

THE MURALS BY GEORGE A. REID
IN THE TORONTO MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, (1897-1899)

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ABSTRACT

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Of the different aspects of the career of George A. Reid, this thesis concentrates on his early mural painting and presents a stylistical and iconographical study of the panels he executed for the Toronto Municipal Buildings comprising the City Hall and Court House from 1897 to 1899. An examination of Reid's Ontario background, art training, and travels gives an insight into the subjects he chose to depict in the murals and the reasons for his attraction to mural painting. Reid's enthusiasm for mural decoration and the panels in the Municipal Buildings provided an impetus for other Canadian muralists and placed Reid in the forefront of the efforts to encourage mural painting in Canada.

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source for any writer on George Reid. During a visit to Onteora, New York, I was most grateful to Colonel F. Hawkins, Mrs. Lewis Coffin and Mrs. William Kipp who introduced me to some of the residents of Reid's houses in that summer community.

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INTRODUCTION

With the exception of entries in general art anthologies, the work of George Reid (1860-1947) has been given little special attention by Canadian art historians. At the turn of the last century, however, Reid represented a major figure in the art community of Toronto, acting first as President of the Ontario Society of Artists (1897-1901) and then as the President of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (1906-1909). After 1915, his reputation was perhaps eclipsed by the rise of the Group of Seven artists, and Reid's genre scenes so popular in the late nineteenth century went out of fashion in the 1920s and 1930s.

Although George Reid's name has usually been associated with his well-known anecdotal paintings of country life, his work was more varied. His interests led him to architecture, mural painting, book illustration, landscape painting and even furniture design. Reid's role as an art educator absorbed a great deal of his life, as he taught at the Ontario College of Art and its predecessor, the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, for thirty-eight years. He was appointed principal of the latter in 1909 and continued on in that role when the Ontario College of Art was incorporated in 1912.¹ However, Reid's important role as an educator will not be examined in this thesis, as his

contribution to the training of art students and his theories on the methods of art education would require a separate study.

Reid began his career as an artist with portrait commissions from clients in his native town of Wingham, Ontario. In the 1880s and early 1890s, he concentrated on genre paintings which drew many admirers and established his reputation. A highlight of his early years was the successful exhibition of his work Foreclosure of the Mortgage (1893, destroyed 1919) at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. According to Canadian reviewers, this scene of the hardships of early pioneer life attracted a great number of spectators at the fair.² Reid also painted landscapes, especially later on in his career from about 1925 to 1935. After 1890, however, his main interest was mural painting, even though he did not always have the opportunity to carry out his ideas for decorations along this line. Inspired by the mural revival in France and in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, Reid became the major proponent of mural painting in public institutions and private residences in English Canada.

At that time in Canada the art of mural decoration had been ignored by most Canadian artists except for a small number of Quebec painters who created religious murals for church interiors (see pages 23-25). There was little interest in secular mural painting until Reid and his colleagues turned their attention to it. Thus George Reid's interest in murals was not nurtured at home but rather developed out

of his travels and study in France and the United States. Reid travelled widely and drew upon his observation of the work of artists in other countries. He was typical of the generation of Canadian-born artists who turned to Europe for inspiration and for the "finishing" of their art education. Reid's year of study in Paris from 1888 to 1889 awakened him to mural decoration, and from the time of his return to Canada, he became an ardent promoter of the art.

As part of his campaign to introduce mural painting to Canada, Reid published articles and gave lectures on the subject. He became chief spokesman for the Society of Mural Decorators (founded in 1894) and with his colleagues proposed vast mural schemes for public institutions, such as the Ontario Parliament Buildings in Toronto and the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. In his capacity as President of the O.S.A. and the R.C.A., Reid held an influential position in the Canadian art community centered in Montreal and Toronto, and he used these positions as forums for his crusade to have mural decoration accepted in Canada. In these efforts the ultimate act was his offer in 1897 to paint free of charge two panels of the recently built Toronto Municipal Buildings. These murals entitled, Hail to the Pioneers, Their Names and Deeds Remembered and Forgotten, We Honour Here, and completed in 1899, are the focus of this thesis.

According to Hugh G. Jones and Edmond Dyonnet, authors of the History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, George Reid's City Hall murals represented "the first important secular decorative painting in Canada."³ Reid and his

supporters intended it to be the first in a movement towards mural art modelled on the French and American examples of government sponsored projects. The paintings themselves illustrate Reid's awareness of the work of nineteenth century muralists in France (notably Puvis de Chavannes) and in the United States, as well as his preoccupation with the Canadian heritage.

The two panels and four spandrel decorations were Reid's first mural paintings executed in a public institution, although not his first attempt at mural work. Earlier, he had included a decorative panel entitled, Harvest, in the 1894 annual R.C.A. exhibition.⁴ For a later group show at the American Art Galleries in New York in 1894, a mural painting, Rest, was listed among Reid's entries.⁵ This same painting he entered again in the 1895 R.C.A. exhibition. Finally, while he was in Paris in 1896, Reid worked on the design for a mural in a private summer residence in Onteora, New York.⁶ However, it was the panels in the Municipal Buildings which represented the achievement of George Reid's early dream to decorate a public building in Canada.

The saga of the effort to place murals in the Toronto City Hall & Court House is a long one. The plan was the forerunner of other unsuccessful and frustrating struggles by a group of artists to interest the politicians in beautifying their buildings with mural paintings. While George Reid's attempts to launch a mural movement were not successful, the City Hall panels led to further commissions for the artist in the private residences of admirers of his work, in

libraries, and in institutions of education such as Queen's University, Kingston (1903), Humber^{side} Collegiate, Toronto (1919), and Jarvis Collegiate, Toronto (1927-30). This paper, however, concentrates on Reid's first public mural which is still in its original location and can be viewed unimpeded. This thesis does not attempt to examine later murals many of which have been lost or destroyed or others, like the Royal Ontario Museum series of 1934-38, which were executed when he was past his prime.

The most noteworthy years of Reid's productivity were the early ones when he was eager to search out the latest ideas in the art circles of Europe and America. Although he did not always favour the newest approaches to art, in his early career, Reid was open to recent developments in painting. He even experimented with the Impressionists' concern for colour and plein-air effects of light, interests reinforced by a two-month visit to Paris in 1896. However, Reid was to remain a figurative painter in the academic tradition. Opposed to the "art for art's sake" slogan of the followers of the Aesthetic Movement, Reid delighted in repeating his own motto "art for life's sake." To him art was the expression of life through the representation of people, scenes from daily activities, or images from the historical past. For George Reid the format of the mural offered the ideal means for this expression of the frieze of life.

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF REID'S INTEREST IN MURAL PAINTING

George Reid's interest in mural decoration developed while he was a young student in Paris from June 1888 to October 1889. He enrolled in the Académie Julian under the instruction of the popular teacher Benjamin Constant (1845-1902) and in the Académie Colarossi for costume and life classes. The students at the Académie Julian admired Constant because he was not as rigid in his adherence to the principles of academic art training as other French academic artists and instructors. Although Constant is primarily known for his scenes of Oriental subjects and portraits, in 1888, he painted some decorative panels for the Sorbonne.¹ More because of his reputation as a painter than as a muralist, he was chosen among the participants in the project for the interior decoration of the Hôtel de Ville in Paris.² In the year 1889 this commission was one of the main topics of conversation in Paris art circles. The municipal government selected over ninety artists to decorate the wall spaces in the principal rooms and halls of the Hôtel de Ville with scenes commemorating the history and development of Paris. Reid was obviously impressed by this vast project in which so many artists were to cooperate, as he saved the newspaper clipping from Le Rappel announcing the commission.³ Reid later

referred to the influence this event had on young art students at the time:

The allotment of spaces for the decoration of the walls and ceilings of the Hôtel de Ville in Paris to 90 artists in 1889, besides the general encouragement of monumental painting and sculpture in France at that time, inspired many foreign Art Students then studying in Paris, some Canadians among the number.⁴

As a result of the widespread destruction of buildings during the various social upheavals and revolutions, France underwent a period of rebuilding in the nineteenth century. The Hôtel de Ville project was typical of the commissions granted by the government to artists to decorate the new structures with appropriate scenes relating to the glory of France. In their study of the patronage of the arts in France in that period, Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White comment that "nineteenth century France exhibited the most widespread, comprehensive government involvement with art of any state."⁵ George Reid may have observed this and wondered why the Canadian government could not be encouraged in a similar pursuit.

While Reid was still in Paris in 1889, the mural painting by Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898) in the Sorbonne was officially unveiled on August 7th. This work Sacred Grove Beloved of the Arts and of the Muses (Le bois sacré cher aux arts et aux muses), impressed Reid as a student, and he was to revisit it on a later trip to Paris in 1896.⁶ Reid probably would also have taken note of earlier examples of murals in Paris, for example, Paul Delaroché's (1797-1856) hemicycle in the École des Beaux-Arts, completed

in 1841, as well as the decorations from the 1850s: Thomas Couture's (1815-1879) decorations in the chapel of Saint-Eustache, Paris, begun 1851; Eugène Delacroix's (1798-1863) ceiling painting for the Apollo Gallery of the Louvre, 1850-51. Other mural paintings available in Paris for Reid to see were those by Paul Baudry (1828-1886) in the Paris Opéra (1864-76) and the Panthéon murals undertaken by a number of artists, the most celebrated being Puvis de Chavannes, Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921), and Baudry.

During his year of study in France, Reid had another chance to visit England. He had made a previous trip to Britain in 1885 with his wife. On the whole, mural painting in England had not achieved much success after attempts to paint frescoes in the London Houses of Parliament in the 1840s.⁷ There was little public encouragement for mural art, although some British artists did undertake murals, most notably, Sir Frederick Leighton (1830-1896), Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898), and Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893).

The spirit frescoes by Sir Frederick Leighton, entitled, The Arts of Industry as Applied to War, 1878-80, and The Arts of Industry as Applied to Peace, 1883-86, were the most ambitious of the few murals he executed.⁸ Their location in the South Kensington Museum made them easily available to the public. George Reid would probably have been drawn to these two works by Leighton, not only because of his interest in murals, but because of the British artist's influential position in the English art community as President

of the Royal Academy, a place he held for almost twenty years from 1878 until his death in 1896. Leighton's biographers claim that the artist was keen to promote mural painting, but that few opportunities presented themselves to him.⁹

The mural project by Ford Madox Brown which attracted much publicity was the commission for twelve frescoes in the Manchester Town Hall.¹⁰ Brown worked on them from 1878 until 1893, and a Canadian publication, The Week, referred to these wall paintings in 1890.¹¹ The murals illustrated the history of the town of Manchester from the Romans to the present day. The first eight paintings were spirit frescoes, and the last four were "toiles marouflées" after the French method of painting on canvas and then fixing it to a wall.¹² Although there is no proof that Reid actually saw Madox Brown's Manchester decorations, we know that he admired them, for in 1898 Reid pronounced Brown's murals together with Sir Frederick Leighton's South Kensington frescoes "triumphs of English art."¹³

The Pre-Raphaelite artist Edward Burne-Jones concentrated more on designs for stained glass and for tapestries than for murals. His commissions for decorations were few, among the most notable, a frieze entitled Cupid and Psyche which he painted with Walter Crane for the London home of George Howard from 1872 to 1881.¹⁴ In one of his lectures, Reid refers to another commission by Burne-Jones, a series of wall paintings called The Seasons executed for the dining-room of F. Leylands in 1869-1871.¹⁵

Both Edward Burne-Jones and Ford Madox Brown had been involved with the effort to reform design in the 1870s and 1880s in England by reviving the handcrafted arts. Labelled later as the Arts and Crafts Movement after the Exhibition Society of that name founded in 1888, the central figure of the revival was William Morris. An architect, painter, craftsman, and writer, Morris not only promoted a return to the handcrafted art object, but he fought to improve the social conditions and the status of the craftsman-worker. Morris blamed the advent of the machine for the debasement of the worker who was left to carry out boring, assembly-line tasks and who thus became incapable of producing anything of quality and beauty.¹⁶

The teachings, writings, and designs of Morris and his followers were admired on the Continent, and their views soon spread to the United States and Canada. George Reid had observed the results of the Arts and Crafts Movement at first hand because his visits to England coincided with the peak years of the movement.¹⁷ In a later article of 1898, Reid stated that "the recent arts and crafts exhibitions show that England takes the first place in the world of design."¹⁸ The ideas that Reid presented in his lectures and writings on the need for integration of the arts and for reform in design derived directly from the teachings of William Morris. In an article on mural decoration Reid echoed Morris when he stated:

It is quite plain that from the lack of appreciation of the individual initiative in art resulted the system which robbed the workman of all credit, and that it was but a step further to substitute work produced by mechanical processes for work produced by the artist and skilled worker. Thus the architect, left with but few skilled workmen, is limited in his power to build; and it is now not only impossible to erect a building which displays the delight of the workers, but the taste of the patron has become so debased that ostentation is the principal quality which it exhibits.¹⁹

Reid firmly supported William Morris' pleas to close the division between the fine arts and the useful or decorative arts. Reid's interest in mural decoration stemmed from his belief derived from Morris' philosophy that architecture was central to the arts, and that it should be the aim of the painter, sculptor, and designer to work together to make a building a work of art:

Indeed the formative arts are so nearly one that it is only for convenience we speak of painting, sculpture and design as separate from the general term architecture; painting and sculpture would undoubtedly be homeless without the art of building, and architecture would be little more than mere building without decoration.²⁰

Throughout his life, in his various roles as President of the Ontario Society of Artists and of the Royal Canadian Academy and as principal of the Ontario College of Art, Reid emphasized the need to bring together the different branches of the arts. His empathy for architecture may relate to his having trained briefly with an architect in his early career before art school. In reminiscing about his youth he claimed, "I was fond of building and during the building of a new house on the farm, I had a little practical experience with masons, carpenters, and painters."²¹ Reid seemed to have a natural

feeling for architecture for he was called upon to act as the architect for two churches and about twenty summer houses in the community of Onteora, nestled in the Catskill mountains of New York state (fig. 1). The houses in this summer town represent an eclectic display of architectural styles; however, Reid's understanding of space and such features as musicians' galleries and fireplace inglenooks made his designs popular and accounted for the demand for his architectural talents. In these houses he often incorporated a mural into the design of the main living rooms, and to realize further his belief in combining the applied and fine arts, he designed simple, functional furniture for the residences. The second of his scrapbooks (B) is filled with his drawings and blueprints for buildings as well as furniture designs for Onteora residents.

The little Onteora Memorial Church perhaps best displays the union of the arts that Reid advocated (fig. 2). He acted as the architect and building supervisor for the stone church built in 1894-1895.²² The light fixtures, two stained glass windows, and some of the Church furniture are after Reid's drawings, and the artist painted a series of trumpeting angels above the altar (fig. 3).²³ Reid's other architectural achievements were his own Wychwood Park house in Toronto and the new wing of the Ontario College of Art, completed in 1921.²⁴

In the area of the applied arts Reid offered his support by acting as Vice-President of the Arts and Crafts Society of Canada, founded in Toronto in 1903.²⁵ Reid exhibited his

mural decorations and furniture designs in the Society's exhibitions. Included in their exhibition for 1904 was a piano designed by Reid and built by Reid Brothers along with sketches of panel decorations for the piano (figs. 4 and 5). The following year Reid exhibited a music cabinet with painted panels designed and decorated by himself and made by E. Challener.²⁶ Painting scenes on furniture had been a favourite form of decoration among William Morris and his friends early in the Arts and Crafts Movement,²⁷ and their example had perhaps inspired George Reid. This integration of painting with furniture was carried out on a piano by Morris' colleague Edward Burne-Jones.²⁸

In his own right, therefore, George Reid combined the work of the architect, painter, and designer in the spirit of the British movement to unite the fine and applied arts. Reid must have been referring to himself when, as President of the O.S.A., he wrote these words in an article prepared during the organization of the O.S.A. exhibition of applied art in 1900:

It (the exhibition) is intended to show also that the artists who are usually thought of as painters of pictures which may sometime find a temporary and possibly an inappropriate place on the walls of a private residence or museum, are not satisfied to occupy such a narrow groove in the world of art, but instead are chafing under the limitations of the position they are supposed to occupy, and are fully aware of the debased condition of art about them. They know that the architect, sculptor, and painter should work hand in hand to produce true architecture, which is only worthy of the name when it is so treated.²⁹

Reid's reference to the debased condition of art was intended to mean the deterioration of design caused by machine

production and the decline of the worker from artist/artisan to "mechanical drudge."³⁰ These words again recall the laments of William Morris who finally turned to socialist politics in his efforts to improve working conditions and the state of design in England. Reid concentrated his energies in the sphere of art. Even though designs for stained glass, wallpapers, and furniture took precedence over mural painting in the British Arts and Crafts revival, it was the philosophy of this movement which influenced Reid in his belief in the integration of the arts. As he considered himself above all a painter, he looked to mural painting as a means of carrying out the ideal of the reformers to unite architecture, painting, and the decorative arts.

After his return to Toronto from Europe in 1889, Reid was fortunate to become friends with a fellow believer in the reform of the arts along British lines. This was James Mavor, a professor of political economy at the University of Toronto. A native of Glasgow, Mavor emigrated to Canada in 1892, and he proved to be a great asset to the Toronto cultural community. Knowledgeable in both art and literature, Mavor had been the editor of The Scottish Art Review which carried articles on the revival of the arts and crafts, on mural decoration, and municipal art, among other features.³¹ Mavor had been a friend of William Morris and supported the aims of the Arts and Crafts Movement.³² Once in Canada Mavor continued to write and lecture on the appreciation of art,

and with his direct link to British artists, he helped to transport the ideas of the British movement to Canada.

James Mavor would have helped to inform Reid of British ideas, and they both shared an interest in promoting art and culture in Toronto. Having travelled extensively, Mavor had contacts all over the world as is evidenced in his autobiography, My Windows On The Street Of The World. In it Mavor gives his impression of Canada at the turn of the century, and he does not hesitate to label Canadians as provincial and insular in outlook. Therefore, in matters of art, like Reid, Mavor was dedicated to improving the acceptance and the position of art in Toronto through educational means, exhibitions, and support of Canadian artists. An advocate of municipal art, James Mavor was one of the founding members of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art which supported George Reid in his attempts to introduce mural painting to Toronto.³³ As friends Mavor and Reid served on the same committees, and they were both loud voices in the promotion of municipal art.³⁴ Although Mavor did not feel that Reid's successful genre paintings were the artist's best works, he admired his talent and encouraged Reid's efforts in mural decoration.³⁵

Besides keeping an eye on events in English art, George Reid must have watched American developments in mural decoration with keen interest. Reid had spent three years at the Pennsylvania Academy of Art in Philadelphia from 1882 to 1885, so that he was not unfamiliar with the American art scene. During his years of study there, Thomas Eakins had been the director of the Academy. Eakins had gained a

reputation as a superior art instructor, although his methods of teaching were considered radical by some.³⁶ Eakins had trained in Paris under the most academic of the French artists, Gerôme, and he passed on his admiration of the academic ideals to his pupils. There is little record of any interest in mural painting on Eakin's part. He was drawn to the perfection of detail and technique in the work of Gerôme and to the realism of the Spanish painters such as Velasquez.³⁷ Eakins would probably not have been impressed by the grandiose works of the French muralists with their historical and classical content. Nor were there any murals of note in Philadelphia to inspire Reid in those years before his Paris sojourn. One may conclude that Reid's Philadelphia years gave him a solid grounding in French academic methods of painting which he continued to follow by completing his studies in France. Eakins probably inspired Reid's enthusiasm for Velasquez and perhaps influenced the style of his early portraits, but Reid was not drawn to Eakin's pursuit of the study of nature through scientific method. When Reid reached France, he became impressed by the work of the French muralists and followed a different path from that taken by his former American teacher.

The mural paintings in France also attracted certain American artists such as John LaFarge who was one of the first to introduce mural decoration to the United States with his church decorations, notably those in Trinity Church, Boston, completed in 1877. The first mural commission for a civic building in the U.S. was undertaken by William Morris

Hunt in the Assembly Chamber of the State of Albany, New York, completed in 1878.³⁸ However, the turning point in the American mural revival was the commission for the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago when over twelve artists decorated the exhibition buildings with murals.³⁹ The Columbian Exhibition provided the impetus for the extensive mural project in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Nineteen artists were commissioned to paint 112 murals in the library from 1895 until 1897. At the same time, murals were being mounted in the Boston Public Library by Edwin Austin Abbey, Puvis de Chavannes, and John Singer Sargent.⁴⁰

George Reid had visited the Columbian Exhibition⁴¹ and the Boston Library and, if he had not seen the Washington project, he was aware of the murals through reproductions and articles in contemporary magazines which gave extensive coverage to these mural projects.⁴² Reid himself refers to the murals at the Chicago Exhibition, Boston, and Washington in his article on "Mural Decoration" for The Canadian Magazine in 1898.⁴³ The interest that the American mural movement aroused among artists as well as the public was reflected in the enthusiasm of writers at the time. Scribner's journalist Russell Sturgis exclaimed: "that the demand for decorative painting as one of the necessary elements of any scheme of lofty architecture will become universal and that we may be on the threshold of an epoch of decorative and imaginative painting of the highest type."⁴⁴

Engravings of the decorations in Washington and Boston were made and commercially reproduced by Curtis and

Cameron of Boston in 1896 and 1897 and referred to as the Copley prints.⁴⁵ An exhibition of these photographic prints was held in Toronto at the rooms of the Ontario Society of Artists in April 1898, sponsored by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art.⁴⁶ As already noted (footnote 34), George Reid and James Mavor were on the organizing committee for the exhibition. Certainly the American projects confirmed Reid's belief that mural decoration in public buildings was the best way to bring art to the people and to instil in the public an appreciation for art.

Besides his knowledge of American murals, Reid had personally encountered a number of the prominent artists in the American mural movement. Among the artists who participated in the mural decorations at the Chicago fair was Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917). He, like Reid, spent his summers in the Catskill town of Onteora. Beckwith and Reid must have known each other, since they were active in running the affairs of the Onteora church Reid had designed and decorated.⁴⁷ Writing in May 1895, the art reviewer for Toronto Saturday Night, Lynn C. Doyle, tells of her/his visit to the Reids in Onteora.⁴⁸ She/He lists Carroll Beckwith among the artists who frequented the community, and she/he also includes the artists Will H. Low and Mr. and Mrs. Sewell. Will Low (1853-1932), a director of the National Society of Mural Painters in 1895, was responsible for the decorations in the Waldorf, the Plaza and the Astoria Hotels in New York, painted before 1899.⁴⁹ Amanda Brewster and Robert V. Sewell were both painters, and their work was exhibited with George Reid's at

the American Art Galleries, New York, in December 1894.⁵⁰ Robert Sewell (1860-1924) was a member of the American Society of Mural Painters and executed a number of private mural commissions.⁵¹ Reid himself included another muralist, John W. Alexander (1856-1915), in his recollections of the Onteora art community.⁵² Alexander was noted for his mural series on The Evolution of the Book in the Congressional Library in Washington.⁵³

Another artist involved in the Columbian Exhibition as well as in the Library of Congress commissions was Robert Reid (1862-1929) whom George Reid had met when they were fellow students at the Académie Julian in Paris.⁵⁴ Although there is no mention of a close friendship between these two artists, George Reid may have taken note of the progress of his former colleague who by 1899 had also undertaken decorations in two churches and a hotel.⁵⁵

One of the senior American artists interested in murals at that time was Elihu Vedder (1836-1923).⁵⁶ An expatriate, Vedder returned to the U.S. from his home in Rome to work on his contribution to the Chicago exhibition project. However, overwhelmed by the vastness of the project and by the pressure of the public's expectation, Vedder gave up the Chicago commission and turned to murals for private patrons and later for the Library of Congress. Although George Reid did not single Vedder out for special mention, he would have probably been aware of Vedder's work, since they exhibited together in a show of six artists held at the American Art Galleries, New York city, in December 1894.⁵⁷ In that year

Vedder had installed his first murals for the Collis P. Huntington House in New York and the Walker Art Building mural for Bowdoin College, Maine.⁵⁸

Among the American muralists the one who probably most impressed George Reid was Edwin H. Blashfield (1848-1936) whose name dominated the development of mural painting in the United States at the turn of the century.⁵⁹ One of the few experienced muralists involved in the mural commission for the Columbian Exhibition, Blashfield emerged the star of the movement with his decoration of the collar dome in the Library of Congress in Washington. Blashfield was older than Reid, but he had also studied in Paris at Bonnat's atelier. He too had been inspired by the French mural paintings, and through Bonnat, he had even met Puvis de Chavannes. Reid may have known Blashfield personally, since the American artist had also spent summers in Onteora. In a later speech, Reid referred to Blashfield as a member of his summer community,⁶⁰ however, it is difficult to confirm that Reid had met Blashfield before the Toronto Municipal Building's commission.⁶¹ Certainly Reid would have known Blashfield's work which had been well-publicized in the reviews of the Chicago fair and Washington library projects.

Edwin Blashfield became an eloquent crusader for the cause of mural painting. In a number of articles and a book on the subject published in 1914, he defended the status of the mural artists and pleaded for more financial support for murals in civic buildings.

Blashfield emphasized over and over in his writings the instructive qualities of a mural painting:

The artist is teaching the lesson of intellectual development; teaching it with brush and chisel to the child who has not yet learned to read and to the peasant who is too old to learn. Wise and ignorant alike can study the great picture-book.⁶²

Public and municipal art is a public and municipal educator. The decoration of temples and cathedrals and town halls has naturally taught patriotism, morals and aesthetics, in a far larger sense than has that of private palaces or houses, admirable, as the latter has often been.⁶³

If a mural were to be displayed in a public building, Blashfield stated that it should have meaning for the viewer, be the subject a reference to an historical event or an allegorical rendering of a such virtues as "Industry" or "Justice." Both types of subject were depicted and repeated by American muralists. Also Blashfield stressed that the theme of a mural should relate to the specific function of the building in which it was placed. He also recommended that a public mural refer to the history or past of the people whose cultural heritage it was designed to reflect. The artist wrote:

A public decoration is sure to be in part, at any rate, a commemoration; in the public building the community celebrates itself and is preached to; meaning it wants, and meaning of the highest.⁶⁴

and in William Morris tones he claimed that mural painting was:

an art which is of the people, for the people, by the people. It is of the people, for it celebrates their annals; it is for them for it is spread upon the walls of their buildings...; it is by the people, for it is created by the men who were born on our prairies or in our cities.⁶⁵

Blashfield and his colleagues wanted to develop a national art which spoke to the public and was accessible to them, as he said, "good national art is a good national asset."⁶⁶

This was a goal that George Reid aimed for as well.

Blashfield's commitment to the development of mural painting and to the improvement of municipal art must have provided an example for Reid.

Decoration of buildings was to Blashfield just one aspect of municipal art. As an outgrowth of the cooperative spirit shown among painters, sculptors, and architects working at the Columbian Exhibition, more emphasis was placed on the need to beautify American cities. Proponents of municipal art rallied together to form the New York Municipal Art Society which Edwin Blashfield addressed at their first meeting in 1892.⁶⁷ This society served as a model for a similar group of laymen and artists, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, organized in Toronto in 1897 (see p. 34).

American artists and critics at the turn of the century had confidence in the role of mural decoration as the art of the future, and their statements reflected this. The prominent mural artist, Kenyon Cox, referred to mural decoration as "the highest art of all,"⁶⁸ and he predicted that "the day of the isolated easel-picture" was over.⁶⁹

The writer, Charles Shean wrote:

It is a safe and reasonable forecast that the future great art of this republic as far as it is expressed in painting, will find its complete and full development on the walls of our public buildings....⁷⁰

In an article on "Mural Painting in America" Blashfield later summed up his attitude to murals:

...the decoration of public buildings is the most important question in the consideration of our art of the future, just as it always has been in the past of any and every national art from the time of the pyramid builders down.⁷¹

This expression of confidence would have encouraged George Reid, and the examples of major public and private American mural commissions undertaken in the 1890s would have confirmed his commitment to the art of mural decoration.

Since in Paris the execution of murals had become a major artistic event at the end of the 1880s, in the United States the European example had inspired an enthusiastic group of young muralists, and in England the most prestigious British artist eagerly sought mural commissions, George Reid must have felt that he was struggling to bring one of the most contemporary artistic developments of Europe and America to Toronto.

In Canada, little interest in murals was evident at this time, except in Quebec where the European tradition of mural decoration in the churches had been carried on in the nineteenth century, usually by artists of European origin.⁷²

The only significant Canadian muralists working in the second half of the century were the Quebec artist and architect, Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916) and his pupil François-X. Meloche (1855-1917). Two of Bourassa's achievements were the decorations in the chapelle de Nazareth, Montreal (1870-72) and in the Church of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Montreal, which he built and decorated in 1872-1880.⁷³ Ozias Leduc (1864-1955) was another Quebec artist who undertook church

decoration first as an apprentice from 1888 and then on his own in the 1890s. He was completing the decorations of the St. Hilaire church about the same time that Reid was working on the Toronto Municipal Building murals in 1898. Leduc went on to other religious mural projects throughout his lifetime.⁷⁴

A major church commission in Quebec at the end of the nineteenth century was the scheme to decorate the Chapelle Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur, in the Church of Notre-Dame, Montreal. Five artists were involved: Ludger Larose (1868-1915), Joseph C. Franchère (1866-1921), Joseph Saint-Charles (1868-1956), Henri Beau (1863-1949), and Charles Gill (1871-1918), and their works were all completed and mounted by 1895. These artists were sent to France and Italy to study mural painting and the works of the European masters in order to prepare for the commission. However, mural commissions were not the main concern of any of these artists, even though Joseph Saint-Charles executed decorations in the chapel of the Grand Séminaire in Montreal,⁷⁵ and both he and Henri Beau were involved with the mural project for Quebec's Legislative Assembly. In Quebec, outside of church decoration, there was no conscious effort to develop a mural movement in civic institutions in the way George Reid and his colleagues proposed.

The only secular commission for a public building in Quebec at that time was the offer by the Quebec government for the decoration of the Legislative Assembly Chamber in Quebec city. Although plans and proposals began as early as

1883, financial problems and disagreements over the suitability of submissions delayed the mural project.⁷⁶ It was not until 1910, eleven years after Reid's City Hall murals were mounted, that Charles Huot (1855-1930) was granted the contract for the large mural painting, Le débat sur les langues: séance de l'assemblée législative du Bas-Canada le 21 janvier 1793, completed in 1913. Although Reid must have been aware of some of this activity in Quebec, there is no record of any contact between him and the Quebec muralists before 1897. Reid did not go to Quebec until 1907 when as President of the R.C.A., he organized an exhibition of paintings from the Université Laval to be sent to Toronto.⁷⁷

The one major secular wall painting which did predate Reid's City Hall panels was Robert Harris' (1849-1919) large painting of the Fathers of Confederation, executed in 1884 for the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. More a painting than mural this work served a documentary purpose and may be considered a large scale, composite portrait similar to the large individual portraits commemorating politicians, which so often grace the walls of public buildings. The mural is unique in Harris' output which usually consisted of portraits and genre paintings, with the exception of church murals for All Souls Chapel, St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, begun in 1897.⁷⁸

Thus George Reid may be considered a pioneer in the development of secular mural painting in Canada. He maintained that the idea of proposing a scheme of mural decoration in Canada took form in his mind after his year of study in France.⁷⁹

Although Reid continued to paint his popular genre scenes and landscapes, after 1890, he directed his attention to the study and promotion of mural painting. In an article on the subject in 1898, Reid expressed his views concerning the importance of mural painting in the field of art:

The points to be emphasized in any treatment of mural painting are its wide scope and great power as a form of art expression; its philosophy and history cover the whole domain of art, and as in music the symphony is the most elevated form, or in literature the epic poem is its supreme effort, so decoration is to the arts of form their crown.⁸⁰

Examples of government sponsored mural projects in France, England, and the United States confirmed Reid's belief in the need for public art. He sought to place murals in buildings where they would be seen by the person who had not the inclination nor the finances to buy art for his home. Reid aimed to place mural paintings in universities, schools, libraries, hotels, and government buildings. To him the mural was a public monument which should take its place beside large sculptures commemorating events and individuals. Indeed the adjective "monumental" was frequently used to describe mural paintings. Reid felt that murals would serve to enhance a building not only aesthetically but in its significance as a architectural monument. Reid deplored the state of decoration of buildings at that time and hoped that mural painting would offer an opportunity to improve interior design:

Harmonies of colour and line are more than ever the necessity of modern decoration. These, connected with the demand for more important subject matter in our mural decorations, promise to elevate that branch of painting from the trivialities of stencilled

and wall paper designs, especially in our public buildings, and cause the term "decoration" to mean more than the thoughtless, tasteless jumbling of things which at present makes the interiors of our buildings more like museums than dwellings.⁸¹

In some of his attempts to promote murals Reid was successful, but a constant disappointment to him and his colleagues was the indifference shown by public officials. Throughout his life Reid strove to bring art to the public and kept up his efforts to interest civic and private officials in mural painting, an art he was to refer to as "the highest form of Art expression for the Painter."⁸² He displayed his persistence in encouraging this art by his role in the promotion of murals for the Toronto Municipal Buildings.

CHAPTER II

THE DECORATION OF THE OLD TORONTO CITY HALL AND COURT HOUSE

Inspired by the activity in mural painting in France, George Reid returned to Toronto from Paris in November 1889 with the idea of introducing mural decoration to Canada. Just at this time a building to incorporate a city hall and court house was being planned for Toronto. There could not have been a more appropriate building in which to begin a scheme for mural decoration, and Reid did not miss the opportunity.

From the very beginning, the project for the building was plagued with financial problems causing much controversy which continued even after the building's completion. In 1886 the Toronto-born architect Edward James Lennox (1855-1933) had won the competition for the design of a court house. After some delay, in 1887, Lennox was asked to revise his plans so that the building could accommodate the functions of a city hall as well. Lennox's designs called for a building in a style modelled after the Romanesque Revival buildings of the Chicago architect, Henry Hobson Richardson. Richardson was at the height of his career from the mid 1870s until his death in 1886, and his architecture influenced a number of Toronto architects working in the early 1890s. Lennox's design for the city hall is one of the earliest examples in

Toronto of this so-called American Romanesque style, and it features such characteristic elements as heavy rock-faced masonry in contrasting buff and red tones; recessed, low round entrance arches, and intricate foliage decoration and grotesques carved in the sandstone (figs. 6 and 7). The City Hall is now considered the high point of Lennox's architectural career, although at the time, the building was regarded as scandalously expensive, and its cost probably accounted for Reid's troubles in promoting his mural proposals.

Actual construction of the City Hall and Court House, located at the corner of Queen and Bay streets, did not start until September 1889 and progressed slowly.¹ The delays gave Reid time to think about his plan for murals and to arouse the interest of his fellow artists. The event which strengthened Reid's determination to go ahead with a scheme to decorate public buildings was the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago in 1893. Reid visited the exhibition where his painting Foreclosure of the Mortgage was included among the Canadian entries and for which he was awarded a bronze medal.² At the fair Reid was greatly impressed by the combined efforts of architects, sculptors and artists in the decoration of the exhibition buildings. Without a doubt the example of the Chicago exhibition increased Reid's desire to initiate mural projects in Toronto.

In order to set up a formal basis for the promotion of mural painting in Canada, an organization of mural painters was formed. To use Reid's own words:

In February, 1894, seven figure painters of Toronto who were interested in wall decoration, came together to devise some means of concerted action to influence municipal art, especially to guard the new public buildings from any inadequate interior decoration which might be adopted and to initiate, if possible, a scheme which would emulate the many notable examples of decoration in parliament houses, municipal buildings, and public libraries of Great Britain, France, the United States and other countries. The result of these meetings was an organization calling itself the Society of Mural Decorators.³

Although Reid did not list the seven painters, the Toronto Saturday Night art columnist, Jean Grant, named the members of the society: George Reid, William Cruikshank (1849-1922), Wyly Grier (1862-1957), Frederick Challener (1869-1959), Curtis Williamson (1867-1944), Sidney Strickland Tully (1860-1911), and Harriet Ford (1859-1938).⁴

It is interesting to note that while the Canadian group of mural painters was inspired by American initiatives in the decoration of public buildings, their society was actually founded before their American counterpart, the National Society of Mural Painters, organized in March 1895 and incorporated in May of that year. The American society which had grown out of a loose association of interested artists drew up a constitution with a list of aims which included the urging of decoration in public buildings, holding exhibitions and instigating laws to regulate professional practice.⁵ A more formal organization with wider goals than the Canadian group, the American society consisted of both professional and lay members,⁶ but their ultimate purpose to encourage mural art was the same as that of the small, less formally established Canadian society.

The first project of the Canadian Society of Mural Decorators was to decide upon a scheme for murals in Toronto's Union Station which was being enlarged.⁷ The earlier Grand Trunk Railway Station built in 1873 was doubled in size by the addition of a building in 1893-1895.⁸ In the heart of the city, this building through which many people passed every day represented the ideal location for a series of paintings intended to reach the public. The muralists chose as a subject the history of transportation⁹, an obvious theme to suit the purpose of the station. According to Muriel Miner: "After working out and submitting plans and sketches for this project, the artists waited for the report of the railway officials."¹⁰ If there were ever completed sketches for the murals, they appear to have been either lost or destroyed. In any case, the Society's proposal for decorating Union Station was rejected, and the actual building was levelled by fire in 1904.¹¹

Undaunted by their unsuccessful efforts to place murals in Union Station, the group turned its attention to the blank walls of the new Municipal Buildings. They were able to obtain plans of the building through the Property Committee in 1895.¹² As announced in the newspapers, George Reid, on behalf of the Society, made an informal proposal to city Alderman Lamb and other members of the Council.¹³ Reid and his colleagues must have been encouraged by the public support they received in the newspapers of the time. A note in Toronto Saturday Night stated, "If good wishes had any value or any force we would utter volumes of them to

further the plan for decorating the new City Hall...."¹⁴

An anonymous reporter wrote with nationalistic fervour in the Mail and Empire of February 1, 1895:

The proposal of the Canadian artists and more especially those who reside in Toronto, to undertake the interior decoration and mural painting of the new city and county building is one that ought to meet with the approval of the Council. The substantial structure now in course of erection will stand for centuries, perhaps, as a monument of the present. No more suitable place could be selected to show the progress which art has made in Canada at the close of the nineteenth century, and there is talent in Toronto today to prove the artistic ability of our people to generations to come.

Toronto has now an opportunity of showing her appreciation of the efforts of her own artists. Let the interior decoration of the new building be the work of Canadian artists who have already shown by their achievements at home and abroad that they hold a place among the premier painters of our time.¹⁵

The verbal proposal was followed by a more formal offer to the architect, E.J. Lennox, in the form of a letter, dated March 26, 1895, from Reid, Grier, and Cruikshank, on behalf of the Society of Mural Decorators.¹⁶ Citing the examples of the Chicago exhibition murals and of those by artists in France, the group suggested that they concentrate on a scheme of decoration for the Council Chamber, the entrance to it and part of the stairway leading to it. Although little has been recorded concerning the relations between the Society of Mural Decorators and E.J. Lennox, the architect apparently agreed to their mural proposal, and he even made a few alterations to the height of the dado to accommodate the muralists' designs.¹⁷

For the other panels in the building, of which there were about one hundred, the Society advised holding a

competition open to Toronto artists. Realizing that they would need more outside support if their ideas were to be successful, the mural decorators further recommended that their work be supervised by an organization of "artists, architects, and public spirited men of taste and knowledge."¹⁸ The Society gave as an example of such a group, the New York Art Federation which consisted of artists and laymen who advised the city of all projects of an artistic nature, such as statues, parks, bridges, as well as paintings. A Canadian organization, the Society hoped, would eventually "become the nucleus of a permanent league having control of future decorations and by degrees extending the scope of its work to all municipal art."¹⁹

Having made their proposal, from 1895 to 1897, the artists went to work on the sketches for the Municipal Buildings project. In the meantime, to further the cause of mural painting, the R.C.A. devoted one room to mural decorations in its annual exhibition in April 1895.²⁰ This was noted by the Toronto Saturday Night art reviewer, Lynn C. Doyle, and she/he continued to comment on the state of mural decoration both at home and abroad. In December 1895, she/he referred to the work of the New York Municipal Art Society which it seems supported artists financially as well as morally:

The New York Municipal Art Society, it is announced intends to continue its work of decorating the public buildings of the city, so happily begun in the Oyer and Terminer courtroom. The panels in this room were by Edward E. Simmons. They cost the society \$5,000, and were given to the city. They have been greatly admired and competent judges pronounce the room the

handsomest court-room in the world. By the time the Toronto City Hall is decorated there may be another verdict!²¹

In 1896 Doyle noted that George Reid was at work in France on a decoration for a summer house (the Russell mural for Onteora); that Frederick Challener was painting a wall decoration of "a woodland scene in autumn," and that Reid's student Rex Stovel was undertaking a series of decorations for St. Matthew's Church in Hamilton.²²

Doyle's reports on mural decoration and those of her/his successor, Jean Grant (from mid 1897) became more frequent in the years 1897 to 1899, as they covered the American mural movement and Canadian developments, following Reid's progress carefully. It seems that Reid and his supporters made a point of informing the reviewer of Toronto Saturday Night and other Canadian journals such as The Week and The Canadian Architect and Builder, in their campaign to promote Canadian murals.

Also in 1897, in response to the Society of Mural Decorators' wish for a citizen's group to represent and support them, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art was formed. In Reid's words:

While sketches for the Council Chamber were under-way, a number of laymen became interested in the proposal, and a body named the Toronto Guild of Civic Art was incorporated, with powers to enter into agreements with the Municipality of the City of Toronto, corporations, or private persons, to act in a purely supervising and advisory capacity in matters pertaining to works of art or of an artistic nature.²³

The Guild which held its first meeting on May 21, 1897, was composed of architects, artists, academics, writers, and businessmen.²⁴ Its aims were, as its constitution stated:

To act as a purely supervising, consulting and advisory body to promote and encourage civic art, including mural painting and decoration, sculptures, fountains and other structures or works of art of an artistic character; and to arrange for the execution of works of art by competent artists, to be chosen by competition or otherwise, and to hold exhibitions from time to time of works of art more especially connected with mural decoration, architectural and stained glass designs, sculpture and kindred subjects.²⁵

The first step for the Guild was to turn its attention to the Society of Mural Decorators' proposal for Toronto's Municipal Buildings. The written proposition and sketches for mural decorations in the Council Chamber were presented in person to the Mayor and Board of Control of Toronto on March 19, 1897 by the members of the Society and a delegation from the Toronto Guild of Civic Art. In the proposal written by Reid on behalf of the applicants, he wrote: "The Society of Mural Decorators is pleased to state that the above mentioned Guild fully endorses the plan as here outlined; and their advisory board and some of the members are here to support the above propositions."²⁶ The document continues:

The sketches have been prepared by four members of the Society; - G.A. Reid, R.C.A., E. Wyly Grier, R.C.A., W. Cruikshank, R.C.A., and F.S. Challener, A.R.C.A. They are on a scale of 2 inches to one foot of 1/6 the full size and show the panels in their relation to each other and as they would appear in the Chamber.

The largest panel is 16 x 17 ft., the medium sizes 16 x 14 ft., and those at the entrance 8 x 20 ft. The whole would contain nearly 1,800 square feet of surface.

The nature of decoration of this sort, requiring a complete harmony of parts, a whole room must be undertaken at one time and designed throughout with a view to unity of effect in line and colour. This would require a harmonious colouring of the walls between and around the windows, of the gallery, with the spandrils (sic) of the arches, and of the ceiling as shown in the designs submitted. The decorating of the panels at the entrance of the Council Chamber is considered necessary as an introduction to the highly finished interior.²⁷

The Council Chamber, for which the mural decorators had executed their mural studies, is located on the second floor of the Municipal Buildings. (See floor plan, fig. 11) It is approached from the corridor running off the main second-floor hall or from a set of stairs directly opposite (fig. 12). For either side of the entrance outside the Council Chamber, the artists proposed the subjects Science and Art designed by Reid and Grier, respectively (figs. 13 and 15). As the hallway is a passage area, the subjects Science and Art were appropriate universal themes not related to the function of any particular room and subjects understood by everyone. The muralists felt that a classical treatment was suitable to depict the pursuit of knowledge and culture - ideals of western civilization which sprang from the teachings of the ancients.²⁸ The mural studies show groups of figures in classical dress arranged across the panel. As suggested by their title, the scenes include objects connected with scientific experiment or with artistic creation.²⁹ That the entrance murals were considered necessary "as an introduction to the highly finished interior" (see quotation above) indicates that the artists were perhaps more concerned with

visual appearances rather than the relation of the hallway subjects to the historical allegories of the Council Chamber decorations.

The mural designs for the interior of the Council Chamber were intended for the south and west walls of the room, the north wall being taken up by an upper public gallery and the east wall by large windows. On each wall the wooden panelling of the dado rises up about seven feet, leaving a large horizontal expanse of flat wall space (fig. 16). The muralists chose to divide each wall into three rectangular areas. The two colour studies submitted by the artists measured about four by eight feet, and each included three scenes of the pioneer days of Toronto.³⁰

The murals intended for the south wall of the Council Chamber symbolized the motto of the city of Toronto, "Industry, Integrity, and Intelligence." (fig. 17) Each word was printed in a cartouche under its corresponding painting. The scenes by William Cruikshank, Reid and Wyly Grier, respectively, illustrated the activities in the early days of the town: forging metal, weighing and selling grain, building homes, and unloading boats moored in Toronto harbour. For the west wall the artists proposed another three paintings representing "Peace, Government, and Prosperity." These designs by Cruikshank and Frederick Challenger depicted idyllic peace time pursuits such as spinning wool and watching over sheep. The central panel by Challenger entitled, Government,

illustrated a group of officials called in to help settle a land dispute.³¹

With the presentation of their sketches to the Mayor, the artists submitted the calculation of their costs amounting to a salary of \$1,000 each to execute the eight murals. This rate, they pointed out, was six times less than that paid for a similar mural commission for the Manchester Town Hall in England. Despite this argument they concluded that "in order that the initial step may be taken in the direction of beautifying the chamber of this magnificent building with mural painting, the artists are willing to make the effort to do their part at what is merely a living rate."³²

During the Board of Control meeting, B.E. Walker acted as the spokesman for the delegation, a number of whom presented their views in favour of the proposal for murals and an advisory Guild of Civic Art. Citing examples of decorations in France and Puvis de Chavannes' murals in Boston, the speakers emphasized the cultural benefits for the city of Toronto and its artists. As the Globe reported:

Hon. G.W. Allan spoke of the pride manifested abroad in the civic buildings of great cities. The exterior of the Toronto City buildings was worthy of interior decorations that would show how far the artistic taste had been developed in Toronto.

Bernard McEvoy remarked that the best possible means of fostering art would be by giving the artists a commission to decorate the civic buildings.³³

Prospective trouble arose just after the presentation to the city when the President of the Ontario Society of Artists, Marmaduke Matthews, objected publicly to the lack of a competition for the decoration of the Council Chamber.³⁴

As a result, a special meeting of the O.S.A. was held on March 25, 1897 at which George Reid explained the aims and makeup of the Society of Mural Decorators. The temporary controversy ended with Matthews, who had acted on his own account, and the O.S.A. endorsing the mural decorator's proposals.

Despite the support for the muralists and their own enthusiasm for the project, the City Council decided that because of the overall enormous cost of the construction of the building, they could not afford to finance the mural decorations. The role of the architect, Lennox, in the City Council's decision is never mentioned, but one wonders whether he did not have some part in the rejection of the Society's mural proposal. While the city spared no expense for the elaborate stone carving, the interior marble wall panelling, and the intricately patterned mosaic floor, Lennox pleaded lack of funds for the mural decorations.³⁵ Reflecting upon the events of the period in later years Frederick Challenger suggested that Lennox had taken offense at the important role of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art as sponsor of the mural proposal. In the words of Challenger, "If he (Lennox) had been approached and asked to handle it, I'm sure they would be hanging at City Hall today."³⁶

The six panels on the walls of the Council Chamber remain blank today except for the wide borders painted with strapwork designs of flowers and fruit. These were executed by Gustav Hahn (1866-1962) who also painted the murals of Truth and Justice, as they appear today, in the spandrels of

the arches over the public gallery (fig. 18). Sketches of the two panels were included in the O.S.A. exhibition of 1908 (O.S.A. cat. no. 59 and 60); therefore they would have been mounted in, or around that year. Hahn was responsible for a number of private mural decorations and he collaborated with the group of artists on the mural proposal for the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa in 1904-05.³⁷

The rejection of their mural scheme for the City Hall was a blow to the Society of Mural Decorators, especially after three years of planning and after the failure of their Union Station proposal. Thus, after some discussion over the possibility of offering their services free of charge, the discouraged members called a halt to their activities.

George Reid, however, had been the driving force behind the group, and he was unwilling to let the plan rest. In a surprise move, he offered to undertake two new murals on his own time. The newspaper recorded his generous offer:

As I am largely responsible for the movement, and have given considerable time to the development of it, I am unwilling that it should fail for want of energy and sacrifice. In the hope, therefore, of advancing the cause without further delay, I beg to submit the following offer:- I will undertake a piece of work at my own cost which I propose to have ready to be installed for the opening of the civic buildings next year, with the conditions that the design and work shall be under the supervision of a committee chosen by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, and that this piece of work shall not in any way interfere with that proposed by the Society of Mural Decorators; the different members of which are in concurrence with this proposal.³⁸

On December 15, 1897, the City Council accepted Reid's offer.³⁹ As Reid had suggested, the Toronto Guild

of Civic Art undertook to supervise the mural project, and it formed a committee to discuss the plans with Edward Lennox.⁴⁰

As another form of arousing interest in their campaign for public art, the Guild organized the Copley print exhibition of reproductions of American mural decorations (see above p. 17-18). At the same time the Guild looked into the idea proposed by the O.S.A. and Ladies League of School Art to form a Public School Art League.⁴¹ The purpose of such a group was to advise schools on appropriate decorations with an educational purpose in mind. As President of the O.S.A. and a member of the Guild, George Reid was very much a part of the organization of the League.⁴²

For over fourteen months Reid worked on the decorations for the two panels and four spandrel spaces at the interior of the main entrance to the City Hall. Two photographs (figs. 19 and 20) which appear in Reid's scrapbook give an idea of how Reid tackled the actual painting of the murals, by executing a large number of preparatory drawings of individual figures and groups. His huge brick-walled studio was large enough to accommodate all the canvases mounted on stretchers.⁴³ Reid worked with the model drawing of the overall layout of the three entrance arches and side bays placed in front of him on an easel (fig. 20).⁴⁴ The outline studies for the life-size figures and composition of the murals were pinned to the easel as well. Painting the subject on canvas and fixing it to the wall had become the accepted technique for mural decoration in France and the United States

at the end of the nineteenth century, instead of the fresco process. When the oil painting was ready, it was attached to the wall with a thick medium of white lead and varnish.⁴⁵

By March 11, 1899, B.E. Walker, in his capacity as President of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, was able to write to Mayor Shaw and request him to obtain the architect's permission to mount the canvases on the walls for the finishing touches.⁴⁶ This letter was quickly followed by an urgent plea from Reid to Alderman Dunn, Chairman of the Property Committee, concerning the mounting of the murals:

The nature of the urgency is as follows.--- The oil coating to the wall spaces must have a sufficient time to dry. I shall require to have seven weeks to work on the canvasses (sic) after they are placed, and as I will be obliged to leave Toronto towards the end of April, the time is already short for the work.⁴⁷

On April 29, 1899, Jean Grant of Toronto Saturday Night noted in her column that the mural decorations were in place although not yet on view to the public.⁴⁸

The finishing touches completed, on May 16, 1899 the murals were formally presented to the city of Toronto by the Guild of Civic Art on behalf of George Reid with the hope that "these fine decorations may prove to be but the first of a series of historical memorials of this nature, illustrating the progress of our country, which may be placed in this and other buildings."⁴⁹

The murals executed by George Reid are still located in the main entrance of the City Hall. After entering the main doors and climbing a short flight of stairs, the visitor passes through three round arches into a large hall extending

the southern range of the building (fig. 8). A row of columns divides the hall which is much longer than it is wide and is dominated by a grand staircase which descends down opposite the entrance (figs. 9 and 10). In the spandrels between the arches are four winged female figures all similarly clad in flowing white dresses with swirling pink shawls about their shoulders (figs. 21-24). Each allegorical figure holds up one arm to support a banner running across the top of the triangle, interrupted by the curves of the entrance arches. The banner bears the title of the murals; "Hail to the Pioneers/Their Names and Deeds/ Remembered and Forgotten/ We Honour Here." Above the banner in each bay respectively, are printed the words, "Discovery", "Fame", "Fortune", and "Adventure", symbolized by the four winged maidens. These figures in slight *contraposto* with their wings outstretched are placed against a gold background. Each decoration is signed at the bottom, "G.A. Reid 1899 . 29."⁵⁰

On either side of the three wide arches are Reid's two murals placed above the dado. The mural on the east side measures fourteen feet across by seven feet in height, and it depicts The Arrival of the Pioneers in the land where they will settle (fig. 25).⁵¹ Two men at the left carry axes, and one balances long poles over his shoulder. Just off centre in the foreground another pioneer is crouched down on one knee, tending to his packsack. The man behind him holds his pack in place on his back by means of a band running from the pack around his head. A woman in bonnet and shawl stands beside him, holding her infant. All the men are similarly

dressed in shirts and pants tucked into high boots. They wear wide belts around their waists and sport brimmed hats. The group is placed in a narrow plane against a dense landscape of trees and rocks. A decorative green band of stylized leaf design within an interlocking geometric pattern in ochre yellow tone frames the scene. The actual names of some of the pioneers are printed in this border in the same yellow colour: MacKenzie, Allan, MacDonnell, Ryerson, and Scadding. In each corner of the border Reid has included the letters "YT" which presumably stand for Toronto and its earlier name, York.⁵²

The wall space for the mural causes a visual problem since a doorway breaks into the left side. Rather than ending the mural at the line of the door, however, Reid has carried the decorative border over and across the door's cornice to the next pilaster, possibly in order to include space for the name of "MacKenzie." Also it would have appeared strange to leave this space above the door undecorated when he intended to eventually fill all the panels around the corridor completely. The mural is signed in the lower right corner, "G.A. Reid 1899" and below that "1929".

The second mural, on the right side, measures seventeen feet by seven feet high and shows the early settlers surveying the land in a scene entitled Staking a Pioneer Farm.⁵³ (fig. 26) A group of men at the left face the centre of the mural; one carries a rolled pack on his back; another sits on a rock, his axe lying across his knees; the third stands with his right hand resting on his upright axe.

Further to the right, in the background, an Indian resting his head in his hand, peers out from behind a tree. In the centre towards the foreground, the surveyor takes notes in his pad. He stands in front of a surveyor's level while another crouching man to the right holds the plumb line steady. Just behind the two surveyors and to the right another man holds what appears to be a link chain used in surveying. His face is directed toward a settler who sits on a fallen tree trunk and prepares a pointed stake. Another pioneer watching from behind holds a completed stake in the left hand and leans on a pole. This group wears the same kind of attire as the figures in the east mural. Again the forest serves as an expansive backdrop to the scene, and the mural is framed by a border of geometric design including the names of prominent figures in Ontario history: Galinée, Simcoe, Tecumseh, Brock, Osgoode, Baldwin, Laura Secord, and Strachan. The painting is also signed and dated on the bottom left, "G.A. Reid 1899.1929."

The names of the Canadians printed around the borders of both murals were suggested to George Reid by a committee of The Ontario Historical Society in Toronto.⁵⁴ Each person referred to in the mural played an important role in the development of Toronto or the province of Ontario. The most heavily represented group are those men who were active in the political sphere, combining their talents as lawyers, soldiers, religious leaders, and educators with the administering of the country.⁵⁵ Reid's murals preserved the memory

of these illustrious Canadian pioneers so that they might inspire other generations to follow their example.

The predominant tones of both murals are grey and blue-green with areas of cool pink and blue in the clothing and yellow in the ground. All the murals were painted on canvas with an oil and wax medium (to give a matt effect) and then mounted upon the wall.⁵⁶

Reid intended the murals to be an "initial step" toward a movement of mural decoration in public buildings. The president of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, B.E. Walker, repeated this wish in his address at the presentation of the murals:

We have only to look at this beautiful hall, however, to realize that this is a fitting time and place to begin a new era in Canada for this particular art, and let us hope that the good seed sown by Mr. Reid will so root itself in the minds of the people that other artists will be able to project their ideas upon these and other walls until a great national school of wall painting has been developed.⁵⁷

In contrast with the tone of Mr. Walker's address, the reaction of the public was not always so favourable. One correspondent to The Canadian Architect and Builder of June 1899 questioned the judgment of the Guild in approving Reid's work, and his opening remarks suggested that he was not alone in his criticism:

It has been a source of speculation with not a few whether the mural decorations at the City Hall, Toronto, are satisfactory to the Guild of Civic Art, and if work of this quality will be accepted by them in the future. If the work presented by Mr. Reid to the city meets their requirements, then it becomes a question whether they are to be entrusted with the selection of further mural decorations.⁵⁸

The correspondent continued to lament the "uninteresting grouping" of the subjects, and a "lack of modelling of the figure shown through the clothing," and he concluded, "The general scheme of color is good albeit rather tame - indeed this word applies to the whole work in conception, composition, drawing and colouring." Another anonymous correspondent in The Canadian Architect and Builder was also inclined to be negative. While he did not single out specific details for criticism in Reid's murals, he, like the first critic, suggested more discrimination on the part of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art:

It is indeed to be hoped that the Toronto Guild of Civic Art is not going to develop into the condition of a 'mechanical postbox' that says 'thank you' for all it receives, whether it be a trouser button or a quarter. The Guild will belie its personal taste and prostitute its objects if its members have not the courage of their convictions to speak and give their opinions openly as to the merits and value of art donations to the city.⁵⁹

The Toronto Saturday Night art reviewer, Jean Grant, was more sympathetic toward Reid's murals. In her article on the City Hall panels, she stressed the need to judge wall painting by a different set of values than one would use for easel painting, and she outlined the qualities of a successful mural decoration:

Well, in the first place it is not an easel painting on a large scale, painted without reference either in technical treatment or subject, to its future destination. Its essential essence is in its fitness for its surroundings, ... It should not be so abstruse as to be beyond the ordinary comprehension; it should not require much verbal explanation; it must not force itself upon the attention of the viewer as though it, and not the object it beautifies, were the main consideration....It will harmonize in color scheme and lines with its setting. It will

successfully cover its space with a well-balanced composition. It must of necessity be light in weight....so as to appear to rest easily on its surface, not to leave one in doubt as to the ability of the wall to bear its masses, as many decorations in Paris and elsewhere do. Its composition, no matter how prolonged, must present unity.⁶⁰

Reid obviously agreed with Ms. Grant because he saved her column and glued it into his scrapbook.⁶¹ In fact, her discussion on the qualities of a mural were more than likely taken directly from the artist's mouth and formulated into an "artistic creed" as it is referred to by Muriel Miner who attributes the identical words to Reid in her book.⁶²

While praising the subject of Reid's murals, Jean Grant continues her column by mentioning their educational purpose and her belief that the mural paintings will encourage moral principles and the appreciation of Canadian art. She concludes:

The cultivation of municipal art is by a long way the quickest, safest way to permeate society with art feeling and for teaching people generally and bringing up a self-respecting community, there is nothing to be compared to it except the pulpit, not even the newspapers.⁶³

Other reviewers chose to emphasize the Canadian subject matter of the murals and the generosity of the artist rather than to comment on their artistic merits.

Despite the negative critiques of the completed murals, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art was still willing to support Reid's efforts to continue the scheme of decoration. At their meeting of October 12, 1899, the Guild appointed a committee "to examine the remaining panels suitable for decoration in the City Hall and place a value upon the

decorative painting necessary to fill each."⁶⁴ The committee, consisted of Reid, Challenger, F. McGillivray Knowles, Grier and Cruikshank. At a later meeting on January 16, 1900, they recommended that the Guild conduct competitions for the completion of the empty panels, a few to be executed each year. The report continued:

The general plan to be followed in the main entrance hall, should be based on the panels already painted by Mr. Reid, namely aspects of pioneer life, those to the left representing earlier, and those to the right later phases of pioneer work.

The panels in the Upper Main Hall should be devoted to Historical Subjects, which the Historical Society should choose in conjunction with the Guild. The panels in the Court Rooms, corridors etc. could be devoted to Allegorical subjects. As there are upwards of 100 available panels the work would cover a long period and demands a continuous policy.⁶⁵

A committee from the Guild then met with the Property Committee of City Council on May 7, 1900 and presented their general plan to carry on the decorations at the rate of two panels a year under the supervision of the Guild.⁶⁶ They also suggested that the city provide \$1,000 for the project. As may have been expected, this proposal was turned down because, as The Canadian Architect and Builder reported:

"The deputation of the Guild was met with sympathy, respect and even admiration, but on the money question all was dark."⁶⁷

There were even suggestions of private contributions at the city meeting. This prompted the anonymous Canadian Architect writer to speculate that perhaps a wealthy donor, whose residence in Toronto had proved profitable, would in gratitude to the city offer the necessary amount.⁶⁸ The funds were not,

however, forthcoming, and the mural decorations in the Municipal Buildings remained as they are today - incomplete.

While George Reid's two panels perhaps do not stand out as monumental works of art, would they not have presented a more impressive display if they had been part of a series arranged around the entrance hall? This was Reid's original intention, if he had not been blocked by a parsimonious City Council. Proof of Reid's plans are given in the series of small oil sketches prepared by the artist for twenty scenes, each designed for a specific wall surface in the main entrance of the Municipal Buildings.⁶⁹ The sketches have been painted in narrow, 41 inch panels of three scenes each. In the scenes, Reid allowed for interruptions of the composition to accommodate the doorways, pilasters, and staircases of the entrance hall, so that it is obvious from the sketches where he planned to place each panel (figs. 29-43).

Although undated, the sketches on cardboard for the completed murals and spandrel decorations (figs. 30-31) must have been done before the final versions of 1899, since the latter differ in small details. To date the other panels painted on canvas presents more of a problem. Muriel Miner in the catalogue raisonné of her book on Reid dates the studies from 1929, the year Reid touched up the murals until 1942 (p. 211). After Reid retired as principal of O.C.A. in 1929 he had more time to devote to mural projects once again.

Reid also left behind a rough sketch in coloured pencil and collage on cardboard, undated, of the south wall

of the entrance hall of the Municipal Buildings (fig. 27 a, b).⁷⁰ It gives an idea of the position of scenes in the four bays on either side of the entrance arches. Magazine illustrations of the completed mural have been pasted in place in the colour study, thus dating it after 1899. Reid also prepared elevations of the south and north walls of the entrance hall and titled it: "Plan and Elevations of City Hall drawn by G.A. Reid for the purpose of continuing his decorations begun in 1900."⁷¹ (fig. 28)

In the colour studies for the completion of the panels in the entrance hall, Reid followed closely the subjects proposed by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art in their memorial to the City Council, May 7, 1900. The suggested subjects were, as listed in The Canadian Architect and Builder: "Early Cultivation, Clearing the Land, Felling the Forest, Building a Log Cabin, Treaty with Indians, Hunters' Camp, Long Portage (extending over three panels), Early Missionaries."⁷²

On the west side of the entrance hall Reid planned scenes of Indians and pioneer scouts looking for suitable land to settle and farm. The north-west wall of three bays (fig. 32) shows the Indians at a time before the settlement of the white men (fig. 33). Since the missionaries were among the first to encounter the Indians, one scene shows a priest in front of an assembled group of Indians. The tents in the background suggest that the priest had visited them in their village. The other two sketches are difficult to

make out, but they seem to represent a continuation of the Indian groups.

The next panel of three scenes intended for the west wall (fig. 34) illustrates the men who act as advance scouts checking the terrain by canoe or by foot with their packs on their backs (fig. 35).

On the south-west wall in the three unpainted bays (fig. 36) the explorers have set up camp, docked their canoes and strung up their meat supplies (fig. 37). The lake in the background would be Lake Ontario. For the other two scenes Reid envisaged an encounter between the Indians in a semi-circle and the white men sitting along a log. The assembly of Indians is carried over into the adjoining scene.

Another panel is a preliminary study for the completed mural of the surveyors staking the land and the spandrel figures Fortune and Adventure (fig. 31). The above four panels have been recently mounted on a single board.

On the east side of the entrance hall Reid continued the series, although perhaps not in a logical sequence. The mural study for the south wall illustrates the Arrival of the Pioneers and the spandrel figures, Discovery and Fame (fig. 30), as Reid executed them with very slight changes.

The scenes intended for the opposite wall on the north (fig. 38) also concentrated on the family with the women tending the cooking pot in the camp (fig. 39). The men in the other two scenes are felling logs for houses and opening up the land. The last sketch of loggers is almost

identical in composition to the painting Logging (fig. 68) that Reid painted while he was a student in Paris in 1889 (see p. 90-91).

The studies for the east wall (fig. 40) depict four men in the process of assembling a log house (fig. 41). This scene carries over into the next as the corner of the house is evident. A man on the right is sowing grain. A drawing in Reid's Scrapbook A, p. 12, illustrates a study for the above scene. The third scene in the panel shows a man ploughing among the tree stumps left from the clearing. The wife and two children look on. Similar scenes are intended for the south wall (fig. 42) where men are sawing, shopping, and gathering logs to build the houses (fig. 43).

Of these eight panels, only two were ever painted by Reid. The artist continued to hope that he would one day fill the empty wall spaces on either side of the completed murals with the above scenes which would encircle the entrance hall and give the visitor a panoramic view of Ontario history.

Although the Toronto Guild of Civic Art did not give up on the proposal for the Municipal Buildings, their attention was diverted from that project to plans for the Provincial Legislative Building in Toronto. George Reid was the chairman of the Guild's committee organized in 1901 to look into the plan for mural decorations in the building.⁷³ The committee submitted reports to the Provincial Government in 1902 and 1905;⁷⁴ however, the Guild was not successful with this project either because of a fire in the Legislative Building and the subsequent renovations.⁷⁵

For the City Hall project another committee was set up on September 28, 1906 to concentrate on the proposed decorations.⁷⁶ In 1908 they were still meeting along with the Parliament Building Decoration Committee, the Smoke Nuisance Committee and the Sign Nuisance Committee!⁷⁷

Finally in 1929, after many intervening years during which George Reid was preoccupied with duties as Principal of the Ontario College of Art, the artist offered to clean the murals in the entrance hall. This led to a final attempt by Alderman Carrick to rally support for the completion of the mural cycle. Carrick requested \$1,000 to allow Reid to continue, but, as before, the state of the city's finances forbade it.⁷⁸ At that time too, Reid had become involved in mural decorations for Jarvis collegiate in Toronto, and afterwards he concentrated on a series for the Royal Ontario Museum.⁷⁹ As a result, the Municipal Buildings plan was finally laid to rest.

CHAPTER III

STYLISTICAL ANALYSIS OF HAIL TO THE PIONEERS

After studying the murals of the French and American artists, and after early experiments in mural decoration in his summer residence of Onteora, N.Y., Reid was aware of the qualities necessary for a successful mural painting, as he himself stated:

Aesthetically, the mural must harmonize in colour scheme and line with its setting; and it must successfully cover its space with a well-balanced and unobstrusive composition which, no matter how extended in length, must present unity. Technically it, of necessity, must be light in weight. That is, it must have light, not heavy, impasto; so that the picture will appear to rest easily on the surface of the wall and not leave the observer in doubt as to whether or not the wall can bear its mass. Moreover, it should take the light evenly from any point of view.¹

Having formulated these principles in his mind, above all the necessity for the mural to harmonize with its architectural surroundings, Reid applied his knowledge and experience to the City Hall murals. The large format of some of Reid's earlier genre paintings, such as Call to Dinner, 1887 (72" by 108"), and Mortgaging the Homestead, 1890 (50½" by 83½"), had given him some experience in painting on a large scale.

The two murals Hail to the Pioneers, 7' x 14' and 7' x 17', in the City Hall are situated between the horizontal band of the cornice and the dado of the wall (fig. 9). The dado frieze of streaked yellow marble surmounted by a

wide border of white marble, is carried around the hall interior, leaving a continuous band of wall space suitable for a mural sequence. In his two murals Reid emphasized the horizontality of this wall space by creating a series of horizontal bands within the composition. The standing figures in the west mural (fig. 26) are of equal height and are arranged almost equidistantly and on the same plane across the mural. This imaginary height line comes just below the base of the pilaster capitals at either end of the murals and may be traced in the east mural (fig. 25) along the heads of the upright figures to the top of the door lintel. The boots of the sitting and crouching men in the west side are at approximately the same level and form another horizontal band. (This is less obvious in the east panel). This horizontality is further stressed by the ribbon of daylight seen through the trees and arranged across the background of the paintings and also by the border of leaves stretching along the top. This composition of forms placed in a horizontal band suited the site of the murals - an entrance hall which is a place of passage. People entering continue quickly to their destination. Therefore the mural is not viewed from the front as a unit but rather the spectator sees one figure after another as he passes by.

In the architectural composition of the City Hall interior, the horizontal elements are broken by the series of pilasters in each bay of the hall, by the tall vertical door surrounds, and by the free-standing columns in the centre of the hall. In a similar way the horizontal bands

in the mural are interrupted by the vertical lines of the upright figures and by the trees, like columns themselves, which repeat the vertical of the pilasters flanking the murals.

This horizontal/vertical opposition is also evident in the arrangement of the winged figures which fit snugly into the spandrels between the three entrance arches. The two centre figures, Fame and Fortune, (figs. 22 and 23) especially, extend the vertical direction of the stunted supporting columns of the arches. At the same time their wings span out following the line of the arches. The horizontal banner they hold up breaks across the top, and it connects the spandrel decorations with the other murals by carrying over the line of the cornice from one side to the other over the entrance arches. For Discovery and Adventure (figs. 21 and 24) at the two ends, rather than attempting to squeeze the complete form into an impossibly small space, each figure emerges out from the arch, her body and one wing following its line, the other cut off by the pilaster. The heads turn in the direction of the larger mural decorations.

Thus the composition of Reid's murals did indeed harmonize in line with its setting and followed one of the dictums of mural painting, as Edwin Blashfield wrote in his book on Mural Painting in America:

To the true decorator the circumscribing lines of any wall or ceiling space cry aloud announcing their own peculiar decorative needs, and it is at once his serious consideration and great pleasure so to compose his lines and masses within such wall spaces that they shall re-echo the framing and in a delicate way repeat some of the important lines of the architectural ornament which lies about or near them.²

In addition to the division of the murals into a series of opposing horizontal and vertical bands, Hail to the Pioneers is further divided into rectangular sections within their rectangular frames. In the west mural (fig. 26) the two largest tree trunks divide the composition into three groups of figures all on the same plane. It may be noted too that the groups are divided according to their functions or duties, emphasizing the didactic nature of the painting: the three men on the left fell the trees and carry the supplies; the three in the centre act as surveyors; the two at the right prepare the wooden stakes. Reid has concentrated attention on the central activity which is the subject of the west mural, by having the men on the left depicted in profile and turned toward the centre, and the two figures on the right turned in the direction of the surveyors as well. The note-taker and tripod together make up the central motif. The fallen log and the line of the axe across the left logger's knee draw the eye back to the Indian in the background, and thus bring more interest to the central portion of the mural.

The east mural (fig. 25) is similarly divided into two by the position of the large central tree. The two men on the left turn towards the family group with the crouching man in front linking the two groups. The lines of the poles over the pioneers' shoulders and the direction of their heads and the woman's gaze seems to direct the movement towards the right side of the painting, to a space above the crouching man. This focus to the right was perhaps meant to counter-balance the jarring interruption of the door on the left and

to carry the mural beyond over to the next scene, on the right, of the pioneers surveying the land. The rhythmic grouping of 2 3 / 3 3 2 of the figures in the two panels taken together helps to create the continuity of composition from the left over to the right.

Not only are the figures in each panel divided into groups, they also seem to be cut off from each other. Each figure is either absorbed in his own activity or with expressionless face gazes off into the distance, oblivious of his neighbour. The pioneers appear as isolated forms locked into their positions in the structure of the painting. They do not connect together as a group even though they stand side by side. The pencil sketches by Reid for these murals support the idea that the figures were separate forms which Reid, like a construction could move about and rearrange to suit the composition. As shown in a photograph (fig. 20) Reid worked from these outline studies of the individual models, pinned to his easel or compiled in a reference file. Not just the individual forms but also the groupings could be reorganized. For example, a faded outline study in pencil of a group (fig. 44) shows how Reid rearranged the group in the final version so that the man sitting on a sack has been moved to a log away from the surveyor taking notes who has been shifted to a central position in the composition.

The intersecting of the horizontal and vertical lines in the two murals forms a grid-like structure and gives a feeling of rigidity to the composition. The horizontal and

vertical grid is interrupted by diagonal elements such as the lines of the tripod legs, the position of the guns against the tree in the west mural, and the axe and logs carried by the men in the east mural. The intersection of these opposing lines on the surface of the painting increases the sense of flatness and the decorative pattern that Reid wished to achieve. The only suggestion of depth is in the movement toward the Indian, as mentioned above, and this progression backward is arrested by the screen of trees in the background. This flat, planar quality of the mural was another major distinction between an easel painting with its modelling of form and creation of space within the painting and a mural. As Frederick S. Challener, one of Reid's students and fellow mural decorators explained in an article on "Mural Decoration" in 1904:

In order, too, to be in harmony with its setting, a mural painting must, in artists' parlance, "cling to the wall." There should be no attempt to disguise the fact that the painting is on a solid wall and level surface. It must neither seem as though it were modelled in relief nor make a hole in it, but should lie quietly and flatly in its place. A decoration, therefore should not be stereoscopic, for the moment you introduce depth of atmospheric perspective, and focus an effect in one place only, as is done in picture painting generally, you at once do break through the wall.³

To achieve the desired flatness, Reid has minimized the background setting of his murals. The figures dominate the composition, and the trees and landscape behind are not interesting in themselves. They define the composition and act simply as supporting elements in the structure of the paintings. The pile of rocks lumped together on the side of

both murals and the carefully positioned log in the west panel resemble theatre props in a dull and unimaginative setting. Reid, however, was capable of concentrating on the landscape in his murals, even in some detail, if he felt the location of the mural required it.

One example is his early attempt at mural decoration in the summer house of lawyer Charles Russell in Onteora, New York. Reid painted mural scenes completed in 1899, depicting the apple blossoms and frolicking sheep of Spring (fig. 45), the fields of daisies in Summer (fig. 46), and the apple harvest of Autumn (fig. 47). The view of the Catskill hills in the distance seen from the verandah of the house is repeated in Reid's murals which are about four feet high and encircle the living room just below the line of the roof. Each mural stretches across the length of the wall it is on, and once again Reid has composed horizontal bands of landscape. The hills and meadows form bands across the background of each painting. Figures are placed in the foreground of each mural, but to one side. (The other half of Summer, the longest of the panels, could not be shown in the illustration because of its size). The centre of each mural is devoid of figures so that the eye is drawn past the foreground into the fields. This gives the paintings some depth and creates a feeling of space in a room which is not huge, and where the murals are mounted on adjoining walls.

Since the symbols of the seasons represent the main theme for the panels, the hay field, sheep, and basket of apples are as significant as the figures. Thus the human

forms are not as imposing as the pioneers in the Municipal Building murals, who commemorate former heroes and are of more monumental proportions.

The earlier proposals for the Council Chamber by Wily Grier, William Cruikshank, and Reid offer an example of Reid's use of the landscape to unify the composition (fig. 17). The wall is broken up into three paintings placed on the upper half of the wall. Therefore they are to be viewed at a distance and as a group. The shoreline is carried across the background of all three scenes and ends in a diagonal line at the right, somewhat reminiscent of Puvis de Chavannes' use of a diagonal line of a cliff or shore to finish off the side of a painting. The groups of figures in the Council Chamber mural studies are scattered throughout the scene, some as small indistinguishable forms in the background, others more prominent in the foreground, none as large as the more static life-size figures in Hail to the Pioneers. The many groups and positions of figures in the former mural sketches suggest activity and industry (to borrow from the title) in a scene representing the pioneer days of early Toronto. The lake in the background is historically important to situate the scene on the shores of Lake Ontario.

The carefully composed structure of the City Hall murals was also a feature of Reid's earlier proposal for the panel entitled Science, intended to go outside the Council Chamber (fig. 48). Within a similar long rectangular space, Reid has arranged his figures in horizontal succession across the canvas like a classical frieze. They take up the front

plane, and behind them the landscape is composed of simple flat forms and shapes. The opaque clump of trees in its decorative role denies any sense of perspective and recalls the function of a similar mass of trees in Puvis de Chavannes' Summer in the Hôtel de Ville, Paris (fig. 49). In Science as in Hail to the Pioneers the standing figures are approximately the same height and form a horizontal line across the painting. At the same time these vertical figures and the straight lines of the tree trunks challenge the horizontal band of the sky and land mass. The trees also divide the mural vertically into divisions as they do in Hail to the Pioneers. This division is more evident if Reid's study for Science is taken together with its companion study for Art by Grier (fig. 15). The trees in each painting break the overall composition into three sections contained within the limits of the vertical pillar in Grier's mural on the left and the tree on the right of Reid's sketch.

The groups of figures in Science are not as sharply divided as they are in the pioneer murals. Reid has positioned the forms across the canvas in such a way that an imaginary line drawn along the height of each figure in succession, following the general outline of the forms, undulates across the painting and carries over into Grier's panel (fig. 14, line a). This rhythmic motion is further defined in Reid's study by the position of arms which similarly creates a waving line across the canvas (line b). In certain areas, the lines of the drapery also contribute to this internal rhythm, for example, the diagonals of the old men's robes on the far left.

Therefore in Science the groups of figures flow together as a procession across the wall, and the composition, while carefully structured, appears less rigid and perhaps more successful than Hail to the Pioneers.

As both murals were to be located in areas of passage, the horizontal, progressive movement of the composition was suitable. Science was intended for the upper corridor running from the south to the north, so that the viewer would be moving as he looks at the mural. However, Science together with Art were to flank the Council Chamber entrance and would have been seen from the front by someone climbing the stairs. Therefore, Reid has reduced the figures giving them more space within the composition of Science, so that the scene can be viewed as a whole from a farther vantage point.

Reid's arrangement of his forms in a horizontal band in both Hail to the Pioneers and Science harks back to the murals of Puvis de Chavannes whom Reid acknowledged as a source of inspiration to him. The rhythmic succession of groups of figures across the canvas was a characteristic feature of Puvis's murals. As Jacques Foucart points out in his introduction to the Puvis de Chavannes exhibition of 1977:

Puvis's Childhood of Saint Genevieve, The Provisioning of Paris, The Inspiring Muses (Boston) and The Sacred Grove (Lyons) yield their secret in the way they unfold laterally - unhurried and majestic, like slow-motion film, where movement is suggested by figures which succeed each other, recur, musically echo one another, move and yet remain motionless - figures which carry a beautiful and assured poetry.⁴

As a student in Paris from 1888 to 1889, Reid had a chance to see at first hand Puvis's murals executed before 1889

in that city. Later on Reid became familiar with the series of murals by Puvis in the Amiens Museum. They were all in place by 1896 when Reid returned to France and made a special trip to see the Amiens cycle for the first time.⁵ In addition, he was able to renew his knowledge of the Panthéon and Sorbonne murals and to see the complete series of mural paintings in the Hôtel de Ville. Thus he was able to draw on these examples when he began to formulate ideas for the City Hall plan.

To take the example of the mural by Puvis de Chavannes, Ludus Pro Patria, 1882, in the Amiens Museum (fig. 50) the figures have been arranged on a narrow plane in the foreground and, in the same way, Reid aligned his pioneers all along the front plane. The placement of standing vertical figures and straight trees against horizontal bands of landscape was a key element in Puvis's compositions, more obvious in later murals such as Inter Artes et Naturam (Rouen, 1888-91) (fig. 54) or The Inspiring Muses (Les Muses inspiratrices) (Boston, completed 1895) where the horizon line of the land is an absolutely straight band running across the background. The division of the mural into three groupings aided by the positioning of trees is also apparent in Ludus Pro Patria which Louise d'Argencourt refers to as a kind of triptych.⁶ The left side of this mural is reserved for the domestic activities carried out by the women, the javelin throwers take up the central section, and the family groups are placed on the right side. Another example of Puvis's work, The Sacred Grove (1889) (Le Bois sacré) in the Sorbonne, is similarly divided into three, both thematically and physically.

It is obvious that George Reid had studied Puvis's mural Ludus Pro Patria in the Amiens Museum, for he borrowed certain forms from the mural. The figure of the bearded man with a staff beside the tree on the right of Reid's study for Science could have been modelled on the man with a beard, leaning on his staff in Puvis's mural (fig. 53). Both figures turn towards the centre and, with the tree, close off the painting at the right. The group of youths leaning on their javelins (fig. 52), looking towards the protagonist, compare in stance with the pioneers shown standing at the left side of both City Hall murals by Reid. In the Arrival of the Pioneers, the figure of the mother holding her child bears a relation to the pose of a mother and child in Ludus Pro Patria, (fig. 53) and it is a frequent motif in other murals by Puvis de Chavannes, such as Ave Picardia Nutrix left side, Inter Artes et Naturam (fig. 54), central figure reaching up to the apple tree, and St. Geneviève at Prayer (Sainte Geneviève enfant en prière) (fig. 55). The latter mural suggests another borrowing of a motif by Reid from the French master's repertory. The pose of the Indian looking out from behind the tree in Hail to the Pioneers, west side, recalls the ploughman in the background peering out at the praying child, Saint Geneviève, in Puvis's Panthéon series (mounted in 1877).

In addition to the concern for spatial arrangements and for fitness to the surroundings, another primary concern for a mural painting was the use of light. As George Reid notes in his own statement, a mural "should take the light

evenly from any point of view."⁷ In Hail to the Pioneers, the light does not focus on one area but falls evenly across the canvas, casting small, hardly noticeable shadows. Unlike an easel painting, there is no obvious focus of attention; no one area is highlighted. Dark outlines or contrasts of colour are used to define the forms. The patches of light in the distance between the trees serve to bring the background forward to create a bidimensional effect. In the City Hall entrance, natural light comes from a row of windows reaching to the ceiling opposite the mural. They provide a certain amount of daylight to the hall, but the distance across the hall is such that no direct light falls on the murals. Originally there were low-hanging chandeliers in the three bays in front of the entrance arches.⁸ (Neon lights have been added along the ceiling and have thus changed the original effect of lighting in the hall). To tone down any glimmer caused by the oil paint, Reid mixed wax and turpentine with the oil colour. According to a book on Mural Painting, published in 1887 and written by Frederic Crowninshield, "the best contemporary mural painters" used this method for creating a fesco-like matt surface for mural paintings on canvas.⁹ For, as Crowninshield mentions, "Nine times out of ten the mural painter wishes to avoid gloss - the delicate, airy and dead tints being the great charm of his work."¹⁰ The paint was laid on as thinly as possible to the paint surface.

The subject and site of the Municipal Building murals required a different treatment of light compared with Reid's

mural paintings in the Russell home in Onteora, New York state. For example, in the decoration entitled Spring (fig. 45), 1899, there is a definite division in the composition between the shaded foreground and the lighted area behind. Reid created a window effect with the silhouettes of the trees and the shepherd boy acting as a frame. The eye of the viewer is drawn past them into the dazzling sunlight of the field in the centre of the mural. The viewer is then lead further back into the painting by the prancing sheep at the right which run diagonally back. The flat line of the hills behind the wide horizontal band of the field break the movement into depth.

The lightness of the pastel colours and the brightness in the Russell paintings is in contrast to the cool tones of Reid's Municipal Building murals. The Onteora decorations are outdoor landscape scenes filled with light and were appropriate for a summer, "shingle style" house in which they were placed. In the actual room, the murals do not receive a lot of natural light, and thus the lightness of tone also makes up for their position below the ceiling.

On first impression, the City Hall murals appear grey and bland, partly due to their yellowing over time and a lack of cleaning since 1929.¹¹ However, it was Reid's intention to use neutral shades that would not compete with the surrounding architecture. The greyish-white marble and the grey sandstone arches set the tone for the coolness of the colours in the murals. There are no areas of high

intensity, no bright vivid hues to attract the eye to one area of the painting. Mural painters working with oil on canvas often emulated the quiet tones of traditional buon fresco, which seemed suited to mural decoration.

The various subdued tints of Reid's mural are arranged across the canvas in broad, flat colour masses of even intensity. In the west mural the grey-pink of the shirt on the left man is picked up in a lighter version in the pants of the next standing figure, to be caught again in the belt of the surveyor, and finally carried over to the shirts of the adjacent pioneer and the standing man at the right. In the original colour sketch in the London Regional Art Gallery, (fig. 31) the latter sported a white shirt which Reid changed, probably in 1929, for a less startling rose shade in order to unify the colour composition.¹² Various hues of blue are similarly transported across the canvas, always subdued so as not to rival the sombre greys and browns of the surrounding areas. Reid reduced the intensity of certain blues from the oil sketch in the final version. The sienna shade of the ground, while brighter than the other colours does not seem out of place in the colour range, since it matches the yellow striations in the marble of the dado below and yet appears more subtle than the golden yellow of the halls's free-standing columns nearby.¹³ This more vibrant tone has been carried over to the mural in the deep ochre of the border pattern.

It is obvious that Reid did not overlook the major principle in mural painting that the decoration harmonize in colour scheme with its architectural setting. True to High

Victorian architecture, the Toronto Municipal Buildings are alive with variety of colour and contrast of materials. Reid picked up the pink tones in his murals from the rosy marble of the hexagonal bases of the columns in the hall and from the pink tesserae in the mosaic patterns of the floor (fig. 56). He repeated the warm, golden tones of the dado, the free-standing columns, and the running leaf pattern in the floor mosaic. The greys vary in shade from the almost black streaks in the dado marble to the milky grey of the white marble. The grey-brown sandstone of the entrance arches is repeated in the grey-browns of the clothing, boots, and trees in the murals.

Reid's use of colour and light was guided, as was his compositional structure, by the example of Puvis de Chavannes. The pale tonalities of Puvis's murals caused a sensation in his day. His intention was to employ subtle shades which blended with the overall tones of the architecture. Puvis deliberately used white, chalky tones which sometimes gave his figures, with their lack of modelling, an unreal, phantom-like appearance, especially in his later murals. Placed against a darker background, the forms became flat as paper, for example in such works as The Sacred Grove, Beloved of the Arts and of the Muses (Le Bois sacré cher aux Arts et aux Muses) (Lyons), Inspiring Muses (Les Muses inspiratrices) in Boston, or his earlier Repose (Le Repos), (Amiens). The critic Hilton Kramer expressed Puvis de Chavannes' aims:

For him, the art of painting consisted in filtering out all chromatic contrasts to a point where every tone enjoyed an equal visual weight and the surface of the picture became a flat, continuous, unbroken plane bathed in an unearthly light.¹⁴

In Hail to the Pioneers George Reid did not emulate the delicate, ethereal quality of Puvis's forms. Rather he relied on dark, earthy colours more appropriate to the Canadian bush frontier. In his mural study for Science (fig. 48) (1896-97) Reid came closer to the colour tonality of Puvis de Chavannes. In this early proposal for the Council Chamber entrance, the scene derives from classical times, and the tones suggest the cool colours of ancient fresco. Each robe of the figures is of a different hue; there is a stronger blue in the centre, a rose-pink, touches of yellow, all pale, soft shades in a wider range of tones than Reid employed in the Pioneer murals.

The winged figures in the City Hall decoration are painted in the same restrained shades of rose, blue and white. Reid darkened the lines delineating the architectural space of the spandrels and in 1929 he painted over the yellow-ochre background with gold.¹⁵ This addition increases the flatness of the spandrel murals and brightens and defines the space over the arches. They are located under the second floor gallery, of the City Hall entrance, and therefore receive less natural light from the windows.

For the actual process of painting the City Hall murals, Reid was fortunate to have a huge studio in which he could view the murals in their entirety mounted on scaffolding

(fig. 19). Before reaching this stage, he had to go through the preliminary steps in designing his murals. In the photograph of Reid attending to the finishing touches of the murals in his studio (fig. 20), one may observe on the lower part of his easel, a series of outline studies of the individual figures in the composition. Some of these charcoal and pencil sketches have been pasted in to Reid's scrapbook (figs. 57-61). In these preliminary studies, the outlines are dark and there is little shading except in areas such as the creases of pants and the boots. He does not suggest volume, but rather concentrates on the lines of the clothing and the silhouette of the figure. In transposing the figures to the canvas, Reid maintained the emphasis on dark outlines to define the forms which in a mural are usually seen from a distance. Reid followed these sketches faithfully with only a few alterations to add details or to eliminate awkward lines, for example, the upraised arm of the man standing beside the tree on the left of the Indian in the west mural. (Compare fig. 57 and fig. 26).

Other hastily executed sketches of the composition illustrate how Reid rearranged the groupings, eliminating unnecessary figures or avoiding crowded groups (fig. 62 and 63). In the pencil on paper study (fig. 62) the division of the panel into three distinct groups is evident. In another pencil study, (fig. 63) he avoids such a clear-cut division and spreads the figures across the panel. In the final version of the west mural, while retaining the division of three groups, Reid has spaced the figures out to give a less

crowded effect, and he has introduced more variety of pose and activity. In both drawings Reid scribbled light diagonal lines across the forms to emphasize their flatness. Another preparatory study of the composition of the east mural in faded brown outline has been squared off for transferring the final version to the canvas (cat. no. 16).

To determine the placement of the tones in the murals, Reid made the small oil sketches on board (figs. 30 and 31). In these studies the detail is left out; the broad brush strokes of colour are arranged to achieve an evenness of hue across the mural. Reid planned the juxtaposition of the flat patches of colour so that the forms of the mural would be defined not only by line but by areas of colour. In the final watercolour version of the entrance arches illustrated in the photograph of the artist in his studio (fig. 20), Reid was able to judge the overall structure of line and colour within its architectural setting. This framed sketch is likely the watercolour entitled, Study for Mural Decoration, Entrance Hall, New City Buildings, Toronto, which Reid exhibited at the Royal Canadian Academy exhibition in 1898, and which was illustrated in the Canadian Architect and Builder of April 1898.¹⁶

The photograph of the artist in his studio also reveals the presence of samples of the marble or stone from the interior of the City hall, propped up against the canvas of the murals. These samples would enable Reid to compare the tones of his mural with the actual tones of the marble surrounding the works in situ. Thus even Reid's working

methods reflect the influence of Puvis de Chavannes who had requested that examples of the stone from the staircase of the Boston Public Library be sent to him while he was preparing the series of murals for Boston.¹⁷

Reid's preparations for the final work of the mural reflect his early art training in the academic style. His method of drawing croquis or études of each of the figures in the mural was the usual preparatory step for academic painting which emphasized good draughtsmanship. Louis M. Fink describes the process in the creation of a painting in the academic tradition:

During the 19th century, in creating a large composition of many figures, the artists habitually began with small sketches of the whole as he imaged it, small enough to be seen at a single glance. Each figure was then drawn from the nude model, whether the character would later appear clothed or not. Drapery and costume were studied with similar care. At the end, the parts were assembled and unified in the final work, which was thus a compilation and refinement of many observations and judgments. In this kind of painting, improvisation and spontaneity have little value.¹⁸

The painted colour sketches (figs. 30 and 31) as noted above, were executed to give an idea of the composition, colour tones and light and dark values for the final painting. Preparing preliminary colour studies was again standard academic procedure in painting. In Reid's early sketches details are not important at this stage, but the emphasis on outline is evident - a feature of a mural where clarity of silhouette is necessary for a large painting to be viewed from a distance. An even more obvious example of Reid's concentration on outline is apparent in the painted study for

Science (fig. 48) where the colour is lightly applied within the forms defined by dark outlines.

A mural painting demanded a different concern for light and space and careful attention to the place in which it was destined to be mounted; but, similar factors came to play in the creation of a figurative mural work and an easel painting of the academic tradition. In a comparison of one of Reid's earlier genre paintings, Mortgaging The Homestead, 1890, (fig. 65) with the City-Hall murals, it becomes evident how certain concerns in Reid's easel painting relate to characteristics in the mural. Mortgaging The Homestead was painted after his return from France, six years before Reid started the City Hall proposals. The work, a fairly large oil painting (128.3 cm. by 212.1 cm) portrays a rural family scene typical of many of Reid's genre subjects. The composition is carefully arranged so that the figures are placed across the canvas, creating a horizontal emphasis that is so apparent in the murals. In the easel painting, however, the figures are not aligned on the same plane. Reid has created three-dimensional space within the painting with the diagonals of the furniture and walls of the room. The viewer is drawn back through the door of the room into the background of the painting to the wool-winder, an object recalling the domestic activities of the rural women. The curved posture of the mother and child and the outline of the men bent over the crucial document highlighted by white creates a central focus for the painting. In a similar way the surveyor and tripod are the central figures in Pioneers.

In Mortgaging the outline of each figure is well defined, either silhouetted against the light wall behind or by a contour of contrasting colour. This physical isolation of the figures who are absorbed with their own thoughts or gaze in different directions recalls the pioneers in the Municipal Building panels who are devoid of personality or emotion. However, the narrative quality of the genre scene required that Reid give the members of the family some feeling and emotion as expressed in the arresting look on the face of the mother with babe in arms and the hopeless gestures of the elderly couple on the right. In Pioneers this individuality is lacking since the human figures are given a more decorative, albeit symbolical, role.

The use of light of course contributed to the more dramatic scene of the family mortgaging their home and represents a major difference between the two works. In the easel painting the contrasts of light and dark are often stark. Light from a window or other light source flows from the left of the picture and highlights areas such as the child's face and hair, the bearded man, and the side of the woman's face, placing the other half dramatically in shadow. In the mural Reid did not intend to model his forms by a play of light and shade to create spatial depth.

While the use of light differed, the tones of Mortgaging the Homestead recall the browns, greys, dark pinks and blues of Hail to the Pioneers. In the easel painting these drab colours contribute to the gloomy mood of the figures. The touch of pure white of the document emphasizes

its importance as the cause of the despair in the family scene. Reid employed the same tones in his mural panels, but for different reasons: on the one hand to create the atmosphere of the dense, dark, bush country, but principally to blend the painting with the surrounding architecture. Thus his use of colour was influenced by external considerations for the mural and by the internal, so to speak, narrative considerations of the easel painting.

In both the mural and the easel painting the presence of the artist's brush is not apparent. There are no hasty strokes of the brush loaded with paint. Spontaneity was shunned by the academic painter, and likewise, the muralist's success depended upon the control of his brush. The careful arrangement of the composition, the emphasis on line, the lack of painterly texture, and the controlled brushwork were aims of academic painting, and these characteristics were fully developed in Reid's mural panels.

CHAPTER IV

ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE MURALS IN THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS

In the Toronto City Hall and Court House building decisions concerning the running of the city and the application of justice on a municipal level were carried out. This building was the centre of city administration and, as in any small town or city it was the dominant cultural and historical landmark. Upon entering the hall of the building through the imposing arched entrance, one is reminded of Toronto's beginnings and pioneer history by Reid's murals. George Reid's choice of suitable subjects for the Municipal Buildings was based on the example of French and American muralists who relied on historical themes as well as on mythological and allegorical subjects which had universal appeal. In the Paris Hôtel de Ville, for example, the subjects depicted in the vast mural commission announced in 1889 included scenes from daily Paris life, a series of paintings on the political history of Paris, for example, The Reception of Louis XVI at the City Hall (La Réception de Louis XVI à l'Hôtel de Ville), or Voluntary Enlistment on the Platform of Pont-Neuf in 1792 (Les Enrôlements volontaires sur le terre-plein au Pont-Neuf en 1792). Then there were more allegorical subjects such as Puvis de Chavannes' Summer (Eté) and Winter (Hiver) in the Zodiac Salon and Victor Hugo Offering His Lyre to the City

of Paris (Victor Hugo offrant sa lyre à la Ville de Paris)
for the grand staircase ceiling.

Of the French muralists at the end of the nineteenth century, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes was the most revered by American artists, and his influence was further extended across the Atlantic when he was asked to paint the series of murals for the Boston Public Library which were completed in 1895. American muralists looked to Puvis as a model¹ as did George Reid who referred to the French artist as "the prophet of modern decoration."² Reid included illustrations of Puvis's murals in his articles and lectures on mural decoration,³ and the inspiration Reid derived from the French master's work is evident in the City Hall paintings.

Not only were Puvis's paintings an influence for Reid, but the French academic tradition out of which Puvis had developed was impressed on Reid through his early art education. The academicians stressed the need for the artist to display his knowledge of literature, classical myths, or religious themes in his choice of subject. Reid preferred to be regarded as an educator by portraying the historical background of Canada. For the murals in the City Hall, Reid deliberately chose a subject in Canadian history which was familiar to the spectator. Also he wanted to depict a scene which would be easily read and understood without the symbolical references and allegorical vocabulary found in Puvis de Chavannes' work. At the same time his murals achieved the academic ideal of a subject with narrative intent, which aroused noble sentiments from its viewers.

Most of Puvis de Chavannes' murals concentrated on abstract themes, often with subjects which presented an opposition to each other, for example his early works Concordia and Bellum, 1861 and Work (Le Travail) and Rest (Le Repos), 1863, now in the Amiens Museum. In this respect Reid and Grier's proposals for Science and Art are close to Puvis. (Reid did not contrast his subjects but in his City Hall panels he represents a continuous theme, a progression not only of figures but of an idea carrying over from one panel to the next). Another of Puvis' later allegorical works was executed for the Boston Public Library, The Inspiring Muses Acclaim Genius, Messenger of Light (Les Muses inspiratrices acclament le génie, messenger de lumière). In these murals the figures appear in classical dress to deny their identification with a specific time or event and to better represent the universality of the theme. When he chose to depict an historical subject, it was a mythical past perceived through his own imagination, for example, The Childhood of Sainte Geneviève (L'Enfance de Sainte Geneviève) (fig. 55) or Charles Martel Victor over the Saracens (Charles Martel vainqueur des Sarrasins), Poitiers City Hall, 1874.

In one of the murals by Puvis de Chavannes painted for the Amiens Museum, entitled Ave Picardia Nutrix (1865), the artist commemorates the fertility of Picardy, as the title suggests (fig. 66). Puvis illustrates the activities of the inhabitants as they gather the harvest of the land and the rivers. The building of a house, the gathering of the produce, the mothers with their children are all images found

in Hail to the Pioneers or in Reid's proposals for a continuation of the cycle for the Municipal Buildings. Reid similarly portrays the cooperative efforts of the people who are labouring to render the land productive. Puvis de Chavannes declared that the construction of the building in the background of the right side of Ave Picardia Nutrix represented "civilization on the march" ("une civilisation grandissante").⁴ In the same way George Reid's depiction of the settlers building log houses in the hinterland takes on a broader significance. The Canadian pioneers were settling a land that had been regarded by the mother country as uncivilized, and their log houses symbolized "civilization on the march" in the North American frontier.

The earlier proposals for the Municipal Buildings by Wyly Grier, William Cruikshank, and Reid suggest that the members of the Society of Mural Decorators relied on Puvis's example in their first proposal as well. Since neither Cruikshank nor Grier pursued careers as muralists,⁵ it may be surmised that it was Reid who provided the direction for the first City Hall sketches and who encouraged the others to look to Puvis for inspiration. The title of the mural proposal, Industry, Integrity, Intelligence recalls the abstract titles of Puvis's allegorical scenes symbolizing the virtues of Paris, Patriotism (Le Patriotisme), Intrepidity (L'Intrépidité), Generosity (La Générosité) on the ceiling of the grand staircase in the Paris Hôtel de Ville. Enthusiasm (La Renommée) and Industry (L'Industrie) graced the corner-pieces of the ceiling. In the same way, Grier, Reid and

Cruikshank's work symbolizing the motto of the city of Toronto, stressed the virtues of industry, integrity, and intelligence. These were appropriate references for a Council Chamber where municipal decisions were made. The emphasis on moral principles was frequent in French and American subjects for mural decorations which as a public art were intended to be uplifting to the viewer.

Not only the titles, but the actual type of work depicted in the three scenes by Cruikshank, Reid and Grier (fig. 17) bears a relation to the activities of the figures in another Amiens mural by Chavannes, entitled Work (Le Travail) (fig. 67) which, as noted above, Reid had reproduced in his article on "Mural Decoration", January 1898. The men hammering at the anvil and pouring the molten metal in Industry recall the forgers in Work. However, Reid's later pioneers perhaps come closer to achieving the heroic quality of the muscular, idealized figures of Puvis's workers. The cart and oxen, the family group in the middle ground of Integrity find their counterparts in Puvis's mural. Also the motif of the house under construction at the right of Grier's sketch, Intelligence, is reminiscent of Puvis' similar background scene at the right of Ave Picardia Nutrix (left side) (fig. 66). Chavannes use of a border of devices around each painting in the Amiens group has been borrowed by Reid and his colleagues in their use of wide frames with bound laurel leaves and ribbons as a border for each scene.

In another mural by Puvis located in the Amiens Museum, Ludus Pro Patria (fig. 50) the main themes relate to

those Reid introduced in Hail to the Pioneers. Louise d'Argencourt, in her study of Puvis's murals in the Musée de Picardie in Amiens,⁶ concludes that the three main ideas proposed in Ludus Pro Patria are: work, family and fatherland, the traditional values of the French middle class and common themes in French nineteenth century painting. In Reid's series the efforts of the pioneers to explore, clear the land and to build upon it, well represent the theme of work. The father, mother and child, illustrated in the east mural corresponds to the family groupings so typical of Puvis de Chavannes' paintings, and especially evident in Ludus Pro Patria on the right side (fig. 53). As d'Argencourt says, "Le groupe homme-femme-enfant motif qui pourrait être maintes fois repris par Puvis, avec comme titre: famille."⁷ Finally, Chavannes' young javelin throwers who stand ready to defend their fatherland have in Reid's mural become the pioneers who face the hardships and danger of an unknown land.

Of all the early proposals for the Municipal Buildings by the Society of Mural Decorators, the ones which most closely relate in subject to Puvis de Chavannes' themes are those by Reid and Grier, entitled Science and Art. Science (fig. 13) by Reid depicts learned men with beards, the fathers of science from antiquity, giving instruction to students or working out the principles of science. Certain devices suggest scientific knowledge and research: the globe, the books the figures are consulting, the mortar and pestle, the human skull. The horizontal frieze of groups is carried over

into Grier's mural of Art (fig. 15) in which the figures display objects connected with the arts of music, poetry, sculpture and architecture.

Allegories of Science and Art were traditional subjects for painters and sculptors and were popular among the late nineteenth century muralists, both French and American. The mural for the Sorbonne by Puvis de Chavannes, unveiled in 1889, is appropriately an allegory on Literature, Science and Art. The figures dressed in robes of classical antiquity hold objects to symbolize the discipline they represent; the old instruct the young in a similar juxtaposition of the generations as we see in Reid's mural of Science. In the later murals for the Boston Public Library, another institution of learning, Puvis again chose to represent the individual Sciences, such as Philosophy, Physics, Astronomy, as well as Poetry. As in the Sorbonne mural, Puvis drew his figures from Greece and the origins of western education.

In comparing Reid's early proposals with the completed murals in the City Hall, it would seem that his first subjects and those of his colleagues relate closely to Puvis de Chavannes' mural themes. By the time Reid submitted his studies for Hail to the Pioneers, he had possibly taken more opportunity to reflect on the contributions of American muralists.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the theme of the farmer and his contribution to the building of America had been a frequent image in the landscape paintings of eastern artists such as Thomas Cole, Frederick Church and

Sanford R. Gifford. In the second half of the century, artists barely had time to reflect on their past, so pre-occupied were they with the development of the towns and the opening up of the West. The paintings concentrated on the wagon trains of settlers to the West, the squirmishes with the Indians, the great buffalo hunts, and the miners in search of gold - a different frontier from the agricultural concerns of George Reid's early pioneers. Those artists who did turn to colonial days, usually chose to reconstruct specific events from the history of early settlement. Among the titles of genre paintings of the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 were: United States Frigate Constitution Escaping from the British, July 1812 by S. Salsbury Tuckerman, Boston; Signing of the Compact on Board the Mayflower, by Edwin White of New York; Sons of Freedom: Rising of the Colonies by Edward A. Goodes of Philadelphia.⁸ Patricia Hills, however, points out in her study of themes in American paintings that after the Civil War ended in 1865 in the U.S., "the majority of artists and especially younger painters turned to the urban environment for pictorial themes."⁹

The American muralists, on the other hand, so often the products of French academic training, were influenced by the French example in their choice of allegorical and symbolical subjects that were intended to uplift the spirit of the viewer. Patricia Hills summed up the change among American figurative artists at the end of the century in their choice of subject matter:

The artists returning from Europe in the late 1870s and 1880s were cosmopolitan and ambitious analogues to the financiers jockeying for power in the world of international banking. To meet the new needs of cosmopolitan capitalism, the subject matter and the style had to change. The subject matter of art should not be particularized and geared to venerating local traditions, but universal and idealized, reflecting a consciousness that was cosmopolitan and international. Hence, those figure artists drawn to mural painting chose anti-realistic subject matter - idealized women, personifications of civic and religious ideals, or scenes drawn from classical history and mythology.¹⁰

Although Reid's choice of a pioneer theme for his two large murals grew out of his early interest in Canadian subjects, in the spandrel decorations for the entrance arches, he represented Discovery, Fame, Fortune and Adventure with four large winged figures. This choice was in keeping with American mural painters' use of such allegorical figures to fill awkward pendentive, lunette or spandrel spaces in the architecture. Leonard Amico in his study of The Mural Decorations of Edwin Howland Blashfield (1848-1936) points out:

Triangular pendentive compositions of a large central figure, sometimes winged (Hudson County Courthouse) or aided by a lesser figure (Mahoning County Courthouse) were Blashfield's forte. His first were for one of the domes in George Post's Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building at the World's Columbian Exposition.¹¹

The identification of the symbolical nature of Reid's spandrel figures is evident by the titles printed above each one. This feature again appears in Blashfield's work for the dome of the Library of Congress, Washington, in which he relied on similar printed banners to identify the winged figures in his great work on The Evolution of Civilization.

1895-96. In addition to a title, each female figure in George Reid's decoration bears or wears an accessory to indicate her specific symbolic nature. The one in the left corner holds a flaming torch of discovery (fig. 21). At her waist, Fame carries a scroll presumably containing the names of famous Canadian pioneers (fig. 22). A pouch slung from her belt indicates Fortune (fig. 23). Both Fortune and Fame blow trumpets in celebration of the prosperity of good fortune that came to the settlers. The fourth figure carries a flag symbolizing adventure and exploration (fig. 24).

These same themes may be found in the repertory of American mural paintings. Again to look at the Library of Congress, George Maynard who is credited with a long list of mural commissions for hotels and private homes,¹² depicted the four epochs of America: Adventure, Discovery, Conquest and Civilization in the form of four female figures each bearing symbolical accouterments. Inscribed on the panels are the names of famous explorers, humanitarians, and "pioneers of civilization."¹³ This spelling out of the names of those to be remembered suited the commemorative role called for by a mural.

The Library of Congress provides other examples of the abstract, noble subjects favoured by the American muralists: The Evolution of Civilization, The Nine Muses, Government, Good Administration, Peace and Prosperity to name a few. The themes of Science and Art recur frequently in the commission, appearing in Kenyon Cox's two large murals, in

Blashfield's dome collar, and in murals by the less known William L. Dodge, together with Art and Music. The repetition of the same subject elicited a criticism from William Coffin, a critic who wrote at the time regarding the Library of Congress murals:

In the sculpture the subjects do not repeat one another, but in the mural decoration there are, if not too many abstract themes, at least too many similar ones. The arts and sciences, for example, have been used pretty frequently in the decoration. The point had no bearing whatever on the merit or effectiveness of the decorations in the artistic sense, but concerns only the whole of the work from the literary point of view. Historical subjects of a certain class would seem to be well fitted for use in the decoration of a library if the abstract themes do not suffice to give variety to an extensive scheme of decoration.¹⁴

George Reid, in his final proposal for the City Hall entrance murals, may have considered this type of criticism. Reid's decision to illustrate early pioneer life was in keeping with his interest in Canadian themes and it allowed him to portray a scene that was easily understood by the viewer not familiar with mythological or literary references.

Although the names of well-known figures in Ontario history are listed around the border of the two completed murals, Reid did not intend to present portraits of these individuals, nor did he want to illustrate a specific scene from Toronto's history. Rather he chose to illustrate the life and work of the anonymous pioneers who settled in Ontario and from whom many Toronto citizens had descended. Through Reid's mural the visitor to the civic buildings would be able to see depicted before his eyes the stages involved in settling the land and certain aspects of the life of his

ancestors. Reid's art would thus serve an educational purpose, illustrating a part of Canadian history not only to the citizens of Toronto but to other Canadians who shared a similar pioneer background. The printed names of illustrious Ontario figures would also be a reminder of the achievements of these men and women.

A tribute to the early work of the settlers was a fitting mural for a new City Hall and Court House which in itself celebrated the prosperity and growth of the community. The Toronto city council was spending vast amounts on the building to ensure that it was a monument the citizens would admire and respect. The city of Toronto had developed rapidly in the boom period of 1867-75. The progress was slowed down by the economic depression of the late 1870's-

1880's; but by 1890 Toronto was experiencing a period of growth and prosperity as the main commercial centre for Ontario. Despite the effects of the depression, people of Toronto had faith in the future prospects of their city with its potential for industrial development, its busy harbour, its position as a centre for railway transportation and its increasing population which had doubled in the 1880's to reach the figure of 181,200 by 1890.¹⁵ The new immigrants usually came from England, Ireland, and Scotland, but there was also an influx of settlers from the surrounding rural areas to the city. This may have been one reason for Reid's choice of commemorating the rural life that was rapidly being left behind and becoming only a memory for many Toronto inhabitants.

As the title of the work Hail to the Pioneers, Their Names and Deeds Remembered and Forgotten implies, Reid felt that Canadians needed to be reminded of the hardships of clearing the land which involved long hours of labour and the cooperative efforts of all the settlers. On the east side, pioneers arrive in search of a suitable place to settle. On the west panel, a group helps to clear and survey the land and to set up stakes to delimit the boundary lines. The two panels illustrate the rigours of frontier life; there are no permanent shelters; the men carry their sleeping gear on their backs; their main tool is the axe to chop down trees and clear a plot in the dense forest. The abundant growth of the forest is suggested in the murals by the opaqueness of the lower bush and the mass of the tree tops hanging over the settlers' heads, and only a ribbon of light is visible in the distance.

The themes of exploration, clearing and settling the land are carried over in the continuation of the mural cycle proposed by Reid and illustrated by the series of small oil sketches now in The London Regional Art Gallery. In the studies Reid presents more scenes of scouting parties and develops the subject of the building of log houses and the farming activities of the settlers. Reid must have felt that the logging scene (fig. 39 panel C) was an especially good image of Canada's pioneer past for, as noted p. 47) it was copied from his earlier painting of Logging, 1889 (fig. 68).¹⁶ In a note dated October 7, 1941, beside a photograph of this painting in his scrapbook, Reid wrote:

This picture represents a phase of the development of Canada, which in its main aspects ended about seventy-five years ago in old Ontario, where the farms were cleared by the heaping together of the great and small logs and brush and then burned.... Gangs of men came together for the purpose, and "Logging Bees", so called, were among the many types of collective labour common in the early days.¹⁷

Ironically the painting was executed not in Canada but in France when Reid was a student. He used French workers in a lumberyard to recreate a Canadian logging scene.¹⁸

The covered wagons in scenes (fig. 43, panels A-C) suggest that the homesteaders have travelled some distance and are accompanied by their families and household possessions. A mother and child included in the east completed City Hall mural are representative of the families who went with the men to the frontier. The pioneer women and children are also the focus of attention in the sketches (fig. 41 panel C, and fig. 39 panel A). It would be the children who would benefit from the labours of their parents and who would take over the homesteads in future years.

George Reid himself had descended from homesteaders. His father had emigrated from Scotland and set up a farm near Wingham, Ontario. Reid's maternal grandfather came from Ireland and settled in Huron County around 1840. Both Reid's father and grandfather passed on the stories of the early days to young George. Reid was proud of his heritage and in later years recalled:

I was born in the log shanty of a pioneer settler in the County of Huron, when the ox team was the means of conveyance through the blazed trail of the bush with no bridges across the streams and the market town of Goderich 25 miles away....¹⁹

Because of his childhood upbringing in the country, Reid was familiar with the activities of rural life, and many of his paintings evoke the days of the early settlers in Ontario. Among his most popular and well-received genre works were Mortgaging the Homestead, 1890 (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa), and Foreclosure of the Mortgage, 1893 (destroyed), depicting the plight of the rural family in debt. Other scenes of rural life were: Call to Dinner 1887 (McMaster University Art Gallery, Hamilton), The Blacksmith Shop, 1887 (owner unknown), Logging, 1889 (Canada House, London, England (fig. 68), and Family Prayer, 1891 (Victoria College, University of Toronto). For the City Hall, therefore, Reid chose a subject he knew well and for which he had gained recognition. In later years he continued to depict pioneer life and scenes from Canadian history, for example, Pioneer Ploughing, 1909 (Peel Memorial Collection, Brampton, Ontario), The Homeseekers, 1909, which now hangs in a prominent place in the entrance of the Ontario Parliament Buildings, Toronto, Shinglemakers, 1930 (Ontario Provincial Government), and the Jarvis Collegiate murals of 1927-30 which include various scenes of early Canadian explorers and their encounters with the Indians.

The white man's relations with the Indians is another theme suggested in the completed murals and expanded in the proposed scenes for completion of the panels. George Reid did not forget these original residents of the Toronto area.²⁰ In the seventeenth century a Seneca village stood at the

mouth of the Humber River, a little to the west of old York. The Mississauga Indians replaced the Seneca, and then in the middle of the eighteenth century, a fur-trading post, Fort Rouillé, was built there by the French. Reid did not depict the battles waged between the Indians and settlers, a favourite subject in American paintings of the frontier.²¹ Rather Reid portrayed the early meetings between the Indians and white missionaries. The priest in the sketch (fig. 33, panel A) may refer to the Sulpician missionary Père Joseph Mariet who was one of the first to settle on the site of Toronto in the late seventeenth century.²² Or it may perhaps be Galinée, one of the names printed around the mural. He was another Sulpician missionary who became the first to explore Lake Ontario in the same period as Mariet (see Appendix I, p. 111).

Treaties concerning the land were exchanged between the British and the Indians at the end of the eighteenth century, but the site of Toronto was developed very little before 1793 when York became the centre of government for Upper Canada. In the completed City Hall mural, the Indian, possibly a guide for the pioneers, is not a prominent figure. He looks out from behind a tree in the background and watches as the pioneers survey the land. It might be said that this Indian represents the position of his people at the end of the nineteenth century. Through treaties the white colonialists had taken over the land which had once been free to the Indian. In the mural the Indian is shown as an indistinct figure in the

background, an observer of events which he no longer has the power to determine.

Reid's deliberate choice of a pioneer theme for the murals reflected the awakened interest among Canadians in their past at the end of the nineteenth century. As the turn of the century drew near and the country was enjoying prosperity, writers, poets, and historians made efforts through their work to preserve the historical foundations of the young nation. Ontario was a major centre of English cultural expression, but in other parts of the country as well, Canadians were reflecting on the role of their early ancestors.

As a sign of the growth of this historical consciousness in Ontario, the last two decades of the century saw the establishment of a number of important historical societies still in operation today. One example was the Ontario Historical Society, founded in 1888 in Toronto and originally called the Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario. It was reorganized on a wider basis in 1898 as an umbrella organization to unite the smaller historical societies in the province. At its annual meeting on March 30, 1898, the Chairman, Dr. Ross, then Minister of Education, addressed the society and referred to its aims in education and scholarship, stating, "it should reach the masses in its results - it should appeal to our domestic affections as well as to our national pride and our patriotic aspirations."²³

The Royal Society of Canada was incorporated in 1882 to promote literature and science, and it published articles

and research on Canadian subjects in their journal, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Other institutions such as the Canadian Club of Hamilton, Ontario (1892) were founded for "the encouragement of the study of History, Literature, Art, Music, and Natural Resources of Canada, the recognition of native worth and talent, and the fostering of a patriotic Canadian sentiment."²⁴ Similar clubs were formed in Toronto and Montreal in response to what the writer Sandford Evans felt was "a strong and constantly growing spirit of Canadianism."²⁵

The province of Ontario demonstrated its pride in its political origins with a celebration held in Toronto in September 1892 to commemorate the centennial of representative government in Upper Canada under Governor Simcoe.²⁶ Ontario residents curious about their ancestral background could peruse Ontario Families Genealogies of United-Empire-Loyalist and Other Pioneer Families of Upper Canada by Edward Marion Chadwick, published in 1894.²⁷

In literature, there were efforts to arouse the Canadian spirit, often by means of extolling the endeavors of a past generation. New impetus emerged among Canadian writers and poets born around Confederation who found their material in the country's historical past as well as its present.²⁸ Canadian magazines featured articles on the Canadian landscape, on famous Canadian figures or historical incidents, and on Canadian art.²⁹ Thus as the country prospered, so did the awareness of its past.

A comparison of the City Hall murals with a poem published in the Week of October 12, 1894 (p. 1093) demonstrates that Reid's mural cycle suited the mood of historical consciousness of the time in Ontario. The poem, entitled The York Pioneers' Log Cabin 1794-1894 by S.A.C. was read at a meeting of The York Pioneer and Historical Society, a Toronto Group formed in 1869.³⁰ The meeting actually took place in the Society's log cabin which had originally been the home of Toronto's pioneer John Scadding. The poem evokes the memory of Scadding and of Lieutenant-Governor John G. Simcoe who chose the site on which to develop the City of York. Both names appear in the border around Reid's two mural panels. Certain passages in the poem recall the visual images in Reid's murals, for example, the dense forest:

Where towering elms, like sentinels, o'er-topped
Great oaks, and darkling pines shot up like spires.

the family:

And all the forest land, vocal with song,
Teemed with wild life, the settler's hope and fear.
O! how the fine and fragrant air he breathed
Glowed in the young man's blood and thrilled his nerves,
And set him dreaming! - as a youth should dream -
Of a fond home, and woman's love and care
To bless and crown with lengthened happiness
A pious life of patient duty done;
Of sons and Daughters strong and beautiful,
In whom his name should live, and honoured be;

and the Indian: "Where but the Red Man roamed a city stands."

The scenes of the pioneers clearing and settling the land in Reid's two murals and in the sketches for the completion of the cycle might have been inspired by the following lines:

And soon the merry axe
 Sets all the vales a-ringing; laugh and shout
 And human cheer and song fond Echo wake;
 The pioneers of York come hastening in -
 For all were brothers then - and each man bares
 A willing arm to help his neighbour.
 Strong men and true bring down the umbrageous oak,
 Square the tall pine, and lower the towering elm;
 And some the broad axe wield, and some the saw
 Two-handed; others the heavy ox -
 Patient of load and foddered easily -
 Put to the chains and draw the logs in place;
 And some the mortar mix of river clay,
 Others the stones draw from the shelving bank,
 Some gather moss for chinking, some the bark
 To shingle the new roof. Thus rises soon,
 With hospitable hearth and chimney wide,
 A pioneer's log cabin snug and warm.
 O hearts were merry on the auspicious day
 John Scadding stood within his open door
 And welcomed all.

Reid hoped to instill in a younger generation the same sense
 of moral purpose found in such lines as:

...., a man to help
 In building up the State on stones secure -
 Truth, Justice, Loyalty, Far-reaching aim. -

or:

Order and Law and Learning have high place,
 As witness these surroundings, where man's brain,
 And energy, and muscle, schooled by Rule,
 Show large results.

Just as the author of the poem hoped that his verse would
 endure, so would Reid have dedicated the closing couplet to
 his murals:

And here long may it stand, a memory
 Of brave old times, a spur to new.

In art, the cry in the 1880s and 1890s was to develop
 the "national spirit in art", as W.A. Sherwood called it in
 1893,³¹ by supporting Canadian artists and building up Canadian
 art institutions. Although there was a controversy over what

determined a "Canadian" style in painting, many artists like Reid consciously chose Canadian subjects for their paintings.

Among the first Canadian artists to depict the early life of eastern Canada were the topographers from Europe who gave us some of the rare views of the early settlers. Their intention was to record the geographical layout of the country as well as the customs of its people. Other artists who chose to paint themes of early settlement were similarly attracted to the picturesque quality of the Canadian rural scenes.

Newspapers such as the Dominion Illustrated News of the 1870s and 1880s and the publication of Picturesque Canada in 1882 with contributions from various Canadian and American artists served to increase the interest in Canadian landscape and subject matter,³² even though the style of the painting reflected the European training of many of the artists.

Thomas Mower Martin (1838-1934), an Englishman who settled in Ontario in 1862, was a staunch promoter of the use of Canadian subjects in painting. Although not an outstanding artist, Martin was a well-known figure in the Toronto art circles as a founding member of the Ontario Society of Artists³³ and as the first director of the Ontario School of Art from 1876 to 1878.³⁴ Martin was among the artists who, inspired by Confederation, expanded their activities beyond Ontario's boundaries. Martin was one of those fortunate artists who was sent by the Canadian Pacific Railway to paint the wonders of the West between 1886 to 1889.³⁵

As a result of his wanderings, in 1893 Martin gave a series of lectures on his trips across Canada which were

published in the Week under the title, "Canada from an Artist's Point of View."³⁶ Martin extolled the visual opportunities of the Canadian landscape and stressed the picturesque (a word he used frequently) "Canadian" quality of the homesteads of Quebec, Ontario and the Maritimes, as well as the marvels of the mountain vistas in the West. In referring to the early rural scenes of the East he noted:

But times change with men and manners, and in order to preserve what is left of the picturesque life of old Canada, it is necessary that the present opportunities be not lost, but, that before the changes come that will introduce one dead level of excellent monotony, instead of the old picturesque habits antecedent to perfect civilization, the artist (should) immortalize or at least perpetuate the best features of the old regime.³⁷

Even though George Reid would perhaps have considered Martin's style of painting as old-fashioned he would have supported if not been influenced by the elder painter's efforts to promote Canadian subject matter.

Indeed T. Mower Martin became known as an interpreter of Canadian life and scenery as demonstrated in some of the titles of paintings he exhibited, at the R.C.A. between 1883 and 1893, for example, Logging, 1883, A Back-Country Road, 1886, Old House at Ancaster, Ontario, 1887 and A Farm Yard in North Ontario, 1893. These works concentrate primarily on the landscape, portraying scenes of a rural existence which the artist knew would change drastically with the expansion and growth of the towns.

Another elder artist with whom Reid shared an interest in depicting early Canadian themes was William Cruikshank. Cruikshank preceded Reid as a teacher (1880-1899) and

principal (1884-1886) of the Ontario School of Art, and he and Reid became colleagues in the Society of Mural Decorators. Like Mower Martin, Cruikshank was not native-born. He came from Scotland and was trained in London and Paris. Although he spent time as a youth in Toronto, he did not really settle in that city permanently until 1878.³⁸ Perhaps because of his teaching commitments, Cruikshank did not leave behind a large quantity of paintings, but many of his works portray themes of pioneering and rural life. Because of his background as an illustrator in New York, he was hired by Canadian magazines such as Toronto Saturday Night to chronicle Canadian events both past and present.³⁹ One series of drawings depicts town and country life in Ontario in the years 1876 and 1877.⁴⁰ Cruikshank's most famous painting, Breaking a Road, of 1894, (National Gallery of Canada) gives an objective commentary on pioneer life in Ontario without the appeal of some of Reid's work. J.E.H. MacDonald (1873-1932) singled out Cruikshank and Reid when he acknowledged the Group of Seven's debt to these earlier artists who painted Canadian subjects: "There was a real stirring of Canadian ideals. Old Cruikshank for instance, with his Breaking A Road, was a more direct Canadian influence among us than Kriehoff, and Reid's City Hall Murals meant much to us."⁴¹

Certainly artists like Reid, Martin, and Cruikshank did inspire a younger group of artists as well as their own contemporaries as evidenced in the work of the Toronto Art Student's League. (In 1888 the word "Student's" was dropped from the title). The League was formed in 1886 by artists

whose common aim was to stress Canadian subject matter.⁴²

From 1893 to 1904 the League members published a series of calendars with drawings of life in Canada with an emphasis on the past.⁴³ George Reid offered a figure in landscape vignette in the 1895 calendar. Other artists such as Charles Manly, F.A. Brigden, D.F. Thomson, and Reid's former student C.W. Jeffreys, were frequent contributors to the calendars.

Canadian poems or quotations were included beside scenes of building bees, log cabins, Indians, and the early settlers (fig. 69). As they entered a new century, the League became even more conscious of the past, and the calendar for 1900 featured "Notes and Pictured Things Suggesting the Impress of the Century on the Land and Its People."⁴⁴

Another artist with an eye for the Canadian landscape was Homer Watson (1855-1936). A contemporary of George Reid's, Watson also descended from an Ontario pioneer family.⁴⁵ Despite years of study in England and periods of residence in Toronto, Watson was always drawn back to his roots, and many of his paintings depict the countryside around Waterloo County, the region of his birth and death.⁴⁶ In Watson's paintings, however, the human factor is usually given secondary importance. The figures are small, engulfed by the setting of dramatic sky effects, majestic, towering trees, or picturesque cabins and dilapidated mills. The mill, a recognized symbol of pioneer life, was a favourite subject not only with Watson but with many of the artists exhibiting in the 1880s and 1890s.⁴⁷

At the same time that Reid was working on his murals, Watson was painting specifically pioneer themes such as Pioneers Crossing the River, 1896, Clearing the Land, 1897, and A Canadian Farm, 1898.⁴⁸ He, like Reid, chose to depict pioneer life to preserve the memory of bygone days, although Watson concentrated more on the land than on the people. Painted from memory, Watson offered his own idealized version of old mills, country roads, and the farmer's battle against the elements.

Another contemporary of Reid's who also painted the disappearing ways of early rural life was Horatio Walker (1858-1938).⁴⁹ He achieved astounding success as a painter in the United States with his depictions of Quebec farmers on the Ile d'Orléans. Even though his subjects were similar to those of Reid and Watson, Walker was not intending to evoke the pioneer spirit of the early settlers. Rather, his choice of subject was inspired by the example of the French Barbizon school of painters, especially Jean-François Millet who favoured themes of peasant life which became the vogue in the United States in the 1860s and 1870s.⁵⁰ Thus Walker's choice of subject was dictated by the fashion for the Barbizon School in the U.S. and the public appeal of a sentimental handling of the subject.

There is thus a distinction, between an artist such as Walker who was attracted to the rural scenes reminiscent of Barbizon paintings and George Reid who chose to portray the early days of rural settlement to inspire future generations with the memory of the past. While Canadian artists

such as Walker or William Brymner and a dozen others painted their quaint rural subjects "on the spot," seeking contemporary examples of a vanishing style of life, Reid reconstructed his version of the past from his memory and from the stories he had been told as a boy of the pioneer beginnings of the province. In this approach, Reid comes closer to Homer Watson and to his early teacher Robert Harris who developed a strong attachment to the area of his youth. Harris relied on his association with the rural life of Prince Edward Island to produce such works as The Meeting of the School Trustees 1885. Reid's nostalgic genre works, Mortgaging the Homestead and Foreclosure of the Mortgage are given the same anecdotal treatment as Harris' work, an attribute admired by the patrons of North American painting in general. In Harris' work, The Fathers of Confederation (1884), the monumental scale of the painting and its aim to immortalize prominent Canadian historical figures would have been appreciated by George Reid.

The repertoire of Reid's narrative painting, his sentimental portraits of the elderly and of children find their relation and perhaps inspiration in the works of British nineteenth century artists such as William Powell Frith (1819-1909), and Augustus Leopold Egg (1816-1863). Their narrative paintings carried moral implications and offered pathetic, sentimental studies of human life, similar to Reid's depictions of rural families in trouble. Reid's scenes of boyhood life are also reminiscent of the works of British artist Thomas Webster (1800-1886). The themes popular in so

many English paintings were taken up by American artists working in the mid nineteenth century as well, painters such as, Winslow Homer (1836-1910), Eastman Johnson (1824-1906) and Thomas Hovenden (1840-1895). In a review of the art section at the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago of 1893, the Week's writer, Fidelis, claimed that the majority of paintings represented human and animal scenes "with the most vivid presentment of the pathos of life."⁵¹

The one earlier painting by Reid entitled Logging, 1889, (fig. 68) comes close to the objective in his depiction of Hail to the Pioneers. Reid shows the men tackling the enormous logs while they clear the land. The setting is sparse; the main attention of the painting is centred on the strength of the men in their efforts to move the heavy timber. The narrative element is there, the nostalgia as well, but the viewer is drawn to the heroic image of these hard-working men who prepared the way for the settlers, he is not side-tracked by sentimental drama. Reid's representation of Hail to the Pioneers similarly avoids the display of pathos and sentimentality of his narrative genre works. Instead the anonymous pioneers become heroic symbols of the past. A sense of history is imparted to the mural which in his genre scenes was overlooked by the spectator enthralled by the drama being acted out in front of him.

CONCLUSION

George Reid and his supporters hoped that the execution of the Toronto Municipal Building murals would hail the beginning of a movement to place wall paintings in schools, railway stations, municipal and provincial buildings where they would be available to the public. After the completion of the City Hall mural decorations, Reid continued to promote mural painting. He spearheaded the proposal for murals in the Ontario Legislature (1902-1905) with the backing of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (see p. 53), and, as a member of the R.C.A., he rallied a group of artists to lobby for a mural scheme in the federal Parliament buildings in Ottawa (1904-1905).¹ Despite the efforts of Reid and a few of his colleagues, the movement to introduce murals into public buildings in Ontario was not a success. Rather it was a series of disappointing rebuffs by municipal, provincial and federal governing bodies who pleaded lack of funds for such projects.

Private commissions for murals in houses, schools, and commercial enterprises were more forthcoming. George Reid himself kept busy with decorations for private residences, notably the murals for B. Edmund Walker's own library in 1902,² and he also worked on a mural for Queen's University in 1903.³ Reid's colleague and former student, Frederick Challener,

gained a reputation for his theatre and hotel mural decorations.⁴ Other artists turned their hands to mural decoration as a sideline to their easel work. For example, William Brymner who joined with the group on the Ottawa project, attempted murals in private residences in 1899 and 1906.⁵ Even some members of the Group of Seven painted murals in the summer cottage of Dr. MacCallum in the winter of 1915-16. Tom Thomson, J.E.H. MacDonald and Arthur Lismer decorated the living room wall, with landscape, figurative and even historical scenes.⁶

The mural movement gained some momentum again in 1924 when the Royal Canadian Academy held a competition for the best mural painting in a public building.⁷ Reid received the top award for his mural of community life in the Earls Court Branch of the Toronto Public Library, a scene consisting of five groups of figures in a pastoral landscape setting and representing The Family, The Community, The Story Hour, Philosophy, and Nature Study.⁸

Reid and his colleagues in the Society of Mural Decorators were not the only would-be muralists whose proposals were rejected by public institutions on account of financial problems. In the long tale of the efforts by Quebec artists to have their designs for the decoration of the Quebec Legislative Assembly accepted, both the offers by Napoléon Bourassa in 1883 and by Eugène Hamel in 1886 were considered too expensive.⁹ Further from home, in Washington, D.C., for the Library of Congress murals, we are told:

Although the painters were well known and in the forefront of American art, they were paid only nominal amounts, ranging from \$2,200 to \$8,000, depending on the amount of space they were to cover. In the opinion of most of the mural painters, the library murals were a patriotic effort and seed work for the future.¹⁰

In 1914, after the American movement had gained a sound footing in the 1890s, the foremost American muralist, Edwin Blashfield, still had to make urgent calls for more government support of mural painting.¹¹

In Canada the government, unlike the church in Quebec, had no long tradition as a patron of the arts, and had to be cajoled into giving adequate support to Canadian artists. However, in following the course of the efforts of the Society of Mural Decorators, it would seem that the administrators had doubts about the talents and experience of Canadian artists.¹² Reid himself expressed this belief in his Note on Mural Painting in Canada, written in December 1917. After mentioning the failure of the proposals for murals in the federal Parliament building, he claimed, "The chairman [of the Advisory Arts Council] had grave doubts of the ability of Canadian Artists to undertake such important work."¹³ After the mixed feelings concerning the quality of George Reid's City Hall panels, as revealed in the letters to the Canadian Architect and Builder (see pp. 46-47 Chap. II), one wonders whether Reid's paintings may have hindered the cause in some respects and discouraged architects from promoting mural decoration. A revealing comment in a 1911 article on Reid suggests that the artist's murals were not greatly admired:

In recent years he has devoted more attention to mural decorations. In this class of work he may not have reached the "popular" success which attended his earlier efforts, but he certainly inaugurated a new era in this line of work, so far as Canada is concerned. His decorative panels in the City Hall Toronto, are painted in a low key and have never been appreciated as they deserved.¹⁴

Of those who formed the original Society of Mural Decorators, no-one carried on with a career as a muralist except Reid and Challener. Wyly Grier became well-known for his portraits; William Cruikshank like Reid painted rural scenes of pioneer life and genre paintings. The two peripheral members of the group, Sidney Strickland Tully continued to execute portraits, genre and landscape, and Harriet Ford settled in England.¹⁵ Gustav Hahn, a designer by profession, was not among the original members of the Society who submitted their proposals for the Council Chamber, but only his mural decorations grace the Chamber walls. It was George Reid, the spokesman of the Society, who provided the leadership as well as the energy and optimism in the face of continual rejection of their mural schemes. None of the mural painters developed a special interest in the landscape, an obvious Canadian theme. Reid devoted more of his time to landscape in the later years of his career, but by then the Group of Seven were the champions of Canadian forests, lakes and hills.

Although George Reid was among the artists who protested the support for the Group of Seven artists, he shared with the latter a similar concern for the creation of a truly Canadian school of art. In answer to criticism that his own work and that of many of his fellow academicians was too much

mbulded by European painting, Reid replied: "Our artists have gone and are going to the Old World to perfect their Art, but as long as their affection remains Canadian, so long are they going to be true Canadian Artists and be likely to produce what can be truly called Canadian Art, whatever be the method they employ in the execution of their works."¹⁶

For Reid the way a picture was painted was unchallenged, the rules of academic tradition prevailed. A painting was Canadian if the subject represented the expression of Canadian life, whether historical or contemporary. It was even more Canadian if it were integrated into the decoration of a public building, especially an institution such as the Parliament Buildings or a city hall. At the same time he felt that a distinctly Canadian art would only emerge from a country that was proud of its heritage and history and that helped to support native artists. As he argued:

No country can have a high accomplishment in the fine arts without intelligent appreciation and substantial encouragement.... If our patrons of art were to spend \$100 in Canada for every \$1000 spent abroad, the meagreness of support given to Canadian art would be much ameliorated.¹⁷

Through large scale mural painting portraying Canadian scenes and ideals, a sense of nationality and civic pride would, Reid thought, be strengthened and result in more support for Canadian artists and their work. During World War I when patriotism was at a peak, Reid took the opportunity to urge

Painters, Sculptors, Architects, and Art lovers to unite in a single continuous effort to create worthy monuments of our past history, its ideals, heroisms and sacrifices and to promote the expression of high ideals of the future of Canada.¹⁸

The early interest in mural painting among the Ontario artists paralleled the efforts to organize an art museum in Toronto and a National Gallery in Ottawa. Reid was active if not at the centre of both developments. In her history of the National Gallery of Canada, Jean Sutherland Boggs credits Reid with taking an active interest in the National Gallery which had been founded in 1880. 1907 introduced a new period in the history of the gallery, she states and continues: "Spearheaded by George Reid, President of the Royal Canadian Academy, serious consideration was given for the first time to the Gallery's function, housing, and administration, as well as to its acquisitions."¹⁹ Throughout his life Reid encouraged every means of educating the public in their appreciation of art, and he strove to bring the work of Canadian artists to their attention. For him one way of achieving these goals was to develop mural painting which provided opportunities for Canadian artists and at the same time acted as an inspiration to the spectator.

APPENDIX 1

Historical Background to the Names of the Men and Women Listed
Around the Borders of the Murals in the Toronto Municipal
Buildings

The earliest pioneer named is René de Bréhant de Galinée (c.1645-1678), a Sulpician missionary who came to New France in 1668.¹ On a trip to discover remote Indian villages, Galinée and another missionary explored Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron. Galinée wrote an account of his voyage and drew one of the first maps of the Great Lakes area. In 1671 he returned to France, and his notes and the map were preserved in his native country. They were first published in 1875 by the Société historique de Montréal in their Mémoires, vol. VI, "...Voyage de MM. Dollier et Gallinée."²

Since so much of early Canadian history involved military campaigns and battles, the army is represented by one of the well-known names, Major-General Sir Isaac Brock (1769-1812). Brock came from the Island of Guernsey and arrived in Quebec in 1806. Shortly thereafter, he assumed command of the military forces in Upper and Lower Canada. In 1810 he moved to Upper Canada and the next year was appointed President and Administrator of that province. When war broke out between the United States and Canada in 1812, Brock captured Detroit, a strategic point in the conflict.

However, on October 13, 1812 he was killed while leading the battle of Queenston Heights which turned out to be a major victory for the Canadian forces. After his death, monuments were raised to his name because of his valiant defense of Canada, and as the biographer John Dent wrote in 1880:

By dwellers in this Upper Province especially is his name a familiar and an honoured one; for it was here that the most memorable scenes of his life were enacted, and that the greenest of his laurels were won.³

A major ally of the British in the War of 1812 was Chief Tecumseh (1770-1813), an alleged wily and physically imposing Shawanee. He rallied the Indians behind the British and assisted Major-General Brock in the capture of Detroit. Tecumseh too met his end fighting the Americans on the battlefield at Moraviantown, October 1813. Thus the Indian chief became a Canadian hero. As George Maclean Rose stated in his book, Representative Canadians:

No one, . . . , can fully calculate the inestimable value of those 'red men,' led on by the brave Tecumseh during the struggle of 1812. But for them, it is probable, that we should not now have a Canada; and if we had, we would not enjoy the liberty and privileges which we possess in so eminent a degree.⁴

Others like John Dent in 1880 praised him with some reservation, claiming that Tecumseh never felt any great affection for the British who were the better of two evils:

The simple truth is that Tecumseh would cheerfully have tomahawked every white man in America with his own hand, had an opportunity of doing so been afforded him.⁵

However, the Canadian Historical Society must have felt it appropriate to include an Indian among George Reid's list of pioneers.

Another famous figure of the War of 1812 and the token woman of the group was Laura Ingersoll Secord (1775-1868). Her family immigrated to Upper Canada from America after the Revolution, and Laura married James Secord and settled in Queenstone.⁶ Her contribution to the war was to risk her life to bring news to the British of a pending American attack on the British outpost at Beaver Dams. Not until much later, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, did Mrs. Secord become a popular heroine of poetry, drama, and history. This example of a pioneer woman who faced the perils of the new land with bravery and resolution appealed to the Victorian sensibility. On June 24, 1901, the Ontario Historical Society, erected a monument over the grave of Laura Secord.⁷

Reverend John Strachan (1778-1867) played an important role in the history of Toronto after the War of 1812. A Scotsman by birth, he came to Upper Canada in 1799 and started his career teaching in Kingston, Cornwall, and finally York. "The removal of the Rev. Dr. John Strachan from Cornwall to York, in 1812, is an occurrence memorable in the annals of that place, and of Upper Canada generally," wrote the Toronto historian Henry Scadding in 1884.⁸ An ambitious man, Strachan became the Anglican Bishop of Toronto in 1839 and served until 1867, steering the city through a critical period in the history of the church in Upper Canada. In the field of education Strachan was active and became the first president of King's College (later the University of Toronto) in 1827 and he founded Trinity College in 1851. Although his chief

concerns were religion and education, Strachan served politically as well on the Executive Council (1817-36) and the Legislative Council (1820-41) of Upper Canada.⁹

Another religious figure, Rev. Egerton Ryerson (1803-82), was remembered for his contribution to education in Ontario. Born in the township of Charlotteville, Upper Canada, Ryerson was a controversial Methodist minister and writer. For many years, from 1844 to 1876, he acted as Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. He also helped to establish a Methodist seat of learning in Cobourg at the University of Victoria College (which eventually moved to Toronto), and he became its first President in 1841.¹⁰

Among the political figures listed around the murals, the earliest name is that of Simcoe. John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806) spent a brief period of his life in Canada when he was sent from England to be the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada in 1791. He stayed until 1796, and his tenure in office was especially memorable for Torontonians, because in 1793 he was responsible for moving the capital of Upper Canada from Newark to York.¹¹ This started York's transformation from a sleepy agricultural village to a thriving administrative and commercial centre.

A friend of Lt.-Gov. Simcoe, William Osgoode (1754-1824) came to Canada from England at the same time. His passage through Ontario history was brief as well. A lawyer, Osgoode was appointed first Chief Justice of Upper Canada in 1792 and became Speaker of the Legislative Council. Later

in 1794 he assumed the position of Chief Justice of Lower Canada until 1801 when he resigned and returned to England.¹²

The name of the Scottish politician and rebel William Lyon MacKenzie (1795-1861) is listed because he served as the first Mayor of the newly incorporated city of Toronto from 1834 to 1836. But MacKenzie gained his notoriety first as founder of the Colonial Advocate, a political journal which attacked the establishment. Then, frustrated by his lack of success in achieving reform as a member of the Legislature of Upper Canada, MacKenzie became the chief organizer of the 1837 rebellion in that province. When it failed he was forced to flee to the United States. After his pardon and return to Upper Canada in 1849 it did not take him long to enter the Legislative Assembly once again, where he served from 1851-58. Despite his participation in armed rebellion which he acknowledged was a "grievous error," according to the biographer John Dent, MacKenzie became a Canadian hero. In Dent's words:

The Canadian people have long ago done justice to his memory and have recognized the fact that among the names of those patriots who have manfully and conscientiously struggled for Canadian freedom, few deserve a higher place than that of William Lyon MacKenzie.¹³

MacDonnell was a common Scottish name among the early Ontario pioneers, but the person to whom Reid was referring in his mural was probably Alexander C. MacDonnell (1762-1842) whom Henry Scadding included in his book Toronto of Old as "one of the company of our early worthies whom we personally well remember."¹⁴ Originally from Scotland, MacDonnell was

electd as the representative for Glengarry in the Legislative Assembly from 1800-1812 and 1820-23. He became Speaker of the House in 1804 and from 1792-1805 Sheriff of the Home District of Upper Canada. In his various administrative positions MacDonnell helped with the settlement of early immigrants to the western part of the province and the Perth area. Finally in 1831 he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada.¹⁵

One of Toronto's most eminent native politicians was Robert Baldwin (1804-58).¹⁶ A lawyer who came from a prominent family in the city, Baldwin was driven by his idea of bringing responsible government to the country, that is a government formed of elected representatives of the people and responsible to the electorate. After only a few months as Solicitor General of Upper Canada, Baldwin resigned and was elected as a reformer to the Legislative Assembly. In 1841, after the Act of Union bringing the two provinces together, Baldwin and the French-Canadian lawyer Louis Lafontaine from Lower Canada formed the Government until 1843. Under a second term of office from 1848 to 1851, the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration established responsible government.

Another old family name in Toronto was Allan.¹⁷ The Honourable William Allan (1770-1853) was one of the early Scottish settlers in York. He became a prominent citizen of the town, acting as justice of the peace, collector of customs, postmaster, member of the Legislative and then Executive Council (1836-41) of Upper Canada, and President of the Bank

of Upper Canada. His son George William Allan (1822-1901) continued the family interest in the affairs of the town. He served for one year as Mayor of Toronto in 1855 and was subsequently appointed to the Legislature of Upper Canada, the Senate of Canada, and the Queen's Privy Council. He even acted as President of the Ontario Society of Artists in 1889 as a lay member.¹⁸ George Allan knew Reid, since he was a founding member of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art.¹⁹ Upon Allan's death the Guild remembered his contribution to the city: "Mr. Allan's benevolence and public spirit form a portion of the history of Toronto and have witness borne to them in records of its public bodies for more than half a century."²⁰ The Allan whom George Reid includes in the names of pioneers most likely refers to both members of this family who were so active in the development of Toronto and Canada as a whole.

Like the Allans, the Scaddings were a pioneer family in York. John Scadding (1754-1824), an aide to Simcoe, was one of the first settlers to erect a cabin on the site of the new town in the year 1794.²¹ His descendant, the rector of Holy Trinity Church, Rev. Henry Scadding (1813-1901) left his mark in Toronto history with his writings which were probably consulted by Reid for his murals. Among the Reverend's most noteworthy books was Toronto of Old: Collections and Recollections Illustrative of Early Settlement of Canadian Life in Ontario, published in 1873. Then he collaborated with John C. Dent on Toronto, Past and Present (1884) and with

G. Mercer Adam on Toronto, Old and New (1891).²² After the biographical entry for Scadding in Henry James Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time (1898), Morgan includes a quote from John Reade:

To Dr. S., Can. (Upper Can. especially) owes much, not only for his actual service in the elucidation of its pioneer history, but also for the spirit of enquiry in conjunction with a love of learning and pride in things Canadian; which he has aroused in the minds of so many of his younger compatriots.²³

APPENDIX 2

The following poem was published in the Week 11 (October 12, 1894): 1093:

The York Pioneers' Log Cabin, 1794-1894

From fair Devonian's lovely vales and chimes
 He came who built this cabin rude and plain.
 Simcoe, his early friend, had called him here
 To view the land, and choose himself a home;
 Him knowing full of worth, a man to help
 In building up the State on stones secure -
 Truth, Justice, Loyalty, Far-reaching aim -
 Thus 'twas John Scadding saw Ontario's shore
 And this fair Province. On the banks of Don,
 Where the Slow rider widens to the Lake,
 He stood a century ago, and scanned
 With eager, anxious eye, the virgin scene.
 Entranced he gazed, his very soul astound
 At Nature's beauty and magnificence.
 Before him, southward, stretched a mighty lake,
 On strong tides rolling to horizons far,
 In whose deep, sheltering bays, for Peace or War,
 The fleets of nations might securely ride:
 And food and sustenance for million souls
 Be found within its depths, - Riches untold.
 Above, the blue sky like a sapphire gleamed,
 And where the slow-winged heron trailed, or rose
 the circling gull, or phantom-noted loon,
 The brilliant atmosphere made silhouettes,
 So clear and pure its texture. On the land
 Vast forests crowned the heights that northward lay,
 Where towering elms, like sentinels, o'er-topped
 Great oaks, and darkling pines shot up like spires.
 Wide beeches grey, and maples full of sap,
 Clothed all the swelling hills; and in the vales
 That downward drew to meet the flowing stream,
 Willows luxuriant and green alders threw
 A grateful shadow, where bright rills and brooks
 Went singing mid their reeds, with fern and flower.
 And where the stream, grown languorous, fell to pools,
 The wild duck had her nest, and clouds of birds
 Shook the wild rice that rose in graceful plumes,
 Among the marshes, where the bittern boomed.
 And all the forest land, vocal with song,
 Teemed with wild life, the settler's hope and fear.

O! how the fine and fragrant air he breathed
 Glowed in the young man's blood and thrilled his nerves,
 And set him dreaming! -as a youth should dream -
 Of a fond home, and woman's love and care
 To bless and crown with lengthened happiness
 A pious life of patient duty done;
 Of sons and daughters, strong and beautiful,
 In whom his name should live, and honoured be;
 Of a calm evening hour, when life's sun draws
 Towards setting, and the labourer looks to lay
 His tools aside and softly muse of Heaven.
 "Ha! did ye hear the demon's mocking laugh
 Flash through the high-topped trees!"
 And then his thoughts ranged wider than himself:
 His vision saw, with Simcoe, the deep woods
 Recede before a people high of heart,
 Of large emprise, and worthy purpose fixed.
 He saw the House of God in honour placed,
 Order and Law installed, and Learning set
 in high estate, the land thus building up
 To a large future, by the Grace of God.

And now with resolution on his brow
 He marks his own.

And soon the merry axe
 Sets all the vales a-ringing; laugh and shout
 And human cheer and song fond Echo wake;
 The pioneers of York come hastening in -
 For all were brothers then- and each man bares
 A willing arm to help his neighbour.
 Strong men and true bring down the umbrageous oak,
 Square the tall pine, and lower the towering elm;
 And some the broad axe wield, and some the saw
 Two-handled; others the heavy ox -
 Patient of load and foddered easily -
 Put to the chains and draw the logs in place;
 And some the mortar mix of river clay,
 Others the stones draw from the shelving bank,
 Some gather moss for chinking, some the bark
 To shingle the new roof. Thus rises soon,
 With hospitable hearth and chimney wide,
 A pioneer's log cabin snug and warm.
 O hearts were merry on the auspicious day
 John Scadding stood within his open door
 And welcomed all.

And still the door swings wide.
 For here are we, a group of Pioneers
 (Myself by grace), and still a Scadding stands
 And welcomes all, for this log cabin 'twas
 His father built a century ago.
 And all those dreams wherewith the young man pleased
 A buoyant, happy fancy, are come true.

Where but the Red Man roamed a city stands:
 Where only Nature witnessed to a God,
 His temples rise, His servants worship Him,
 Man serving man, and looking all to Heaven.
 Order and Law and Learning have high place,
 As witness these surroundings, where man's brain
 And energy, and muscle, schooled by Rule,
 Show large results.

And that fond dream of Home
 And sweet domestic bliss, and honoured name,
 And service done the State, came also true.
 (Despite the mocking demon of the trees)*
 For there is none Toronto boasts to-day
 Of men have served her in all worthiness
 Stands higher in her best esteem than he,
 John Scadding's son, President venerate,
 Our first, because our chief, York Pioneer.
 O happy dream, to come so richly true!
 Three generations knew this tiny home,
 York's sweet domestic life of love and toil
 (Though t'was not his that reared it),†
 And then, a summer day saw a strange sight!
 A band of Pioneers - a jovial crowd -
 Pulled down the cot their fathers helped to build.
 Piled up the logs on trucks, put-to the teams
 Of ancient oxen, mounted the loads themselves,
 And waving Britain's flag in loyal glee,
 Set out with shout and merriment along
 The western way, and brought the cabin here.
 Then set it up again, with many a joke,
 And many a reminiscence glad and sad.

And here long way it stand, a memory
 Of brave old times, a spur to new.

S.A.C.

* Rev. Dr. Scadding's father, Mr. John Scadding, was killed in middle age by the fall of a tree on his own estate. His tomb is in St. James' cemetery, and a Latin inscription to his memory graces the stone.

† Mr. John Scadding occupied the cabin only as a bachelor, and sold it to Mr. John Smith, a builder and an early York Pioneer, erecting a house on another part of his land near by, when he married.

APPENDIX 3

Chronology of George Reid's Life With Special Reference
To Murals Executed in Public Buildings

- 1860 (July 25) Born on a farm near Wingham, Ontario.
- 1877 Apprenticed to J.B. Proctor, architect in Wingham, until Spring 1878.
- 1878-80 Art School in Toronto under the auspices of the Ontario Society of Artists.
- 1880-82 Portrait painting in Wingham, Ontario.
- 1882 Two months at O.S.A. art school.
 In October, sets off for the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, where he studies until April 1885.
- 1885 (May) Marries Mary Hiester (1854-1921).
 (May - Sept.) Travels to Europe on honeymoon: Liverpool, London, Paris, Spain (Fortuný decorations in Barcelona), Italy (Venice, Rome, and Milan).
 Becomes member of the O.S.A.
 Teaches private classes in Toronto.
- 1888 (May) Auction sale of Reid's and his wife's paintings, Toronto.
 Becomes Associate member of the Royal Canadian Academy.
 Travels to Europe: London
 Paris: enrolled in the Académie
 Julian and Académie Colarossi
- 1889 Exhibits for the first time in the Paris Salon.
 (October) England.
 (November) Returns to Toronto.
- 1890 Full member of the R.C.A.
 Begins teaching at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto.
- 1891 First visit to Oteora, New York.
- 1892 Designs and builds a studio in Oteora, New York.
 (Autumn) Auction of George and Mary H. Reid's paintings, Toronto.

- 1893 Wins bronze medal for Foreclosure of the Mortgage at the Columbian World Exhibition, Chicago. Reid and wife attend the exhibition.
- 1894 (February) Formation of the Society of Mural decorators in Toronto.
 (December) Exhibition of five American Painters and Reid at the American Art Galleries, New York, where Reid's decorative panel Rest was shown.
- 1895-95 Proposal for murals in Union Station, Toronto by the Society of Mural Decorators.
- 1895 First proposal from the Society to E. Lennox for decorations in the Municipal Buildings, Toronto (March 27).
- 1896 Winter in Spain.
 Spring in Paris for two months study at Académie Julian.
 First mural in the Charles Russell House, Onteora.
 President of the O.S.A. (until 1902).
- 1897 (March 19) Representation of the Society of Mural Decorators to the mayor of Toronto for the decoration of the Council Chamber, Toronto City Hall and Court House.
 (May 21) First meeting of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art.
 (December) Reid offers to execute the City Hall entrance murals free of charge.
- 1899 (May 16) Official opening of the City Hall murals.
- 1900 Secretary of the Art Museum of Toronto, inaugurated in 1900.
 (May 7) Proposal to continue decorations in Toronto Municipal Buildings.
- 1901 Canadian representative on the Jury of Awards at the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo, N.Y. where Reid exhibits two decorative panels: Summer and Music.
 Chairman of the staff of Central Ontario School of Art and Design.
 Begins murals for the library of B.E. Walker, Toronto.
- 1902 Vice-President of the Society of Arts and Crafts, Toronto (until 1909).
 Plan submitted by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art for the decoration of the Ontario Parliament Buildings.
 Trip to England, takes a studio in London.
 Glasgow - sees mural decorations by members of the Glasgow Group of Painters.
 Proposal for murals in the King Edward Hotel, Toronto, by the mural artists.

- 1903 Mural, The Homeric Method, for Queen's University, Kingston.
- 1904 (April) Reid submits memorial to Wilfrid Laurier for decoration of Ottawa Parliament Buildings.
Wins bronze medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, St. Louis.
- 1905 Second plan for decoration of Ontario Parliament Buildings, Toronto, submitted.
(June) Report by Reid on plans for decoration in Ottawa Parliament Buildings.
- 1906 President of the R.C.A. (until 1909).
- 1907 Trip to Quebec to arrange exhibition of paintings for Toronto from Laval University collection.
- 1908 Moves into Wychwood Park house Toronto, designed by Reid.
On Executive of Arts and Letters Club, Toronto.
- 1910 Summer in Europe: Glasgow, London, Belgium, Holland.
- 1912 Ontario College of Art is incorporated; Reid becomes the first principal of the college.
- 1917 Brief to R.C.A. on mural painting (December).
- 1918 Ave Canada, study for mural decoration for Ottawa Parliament Buildings.
Commission by Imperial War Record Board to execute war paintings.
- 1919 Begins plans for the design of new Ontario College of Art building.
Humberside Public School mural decoration, Toronto.
- 1920 Acts as Chief Architect overseeing the building operations of the new O.C.A. building (officially opened in 1921).
- 1921 (October 4) Death of Mary Hiester Reid.
- 1922 Memorial exhibition of the work of Mary H. Reid.
Mural in the Arts and Letters Club installed.
(December) Marries Mary Wrinch.
- 1924 (April) Travels to Europe, U.S.A., and Canada to inspect art schools and to draw up a report of his findings.
Mural for the Weston Town Hall, Weston, Ontario.
- 1925 Wins R.C.A. competition for murals for Earls court Public Library, Toronto (completed 1926).
Trip to Northern Ontario.

1926. Trip to Quebec province.
- 1928 Begins designs for Jarvis Collegiate Murals, Toronto (completed 1930).
- 1929 Touches up and cleans the Toronto Municipal Building murals Retires from O.C.A. in May.
- 1933 Commences murals for the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Work continues until 1938.
- 1942 Turns over 459 of his paintings to the Ontario Department of Education.
- 1947 (August 23) Death of Reid in Toronto.
- 1948 Memorial Exhibition of Reid's work at the Art Gallery of Toronto under the auspices of the O.S.A.

APPENDIX 4

Catalogue of Existing Preliminary Drawings and SketchesBy George Reid for the Mural Decorations in theToronto Municipal Buildings

The entries are arranged in approximate chronological order.

Exterior Entrance to the Council Chamber:

1. Study for Science for right side of entrance (c.1895-1896)
pencil on paper
16.1 x 25.4 cm

In this study the words, "GEOLOGY, BIOLOGY, CHEMISTRY, HISTORY" were included above the scene.

A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 80.


2. Sketch for Science, 1896-1897 (fig. 48)
oil on cotton
71.2 x 99 cm
signed lower right: G.A. REID 1896-7
Bibliography: G. Reid, "Mural Dedoration," Canadian Architect and Builder, January 1898, p. 13.
Exhibitions: To Found a National Gallery: The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts 1880-1913, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1980.

A photograph of a sketch for Science appears in Scrapbook A, p. 200 (fig. 13) together with a photograph of Wylie Grier's sketch for Art (fig. 15) for left side of entrance to Council Chamber, Scrapbook A, p. 201. Also included in the Scrapbook A, p. 200 is a photograph of the sketches for Industry, Integrity, Intelligence (fig. 17) intended for the Council Chamber interior.

London Regional Art Gallery

Entrance Hall, first floor:

3. Preparatory Drawing of Three Groups of Figures for west mural (c.1898) (fig. 62)
pencil on paper
11.6 x 24.3 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 243.

4. Preparatory Drawing of Groups of Figures for west mural (c.1898) (fig. 63)
pencil on paper
11.4 x 23.2 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 242.
5. Preparatory Drawing of Figures (c.1898)
pencil on paper
12.6 x 16.8 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 244.
6. Study of Four Men Around a Pot (c.1898) (fig. 64)
pencil on paper
20.4 x 23 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 245.
7. Preparatory Drawing of Oxen and Cart (c.1898)
pencil on paper
13.4 x 20.3 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 245.
8. Study of Three Men for Staking a Pioneer Farm (c.1898)
(fig. 44)
pencil on paper
20.3 x 26.7 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 244.
9. Preparatory Drawing of Men for Staking a Pioneer Farm (c.1898)
pencil on paper
20.1 x 25.4 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 243.
10. Preparatory Drawing of Figure Groupings for Arrival of the Pioneers plus four individual studies of men (c.1898)
pencil on paper
12.7 x 16.5 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 246.
11. Study for Kneeling Man in Staking a Pioneer Farm (c.1898)
crayon on paper
14 x 11 cm
This study is similar to the man illustrated in fig. 58.
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 248.
12. Study for Sitting and Standing Figures in Staking A Pioneer Farm (c.1898-1899) (fig. 57)
pencil and charcoal on paper
20.2 x 17.2 cm
In the final version, Reid lowered the left arm of the man standing beside the tree. 
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 246.

13. Study of Kneeling Man for Staking a Pioneer Farm (c.1898-1899) (fig. 58)
pencil and charcoal on paper
14.7 x 17.4 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 247.
14. Study of Standing Man with Backpack for Staking in Pioneer Farm (c.1898-1899) (fig. 59)
pencil and charcoal on paper
22.9 x 19.3 cm
This same figure study is pinned to Reid's easel, fig. 20.
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 247.
15. Study of Seated Figure with Axe for Staking a Pioneer Farm (c.1898-1899) (fig. 60)
charcoal on paper
23.7 x 17.1 cm
This same figure study is pinned to Reid's easel, fig. 20.
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 248.
16. Study for Standing and Seated Figures for Staking a Pioneer Farm (c.1898-1899) (fig. 61)
pencil on paper
24.4 x 17.3 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook, p. 249.
17. Study for Arrival of the Pioneers (squared off) (c.1898-1899)
pencil on paper
20.5 x 24.5 cm
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 242.
18. Sketch for Arrival of the Pioneers, east mural and spandrel figures, Discovery and Fame (c.1898-1899) (fig. 30)
oil on cardboard
17.7 x 104.1 cm
Exhibitions: National Gallery of Canada, 1980
London Regional Art Gallery
19. Sketch for Staking a Pioneer Farm, west mural, and spandrel figures Adventure and Fortune (c.1898-1899) (fig. 31)
oil on cardboard
17.7 x 104.1 cm
Exhibitions: National Gallery of Canada, 1980
London Regional Art Gallery.

Proposal for Continuation of Panels for Entrance Hall:

20. Sketch for South Wall and Entrance (c.1929-1942)
(fig. 27)
coloured pencil and collage on cardboard
12.7 x 121.9 cm
London Regional Art Gallery
21. Drawing for Elevations of North and South Walls of
Entrance Hall (c.1929-1942) (fig. 28)
ink on paper
18.7 x 47 cm
Inscription: "Plan and Elevations of the City Hall
Toronto drawn by G.A. Reid for the purpose of
Continuing his decorations begun in 1900"

McCord Museum, Montreal
22. Six sketches (3 scenes each) for panels in Entrance
Hall (c.1929-1942)
oil on canvas
17.7 x 104.1 cm
Exhibitions: National Gallery of Canada, 1980

London Regional Art Gallery
- (fig. 33) Sketches of Missionary and Indian Groups
for north-west wall
- (fig. 35) Sketches of Pioneer Scouts for west wall
- (fig. 37) Sketches of Indians and Scouts for south-
west wall
- (fig. 39) Sketches of Women and Loggers for north-
east wall
- (fig. 41) Sketches of Pioneers Building, Sowing and
Ploughing for east wall
- (fig. 43) Sketches of Pioneers Building Log Houses
for south-east wall
23. Study of Man Sowing for panel (fig. 41, scene B), 1934
crayon on paper
12 x 17 cm
signed "G. Reid 1934"
A.G.O., Reid Scrapbook A, p. 12

In the scrapbook Reid included a number of drawings of rural activities, such as, mowing, haying, and maple sugaring, all dated 1934. The above study is the only one which relates directly to the colour sketches for the continuation of the City Hall series.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

¹ Art Gallery of Ontario, 100 Years: Evolution of The Ontario College of Art, ex. cat. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1976.) Reid resigned as principal of O.C.A. in 1929.

² Margaret L. Fairbairn, "The Art of George A. Reid," Canadian Magazine 22 (November 1903). She claims that at the fair:

"The two pictures which drew the greatest number of spectators, which seemed to make the strongest appeal to the average individual were Hovenden's "Breaking Home Ties" and G.A. Reid's "Foreclosure of the Mortgage." Considering the cosmopolitan nature of the exhibition this is saying a great deal. The deduction is not so much that either artist was in the front rank of the world's artists, as that he reached the larger audience with a message that touched the heart and moved the feelings; a message, too, that in its technical expression gave satisfaction." (pp. 4-5).

Fairbairn's statement reveals precisely why Reid's genre work was so popular at the time. The scenes from daily life were easy to understand and had great sentimental appeal.

³ H. Jones and E. Dyonnet, "History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts," 1934, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Library, Montreal, pp. 6, 13. (Typescript).

⁴ Muriel M. Miner, G.A. Reid: Canadian Artist (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946), p. 213, dates Harvest 1892.

⁵ A photograph of Rest appears in George Reid's Scrapbook A, p. 193. In the later years of his life, George Reid compiled two scrapbooks filled with oil and watercolour sketches, pencil and charcoal drawings, photographs, correspondence, reproductions, exhibition catalogues, magazine and newspaper clippings, and memorabilia. These two scrapbooks which contain invaluable information are in the

collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario library, Toronto, Ontario. One scrapbook of 500 pages, measuring 46.5 cm x 31.5 cm x 15 cm I shall refer to as Scrapbook A to distinguish it from the second, Scrapbook B, 130 pages, 51.3 cm x 38.5 cm x 3 cm, which contains plans, sketches, and photographs dealing with Reid's architecture and furniture designs.

⁶ Lynn C. Doyle, "Art," Toronto Saturday Night 9
(May 23, 1896): 9.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

The Development of Reid's Interest in Mural Painting

¹ Emile Vedel, "The Works of Benjamin Constant, Magazine of Art, 23 (1899): 471.

² Constant executed La Ville de Paris conviant le monde à ses fêtes in the Salle des Fêtes. René Weiss and Nicolas Bourgeois, L'Hôtel de Ville de Paris (Grenoble: B, Arthaud, 1931), pp. 71 and 109.

³ "La décoration picturale de l'Hôtel de Ville," Le Rappel, 1899, in Scrapbook A, p. 138.

⁴ G.A. Reid, "Note on Mural Painting in Canada, prepared for the information of the Council of the Royal Canadian Academy," December 1917, Scrapbook A, p. 347. (Type script)

⁵ H.C. White and C.A. White, Canvases and Careers (New York, London: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), pp. 16-17.

⁶ On January 18, 1896 the Reids sailed from New York for Gibraltar and spent the winter in Spain. Then they continued on to Paris for April and May where they spent "many hours studying the Chavannes decorations in the Panthéon, Sorbonne, and l'Hôtel de ville." Muriel Miller Miner, G.A. Reid, p. 88.

⁷ The fresco process proved a failure, for the paintings disintegrated on account of climatic and technical problems. A. Lys Baldry, Modern Mural Decoration (London: George Newnes Ltd., 1902), p. 20.

⁸ The method of spirit fresco, also called the "Gambier Parry" process after its inventor, is explained in Leonée and Richard Ormond's book, Lord Leighton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 56:

"Leighton painted with a medium composed of artist's copal, oil of spike, or spike lavender, gum elemi and pure white wax, using spirits of turpentine as a vehicle. The plaster wall was soaked in the medium and allowed to dry thoroughly. When the painting began, oil of spike was used freely in the dipper to open up the ground so that the colours soaked into and fused with the wall. Unlike traditional fresco methods, the work could be continually retouched, and a wide range of colours was available."

⁹ L. and R. Ormond, p. 124.

¹⁰ Brown was originally hired to do six murals, while Frederick Shields was to do the other six. As it turned out Brown undertook the whole commission. A discussion of the murals may be found in Ford M. Hueffer, Ford Madox Brown: A Record of His Life and Work (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1896).

¹¹ Templar, "Art Notes," the Week 7 (April 25, 1890): 331.

¹² Ford Madox Brown describes the method of "toile marouflée" in his article "Of Mural Painting," published in Arts and Crafts Essays Reprinted by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (1893); reprinted, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903), pp. 153-154:

"Since beginning the series (the Manchester murals), however, a fresh change has come over the fortunes of mural art in the fact that, in France..., the mural painters have now taken to painting on canvas, which is afterwards cemented, or what the French call "marouflée," (sic) on to the wall. White-lead and oil, with a very small admixture of rosin melted in oil, are the ingredients used. It is laid on cold and plentifully on the wall and on the back of the picture, and the painting pressed down with a cloth or handkerchief: nothing further being required, saving to guard the edges of the canvas from curling up before the white-lead had had time to harden. The advantage of this process of cementing lies in the fact that with each succeeding year it must become harder and more like stone in its consistency."

This method was used by George Reid.

¹³ Reid, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Architect and Builder 11 (January 1898): 14.

14 The Arts Council of Great Britain, Burne-Jones: The Paintings, Graphic and Decorative Work of Sir Edward Burne-Jones 1833-1898, ex. cat. (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1975), p. 42.

15 "W.A.A. Hears About Murals," Peterborough Examiner, October 24, 1936, in Scrapbook A, p. 412. A copy of Reid's lecture to the Lyceum Club and Women's Art Association in 1936 has not been traced.

16 William Morris repeats these ideas over and over in his lectures and writings, such as "The Lesser Art," 1877, published in Asa Briggs, ed., William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs (1962: reprint ed., Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1973), or in "The Aims of Art," 1886, in May Morris ed., William Morris: Collected Works, 24 vols. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), 23: 81.

17 The first exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society devoted to reform in the applied arts took place on November 1888. Other exhibitions were held in 1889 and 1890 and afterwards more sporadically. Gillian Naylor refers to one in 1896 in The Arts and Crafts Movement (London: Studio Vista, 1971; reprinted, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), p. 100.

18 George Reid, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Architect and Builder 10 (January 1898): 14.

19 George Reid, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Magazine 10 (April 1898): 503.

20 Ibid., p. 501.

21 Address by Reid upon his retirement from the Ontario College of Art, May 13, 1929, Scrapbook A, p. 279. (Typescript).

22 According to the Onteora church records, Reid began to receive payment as architect of the church in October 1894. In the column "Art Notes" in Toronto Saturday Night of May 25, 1895, Lynn C. Doyle mentions that the church was erected in the autumn of 1894 and finished in 1895 (p. 9). She does not refer to the murals. In the Reid Scrapbook B, p. 196, Reid notes in his own hand beside an illustration of the church: "built in 1895 with decoration repainted in 1896 when church was enlarged." Finally in 1910 the chancel was enlarged and transepts were added, according to a plaque in Onteora Memorial Church.

23 The present murals in the church are actually dated 1910 and 1911. It appears that Reid repainted the front panels on either side of the chancel in 1910 when the church was enlarged. The present front murals differ in details from those shown in a photograph of the interior of the church published in the Studio in April 1900, p. 209 and in the Canadian Magazine in November 1903, p. 8. The back murals above the altar do not appear in either photograph, and therefore they must have been first painted in 1911.

24 Art Gallery of Ontario, 100 Years, p. 16. The plans and elevations for the Ontario College of Art and for the Wychwood Park house are included in Reid's Scrapbook B, pp. 68-71 and p. 49 respectively.

25 The Arts and Crafts Society of Canada, exhibition catalogue, Toronto, 1904, unpaginated.

26 Idem, exhibition catalogue, Toronto, 1905, cat. no. 180.

27 See G. Naylor, Figs. 18 and 19.

28 E. Burne-Jones painted decorations on his own piano in 1860 and for a commission in 1879-80. Arts Council of Great Britain, Burne-Jones ex. cat., p. 71.

One of the foremost American mural painters of Reid's time, Edwin H. Blashfield, also decorated a piano belonging to Mrs. George C. Drexel with the aim of treating functional objects in an artistic way, a goal of the British Arts and Crafts revival. ("Field of Art: A Decorated Piano," Scribner's Magazine 20 (October 1896): 517-520). For more on Blashfield's influence on Reid, see pp. 20-22 of this text.

29 G.A. Reid, "Applied Art," Canadian Architect and Builder 13 (March 1900): 55. Reid exhibited his own piano with painted panels in this exhibition, cat. no. 120. This is presumably the same one he entered in the later Arts and Crafts Society exhibition of 1904.

30 Ibid., p. 55.

31 Under Mavor as editor, volume 2 of the Scottish Art Review, for example, contained articles on "sgraffito" wall decoration (September 1889), the Arts and Crafts annual exhibition (November 1889), and a feature entitled "Municipal Encouragement of Art in Paris," by C. Nicholson (December 1889), concerning the Hôtel de Ville decorations in Paris.

32 In Mavor's autobiography entitled, My Windows on the Street of the World, 2 vols. (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1923), one chapter is devoted to William Morris.

33 James Mavor was a member of the Advisory Board of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art and was at its first meeting on May 21, 1897 (Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Minute Book, Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Public Library, Toronto, p. 1). The Guild is discussed on pp. 34-35. Mavor wrote on the subject of mural painting in a pamphlet entitled, Note on the Objects of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art and on the Exhibition of Prints and Mural Paintings with condensed catalogue (Toronto: Roswell and Hutchison, 1898).

34 Within the Guild, Mavor and Reid together with Wyly Grier made up the committee which organized the Copley Print Exhibition of American murals sponsored by the Guild in 1898. (Guild Minute Book, minutes of meeting January 14, 1898, p. 14). As editor of a commemorative book on the Victorian Era Ball, Mavor had Reid execute a number of illustrations for the book published by Roswell and Hutchison in 1898. The two men served on a Guild committee to examine the idea of murals for the Ontario Legislative Building. (Guild Minute Book, January 16, 1900, p. 41). In 1901, Reid was acting as Secretary of the Provisional Council of the Toronto Art Museum and Mavor was a member of that Council (Reid to Jas. Smith, R.C.A., February 4, 1901, Royal Canadian Academy Correspondence, 1901-13, Public Archives, Ottawa.)

35 Mavor wrote in his Notes on the Appreciation of Art and on Art in Ontario with Remarks on the Exhibition at the O.S.A. (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1898), p. 10, that Canada had no

"genre painter of any high rank, the genre pictures of Mr. G.A. Reid though his most popular, being by no means his best work... Mr. Reid excels in delicate gradations of tone and in the management of subdued light."

36 Gordon Hendricks, The Life and Works of Thomas Eakins (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1974).

37 Fairfield Porter, Thomas Eakins (New York: George Braziller, 1959) pp. 16 and 19.

38 Martha J. Hoppin, William Morris Hunt: A Memorial Exhibition, ex. cat. (Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), p. 18.

39 Pauline King, American Mural Painting (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1902) chapter IV, "The Columbian Exposition".

40 Ibid., chapter V, "The Boston Public Library."

41 F.E.G., "Art and Artists," Toronto Saturday Night 6 (May 20, 1893): 14: "Mr. and Mrs. Reid have gone to the World's Fair."

42 Scribner's Magazine in its regular column "The Field of Art" followed American developments in mural painting with comments and criticisms. Russell Sturgis wrote articles for Scribner's and for the Architectural Record on the Boston and Washington murals as well as on mural painting in other cities. ("The New Library of Congress," Architectural Record 7 (Jan-Mar. 1898): 295. "Mural Painting in American Cities," Scribner's Magazine 25 (Jan.-June 1899): 125-128. "Boston Public Library: The South End of Sargent Hall," Architectural Record, (May 1904), pp. 423-430).

Harper's Weekly ran a series focussing on the decorations by individual artists in the Library of Congress. Written by Royal Cortissoz, they ran from December 28, 1895 to October 17, 1896.

The Canadian art reviewers in Toronto Saturday Night mentioned the Library of Congress murals in the January 30, 1897 column by Doyle, "Art" (p. 9), and John Singer Sargent's Boston mural in April 16, 1898 column, "Studio and Gallery", by Jean Grant (p. 9).

43 Reid, "Mural Decoration," p. 508.

44 [R. Sturgis], "The Field of Art: The Decorations for the Library of Congress," Scribner's Magazine 20 (August 1896): 257.

45 Herbert Small, comp., Handbook of the New Library of Congress (Boston: Curtis & Cameron, 1901; reprint ed. Washington, C.D.: Library of Congress Professional Association, 1977), overleaf of title page.

46 Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Minute Book, March 24, 1898, p. 15.

47 Touche, Niven and Co., public accountants, to A.W. Watson, September 25, 1922, concerning a new insurance policy for the church, Onteora Memorial Church records Onteora, New York. The letter states that the old insurance policy (no date given) was originally drawn up in the names of George Reid and Carroll Beckwith among others. The first services were held in the church in July 1897 (church records). It is possible that the early insurance policy dates from this time.

- 48 L. Doyle, May 25, 1895, p. 9.
- 49 R. Sturgis, "Mural Painting in American Cities," p. 128.
- 50 Reid, Scrapbook A, p. 194. Other artists exhibiting with Reid and the Sewells were W. Hamilton Gibson, Herbert A. Olivier, and Elihu Vedder (see p. 19). Reid exhibited twenty-eight works, mostly genre paintings and one study for a mural decoration entitled Rest.
- 51 R. Sturgis, "Mural Painting in American Cities," p. 128, and James F. Carr, comp., Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors, and Engravers (New York: James Carr, 1965), p. 327.
- 52 Reid, Scrapbook A, p. 379. Address by Reid upon his retirement from the Ontario College of Art, May 13, 1929, (typescript 13 pages), p. 9.
- 53 Herbert Small, pp. 34-35.
- 54 Miner, p. 51.
- 55 Sturgis, "Mural Painting in American Cities," p. 128.
- 56 Perceptions and Evocations: The Art of Elihu Vedder, ex. cat., (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1979).
- 57 See footnote 50. Among Vedder's contributions to the exhibition were the finished sketches for the ceiling decoration in the dining-room of C.P. Huntingdon's house in New York, Abundance All the Days of the Week, and also the large panel, The Art Idea, for the Walker Art Building, Bowdoin College, Maine.
- 58 Perceptions and Evocations, p. 216. Also see Richard V. West, The Walker Art Building Murals (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1972).
- 59 Leonard N. Amico, The Mural Decorations of Edwin Howland Blashfield (1848-1936), ex. cat. (Williamstown, Mass.: The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1978).
- 60 Reid, retirement address 1929, p. 9. Scrapbook A, p. 379.

61 In the Edwin Blashfield papers at the New York Historical Society, New York, N.Y., there is no record of correspondence with Reid, nor any mention of him.

62 Edwin H. Blashfield, Mural Painting in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), p. 7.

63 Ibid., p. 24.

64 Ibid., p. 179.

65 Ibid., p. 97.

66 Ibid., p. 66.

67 General file, Edwin H. Blashfield papers, New York Historical Society Archives, New York.

68 Kenyon Cox, "Puvis de Chavannes," Century Magazine, 51 (February 1896): 559.

69 Ibid., p. 569.

70 Quoted in [Gustav Stickley] "Mural Painting - An Art for the People and A Record of the Nation's Development," Craftsman, 10 (April 1906): 60. Shean was a director of the National Society of Mural Painters in the U.S. in 1895. (The Mural Painters: A National Society, New York: National Society of Mural Painters, 1915, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., microfilm, D248).

71 Edwin H. Blashfield, "Mural Painting in America," Scribner's Magazine 54 (Sept. 1913): 353.

72 Angelo Pienovi, a Genoese painter was brought to Montreal from New York around 1828 to paint the column and ceiling decorations in Notre-Dame church. (Franklin Toker, The Church of Notre-Dame, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970, p. 49). A number of German artists were given commissions for church decorations. William Lamprecht (1838-flg. 1906) from Munich was brought from the U.S. to decorate the church at Saint-Romuald, Que. (Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, p. 187). Another German, Mr. Heldt (active 1864) decorated a number of chapels in Montreal (Harper, p. 154), and Ernest Mueller, (active 1876-96) probably also German, was responsible for the decorations in the Church of Gesù, Montreal c.1876 (Harper, p. 233). Ozias

Leduc first learned church decoration from Luigi Cappello, an Italian active in Montreal from 1874 until 1892. (Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc, ex. cat., Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974, pp. 97-98).

73 Raymond Vézina, Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916): Introduction à l'étude de son art (Ottawa: Editions Elysée, 1976). See chapter II, "La décoration murale et l'ingrisme."

74 See "List of churches decorated by Ozias Leduc," compiled by Sylvia Antoniou in Ozias Leduc: The Draughtsman, exhibition catalogue, (Montreal: Sir George Williams Art Galleries, Concordia University, 1978), Appendix A, pp. 149-153.

75 François Laurin, "Joseph Saint-Charles 1868-1956," RACAR 2 (1975): 58.

76 The history of this commission which included the artists, Eugène Hamel, M.A. Suzor-Coté, Henri Beau, and Charles Huot is traced in Robert Derome's article, "Charles Huot et la peinture d'histoire au Palais Législatif de Québec (1883-1930)," Bulletin, no. 27 (Ottawa: Galerie nationale du Canada, 1976).

77 Note in the Quebec Telegraph, April 5, 1907, in the T.R. Lee Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario Library archives, Toronto, Ontario.

78 Moncrieff Williamson, Robert Harris (1849-1919), ex. cat. (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1973), pp. 30, 33, 135.

79 George Reid, Address before a meeting of the Ontario Society of Artists, March 25, 1897, O.S.A. Minute Book, p. 233, Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

80 Reid, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Architect and Builder (January 1898), p. 15.

81 Reid, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Magazine (April 1898), p. 506.

82 George Reid to Vincent Massey, President of the Arts and Letters Club, Toronto, December 2, 1920, Scrapbook A, p. 362.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

The Decoration of the Toronto Municipal Buildings

¹ "The New Municipal Buildings, Toronto," Canadian Architect and Builder 10 (December 1897): 230.

² See footnote 4¹, chapter I.

³ G. Reid, W. Cruikshank, and W. Grier to E.J. Lennox, Toronto, March 27, 1895, enclosed typescript of 3 pages, Scrapbook A, p. 99.

⁴ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," Toronto Saturday Night 11 (January 8, 1898): 9.

⁵ The constitution, by-laws, and code governing competitions of the National Society of Mural Painters, together with a list of members and past and present officers were published in a brochure entitled The Mural Painters, A National Society, New York, 1915, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., microfilm D248.

⁶ The first president of the American Society was John LaFarge and Edwin Blashfield assumed the responsibility from 1909 to 1914. (Ibid., unpaginated.)

⁷ Reid et al. to Lennox, March 27, 1895.

⁸ Richard B  bout, ed., The Open Gate: Toronto Union Station (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, Ltd., 1972), p. 70.

⁹ Miner, p. 78.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹ B  bout, pp. 70-71.

12 Reid et al. to Lennox, March 27, 1895, enclosed typescript, Scrapbook A, p. 199.

13 Telegram (Toronto), January 31, 1895 and The Globe (Toronto), February 1, 1895, Scrapbook A, p. 199. The clipping, do not carry titles.

14 Toronto Saturday Night, February 5, 1895, clipping in Scrapbook A, p. 199.

15 The Mail and Empire, February 1, 1895, clipping in Scrapbook A, p. 199.

16 Reid et al. to Lennox, Scrapbook A, p. 199.

17 Proposition from Reid on behalf of the Society of Mural Decorators to the Mayor of Toronto, March 19, 1897, 1897 Board of Control Communications #104, Records and Archives Division, Department of the City Clerk, Toronto City Hall, Toronto, p. 3:

"Believing that the concurrence of the Architect would be desirable to the successful carrying out of this work, they (The Society of Mural Decorators) have consulted him from time to time with regard to the slight modifications of his plans which they deemed necessary; the principal of which being the raising of the dado in the Council Chamber from 7 to 12 feet.

These alterations have met with the approval of the Architect to whom the Society is indebted for his generous promotion of the scheme."

18 Reid et al. to Lennox, enclosed typescript Scrapbook A, p. 199.

19 Ibid.

20 L. Doyle, "Art Notes," Toronto Saturday Night 8 (April 27, 1895): 9. The mural decorations are not listed under a separate heading in the R.C.A. catalogue for 1895.

21 Idem, Toronto Saturday Night 9 (December 7, 1895):9.

²² *Idem.*, May 23, 1896, p. 9; October 17, 1896, p. 9; November 7, 1896, p. 9. From 1895 to 1897 Rex Stovel was one of Reid's pupils and had a studio next to Reid's in the Arcade Building in Toronto. (Miner, pp. 68-69).

²³ Proposition from Reid to Mayor, March 19, 1897, pp. 2-3.

²⁴ Toronto Guild of Civic Art, minutes of meeting May 21, 1897, T.G.C.A. Minute Book, Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Public Library, p. 1. The original members of the Guild were: G.W. Allan, James Bain Jr., Allan Cassels, Frank Darling, S.H. James, E.F.B. Johnston, W.A. Langton, James Mavor, Bernard McEvoy, Lucius O'Brien, E.B. Osler, Charles E. Porteous, George Reid, and B. Edmund Walker who was chosen President of the Guild. At the first meeting in May, seven new members were accepted: James Loudon, E. Wylly Grier, F. Challener, G.A. Howell, A.F. Wickson, W. Cruikshank, and A.D. Patterson.

The President of the Guild, Byron Edmund Walker was a banker who became President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. Thus he was active in both the financial and artistic communities of Toronto. An art collector himself, he helped to establish the Toronto Art Museum and the Royal Ontario Museum. Walker and Reid worked together on a number of projects, one of them being the Guild of Civic Art. Walker was a staunch supporter of Reid's plans for mural decorations, and in 1902 he commissioned Reid to paint a mural for his own library. See the exhibition catalogue by Katharine A. Jordan, Sir Edmund Walker: Print Collector (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975), and G.P. de T. Glazebrook, Sir Edmund Walker (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), also the Sir Edmund Walker Papers, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Room, Robarts Library, University of Toronto.

²⁵ T.G.C.A. Minute Book, p. 1.

²⁶ Proposition, Reid to Mayor, March 19, 1897, p. 3. The discrepancy in the dates of the March proposition and the first meeting of the Guild in May 1897 suggest that the Guild had organized as a group before the Society's meeting with the Mayor. The April 1897 issue of the Canadian Architect and Builder (p. 67) states that the Guild "has been incorporated by the Ontario Government with a capital stock of \$2,000."

²⁷ Reid to Mayor, p. 4.

²⁸ The artists themselves noted: "Art and Science are the subjects of the two entrance panels, and these are treated classically on account of the nature of the theme." Proposition, Reid to Mayor, p. 5.

29 Photographs of these two sketches appear in Scrapbook A, pp. 200-201. The original sketch for Science by Reid, oil on light cotton, measuring 30" x 40", signed and dated 1896-97, is in the collection of the London Regional Art Gallery, London, Ontario.

30 Reid et al. to Lennox, March 25, 1895, refers to "color sketches" in preparation. These sketches were last recorded in the possession of Frederick S. Challener, according to an article in the Globe and Mail, July 7, 1956, "Old Sketches for City Hall Found." Mrs. G.A. Reid had discovered the mural designs in the attic of her house after her husband's death, and she gave them to Challener who died in 1959. As yet I have not been able to find them in any collection. Photographs of the sketches and of a rough drawing of the interior of the Council Chamber as it would have looked with the murals in place appear in the article "Mural Decoration" by George Reid in the Canadian Magazine April 1898, pp. 502-503.

31 "Old Sketches for City Hall Found," Globe and Mail (Toronto), July 7 1956. (Challener artist file, National Gallery of Canada library, Ottawa).

32 Proposition, Reid to Mayor, March 19, 1897, p. 5.

33 "Artists to the Front," Globe, March 20, 1897, clipping in Sir Edmund Walker Papers, Box 40.

34 Ontario Society of Artists, Minutes of meeting, March 25, 1897, O.S.A. Minute Book for May 1890 - December 1900, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, pp. 232-235.

35 "Old Sketches", 1956. According to Challener, Lennox claimed that there was not enough money to cover the cost of murals.

36 Ibid.

37 G. Reid (on behalf of R.C.A. Committee) to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Ottawa, April 1904. Gustav Hahn is listed among the artists proposing murals for the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. (Sir Edmund Walker Papers).

38 "A Generous Artist - Mr. G.A. Reid's Christmas Gift to the Citizens," newspaper clipping in Scrapbook A, p. 234. The title and date of the newspaper have been cut off, but it must date December 1897. See note 39.

39 Sgd. John Blevins, City Clerk, to Reid Dec. 16, 1897, 1899 Board of Control Communications, #110, Records and Archives Division, Toronto City Hall.

40 Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Minutes January 14, 1898, p. 13. The committee consisted of B.E. Walker, J. Mavor, F. Darling, L. O'Brien, W. Grier, and Rev. Prof. Clark.

41 Idem., Minutes December 28, 1898, pp. 23-25.

42 Later in 1914 Reid helped to prepare a pamphlet published by the Ontario Department of Education "to aid the teacher by offering suggestions for the selection and purchase of pictures and casts for study and decoration, for the colouring of the walls and ceiling of schools, for the proper framing and hanging of pictures, and for the general decorative treatment of the interiors of school buildings." List of Reproductions of Works of Art: (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, Educational Pamphlets, no. 5, 1914), p. 1. (Copy located in Scrapbook A, p. 335).

43 The vast studio in the photograph was probably the one located in the tower of the Arcade Building on Yonge Street where Reid lived from 1889 to 1900. Muriel Miner writes about the studio which was 18 by 20 feet in size and two stories high: "Because of its heavy brick walls, it did not look unlike the interior of a stone barn." (pp. 54-55).

44 This Study for Mural Decoration, Entrance Hall, New City Buildings, Toronto was exhibited by Reid in the Royal Canadian Academy annual exhibition of 1898 listed as a water-colour. The sketch is also reproduced in the Canadian Architect and Builder 11 (April 1898) in an article on the "Toronto Guild of Civic Art," p. 77 and as an illustration in "Proposed Decorations for the New City Hall Toronto" Toronto Saturday Night 11 (March 19, 1898): 1. The present whereabouts of this study is unknown.

45 See footnote 12, chapter 1.

46 B.E. Walker to Mayor Shaw of Toronto March 11, 1899, Records and Archives Division, Toronto City Hall.

47 Handwritten note from Reid, undated, but headed "City Hall, Monday afternoon," Records and Archives Division, Toronto City Hall. From Reid's references in the note to Walker's March 11th letter, the artist's letter must have been written a few days later.

⁴⁸ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," Toronto Saturday Night 12 (April 29, 1899): 9.

⁴⁹ Council Minutes 1899, Appendix C, no. 13, p. 68. Records and Archives Division, Toronto City Hall.

⁵⁰ In 1929 Reid cleaned and retouched the murals. (City Clerk to Reid, May 7, 1892, thanking the artist for his offer to clean the murals, Scrapbook A, p. 383). Reid painted over the background of the spandrels which according to Muriel Miner were a "yellowish ochre" (p. 168) and are now gold. However, in the colour study for the entrance hall decorations exhibited at the R.C.A. in March 1898, the background appeared a "dull gold." (Jean Grant, "The Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition No. 2," Toronto Saturday Night 11 (March 19, 1898): 9.).

⁵¹ This title of the east mural is recorded in Miner, p. 93.

⁵² The name York was changed to Toronto when the city was incorporated in 1834.

⁵³ Miner, p. 93.

⁵⁴ Ontario Historical Society, Annual Meeting February 15, 1899, Scrapbook of the O.H.S. 1897-1927, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, unpaginated. The committee comprised Mr. W.H. Doel, David Boyle, Mr. Houston, Miss M.A. Fitzgibbon, Mrs. Calder of Hamilton and a representative of the York Pioneer and Historical Society, Toronto.

⁵⁵ For an account of the role played in Ontario's history by each person listed around the murals, see Appendix 1.

⁵⁶ Although there is no documentation to prove that Reid definitely used a wax medium in the City Hall murals, it may be concluded that he did by his references to that technique in his article on "Mural Decoration" in the Canadian Architect and Builder, January 1898, where he writes, "The method employed in modern decoration is almost entirely that of oil painting on canvas, with a wax medium which gives that flat surface seen in the frescoes of old masters." (p. 14) Also in a "Report of work done in connection with the proposed decorative scheme for the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, made for the information of the artists interested," prepared by Reid, June 12, 1905, he states in the section regarding "Methods of Execution of Decoration" page 4: "The medium to be oil colour with a wax mixture for the purpose of securing a matt surface." (Sir Edmund Walker papers, Box 40).

57 "Mural Decorations in the New Municipal Buildings, Toronto," Canadian Architect and Builder, May 1899, p. 98.

58 "Mr. Reid's Mural Decoration," Canadian Architect and Builder, 12 (June 1899): 112.

59 "Mr. Reid's Mural Paintings," Canadian Architect and Builder 12 (July 1899): 134.

60 Jean Grant, "The Mural Decoration in the New City Hall," Toronto Saturday Night 12 (May 13, 1899): 9.

61 Reid Scrapbook A, p. 241.

62 Miner, p. 75.

63 Grant, "Mural Decoration," p. 9.

64 Toronto Guild of Civic Art, minutes for October 12, 1899, pp. 36-37.

65 Idem., January 16, 1900, p. 43.

66 Idem., December 11, 1900, p. 47.

67 "Decorating Toronto City Hall," Canadian Architect and Builder 13 (May 1900): 89.

68 Ibid.

69 These sketches are in the collection of the London Regional Art Gallery, London, Ontario.

70 Ibid.

71 Undated drawing, ink on paper, McCord Museum, Montreal.

72 "Decorating Toronto City Hall," p. 88.

73 Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Minutes, February 11, 1901, p. 57.

74 Toronto Guild of Civic Art, "The Committee of the Guild of Civic Art Respectfully Desires to Present the following Report Regarding the Initial Part of the Proposed scheme of Decóration for the Legislative Building," (typescript) Sir Edmund Walker papers, Box 40. This undated report was an update of an earlier outline. Printed report, the Guild Minutes of November 29, 1905, p. 106.

75 Reid, "Note On Mural Painting in Canada," 1917 (typescript), Scrapbook A, p. 347.

76 Guild Minutes, September 28, 1906, p. 121. The committee consisted of: G.A. Howell (chairman), F. Bell-Smith, F. McG. Knowles, G. Hahn, C.W. Jefferys, J. Cooper, J.P. Hynes, and E. Burke.

77 Guild Minutes, February 4, 1908, p. 181.

78 1930 Board of Control Minutes #546, Records and Archives Division Toronto City Hall.

79 Jarvis Collegiate Institute Auditorium Mural Decorations, designed and painted by G.A. Reid, assisted by Lorna Claire, Jarvis Collegiate Institute, undated catalogue. According to Miner they were executed in 1927-30 (p. 201), the R.O.M. murals in 1934-38 (p. 201).

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

Stylistical Analysis of Hail to the Pioneers

- ¹ Miner, p. 75.
- ² Blashfield, Mural Painting In America, p. 192.
- ³ F.S. Challener, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Architect and Builder 22 (May 1904): 90.
- ⁴ Louise d'Argencourt et al., Puvis de Chavannes, ex. cat. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1970), p. 18.
- ⁵ Miner, p. 88. For the relation of the iconographical content of Reid's work with Puvis de Chavannes' Amiens cycle, see. pp. 65-66.
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 166: "The composition of Pro Patria Ludus follows a simple consistent logic: three groups, each embodying a different idea, each occupying more or less the same surface area, present the viewer with a sort of triptych."
- ⁷ Miner, p. 75.
- ⁸ Reid, Scrapbook A, p. 237, photograph of interior of City Hall, 1899.
- ⁹ Frederic Crowninshield, Mural Painting (Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1887), p. 104.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 42.
- ¹¹ F. Hamilton Jackson, Mural Painting (London: Sands & Co., 1904) refers to the drawbacks of the oil process in mural painting, one of them being "the darkening to which colours ground in oil are liable" with time (p. 137). Crowninshield also mentions the yellowing of oil in murals caused by the want of sunlight (p. 97).

12 An illustration of the panel appears in the article, "Canadians Who Achieve: Mr. George Agnew Reid, R.C.A.," in Canadian Home 2 (April 1905): 90. In the photograph, the man at the right still wears a bright, presumably white shirt and is not holding a stake in his right hand. Reid altered these details later, possibly when he retouched the murals in 1929.

13 The columns are covered with plaster painted a golden tone to simulate yellow streaked marble.

14 Hilton Kramer, "Rediscovering Puvis de Chavannes," in Richard J. Wattenmaker, Puvis de Chavannes and the Modern Tradition, ex. cat. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975) p. 39.

15 See note 50, chap. II.

16 "Toronto Guild of Civic Art," Canadian Architect and Builder 11, (April 1898): 77. This watercolour sketch has not been located.

17 d'Argencourt et al., p. 228.

18 Lois Marie Fink and Joshua C. Taylor, Academy: The Academic Tradition in American Art (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1975), p. 128.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

Iconographical Study of the Murals in the Municipal Buildings

¹ John La Farge and Kenyon Cox both wrote laudatory articles on Puvis de Chavannes in, respectively, Scribner's Magazine 28 (December 1900): 674-679, and in Century Magazine 51 (February 1896): 558-569.

² G.A. Reid, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Magazine April 1898, p. 508.

³ Travail is illustrated in "Mural Decoration," Canadian Architect and Builder, January 1898, p. 14.

⁴ d'Argencourt et al. Puvis de Chavannes, p. 61.

⁵ Reid to Lennox, Toronto, April 23, 1902, Scrapbook A, p. 255. In this letter in which Reid proposed decorations for the King Edward Hotel, he refers to Grier's "altar piece in Loretto church" as evidence to the latter's experience in mural decorations. It was executed in 1899 (J. Grant, "Studio and Gallery," Toronto Saturday Night, 12 (June 17, 1899): 9.

⁶ Louise d'Argencourt, "Les Peintures murales de Puvis de Chavannes au Musée de Picardie," doctoral dissertation, Sorbonne, Paris, 1973, p. 139.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Official Catalogue of the United States International Exhibition, 1876 (Philadelphia: John R. Nagle & Co., 1876), pp. 18, 24, 25.

⁹ Patricia Hills, The Painters' America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910 (New York: Praeger, 1974), p. 84.

¹⁰ Patricia Hills, Turn-of-the-Century America 1890-1910, ex. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1977), p. 16.

11 Leonard N. Amico, The Mural Decorations of Edwin Howland Blashfield 1848-1936, p. 34.

12 Russell Sturgis, "Mural Painting in American Cities," Scribner's Magazine 25 (January - June 1899): 128.

13 William A. Coffin, "The Decorations in the New Congressional Library," Century Magazine 53 (March 1897): 703-704.

14 Ibid., p. 711.

15 D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto 1850-90 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 195.

It is of interest to note that the large stained glass window by Robert McCausland on the grand staircase of the City Hall, opposite the murals, is entitled, "The Union of Commerce and Industry." An expression of confidence in the future of the city of Toronto, the window illustrates a group of workers in front of buildings under construction on one side and on the other the representatives of international trading partners with a harbour scene in the background. The window was placed in 1899 (Toronto Historical Society plaque).

16 Scrapbook A, p. 132.

17 M. Miner, pp. 51 and 52.

18 The original painting was presented to the Canadian government in 1938 by the owner, and it was sent to Canada House in London, England.

19 Address by Reid on his retirement from the Ontario College of Art, May 13, 1929 (typescript), Scrapbook A, p. 379.

20 In February 1899, George Reid gave a preview of the mural decorations for the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. No doubt he explained the meaning of his panels, and a journalist who was present recorded: "Little more than a hundred years ago, the site on which now stands the magnificent building... was covered by the primeval forest and was the home of the wild bear, the camping ground of the Indian hunter." Canadian Home Journal, February 1899, clipping from Ontario Historical Society Scrapbook 1897-1927, unpaginated, Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

21 See Patricia Hills, The American Frontier: Images and Myths, ex. cat., (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1973), p. 9.

22 D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto 1850-1890 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 3.

23 Ontario Historical Society, Report of Meeting March 30, 1898, O.H.S. Scrapbook, unpaginated. Other historical societies or archives founded between 1880 and 1900 in Ontario were, in chronological order: The Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, 1880; The Niagara Parks Commission, 1885, the Thorold and Beaverdams Historical Society, 1894, the Niagara Historical Society, 1895, the Women's Canadian Historical Society, Toronto, 1895, the Ottawa Historical Society, 1898, the Norfolk Historical Society, 1900. The Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, had been established in 1872, and the Archives of Ontario, Toronto, was organized in 1903. Donna McDonald ed., Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1978.)

24 W. Sandford Evans, "The Canadian Club Movement," Canadian Magazine, 2 (November 1893): 23.

25 Ibid., p. 22.

26 Week 9 (September 1893): 675.

27 Edward M. Chadwick, Ontario Families Genealogies (Toronto: Rolph, Smith & Co., 1894).

28 See Archibald MacMechan, Headwater of Canadian Literature (1924; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

29 Among the major Canadian periodicals published in Toronto were: the Week, Toronto Saturday Night, the Canadian Architect and Builder, and the Canadian Magazine of Politics Science, Art & Literature.

30 For the complete poem, see Appendix II, p. 119.

31 W.A. Sherwood, "A National Spirit in Art," Canadian Magazine 3 (October 1894): 498.

32 George Munro Grant, ed., Picturesque Canada, 2 vols. (Toronto: Art Publishing Co., 1882).

33 Dennis Reid, Our Own Country Canada (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979), pp. 199-200.

34 Art Gallery of Ontario, 100 Years, p. 11.

35 Dennis Reid, p. 436.

36 These articles appeared in the following issues of the Week: July 28, 1893, pp. 824-825, October 20, 1893, pp. 1111-1113, February 2, 1894, pp. 225-227, June 29, 1894, pp. 729-731, June 30, 1895, pp. 706-707.

37 T. Mower Martin, "Canada From an Artist's Point of View, II," Week 10 (October 20, 1893): 1113.

38 James Mavor, "W. Cruikshank R.C.A.," Canadian Magazine 65 (February 1926): 7.

39 Robert H. Stacey, Lives and Works of Canadian Artists: William Cruikshank 1848-1922 (Dundurn Press, undated). See also "Artist Cruikshank Captured Pioneer Scene in the 1870's," London Evening Free Press, August 13, 1960, clipping in Cruikshank artist's file, National Gallery of Canada Library, Ottawa.

40 National Gallery of Canada, artist's file.

41 J.E.H. MacDonald to F.B. Housser, 1925, quoted in Russell Harper, Painting in Canada, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 265.

42 William Colgate, Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1943; reprint ed. 1967), p. 41.

43 Ibid., p. 49.

44 Toronto Art League, Calendar 1900 (Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., 1900), front page.

45 Muriel M. Miner, Homer Watson: The Man of Doon (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938).

46 Ibid., p. 20: "This pioneer heritage became, to use a simile of the painter, the foundation or priming of the canvas, furnishing also the material from which his first famous picture, "The Pioneer Mill" was evolved."

47 In the Royal Canadian Academy exhibitions from 1880 to 1899, paintings of mills were exhibited by such artists as: Henri Perré, R.F. Gagen, J.C. Forbes, S.T. Rolph, Otto Jacobi, William Raphael, Percy Woodcock, Daniel Fowler, W.E. Atkinson, and of course Homer Watson.

48 R. Harper, pp. 214-215.

49 Dorothy Farr, Horatio Walker (1858-1938), ex. cat. (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1977).

50 André Fermigier, Jean-François Millet (Geneva: Editions d'Art Albert Skira, 1977).

51 Fidelis, "Side-lights of the Columbian Exhibition: Its Pathetic Aspect," Week 10 (November 24, 1893): 1233.

FOOTNOTES

CONCLUSION

¹ G. Reid, "Report of Work done in connection with the proposed decorative scheme for the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, made for the information of the artists' interest," June 12, 1905 (manuscript, 2 pages), Scrapbook A, p. 272.

² See footnote 24, chapter II.

³ The mural entitled The Homeric Method is illustrated in Scrapbook A, p. 202.

⁴ Charles E. McFadden, "The Murals of F.S. Challener," Canadian Art 20 (Nov.-Dec. 1963): 340-344.

⁵ Janet Braide, William Brymner, 1855-1925: A Retrospective, ex. cat., (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1979), pp. 45 and 53.

⁶ Dennis Reid, The MacCallum Bequest and the Mr. and Mrs. H.R. Jackman Gift, ex. cat. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1969).

⁷ "Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Mural Decoration Competition," editor's note, Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, September - October 1926, p. 182.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ R. Derome, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰ Art for Architecture: Washington, D.C. 1895-1925, ex. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1975), unpaginated.

¹¹ In his book, Mural Painting in America, 1914, Blashfield referred to situations where the heating, plumbing, and lighting were provided, he felt, at the expense of good art (p. 104).

12 In the case of the private commission for the King Edward Hotel, the management preferred to hire an American for the decorations. The contract was given to a Tiffany and Co. artist from New York (Reid to Challener, Tannersville, N.Y., May 1, 1902 and June 20, 1902, T.R. Lee Collection, Art Gallery Of Ontario Library). In the end, Challener carried out the mural decorations when the Tiffany man dropped out of the project.

In later years the British artist, Frank Brangwyn was brought over from England to execute a mural in the Manitoba Legislative Building in Winnipeg, completed in 1920. (Vincent Galloway, The Oils and Murals of Sir Frank Brangwyn, R.A. 1867-1956, Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis Publishers Ltd., 1962).

In the case of the Ottawa Parliament Buildings, a Canadian-born artist, Arthur Crisp (1881-1974) was hired to execute murals (signed 1920) in the House of Commons Reading Room in the reconstructed centre block of Parliament (Arthur Crisp, to J.B. Hunter, Dep. Minister of Public Works, N.Y., July 22, 1922, Parliament Buildings Reconstruction - Correspondence re Expenses 1916-24, Department of Public Works Papers, RG 11, vol 2665, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa). Crisp, however, left his native Hamilton in 1900 and took up residence in the United States for the rest of his life, becoming a well-known muralist in New York and a member of The National Society of Mural Painters, N.Y. (Art Gallery of Hamilton, Arthur Crisp: A Retrospective Exhibition, ex. cat. 1963).

13 Scrapbook A, p. 347. The chairman of the Advisory Arts Council at that time was Sir George Drummond of Montreal. Not until 1910 did Reid's supporter, Sir Edmund Walker, replace Drummond as Chairman.

14 Norman Patterson, "Prominent Canadian Artists: Mr. and Mrs. G.A. Reid," Canadian Courier, 1911, p. 7 (included in Scrapbook A, p. 306).

15 Harriet Ford probably executed an over-mantle decoration, c.1899, for Charles Porteous at his summer residence on the Ile d'Orléans, Quebec (Braide, p. 46).

16 Reid's address as President of the R.C.A. at the 30th annual exhibition in 1909, Scrapbook A, p. 307.

17 Reid's address at the opening of the R.C.A. 1907 exhibition in Montreal, Scrapbook A, p. 290.

18 "Note on Mural Painting in Canada," 1917,
Scrapbook A, p. 347.

19 Jean Sutherland Boggs, The National Gallery of
Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 6.

FOOTNOTES

APPENDIX I

¹ Olivier Maurault, "René de Bréhan de Galinée," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966):126-7.

² James H. Coyne of the Ontario Historical Society edited a translation of Galinée's account of his trip entitled ...Exploration of the Great Lakes 1669-1670, published in 1903.

³ John Charles Dent. The Canadian Portrait Gallery, 4 vols. (Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1880), 1: 129.

⁴ Toronto: Rose Publishing Co., 1886, p. 131.

⁵ J. Dent, 2: 150.

⁶ Ruth McKenzie, "Laura Ingersoll Secord," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 9 (1976): 405-407.

⁷ "Laura Secord Honoured After 88 years," Evening News, June 24, 1901, clipping in Ontario Historical Society Scrapbook, unpaginated.

⁸ Henry Scadding and John C. Dent, Toronto: Past and Present (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1884), p. 51.

⁹ G.M. Craig, "Rev. John Strachan," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 9 (1976): 751-65.

¹⁰ J. Dent, 1: 187-201.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 174-184.

¹² Stewart Wallace, The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1926; revised edition by W.A. McKay, 1978), p. 633.

- 13 J. Dent, 2: 53.
- 14 Henry Scadding, Toronto of Old (Toronto: Adam, Stevenson & Co., 1873), p. 330.
- 15 Wallace, p. 499.
- 16 J. Dent, 1: 17-46 and S. Wallace, pp. 36-37.
- 17 D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-90 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947).
- 18 William Colgate, Canadian Art, Its Origin and Development (1943; reprint ed. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Ltd., 1967) p. 23.
- 19 Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Minutes May 21, 1897,
p. 6.
"
- 20 Ibid., December 19, 1901; p. 75.
- 21 See poem, Appendix II, p. 119.
- 22 S. Wallace, p. 750.
- 23 H.J. Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 912.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2

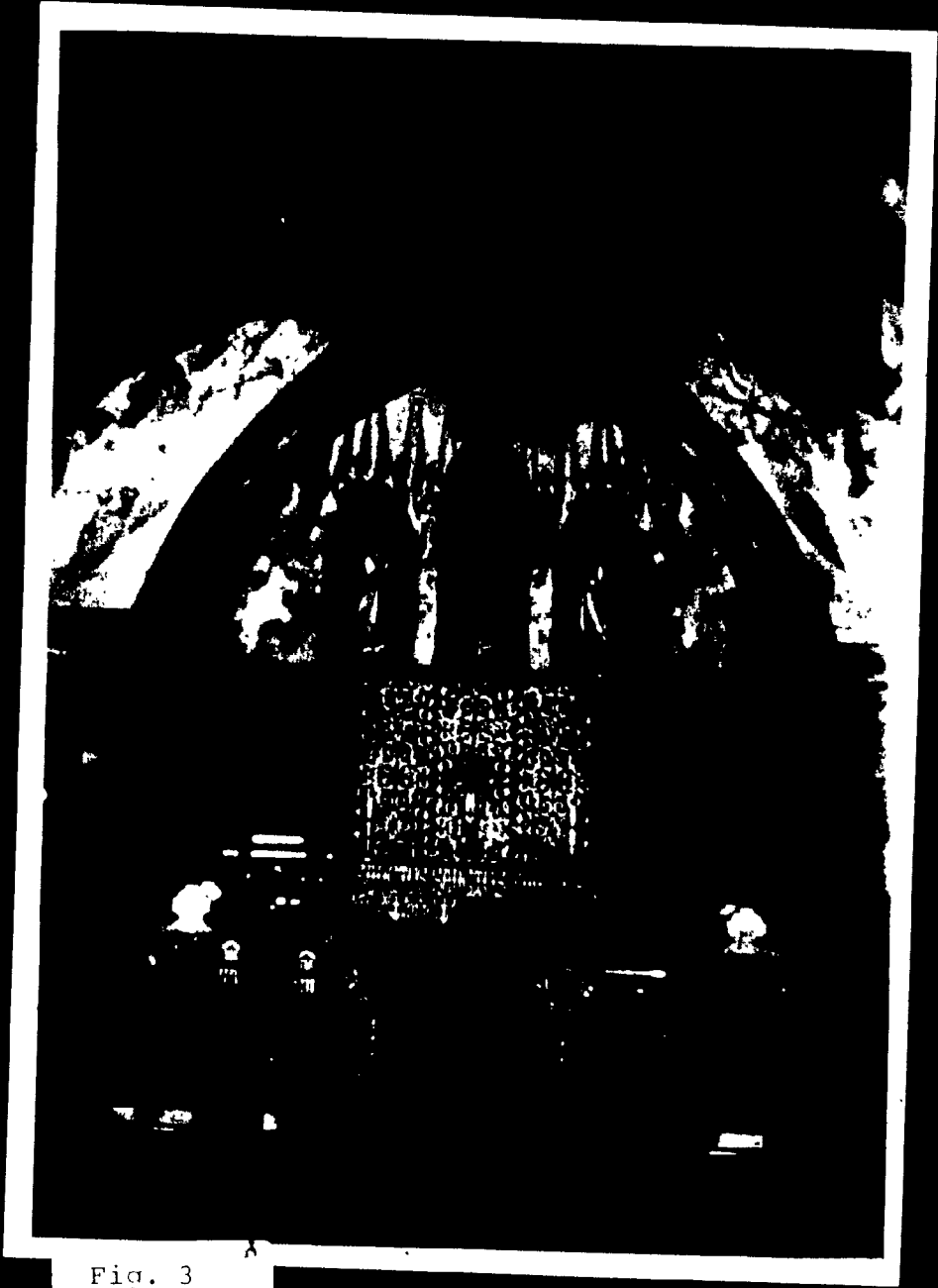


Fig. 3

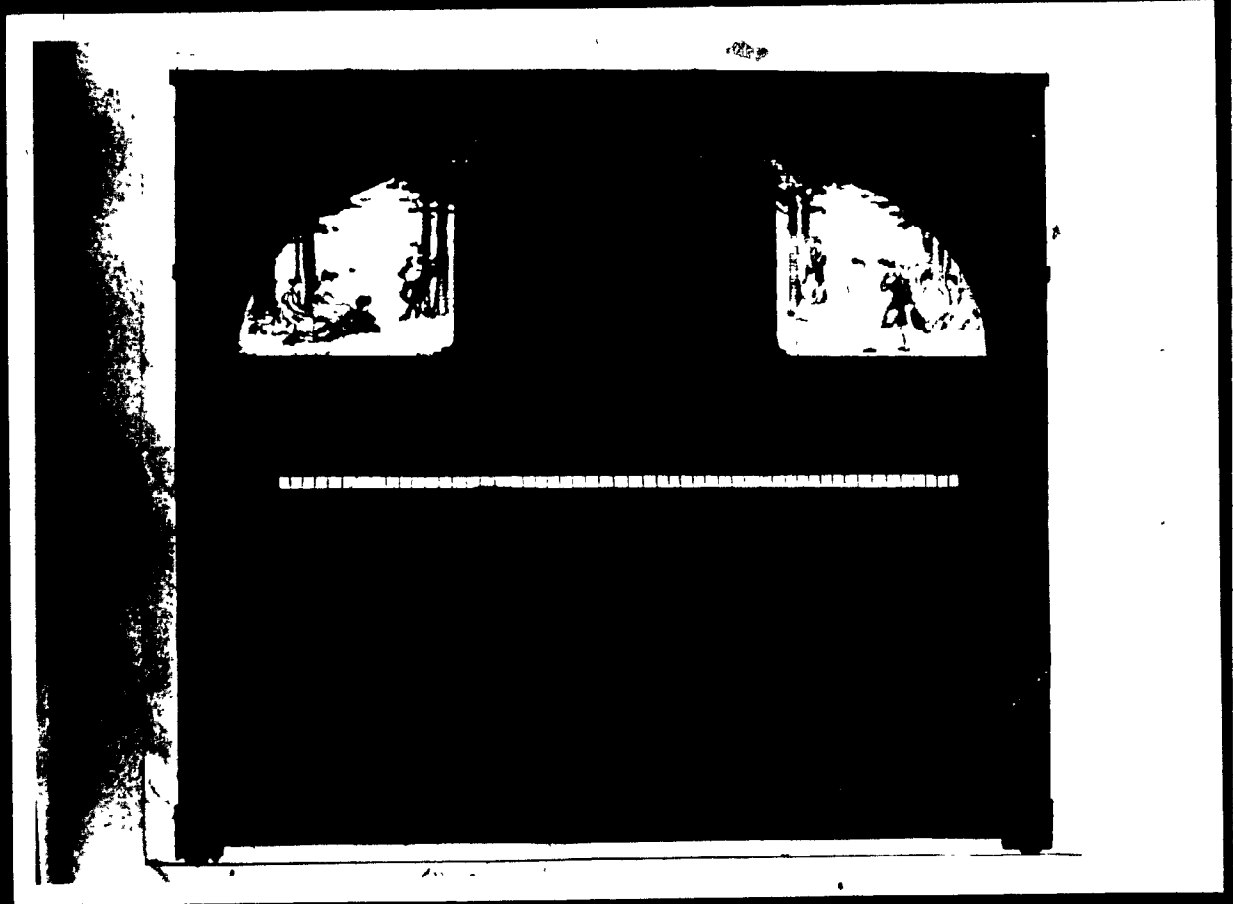


Fig. 4

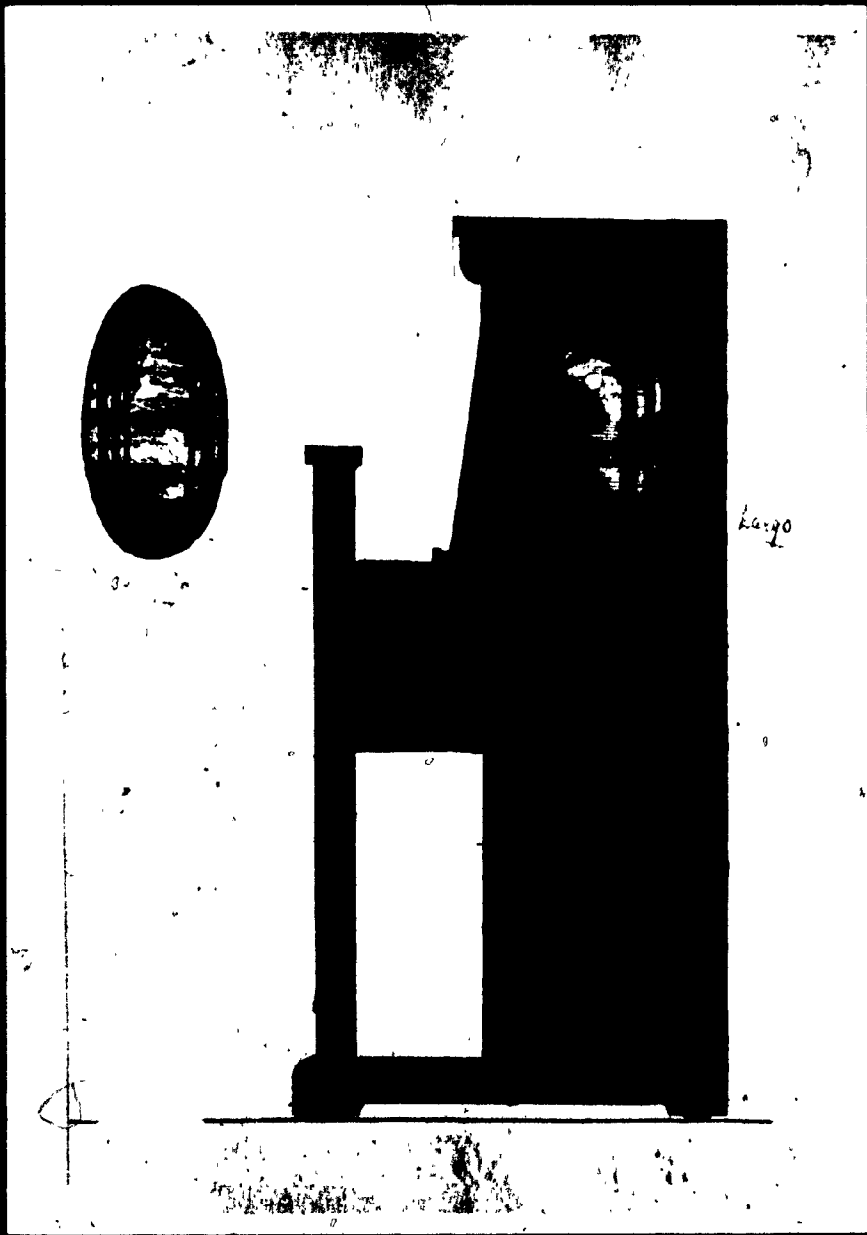


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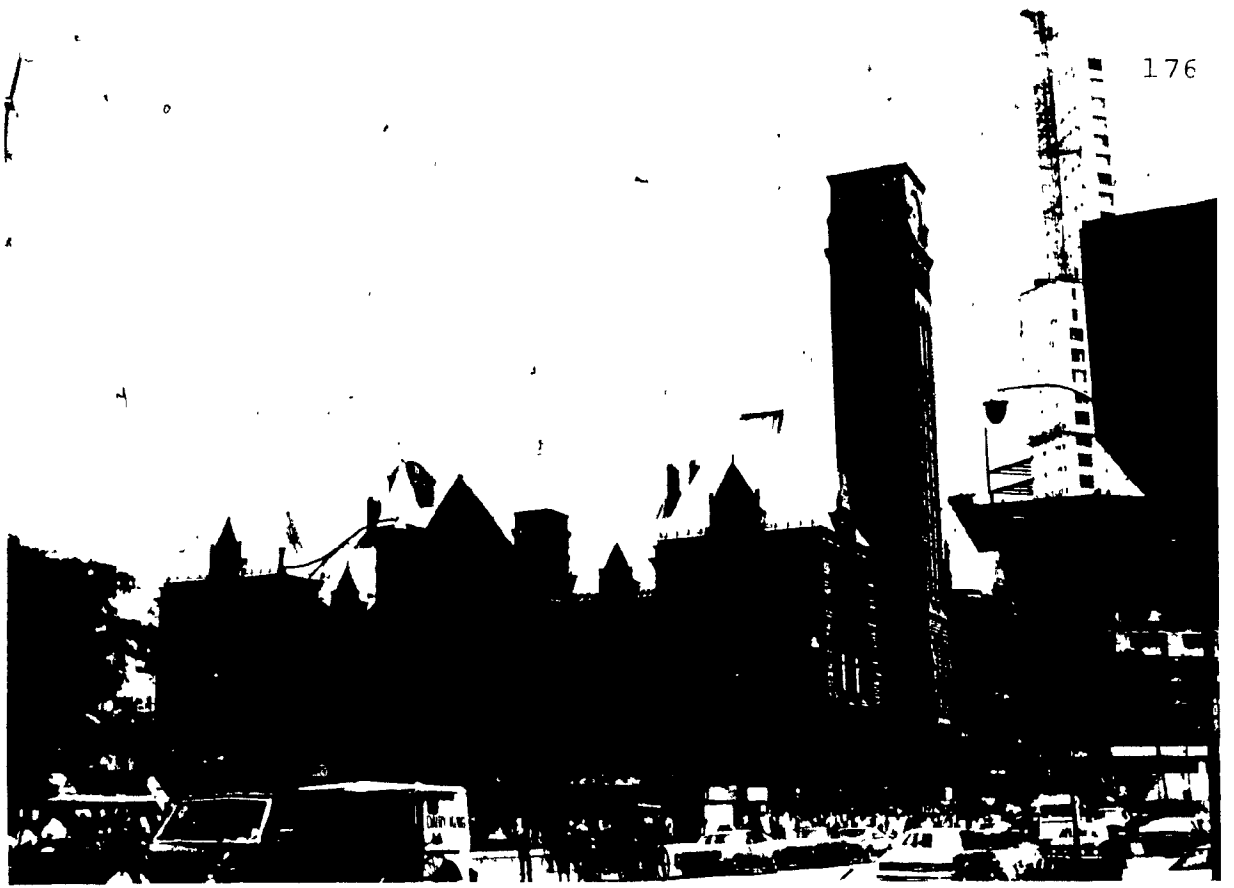


Fig. 6

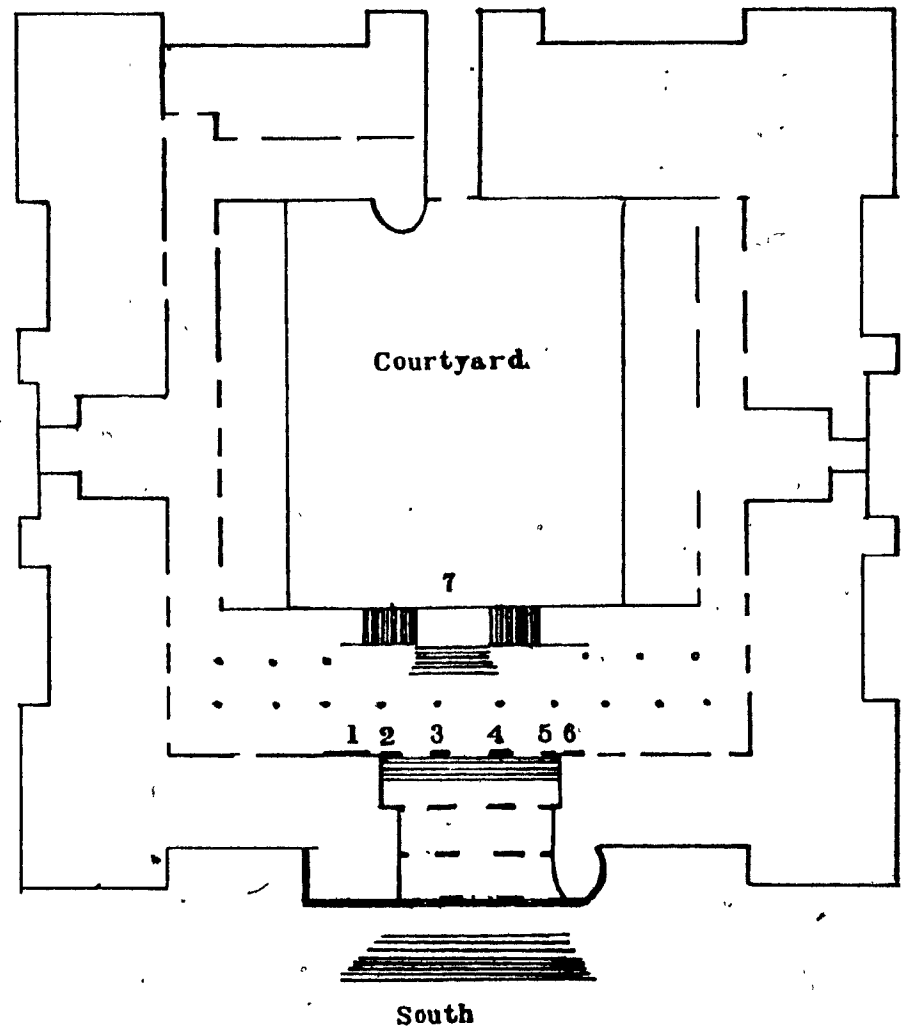


Fig. 7

North

West

East



TORONTO MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS - FIRST FLOOR

- George Reid's murals:
1. Staking a Pioneer Farm
 2. Adventure
 3. Fortune
 4. Fame
 5. Discovery
 6. Arrival of the Pioneers
7. Stained Glass Window by Robert McCausland

Fig. 8



Fig. 9

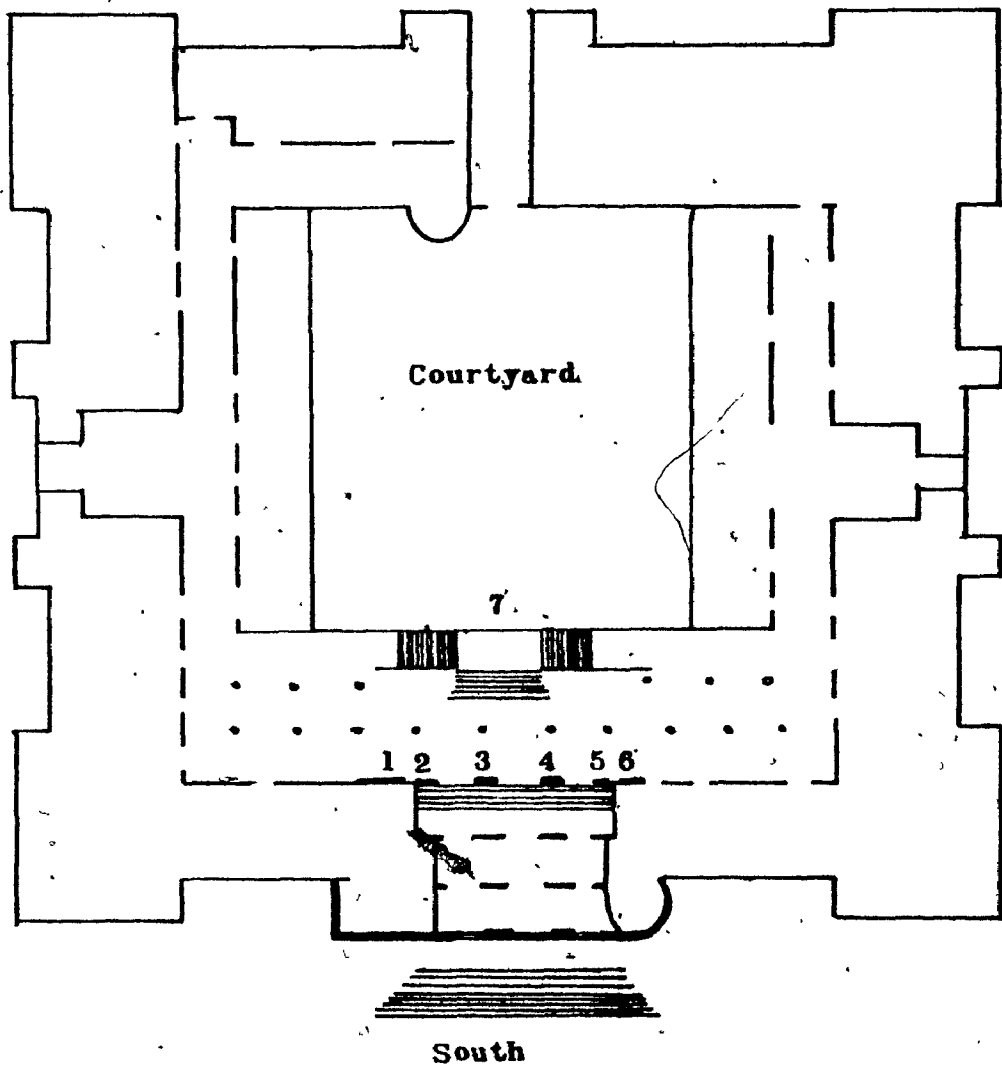


Fig. 9

North

West

East



TORONTO MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS - FIRST FLOOR

- George Reid's murals:
1. Staking a Pioneer Farm
 2. Adventure
 3. Fortune
 4. Fame
 5. Discovery
 6. Arrival of the Pioneers
7. Stained Glass Window by Robert McCausland

Fig. 11



Fig. 12

1-81



Fig. 13

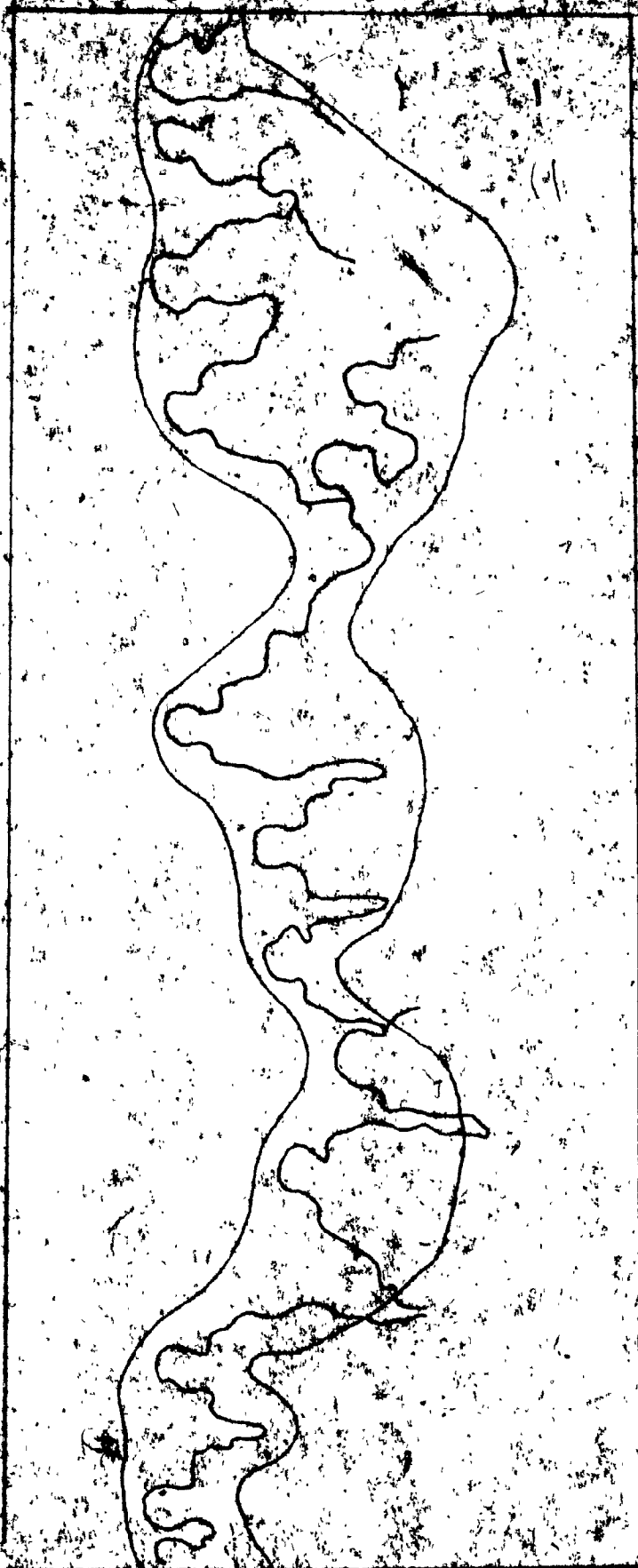


Fig. 14



out
C. W. H. G. G. G.

Fig. 15

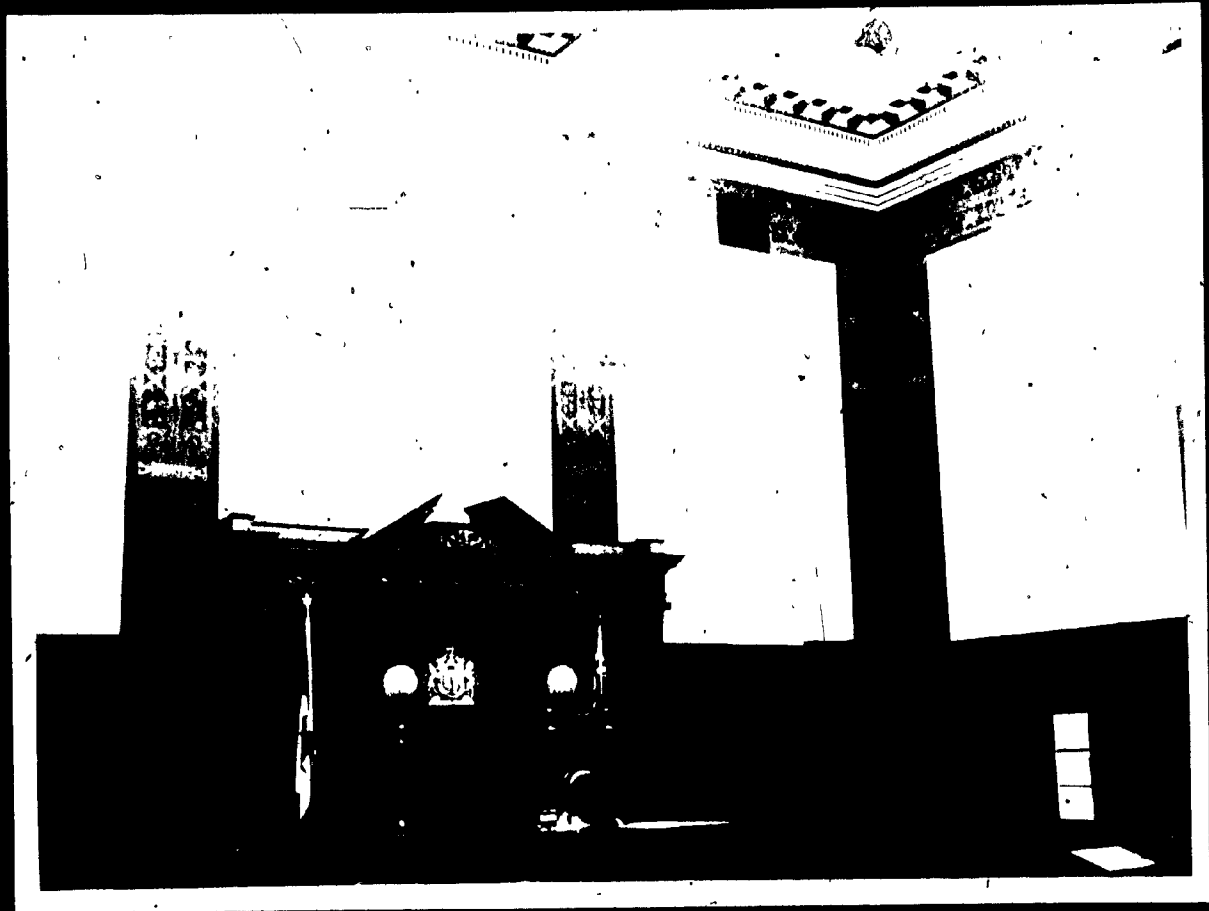


Fig. 16



Fig. 17

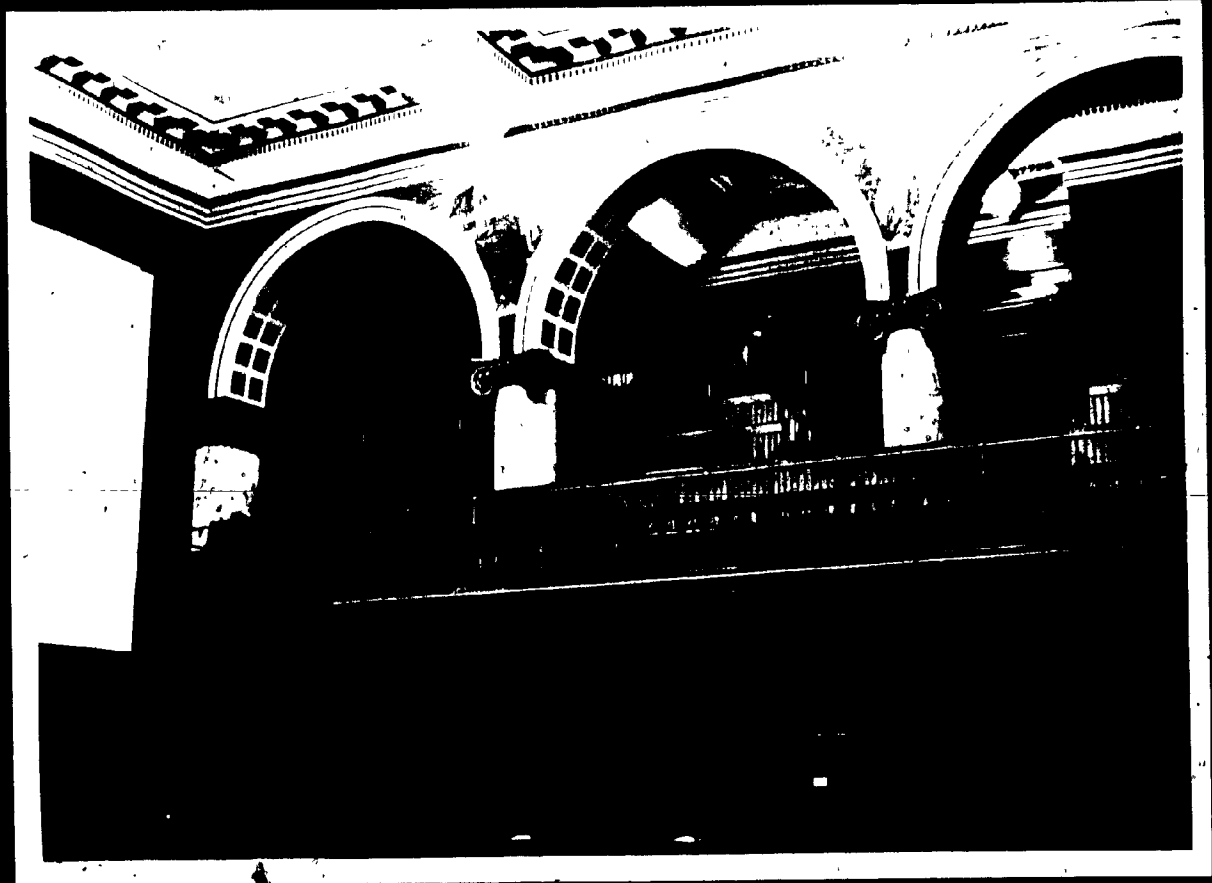


Fig. 18

1975



Fig. 19

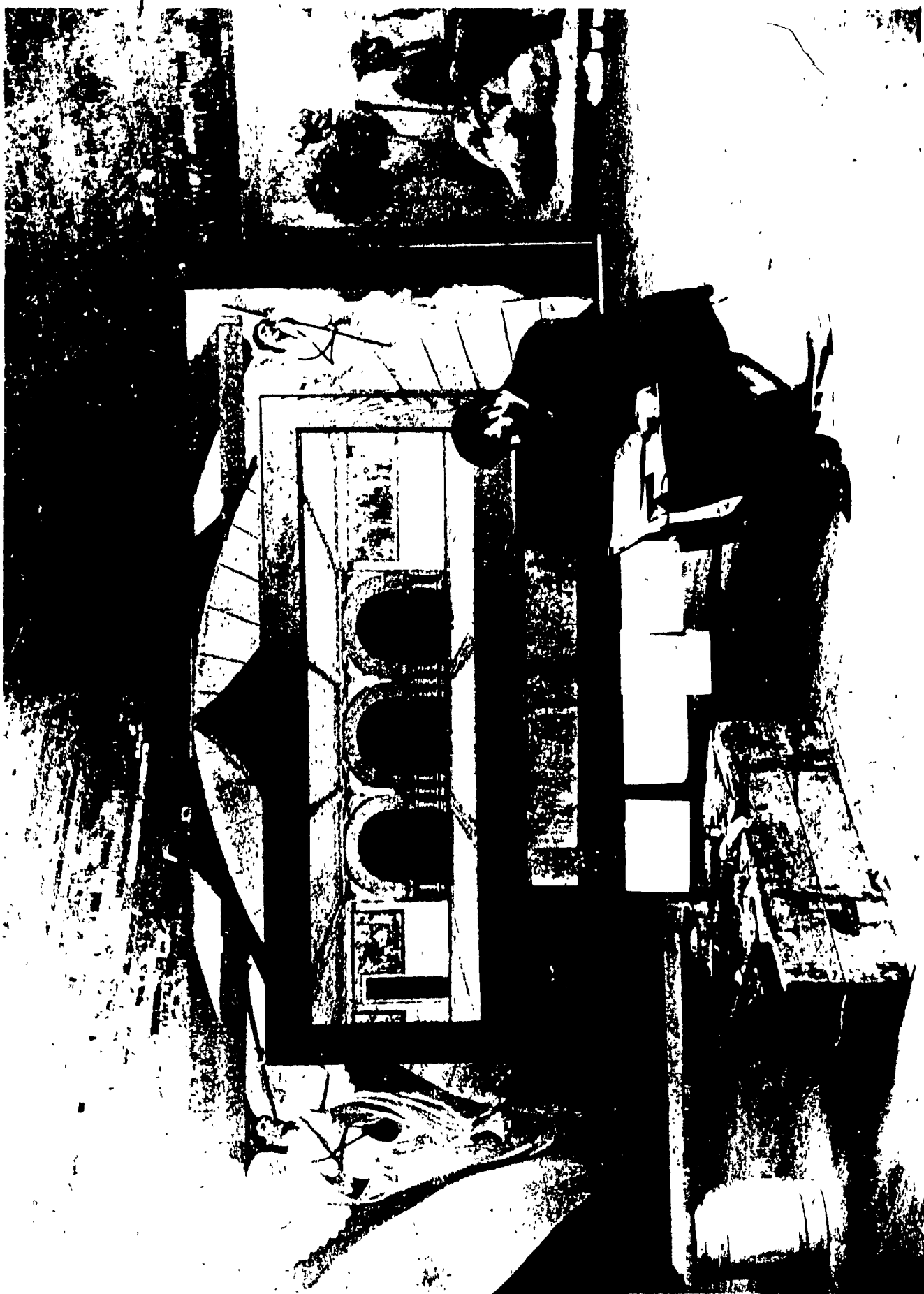


Fig. 20



Fig. 21

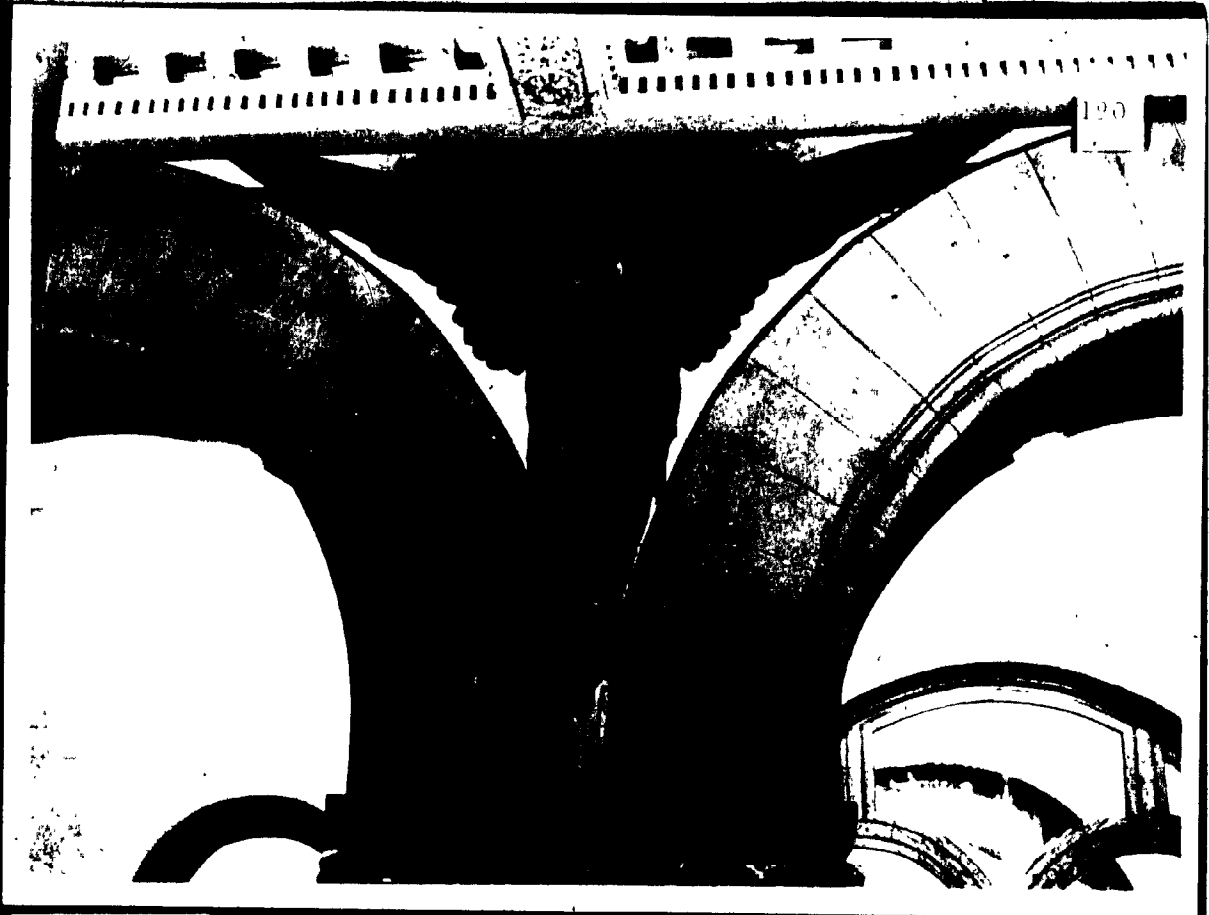


Fig. 22



Fig. 23

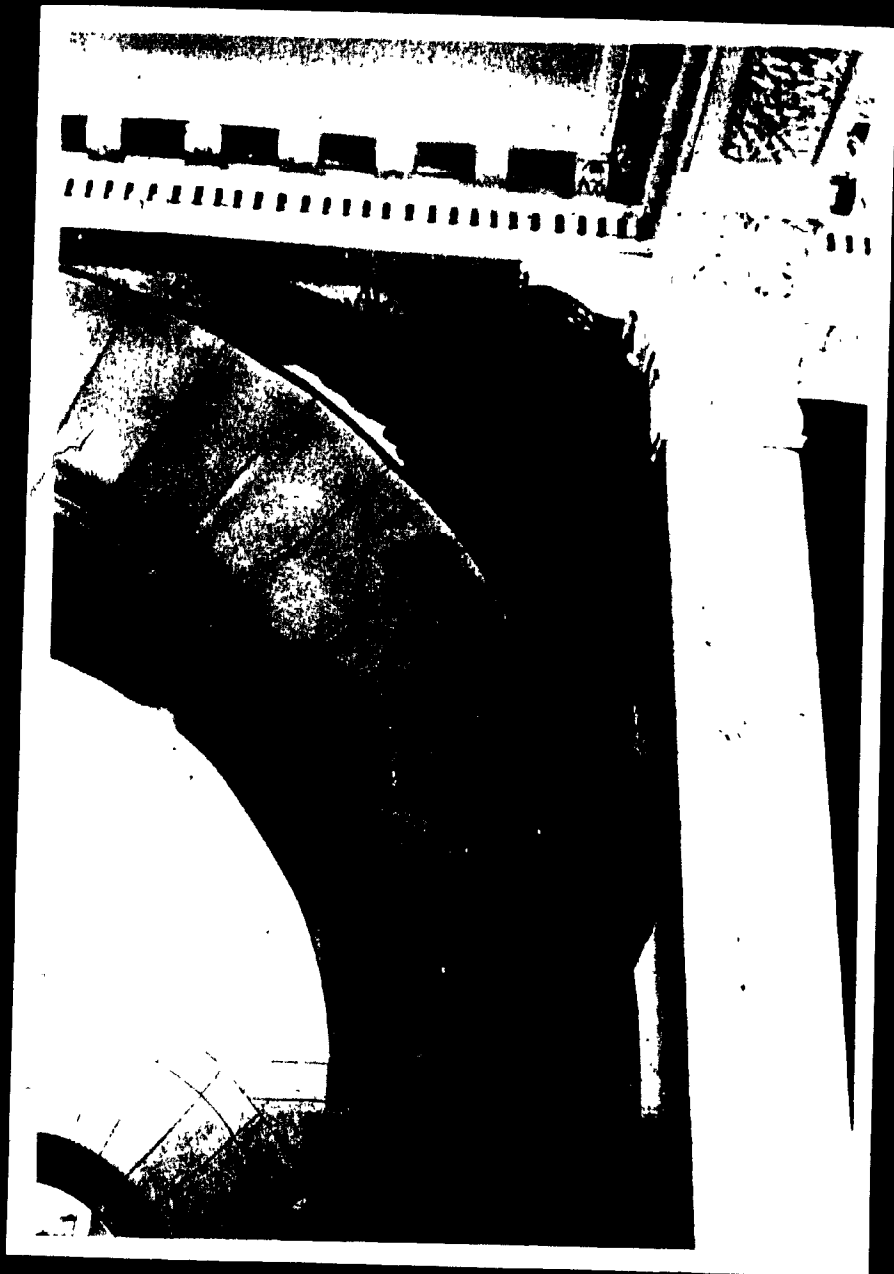


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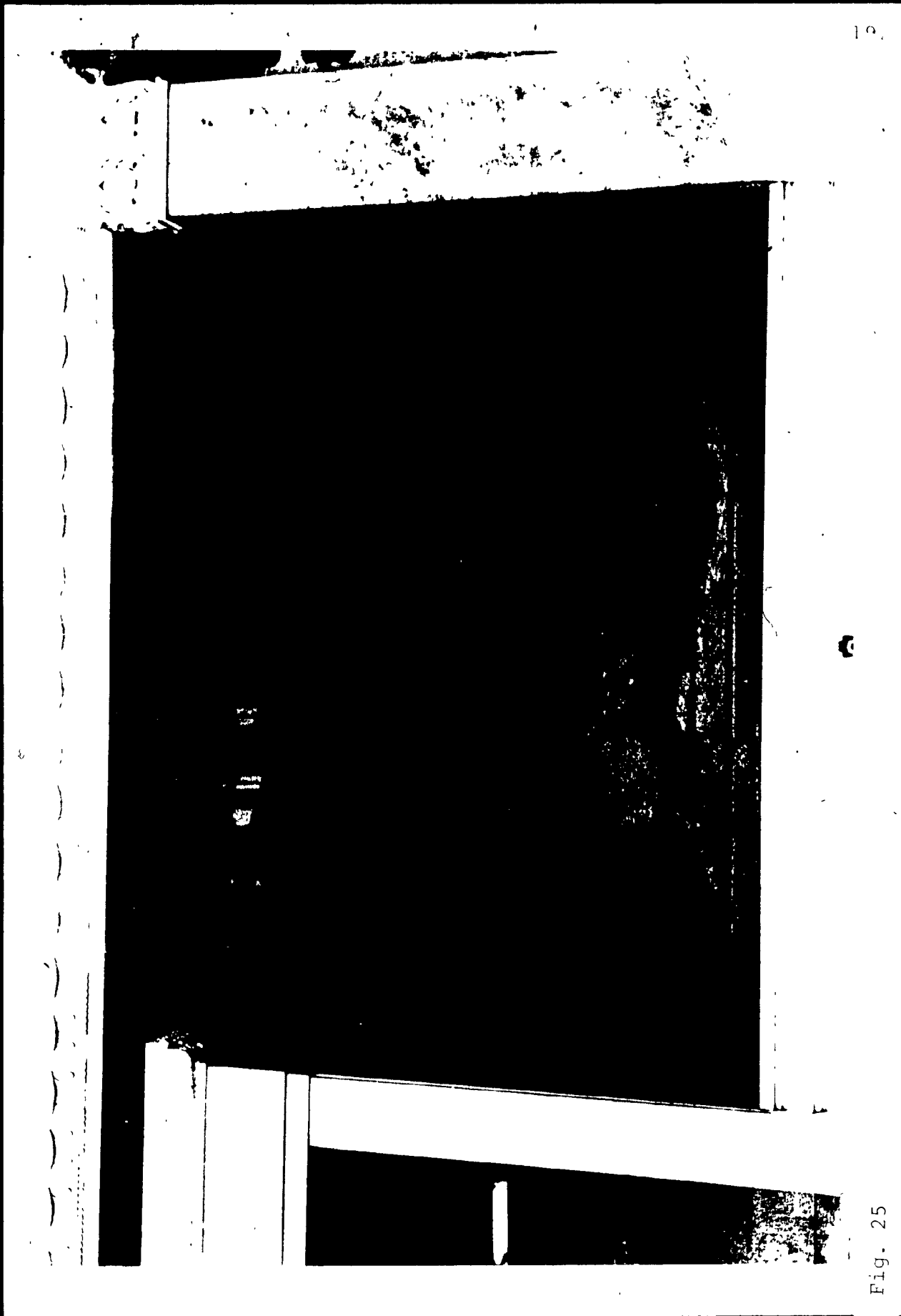


Fig. 25

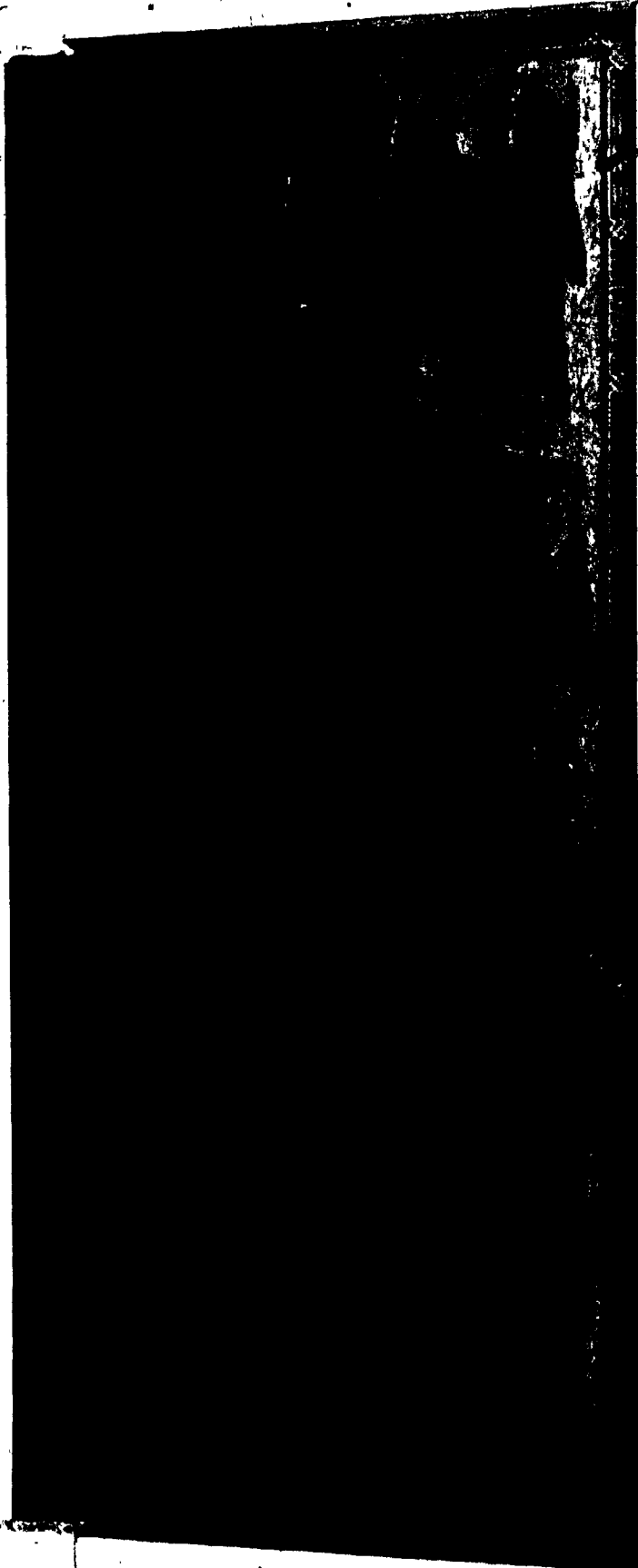


Fig. 26

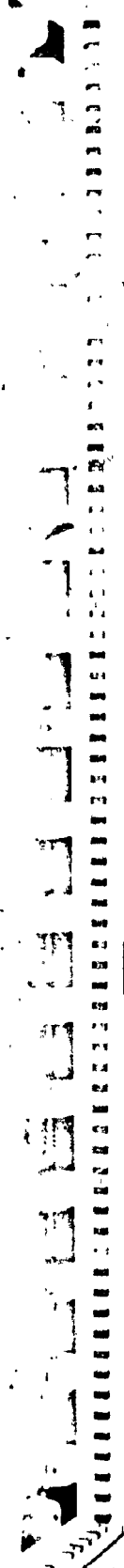
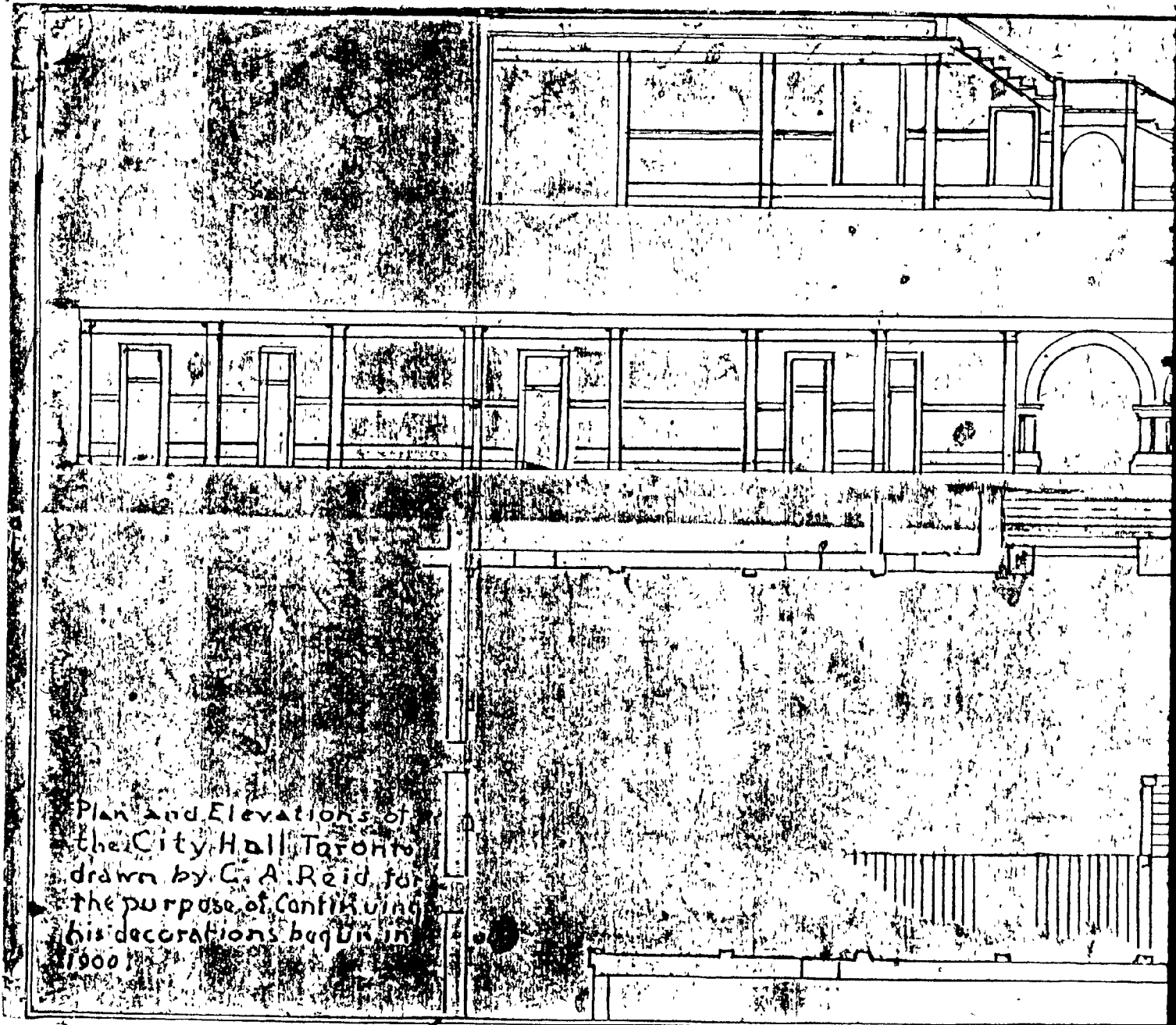




Fig. 27a



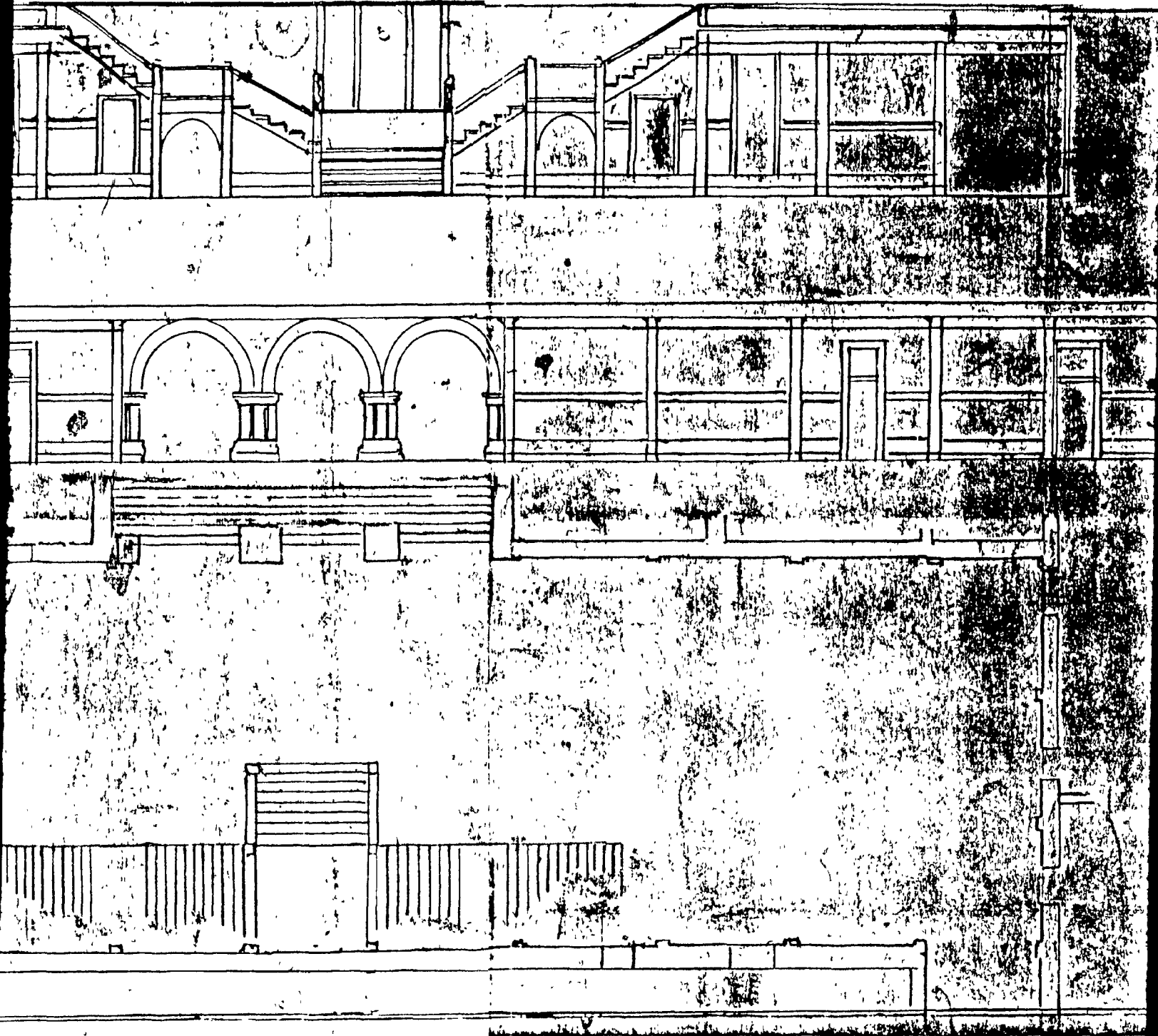
Fig. 27b



Plan and Elevations of
the City Hall Toronto
drawn by C. A. Reid for
the purpose of continuing
his decorations begun in
1900

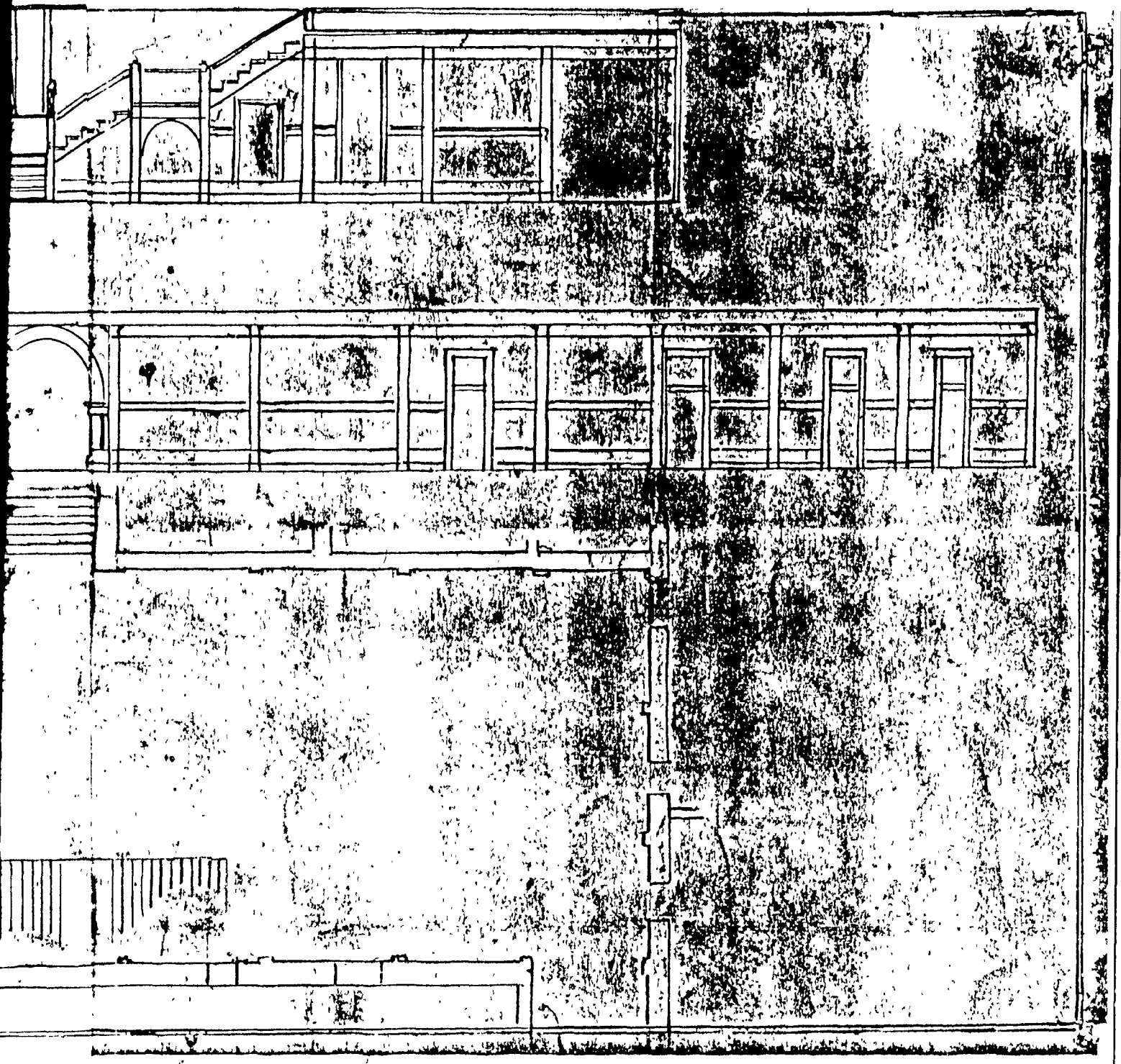
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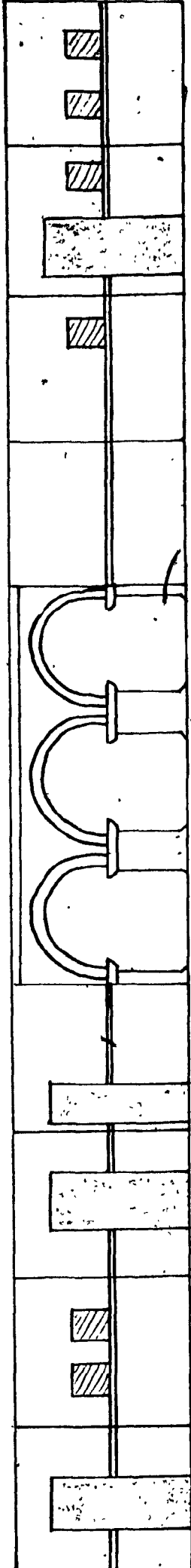


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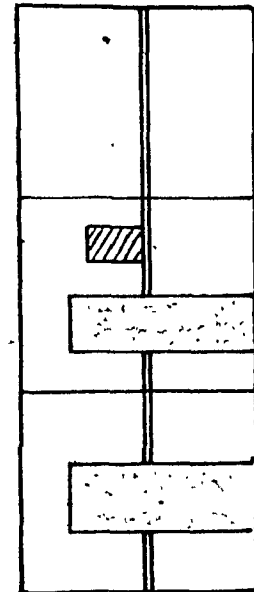


WEST

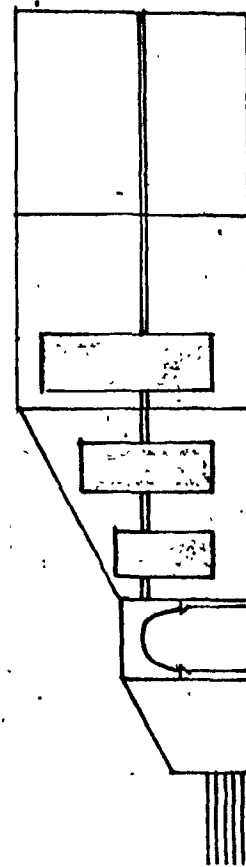


EAST

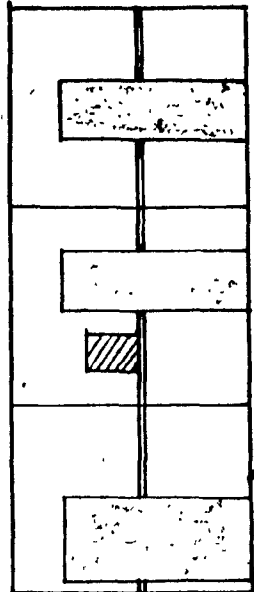
SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



NORTH WALL



WEST WALL

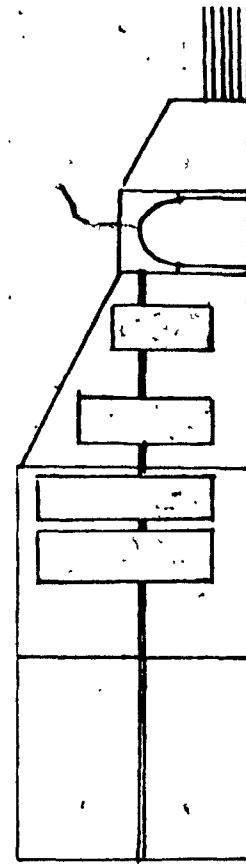


Diagram of Walls in the Entrance Hall of the Toronto Municipal Buildings

▨ - later renovations

197



Fig. 33

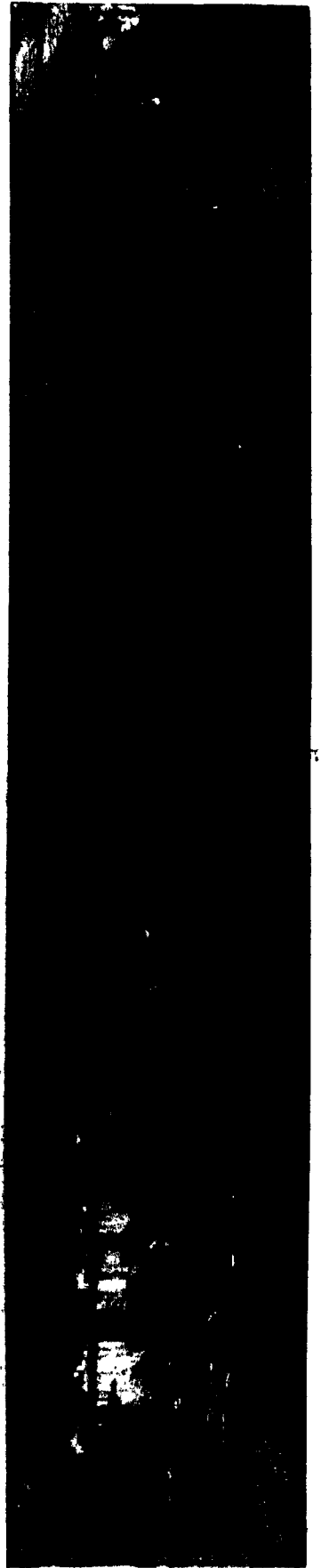


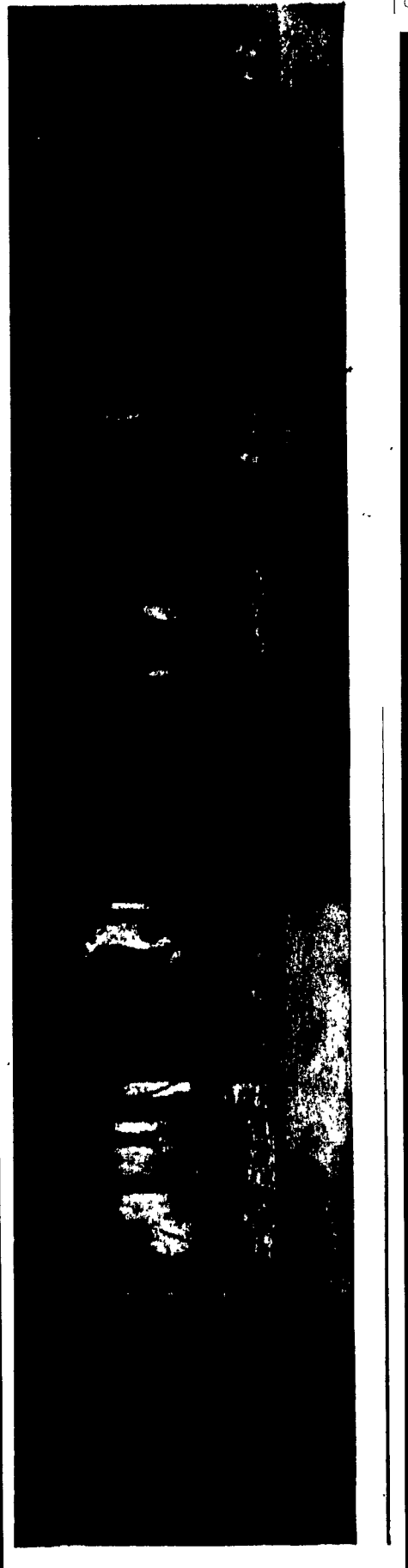
Fig. 32



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



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Fig. 36



Fig. 37

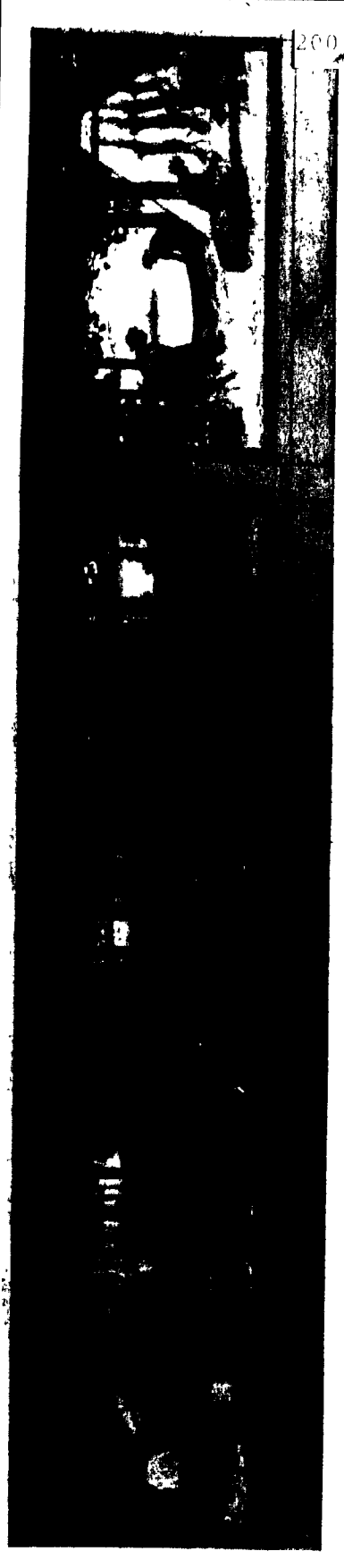




Fig. 38

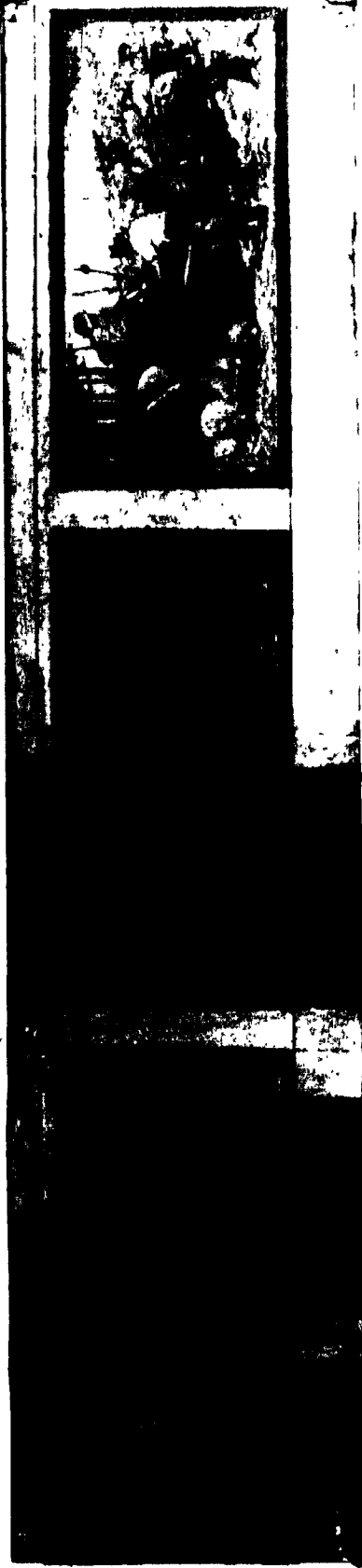


Fig. 39

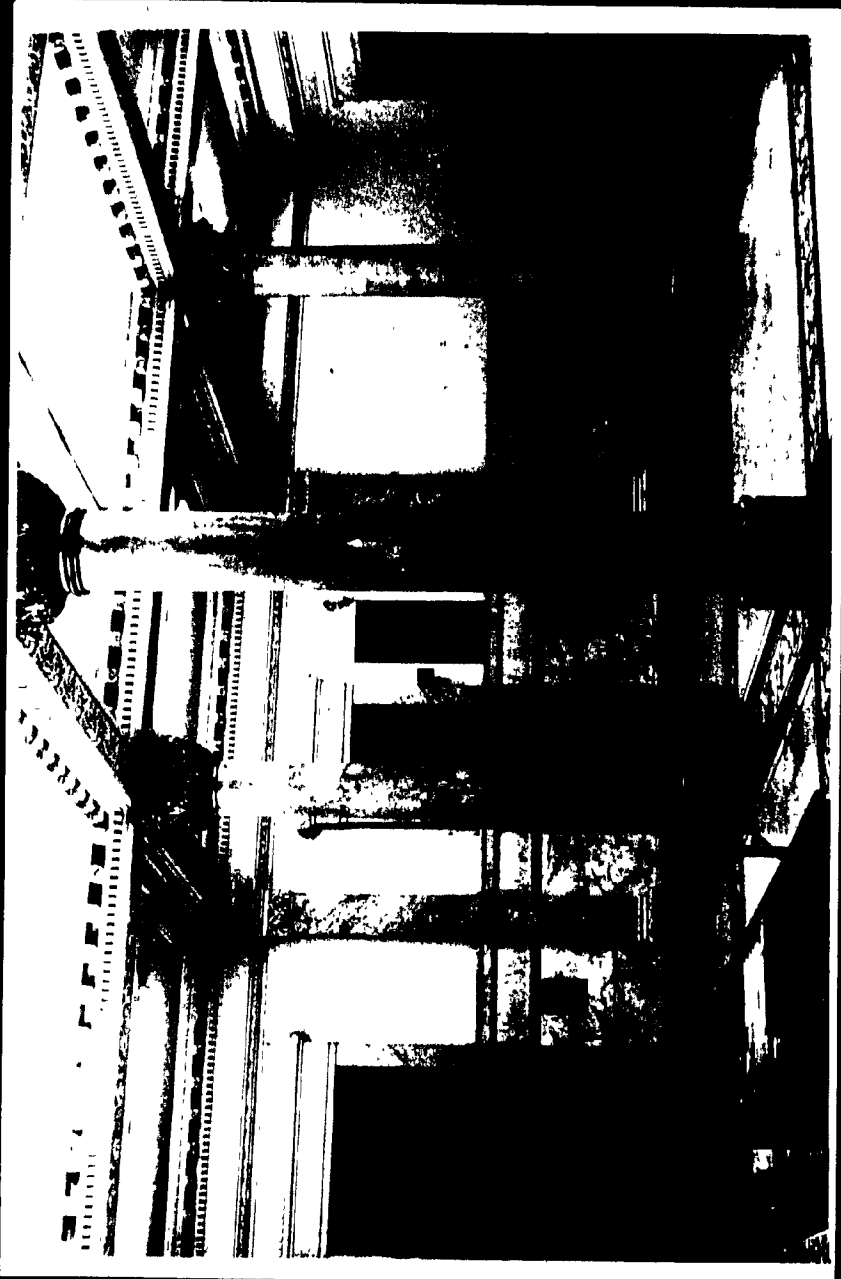


Fig. 40

Fig. 41

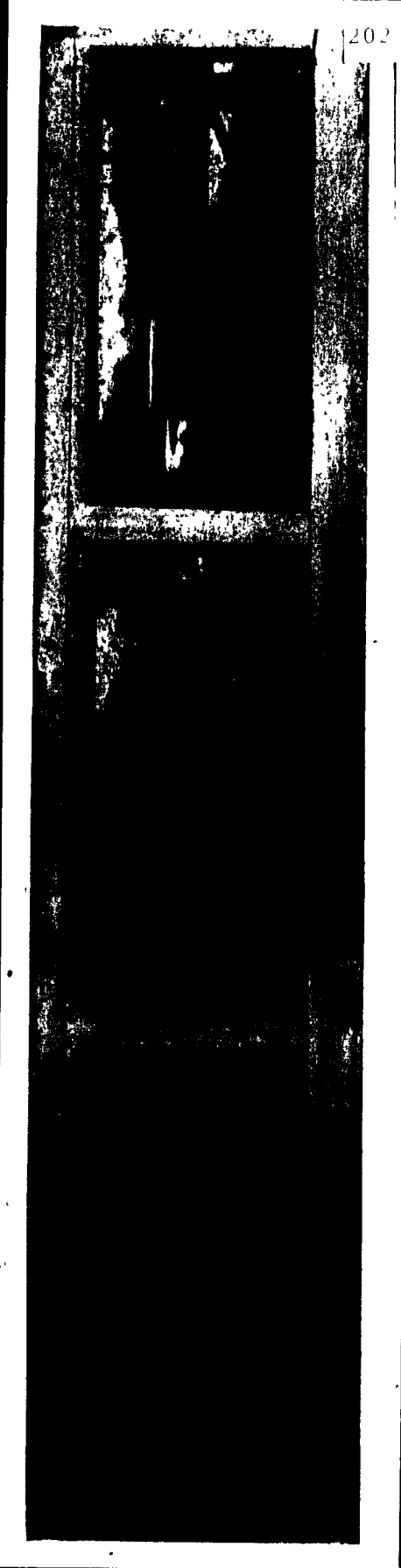
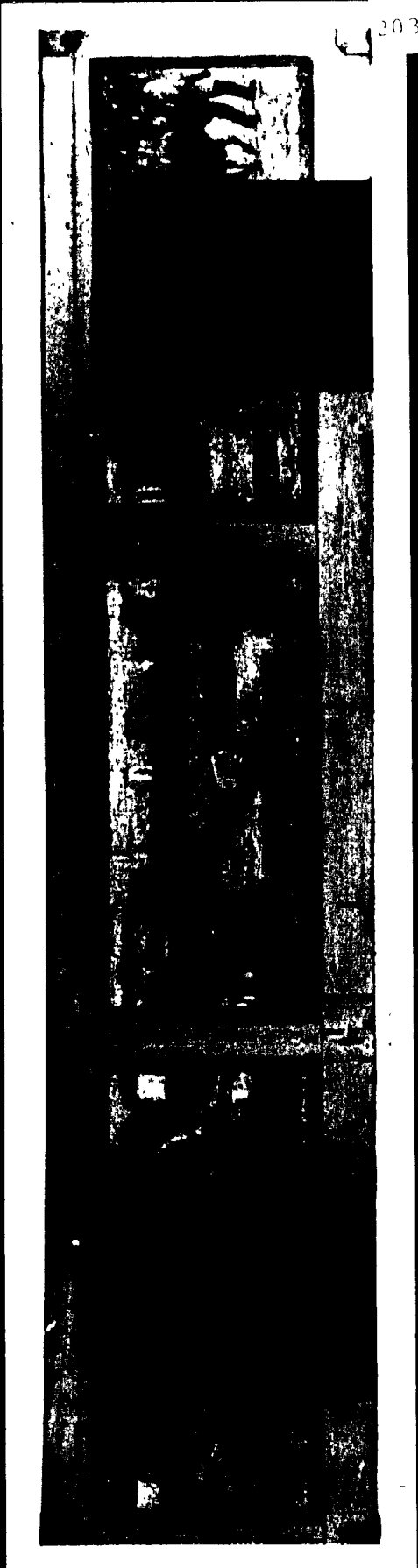




Fig. 42

Fig. 43



203

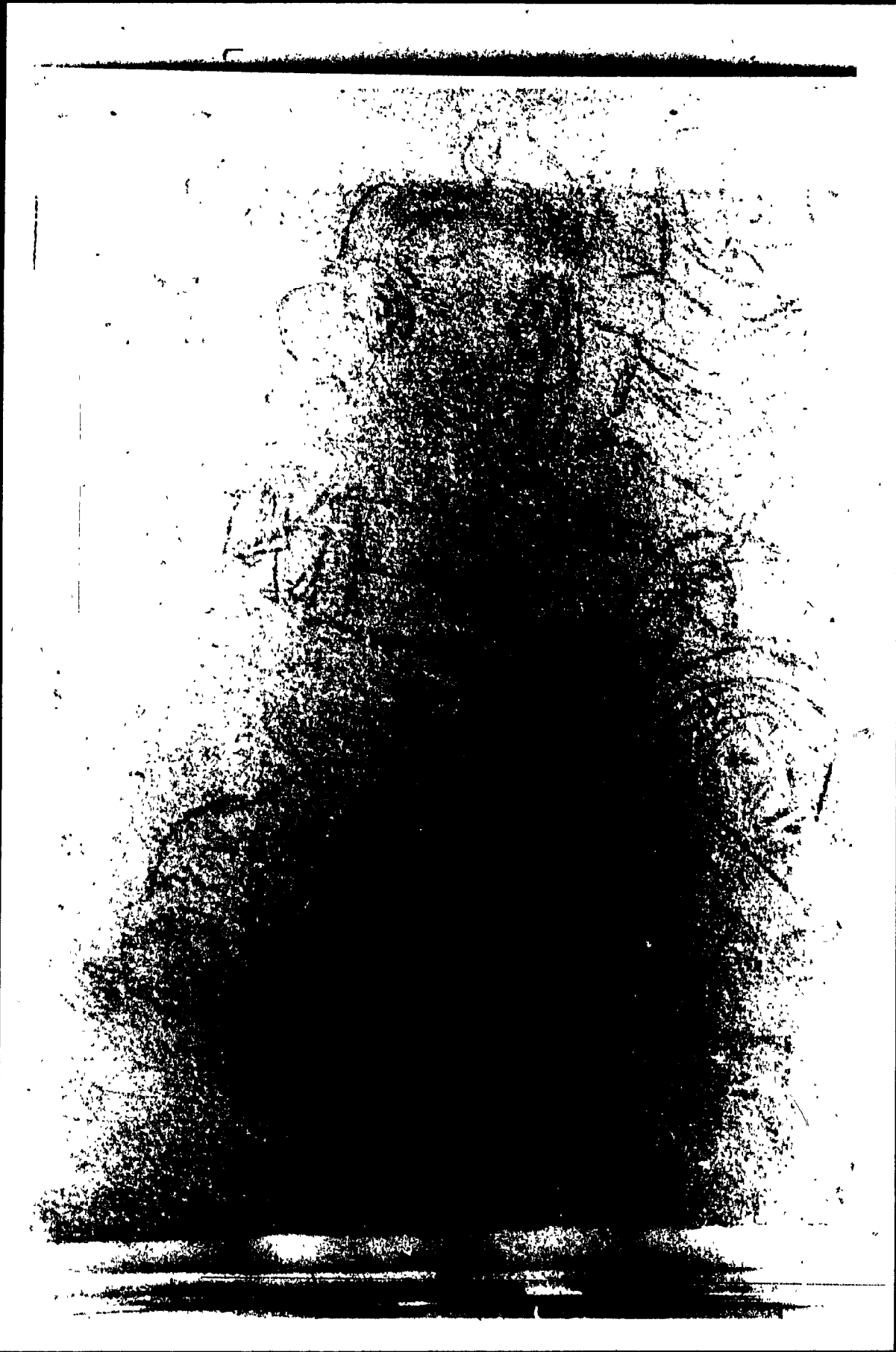


Fig. 44

2



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49



150

Fig. 50



Fig. 51



EL DOSTIGO LA RIVA DEL MAR

Fig. 52



Indus tro. Lelvia. L. amant

Fig. 53



substantia et substantia

Fig. 54



THE CHILDHOOD OF ST. GENEVIEVE
ST. GENEVIEVE AT PRAYER PANTHÉON, PARIS

Fig. 55

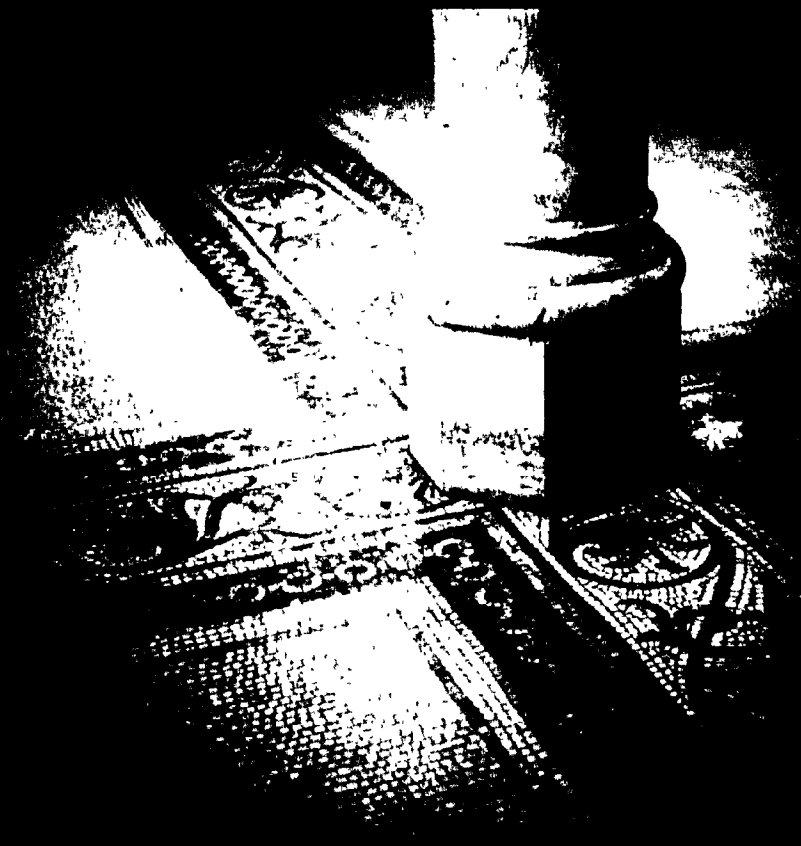


Fig. 56





Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60



Fig. 61

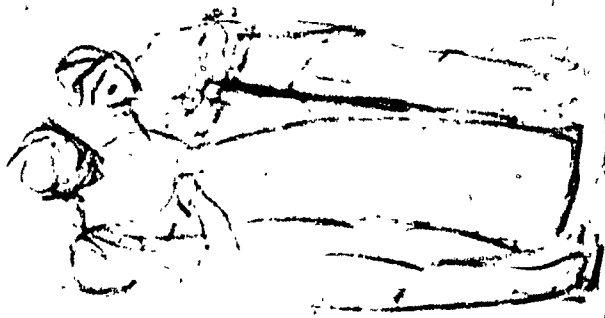


Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64



7

Fig. 65c



* AU PICARDIA NÉIRIX » (PANNEAU DE GAUCHE)

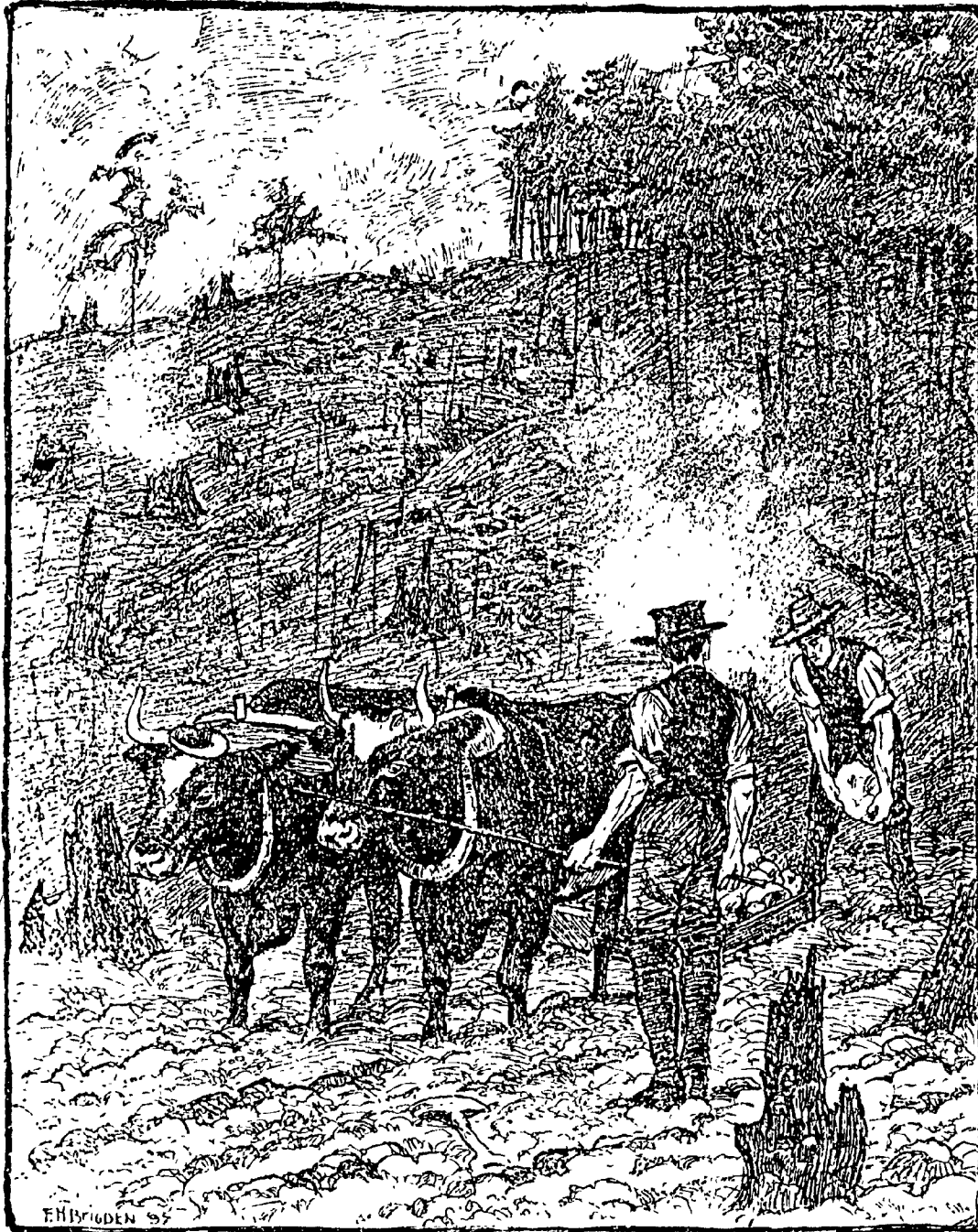
Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



EARLY SETTLERS, CLEARING LAND.

Fig. 69