. Full decoration is applied to the sanctuary, the two side altars, the gallery front, the pulpit and the banc d'oeuvre, the state seat of the marguilliers.

The sanctuary is treated with a corinthian order set on a dado. In early examples the spaces between the pilasters or columns was filled in with niches and statues, in later work we find large panels with groups of ecclesiastical trophies, swags, bunches of flowers, husk trails and similar subjects. This constitutes the rétable.

The old masters were quite firm upon the corinthian order, though occasionally they used the composite. The ionic was suitable for gallery columns or for a font, but in the sanctuary the more dignified forms must be used. Old Louis Jobin, the last of the master-carvers, when interviewed in 1925 was indeed inclined to believe that heaven was decorated with a fine corinthian order. No other decoration could be worthy.

The altars, with their tabernacles, were naturally given particular attention. Early altar-tables seem to have been rectangular with a frame in front, into which a suitable frontal could be inserted. This form is indicated by the old frontals at Jeune Lorette for, so far as I know, no early altar-table has survived. In the late eighteenth century the form known as "bombé" or "à la romaine" came in, a console form with a curving front and carved trusses on the angles.

Tabernacles were highly decorated. They were made usually in a number of separate pieces which were laid one on top of the other, without fastening. Many

old tabernacles owe their survival to the ease with which they could be taken down and carried to a place of safety in case of fire. Resting on the altar-table are the grades, usually two, but occasionally three in number, with the "custode" in the centre. Above this is a high storey with a corinthian order on pedestals. The centre is brought forward to form a niche for the monstrance or "soleil" and, in the older tabernacles, this may have a custode for the soleil with lock and key. Above the monstrance niche there may be a second niche covered by a dome or a truss canopy.

The side wings are panelled and have niches with statuettes, or have carved flower-vases in the panels; above are the frames which carry the reliquaries, usually fully carved. The whole, grades, pedestals, panels and canopy is a mass of carving. It is intended to be completely gilt though, owing to the cost of gilding, white paint and partial gilding was sometimes substituted. This gilding often cost more than the tabernacle. It was a speciality of the nuns; the church accounts have frequent references to "les religieuses" or to the "Dames de la Congregation". The effect of this mass of broken gold at the end of the church is very fine. It fully justifies William Morris' famous saying, "Gold is like beer, a little is no use."

Figure sculpture is important. It varies from statues over six feet high to little statuettes for the tabernacle. These are cut in solid wood, usually pine, though walnut is also mentioned. Low relief figure carving is much used, the quality naturally varies but at its best, in the work of the Levasseurs or of François Baillairgé, it reaches a high level of execution and design.

Church ornaments, such as candlesticks, reliquaries or even candelabra, were of carved wood. The candlesticks vary from simple turned sticks such as we find in the smaller churches, to the great Easter candlesticks, some five feet high. These were well designed, often by well-known carvers. The processional cross was also often of carved wood. In too many cases these fine old wooden ornaments have been replaced by poor modern substitutes of metal.

II

THE WOODCARVING TO THE END OF THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

QUEBEC

The researches of Mgr. Gosselin have shown us that the founders of New France gave great attention to the education of the colonists. A seminary was founded in Quebec to provide a classical and literary training for children destined for the Church or the professions and, within it, schools were formed to teach agriculture and the "arts et métiers". In these the children were instructed in those trades which were necessary for the young colony, in carpentry, masonwork, leatherwork, smithing, tailoring and the fine arts as well as in reading, writing and arithmetic.¹

The exact date at which Mgr. de Laval founded his "école des arts et métiers" is not known. Mgr. Gosselin places it at 1668 and it was certainly in existence shortly after that date, for some forty names have been preserved in the archives of the seminary of men who passed through it between 1671 and 1685. Bertrand

¹ Gosselin, l'abbé Amedee, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 347 et seq.

de La Tour, in his *Memoir sur la vie de M. de Laval* writes of it:—"Ils réussissent beaucoup mieux dans les ouvrages des mains. Les arts y sont portées à une grande perfection et on y trouve en tous genres de fort bons ouvriers."²

A branch of the seminary was established at St. Joachim, a village on the St. Lawrence some thirty miles below Quebec. This school was particularly devoted to agriculture. To what degree sculpture and the fine arts were taught at St. Joachim is doubtful. A document in the archives of the seminary, dated 1685 and entitled "Instructions pour les manufactures", says of the St. Joachim school:—"L'on y enseigne actuellement la menuiserie, la sculpture, la peinture, la dorure pour l'ornement des églises, la maçonnerie et la charpente."³ But Professor Adair has produced strong evidence that the St. Joachim school was purely a school of agriculture and the trades.⁴ There is no doubt that, after 1705, it was a school of agriculture.⁵ The matter is not of great importance; wood sculpture was certainly taught in the seminary schools. The old regulations for the Petit Séminaire (the boys' school) laid down that "they shall all have some trade to occupy them when they are not busy with their lessons and they shall try to see that their work shall be useful to the seminary and to the churches."⁶ For the clergy woodcarving was apparently a favourite recreation and instruction in it was given as part of the regular training for the priesthood. When the seminary was burnt in 1701 the first alarm was given by a clerical student who was working at his sculpture.

La Potherie, writing of the chapel of the seminary, which was built in 1693 and burnt in 1701, says:—

"La sculpture que l'on estime 10,000 écus, en est tres belle; elle a été faite par les séminaristes, qui n'ont rien épargné pour mettre l'ouvrage dans sa perfection. Le maître autel est un ouvrage d'architecture à la corinthienne, les murailles sont revêtus de lambris et des sculptures dans lesquelles sont plusieurs grands tableaux. Les ornements qui les accompagnent se vont terminer sous la corniche de la voûte qui est à pans, sous lesquelles sont des compartiments en losages accompagnés d'ornements en sculpture peints et dorés."⁷

The records of the seminary contain the names of some of the early instructors in sculpture. In 1675 Michel Fauchois and Samuel Genner were engaged as sculptors at a yearly salary of 300 livres; from 1690 we have the names of Mallet and Jacques le Blond de La Tour. The latter was an architect, sculptor and painter from Bordeaux, a well-trained and capable man of whom Mgr. de Laval wrote that, if it were desired at some day to rebuild the cathedral, he would be of assistance.

Le Blond de La Tour was in charge of the artistic teaching from 1690 to 1696 as a layman, he then entered the church but continued to give instruction until 1706, when he was ordained priest. M. Bedard in 1786 wrote of him:—

"Il fut un excellent sculpteur qui forma des élèves qui partagerent avec lui l'hon-

² Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 349.

³ Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 349.

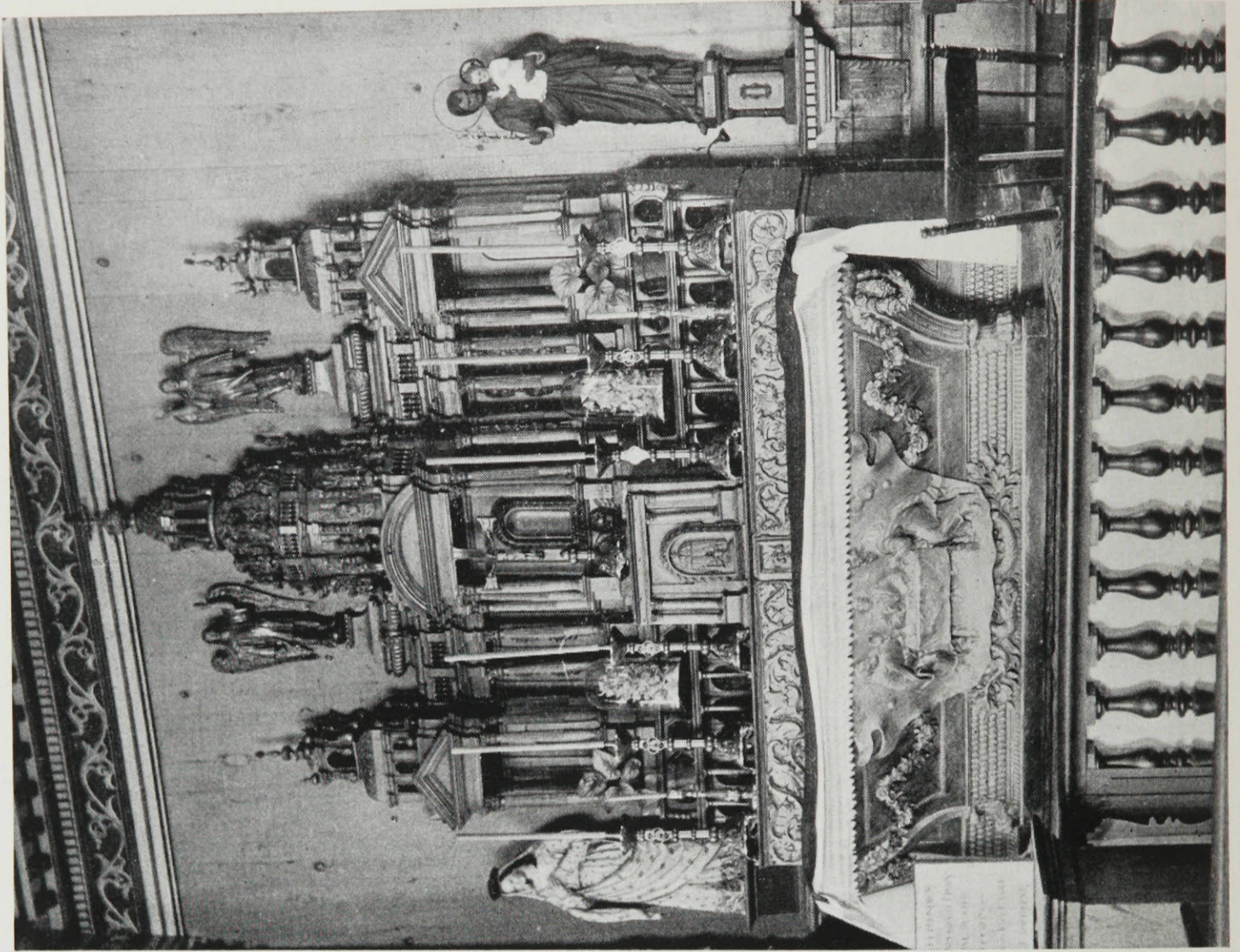
⁴ Adair, E. R., *French Canadian Art*, Can. Hist. Ass. annual report 1929, p. 91.

⁵ Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 359.

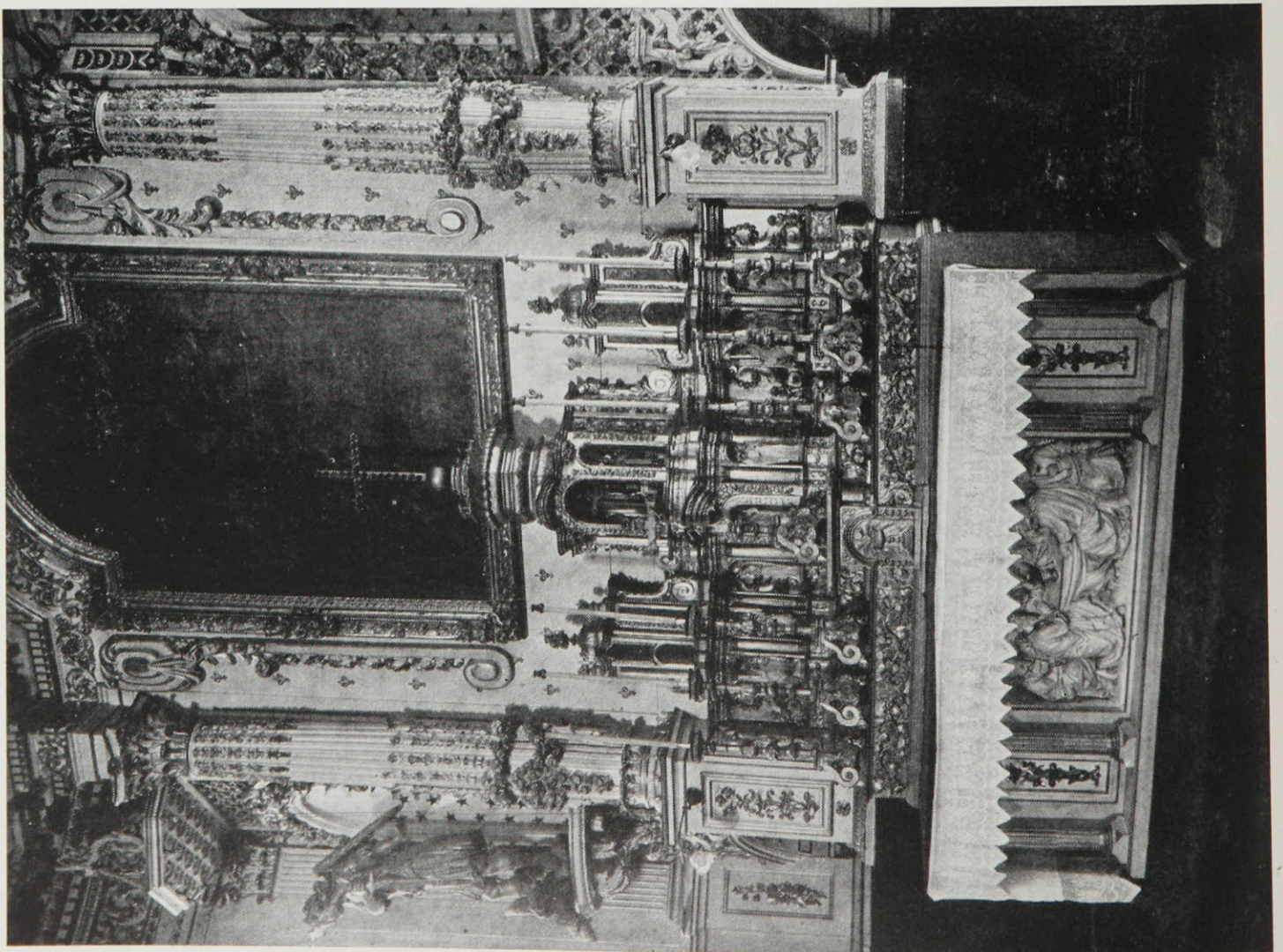
⁶ Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 350.

⁷ Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 349, quoting La Potherie.

PLATE C



Ste. Anne de Beaupré
Altar of the Old Church



L'Ange Gardien
Altar and Rétable Columns

neur du sacerdoce ainsi que l'art de manier le ciseau. Les rétables de Ste. Anne, du Château Richer, de l'Ange Gardien déposent en leur faveur".⁸

This was written some eighty years after the work was done, but there still remains carved woodwork at Ste. Anne de Beaupré and l'Ange Gardien which may be, in part, the work of La Tour.

So, at the end of the seventeenth century there were in Canada trained craftsmen and wood-sculptors. At first they were trained under the wing of the church and they seem always to have regarded themselves as devoted to her service. For whilst the old churches are full of elaborate woodcarvings, the old houses or public buildings show no such richness of decoration. Civil buildings were, of course, more exposed to damage and the people were not rich; still, it seems probable that the sculptors and decorators of Quebec thought of themselves as having a peculiar connection with the Church.

The seminary school of the fine arts seems to have vanished early in the eighteenth century. Thereafter young woodcarvers were trained by the old system of apprenticeship. What degree of influence the seminary school had upon the Canadian sculptors it is impossible to say, but it was probably very considerable. It is allowable to doubt whether any such training would be allowed to supersede the formal apprenticeship which was regarded as the proper entrance for young men into a trade or profession. And there were wood-sculptors in the province as well as in the seminary. Noël Levasseur, who became the leading sculptor of the eighteenth century, was born in Quebec in 1680. He probably attended the Petit Séminaire and may well have been a pupil of La Tour. But as a young man he lived in Montreal where he was acquainted with the old sculptor Charles Chaboillez and where he married in 1701.⁹ It looks a little as though the lad had been sent to Montreal to pass his apprenticeship; this would have been in full accordance with the custom of the day, which favoured a boy being sent away from home for his professional training.

Turning now to La Tour and his work. At Château Richer no fragment of old woodwork now remains, the church was completely rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century.

The original church of Ste. Anne de Beaupré was reconstructed in 1688, and it was for this church that La Tour must have made the rétable. This second church stood for a century and was reconstructed in 1787-88. The third church survived for a century again until, in 1871, it was decided to pull it down and to build a new and larger edifice. The old woodwork was preserved in a little commemorative chapel.¹⁰ We have photographs of the third church, built in 1787, which were taken probably shortly before it was pulled down. One is of the outside and shows a typical and charming parish church, the other is an interior view of the rétable. It is unfortunately not a very good photograph, but it is of historical importance.

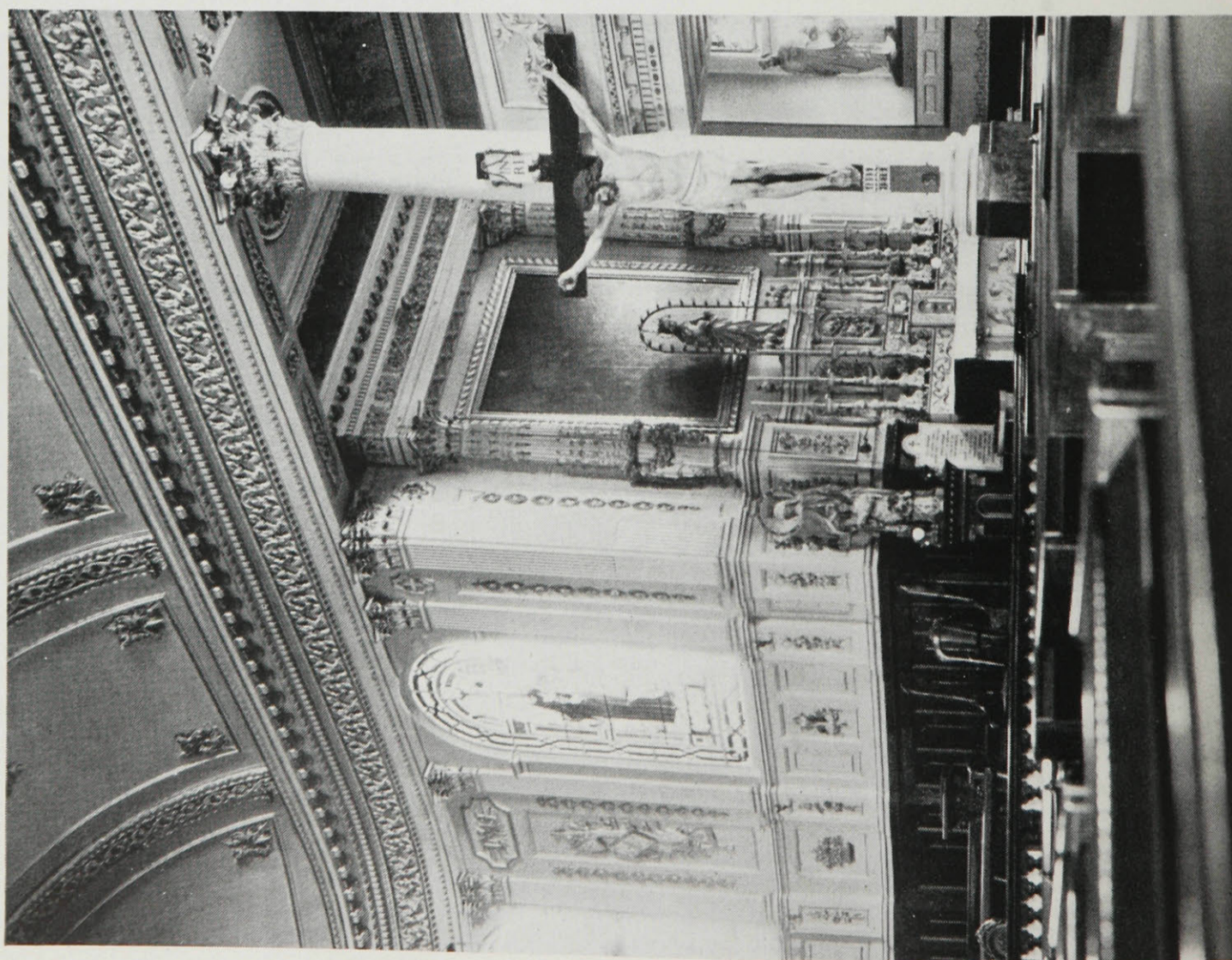
It has been stated that the entire woodwork of the old church, as it is preserv-

⁸ Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada*, p. 362.

⁹ Adair, E. R., *French Canadian Art*, Can. Hist. Ass. report, p. 97. B. R. H., 1928, p. 538.

¹⁰ Roy, P. G., *Vieilles Églises*, p. 311.

PLATE CI
L'ANGE GARDIEN



Rétable and Side Altar, before the fire of 1831



Detail from the Tabernacle

ed in the commemorative chapel was made in 1787-88. This view is not tenable. The work shows at least two different periods and there is a probability that parts of it date from before the reconstruction and may be part of La Tour's rétable. The internal view shows a shallow square east end set back not more than eight or ten feet from the transepts in which are the side altars. At the back are four corinthian columns set on high double pedestals; between the two central columns is an arch, under which stand the high altar and the tabernacle. At the sides are carved doors, surmounted by large niches in which are statues. The side chapels have each two corinthian columns. The general composition is that of the Ursuline chapel (1732) though the pedestals and cornice are later, and look like Baillaigé work of the early nineteenth century.

The high altar in the commemorative chapel is that shown on the old photograph. Only the fine old set of carved wooden candlesticks has disappeared. This altar is a patchwork, put together of pieces of different date. The altar-table "à la romaine," is a good piece of Baillaigé work of the early nineteenth century. It should be compared with the altar-table of St. Joachim, of 1812. The first grade of the tabernacle is decorated with rocaille scrolls. It should be compared with the tabernacle at Ste. Famille, by Levasseur, in 1748, or with the little Levasseur tabernacle of 1771 at St. François on the Island of Orleans. It is probably earlier than the reconstruction of 1787.

Set upon this grade is a complete and fine old tabernacle of unusual design which, judging by its style, must date from the early eighteenth century at latest. The two grades are formed of little open compartments, possibly for votive offerings. The workmanship of these does not look as good as that of the upper part and they may possibly have been repaired or renewed. The upper part has three square niches with pediments, connected by a closely-spaced colonnade with a delicate little balustrade. The central niche has a locked custode which suggests an early date. The central crowning dome with its two flanking angels is very elaborate, rich and well carved; at the sides, over the niches, are little square lanterns in two storeys. There is an abundance of fire-pot finials, recalling the early work of Noël Levasseur. The design is unusual and therefore the harder to place but the whole character of the upper tabernacle indicates an early date. The first grade is mid-eighteenth century, the table early nineteenth.

The two side altars have very "charming" tabernacles with some interesting flower carving. They probably date from the mid-eighteenth century. The pulpit is Baillaigé work and was probably made at the same time as the altar-table, the low relief of Moses upon it should be compared with those at Lauzun and at Charlesbourg. In the rétable of the chapel the cornices and pedestals are later than the columns, the pedestals are not those in the old photograph of the church and were apparently made for the chapel.

There remain the corinthian columns. These are heavily wreathed and garlanded to one-third height and have enriched bases and a double entasis. The proportion is heavy, about one to eight. The Baillaigés never, so far as I know, used a garlanded column and their corinthian columns were of the more orthodox proportion of over one to nine. But these elaborate columns are very like those at l'Ange Gardien, to which we must now turn.

L'Ange Gardien has suffered many alterations. It was lengthened, aisles were added, a new rétable was put in. Yet, through all these vicissitudes, it seems to have retained six corinthian columns and the tabernacle on the high altar. The six columns in particular were valued, and not without reason, for they are the richest and most elaborately carved old columns in the province.

The early church records are missing. A note in the existing records, on the page of 1779 but probably written later, tells us that the rétable, as it was in 1800, consisted of six columns and their entablature, two statues and the picture. The tabernacle had been gilt in 1753. Painters who worked on it recently report that it is of walnut.

In 1801 an assembly of the marguilliers approved a plan for the alteration of the rétable by which four of the columns would be placed in the two side chapels, leaving two only in the sanctuary. The entire rétable was to be pushed back three or four feet.¹¹ This plan was carried out and the work remained until the fire of 1931.

In 1925 I made a careful examination of the rétable, side chapels and tabernacle, and came to the following conclusions:—

(1) The rétable was of the Baillairgé school with later additions and probably dated from 1801. But the six corinthian columns and their capitals were not Baillairgé work but were the old columns mentioned in the note on the page of 1779. They, and the old tabernacle were, I understand, saved from the fire in 1931.

The columns have enriched flutes and bases, wreathed with garlands of roses at one-third height. Their proportion is heavy, about 1 to 8 diameters, with a double entasis greatest at one-third height.

(2) The tabernacle of the high altar is clearly older than the reconstruction of 1801. In general design it resembles the tabernacle of the Ursuline convent (1732); the quality of the carving on the grades and on the order storey above them is high and its character indicates a date, at very latest, in the first half of the eighteenth century. The order storey, with its niches, might easily be even earlier but here, of course, comparisons cannot be made for lack of examples. M. Casgrain in his history of the parish, says that the reliquaries and the top part of the tabernacle were added. Certainly the side shrines and the crowning "pedestal" do not quite agree with the order stage and the central shrine.

There is a tradition in the church that this tabernacle was imported from France in very early times. But there is no evidence to support this legend. It is one which occurs persistently attached to work so elaborate that its owners cannot imagine a mere home origin.¹² The existing records contain no mention of a new tabernacle for the high altar, though they mention a new altar-table, and the purchase of tabernacles for the two side chapels from St. Laurent, I. O. in 1803. These had been made in 1786 by Maître Baillairgé.¹³

The resemblance between the corinthian columns of Ste. Anne de Beaupré

¹¹ Archives of l'Ange Gardien. Notes provided by Mr. Marius Barbeau.

¹² For instance:—The embroidered altar frontals at Jeune Lorette are said to have been presented by Madame de Maintenon and the medallion head of Our Lord on one of them is a portrait of the dauphin. There is no evidence whatever for this story. The embroideries were almost certainly executed in Quebec.

¹³ L'Ange Gardien. Délibérations de la Fabrique, 1804, "acte pour les tabernacles des chapelles."

and l'Ange Gardien is striking. Those of l'Ange Gardien are richer but both have the lower third garlanded, the double entasis and the heavy proportion. The columns of the rétable in the Ursuline chapel are garlanded in a similar manner, but they have the more orthodox proportion of about 1 to 9½ diameters. The Baillairgés did not use garlanded columns. Those at St. Joachim, by François Baillairgé are banded, somewhat after the manner of De l'Orme. In this they are exceptionally elaborate for Baillairgé but their proportion is very slender, nearly 1 to 10. The Quevillon school used garlanded columns occasionally, as at St. Mathias, but their carving is thinner, their proportion very slender, one to ten.

This question of proportion is important. The old master-sculptors used their Blondel or their Vignola and they played no tricks with the time-honoured proportions. But the proportions of the seventeenth century were heavier than those of the eighteenth and La Tour, the painter-architect of Bordeaux, may have been accustomed to the heavier type.

The evidence is incomplete, and is largely stylistic. We will probably never know more than we do now and, if these corinthian columns at Beaupré and l'Ange Gardien are not the work of La Tour, it is hardly possible to assign them to Levasseur or any of the later sculptors. M. Bédard wrote in 1786 and his words indicate that he believed the rétables, as he then saw them, to be the work of Le Blond de La Tour and his pupils. The columns were certainly part of these rétables and therefore there is a strong possibility that they, and also the very similar corinthian columns at Ste. Anne de Beaupré, are those made by La Tour in the end of the seventeenth century.

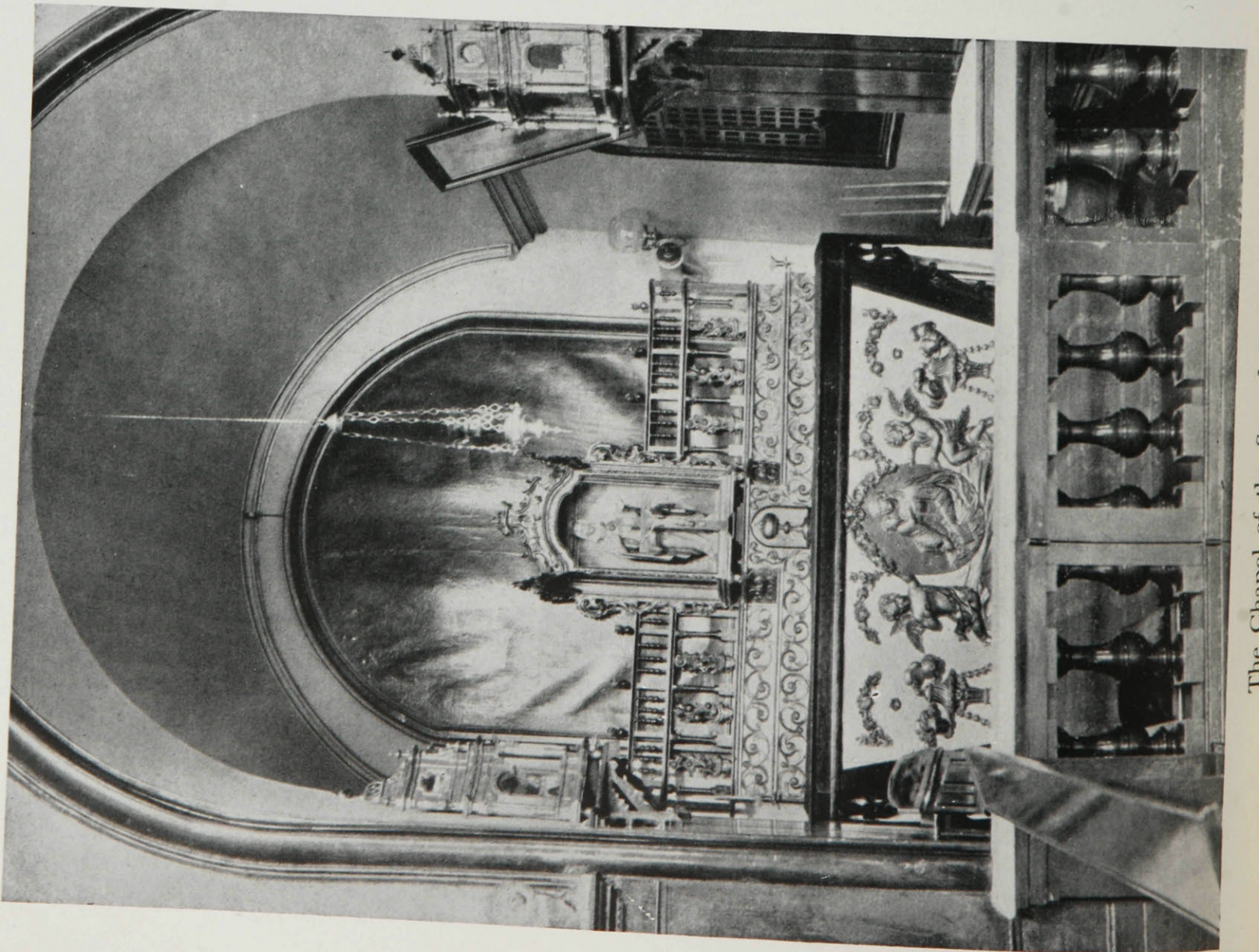
We have no evidence as to who made the tabernacles to the high altars either at Ste. Anne or at l'Ange Gardien, or as to when they were made. They are both certainly very old, they are very good and they are quite unlike one another; they could hardly be the work of the same sculptor. We need pay no attention to the story that the tabernacle of l'Ange Gardien was brought from France, both of them are Canadian, more we do not know.

In the eighteenth century we are upon firmer ground. The leading sculptors were the Sieurs le Vasseur, known indifferently as Les Vasseurs, or Levasseur in the accounts. Noël Levasseur was born in Quebec in 1680 and died there in 1740. He had two sculptor sons, François Noël and Jean Baptiste Antoine. Father and sons worked together and it is not possible to distinguish their work. The name occurs again and again in church accounts from 1720 to 1790 and they must have carried out an enormous amount of work.

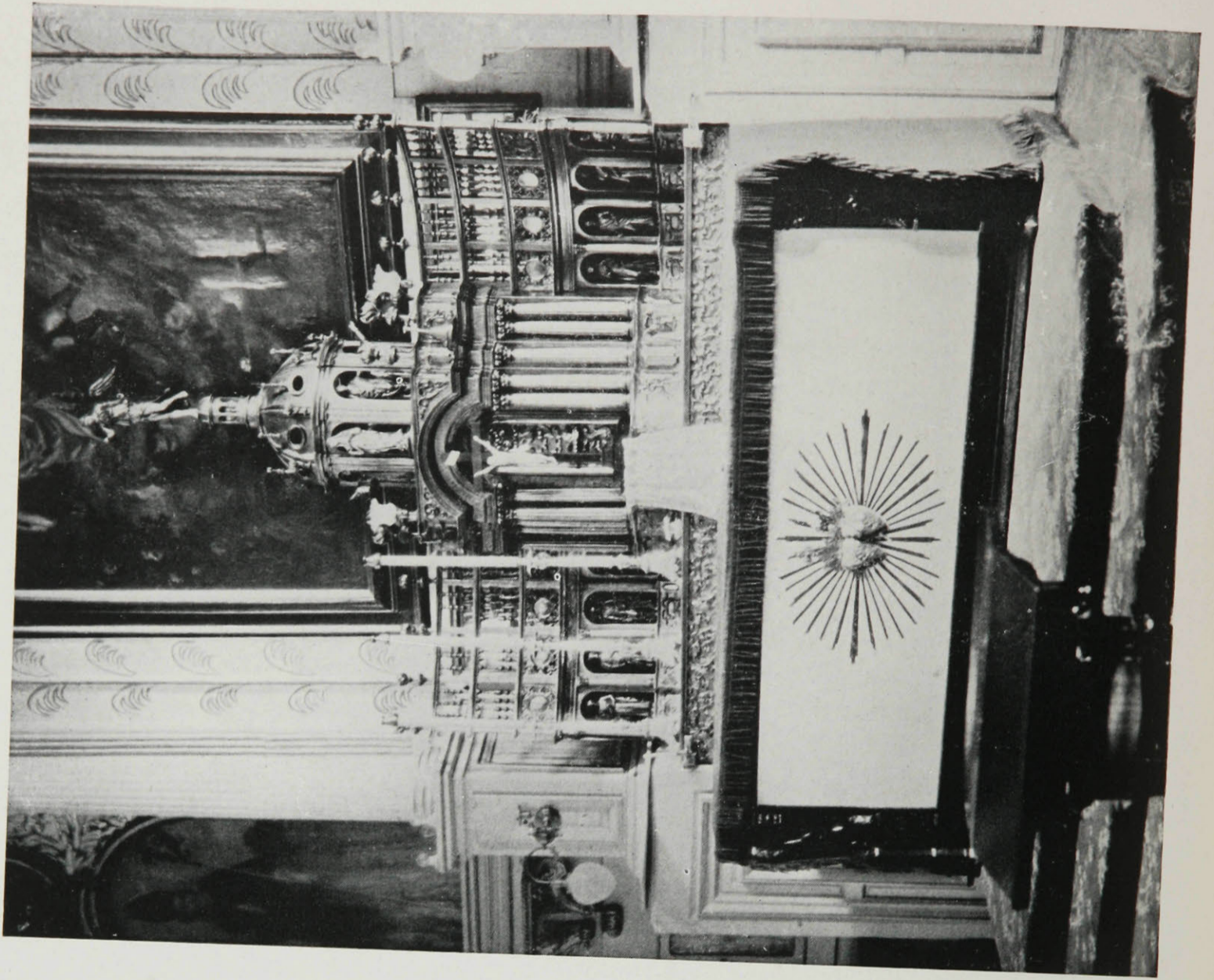
Noël Levasseur in 1722 made the tabernacle of the high altar in Nôtre Dame des Anges of the Hôpital Général at Quebec.¹⁴ It has a central tabernacle, surmounted by a dome and flanked by curved wings. The central feature has a high niche for the monstrance with a custode and doubled corinthian columns whose entablature is arched over the niche. On a pedestal above this is the dome with a drum and lantern. On the base of the main colonnade are two panels carved with the arms of Mgr. de Saint Vallier, (azure) a horse's head coupé (or) on a chief (gules) three crosses coupé (argent). Behind the shield is the bishop's

¹⁴ Hôpital Général, *Livres de Comptes*, Vol. I, fol. 133b.

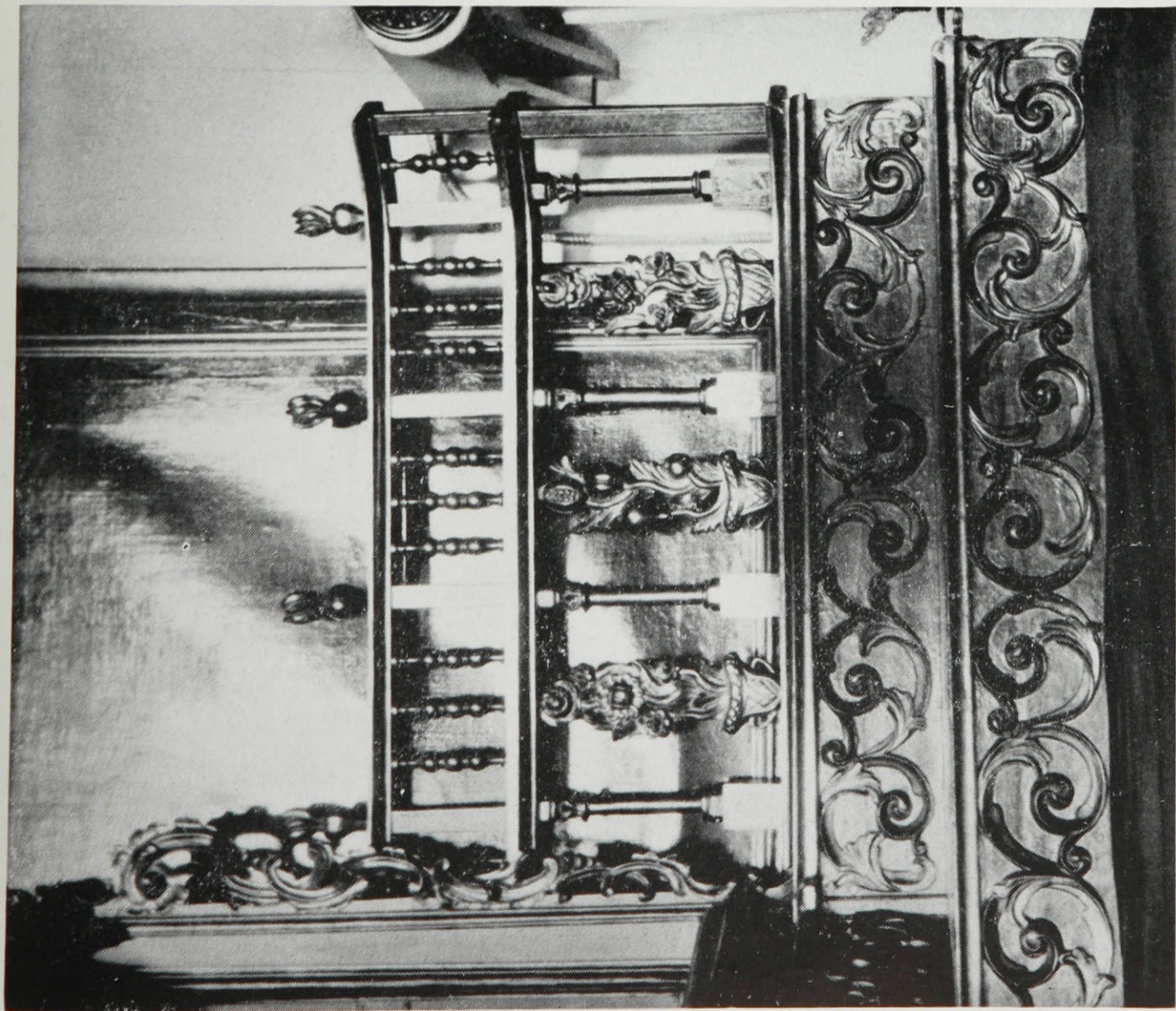
PLATE CII
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



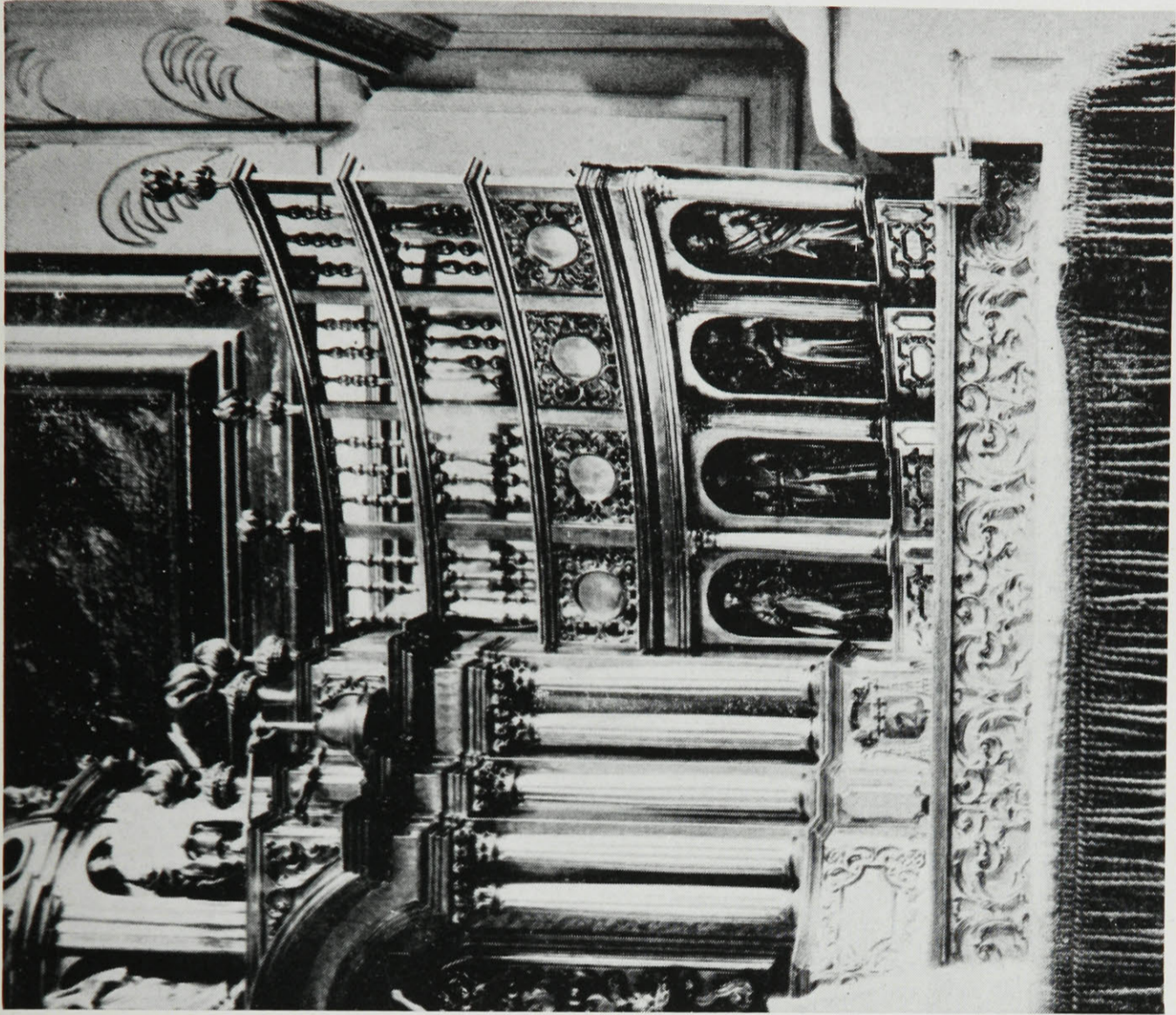
The Chapel of the Sacred Heart



The High Altar



Detail of the Tabernacle on the High Altar



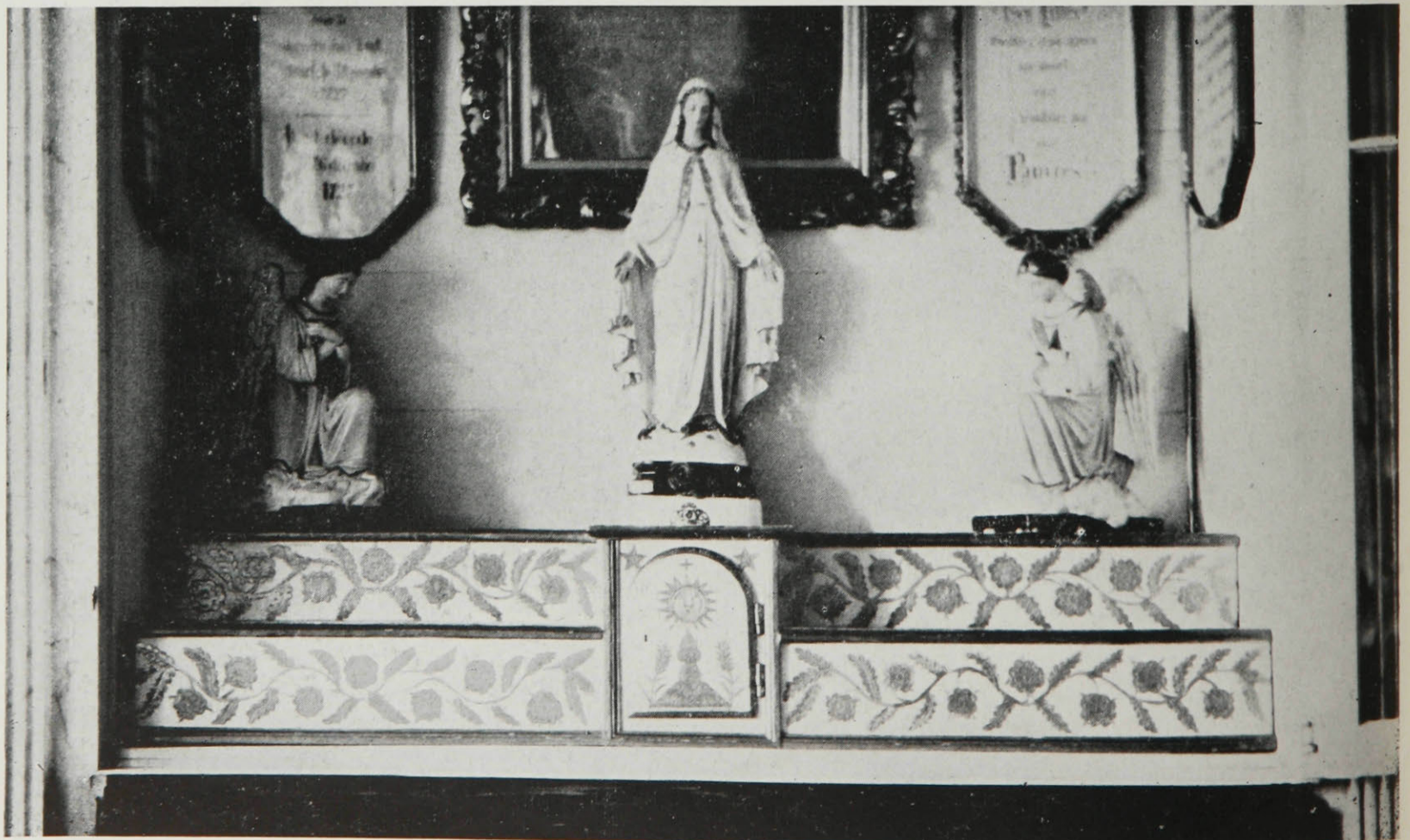
Detail of the Tabernacle in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart

reversed

PLATE CIV
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC

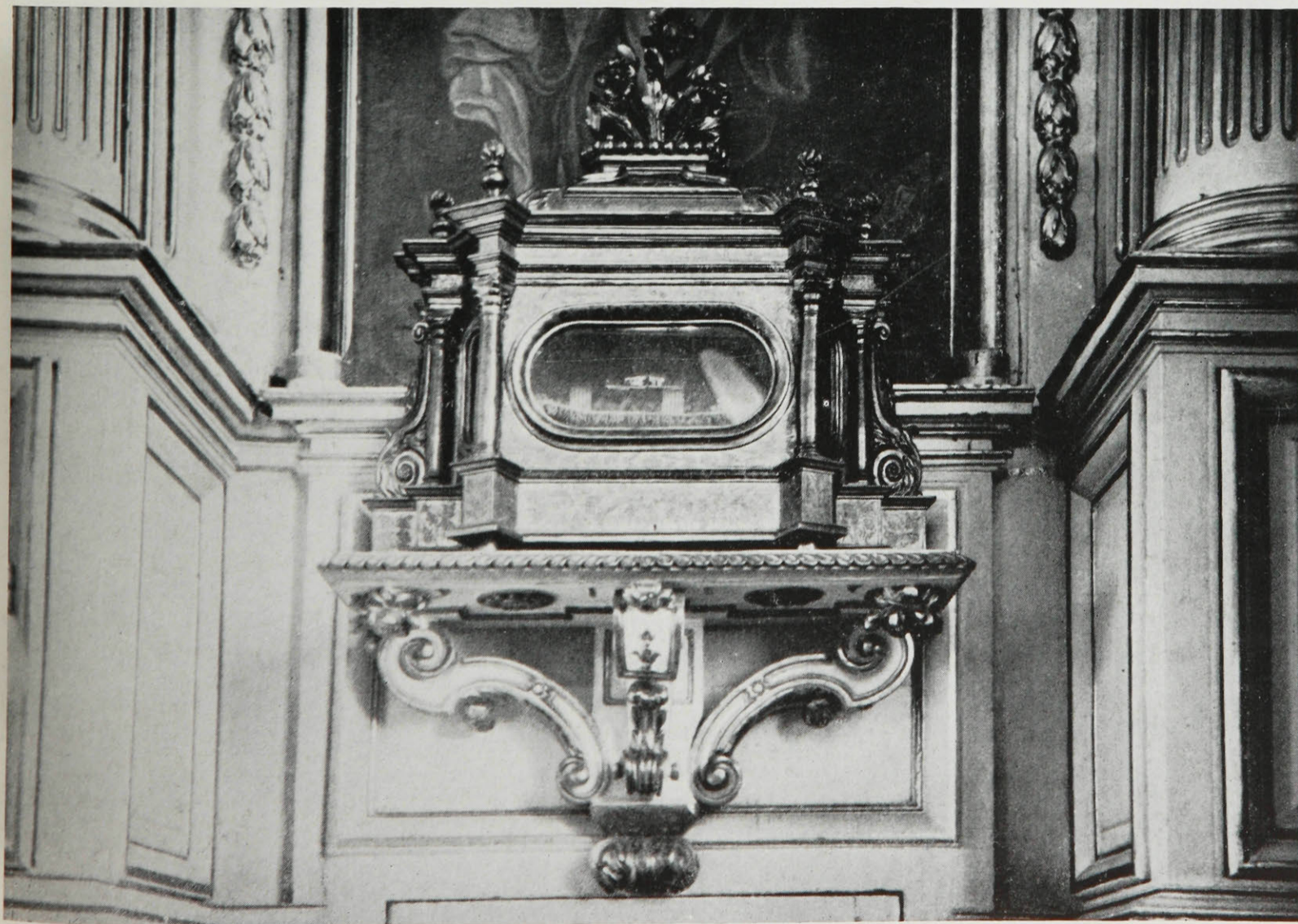


A Medallion from the Altar in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart



The Altar of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier

PLATE CV
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



Two Reliquaries in the Church

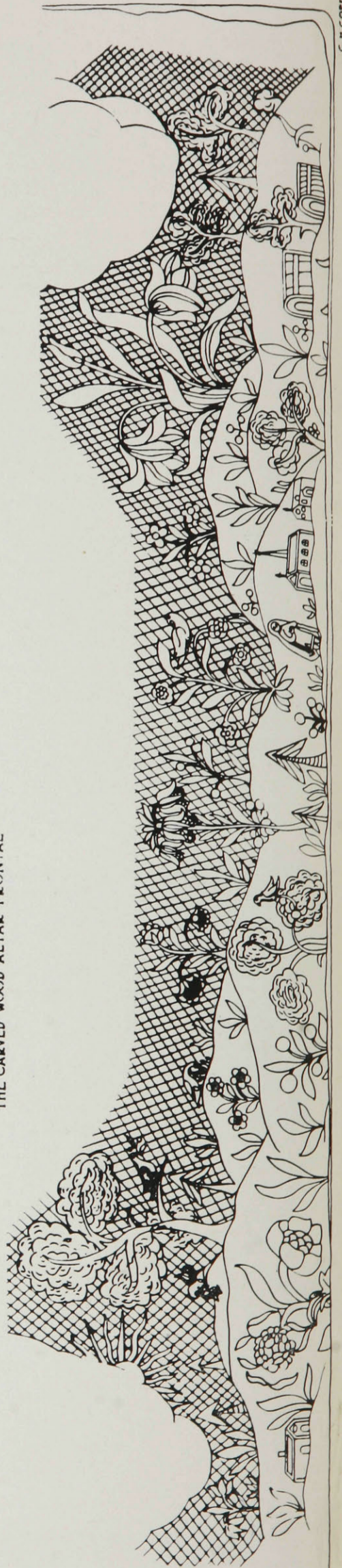
PLATE CVI
JEUNE LORETTE



The Indian Frontal

NOTRE DAME DE LA JEUNE-LORETTE

DRAWING OF THE LOWER PART OF
THE CARVED WOOD ALTAR FRONTAL



crook and mitre and above it the bishop's hat and tassels. The curved wings have niches, in which are eight little statues, probably representing the apostles. They are of the same date as the tabernacle; above are ranges of pierced panels and balustrades, with the usual fire-pot finials. The work is small and delicate in scale; the pierced panels in the wings are only a quarter of an inch thick. The panels of the pedestals and the grades have geometrical patterns with acanthus and olive enrichment. This form is usual in the first half of the eighteenth century and suggests the earlier strapwork. Later a flowing scroll largely takes its place. The whole tabernacle is gilt, as all such work was meant to be. Plain spaces are decorated with hatchings and diapers impressed into the gold with a point. Such drawing upon gold is found in much early work and we shall return to it later.

But, before leaving the Hôpital Général, we may look at the side chapel where Mgr. de Saint Vallier, the founder of the Hôpital, lies buried. The altar and tabernacle here are evidently put together of a number of parts, of different dates, which form a very harmonious whole. The grades have a swinging acanthus scroll with a low relief of a ciborium on the central door, graceful but commonplace. They are probably early nineteenth century, and lack the vigour of the eighteenth century work.

The central niche is a small Louis XV cabinet, evidently made for glazing. It was possibly not made for church use at all. The wings have baskets of flowers alternating with curiously gothic octagonal shafts. This is surmounted by a balustrade and flaming heart finials. These wings are possibly older than the high altar tabernacle, the carving of the flower-vases particularly has a most seventeenth century quality. The altar-table is modern. In the centre is a Baillairgé medallion of Our Lady and Child with cherubs, censers and flower swags at the sides. In the accounts of July 18th, 1824 is an item of 514 li. 10 s. paid to Mr. Baillairgé for a carved altar frontal which must refer to this. Apparently at some later time M. Baillairgé's carving was taken off the old frontal and put on to a new background; some of the rose garlands have been replaced upside-down.

In the accounts for 1725 is an item of 30 li. for grades "de la chapelle de Monseigneur". This cannot refer to the grades in the burial chapel which was not in existence at that time. It probably refers to those of a little altar now in the men's ward at which by tradition Mgr. de Saint Vallier said his last mass. They are decorated with a rather primitive rose scroll, gilt and drawn on the surface with a point. This drawn work is used also on several fine reliquary caskets on the rétable and on the St. Vallier tabernacle.

But the finest example of such work is on the carved wood altar frontal at Jeune Lorette. The Hurons were established here in 1698 and Kalm tells us that at first "they lived in their usual huts which are made like those of the Laplanders. They have since laid aside this custom and built all their houses after the French fashion."¹⁵

The drawing on the frontal shows two bark wigwams of the type usual amongst the eastern Indians, with curved roofs. It must be such cabins that Kalm saw in 1749, and this indicates that the frontal must have been made in the earl-

¹⁵ *Mémoires de la société historique de Montréal. Voyages de P. Kalm*, Vol. III, p. 163. Translation by L. W. Marchand.

PLATE CVII
JEUNE LORETTE

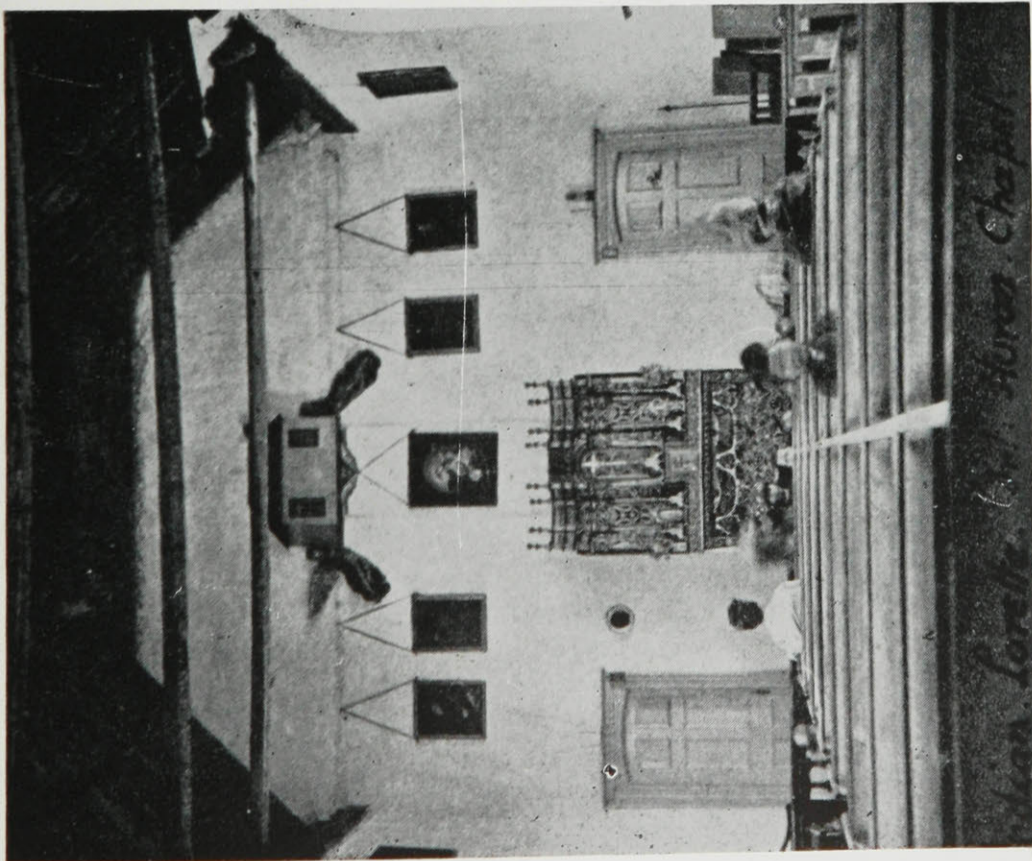


Detail from the Indian Frontal

PLATE CVIII
JEUNE LORETTE



The Brass Altar Rail



Old photo

Interior, before Alterations

PLATE CIX
JEUNE LORETTE



The High Altar

iest days of the settlement. The frontal is of pine, sixty-five inches long by thirty-three high. In the centre, in full relief, is a Madonna and Child surrounded by a wreath of acanthus scroll and roses. In the corners are four cherubs on flat clouds. These carved parts are attached and gilt. The background is silvered, over a thin coat of gesso, and on it is drawn a landscape of hills, trees, flowers and birds with the sun shining down from one of the cherubs; it evidently represents the Mission. On the right are two Indian wigwams, then comes the Mission itself, the church with spire and cross, in front of it an Indian woman worshipping, behind it a gabled house, evidently the presbytery. In the centre is a crown-imperial fritillary. On the hills we can distinguish spruces and greenwoods. At the extreme left is a little gabled house. All this is drawn on the silver with an impressed point.

It is the finest work of its kind in Canada and also, so far as I know, the only piece of church work which shows Indian influence. When in position on the front of the altar the dull gold and tarnished silver are very beautiful. The date is not known but it must be very early eighteenth century at latest, the work possibly of a Huron carver taught by a French master.

Jeune Lorette also has a very nice tabernacle on the high altar. It is similar in workmanship and scale to that of the Hôpital Général. Now Noël Levasseur gave a statue of Our Lady and Child to Jeune Lorette in 1729.¹⁶ This tabernacle may well be his work, made for the stone church built in 1722. It has only a single grade, in place of the usual two. In the centre is a niche with a door and receptacle at the back for the monstrance. On each side are semicircular arcades with a frieze and balustrade crowned with fire-pots. The arcades are at present filled in with carved and pierced panels but there can be no doubt that the infilling is recent and that the arcade was originally open. Such open tabernacles seem to have gone out of fashion by about 1775. Tabernacles with solid backs were at all times the more usual.

Before leaving Jeune Lorette we may notice the brass altar-rail. In the centre of the present wood altar-rail are four bays of beaten brass, the two gates and two bays of balustrading between them. The brass is in thin plates, pinned on to a wooden frame. The forms of the ornament are drawn on the metal with an engraved line, and then bossed up from the back. The rail has a crude leaf scroll, the posts have roses, rayed suns and oblong bosses, the balusters are round and of the usual flask form. So far as I know this rail is unique. The pattern is founded on European forms but the work is rather that of a craftsman who understood indeed what would look well in metal, but who did not quite understand the patterns which he was asked to follow. For this may be crude work but it is good metallic design and the rail, in its place, is effective and beautiful. Like the frontal it gives the impression of Indian work done under French supervision. The brass sheets were no doubt imported, but the work is Canadian and probably Huron, made for the place which it still occupies.¹⁷

Between 1732 and 1736 the Levasseurs executed their most important work, the rétable and tabernacles of the Ursuline chapel at Quebec. Noël was fifty-two

¹⁶ L'abbé L. S. G. Lindsay, *Nôtre Dame de la Jeune Lorette*, p. 153.

¹⁷ The usual legend is told of this rail, that it was imported from France. It is neither of French design nor of French workmanship. The legend is based upon the false belief that Quebec in the seventeenth century had no skilled craftsmen.

years old, François twenty-nine and Antoine a lad of fifteen. We may assume that the design was due to the father. The records of the convent tell us that the works "were paid for in small sums, arranged together in a friendly way as can be seen by the details in the account books".¹⁸ And indeed the books from 1732 contain, year after year considerable payments "to the sculptor". The total amounted to 1,689 livres.

When the old chapel was taken down in 1901, this woodwork was re-erected in the new one, with a few trivial additions.

In general design the rétable follows traditional lines. The rétables of the old church at Beaupré and of the old Récollet church in Quebec had the same composition of columns, doors and niches. It is divided into three bays by garlanded corinthian columns set on high pedestals. The altar in the centre has a high carved and gilt tabernacle; above it is a large picture of the Nativity, attributed to Le Brun. The frame is a fine piece of carving, with interlaced vine and ribbons. Above is an attic with a segmental pediment and side trusses. The niche has a statue of St. Joseph with the Christ Child, on each side are adoring angels with palms. In the side bays are doors, that on the right is ornamental, that on the left leads to the sacristy. Above are large niches with statues, on the right Ste. Foye, on the left St. Augustine, patron of the monastic life.

The figure sculpture is good, and in harmony with the architecture, the finest is that on the doors and pedestals, on which are low reliefs of exceptional quality. On the right hand door, leading to the sacristy, is the angel of the Annunciation descending, on the left, Our Lady kneeling at a prie-dieu. The panels of the four large pedestals are carved, on the sides with conventional ornaments and on the fronts with figure subjects. On the extreme left is St. John the Evangelist, seated on his eagle; with his outstretched hand he holds a scroll, on which he is writing. Meanwhile his inkpot is falling below to a ground sprinkled with decorative flowers. To the left of the altar is St. Peter, with a very large halo, holding his key. On the opposite side is St. Paul, with his sword. At the extreme right is St. John the Baptist, a youth in a sheepskin, seated under a tree, his sheep grazing at his feet.

The panels are entirely gilt, the relief is low, the quality of design and of carving is remarkable, particularly in the panels of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist. The touch of humour in the falling inkpot is refreshing. As to the Baptist, he is Pan, in a Christian guise; this is the finest woodcarving in French Canada.

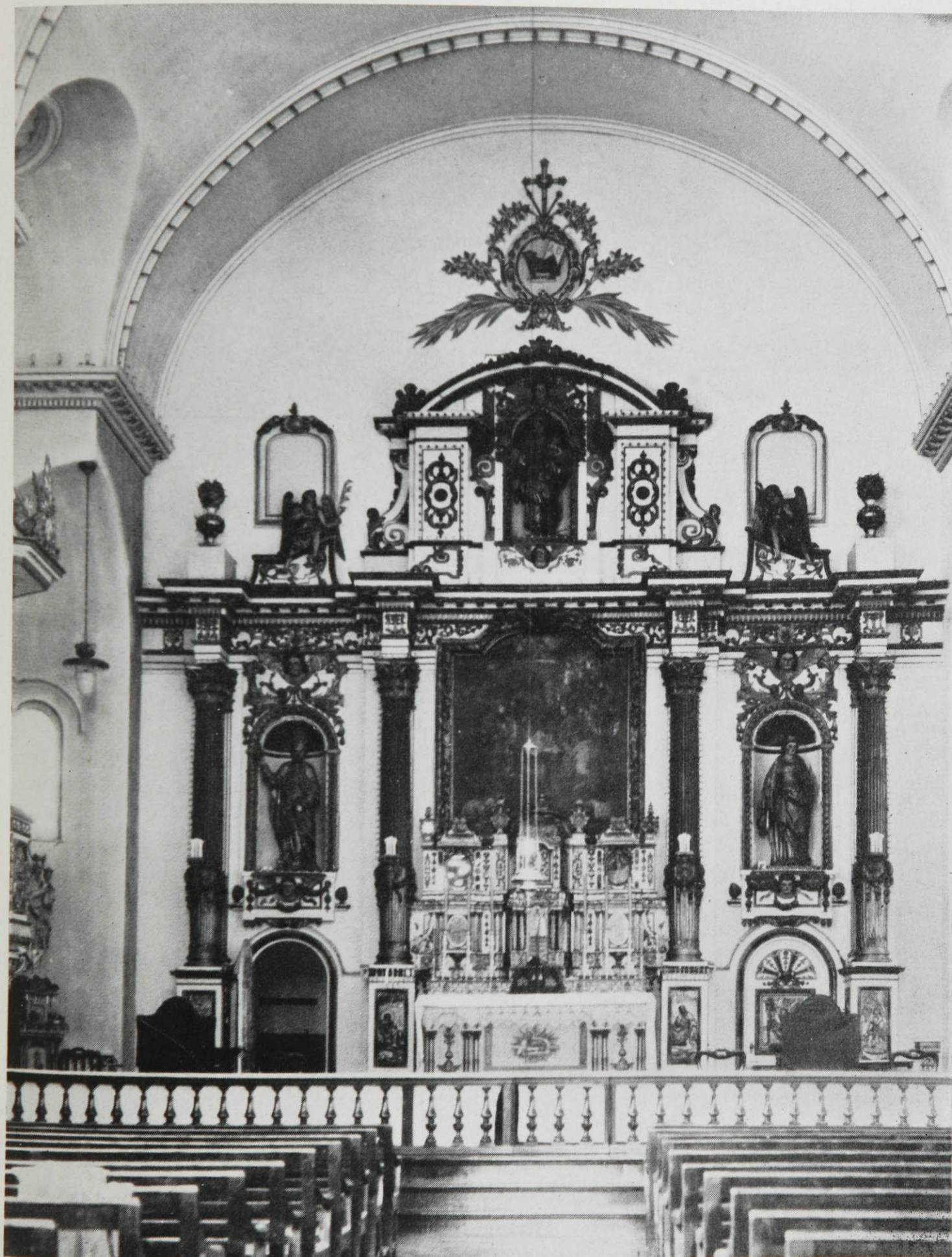
The tabernacle is of the usual form with a very good figure of Our Lord as Good Shepherd on the upper "soleil" door.

In 1742 "Sieurs les Vasseurs Sculpteur" made a rich tabernacle, a fine set of six wooden candlesticks and a crucifix for the church at Batiscan.¹⁹ It is of the usual form excepting that the upper niche is omitted and the dome rests directly upon the "soleil" niche. The candlesticks are a very fine set. Only too often we find these fine old wood candlesticks relegated to the attic and their place taken

¹⁸ *Les Ursulines de Quebec*, Vol. II, p. 110.

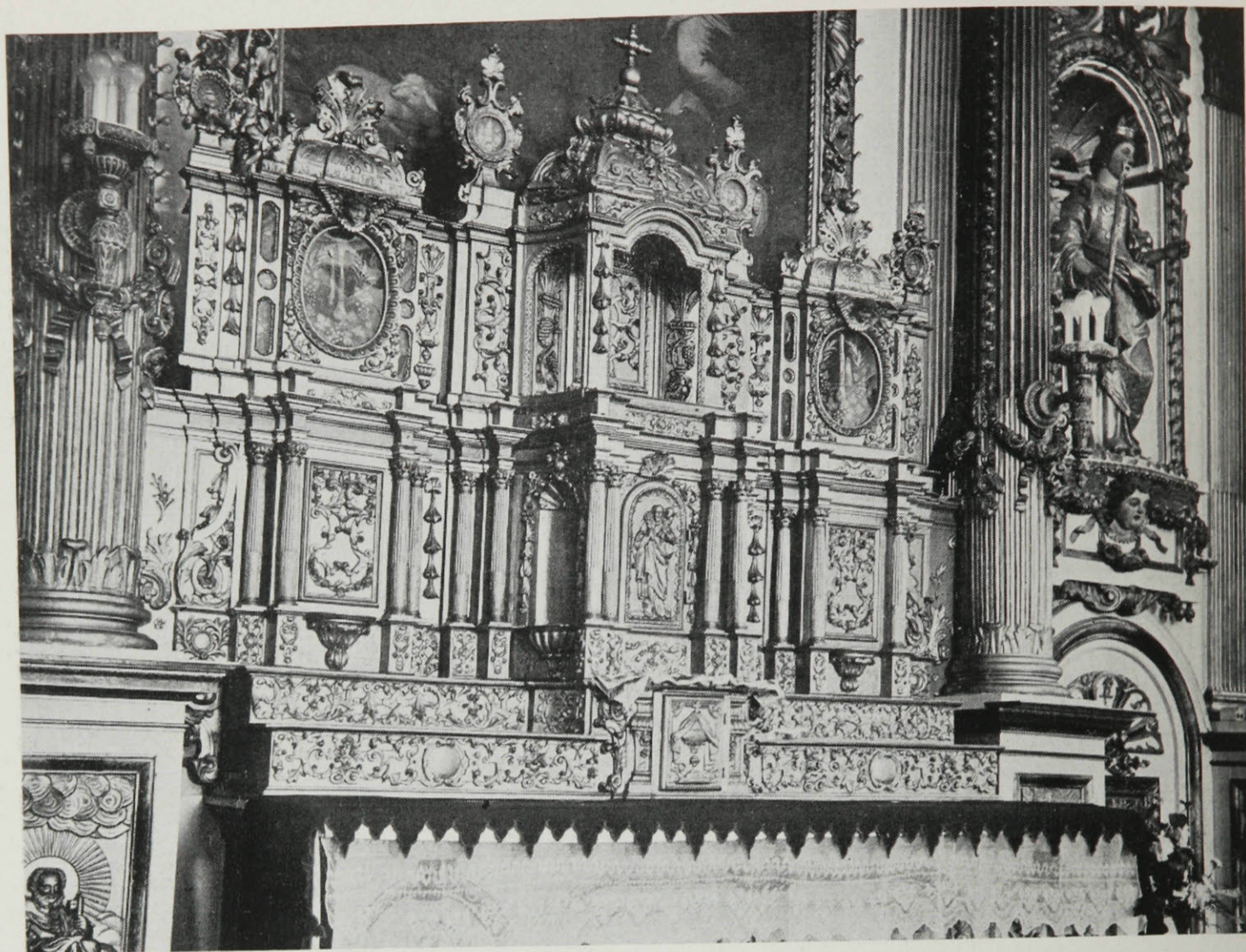
¹⁹ Batiscan, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. II, f. 9a. (1742-43).

PLATE CX
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC

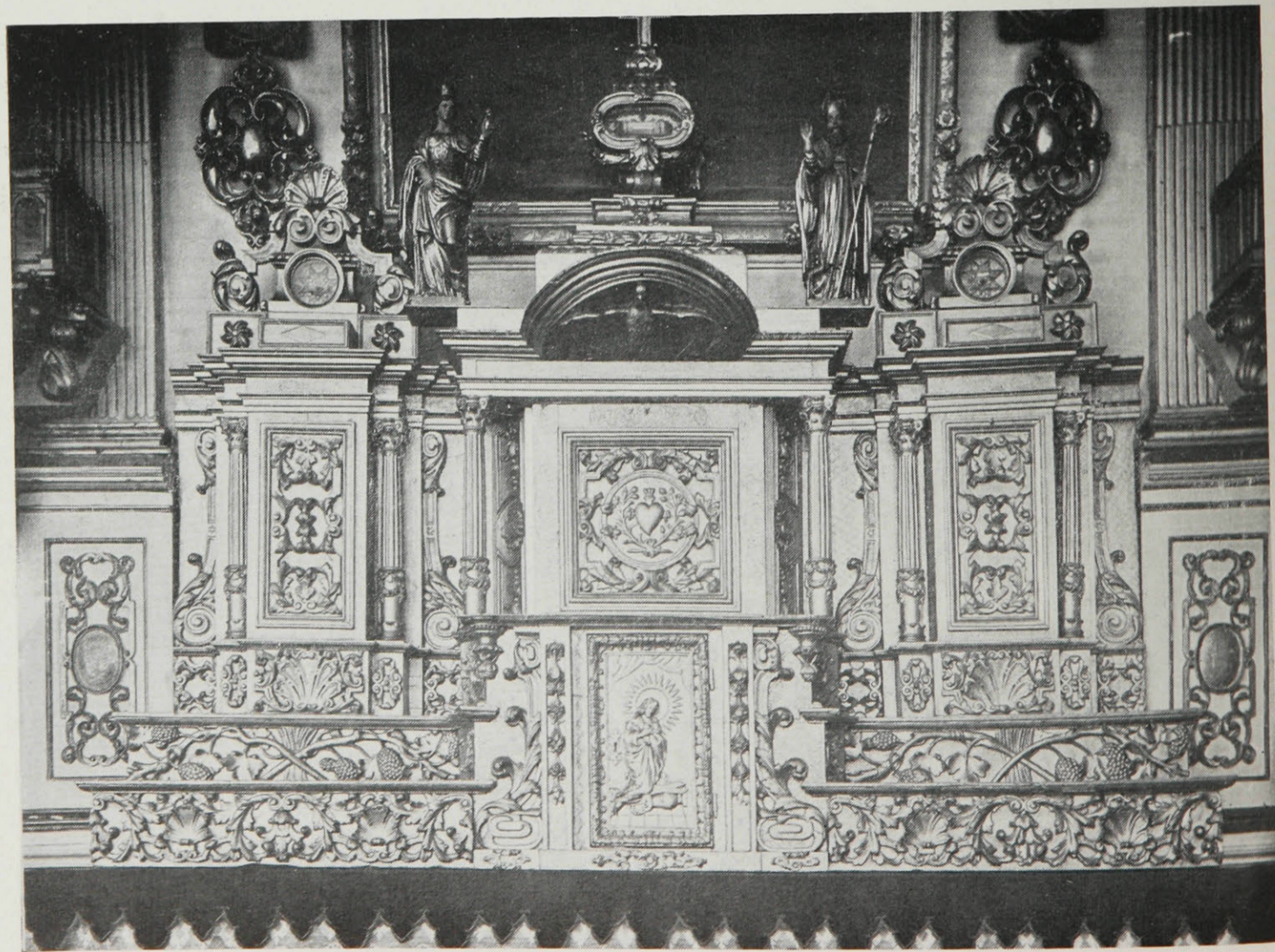


Interior of the Chapel

PLATE CXI
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC



The Tabernacle of the High Altar



The Tabernacle of the Side Altar



Carved Panels on the Rétable

St. John the Evangelist

St. John the Baptist

PLATE CXIII
THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC

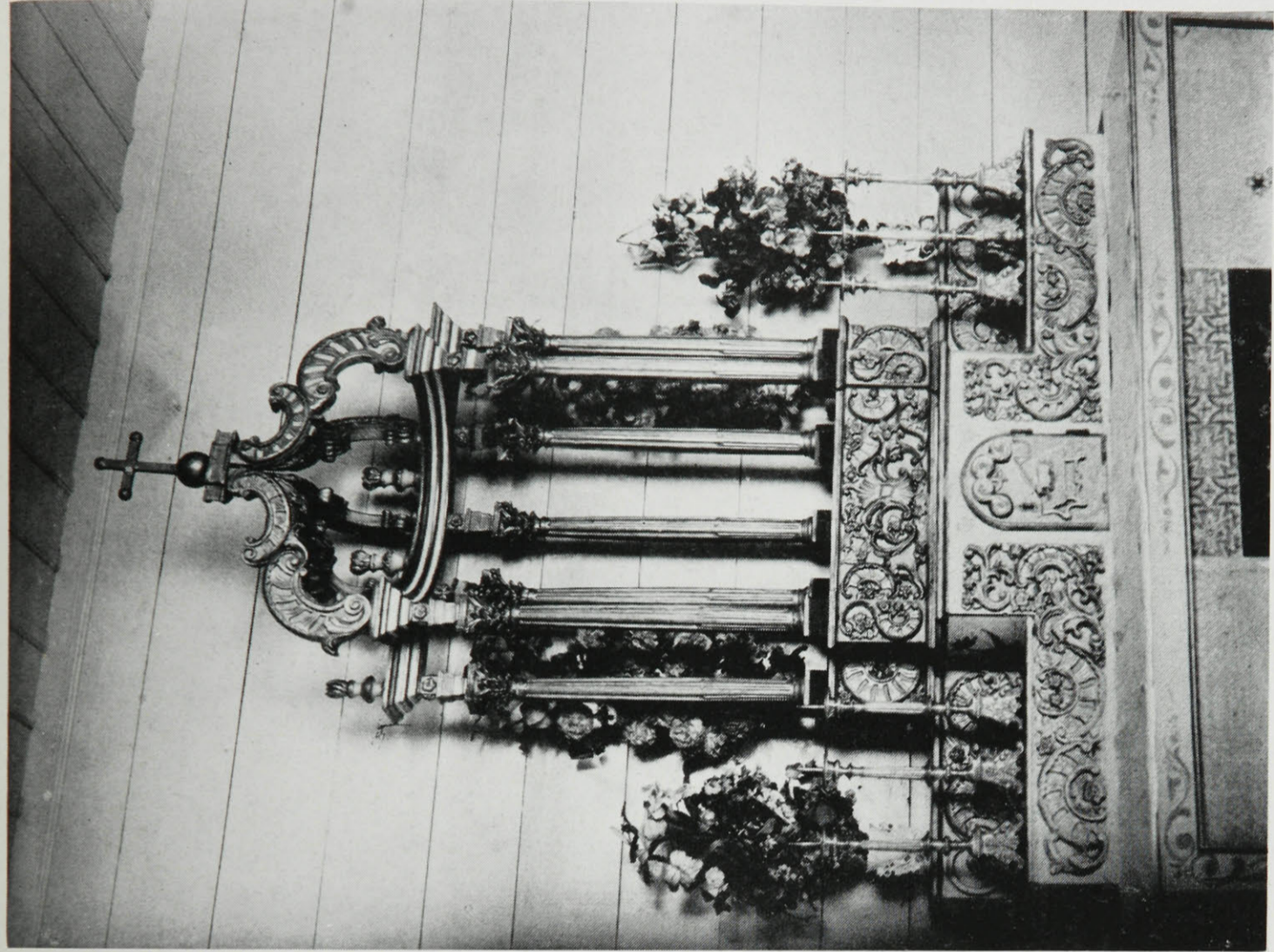


St. Paul

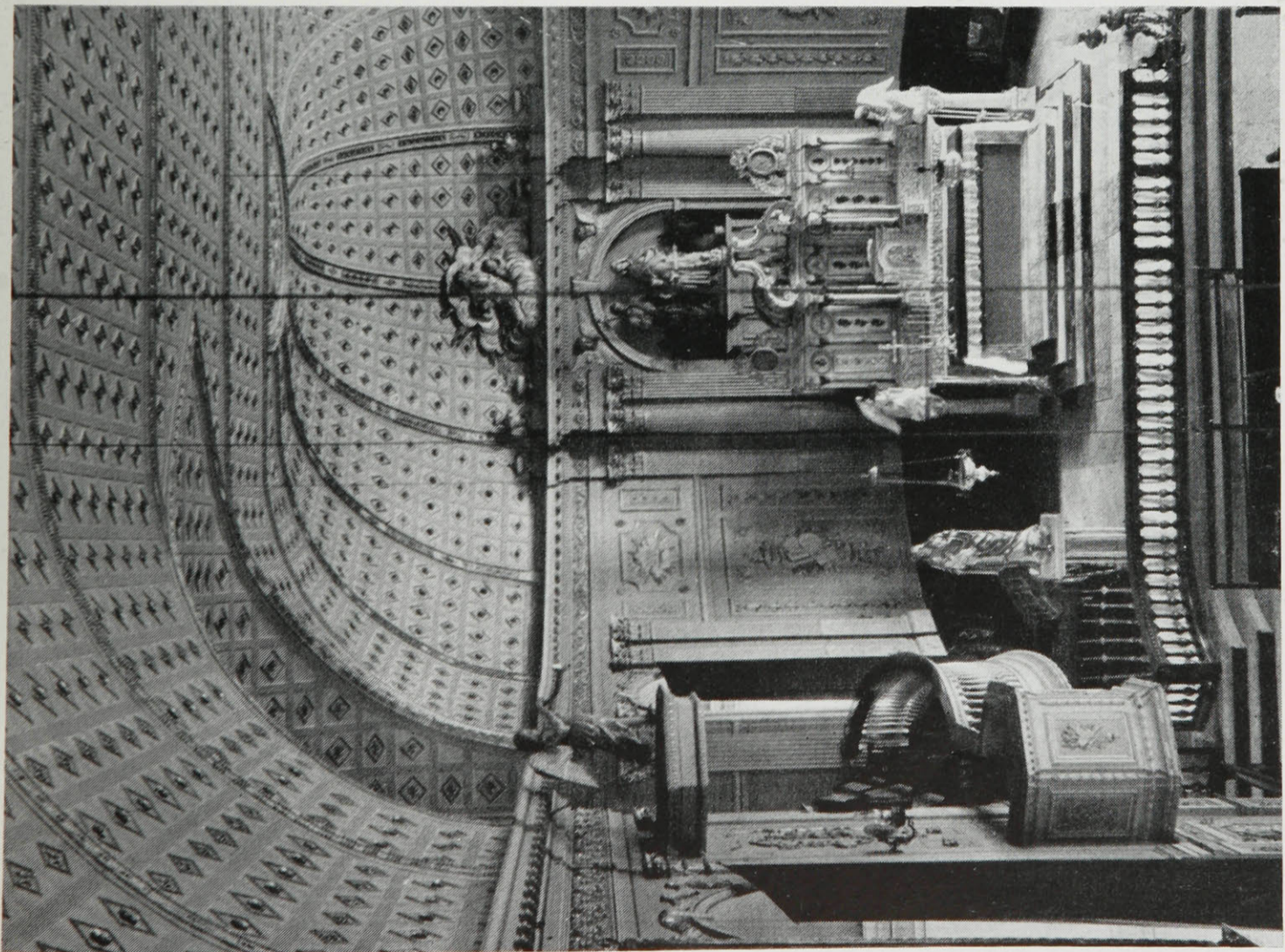


St. Peter

Carved Panels on the Rétable

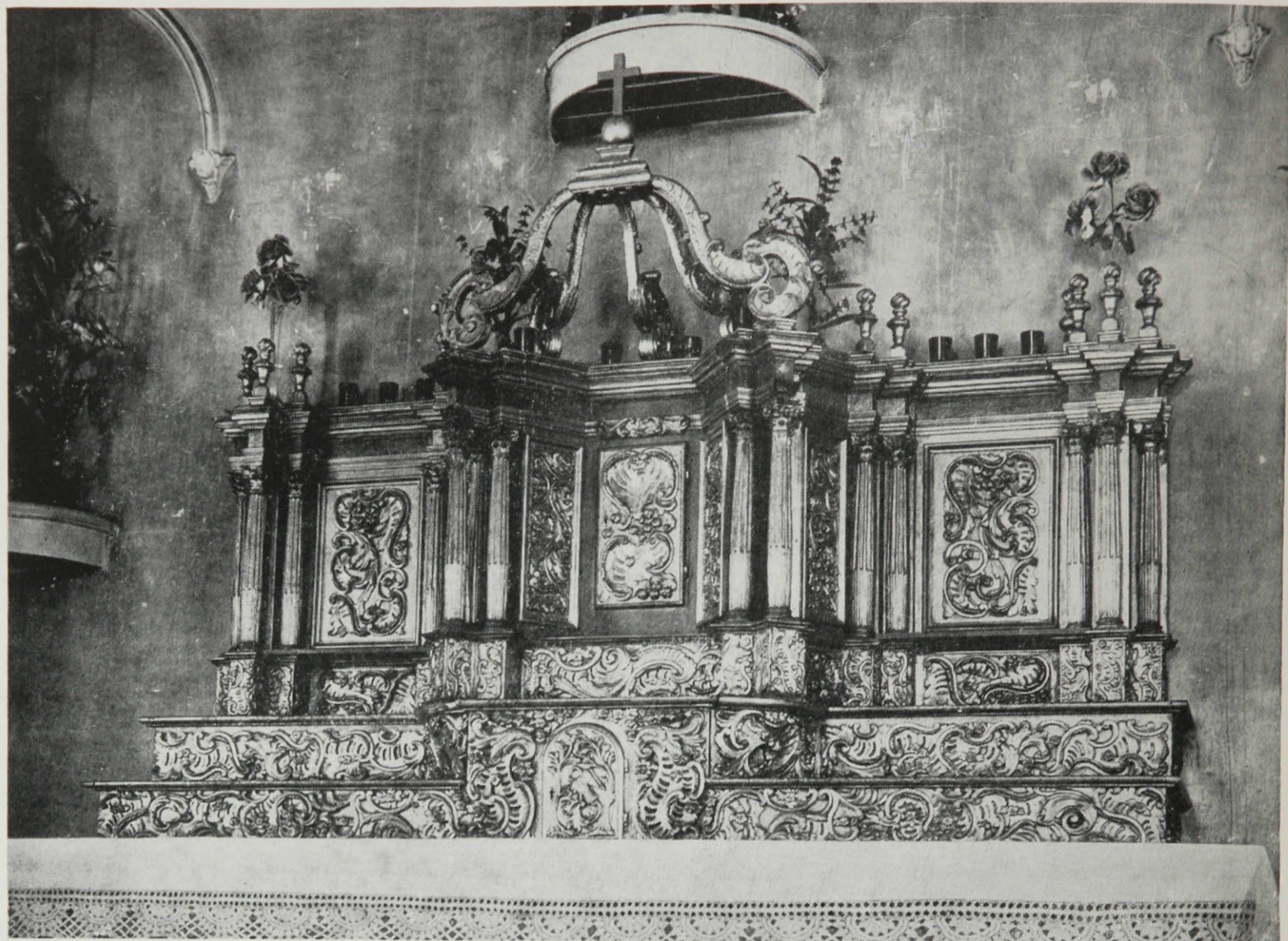


St. François, I. O.
Tabernacle in the Boundary Chapel

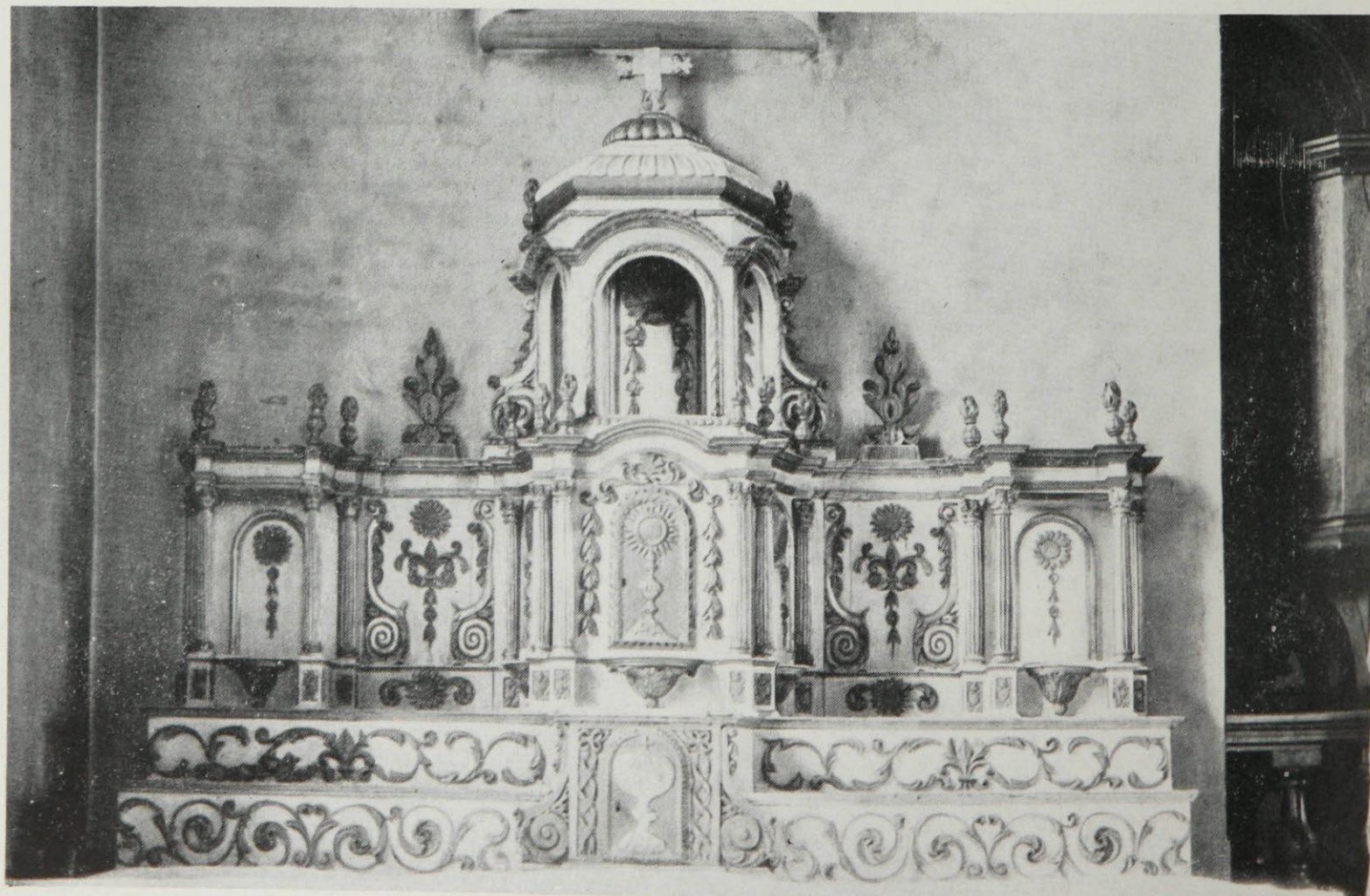


La Sainte Famille, I. O.
Interior

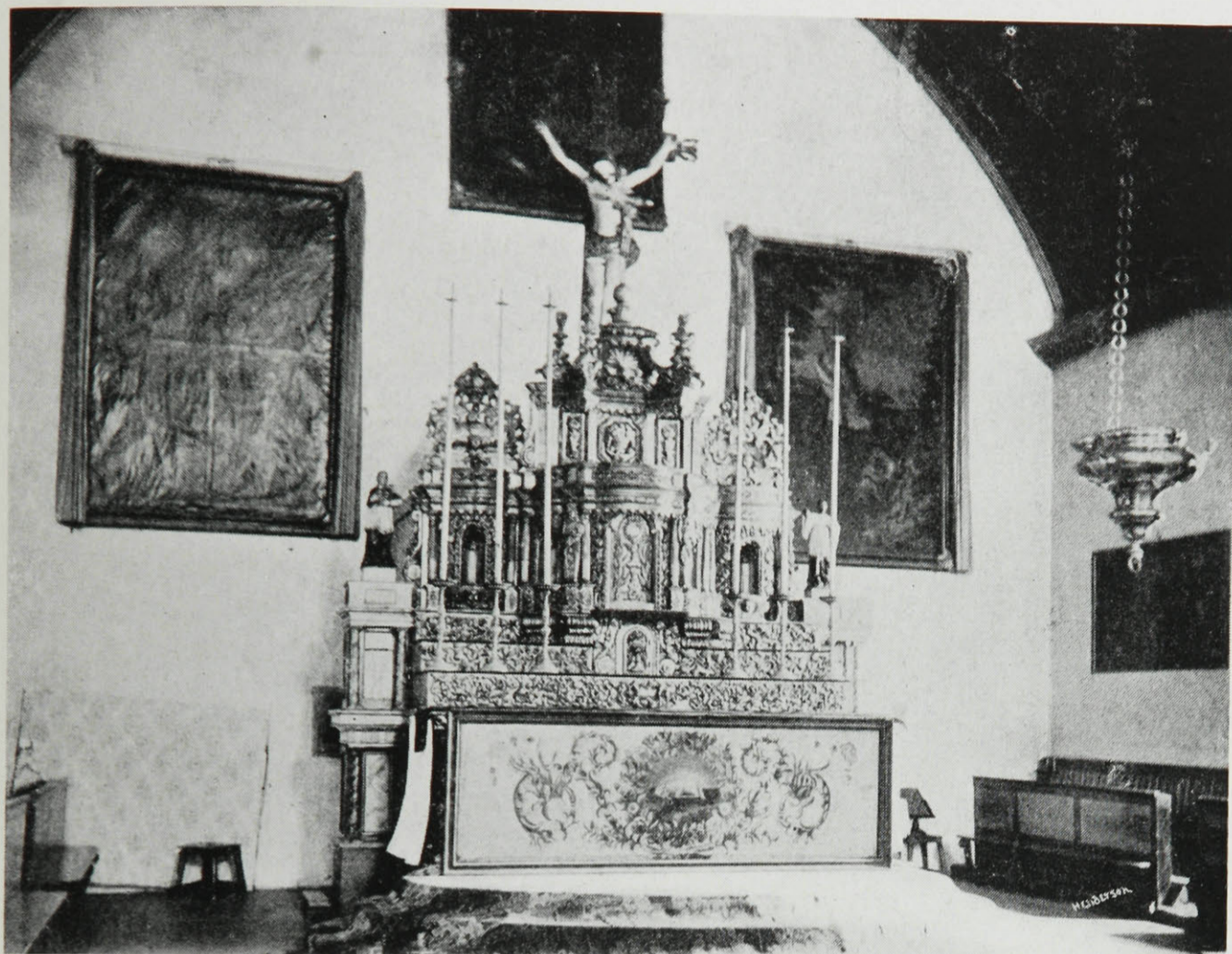
PLATE CXV
STONEHAM CHURCH



Tabernacle of the High Altar

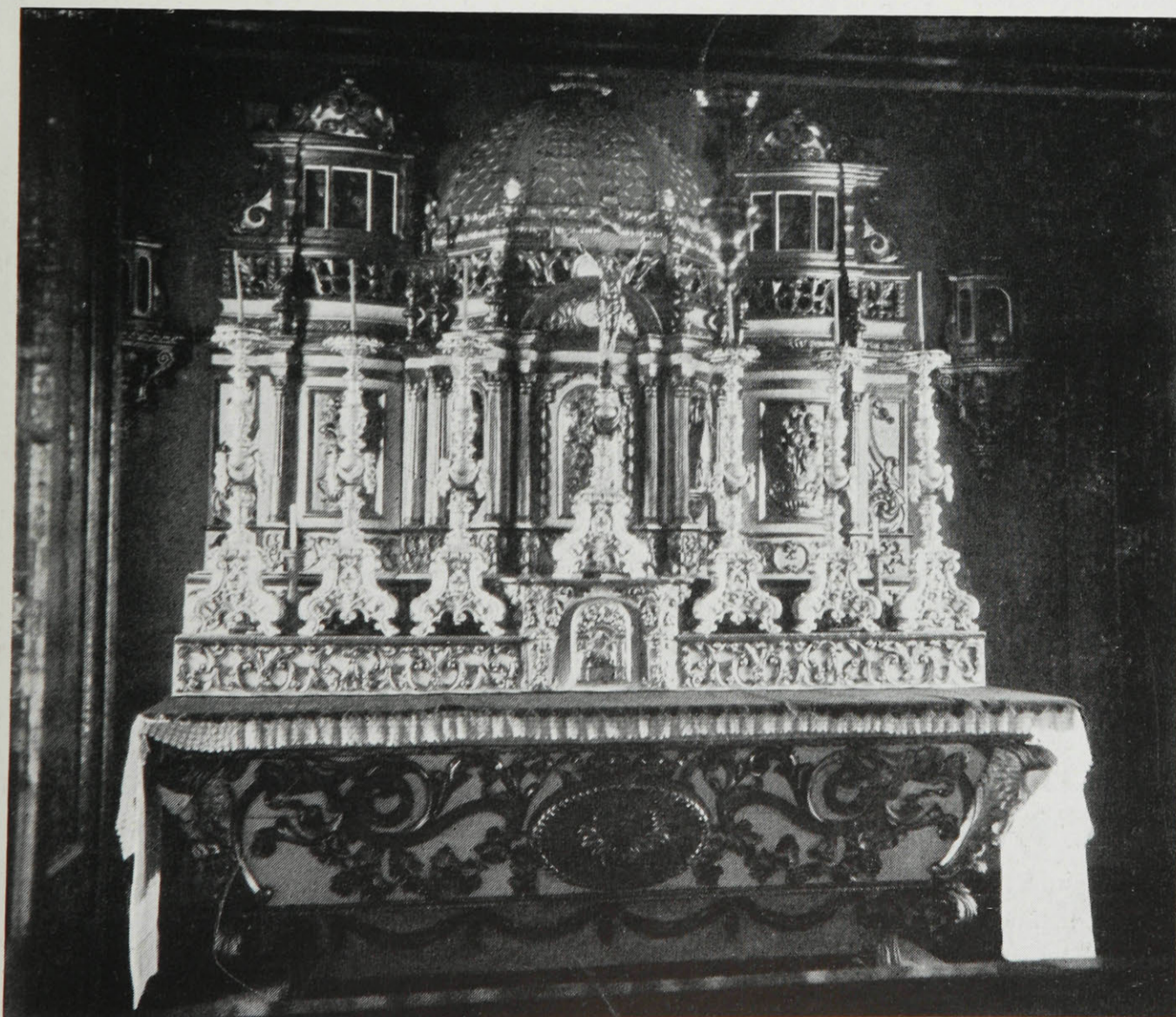


Tabernacle of the Side Altar

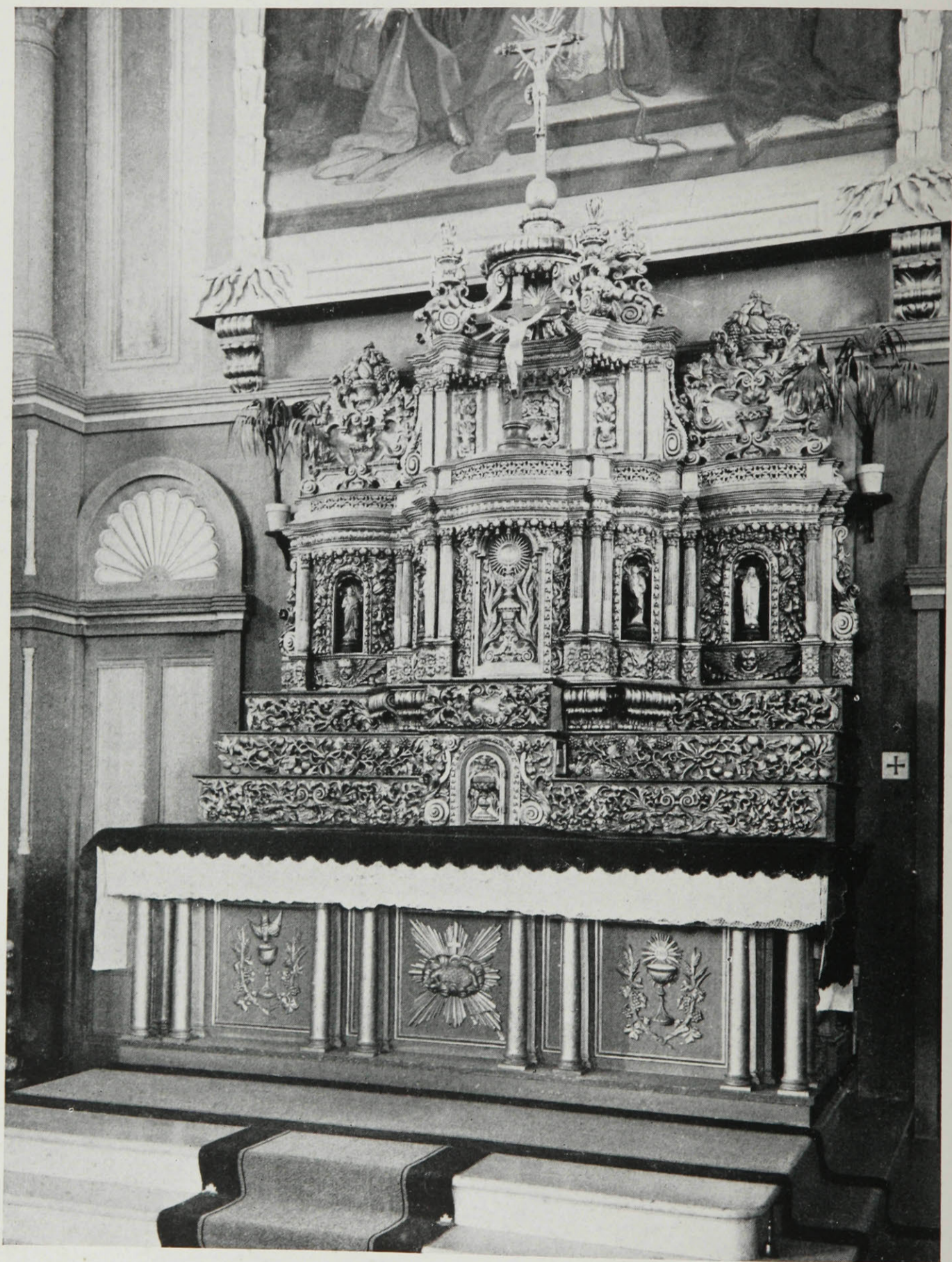


Lachenaie. Interior of the old Church

Old photo



Batiscau. The Old Tabernacle, 1742

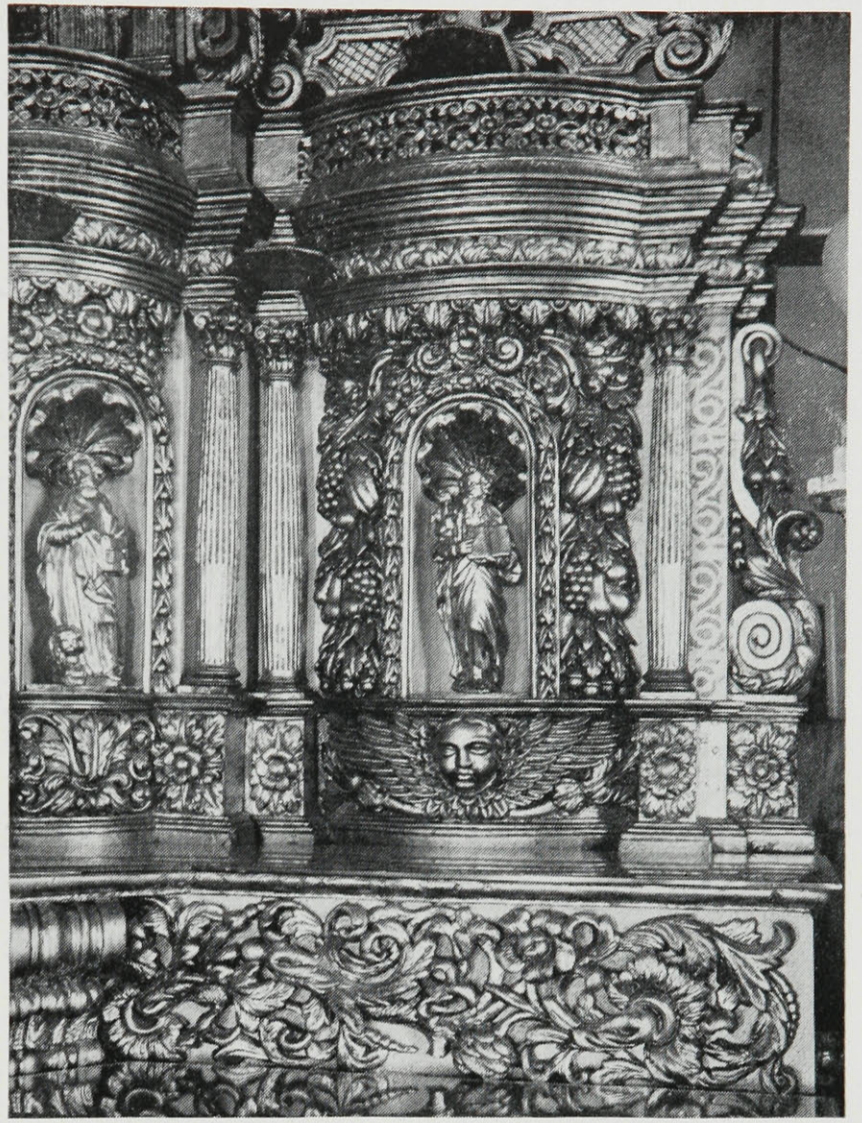


The Tabernacle at Lachenaie

PLATE CXVIII
DETAILS OF TABERNACLE CARVING



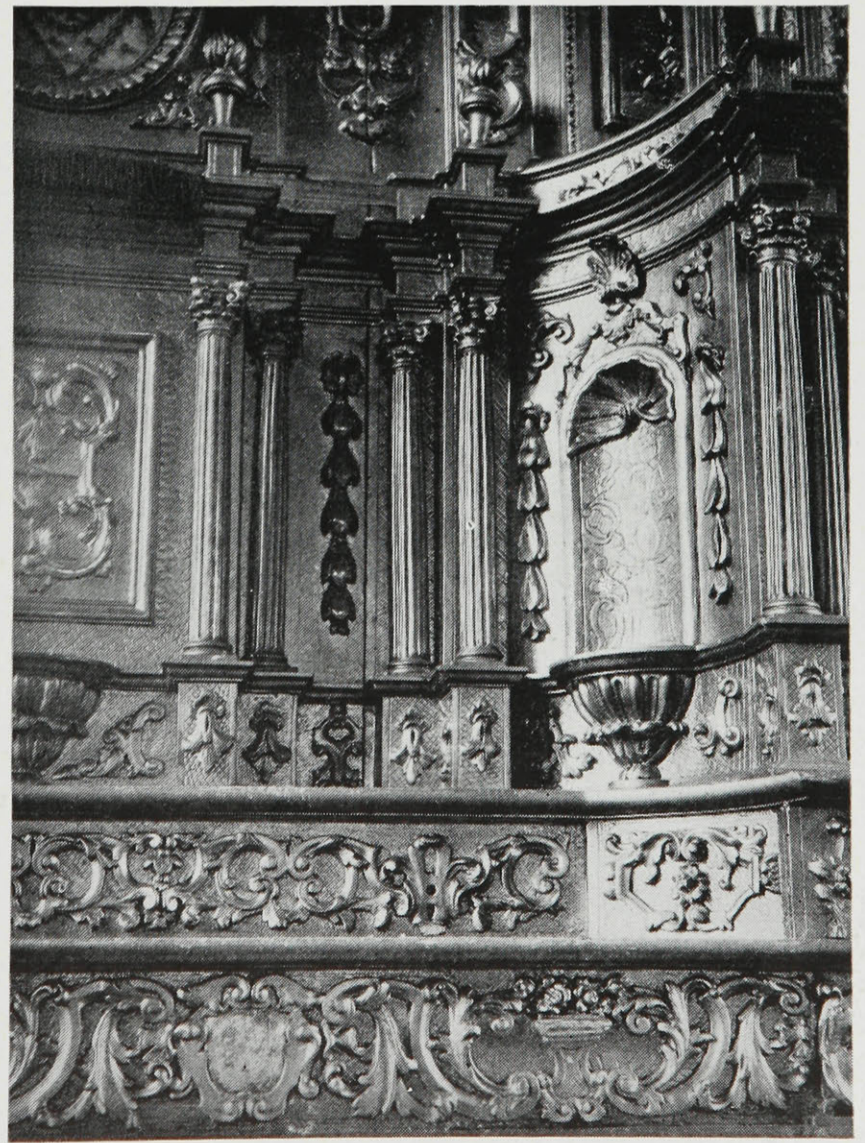
Boucherville. Part of Tabernacle



Boucherville. Part of Tabernacle



Boucherville. Part of Tabernacle



St. Gérard de Magella. Part of Tabernacle

by cheap brass ones. This tabernacle was saved when the old church was taken down and the new one built in 1865. It now stands in the sacristy.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the rocaille fluted scroll came more into use. We see it, in a subdued form, in the tabernacle at Jeune Lorette, in that of la Sainte Famille, made in 1748, it constitutes the entire decoration.²⁰ Grades, reliquaries and crowning canopy are all formed of rocaille scrolls. The altar-table, made in 1795 by Gabriel Gosselin, is similarly decorated and these two dates may be taken as marking the period during which the scroll was in high fashion.

In the boundary chapel of St. François (I. O.) is a very charming little open tabernacle, probably that made by Levasseur for the church before 1750.²¹ Its entire decoration is of rocaille scrolls. Such open tabernacles are found also at Jeune Lorette and at la Sainte Famille in both of which the colonnade has been filled in at a later date.

The parish of Stoneham is a small parish in the backwoods and is quite modern. The little church was built in 1842 for an English speaking congregation and, for that date, is a very restrained and pleasant little building. It is a poor parish and, from the records, it is clear that most of the church furniture was presented by other parishes, or bought from churches which were willing to dispose of old articles which they did not require. So Stoneham acquired three tabernacles, all good and all early. Mgr. Gosselin, the archivist of the seminary, states that all three were given to the parish by the seminary and that they were the altars of the old chapel. The main altar he attributes to the Levasseurs, at a date before 1755,²² the other two must be as early, if not earlier.

The tabernacle of the high altar has a solid panelled back and is a mass of rocaille work. Grades, pedestals, panels and crowning canopy all show the same motive, the rocaille scroll. The tabernacle of the side altar is simple and graceful, it has a closed upper custode for the monstrance, usually a sign of early work, and an open dome above. Judging by the design this tabernacle must date from the early eighteenth century. The third tabernacle, now in the basement, is simpler, with a panelled back and geometrical scrolls.

THREE RIVERS

Situated halfway between Quebec and Montreal, at the junction of the St. Maurice river with the St. Lawrence, Three Rivers was a place of importance from early times. Unfortunately it has suffered from fire even more than most Quebec towns and today there is little left of historic interest. One end of the Ursuline convent, built about 1700, still remains, with one splendid gable, but almost nothing else.

In the little old church of Cap de la Madeleine, close by, is a tabernacle of undoubtedly early date. It is said to have been brought from France by the Jesuit Fathers, a legend which we may safely ignore. No such importation is mentioned in the *Relations*, the work is undoubtedly Canadian and probably of the early eighteenth century.

²⁰ Account of the Church of la Sainte Famille in the archives of the church, written about 1820 by the Revd. J. Gagnon, curé, from documents now lost. The tabernacle was by Les Vasseurs in 1748-49.

²¹ *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. I. Note of date 1773.

²² The evidence for the Stoneham altars has been kindly communicated by Mr. Barbeau.

It is of the usual form, but the topmost part has been altered and there is now no crowning dome or canopy. The side wings have very good carved panels of the Annunciation, of the school of Levasseur. Friezes, grades and panels are covered with very flat, almost drawn ornament, the corinthian columns are spiral. Neither the date nor the name of the sculptor have been preserved.

The most remarkable wood-sculptor of Three Rivers was Gilles Bolvin who was born in 1711, was married in Three Rivers in 1732 and died there in 1766. Tanguay tells us that his parents belonged to Avesnes in the Diocese of Cambrai, near Arras. It seems quite probable that Gilles Bolvin was born there, his very rich and distinctive type of carving suggests Flemish influence, possibly an acquaintance with late mediaeval work. We do not however know where he was trained or when he came to Canada.²³ In 1737 he undertook a tabernacle for the church of St. Charles at Lachenaie, near Montreal. The contract, signed by Bolvin and by the marguilliers, is in the archives of the church.²⁴ In it he undertakes to make a tabernacle, with candlesticks similar in design and size to those of the "hôtel" of Three Rivers, and to pack it for transportation to Lachenaie. Payment is to be made in grain, or in money, at the option of the marguilliers. The design is closely specified. There are to be vine branches and wheat stems on the door for the monstrance and, in the two side niches, statues of Our Lady and St. Joseph.

The story of the delivery and erection is given very fully in the *Livre de Comptes*. First came the grades with the custode, then the middle section with the large niche for the "soleil", finally the top. The gilding was a separate contract and was done by nuns from Montreal, probably the Ladies of the Congregation. Two of the sisters came to Lachenaie to see the tabernacle finally in position. It cost 930 livres, the gilding another 936 livres, a total of 1866 livres, a large sum for so small a congregation.

The tabernacle was preserved when the old church was pulled down, about 1882, and stands in the present church, very slightly altered from its original form. It is a magnificent piece of rich carving. There are three grades. The lowest has acanthus foliage, the middle is a free frieze of vine and olive branches, the uppermost a geometrical acanthus scroll. Above this the niches are surrounded by heavy garlands of fruit. The door of the niche is carved with a "soleil" flanked by the wheat stems required by the contract, and is surrounded by a wreath of interlacing vine, which might easily be taken for work of the fourteenth century. Above this is a niche, covered by a truss canopy.

The tabernacle, from the grades to the cross on the top, is a mass of rich, gilt carving. To modern eyes, accustomed to value restraint, it lacks plain surface. But in the early eighteenth century severity and restraint were not valued. Most modern work would have appeared bald and poor to the eyes of the Lachenaie parishioners. Certainly the effect of this mass of broken gold at the end of the church is very fine and, when it stood, as it once did, against a whitewashed wall, it must have been even finer.

At Boucherville is a tabernacle which is, line for line, a replica of that at

²³ Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*.

²⁴ For the contract in full see the appendix.

Lachenaie. Only the lowest grade is absent and it may have been lost when the tabernacle was moved in the great fire of 1843. The records of this tabernacle are lost, but it must be by Bolvin.

At St. Gérard de Magella is a good old tabernacle of early eighteenth century design. The grades have stiff acanthus scrolls with cartouches. The middle section has a projecting central bay with a receptacle for the monstrance, and side niches. Above is an open niche covered by a low dome and cross. The backgrounds are covered with hatchings and floral designs drawn on the gold.

St. Gérard is not an old parish and this tabernacle must have come from some other church. It looks like early Levasseur work, of date 1720 to 1730.

MONTREAL

During the French regime Ville Marie, later Montreal, was a little town of no great importance save as an outpost for the fur trade. It is not then surprising that there is little architectural work before the English conquest and that there are few records of early sculptors.

We hear of two, Charles Chaboillez and Paul Jourdain dit Labrosse. Chaboillez came from Champagne in France and it is probable that Labrosse was also a native of France and had received his training there.

We know that Chaboillez was living in Montreal in 1701, that he was a wood-sculptor and that he made an altar for the Récollet church in 1702.²⁵ We hear of Paul Jourdain de la Brosse, a "celebrated sculptor", at Laprairie in 1707²⁶ and of Bazil de la Brosse as making two altars in the same church in 1772, but nothing now survives of their work.

The name Labrosse recurs throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century and it is evident that they were a sculptor family of considerable distinction, but very little work now remains which we can with any confidence attribute to them.

In the basement of Longueuil church is a fine old tabernacle which came from the first church, built in 1724 and since then rebuilt three times. The tabernacle was very fortunately preserved, first in a boundary chapel on the Chambly road and later in its present place.

It is a fine piece of early eighteenth century work with the usual projecting central shrine and side niches. It has a shrine for the monstrance, with a locked door, usually a sign of early work, and above this a large open niche covered with a dome with good pierced carving of vine branches.

In the notes of M. Ducharme, formerly parish priest of Longueuil, we read that the ancient gilt tabernacle is very fine and that it was successively the high altar of the first church, 1724 to 1811, and of the second, 1811 to 1884. Then it was moved into "cette chapelle", referring to the boundary chapel where it stood until removed again to its present place.

²⁵ B. R. H., 1922, p. 184 et seq., "Les Chaboillez". E. Z. Massicotte.

²⁶ Hadfield's Diary, p. 41, note.

In the papers of the Abbé Faillon, in the Library of St. Sulpice in Montreal, is an entry concerning Longueuil:—²⁷

1741 Payé a Labrosse a/c du tabernacle
600 louis.-/Envoyé en France pour dorer
le tabernacle 225”

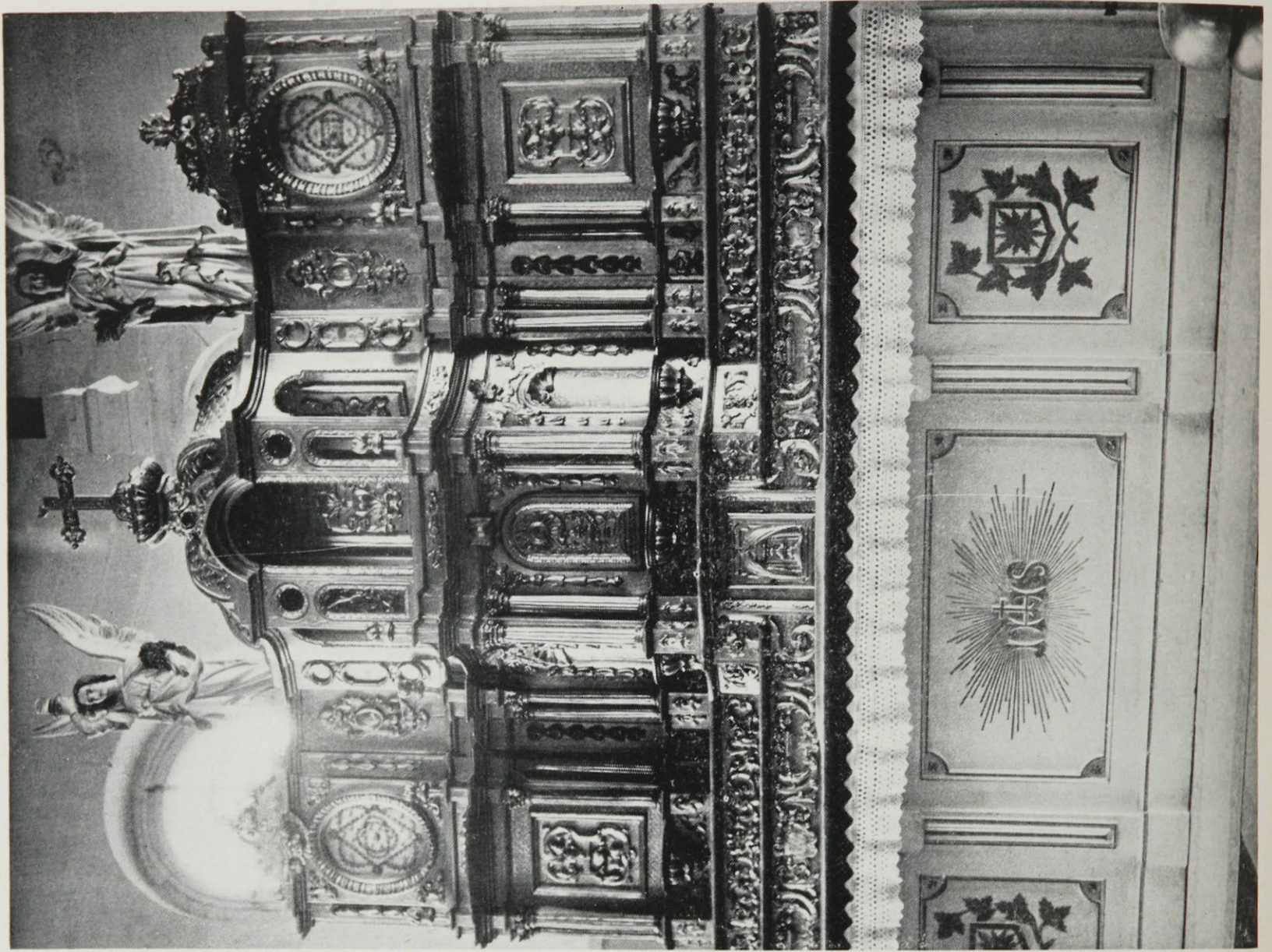
This probably refers to the existing tabernacle. The altar-table on which it stands is Quevillon, of the early nineteenth century.

There is in the basement a second old tabernacle which looks to be of the first half of the eighteenth century. The workmanship is by no means as fine as that of the other, it is smaller and can never have been other than an altar in a side chapel. It is tempting to suggest that it may be one of those made by Bazil dit la Brosse in 1772, but it is, I am afraid, too early. One can hardly imagine its being designed after 1750. But the large tabernacle is almost certainly the work of Paul Jourdain.

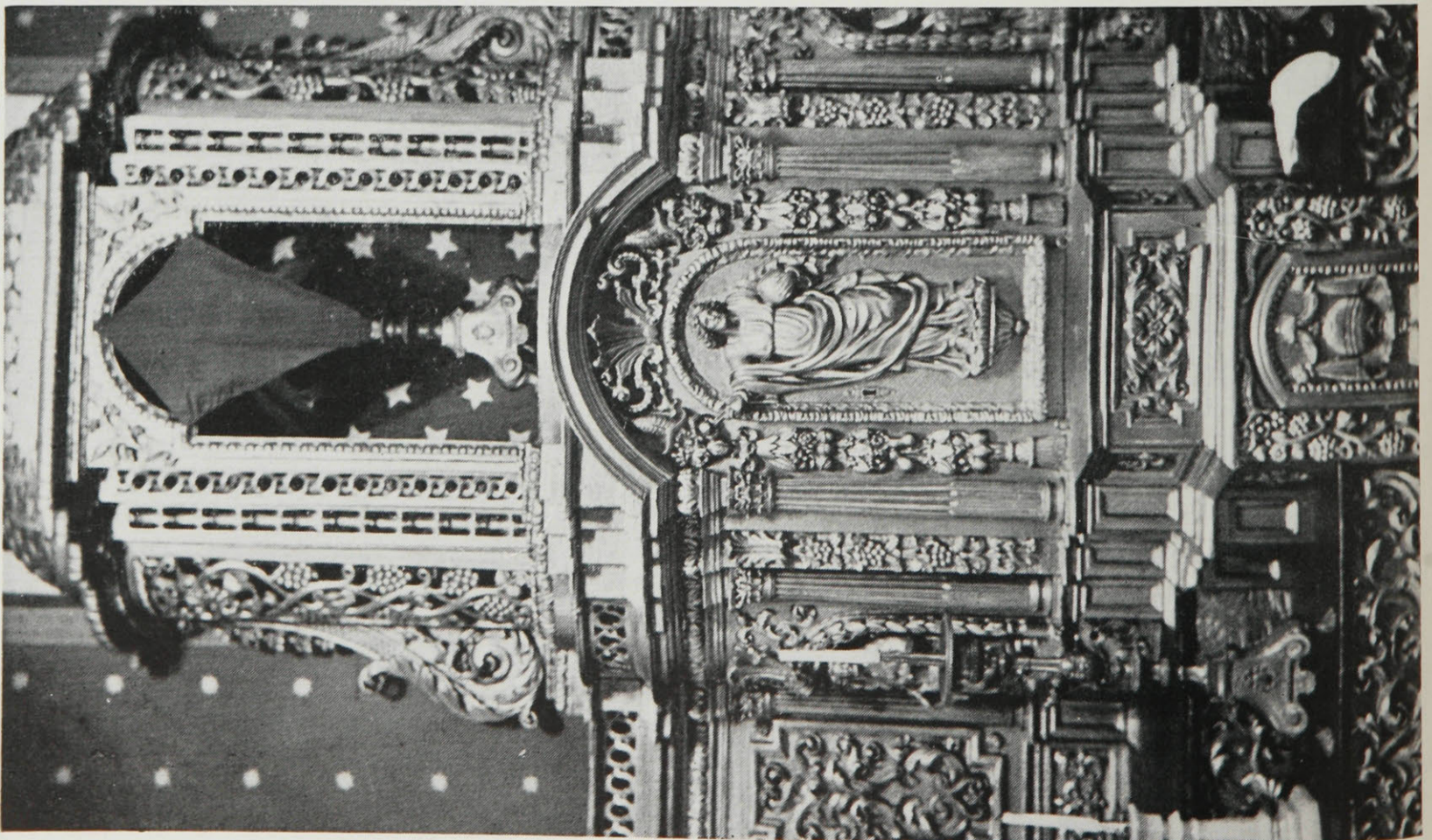
In Nôtre Dame de Montreal is a large crucifix attributed to Labrosse. It is competent, but not remarkable work. We really know very little about the family, yet almost certainly some of the later wood-sculptors of Montreal were trained in their workshops.

²⁷ Communicated by Mr. Marius Barbeau.

PLATE CXIX



St. Gérard de Magella

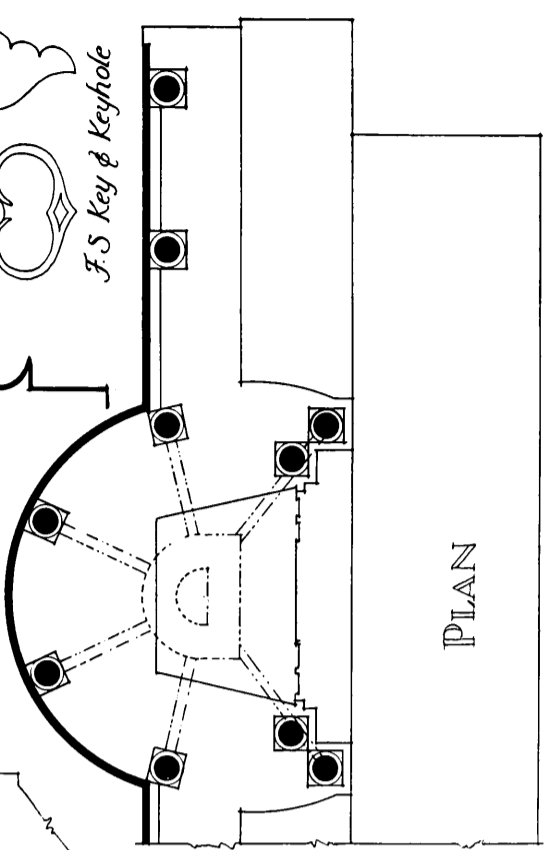
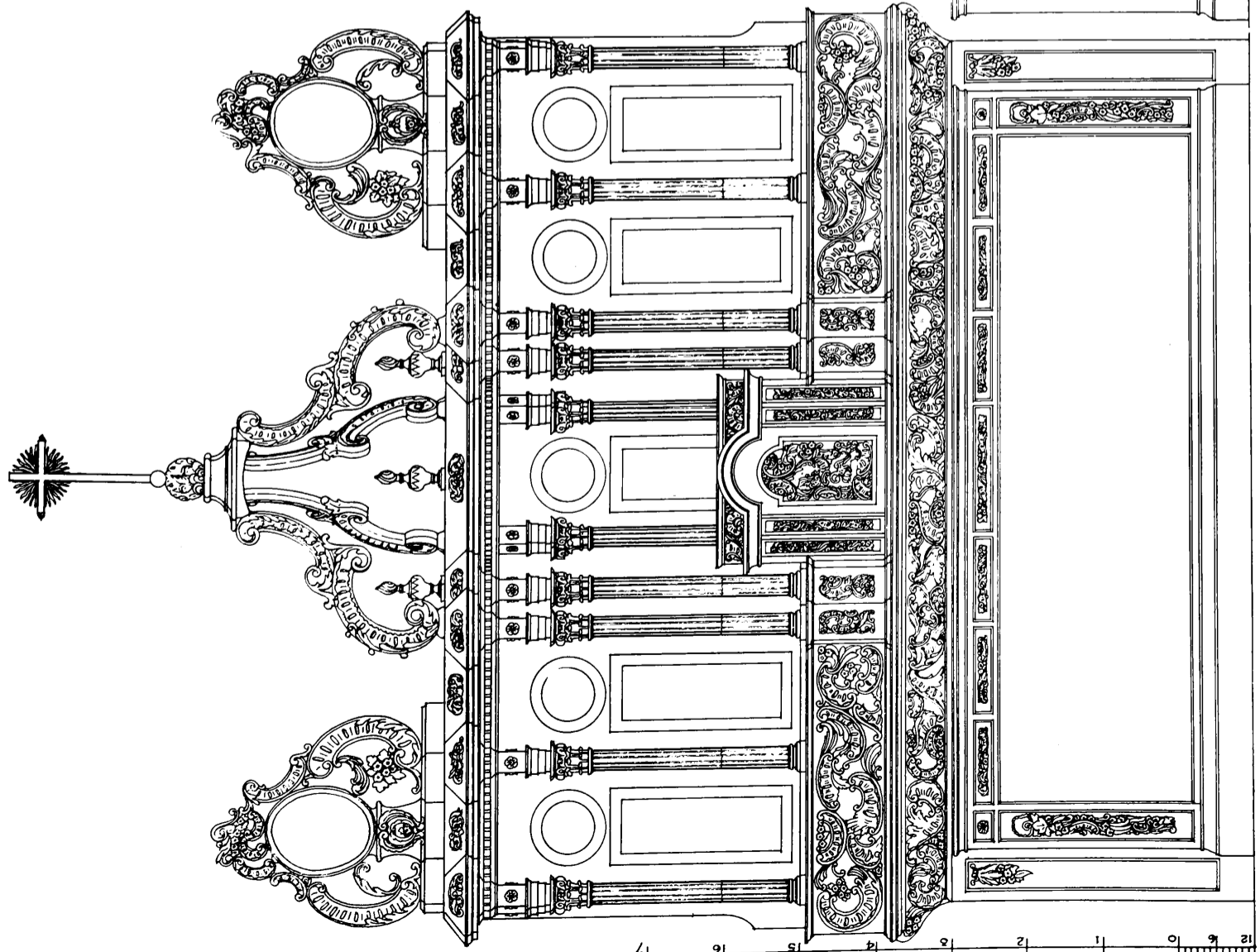
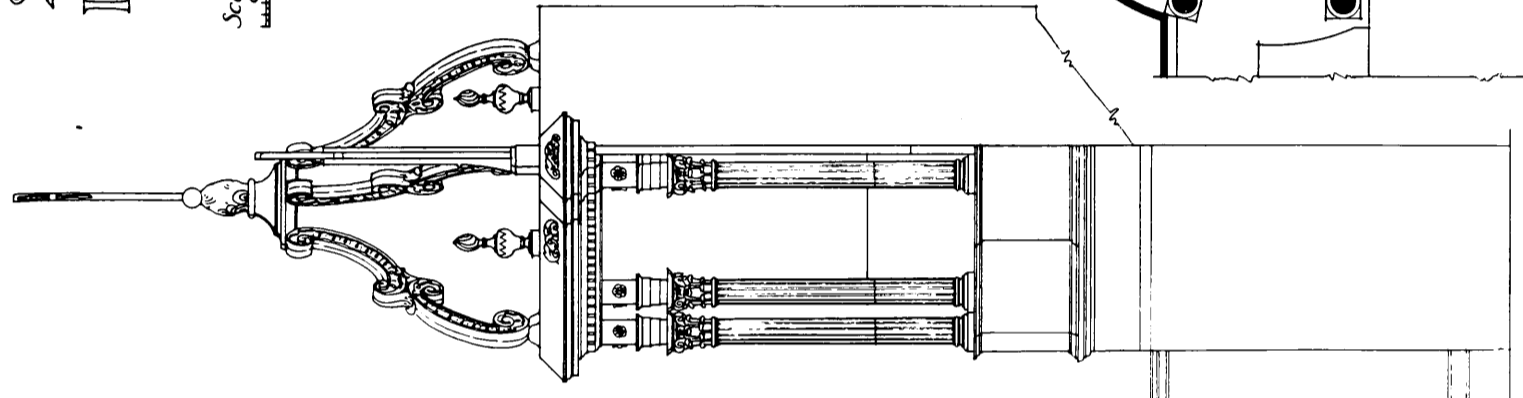
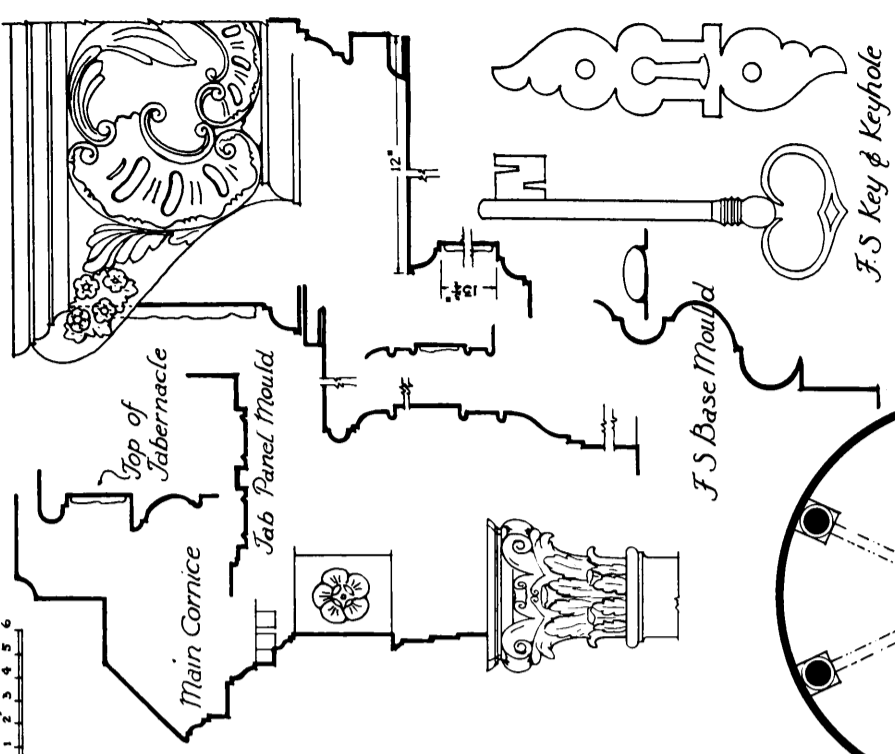


Longueuil

PLATE CXX

SAINTE FAMILLE
ISLAND OF ORLEANS
QUEBEC

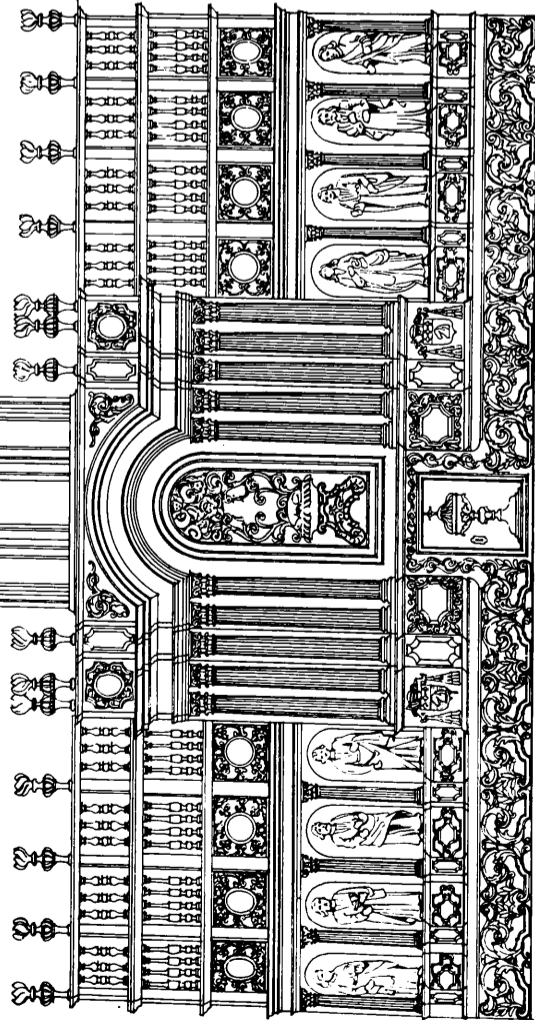
Scale of Inches
0 1 2 3 4 5 6



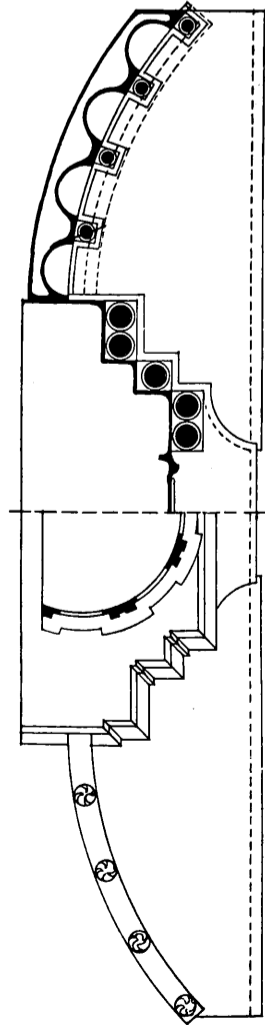
FG

THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL QUEBEC

THE HIGH ALTAR OF THE CHAPEL



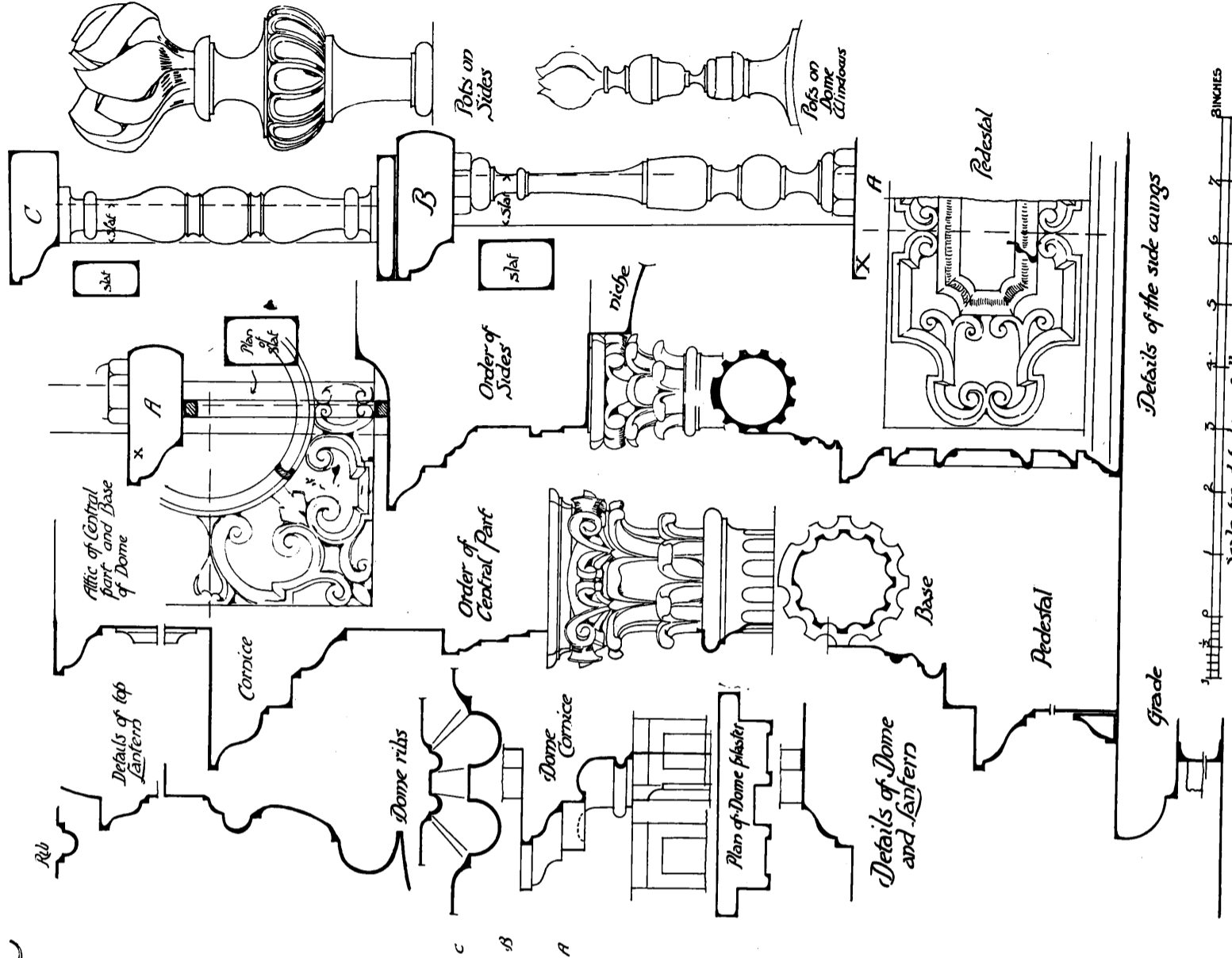
ELEVATION



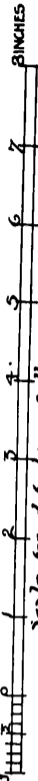
Half Plan of Dome level

PLAN

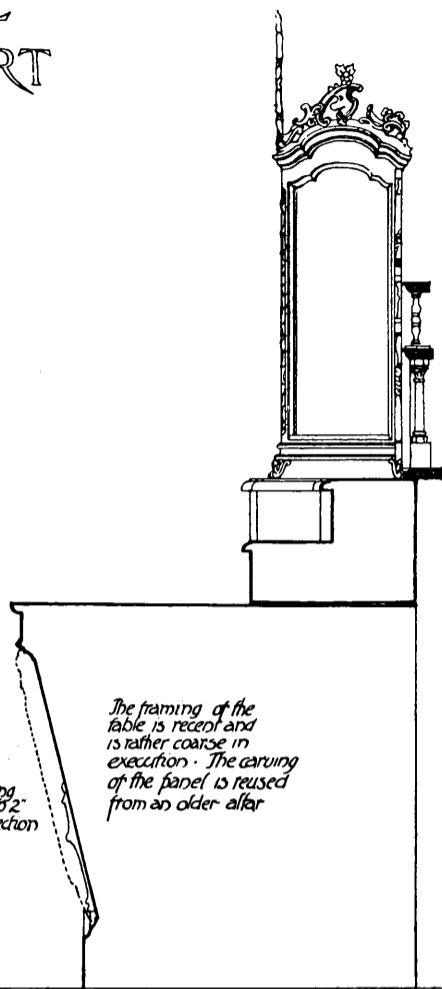
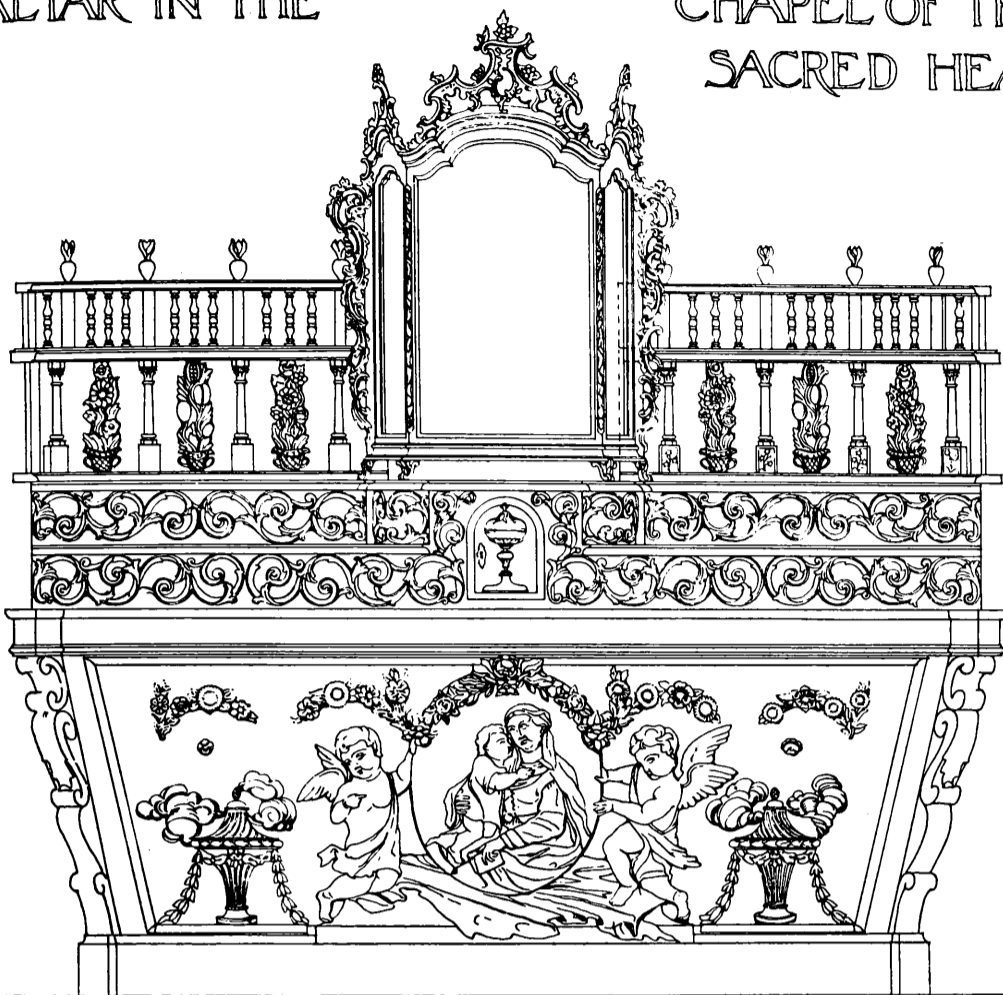
Half Plan thro' columns



Scale for details - full size



L'HÔPITAL- GÉNÉRAL QUEBEC
ALTAR IN THE CHAPEL OF THE
SACRED HEART



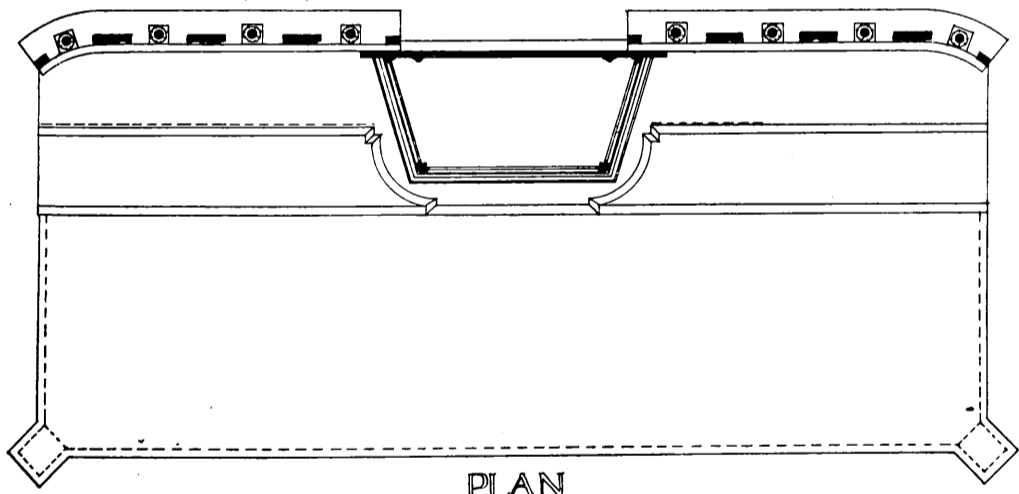
carving
1/2" to 2"
projection

The framing of the
table is recent and
is rather coarse in
execution. The carving
of the panel is reused
from an older altar

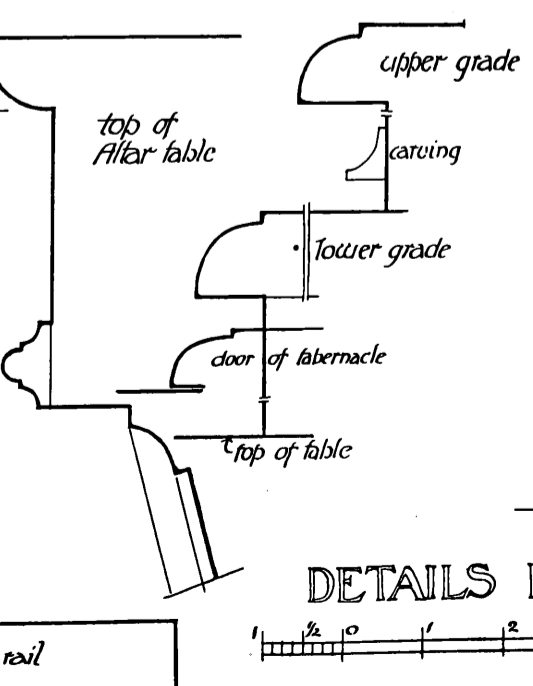
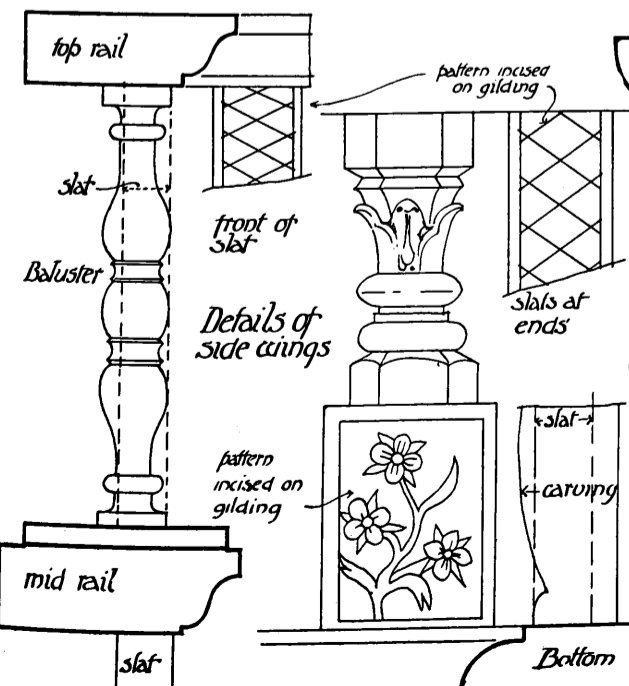
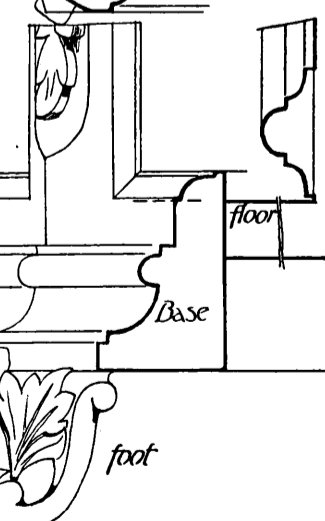
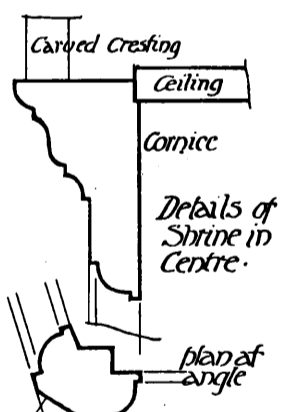
ELEVATION

SECTION

2 0 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 feet



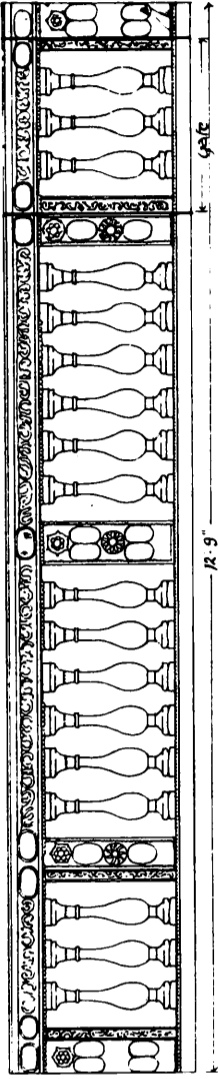
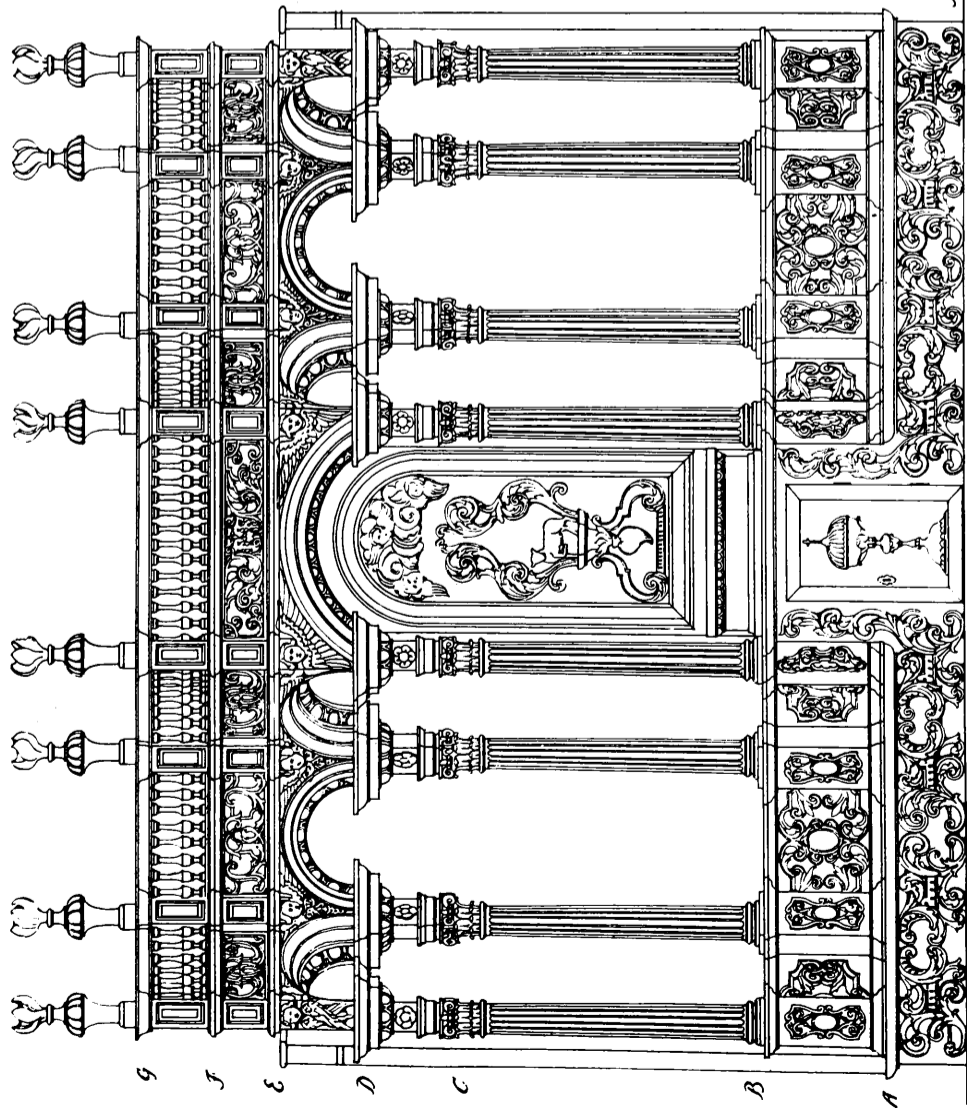
PLAN



DETAILS FULL SIZE

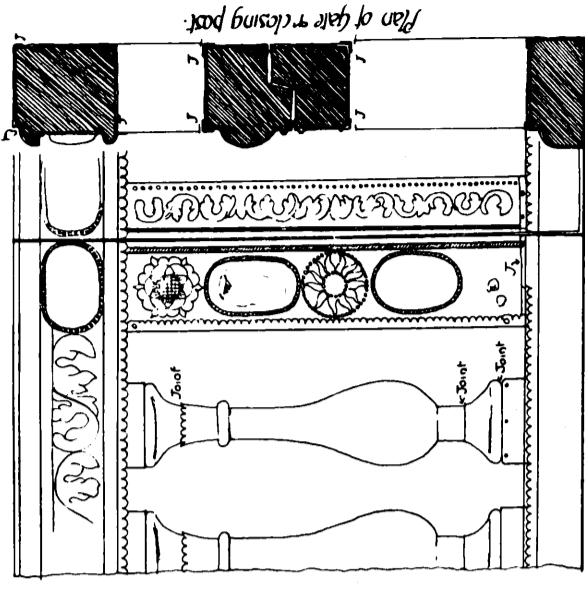
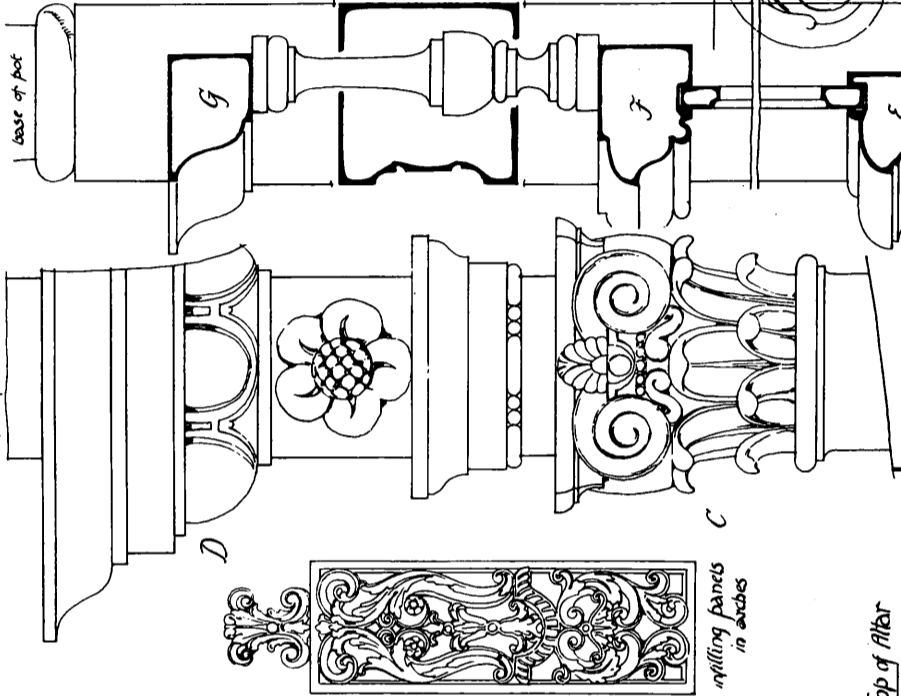
1/2 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 inches

NOTRE DAME DE LA JEUNE LORETTE · QUEBEC DETAILS OF THE TABERNACLE AND BRASS ALTAR RAIL



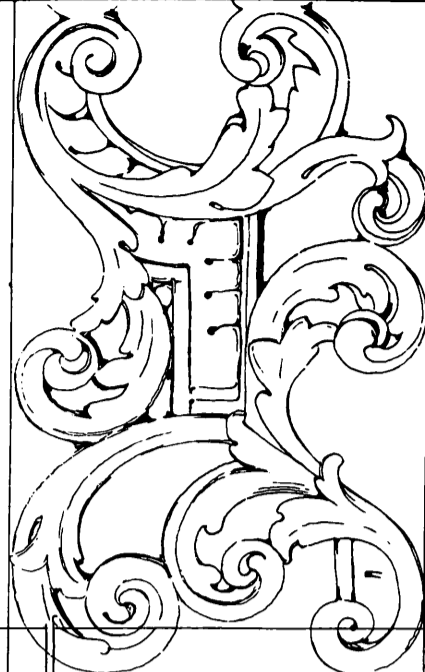
THE BRASS ALTAR RAIL

12' 9"

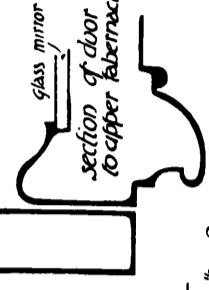


DETAIL OF RAIL

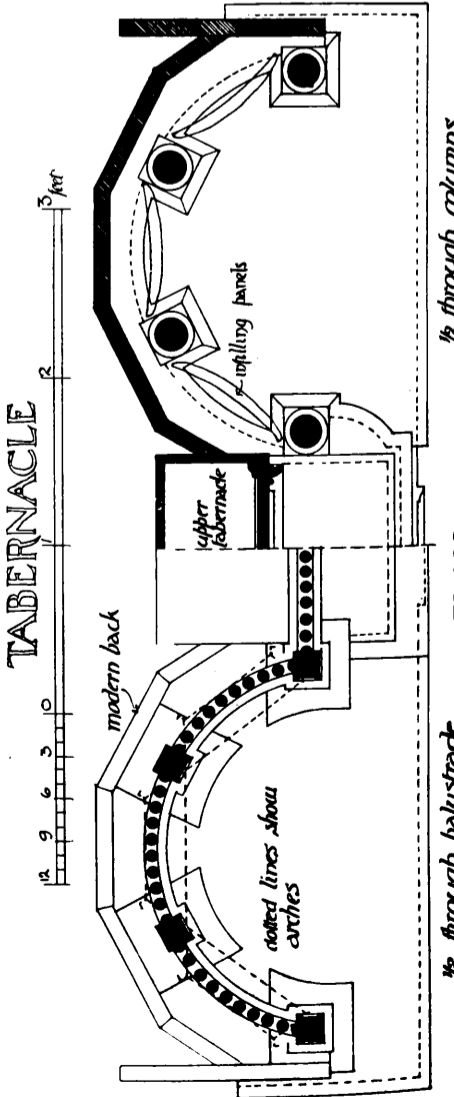
1 foot



Carving of the first grade



DETAILS OF
TABERNACLE
FULL SIZE.



TABERNACLE

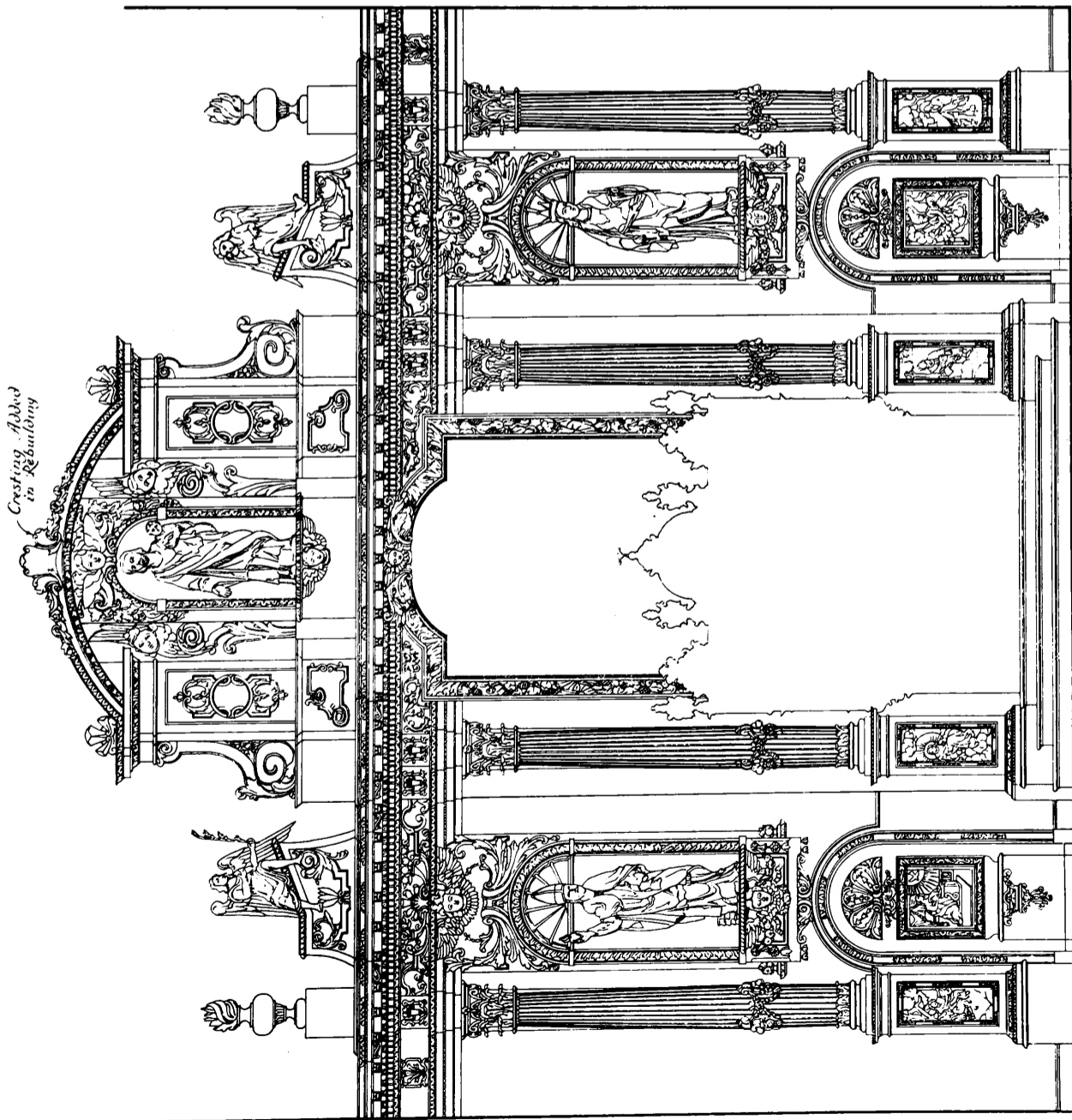
15 feet

1/2 through balustrade

1/2 through columns

PLAN

THE URSULINE MONASTERY IN QUEBEC
THE HIGH ALTAR RETABLE IN THE CHAPEL



Scale of Feet

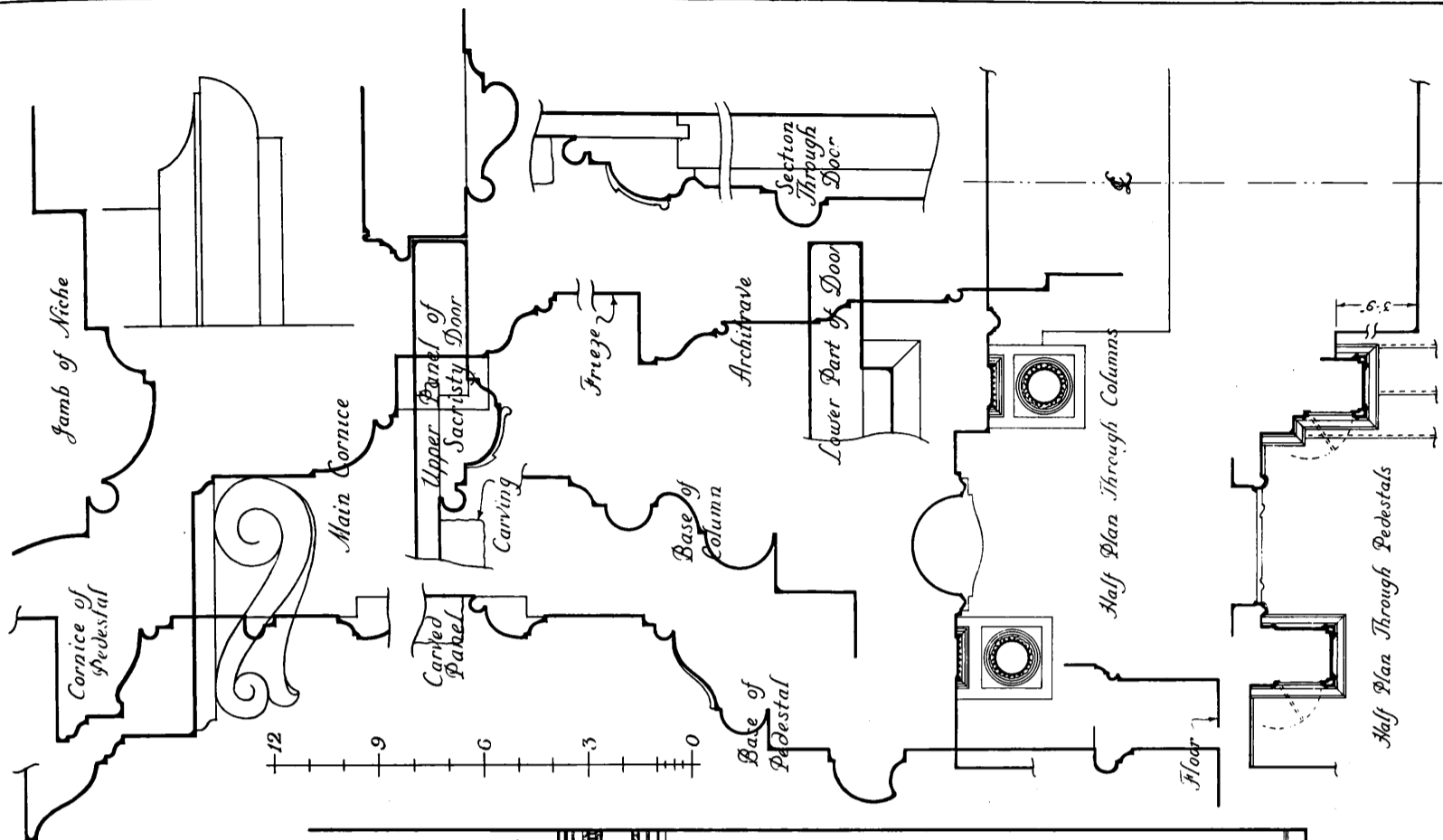
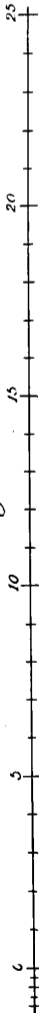
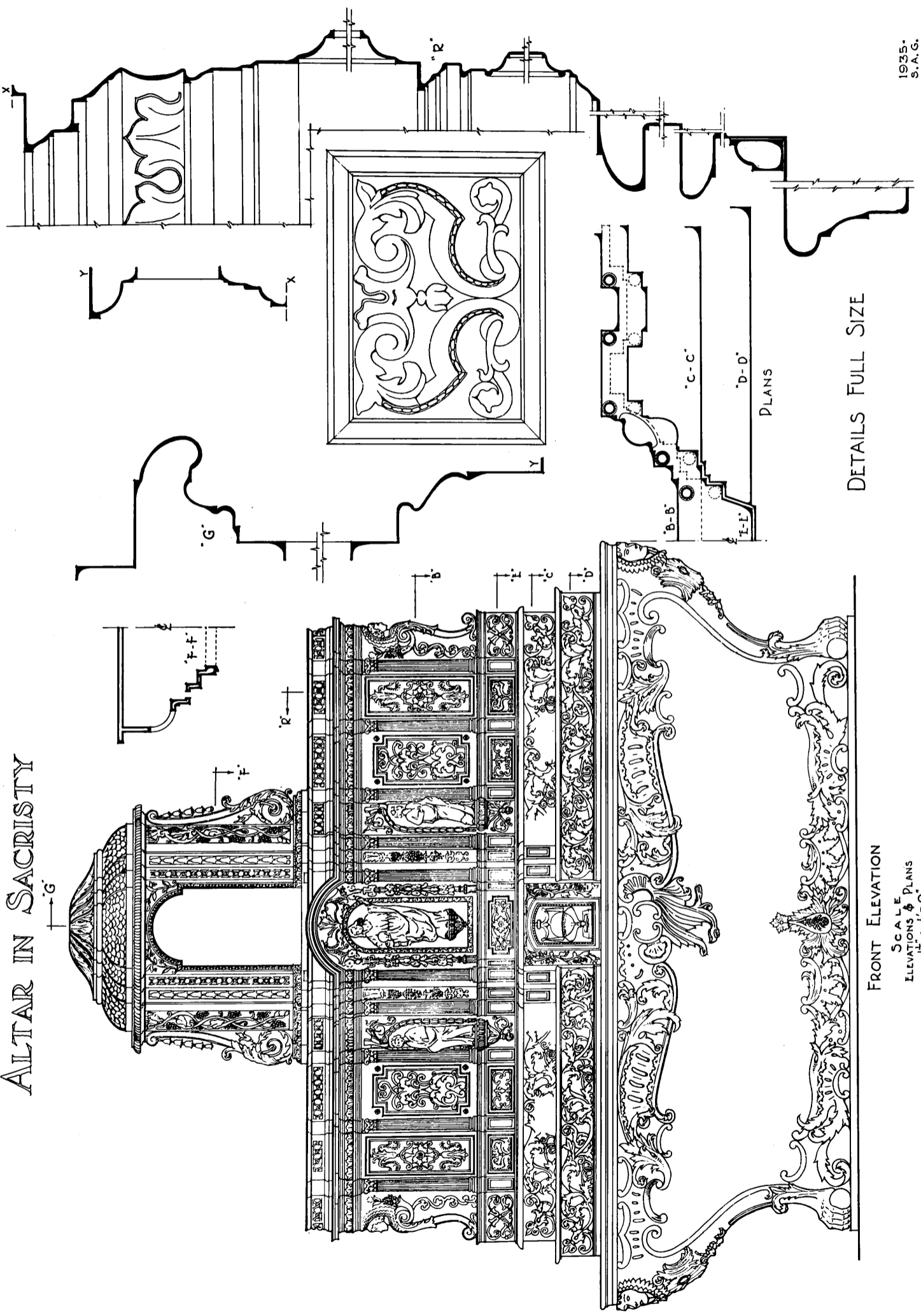


PLATE CXXXVI

CHURCH OF ST. ANTOINE, LONGUEUIL
ALTAR IN SACRISTY



1935.
S.A.G.

DETAILS FULL SIZE

FRONT ELEVATION

SCALE
ELEVATIONS & PLANS
1/2" = 1'-0"

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 FEET

PLATE CXXVII
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



The Interior of the Church

CHAPTER X

WOODCARVING AFTER THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE QUEBEC SCULPTORS

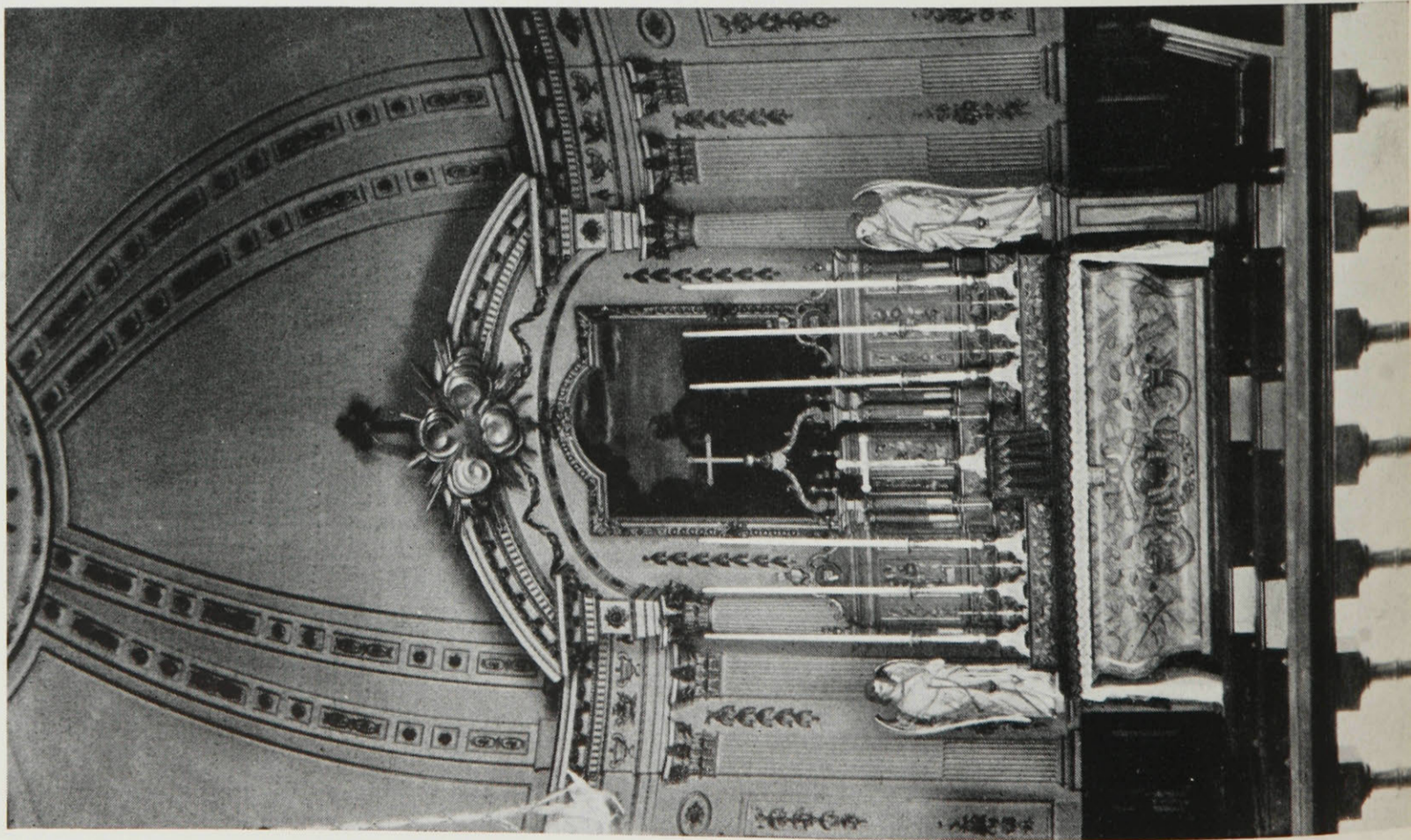
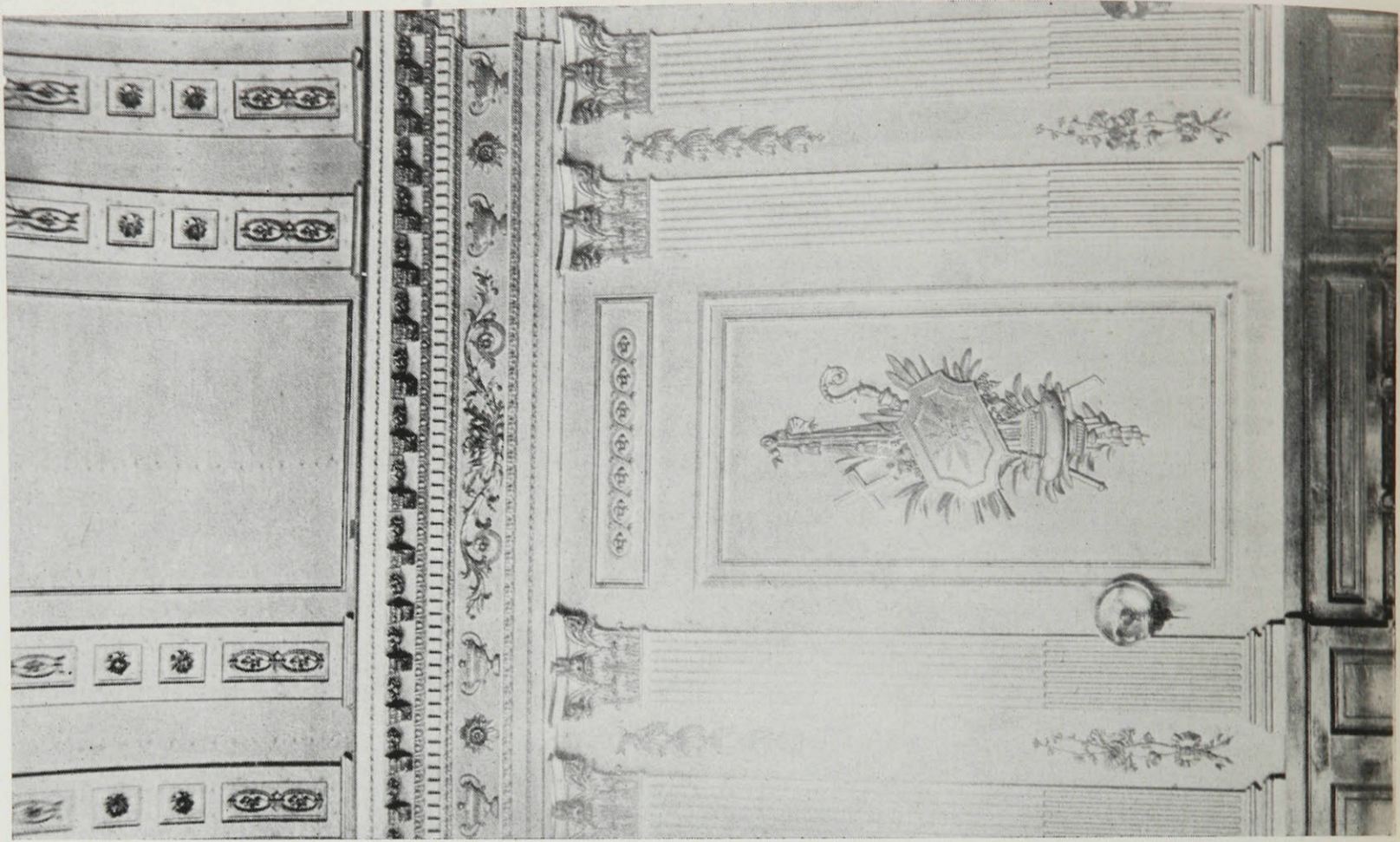
THE English conquest interrupted the arts of Quebec but it did not change their character. When, about 1770, the French-Canadian artists began once more to practise their arts, they resumed the traditions of the old regime under which they had been trained. In the sculpture we find no signs of English influence, but the direct connection with France was broken and so Quebec was free to develop its own French renaissance until the close of the school in the mid-nineteenth century. Contemporary French influence can be detected in the work of some of the sculptors. François Baillairgé had been trained in Paris in the very last years of the old regime. His work, and that of his son Thomas, show that striving after a greater classic severity, an endeavour to expel what were regarded as the excesses of the rococo manner, which we see in the works of such French masters as J. A. Gabriel. The Montreal sculptors of the early nineteenth century were undoubtedly acquainted with the delicate work of the Empire school, the decorations of the Quevillon associates show this very clearly. Yet fundamentally the work remains rococo; in the decorations of Beaumont, St. Jean Port Joli, or Pointe aux Trembles we find the old traditions persisting to the end.

We now take up the work of the Quebec sculptors after the English conquest. The *rétable* of Nôtre Dame des Anges, in the Hôpital Général, must be attributed to Pierre Emond who was in charge of work here between 1769 and 1780. The *rétable* follows the traditional design, with three bays divided by corinthian columns resting on high double pedestals. In the side bays are doors, above which are two pictures taking the place of the usual niches. These represent St. Mary Magdalene and St. Augustine and, according to the annals, were obtained between 1695 and 1697 for the first *rétable* and were transferred to the present one. The central bay contains the altar with, above it, a picture of the Ascension of Our Lady. It is surmounted by a segmental pediment with a God the Father between cherubs in high relief. What little sculpture there is, is of indifferent quality. The doors and pedestals are panelled with heavy built-up mouldings, in scale more like stone than wood. The profiles with a profusion of undercut ovolos and beads are typically late eighteenth century but the pedimental sculpture and the glory above look like Baillairgé work and may be later.¹

Despite the poor quality of the sculpture the *rétable* has considerable dignity, given by the simple design and the very massive mouldings.

¹ Compare with the sculpture on top of the *rétable* at la Sainte Famille by Thomas Baillairgé in 1820-25.

PLATE CXXVIII
ST. PIERRE, I. O.



A smaller, and finer example of Emond's work we have already examined, the private chapel of Mgr. Olivier Briand in the Seminary.

Emond also made the high altar, tabernacle and wood candlesticks which are still in the church of St. Pierre (I. O.).² The work, which included the two side altars with their tabernacles, was finished in 1795. The carving is good, if not particularly brilliant. There is some nice vine and olive foliage on the grades, and flowerpots on the panels of the back. The altar is of the curved "bombé" type with a papal coat of arms and cornucopiae. Pierre Emond emerges from our enquiry as a good "menuisier" that is a fine joiner and furniture maker, but not as a figure sculptor; the rétable in the Hôpital Général is an architect's design, depending for effect upon its mouldings and proportions rather than upon its carving.

But a new influence was coming into Canadian sculpture. In 1773-74 Jean Baillairgé, described as "menuisier" was working on the tower of the cathedral,³ where he provided both design and execution. In 1787 he and his younger son Pierre-Florent undertook the woodwork of the choir whilst his elder son François was responsible for the sculpture. This important work was destroyed in the fire of 1922; today we know it only by photographs. The principal feature of the work was a great baldaquin over the high altar. It had six carved trusses, linked by flower garlands, and resting on angel caryatid brackets. Below were six large wood statues, on the baldaquin were two more. The work was that of a master of his craft. Figures and scrolls alike were cut with full knowledge and skill.

At this time Noël Levasseur, the last sculptor of his line, was an old man.⁴ Emond was a "menuisier" rather than a sculptor. To anyone examining the work of the Basilica it must have been evident that here was the successor to the Levasseurs. François Baillairgé was a young man of twenty-eight. He had passed through a course of study at the Royal Academy in Paris and had been established for six years as a sculptor in Quebec.

The truss canopy which he used in the Basilica was already in use in small examples, as a crowning feature over the niche of the tabernacle. The Levasseurs had used it in 1749 at la Sainte Famille and in the little tabernacle at St. François before 1750. A tabernacle on the altar of St. Louis in the Basilica at Quebec is surmounted by a shrine with five twisted columns supporting a circular pediment and crowned with a truss canopy. To judge by the character and quality of the carving this may well be Levasseur work of about 1740.

There are examples on a larger scale. The splendid baldaquin at Neuville (Pointe aux Trembles) is said to date from between 1777 and 1794.⁵ It has a canopy of six scroll trusses linked by a great wreath of roses and supporting a floriated cross. The trusses rest on a circular colonnade of six spiral corinthian columns with a heavily carved entablature. This baldaquin is amongst the finest pieces of its period; its resemblance to that in the cathedral is marked. Unfortunately the sculptor is unknown; one would like to think that it is the work of François Baillairgé. Sculptors of the Montreal School, in the nineteenth century, occasionally

² St. Pierre (I. O.), *Livre de Comptes*, 1795.

³ Roy, P. G., *Vieilles Églises*, p. 4.

⁴ Noël Levasseur died at the Hôpital Général at the age of 87.

⁵ Roy, P. G., *Vieilles Églises*, p. 68.



Notman, Montreal

The Interior of the Basilica at Quebec, taken about 1864

used the baldaquin. In 1808 Joseph Pépin made a fine baldaquin for Nôtre Dame de Montréal; its sad history will be told later. Saint James used the form at St. Eustache in 1821 and there was an interesting baldaquin at St. Jerome, Mille Isles.

François Baillairgé's work at the cathedral perished in the fire of 1922. His drawing for the Banc d'Oeuvre has been preserved. It is signed and dated 1799. In 1772-73 Jean Baillairgé made a rétable for St. Charles, Rivière Boyer and in 1794, in association with his son Florent, a rétable for St. Jean Port Joli. Parts of this were probably reused in the existing rétable. Between 1782 and 1786 the "Maîtres Baillairgé, père et fils" made a rétable at L'Islet, followed by other work in 1797 and 1798. Unfortunately all this work has been replaced and so far as I know, no complete work by Jean Baillairgé now survives, and of Florent's only two little side altars at la Sainte Famille, which he made in 1791. They are pleasantly designed little tabernacles with vine and olive foliage on the grades and well-carved vases of flowers in the panels. Most of Florent's work was done in association with his father.

François, the elder son, had gone into business in Quebec in 1781, on his return from his studies in Paris. As we have seen, he worked in association with his father; he also carried out a number of important buildings, such as the old prison, later the Morrin College, in 1809-10. In 1815 he and his son Thomas made the fine altar and baldaquin at St. Joachim de Montmorency and so began a partnership which was to have a deep influence upon the art of Quebec.

The contract for St. Joachim is in the church archives. It is made by "moi François Baillairgé, de cette ville, architecte, pour moi et mon fils Thomas Baillairgé, mon associé". The church accounts give a fully detailed account of the work.⁶ It includes the high altar with its surrounding colonnade and the paneling of the apse walls "d'une chapelle a l'autre sur le mur des fenêtres et du rond point". The tabernacle was made by François Baillairgé in 1782-83, we find in the church accounts payments to him for it in 1783 and in 1784, amounting in all to 901 li 11s. At this time he also made a "cadre d'autel" which was gilt. This term is usually applied to the altar-table, but here it cannot apply to the existing altar-table which is fully described in the contract of 1816. Apparently the old altar-table was discarded and the old tabernacle retained when the great baldaquin and rétable were put in.

The altar-table is of the console type, with a curved front, and is described as "bombé dit a la romaine". It has carved angle trusses and in the centre a large cartouche with a low relief carving of the Women at the Tomb. This form with variations now takes the place of the older square altar-tables.

The tabernacle has loose acanthus scrolls on the grades and a corinthian arcade on the back, with well-cut vases of flowers in the panels. This is a typical Baillairgé form; we have already seen it in the tabernacles by Florent at la Sainte Famille. The rocaille scroll, and the geometric infillings of the Levasseur school have disappeared.

Behind the altar is a large picture surmounted by a cross with an elaborate glory. On each side are two banded columns with composite capitals; the four

⁶ Roy, P. G., *Vieilles Églises*, p. 231.

“colonnes triomphales” of the contract. The columns are crowned by large vases and linked together by garlands. There is no entablature. The columns have carved pedestals, and rest upon a high panelled base. Between them are four seated figures of the Evangelists. Below the Evangelists are vigorously carved panels of their emblems, the lion, standing below a conventional palm tree, the angel, the eagle and the ox.

The apse panelling, which passes behind the altar and its triumphal columns, has a corinthian pilaster order with an arcade. The arches not occupied by windows have figure subjects in low relief, finely carved. The vault has flat ribs with plain panels. The work was finished in 1830.

This fine work invites comparison with the Levasseur rétable in the Ursuline Chapel. The reliefs on the pedestals suggest some direct influence from the older work. But this Baillairgé work shows a new spirit, architecturally it is more austere and more correct. The Levasseur work is rococo, this is rather Louis XVI with that feeling for purity which we see in such buildings as the Petit Trianon. This quality we must attribute to François Baillairgé's training in Paris.

The figures are well cut, and sit well in their places, the emblems in the panels are very vigorous, particularly the lion and the ox. In the choir panelling we notice at once the low reliefs which fill the arcades. Each arch has a large panel in the lower part with, in the two side arches, figure subjects in delicate relief. Above these are circular medallions with scenes from the Childhood of Our Lord. The carvings show a mastery of the figure. The designs are in a sense conventional, they conform, that is, to the culture of their age. Neither Baillairgé nor his clients would have tolerated anything else. But there can be no doubt as to the excellence of the craftsmanship. We would also note the flower-vases, well designed, fluently cut and showing a study of natural form. Conventional the whole work is, but in many ways it was a fresh convention for Quebec.

François Baillairgé was appointed City Treasurer of Quebec in 1812 and died about 1852.⁷ He seems to have continued his work as sculptor and architect along with his civic appointment, and it is quite impossible to make any distinction between the work of father and son. No doubt, as time went on, Thomas assumed more and more responsibility and his name, alone, appears in the church books or we read of the employment of Maître Baillairgé, a title which would cover either father or son. The work remained materially the same. They did a very large amount of church work in and around Quebec and influenced more through their pupils. A Baillairgé church is not hard to recognize.

The interior of la Sainte Famille on the Island of Orleans was designed and executed by Thomas Baillairgé between 1820 and 1825. The manner in which this work was carried out casts an interesting light upon the duties of the architect-sculptor of the period. Thomas Baillairgé and his father were at this time the leading architects of Quebec. François had been in practice for forty years, Thomas had been an apprentice of René Saint-James, a leading sculptor of Montreal, whose work, we may add, seems to have left no trace on his pupil. Both were highly trained artists; both had carried out important buildings.

⁷ There seems to be some doubt as to the date of F. B.'s death. G. F. Baillairgé in B. R. H., 1914, p. 17, gives "vers 1852". Mr. G. Morisset states that he died on Sept. 14th, 1830, but quotes no authority. The exact date is not important.

But the architect of the early nineteenth century is still the master-builder of mediaeval days. Thomas Baillairgé at la Sainte Famille is referred to as "entrepreneur". He asks for an advance payment to buy wood. He supplies the workmen, though the parish pays their wages, board and transport. The architect designs, executes, fits up and finally paints the work. Unlike the engineer or mason-architects whom we have met hitherto, the Baillairgés were painter-sculptor-architects. François painted three large pictures for la Sainte Famille in 1802 and two more in 1804. When, in 1820, Thomas undertook the rétable, the condition was made that he should retouch his father's pictures; the angels were too scantily clad for the taste of the day. We regret to add that the Baillairgés were not very talented picture painters and the pictures are poor.

The rétable of la Sainte Famille follows an established Baillairgé scheme. The wall is divided into bays by doubled corinthian pilasters standing upon a panelled dado. The central bay, behind the altar, is broken forward on columns and supports a carving of God the Father in clouds, taken from one of the Raphael cartoons in the Vatican. A segmental pediment is often used in this position, but here the entablature is uninterrupted.

On each side are two bays. The outermost frame the windows, the inner have large trophies of church emblems set in moulded frames; on the right hand are emblems of the Christian faith, the Trinity, a lantern and a processional cross, on the left those of the Old Testament, the Tables of the Law, Moses' rod and the scrolls of Scripture. In panels above are emblems in a glory.

In this work the system of applied carving is carried to its farthest point. The process was as follows. The cornice, pilasters and dado were made and fixed to the walls, the spaces between were then boarded with narrow flush boarding. On to this boarding were pinned the panel and other mouldings and the whole of the carving. The method lent itself to alterations. If at any time the linings or supports decayed the whole decoration could be removed, a new lining put up, and the decorations replaced. This seems to have been done by memory and the old design was not always perfectly preserved; the lofts of old churches contain many fragments of carving for which no place had been found.

There is every reason to suppose that M. Baillairgé designed the rétable of la Sainte Famille in its present form. Yet he might have reused parts of some older carving, or his design might have been rearranged at a later date and the alteration would be impossible to detect. Indeed it seems to have been the custom that any pieces of carving left over from the redecoration of a church should become the property of the contractor, to be reused in some other church.

The panels of the dado are carved with vases, scrolls, musical instruments and flowers. There are lilies, hollyhocks, daffodils and garden poppies, flowers which still grow in Canadian gardens. This naturalistic flower carving is not confined to Baillairgé's work; it is found in many churches of the nineteenth century, in l'Ange Gardien, in Ste. Jeanne de l'Ile Perrot and elsewhere.

The vault of Ste. Famille is of small square panels with rosettes. It is by Louis Bazil David, a pupil of Quevillon, and is a Montreal design. Baillairgé would

have used a simpler form with broad radiating ribs and large panels such as we see at St. François or St. Pierre, on the Island.

Baillairgé trained many pupils the most important of whom was André Paquet, a native of Bellechasse county. His best work is in the church of St. Charles, Rivière Boyer, in his native parish. He also decorated a number of churches near Quebec between 1830 and 1850, including Charlesbourg, St. Pierre and St. François, the two last on the Island of Orleans. His flower carving is particularly fine, and he uses low relief figure subjects occasionally. His work can hardly be distinguished from that of his master and must be considered along with it, indeed one suspects that some of the graceful low reliefs in his pulpits came from the Baillairgé workshops.

PLATE CXXX
POINT AUX TREMBLES (NEUVILLE)

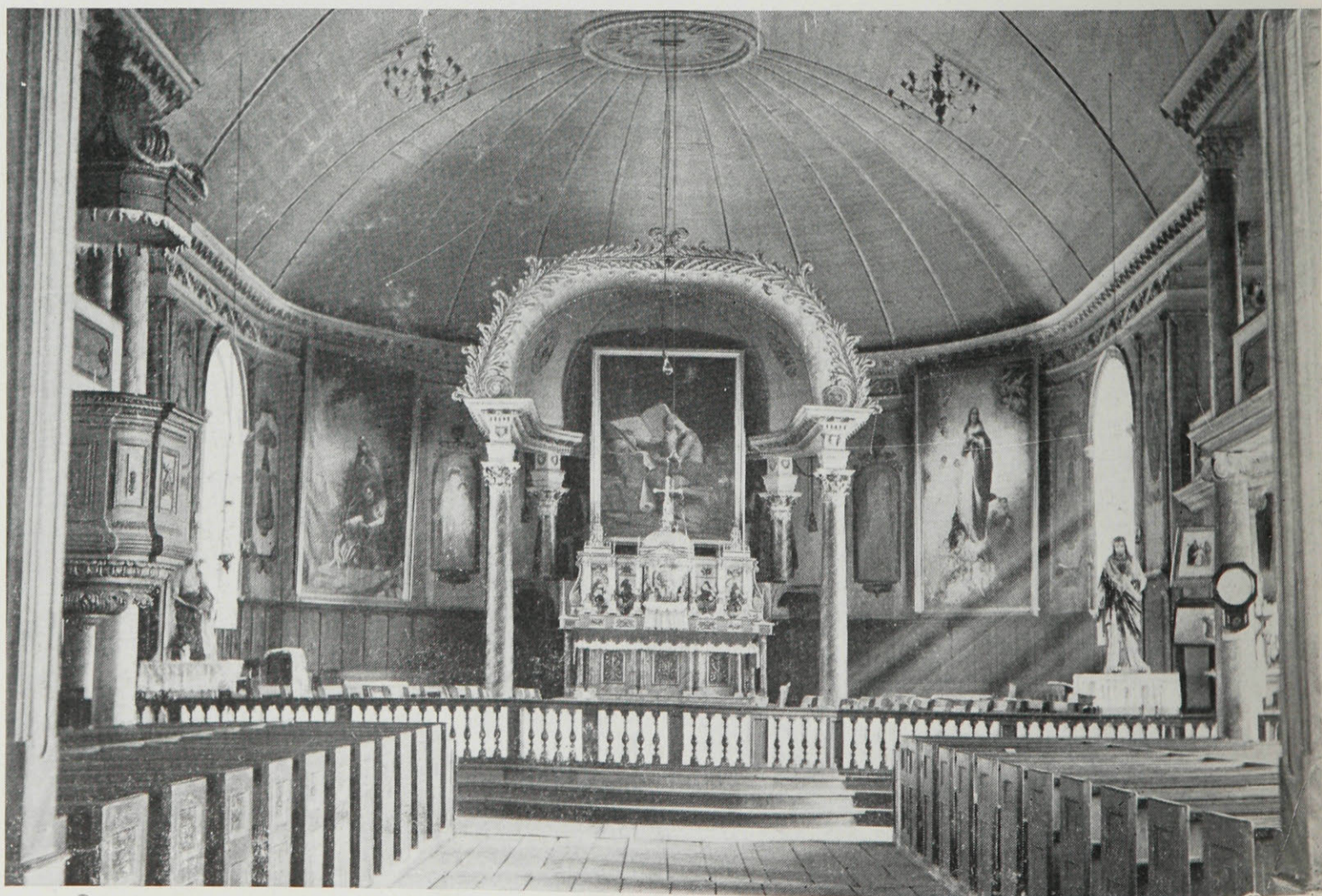


The High Altar and Baldachino



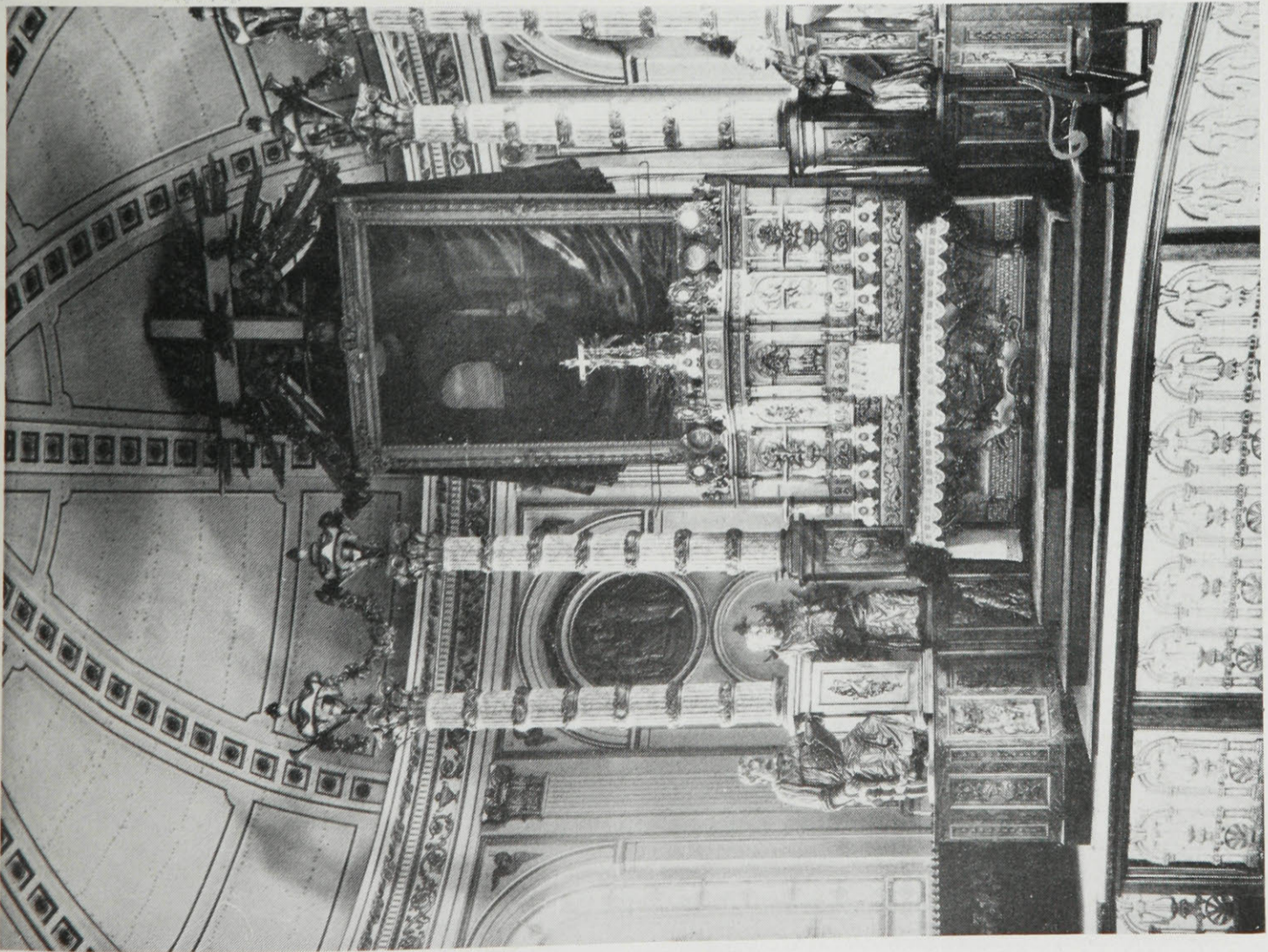
St. Eustache before the Alterations of 1910

Old photo

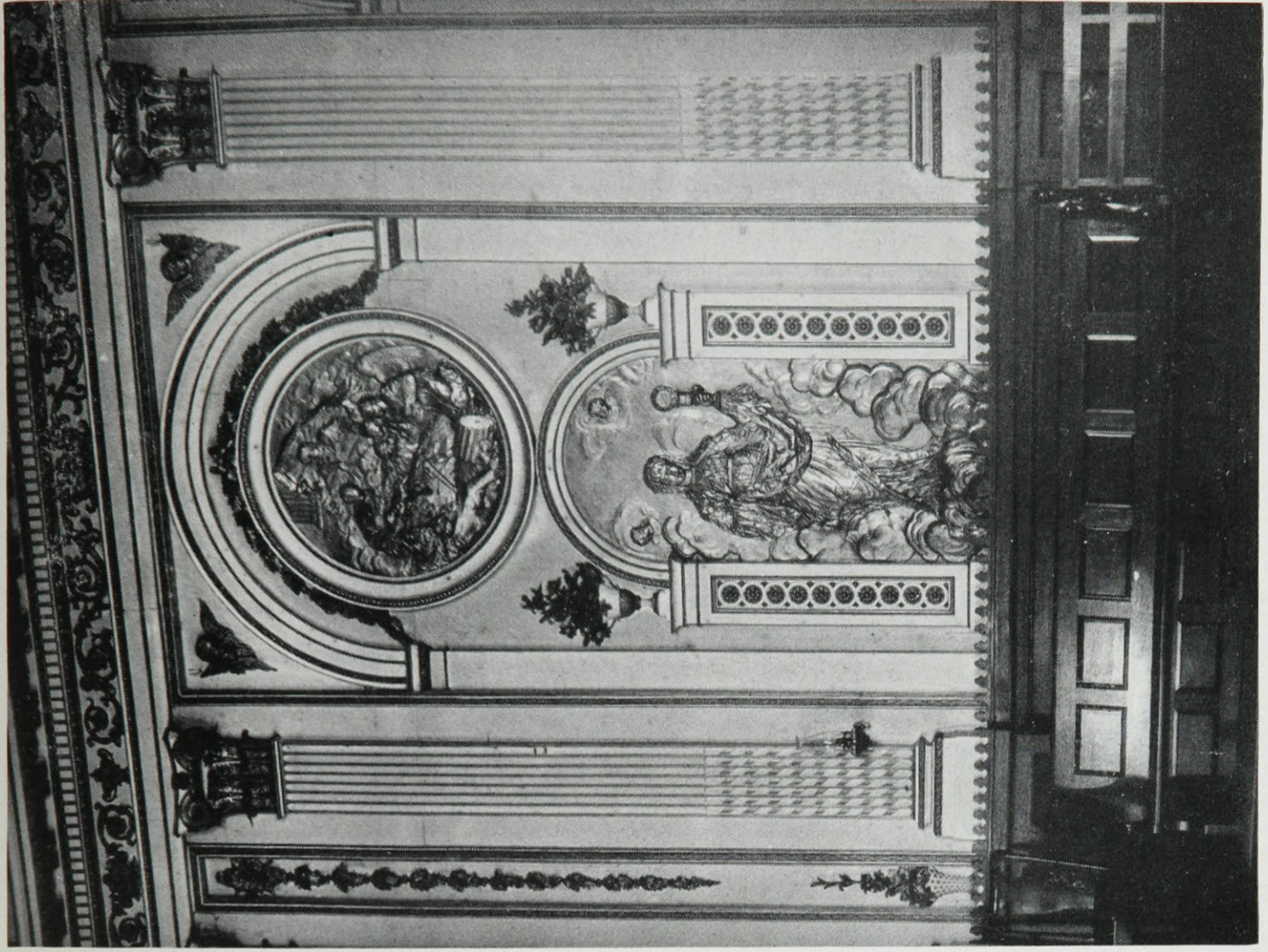


St. Jérôme, Mille Isles

Old photo



The High Altar



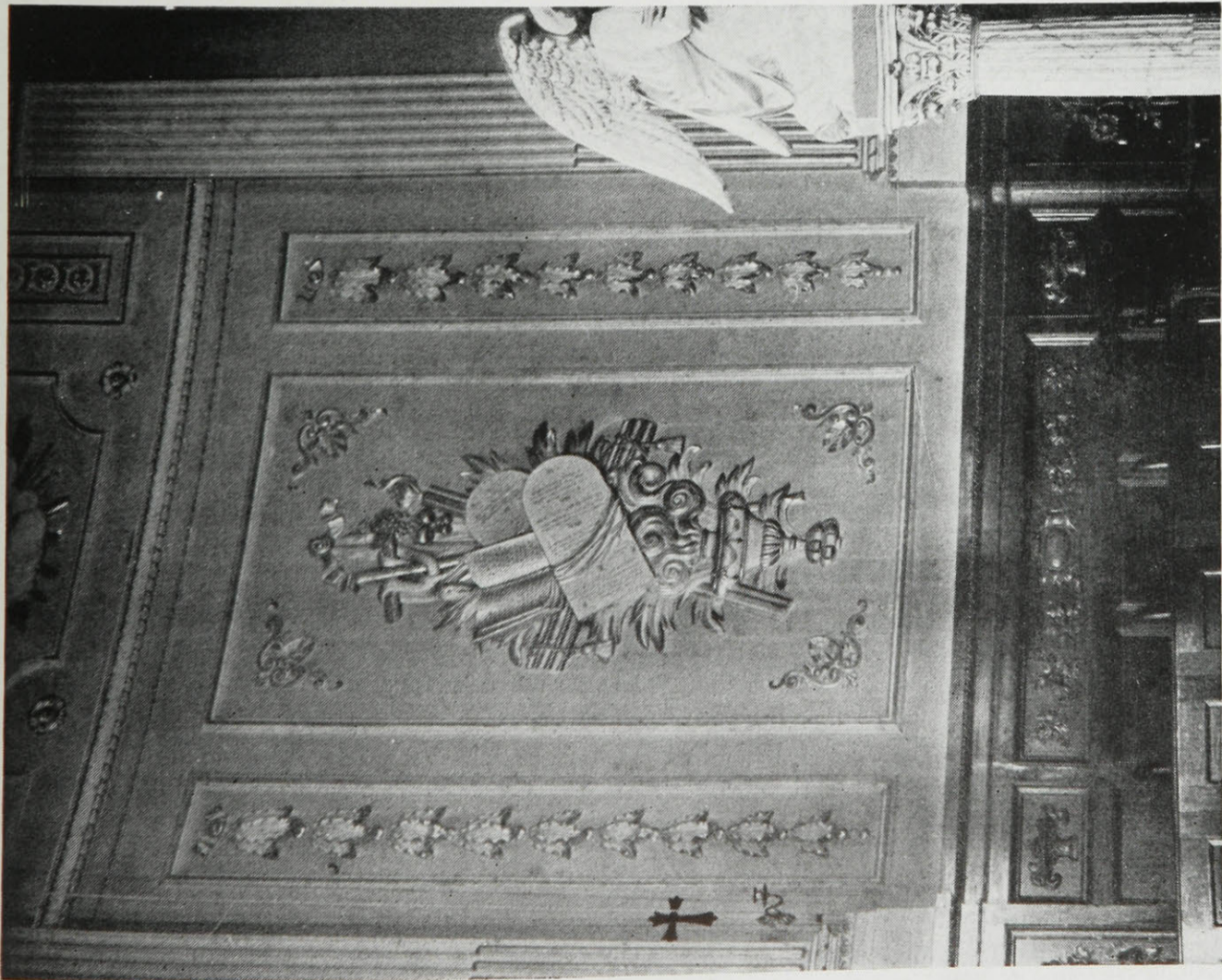
Part of the Rétable



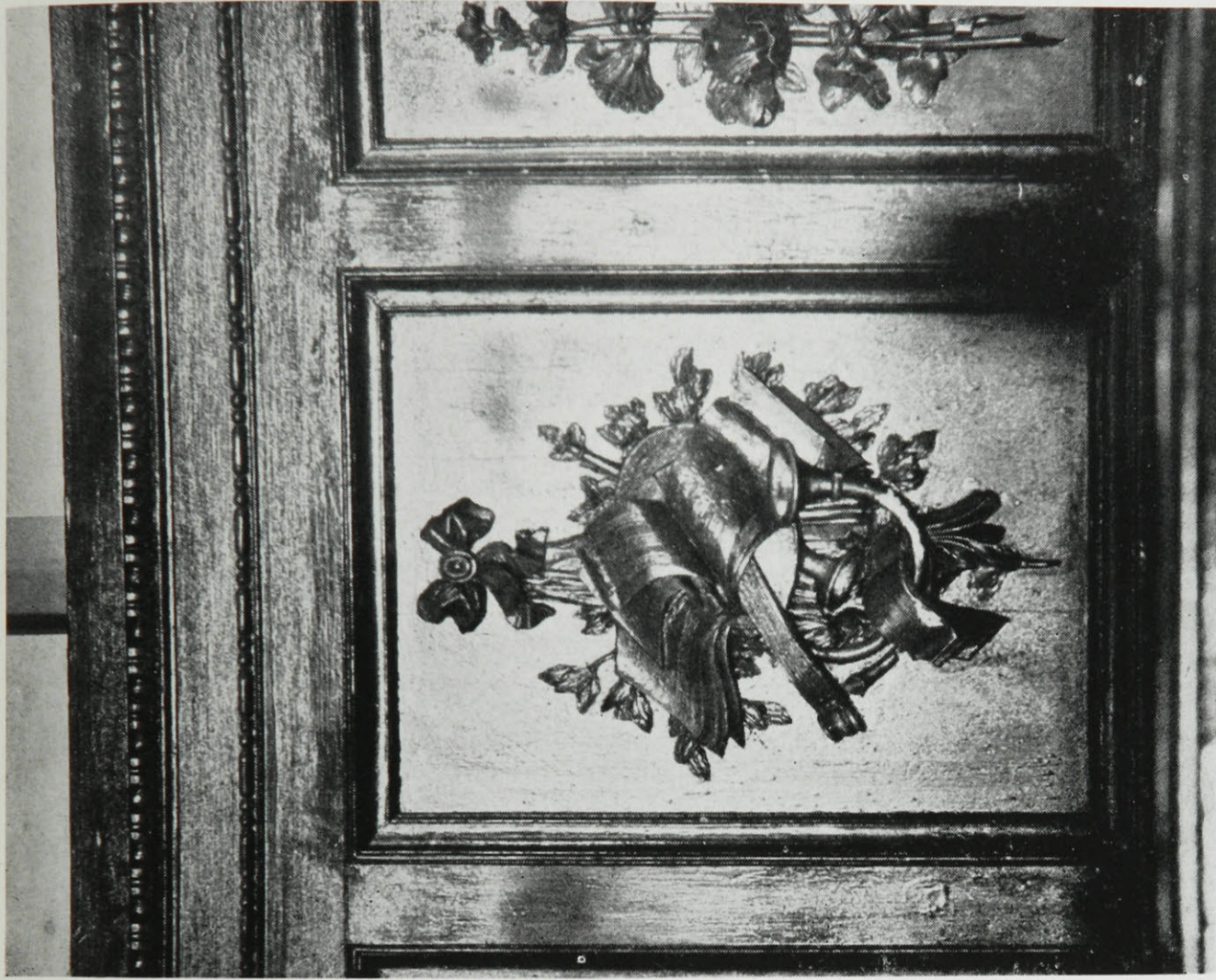
Ste. Famille. Side Altar



St. Joachim. Panels from the Pedestals

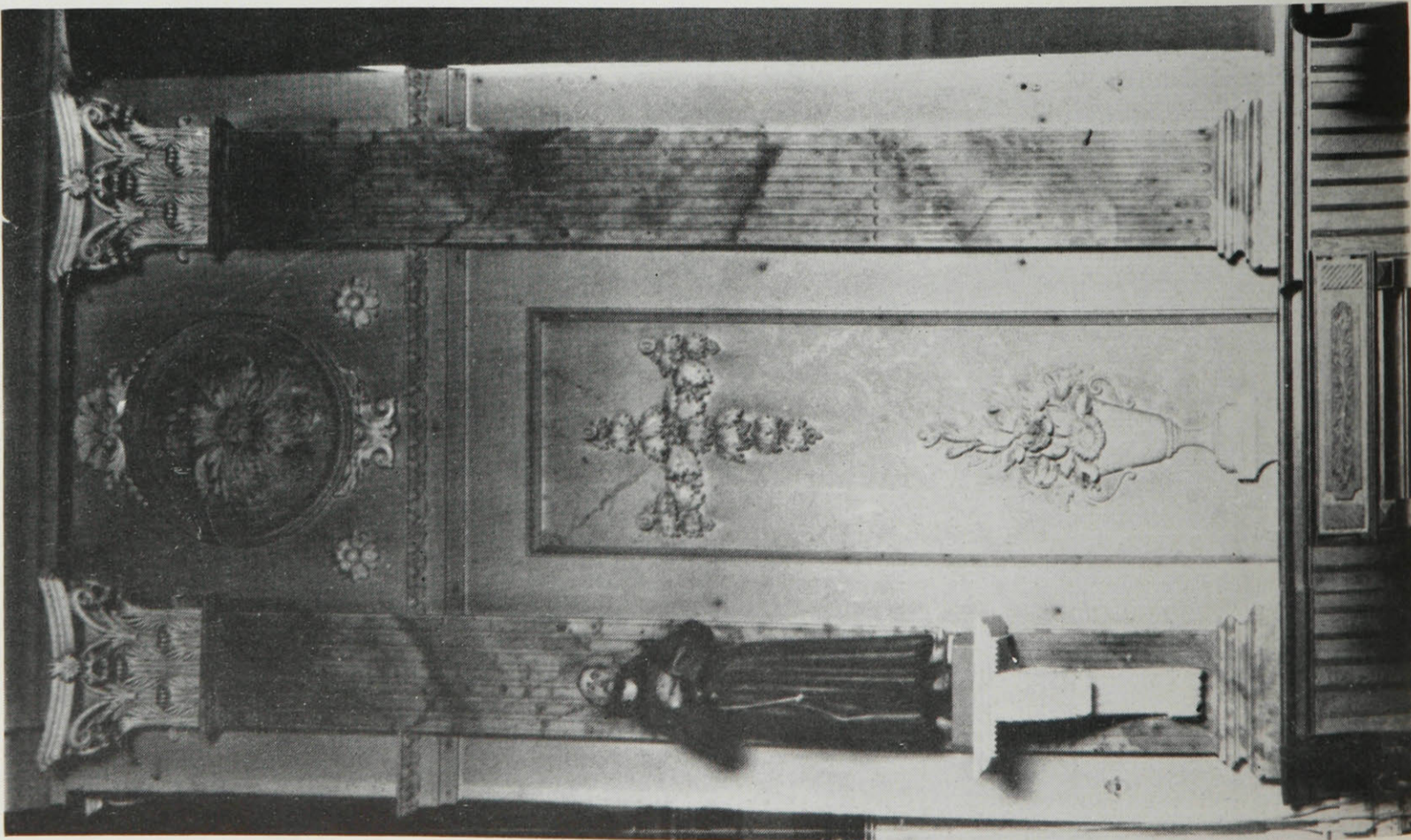
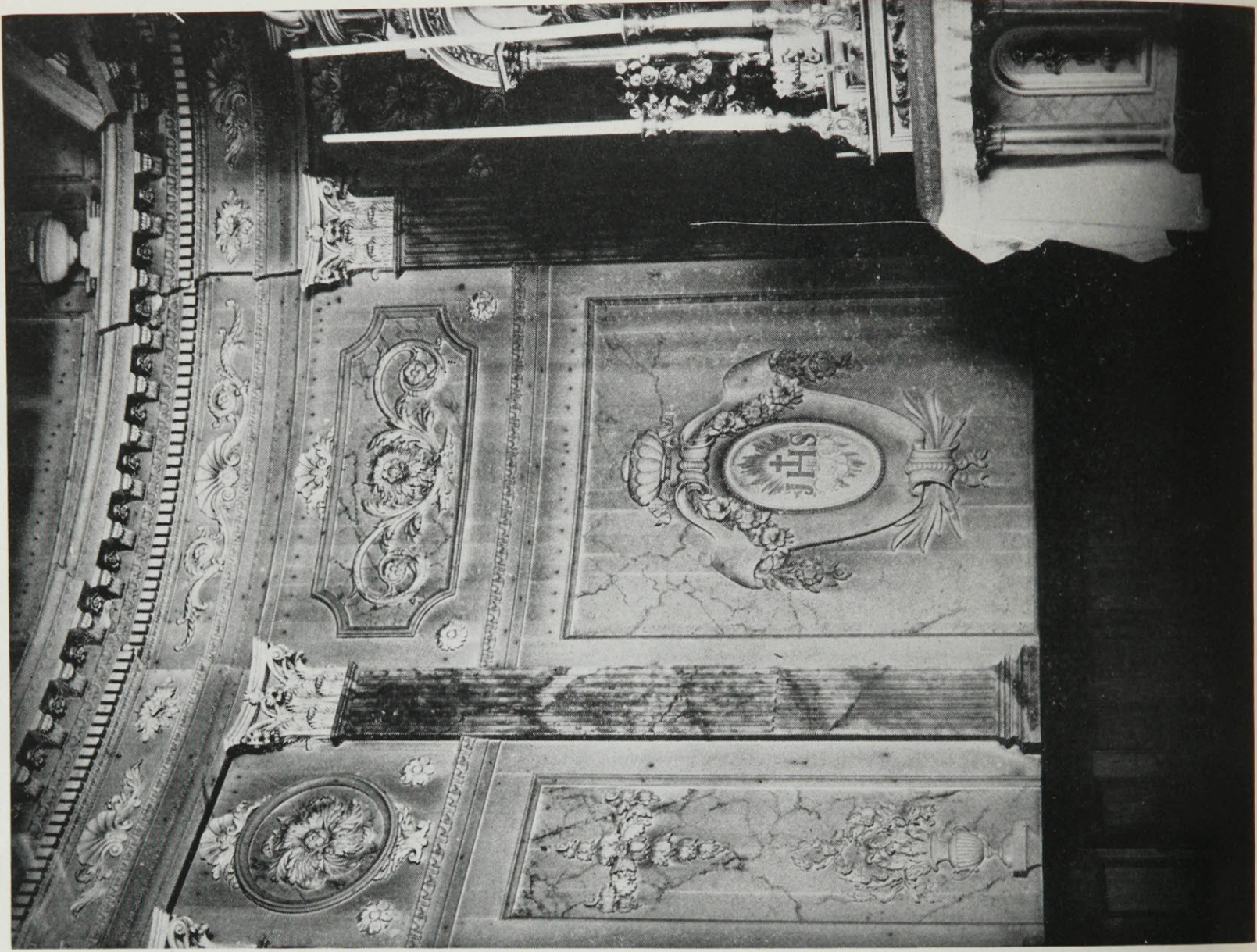


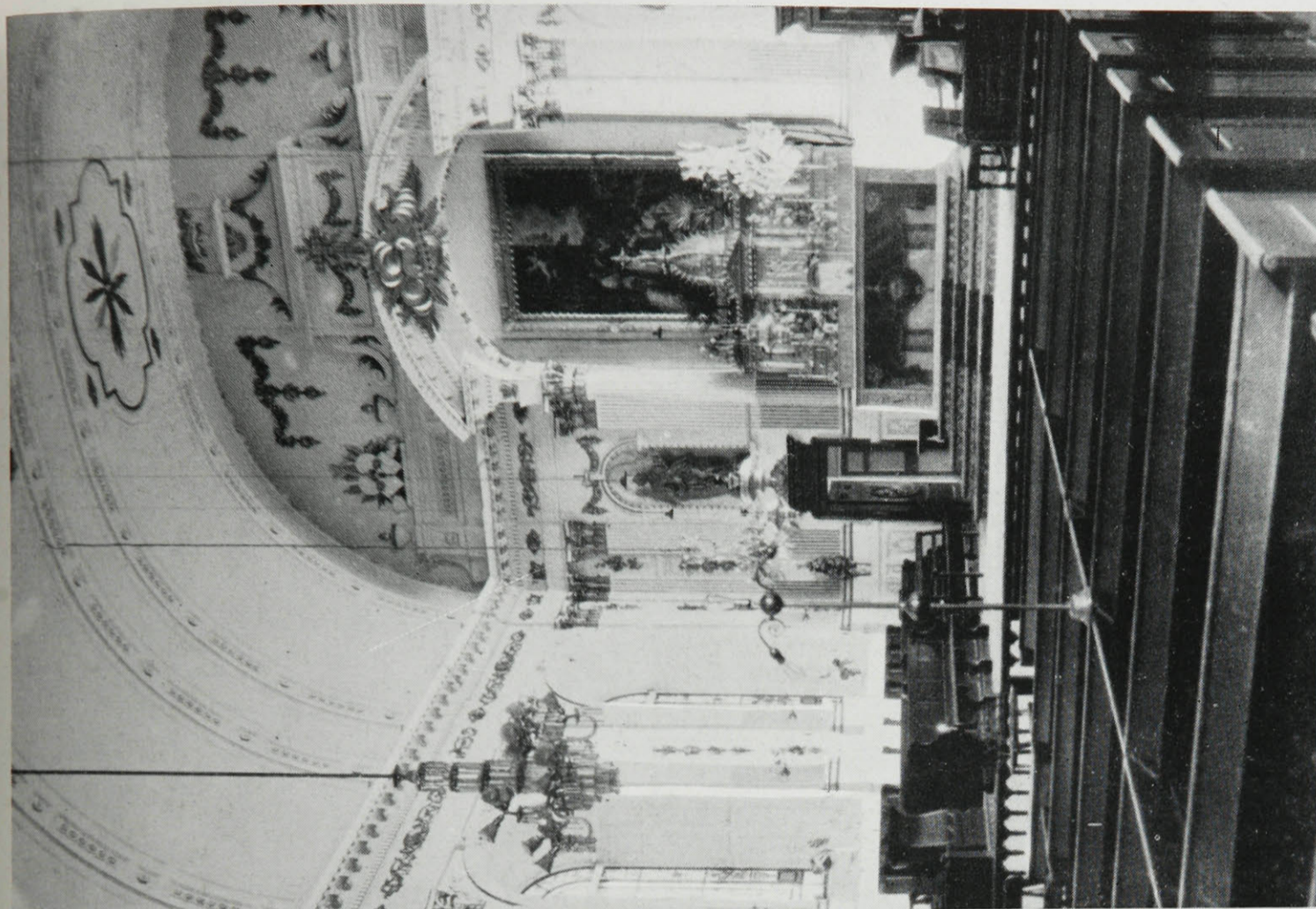
A Panel of the Rétable



A Panel of the Dado

PLATE CXXXV
ST. FRANÇOIS, I. O.





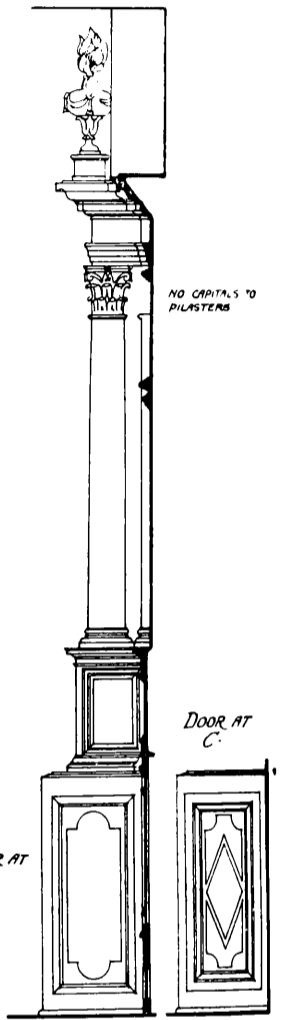
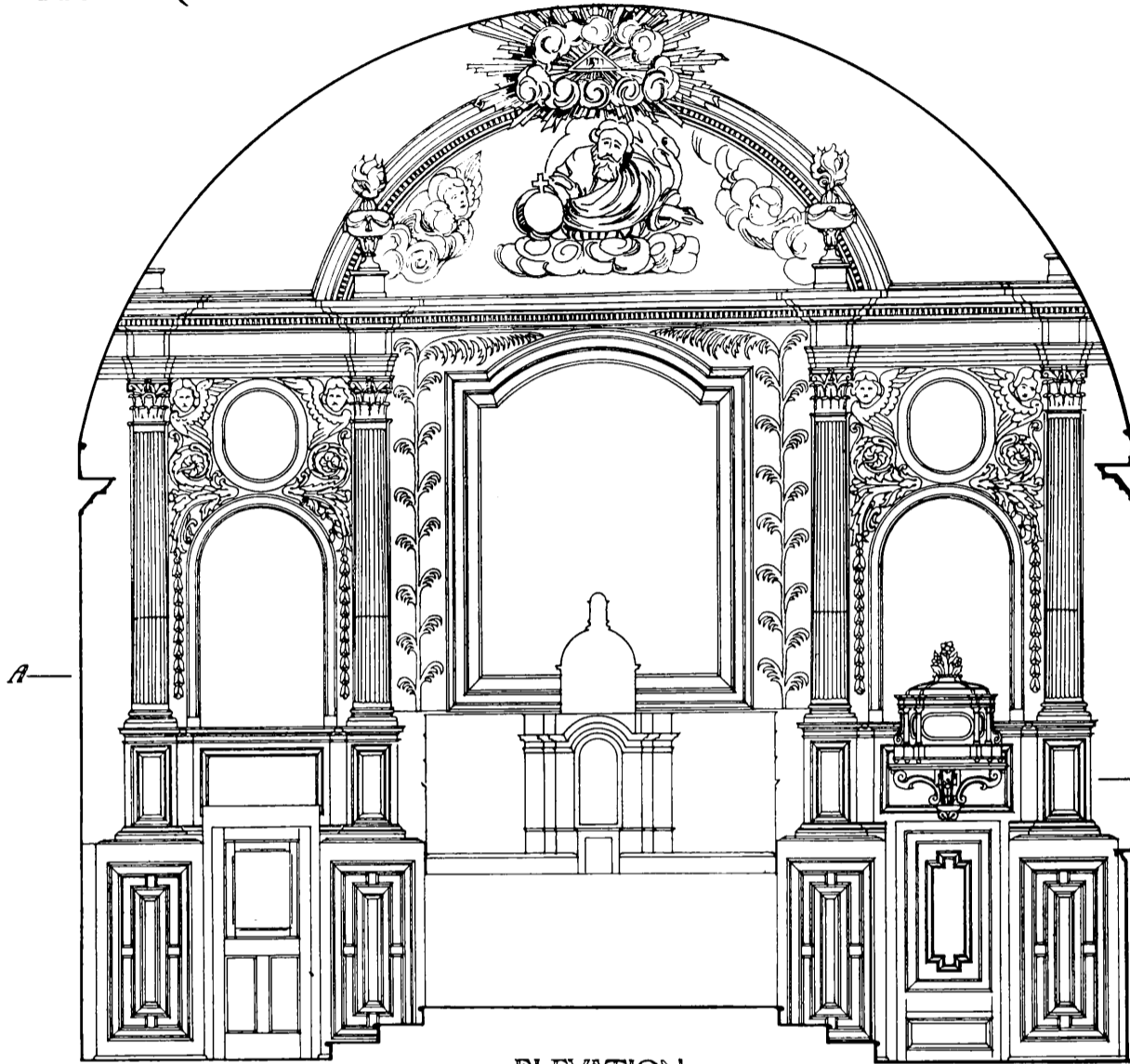
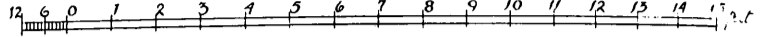
St. Charles, Charlesbourg
André Paquet, 1833-49



St. Luce, Rimouski
Thomas Baillaigé, 1826

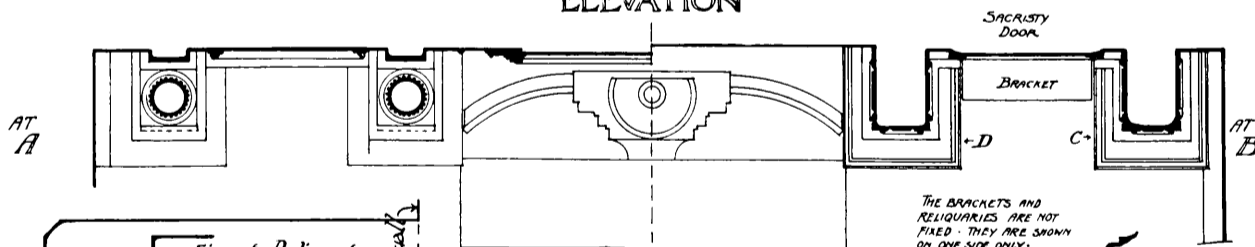
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL QUEBEC

THE RETABLE

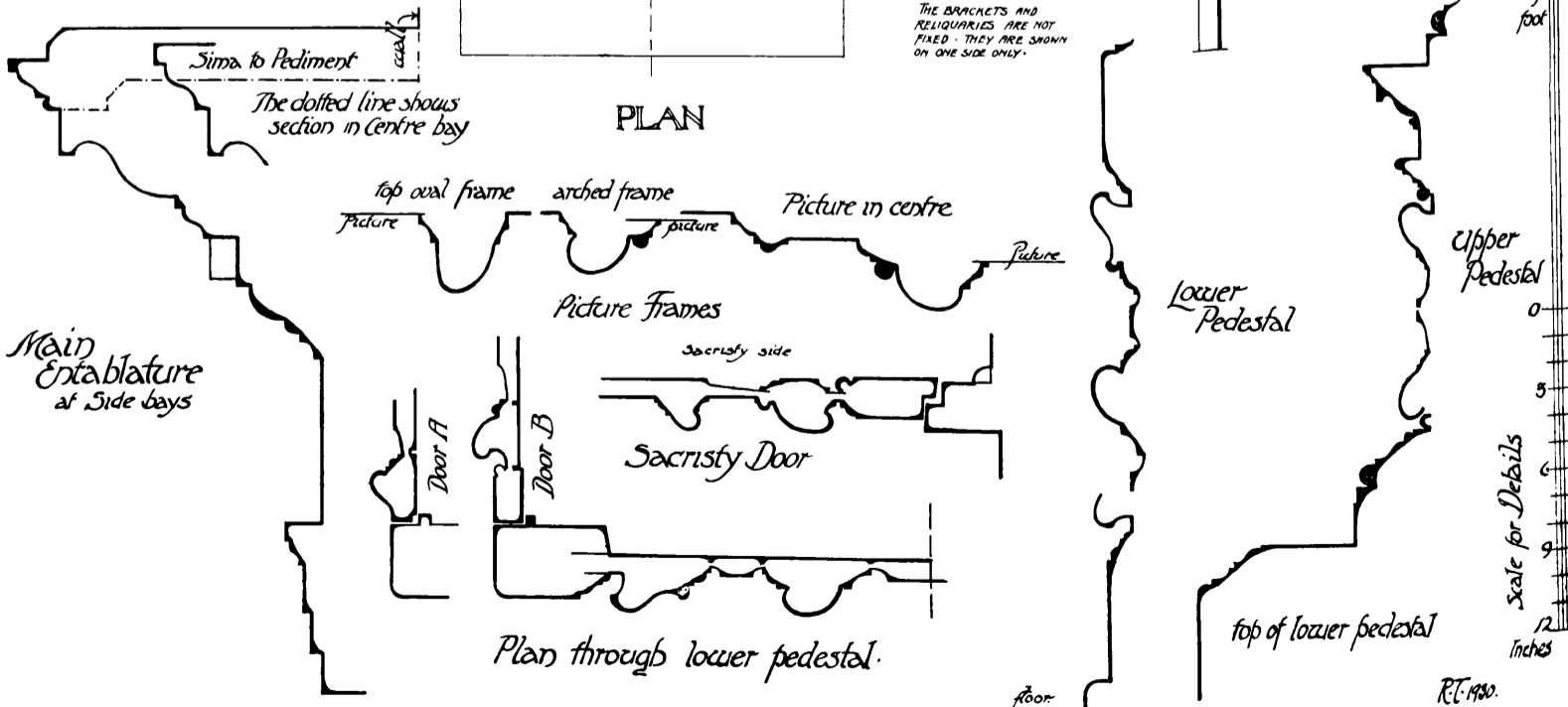


ELEVATION

SECTION



PLAN



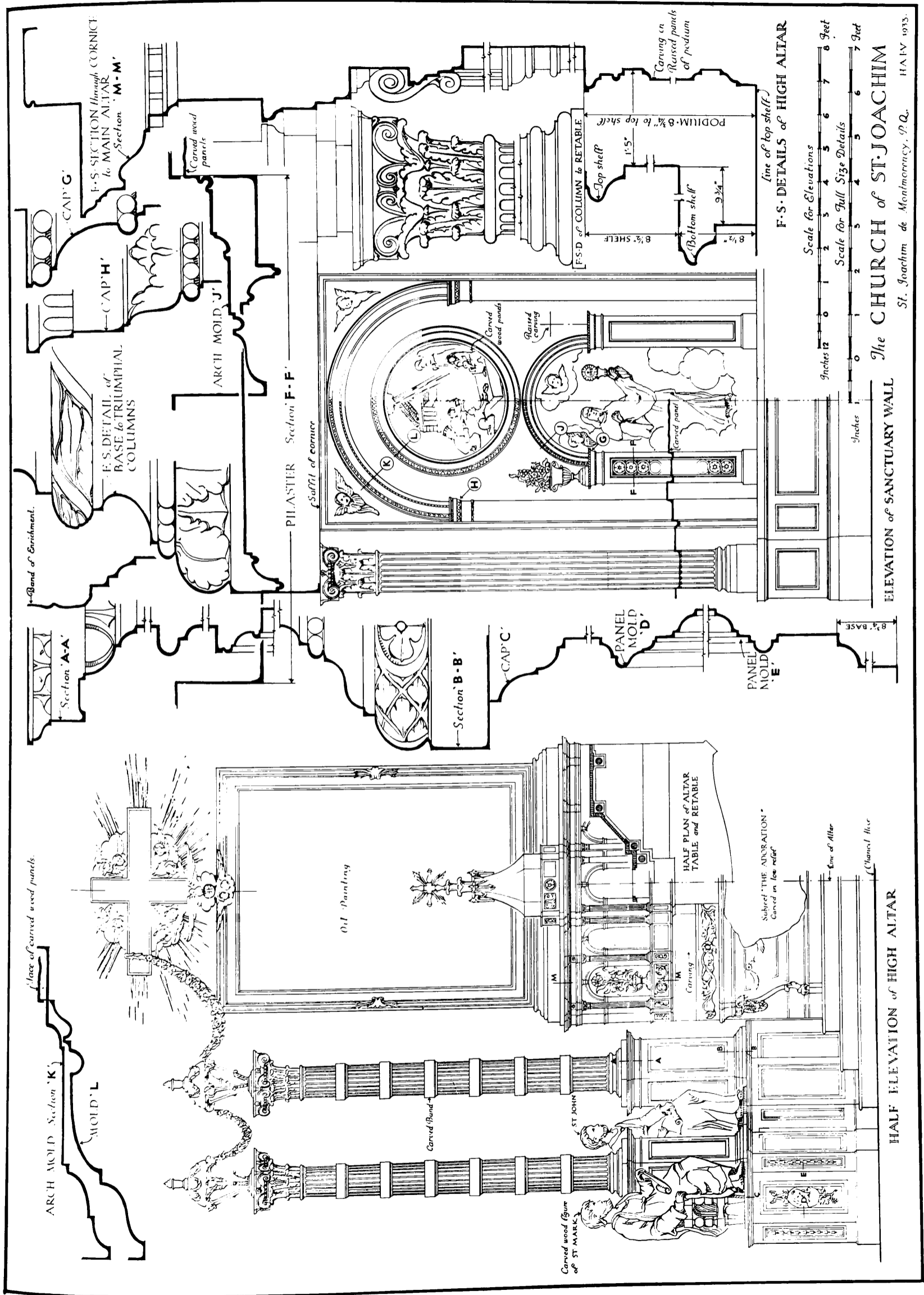
Plan through lower pedestal.

foot

Scale for Details
Inches

R.T. 1930.

PLATE CXXXVIII



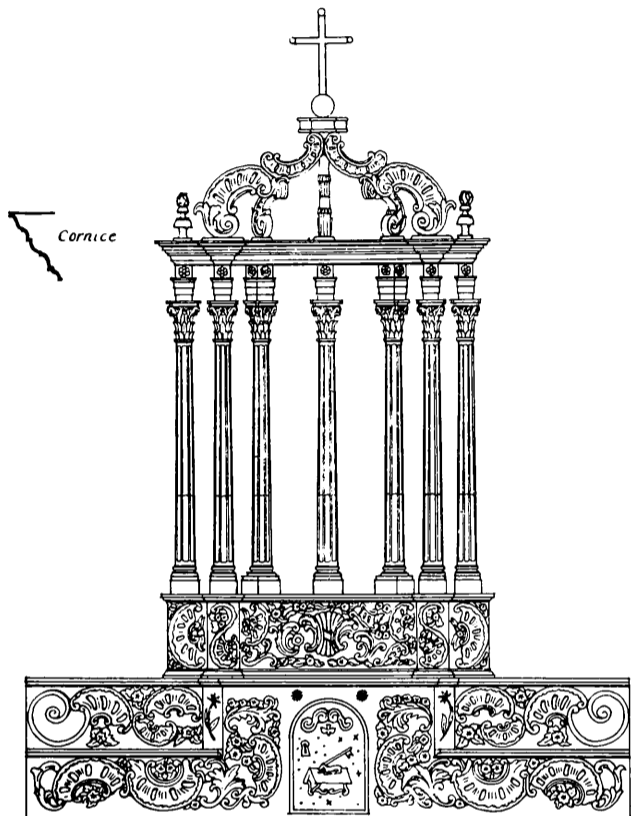
The CHURCH of ST. JOACHIM

St. Joachim de Montmorency, P. Q. MAY 1913.

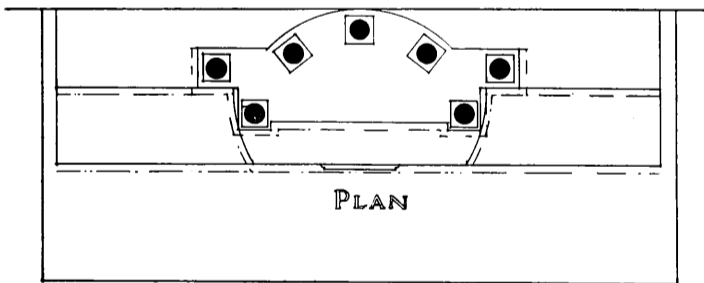
HALF ELEVATION of HIGH ALTAR

F.S. DETAILS of HIGH ALTAR

ELEVATION of SANCTUARY WALL



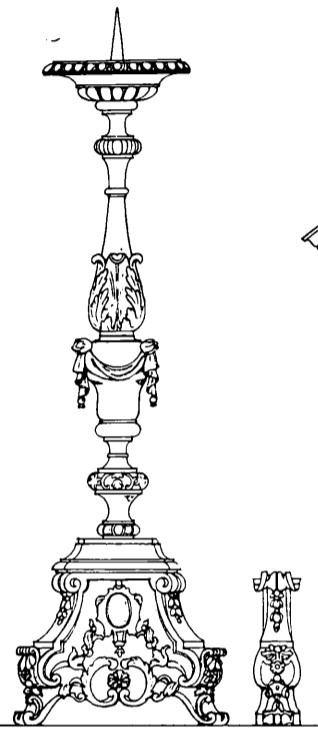
ELEVATION



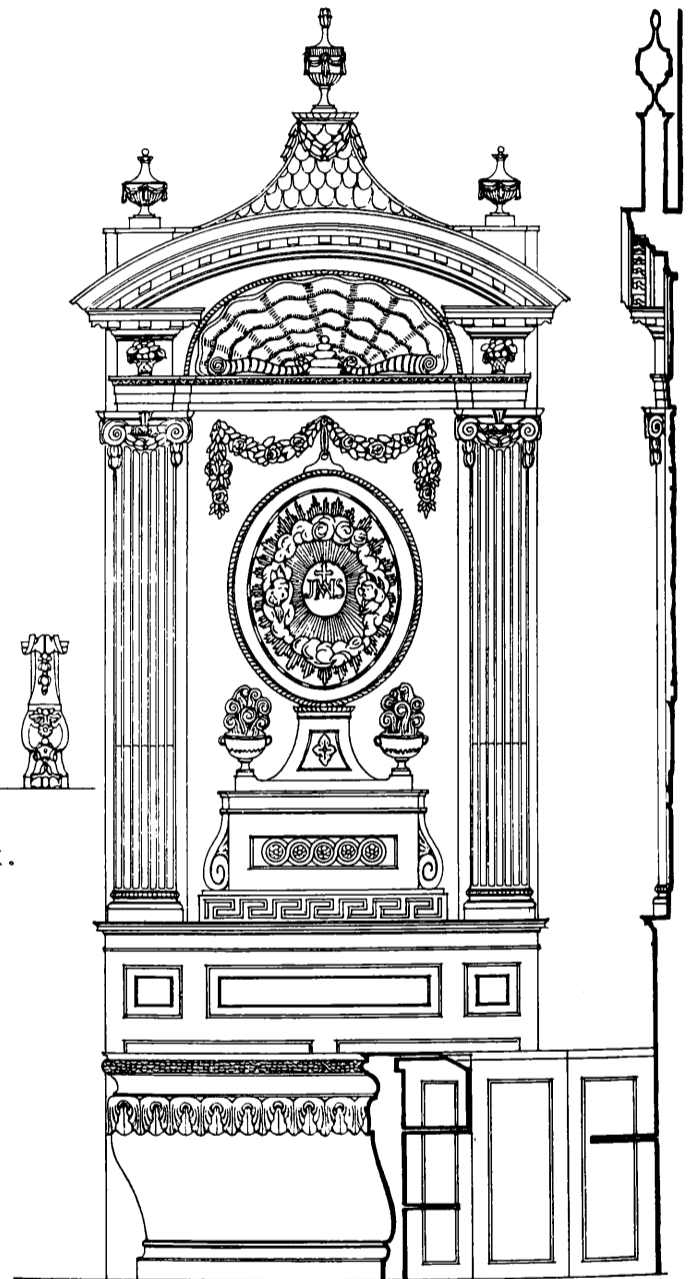
PLAN

ALTAR IN BOUNDARY CHAPEL

SCALE OF FEET



EASTER
CANDLESTICK.

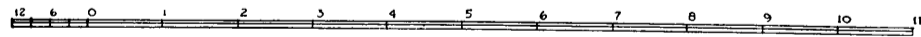


ELEVATION

SECTION

ST. FRANCOIS DE SALES
ISLAND OF ORLEANS. QUEBEC

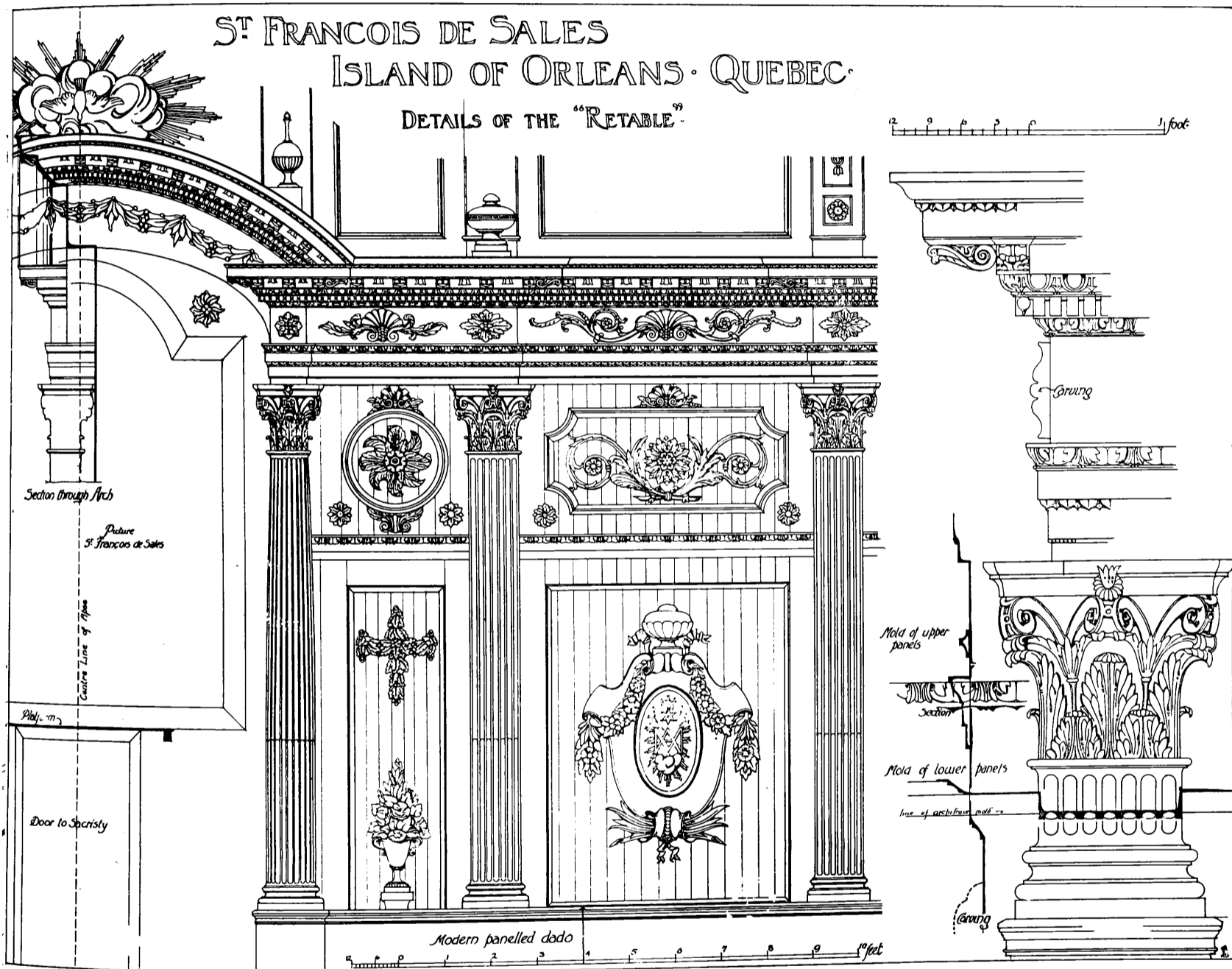
BANC D'OEUVRE

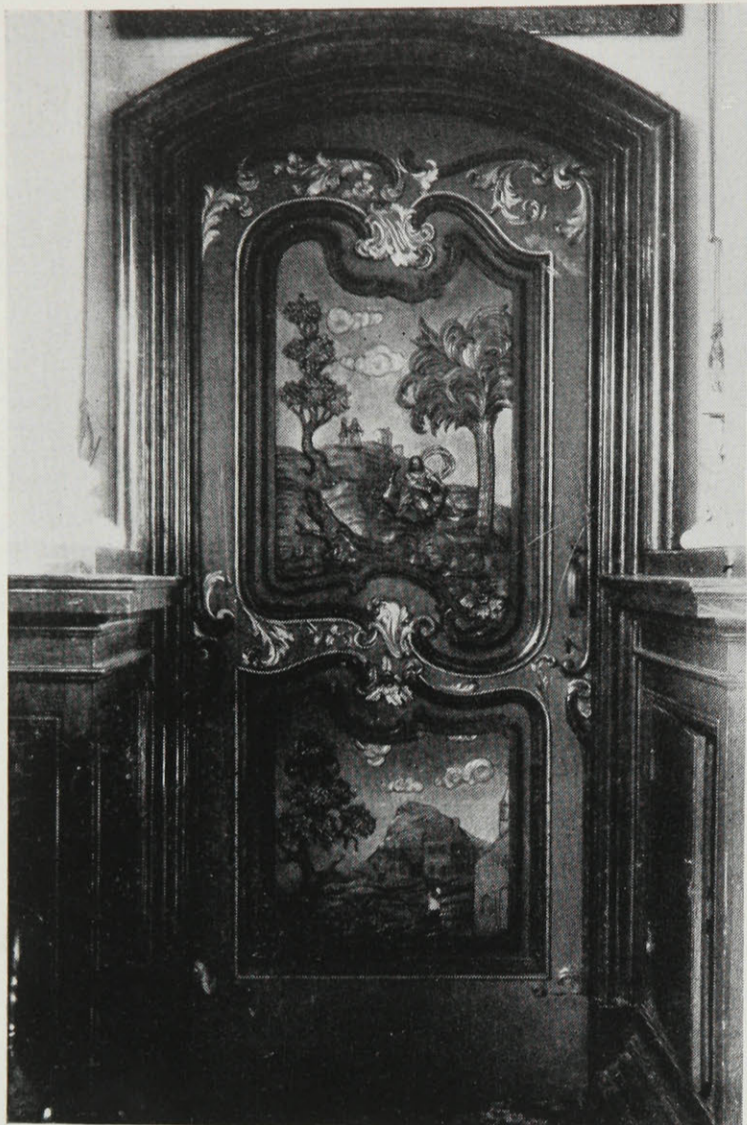


SCALE OF FEET FOR BANC D'OEUVRE

PLATE CXL

ST FRANCOIS DE SALES
ISLAND OF ORLEANS · QUEBEC ·
DETAILS OF THE "RETABLE"





Sault au Récollet. The Sanctuary Doors



St. Martin, Ile Jesus. The Carved Panels

CHAPTER XI

THE MONTREAL SCULPTORS

IN EARLY times Montreal was little more than an insignificant outpost of Quebec but after the English conquest it began to increase in importance and a rivalry sprang up between it and the capital. Of this we see an echo in the correspondence concerning the employment of Louis Bazil David, a Montreal sculptor, at St. Jean and at la Sainte Famille on the Island of Orleans in the early nineteenth century. Some objection was evidently being raised to the employment of a Montreal sculptor in the Quebec district.¹

We have seen how little remains in or near Montreal of work done earlier than 1750. Yet Montreal had at least two good sculptors, La Brosse and Chaboillez, and their work must have been sufficient for a small town, such as Montreal then was.

At some time before 1761 a young sculptor Philippe Liébert came to Montreal. He was a Frenchman, born in Nemours in 1732 or 1734, he came to Canada at some time not known and the first we hear of him is when he married a Mlle. Lenoir at Pointe aux Trembles in 1761.² We do not know where he received his training but at the time of his marriage he was apparently established in business; he became the most important sculptor of his day in Montreal.

In the church of the Visitation at Sault au Récollet are two carved doors, one on each side of the altar, communicating with the sacristy. They have been much repaired and seem to have been altered to suit their present position. They are evidently older than the rétable of which they form part and which is the work of Fleury David in 1820. The doors are in two panels with shaped ends and floriated panel mouldings of Louis Quinze type. The panels are filled with landscape pictures in low relief. In the two upper panels are depicted the feats of Samson, killing the lion and bearing off the gates of Gaza. In the lower panels are pastoral scenes, the curé going to church and the curé with his dog visiting the sick. Each panel has as background a hill with trees and houses; in one the curé is approaching a church with flèche and belfry of the traditional Canadian type, in another a man and a woman in eighteenth century dress watch Samson killing the lion. The palm tree in this Canadian landscape is of course the conventional palm which grows only in French decoration of the eighteenth century. The panels are painted in full colour, the painting is old and very agreeable, it is probably the original treatment. These doors are nowhere mentioned in the church accounts and we may assume that they formed part of an earlier rétable.

¹ Archives de l'Archevêché, Québec. Cartable de la Sainte Famille.

² Morisset, G., *Philippe Liébert*, p. 8.

The present church was built in 1751 and was decorated between 1764 and 1773. In 1764 the sum of 200 livres was paid for carvings on the rétable of the high altar, between 1772 and 1773, 400 livres were paid for a reconstruction of the vault and in the latter year "Hebert esculpteur" was paid 1,420 livres for work which is not specified but which may have included both a vault and a rétable.³ We know of no sculptor called Hebert and the name is very probably a mistake for Liébert, who made the tabernacle of the high altar in 1792. Judging by the mouldings and style of the two doors they must be attributed to this period, from 1764 to 1773, and accordingly would have been part of the rétable which Liébert made then and which was replaced by the present rétable in 1820. These doors are quite unlike anything which was being done in Quebec at the time; nothing by les Vasseurs or by François Baillaigé has any resemblance to them.

In the church of St. Martin on Ile Jésus are two large panels in low relief. The larger shows St. Martin, a Roman soldier on horse-back, sword in hand dividing his cloak with a wooden-legged beggar who sits on a rock in the foreground. The carving is appliqué, the beggar's head is well characterized and, altogether, it is an attractive work; it looks as though it had been made for an altar-piece. The technique of the tree carving recalls that of the trees in the Sault au Récollet doors though the great difference in scale between the two makes any comparison difficult. It is not known when the panel was made but we know that Liébert was making a tabernacle for St. Martin about 1790 and it is possible that he carved this panel at about that time.

The second panel is smaller, about five feet high, and shows the Baptism of our Lord. Technically it is a "slicker" piece of carving than the St. Martin, it reminds one of the figure medallions used in their vaults by the sculptors of the Quevillon school. To give an instance, there are oval figure panels in the vault of St. Mathias which resemble this panel in treatment; they are the work of René St. James, one of the Quevillon associates and an important sculptor of the early nineteenth century.

In 1792 Maître Liébert made the tabernacle still in place on the high altar of Sault au Récollet,⁴ and in the same year made a similar tabernacle for St. Michel de Vaudreuil.⁵ The accounts of Vaudreuil which name the tabernacle do not mention the sculptor but the tabernacle is still in the church and is of the same design as that at Sault au Récollet so that we can have no hesitation in attributing it to Liébert. But the contract for the tabernacle at Sault au Récollet stipulates that it is to be similar to that of St. Martin. This is no longer in existence but in the basement of St. Martin is a truss canopy which is similar to the crowning canopies of both Sault au Récollet and Vaudreuil: it is evidently a fragment of the tabernacle which Liébert made for St. Martin. So it appears that Liébert repeated the same design in three different churches.

This tabernacle is unlike those in use in the Quebec district. The grades are low and the custode rises to the same height as the pedestals of the order. Above the custode is a square niche for the monstrance crowned by an elaborate truss

³ Sault au Récollet, *Livre de Comptes*, I fos. 11, 11b, 14, 15.

⁴ Sault au Récollet, *Actes de la Fabrique*, I, fo. 5.

⁵ Adair, E. R., *The Church of Saint Michel de Vaudreuil*, B. R. H., Feb. 1943, p. 43.

canopy and glory. At the sides are niches with shell heads and arched canopies, which bear little rocaille reliquaries. The two statuettes in the niches, St. John the Evangelist and St. Amable, are well posed and cut. This design, with the large open niche for the monstrance and the arched side niches, appears later in the work of the Quevillon school, as at St. Mathias or at L'Acadie.

Philippe Liébert is known to have done a great deal of work in and around Montreal; in 1792 he made a pulpit and a banc d'oeuvre for Nôtre Dame de Montréal⁶ and he is known to have worked at l'Assomption. Unfortunately the greater part of his work has disappeared.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century we meet Louis Amable Quevillon who, in association with other sculptors, was to dominate the Montreal School of the early nineteenth century. The little we know of his early life will be given in a later chapter; here we are concerned with his work.

In 1789 he made a great west door for Sault au Récollet "similar to that of St. Martin on the Ile Jésus", at the same time he made the large vestment chest which still stands in the vestry. It is a well made, simple chest of drawers. Liébert was employed, three years later, to make the tabernacle, a more important piece of work and this would seem to indicate that Quevillon was regarded as the less important man, possibly as a joiner rather than as a sculptor.

But in 1795 he is making "the ornamentation of the tabernacles" at St. Ours⁷ and in the accounts of St. Mathias, Chambly, he is named as "Quevillon, sculpteur" in 1796.⁸ So at this date he was well started upon his career as a sculptor. He was forty-six years old, an age which suggests that he must have worked with his father, a joiner, for many years before he was able to establish himself as a sculptor. But in a few years he and his associates very nearly monopolized the supply of church furniture and decoration in the Montreal district. They completely decorated a great number of churches and supplied altars, tabernacle and other furniture to many others, whose decoration was being carried out by local sculptors.

In 1815 he entered into partnership with three Montreal sculptors, Joseph Pépin, René Saint James and Paul Rollin. Pépin had been a master-sculptor since at least 1805, Saint James was a well-known sculptor and was taking apprentices in 1810; Rollin was a younger man twenty-six years old and an old apprentice of Quevillon.

The partnership lasted only two or three years; in 1817 it split in two, Quevillon and Saint James, and Pépin and Rollin. But co-operation between the sculptors continued. There may have been two workshops at St. Vincent de Paul where all four associates had established themselves, but the work they turned out is all of the same type, and we find their names in various associations with one another.

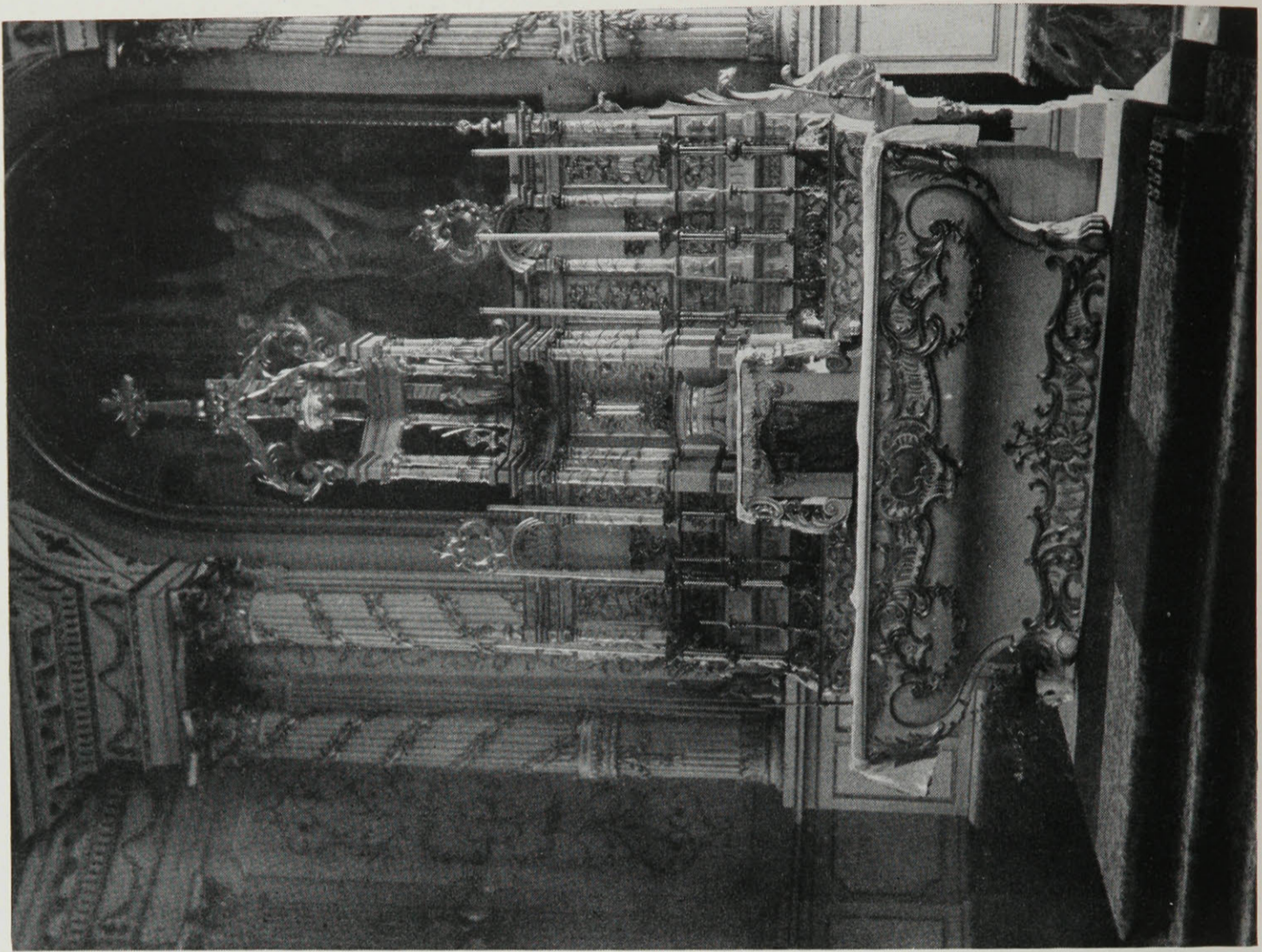
In addition to the Quevillon group a number of other sculptors were working in the district during the early nineteenth century. The brothers Daniel and George Finsterer were working at L'Acadie; Joseph Turcault at Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot; Urbain Brien at Pointe aux Trembles and St. Denis sur Richelieu; Vincent

⁶ Maurault, O., *La Paroisse*.

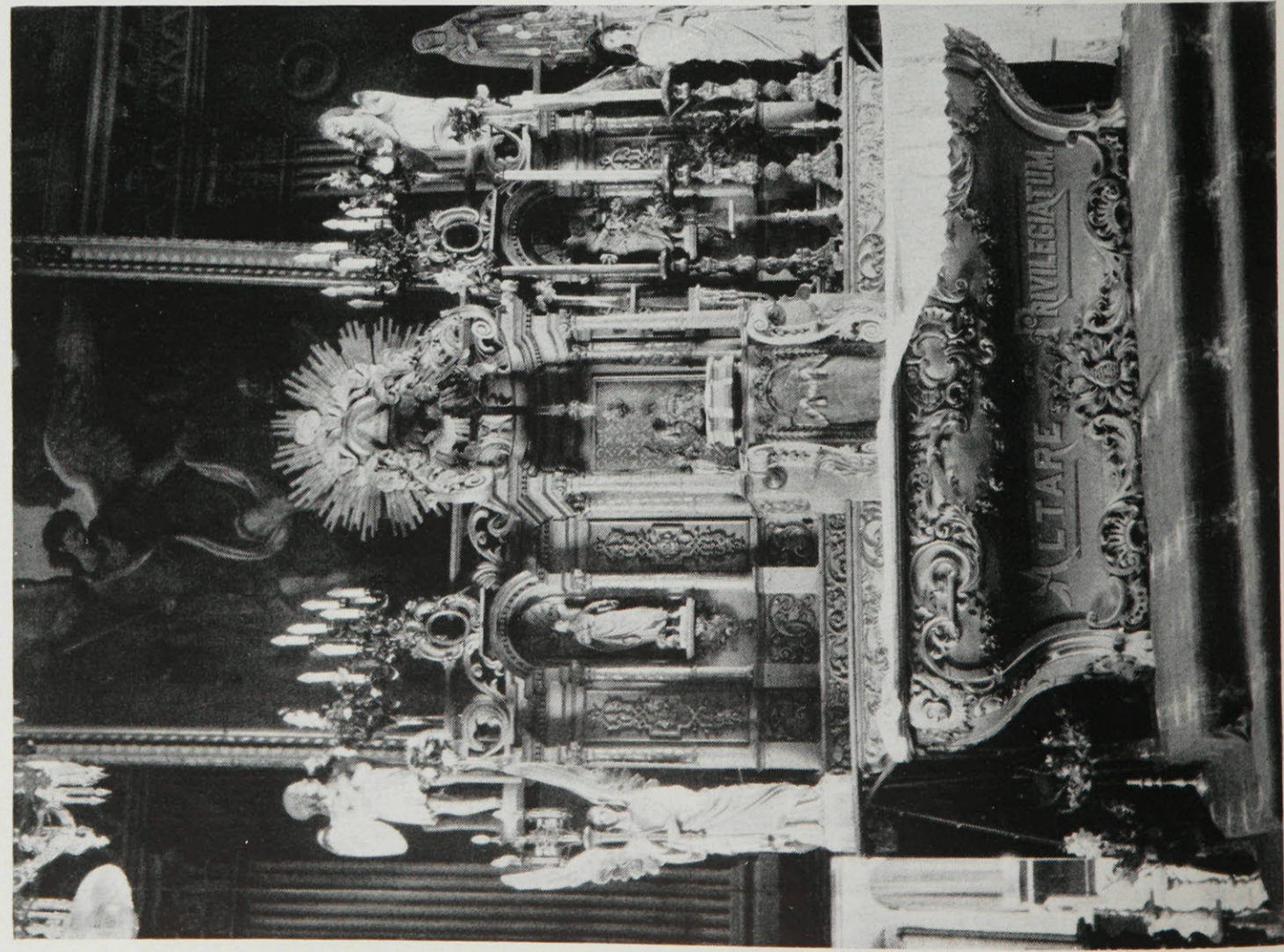
⁷ Couillard-Despres, A., *Histoire de la Famille et de la Seigneurie de Saint-Ours*, Vol. II, p. 180.

⁸ St. Mathias, *Livre de Comptes*, 1796-97.

PLATE CXLII



St. Mathias. The High Altar, St. James, 1809

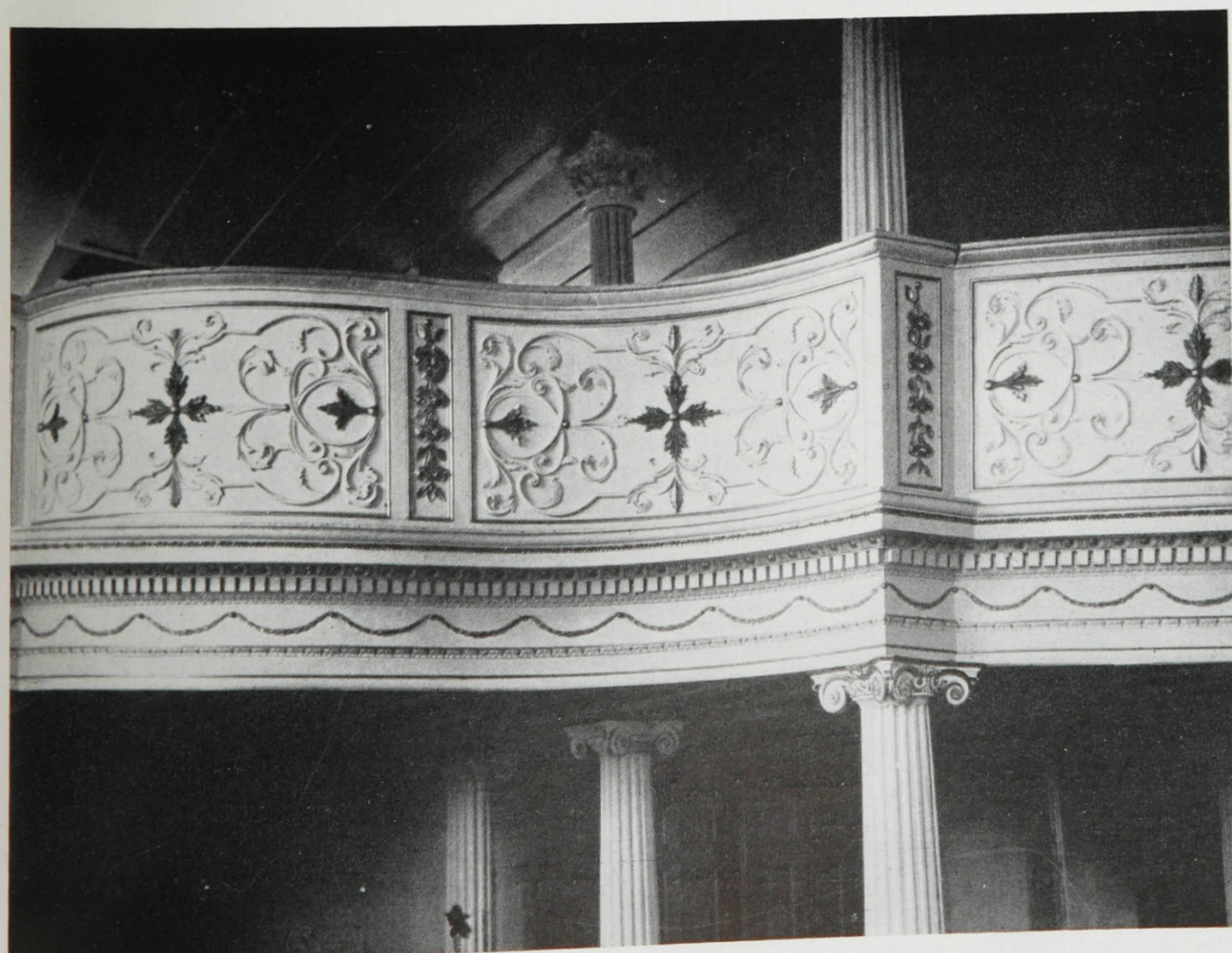


Vaudreuil. The High Altar, Liébert, 1792

PLATE CXLIII
ST. MATHIAS, CHAMBLY



The Interior



The Gallery Front

Chartrand at Sault au Récollet, Lachenaie and Ile Dupas; Fleury David at Sault au Récollet. Amable Charron, who made a rétable for L'Islet in 1816, was an apprentice of Quevillon and the influence of the school is also evident in Chrysostome Perrault's work at the neighbouring church of St. Jean Port Joli. Etienne Bercier's rétable and altar at Beaumont, of 1812, are of the Montreal school and Louis Bazil David who worked at Ste. Famille and St. Jean on the Island of Orleans was a pupil of Quevillon.

The work of these Montreal sculptors is founded upon the rococo of Louis Quinze. It uses scrolled and shaped panel-heads, floriated mouldings and the baroque scroll. It was not influenced by the somewhat puristic feeling introduced by François Baillairgé but rather stems from the work of Liébert.

The work of the Quevillon associates shows the influence of the contemporary Empire school of France, the "School of Percier". This is evident in the vaults where we find the radiating fan form and the use of thin groin lines, along with very small and delicate arabesque forms both in the panelling and in the orders. This influence must have come from books, for, so far as we know, none of the associates ever visited Europe. It is quite in contrast with such work as that of Brien at Pointe aux Trembles, the Finsterers at L'Acadie or Turcault at Ste. Jeanne, here is "juicy" rococo work, unlike anything else in the province.

Quevillon work, if we may give it that name for convenience, is easily recognized. One of the most complete examples is the church of St. Mathias near Chambly. This church was built about 1785, in which year payments to a contractor, Masson de Chateaufort, occur in the accounts.⁹ In 1796 Quevillon receives 1,200 livres and thereafter payments for decoration occur frequently until 1833. The tabernacle was made in 1809. In 1822 payments were made to Rollin, and to St. James and Paul Rollin, "entrepreneurs des decorations de l'église". Thereafter almost every year payments are noted to Rollin or "aux entrepreneurs". We are told that, after 1817, Pépin and Rollin were in partnership. Yet here, from 1822 to 1833 St. James and Rollin are in association. These partnerships were loose, easily entered into and easily abandoned. As a modern business man, to whom I had mentioned it, remarked, "no capital was involved", an unconscious sarcasm on modern partnerships as he knew them.

The church is a good example of a late eighteenth century parish church, built of field stones, with a high roof and short transepts. Over the simple west gable is a graceful flèche of two storeys. The interior is the work of St. James and Rollin and seems to have remained practically unchanged. At the west end is a double gallery resting on ionic columns. The panels of the gallery fronts have geometrical arabesques, recalling the iron balcony designs of Louis Quinze. The moulding is delicate and "correct". The segmental wood vault over the nave has thin wood ribs following the lines of a groined vault. From the crossing eastwards the vault is covered with small diamond patterns filled with rosettes, and over the altar, in the apse is a radiating fan pattern. In the centre of the crossing is a little octagon ribbed dome; at each side of the sanctuary are oval medallions of figure subjects in low relief and painted. The vault rests upon a delicate cornice with a frieze of swags.

⁹ St. Mathias, *Livre de Comptes*, 1780, fo. 15a. Note referring to 1785.

The vault should be compared with the very splendid vault of Sault au Récollet, with the simpler vault of St. Roch de l'Achigan by Pépin, or with the vault of Berthier by Gauthier and Milette, two pupils of Quevillon. They all follow the same main pattern and it is an "Empire" pattern, different from the broad rib patterns which were used by Baillairgé and Paquet.

Returning to St. Mathias, the rétable is confined to a composition of the corinthian order behind the altar. The walls of the sanctuary on each side are plastered, with a panelled dado and, facing each other across the sanctuary, two seats with columns and arched canopies. That on the north side is the Bishop's seat and is usually decorated on the back with his coat-of-arms and hat. The two side altars are placed in canopies formed of two composite columns supporting a pediment.

The high altar is brought forward sufficiently to allow of a door to the sacristy in the rétable behind it. The rétable has doubled corinthian columns with enriched bases and a spiral wreathing of olive leaves. The entablature is broken, the cornice alone being carried over as an arch.

The panels between the columns are filled with delicate arabesques. The arch has a cresting of cornucopiae acanthus scrolls and fire-pots. These cornucopiae are a usual motive in churches of the Montreal school, we see them in Sault au Récollet, L'Acadie and l'Achigan, and when, as at Beaumont, we find them in a Quebec church, we can safely suppose a Montreal-trained sculptor.

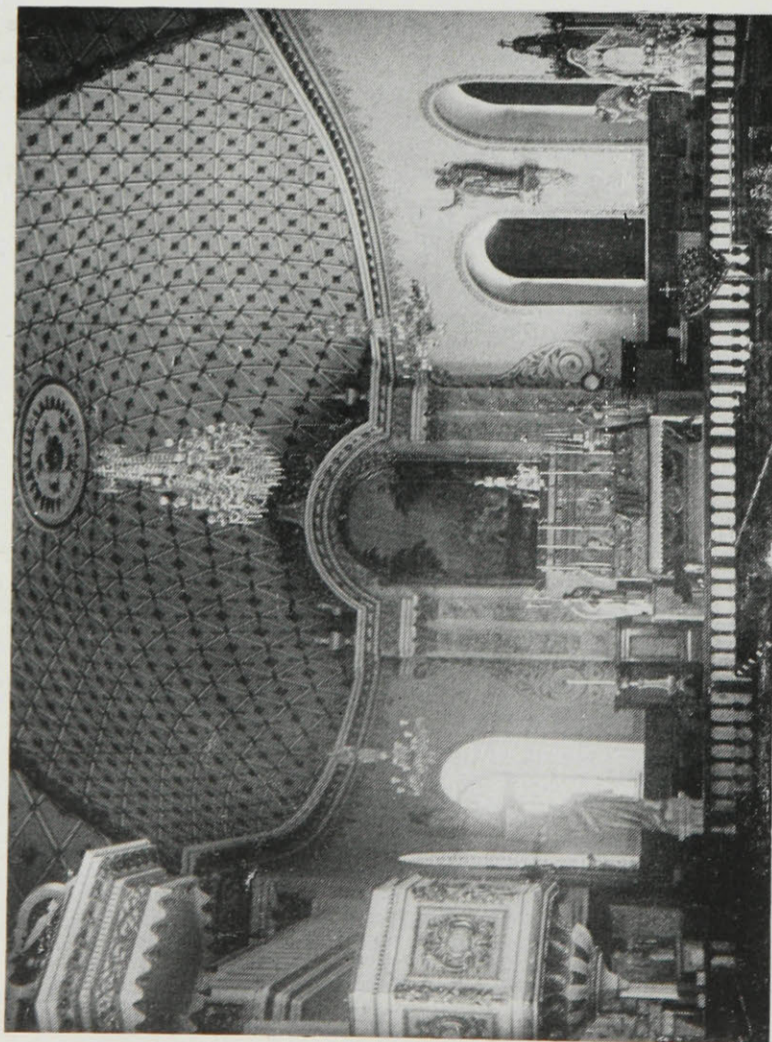
The two side altars at St. Mathias are quite recent and quite uninteresting but the high altar is a typical Quevillon design. The table is console, "à la romaine" with a rococo enrichment of scrolls and wreaths. These altar tables seem to have been a standard product of the Quevillon workshops; we meet them, with only slight variations in church after church. It would seem that even where the rétable and other decorations were being put in by a local sculptor, as at L'Acadie, the altars, table and tabernacle were obtained from one of the Quevillon firms.

The tabernacle has side arched niches and a high central shrine covered by a truss canopy. The design is a modification of Liébert's at Sault au Récollet and is evidently part of the old Montreal tradition. The side panelling of the sanctuary has an ionic pilaster order with a frieze enriched with the swag motive usual in this school.

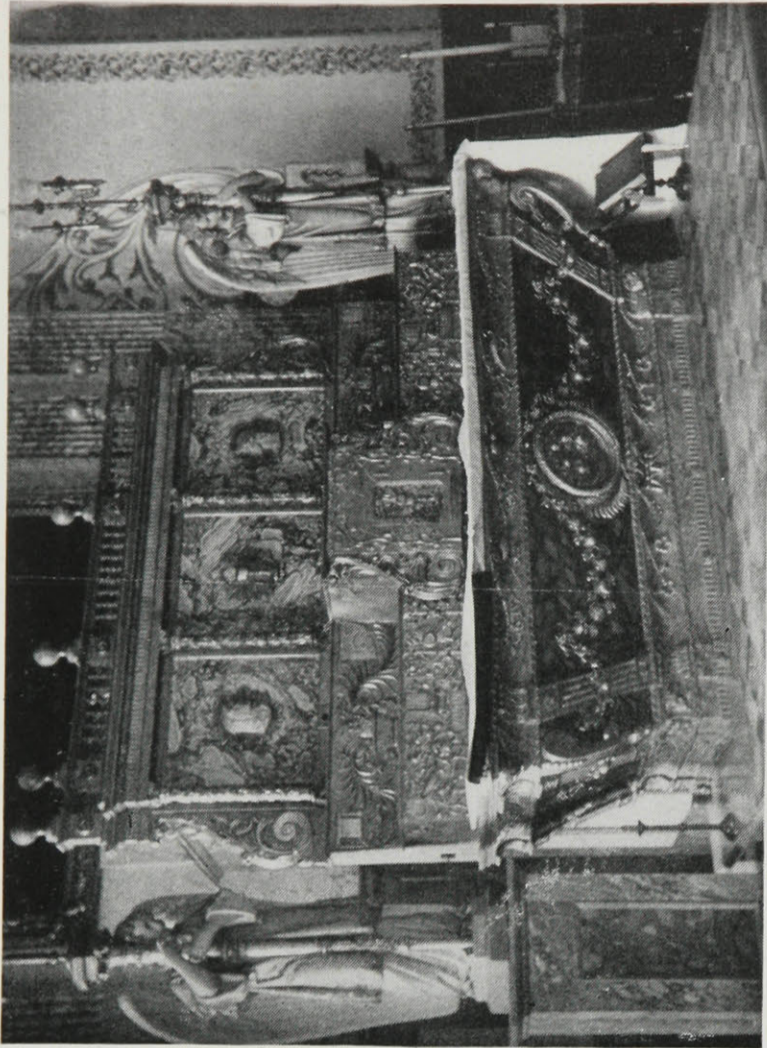
The church of St. Roch de l'Achigan was built about 1795 and was decorated by Pépin between 1808 and 1832.¹⁰ It has not been materially altered. The general scheme is that of St. Mathias, the rétable is confined to an arch, on doubled corinthian pilasters, behind the altar. The sides of the sanctuary have a panelled dado and two ceremonial seats, the vault is in small diamond panels. The panels of the pedestals in the rétable are carved with plant forms in low relief, springing from a vase or a mound in the base of the panel. The stems are, in some, treated naturalistically, in others, form interlacing patterns, but the emphasis in all is upon the wandering interlacing, loosely drawn stems. The leaves or flowers are relatively unimportant. The effect is interesting. If it were not so

¹⁰ St. Roch, *Livre de Comptes*, commenced in 1795, I, 1808, f. 8b, II to 1831. Payments to M. Pépin for pulpit, banc d'oeuvre and rétable.

PLATE CXLIV
ST. ROCH DE LACHIGAN



Interior



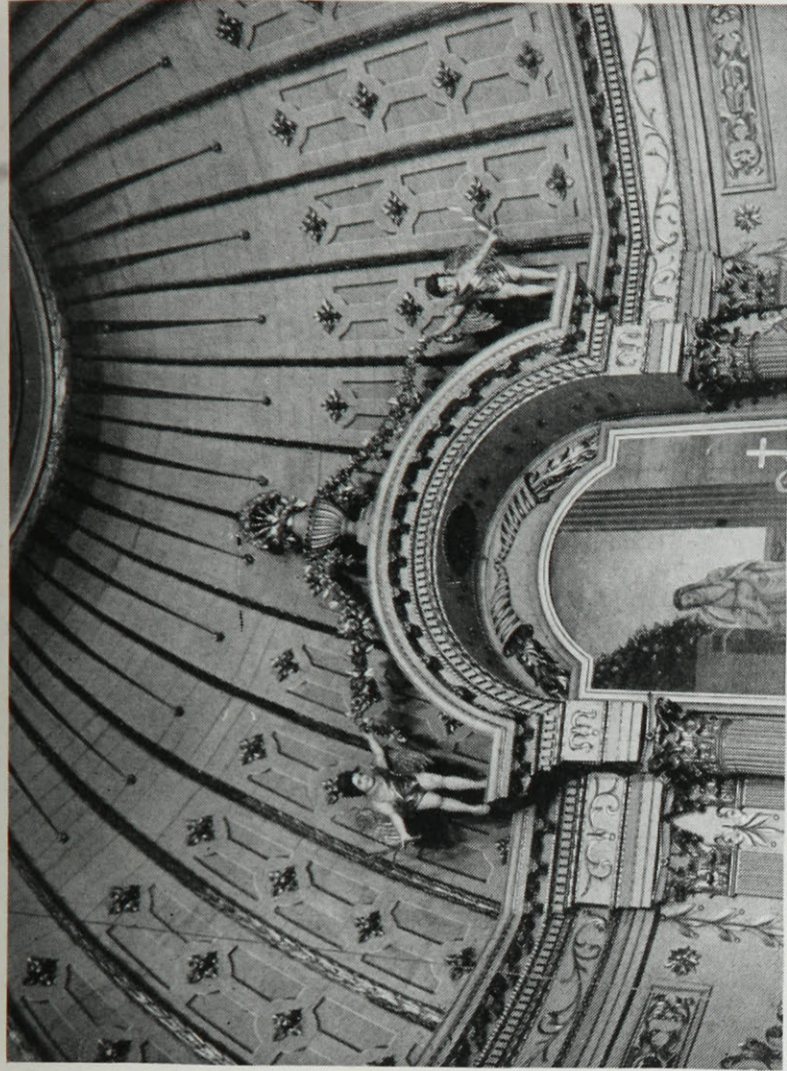
The Altar



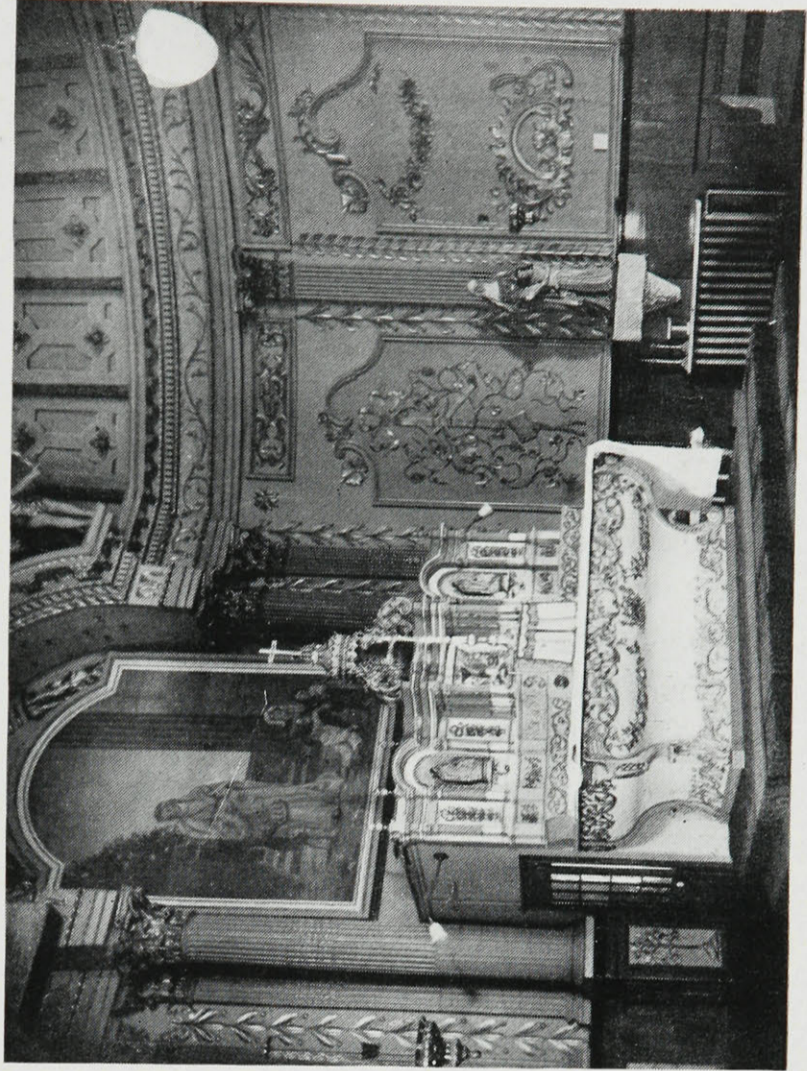
Details of Pedestals



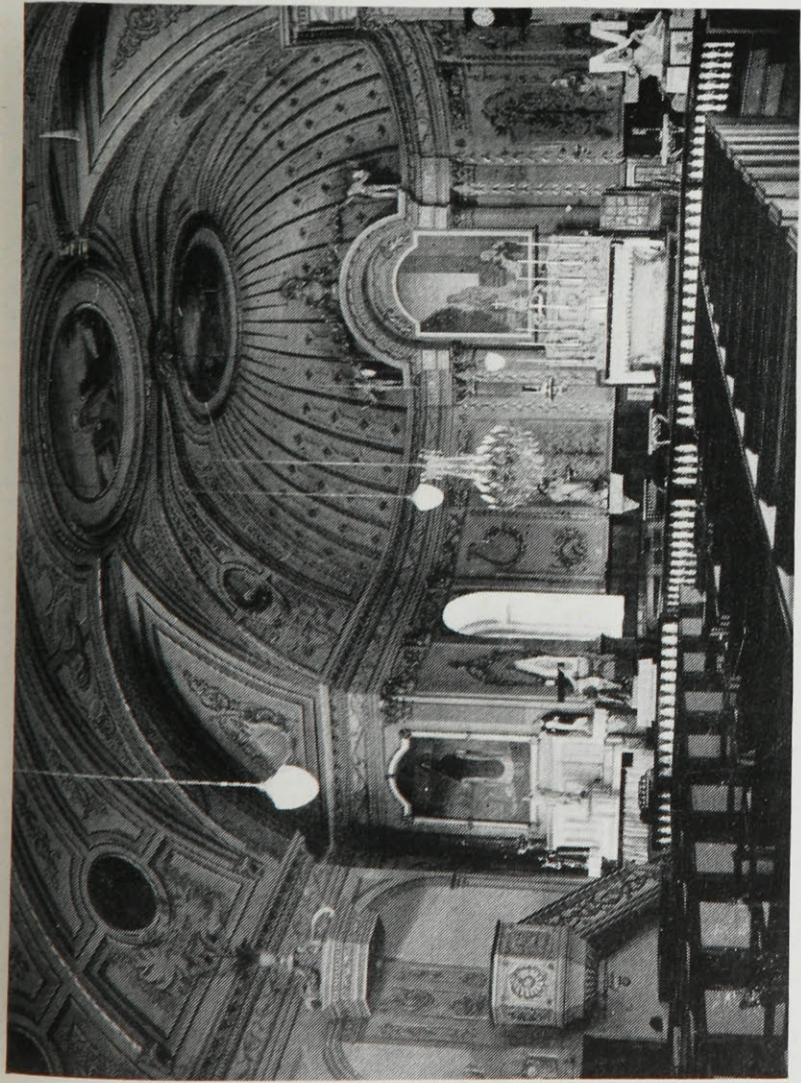
Carving on the Grades



Central Arch of Rétable



Altar and Rétable



Interior



Detail of Pedestals

manifestly impossible these panels might have been inspired by some of the designs of William Morris, or Walter Crane, of fifty years later.

We have already seen the decorative use of interlacing branches in the olive trees on Bishop Briand's altar-piece in the Seminary. Interlace forms are constantly used by the Montreal sculptors; there are charming interlaces at Ste. Jeanne on the Ile Perrot, and an altar-table at Beaumont by Etienne Bercier, about 1820 shows the joy which the designer evidently took in intertwining his lines.

The panelled dado in St. Roch has doric pilasters with panels having shaped and scrolled heads. The state seats have high carved backs with Louis Quinze carved panels, still a living tradition in 1820.

The rétable is at present crowned with a scroll cresting with pots on the pilasters. In the sacristy are two rather heavily carved angel figures each with one hand raised as if to support something. There can be no doubt that these originally stood over the pilasters and held up a wreath or scroll as part of the cresting. The complete cresting scheme, as we find it at L'Acadie, is a central cartouche, or pot, flanked by cornucopiae and with flower wreaths or scrolls supported by angel figures over the columns. L'Acadie still has its angels, holding beautifully carved wreaths, and the cornucopiae are placed in the spandrils under the arch.

The side altars of St. Roch are of standard Quevillon design. Above the custode is an open niche covered by a dome, the sides are panelled, with truss ends, and a light corinthian order with wreathed columns. The panels have scroll frames and are filled with loose foliage, in the centre a vine, at the sides roses. All through the Montreal work of the early nineteenth century we find this loose foliage. In Quebec it occurs only rarely, as in the Briand chapel, and not at all in earlier work. At Beaumont, where it is used in the panels, the entire scheme follows the Montreal type.

The high altar is of unusual design. The table has straight sides, expanding outwards with a central medallion, trusses and flower wreaths. On the base is the Sulpician monogram flanked by the keys of St. Peter. The grades of the tabernacle are very high and are carved with ecclesiastical emblems of all kinds, a Paschal Lamb, cross, monstrance, ciborium, cope, candlesticks, a basket of grapes, all instead of the usual acanthus scrolls. The upper part is divided into three square panels by small corinthian columns. On each side are low relief heads, a veiled female head and a Roman emperor, in the centre a chalice. There is no canopy.

At Verchères the high altar has similar straight sides, the carving of the grades is similar to that of the St. Roch grades, there is no canopied niche. This work is by Quevillon between 1800 and 1823,¹¹ though the upper part looks more recent.

The source of the St. Roch altar is unmistakably Italian renaissance, in marble, of the later fifteenth century. The design must have been suggested by some engraving, but the carving is of French Quebec. One would like very much to know what kind of a library M. Pépin had access to. Both here, and in the design of the vaults we seem to meet with literary influence.

¹¹ Verchères, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. 1800-59, fo. 1b, f. 19a.

During the early nineteenth century the western part of the province was rapidly increasing in prosperity and this was accompanied by great building activity. New churches were being built and old ones refurbished. The Quevillon associates were most prominent in this, but they were not alone. Quevillon did not originate what we have called the "Montreal School" nor were he and his associates its only representatives. We know of a number of most excellent carvers who had, so far as we can find out, no direct connection with Quevillon and some of Quevillon's pupils did work whose inspiration is hardly to be found in the work of their master.

At L'Acadie, in the church so magnificently named "Ste. Marguerite de l'Ecosse de Blairfindie de L'Acadie" the Finsterers, Jean Georges and his son Louis Daniel, carried out the decorative work between 1801 and 1822.¹²

The central part of the rétable, behind the altar, is of the type already described at St. Mathias, corinthian columns supporting an arched cornice with a cresting. The rétable panelling is however carried with a pilaster order round the entire sanctuary and into the transepts. Between the pilasters are large panels with boldly floriated heads. Two have ecclesiastical trophies in a tangle of vine, two have flower swags and a rocaille cartouche. The dado is modern, but the pedestals of the pilasters, where they remain, have curious conventional trees, growing from a mound in the base, like those at St. Roch. The side altars have pictures, but no canopies. The side seats have rococo panels above them, showing the bishop's mitre, but no columns or canopies.

The work is of the school, yet quite individual, with a stronger and more baroque feeling than we find in Quevillon work. The high altar, and its tabernacle, are however so thoroughly Quevillon that one suspects that Jean Georges Finsterer simply bought them from stock.¹³ L'Acadie invites comparison with St. Etienne de Beaumont, an old church on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, some fifteen miles below Quebec. St. Etienne was redecorated between 1810 and 1820 by Etienne Bercier, a parishioner and an excellent carver.¹⁴

In general composition the rétable is similar to L'Acadie. The central bay is very simple, with only single pilasters in place of the usual double pilasters or columns. The cresting is very fine, with great cornucopiae from which flow a rich tangle of vine branches. The large panels of the rétable have shaped heads and are filled with trophies in a tangle of vine and leaf stems. The pedestals to the pilasters are carved with trees. There are two sanctuary seats with arched canopies and crestings.

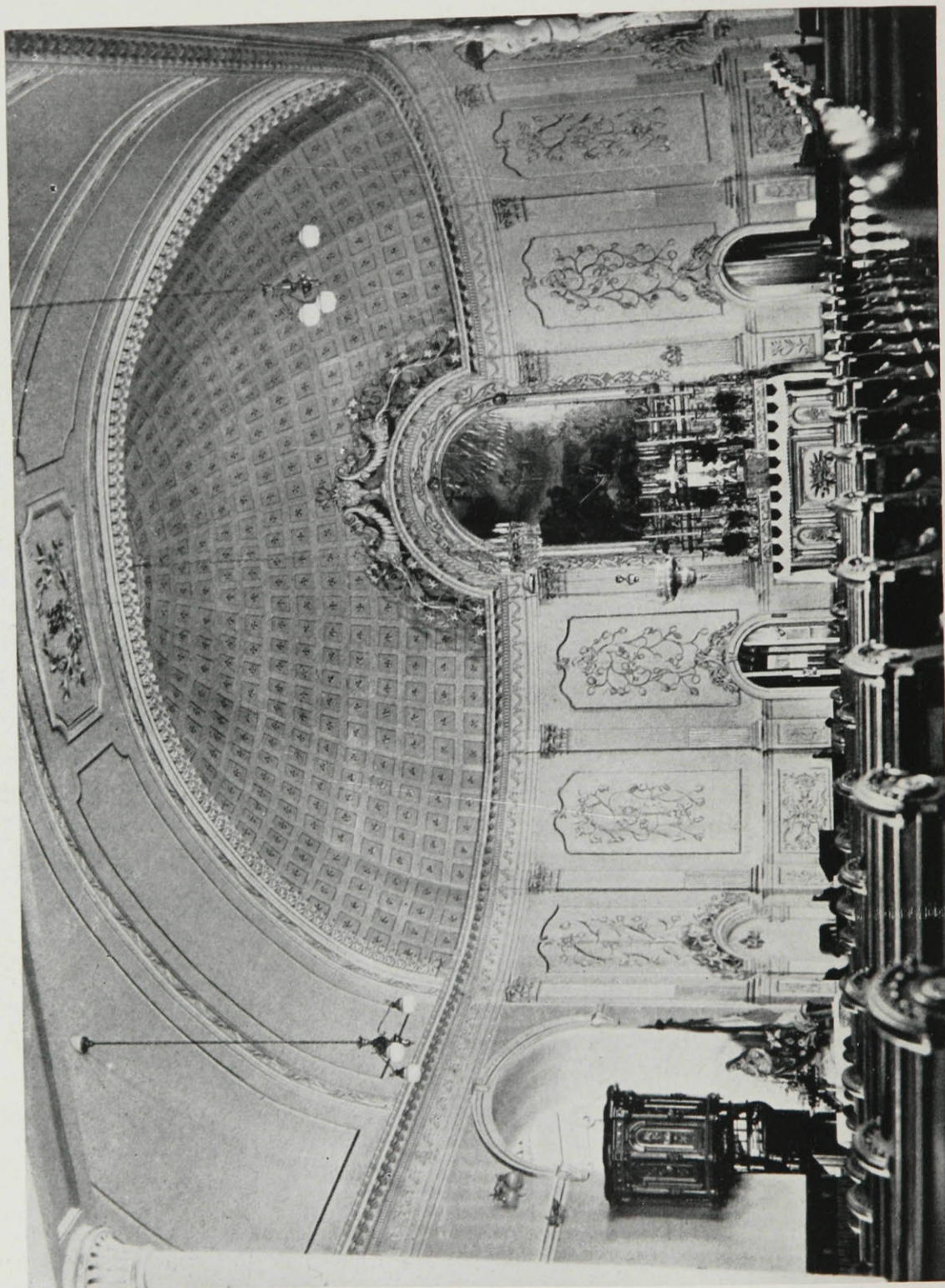
The original altar, now in the boundary chapel, has already been mentioned. It has, at the top, a very fine interlace, and, in the lower part, another very interesting interlace, apparently of olive though there is little in the way of leaves or fruit to confirm this. It is an exceptionally beautiful altar-table. This rétable and altar, though in a church of the eastern, Quebec, district, is clearly a western,

¹² L'Acadie, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. I, 1801, p. 70 et seq. See Adair and Wardleworth, *The Parish and Church of L'Acadie* in Report of Canadian Historical Association for 1933.

¹³ L'Acadie, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. I, pp. 74, 75, 78. "Fistree" is paid 600 "pour le tabernacle" and 28 li 85 s "pour le transport du tabernacle"

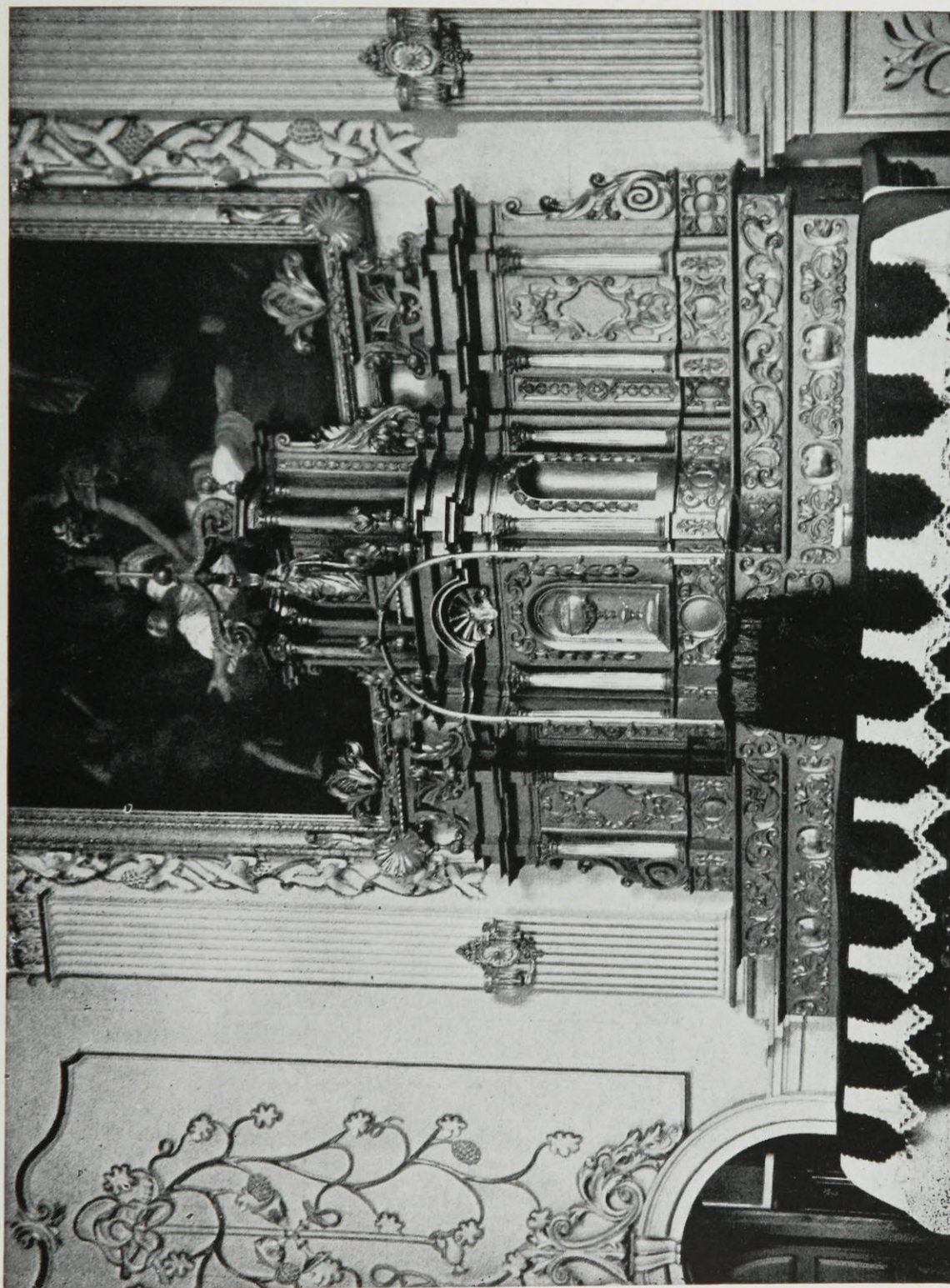
¹⁴ Beaumont, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. II, 1810 to 1820.

PLATE CXLVI
ST. ETIENNE DE BEAUMONT



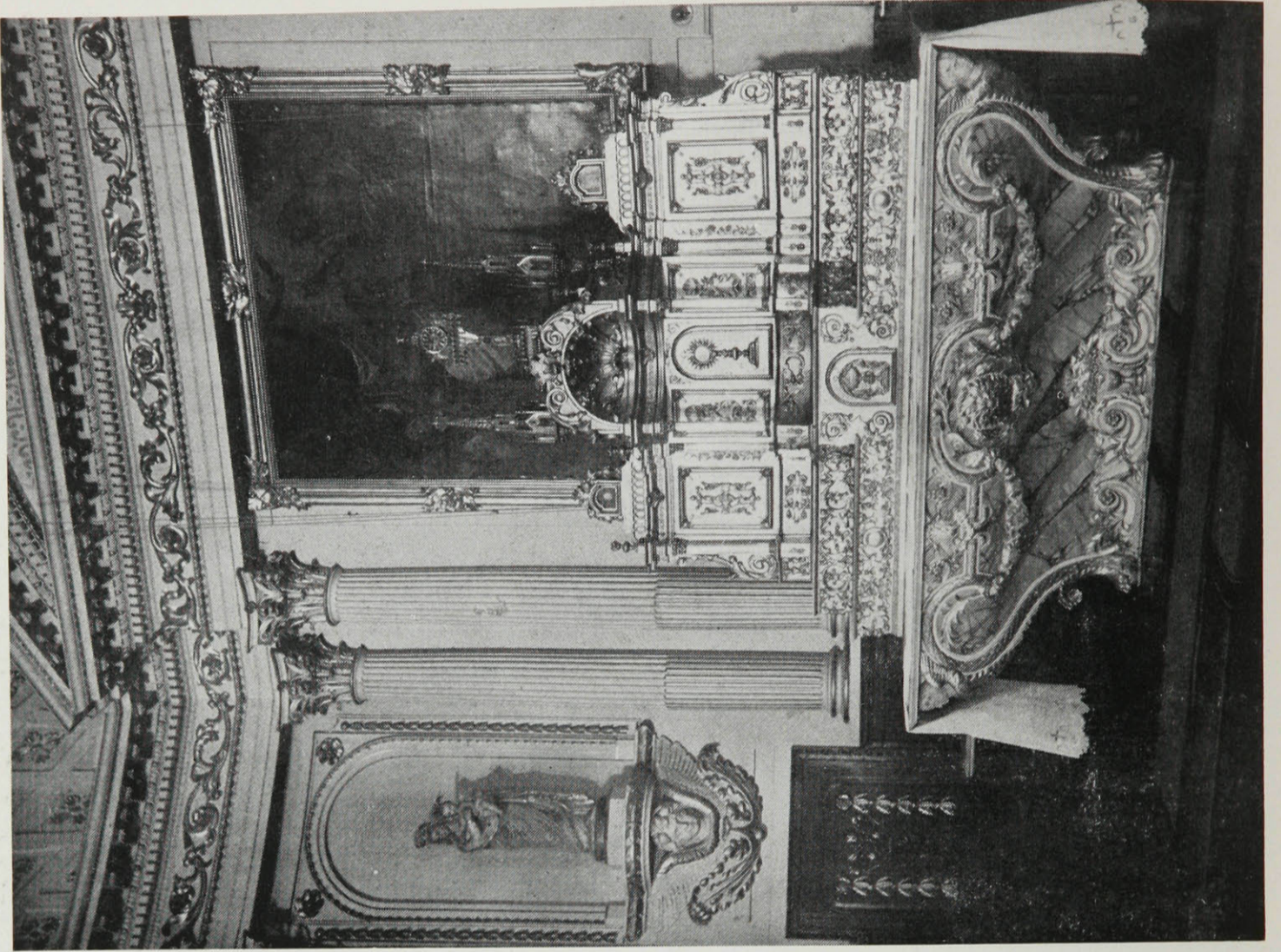
The Interior

PLATE CXLVII
ST. ETIENNE DE BEAUMONT

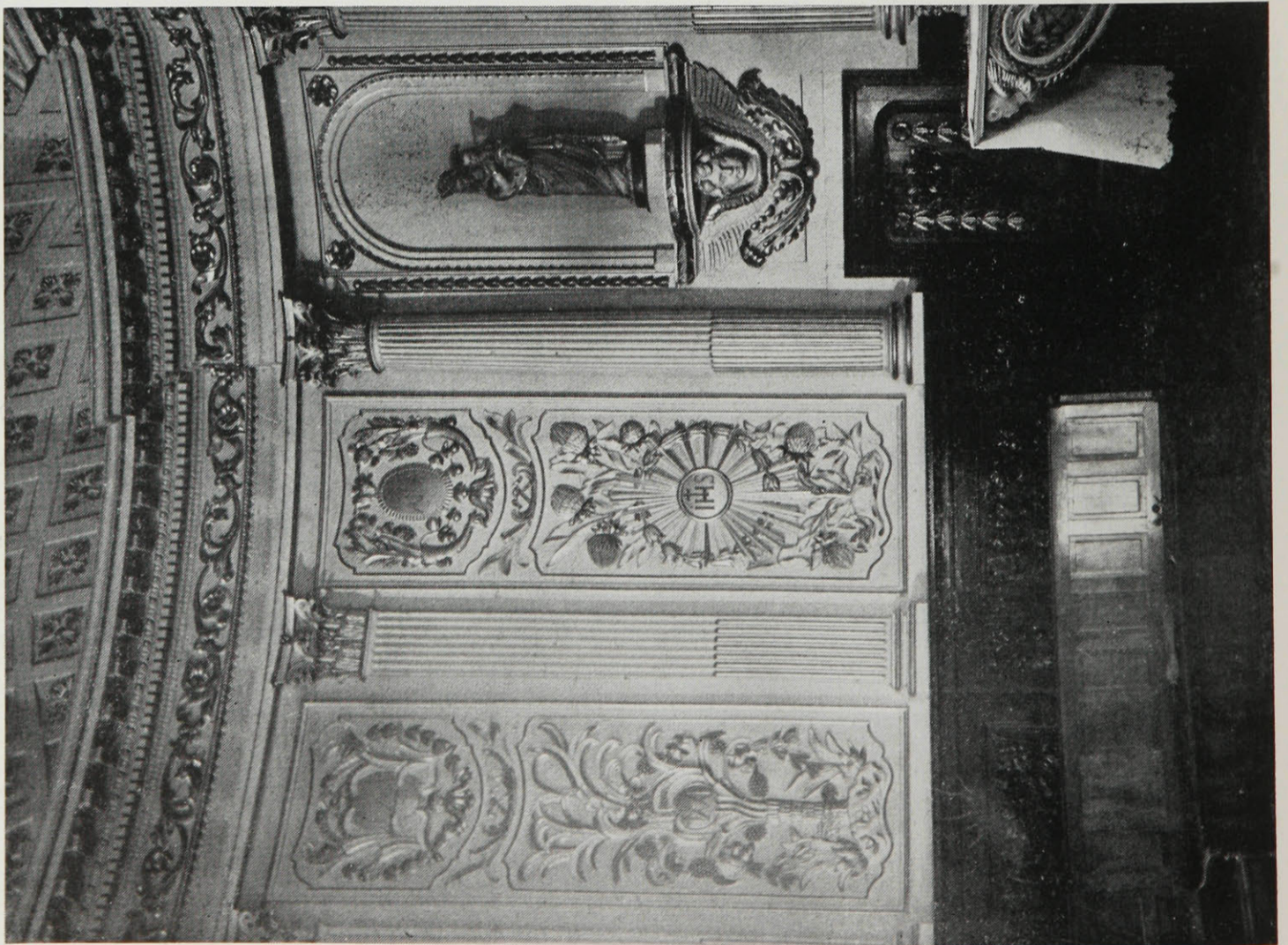


The High Altar

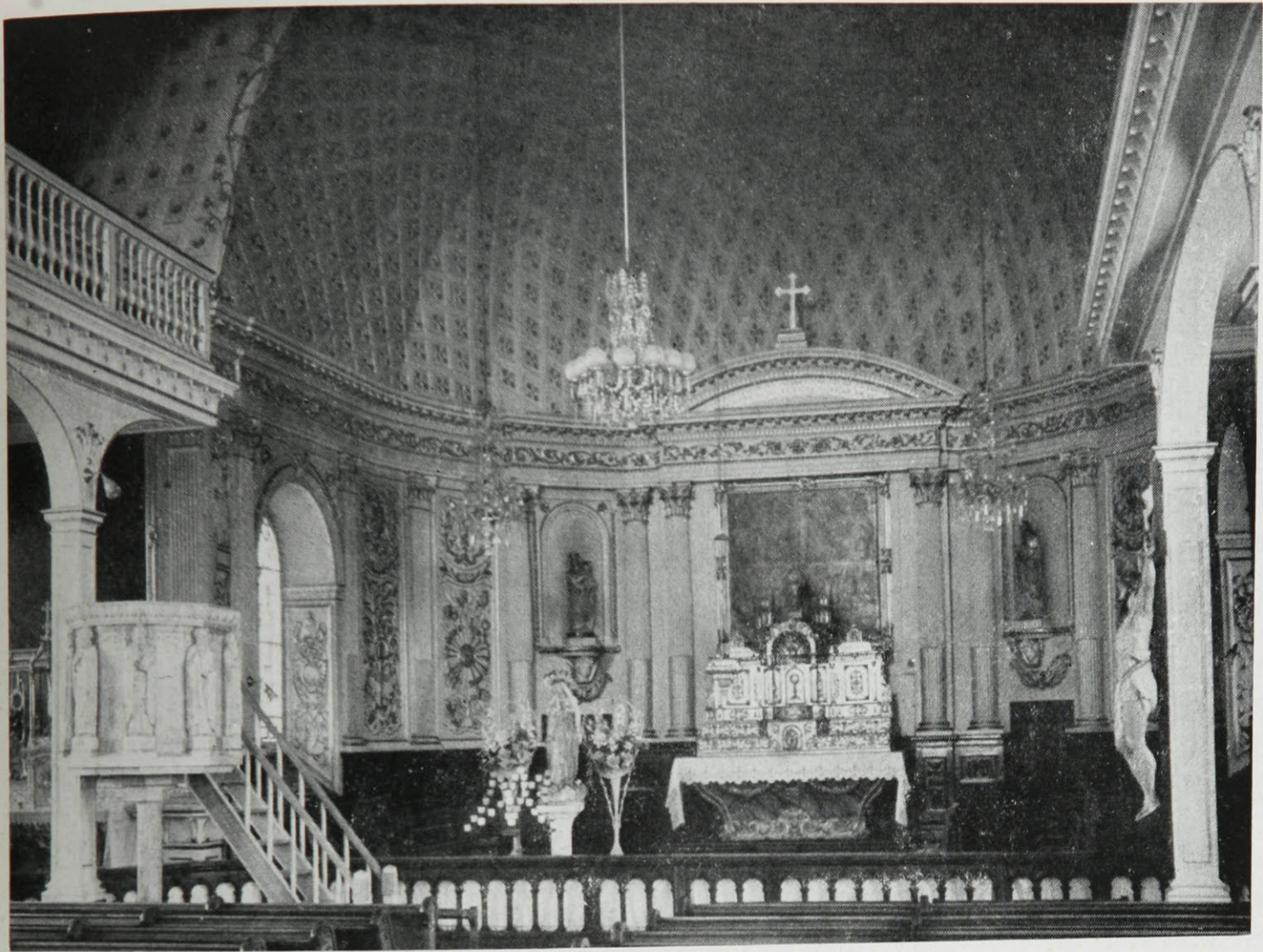
PLATE CXLVIII
ST. JEAN PORT JOLI



The High Altar



The Rétable

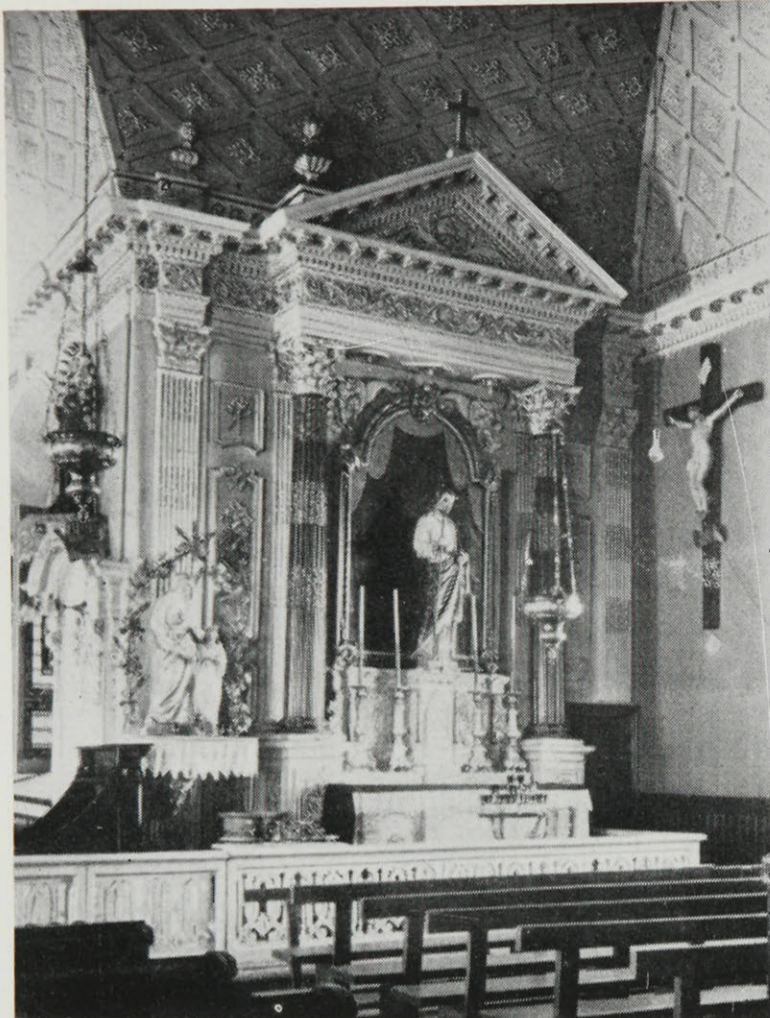


St. Jean Port Joli, Interior



Pointe aux Trembles, Interior. Burnt, 1937

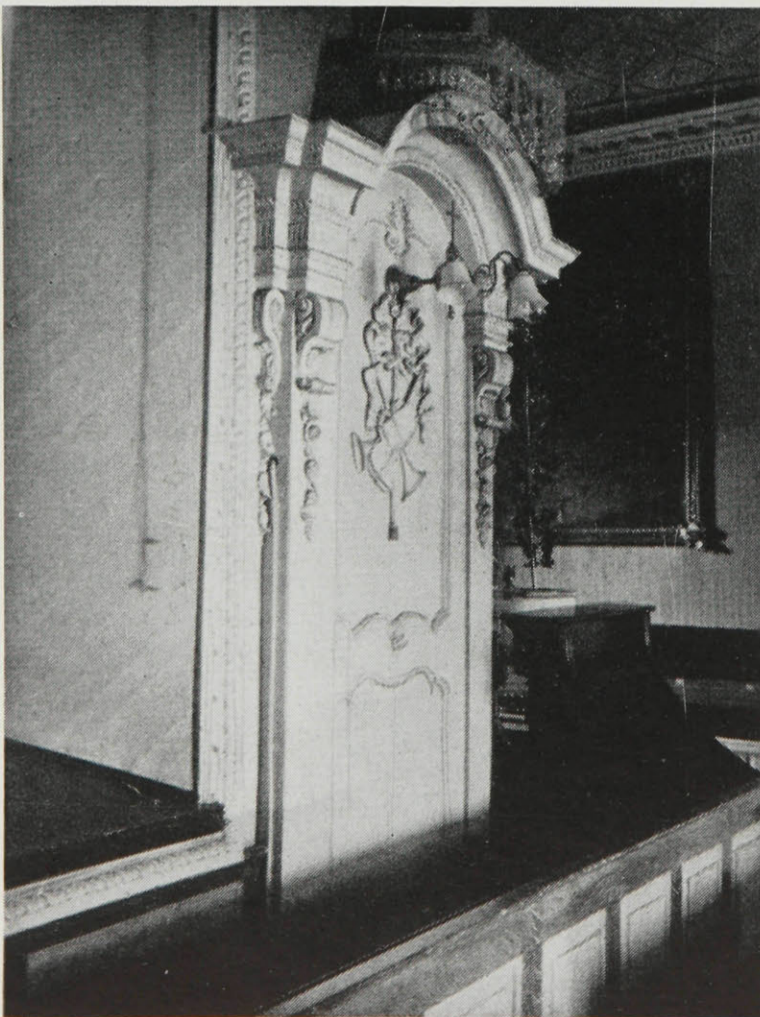
PLATE CL
POINTE AUX TREMBLES, MONTREAL
DETAILS OF THE OLD CHURCH



Side Altar



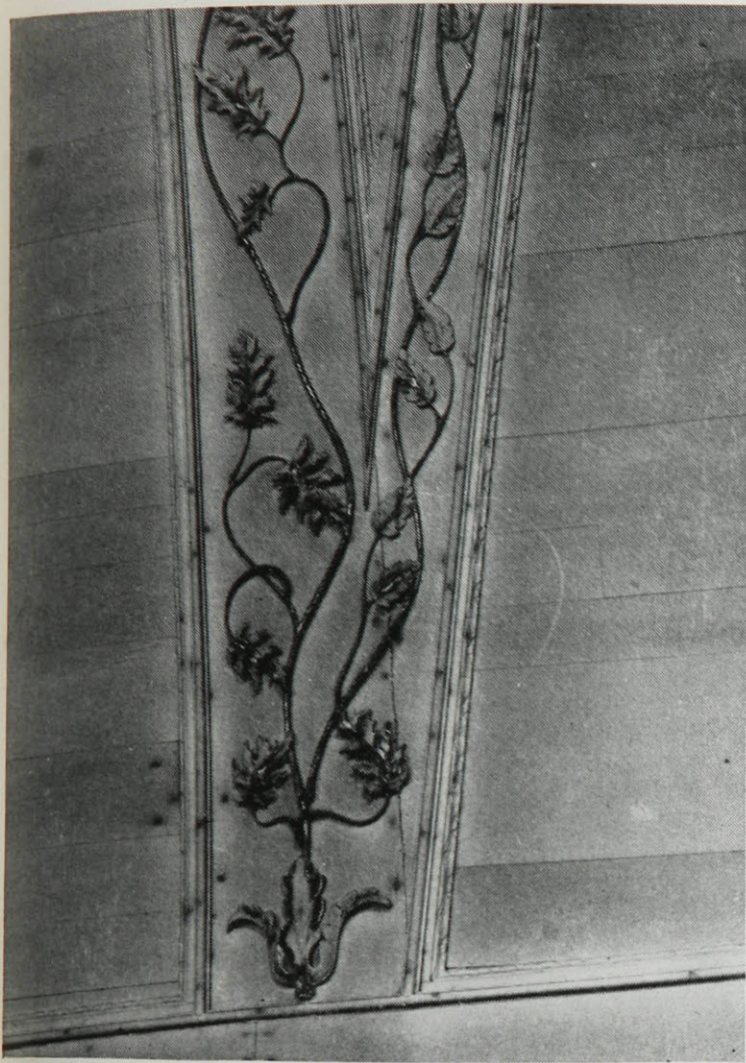
Part of the Rétable



Caropy in the Sanctuary



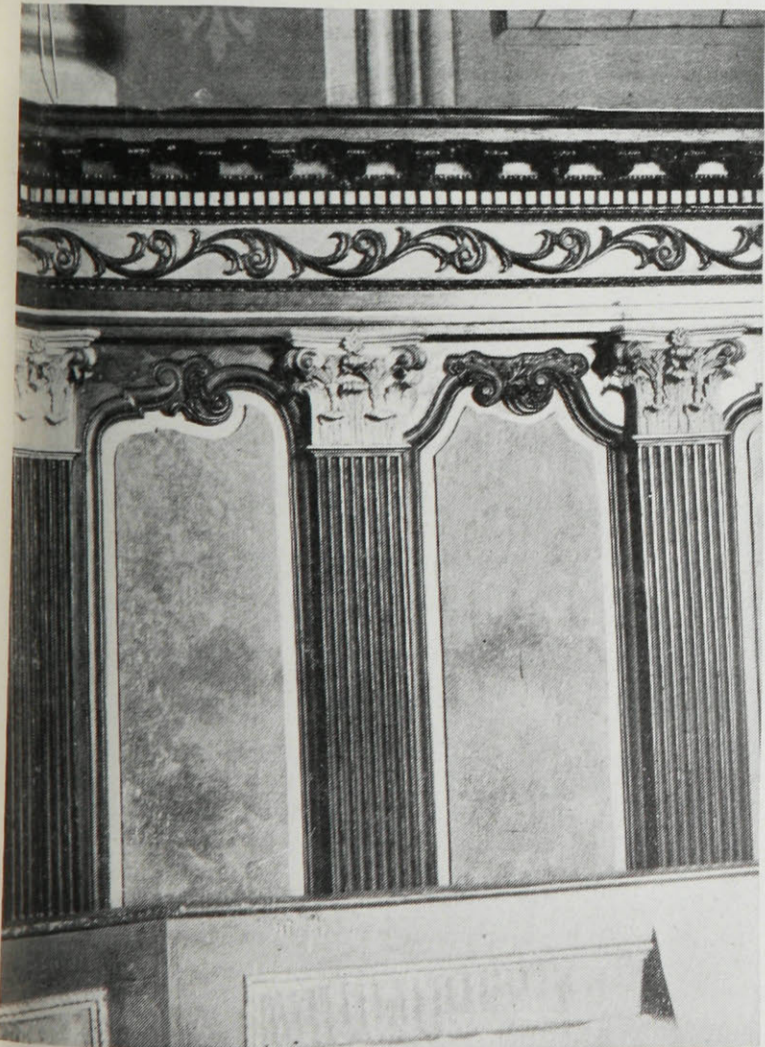
Detail of a Side Altar



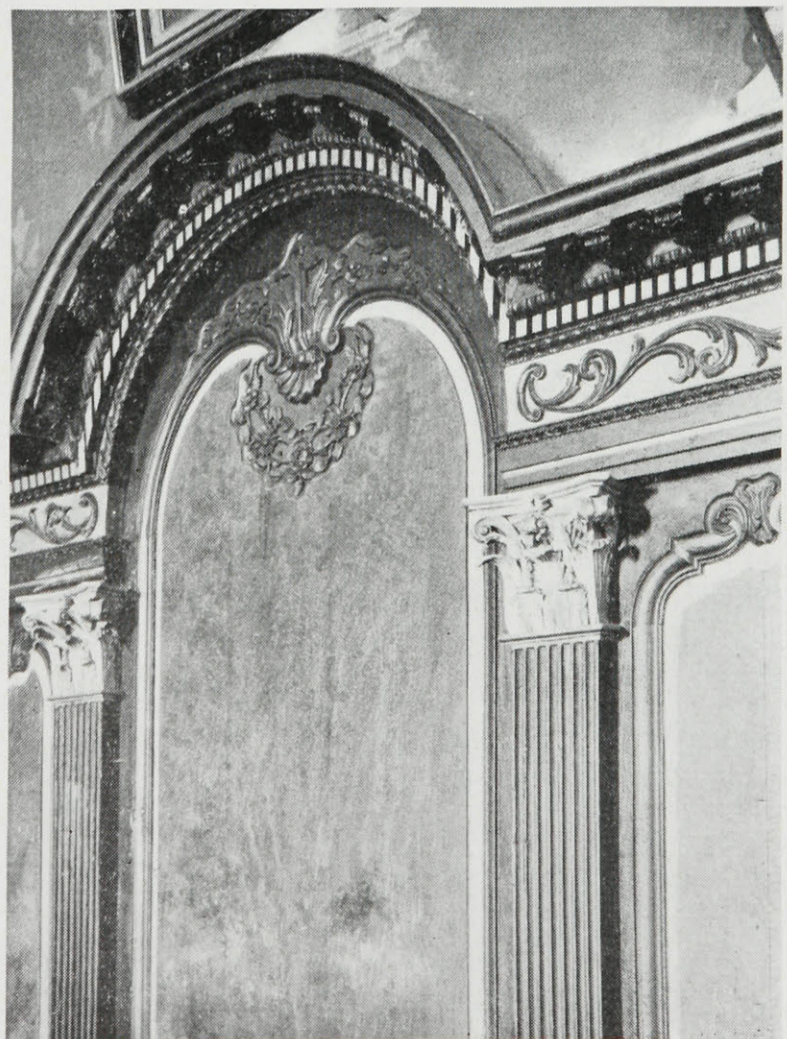
Sault au Récollet. Detail from the Vault



St. Roch. Sanctuary Panelling



Vaudreuil. Panelling in the Sanctuary



Vaudreuil. Canopy in the Sanctuary

Montreal, design. We do not know where Bercier was trained, we do not even know his age, we know him only by this one, fine work.

Now, further down the St. Lawrence, in the church of St. Jean Port Joli, Jean and Florent Baillairgé had made a rétable in 1797. Nineteen years later, in 1816, the parishioners put in a new vault and this was followed by extensive works of "sculpture, architecture, painting, gilding and others" which continued for twenty-two years. The exact work is nowhere specified. It was done by Chrysostome Perrault, sculptor, of the parish of St. Jean Port Joli. Perrault was very closely associated with Amable Charron, an old pupil of Quevillon, who is described as a "merchant living in the Parish of St. Jean Port Joly".¹⁵

The general scheme of the existing rétable is quite in the Baillairgé manner, and it is hardly to be supposed that the Baillairgé rétable could have entirely perished in nineteen years. But the carved infillings of the panels are quite unlike anything Baillairgé ever cut. Instead of graceful cartouches, wreaths and flower-baskets we have heavy rich infillings of palms, cartouches and strange flowers set in Louis Quinze shaped panels.

The new vault is undoubtedly Perrault's work.¹⁶ It is of small diamond panels with rosettes. Over the crossing is a low relief bust of Our Lord in Glory. Like the Ste. Famille vault, this is a Montreal design. The panel infillings have an interesting resemblance to the work of Urbain Brien at Pointe aux Trembles, Montreal, in 1822, also a pupil of Quevillon. This work is about six years later than Perrault's work at St. Jean, so there can be no question of copying. But the source is evidently the same. Perrault is nowhere stated to have made a new rétable though, for thirteen years, he was working on the decoration of the church. It seems most probable that the main features of the present rétable, the columns and entablature, are from the old rétable by Jean Baillairgé, but that Perrault carved the panel infillings.

So the Montreal school was making deep inroads into Quebec territory. It is perhaps such work as this that M. Demers, professor of Architecture at the Seminary and a friend of Thomas Baillairgé, condemned when he wrote: "A wall well smoothed (glacée) of a good white, would be better on all counts than these pretended orders columns and pilasters badly arranged and worse executed with which they encumber their interior." He condemns "those vaults divided into little compartments, square or oblong, losenges or hexagons filled in with all imaginable kinds of rosettes, well or badly made" and he refers contemptuously to the "soi-disant architecte, qui ignore même les premiers éléments d'art".¹⁷ In short M. Demers regarded the work of the Montreal school with scorn as the work of ignorant rustics, not to be compared with the polished work of François Baillairgé. We can almost see him fuming at Sault au Récollet or Pointe aux Trembles. Today we do not regard correctness and the rules of Blondel and Vignola as so important and, more clearly than could M. Demers, we can see the vivid, native spirit of Pointe aux Trembles, L'Acadie or Ste. Jeanne on the Ile Perrot. But it is

¹⁵ Archives of St. Jean Port Joli. "Transport par le Sieur Chrysostome Perrault Sculpteur, au Sieur Amable Charron, marchand, 2me expedition, 31 Decembre 1818." Vaillancourt gives Charron as a pupil of Quevillon.

¹⁶ St. Jean Port Joli, *Livre de Comptes*, 1815-16. Includes wood for the vault and taking down the old vault. 1817, includes payments to Perrault for work done by him in the church, £29.

¹⁷ Maurault, O., "Un professeur d'architecture à Québec en 1928". *Journal R. A. I. C.*, Jan.-Feb., 1926.

clear that there was a very definite feud between the schools of Montreal and of Quebec; of Quevillon and of Baillaigé; of the craftsman and of the scholar.

The church of l'Enfant Jésus at Pointe aux Trembles which we have already mentioned, was one of the oldest on the Island of Montreal. Founded in 1674 it passed, not without alteration, through many vicissitudes until, in 1937, it was burnt to the ground.¹⁸ Fortunately it had been carefully photographed, both inside and out. The interior had been decorated between 1818 and 1828 by Urbain Brien, dit Desrochers, and his rétable was lost in the fire.

The church had a square east end. In this Brien made a rétable in two storeys, corinthian below and a smaller composite above. In the centre was a large open bay which contained the altar picture. Above, in the gable of the roof was a cartouche with the Sacred Monogram I. H. S. and a small ionic order. The panels between the lower columns were filled with carving, Church emblems, palms and the like, set in a broad moulding, curved and scrolled. The side altars had enriched corinthian columns with a full entablature and pediment. The tabernacles were of the Quevillon type, but the ornament was richer, and wilder. The high altar was modern and uninteresting.

The rococo scroll was freely used. The work was rich, florid and a little clumsy in places. It merited all M. Demers' condemnations. The orders were wrongly superimposed and wrongly proportioned. They had an ionic at the top and got smaller as they went up. But the work was alive.

Brien also worked at St. Denis sur Richelieu where he is named "Maître-architecte" and paid \$3,536 in 1813 for unnamed work. The church has been completely renovated and destroyed. The photograph of the pulpit shows the same florid tendency which we noticed in Pointe aux Trembles and the woodwork in the background suggests that he used a superimposed order there also.

Verchères has a rétable by Quevillon, evidently part of the work done by him between 1800 and 1823.¹⁹ The church has a square end and the rétable design is simply that of St. Mathias adapted to the square form with two side doors. The columns are very nicely carved with rose garlands and a twine of vine foliage. The panelling and altar in the sacristy have already been mentioned. They are one of the best works of this kind in the province.

The church of Ste. Jeanne de Chantal stands on the southern shore of Ile Perrot. It was built in 1786 but has been much, and unfortunately, remodelled outside. Inside it preserves the carved decorations put in between 1812 and 1819 by Joseph Turcault, a sculptor of whom we at present know nothing beyond his work here.²⁰

The church is very low; the height to the top of the cornice is only about sixteen feet as compared with the usual eighteen or twenty. It has a square sanctuary with a door on each side of the high altar. The rétable follows the accepted lines. The wall is divided into bays by a corinthian pilaster order; between the

¹⁸ Adair, E. R., *The Church of l'Enfant Jésus, Pointe aux Trembles*, B. R. H., Juillet, 1936, Vol. XLII, p. 411.

¹⁹ Verchères, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. 1800 to 1859. Payments to Louis Quevillon for tabernacle, altars, vault and "ouvrages en bois" from 1800 to 1823.

²⁰ Ste. Jeanne, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 49, 53, 55, 57, 63, 64.

pilasters are panels of low relief carving. On each side are the usual ceremonial seats with ionic pilasters and little arched canopies. The treatment is unusual. The pilasters stand on a high double pedestal course some six feet high. The panels are rectangular and the low relief lilies, vine and oak with which they are filled, are of exceptional quality, in design and in execution. Above the doors are oval medallions hung with ribbons and framed in rose and carnation sprays. In the spandrils on each side of the central arch are cornucopiae gushing out an interlace of stems and foliage.

The vault is quite plain. At the crossing the groin lines have bold acanthus scrolls. In the centre is a hexagonal panel with a large rosette, on the panel moulding are oblong bosses, vine, apples and other fruits and flowers delightfully carved and designed. The work throughout is very individual and the work of an artist. The three altars are by Quevillon. Turcault probably bought them from St. Vincent de Paul.

We have already considered the sanctuary doors at Sault au Récollet. The general interior decoration deserves further notice. The vault and rétable are the work of David Fleury David, "sculpteur et maître chantre" and a native of the parish. He may have been related to the Louis Bazil David whom we have met at Ste. Famille and at St. Jean on the Island of Orleans. David's work here took fifteen years to complete, from 1816 to 1830. By 1820 he had completed the delicately carved vault and he then received a new contract for the rétable, font, banc d'oeuvre and other works.²¹ He received in all, 46,000 livres. The vault is elliptical, forty-three feet broad and a hundred and nineteen long. It is divided into seven bays which are alternately plain and divided by diagonal ribs crossing at the apex. In the spaces are delicately carved arabesques. The bay at the east end is filled with small diamond panels and the vault of the square sanctuary has a pattern of diamond and hexagonal panels filled in with well cut and well-designed floral ornaments.

The spandrils of the sanctuary arch have cornucopiae from which flow immense tangles of vine stems. These are the "2 cornes d'abondance fort riches" for which David was paid 8 louis in 1818.²² The carving is very delicate and crisp and the design is full of variety. As was usual it is nailed on to a boarded background. This must be regarded as one of the finest wood ceilings in the province.

The sanctuary is square. It has a large corinthian order with detached columns at the east end bearing a scroll canopy over the high altar. A pilaster order is carried round and across the nave returns against which the two side altars are placed. The tabernacle of the high altar, by Maître Liébert has already been noticed, the side altars are by Quevillon, standard designs both tables and tabernacles, the latter bought in 1802, the tables in 1806. The present pulpit is by Vincent Chartrand in 1836. It shows traces of the Gothic Revival and, though well carved, will not compare with the earlier work. Taken altogether the church of La Visitation de Sault au Récollet is the most magnificent of all the old parish churches of French Canada.

²¹ Sault au Récollet, *Actes de la Fabrique*, Vol. I, fos 12-13b, 18b and Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 13, 17, 18.

²² Sault au Récollet, *Actes de la Fabrique*, Vol. I, fo. 16a.

THE TWO SCHOOLS

We have to be very cautious in setting up "schools" or establishing classifications amongst the wood-sculptors of Quebec. Their work is all French Renaissance; it is all the same school in essentials from the earliest sculptors of the seminary to the last traditions of Jobin in our own day.

We know very little of the earliest Montreal sculptors: Chaboillez was sixty years old in 1701 and came from Champagne in France;²³ Paul Jourdain dit la Brosse was an established master-sculptor and was working at Laprairie in 1707. The brothers Charron had established a school in which carving was taught but their efforts do not seem to have met with much success.

At this time La Tour was teaching in Quebec but it is difficult to say how much influence the seminary school had upon the Montreal carvers. Young Noël Levasseur, who may have attended it, was living in Montreal at the end of the seventeenth century, but he was never prominent there; he more probably came to Montreal to learn the practical side of his profession than to spread the teachings of La Tour.

Paul Jourdain Labrosse founded a family of carvers whose members worked in Montreal throughout the century and who must have trained apprentices. The tabernacle at Longueuil, made probably by Denis Labrosse in 1741, has points of resemblance with the work of Gilles Bolvin, but we really know very little about the work of the Labrosse family.

We can name a few sculptors who were working in Montreal during the eighteenth century. Antoine and Martin Cirier were working at Longue Pointe from 1731 to 1770, Hardy, a sculptor of Yamachiche, worked at Lachenaie in 1770. Belleville was working with Cirier at Pointe aux Trembles between 1754 and 1770, a search of the parochial records would probably yield more names, but they are shadows, their work has vanished and we know as little of it as we do of their influence on the later sculptors.

At some time about the middle of the century Philippe Liébert came to Montreal. He was a born Frenchman and we do not know whether he received his training in Canada or came to Montreal as a fully qualified sculptor. He must have been a very able man for he became the leading sculptor of the Montreal district and carried out a large amount of work, most of which has been lost. But the little which can authentically be assigned to him shows a style which is not that of the Levasseurs. If only we knew more, and larger examples, we should be able to judge better the extent of his influence. Yet the tabernacle at Sault au Récollet is clearly the precursor of the tabernacle by St. James at St. Mathias and the florid rococo of the two sanctuary doors at Sault au Récollet foreshadows the work of Brien at Pointe aux Trembles or the standard altar-tables of Quevillon. The sculptors of the Montreal school, St. James, Pépin, Quevillon, Brien and many others, followed the tradition of Labrosse and Liébert rather than that of Les Vasseurs or François Baillaigé.

So in the second half of the eighteenth century two schools are beginning to

²³ Adair, E. R., *French Canadian Art*, Can. Hist. Ass. Report for 1929, p. 97.

develop, in Quebec and in Montreal, but we hear of no great rivalry or opposition between them until later. In 1781 François Baillaigé had come back from Paris, bringing with him a more correct classic, a more academic style, to improve the old craftsman tradition of the Levasseurs. His son Thomas is said to have introduced the study of architecture into the seminary where the Abbé Demers was appointed professor of architecture. M. Demers acted also as a consultant to parishes which desired to alter their churches. In the "Délibérations de Fabrique" of l'Ange Gardien of 1827 the church wardens approve of a plan by "M. Demers, grand-vicaire et supérieur du Séminaire de Québec" for the lengthening of the church and pass a vote of thanks to the "respectable auteur de cet ouvrage." In 1828 M. Demers wrote a "Précis d'Architecture" which expounded a strict classicism based on Vignola and Blondel. Demers condemned most severely the work of certain self-styled architects who, he says, may have natural abilities but who are untrained and ignorant of the preliminary knowledge necessary for an architect or a sculptor. His description of their work leaves no doubt as to the sculptors whom he criticizes; the vault of Sault au Récollet, the rétables of Pointe aux Trembles and of St. Mathias, these are the objects of his indignation. He acknowledged two sculptors only, the Baillaigés, father and son, they alone are educated scholars with authority behind their work.

By the standards of his day M. Demers was right. Today we think otherwise, we suspect academic perfection and the rule of authority in art, we value traditional craftsmanship and natural ability. But it is quite clear that in the beginning of the nineteenth century there was an opposition between the scholar architects of Quebec and the craftsman sculptors of Montreal.

We find also a tendency for a parish to prefer a local sculptor. The Finsterers at L'Acadie, Bercier at Beaumont, Perrault at St. Jean Port Joli and Fleury David at Sault au Récollet were all parishioners. Yet such local preferences did not necessarily influence the style of the work. Bercier was free to fill St. Etienne with Quevillonages, the parishioners of St. Jean Port Joli first employed the Baillaigés and twenty years later employed Perrault, their own sculptor and a pupil of the Montreal school.

So we are justified in distinguishing two schools in the early nineteenth century. François and Thomas Baillaigé were the scholarly professional architects, even though they were also contractors who maintained a workshop. The Montreal group were craftsmen first and last, trained by the old system of apprenticeship and with no scholarly background. Young men like Thomas Baillaigé or Louis Berlinguet might be sent to St. James or to Quevillon to learn the practical side of their profession. Once passed their apprenticeship, they abandoned the craft of their masters and returned to the profession of their fathers.



Sault au Récollet. Interior



Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot. Interior

E. Gariepy, Montreal

PLATE CLIII
STE. JEANNE DE CHANTAL, ILE PERROT

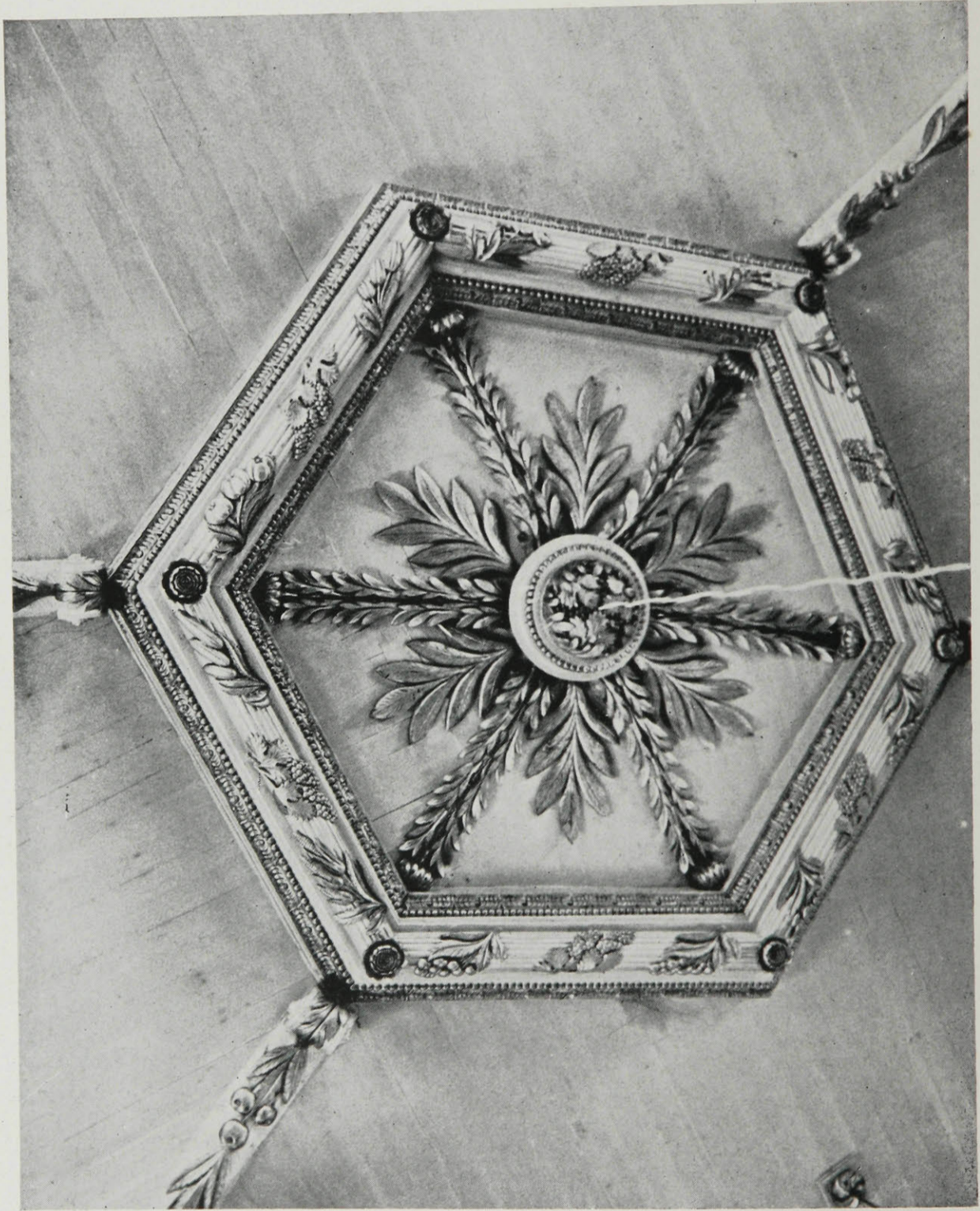


PLATE CLIV
STE. JEANNE DE CHANTAL, ILE PERROT



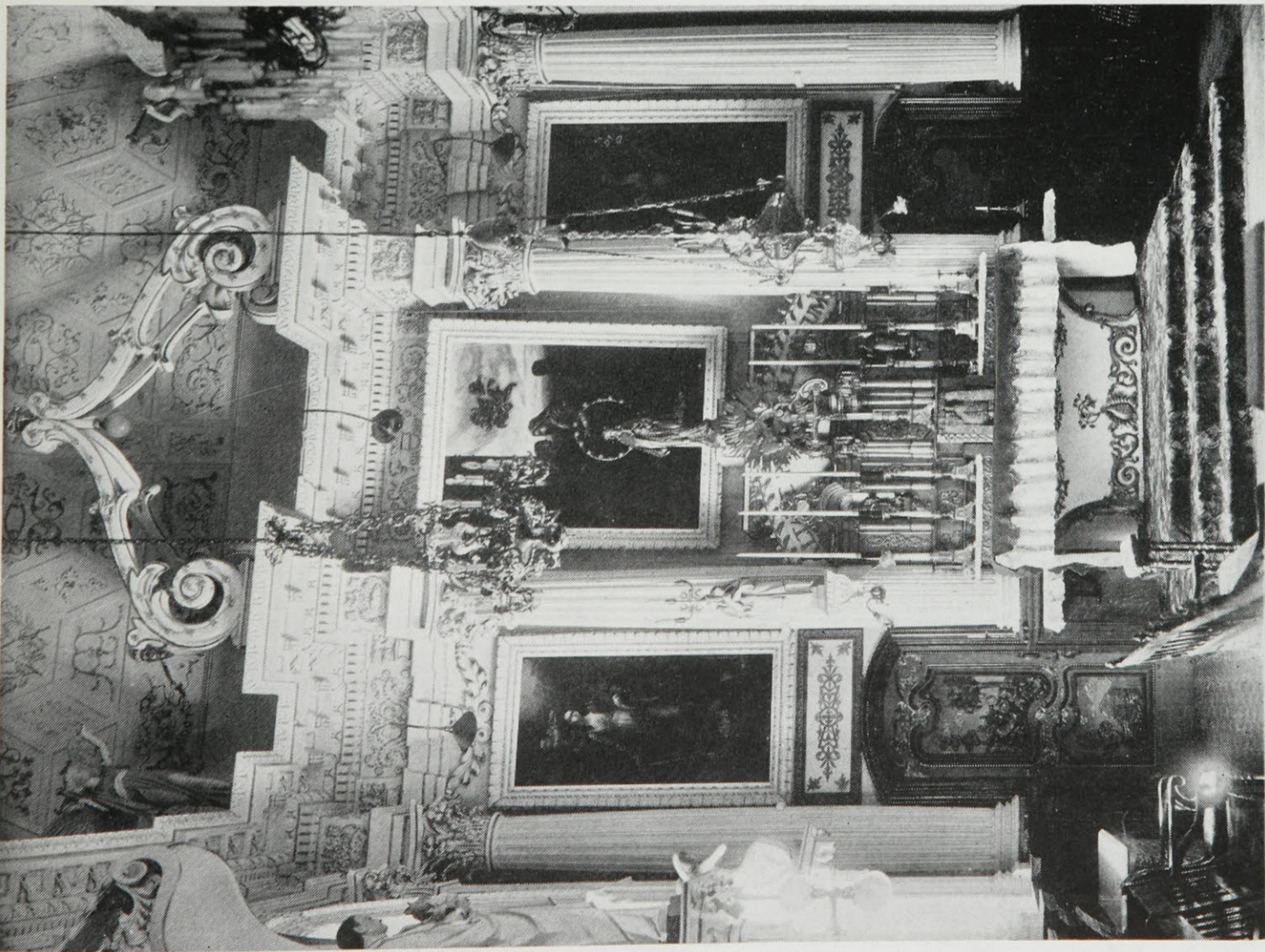
The High Altar

PLATE CLV
STE. JEANNE DE CHANTAL, ILE PERROT

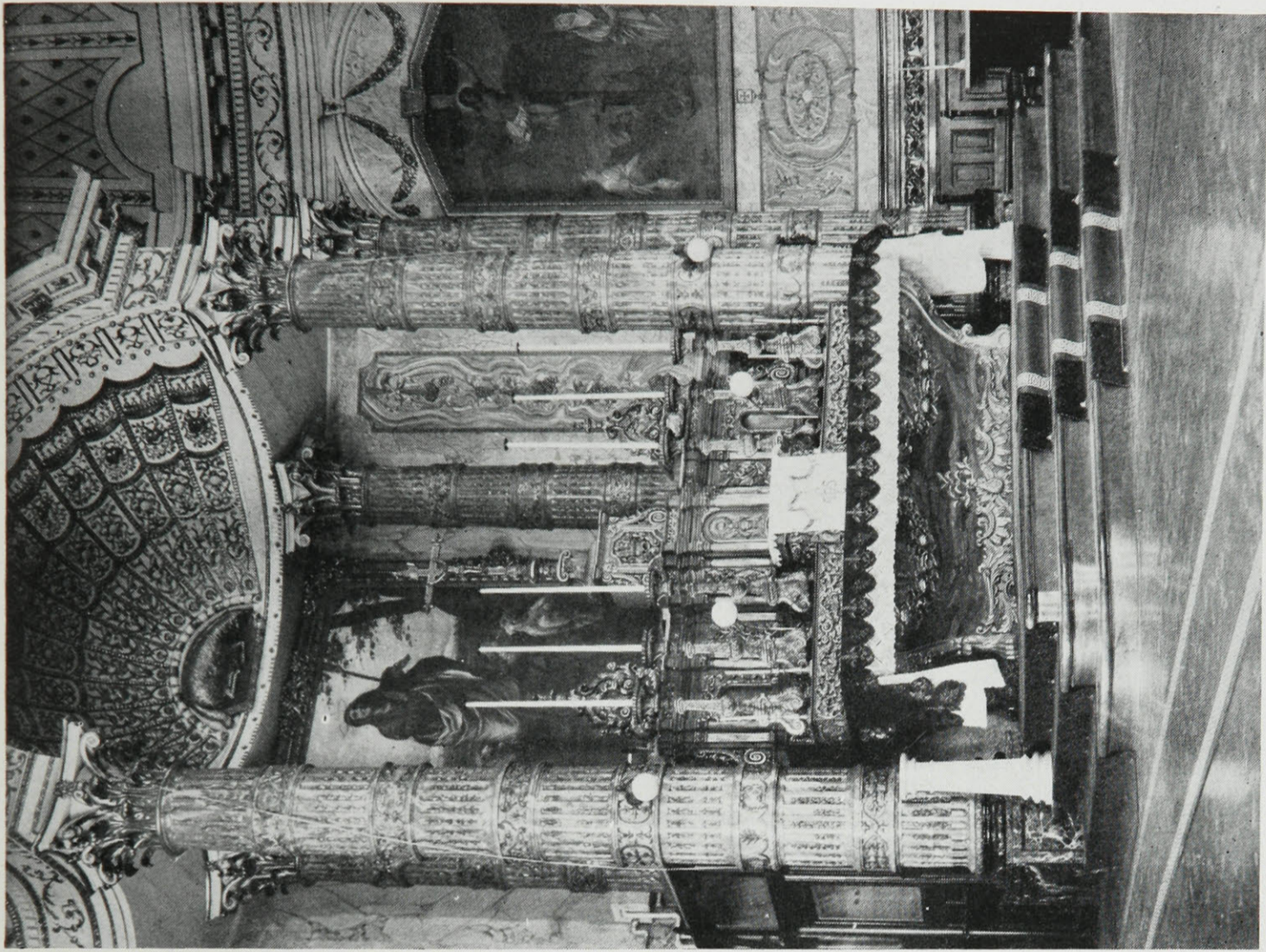


The Central Panel of the Vault

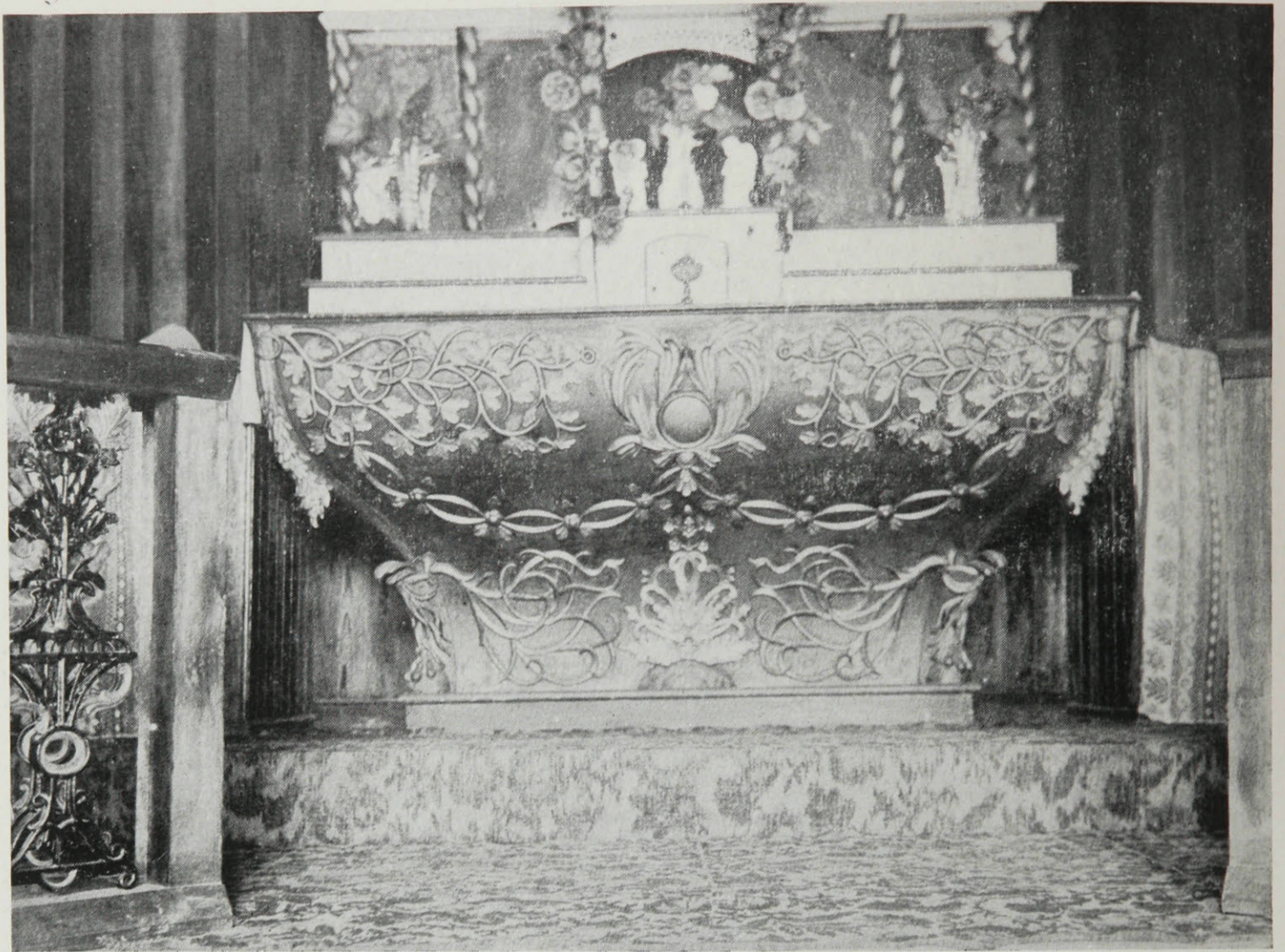
PLATE CLVI



Sault au Récollet. The High Altar



Berthier en Haut. The High Altar



St. Etienne, Beaumont. Altar in Boundary Chapel



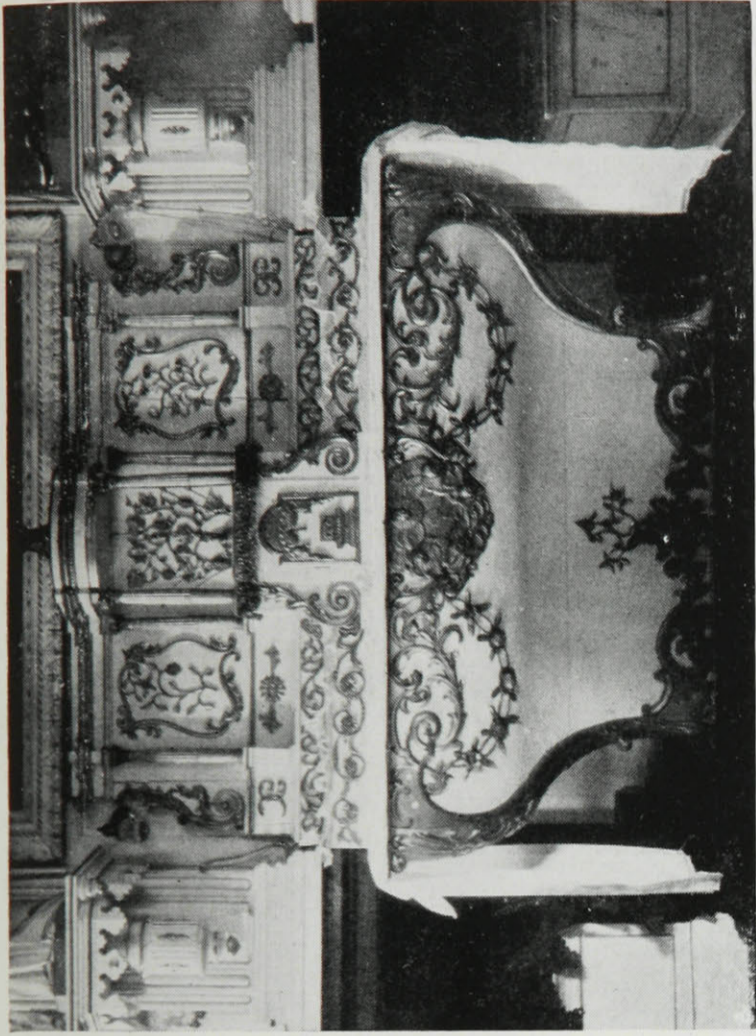
Verchères. Pedestals



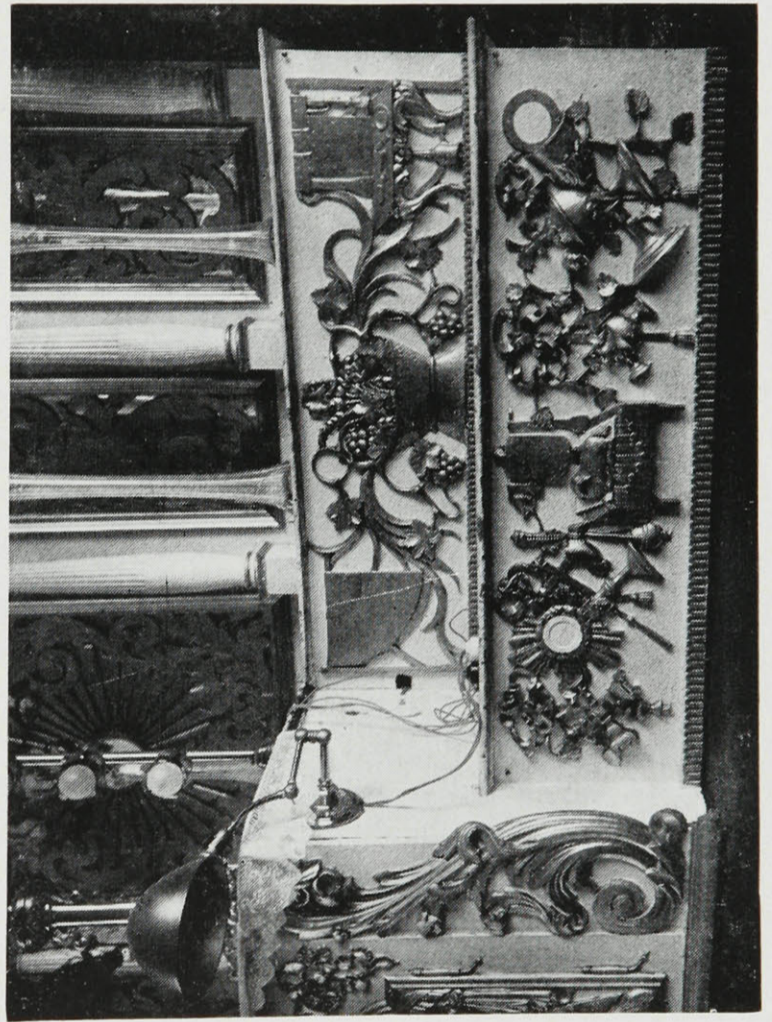
Verchères. Interior



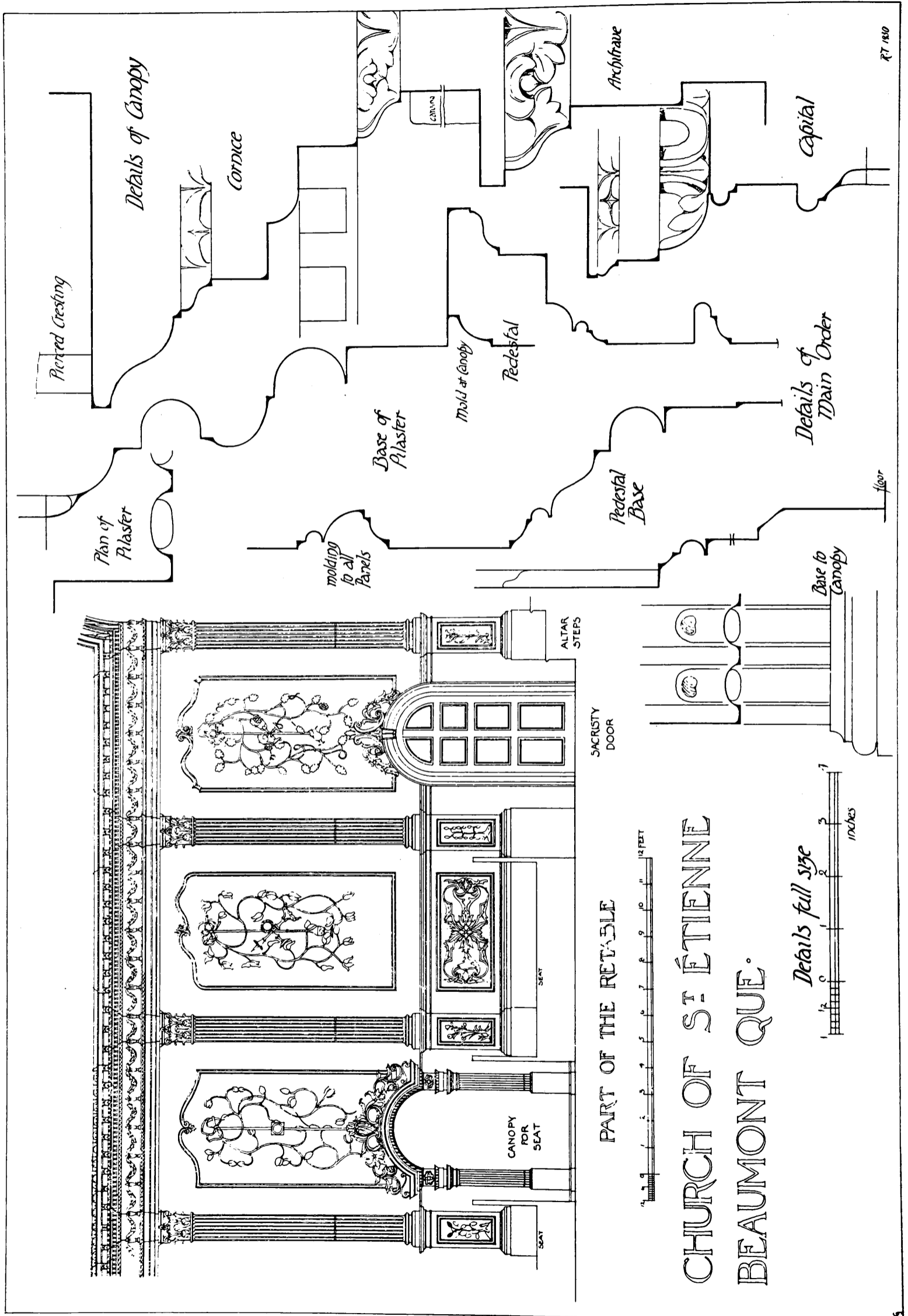
St. Roch. Side Altar



Sault au Récollet. Side Altar

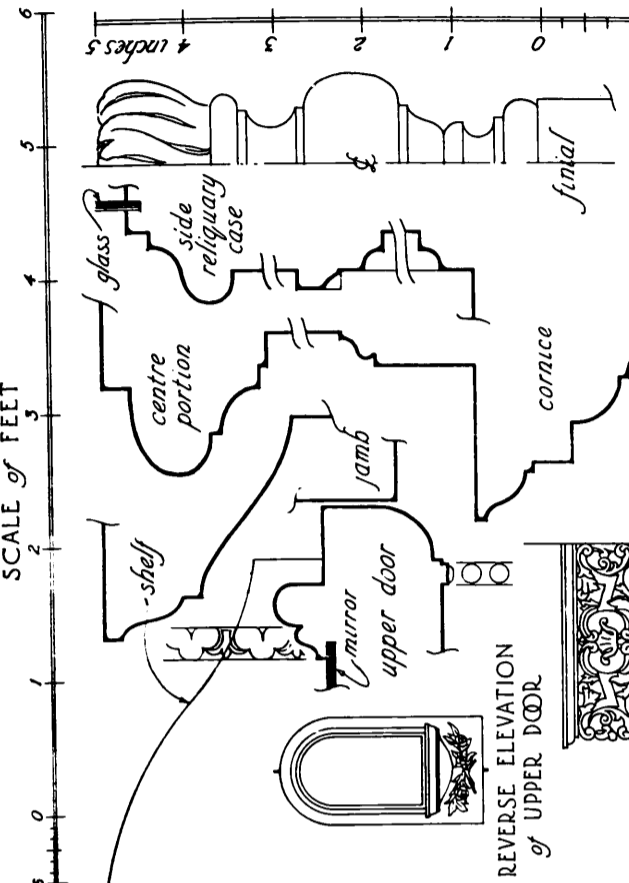
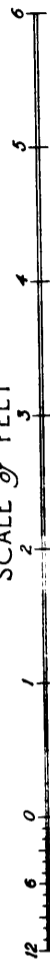


Verchères. Detail of Grade on High Altar



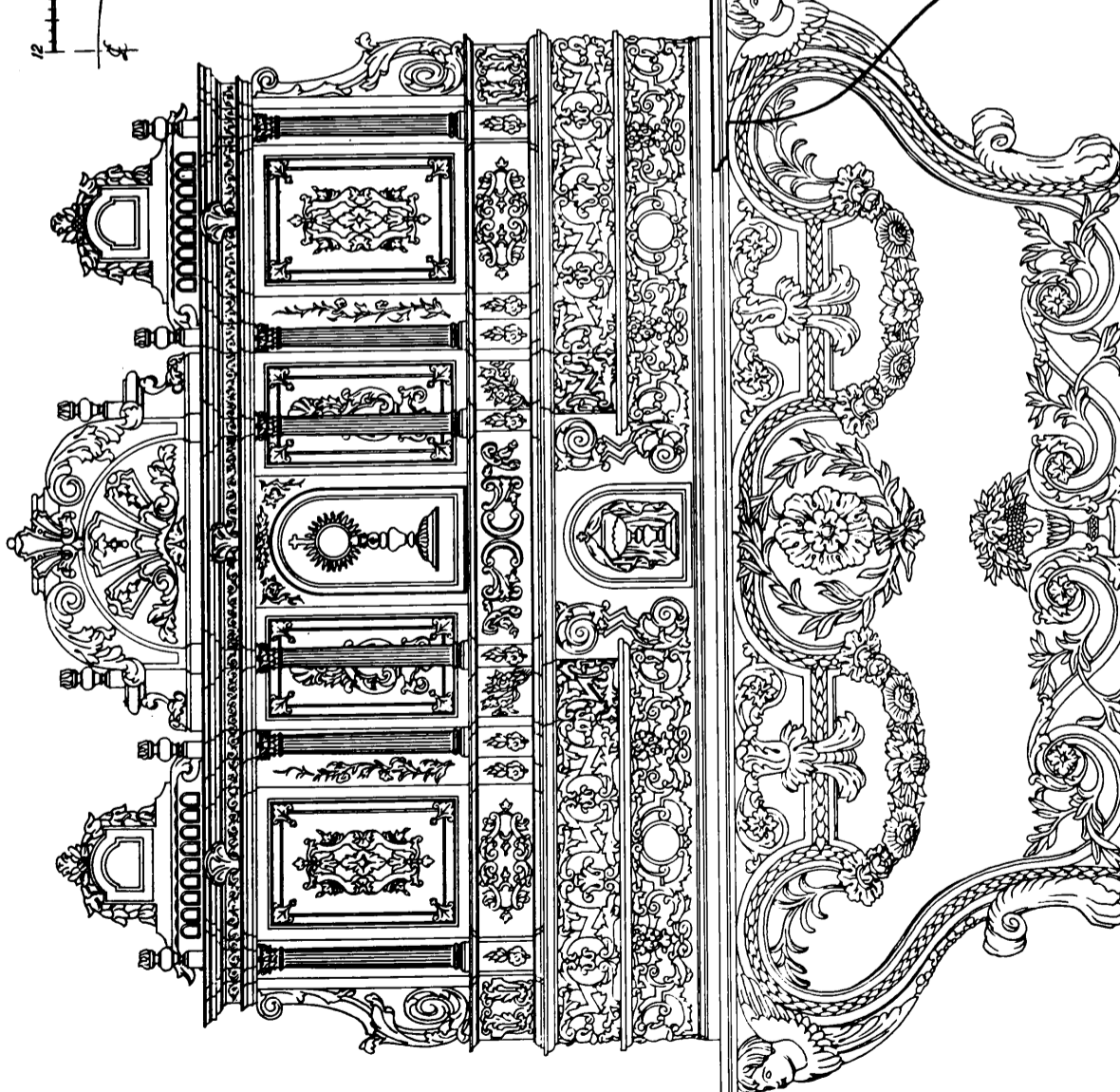
The CHURCH of ST. JEAN at ST. JEAN PORT JOLI, QUE. The MAIN ALTAR

SCALE OF FEET

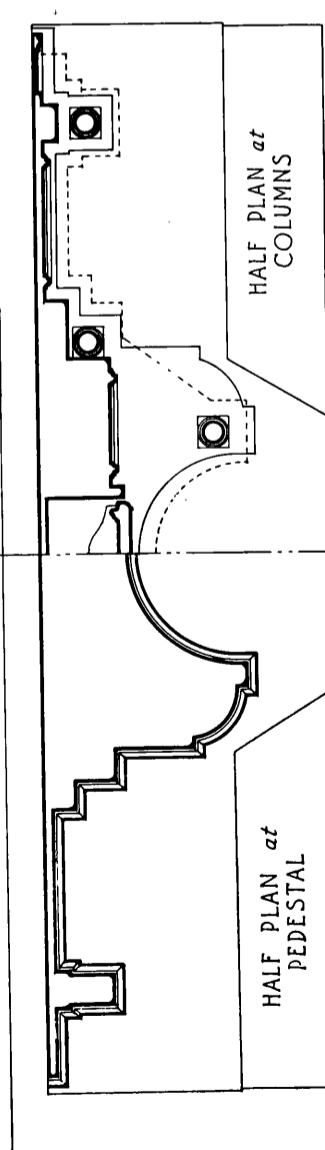
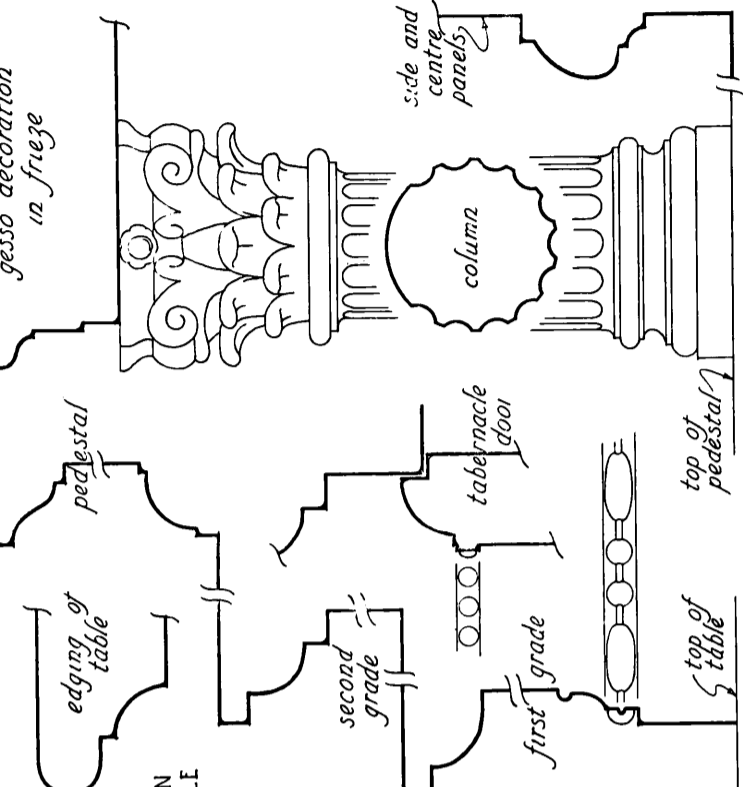


REVERSE ELEVATION of UPPER DOOR

END ELEVATION of GRADES

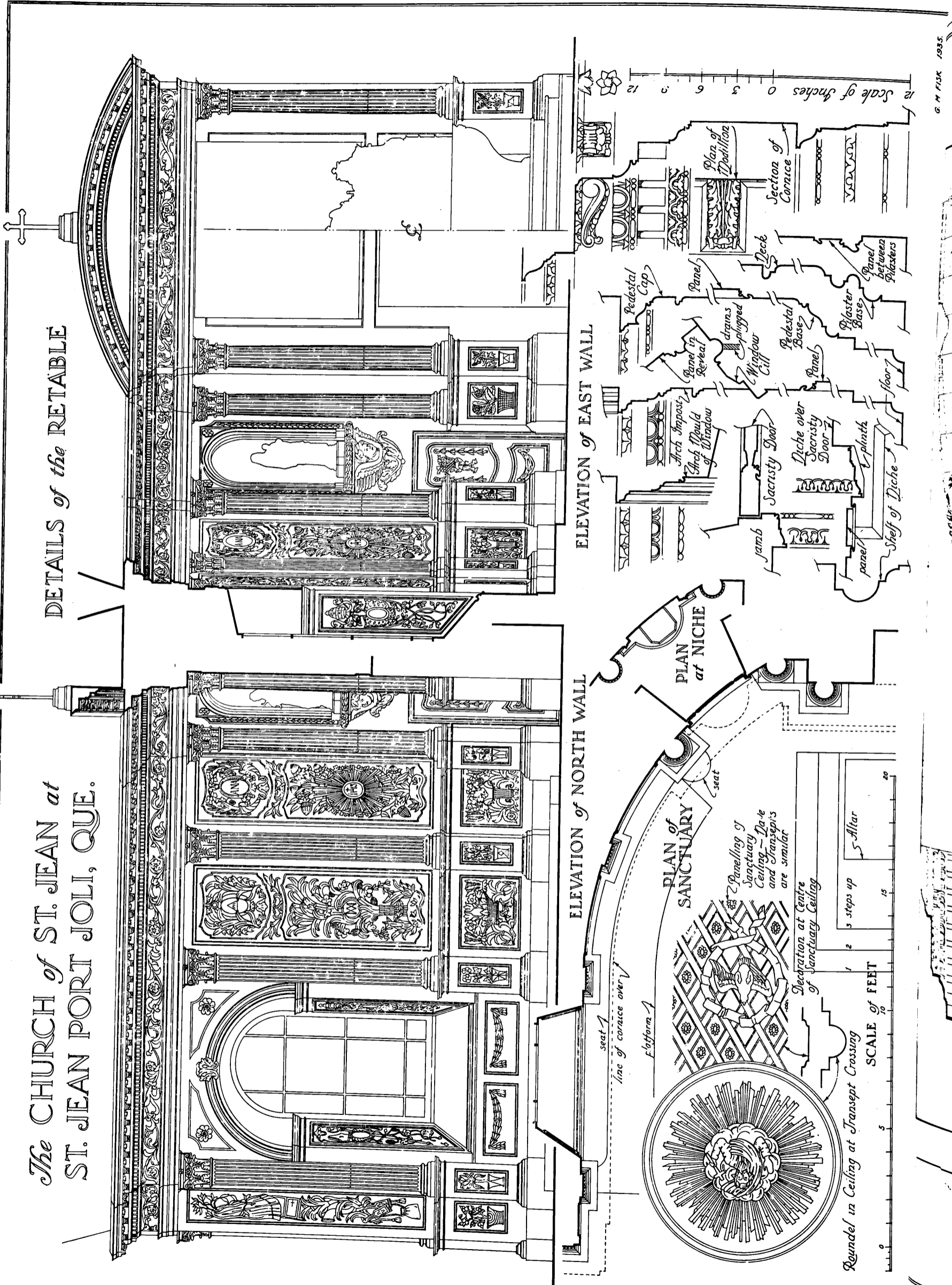


SECTION of TABLE

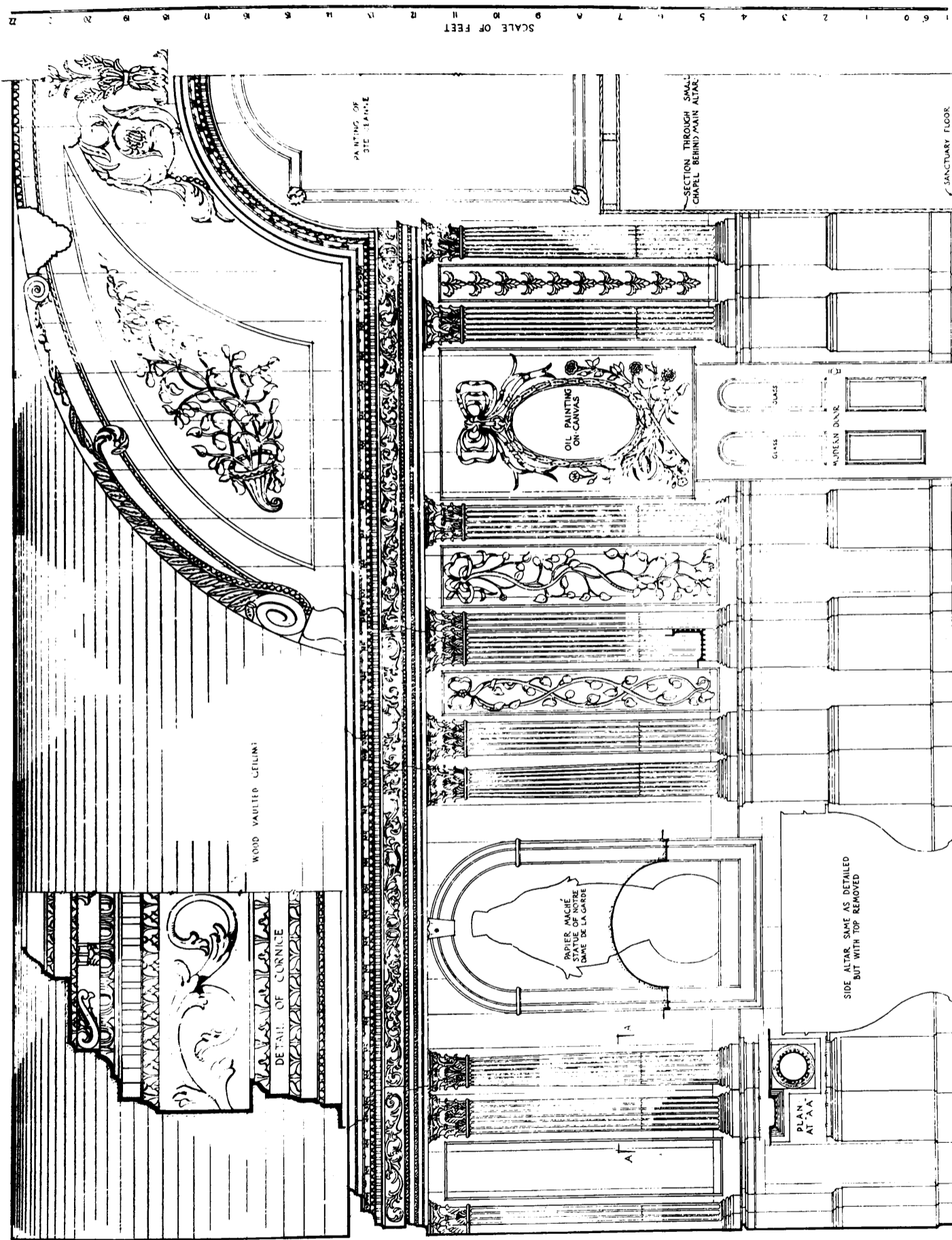


The CHURCH of ST. JEAN at ST. JEAN PORT JOLI, QUE.

DETAILS of the RETABLE



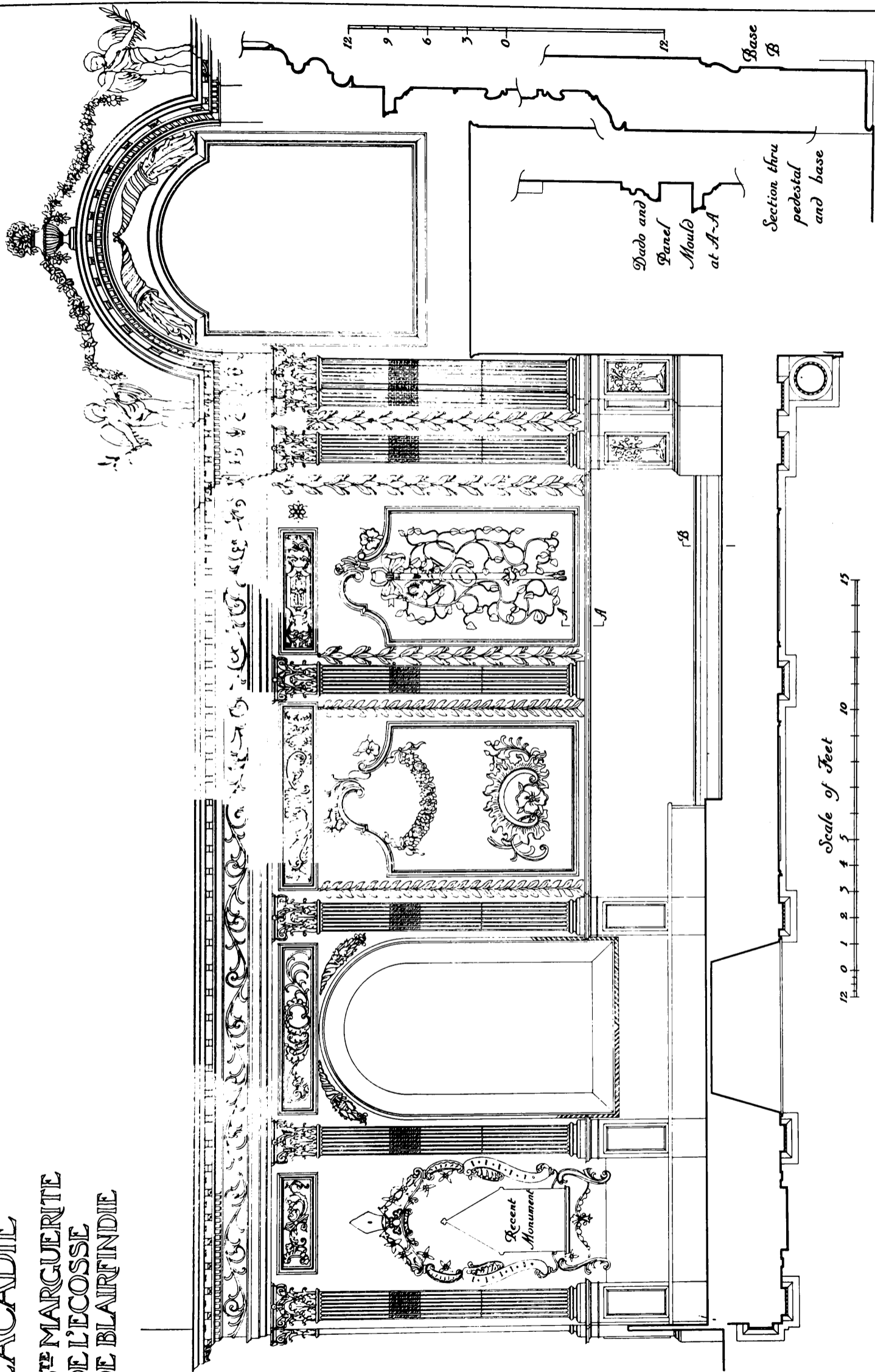
KC 87



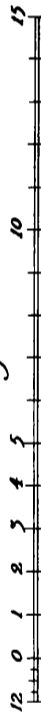
DETAIL OF WOOD CARVING ON SANCTUARY WALL
 CHURCH OF STE. JEANNE ILE PERROT PQ

PLATE CLXIV

L'ACADIE
S^{TE} MARGUERITE
DE L'ECOSSE
DE BLAIRFINDIE



Scale of Feet



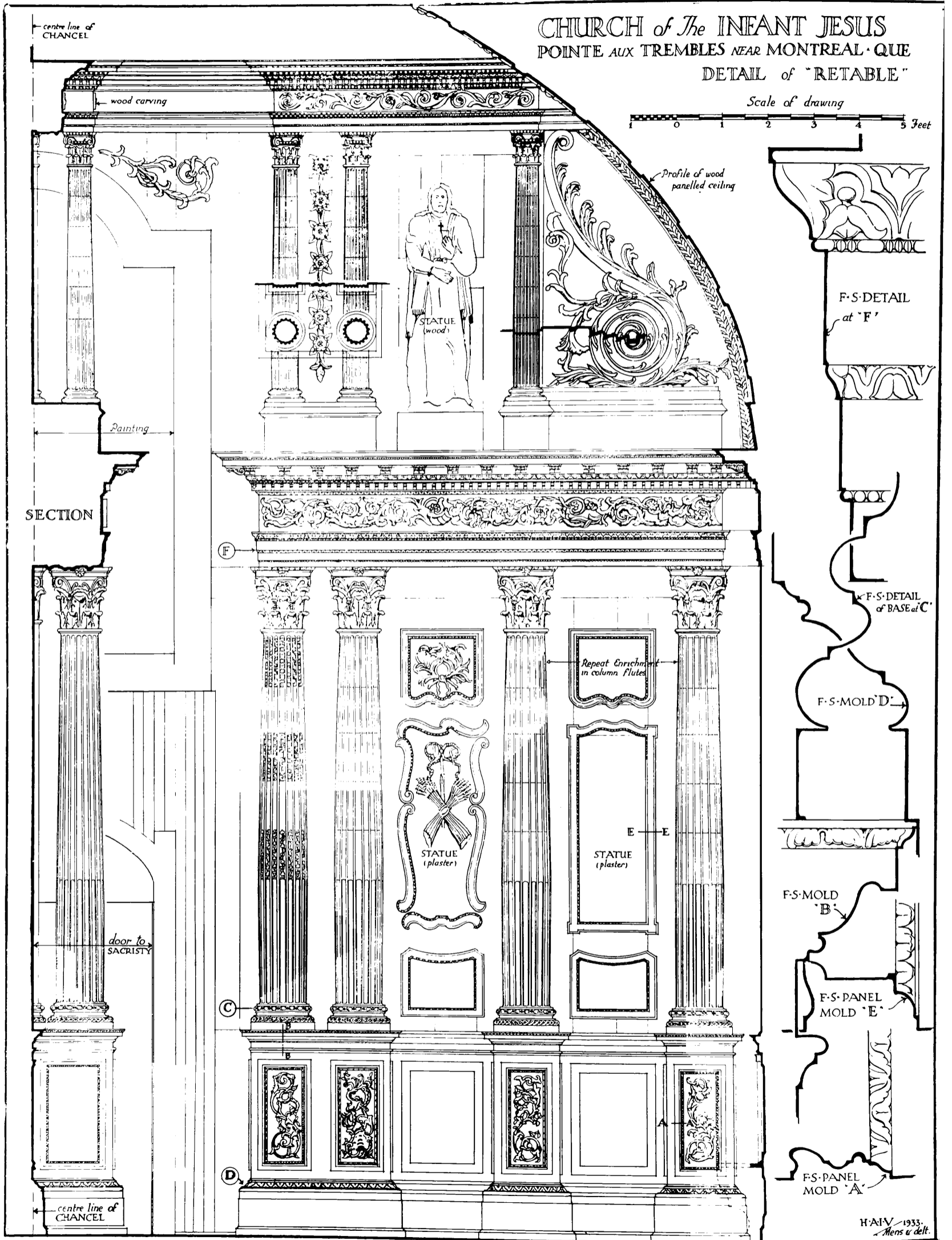
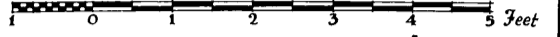
Dado and
Panel
Mould
at A-A

Section thru
pedestal
and base

Base
B

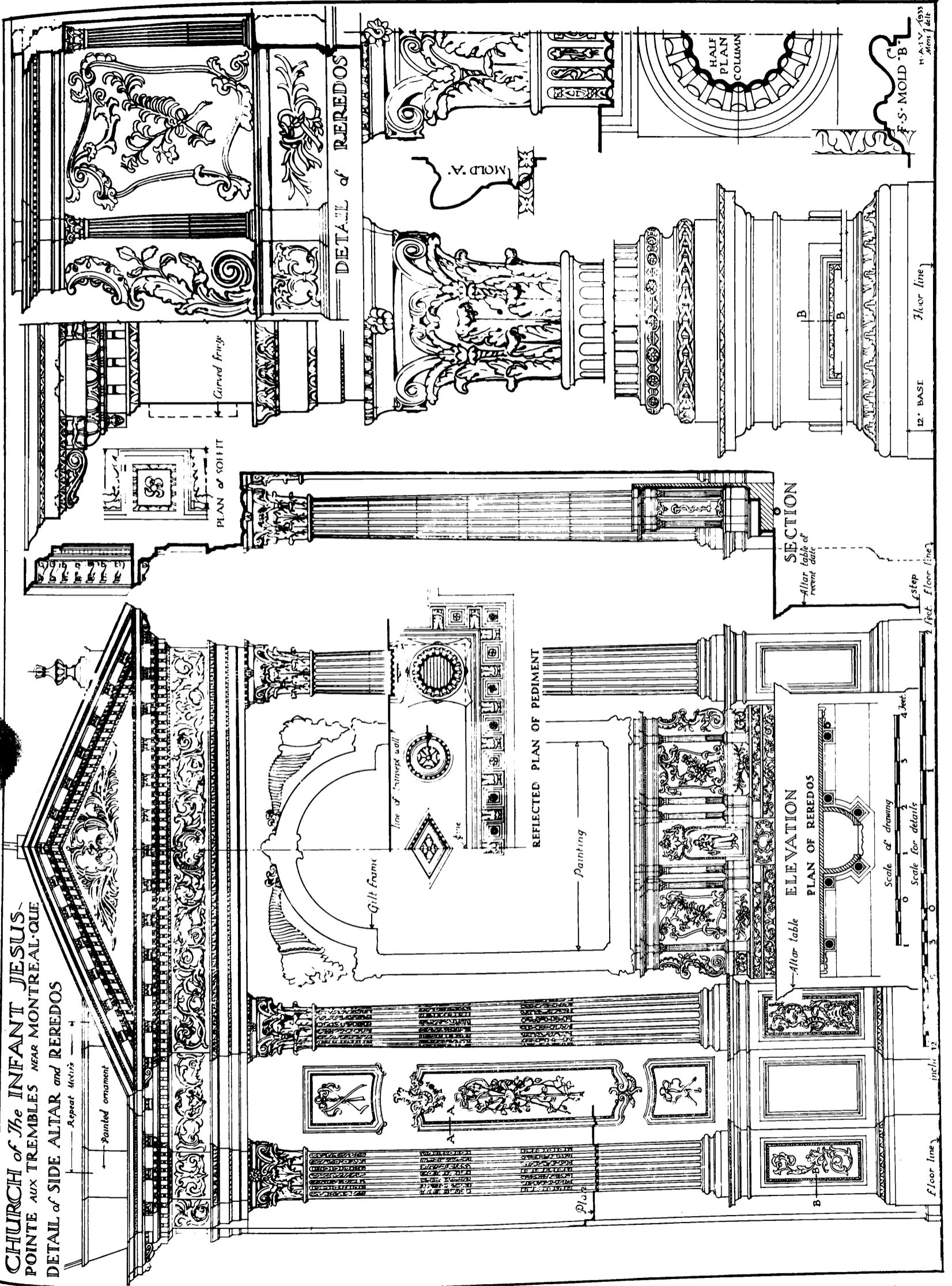
CHURCH of *The INFANT JESUS*
POINTE AUX TREMBLES NEAR MONTREAL · QUE
DETAIL of "RETABLE"

Scale of drawing

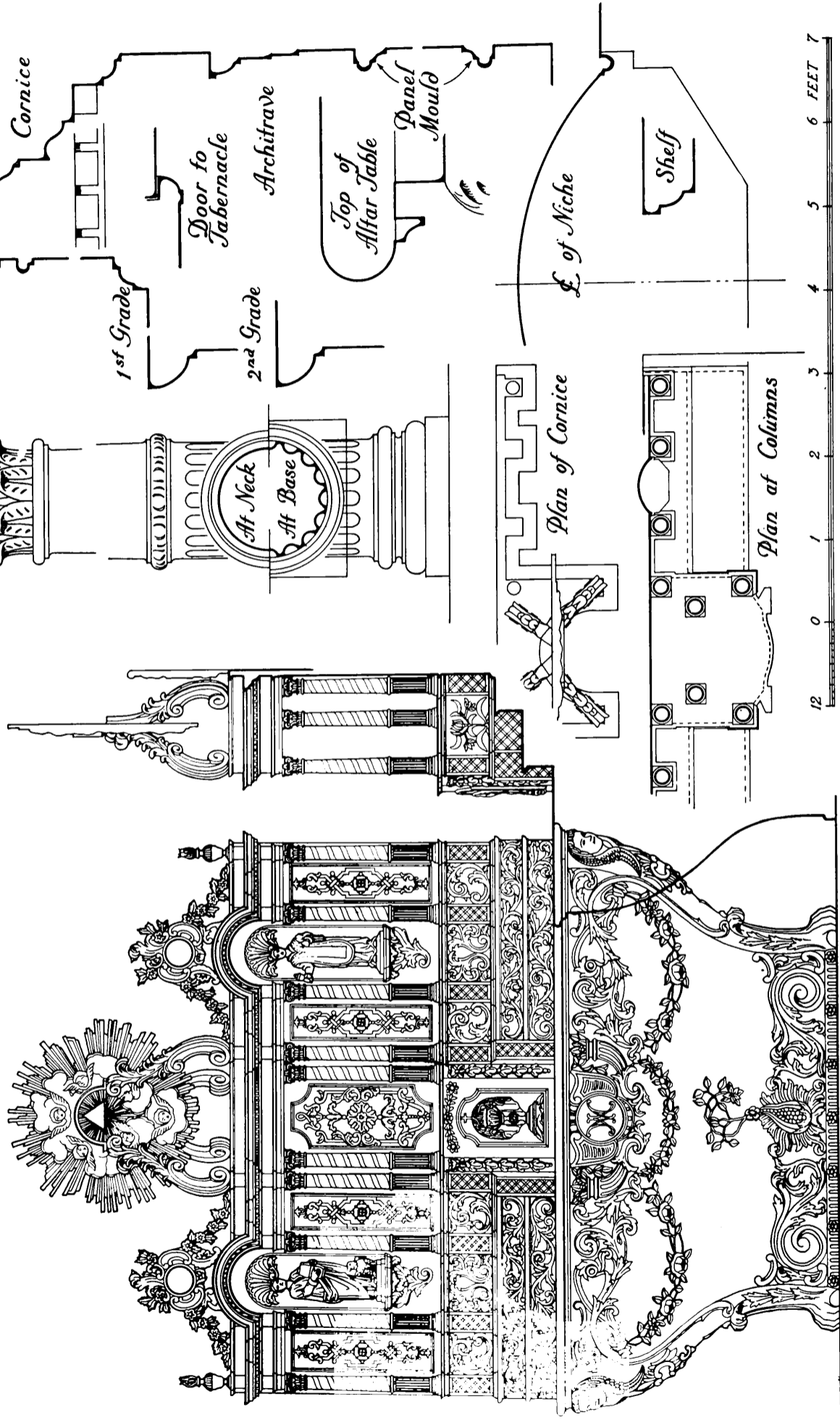


H·A·V 1933.
Mens & delt.

CHURCH of The INFANT JESUS-
POINTE AUX TREMBLES NEAR MONTREAL-QUE
DETAIL of SIDE ALTAR and REREDOS



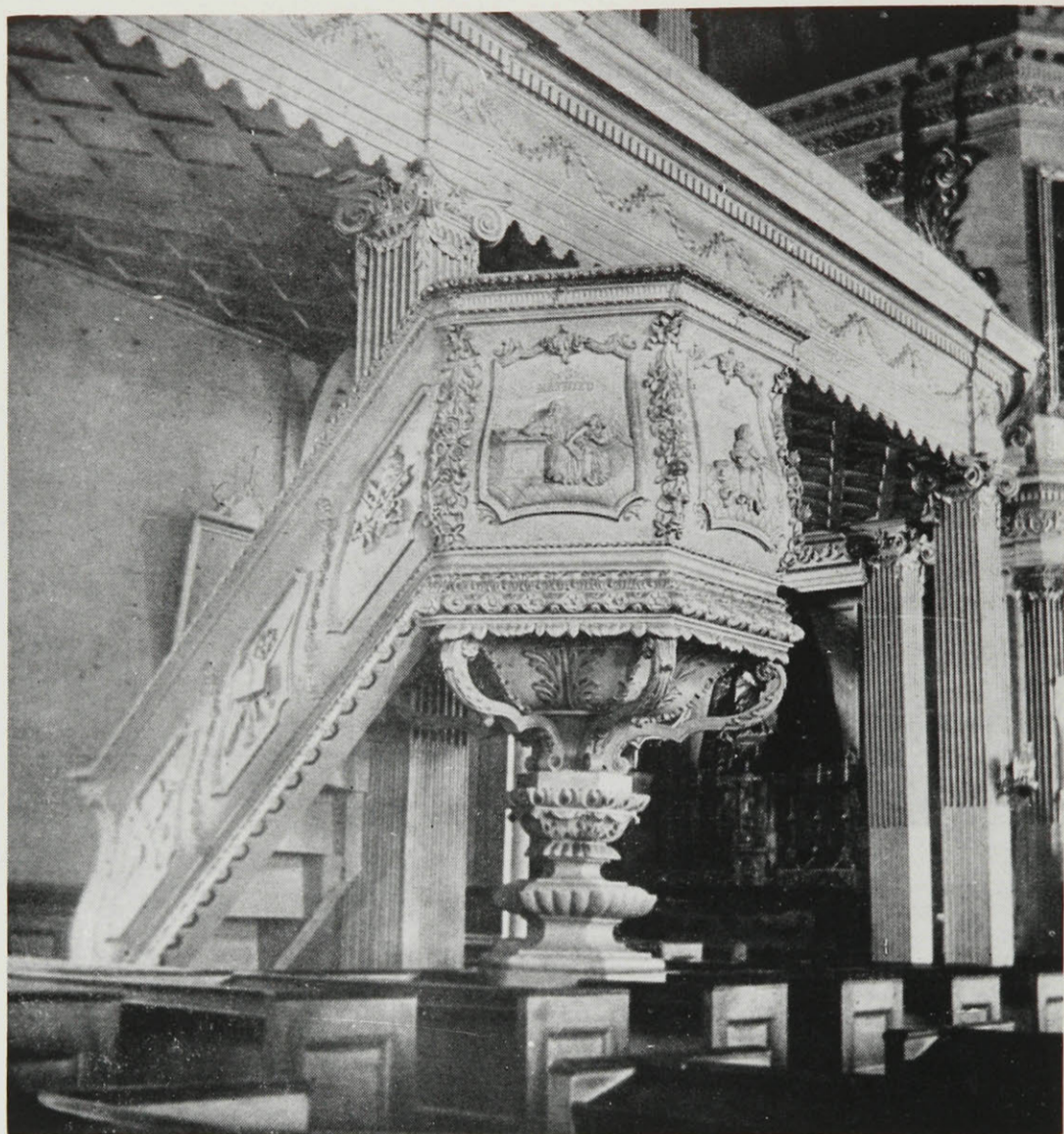
THE CHURCH OF THE VISITATION
AT SAULT AU RECOLLET



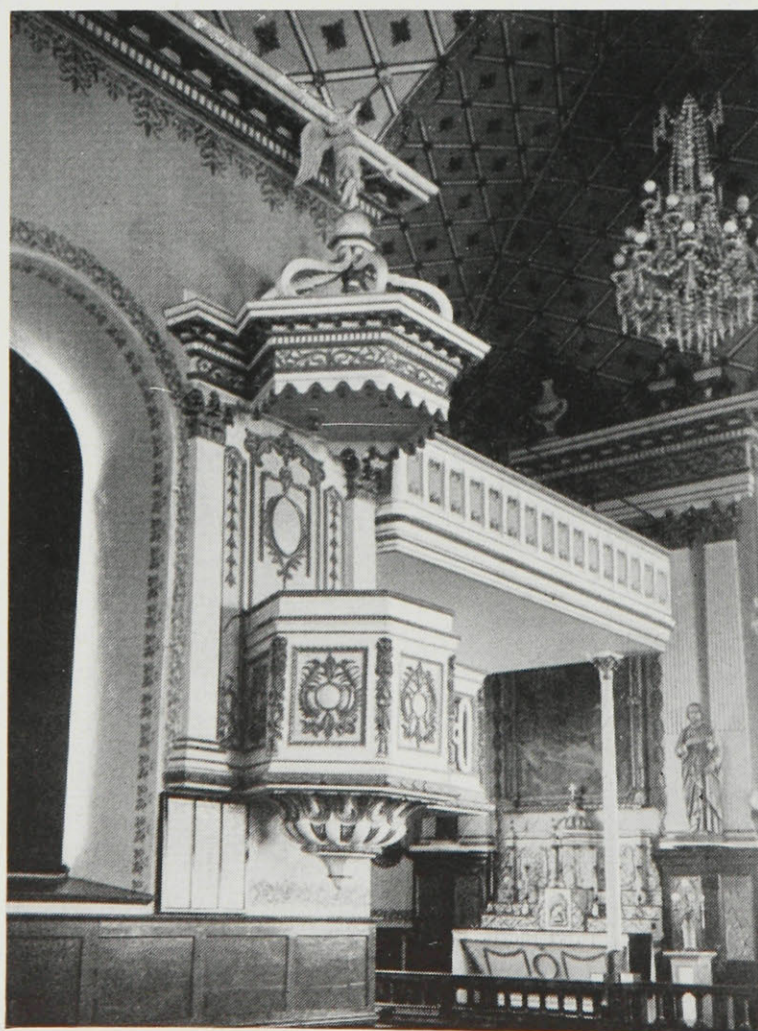
THE HIGH ALTAR

Mess & drawn L. P. 1924
Redrawn S. M. F. 1934

PLATE CLXVIII
PULPITS



St. Denis sur Richelieu. The Pulpit



St. Roch. The Pulpit



St. Roch. The Banc d'Oeuvre

CHAPTER XII

PULPITS, BANCS D'OEUVRE, FONTS AND CANDLESTICKS

HARDLY any pulpits survive which go back to the French regime. The oldest is perhaps the elaborately carved pulpit in the Ursuline chapel in Quebec which was probably made by the Levasseurs in 1732-36. It is hexagonal with a very elaborate cul-de-lampe and has no back. The sounding board has a truss pinnacle and is surmounted by a trumpeting angel.¹

Short's drawing of the Récollet church at Quebec shows a plain hexagonal pulpit hung on the nave wall. The sounding board is quite plain, with a small segmental pediment.

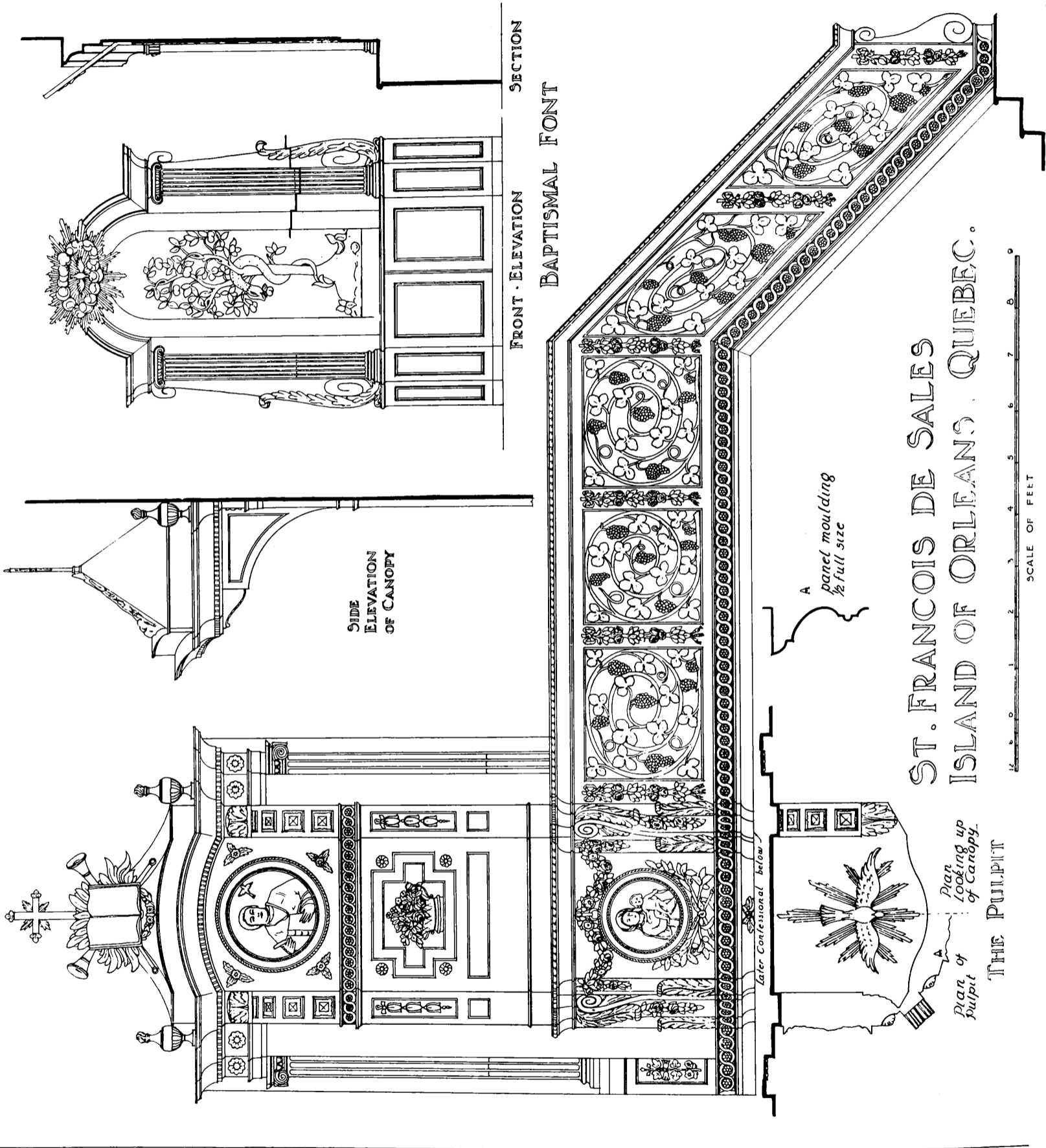
Most of the existing old pulpits belong to the early nineteenth century, the period of Baillairgé and Quevillon, and the degree to which they were standardized is very noticeable. Certain designs were evidently popular, and were repeated, with slight changes, again and again. In contracts for church fittings it was common to stipulate that the pulpit should be the same as those in some other church, and the sculptor followed the instructions, more or less.

The pulpit in St. François (I. O.) is a square with canted angles on which are acanthus trusses. The front is slightly bowed and has a low relief of Our Lady and Child. Behind the pulpit is a large panelled back with ionic pilasters, on it is a medallion of St. François de Sales, book and pen in hand. The pilasters support the sounding board which is arched and surmounted by a trophy of trumpets, an open book and a cross, symbols of Christian teaching. We do not know for certain who made this pulpit but André Paquet made the rétable. This is probably also his work, the carved medallions are of the very low relief which François and Thomas Baillairgé used.

The pulpit of St. Joseph at Lauzon by Thomas Baillairgé in 1840 is almost identical. The relief in the front panel is of Moses with the tables of the law, there are two small busts at the angles, otherwise it is the same design.

The pulpit at Charlesbourg is by André Paquet, who decorated the church in 1841-49. On the front is the same relief of Moses with the tables. The body is an oval in plan with trusses bringing it to a rectangle, the back has ionic quarter pilasters and supports an oval shell soundingboard with a pinnacle of four trusses. This Charlesbourg design reappears at St. Antoine de Tilly, at St. Charles Rivière Boyer, the latter by Paquet in 1830-38, at St. Pierre les Becquets and at Lotbinière.

¹ There is a good photograph of this pulpit in Roy, *Vieilles Églises*, p. 153.



FRONT ELEVATION SECTION

BAPTISMAL FONT

SIDE ELEVATION OF CANOPY

A panel moulding 1/2 full size

ST. FRANCOIS DE SALES ISLAND OF ORLEANS, QUEBEC.

THE PULPIT

Plan of Pulpit Looking up of Canopy.

SCALE OF FEET

Later Confessional below

In l'Ange Gardien was a somewhat florid circular pulpit, also by Paquet in 1846. It is repeated in Ste. Luce Rimouski where the plans, at any rate, were drawn by Thomas Baillairgé in 1836.

In the commemorative chapel at Ste. Anne de Beaupré is part of a pulpit taken from the old church. It is typical Baillairgé work and on the front is the low relief of Moses which we have met before at Charlesbourg and Lauzon. One suspects a veritable factory in Quebec supplying pulpits, bancs and other necessary church fittings to Baillairgé and Paquet. Probably Paquet, an old pupil of Baillairgé simply bought his complete from his old master.

The Montreal sculptors generally used a hexagonal plan; the pulpit at St. Roch de l'Archigan is quite typical. It is hexagonal with carved cartouches on the panels and trails on the angles. At each side are corinthian pilasters which carry a hexagonal sounding board with a truss pinnacle surmounted by a trumpeting angel. The pulpit of St. Jean (I. O.) made about 1812 by Louis Bazil David is almost exactly similar; David was a pupil of Quevillon.

L'Acadie has a nice hexagonal pulpit of the same type. The panels and back have strong rocaille scroll work, there are no side pilasters, on the stair rail is a loose grape-vine trail. This pulpit was bought in 1804 and twenty livres were paid for its carriage, so that it is apparently not the work of the Finsterers. Professor Adair attributes it to Quevillon.² From the style of the work I should be inclined to suggest Urbain Brien who worked at Pointe aux Trembles and St. Denis sur Richelieu. It is certainly the work of a Montreal sculptor.

The pulpit at St. Denis, which is almost certainly by Urbain Brien, has bellied sides and rails. The panels are elaborately scrolled and shaped and have low relief subjects of the Evangelists. The base bracket continues as a pedestal to the floor. Of its florid kind this is a fine example.³

The Montreal sculptors were fond of this bellied type, we find it also at St. Mathias and at Sault au Récollet.

In St. Jean Port Joli is a little octagonal oak pulpit, with rigid saints on the angles, simple, well made and effective. It is the work of Menard and Jean Julien Bourgault, wood-sculptors in St. Jean today. Originally boat-builders, they turned to woodcarving during the depression of 1929 when boats were not wanted. Their work shows that a talent for woodcarving is still alive in Quebec but it shows too that here, at least, the old tradition is dead. For this pulpit shows no trace of Baillairgé, Perrault or Charron.

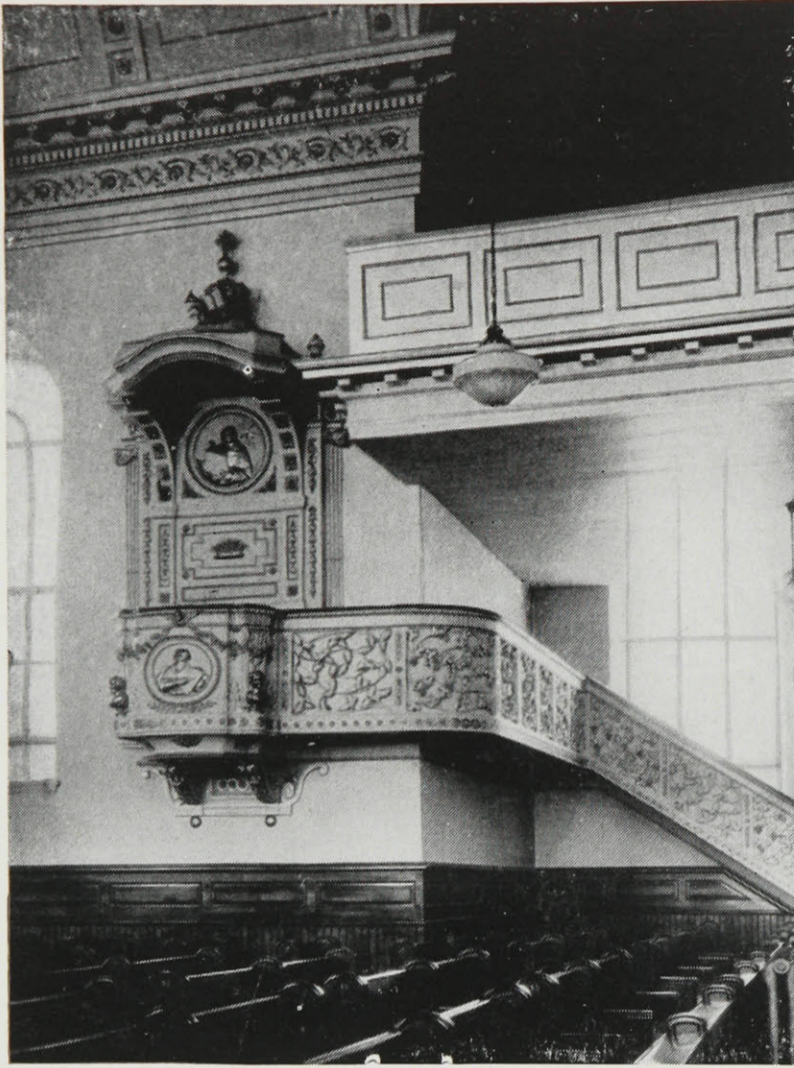
And, finally, in 1817 the church at L'Islet got a "Chaire en fer" made by the "Sieur Jean Bte Poitra, le père, maître forgeron" which cost 200 louis, and which, a year later, was gilt. This remarkable pulpit was taken out after four years' use; it was not, apparently, quite satisfactory.

For better hearing the pulpit is often placed well down in the nave and a stair and balcony, attached to the wall, are provided to reach it. This generally

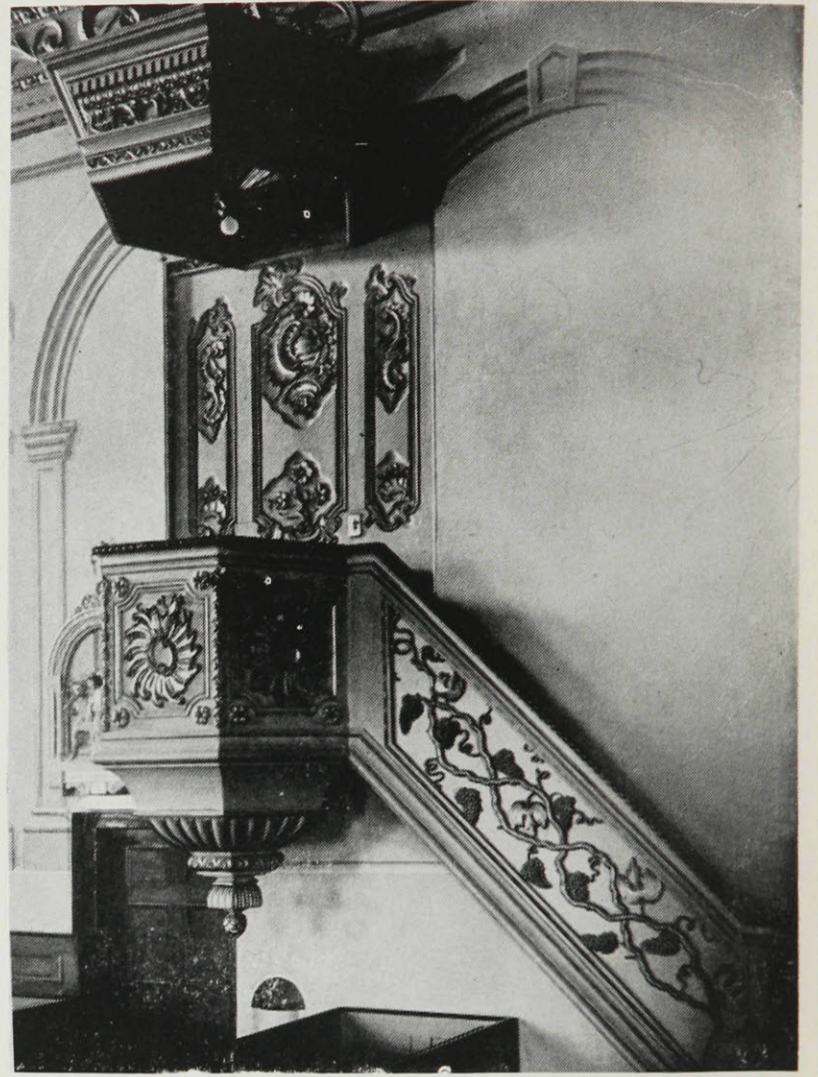
² Adair and Wardworth, *Can. Hist. Ass. report for 1933. Parish and Church of L'Acadie*, p. 7.

³ Allair, Abbé J. B. A., *Histoire de la Paroisse de Saint Denis sur Richelieu*, St. Hyacinthe, 1905. Brien is referred to as Urbain Durocher, maître architecte, Pointe-aux-Trembles. He is elsewhere known as Brien dit Durocher or Desrochers.

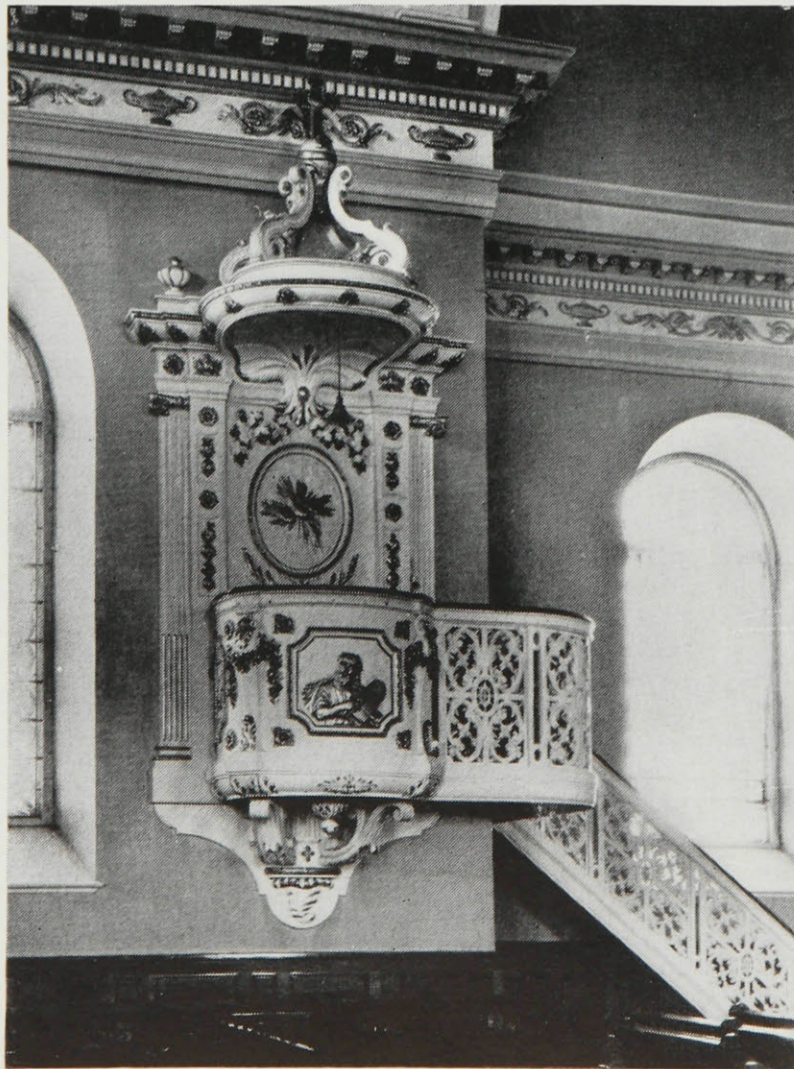
PLATE CLXX
PULPITS



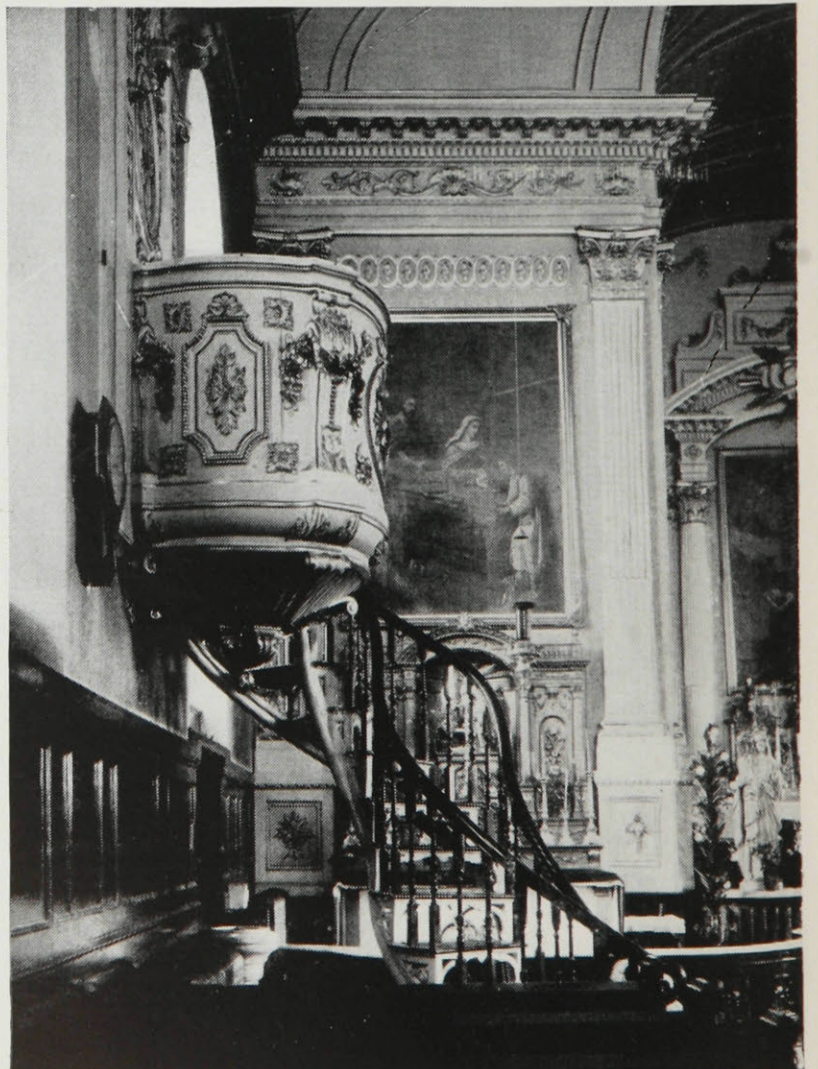
St. Joseph, Lauzun



Ste. Marguerite de L'Acadie



St. Charles, Charlesbourg



St. Luce, Rimouski

PULP
The pulpit s
is the
the wo
Elaborat
district.
1800 and there
pulpit's pew
The earliest
cathedral in
pulpit is p
and the fire of
It consisted
back with corin
On the canopy
Excepting
great with a sh
was desig
Pedestal
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eighteenth ce
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1880. It is
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relief of t
tail and a
sculptor o
In t
Roy, P.
pp. 13

had a solid balustrade, and a vine pattern seems to have been a favourite decoration. St. François has a very good scroll of vine branches in panels and St. Joachim has vine and oak scrolls. St. Pierre les Becquets has a very interesting vine pattern in large panels. A large rosette pattern is sometimes used, as at Lotbinière, St. Charles Rivière Boyer and St. Antoine de Tilly.

The Montreal sculptors used a loose vine scroll, as at L'Acadie or enriched panels as at St. Denis. Turned baluster handrails were probably used at all times.

The pulpit stands on the north side of the church. Opposite it, in Baillairgé churches, is the Banc d'Oeuvre, the official seat of the marguilliers, or churchwardens, the word "oeuvre" here indicating the corporation, or property of the church. Elaborately decorated bancs are perhaps most usual in churches of the Quebec district, although Quevillon was asked to make one for Sault au Récollet in 1800 and there is a fine one in St. Roch de L'Achigan. In many churches the marguilliers' pew was not distinguished by any architectural treatment.

The earliest banc d'oeuvre I know is that designed by François Baillairgé for the cathedral in 1799. The drawing, signed by Baillairgé and approved by the marguilliers is preserved in the archives, and the banc itself stood in the cathedral until the fire of 1922.⁴

It consisted in a solid polished desk of hardwood. Behind this was a high back with corinthian pilasters supporting a canopy with a segmental pediment. On the canopy is a trophy showing the Ascension of Our Lady.

Excepting that the full canopy is not always used, and that a segmental pediment with a shell ornament takes its place, this pattern is generally followed. The banc was designed to match the pulpit and was similarly standardized in pattern.

FONTS

Pedestal fonts, bearing a basin, are uncommon. There is one of grey limestone at Oka which is said to have come from the old church, built in the early eighteenth century. It is of baluster form with guilloche and gadroon patterns and is interesting as one of the very few pieces of decorative cut stone which have survived from the French regime. At Ste. Jeanne, Ile Perrot, is a good wooden pedestal font. It is in two pieces, with a carved cover hinged on to the top. The accounts give no direct evidence as to its date but we know that, in 1822, the bishop ordered a font to be procured and it seems that it was got shortly after 1830. It is the finest of its kind in the province.

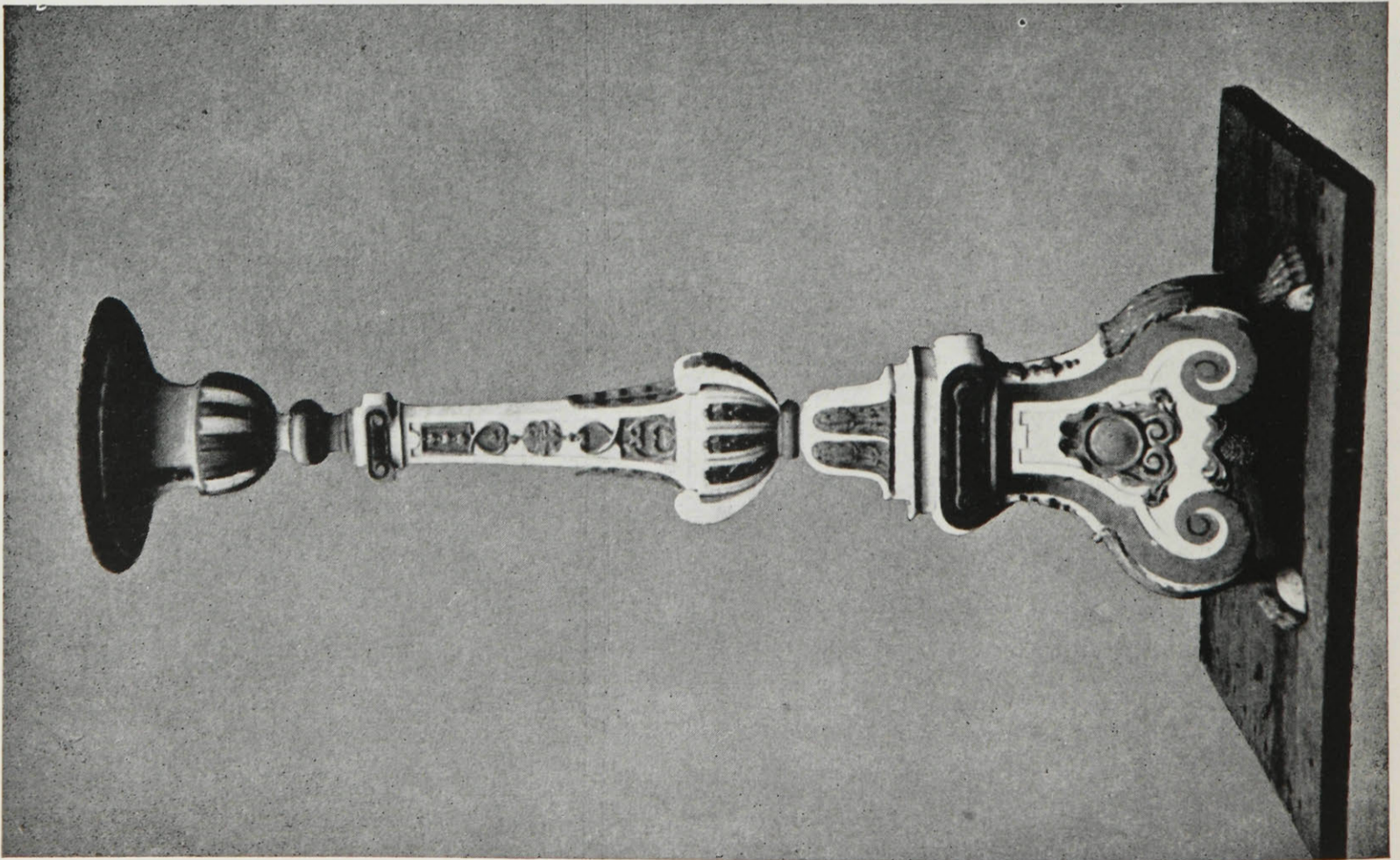
The more usual form for the font is a cabinet with a panelled back and a lower projecting part in which is the basin. There was a very fine one at l'Ange Gardien with a low relief of the Baptism of Our Lord. At St. François (I. O.) is one with ionic pilasters supporting a circular pediment and, in the panel, a low relief of the tree of knowledge through which twines a serpent with a barbed tail and an apple in his mouth. It was bought in 1854 from Olivier Samson, a sculptor of Quebec.

CRUCIFIXES, CANDLESTICKS AND RELIQUARIES

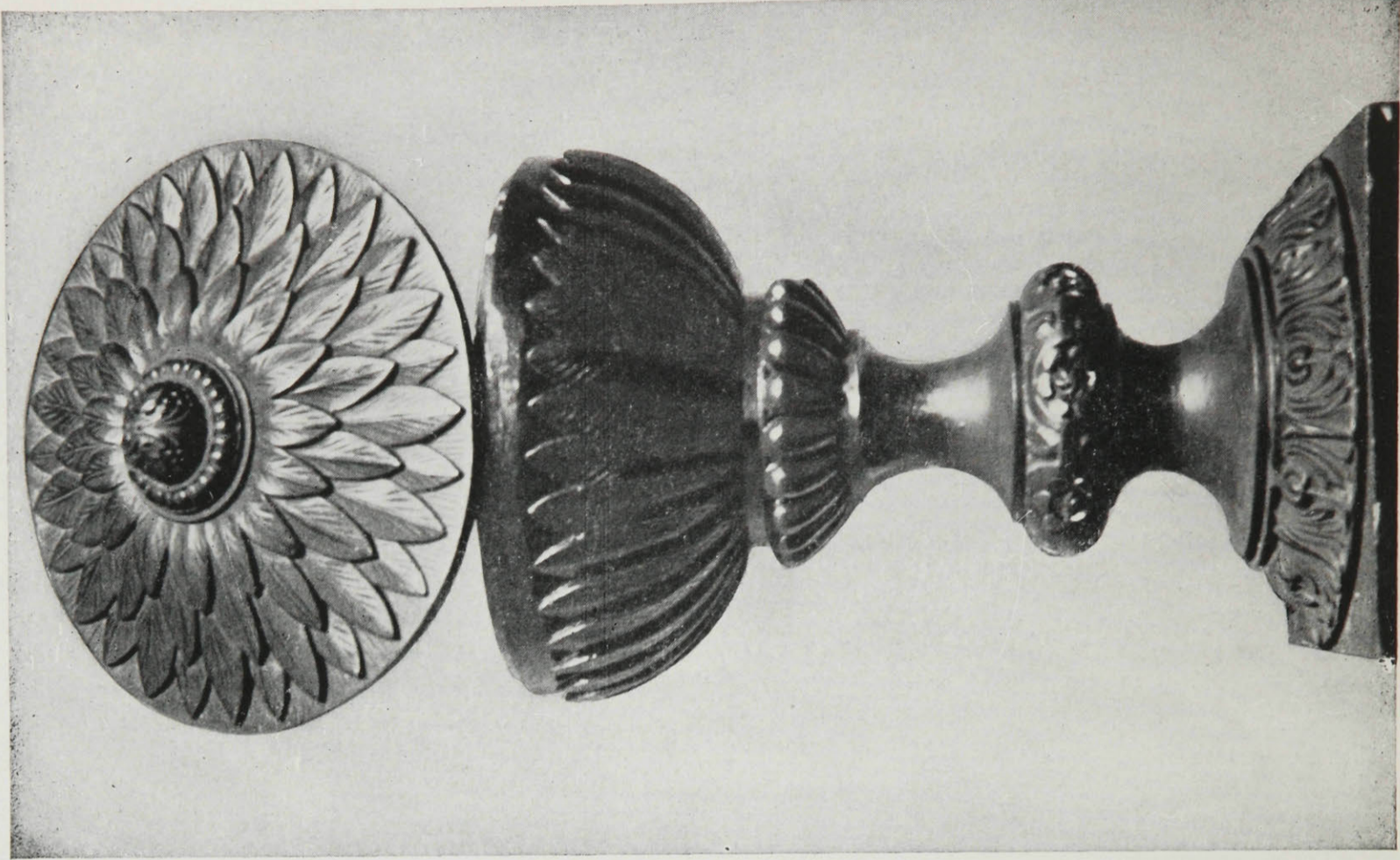
In the eighteenth century it seems to have been quite usual for the altar-

⁴ Roy, P. G., *Les vieilles églises*, has a good set of photographs of this Baillairgé woodwork in the cathedral, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13.

PLATE CLXXI
STE. JEANNE DE CHANTAL, ILE PERROT



F. C. Betts



F. C. Betts

Wood Font

In the nineteenth century, the designs are...
The author...
well carved...
to the exper...
model.

In the Hôpital

and caskets...
little dome...
ornament and...
the Hôpital ha...
and the like w...
piece of metal...
has a deli...
seventeenth century.

Candelabra

old churches...
and carved...
candle sockets...
was in fact th...
prepared to e...

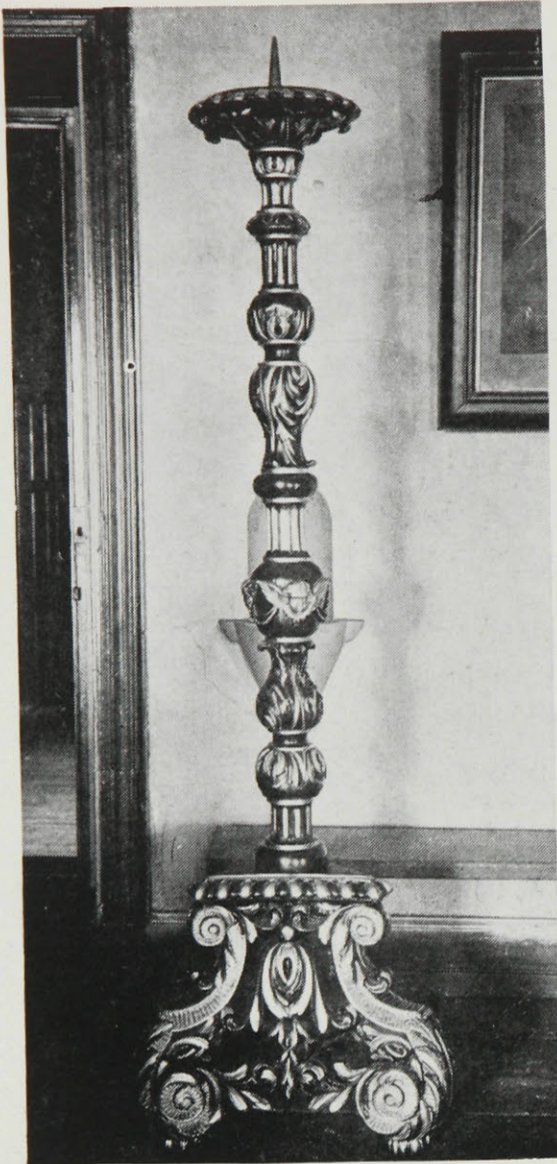
crucifix and candlesticks to be of wood. Simple turned candlesticks, of baluster shape, may still be found in the presses or garrets of many old churches, but rarely in use. Many fine sets of carved candlesticks are still in use; there is a fine set, by Levasseur, on the sacristy altar at Batisseau, probably made along with the tabernacle. The full set consists of a crucifix and six candlesticks about twenty inches high. The large Easter candlestick was usually bought separately. In 1773 the curé of St. François (I. O.) bought an Easter candlestick for 36 li and put a note in the inventory of 1789: "Un beau chandelier paschal par Noël Le Vasseur cydevant a l'usage de la Cathedrale qui a substitué un plus grand d'assez triste gout. Je l'ai acheté 36 li de feu Connefroy." The candlestick, a fine one, is still in the church. It is eight feet nine inches high with a triangular base and a knop carved with drapery and acanthus.

In the nineteenth century the design takes a more architectural form. The triangular base has claw feet and the stem becomes a square ionic baluster. But the designs are always metallic. St. Roch de l'Achigan has a very fine set of these candlesticks, probably made by Pépin when he decorated the church.

The author possesses a wooden gilt monstrance of the eighteenth century. It is well carved and may have been used by some poor parish which could not go to the expense of a silver monstrance, or, possibly it may be a silversmith's model.

In the Hôpital Général at Quebec are a number of reliquaries, little architectural caskets about eighteen inches long with a glazed opening on the front and a little dome, or bunch of flowers on top. The plain surfaces have drawn gold ornament and the reliquaries undoubtedly date from the early eighteenth century. The Hôpital has also a number of small wooden objects, candle sconces, brackets and the like which show to what a degree carved wood was made to take the place of metal. These are all of the early eighteenth century. St. Roch de l'Achigan has a delightful carved reliquary of unknown date but probably of the nineteenth century.

Candelabra of carved wood and heavy iron wire were commonly used in the old churches, though now usually relegated to the garret. They consist of a turned and carved central wood "baluster" from which spring the wires supporting the candle sockets. The number of candles varies from six to twelve or more. Wood was in fact the natural Canadian material and in wood the Canadian artists were prepared to execute many things which elsewhere would have been made of metal.



Neuville. Easter Candlestick



St. Eustache. Easter Candlestick



Hôpital Général. Easter Candlestick



St. Roch. Easter Candlestick

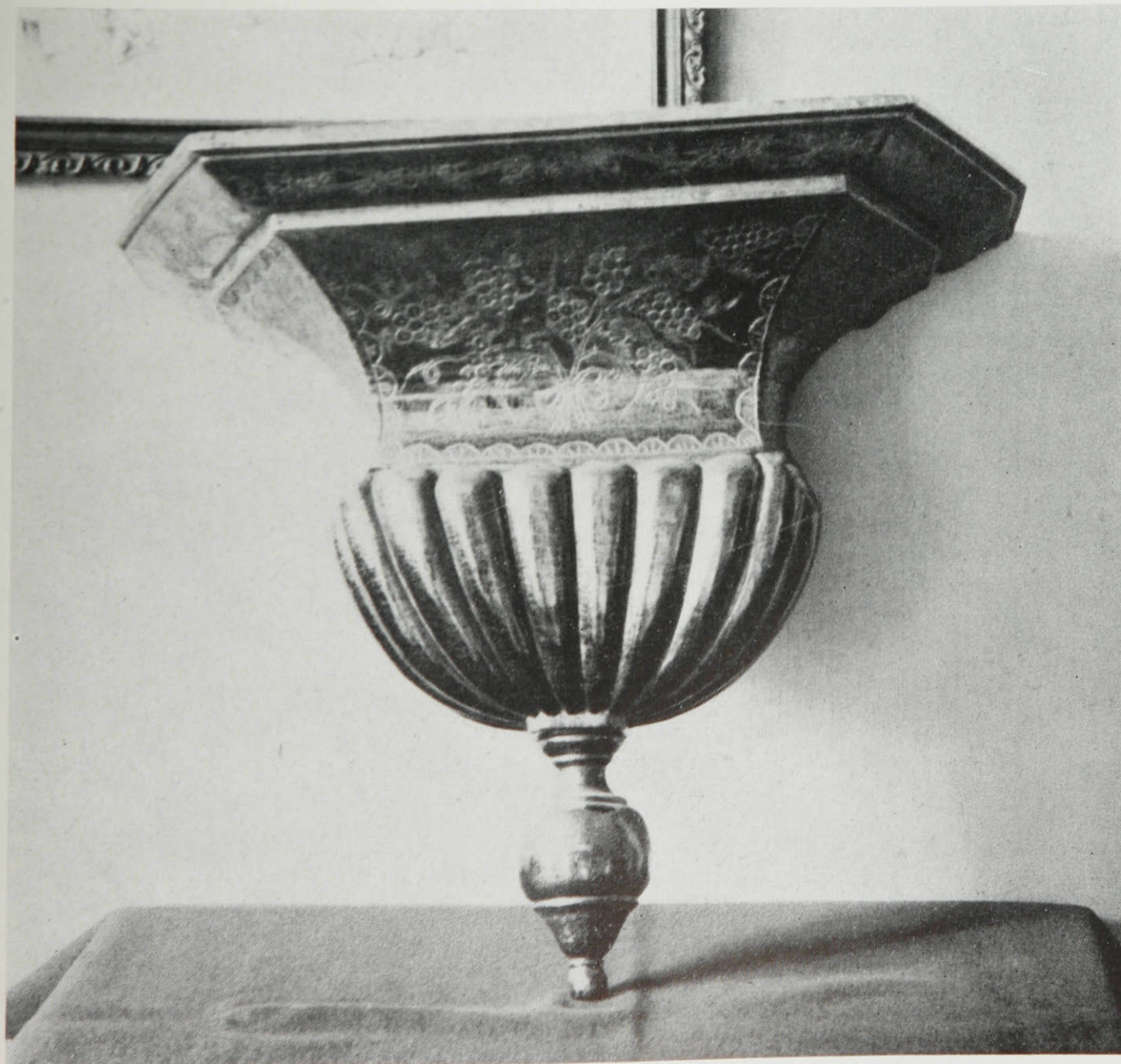


St. Roch. Reliquary

PLATE CLXXIII
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC



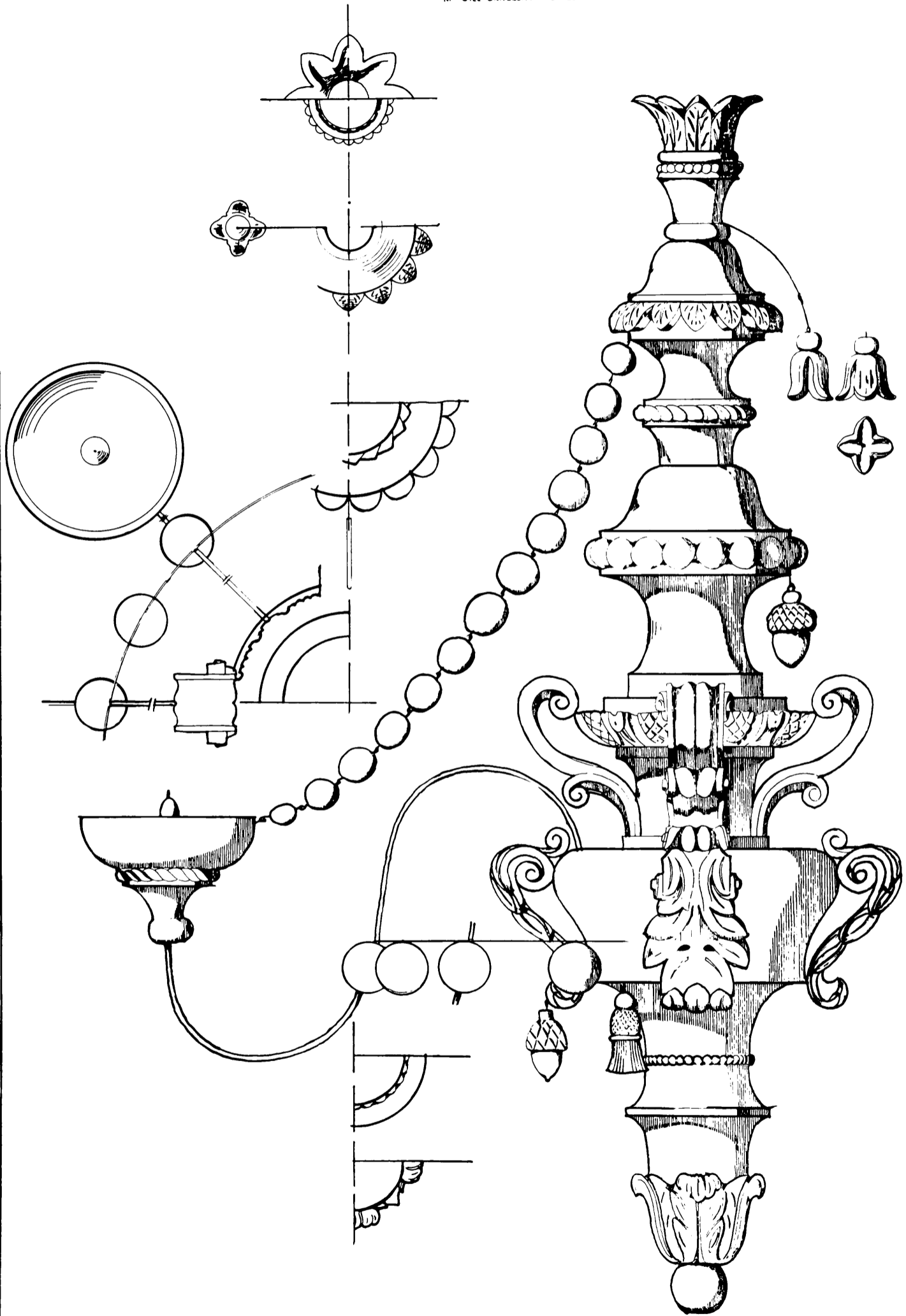
Gilt Wood Candle Sconces



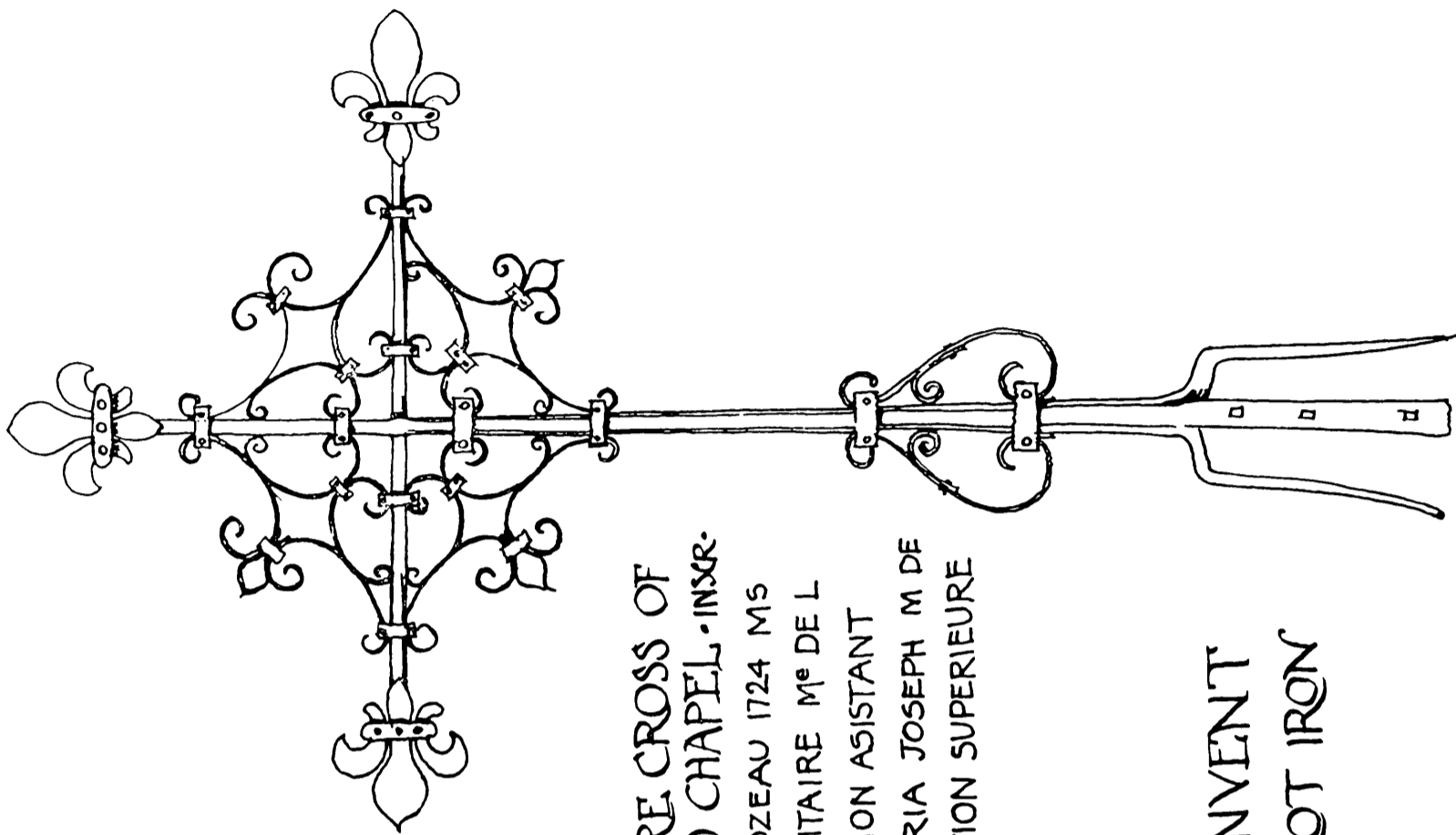
Gilt Wood Wall Bracket

WOOD CANDELABRA IN THE M^C CORD MUSEUM

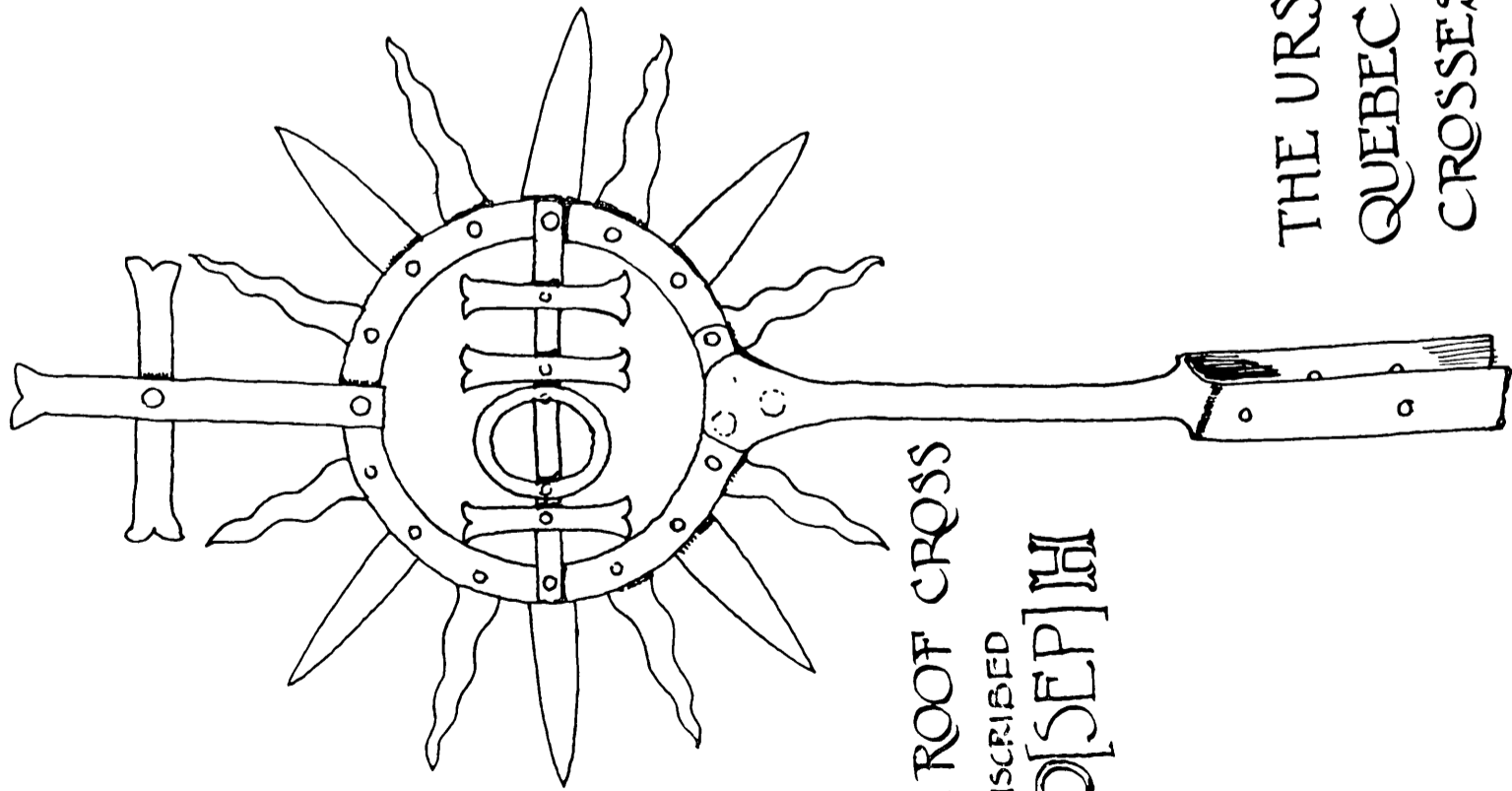
M^C GILL UNIVERSITY MONTREAL



DESIGNED BY M. M. KALMAN
DRAWN BY M. M. KALMAN '43



THE SPIRE CROSS OF
 THE OLD CHAPEL · INSR ·
 FAIT P M LOZEAU 1724 MS
 PIERE DAUSITAIRE M^e DE L
 INCARNATION ASISTANT
 JESUS MARIA JOSEPH M DE
 LA CONCEPTION SUPERIEURE



A ROOF CROSS
 INSCRIBED
 IIO[SEP]IH

THE URSULINE CONVENT
 QUEBEC · TWO WROT IRON
 CROSSES

CHAPTER XIII

IRONWORK

IT WAS usual to finish a church spire with a large cross in wrought iron. These were made by the local blacksmith and are often good examples of simple forging. They were large, the old cross at St. Pierre, I. O., is some fifteen feet high, that at Château Richer is seventeen feet six. When a spire was repaired, or rebuilt, the old cross was reused on the spire, or, not infrequently, placed in the churchyard.

A fine old wrought-iron cross now stands in the churchyard of St. Pierre on the Island of Orleans. It has a ball and four leaves at the base, a crown of thorns encircles the cross, and the ends have fleur-de-lys finials. The accounts of the church have an entry for 1720, "façon de la croix . . . 16 li 10. 1." The context shows that this was a spire cross, and the entry may well refer to the present churchyard cross.

In the Ursuline convent at Quebec is the spire cross of the old chapel. It is a florid scroll cross with fleur-de-lys finials and is inscribed:—

FAIT P M LOZEAU 1724 MS PIERE DAUSITAIRE Me DE LINCARNATION ASISTANT JESUS. MARIA. JOSEPH. M DE LA CONCEPTION SUPERIEURE.

In the accounts of the convent is an entry of 190 li 10 s for "Croix de nôtre Eglise" in 1721-22 which must refer to this cross.

The Ursulines also have a small cross surmounting a glory in which is the monogram JO[SEP]H. It is a roof cross, of somewhat unusual design.

Two spire crosses are illustrated in the plate, one, from Nôtre Dame de Pitié, is now in the Château de Ramezay, the other, from the old church at Château Richer, now serves as a wayside cross. It is not possible to date such pieces, though the scrap of rococo scroll on the Château Richer cross suggests a date in the mid-eighteenth century.

Small wrought-iron crosses were often used on graves. They are usually decorated with simple scrolls. Examples are shown from St. François, I. O., Chateauguay and Cedar Rapids.

An interesting and practical window grille is found all over the province. Bars, some $\frac{3}{8}$ inches thick and 2 to 2½ inches broad are hacked on the sides to form ragged spikes. The bars are inserted into sill and lintel so that the spikes alternate, forming a very complete barrier to any intruder.

The oddest use of wrought iron was the gilt pulpit at L'Islet made in 1817 by the "Sieur Jean Bte Poitra, le père, maître forgeron", which cost 200 louis and was taken out after only four years' service. It cannot have been very satisfactory.

The locksmith (serrurier) appears frequently in church accounts. His work included locks, hinges, door and window fittings of all kinds. The "Norfolk" or "thumb" latch was in common use, usually with a cut escutcheon: keyhole plates had the double birds' head finials usual in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

PLATE CLXXVI
THE HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL, QUEBEC

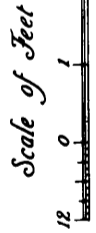
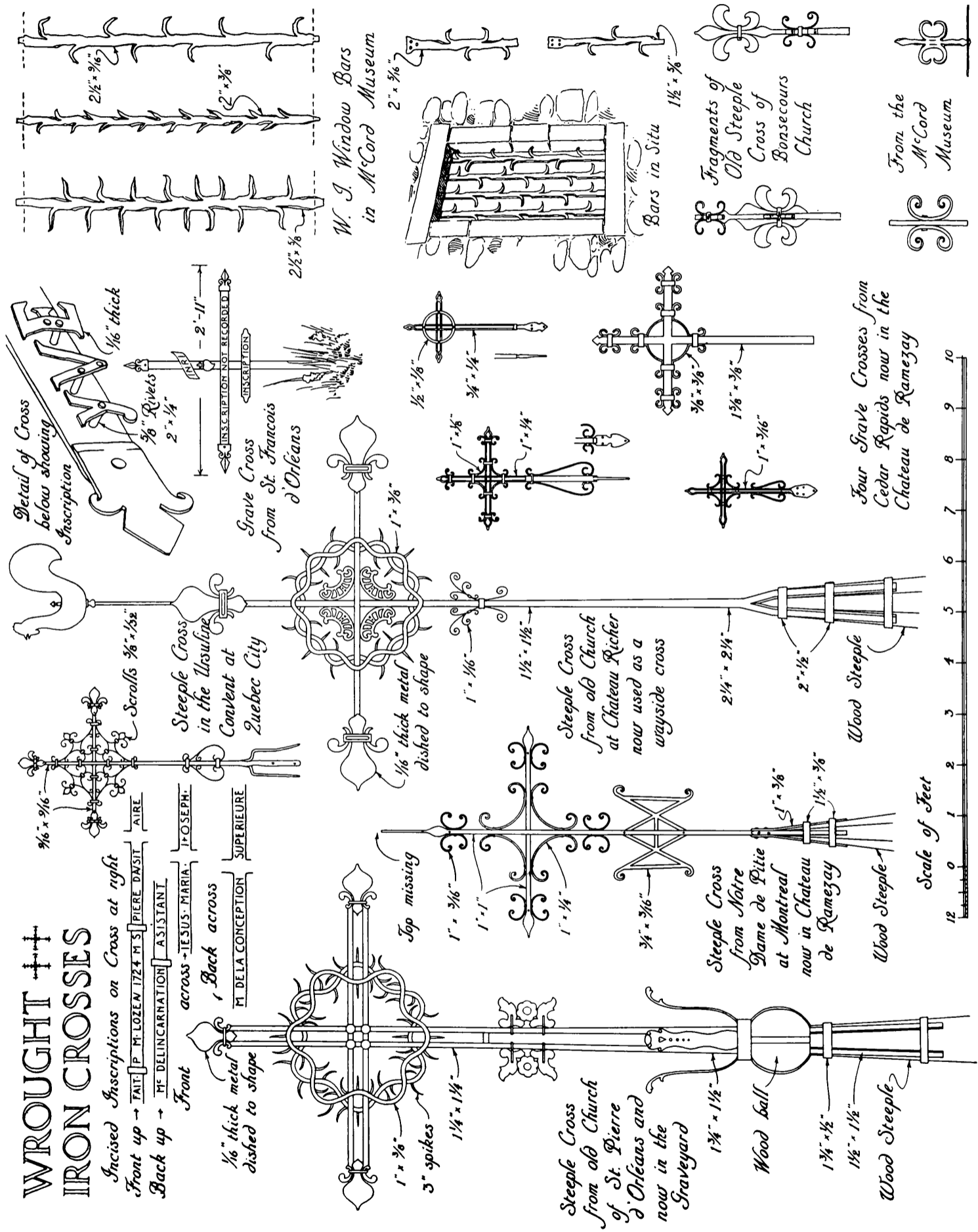


A Window Grille

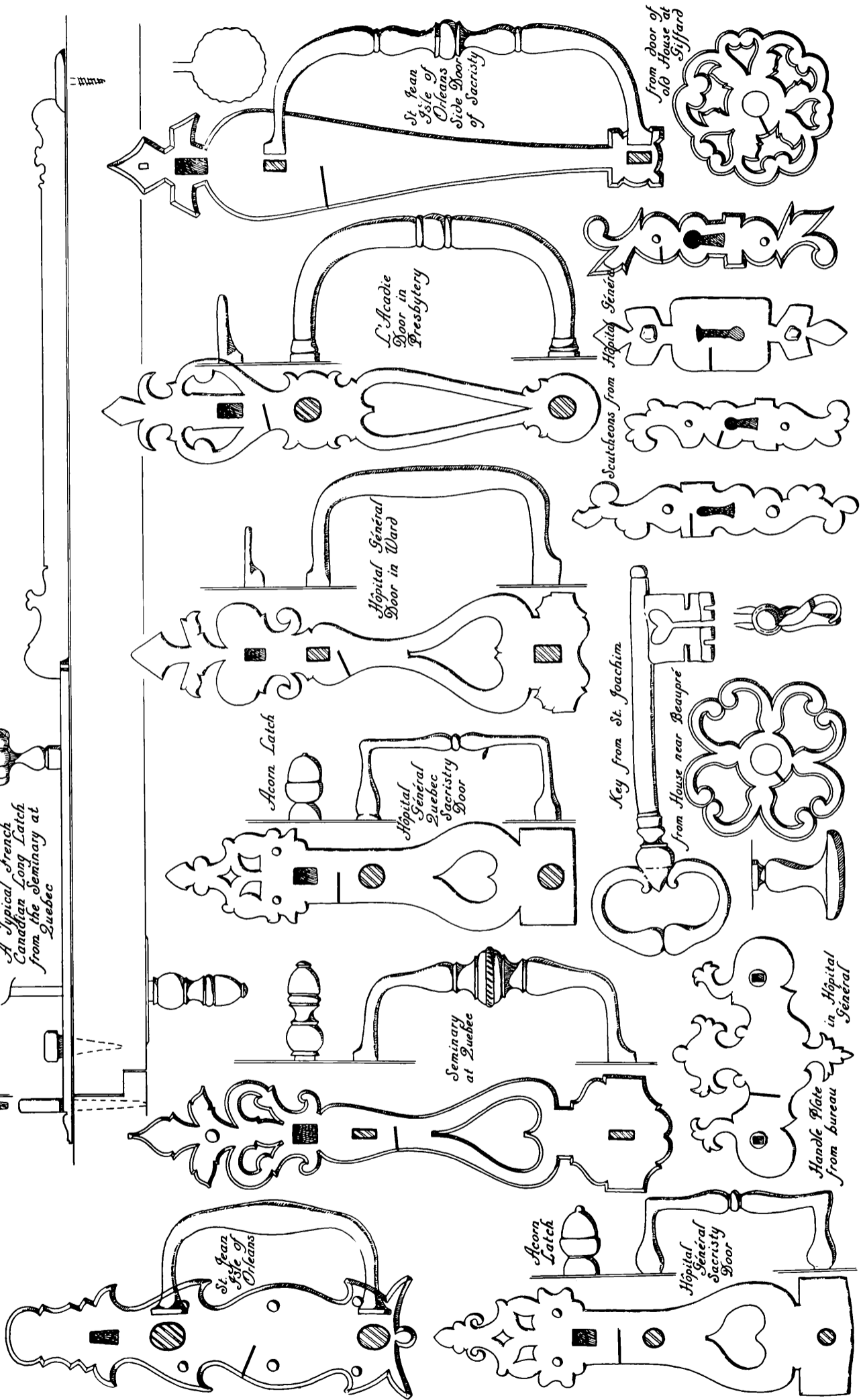
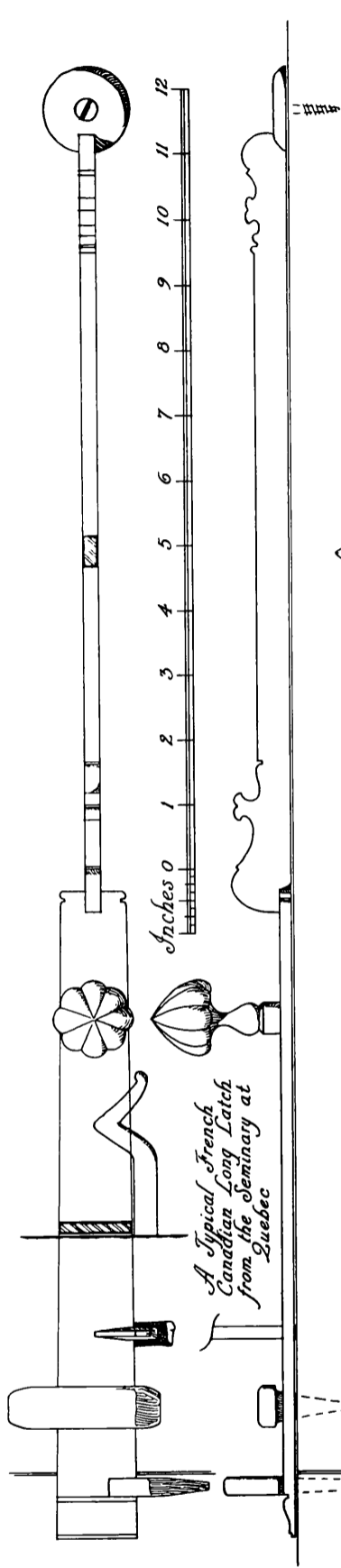
WROUGHT ++ IRON CROSSES

Incised Inscriptions on Cross at right
Front up → FAIT P. M. LOZEN 1724 M. S. PIERE D'ASIT AIRE
Back up → THE DELINCARATION ASSISTANT

Front across → IESUS. MARIA. JOSEPH.
Back across → M. DELLA CONCEPTION SUPERIEURE



WROUGHT
IRON DOOR
FURNITURE



C H A P T E R XIV

SCULPTORS AND ARCHITECTS

A list of the wood-sculptors and architects, in alphabetical order, with notes of their lives and works. A few painters are given whose names occurred in church accounts or documents.

Contractions used:—(T) Tanguay, Dictionnaire Généalogique. (V) Vaillancourt, E. Maîtrise d'Art en Canada. (M) Montreal. (I. O.) Ile d'Orleans. (I. J.) Ile Jésus. (B.R.H.) Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.

ACHIM, André. An apprentice of Quevillon (V). He made a Baptismal font for Longueuil in 1819.

BAILLAIRGE. Jean Baillairgé was born in 1726 at Villaret, France, the son of an architect. He came to Canada when fifteen years old, under the protection of Mgr. de Pontbriand. The bishop sent him first to the seminary at St. Joachim to finish his education, and then apprenticed him to an architect of Quebec.

In 1746 he opened a studio in Sault au Matelot in Quebec. A memoir, written in 1853 by J. J. Girouard, says of him:—

“Il avait reçu une éducation à la hauteur de sa profession, dessinait assez bien, faisait des plans corrects, et il était excellent calculateur. Je me rapelle qu'il me montrait les règles du cubage et d'autres calculs.”

In 1750 he went to live at Ste. Anne de la Pocatière where he was working at the church. In 1772-73 he made a rétable, pulpit and banc d'oeuvre for St. Charles Rivière Boyer, in 1773 he built the south spire of the Basilica at Quebec, in 1782 he, and his son Florent, made a rétable for L'Islet. In 1794 he and Florent were commissioned to make a rétable for St. Jean Port Joli, for which the final receipt was signed in 1798. He died in 1805.

He had two sons, François (1759-1852) and Pierre-Florent (1761-1812) who both worked with him as well as taking work in their own names. François was sent to Paris at the age of nineteen. He followed a course at the Royal Academy of Statuary, Sculpture and Painting and was a pupil of J. Bte. Stouf, a member of the Academy (1785) and of the Institut (1817). On his return to Quebec in 1781 he started business as an architect-sculptor; between 1781 and 1789 he made an altar and candlesticks for St. Joachim.

From 1787 to 1793 Jean Baillairgé and both his sons were engaged on the woodwork of the Basilica. Jean and Florent undertook the woodwork of the choir, François did the sculpture and the great baldaquin. François was also architect for the Palais de Justice at Quebec, burnt in 1878, and for the old prison (1809).

now the Morrin College, a heavy classic edifice. He was appointed treasurer to the city of Quebec about 1812. He appears to have practised as an architect after this since, in 1815, he refers to himself in the contract for St. Joachim as "moi, François Baillairgé, de cette ville, architecte pour moi et mon fils Thomas Baillairgé mon associé".

Florent, the second son, rarely appears apart from his father. The two side altars of Sainte Famille are attributed to him. He was trained as a cleric but abandoned theology and was placed in his father's workshop in 1785. He worked there for thirteen years until in 1807 he was appointed City Engineer and abandoned sculpture.

François had one son François Thomas who was born in 1791 and trained by his father and by "René Saint Jacques, one of the most famous sculptors of his day". René St. James was one of the Quevillon associates and Mr. E. Vaillancourt gives the name of Thomas Baillairgé as an apprentice of Quevillon. Thomas became a partner with his father and succeeded him in practice. He died in 1859.

Thomas did a very large amount of work, both as an architect and as a sculptor. His work is in the tradition of his father, for his apprenticeship with René St. James does not seem to have introduced any Montreal features into his work. Indeed the work of the two men, father and son, cannot be separated. Before about 1810 the work must be by François, after 1820 we may suppose that Thomas was shouldering the burden. But the work remains the same, deeply influenced by the Paris training of François.

Thomas is said to have introduced the study of architecture "dans nos grandes maisons d'éducation", though it was no innovation in the Seminary. At his request, we are told, the Revd. Jerome Demers, himself the author of a *Précis d'Architecture* and a professor at the Grand Séminaire, introduced the study of Blondel and Vignola. Thomas made a set of the orders for the seminary and it is said that his large practice was due to the help of M. Demers. His name appears constantly in church records of the early nineteenth century and the list here given is very imperfect:

- 1816-1830 St. Joachim, with François.
- 1821 Ste. Famille, Rétable.
- 1830 Palais Legislatif du Bas Canada. On the site of the old Episcopal Palace. It was burnt in 1854.
- 1835 L'Ange Gardien. Interior work, burnt in 1831.
- 1836 Ste. Luce Rimouski.
- 1840 St. Joseph Lauzon. Interior work.
- 1843-46 Façade of the Basilica, burnt in 1922 and restored.
- 1849 New Episcopal Palace.
Ste. Geneviève de Pierrefonds. Island of Montreal (V).

He had many pupils of whom the most important were André Paquet and F.-X. Berlinguet.

REFERENCES. *Notices Biographiques* Nos. 1-4 Famille Baillairgé . . . par G. T. Baillairgé. Privately printed, Joliette, P. Q.

Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, 1913, p. 307. 1914, p. 17.

G. F. Baillairgé here gives the death of François at "vers 1852" Mr. Morisset dates it at 1830.

The Baillairgés represent a profession which has now vanished. They were architects, contractors, sculptors and artists. They designed their own work and then carried it out. Old Jean Baillairgé was a "menuisier". He was a well-educated man and he designed his own work. He gave his son François an artistic training unique for its time in Canada.

François was firstly a sculptor, but he was also an ornamentalist and a painter. Some of his pictures still hang in la Sainte Famille and it can only be acknowledged that he was a better sculptor than he was a painter. In 1815 we find him signing himself "architecte". He designed and erected important public buildings; he maintained a workshop and was his own contractor. Thomas carried on the tradition, architect-sculptor-painter-contractor. He received a practical training from René St. James, but his work is that of his father. With this the Baillairgés were public men. Florent and François held civic office, Thomas interested himself in education. Architecturally their influence is supreme in the Quebec district during the first half of the nineteenth century.

BAILLIEF, Claude. Master-mason and architect. Came to Canada in 1675 (T). In 1684 he built the first church of Nôtre Dame de Victoire at Quebec and the first parish church of Montreal, with Chaussegros de Léry. In 1695 he is named as architect of the Episcopal Palace at Quebec (P. G. Roy, *La Ville de Québec*, Que., 1930).

BARET, Jean-Baptiste. Saint Vincent de Paul. Apprentice to Quevillon (V).

BARETTE, Antoine. Tanneries de Bélair (Montreal). Apprentice to Quevillon (V). Barette is associated with Paul Rollin in a payment for various works at St. Mathias in 1822.

BEDARD, Jacques. Spire of Charlesbourg 1702 (Trudelle, *Hist. of Charlesbourg*).

BELLEVILLE, Francois Guernon dit. Worked with Cirier at Pointe aux Trembles from 1754 to 1770 (Church records of Pte. Aux Trembles). He also made the side tabernacles of the church at Varennes in 1774 and reliefs for the Calvary at Oka (Morisset, *Eglises de Varennes*, p. 18).

BERCIER, Etienne. Executed the rétable of St. Etienne de Beaumont and other works there from 1816 to 1820 (Church records of Beaumont). His work shows Montreal influence. Morisset states that he was born in Montreal in 1788 and worked at St. Gervais and St. Vallier.

BERLINGUET. Louis Thomas Berlinguet was an apprentice to Joseph Pépin in 1806. His son François-Xavier was a pupil of Thomas Baillairgé and practised as an architect and sculptor in Quebec. Amongst his works are:—

1833-37 Sculpture etc. at St. Joachim.

1843-45 Complete internal wood decorations at Boucherville after the fire.

1852 New front and extension to St. Jean (I. O.) The stone spire shows the influence of James Gibbs the English architect.

1864 Gallery at l'Ange Gardien.

Vaillancourt also gives as the work of F.-X. Berlinguet the interior of the old church at Beauport, built in 1856 and burnt in 1891, the cathedral of Charlottetown, P. E. I. and the Franciscan chapel at Quebec. He was one of the founders of the province of Quebec Association of Architects.

Louis Jobin, who was an apprentice of F. X. Berlinguet, said of them:—
 “The elder Berlinguet was a stronger sculptor than his sons Thomas and François-Xavier. He early established himself at Montreal, on St. Laurent Street. Berlinguet the elder had been apprenticed to Baillaigé, he who had studied in Paris. François-Xavier and Thomas, the sons, also studied with the Baillaigé, the old man Thomas, the son of François. The Baillaigés were architects all their lives but Berlinguet was a sculptor, his workshop was on the Faubourg Saint-Jean. I entered for three years as apprentice sculptor with Berlinguet, a civil engineer and contractor and also a good sculptor (Barbeau, M., *La Presse*, Montreal, Aug. 26, 1933. Article with illustrations, “Un grand artisan: Louis Jobin”).

BOLVIN, Gilles. (Maître sculpteur en 1740.) Born 1711 son of Jean François and of Marie Anne Isabeau of St. Nicholas d'Avesne, diocèse de Cambrai. Married in 1732 at Three Rivers, died 31 January 1766, at Three Rivers (T). In 1737 Bolvin signed the contract for a tabernacle at La Chenaye, which is still preserved in the archives of the church. When the old church was pulled down, about 1880, this tabernacle was placed in the new church where it still is, possibly the finest old tabernacle in the province.

The parishioners required that the tabernacle should be similar to one in the “hôtel” at Three Rivers. There is at present a tabernacle at Boucherville which is identical in design with that at La Chenaye and is probably also by Bolvin. Slight though these remains are they prove that Gilles Bolvin was a wood-sculptor of remarkable and individual merit.

BOURGAULT, Ménard and Jean Julien. Woodcarvers of St. Jean Port Joli where they recently made the pulpit. Self-taught carvers, formerly boat-builders, they are not in the old tradition, but their work at St. Jean is of considerable merit. (Information given by M. Fleury, Curé of St. Jean Port Joli.)

BOURGEAU, Victor. Born at Lavaltrie, 1809, died 1888. He was trained as a joiner and sculptor by his uncle and practised as an architect. The following buildings are attributed to him:

St. Pierre, Montreal. Ste. Brigide, Montreal. Nôtre Dame de Pitié, Montreal, a severely classic design. The Hôtel-Dieu, Montreal. The Grey Nuns, Montreal. He enlarged the church at Varennes in 1847, and designed the façades of L'Assomption and of Ste. Rose, I. J. (Morisset).

BOUTHELLIER, François. Saint Constant. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

BRIEN, Urbain dit Desrochers. A native of Pointe aux Trembles where, in 1822, he made the rétable and other internal woodwork. He made a vault, a banc d'oeuvre, a pulpit and other works at Varennes between 1810 and 1813 (Morisset, *Eglises de Varennes*). He also worked in 1813 at Saint Denis sur Richelieu, where he is described as Urbain Durocher, maître-architecte of Pointe aux Tremb-

les. Vaillancourt gives as an apprentice of Quevillon, Joseph Bryan dit Desrochers, of Pointe aux Trembles (M); possibly a son of Urbain.

BRINDAMOUR, Joseph Tattoux dit, Montreal. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

BUSSIERES, Jean. He made a rétable at St. Pierre, I. O. in 1756-58. Tanguay gives a Jean Bussièrès, 1695-1770, of a family of St. Pierre, formerly from Bordeaux, France. None of his work is known.

CATALOGNE, Gédéon de. Born 1662 at Bresse, Bearn, came to Canada in 1685, died at Louisbourg, Cap Breton in 1729. Architect and engineer. He rebuilt the Hôtel Dieu, Montreal, after the fire of 1695, built fortifications at Cap au Diamant in 1714, Château Saint Louis, fortifications at Louisbourg (Tanguay, *A travers les registres*, Mont., 1886, p. 72).

CHABOT, François. Born 1704, d. 1726, of St. Pierre, I. O. (T). "Façon du Choeur" at St. Pierre. Probably not a sculptor.

CHABOILLEZ, Charles. Living in Montreal in 1701.

See Massicotte, B. R. H., 1922, p. 184 et seq., 1928, p. 538, and Adair, *French Canadian Art*, Can. Historical Association, Report for 1929.

I give the story of Chaboillez in the words of Professor Adair:—

"In 1701 we hear of one Charles Chaboillez who originally came from Champagne in France and who is specifically termed a sculptor in wood. In that year, feeling old age weighing upon him, he determined to enter the hospital of the Brothers Charron who in 1699 had received permission from the King to establish arts and crafts within their house; there he would "Serve God and the poor in all that he could by his art of carving as well as by carrying out such carpentry as should be needed in the community". In return he wanted nothing but a room where he could work at his designs, carry on his carving and sleep, and when he died, thirty masses said for the repose of his soul. But he soon tired of this semi-monastic life and in May 1702, decided to join forces with a retired sergeant who owned sixty arpents of land just outside Montreal. There they would live together as soon as Chaboillez had finished an altar which he was making for the church of the Récollets.

"Alone in the world, the two old gentlemen agreed to leave all their worldly goods to the first child to be born to a certain young sculptor from Quebec, Noël Levasseur, who was then living in Montreal and had just married. In 1704 Chaboillez took for a term of three years an apprentice in the art of woodcarving; all seemed at peace when, suddenly swept off his feet, he married a girl in her twenties, giving his own age in the register as 50 years. He at once repudiated his deed of gift to Noël Levasseur, became the proud father of three children and, four years after his marriage, died at the age of 70, a mathematical discrepancy which is explained not so much by the ageing effect of married life as by the natural vanity of an old man wedding a young wife."

CHARRON, Amable. An apprentice of Quevillon (V). He lived at St. Jean Port Joli at least from 1816 to 1839. In a deed in the archives of St. Jean he is described as "Amable Charron. Ecuier ancien sculpteur et architecte et actuellement marchand de la paroisse St-Jean-Port-Joli". Made a rétable at l'Islet 1816-22.

CHARTRAND, Vincent. Sculptor of St. Vincent de Paul, an apprentice of Quevillon (V).

- | | | |
|-----------|---|----------|
| 1831 | <i>Ile Dupas</i> . Stalls of the choir and confessional by Vincent Chartrand and Marquet. | 624.0 li |
| | Repairs to the Chapel of St. Roch by the same. | 3000 li |
| 1832-1837 | Work at Lachenaie. | |
| 1838 | Sault au Récollet. Pulpit. | |
| 1838-41 | Rouville, St. Jean Baptiste. Pulpit (Morisset.) | |

CIRIER, Antoine. Made a rétable for the church at Longue Pointe in 1740. His name occurs in the accounts until 1770. Cirier was a parishioner of Longue Pointe and his work in the church was much admired. In 1742, Mgr. de Pontbriand visited the church and in the course of his recommendations mentions "le rétable qui orne avec tant de grâce leurs autels et sanctuaire". The church was burnt in 1893.

In 1746 Antoine Cirier did work in the church at Varennes including the main door and a lectern. Later, about 1780, he did further sculpture work in the same church (Morisset, *Eglises de Varennes*, p. 12).

Along with "BELLEVILLE" Antoine Cirier made a rétable at Pointe aux Trembles (M) in 1754-70. Massicotte states that he was baptised in Montreal in 1718 and lived at Longue Pointe until 1748, then at Pointe aux Trembles. He bought a house on Nôtre Dame Street, Montreal in 1755 (B. R. H., 1929, p. 132). (See article by A. Bellay in the *Revue Canadienne*, Montréal, Juillet 1893 and Falardeau, *Artistes et Artisans du Canada*, Montreal, 1942.)

CIRIER, Martin. On the first of April, 1731, the church of Longue Pointe made a contract with Martin Cirier, *maître menuisier*, for joiner work in the church and for repairs to the roof. Three months later they made a second contract for a pulpit "on the model, with all the proportions and divisions of that which is at present in the church of l'Enfant Jésus of Pointe aux Trembles, with a canopy over it similar to that which surmounts the pulpit of the RR. PP. Récollets of Montreal and with a circular stair like that which is in the parish church of Ville-Marie for the sum of two hundred livres" (A. Bellay, *Revue Canadienne*, Juillet 1893, Montreal).

It is noticeable that this contract is made at the same time, within a year or so, that the work at Pointe aux Trembles was being done by Antoine Cirier. Massicotte tells us that Antoine Cirier was living at Longue Pointe until 1748. Martin is said to have been his son.

COUTURIER, Pierre. Mason and architect. Contract for the Château de Ramezay in 1705 (*Can. Antiquarian*, 4, Ser. V. 1, p. 34).

CREPEAU, Basile, b. 1736 d. after 1786. Of Château Richer (T), 1762-63. Carving and candlesticks at St. Pierre I. O.

DANGUEL, Jacques. Architect. Vercheres, 1724. Contract for mason work (*Livres de Comptes*, Vol. f. 4a).

DAUPHIN, Charles. Montreal. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

DAVID, David Fleury. "Sculpteur et maître chantre" of Sault au Récollet. Between 1816 and 1823 he made the existing vault and rétable of Sault au Récollet, and apparently also acted as precentor.

DAVID, Louis Bazil, an apprentice of Quevillon. In 1810-11 he did decorations at St. Jean, I. O., and in 1812 he made the vault of Ste. Famille.

DEGNEAU, Joseph. Longueuil. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

DUCHAINE, Christophe. Saint Vincent de Paul. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

DUGAL, François. Terrebonne. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

DUGAL, Olivier. Terrebonne. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

"Dugal" is associated with St. James in a receipt for the transport of works of sculpture to St. Mathias in 1824. (Archives of St. Mathias). Vaillancourt states that he also worked in association with St. James.

DUMAS, Jean-Romain. St. Vincent de Paul. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

DUROCHER, DESROCHERS, see Brien.

EMOND, Pierre. Pierre Emond was in general charge of the works at the Hôpital Général at Quebec between 1770 and 1808, and almost certainly made the rétable of the church there.

In the accounts of St. Joachim of 1782 "Emond" and a blacksmith are paid 1165 li for an altar and baldaquin and, at the same time M. Baillaigé is paid for the (cadre) frame of the altar and for gilding, and later on for a tabernacle.

In 1785 he made the woodwork of Bishop Olivier Briand's private chapel in the Seminary, a well-executed little work which is still perfectly preserved.

In 1795 he made a tabernacle, picture frame and autel bombé for St. Pierre where they still are.

Emond was at one time "marguillier en charge" at the Basilica and evidently a man of standing.

FAUCHOIS, Michel. Sculptor at the Seminary of Quebec, 1675 (Gosselin).

FILIAU, François, b. Montreal 1760, d. 1834.

1788. François Filiau carved an Easter Candlestick for Longue Pointe Church (M).

FINSTERER — FINSTER — FISTRE

The Finsterer family probably came from a small colony of Swiss who established themselves at Grande Ligne, a little to the south of L'Acadie.

In 1802 an altar, and in 1803 a tabernacle, were purchased by the church at L'Acadie and the payments were made to Jean George Finsterer, who, in the marriage contract of his son Daniel in 1812, is described as "sculpteur, resident en la Paroisse" of Ste. Marguerite de Blairfindie. This altar and tabernacle are still in the church but they are typical Quevillon work, and almost certainly came from St. Vincent de Paul.

But George Finsterer seems to have been responsible for a good deal of woodwork in the church between 1800 and 1809. In 1812 the decoration of the church was commenced and this was placed in the hands of Louis Daniel Finsterer, also described as "Maître-sculpteur, demeurant dans la paroisse de Ste-Marguerite de Blairfindie". He must have made the existing rétable and vault with its cornice, and he continued to do work in the church until 1840, (*Parish and church of L'Acadie*, E. R. Adair and Eleanor S. Wardleworth. Can. Hist. Ass. report for 1933).

FOURNIER, Claude. Laprairie. An apprentice of Quevillon (V).

FOURNIER, François. Architect of St. Thomas, did work at St. Jean Port Joli between 1846 and 1853.

FOURNIER, SIEUR Louis, referred to as "Maître-sculpteur de Montreal" presents a plan for a pulpit to the marguilliers of Lachenaie in 1782. It was executed and, later, he made a banc d'oeuvre for the church.

GAUGET (Goyette) Félix. Longueuil. An apprentice of Quevillon (V).

GAUTHIER, Amable. Saint Grégoire. An apprentice of Quevillon. He was associated with Quevillon at Lavaltrie, St. Ours and Maskinonge. After Quevillon's death he established himself at Saint Barthélémy. He worked at the churches of St. Elizabeth, St. Viateur, St. Paul de Joliette, St. Victoire, St. Marcel, St. Aimé and others, and, in association with Alex. Milette at Berthier en Haut. He died in 1876 at the age of 85 (V).

GAUTHIER, Léon. St. Vincent de Paul. An apprentice of Quevillon (V).

GENNER, Samuel. A sculptor at the Seminary of Quebec in 1675 (Gosselin).

GOSSELIN, Gabriel. St. Laurent, I. O. "Menuisier".

1734 Work at St. François, I. O.

1748 Ste. Famille, I. O. Steeple and other works.

1757-8 Rétable at St. François, I. O.

1764 St. Pierre, I. O. 5 "chapitos", 1765. Tabernacle.

1788 Ste. Famille, I. O. Tabernacles and banc d'oeuvre.

From the character of his work Gosselin seems to have been a sculptor, the capitals and the tabernacles almost require it. There were many Gosselins on the Island of Orleans and many of them were woodworkers.

GRAVEL, Charles. "Entrepreneur de la boiserie du Sanctuaire et des Chapelles" Charlesbourg, 1767 (Trudelle. *Histoire de Charlesbourg*, p. 130).

HARDY. Sculptor of Yamachiche. Mr. Morisset states that there were two sculptors of this name at Yamachiche, Pierre and Jean Baptiste. The references which I have found in the church accounts are all simply to "Hardy".

Between 1768 and 1772 Hardy executed work in the church at Varennes amounting to the sum of more than 3,300 livres (Morisset, *Les Eglises de Varennes*, p. 13).

Lachenaie 1770. In the accounts of Lachenaie is an item,

"Donné à Hardy pour le rétable 2700"
and further on in the same year

"Donné à Jacson pour des sculptures que Hardy n'étoit point obligé de
faire pa son marche 138"
and:—

"Donné à Jacson pour Hardy deux livres".

In 1774 a picture of the Visitation in low relief by M. Hardy, sculpteur de Yamachiche, was purchased by the Church of l'Île Dupas for 450 li.

Antoine Jacson executed carving at St. Pierre, (I. O.) in 1781-83. At Lachenaie he seems to have been working in some kind of association with Hardy.

HAY, Pierre. Master-sculptor, born 1661, died 1708 at Montreal. Lived at Boucherville (T).

HEBERT, Sculptor, is mentioned in the accounts of Sault au Récollet, in 1173, probably for a rétable, statues and roof made between 1764 to 1773. Probably a mistake for Liébert.

HEER, Louis de. Painter.

In the archives of the Seminary at Quebec, referring to the Church of St. Charles, Rivière Boyer:—

“Je soussigné m'oblige de faire en peinture, pour l'église de St-Charles, 1° un dais au dessus de l'autel dont je dorerais les soupandes qui y sont en bois en or fin la bordure seulement et peindrai le reste de nouveau. 2° Sept tableaux proportionnes aux trumeaux que j'ai vus; un representera le Christ et les autres six apotres. Je fournirai tout: les peintures et la toile. 3° un St-Esprit au-dessus du sanctuaire aussi en peinture sur toile. 4° St-Jean Baptiste pour les fonds pareil a l'estampe qui y est et ce pour le prix et somme de dix-huit portugaises huit cent soixante quatre livres. A St-Charles le 23 mars 1789. J'ai reçu a compte neuf portugaises. Je livrerai l'ouvrage et le poserai moi-meme dans le cours de juin prochain.

“(Signe) Louis de Heer
“avec paraphe
Peintre”

The pictures are no longer in the church but the contract tells us how most of the pictures in the churches were obtained. Many, of course, were brought from France, especially in the wealthier congregations, but many were painted by Canadian artists. We know that François and Thomas Baillaigé both painted church pictures; some of them are still on the walls of Ste. Famille (I. O.). Unfortunately these pictures are usually very dirty and, as works of art, very poor.

Louis de Heer is probably the same as Louis Daheer who in 1790 did gilding to the rétable at L'Islet.

HURTUBISE, Joseph. Cote St. Antoine (M). Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

JACSON, Antoine. Sculpteur. Rue des Carrières, Quebec, 1770-71.

1770 Sculptures at Lachenaie, with Hardy.

1781-83 Decorations at St. Pierre (I. O.).

JACQUES, Louis. Sculptor.

Charlesbourg. Choir and baptistry. 1701-11.

St. Pierre, I. O. Pulpit. 1721.

JOBIN, Louis. Sculptor. Ste. Anne de Beaupré. B. 1845, d. 1928.

Louis Jobin was born at Saint Raymond, Portneuf, in 1845. At the age of twenty he was apprenticed to F.-X. Berlinguet, whom he described as civil engineer and contractor and also a good sculptor. He spent three years here and then went to New York, where he continued his apprenticeship for another year with an English sculptor, Bolton. He returned to Montreal in 1870 and eventually, in 1898, settled at Ste. Anne de Beaupré. He did all kinds of work, shop-signs, tobacconists' negroes and red indians, tombstones and religious figures for churches. (See article in *La Presse*, Montreal, August 26, 1933, by Mr. Marius Barbeau.)

Louis Jobin was a master-sculptor trained in the old traditional school, one of the last of his line. Nothing annoyed him more than to be called "self-taught", as enthusiastic journalists were apt to do. His best work was large statues of saints and religious personages for niches on the outside of churches (where the usual plaster saints were impracticable). These he cut direct from the log, with great vigour and a thorough knowledge of the needs of architectural statuary. When asked if he used models he replied that he did not, but only because he could not afford them. Many of these statues were covered in copper or lead beaten on to the wood. He did not usually sign his work.

LABERGE, François. Carved four large candlesticks for the church at Varennes about 1772 (Morisset, *Eglises de Varennes*, p. 13).

LABROSSE. JOURDAIN dit. A family of sculptors and workers in wood in Montreal in the eighteenth century. Four names are recorded, Paul Jourdain dit Labrosse, sculptor, his brother Denis, menuisier, his son Bazil and a Labrosse, Montreal, who was apprenticed to Quevillon in 1810 and is otherwise unknown.

An extract from a projected history of Laprairie, by M. Choquet, the curé, is given in Hadfield's diary, as a footnote by the editor. (*An Englishman in America*, p. 41). This tells us that the corner stone of the church was blessed in 1704 and, thereafter the celebrated Canadian sculptor, Paul Jourdain de la Brosse, was engaged to carve the altar and the main doorway. In 1772-73 two side altars were made by Bazil de la Brosse. The "de" is evidently a mistake for "dit".

Between 1730 and 1741 Paul Jourdain dit Labrosse, in association with his brother Denis, made a rétable for the church at Varennes which cost 2,330 livres. It is now lost (Morisset, *Eglises de Varennes*, p. 11).

In 1736-38 the Sre La Brosse was paid 42 li. for the carving of a large frame at Lachenaie. In 1737 and 1741 Labrosse, sculptor, did work at Sault au Récollet. In 1739 Labrosse is named as carpenter in the accounts of Nôtre Dame de Montreal. This is probably the Denis Jourdain Labrosse, menuisier, who is mentioned in a bill of sale of the Château de Ramezay in 1745. His house adjoined the Château.

An entry concerning Longueuil in the papers of the Abbé Faillon, in the Library of St. Sulpice in Montreal, tells us that in 1741 Labrosse was paid 600 louis for a tabernacle. This is probably the tabernacle at present in the basement of the church.

Of work executed by members of this family there remains the old tabernacle at Longueuil and a large crucifix in Nôtre Dame de Montréal. There may be more, not yet identified.

Their importance in history is that they were probably the masters and teachers of the Montreal sculptors of the early nineteenth century, who, so far as we may judge by their work, were little influenced by the Quebec sculptors.

LA JOUE, François de. Maître tailleur de pierre, architect et bourgeois. Born in 1656, lived in Montreal from 1689 to 1693 (Massicotte B. R. H., 1929 p. 132). Died in Persia before 1719 (Morisset). In 1702 the Sieur Lajoue, architect, was instructed by the intendant to report on defective foundations at Ste. Famille (I. O.). In 1717 he is named as architect in the accounts of the Ursuline convent

at Quebec for the buildings of the Aile des Parloirs. A mason, Sieur Gratis, and a carpenter, Sieur Belleville, are also named so that apparently M. Lajoue was not employed as a mason, but his functions are not defined. Later he was the architect for the chapel of the same convent.

LA TOUR, Jacques Leblond de. Jacques Leblond de La Tour was head of the School of Sculpture at the Seminary and at St. Joachim from 1690 to 1696 as a layman and as a cleric from 1698 to 1706. In 1706 he was ordained priest and became curé of Baie St. Paul where he died in 1715 (Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada*). He was one of the founders of the Quebec School of woodcarvers, and came originally from Bordeaux in France.

LATOUR, Jean. Sculptor, native of Lagay in the diocese of Paris, died in 1677 at Quebec (Tanguay, *A travers les registres*, Mont., 1886, p. 62).

The accounts of the Ursuline convent for 1674-75 record a payment of 16 livres to Latour, sculptor, for making four little garlands for "la chapelle des saints". But which Latour this was, it is not possible to say.

LEBLANC, Augustin (1799-1882 Morisset). Master-sculptor of St. Gregoire, Trois Rivières. Did decorations in the church at Sorel about 1830 (Couillard-Despres, *Histoire de Sorel*, p. 188).

LE BLOND.

Batiscan, *Livre de Comptes*, Vol. 1 f. 18a (Dep 1708)

"a mond Sr le Blond il a avance 48 li
pour les statues qu'il a promis faire".

This can hardly be Jacques le Blond de Latour who was curé of Baie St. Paul at the time. The name has not been found elsewhere.

LECLAIRE, François. Saint Eustache. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

LECOURT, Louis. Terrebonne. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

LEMIEUX, François. Sculptor. Two pieces of sculpture and other work at L'Islet between 1827 and 1831.

LEPROHON, Alcibiade, Montreal. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

LERY, Chaussegros de. Ingenieur du Roy. He designed the front of the Old Parish Church of Montreal in 1722, of which a drawing is preserved in the Seminary of St. Sulpice. In 1745-48 he was architect of the Basilica of Quebec, burnt during the siege of 1759.

De Léry was of noble family. He was the principal civil and military engineer of Quebec during the first half of the eighteenth century.

LESCAULT, Louis. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

LEVASSEUR, Le VASSEUR.

Jean Levasseur, huissier, died in Quebec in 1686. His son Noël was, in 1697 placed in charge of an enlargement of the Basilica. His grandson Noël, born in 1680, was trained as a sculptor. As a young man he lived in Montreal where in 1701 he married Madeleine Turpin at Nôtre Dame. Here, as has already been told, he met the old sculptor Charles Chaboillez. A judicial document of May 23rd, 1729, estimates work done by him at Boucherville at 600 livres.

But he must have returned to Québec before then for, in 1721, he made the fine tabernacle at the Hôpital Général, presented by Mgr. de Saint Vallier to replace the old one destroyed by a lightning stroke. It bears, on the grade, the arms of St. Vallier.

In 1727 he made a tabernacle for Pointe aux Trembles (M) but after about 1730 his work is almost confined to the Quebec district.

Noël Levasseur had two sons who followed their father's profession, François Noël (1703-90 or 1794) and Jean Baptiste Antoine (1717-75).

The father and his two sons became the leading wood-sculptors of the eighteenth century. The amount of work they did was very great: their names, often Les Vasseurs or Les Sieurs Vasseur, appear again and again in eighteenth century church accounts, sometimes for a rétable or a tabernacle, often for individual statues. The family record extends from 1716 when Noël le Vasseur, living in the rue Saint Louis, Quebec, is described in the census as sculpteur to 1790 when François Noël his son died, an old man of eighty-seven, in the Hôpital Général at Quebec. The nuns still have an altar made under his directions by his niece Marie-Joseph Hallé, a nun of the Hôpital.

Their best work is the great rétable of the Ursuline chapel in Quebec, made in 1732. Some of the carving here reaches a very high level indeed. The panels on the column pedestals are the finest old carving in Canada, the St. John Baptist would be remarkable anywhere.

Pierre Levasseur, a brother of Jean the huissier, was a menuisier, that is a joiner and furniture maker. He founded a family of joiners which ends in Pierre Noël Levasseur a sculptor who was born in 1719. He must have been a sculptor of some reputation for, in 1751, he was given the contract for the tabernacle, rétable and platform at the Jesuit church in Quebec (B. R. H., Vol. XXXIII, p. 40 (1927). Note by the Abbé J. St. Denis).

This interior is one of the subjects illustrated in Short's *Views*. The church had an octagonal apse and a flat ceiling very elaborately carved and panelled. The rétable had doubled corinthian columns, on high double pedestals, with over the altar a picture in a carved frame. The tabernacle is unfortunately gone. The side doors, to the sacristy, seem to have been carved, as were the panels of the pedestals. The body of the church was treated with an ionic pilaster order.

We do not know how much of this was due to Pierre Noël Levasseur, as indeed we find it difficult to distinguish the individual works of any of the Levasseurs. The fact that he, and his father, were named Noël, after the elder branch of the family, would indicate that the connection of the two families was close. It may be noted that Pierre Noël's father married a Mademoiselle François Agnès de la Joue in 1719, perhaps the descendant of François de la Joue, the architect and master stone cutter.

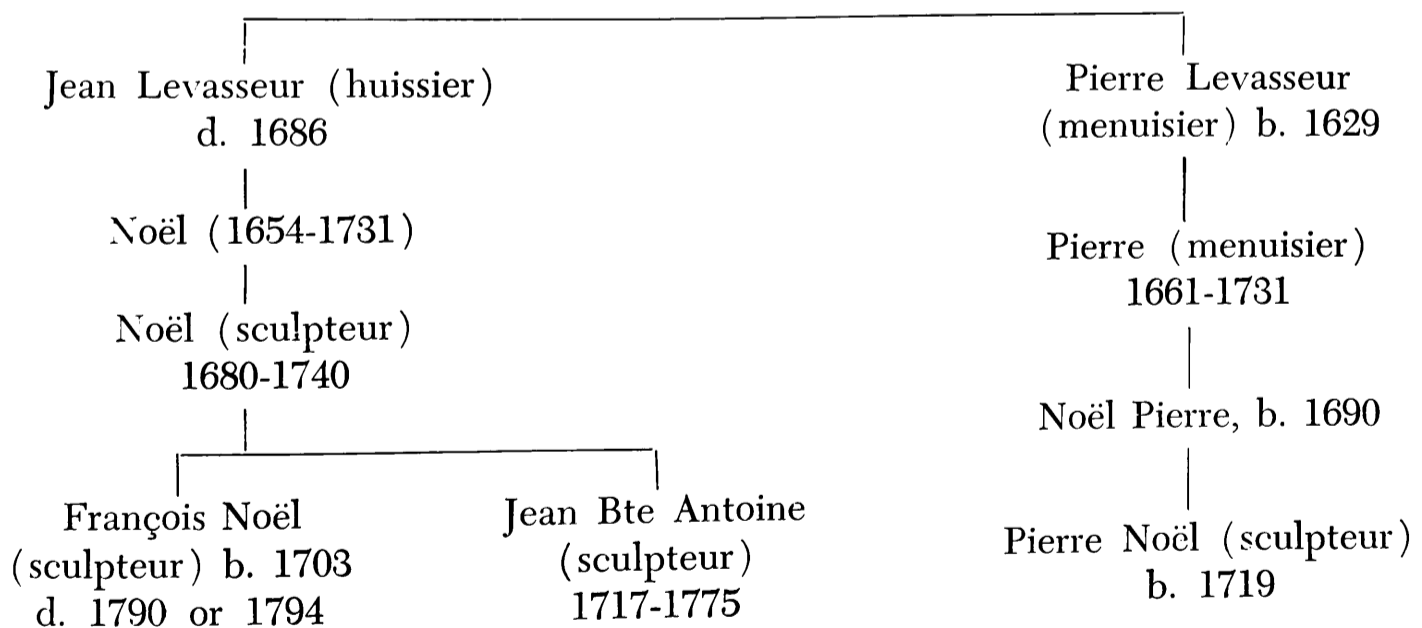
The list here given of their works must be very imperfect.

1721 The tabernacle of the high altar at the Hôpital Général Quebec. Still in the church.

1726 Door for the church at Varennes. "Noël Levasseur, menuisier" (Morisset, *Eglises de Varennes*, p. 11).

1727 Pointe aux Trembles (M) "au Vasseur" for a tabernacle.

- 1729 Boucherville, work amounting to 600 li.
 1729 Statue at Jeune Lorette. The Abbé Lindsay in *Nôtre Dame de la Jeune Lorette* mentions a statue of Our Lady and Child inscribed "Je suis donné par Noël Levasseur sculpteur et son Epouse Marie Madeleine Turpin le 1er mars 1729, pour faire la procession du scapulaire et du rosaire tous les de chaque mois et troisième dimanche de chaque mois. Priez. Sainte Vierge, s'il vous plait, pour eux et leur familles et soyez leur advocatte pour le temps et pour l'éternité, Amen." This statue is not now at Lorette.
 1732-36 Rétable in the Ursuline convent, Quebec. Still in the chapel.
 1740 Charlesbourg, two statues.
 1741-42 Batiscan. Srs. Les Vasseurs, sculpteur pour le nouveau tabernacle 650 li. This tabernacle is now in the sacristy of the new church.
 1746 Beaumont. Sr. Levasseur. 24 li for a statue for the portal.
 1748-49 Ste. Famille (I. O.). Five statues and a tabernacle for the high altar. The statues have disappeared but the tabernacle is still in use.
 1751 St. Pierre (I. O.). Three statues.
 1751 Rétable and tabernacle at the Jesuit Church, Quebec by Pierre Noël Levasseur.
 1766 Two statues and other carving at St. Pierre (I. O.).
 1771 Rétable and altars at St. François (I. O.) by "Les Vasseurs". A little tabernacle in the boundary chapel is probably part of this work.
 1772 Lachenaie. Le Vasseur pour les deux statues, etc.
 1780 St. François (I. O.) Levasseur sculpteur 54 li.
 1782-3 M. Levasseur. Five statues at St. Charles Borromée Bellechasse Co.
 Before 1790. Altar of N. Dame des Anges in the Hôpital Général (Q)



Note: In 1745 François Noël Levasseur apprenticed his son René Michel, then twenty-two years old, to François Filiau Dubois for four years for the purpose of learning "la menuiserie". This was probably François Filiau who carved an Easter Candlestick for Longue Pointe church (M) in 1788. René Levasseur died at Sorel thirteen years later. (B. R. H., Vol. XXXVII, No. 8, Aug. 1931).

LIEBERT, Philippe, was born at Nemours in France in 1732 or 1734. He married Marie François Lenoir, of Pointe Aux Trembles in 1761, when twenty-seven years

old, and died in Montreal, in 1804, aged seventy-two. Liebert was one of the leading sculptors of the second half of the eighteenth century in Montreal. Unfortunately most of his work has perished and the evidence for much that has been attributed to him is hardly conclusive.

He made a rétable and a tabernacle for Repentigny in 1760-61 and did much work at l'Assomption between 1760 and 1774. Between 1764 and 1773 he probably made a vault and a rétable for Sault au Récollet, if the record of payment to "Hebert sculpteur" refers to him, and also to the rétable. Of this work nothing now remains unless the two doors in the sanctuary are part of his rétable. In 1791 he made a tabernacle for the high altar and four picture frames for the church at Varennes, and in the same year a pulpit for Sault au Récollet. In 1792 he made a tabernacle for the high altar at Sault au Récollet, which is still in the church. He appears to have used the same design for the tabernacles which he made for St. Michel de Vaudreuil and for St. Martin on the Ile Jesus. In 1796 he is mentioned as making two altars at Vaudreuil. In 1791 he made a pulpit and a banc d'oeuvre for Notre Dame de Montreal. He appears to have had a deep influence on the work of the Quevillon group of sculptors. Reference, Morisset, *Philippe Liebert*, Que., 1943.

LORION. An apprentice of Quevillon (V).

MAILLOU, Jean-Baptiste. B. 1668. "Architecte". D. 1753 (T). St. François, I. O. Devant d'Autel. 1778.

MALLET. Sculptor at the Seminary 1690. (Gosselin).

MARQUETTE, Pierre Solomon Benoît, dit. Beloeil. An apprentice of Quevillon. He was associated with Vincent Chartrand from 1824 to 1831 and is known to have done work at l'Ile Dupas and St. Roch (V).

MARTIN, François. Saint Benoit. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

MENECLIER, Louis. Vaudreuil. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

MILETTE, Alexis. Yamachiche, an apprentice of Quevillon. He was associated with Gauthier in the internal work of Berthier en haut and, by himself, did woodwork at Louiseville and Yamachiche, both now destroyed. He and his pupils worked in the Three Rivers district. The interior of Berthier en haut is a very rich example of pure Quevillonage.

MOISAIN, Pierre. Longue Pointe (M). Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

NADEAU, Louis. B. 1735 of a family of the Ile d'Orleans (T). He made the choir balustrade for St. François (I. O.) in 1767 and the gallery in 1782. A Joseph Nadeau supplied gilt candlesticks to St. Charles Rivière Boyer in 1757, and a Simon Nadeau made a banc d'oeuvre for St. François (I. O.) in 1791. It is doubtful if any of these were sculptors.

NORMAND, Sr. François. Maître sculpteur. Made a vault and other work at Batiscan in 1817.

OSTELL, John. An English architect who carried out much work, both ecclesiastic and public, in and near Montreal in the mid-nineteenth century. He built the

west front of Sault au Rêcollet in 1850 in the solid Italian Renaissance of the time and St. Jacques, Montreal in bastard Gothic. His work hardly enters into the scope of this book.

PAQUET, André dit Lavallee. The most important pupil of Thomas Baillairgé. He was born at St. Charles Rivière Boyer in 1799 and died in Quebec in 1860 (*Hist. of St. Charles* by the Abbé G. Coté). At l'Ange Gardien he made a vault in 1829 and a pulpit in 1849. At Charlesbourg he did the complete decoration between 1833 and 1849. This work, though somewhat altered by the fashioning of a gallery at the east end, is still in the church. He made the existing rétable at St. Pierre in 1832-4 and the banc d'oeuvre in 1847.

His best work is perhaps that at St. Charles Borromée at Rivière Boyer in Bellechasse County. The work here, vault, rétable, pulpit and banc d'oeuvre is stated in the accounts to be "d'après un plan dressé par Maître Baillairgé" and was carried out between 1832 and 1838. Paquet's work is hardly to be distinguished from that of his master Thomas Baillairgé. His decorative carving, swags, trophies and cartouches are graceful and fluently cut. His flowers, often used as bouquets in vases or baskets are naturalistic, and beautifully cut, very much in the French late eighteenth century manner. He was a skilful carver and designer, but not an artist of great originality. He uses occasional low reliefs, so completely in his master's manner that one suspects them of having originated in the Baillairgé workshop in Quebec.

PEPIN, François. Longue Pointe. The son of a habitant. Apprenticed to Joseph Pépin in 1805 (V).

PEPIN, Jean Baptiste. Longue Pointe. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

PEPIN, Joseph, born 1770, associate of Quevillon and a major in the local militia. In official documents he is designated master-sculptor, master-architect or esquire (ecuyer), he had five sons, all of whom became sculptors. He died in 1841 (V). 1808. He is mentioned in the accounts of Boucherville along with Quevillon. 1808 to 1832 he executed the entire internal decoration of St. Roch de l'Achigan. This remains untouched to this day and is his most important monument. From 1811 to 1815 he did works of "menuiserie et sculpture" at St. Joseph de Soulanges (*Histoire des Cèdres*, l'Abbé Elie J. Auclair, Mont.).

If we judge by St. Roch, Pépin was a designer of considerable merit and originality. St. Roch is one of the most interesting parish churches of the period.

PEPIN, Jérôme. Longue Pointe. Pupil of Quevillon (V).

PERRAULT, Chrysostôme. B. 1793, d. 1829. A native of St. Jean Port Joli. From 1816 to his death he was engaged on works of "sculpture, architecture, painting, gilding and others" in the interior of the church. He was closely associated with Amable Charron, an old pupil of Quevillon, who appears to have financed him. His name appears, associated with Charron, in the accounts of l'Islet. Perrault's work at St. Jean Port Joli is rich and interesting. It is possible that he reused parts of the older rétable, but the present decorations are his work.

PERRIN, Nicholas and Pierre. Saint Eustache. Apprentices of Quevillon, or probably of St. James (V).

Nicholas later established himself at Saint Scholastique (V).

QUEVILLON, Louis Amable. Born in 1749 at Sault au Récollet. The leading wood-sculptor of the early nineteenth century in the Montreal district. Of Quevillon's early training we know nothing. On this ground, apparently, it has been assumed that he was "self-trained", but there were good sculptors in Montreal in the late eighteenth century and we have no reason to suppose that Quevillon did not pass his apprenticeship as "menuisier" or "sculpteur" in the usual manner. His work certainly is in the tradition.

The earliest mention of Quevillon which I have been able to find is in 1789 at Sault au Récollet where he made a west door "similar to that of St. Martin in the Ile Jésus excepting that the fan is not to be in glass but panelled with a shell in the centre". At the same time he made the vestment chest which still stands in the vestry, a simple, well-made chest of shallow drawers. In 1795 at St. Ours Quevillon made "the ornamentation of the tabernacles" and, in the following year, "Quevillon sculpteur" received 1,200 livres for work at St. Mathias.

So, by 1796 we find him established as a joiner, furniture-maker and wood-sculptor. He was already forty-seven years of age and must have served as a journeyman for many years. But he is known now as "très habile ouvrier" (*Histoire de la famille et de la Seigneurie de Saint Ours*, Mont., 1915, l'Abbé Couillard Despres, Vol. II, p. 180). From 1800 onwards an ever-increasing list of buildings stand to his credit; Sault au Récollet where, between 1800 and 1806 he supplied a banc d'oeuvre, the high altar-table, and two tabernacles for the side altars; Verchères where, from 1800 to 1823, he made the vault, the rétable and a fine set of presses in the sacristy; Boucherville, where between 1801 and 1820 he seems to have done the entire internal decoration.

Between 1806 and 1815 we know of six churches in which he worked: St. Charles Rivière Boyer, St. Denis sur Richelieu, St. Laurent, I. O.; Nôtre Dame de Montreal, St. Michel, and St. Martin (I. J.). The most important of these was Nôtre Dame, the parish church of Montreal. Here, in 1808, Quevillon, Pépin and Rolland made a baldaquin, vault and cornices, gilded the pulpit and banc d'oeuvre and did other work for which they were paid £5040 (Maurault, *La Paroisse*). The baldaquin had a great crown of gold set on four trusses, supported by four corinthian columns. It was the work of Joseph Pépin. When the old church was pulled down, in 1830, this baldaquin was taken to the Bonsecours church and remained there until that church was "restored". The fragments are now in the McCord National Museum.

This work at Nôtre Dame shows Quevillon, Pépin and Rolland already associated. In 1815 Quevillon, Pépin, Saint James and Rollin entered into a formal partnership of which Vaillancourt in "Une Maitrise d'Art en Canada" gives the full text. The deed provided for an equal partnership, for the absence of the partners in various parishes, for working together on the same job, for errors or defects. It forbids private work or outside partnerships and provides for carrying on work on the death of any one of the associates.

René Saint James was a well-known sculptor; Quevillon was the senior part-

ner, then Saint James and Pépin. Paul Rolland was the junior, an old apprentice of Quevillon.

This partnership lasted only two years. On its dissolution two establishments were set up in Saint Vincent de Paul, Quevillon and Saint James, and Pépin and Rolland. Yet perfect amity seems to have continued for we find the four sculptors associated thereafter in various groupings. At St. Mathias the early receipts are signed by Quevillon, Saint James and Rollin, then by Rollin and Saint James. At Saint Eustache in 1821 Quevillon and Saint James are associated. These equal partnerships between master-sculptors were in fact easily made and easily dissolved to suit the requirements of the job.

Between 1800 and Quevillon's death in 1823 we know of twenty churches in which they worked, and the list is probably quite incomplete. The associates must have maintained a very large establishment at Saint Vincent de Paul. In addition to complete schemes of decoration and rétables, which required the presence, and work, of one of them in some distant parish, the partners made altars, tables, tabernacles and all kinds of church furniture which they seem often to have supplied to churches where the main decoration was in the hands of a local sculptor.

They trained many apprentices. In accordance with the old custom they made themselves responsible for the entire upkeep and education of these boys and, to some degree, for seeing them started in life. In return the apprentice was bound for a period of years (René Michel Levasseur 1745, 4 years as menuisier; François Pépin to Joseph P. 1805, 7 years) during which he could not leave his master. The relationship of apprentice and master was essentially personal, it was not the relationship of employer and employee, or of capital and labour, but the relationship of master and pupil and in some ways of father and son. An apprentice was not bound to a firm but to a particular master who became responsible for his instruction. The system has almost vanished. In its time it did good work and neither technical schools nor universities have quite filled its place.

Quevillon died in 1823 and was buried in the crypt of the parish church of St. Vincent de Paul.

LIST OF BUILDINGS

on which Quevillon and his associates are known to have worked.

- 1789 Sault au Récollet. West door. Quevillon.
- 1795-96 St. Ours. Tabernacles. Quevillon.
- 1796 St. Mathias. Quevillon "sculpteur".
- 1800-07 Sault au Récollet. Banc d'oeuvre, altars, etc.
- 1800-23 Verchères. Vault and rétable.
- 1801-14 Boucherville. Rétable, etc.
- 1803 Vaudreuil, cornice, etc.
- 1806 St. Charles Rivière Boyer.
- 1806 St. Denis sur Richelieu. Altars.
- 1807 St. Laurent, I. O.
- 1808-32 St. Roch de l'Achigan. Complete decoration by Pépin.
- 1808-15 Nôtre Dame de Montréal. Quevillon, Pépin, Rolland.

- 1811-15 St. Joseph de Soulanges. Pépin.
 1812 St. Martin, Ile Jésus.
 1816 Ste. Thérèse de Blainville.
 1816 Ste. Marie du Manoir de Ramsay.
 1816-17 St. Louis de Terrebonne. Quevillon and Rollin (see note).
 1817 St. Joachim, Pointe Claire.
 1818-21 Longueuil.
 1819-29 Lachenaie. Decoration by Rollin.
 1820-21 St. Charles sur Richelieu.
 1820 Ile Dupas. Decorations à l'Interieur par Quevillon sculpteur. £2,797.0.
 1820-30 St. Mathias. Quevillon, St. James and Rollin.
 1821 St. Eustache. Quevillon and St. James.
 1822 St. Philippe, Laprairie.
 1822 Ste. Geneviève de Pierrefonds.
 1822 St. Joseph, Chambly.
 1823 Récollet church, Montreal.
 1823 St. Laurent, Montreal.
 1823 Repentigny.
 St. Vincent de Paul.
 Maskinonge.
 Lavaltrie.

Note: In the accounts of Terrebonne is:—

- 1816 Payé a Pierre Quevillon pour la compte de Louis
 Quevillon 39 li 6s
 1817 Payments to Quevillon and Rollin.

Pierre was a brother of Louis but not a sculptor so far as we know.

Reference: Vaillancourt, Emile, *Une Maitrise d'Art en Canada*. Montreal. G. Ducharme, 1920. Mr. Vaillancourt gives a list of apprentices, and of churches in which the Quevillon associates worked; both of these lists I have incorporated here. Without agreeing entirely with Mr. Vaillancourt on Quevillon's position we may acknowledge the obligation which students of our old architecture owe to this useful book.

ROBERT, François Xavier. Verchères. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

ROCHON, Antoine. Ste. Thérèse de Blainville. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

ROLLIN, Paul. Apprentice and later associate of Quevillon. He worked at Lachenaie from 1819 to 1829 and apparently made a rétable and other internal works. From 1822 to 1833 his name occurs in the accounts of St. Mathias along with St. James, and with Quevillon at Terrebonne from 1816 to 1817.

SAINT JAMES, René. Sculptor, associated with Quevillon at St. Mathias and St. Eustache. He was a well-known sculptor and the master of Thomas Baillairgé.

SAMSON, Olivier. A sculptor of Quebec in the mid-nineteenth century. He made a font for St. François (I. O.), which is still in use, with a vigorous tree of life in the centre panel.

In the "deliberations" of l'Ange Gardien for 1845 are the following entries:

“Pour une chaire nouvelle sur les plans demandés. Vue les correspondances de M. Paquet et de M. Olivier Samson, sculpteurs de la Ville de Québec au sujet d’une chaire. Résolu de s’adresser au dit Olivier Samson pour ce dit ouvrages.”

But, finally, in the accounts for 1846:—

“A. M. Paquet pour une chaire neuve 100.0.0.”

Behind this no doubt lies a story. M. Paquet’s pulpit was in the church until the fire of 1931.

TURCAULT, Joseph. The sculptor of the rétable at Ste. Jeanne Ile Perrot between 1812 and 1819. He is known only by this remarkable work.

VALADE, François. St. Martin (I. J.). Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

VERDON, Toussaint. Ste. Rose (I. J.). He worked with Quevillon at St. Philippe de Laprairie (V).

VIAU, Pierre. Lachenaie. Apprentice of Quevillon (V).

VEZINA, Maître (Charles).

1732-40 St. Pierre (I. O.). Internal decorations and statues.

1742-47 Rétable, crucifix, tabernacles, etc. at Charlesbourg.

Tanguay gives Jacques Vesinat, menuisier, of l’Ange Gardien. B. 1702, d. 1761.

VOISEUX, Pierre. Sculpteur. Batiscan. (*Livre de Comptes*, Vol. II, f. 134a, dep. 1824).

“Donné à Pierre Voiseux sculpteur pour façon d’autel

303.15”

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APPENDIX

- 1 Chapter I, note 3. Lescarbot, p. 514.
"Mais dans le fort étoient le logis dudit Sieur de Monts fait d'une belle et artificielle charpenterie, avec la bannière de France au dessus. D'une autre part (estoit) le magasin, ou reposoit le salut et la vie d'un chacun, fait semblablement de belle charpèterie, et couvert de bardeaux. Et vis-à-vis du magasin étoient les logis et maisons du Sieur d'Orville, de Champlain, Champ-doré et autres notables personnages. A l'opposite du logis dudit Sieur de Monts étoit une gallerie couvert pour l'exercice soit de jeu ou des ouvriers en temps de pluie."
The translation in the text is Dr. Biggar's excepting that I have substituted "shingles" for "reeds" as the rendering of "Bardeaux" for reasons given later.
- 2 Chapter I, note 8. *Champlain's Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 34.
"Je fis continuer nostre logement qui estoit trois corps de logis a deux estages. Chacun contenoit trois toises de long & deux et demi de large. Le magasin six & trois de large avec une belle cave de six pieds de haut. Tout autour de nos logemens je fis faire une gallerie par dehors au secōd estage, qui estoit fort commode, avec des fossés de 15 pieds de large & six de profond: & au dehors des fosses je fis plusieurs pointes d'esperons qui enfermoient une partie du logement la ou nous mismes nos pieces de canon & devant le bastiment y a une place de quatre toises de large, & six ou sept de lōg qui dōne sur le bord de la rivière. Autour du logement y a des iardins . . ."
- 3 Chapter I, note 10.
The history of the habitation can be traced. Sagard, writing of 1623 says (p. 158):—
"Cette maison de Kebec est à present un assez beau logis, environne d'une muraille en quarré avec deux petites tourelles aux coins d'en haut que l'on y a faictes depuis peu pour la surete du lieu."
The building must have been already much altered. A plan of the city in 1660 shows in the lower town a building with two wings toward the river and two towers on the landward angles which corresponds to Sagard's description. It is named "magazine". A plan of 1685, in the Public Archives of Canada, shows on the same site an irregular building named, in the marginal table, "Vieux magasin du Roy ou l'on a propozé fē une chapelle l'annee prochaine" The site was given to the church in 1683 and the first stone of Nōtre dame de Victoire was laid in 1688.
- 4 Chapter I, note 34.
In the accounts of Nōtre Dame de Montréal for 1796 is the entry "on fera venir d'Europe 50 caisses de ferblanc connu et dénommé XR pour etre employe a couvrir la partie de la couverture la plus exposée au feu, en cas d'incendie". And in 1800:
"Resolu de faire couvrir l'église paroissiale en ferblanc".
- 5 Chapter I, note 41.
Mr. H. R. Shurtleff, in *The Log Cabin Myth* has gone very fully into the question of the log cabin and of early methods of house building in North America. My remarks were written before I had had the opportunity of reading *The Log Cabin Myth* and I found myself in complete agreement with Mr. Shurtleff. I believe that every competent architect who has examined the question has come to the same conclusion.
- 6 Chapter IX, note 24.
Contract for the tabernacle at Lachenaie, in the archives of the church:
"Le dessein du tabernacle paraffé par Monsieur la Combe tel qu'il a été accepté par Messieurs les Marguiers de la fabrique de l'église de St. Charles a lachenay, scavoir le Sr Louis Donay marguier en charge, et Sr pierre Garguepy et pierre truchon dit leveillez et autre habitant, promettant les de marguilliers a leur propre et privé nom de payer au Sieur Bolvin enterepreneur du dit tabernacle pour les dits tabernacle la croix et les chandeliers avec six souches proportionné

et semblables de façon et de la même grandeur de ceux de l'hotel de trois Rivières, y compris les boetes pour mettre dans les barque le dits tabernacle et les epingles la somme de neuf cents trente livres. Laquelle ditte somme totale serva payé au dit Sr Bolvin scavoir celle de trois cents livres en argent dans le mois de mars prochain de l'annee 1737, item trois cent livres en blez au prix courant prit a l'église ou argent a l'obtention de dits marguilliers au temps que le dit Sr Bolvin livrera le dit tabernacle qui sera dans le mois d'aoust de 1738 et le trois cents trente livres derniers aussy en blez ou argent a l'obtention des dit marguiers dans le cour du mois de juin sept cent trente neuf car ainsy sont convenu en semble les dits marguiers et Sr Bolvin. les dits Sr Marguiers prennent pour construction du dit tabernacle, les gradins de l'adroit le corp de l'entablement de la gauge avec les Reliquaires sera observé le cadre de la porte du soleil de ladroite, et sur la porte une branche de vigne d'un coté et de lautre des epits de blez les deux niche seront garnies d'un Vierge d'un cote et de lautre un St. Joseph et par dessus le tabernacle sera terminé d'un globe avec une croix enrichy, fais double a lachenay le 10 fevrier, 1737 le dit pierre truchon a declare ne scavoir siner de ce enquy apres lecture faite

louis daunay
G. Bolvin

pierre gariépi
J. Lacombe, P. C.

J. augustin Quintal Temoins."

INDICES

- 1. General Index*
- 2. Index to Illustrations*

GENERAL INDEX

Figures in *italic type* refer to illustrations.

- Achim, André, 287
Adam, English architect, influence of, 27, 73, 118
Altar rail, brass, 185, 183
American influence, 68, 71
Anse au Griffon, the Bouthellier House, 58
Apprenticeship, 2, 171, 250, 292, 303
Architect, position of, 93
Autel, 142, bombé, à la romaine, 142, 167, 213, 206, 242
- Baie St. Paul, manoir, 50, 40, 45, parish, 297
Baillairgé, Family, 173, 211-216, 269, 287
" François, 209, 250, 269, 273, 295
" Jean, 211, 246
" Pierre Florent, 213, 246
" Thomas, 246, 250, 269, 295
Baillif, Claude, architect, 87, 289
Bailly, François, architect, 93
Baldaquin, 211, 213, 212, 217, 218,
Banc d'Oeuvré, 138, 273, 268
Baret, J. B., 289
Barette, Antoine, 289
Batiscan, presbytery, 27, 38, 42, 103, 119, 43, 44, 128, 129, 130, 131, tabernacle, 186, 299, 300, 193
Beaumont, St. Etienne, 143, 234, 239, 289, 299, 154, 155, 240, 241, 256, 258, house near, 54
Beaupré, Ste. Anne, 127, 139, 140, 171, 271, 153, 164, 170, door in cottage, 129
Bécancourt, La Nativité, 150
Bedard, Jacques, 289
Beil-cast roof, 60, 58, 62
Bellechasse, St. Michel, 150, house near, 61, 54
Belleville, François, 249, 289, 292
Belleville, le Sieur, carpenter, 297
Belmont, L'Abbé de, 37
Bercier, Etienne, 234, 239, 289
Berlinguet, Louis Thomas, 289
Berthier en haut, 141, 235, 294, 300, 151, 255
Blainville, Ste. Thérèse, 304
Block-house construction, 17, 66
Blondel, J. F., French architect, 175, 246, 250, 288
Boarding, roof, 12, 13, weather, 12, 13, 66
Bolvin, Gilles, 197, 290
Boucher, Pierre, 5, 11, 13, 66.
Boucherville, L'Enfant Jesus, 197, 289, 297, 298, 301, 303, 151, 195, 206
Bourgault, M. and J. J., 271, 290
Bourgeau, Victor, 290
Bouthellier, François, 290
Bouvier, Michel, 93
Briand, Mgr. Olivier, 103, 211, 293
Bricks, 8, 11, 12, 13
Brien dit Desrochers, Urbain, 231, 234, 246, 247, 290
Brindamour, Joseph Tattoux dit, 291
Bussière, J., 138, 291
- Cabane, 10, 17
Cahokia, Ill., 60, 65
Candelabra, 275, 278
Cap Breton, Ile Royal, 16
Cap de la Madeleine, 196
Cap Santé, 140, 151
Carving, attached, 165, 215, naturalistic, 214, 215, technique, 166
Catalogne, Gédeon de, 94, 291
Caughnawaga, 61, 76, 77
Cedar Rapids, 281
Chaboillez, Charles, 198, 229, 291, 297
Chabot, François, 291
Chambly, 73
Champlain, La Visitation, 151
Champlain, Sieur de, 5, 7, 8,
Charlesbourg, St. Charles, 141, 216, 269, 289, 294, 295, 299, 301, 153, 223, 272, houses at, 50, 47, 48
Charlottetown, P.E.I., 290
Charron, Amable, 234, 246, 291, 301
Charron Frères, 249, 291
Chartrand, Vincent, 234, 248, 292, 300
Château Richer, 142, 171, 281, 152
Chateauguay, St. Joachim, 141, 281
Chimneys, ornamental, 59, 71
Church plans and forms, 138-142
Cirier, Antoine and Martin, 249, 292
Colour on houses, 61
Construction of churches, manner of building, 135-137, materials, 135, roofs, 138, 140, spires, 135, 140
Construction of houses, bark, 10, block-house, 17, 66, colombage pierotté, 10, 13, 15, 16, frame, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, log, 16, stone, 8, 10, 12
Contracts, church, 157, tabernacle, 313
Corinthian order, 167, columns, 173, 174, 175
Craftsmen in early settlements, 7, 15, 16, 97
Crane, Walter, 168, 238
Crepéau, Basile, 292
Crosses, wrought iron, 281, 284
Custode, 142, 143
- Danguel, Jacques, 292
Date stones on old houses, 55
Dauphin, Charles, 292
David, David Fleury, 229, 234, 248, 292,
David, Louis Bazil, 215, 234, 271, 293
Degneau, Joseph, 293
Demers, The Revd. Jérôme, 246, 250, 288
Deschambeau, the Gaudreau mill, 74, 81
Detroit, 9
Doors, 127, 129, door furniture, 282, 285, 286
Dormer windows, 42
Drawing, impressed in ornament, 181, 185, 180, 182
Dubois, François Filiau, 299

- Du Cerceau, French architect, 140
 Duchaine, Christophe, 293
 Dugal, François, 293
 Dugal, Olivier, 293
 Dumas, Jean Romain, 293
 Durocher, Desrochers, *see* Brien
- Eaves, 50, 60, 61, 58, 62
 Emond, Pierre, 103, 117, 138, 209, 211, 293
 Empire School, of France, 166, 209, 234
 English influence, 2, 71, 118, 119, 127
- Fauchois, Michel, 169, 293
 Ferblanc, 14, 31
 Figure sculpture, 2, 168, 185, 186, 211, 214
 Filiau, François, 293
 Fire protection, 14, 85
 Floor construction, 42, 46, 51
 Fort St. Marie, Ont., 66
 Fournier, Claude, 294
 Fournier, François, 294
 Fournier, Louis, 294
 Frame construction, early, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 66
 Frontenac, Comte de, 22
- Gabriel, J. A., French architect, 209
 Gauget (Goyette), Felix, 294
 Gauthier, Amable, 235, 294, 300
 Gauthier, Leon, 294
 Genner, Samuel, 169, 294
 Gibbs, James, English architect, 142, 289
 Gilding, 168, 197
 Girouard, J. J., 287
 Clapion, Père, 118
 Glass, 15
 Gothic revival, 2, 138, 141, 142, 248, 301
 Gosselin, Mgr. A., 168
 Gosselin, Gabriel, 138, 294
 Gratis, le Sieur, 297
 Gravel, Charles, 294
 Grille, wrought iron, 281, 283, 284
- Habitations, Port Royal, 5, 4, 6, Quebec, 5, 8, 4,
 St. Croix, 5, 7
 Hadfield, Joseph, 91
 Half-timber, 15
 Hardwood, use of, 11, 165, 174
 Hardy (Pierre and Jean Bte.), 249, 294
 Hay, Pierre, 295
 Hébert, 230, 295
 Heer, Louis de, 295
 Houses, Georgian, 73, Italianate, 71, Pavilion roof,
 52, 48, urban type, 51, 52, 66, 63, wood-
 framed, 85
 Hudson River valley, 67
 Hurtubise, Joseph, 295
- Ile Dupas, 292, 294, 300
 Interlace patterns, 235, 238, 239, 256, 261
 Italian Renaissance, 238
- Jacques, Louis, 138, 295
 Jacson, Antoine, 138, 294, 295
 Jesuit Fathers, 5, House at Sillery, 37, 127, 133,
 Relations, 8, 12, 13
 Jeune Lorette, *see* Lorette
 Jobin, Louis, 290, 295
- Joliette, 294
 Jubé, 142
- Kalm, Peter, 137
 Laberge, François, 296
 Labrosse, Paul Jourdain dit, Bazil, Denis, 198, 229,
 249, 296
 L'Acadie (Lacadie), Ste. Marguerite, 239, 271, 273,
 293, 151, 160, 237, 263, 272
 Lachenaie, St. Charles, 197, 290, 292, 294, 295, 299,
 304, 136, 193, 194, house at, 64
 Lachigan (L'Achigan), St. Roch, 235, 238, 271, 273,
 275, 300, 301, 150, 236, 245, 257, 268,
 276
 La Joue, François de, 93, 296
 Lalemant, Père Charles, 9
 L'Ange Gardien, 143, 171, 174, 271, 273, 288, 290,
 301, 170, 172
 Laprairie, 198, 249, 296
 Larivière, Hilaire Bernard, 93
 L'Assomption, 141, 231, 290, Archambeau house, 73
 Latches, door, 282, 285, 286
 LaTortue, Jesuits' Mill, 57
 Latour, Jacques LeBlond de, 94, 169, 171, 249, 297
 Latour, Jean, 297
 Lauzun, St. Joseph, 269, 288, 151, 272
 Laval des Rapides, 74, 81
 Laval, Mgr. de, 168
 Lavaltrie, 294, house at, 63
 Lead roofing, 14
 Leblanc, Augustin, 297
 Le Blond, Sr., 297
 Leclair, François, 297
 Lecourt, Louis, 297
 Lemieux, François, 297
 Leprohon, Alcibiade, 297
 Léry, Chaussegros de, 91, 94, 297
 Les Becquets, St. Pierre, 269, 150
 Lescault, Louis, 297
 Levasseur (Les Vasseurs) 26, 27, 31, 138, 171, 175,
 185, 249, 275, 291, family, 297, 299
 Liebert, Philippe, 229, 230, 249, 299,
 L'Islet, 141, 271, 282, 287, 291, 297, 301, 151
 Local sculptors, 250
 Locksmith, 15, 282
 Log cabin, 16
 Log tent, 17
 Longue Pointe, 292, 293, 299
 Longueuil, the manoir, 37, 48, church, 71, 198, 287,
 304, 200, 207, house at, 73
 Lorette, Ancien, 13
 Lorette, Jeune, 174 (note), 181, 185, 299, 147, 180,
 182, 183, 184, 204, house at, 64
 Lorion, 300
 L'Orme Philibert de, French architect, 175
 Lotbinière, church, 269
 Louisbourg, Cap Breton, 291
 Louiseville, 300
 Lower Granville, N.S. (habitation), 7, 6
- Magella, St. Gerard, 198, 195, 200
 Maillou, Jean Bte., 23, 300
 Maillou(x), Joseph, 23
 Mailloux, Sieur, 23
 Maître-sculpteur, 167
 Maizerets, Château de, 74
 Mallet, 300
 Marquet, 292
 Marquette, Pierre Solomon Benoit dit Beloeil, 300

- Martin, François, 300
 Maskinonge, 294
 Masson de Chateauf, 234
 Meneclier, Louis, 300
 Millette, Alexis, 235, 294, 300
 Mission du Sault, 9
 Mississippi Valley, French houses in, 60, 67, 68, 65
 Moisan, Pierre, 300
 Montmagny, Manoir Couillard-Dupuis, 71, 72
 Montmorency Road, House on the, 58
 Montreal
 Attic floors in stone, 51, 49
 Basements, vaulted, 52, 49
 Bonsecours Church, 135, 302, 144
 Clarke Street, No. 1190, 119, 125
 Côte des Neiges, 37
 Descriptions of, 91
 Early carvers in, 198
 Ferme St. Gabriel, 38 seq., 36, 39, 40, 41
 Fort des Messieurs, 37, 36
 Gabled houses of, 51, 63
 Grey Nuns, 290
 Hôtel Dieu, 290, 291
 McTavish House, 73, 118, 79, 124
 Notre Dame (The Parish Church), 2, 91, 199, 213, 231, 296, 297, 300, 302, 303, 90
 Notre Dame de Pitié, 281, 290
 Ramezay, Château de, 51, 281, 292, 296, 49
 Ste. Brigide, 290
 St. Charles Road, house on, 64
 St. Pierre, 290
 St. Urbain Street, 92
 St. Vincent Street, 92
 School of carving, 229, 246, 249
 Seminary of St. Sulpice, 91
 Monts, Sieur des, 5, 7
 Morris, William, 168, 238
 Mother Marie de L'Incarnation, The Venerable, 5, 10, 29
 Moulin du Crochet, 74, 81,
 Museum, Royal, of Ontario, 119, 126
 " McCord, Montreal, 302, 284

 Nadeau, Louis, 300
 Neuville (Pointe aux Trembles), St. François, 211, 217, 276, house of Athanase Denis, 57
 New Jersey, 67
 Normand, François, 300

 Oka, calvary, 289, font, 273, houses at, 62, school-house, 73
 Orleans, Island of, houses on, 54, 56, Manoir Mauvide, 71, 73, 70
 Ostell, John, 300

 Paquet, André, 138, 216, 269, 301, 305
 Parc Laval, school-house, 71, 75
 Pavilion roof, 52
 Peltrie, Mme. de la, 29
 Pépin, François, 301
 Pépin, Jean Baptiste, 301
 Pépin, Jérôme, 301
 Pépin, Joseph, 231, 234, 235, 238, 301, 302, 303, 304
 Perrault, Chrysostome, 234, 246, 301
 Perrin, Nicholas and Pierre, 302
 Petit Cap, 74, 82
 Pieux en terre construction, 67
 Pine wood in carving, 166
 Plaster, 165, influence of, 166
 Pointe aux Trembles, L'Enfant Jesus, 246, 247, 289, 292, 298, 148, 161, 243, 244, 264, 265,
 Pointe Claire, Presbytery, 73, 78, St. Joachim, 304
 Pointe St. Jacques, 125
 Pontbriand, Mgr. de, 137, 287, 292
 Port Joli, St. Jean, 246, 271, 287, 290, 291, 294, 301, 145, 159, 242, 243, 259, 260, house at, 119, 126
 Port Royal, habitation, 7, 8, 4
 Portneuf, Langlois Manoir, 71, 75
 Poteaux en terre construction, 67
 Proportion, importance of, 175

 Quebec, City of
 Basilica, The Cathedral, 139, 140, 211, 273, 287, 297, 212
 " The Parish church, 19, 85, 93
 " The Presbytery of, 118, 88, 116, 120
 Château St. Louis, 87, 291
 English Cathedral, 94
 Episcopal Palace, 87, 289, 86
 Fargues House, 87, 103, 88, 89, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109
 Fort, 10, 12
 Habitation, 5, 8, 37, 4
 Hôpital Général, 19-29, 97, 102, 117, 175, 181, 209, 293, 298, 299, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 96, 100, 113, 114, 115, 129, 132, 176, 177, 178, 179, 202, 203, 208, 276, 283
 Hôtel Dieu, Stair, 101
 Intendant's Palace, 87, 86
 Jesuits' College, 19, 87, 139, 298, 299, 84, 90
 Morrin College, 213, 288
 Notre Dame des Victoires, 85, 289, 84
 Palais de Justice, 287
 Plan of the City in 1660, 85, 6
 " " 1663, 8
 " " 1664, 8
 " " 1685, 29
 Récollet church, 269, monastery, 19, 18
 Seminary, The Grand, chapel, 169, chapel of Mgr. Briand, 103, 117, 110, 111, 112, Stair of St. Joseph, 102, 101
 Short's drawings of, 28, 84, 86, 90
 Treasury and Jesuits' College, 87, 84
 Ursuline Convent, 10, 19, 27, 29-33, 102, 118, 185, 186, 269, 281, 296, 297, 299, 28, 30, 32, 34, 98, 99, 121, 122, 123, 187, 188, 189, 190, 205, 280
 Quevillon, Louis Amable, 231, 234, 235, 238, 247, 248, 249, 302-304
 Quevillon, Pierre, 304

 Ramsay, Ste. Marie du Manoir de, 304
 Récollet Fathers, 19, 26, 97, monastery, 22, 18
 Reliquaries, 275, 179, 276
 Repentigy, 141, 300
 Rétable, 142
 Rimouski, Ste. Luce, 271, 288, 223, 272
 Rivière Boyer, St. Charles, 213, 269, 287, 295, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303
 Robert, François Xavier, 304
 Rocaille scroll, 103, 173, 196, 191, 192
 Rochon, Antoine, 304
 Rococo, 209, 234, 236, 249
 Rollin, Pierre, 231, 234, 303, 304,

- Roofs, church, 137, construction, 10, 42, 46, 60, 41,
 mansard, 60, pavilion, 52, pitch, 61, 138
 Rouville, 292
- Ste. Adele, presbytery, 73, 78
 St. Aimé, church, 141, 294
 St. Alexis, church, 146
 Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, 287
 St. Barthelemy, 294
 St. Charles Borromée, *see* Rivière Boyer
 St. Charles sur Richelieu, 304
 St. Denis sur Richelieu, 140, 141, 247, 271, 290,
 302, 303, 146, 148, 149, 268, house at, 63
 Ste. Elizabeth, 294
 St. Eustache, church, 141, 213, 303, 304, 218, 276,
 house at, 63
 Ste. Famille, I.O., church, 135, 140, 214, 215, 288,
 293, 294, 296, 299, 134, 149, 156, 191, 201,
 220, 221,
 St. François, I.O., 135, 143, 196, 216, 269, 273, 275,
 281, 294, 299, 300, 191, 222, 226, 227, 270
 Ste. Geneviève, 141, 288, Berthelet Manoir, 73, 80
 Ste. Geneviève, U.S.A., 60, 67
 St. Gérard de Magella, 195, 198, 200
 St. Jacques, Montreal, 301
 St. James, René, 214, 231, 234, 288, 302, 303, 304,
 St. Jean, I.O., 142, 271, 289, 158
 St. Jean, Port Joli, *see* Port Joli
 St. Jeanne de Chantal, I.P., 139, 231, 247, 273,
 157, 251, 253, 254, 261, 262, 274
 St. Jérôme, Mille Isles, 213, 218
 St. Joachim, Montmorency, church, 213, 287, 288,
 289, 293, 219, 220, 225, school at, 169
 St. Laurent, I.O., The old church, 144
 St. Martin, I.J., carved panels, 230, 228
 St. Mathias, 234, 235, 304, 151, 161, 232, 233
 St. Pierre, I.O., 135, 137, 138, 211, 216, 291, 134,
 158, 210
 St. Pierre les Becquets, 269, 150
 St. Roch, *see* Lachigan
 St. Sulpice, church, 150
 Saint Vallier, Mgr. de, 19, 22, 23, 24, armorial
 bearings, 175, tomb, 24
 St. Vincent de Paul, De Bleury Manoir, 73
 Samson, Olivier, 273, 304
 Sault au Récollet, L'Assomption, 135, 137, 141, 229,
 230, 231, 235, 248, 292, 296, 300, 302, 303,
 153, 162, 228, 245, 251, 255, 257, 266, house
 at, 62
- Sconces, 277
 Seminaire, le Grand, school of Fine Arts, 171
 " le Petit, 169
 Short, Richard, 33, 85, 28, 84, 86, 90
 Sillery, the Jesuit Mission at, 19, 37, 127, 133
 Slates, 13, 14
 Snow gallery, 60, 71, 75
 Sorel, St. Pierre, 141, 297
 Soulanges, St. Joseph, 301, 304
 Stone construction in early colony, 8, 10, 12
 Stoneham church, 196, 192
 Sulpician Order, 37, 50, 140, 238
 Summer doors, 103, 118, 119, 39, 114, 121, 123
- Tabernacle, 142, construction, 167, contract for, 313
 Talbot, E. A., 91
 Terrebonne, St. Louis, 141, 304, 145, house at, 63
 Thatch, 13
 Three Rivers, 17, 196, 197, 290, convent, 33, 35,
 de Ramezay house, 33, 34
 Tiles, in early Quebec, 13
 Tilly, St. Antoine, 269
 Tombeau d'Autel, 142
 Towers, 37, 38, 51
 Turcault, Joseph, 231, 234, 247, 248, 305
- United States, half-timber houses, 16, Hudson Valley
 houses, 67, influence in Canada, 68, Missis-
 sippi Valley houses, 60, 67, 65, New Jersey,
 67
 Urban type houses, 51, 52, 66, 63
- Varenes, church, 289, 290, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300,
 Vaudreuil, St. Michel, 230, 300, 302, 303, 150, 232,
 245
 Vaulted basements, 31, 52, 49, 89
 Verandah, 60, 67, 64, 65
 Verchères, St. François, 127, 238, 247, 292, 303,
 126, 256, 257
 Vezina, Maître, 138, 305
 Vignola, 175, 246, 250, 288
- Wainscot, 103 (note), 119, 127, 128, 129, 133
 Wall construction, Boucher, 11, 12, church, 137,
 wooden, 50
 Walnut wood, 165, 174

INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS

	PLATE	PAGE		PLATE	PAGE
Anse au Griffon			Charlesbourg, The Paradis House,		
The Bouthillier House	XXVI	58	to scale	XX	47
Baie St. Paul, The Manoir			Charlesbourg, The Paradis House,		
Plans, to scale	XV	40	view	XXI	48
Sketch	XIX	45	Charlesbourg, The Villeneuve		
Batiscan, The old Presbytery			House, to scale	XX	47
Plans, to scale	XVIII	44	Charlesbourg, The Villeneuve		
From the N. W.	XVII	43	House, two views	XXI	48
From the S. W.	XVII	43	Château Richer, Sketch of the		
The Staircase	LXXII	128	Church	LXXXVIII	152
The Staircase, to scale	LXXIV	130	Deschambeau, The Gaudreau Mill	XXXIX	81
Details of woodwork, to scale	LXXV	131	Ironwork		
Wainscot in a bedroom	LXXII	128	Crosses and Grilles	CLXXVII	284
A Door	LXXIII	129	Door Furniture	CLXXXVIII	285
Batiscan, Tabernacle from the Old			Door Furniture	CLXXIX	286
Church	CXVI	193	Jeune Lorette, Church of N.D. de la		
Beaumont, Church of St. Etienne			From the N.W.	LXXXIII	147
Plans, to scale	XC	154	Interior, before alterations	CVIII	183
Plans, to scale	XCI	155	High Altar	CIX	184
The Rétable, to scale	CLIX	258	Tabernacle of the High Altar,		
The Interior	CXLVI	240	to scale	CXXIII	204
The High Altar	CXLVII	241	The Indian Frontal	CVI	180
Altar in the Boundary Chapel	CLVII	256	Detail of the Indian Frontal	CVII	182
Beaumont, A House near	XXIII	54	The Altar Rail	CVIII	183
Beaupré, The Church of Ste. Anne			Jeune Lorette, Houses at	XXIX	64
The Old Church	LXXXIX	153	Lacadie (L'Acadie), Church of		
The Rétable and High Altar	XCIX	164	Ste. Marguerite		
The High Altar	C	170	Exterior	LXXXVII	151
A Side Altar	XCIX	164	Plans, to scale	XCVI	160
Beaupré, Door in a cottage	LXXIII	129	The Rétable, to scale	CLXIV	263
Bécancourt, Church of La Nativité	LXXXVI	150	The Interior and Details	CXLV	237
Bellechasse, Church of St. Michel	LXXXVI	150	The Pulpit	CLXX	272
Bellechasse, A House near	XXIII	54	Lachenaie, The old Church of St.		
Berthier en haut, Church of Ste.			Charles		
Geneviève			The West Front	LXXIX	136
The West Front	LXXXVII	151	The Interior	CXVI	193
The High Altar	CLVI	255	The Tabernacle	CXVII	194
Boucherville, Church of L'Enfant			Lachenaie, House at	XXIX	64
Jesus			Lachigan (L'Achigan), The		
The West Front	LXXXVII	151	Church of St. Roch		
The High Altar, to scale	CXXV	206	The Exterior	LXXXVI	150
Details of the Tabernacle	CXVIII	195	Interior, Altar and Details	CXLIV	236
Cahokia, The Court House	XXX	65	Panelling in the Sanctuary	CLI	245
Candelabra in the McCord Museum	CLXXIV	278	Pulpit and Banc d'Oeuvre	CLXVIII	268
Cap Santé, Church of La Sainte			Easter Candlestick and Reliquary	CLXXII	276
Famille	LXXXVII	151	Side Altar	CLVIII	257
Caughnawaga, Plan of the Mission	XXXIV	76	L'Ange Gardien, The Church of		
Caughnawaga, Sketch	XXXV	77	Altar and Rétable columns	C	170
Champlain, Church of La Visitation	LXXXVII	151	Details of Tabernacle	CI	172
Charlesbourg, Church of St. Charles			Rétable and side Altar	CI	172
Exterior	LXXXIX	153			
Interior	CXXXVI	223			
The Pulpit	CLXX	272			

	PLATE	PAGE		PLATE	PAGE
Lauzun, The Church of St. Joseph			Orleans, The Island of (cont.)		
The West Front	LXXXVII	151	Panels from the Rétable and		
The Pulpit	CLXX	272	Dado	CXXXIV	221
Laval des Rapides, Moulin au			The Interior	CXIV	191
Crochet	XXXIX	81	The Tabernacle, to scale	CXX	201
Lavaltrie, The Heureux House	XXVIII	63	A Side Altar	CXXXIII	220
Les Becquets, Church of St. Pierre	LXXXVI	150	St. François de Sales, Church of		
L'Islet, Church of N. D. de Bon-			The Rétable, to scale	CXL	227
secours			The Rétable	CXXXV	222
Exterior	LXXXVII	151	Banc d'Oeuvre and Taber-		
Longueuil, Church of St. Antoine			nacle, to scale	CXXXIX	226
Altar in the Sacristy, to scale	CXXVI	207	Tabernacle in the Boundary		
Detail of the Tabernacle	CXI	200	Chapel	CXIV	191
Longueuil, Manoir de	XXI	48	Pulpit and Font, to scale	CLXIX	270
Magella, Church of St. Gérard			St. Jean, Church of, plans to		
The Tabernacle	CXIX	200	scale	XCIV	153
Detail of the Tabernacle	CXVIII	195	St. Laurent, The Old Church	LXXX	144
Mississippi Valley, French Houses			St. Pierre, Church of		
in the	XXX	65	Plans, to scale	XCIV	158
Montmagny, Manoir Couillard-			From the N. W.	LXXVIII	134
Dupuis, to scale	XXXII	72	Altar and Rétable	CXXVIII	210
Montmorency Road, House on the	XXVI	58	Parc Laval, The School-house	XXXIII	75
Montreal			Petit Cap, Château Bellevue, to		
Clarke St. No. 1190, Mantelpiece	LXX	125	scale	XL	82
Ferme St. Gabriel, to scale	XV	40	Pointe aux Trembles, Church of		
Ferme St. Gabriel, Details, to			L'Enfant Jesus		
scale	XVI	41	Plans, to scale	XCVII	161
Ferme St. Gabriel, Exterior	XIII	36	The Rétable, to scale	CLXV	264
Ferme St. Gabriel, Community			The Interior	CXLIX	243
Room	XIV	39	The Exterior	LXXXIV	148
Fort des Messieurs, Côte des			A Side Altar	CLXVI	265
Neiges	XIII	36	Details of Carving	CL	244
McCord Museum, Candelabra	CLXXIV	278	Pointe Claire, The Presbytery	XXXVI	78
McTavish House, to scale	LXIX	124	Pointe St. Jacques, Island of		
McTavish House, Exterior	XXXVII	79	Montreal		
Nôtre Dame de Montréal, The			Panelled Room in House at	LXX	125
old Church	XLV	90	Port Joli		
N. D. de Bonsecours, before			Panelled Room from the Par-		
restoration	LXXX	144	adis House	LXXI	126
Ramezay, Château de, to scale	XXII	49	Port Joli, The Church of St. Jean		
St. Charles Road, House on	XXIX	64	Plans, to scale	XCIV	159
St. Urbain St.	XLVI	92	High Altar, to scale	CLX	259
St. Vincent St.	XLVI	92	Rétable, to scale	CLXI	260
Neuville (Pointe aux Trembles),			From the East	LXXXI	145
Church of St. François			Interior	CXLIX	243
High Altar and Baldachino	CXXX	217	Rétable and High Altar	CXLVIII	242
Candlestick, Easter	CLXXII	276	Port Royal, N.S. The Habitation	I	4
Neuville, House of Athanase Denis	XXV	57	Port Royal, N.S. The Habitation		
Oka, Houses at	XXVII	62	restoration	II	6
Orleans, The Island of			Portneuf, The Langlois Manoir	XXXIII	75
Houses			Quebec, The City of		
The Asselin House	XXIV	56	The Basilica		
The Gendreau House	XXIII	54	The Interior, about 1864	CXXIX	212
The Hébert House	XXIV	56	The Old Presbytery	XLIII	88
The Morency House	XXIV	56	The Panelled Room of the		
House near Ste. Petronille	XXIII	54	Presbytery	LXIV	116
Pichette House	XXIV	56	The Panelled Room of the		
Manoir Mauvide	XXXI	70	Presbytery, to scale	LXV	120
Ste. Famille, Church of			The Bishop's Palace	XLII	86
Plans, to scale	XCII	156	The Fargues House, 92 St. Peter		
West Front	LXXVIII	134	Street		
From the South	LXXXV	149	Plans, to scale	XLIV	89
			The Parlour, to scale	LIV	106
			The Parlour, to scale	LV	107

INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS

323

	PLATE	PAGE		PLATE	PAGE
Quebec, The City of (cont.)			Quebec, The City of (cont.)		
Mantelpiece and Wainscot, to scale	LVI	108	The Ursuline Convent (cont.)		
Details of the Panelling, to scale	LVII	109	Chapel, Two Tabernacles	CXI	188
The Exterior	XLIII	88	Common Room	LXVI	121
The Parlour	LII	104	Common Room, to scale	LXVII	122
Mantelpiece and Panelling	LIII	105	Common Room, Mantelpiece	LXVI	121
The Habitation of Quebec	I	4	Common Room, Mantelpiece, to scale	LXVIII	123
The Hôpital Général de Quebec			Convent in 1764	VIII	28
The Chapel of the Sacred Heart, The Altar, to scale	CXXII	203	Convent from the West	IX	30
The Chapel of the Sacred Heart	CII	176	Corridor and Kitchen Wing	X	32
The Church, plan to scale	VII	25	Plans of the Buildings	VIII	28
The Church, Interior	VI	24	Stair of St. Augustin	XI	34
The Church, Interior looking East	CXXVII	208	Stair of St. Augustin, Upper Flight	XLVIII	98
The Church, Panelling	VI	24	Stair of St. Augustin, to scale	XLIX	99
The Church, The Rétable, to scale	CXXXVIII	224	Wing of St. Augustin	IX	30
The Church, The Tabernacle of the High Altar, to scale	CXXI	202	Wrot Iron Crosses	CLXXV	280
The Church, Details of Tabernacles	CIII	177	Rimouski, The Church of Ste. Luce		
The Church, Medallion from Altar	CIV	178	Interior	CXXXVI	223
Corridors in the Cloister	V	21	The Pulpit	CLXX	272
Dispensary, to scale	LXIII	115	Ste. Adele, The Presbytery	XXXVI	78
Dispensary, Mantelpiece	LXII	114	St. Alexis, The Church of	LXXXII	146
Dispensary, Panelling	LXI	113	St. Denis sur Richelieu		
Door	LXXIII	129	The Church from the S. E.	LXXXIV	148
Easter Candlestick	CLXXII	276	The Church from the N. E.	LXXXV	149
Exterior, East Side	IV	20	The West Door of the Church	LXXXII	146
Infirmary Wing from the Garden	IV	20	The Pulpit	CLXVIII	268
Mgr. de St. Vallier's Room, to scale	LXXVI	132	House at	XXVIII	63
Mgr. de St. Vallier's Altar	CIV	178	St. Eustache, The Church of		
Plan of 1785. The St. Ours Plan	III	18	The Interior before alterations	CXXXI	218
Refectory	V	21	Easter Candlestick	CLXXII	276
Refectory, to scale	LXVII	96	St. Eustache, A House at	XXVIII	63
Reliquaries	CV	179	Ste. Geneviève, The Berthelet Manoir	XXXVIII	80
Sconces and Bracket	CLXXIII	277	Ste. Jeanne de Chantal, Ile Perrot		
Staircase	L	100	The Church, scale drawings	XCIII	157
Window Grille	CLXXVI	283	The Church, The Rétable, to scale	CLXII	261
Hôtel Dieu, Staircase	LI	101	The Church, The Rétable, to scale	CLXIII	262
Intendant's Palace	XLII	86	The Church, The Interior	CLII	251
Jesuits' College	XLV	90	The Church, The Rétable	CLIII	252
N. D. de la Victoire	XLI	84	The Church, The High Altar	CLIV	253
Plan of Quebec in 1660	II	6	The Church, Central Panel of the Vault	CLV	254
Seminary, The Grand			The Church, Easter Candlestick and Font	CLXXI	274
Chapel of Mgr. Briand	LVII	110	St. Jérôme, Mille Isles, Interior	CXXXI	218
Chapel of Mgr. Briand, details	LIX	111	St. Joachim, Montmorency, The Church		
Chapel of Mgr. Briand, to scale	LX	112	The Rétable, to scale	CXXXVIII	225
St. Joseph's Stair	LI	101	The High Altar and Rétable	CXXXII	219
Treasury and Jesuit's College	XLI	84	Panels from the Pedestals	CXXXIII	220
The Ursuline Convent			St. Martin, I. J.		
Chapel, Interior	CX	187	Two carved Panels in the Church	CXLI	228
Chapel, Rétable, to scale	CXXIV	205	St. Mathias, Chambly		
Chapel, Reliefs from the Rétable	CXII	189	The Church, Plan, to scale	XCVII	161
Chapel, Reliefs from the Rétable	CXIII	190	The Church, West Front	LXXXVII	151
			The Church, Interior	CXLIII	233
			The Church, High Altar	CXLII	232
			The Church, Gallery Front	CXLIII	233

	PLATE	PAGE		PLATE	PAGE
St. Sulpice, Church of	LXXXVI	150	Terrebonne, Church of St. Louis	LXXXI	145
Sault au Récollet, The Church of the Visitation			Terrebonne, House at	XXVIII	63
Plans, to scale	XCVIII	162	Three Rivers, The de Ramezay House	XI	34
West Front	LXXXIX	153	Three Rivers, The Ursuline Convent	XII	35
Interior	CLII	251			
High Altar	CLVI	255	Vaudreuil, Church of St. Michel		
High Altar, to scale	CLXVII	266	Exterior	LXXXVI	150
Side Altar	CLVIII	257	The High Altar	CXLII	232
Detail of the Vault	CLI	245	Panelling in the Sanctuary	CLI	245
Doors in the Sanctuary	CXLI	228	Verchères, Church of St. François Xavier		
Sault au Récollet, House at Sillery, Panelling in the "Jesuit House"	XXVII	62	Detail of the Altar	CLVIII	257
Stoneham Church, Two Taber- nacles	LXXXVII	133	Interior	CLVII	256
	CXV	192	Panelling in Sacristy	LXXI	126

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