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Portraits of Children in Quebec Art 1800-1860

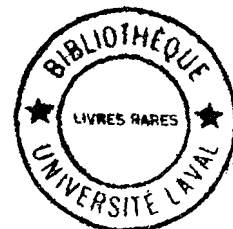
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## RÉSUMÉ

Ce mémoire a pour objet l'étude d'un corpus de portraits d'enfants peints au Québec entre 1800 et 1860. Nous présentons d'abord un aperçu général du thème de l'enfance tel qu'il s'est manifesté dans la peinture européenne et américaine dès le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cet aperçu est suivi d'une synthèse du contexte historique et artistique au sein duquel le portrait bourgeois s'est développé au Québec avec un examen de quelques-uns des premiers portraits d'enfants connus au Québec.

Dans la deuxième partie, nous avons procédé à une étude stylistique et comparative du corpus à partir des différentes compositions que les artistes ont employées pour représenter l'enfant. Le corpus est divisé en deux catégories: les portraits de l'enfant en buste et ceux où l'enfant est représenté à l'intérieur d'un groupe.

Des comparaisons avec des portraits américains ont permis de dégager différentes similitudes mais aussi quelques éléments spécifiques propres au portrait d'enfant au Québec.

**ABSTRACT**

The object of this thesis is the study of a corpus of portraits of children painted in Quebec between 1800 and 1860. After introducing the theme of childhood in European and American painting since the sixteenth century, we go on in the first part to examine the historical and artistic context in which the bourgeois portrait developed in Quebec as well as some of the earliest known portraits of children in Quebec.

In the second part, we have undertaken a stylistic and comparative study of the corpus, using as our starting point the compositional arrangements employed by the artists to represent children. This led us to divide the corpus into two main categories: bust-length portraits of the child and group portraits.

Comparison with American portraits has permitted us to identify compositional similarities as well as characteristic elements that constitute what is specific to portraits of children in Quebec.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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We would also like to mention Mr. Conrad Graham and Mrs. Jacqueline Beaudouin-Ross of the McCord Museum, Didier Prioul of the Musée du Séminaire de Québec, René Villeneuve of the National Gallery in Ottawa as well as David Karel and Patrick Duffley of Laval University. Their helpful suggestions, were greatly appreciated.

Finally, we wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to John R. Porter, our thesis director who guided and encouraged us throughout every step of the research.

Eric Nicolai

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## INTRODUCTION

Our initial interest in nineteenth-century portraiture arose as the result of an introductory course on Canadian painting given in 1987 at McGill University. Though we would have liked to study Canadian portraiture during the nineteenth century as a whole, it became quite clear that such a vast study was well beyond the bounds of a master's thesis.

Our first aim was to constitute a specific corpus of paintings that had in common the same subject. The child is a subject that can be found in various types of painting: religious works (such as the Baby Jesus), genre images, and family portraits. In order to limit the corpus and, at the same time, to preserve the unity of the subject, we decided to limit our investigation to portraits of children.

We have divided these works into two main categories: single portraits and group portraits. However, considering the different ways in which the child was represented, a further classification was required. Our survey revealed five different ways in which this subject was treated. These included:

- (1) the simple bust portrait of the child;
- (2) the portrait of the school boy;

(3) the portrait of the mother and child (or, in rare cases, the father with the child);

(4) children in groups (either at play or posed with their brothers and sisters);

(5) the child in the family group portrait, also known as the conversation piece.

Each of these portrait types will be examined and described separately, proceeding from the simplest compositions (bust portraits), which will be examined in Chapter Two, to the more elaborate ones where the child is represented with other children, his parents, or other members of the family, analyzed in Chapter Three.

Our study is not an exhaustive inventory of all nineteenth-century portraits of children. Instead, we have limited it to the first part of the nineteenth century (1800-1860), thereby encompassing what has been called the "Golden Age" of Quebec art, a time that saw the implantation of numerous indigenous Canadian artists, some of them trained abroad, as well as countless American and English itinerant painters who travelled from town to town in search of portrait commissions.

The year 1800 marks the date of some of the earliest portraits of children in the province. Though 1860 is somewhat arbitrary, it marks the approximate time of what we might call the beginning of the "decline" of the portrait. From approximately 1860 onwards, the portrait undergoes considerable transformations due to the influence of photography and the circulation of a whole new repertory of



engraved images originating in Europe. Our corpus of paintings was intentionally selected to predate this period of change.

### **Portraits of Children as a Theme**

Considered as a theme, portraits of children may seem artificial.<sup>1</sup> It is true that no artist in Quebec specialized in painting portraits of children. Nor can we say that such portraits constitute a genre of their own, for children themselves do not make up a unified social group. However, the images produced throughout the nineteenth century strongly reflect the character of the expanding colonial world, particularly its preoccupation with its own identity. Within the wide array of portraits produced, children are only a part--albeit an important one--of bourgeois portraiture. Though the child is not the most commonly depicted subject in the nineteenth century, it is nevertheless of great importance for the bourgeois family.

Chapter One outlines the history of the representation of the child in Europe and in the United States. Drawing on the research of historians such as Philippe Ariès and Anita Schorsch, we have

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<sup>1</sup>Indeed, in his landmark book Conversation Pieces: A Survey of the Informal Group Portrait in Europe and America (London: Methuen & Co., 1972), p. 149, Mario Praz suggests that specific subjects such as "children in art," "the Madonna in art" or "the nude," mean little since each subject will be treated in as many ways as there are artists. However, this assertion denies the basic principle that there are definite standards that an artist of a given country is bound to follow if he wishes to stay within the good graces of the patronizing community. Furthermore to compare portrait norms used for the same subjects in different countries (for example, comparing U.S. portraits of children with those in Canada) is a good way to isolate the specific approach proper to each culture: since the subject remains the same, one can observe stylistic variations more easily.

attempted to identify the distant origins of this kind of image. This chapter also situates the portraits of children in the historical and artistic context of Quebec and discusses the importance of portraiture within the North-American colonial context. As mentioned above, Chapter Two deals with bust portraits of children while Chapter Three considers group portraits.

One of the principal goals of our research has been the establishment of a visual repertory of American and Quebec portraits of children. The comparison of the Quebec portraits to their American counterparts (done essentially from a formal point of view) has shown that standard portrait types were universally found in North America. The difference between Quebec and the U.S. resides mainly in the relative frequency of each type, some of which had far greater favour in Quebec than south of the border and vice versa. Conversation pieces, for example, were very common in the U.S. (as they were in Europe), yet they are relatively rare in Quebec. Thus the specificity of Quebec portraits of children does not lie so much in a distinctive Quebec style but rather in the predominance of certain types of portraits. Yet these elements of specificity in the portraits of children also tell us something of Quebec portraiture as a whole, since portraits of children are part of the broader subject of portraiture in general. Though we have made some comparisons with portraits in other Canadian provinces, the dearth of systematic research in this area did not permit us to constitute a significant body of Canadian works.

## The Corpus

Since we were concerned with portraits, we excluded from the corpus images such as landscapes where children are sometimes added in the midst of adults, or religious scenes where they often figure as angels, cherubs or the Baby Jesus. Though these paintings do represent children, they were commissioned for motives unlike to those of family portraits. Of the few genre images produced in Quebec, a number (mostly by Plamondon) were originally retained because they represented the child exclusively as a symbol of innocence and simplicity. However, after having considered the matter for some time, it became clear that they would not fit coherently into the typology of portraits that we had established. Furthermore genre images of children are more symptomatic of the second half of nineteenth-century imagery, which is why we have discussed some them only in the conclusion.

Certain images of adolescents have also been included in the corpus. Although they do not represent children in the strict sense of the term, they were retained for the study because they exhibit characteristics common to other portraits of children: they were commissioned by the parents rather than by the subject himself and the costume and the manner in which the subject is represented are very similar to what is found in children's portraits.

In the course of our initial survey, we found about 105 portraits of children labeled as Canadian and dated between 1800 and 1860. Many of these portraits are of unidentified children.

In some cases, even the sex of the child is not certain.<sup>2</sup> Often, the documentation on these works is so sparse that neither the artist nor the date of the work is given. Since many anonymous folk art portraits in Canadian museums are classified as Canadian but could in fact have been produced in the U.S., only works whose Quebec origin was relatively certain to were retained for the study. Of these we have retained only forty-five works. Another fourteen paintings were also included in the corpus for comparative purposes or because they belonged to the same family sets.

### **The State of the Question**

The study of specific themes in Quebec art has not yet been a subject of major preoccupation among scholars. Though some thematic studies have been undertaken in the area of portraiture,<sup>3</sup> most research since the early 1970s has concentrated on artists' biographies. More recently, however, some attempts have been made at examining portraits from the point of view of a specific subject. Lucille Rouleau-Ross' thesis on the portraits of Mgr. Plessis,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>For example, it is not sure whether the portrait labeled by the National Gallery of Canada as Portrait of a Young Girl (fig. 22) (also known as Enfant au sifflet à grelots) is a girl or a boy.

<sup>3</sup>Gérard Morisset, for example, wrote a number of articles having as their object specific types of portraits. Among them see "Portraits de mortes de la Nouvelle-France," Le Canada, 22 March 1935, p. 2; "Le portrait de femme dans la peinture canadienne," Le Terroir, 17/10 (March 1937), p. 5; "Portraits de cadavres," Vie des Arts, January/February 1956, pp. 20-23.

<sup>4</sup>"Les versions connues du portrait de Monseigneur Joseph-Octave Plessis (1763-1825) et la conjecture des attributions picturales au début du XIXe siècle" (Master of Arts Thesis [art history], Concordia University, 1983).

Claudine Villeneuve's article on the portraits of Louis-Joseph Papineau,<sup>5</sup> and Laurier Lacroix's discussion of the portraits of clerics<sup>6</sup> are examples of this approach.

Though scholars such as Morisset, Harper,<sup>7</sup> and Reid<sup>8</sup> have acknowledged the importance of portraiture in a colonial society such as Canada, few have probed more deeply into the nature of this phenomenon and the motivations that lay behind it. In this respect, Neil Harris<sup>9</sup> gives an excellent account of the American artists in the early nineteenth-century New England. His discussion of the status of the artist and the value of portraiture in colonial America can be transposed to the case of portraiture in Quebec because many of the artists working in the U.S. also worked in Lower Canada. Equally useful is the very thorough exhibition catalogue on folk portraits put out by the Abbey Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art

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<sup>5</sup>"Les portraits de Louis-Joseph Papineau dans l'estampe de 1825 à 1845," in Questions d'art québécois, John R. Porter (dir.), Cahiers du Célat, no.6 (Quebec: Célat, February 1987): 103-129.

<sup>6</sup>"Les Portraits," in Le grand héritage (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1984): 109-112.

<sup>7</sup>John Russell Harper, Painting in Canada: A History, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).

<sup>8</sup>Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973).

<sup>9</sup>The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860 (New York: Braziller, 1966).

Center in Boston.<sup>10</sup> This catalogue, as well a collection of articles in a volume edited by Jack T. Ericson,<sup>11</sup> bring together many of the essential characteristics of folk portraiture in colonial society.

The fact that our approach to nineteenth century portraiture was a thematic one meant that it was necessary to collect a considerable amount of biographical information about each artist involved. To do this, Gérard Morisset's monumental inventory of Quebec art, l'Inventaire des oeuvres d'art du Québec (IOAQ), was consulted in order to have access to numerous letters, newspaper articles and other documents related to the painting which it contains. J. R. Harper's dictionary of Canadian artists,<sup>12</sup> as well as his history of Canadian painting, were also invaluable reference tools.

Given the interest in the subject of child portraiture outside of Canada, the contributions of American and European scholars were also brought to bear on our topic. Some of the earliest works such as those by Estelle Hurl,<sup>13</sup> Robert De La Sizeranne,<sup>14</sup> Charles Moreau-

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<sup>10</sup>Beatrix T. Rumford, ed., American Folk Portraits, Paintings, and Drawings from the Abbey Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1981).

<sup>11</sup>Jack T. Ericson, ed., Folk Art in America: Painting and Sculpture (New York: Antiques Magazine Library, Mayflower Books, 1979)

<sup>12</sup>Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

<sup>13</sup>Child and Life in Art (Boston: L.C. & Co., 1897).

Vauthier,<sup>15</sup> and Bettina Hurliman<sup>16</sup> show a great appreciation for the aesthetic values of portraits of children as they were painted by artists throughout history. The publication of Philippe Ariès' Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life<sup>17</sup> in 1962 stimulated the production of a number of historical studies of child portaiture among American scholars, who were also consulted.<sup>18</sup> Karin Calvert's work was a particularly helpful guide in establishing links between U.S. and Canadian portrait types.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Robert De La Sizeranne, Le miroir de la vie: Essais sur l'évolution esthétique (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1902).

<sup>15</sup>L'enfant à travers les siècles (Paris: Librairie Hachette, n.d., [1906?]).

<sup>16</sup>Childrens Portraits: The World of the Child in European Painting (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1950).

<sup>17</sup>Trans. Robert Balbick (New York: Random House Inc., 1962).

<sup>18</sup>Among the most recent studies see Ross W. Beales, "In Search of the Historical Child: Miniature Childhood in Colonial New England," American Quarterly 27/4 (October 1975): 379-398; Rosalind K. Marshall, Childhood in 17th Century Scotland, exhibition catalogue (Edinburgh: The Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1976); Old Dartmouth Historical Society, Images of Childhood: An Exhibition of Pictures and Objects from Nineteenth Century New Bedford, exhibition catalogue (New Bedford: Old Darthmouth Historical Society, 1977); Stephen Brobeck, "Images of the Family: Portrait Painting as indices of American Family Culture, Structure, and Behavior, 1730-1860," Journal of Psychohistory (Summer 1977): 81-106; Françoise Loux, Le jeune enfant et son corps dans la médecine traditionnelle, (Paris: Flammarion, 1978); Anita Schorsch, Images of Childhood: An Illustrated Social History (New York: Mayflower books, 1979); Hollister Sturges III, Angels and Urchins: Images of Children at the Joslyn, exhibition catalogue (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 1980); Chantal Georgel, L'enfant et l'image au XIXe siècle, Les Dossiers du Musée D'Orsay, no. 24, (Paris: Editions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1988).

<sup>19</sup>Karin Calvert, "Children in American family Portraiture 1670 to 1810," William and Mary Quarterly 39/1 (January 1982): 87-113.

In Canada, there have been but two exhibitions involving the theme of children in art. The first was organized in 1979 on the occasion of the International Year of the Child, entitled Enfants d'autrefois/ Children of Yesterday<sup>20</sup> and was accompanied by a short catalogue which discussed a number of landscapes, silhouettes and miniatures in which children figured. In 1989, the Musée du Québec organised a small exhibition showing a series of nineteenth-century portraits of children in the collection. The resulting agenda,<sup>21</sup> though not really a study, did put into visual perspective the changes in representation of the child that took place throughout the century. The material presented in these exhibitions has been taken into consideration in the analysis presented here.

Most of the portraits discussed in this thesis are already well-known to scholars in Canadian art history. However, the research done by art historians has rarely gone beyond descriptions of individual cases. Few attempts have been made to relate specific portraits to the ensemble of portraits in Quebec, and even fewer to relate Canadian portraits to analogous productions in the U.S. Our typological division of portraits of children in Quebec has enabled us to get a clearer picture of family portraiture in the province, and consequently to pinpoint more precisely its specificity with

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<sup>20</sup>Janine G. Conrad-Bury & Marc Lebel, Enfants d'autrefois/ Children of Yesterday, exhibition catalogue (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, Iconography Dept., 1979).

<sup>21</sup>visages d'enfants (Quebec: Musée du Québec, Québec Agenda, 1989). The biographies of each artist as well as the texts describing each painting were written by Michel Nadeau.



regards to the portrait in the North-American context.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE THEME AND THE CONTEXT

#### **The Child in Art: A Brief History of a Type**

The child and the family are two themes which have been inseparable in the history of art. In his book Les peintres de la vie familiale, Louis Hautecoeur suggests that Greek poets recounted the misadventures of Oedipus, Jocaste, Antigone, Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, largely because such tragic events in family lives taught much about the force of one's destiny and the respect one should have for divine laws.<sup>1</sup> Tragedy in the family was very moving and could be used effectively to stage a didactic play of morality and human drama. During the Middle Ages, the life of the Holy Child was frequently depicted. This was not done for dramatic purposes but to incite piety and to illustrate the story of the Incarnation.

According Anita Schorsch, children were physically and psychologically separated from the adult world for centuries.<sup>2</sup> Partly because of medical ignorance and partly due to the fact that children were considered expendable, they died in large numbers and continued to do so until as late as the end of the nineteenth century. In art, this was expressed in what Philippe Ariès has called "a refusal to accept child morphology," according to which children were not characterized by a special expression or form but

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<sup>1</sup>Paris: Editions de la galerie Charpentier, 1945, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Anita Schorsch, Images of Childhood: An Illustrated Social History, (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979), p. 14.

were depicted as miniature adults.<sup>3</sup>

By the 15th century, however, the rigid hieratic image of the Man-God was giving way to a softer look. The child began to play as children do in the arms of their mother. In Raphael's Madonnas, the divine Child was more and more humanized; he is shown playing with a bunch of grapes, peeking out from under a veil, playing with his cousin John the Baptist; in short the image was taking on the traits of a real child, and getting closer to a real portrait.

### **The "Discovery" of Childhood**

It is to the seventeenth-century Netherlands that we owe what Philippe Ariès long ago coined the "discovery of childhood,"<sup>4</sup> marked by a growing interest in the particular state and nature of that phase in life. It is during this century that the age-old family portrait began to be centered around children, and portraits of them on their own also became more and more common.<sup>5</sup> The child became a favorite subject for artists, and children's clothing was distinguished from that of adults.<sup>6</sup> Though children were often employed to express moralizing themes in certain paintings of the

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<sup>3</sup>Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

time,<sup>7</sup> the child was no longer treated like a miniature adult; he had his own games and his own pastimes, he was painted with all the traits proper to his age.

Indeed, the Dutch were among the first to develop the family portrait with children,<sup>8</sup> a fact for which Charles Moreau-Vauthier suggests the following explanation:

Un climat rude, une société plus démocratique resserrent les liens de la famille, développent l'amour du foyer, donnent un souci plus constant des petits et des humbles, et offrent aux artistes des modèles plus simples; plus aisés à rendre,<sup>9</sup> dont ils comprennent et sentent mieux la grâce ingénue.

Painters such as Samuel Dirks Van Hoogstraten and Cornelius Vos, to name only two among the Dutch, took great interest in representing their own children.<sup>10</sup> For his part, Rembrandt often used his wife and son to pose as the subjects of his mythological scenes.

Later, under the influence of the sentimental atmosphere present throughout much of Europe in the eighteenth century, there was a flowering of mother and child images. In England, Joshua Reynolds, William Hogarth and others celebrated the fashion of motherhood among the upper classes. In France, Fragonard, Greuze,

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<sup>7</sup>On the use of children for moralizing purposes in Dutch art see Susan Koslow, "Frans Hals's Fisherboys: Exemplars of Idleness," Art Bulletin 57/3 (September 1975): 418-32 and Walter Gibson, "Bosch's Boy with a Whirligig: Some Iconographical Speculations," Simiolus 8 (1975-76).

<sup>8</sup>Praz, Conversation Pieces, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup>L'enfant à travers les siècles, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup>Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 19. For more on the representation of children in Dutch genre painting, see Mary Frances Durantini, The Child in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting (Anne Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983).

Boilly and others, produced an abundance of images of mothers with their adoring children. It is not surprising that the eighteenth century has been called "the century of childhood".<sup>11</sup> Such over-sentimentalization (characterized by some "la mollesse et la sensiblerie"<sup>12</sup>), transformed the ancient image of the Madonna as the protective Mother in heaven to the secular level of bourgeois domesticity.

Many documents devoted to the subject of the nature and nurture of children appear during the eighteenth century. Books were published on various themes such as the duties of parents toward their children, the nursing and rearing of children, spiritual councils for children, etc. Guide books such as James Nelson's An Essay on the Government of Children (1768) were in common use throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

By the nineteenth century, privacy, family life, and good childrearing became increasingly important. With the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie, the role of the mother in the upbringing of the child took on vital significance:

Dès le berceau, la mère doit commencer à former le coeur de son fils à l'amour du beau et du vrai, à la haine du mensonge et du mal; c'est sur les grands noms de tous les temps et de tous les pays qu'elle doit lui apprendre à épeler; c'est l'histoire à la main qu'elle doit lui enseigner quelles sont les actions qu'il faut prendre pour modèles, et celles qu'il faut éviter et mépriser. En un mot, il est du devoir d'une mère d'inspirer à son fils les vertus civiques, l'orgueil de l'honneur, la fraternité,

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<sup>11</sup> See Philippe Minquet, Esthétique du rococo, (Paris: Vrin, 1966), p. 243.

<sup>12</sup> Moreau-Vauthier, L'enfant à travers les siècles, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 37.

le patriotisme, l'abnégation, le devoûment (sic).<sup>14</sup>

More than ever, the child is seen as the center of the family, becoming the object of an emotional and economic investment on the part of his parents. Yet, as Michelle Perrot has pointed out, there is a good reason for this investment, for the child not only belongs to his own parents but is also the future of the nation and of the race: he can produce, reproduce, and be the citizen, scholar, priest and soldier of tomorrow.<sup>15</sup>

#### **The Historical and Artistic Context in Quebec**

In order to arrive at a historical understanding of child portraits in Quebec, we must be able to situate them in the context in which they were produced and received, i.e. we must identify: (1) the social and economic conditions that led to the production of portraits during the first half of the nineteenth century, (2) those social groups that patronized this art, (3) the motivations that led them to have themselves and their loved ones immortalized in portraits and (4) the place portraiture held in the artistic context during the period.

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<sup>14</sup>Le Fantasque, 19 July 1841, pp. 307-308. For further comments on the role of the mother in the family, cf Alexis Mailloux (1801-1877), Catéchisme des parents chrétiens (Quebec City: Augustin Côté et Cie, 1851; reprint, Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 1977).

<sup>15</sup>Michelle Perrot, "Figures et rôles," in Histoire de la vie privée, vol. 4, De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre, Philippe Ariès dir., (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), p. 148.

An overview of the historiography of the period reveals first of all a general agreement that it was a time of major change and restructurization on all levels of society.<sup>16</sup> Conflicts were numerous, as traditions from the ancien régime began to give way to a new structured economy.

Fernand Ouellet has identified some of the forces of change at work during this period. Among other things he points to the increasing tensions between the professional elite and the British colonial government, overpopulation on the seigneuries, growing socio-economic disparities between the ethnic groups and the cholera epidemic of 1832 that killed an estimated four thousand people. At the same time, the colony also witnessed great demographic changes. From 1810 to 1840, the colonial population escalated by over 250 000 French Canadians. By 1840, over 400 000 immigrants had landed in Lower Canada.<sup>17</sup> Ouellet describes the first years of the nineteenth century as follows:

Les changements économiques et les difficultés conjoncturelles avaient créé des malaises et exacerbé les tensions dans la société. Aucun groupe, quelle que soit

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<sup>16</sup>Scholarship in this area is quite vast. See for example Jean-Pierre Wallot, Un Québec qui bougeait. Trame socio-politique au XIXe siècle (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1973); Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Groupes sociaux et pouvoir: le cas canadien du XIXe siècle," RHAF 27/4 (March 1974): 509-564; Idem., "Crise agricole et tensions socio-ethniques dans le Bas-Canada, 1802-1812," RHAF 26/4 (September 1972): 39-63; Dale Miquelon, Society and Conquest. The Debate on the Bourgeoisie and Social Change in French Canada 1700-1850 (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1977); Alfred Dubuc, "Classes sociales au Canada," Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations 22/4 (July-August 1967): 829-844; Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale du Québec 1760-1850. Structures et conjonctures (Montreal & Paris: Fides, 1966); Idem., Éléments d'histoire sociale du Bas-Canada (Montreal: Les Cahiers du Québec, Hurtubise HMH, 1972).

<sup>17</sup>Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada 1791-1840. Changements structureaux et crises, 2d ed. (Ottawa: Les éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1980), p. 214.

sa position dans la hiérarchie sociale, n'avait pu rester indifférent au climat d'incertitude et de mécontentement croissant qui règne alors dans le Bas-Canada.<sup>18</sup>

Despite these tensions, and perhaps in part because of them, important elements necessary for a portrait fashion were in place. Among these was the rise of a new business class which was financially capable of buying works of art. Members of this class such as Simon Mactavish, founded prestigious social clubs like the Beaver Club in Montreal, where they celebrated in a sumptuous manner.<sup>19</sup> In Quebec City, some prominent merchant-traders such as John Reinhart, Jacob Pozer, and William Burns acquired comfortable residences complete with heating, furniture, extensive libraries, spacious dining rooms and domestics.<sup>20</sup> "New men," says Creighton, "such as Gillespie and McGillivray had taken over the direction once exercised by others," and were seeking to assert themselves in their new-found positions.<sup>21</sup>

Another group capable of commissioning portraits was a rising group of French-Canadian urban professionals distinct from the anglophone fur traders and businessmen just described. Largely made

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<sup>18</sup>Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada 1791-1840, p. 213.

<sup>19</sup>Alfred Dubuc, "Les classes sociales au Canada," Annales: Économies, sociétés, et civilisations 22/4 (July-August 1967): 838.

<sup>20</sup>For more on the high standard of living of the merchant-traders in Quebec City, see George Bervin, "Espace physique et culture matérielle du marchand-négociant à Québec au début du XIXe siècle (1820-1830)," Material History Bulletin 4 (Spring 1982): 1-18. See also Claudette Lacelle, Les domestiques en milieu urbain canadien au XIXe siècle, (Ottawa: Parcs Canada, 1987).

<sup>21</sup>Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St-Lawrence, (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1956) p. 147.



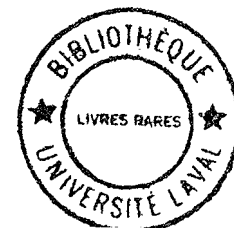
up of notaries, lawyers, doctors, and surveyors, this politically active class came to assert its interests by taking part in the legislative assembly. This group was particularly fond of family portraits: self conscious, it sought above all to reaffirm its own identity in the face of what it perceived to be an anglophone threat. For these French-Canadians, portraiture was one way of asserting their new-found identity, and, at the same time, a way of fashionably decorating their elegant victorian homes.

Indeed for North Americans in general, portraiture was by far the most favoured painting genre until almost the end of the nineteenth century. Such prevalence for likenesses as opposed to landscape, genre, and history painting, is highly indicative of contemporary values and reflects the important role that the portrait played in a newly formed society. This fashion for portraiture is what Neil Harris called the "burden" of the North American artist, for the portrait market was far larger than that for any other painting genre.<sup>22</sup> Quebec was no exception to this fashion: in 1847 a columnist writing for Le Canadien, goes so far as to complain about the craze that Quebecers had for likenesses:

Québec possède des peintres distingués en divers genres; deux d'entr'eux sont allés en Europe s'inspirer des leçons indispensables des grands maîtres. A leur retour leurs concitoyens n'ont rien trouvé de plus beau, de plus noble, de plus gracieux à offrir à leurs pinceaux habiles, à leur imagination fraîchement impressionnée des brillantes productions du génie de dix siècles...que leurs propres visages dont on leur demande une copie plus ou moins fidèle, plus ou moins flattée. Pourtant il nous semble

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<sup>22</sup>Neil Harris, The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860, (New York: Baziller, 1966): 56.



qu'outre les sujets de famille qui ont un attrait que nous ne voulons pas nier ni même blâmer, l'on aurait pu les charger de produire quelques-unes des magnifiques scènes de la nature canadienne, d'interpréter quelques pages brillantes, touchantes, patriotiques de notre héroïque histoire que nul peintre n'a encore interprétées.<sup>23</sup>

Clerics, politicians, family men, housewives, students and children alike were represented in individual and collective portraits throughout most of the century. The result is that museum collections throughout Canada are filled with an array of large and small-scale portraits, which testify clearly to the French and English Canadian fondness for this genre.

Aware that a portrait could affirm rank and impart the sitter with a certain amount of social status, North Americans showed a concern throughout the nineteenth century to set down their features according to the most up-to-date tastes of the time. In this sense, colonial portraiture is not simply the result of an artistically-minded elite. The portrait is above all the assertion of an individual's self esteem, his pride in his roots and his family. It is an eminently personal object. Indeed, the large number of portraits that were produced shows that most people were simply interested in having pictures of themselves and their families, such as those found in family photo albums today:

Regarded as family icons, portraits were often considered utilitarian because they fulfilled visually the need for a genealogical record in addition to providing decorative embellishment, which concurrently became a functional

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<sup>23</sup>Le Canadien, 15 October 1847, p. 2.

expression of wordly status.<sup>24</sup>

So strong was the desire to keep the memory of family members alive that some artists embarked on the gruesome task of painting likenesses from corpses. The high infant mortality rate explains the large numbers of posthumous portraits of children.<sup>25</sup>

It has often been said that the end of the eighteenth century marks the beginning of a new era in artistic culture in Quebec. Numerous factors contributed to what has rightly been called the "Golden Age" of Canadian painting.<sup>26</sup> As we have seen, the rising population and the ascendancy of a new bourgeoisie all played a part in this. The local church, with its solicitous care of the faithful, also stimulated artistic production by commissioning numerous artists to design retables and decorate the spacious interiors of the newly-built churches required by the increase in population. Between 1793 and 1815 alone, an estimated 30 churches were built or substantially enlarged.<sup>27</sup>

In defining the artistic context more precisely, the phenomena of folk art also should be taken into account. Early nineteenth-

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<sup>24</sup>Rumford, American Folk Portraits, p. 20.

<sup>25</sup>Phoebe Lloyd, "A Young Boy in his First and Last Suit," Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin 104 (1978-1980): 105.

<sup>26</sup>Among others, see Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 56 and Gérard Morisset, Peintres et tableaux, vol. 2 (Quebec: Les éditions du chapelet, 1936), p. 114.

<sup>27</sup>Gérard Morisset, L'architecture en Nouvelle-France (Quebec: n.p., 1949): 53; cf also Luc Noppen, Les églises du Québec (1600-1850) (Quebec City: Éditeur officiel du Québec; Montreal: Fides, 1977) p. 39.

century portraiture in Quebec was not entirely "primitive",<sup>28</sup> nor was it predominantly academic, for not all artists had the same degree of training or experience. John R. Porter's comments on the sculptors of the province can be applied to painters as well:

Si l'on considère l'ensemble de la production québécoise, on en arrive à distinguer diverses catégories de sculpteurs, catégories qui correspondent assez bien à celles qu'ont dégagé nos voisins américains à l'égard de leurs propres artisans: des artistes professionnels jouissant d'une solide formation, des artistes professionnels ayant fait un apprentissage traditionnel mais dont la formation est plus ou moins incomplète, des artisans technologiquement décalés dont la formation les destinait avant tout à l'exercice du métier de menuisier, par exemple, mais que les particularités du marché ont amenés à oeuvrer dans le champ de la sculpture et enfin des artisans de village, autodidactes dont les oeuvres très stylisées et très simplifiées n'ont connu qu'un rayonnement restreint.<sup>29</sup>

American scholars have brought forward numerous different definitions of "folk" painting,<sup>30</sup> making it difficult to opt for one definition that would respect the different levels of training and technical ability of so-called "folk" painters. In Canada, J.R. Harper has consolidated different unacademic paintings under the single rubrics of "a people's art", a term which seems rather restrictive.<sup>31</sup> For some, "folk" painting may be considered as

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<sup>28</sup>Hubbard, "Primitives with Character," p. 17.

<sup>29</sup>John R. Porter, "La sculpture ancienne du Québec et la question de l'art populaire," in John R. Porter (dir.), Questions d'art populaire, Cahiers du Célat, no. 2 (Quebec: Célat, May 1984), p. 75.

<sup>30</sup>For a number of definitions cf "What is American Folk Art? A Symposium," in Folk Art in America, ed., Jack T. Ericson, pp. 14-21.

<sup>31</sup>Cf A People's Art, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

untutored, primitive works of art in which use was the primary motivation.<sup>32</sup> For others, such as Charles Bergengren, folk painting was a result of "a social reticence in the presentation of self in egalitarian communities".<sup>33</sup> However, it is not our purpose here to enter into a discussion on the nature of "folk art". What is important is the fact that most "folk" artists produced portraits, a genre that also became very popular in the form of miniatures painted on ivory and silhouettes cut from paper.

The miniature was often worn as a piece of jewellery or as a locket on a chain and served as well to remind the wearer of his or her loved ones. This art form made its appearance in Canada around 1760 and reached its height of popularity during the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century. Even though it was cheaper and more accessible than life-sized oil portraits on canvas, the miniature was still only employed by an elite: between 1760 and 1860, about 50 miniaturists are known to have worked in Montreal.<sup>34</sup>

Two generations of artists were practicing their trade in Quebec at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. On the one hand, there were foreign-born artists trained in Europe or in the United States who could offer their

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<sup>32</sup>Edith Gregor Halpert, "What is American Folk Art?," p. 17.

<sup>33</sup>"Finished to the Utmost Nicety: Plain Portraits in America, 1760-1860," in Folk Art and Folk Worlds, eds., John Vlach & Simon J. Bronner (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983) pp. 85-120.

<sup>34</sup>Roslyn Margaret Rosenfeld, "Miniatures and Silhouettes in Montreal, 1760-1860," (Master of arts thesis [Art History], Concordia University, June 1981), p. 13.

services both as portraitists and as religious painters. A second generation, taking root during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, was composed of indigenous artists who had either been trained in Quebec or in Europe.

From newspaper advertisement it is clear that to be an artist in Lower Canada required multiple talents: few could survive on painting alone. Besides portraits, an artist might offer to decorate and varnish horse carriages, design emblems, decorate apartments, or paint commercial signs. Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy (1774-1848), for example, started as a cabinet maker and sign painter and is described as a painter of portraits and historical scenes only in 1831, at the age of forty.<sup>35</sup>

Louis Dulongpré (1759-1843), who according to an oft quoted obituary notice from La Minerve produced over 4 200 portraits during his career,<sup>36</sup> also taught music and drawing in Montreal as well as being involved as a manager at the Théâtre de société.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, for some, commissions did not come easily. Writing in 1808, William Berczy (1744-1813), who had toured Europe during the 1770s as an itinerant artist, complained:

~Even in the best of times [I] could [not] for a long time find sufficient nourishment in a town like Montreal which is to [sic] insignificant and yet to [sic] little for a

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<sup>35</sup>Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, p. 274.

<sup>36</sup>La Minerve, 8 May 1843.

<sup>37</sup>Robert Derome, Paul Bourassa, Joanne Chagnon, Dulongpré: De plus près/ A Closer Look (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1988) p. 11.

considerable encouragement of the fine arts and sciences.<sup>38</sup>

One of the most significant factors in the development of painting in Canada is the arrival of the Desjardins collection in the spring of 1817.<sup>39</sup> Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins (1753-1833) was a French priest who had sought refuge in Canada during the French Revolution, staying in the diocese of Quebec in 1793 and 1794. While still in France, he had acquired over 100 works and was finally able to ship them to Lower Canada via New York in 1816.<sup>40</sup> These paintings, mostly of religious subjects, served as models for many artists working in the colony. Morisset considers this collection "la base de notre Ecole picturale du siècle dernier."<sup>41</sup>

The major figures in the artistic context of Quebec portraiture between 1800 and 1860 were William Berczy (1744-1813), Antoine Plamondon (1804-1895), the most prominent portraitist and religious painter in Quebec, and his pupil Théophile Hamel (1817-1870). While Plamondon's popularity was by and large restricted to the locality

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<sup>38</sup>Letter from William Berczy to Fitch Hall, 22 May 1808, Public Archives of Canada, Berczy Papers (mg 23 HII6, vol. 4).

<sup>39</sup>See for example, "Les Tableaux de M. L'abbé Desjardins," Bulletin des recherches historiques, 6 (1900); H. Magnan, "Les abbés Desjardins, bienfaiteurs des arts au Canada," L'action sociale, 22 October 1909; Gérard Morisset, "La collection Desjardins et les peintures de l'école canadienne à St-Roch de Québec," Le Canada Français 22/2 (October 1934); Laurier Lacroix, "Les tableaux Desjardins, un héritage fructueux," Cap-aux-diamants 5/3 (Fall 1989): 43-46; not to mention the numerous artist biographies that point out the importance of this collection. See for example, John R. Porter, Joseph Légaré, p. 16.

<sup>40</sup>Porter, Joseph Légaré, p. 14.

<sup>41</sup>"La collection Desjardins. Les tableaux de l'église Saint-Antoine de Tilly," Le Canada français 22/3 (1934), p. 214.

in which he worked,<sup>42</sup> Hamel was known in other parts of Canada due to his prestigious commissions to paint the members of the legislative assembly and because he had clients in Montreal, Toronto and New York, where he painted prominent politicians and earned a considerable revenue.

After Plamondon's move to Neuville in 1851, Hamel became the most prominent portrait painter in the capital. His prosperous situation allowed him to indulge in painting uncommissioned subjects for his own pleasure,<sup>43</sup> including numerous portraits of his own family. All of his five children, of whom only two survived to adulthood (Julie-Hermine and Théophile-Gustave), were painted in typical family settings or individually, surrounded by toys and accessories proper to their age.

Portraits of children are relatively scarce in Quebec at the beginning of the nineteenth century and only become more frequent by the middle of the century. As for miniatures, both their numbers and our knowledge of them are so limited that only further research will give us a proper perspective as to their importance among other forms of portraiture. In the area of large-scale portraiture, there

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<sup>42</sup>In 1850, when he was awarded a prize at the provincial exhibition for a preliminary version of his painting La chasse aux tourtes (Journal de Québec, 12 October 1850), a reviewer from the Toronto based Anglo-American Magazine wrote about the paintings by the "well known hands of Duncan, Lock and Krieghoff," but admitted that he had never heard of Plamondon (Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 76.).

<sup>43</sup>Morisset says that at his death Hamel left a small fortune. See La peinture traditionnelle, p. 116. Vézina has shown that the average price for a civil portrait was fifty dollars, yet he could get up to two hundred dollars for the portraits of government officials. See Raymond Vézina, Théophile Hamel, p. 61.



are a number of anonymous portraits of unknown children that may have been painted during the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> There are also a number of anonymous portraits in the collection of the Musée du Québec that, judging by the costume, would have been painted in 1830s and 1840s.<sup>45</sup> However, most of them are poorly documented.

Some of the earliest images of known children in Quebec include François Baillairgé's 1804 drawing of the young Richard Bullock (fig. 2) and a pastel of Louis-Joseph Papineau attributed to Dulongpré (fig. 1). Though these may have been among the earliest images of children that we can consider from Quebec, they are not in any way major works of the artists in question, nor do they constitute a significant change in the perception or representation of children.

William Berczy is the first artist in Quebec to have produced family portraits where children are an integral part of the scene. His well-known portrait The Woolsey Family (fig. 58) is the best

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<sup>44</sup>Nothing is known for example about the portraits Fillette assise (1792) or Toussaint Decarie (1795), both of which belong to the Corbeil collection. Hubbard has attributed the drawing Fillette assise to Louis Dulongpré on account of the initials L.D. which appear on the edge of the frame. The attribution of the portrait Toussaint Decarie to François Baillairgé rests solely on an inscription on the back; cf Painters of Quebec: Maurice and Andrée Corbeil Collection, exhibition catalogue (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), pp. 63-64. As Laurier Lacroix has pointed out, both these attributions are difficult to sustain. It is quite possible that they were imported from Europe. See "La collection Maurice et Andrée Corbeil," Vie des Arts 72 (Fall 1973): 24-31.

<sup>45</sup>These include: Portrait de fillette (accession no. 69.71); Thomas Lainq (attributed to Roy-Audy, accession no. 57.188); Portrait de fillette (pastel, accession no. 68.05). There is however nothing to support their Canadian origins. Cf also in individual portraits of Flore and Sophie Frazer (Baillargeon collection, Quebec City).

example of a Canadian conversation piece. The death of Berczy in 1813, is followed by a relatively dry spell which gave way to the flourishing of Plamondon and Hamel between 1830 and 1860, both of whom received important commissions to paint wealthy families in Quebec City, Montreal and elsewhere. As mentioned above, Plamondon and Hamel devoted themselves almost exclusively to painting and did not need multiple talents in order to make a living.

The invention of the daguerreotype in 1839 brought about the eventual decline of portraiture in Canada as photographers gradually took over the market for portraits of children. In 1846, one Mr. Louis-M. Cyrus tempted those who might have had recourse to a miniature painter:

As his portraits can be taken in less than a second, he is enabled to secure likenesses of children of all ages, and in cloudy as well as sun-shiny weather.<sup>46</sup>

Though Hamel and his followers continued to respond to a steady market for larger portraits, their methods were affected as some copied and enlarged daguerreotypes while others, such as Napoleon Bourassa, began to produce paintings that reflect a greater concern for social issues and anecdotal subjects.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Montreal Gazette, 3 April 1846, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup>One thinks of his Petit mendiant (Musée du Québec, 1870) or Les petits pêcheurs of 1870 (Musée du Québec).

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE BUST-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF THE CHILD

This chapter deals with the individual portraits of children as opposed to the child in the group portrait which will be examined in Chapter Three. Our classification of bust portraits of children is based on the different motivations that lay behind the production of each portrait. Portraits of children were painted for different reasons. Some were done as commemorative images of a boy's school years. Others were painted during the illness of a child or after its death to remind the family of their loved one. Most commonly, however, children were painted as parts of family sets, in which the individual qualities of the child were generally emphasized, and not the family as a whole. Finally, some artists painted young infants whose innocence and simplicity are evoked more than their individual characteristics.

We will not be discussing each portrait in the same amount of detail. Because of their quality and the particular problems that they present, certain portraits such as Cyprien Tanguay, the Pelletier and Cartier families will be discussed at greater length.

#### **The School Portrait**

The child in the school portrait can be easily distinguished from other individual portraits of children on account of the school uniform. The costume worn by students of the Montreal

seminary around 1800, for example, was quite distinctive. The stream-lined lapels, the ruffled collar, the wide multicolored arrow sash and the bleu capot as seen in the portrait of a young boy from the Cartier family (fig. 21), immediately identify the youth as a Student from the seminary in Montreal.<sup>1</sup> The gentle smile of the Cartier boy (fig. 21) evokes the pride that went along with wearing such an elegant school uniform. In 1842, a writer for L'encyclopedie canadienne reminisced about his school days:

Je dirai que j'ai vu avec plaisir les nombreux élèves du séminaire revêtus de l'uniforme de notre "heureux temps du collège," à l'exception du ceinturon peut-être, de cet uniforme qui me plaisait tant, lorsque j'étais enfant, que porter le capot d'écolier, de ratine ou de drap bleu, à barres ou raies blanches, avec le ceinturon de laine de couleurs diverses, me semblait être une des grandes jouissances, des félicités de la vie.<sup>2</sup>

The multicoloured sash can also be seen in some miniatures such as that of a seminarian in the Baillargeon collection (fig. 10). In Quebec City, students of the seminary were obliged to wear green sashes. The earliest example can be seen in the portrait of Louis-Joseph Papineau, a pastel drawing attributed to Louis Dulongpré (fig. 1). A later version of this costume, which is illustrated in Viger's album,<sup>3</sup> is also worn by Cyprien Tanguay (fig. 3) and Joseph-Octave Fortier (fig. 6), two portraits painted by Plamondon

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<sup>1</sup>Marius Barbeau has studied the history of the arrow sash, tracing its origins to the very beginnings of the colony. The sash was worn among Montreal fur merchants and was eventually manufactured in large quantities by the Hudson's Bay company. Cf Ceinture fléchée, (Montreal: Éditions Paysana, 1945) p. 50. Cf also François Back, "Des petits messieurs au capots bleu. Le costume au petit séminaire de Québec," Cap-aux-diamants 4/2 (Summer 1988): 35.

<sup>2</sup>L'encyclopédie canadienne, I/8 (October 1842), p. 309.

<sup>3</sup>Cf plate 229 signed "J. Grant del.<sup>t</sup>" in Souvenirs canadiens, Jacques Viger's Album, Montreal Municipal Library, Collection Gagnon, Montreal.

in 1832 which we will examine below. Another variant of the outfit is also worn by a seminarian in a portrait by William St. Maur Bingham dated 1858 (fig. 7).

### **The Case of Cyprien Tanguay**

Cyprien Tanguay is a rather unique case in the portraits of children in Quebec because he is one of the few children of which there are no less than three known portraits.<sup>4</sup> Such a privilege was rare, especially for a thirteen-year-old seminarian and usually only reserved for important public figures such as Msgr. Duplessis or Louis-Joseph Papineau. The earliest known version is signed and dated 1830 by James Bowman and belongs to the collection of the college at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière (fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> A later copy of this portrait which is neither signed nor dated, belongs to the

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<sup>4</sup>The only other child to have been painted more than once is Gustave Hamel, the only surviving son of the Théophile Hamel. In 1861 the child figures in a double portrait with his sister: a little later he is seen posing as the Baby Jesus in a Madonna and Child that his father executed for the church Notre-Dame-des-Victoires (today in the Musée du Québec).

<sup>5</sup>See Fonds Gérard-Morisset, Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière file. In 1963 when Gérard Morisset undertook the inventory of the artistic treasures in the college at Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, he recorded this portrait of Tanguay, noting that the face and the blue bow-tie had been retouched. By the look of it, the work was probably painted by Roy-Audy. An accompanying plaque or label of some sort indicated that it was Cyprien Tanguay at age nine. This led him to date the painting to 1828. However, neither the plaque nor Morisset's attribution to Roy-Audy have proved to be correct. Morisset did not see an inscription that was written on the back of the cardboard but hidden by a protective backing. The inscription reads:

CYPRIEN TANGUAY/AGE DE 9 ANS/BOWMAN PINXIT 1830.

If this inscription indicates clearly the author of the painting, it nevertheless contains a chronological error; in 1830 Tanguay was eleven years old, not nine.

seminary in Quebec City (fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> The best-known portrait of Cyprien Tanguay is an 1832 version by Plamondon in the Quebec Seminary. We shall discuss it first.

Shortly after its completion, Plamondon's portrait of Cyprien Tanguay was considered to be "of uncommon merit."<sup>7</sup> Today it is one of the most frequently reproduced paintings in Quebec art. Since 1901, the year in which Tanguay himself donated the painting to the college, the portrait could be seen hanging in the halls of the priests' residence,<sup>8</sup> where it served as a kind of model of student success, for Tanguay later became a Roman prelate and author of a widely-read Dictionnaire généalogique. The young adolescent is seated rather solemnly at a table, wearing the official college uniform with its large ruffled collar and stream-lined lapels. The future scholar has just plunged his long feathered pen into the open ink-well before him. He gazes at the viewer while writing the first line of his text, as though Plamondon wanted to give the impression of spontaneity--the moment when the sitter is interrupted in his thought by an intruder. Yet, as Morisset has pointed out, one senses that he has been posing for many hours and

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<sup>6</sup>See ASQ, Fonds Verrault, Album 159 G.

<sup>7</sup>Quebec Mercury, 27 July 1833, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>According to the seminary's catalogue of paintings the portrait remained in the hallways between 1913 and 1933. Between 1950 and 1956, it was kept in the seminary's museum only to return to the corridors until 1965 at which point it was transferred to the museum to remain there on a permanent basis. Cf Catalogue de l'Université Laval (Quebec: L'Action catholique, 1933), no. 651.

his gaze leaves us rather cold.<sup>9</sup>

Plamondon has treated the composition in a very careful manner, making sure that balance and harmony reign. In order to do this, he has opted for a composition dominated by a pyramidal formal arrangement. Using the table as the principal repoussoir element, the artist concentrates the viewer's attention on two main features: the face framed by the large collar and the hands of the child which rest firmly on some books and on a few sheets of writing paper. The realism of these details, the sharp outline of the face and the even lighting, all suggest the spirit of the neoclassical portraits to which Plamondon was exposed during his stay in France.<sup>10</sup> One hardly gets the idea of a very cheerful child, nor does this portrait evoke any of the family sentiments usually associated with portraits of children. The boy is like an adult before his time.

The two earlier copies of Tanguay are not as serious. Upon first inspection, the portrait signed by Bowman (fig. 4) looks rushed and poorly executed, yet the look of the child with his reddened cheeks is far more appealing. Unlike the portrait by Plamondon (fig. 3), here the boy's face is off center and his gaze is not oriented directly at the viewer. Depicted frontally, before

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<sup>9</sup>Morisset, "Antoine Plamondon," Vie des Arts 3 (May-June 1956): 11.

<sup>10</sup>Portraits by David such as Madame Sériziat et son enfant (Musée du Louvre) or Michel Gérard et ses enfants (Musée du Mans), or Prud'hon's portrait Madame Anthony et ses enfants (Musée de Lyon) and Gérard's Portrait du peintre Isabey et sa fille (Musée du Louvre) are a few examples among many of early nineteenth century family portraits in France. See Louis Hautecoeur, Les peintres de la vie familiale, pp. 114-117.

a rather somber background, the boy wears a white shirt tied at the collar with a blue bow-tie. He is dressed in a brown jacket which is buttoned at the top but left open below to reveal a darkly-colored vest underneath. The unbuttoned jacket is not the result of negligence but the fashion of the period and can be seen in other portraits of American children painted at about the same time.<sup>11</sup>

The 1830 date on the back of Bowman's portrait confirms that Bowman must have spent at least a year or two in Sainte-Anne, perhaps teaching at the college as Plamondon did 1833.<sup>12</sup> By 1831 however, Bowman was in Quebec City, as is witnessed by an advertisement in The Quebec Gazette offering his services for the first time as a history and portrait painter.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the time he spent in Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière and the good word of support that he brought with him from the bishop of Boston were a way of making a more official entry into the capital, allowing him to gain the commission of the portrait of Mother Saint-Henry McLaughlin (Ursulin Convent, Quebec City).

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<sup>11</sup>See Portrait of Master Dobson painted by an anonymous American artist probably in New England (reproduced in Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 41, fig. 22).

<sup>12</sup>La Minerve, 26 August 1833, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup>The Quebec Gazette, 30 September 1831, p. 2. The historiography on Bowman, although limited, agrees on the 1831 date as Bowman's arrival in Canada. Cf Yves Lacasse, "La contribution du peintre américain James Bowman (1793-1842) au premier décor intérieur de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal," Journal of Canadian Art History 7/1 (1983):75; Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, pp. 41-42; Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol.7 (1988), s.v. "Bowman, James," by J.R. Harper.



A later copy of this portrait can be found in the collection of works on paper in the museum of the seminary in Quebec City (fig. 5). Both Bowman's version and the copy in the Quebec seminary measure about the same size, and both are painted on cardboard. The anonymous seminary version bears a coat of arms in the upper left-hand corner (fig. 5) which is not present in the Bowman version. The reasons for the painting at the seminary are unknown. Without any supporting documents, our attempts at explaining the circumstances of this commission therefore remain quite hypothetical. However, judging by the quality of the paint, the coat of arms in the top left-hand corner was probably painted at the same time as the portrait and not added at a later time.<sup>14</sup> This would date the portrait to after 1887, the year in which Tanguay would have obtained the insignia as Roman Prelate.<sup>15</sup> It is quite likely therefore that the copy was ordered by a priest of the seminary for a specific purpose. Copies of other portraits such the Msgr. Laval were occasionally executed at the request of a certain seminary priests.<sup>16</sup> They were framed and hung up in the seminary. The anonymous copy of Tanguay however was never framed nor used for a specific purpose. The priest who ordered it may have intended it for the hallways of the seminary but died before

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<sup>14</sup>However, it should be pointed out that the varnish over the coat of arms differs slightly from the varnish covering the portrait.

<sup>15</sup>Le Soleil (Quebec) 29 April 1902, p. 1. "Feu Mgr. Tanguay".

<sup>16</sup>Information communicated to us by Didier Prioul.

being able to do so. After his death, the portrait was placed in the collection of works on paper and has remained there ever since.<sup>17</sup>

Though Tanguay was pictured as a child, he was well known as a Roman Prelate when the portrait was executed. If his portrait was meant to be seen by others it may have been intended to serve as a model for other students to follow. After all, even today schools frame and exhibit photographs of their alumni or graduates. More than simply a decorative element in the halls of a teaching institution, such images could incite students to follow the example of their peers.

If the seminary copy (fig. 5) was inspired by a conscious effort to revive the memory of a historical student like Tanguay, the same cannot be said about the versions by Plamondon (fig. 3) and Bowman (figs. 4) since they were painted when Tanguay was only thirteen years old, well before he had received any distinctive honours. Why then would someone commission two portraits of a mere schoolboy? Was it a current practice for parents to have portraits of their children made when the latter were entering or leaving their colleges? Was Plamondon simply trying to show off his talent by "bettering" his version with the addition of numerous finely painted accessories? These are all questions regarding the

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<sup>17</sup>According to Didier Prioul, a tradition originating with Msgr. Laval stipulated that all the belongings of a seminary priest were to be deposited into the seminary's collection at the latter's death. This would explain why the copy of Tanguay was placed into the museum's collection without ever having served its purpose.

circumstances of the commission that we are as yet unable to answer.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the family was unhappy with the first painting done by Bowman and wanted something better. In any case, what these portraits do show is that successful seminary students were highly respected. It is in the college that future ecclesiastics and members of the liberal professions were formed.

In the U.S., analogous portraits of school boys date to as early as the late eighteenth century. One finds some portraits executed by trained professionals such as Matthew Pratt (1734-1805) who painted Portrait of a Boy, an aristocratic student holding a Greek textbook. Yet school boy portraits appear to have been more widespread among folk artists. Examples of these include a series of school-boy portraits by an unidentified artist working in Massachusetts and Connecticut known as the Beardsley limner (active 1785-1805).<sup>19</sup> Other portraits such as Boy Studying Geometry (1839) by Ashal Powers (1813-1843) show this school boy type of portrait later on in the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

Another seminarian also came under the brush of Plamondon in 1832--Joseph-Octave Fortier (1816-1842), who had entered the

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<sup>18</sup>Unfortunately, little helpful data about the family has come down to us. Cyprien Tanguay was the third child of Pierre Tanguay and Reine Bartell. The boy is known to have studied both at the Quebec seminary and at the college at Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière.

<sup>19</sup>Cf Christine S. Schloss, "The Beardsley Limner," Antiques CIII/3 (March 1973): 533-538 and Rumford, American Folk Portraits, pp. 50-55. Cf also Colleen Heslep and Helen Kellogg, "The Beardsley Limner Identified as Sarah Perkins," Antiques CXXVI/3 (September 1984): 548-565.

<sup>20</sup>Nina Fletcher Little, "Ashal Powers, Painter of Vermont Faces," Antiques CIV/5: 846-851. Powers was a portrait painter active in Vermont.

college in Trois-Rivières 1828 (fig. 6).<sup>21</sup> His portrait is much the same type as his portrait of Cyprien Tanguay (fig. 3), yet the artist has not surrounded Fortier with so many accessories. Both are about the same age and wear the seminarian's uniform with the ruffled collar surrounding the neck; both are facing the viewer with the same fixed look. Morisset said this about the portrait at Trois-Rivières:

On dirait qu'il éprouve quelque fatigue de poser si longtemps devant l'artiste. Ses traits sont crispés. Son regard est éteint, son expression est celle d'un malade. La fraise blanche qui emprisonne sa nuque accentue cette pénible impression. Le petit bonhomme n'a pas l'air d'être à son aise.<sup>22</sup>

If the identities of the above-mentioned seminarians is known to us, the identity of others escape us entirely. This is the case of the portrait shown in figure 7 which was painted by William St. Maur Bingham, an American artist active in Quebec City between 1858

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<sup>21</sup>After having completed his studies in theology, Fortier was ordained in 1840 and became vicar at the Church of St-Roch in Quebec City. In 1842 he was sent to Grosse-Ile where he acted as chaplain. He died shortly after his arrival, at the age of twenty-six, after having contracted a typhus virus. Cf J-B. A. Allaire, Dictionnaire biographique du clergé canadien-français: les anciens (Montreal: Imprimerie de l'école catholique des sourds-muets, 1910), p. 213.

<sup>22</sup>Gérard Morisset, "Un brelan de portraits au séminaire de Trois-Rivières," Le Droit (Ottawa), 3 July 1935. It is not known how this portrait as well as a companion portrait of Fortier's sister Adèle came to be in the collection of Chanoine Dusablou (cf IBC, Trois-Rivières, Séminaire). He in turn donated them to the seminary in Trois-Rivières.

and 1862, but of which little else is known.<sup>23</sup> Again, the boy is dressed in a fashionable seminary costume with a green sash, obligatory for students as of 1840.<sup>24</sup> As in Plamondon's portrait of Tanguay (fig. 3), a table and a book serve as repoussoir elements. His stare is cool, level and secure.

Certain compositional elements in the portrait show a knowledge of academic conventions: the column in the background and the oddly-placed curtain behind it were elements often employed by trained professionals. Yet the artist seems to have lacked the necessary technique and training and was forced to employ set formulas for the eyes, the nose, the hair and the hands. The sitter's thick head of hair, the sharply defined eyes and the broad arching of the eyebrows all give this student an intense look. His precarious perch on the chair only seems to be alleviated by his firm hold on his book.

Some later portraits of children can also be identified as school portraits even though they are not dressed in the seminarian's uniform nor presented with any books. This is the case of Hamel's 1858 portrait of Ernest Morisset (fig. 8), painted from a daguerreotype. The lad sits rather pensively--much too

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<sup>23</sup>The artist's signature, set clearly in view on the cloth draping over the table, could not have been more evident: "BINGHAM, ARTIST / 22 ST. JOHN STREET / QUEBEC 18TH OCT / 1858." The very completeness of the information in this inscription, not a very common practice among artists of the period, suggests that the work may have been a kind of showpiece for Bingham, who had arrived in Quebec City that very year.

<sup>24</sup>In 1852, a student from the Quebec Seminary recounts that the green was the emblem of hope, a color that was particularly well suited for young students. Cf Francis Back, "Des petits messieurs au capot bleu," p. 35.

serious for a ten-year-old--in a seat, qualified by Gérard Morisset as a Canadian-style chair,<sup>25</sup> his hair neatly combed, wearing a dark tie and a white collar. A buckle at his waist bears the Sulpician monogram, indicating where the boy was studying. Hamel's initials, along with his inscription "D'après un Daguerriéotype" can be seen on the left side of the chair's back-rest.

Some portraits contain so few distinctive elements in the costume or in the accessories that it is difficult to identify them with any certainty. This is the case of A Young Boy, attributed to Hamel and today part of the Corbeil Collection (fig. 9). This delicate image of a blond-headed child bears an inscription on the back of the canvas which reads "T. Hamel 1853". Though this is a fairly common way of signing for Hamel, he more frequently initialed his paintings or signed and dated them on the front of the canvas. The fact of signing on the back was very unusual and immediately ought to make one suspicious as to the validity of such an attribution.<sup>26</sup> In 1970, Hubbard suggested that it might be one

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<sup>25</sup>Fonds Gérard-Morisset, cf Théophile Hamel file.

<sup>26</sup>Other paintings that bear an inscription on the back are equally suspect. See for example the Portrait of Mme Paré, (1840), reproduced in Hubbard, Painters Of Quebec, pp. 92-93. Though an inscription on the stretcher bears Hamel's name, the style of the portrait, especially visible in the detailed effort put into the lace, is not at all like Hamel, nor like Plamondon for that matter. The same thing can be said with regard to the Portrait of Thomas Laing (Musée du Québec), long ago attributed by Gérard Morisset to Roy-Audy because of an inscription on the back which is said to have been by the hand of the artist (cf Fonds Gérard-Morisset, file on Roy-Audy). A further example can also be seen in the portrait entitled Toussaint Décarie (painted oval), attributed to François Baillairegé (cf Hubbard, Painters of Quebec, p. 64-65; Laurier Lacroix, "La collection Maurice et Andrée Corbeil," Vie des Arts 72 [Fall 1973]: 28).

of Hamel's children.<sup>27</sup> A few years later in his biography of Hamel, Raymond Vézina proposed the same idea.<sup>28</sup> However, these assertions remain difficult to maintain since they do not appear to have been supported by any specific document. Furthermore a brief look at Hamel's family genealogy shows that this could not be one of Hamel's sons because his first one was only born in 1858 and this painting is dated 1853. Stylistically, the whole look of the portrait, the disposition of the head, the solidity of the hands and the delicate treatment of the hair, all seem unlike anything by Hamel. The painting seems too refined, too well executed to be by Hamel.

### **Family Sets**

While we have identified some portraits to have been produced in the context of a young boy's schooling, it should be emphasized that it was far more common for bust portraits of children to have been intended as parts of an ensemble of individual family portraits. Unfortunately, many of these portraits have been separated from their original family groupings, making it difficult to appreciate them as a unit. The Pelletier family set is a good example of such dismemberment. Other family groups will also be examined below.

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<sup>27</sup>Cf Hubbard, Two Painters of Quebec, p. 105.

<sup>28</sup>Vézina, Théophile Hamel, vol. 1, p. 29.

### The Pelletier Family

If Hamel enjoyed painting his own children as well as those of his extended family, Plamondon, who never married, painted a number of prominent families in Quebec City with their progeniture. Passing through Quebec City, a traveller from Montreal made these comments about a group of bust portraits that he saw in a local studio. These may have been the Pelletier family:

Dans les portraits, en buste, j'ai remarqué particulièrement ceux d'une famille entière de Québec, père, mère, fils, fille, etc: éloignez-vous, approchez-vous, ce ne sont pas seulement les personnes mêmes que vous croyez voir, mais de véritables étoffes, draps fins, velours, soie, batiste, dentelle, rubans, bijoux, etc. Je le répète, ce n'est pas à distance seulement que vous croyez voir, que vous croiriez pouvoir reconnaître encore au toucher, les choses que je viens de nommer, mais de près, et de tout près.<sup>29</sup>

Pierre Pelletier, the father who presumably initiated the portrait commission with Plamondon, seems to be the perfect example of a proud family man seeking to make known his hard-won professional prestige and financial success.

The individual arrangements of the portraits were certainly not an unusual way of presenting a family, for many couples had recourse to the same kind of companion portrait arrangement, even though it was more common to depict each parent with one of the children at his side. This very popular type of arrangement will be looked at in Chapter Three.

A total of five portraits were executed. They include Pierre

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<sup>29</sup>M. Bibaud, L'encyclopédie canadienne (October 1842), p. 311.



Pelletier himself (fig. 11), his second wife née Elizabeth Moreau (fig. 12), and his three children Marie-Louise-Emélie (fig. 13),<sup>30</sup> Marie Georgina Rosalvina (fig. 14) and Charles-Norbert (fig. 15).<sup>31</sup> What is odd about the Pelletier group is the fact that none of the paintings were signed or dated.<sup>32</sup> The attribution to Plamondon was first made by Morisset in 1954 who originally dated the works to 1842.<sup>33</sup> The same attribution has been carried on, though the paintings are generally dated to 1835.<sup>34</sup> Using the research that has been gathered on the genealogy of the family, we can now date the portraits to 1831 rather than 1835. This is based on the

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<sup>30</sup>Emélie (1816-1846) was born to Pelletier's first wife Marie Madeleine Morin. Hubbard mistakenly refers to her mother as Mrs. Marin (cf Hubbard, Painters of Quebec, p. 78). The correct name is cited in Porter, Soeur Saint-Alphonse, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup>These two latter children were identified through the genealogical records of the family. The study was undertaken by Marthe Faribeault-Beauregard, genealogist, at the request of Raymond Vézina, chief of the documentary art section at the Public Archives of Canada in 1979 (cf "Les petites soeurs Pelletier," Nos Racines, no. 114, p. 2280). In 1841, after the eldest daughter Emélie had pronounced her vows at the monastery of l'Hôpital général, Pierre Pelletier commissioned Plamondon to paint a second portrait of her, this time as Sister St. Alphonse (cf Porter's, descriptive notices in Le grand héritage, pp. 120-123. Cf also Porter, Sister St-Alphonse, pp. 12-15).

<sup>32</sup>This fact has led some art historians to reject the Plamondon attribution, suggesting instead an attribution to Hamel, arguing that the style of the two painters at the beginning of Hamel's career was so similar that they can often be interchangeable. Cf Nos racines, no. 114, p. 2280.

<sup>33</sup>See Fonds Gérard Morisset, file for Musée du Québec, Portrait de Pierre Pelletier, p. 434. The 1842 date is impossible for it is posterior to the date in which Plamondon painted Sister St. Alphonse which is signed and dated "Antoine Plamondon, 1841."

<sup>34</sup>See for example Hubbard, "Growth in Canadian Art," in The Culture of Contemporary Canada, ed., Julian Park (Toronto: Ryerson Press, and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), pp. 95-142; idem, Two Painters of Quebec, pp. 126-127; idem, Painters of Quebec, p. 80-81; Porter, Sister St-Alphonse, p. 11 and idem, Le grand héritage, pp. 120-123.

initial hypothesis that the entire group was painted at the same time. By guessing the approximate age of the children in each portrait (Charles-Norbert being seven and Rosalvina only three), one arrives at 1831 as the only plausible date.

On account of its harmonious composition and its evident stylistic ties with French Neoclassicism, seen in the even clarity of the lighting, the crispness of the contours, and the freshness of the color, the portrait of Charles-Norbert (fig. 15) is one of the most celebrated examples of French-Canadian portraiture. Like Cyprien Tanguay (fig. 3), it too has been reproduced frequently, especially in publications outside Canada.<sup>35</sup> The artist has represented the child frontally, much the same as he would a year later in the portrait of young Cyprien Tanguay (fig. 3). Both boys wear the fashionable ruffled collar. While for Tanguay it is the apparel of a school-boy, there is little in the portrait of the Pelletier boy to suggest that he too is a school-boy. Neither pen, nor books, nor paper, nor any kind of accoutrements, suggest the idea of a young scholar. Rather, the child has been dressed up by his proud parents with little indication as to future work or profession.

As for the boy's sister Rosalvina (fig. 14), previously known

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<sup>35</sup>For example Hubbard, "Primitives with Character," Art Quarterly 20/1 (Spring 1957): 17-29; Idem, "Recent Discoveries in Early Canadian Art," The Journal of The Royal Society of Arts 110 (1962): 930; S.B. Sherill, "Two Quebec Painters," Antiques 98/11 (November 1970): 674.

simply as Child of the Pelletier Family,<sup>36</sup> Plamondon seems to have had more trouble in setting down the features accurately. No doubt, the youngster was less than interested in sitting still for more than a few moments in front of the artist. The resulting naïveté in the rendering of the face and in the sketchy treatment of the clothing and bonnet seem to fit well with the apparent impulsiveness of the child's character. Her brother (fig. 15) is treated in a much more refined manner; there the lighting is more even, the outline of the head clearer, and the artist's brush less visible. Unlike the solemn quality apparent in Plamondon's portrait of Cyprien Tanguay (fig. 3), both these images convey the spontaneity and simplicity of childhood, a characteristic that is more commonly found in the works of Hamel.

Looking at all five pictures as a whole, one immediately sees the variation in the technical execution of each painting. Plamondon's style seems to have changed with the age of the character that he was depicting. The artist goes from the naïve, almost folk art approach in his younger sitters to a more refined, meticulous approach in his adult subjects. A comparison between the portrait of the young Rosalvina (fig. 14) with that of her mother (fig. 12) shows this quite clearly.

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<sup>36</sup>Cf Hubbard Two Painters of Quebec, pp. 73, 127 and Idem, Painters of Quebec, pp. 81-82.

### Léocadie Bilodeau (1833-1871) and Family

Ten years after Plamondon had completed his commissioned portraits of the Pelletier family, Hamel began to do the same with other Quebec families. Though Hamel would later produce numerous portraits of parents seated with their children--a format which strangely enough Plamondon only used once--he nevertheless began by painting individual portraits of families, intended to be seen as a group. Among Hamel's earliest commissions of this kind was a set of three portraits of the Bilodeau family in Quebec City. Like Pierre Pelletier, Michel Bilodeau (fig. 16) was also a successful Quebec City merchant, established on St-Joseph Street in the St-Roch district. His wife Luce McNeil is said to have been a talented musician, a gift which her young daughter Léocadie (fig. 17) also became known for. Like Pierre Pelletier's eldest daughter Emélie, Léocadie later became a nun, entering the convent of Jésus-Marie in Lauzon in 1857.<sup>37</sup>

Léocadie Bilodeau (fig. 17) is shown standing against a neutral background with a small dog in her arms. This is not the first time that Hamel will use a dog to liven up the picture of the child. Dogs have frequently been used in American colonial portraits to suggest the simplicity and faithfulness of the sitter, yet here the animal has a more formal purpose, acting as a counterbalancing element with the white of the girl's collar. Hamel used the dog again in his 1847 portrait entitled Four Children and a Dog

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<sup>37</sup>A. Jobin, Le Soleil, 19 November 1950.

(fig. 54) just as Cornelius Krieghoff did in his Toronto portrait of Mrs. Williamson and Her Daughter (Sigmund Samuel Collection, Royal Ontario Museum) dated 1845-6.<sup>38</sup>

Gérard Morisset, suggests that Hamel used a daguerreotype to produce his portrait.<sup>39</sup> Though this assertion does not appear to rest on any concrete evidence (as is the case with the portrait of Ernest Morisset in figure 8), it is quite possibly true since by 1842 the earliest Quebec photographers such Frederik Wyse had already begun to set up studios in the province.<sup>40</sup>

### **The Cartier Family**

Little is known of this group of portraits identified by Hubbard as Joseph Cartier and his wife née Marie-Pierre Laparre (figs. 18 & 19)<sup>41</sup> with their children: a young girl holding a cat (fig. 20), and a young boy wearing an arrow sash and holding a seminarian's hat in his arms (fig. 21). All are quite evidently by the hand of the same artist. Though none of the paintings are signed, they have been attributed to Louis Dulongpré and dated to

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<sup>38</sup>Cf reproduction in Harper, Krieghoff, (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 11. The popularity of this kind of accessory can also be seen in numerous portraits Jacques Viger's Album Souvenirs canadiens of 1839 (Montreal Municipal Library, Collection Gagnon, Montreal). Watercolors such as La favorite d'Emma (Viger Album P. 87) or Enfant et son chien, (ibid., p. 57) are only some of the numerous images of children set together with animals.

<sup>39</sup>Fonds Gérard-Morisset, Théophile Hamel file.

<sup>40</sup>Nicole Cloutier, "Les disciples de Daguerre à Québec 1839-1855," Journal of Canadian Art History 5/1 (1980): 35.

<sup>41</sup>Quite probably meant to be "Lapierre," not "Laparre."

c. 1800. Posed against a rich, vibrant emerald green background, both parents and children have been painted with sharply defined features, a clarity of detail and a hard edge technique that resulted in startlingly real characterizations. Together they offer one of the most vivid examples of folk portraiture in Canada.

The boy (fig. 21), as we saw earlier, wears a colorful arrow sash and seminarian's uniform. His pose directed to the left shows that he was quite evidently meant to accompany his presumed sister (fig. 20). Like her mother, the girl is rather simply dressed wearing a high waisted gown that has a scoop neck and short sleeves. She holds a small cat in a basket, a feature that was frequently employed in American portraits of young girls.<sup>42</sup>

Related to this family group of individual portraits is one of a young child which has never been considered next to these (fig. 22). Though originally belonging to a private collection, it was recently acquired by the National Gallery of Canada and now bears the title Portrait of a Young Girl.<sup>43</sup> A closer look at the style of the painting (fig. 22), comparing it to the other children in the Corbeil collection (figs. 20 & 21), shows that they were quite definitely done by the same artist. Details such as the

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<sup>42</sup>Cf for example Portrait of a Girl Holding a Cat, 1830 by Zedekiah Belknap (for reproduction cf E. R. Mankins, "Zedekiah Belknap," Antiques 110/5 (November 1976), p. 1064, fig. 16.

<sup>43</sup>Formally in the collection of Mrs. Shirley Murdoch (Chicoutimi), the original title of the painting was Enfant au sifflet aux grelots. The portrait was part of an exhibition entitled, Peintures anciennes (no catalogue), Société des arts de Chicoutimi, auditorium Dufour, May 1973. Information communicated to us by John R. Porter. It now bears the title Portrait of a Young Girl.

shaping of the inner ear, the brightly colored smiling lips, the shape of the nostrils, and especially the thinly applied strands of hair over the forehead are witnesses to the same hand.

Like the portraits of the Cartier family, the portrait in the National Gallery was once attributed to Louis Dulongpré. This attribution however, does not seem convincing when one compares this portrait to authoritatively attributed examples of Dulongpré's work such as the portraits of Thomas McCord and Sarah Solomon in the McCord Museum in Montreal.<sup>44</sup> Instead, we would suggest that the National Gallery portrait as well as the rest of the portraits of the Cartier family were painted by an American itinerant travelling through Montreal during the first decade of the nineteenth century. The portraits by John Brewster Jr. (1766-1854), an itinerant painter who worked in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut and eastern New York, are strikingly similar to the above mentioned group. Though a Brewster attribution is difficult to prove, the hypothesis can be backed up by pointing out a number of distinctive elements in the Ottawa portrait that link it with folk portraits of children produced south of the border.

A number of elements link the National Gallery portrait with an American portrait tradition: the child is shown standing, wears a white muslin frock, and holds a rattle or charm. Each one of these elements are common in U.S. portraits of children but fairly rare in Canada. We have come across numerous U.S. portraits of

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<sup>44</sup>Cf Derome, Bourassa and Chagnon, Dulongpré, pp. 19-22.

children shown standing. In her study of children in American family portraits, Karin Calvert has found that the loose muslin frock became frequent as of about 1750.

The new frock represented a dramatic break with previous conventions of dress in America, because it was quite different from the costume worn by adult women. Simpler, and looser than a woman's gown, it suggests greater freedom, activity, and comfort for children.<sup>45</sup>

The rattle, which consists of an aid to teething and a whistle, was repeatedly used by American folk artists.<sup>46</sup> Such objects are occasionally found in Canadian portraits, such as Hamel's portrait of the Molson family (fig. 41), but examples of these are few and far between. Among the most strikingly similar American portraits, we can point to Emma Van Name (fig. 23), painted by an anonymous artist in about 1795 and Girl Holding a Rattle (fig. 24), a portrait attributed to Erastus Salisbury Field (1805-1900).<sup>47</sup> On the whole, therefore, the National Gallery child bears formal similarities with American folk portraits and is quite unlike any portraits children that we know to have been painted in Canada.

Related to this portrait and the Corbeil group is the bust

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<sup>45</sup>Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraits," p. 103.

<sup>46</sup>Abby Hansen, "Coral in Children's Portraits: A Charm Against the Evil Eye," Antiques 120/6 (December 1981), p. 1429. According to some authors, the use of such devices demonstrates the persistence of superstitious beliefs among English colonists that settled along American shores. Cf Berenice Ball, "Whistles with Coral and Bells," Antiques 80/6 (December 1961), pp. 552-555.

<sup>47</sup>Cf Rumford, American Folk Portraits, p. 99.



portrait of a child in a private collection in Montreal (fig. 25).<sup>48</sup> The boy, painted by an anonymous artist for a family in St-Georges de Beauce, wears a skeleton suit and holds a pet dog in his arms. The suit consisted of long trousers and a short jacket attached over a wide-collared shirt. It is also worn by the children in the portrait of the Woolsey Family (fig. 58), painted in 1809 by William Berczy. Bearing in mind that such suits were popular in Canada between 1790 and 1830, one can roughly date the portrait of this child to the second or third decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The same primitive treatment observed in the Ottawa child (fig. 22) and in the portraits of the Cartier family persists here (figs. 21 & 22), suggesting that it too was painted by an American limner.

The look of the child is serious and intense. Though the artist may have been untrained, he has managed to paint a gripping portrait of a child who must have been no older than 7 or 8 years old. Such psychological penetration is rare in portraits of children, for they are usually too young to have acquired a forceful character. Children were mainly painted for the innocence and simplicity that they seemed to embody and were happy reminders of a proud family's progeniture. Here, far from the happy simplicity seen in the portraits of Hamel's children (figs. 28-30)

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<sup>48</sup>We wish to thank Mrs. Jaqueline Beaudoin-Ross of Montreal who was kind enough to bring this work to our attention and allow us to photograph it.

<sup>49</sup>Eilleen Collard, From Toddler to Teens: An Outline of Childrens' Clothing Circa 1780 to 1930, 2nd impression 1977 (Burlington: By the Author, December 1973), p. 5.

or in Plamondon's genre depictions, one senses a solemnness akin to the posthumous portraits occasionally executed by some American artists such as James B. Read's 1856 Portrait of a Boy in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.<sup>50</sup>

### **A Posthumous Portrait**

If the portraits of the Pelletier (figs. 11-15), Bilodeau (figs. 16 & 17), and Cartier families (figs. 18-22) were each painted as family ensembles, other portraits of children appear to have been intended to hang alone. This is sometimes the case of certain posthumous portraits of children. The following portrait of Isobel Richardson (fig. 26), painted by an unidentified artist in 1843 is the only example of this type that we have come across in Quebec.

Isobel was the daughter of Charles A. Richardson, a successful notary who had established himself in Stanstead with his wife Jane T. Mackay in 1829. With what appears to have been little professional training, the artist pictured the thirteen-year-old girl, half length, wearing a rather heavily-decorated dress. With hair braided and tied together with ribbons, she holds her rather rigid-looking hands on her lap, one over the other. Her look, perhaps more than any other portrait of a youth this age, is decidedly dull and gloomy.

We know that Isobel Richardson died quite suddenly of

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<sup>50</sup>Cf Lloyd, "A Young Boy in his First and Last Suit," p. 104.

consumption in 1843. This probably explains her dreary look for the artist probably painting his sitter during her illness or after her death, basing himself purely on his memory. Though this is the only posthumous portrait of a child that we know of in Quebec, the practice does not seem to have been all that exceptional, since some artists, such as Samuel Palmer in Montreal, advertized that they would only paint portraits of dead children if they had known them beforehand.<sup>51</sup>

It has been suggested that the urn next to her is a funerary motif indicating her death.<sup>52</sup> Although this is possible, the use of an urn as a specific mortuary symbol was not a current practice either in Canada nor in the United States. More often than not, a willowtree, a fallen rose, a wilted flower, or a skull were used, elements which make the connection with death more evident.<sup>53</sup> Though the portrait may have been done during her illness, the urn is in all probability nothing more than a decorative object, resting on a table which is suggested by a decorative pattern below.

### **Théophile Hamel and his Own Children**

Portraits of small infants are not very numerous in Quebec.

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<sup>51</sup>Montreal Gazette, 19 May 1842, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup>See McCord museum's file on the painting.

<sup>53</sup>See Phoebe LLOYD, "A Young Boy in his First and Last Suit", p. 106. Another frequent symbol was the use of a medallion bearing the eagle of the resurrection. Cf Anita Schorsch Images of Childhood, p. 112, plate XX.

Our research has revealed only five. They include one portrait of a young child from the Robitaille family (fig. 27), three portraits by Hamel of children in his own family (figs. 28-30) and the portrait that we identified as the Cartier child by an anonymous American artist (fig. 22).

Theophile Hamel was by far the most prolific artist in Quebec portrait history. Most viewers who become the least bit acquainted with his portraits cannot help but notice the pride he took in painting both his children and those of others. Morisset even considers portraits of children to be one of Hamel's three principal subject divisions.<sup>54</sup>

With children he lightened up his palette and introduced fresher and more vibrant colors into the youthful faces. He was able to paint them without the melancholy and stifling qualities with which he sometimes presents his adults. Here eyes widen, faces grin, cheeks redden; above all, one senses the artist's fatherly affection for his offspring. One would be hard-pressed to guess, by looking at the cheerful faces of his children, that many of them died at a young age. In fact, of the five children born to his wife Mathilde-Georgina (née Faribeault) only two (Gustave and Hermine) survived to adulthood.

In 1858 Hamel painted his first-born son Georges (fig. 28). Barely four years old, the infant is shown full length, seated barefoot on an embroidered cushion. Clad in a white dress, as was

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<sup>54</sup>Morisset, Peinture traditionnelle au Canada Francais, p. 118.

the custom for young boys at the time, the boy holds two cherries in his left hand while with his right he clutches his robe in order to contain the bunch of grapes that he holds in his lap.

That young boys be dressed in girls' clothing was a common affair in the nineteenth century, for most boys wore them until the age of about four or five. This custom, which was widespread both in Canada and in the United States, remained the height of fashion until the 1870s when new styles for children's clothing emerged. Some families continued this practice well into the twentieth century.<sup>55</sup>

For many parents, especially in the United States, the death of a young child was often the occasion to have a commemorative portrait painted.<sup>56</sup> Thus came the necessity for death symbols that would remind the viewer of the child's fate. None of this is present in any of Hamel's works. No sadness, nor any hint of oncoming death is ever suggested. The portrait of Georges is so light, so whimsical, that it is hard to imagine that Hamel wanted to suggest any kind of symbolism with the objects that he depicted in his portraits.

Although the portrait of Georges (fig. 28) was the first one that Hamel had produced of his own children, the artist was already well-versed in painting the young children of his friends and

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<sup>55</sup>Cf Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture 1670 to 1810," p. 105. According to this author, the purpose of this was to blur the sexual distinctions between boys and girls and preserve the innocence of children as long as possible.

<sup>56</sup>Cf LLOYD, "A Young Boy in his First and Last Suit," p. 105.

relatives. His 1854 portrait of his nephew Ernest (fig. 29) shows striking similarities to Plamondon's earlier portrait of a child of the Robitaille family (fig. 27), which is dated to 1830. Both children are pictured full length, sitting on a pillow. They are about the same age, wear light *négligés* and hold on to their favorite toys. Plamondon's child (fig. 27) holds a toy animal and a small human figure, while Hamel's nephew (fig. 29) pulls a toy horse toward himself and holds a small whip in the other hand, also elements frequently found in American folk portraits of children. Though sometimes used for symbolic purposes, more often than not they were employed to suggest the playful and mischievous universe of the child. Hamel would use such elements again in other portraits of children, especially when he painted them in small groups. The hobby horse for example, is a frequently repeated object. It can be seen in Hamel's portrait of his children Gustave and Hermine (fig. 51), dating to about 1863, as well as in an undated drawing at the Musée du Québec of a young child posed with a hobby horse (fig. 30).<sup>57</sup> Plamondon however never used objects such as these again.

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<sup>57</sup> Entitled Enfant assis avec un jouet (pencil on paper, 15.5 X 11.2 cm) and initialed "T.H.," the drawing was acquired in 1977 by the Musée du Québec from Gilles Corbeil. Judging by the roundness of the face, one could suppose it to be Georges Hamel rather than Ernest Hamel. This would date the drawing to about 1859.

### Concluding Remarks on Bust-length Portraits of Children

To conclude our discussion of bust portraits of children we will examine in more detail the different types of motive that caused such individual such portraits to be painted.

The first type, those of the school boy, was commissioned with the intention of serving as a souvenir of school days and college life. They may have been a parent's reminder of the academic success of a son. However, our examination of the portraits of Cyprien Tanguay (figs. 3-5) shows that such portraits were sometimes esteemed for the exemplariness of the model depicted. In this sense, Plamondon's portrait of Tanguay seems to have been transformed from an object of family value to a painting that symbolized the aspirations of a teaching institution like the Quebec seminary. Other portraits that we have examined also show this tendency (figs. 6-8).

As of 1850 the daguerreotype came to be employed for the class portrait. One of the earliest daguerreotypes of this kind is the portrait of the 1850-51 philosophy class at the Quebec seminary.<sup>58</sup> This practice would become more and more widespread as photographic technique was improved. Soon it would become a yearly ritual as it is today, to have ones child pictured in the annual school portrait. Today, few schools are without their portrait-lined hallways, showing their venerable alumni and successful students.

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<sup>58</sup>The portrait is attributed to Léon-Antoine Lemire and is in the collection of the Quebec seminary. Cf Lessard, Les Livernois, photographes (Quebec: Musée du Québec-Québec Agenda, 1987), p. 50.

The second type, bust-length portraits of children, was executed as a part of a family series; the Pelletier group (figs. 11-15), the Bilodeau family (figs. 16 & 17), and the children of the Cartier family (figs. 18-22) demonstrate this. In these portraits, one sees better the importance of such visual records for these newly established families. Such portraits were less objects of vanity than useful visual documents bearing witness to the establishment of a new family and a new generation. While school and family events motivated some families to have their children painted, death or illness was the occasion for others. Though we have been able to trace one child portrait in Quebec that appears to have been done posthumously (Portrait of Isobel Richardson), the practice does not seem to have been as wide-spread in the province as it was south of the border.

Finally, the third group of portraits show the interest in the charm and innocence that both artist and patrons saw embodied in the child. In this, Théophile Hamel is doubtless the most prolific artist on account of the numerous portraits that he produced of his own children and young relatives.

Thus, the family baby, the school boy, and the young adolescent, form the simplest compositional type in the area of child portraiture. This becomes more complex when the child is depicted along with his mother, a brother, a sister, or other members of the family. It is these last mentioned visual types that will be the subject of Chapter Three.



**CHAPTER THREE**  
**THE GROUP PORTRAIT**

If children could be seen in individual bust-length portraits, they were also frequently represented in the family portrait. The most predominant arrangement was the representation of the mother with a child. Almost always, this image was accompanied by a separate portrait of the father standing or seated alone. Only in very rare cases would an artist show the father with a child.<sup>1</sup> Some parents however preferred a combination of two brothers or two sisters. At times, the number of children in one painting was increased, making for small groups of brothers and sisters at play. Finally, the whole family could be integrated into one single group portrait known as the conversation piece. Each of these portrait arrangements will be examined separately.

**Mother and Child**

The mother and child portrait was most widely exploited by Théophile Hamel who produced only one notable exception: his 1852 portrait Mr. Cyrice Têtu and His Daughter Caroline (fig. 38). The earliest portraits of this type known to have been painted in Quebec are Plamondon's famous Madame Papineau and Her Daughter

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<sup>1</sup>American examples of this type include Colonel Benjamin Tallmage and Son William (1790) by Ralph Earl (for reproduction cf Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture," p. 92); The Reverend Joseph Stewart and His Daughter Sarah Mosely Steward (c. 1800) by Joseph Stewart (1753-1822), cf reproduction in Thompson R. Harlow, "The Versatile Joseph Stewart, Portrait Painter and Museum Proprietor," Antiques CXXI\1 (January 1982): 303.

Ezilda (fig. 31) and Henry Daniel Thielcke's Anonymous Woman and Child (fig. 33). Both were done in 1836.

Plamondon completed his portrait shortly after his return from Montreal where he had begun it along with a pendant of the husband, the famous Patriot leader Louis-Joseph Papineau. On his return to the Capital, the artist advertised in Le Canadien that he was now ready to receive commissions, calling himself a painter of "family portraits."<sup>2</sup> Those interested could get an idea of the quality of his work by coming to see the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Papineau:

On peut voir maintenant à son atelier les portraits de M. et Mme Papineau, avec une de leurs petites demoiselles, auxquels il ne manque plus que quelques accompagnements. Nous ne craignons pas de dire que M. Plamondon est le premier qui nous a donné un bon portrait du grand patriote.<sup>3</sup>

Yet, if this portrait was advertised as an example of Plamondon's ability, the exaggerated primness of the sitters and the cool and distant look of Madame Papineau actually produced scornful reactions among those who had ventured into Plamondon's studio to see it. Referring to this portrait, a writer from a local Montreal paper wrote:

Il paraît que cette dame, toute occupée des projets futurs de son illustre époux, a voulu voir si une couronne siérait bien à sa tête, et elle a eu soin de se faire peindre avec un peigne qui lui donne tout l'air de porter le diadème. Bien des gens, en voyant cette peinture s'écrient *c'est trop tôt!* mais, comme l'a dit

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<sup>2</sup>Le Canadien, 10 October 1836, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

un grand homme, *les choses vont vite en Canada*.<sup>4</sup>

Though Madame Papineau (fig. 31) is shown in one of the most lush and extravagant interiors of the period, she is nevertheless depicted in what we are meant to understand as the confines of her natural habitat--the home. Her daughter Ezilda is the image of the docile, well brought-up child. She is shown delicately fingering a piano while her mother holds the musical score that she is about to execute. Music was an important element in the education of an accomplished young woman.<sup>5</sup> For James Nelson, a widely read English authority on child rearing during the eighteenth century,

A young lady of this class should learn music; it gives her a sprightly pleasing air; it is a fine relaxation from more serious employments and it greatly contributes to keep up a chearfulness (sic) thro' the whole family.<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to compare Plamondon's work to the contemporary portrait of a mother and child from Waterloo (Upper Canada) shown in figure 33. Here the anonymous artist has presented mother and daughter with the bare minimum of accessory.

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<sup>4</sup>Le Populaire, 14 August 1837, p. 4. Cited in Ross Fox, "Henry David Thielcke: A Recently Found Portrait and Some Reflections on Thielcke's Links with the English School," Bulletin, National Gallery of Canada, Annual Bulletin no.8, (1986), p. 24.

<sup>5</sup>Léocadie Bilodeau, pictured by Hamel in 1842, exceeded well in this and was well known among her peers as a talented piano player. Her mother Luce McNeil was also highly reputed for the skill that she no doubt taught her child. Cf Le Soleil, 19 November 1950, p. 11. In Hamel's portrait of Mrs. Molson and her children, a large harp appears, suggesting the family's interest in music (see fig. 60).

<sup>6</sup>James Nelson, Essay on the Government of Children Under Three General Heads: Viz. Health, Manners and Education, (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1756), p. 314. Cf facsimile reprint: New York, Garland Publishers, 1985.

The mother, quite probably a Mennonite, holds her daughter affectionately while they look rather intensely at the viewer.<sup>7</sup> Despite the evident differences in the social status of the sitters, these portraits indicate to what extent a popular theme such as the mother and child could easily be adopted by different classes. It is what we might call the universalization of a theme.

Despite the home decor and Plamondon's attempt to give the painting of Madame Papineau (fig. 31) an air of family privacy, his portrait had an obvious political character that neither Plamondon nor the Patriot leader could hide. Indeed, the sumptuousness of the surroundings and the meticulous attention brought to the description of the surrounding décor gives the painting a truly aristocratic flavour. For a constitutional paper like Le Populaire a portrait such as this one could be used to attack Louis-Joseph Papineau indirectly as leader of the 1837 rebellion. Despite such negative criticism about the portrait of his wife, other widely distributed images of Papineau himself did gain considerable popularity.<sup>8</sup>

Much more intimate in this regard is Thielcke's 1836 Portrait of a Woman and Child (fig. 32). The woman here wears a black satin

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<sup>7</sup>Oddly enough, no portrait of the father has come to light, yet it can be safely assumed that a pendant did at one point exist.

<sup>8</sup>In fact, the Plamondon's accompanying portrait of Mr. Papineau was not the first image of the Patriot leader. His portrait is an adaptation of an earlier engraving by Robert A. Sproule, published by A. Bourne in 1832 in Montreal and London. For more on the production of these portraits see Claudine Villeneuve, "Les portraits de Louis-Joseph Papineau dans l'estampe de 1825 à 1845," in Questions d'art québécois, John R. Porter (dir.) Cahiers du Célat, no. 6 (Quebec: Célat, 1987) pp. 103-130.

gown with a décoltage and short puffed sleeves. Like Madame Papineau, the sitter is manifestly in touch with the height of English fashion. The child, no more than two years old, sits on a fur covering raised up to her mother. While the woman holds the infant affectionately to prevent it from falling back, the child reaches out with a pink flower beckoning her to smell the sweet fragrance.<sup>9</sup> In the background, a luminous landscape can be seen behind a red curtain pulled back to reveal the splendid view. The light romantic mood of the portrait, echoing the sentimental character of the English painter Thomas Lawrence, is a strong contrast to the meticulous rendering of Plamondon's portrait of Madame Papineau. Though Papineau's daughter Ezilda smiles, she is nevertheless quite distant from her mother. The cool neoclassical style which Plamondon inherited from Jean-Baptiste Guérin, contrasts sharply with the loose, almost romantic treatment found in Thielcke's portrait. Thielcke's work quite evidently falls into the tradition of private family portraiture, suggesting the security, warmth and protection characteristic of a domestic setting. In contrast, Plamondon's picture is cold and official, the aloof sitters giving the work a public rather than a private character. Plamondon, unlike Thielcke, had never had any children and was therefore less accustomed to observing the spontaneous gestures of a young child. In fact, after this portrait, Plamondon never painted another portrait of a mother and child again. In

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<sup>9</sup>For a lengthier description of the painting see Fox "Henry D. Thielcke," p. 26.

this, Hamel would greatly exceed him.

### **Hamel's Portraits of Mothers and Their Children**

Hamel was sixteen years old when he began his apprenticeship under Antoine Plamondon, working for six years with the artist and ending his contract in 1840. Some of the first couples he painted include Mr. and Mrs. Dionne (Musée du Québec and Corbeil collection respectively), and Mrs. Guay (National Gallery of Canada). His reputation grew quite rapidly and in 1841 he was encouraged by an anonymous reader in Le Canadien. "Un amateur de la peinture" wrote:

M. Hamel est de retour, depuis quelques jours, des paroisses inférieures avec une nombreuse collection de portraits des plus respectables familles des endroits. Je n'oserais entrer dans la description artistique des portraits, mes connaissances de peinture étant trop peu étendues, me feraient craindre d'échouer; mais je me contenterai d'inviter masselteurs (sic) de cet art magique à aller visiter M. Hamel, ils pourront juger par eux-mêmes de ses progrès d'un tableau à l'autre, ils pourront voir comment l'artiste procède dans son coloris, dans la position qu'il donne aux personnages, dans la manière qu'il éclaire les têtes pour les faire ressortir de la toile, comment il travaille les contours, et comment il modèle les carnations; alors ils auront la mesure de son talent, et une idée du degré qu'il pourra atteindre, l'âge, l'expérience dans l'étude de la nature et de la *belle nature* lui ouvrant un si vaste champ.<sup>10</sup>

The year 1841 saw one of Hamel's first ambitious projects: The Portrait of Mrs. Charles-Hilaire Têtu and her Son Eugène (fig. 34) with a companion of her husband (fig. 35). It was the

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<sup>10</sup>Le Canadien, 5 July 1841, p. 3.

first time that he had ever painted a child. As in Thielcke's 1836 Portrait of a Mother and Child (fig. 32), Hamel represents the sitter in front of a distant landscape. Though the surroundings are more sober here than Plamondon's portrait of Madame Papineau (fig. 31), Hamel has been excessively meticulous in the rendering of the clothing items, the jewelry and the lace.<sup>11</sup> Like virtually all children done by Hamel, Eugène (1838-1887) is clad in a long négligé with his hair left in ringlets.

The pendant of the father that would have hung to the right is rather cold and aloof (fig. 35). The image of the successful merchant, presented alone in the same way as the 1842 portrait of Michel Bilodeau (fig. 16), seems harsh and straightforward. Têtu's biographer describes him as an energetic entrepreneur:

Taillé en hercule, bel homme, aussi fort qu'il était doux, M.Têtu était fait pour vivre cent ans, mais les mauvaises affaires firent leur apparition et le chagrin mina cette nature robuste et ce coeur si bon et si charitable.<sup>12</sup>

His biographer recounts the difficulties that Têtu had encountered in his first marriage with Marie Pâquet. The death of his children, particularly his favored son David, the bad turn of his wood commerce and the death of his wife in 1836 left him bitter

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<sup>11</sup>These very same jewels were presented to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 1968 by Mrs François Pouliot, wife of the Honorable Senator François Pouliot. Cf museum file on the painting.

<sup>12</sup>Henri Têtu, Histoire des familles Têtu, Bonenfant, Dionne et Perrault, (Quebec City: Dussault & Proulx imprimeurs, 1898), p. 144.

and remorseful.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps, in a portrait such as this (fig. 35), set next to his the portrait of his new wife and a new child, Charles-Hilaire Têtu saw himself as beginning a new life. Indeed, juxtaposed to the separate painting of his wife and son (fig. 34), his portrait does take on a less official look, allowing the viewer to appreciate the set as an authentic family portrait.

On a formal level, these portraits show a certain stiffness and naïveté characteristic of Hamel's early work: the child's almond-shaped eyes, the rounded chin and the sharply delineated nose and mouth are reminiscent of folk portraits south of the border. Though Hamel was appreciated, he needed more training, he had to be exposed to the masters:

This youth has never been out of the Province and hardly beyond the precinct of Quebec and has therefore but very little opportunity of seeing the works of celebrated masters, or of enjoying the advantages which students in older countries can readily obtain.<sup>14</sup>

During his stay in Europe Hamel produced only one painting of children, a rather curious portrait done in Rome which he entitled Les ABCs (fig. 53). The interest that he would later develop for this kind of light, playful image of the child is already quite manifest in this work. We will return to it later on.

A few months after his return to Quebec in 1846, he was commissioned by René-Edouard Caron (fig. 36), a Quebec City lawyer, to paint his portrait with a companion piece of his wife (née

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 143-164.

<sup>14</sup>The Quebec Mercury, 27 October 1840, p. 3.



Josephine DeBlois 1805-1880) with their young daughter Ozine (1845-1902) (fig. 37). The commission was certainly the most prestigious one that Hamel had received, for Caron was one of the most important men of the city. President of the legislative assembly, he later became a judge in the Supreme Court of Lower Canada and Lieutenant Governor of Quebec from 1873 to 1876.<sup>15</sup>

The work definitely shows the beneficial effects of his trip. Gone is the meticulous rendering of details, and the sharp outlining of the facial features. With the figures less sharply defined, the colours more muted, and a greater sense of proportion, his work now resembles that of a trained professional. The mother and child, set in an elegantly appointed early Victorian parlor, differ little from the way they are in similar portraits south of the border. Examples of these are numerous, for this set-up became the standardized method of painting this theme.<sup>16</sup>

Yet despite stylistic change, there is nevertheless an awkwardness to this family set. Mr. Caron's look is decidedly insecure; his pursed lips and the hesitant position of his left hand suggest his self-consciousness. His wife and child are overburdened by an excessive array of conventional portrait

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<sup>15</sup>Vézina, Théophile Hamel, p. 112.

<sup>16</sup>Similar U.S. examples include Sturtevant J. Hamblin, Woman and Child by a Window, dated 1848, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., (cf reproduction in Rumford, American Folk Portraits, p. 27, fig. 18); Jeremiah P. Hardy, Portrait of Catherine Wheeler Hardy and Her Daughter, dated 1842, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cf reproduction in Humm, Children in America, p. 19; Portrait of an American Madonna and Child, c. 1850, painted by an anonymous artist, New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown (cf reproduction in Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 59, fig. 37).

accessories: the curtain, the landscape, the column, a silver stand surmounted by caryatids and a basket of fruit, and a sofa. Our attention is also drawn to Mrs. Caron's jewelery: she wears a bracelet with a painted miniature and a brooch with a Canadian beaver. The child grasps her fur-lined dress in one hand while she passes through her fingers a sinuous cord in her mother's lap.

As for the motivation underlying this painting, it would appear to be not only that of reaffirming a new-found family status but also that of highlighting the prestigious position held by Caron, who was a lawyer and a member the the legislative assembly. The male sitter is thus presented less as a father than as a man of his profession, surrounded by a series of accessories: his toga, his books, and papers. Though it was a family portrait, it may have had public repercussions for a professional like Caron.

### **Cyrice Têtu's Family Portraits**

In 1852, Cyrice Têtu (1815-1890), a Quebec City merchant commissioned one of the most acclaimed companion portraits in Quebec art. The set is described with verve in the catalogue 500 oeuvres choisies, published by the Musée du Quebec.

Ces portraits comptent parmi les plus intéressants et les mieux réussis de Théophile Hamel, par la qualité de la composition, le soin apporté à rendre le caractère dans le traitement des visages et la situation des personnes dans un décor.<sup>17</sup>

The ensemble included Cyrice Têtu with his daughter Caroline

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<sup>17</sup>500 oeuvres choisies, p. 80.

(fig. 38) and his wife with her son Amable (fig. 39). Though the precise circumstances of the commission are not known, details of the family are, permitting us to integrate these two pictures within the context of a family story. Having established his store and his residence on St-Jean Street, Cyrice Têtu married Caroline Dionne (1824-1887) in 1846. As business increased, more money passed through his hands, allowing him to live an active life:

Il gardait de beaux chevaux, allait passer l'été à la campagne, et dépensait beaucoup dans ses voyages. En 1847, il avait fait son tour de noces en Europe.<sup>18</sup>

The portrait that he commissioned from Hamel seems to break all the rules yet at the same time typifies the rich bourgeois merchant class of the period. The father and daughter arrangement is rare in North American portraiture. Here, Têtu has lifted his young daughter up on a table, evidently proud of her (fig. 38). Hands and gestures are affectionate. Again one can observe the open window, the column, and the curtain, reflecting Têtu's taste for luxury. His biographer comments:

Cyrice se fit construire une maison princière, pourvue de toutes les améliorations connues à cette époque, et meublée avec autant de goût que de richesse.<sup>19</sup>

From a formal point of view, the Têtu portraits (figs. 38 & 39) are much simpler than the Caron family set (figs. 36 & 37). The

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<sup>18</sup>Têtu, Histoire des familles Têtu, p. 231.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

conventional portrait accessories are more subdued, emphasizing the character of each sitter. Têtu's daughter for example, is positioned against the neutral ground of the column. She sits erect, confidently resting her arm against the shoulder of her father. Like Eugène Têtu, she holds a gold watch.

Fort jolie et fort intelligente, elle fut en conséquence très recherchée et n'eut que l'embarras du choix, lequel au reste fut très heureux.<sup>20</sup>

Mrs. Têtu, surrounded by the same backdrop, holds her son Amable tenderly, as he points to a page in his book (fig. 39). Like the mother of Léocadie Bilodeau and numerous other ladies of the period, she was a well-versed musician and had even excelled in the art of painting pictures.<sup>21</sup> Amable's dream-like gaze is quite different from his smiling sister. He had a difficult character, "ne promettant rien de bon pour l'avenir."<sup>22</sup>

Seen in this family context, it is possible to imagine why Têtu wanted such a splendid portrait: "riche d'au moins cent cinquante milles paistres,"<sup>23</sup> he was at the height of his financial success. His biographer tells us that he loved his children very

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 239. Caroline married Henri Dushesnay, a lawyer who established himself at Sainte-Marie de Beauce. Their first daughter Amelie married Gustave Hamel (1862-1917), son of Théophile Hamel. For more on the Hamel family lineage, see Raymond Vézina, "Evolution of the Lineage of Théophile Hamel 1636-1975. An Instance of Social Advancement Due to Art," French Canadian And Acadian Genealogical Review 5/3-4 (1975): 162.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

much, bringing them on long trips overseas, no doubt buying such exquisite items as his son's Chinese gown. A portrait such as this could serve as an expression of love for his family, a way to legitimize his financial position, and a clear means of establishing his identity as a prominent businessman of the region.<sup>24</sup>

We have found only one other portrait in which the father and not the mother is depicted next to the child: The Portrait of Zacharie Vincent with His Son Cyprien (fig. 38). The reason for the scarcity of this type of arrangement is due to the absence of a pictorial model for artists to follow such as the Virgin and Child, an image which clearly served as the basis for portraits of numerous mothers and their children. Furthermore it was only natural that the mother be represented with her children since it was she who traditionally brought up the young.<sup>25</sup>

The child in Vincent's portrait functions less as the

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<sup>24</sup>Little in this portrait prepares us for the terrible financial disaster that he was to know in 1870. Bankrupt, he was forced to sell his business in order to pay off his debts. His son Amable married the daughter of a rich businessman working for the Hudson's Bay Company. He had fifteen children but all of them died at a young age. See Têtu, Histoire des familles Têtu, p. 225-240.

<sup>25</sup>While the companion portraits of mother and child with pendant of the father became quite common in large formats, it was a formula that was rarely exploited in the form of miniatures. At such a small scale, painting a single individual was already difficult enough. The only miniatures that we have come across showing the double format are Portrait of Mrs James Burns & Daughter (dated c. 1845, attributed to Samuel Palmer, McCord Museum, Montreal) and Woman with Young Daughter, (dated 1850, anonymous, Collection of John Russell, Montreal). Combination portraits such as these show the artist manifestly taking large format pictorial compositions in order to adapt them to the miniature scale. The result is usually cramped and uneasy.

expression of family lineage than as the fragile hope of a race self conscious of its danger of extinction, for the artist and his contemporaries believed that he was the last Huron of pure blood. This would explain the fact that the father and son are surrounded by a vast array of traditional Huron attributes, testifying his adherence to the race.<sup>26</sup> Had he wanted to produce a more typical type of portrait, more conformed to established norms, he would have shown his son with his wife while his own image would have hung as a pendant alone.

### **Mrs. Molson and Her Children**

The proliferation of children in Hamel's 1850 portrait Mrs. Molson and Her Children (fig. 41) make it, along with Mrs. Renaud and Her Daughters (fig. 43), a transitional work between the mother and child and the conversation piece. Though the surrounding decor is typical of Hamel, he has not made use of the most conventional mother and child set-up. Here, artist shows some originality by arranging the sitters differently.

Three healthy children affectionately surround their mother in front of a window showing a snow-covered tree. A young girl to the left looks up from her sewing, as though she had suddenly been

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<sup>26</sup>For more on the history behind this painting see Le Musée du Québec: 500 Oeuvres choisies, p. 74; Marie-Dominic Labelle and Sylvie Thivierge, "Un peintre huron du XIXe siècle: Zacharie Vincent," Recherches amérindiennes au Québec XI/4 (1981): 325-333. For an interpretation of the symbolic meaning behind Vincent's Le dernier Huron (Collection of Mr. & Mrs. Fred Schaeffer, Toronto) see Francois-Marc Gagnon and Yves Lacasse, "Antoine Plamondon 'Le dernier des Hurons' (1838)," Journal of Canadian Art History XII/1 (1989): 68-79.

interrupted in her task.<sup>27</sup> Nestled comfortably in her mother's lap, an infant toys with a whistle and bell, perhaps the same type of object seen in the hands of the anonymous child from the Cartier family (fig. 22). To the right, another little girl about five years of age turns awkwardly towards the viewer, making it difficult to discern whether she is playing the harp or simply resting her chin on the back rest of a chair. Though no pendant of the husband has been traced to Hamel, it is not likely that the family would have omitted to have a portrait of the father made as well. A photograph of Mrs. Molson's dining room, taken in 1915 by the Notman studio in Montreal (fig. 42), shows Hamel's painting hanging above a chiffonnier. While no pendant is visible next to the painting, other portraits facing the painting represent members of the Molson family, among which Mr. Molson is present.

### **Mrs. Renaud and Her Daughters**

In 1853, Hamel completed the portrait of Mrs. Sophie Renaud (née Lefebvre, 1821-1921) and her daughters Wilhelmine and Emma (fig. 43). Again, the husband was painted in pendant (fig. 44); his grave solitary figure is a sharp contrast to the lively atmosphere evident in the portraits of his wife and children. The

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<sup>27</sup>Needle-work is another task that James Nelson encouraged parents to teach their young girls, for "such a change of employment is often a Pleasure, [and] knowing it is really useful," (cf An Essay on the Government of Children, p. 286). Noémie Hamel, the eldest child in Hamel's portrait of his four nieces (fig. 71), is also shown sewing.

background is one of the most somber that Hamel painted. A curtain is visible on the left and to the right of the painting one can discern a mantel piece. This low-key background has the effect of dramatically emphasizing the group.

With one shoe on and one shoe off, the youngest child receives a gentle reprimand from her protective mother. Though the shoe in hand may look like the impulsive act of the child, it was in fact a standard staging device that was equally employed by American artists.<sup>28</sup> Plump, wholesome and healthy, these children, like many of their contemporaries in the U.S., were well cared for. Portraits such as these stand in stark opposition to the popular images of homeless street children and newsboys that began to be popular in North America within a decade of this painting.

The family portraits with children that we have seen so far have included bust portraits of children and portraits of the mother and child with a pendant of the father. Hamel repeats these same arrangements over and over with just a few variations to avoid monotony. Props are changed, the staging slightly altered, but the basic compositional arrangement was a standard device that everyone knew and accepted. About such conventions, Karin Calvert points out:

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<sup>28</sup>See Calvert's comments on the use of this gesture in American portraits of children, "Children in American Family Portraiture", p. 91. The portrait Innocence (Collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch), painted by an unknown American artist in 1830, makes use of this very same gesture (cf reproduction in Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 112). The same gesture is shown in the portrait of a child by John Brewster Jr. (1766-1854), One Shoe off of 1807. Cf reproduction in Suzette Lane and Paul D'Ambrosio, "Folk Art in the New York Historical Association," Antiques CXXIV/3 (September 1983): 519-521.



Whatever fabrications and fancy an artist might employ, a portrait had to conform to the type of presentation considered appropriate for each sitter's age, sex, and social position. Since an artist worked on commission, his portraits had to fit his patron's perception of themselves and their children. A portrait was thus a visual representation of society's expectations, with the subject tidied up for public viewing.<sup>29</sup>

Two other conventional types of group portraits of children were also produced: double portraits of brothers and sisters and conversation pieces. In both these types, Canadian artists once again adopted popular pictorial standards that were commonly used throughout the United States and Europe.

### **Double Portraits of Children**

The double portrait was particularly popular south of the border. We have come across many American folk portraits of brothers or sisters, sitting side by side, or clinging affectionately to each other.<sup>30</sup> These images reflect the concern of many American child-care theorists who stressed the importance of sibling relationships, often emphasizing the need for mutual support.<sup>31</sup>

In Canada double portraits such as these show a marked

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<sup>29</sup>Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture," p. 92.

<sup>30</sup>Among many examples see Double Portrait of Mary Cary and Susan Elizabeth Johnson (1848) by William Matthew Prior (1806-1873), cf reproduction in David M. Sokol, "The Terra Museum of American Art, Evanston, Illinois," Antiques CXXVI/5 (November, 1984): 1165, plate XXII; Two Young Children from the Torrey Family (c. 1831) attributed to John S. Blunt; Portrait of Whiting and Joseph Griswold (1844) by J. G. Chandler, cf reproductions in Jack T. Erickson ed., Folk Art in America, pp. 75 and 123 respectively).

<sup>31</sup>Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 68.

tendency toward sentimentality. They are characterized by bright, sometimes saccharin colours, and the frequent use of attributes such as animals or toys that in some way or another make reference to the simple and innocent universe of the child. Examples of such double portraits in Quebec are described below.

The earliest known works of this type are the portraits of the children of James Turnbull (figs. 45 & 46), a military officer stationed in Quebec City. The two boys, James Ferdinand on the right and his brother on the left (fig. 45), were quite probably painted as a pendant to the portrait of their two sisters whose names have not come down to us.<sup>32</sup> Though the boys are wearing very similar costumes to those worn by Joseph-Octave Fortier (fig. 6), Cyprien Tanguay (figs. 3-5), and others, the artist has approached his subject quite differently. Here the pastel colours, the rosy cheeks, the large eyes and the unfinished neutral background add a sense of sentimentality that is hardly present in the above-mentioned works of young seminarians. The faded edges in the background would suggest that Samuel Palmer may have been working from a daguerreotype.

The portrait of the Turnbull sisters (fig. 46) was quite probably produced in the same way. Here too, the saccharin colours, the florid cheeks, and especially the addition of a docile

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<sup>32</sup>The portrait of the two boys was attributed to Palmer on account of a 1849 copy signed and dated by Cornelius Krieghoff. Krieghoff identified his as a copy "after Palmer" (fig. 47). Since the portrait of the Turnbull sisters was dated 1843, it was possible to assign the portrait of their brothers with the same date.

pet in the center, make one think of Lawrence's or Greuze's eighteenth-century sentimental child imagery. These are among the earliest portraits in Canada that reveal the cult of the child, a wide-ranging movement characterized by an interest for genre images and romantic depictions of working class children in the second half of the nineteenth century.

It is interesting to compare this portrait of the Turnbull sisters (fig. 46) with the portrait Céline and Rosalvina Pelletier (fig. 48), a painting discovered in 1979 and attributed to Théophile Hamel.<sup>33</sup> The similarities in the poses and set-up are striking. Both show the children wearing vivid colours--the Pelletier sisters are dressed in red, the Turnbull sisters in a light turquoise. Healthy cheeks, delicately set curls, and loving embraces abound in both. Each painting shows a faithful dog set between the sitters, helping to break the monotony of the scene. We have already seen Rosalvina before; Plamondon painted her portrait when she was only three years old in 1831 (fig. 14). Here she looks to be about six years old, dating the painting to 1834.

Closely aligned with Palmer's portrait is Amanda and Sophie

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<sup>33</sup>Acquired by the National Archives (Ottawa) in 1979, the work was attributed to Théophile Hamel and dated 1838. The date was based on the fact that Céline was born in 1826, making her eight years old in the portrait while Rosalvina was born in 1828, making her ten years old. However, the attribution to Hamel remains quite suspect since we know that between 1834 and 1840 the latter was engaged in an apprenticeship contract under Plamondon. Would a twenty-one year old Hamel have executed such a family portrait when a few years before him Plamondon had already received the commission to paint the entire family? In our opinion, Plamondon, Thielcke, or perhaps James Bowman are the only painters present in Quebec City likely to have produced a portrait of this kind.

Mailhot (fig. 49), a pastel executed in 1857 by William Lock, a little-known artist from Brockville who is said to have travelled frequently between Montreal and Toronto, executing portrait commissions.<sup>34</sup> The poses and gestures are similar to the Turnbull and Pelletier sisters (figs. 46 & 48). Though the dog has been omitted, the staring blue eyes, the softened highlights on the locks of hair, the sketchy touches on the diaphanous garments below, and the turquoise aura that looms behind them, create for an overwrought sentimentalism characteristic of later painters such as Napoléon Bourassa and others.<sup>35</sup> A reviewer at the Quebec provincial exhibition in 1857 didn't like Lock's portraits at all; the brown paper, he said, made them look as though they had just come out of a brick oven.<sup>36</sup>

The same type of arrangement as that seen in Lock's portrait is repeated in Hamel's Flore and Olympe Chauveau<sup>37</sup> of 1852 (fig. 50). While the flowers in Flore's lap can be seen as an allusion to her first name, the landscape backdrop evokes much of

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<sup>34</sup>Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, p. 199. The Musée du Québec also possesses a similar pastel of their brother Erasme Mailhot of 1857.

<sup>35</sup>We refer here specifically to Bourassa's drawings of his own children such as the pastel of his daughter Augustine (Musée du Québec dated 1868) or his son Gustave (Musée du Québec, dated 1868).

<sup>36</sup>Le Journal de Québec, 29 September 1857, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup>The portrait had long been catalogued at the Musée du Québec under the title Deux fillettes. Raymond Vézina identified the girls as the children of Pierre Joseph Olivier Chauveau (1820-1890) when he found mention of the portrait in the latter's will. Cf Les communications du congrès du 35e anniversaire de la société généalogique canadienne-française, (Cégep du Vieux-Montréal: 7 & 8 October, 1978), pp. 128-130.

the Victorian fascination with nature. The loose-fitting, high waisted-dresses reflect a longstanding nineteenth century trend for less restrictive children's clothing.<sup>38</sup> Karin Calvert sees this type of muslin frock as a distinctive costume intended for children. Like the frock worn by the child in the Cartier family, such clothing signified a greater emphasis on the development of a young girl, for it differed from that worn by adults.<sup>39</sup>

While most of Hamel's portraits of children show a warm and jovial atmosphere, the children in Gustave and Hermine Hamel (fig. 51), his only two surviving children (dated c. 1864), appear more serious.<sup>40</sup> Hermine gazes out of the frame while her younger brother's look fixes itself directly at the viewer. Their gestures and the poses seem to evoke the responsibility of an older sibling for a the younger one. An American portrait by Lambert Sachs, The Herbert Children (1857) (fig. 52), shows an almost identical arrangement. Again, the parallels between the Canadian and the contemporaneous American version clearly demonstrate that Hamel was following a standard type of family portrait. Double portraits of

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<sup>38</sup>Theorists such as Dr. Christian Augustus Struve wrote books about the subject, suggesting that tight stays and petticoats were "savage and unnatural". See A Familiar View of Domestic Education of Children (1802), quoted in Anita Schorch, Images of Childhood, p. 43.

<sup>39</sup>Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture", p. 103.

<sup>40</sup>Produced at approximately the same time is a daguerreotype of these two children with their mother Mathilde Hamel (Archives Madeleine Hamel, see reproduction in Vézina, "Evolution of the Lineage of Théophile Hamel 1635-1975," p. 232). Three years later in 1867, Gustave Hamel posed again, this time as the child Jesus with his aunt as the Virgin. The same year the work was sent to the international exhibition in Paris, along with other portraits by Hamel (Le Journal de Québec, 16 February 1867, p. 2).

children in the U.S. vary in composition showing some standing,<sup>41</sup> others on swings or with their toys,<sup>42</sup> and still others in outdoor settings,<sup>43</sup> yet all evoking a strong sense of sibling relationships.

Slightly more elaborate than double portraits of children are those of children in a group. An examination of some of these by Hamel will lead us into conversation pieces which we have defined below. Three portraits, all by Hamel, show a group of children interacting with one another but unaccompanied by their parents. Two of them are quite similar: Les ABCs (1845) (fig. 53) and Four Children and a Dog (1847) (fig. 54). Hamel's major portrait of his nieces Noémie, Eugenie, Antoinette and Sephora Hamel (1854) (fig. 55) is a family portrait in a category of its own.

Little is known about Les ABCs (fig. 52), a curious portrait that looks almost like a genre depiction. On the left, a young boy affectionately embraces his disinterested sister while he points to the text in a book. To the right a raised finger indicates a gentle reprimand on the part of another brother. The inscription on the back, "Roma 1845," indicates that it was quite

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<sup>41</sup>For example of Robert Peckham, The Raymond Children, (c. 1838), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (reproduction in Dale T. Johnson, "Deacon Robert Peckham: Delineator of the Human Face Divine," American Art Journal XI/1 [January 1979], p. 30).

<sup>42</sup>See for example Joseph G. Chandler, Whiting and Joseph Griswold, (1844), Griswold Memorial Library (cf reproduction in John W. Keefe, "Joseph Goodhue Chandler (1813-1884)," Antiques, 102 [November 1972], p. 75).

<sup>43</sup>Such as Portrait of William and Elija Wilson, (c. 1860), Museum of the City of New York, (cf reproduction in Humm, Children in America, p. 22).

probably copied from a painting or an engraving that Hamel saw when he was overseas. Unfortunately neither of these has turned up. The portrait Four Children and a Dog (fig. 54) is so similar to the above painting that we are led to believe that it too was based on a European engraving rather than being a portrait of his nieces as has been suggested.<sup>44</sup>

As for the portrait of Hamel's nieces (fig. 55), it is far more lively than the other two, showing the children of the artist's brother Abraham carefully posed around a bright red couch. Indeed, it is one of the most original compositions of the artist, demonstrating his marked interest in the care-free spirit of these youngsters. The arrangement of the figures is far more dynamic than the above-mentioned portraits by Hamel:

Ceci entraîne chez les personnages une allure naturelle, en dépit des coiffures et des vêtements un peu recherchés; on a l'impression que l'artiste a interrompu un instant les quatre fillettes occupées à jouer ensemble. Les visages expriment un caractère et une personnalité propres à chacun de ces enfants.<sup>45</sup>

While the eldest child, Noémie (1847-1914),<sup>46</sup> bides her time sewing like the young girl in the Molson family portrait (fig. 41), the others seem to pose quite willingly for the artist. The group is dynamically arranged around the central red sofa. Despite strong visual presence of the couch, Hamel has left the background

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<sup>44</sup>Hubbard, Two Painters of Quebec, p. 99.

<sup>45</sup>Musée du Québec, 500 oeuvres choisies, p. 83.

<sup>46</sup>Later to become Mère Ste-Cécile at the convent of Jesus-Marie in Sillery, Quebec.

relatively simple, suggesting only an open window to the left. Though the parents are absent, one senses again the importance of family life and the home in this well-to-do Victorian parlor.

### **The Conversation Piece**

The conversation piece, as defined by Mario Praz, combines four essential characteristics: first, it has to include two or more identifiable people; second, it must show them in an environment that describes the family habitat; third, the figures must show gestures indicating some kind of conversation; and fourth, it must be an essentially private work, not intended for public viewing.<sup>47</sup> Nina Fletcher Little succinctly completes this definition with regard to conversation pieces in American folk art:

The subjects are usually painted full length, and although they may not appear to be actively engaged in conversation they are always shown either visibly sharing a mutual interest or jointly participating in some polite social pastime. They may be indulging in parlor games or musical parties, drawing from nature, taking tea, looking at books displaying family possessions, playing with children and pets or merely enjoying one another's company in the open air.<sup>48</sup>

Family portraits such as these may seem to differ little in spirit from the mother and child portraits that we have already seen. The same serene atmosphere generally reigns in both types, reflecting the solidity and continuity of the family nucleus. On

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<sup>47</sup>Mario Praz, Conversation Pieces: A Survey of the Informal Group Portrait in Europe and America, (London, Methuen & Co. 1971), p. 34.

<sup>48</sup>Nina Fletcher Little, "The Conversation Piece in American Folk Art," in Ericson ed., Folk Art in America, p. 56.



the formal level, the difference is considerable when one considers the fact that each type originates from a different portraiture tradition--the mother and child being inspired by the religious image of the Madonna and Child, while the conversation piece owes its inception to seventeenth century secular portraits of the Dutch middle class.<sup>49</sup> Both types nonetheless fall under the same general rubric of private bourgeois portraiture.

In the conversation piece, unlike the portraits discussed above, the child is not always the central motif but is pictured near his elders as the symbol of a happy and productive family. Speaking about children in such portraits, Praz says:

They are all but inevitable notes, harped on more and more in the Biedermeier period; like symbols of happy family life, they supply, moreover, that element of play which is necessary to counterbalance the gravity of the adult members of a group.<sup>50</sup>

Calvert has observed a new interest in the American family portrait after 1770:

Such portraits, while fulfilling the traditional purposes of preserving likenesses and displaying worldly success, stressed the inner life of the family itself. Artists replaced conventional backgrounds of fantastic draperies and baroque gardens with personal domestic interiors, and strove to demonstrate the relationships between family members and to some extent even the individuality of children. The rising demand for such pictures after the Revolution may be said to reflect the growing sense of the family as a unit sufficient unto itself.<sup>51</sup>

In Canada, this interest expresses itself later during the first

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<sup>49</sup>Praz, Conversation Pieces, p. 60.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>51</sup>Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraits," p. 113.

decade of the nineteenth century with Berczy's The Woolsey Family (fig. 58), The Mactavish Family (of which only a sketch remains), and the elegant portrait of The McGillivray Family, today in the McCord museum (fig. 56). Berczy's letters to his wife reveal that he had already executed a number of family portraits with children.<sup>52</sup> In 1799 he wrote to his wife about a portrait of Mrs. Nooth and daughters.<sup>53</sup> That same year, he spoke about a number of other paintings including one of Samuel Gale and his family,<sup>54</sup> a certain Mrs. Green with her daughter drawn in india ink,<sup>55</sup> and the portrait of Mrs. Prescott, wife of the Governor General, with her son and nephew.<sup>56</sup> Still extant is a sketch of the Mactavish children standing next to their affectionate mother (private collection, Kingston),<sup>57</sup> as well as a drawing of a group of anonymous children wearing skeleton suits and grouped around an older sister who holds a doll (fig. 59). All these show the popularity of such intimate family pictures at the very beginning of the century.

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<sup>52</sup>Even before his arrival in Canada, he had executed a number of small round portraits and miniatures as well as a larger panel of the children of the Von Muralt family of Geneva. Cf reproduction in Beate Stock, "William Berczy in Italy and Switzerland, 1780-1787," Racar X/2 (1986): 132-33.

<sup>53</sup>Letter from William Berczy to his wife, 5 January 1799 (transcribed in Fonds Gérard-Morisset, William Berczy file, no. 09168).

<sup>54</sup>Idem, 6 February 1799 and 10 February 1799, no. 09182.

<sup>55</sup>Idem, 6 February 1799, no. 09177.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., no. 09184.

<sup>57</sup>See reproduction in Andre, William Berczy, p. 91.

Less known among Berczy's conversation pieces is his portrait The McGillivray Family painted in about 1806 (fig. 56).<sup>58</sup> Set outdoors in front of a large tree, William McGillivray, a merchant in Montreal, is shown seated next to his wife who holds their young daughter Anne Maria. As John Andre has shown, the painting remained untouched until 1820, when William Dunlap, an American itinerant portraitist, was employed by McGillivray to rearrange the scene somewhat.<sup>59</sup> Recent X-rays have shown that Berczy's original version presented McGillivray offering a basket of fruit to his wife and child. Dunlap painted over this and added a gun and a fowl, turning the work into an English hunting scene.<sup>60</sup>

As Anita Schorsh has noted, the outdoors, the country life, and fresh air were the English solution to better and healthier living.<sup>61</sup> Prosperous and middle-class families alike gloried in the almost magical healing qualities of country air. "To breath in a free, open, pure Air, is undoubtedly of great Use" said James Nelson in his book on child health care. "Children," he said, "should have the freedom of tasting a sweeter Air, than that which

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<sup>58</sup>Long believed to be the work of Dulongpré, (cf Morisset, La peinture traditionnelle au Canada Francais, p. 48) the attribution to Berczy was recently confirmed through the use of X-rays. Cf Derome, Bourassa & Chagnon, Dulongpré, p. 12.

<sup>59</sup>John Andre, William Berczy: Co-Founder of Toronto, (Toronto: By the author, 1967), p. 90.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>61</sup>Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 60.

usually surrounds their Habitation".<sup>62</sup> Berczy's portrait is similar to the work of Thomas Lawrence who produced numerous outdoor portraits of the English gentry.<sup>63</sup> Here McGillivray's infant daughter Anne Maria (born in 1805) and the dogs are only sidelines, added to convey the family atmosphere that McGillivray desired.

An outdoor setting was also used by an anonymous artist at the turn of the century in a little-known portrait of an un named family group from Montreal (fig. 57). Though untrained, the artist must have seen other conversation pieces like it. The young boy wears not the seminarian's uniform but a vest and coat with breeches and a top-hat like his father next to him.

### **The Woolsey Family**

Though few of portraits mentioned in Berczy's letters are known to art historians today, his most important commission for the Quebec merchant John Woolsey (fig. 58), is widely considered

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<sup>62</sup>Nelson, An Essay on the Government of Children, p. 92. Quoted in Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 60.

<sup>63</sup>Lawrence's Portrait of Henry Cecil (1754-1804) with his Wife and Daughter (1796) also shows the husband presenting his wife with a fowl. Though the composition and technique are different, both painting are done in the same spirit. For a reproduction of the above mentioned portrait and others by Lawrence, see Kenneth Garlick, Thomas Lawrence. A Complete Catalogue of the Oil Paintings, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1989), p. 185, catalogue no. 282.

as one of the masterpieces of Canadian art.<sup>64</sup> Berczy himself was quite enamored by the painting. "Je languis à voir mes huit figures sur la toile," he wrote to his wife in 1808, "c'est un tableau qui fait plaisir."<sup>65</sup>

Set in an interior setting rather than an exterior one as in The McGillivray Family (fig. 56), Woolsey is shown in his own domain, among the furnishings of his Quebec City residence. The four children set in the foreground liven up the scene. Eleonora (1805-1828) on the right side, holds a doll in her right hand while she throws up a hoop with her left, striking what Jean Trudel has called a curious pose, suggesting a neo-classical influence.<sup>66</sup> Her younger brother, John Bryan, waves at the family dog to get its attention. Toward the left we see the two boys, William Darley, seated with a book in his hand, and William Henry, holding the dog by its collar. Both are dressed in the fashionable skeleton suits of the period. The suit, consisting of long trousers, and a wide-collared jacket was particularly in fashion in England and America after 1770 and can be seen in many of the family portraits painted during this period (see for example fig. 25). Like the muslin

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<sup>64</sup>Among others see for example Denis Reid, A Concise History of Painting in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford Press, 1973), p. 37; Jean Trudel William Berczy. The Woolsey Family, Masterpieces of the National Gallery of Canada no.7, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976), p. 3; Peter Mellen, Landmarks of Canadian Art, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978) p. 108.

<sup>65</sup>William Berczy to his wife, 4 September 1808, Baby Collection, Public Archives of Canada, MG24L3, vol. 26, p. 016362. Cf transcription in Trudel The Woolsey Family, p. 29 (appendix).

<sup>66</sup>Trudel, The Woolsey Family, p. 8.

frock worn by young girls, this costume was specifically designed for boys.<sup>67</sup> Like many children of the period, the girls are dressed in light, unrestrictive, high-waisted gowns, similar to those worn by the Chauveau sisters forty years later (fig. 50). In England, James Nelson, like Jean-Jacques Rousseau in France, had long advocated more comfortable clothing for children of such a young age.<sup>68</sup> Posing the group in July of 1808 meant that Berczy could include an open window in the scene, thereby revealing an English taste for the outdoors as he did in The McGillivray Family (fig. 56).

The function of this painting as a document of family history and geneology is made evident by a handwritten note by John William Woolsey glued on the back of the canvas. Woolsey identifies every person in the portrait, including the date and manner of their deaths. He and Benjamin Lemoine (seated at the window with a flute in his hand) "are the only survivors of this Group".

Images such as these, with their strong English flavor harking back to Hogarth and Reynolds, fell completely out of favor after the death of Berczy in 1813, for he was the only artist in Quebec available to produce them. Only one painting of this kind has been retraced after Berczy. It is the 1858 portrait of Samuel Hill and his wife (née Pouliot) with their young daughter Marie-Julie-

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<sup>67</sup>Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraits," p. 105.

<sup>68</sup>Nelson, Essay on the Government of Children, p. 90.

Alphonsine (born 1853) (fig. 60).<sup>69</sup> The work has been attributed to John Murray, a little known painter and part-time architect active in Quebec City between 1840 and 1864.<sup>70</sup> This is the last of the portraits known to us that makes use of this very English-style outdoor scene, a fitting conclusion to a portraiture tradition that was inevitably to be transformed by the daguerreotype.

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<sup>69</sup>Cahier généalogique: Pouliot, 6ième génération et 5ième génération, no. 4 (April 1979), unpaginated. The painting was acquired by the Musée du Québec in 1955. The date of the painting could be verified by the identification of Samuel Hill's daughter Alphonsine, born in 1853. Here she seems to be about 5 or 6 years old, dating the painting to about 1858.

<sup>70</sup>Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, p. 234.

## CONCLUSION

It would be presumptuous to claim that we have exhausted the theme of the child in the family portrait in this study. However, it can be said that the primary objectives of this thesis have been achieved. We have situated our theme in the historical context of an expanding colonial world and we have suggested what constituted the portrait of the child in Quebec during the first half of the nineteenth century. On the formal level, our analysis has brought to light certain standard compositional types employed in Quebec that had already been in current use in the United States: the simple bust-length portrait of the child, which made its first appearance in Quebec during the first decade of the nineteenth century and became increasingly popular after 1830 with the work of Plamondon and Hamel; the mother and child portrait, which appeared in 1836 with the portraits by Plamondon and Thielcke (figs. 31 & 32) and was later used by Hamel in several of his major portraits; finally, the double portrait of brothers or sisters, which can be seen in the 1840s and 1850s in works by Hamel and Palmer. All these portrait types came considerably later than similar ones in the United States, where some of the earliest portraits of children date to as early as 1670. We have also shed further light on some of the particularities of portraits done in Quebec such as the popularity of school portraits (identified by distinctive seminarian uniforms), the existence of posthumous



portraits, as well as the dearth of so-called "folk" portraits. Finally, we have identified possible motives of production, suggesting some new attributions and rejecting some old ones.

Berczy's family paintings have been seen to mark an important step in the history of Quebec portraiture, for they are the first ones to include children in a significant way, reflecting a change in the perception of the family and the nature of childhood. In the U.S., such conversation pieces were already being executed as early as the mid-eighteenth century, becoming increasingly popular after 1770.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the conversation piece was adopted much later in Quebec can be explained by the simple fact that few were able to paint them at the beginning of the century. However, even later when capable artists such as Plamondon and Hamel were practicing in the province, they did not employ this type of composition, opting instead for a different form of the nuclear family portrait, which emphasized the individuality of each child in bust-length portraits, as well as the role of the mother in companion portraits of the parents. The fact that the conversation piece was more characteristic of English taste,<sup>2</sup> explains the propensity of merchants such as Woolsey, McGillivray and Samuel Hill for this type of portrait while Caron, Têtu, and Pelletier

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<sup>1</sup>Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraits," p. 108. Among the American eighteenth-century painters were Robert Feke, Joseph Blackburn, John Singleton Copley, John Greenwood, and John Durand. Cf Laura C. Luckey, "Family Portraits in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," Antiques CX/5 (November 1976): 1006-1011.

<sup>2</sup>Praz, Conversation Pieces, p. 24.

opted for the simpler companion arrangement with their wife and child.

Whatever the form, family portraits increasingly became the favorite type of composition as families became more private and insular. It is interesting to note that patrons always commissioned these portraits while their family was still young with infants or small children. The same is true of family portraits in the U.S., though the phenomenon occurs decades before it does in Canada.

Our comparisons with U.S. portraits have shown how much more widespread folk art was south of the border. The popular flat, hard-edged style characteristic of American limners such as Matthew Prior (1806-1873) and John Brewster Jr. (active c. 1795-1832) was not so common in Canada. For example, the mother and child portrait, so commonly painted by American limners, was only produced in Quebec by trained professionals: Plamondon, Thielcke, and Hamel. We have not come across any portraits of a mother and child that show the naïveté or untutored approach of so many U.S. portraits. Furthermore, American folk artists had their own traditions with regard to the ways of representing a child which were not adopted by Quebec artists. For example, it was quite common for American limners to paint portraits of children full-length, standing in gowns and holding a piece of coral with a whistle or a bell attached. In Quebec, however, we see infants sitting on cushions (figs. 23, 23 and 25), but never children

standing, or holding such objects.<sup>3</sup> The few folk portraits that one does find in Quebec such as the Cartier family set (figs. 18 to 21) are so similar to American portraits that one is led to believe that they were produced by an American itinerant painter.<sup>4</sup>

If "folk" painters were few in Quebec, they were very numerous south of the border. In 1829, John Neal, an American miniaturist and part-time journalist in Maine observed that there were too many such painters in the U.S:

You have but to look at the multitude of portraits, wretched as they generally are, that may be found in every village of our country. You can hardly open the door of a best-room any where (sic), without surprizing (sic) or being surprized (sic) by, the picture of somebody, plastered to the wall and staring at you with both eyes and a bunch of flowers.<sup>5</sup>

"Folk" painting, especially portraiture, was much more predominant in the U.S. This does not mean that academic painting was not popular south of the border but that "folk" portraiture was far more widespread among the American population than it was in Quebec. The reasons for this difference are not easy to determine

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<sup>3</sup>The only exception being the child in The Molson Family (fig. 41) who holds a whistle.

<sup>4</sup>Examples of so-called "folk" portraits of children in Canada include Portrait of Thomas Lainq (Musée du Québec) attributed to Roy-Audy, Portrait of a Girl (National Gallery of Canada), painted by the same hand; Portrait of Hermélène Laflamme dated 1846 (collection Nettie Sharpe, St. Lambert, cf reproduction in Harper, A People's Art, p. 92) and Portrait of Marie-Mélanie Quesnel, painted by an unknown artist in 1810 (private collection, Montreal, cf reproduction in Harper, A People's Art, p. 83).

<sup>5</sup>The Yankee; and Boston Literary Gazette, N.S. 1 (1829), p.48, quoted in Harold Edward Dickson, ed. "Observations on American Art: Selections from Writings of John Neal (1793-1876)", Pennsylvania State College Bulletin, vol. XXXVII (February 5, 1943), p.42.

for there are many possible explanations behind such a phenomenon. It may for example be suggested that while the American middle class tirelessly supported the efforts of their untrained and unacademic painters, Canadians in Quebec consistently preferred trained professionals. Quebeckers more frequently had recourse to the most prominent painters of the day, not the nearest limner who had tried his luck with oils.

Beyond stylistic questions, the corpus has revealed that having one's children painted was a sign of family success and perhaps a sign of French-Canadian permanence. The portrait of the child functioned as a visual record of a family genealogy, and was an ideal way for wealthy bourgeois of Montreal or Quebec to decorate their newly-established homes. It must not be forgotten that portraits were more than simply works of art: they were highly personal objects that helped to reinforce the identity of many French-Canadian families.

### **Prospects**

If we stated that the subject of child portraiture has not been exhausted by this study, it is because the second half of the nineteenth century saw a proliferation of childhood images of rustic, barefoot youths, playing or sleeping in different idyllic or dramatic settings.<sup>6</sup> In Canada, this romantic trend can be

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<sup>6</sup>For more on the popularity of the newsboy image in Canada and the U.S. cf Joan Murray, "Rags to Riches: The Newsboy in 19th century American Art," Canadian Collector, (September-October, 1982): 26-31; Raymond Vézina, Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916) Introduction a l'étude de son art (Montreal: Éditions Élysée, 1976).

traced in painting early as 1836, when Edward Burroughs, a Quebec City lawyer, purchased Lost in the Wood (Musée du Québec). A few years later in 1844, Denis B. Viger bought another famous painting of this type, Les petits savoyards (MMFA), which Plamondon had copied from an engraving by M. Hornung of Geneva.<sup>7</sup> His romantic depiction of two chimney sweeps feasting on an uncommon meal provoked much enthusiasm:

Ces deux visages révèlent deux âmes bien différentes, mais ils vous font un tel effet qu'il faut avoir l'esprit bien chagrin pour les regarder une minute sans s'associer à leur béatitude; on dirait qu'ils rient à la main qui vient de les créer.<sup>8</sup>

As Sarah Burns has pointed out, the nostalgic image of the barefoot boy was ubiquitous at this time not only in painting but also in prose, poetry, and popular illustrations. The reader or patron was invited to enjoy the carefree existence of rural childhood, refreshing his soul at the fountain of innocent youth.<sup>9</sup> In Quebec, this trend can also be seen in early paintings such as La barrière du sous-bois (1858) by William St. Maur Bingham<sup>10</sup> and Allégorie de

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<sup>7</sup>Le Canadien, 19 November 1847. The engraving can be found on a screen in the Hôpital Général, Quebec City.

<sup>8</sup>Journal de Québec, 12 September 1843.

<sup>9</sup>Sarah Burns, "Barefoot Boys and Other Country Children: Sentiment and Ideology in Nineteenth-Century American Art," The American Art Journal XX/1 (1988): 24-50.

<sup>10</sup>Musée du Québec, cf reproduction in Agenda d'art 1989. Visages d'enfants (Québec: Musée du Québec, Québec Agenda, 1989), p. 24. The original engraving used for Bingham's painting was William Collins' As Happy as a King, engraved in England by E.F. Finden (1791-1857). Cf Gear, Masters or Servants? A Study of Selected English Painters and Their Patrons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1977), pp. 150-151.

la jeunesse (private collection, Quebec City) done by Plamondon in 1857.<sup>11</sup> Popular magazines in Quebec such as L'Opinion publique or The Canadian Illustrated News reproduced many such images of wholesome youths. The sources of these paintings and their popularity throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century is a subject that needs to be researched more thoroughly.

Prospects in the study of Quebec portraiture beyond what we have dealt with in this thesis are quite rich. Numerous other themes have yet to be explored in order to cover the wide variety of portraits produced throughout the whole of Canadian history. The role of itinerant painters in a colonial society such as Canada also needs to be studied further. Finally, it would be interesting to see more research done on the interaction between U.S. and Canadian painting schools, especially with regard to stylistic influences between the two countries.

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<sup>11</sup>The source of this painting remains unknown though it strongly resembles the work of Thomas Lawrence, The Calmady Children (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) also known by the title Nature.

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Pastel on paper (38.2 X 30.5 cm). Public Archives of  
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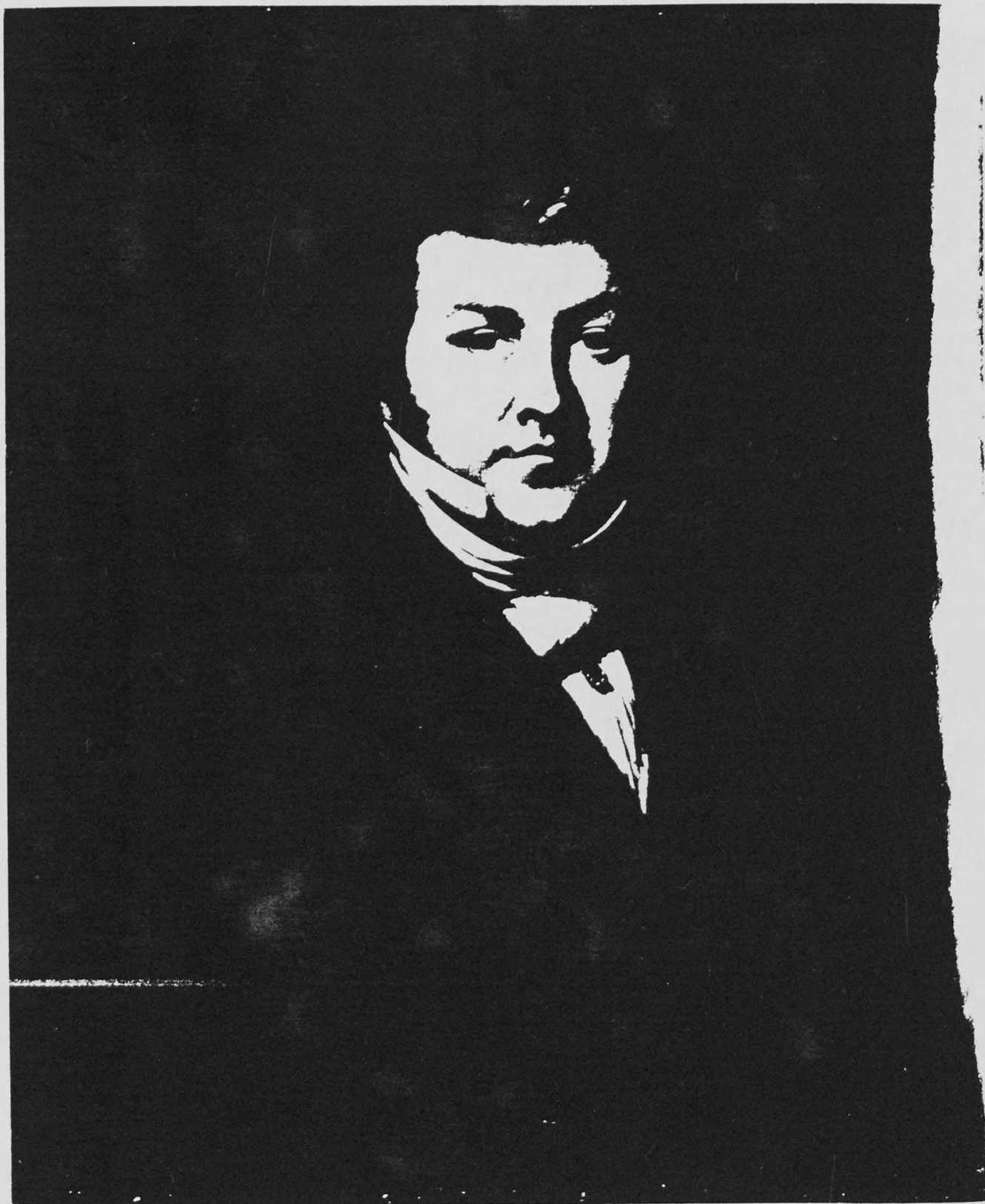


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Fig.13. Antoine Plamondon, Marie-Louise Emilie Pelletier, c. 1831.  
Oil on canvas (75.4 X 63.8 cm). Private collection,  
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Fig. 14. Antoine Plamondon, Rosalvina Pelletier, c. 1831. Painted oval on paper (16 X 12.2 cm). Maurice & Andrée Corbeil collection, Montreal (photo: from R.H. Hubbard, Painters of Quebec, p. 80.).



Fig. 15. Antoine Plamondon, Charles Norbert Pelletier, c. 1831.  
Oil on canvas (58. X 49.5 cm). National Gallery of  
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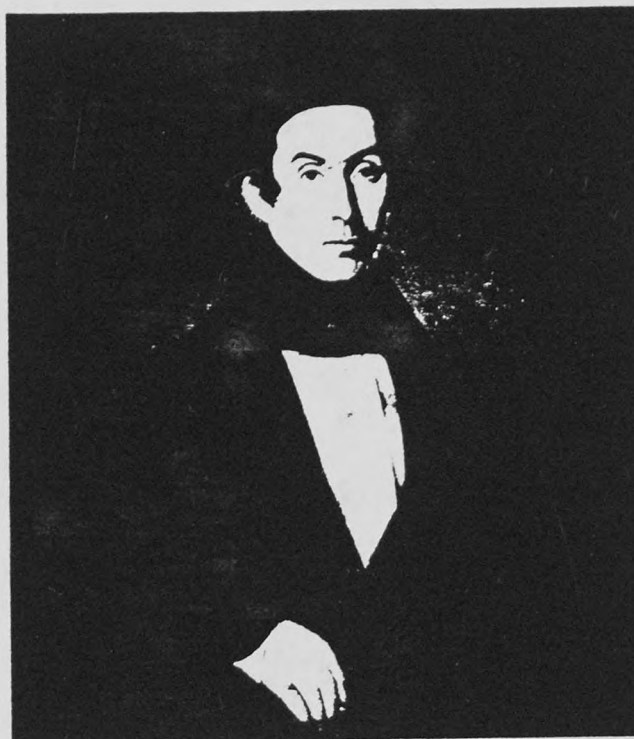


Fig. 16. Théophile Hamel, Michel Bilodeau, 1842. Oil on canvas.  
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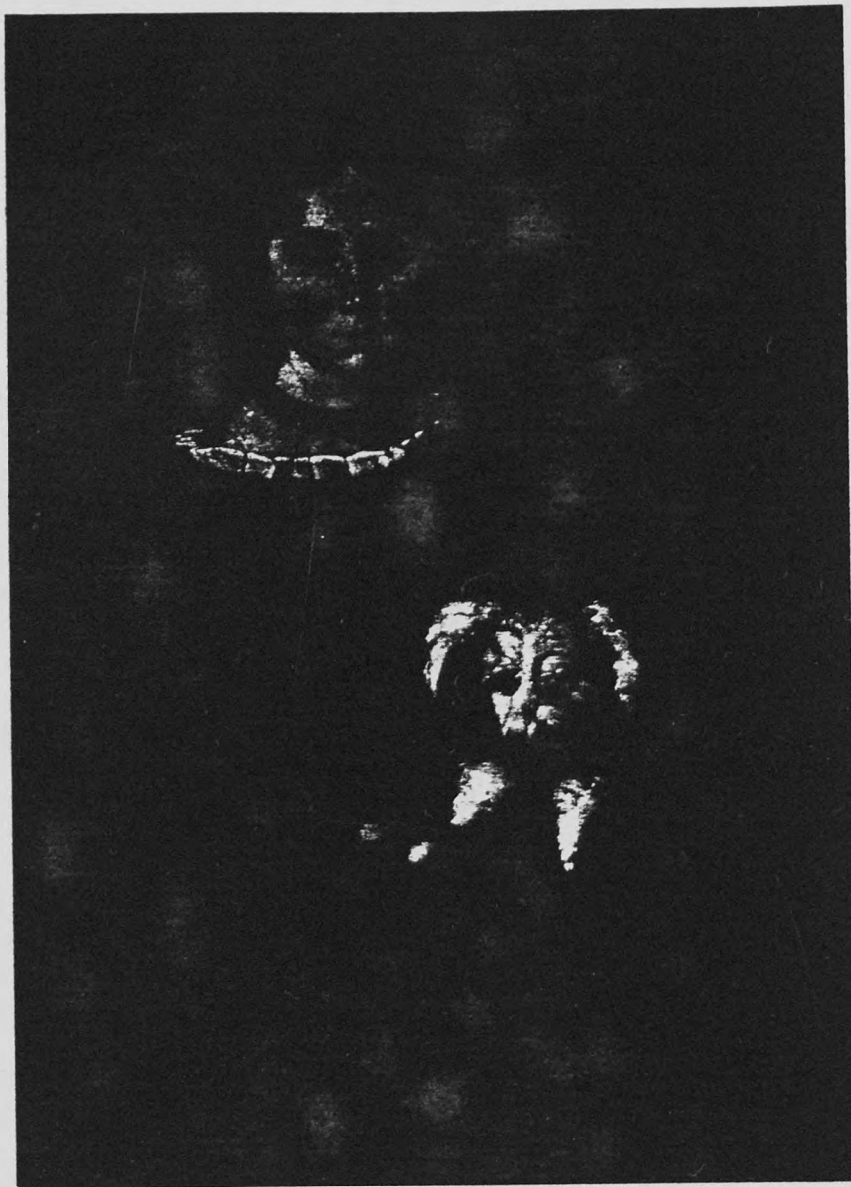


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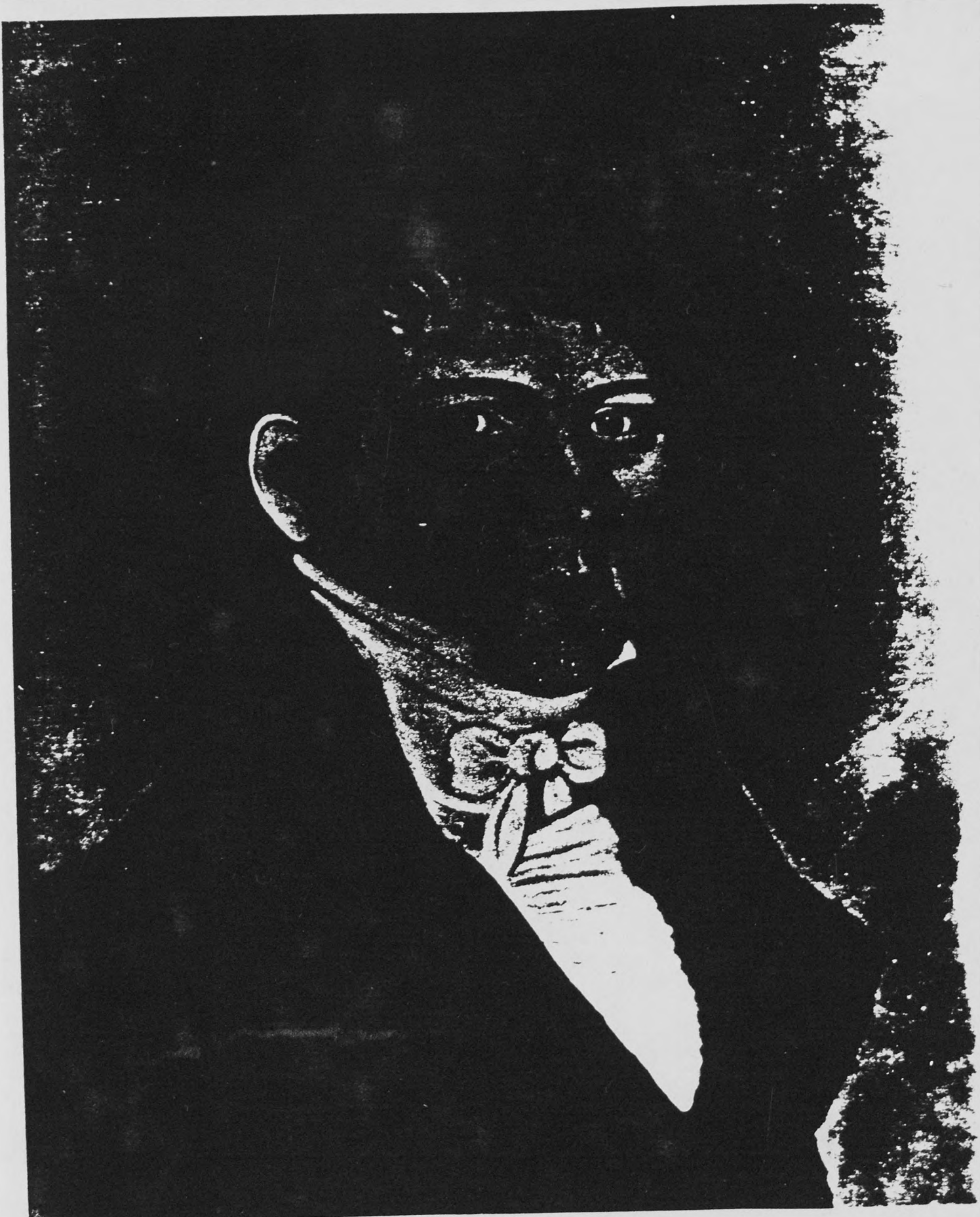


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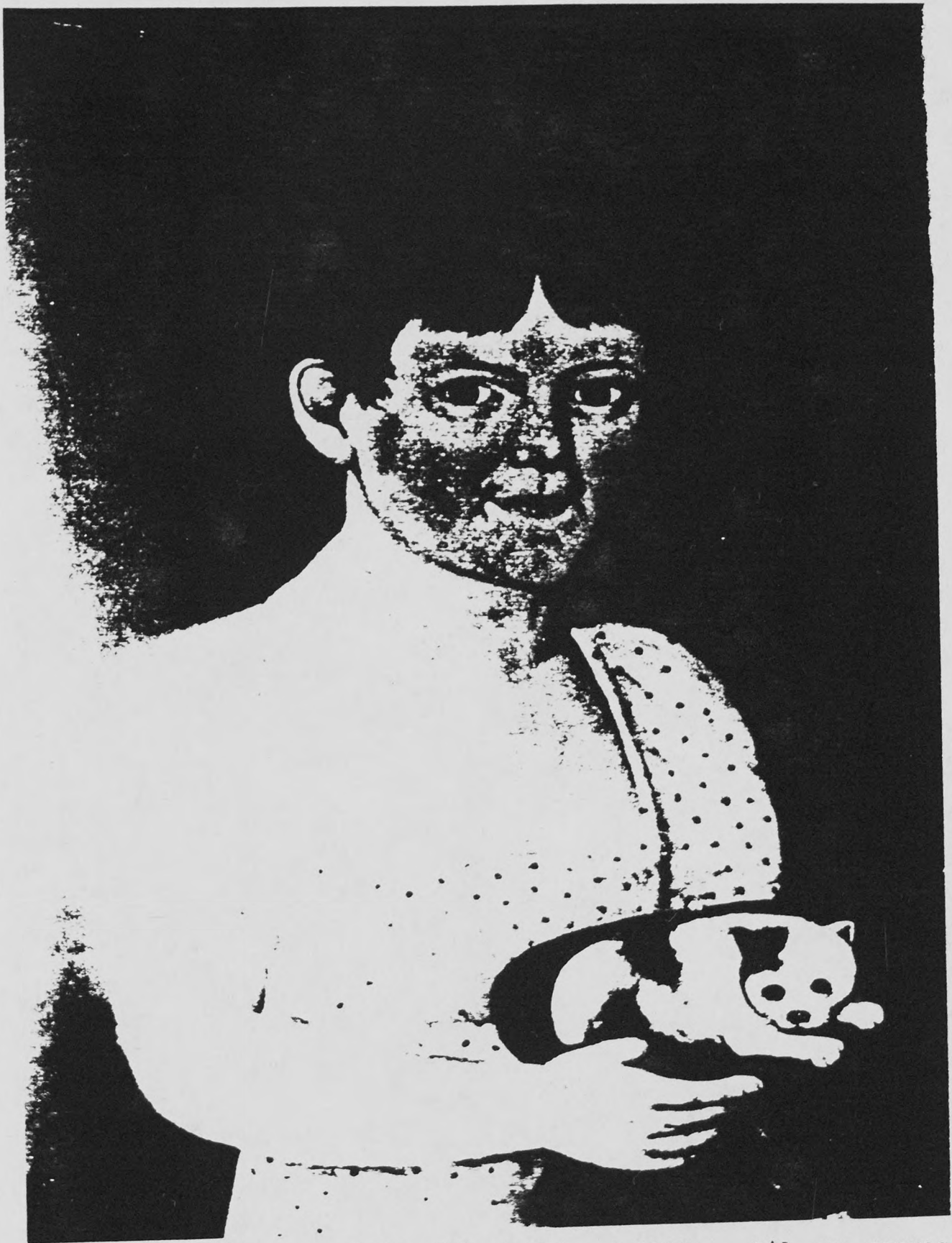


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Fig. 23. Anonymous, Emma Van Name, c. 1800. Oil on canvas.  
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Fig. 28. Théophile Hamel, Georges Hamel, 1859. Oil on canvas (50 X 48 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).

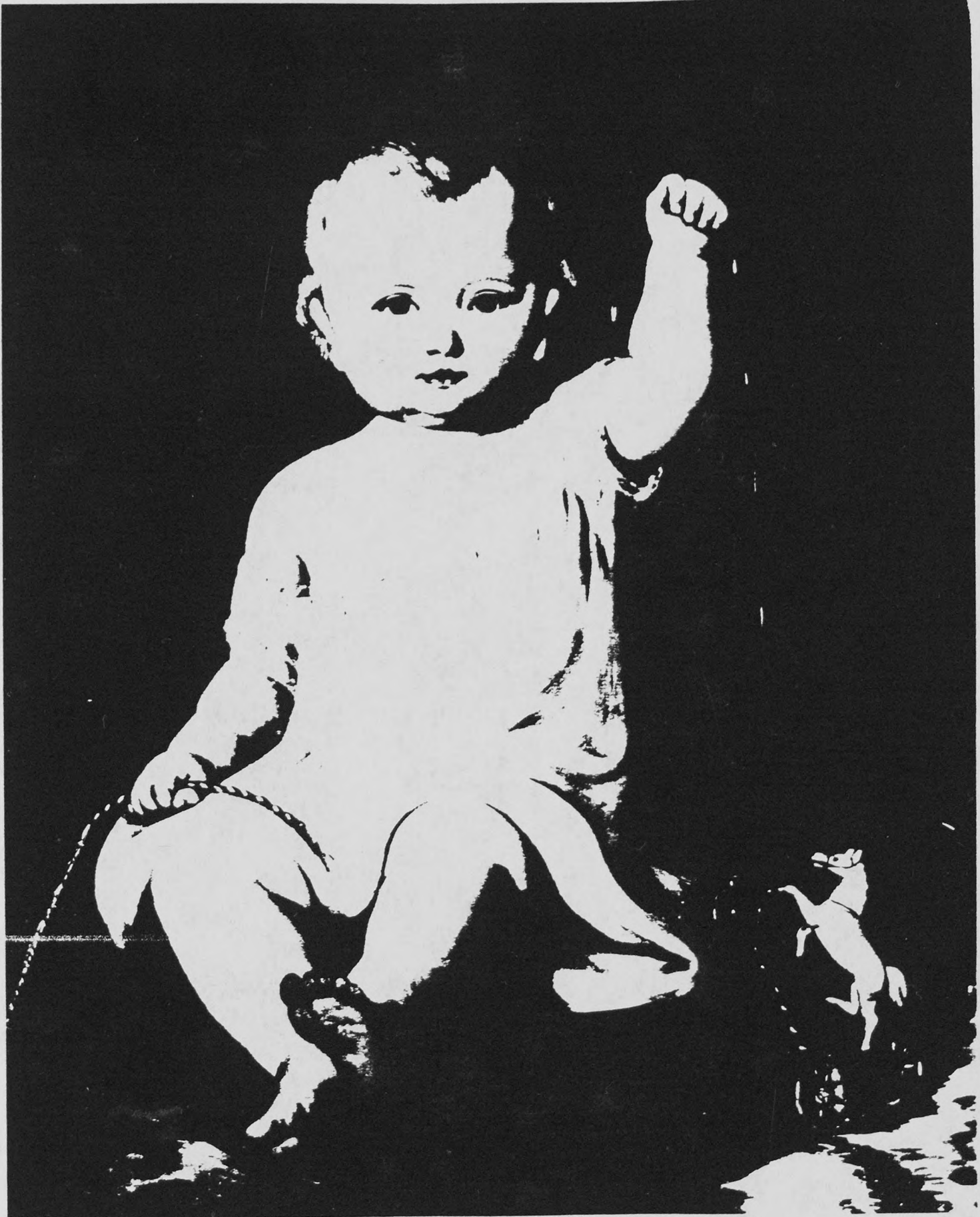


Fig. 29. Théophile Hamel, Ernest Hamel, 1854. Oil on canvas (72.3 X 64.3 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).





Fig. 30. Théophile Hamel, Enfant assis avec jouet, undated. Pencil on paper (15.5 X 11.2 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 31. Antoine Plamondon, Mme Papineau (née Julie Bruneau) and Her Daughter Ezilda, 1836. Oil on canvas (121.8 X 107 cm). National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (photo: NGC).



Fig. 32. Henry Daniel Thielcke, Portrait of a Woman and Child, 1836.  
Oil on canvas (101.7 X 127.5). National Gallery of  
Canada, Ottawa (photo: Eric Nicolai).



Fig. 33. Anonymous (Upper Canada), Mother and Child, c. 1830-40. Oil on canvas (69 X 74 cm). Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg (photo: from: J.R. Harper, A People's Art, p. 86.).



Fig. 34. Théophile Hamel, Madame Charles Hilaire Têtu and Her Son Eugène, 1841. Oil on canvas (115.1 X 97.2 cm). Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, 968.1585 (photo: MMFA).

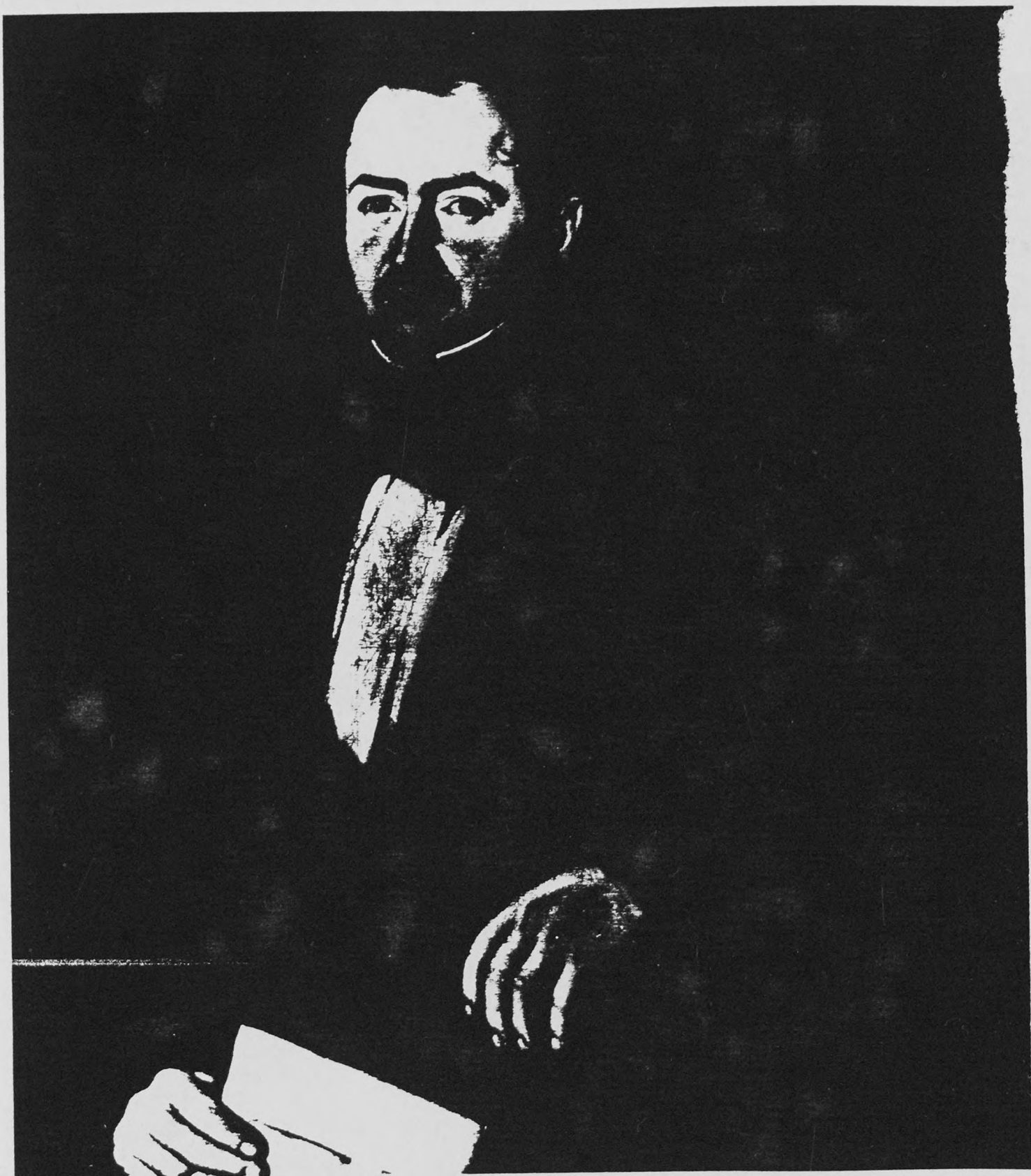


Fig. 35. Théophile Hamel, Mr. Charles-Hilaire Têtu, 1841. Oil on canvas (80 X 69 cm). Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal (photo: MMFA).

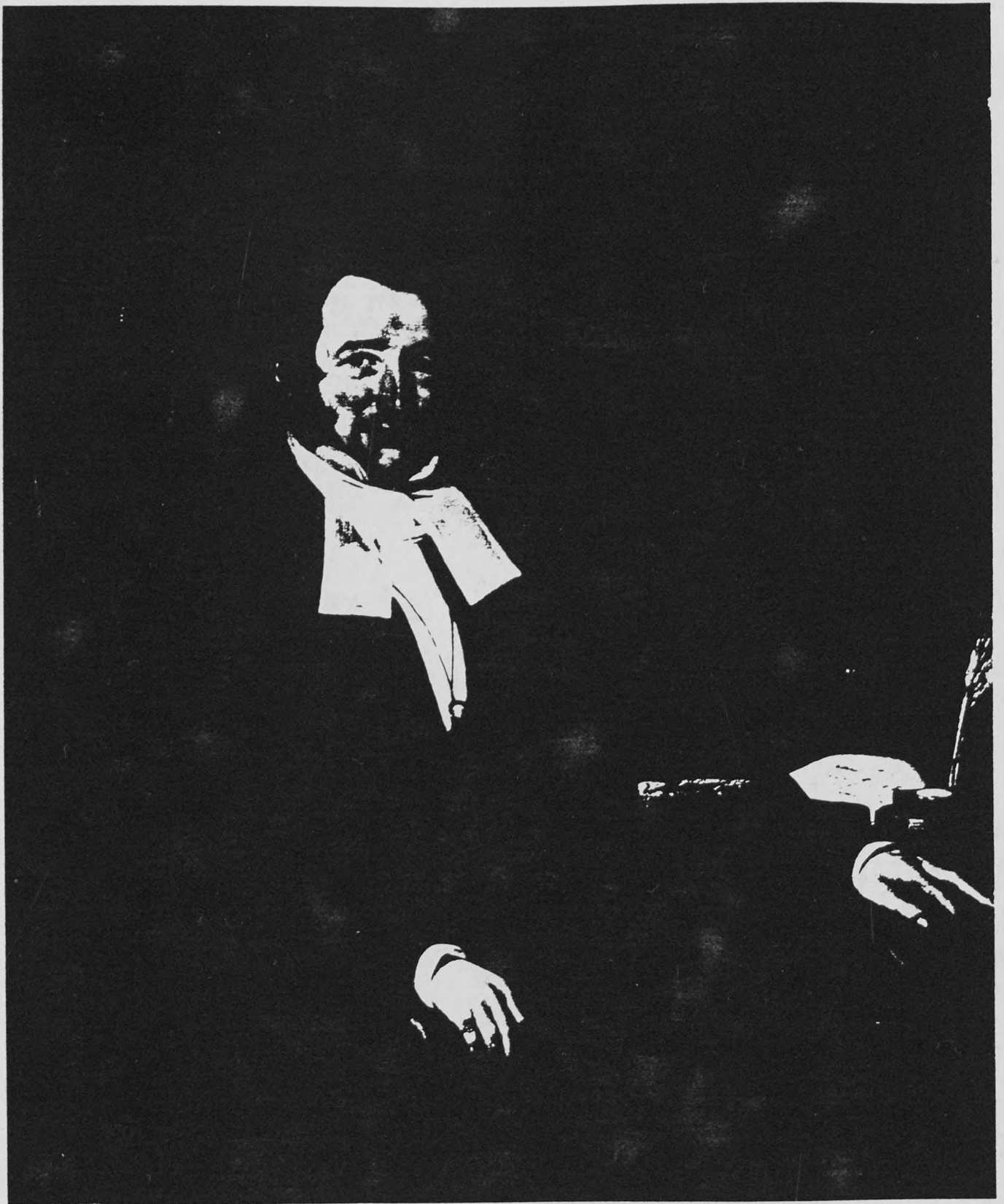


Fig. 36. Théophile Hamel, Mr. René-Edouard Caron, 1846. Oil on canvas (124 X 99 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).

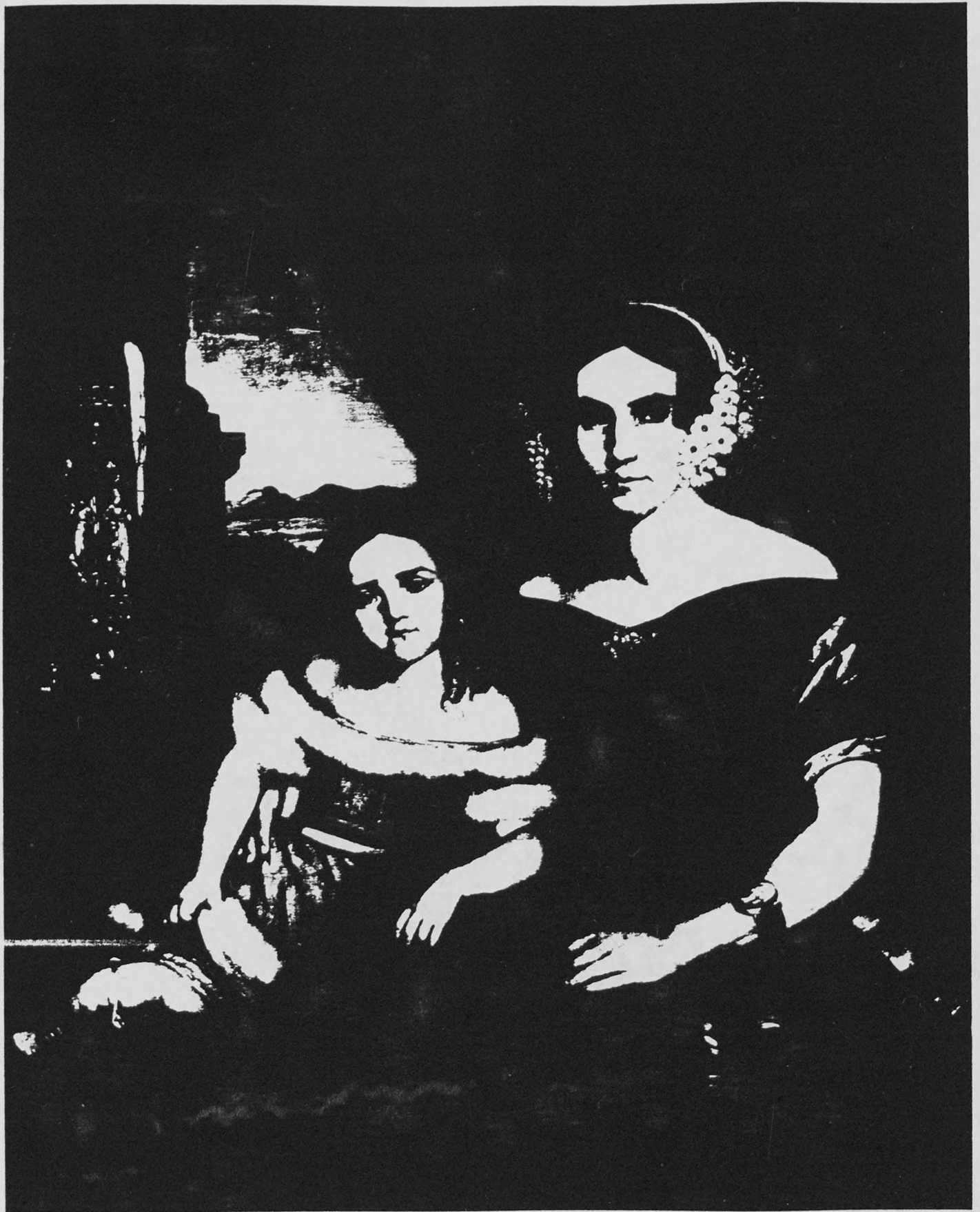


Fig. 37. Théophile Hamel, Madame René-Edouard Caron and Her Daughter Ozine, 1846. Oil on canvas (122.9 X 99.7 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).





Fig. 38. Théophile Hamel, Cyrice Têtu and his Daughter Caroline, 1852. Oil on canvas (121.2 X 91.2 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 39. Théophile Hamel, Mrs. Cyrice Têtu and Her Son Amable, 1852. Oil on canvas (122 X 91 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 40. Zacharie Vincent, Zacharie Vincent and His Son Cyprien, c. 1845. Oil on canvas (48.5 X 41.2 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City, 47.156 (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 41. Théophile Hamel, The Molson Family, 1850. Oil on canvas (109.8 X 82.5 cm). Vancouver Art Gallery, B.C., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Ben Kanee, Vancouver (photo: Vancouver Art Gallery).



Fig. 42. Notman Studios, Mrs. Molson's Dining Room, 1912.  
Photograph. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum,  
Montreal (photo: NPA).



Fig. 43. Théophile Hamel, Mrs. Sophie Renaud and Her Daughters Wilhelmine and Emma, 1853. Oil on canvas (115.1 X 87.2 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).

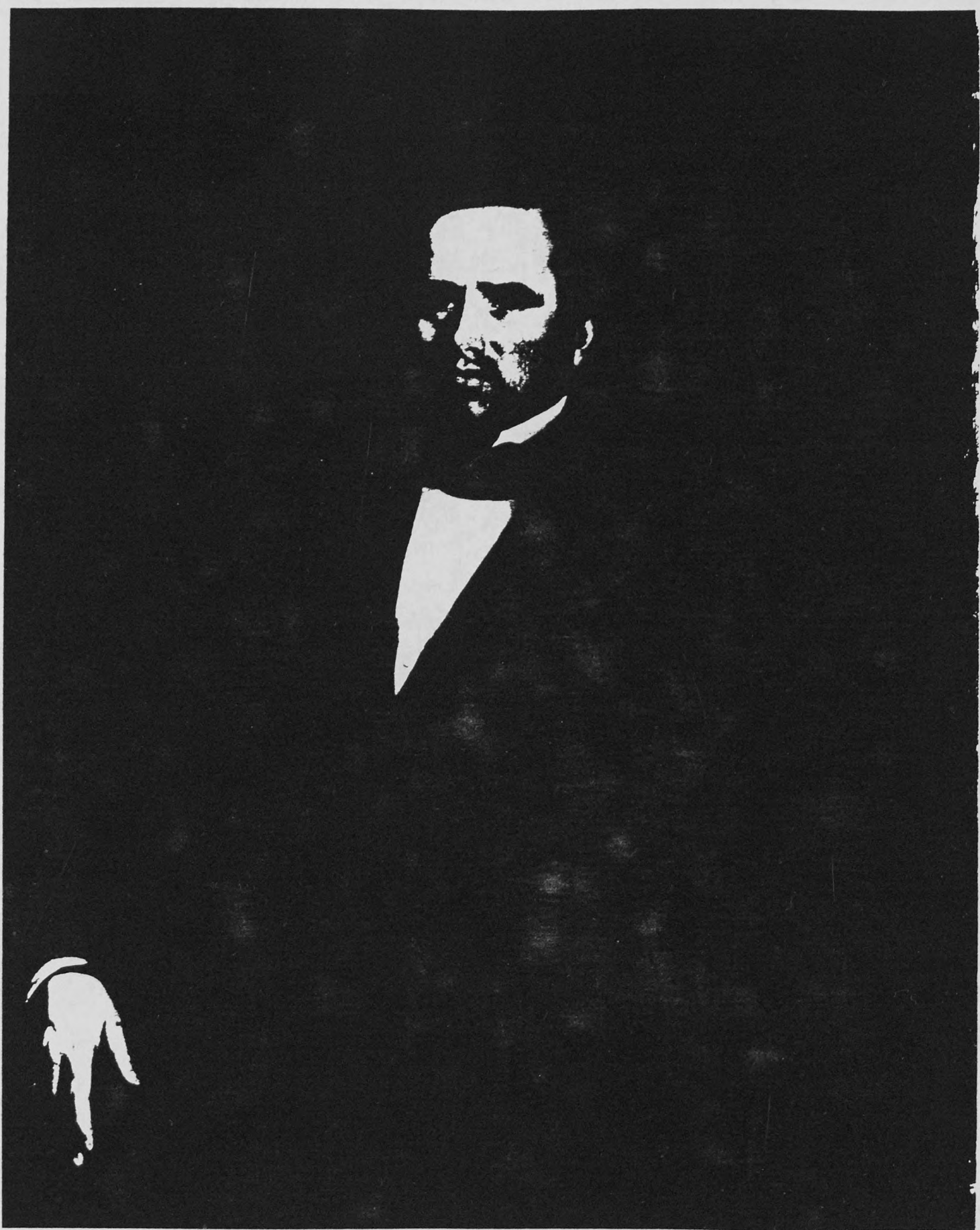


Fig. 44. Théophile Hamel, Mr. Jean-Baptiste Renaud, 1853. Oil on canvas (117 X 86 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 45. Samuel Palmer, James Ferdinand Turnbull and His Brother, c.1843. Oil on canvas (76.8 X 63.8 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).





Fig. 46. Samuel Palmer, Mesdemoiselles Turnbull, Daughters of James Turnbull, 1843. Oil on canvas (92.1 X 76.5 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 47. Cornelius Krieghoff, J. Ferdinand Turnbull, After Palmer, 1849. Oil on canvas (61.3 X 51.1 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Luc Chartier).



Fig. 48. Théophile Hamel (attrib.), Céline and Rosalvina Pelletier,  
1838. Oil on canvas (63.5 X 76.2 cm). Public Archives  
of Canada, Ottawa (photo: PAC).



Fig. 49. Frederick William Lock, Portrait of Amanda and Sophie Mailhot, 1856. Pastel on brown paper (50 X 44.4 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).

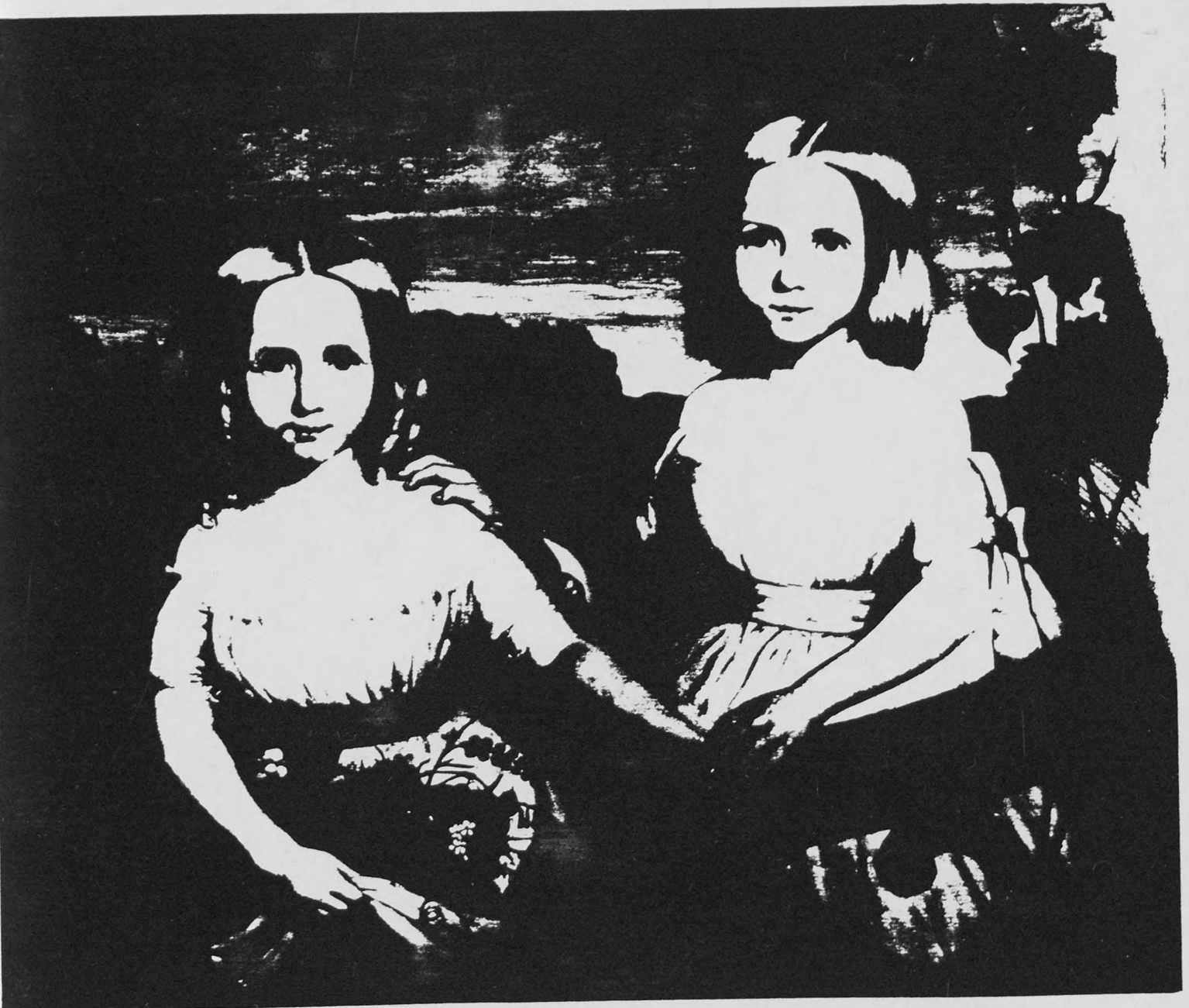


Fig. 50. Théophile Hamel, Flore and Olympe Chauveau, c. 1852. Oil on canvas (74.5 X 88.5 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).

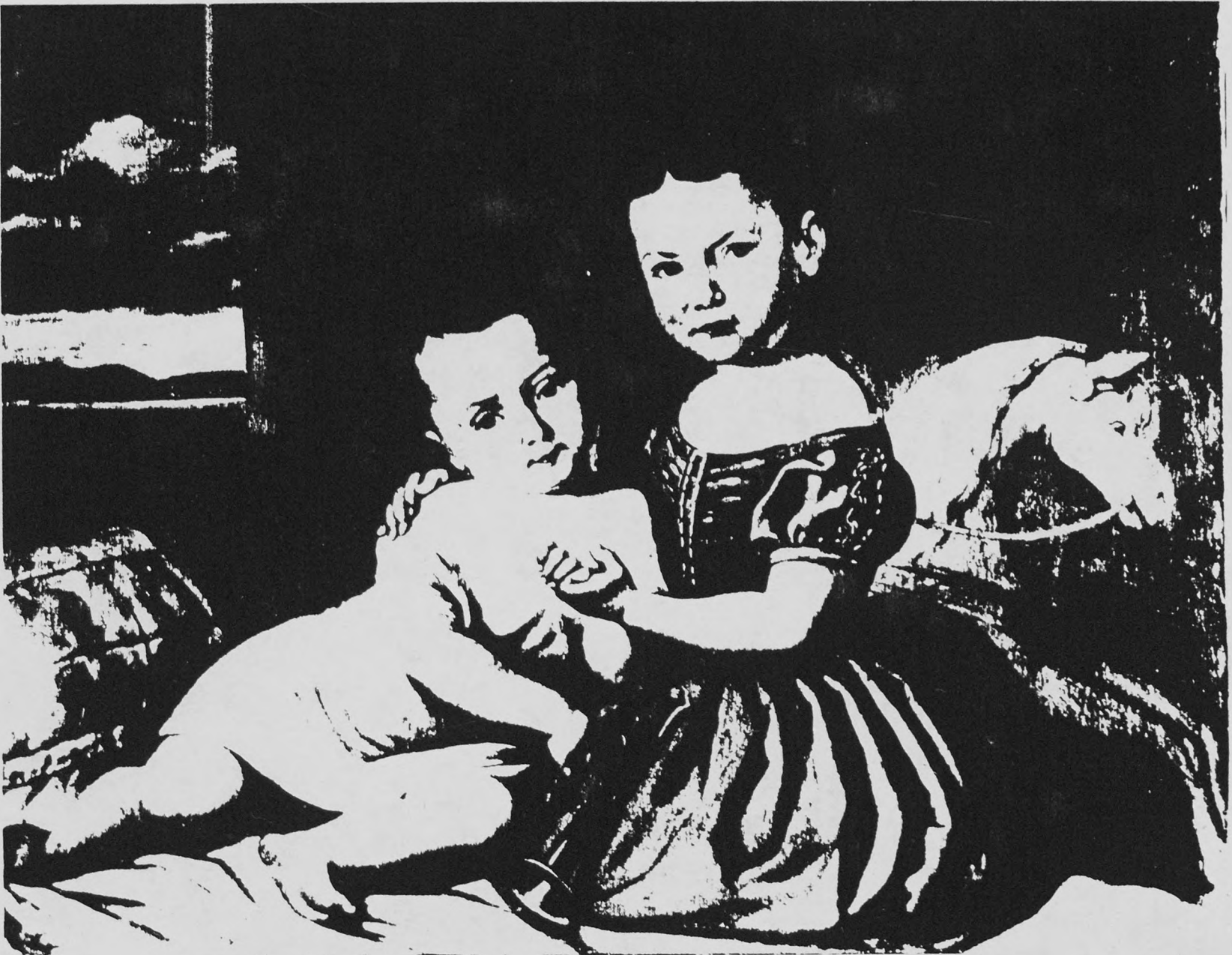


Fig. 51. Théophile Hamel, Gustave and Hermine Hamel, c. 1861. Oil on canvas (66.2 X 86.5 cm). Musée du Québec, Québec city (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 52. Lambert Sachs, The Herbert Children, 1857. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Art Washington. (photo: from Anita Schorsch, Images of Childhood, p. 68).

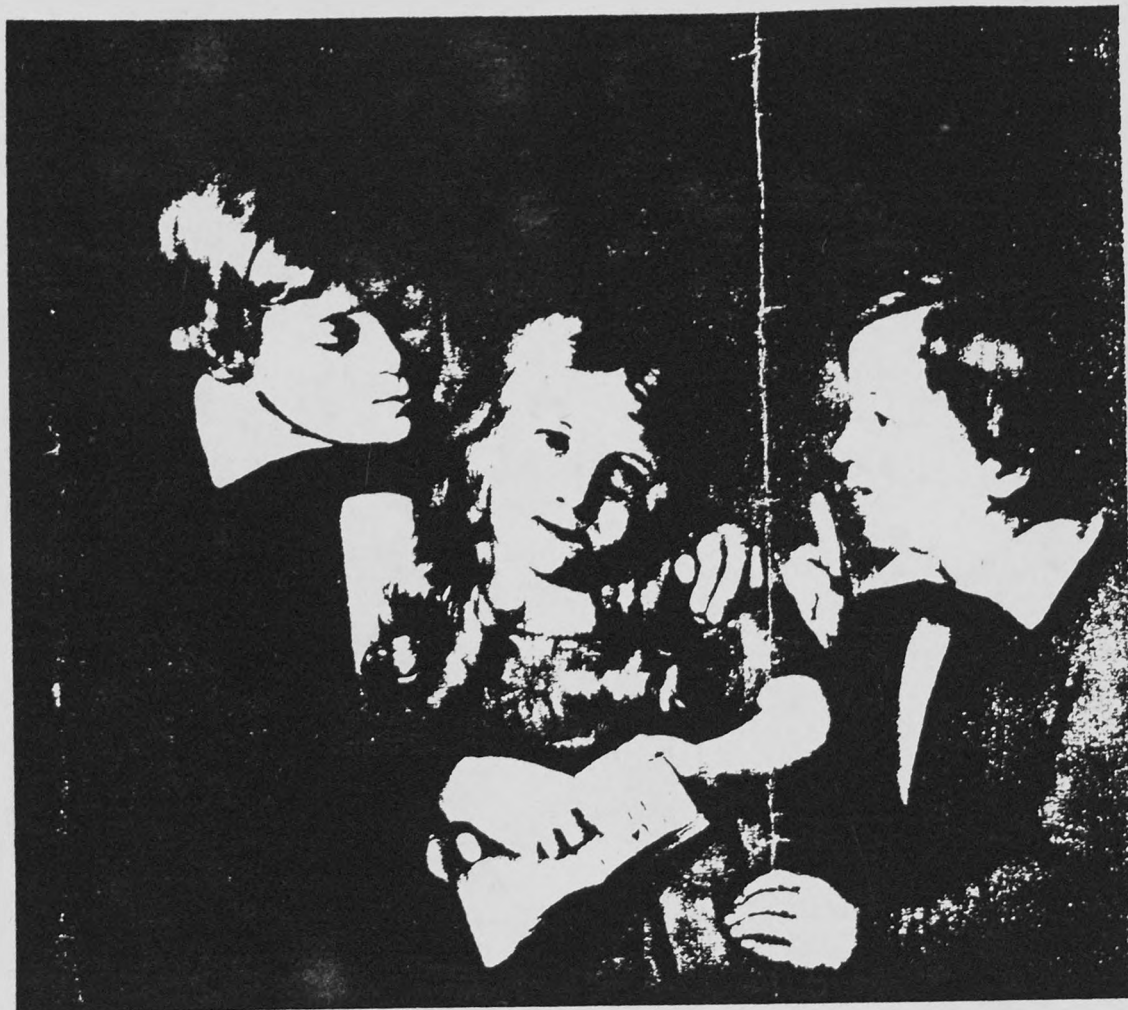


Fig. 53. Théophile Hamel, Les ABCs, 1845. Oil on canvas (61 X 66cm). Private Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Jules Loeb, Toronto (photo: from The Mr. and Mrs. Loeb Collection, fig. 18).





Fig. 54. Théophile Hamel, Four Children and a Dog, 1847. Oil on canvas (68.3 X 84.2 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec City (photo: Patrick Altman).

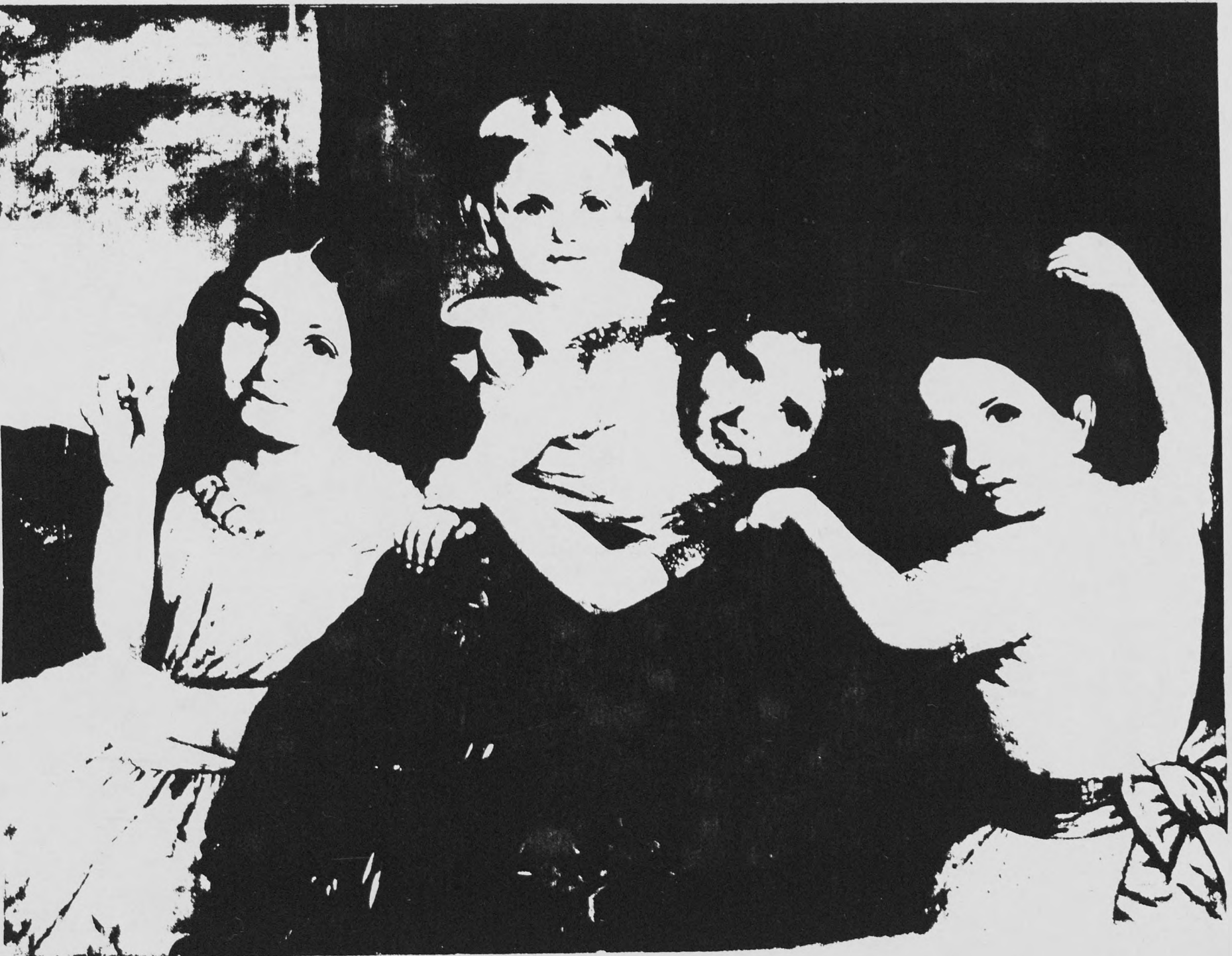


Fig. 55. Théophile Hamel, Noémie, Eugénie, Antoinette and Séphora Hamel, nieces of the Artist, c. 1854. Oil on canvas (74.2 X 96.5. cm). Musée du Québec, Québec City (photo: Patrick Altman).



Fig. 56. William Berczy (attrib.), The McGillivray Family, c. 1806.  
Oil on canvas. McCord Museum of Canadian History,  
Montreal (photo: MMCH).



Fig. 57. Anonymous, Unknown Family Group from Montreal, c. 1800.  
Oil on tin (22 X 27 cm). McCord Museum of Canadian  
History, Montreal (photo: MMCH).



Fig. 58. William Berczy, The Woolsey Family, 1808-09. Oil on canvas (60.3 X 87 cm). National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (photo: NGC).



Fig. 59. William Berczy, Group of Children, 1810. Lead and fursain  
on paper (23.2 X 35.7 cm). Musée du Québec, Québec City  
(photo: Neuville Bazin).



Fig. 60. John Murray (attrib.), Portrait of John Samuel Hill and his Second Wife Flavie Pouliot and his Daughter, 1860. Oil on canvas (55.9 X 74 cm). Musée du Québec, Quebec city (photo: Patrick Altman).