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THE WORK AND THOUGHT OF OZIAS LEDUC
IN THE INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF HIS TIME

by

BARBARA ANN WINTERS

B.Sc., University of Manitoba, 1965
B.F.A., University of Victoria, 1980

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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

[Redacted]
Dr. Elizabeth Tumasonis, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)

[Redacted]
Dr. John Osborne, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

[Redacted]
Dr. Phyllis Senese, Outside Member (Department of History)

[Redacted]
Dr. Mary Ellen Ross, External Examiner
(Department of French Language and Literature)

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Supervisor: Dr. Elizabeth Tumasonis

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide insight into the work of Ozias Leduc (1864-1955) by examining his artistic development within the social and cultural context of his period. It entails an exploration of the two streams of influence which played upon the evolution of his art and ideas. As a French Canadian artist Leduc was subject to the prevailing social conservatism and nationalism which strongly marked the character of the arts in Quebec. At the same time, he was clearly inspired by contemporary currents associated with the European avant-garde at the turn of the century, particularly the Symbolist movement. The uniqueness of Leduc's art emerged from his ability to assimilate and balance influences from what were fundamentally conflicting attitudes within the social setting of Quebec.


The cultural community in Quebec was divided between those who supported the development for a distinctly nationalist, that is, a regionalist art, and advocates of modern European culture and artistic license. Leduc maintained a relationship with members of the divergent factions, which he established either through mutual interests and/or commissioned works. An exploration of some of his relationships throughout his career, in conjunction with an analysis of associated works, illuminates the social and artistic issues of his time and how they are reflected in his art.


Leduc's thoughts are recorded in a myriad of personal notes which are preserved in the Archives nationales du Québec in Montreal. I have


made ample use of these notes to reveal the extent of his vast range of intellectual and artistic inquiry, and the depth of his own philosophical viewpoint which directed his artistic concerns. Correspondence and other documents contained in the Leduc archive have provided additional resource material to supplement a selected survey of his work

It has become apparent to me through the progress of this study that a fuller understanding of the arts of French Canada can only be achieved by considering the distinct concerns which have shaped Québécois society. Leduc's art, his church decorations, his commissioned works, and his personal easel art, while expressing an individual vision, also mirrors cultural forces in play in Quebec during his time. A secondary aspect of my research, which became a corollary to my primary intentions, is that Leduc, because of his interactions within the Quebec cultural community and his broad range of interests, became a focus from which to gain a perspective on the social issues in French Canada which are manifest in the arts.

Examiners:


 Dr. E. Tufasonis, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)


 Dr. J. Osborne, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)


 Dr. P. Seneze, Outside Member (Department of History)



 Dr. M.E. Ross, External Examiner (Department of French Language and Literature)

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INTRODUCTION

During a career that spanned six decades, Ozias Leduc (1864-1955), was known primarily to a small intellectual and artistic elite in Quebec which could appreciate the unique accomplishment of his art and the exceptional character of the man himself. In the last years of his life he began to receive the long overdue recognition he deserved. The arts journal Arts et Pensée dedicated its July/August issue of 1954 to him, featuring nine articles by friends and devotees.¹ Jean-René Ostiguy was largely responsible for the renewed interest in Leduc which began in the 1970s. In particular, in 1974, for the National Gallery of Canada Ostiguy organized Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse / Ozias Leduc: Symbolist and Religious Painting, a major travelling retrospective of the artist's work.² Since then, several M.A. theses have examined specific areas of Leduc's art. Laurier Lacroix was the first, in 1973, with a study of his decoration in the private chapel of the Bishop of Sherbrooke.³ Subsequent topics have included studies of the decoration of Saint-Hilaire Church by Craig Stirling in 1981,⁴ four of his landscapes by Louise Beaudry in 1983,⁵ his still lifes by Arlene Gehmacher in 1986,⁶ and four of his portraits by Monique Lanthier in 1987.⁷ Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman was a travelling exhibition of Leduc's drawings which Lacroix organized for Concordia University in 1978.⁸ Both this exhibition and the 1974 retrospective included extensive catalogues which contributed to the scholarship on this important Quebec artist. The catalogue for Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman contained essays by Lacroix and several graduate students in the Department of History of Art at Concordia.⁹

With so much recent academic research on Leduc, why, then, is there a need for another thesis? The study of his art has been fragmented, and there is no overall view of his evolution as an artist within the distinctive social context of Quebec. Of the previous theses, only that by Arlene Gehmacher discusses social setting to any degree. However, even then her analysis is brief and with a bias to support her viewpoint that Leduc demonstrated an idealism corresponding to the "prevailing Thomistic-scholastic attitude of the Catholic Church."¹⁰ I find Leduc's art of this first period of his career much broader in scope and intention than Gehmacher allows and his interest in a scholastic theory of art can only be related to the period when such a theory was formulated by the French philosopher Jacques Maritain after 1920.¹¹ Craig Stirling's study of the decorations in the Saint-Hilaire Church provides an account of Leduc's early training as well as information on the attitudes of the time in Quebec with regard to sacred art. The Saint-Hilaire commission, begun in 1895 and completed in 1900, straddles Leduc's pivotal trip to France for seven months in 1897, which opened up a new world of art and ideas for him. The transition in Leduc's art from adherence to conventions traditionally followed by Quebec artists to new forms and theories, inspired by his European sojourn, is clearly visible in the Saint-Hilaire programme. The strength of Stirling's study is an exploration of the contemporary influences on the Saint-Hilaire murals. Laurier Lacroix, in his concluding interpretation of the programme in the Bishop's Chapel, connected the iconography and structure of the main murals to the dominant clerical nationalist ideology in Quebec. However, no background on that ideology was provided, and its influence on

Leduc's thought was given only cursory examination. While Leduc clearly alluded to nationalist concerns in some of his decorative programmes, which I will explore in my study, there is no evidence of such references in the Bishop's Chapel, and I find Lacroix's arguments unconvincing. Louise Beaudry's structural and iconographic analysis of Leduc's landscapes is highly subjective and convoluted, based on a Christian reading of every detail of the perceived symbolism. Monique Lanthier chose to concentrate on four of Leduc's portraits over the span of his career, three of which were commissioned, while the fourth evolved from his friendship with Abbé Olivier Maurault. Some details of Leduc's personal relationships are discussed with regard to these works but, fundamentally, the entire thesis is limited in concept and scope.

I intend to establish that Leduc's art clearly reflects the imprint of time and place, yet in a way that demonstrates singular independence. He pursued his art during an era of considerable nationalist conservatism in Quebec, and in a stifling cultural atmosphere that had a profound effect on the development of French Canadian arts. Nationalists of his day insisted that French Canada was a separate and distinct "nation" resident in Quebec.¹² The dominant nationalist program was based on the idea of preservation of the nation: conserving its faith, language, and rural traditions in order to ensure ethnic survival. Most writers and artists, by will or submission, supported the patriotic cause through works which extolled the French Canadian heritage. Literature was the main focus of nationalist action, but by the turn of the century the interest in regionalist themes strongly influenced the visual arts, manifested in a predominance of rural imagery. Not only was

there a conformism of subject matter in literature and art, but form and style were limited by censure and prevailing conservative tastes. Ideally French Canada was to create its own indigenous art, fundamentally based on the traditions of its classical legacy but dealing with regionalist subject matter. The most contentious issue was the link with France, the primary source of influence on French Canadian culture, since France remained the Mecca for privileged students of the arts. To the conservatives, modern French cultural currents were dangerous, embodying the materialism, atheism, and immorality of contemporary French society. Modern influences had to be severely moderated to pass critical approval; radicalism in form or idea was not tolerated. The result was a culture that reflected the provincialism imposed upon it by the official arts establishment allied with the predominant nationalist movement.

Patriotic sentiments intensified in Quebec at the turn of the century, due to an escalation of federal French/English conflicts. As the conservative nationalist movement gained momentum, there was increased pressure for support through intellectual and cultural action. Leduc, like most others in the artistic and intellectual community, was sensitive to nationalist issues. However, not all succumbed to the dictates of the conservative faction; conflicts emerged on how best to nurture French Canadian culture. A minority advocated that the arts in Quebec must be progressive and could only become significant by lifting restraints on artistic freedom and by absorbing constant nourishment from contemporary French sources. These defenders of modernism and internationalism championed arts that were universal, not regional, in

scope. The most significant of this minority, before the advent of Paul-Émile Borduas and his followers in the 1940s, was the group associated with the ephemeral arts journal Le Nigog of 1918. Leduc was an intimate of this circle, and his relationship with its members forms one of the most interesting chapters of his life.

Leduc's own response to the cultural milieu in Quebec often represented a bridging of opposing forces. Like his avant-garde friends, he had broad intellectual interests and was strongly influenced by contemporary European art and theories. Leduc was profoundly spiritual, and his reaction to European ideas was regulated by a personal philosophical vision which transcended narrow regionalist attitudes. Yet, at the same time, he remained deeply attached to the values and lifestyle of his own rural milieu of Saint-Hilaire, where he lived all his life. The body of work that he produced was an expression of his own ideals, but with a sensitivity to its spiritual and visual relevance for his own society. His aesthetics derived from European models, largely from the precursors and proponents of Symbolism, which he transformed into his own visual language. Drawing inspiration from his deep bonds with his rural environment, his personal experiences were embodied in form and imagery with both regional and universal significance.

As a church decorator, he was in contact with clergy who were at the opposite end of the ideological spectrum from the Nigog group. Like other artists working for the church, he generally had to tailor his decorations to the tastes and ideas dictated by the curé. Even working within limiting restrictions, he produced notable decorative schemes which convey his desire to create works with modern relevance in form

and meaning. On those rare occasions when he was granted artistic license, the resulting decorations are among the most significant in the province. One such programme was designed for the Baptistery of Notre-Dame Basilica in Montreal under the auspices of his strongest supporter, Abbé Olivier Maurault. Maurault was a prominent member of the clerical hierarchy; he held numerous important positions culminating in his appointment as Rector of the Université de Montréal in 1934. He had ties to nationalist circles, including the influential group behind the L'Action française, a monthly journal founded in 1917 and the leading force of the conservative nationalist movement until 1928.¹³ Maurault was an ardent promoter of French Canadian art and literature, a complex man of eclectic tastes who simultaneously upheld overtly nationalist propaganda and defended radical poets. Leduc's relationship with Maurault had important consequences for the last stage of his career, during which time he focused his attention on his church decoration and became more directly involved in social action in his community.

Throughout his life, Leduc associated with writers, politicians, intellectuals, and clergy, who were concerned with social issues and who represented a mosaic of attitudes. A brief analysis of some these relationships can provide insight into the concerns of the day which affected the arts, as well as yield a more intimate portrait of the artist himself. Tributes to Leduc in books and articles written by several of his friends convey their appreciation of the man and his art. The Ozias Leduc dossier at the Archives nationales du Québec in Montreal contains extensive personal correspondence which helps to bring these relationships to life. Leduc saved many of the letters he received and,

fortuitously, rough drafts he routinely made of his own letters, even those he sent to close friends. Little correspondence pertains to the period before 1900.

The Archives also contain voluminous other records, preparatory notes and sketches for decorations, personal papers, notes on his reading, reflections, poetry, speeches, photographs, etc. Unfortunately much of the material is undated, particularly the hundreds of fragments of Leduc's personal musings on art and philosophy (often jotted on the backs of envelopes and old letters, or on other scraps of paper) which are invaluable in understanding his very personal vision. Consequently, I have chosen to present an overview of his ideas in the second chapter.

The other essential ingredient in this study is, of course, Leduc's art. It will be examined with reference to his independent idealism and to the influences he absorbed from his own milieu and from international sources. I intend to concentrate on his easel art, although some of his major decorations will be cited to demonstrate his concern for the renewal of religious art in Quebec. The study is chronological, broken into periods which primarily represent a transition in his art, but which also delineate changes in his social relationships. The first chapter provides a historical background on the development of French Canadian nationalism and its social and cultural consequences to provide a context for the concerns of Leduc and his friends.¹⁴

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

¹ The following articles appeared in that issue:

- Gilles Roux, "Ozias Leduc, esquisse biographique," pp. 163-164.
 Gilles Corbeil, "Ozias Leduc, peintre de natures mortes," pp. 169-171.
 L.-J. Barcelo, "Témoignages, Leduc tel que j'ai connu," p. 172.
 Claude Gauvreau, "Leduc, un indépendant," p. 173.
 Olivier Maurault p.s.s, "Monsieur Ozias Leduc, homme-artiste," pp. 174-175.
 Fernand Leduc, "Ozias Leduc, peintre exemplaire," p. 176.
 Paul-Émile Borduas, "Paul-É. Borduas nous écrit au sujet de Ozias Leduc," pp. 177-179.
 Noël Lajoie, "Ozias Leduc, poète," p. 180.
 André Lecoutey, "Les Décorations religieuses d'Ozias Leduc," pp. 184-186.

These brief articles describe the man, his sage-like wisdom, his profound spirituality and other qualities which generated a great deal of affection from those who knew him. His art is described as deeply personal and of an original form and vision that set it apart from other art in Quebec. Lecoutey observed that Leduc's church decorations reflect the constraints placed on him by the demands and tastes of his clerical patrons and he noted a strong dichotomy between his mural paintings and his personal intimate easel works.

Also included in this issue was Leduc's own article "L'Histoire de S.-Hilaire on l'entend, on la voit," pp. 165-168 and a selection of his poetry, "Rythmes intimes," pp. 181-183.

² Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse / Ozias Leduc: Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974).

³ Laurier Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1973.

⁴ Craig Stirling, Ozias Leduc et la décoration intérieure de l'église de Saint-Hilaire, M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1981.

⁵ Louise Beaudry, Une analyse formelle et iconographique de quatre paysages (1913-1921) d'Ozias Leduc (1864-1955), M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1983.

⁶ Arlene Gehmacher, In Pursuit of the Ideal: The Still Life Paintings of Ozias Leduc, M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1986.

⁷ Monique Lanthier, Portrait et photographie chez Ozias Leduc, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1987.

⁸ Laurier Lacroix, Dessin inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman (Montreal: Sir Georges Williams Art Gallery, Concordia University, 1978).

⁹ Laurier Lacroix, "The Function of Drawing in the Work of Ozias Leduc"; Janice Seline, "The Real and the Ideal: Progress and the Landscapes of Ozias Leduc"; Victoria Baker, "On Art, Beauty and Imagination: Currents of Thought in the Writings of Ozias Leduc"; J. Craig Stirling, "Evolution of Critical Thought on Ozias Leduc"; Sylvia Antoniou, "The Religious Works of Ozias Leduc."

¹⁰ Gehmacher, p. 47.

¹¹ Jacques Maritain, Art et Scholastique (Paris, Librairie de l'Art Catholique, 1920).

¹² Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher and Jean-Claude Robert, Quebec. A History 1867-1929, trans. Robert Chodos (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1983), pp. 274-277 and A.I. Silver, The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

¹³ Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Action Française: French Canadian nationalism in the twenties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

¹⁴ Many of the resource materials consulted for this study are in French. All English translations which appear in my text are my own unless otherwise specified.

CHAPTER 1SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The current demand of the Québécois to be recognized as a "distinct society" has its roots in the long history of French Canadian nationalism. Nationalism in Quebec was manifest in varying attitudes during Leduc's lifetime, but the conservative ideology propagated by members of the clergy and their influential ruling class allies, including intellectuals, politicians, and journalists, exercised considerable influence on the cultural community. The Catholic church, given a free hand by politicians, wielded substantial power in French Canada because of its elevated position and ubiquitous presence in society, and therefore was able to shape nationalist philosophy effectively.¹

The church had emerged with renewed authority after the 1837 Patriote Rebellion diminished the forces of liberalism as a major current in French Canadian society.² Denis Monière, in his comprehensive study Ideologies in Quebec, described the result:

The failure of the rebellion can be seen as a victory for the clergy: its enemy, the radical and anticlerical petty bourgeoisie, was neutralized; it received the support of the moderate elements of that class, and it was left free to install a backward-looking value system whose main themes would be agriculturism, messianism, and anti-statism. From now on, the dominant ideology in Quebec would reflect the clergy's world view and interests, as well as the sources of its power. It was the beginning of a century of obscurantism.³

The clergy, assisted by the French Canadian bourgeoisie, became the chief disseminators of an "ideology of conservation," or clerical-nationalism.⁴ This ideology was designed ostensibly to ensure racial survival in the new Canadian nation dominated economically and

politically by the Anglo-Saxon community, but which also protected its own social position. The clergy "advocated a Catholic social order, with the church in a position of leadership and control."⁵ The primary focus of the clerical-nationalist programme was the preservation of French Canada's cultural heritage: its language, faith, values, customs, and agricultural lifestyle.⁶ The promotion of agriculturalism by the church was consistent with the fact that its power base was the rural parish where it could best exercise its religious control.⁷ That power base was threatened by growing industrialization and the mass migration of rural Quebecers to urban industrial centers, including large scale emigration to the United States.⁸ Agriculturalism was expressed in religious terms as a lifestyle connected to the spiritual traditions and moral values of the race. It was advanced as "an ideal way of life in which the human being blossoms in communion with God and nature."⁹ According to Fernand Ouellet, the ideological pressures exerted by clerical-nationalism to cloister "the population in a static world...seriously cut down the French-Canadian community's chances of adapting to and acting in modern society."¹⁰

As recompense for economic subordination,¹¹ a major component of the ideology was the powerful idea that the French Canadian nation had been gifted by Providence with the messianic mission to "constitute a center of Catholicism in the New World."¹² In this way nationalism and religion were fused, ensuring the need for the social guidance of the clergy. The mission of the nation was disseminated with fervor by the extreme right-wing, ultramontanist faction of the clergy, small but mighty under a series of influential spokesmen, beginning with Ignace Bourget, Bishop

of Montreal from 1840-1876,¹³ and continuing well into the new century. A statement made in 1902 by Jules-Paul Tardivel, the ultramontanist editor of La Verité, summarized the clerical-nationalist response to the encroachment of industrialization and urbanization:

It is not necessary for us to possess industry and money. We would no longer be French Canadians but Americans like the others. Our mission is to possess the earth and to spread ideas. To cling to the soil, to raise large families, to maintain the hearths of spiritual and intellectual life, that must be our role in America.¹⁴

The social authority of the church was entrenched in the two tier power hierarchy of the province.¹⁵ The upper level of society was occupied by the English-speaking bourgeoisie who controlled the economic power and dominated the political process. Occupying the second level was the clergy in company with an elite of French Canadian politicians, bureaucrats, administrators, journalists, and others who had a considerable influence over the rest of the population and its ideological orientation. It was in this group that the clergy found its most valuable supporters. The English-speaking bourgeoisie and French Canadian politicians, while supporting a program of economic liberalism, deferred to the clergy with regard to social policies because the guardianship of the church secured social stability.¹⁶ Also, as products of a Catholic upbringing, most French Canadian politicians adhered to the social thinking of the church.

The ideology of the church was circulated through the vast network of French Canadian institutions under its jurisdiction. As stated in Quebec: A History, "The whole life of a Catholic Quebecer, from birth to death, was guided by the clergy"¹⁷ The church was responsible for education at all levels, health care, and social services; it organized

Catholic societies and Catholic trade unions and spoke through the Catholic press. Aided by their influential conservative allies, the clergy lauded those who supported their viewpoint and condemned and often silenced those who advocated the 'corrupting' modern ideas of liberalism imported from Europe or America. Only partisans of the French right such as Joseph de Maistre, Louis de Bonald, or Louis Veillot provided models which were encouraged.¹⁸ The strongest early pocket of resistance to the hegemony and attitudes of the church was the literary society, the Institut canadien of the 1850s and 1860s. The Institut was the stronghold of the radical liberal nationalist remnants from the Patriote (Rouge) movement, and became a dominant force in the Liberal party.¹⁹ The Institut members found inspiration in contemporary French literature and social theory (Victor Hugo was their honorary president²⁰) and they established a library which was condemned by Bishop Bourget.²¹ As a society of committed reformers, they railed against the intolerance and repression of the church, and called for liberty, secularization, and social progress.²² The Institut lasted until the end of the 1860s, when the constant persecution of Bishop Bourget saw its final demise.²³ The Liberal party henceforth separated itself from the Rouge element and, proposing a moderate political platform, in 1896 saw its leader Wilfrid Laurier elected as the first French Canadian Prime Minister.²⁴

Radicalism had been suppressed, but the current of liberalism persisted as did an interest in contemporary European ideas, despite the continual efforts of the clergy to restrict access to undesirable influences. Foreign literature continued to reach the public through the

popular press such La Presse, La Patrie,²⁵ and Le Canada (a Liberal organ)²⁶ which featured poetry and serialized novels. Bookstores stocked modern French work, and French periodicals were available through subscriptions. Two levels of culture evolved in Quebec as the working classes avidly consumed the proliferating popular culture imported from France and also from the United States, while the social and intellectual elite were groomed in the classical colleges²⁷ of the province to appreciate the classics and the sanctioned nationalist literature of Quebec writers. However, students, artists, and writers increasingly travelled to France to study and broaden their experiences. Certainly not all who spent time in Europe had their viewpoint altered to any great extent, but there were enough individuals who were invigorated by their experience abroad to keep progressive ideas alive in Quebec.

Progressivism in the arts was to come into continual conflict with the 'official thinking' of the hierarchy of critics, intellectuals, and clergy who kept watch over the cultural community. Patriotic sentiments and the power of conservative nationalist thinking induced many writers and artists to comply with the perceived social need to produce works which supported the dominant ideology. Besides, those who strayed into deviant territory would feel the wrath of "literary gendarmes" such as the prominent ultramontane journalists Adolphe-Basile Routhier and Jules-Paul Tardivel.²⁸ Nationalist attention was focused on literature because it was the most valuable vehicle of propaganda. The visual arts followed suit with French Canadian themes around the turn of the century. Themes which would become standard conventions in literature

and art well into the twentieth century were established in the 1860s by the first school of nationalist literature, the patriotic *École de Québec*. François-Xavier Garneau, "the father of French-Canadian literature,"²⁹ initiated the study of Canadian history from a French Canadian perspective with his *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* (1845).³⁰ The stories of Abbé Casgrain, Hubert LaRue, and Joseph-Charles Taché kept alive legends and folklore.³¹ Antoine Gérin-Lajoie preached the virtues of the traditional life close to the land and encouraged the "cult of the habitant as the best kind of French Canadian" in his novels about the rural colonist Jean Rivard.³² Octave Crémazie's poems were hymns to the heroic ancestry of French Canada.³³ Abbé Ferland and Abbé Casgrain bred the concept of the mystic origins of New France and established the theme of the religious "mission" of the "race" in literature and nationalist thought.³⁴ These early writers constructed their works on models derived from the French Romantics: Lamartine, Chateaubriand, Musset, Hugo, et al.³⁵ However, any romantic extravagances of imagination or personal sensibility were kept in check by propriety, and by critics who advocated classicism over romanticism and would not condone any suggestion of social liberalism.³⁶

By the end of the century, critical censure focused on the modern schools of Realism, Naturalism, and Symbolism.³⁷ Yet those tendencies began to surface in French Canadian literature in the early 1890s. Montreal, with its cosmopolitan atmosphere, always harboured more liberalism than Quebec City, and it became the centre for a "fin-de-siècle bohemian underground."³⁸ Between 1890 and 1895 a series of literary circles emerged in the city which called themselves *Le Pléiade*,

Club Sans Souci, and the Groupe des six éponges.³⁹ These groups comprised writers who had discovered the exoticism of the Parnassians and the inner world of the Symbolists; they were familiar with the writings of Heredia, Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, Charles Morice.⁴⁰ Although "the French-Canadian decadence was only a pale reflection of the French movement,"⁴¹ with enthusiasm they wrote poetry under the inspiration of their French masters. Several Quebec journals published their work: Recueil littéraire de Montréal, Le Monde illustré, Le Samedi, Echo des jeunes, Glaneur-recueil littéraire des jeunes, the last two founded by the writers themselves.⁴² These earlier groups gave birth to L'École littéraire de Montréal in 1895, a literary society comprised of an eclectic group of poets eager to experiment and to learn from French models, and united by lofty hopes of initiating a renovation of the then moribund French Canadian literature. Common concerns were for new expressive form and the need to concentrate on "things of the spirit."⁴³ Little of the poetry produced by members of this group was revolutionary by European standards, but it represented an innovation in Quebec literature which had become mired in repetitious nationalist themes. However, while poetry of the École became more subjective, its more conservative members such as Albert Ferland, Albert Lozeau, and Charles Gill still looked primarily to French Romanticism for their models. Others in the group wrote poems of deeply personal significance embodied in the refined form of the Parnassians and the suggestive language of the Symbolists. The most exceptional works were the haunting and enigmatic poems of the gifted but troubled young Émile Nelligan, who by his early twenties drifted into madness. For a while

the group generated a revitalized interest in the arts among a broader intellectual circle in Montreal. Between 1898 and 1900, they sponsored a series of lectures and readings at the Château de Ramezay which were attended by "the elite of society."⁴⁴ Discord surfaced in the group,⁴⁵ and by 1904 the École had dissolved; "one by one, Montreal's young bohemians were swallowed up by the exigencies of a society that had no interest in 'literary' and 'gratuitous' poetry."⁴⁶

The majority of writers and artists were swayed by renewed nationalist fervor at the turn of the century, stimulated by the simultaneous advent of a more consolidated political nationalist movement under the charismatic leadership of Henri Bourassa and the development of a program of Catholic social action sponsored by the church. Bourassa's movement grew in response to federal support of British imperialism during the Boer War.⁴⁷ Other vital issues exacerbated nationalist sentiments, such as the denial of French language and religious rights in other Canadian provinces, particularly in education, the French Canadian demand for Canadian autonomy from Britain, and accelerating economic disparity between French and English in Quebec. The idealistic nationalism propagated by Bourassa was based on a vision of harmony and co-operation between the French and English in Canada, with mutual respect for each other's cultural and language. According to Brown and Cook, "Bourassa and his followers were above all moral reformers in the tradition of social Catholicism....they were deeply offended by the materialism and corruption of the age of unrestrained economic progress. They hoped to encourage an educated elite to place religious and moral values above personal gain and

pecuniary standards."⁴⁸ The motto of the nationalists was "the public good above private interest."⁴⁹ Bourassa was able to catalyze both liberal and conservative nationalist factions who interpreted his ideas to suit their own viewpoints.⁵⁰ Among his most ardent followers were young intellectuals and students. Jules Fournier and Olivar Asselin, fiery liberal journalists, were two of his most prominent disciples who helped create La Ligue Nationaliste in 1903 and were editors of its weekly newspaper Le Nationaliste,⁵¹ precursor to Bourassa's Le Devoir founded in 1910. The independent Fournier established his own paper L'Action (1911-1916) in which he publicized his combative opinions on political and social issues. He decried the intellectual stagnation of French Canada and its lack of vital literature, attributable to banal public tastes and the "sham of criticism."⁵² Asselin and Fournier exemplify those with social and political commitment, for whom intellectual action meant cultural renewal through contacts with modern France. They appear later in this study as defenders of the writers associated with Le Nigog.

Bourassa's nationalist movement coincided with a tremendous growth of Catholic activism sponsored by the church in response to the papal encyclical of 1891, Rerum Novarum, which proposed the formation of Catholic social action groups to deal with changes created by industrialization.⁵³ The church in Quebec sponsored a vast network of organizations to generate national solidarity and to propagate its own social doctrine. The influential École sociale populaire was founded in 1911 in Montreal to help draw up and disseminate church social policy and train activists.⁵⁴ A student action group, the Association

catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française (ACJC), "the nursery of twentieth century nationalism," was formed in 1903 in classical colleges throughout the province.⁵⁵ Under the banner "piety, study, action" the members of the ACJC dedicated themselves to fulfilling the sacred mission of French Canada.⁵⁶ The Société du parler français au Canada was formed in Quebec City in 1902 to protect the French language and to encourage literary activity.⁵⁷ At a meeting of the Société at Laval in 1904, Abbé Camille Roy, the leading literary authority of the period and "a militant of Catholic social action,"⁵⁸ presented his influential paper, "La Nationalisation de la littérature canadienne."⁵⁹ He called on Quebec writers to create a literature concerned with Canadian subjects, that "is of us and for us."⁶⁰ Roy believed "the greatest enemy is contemporary French literature" because it endangered the originality of French-Canadian works.⁶¹ He maintained that the national spirit was different from that of modern France; "the Canadian soul much more resembles that of the French soul brought here by the valiant colonists of the seventeenth century."⁶² The exhortation to patriotic duty by Roy and other leading nationalists of this period had its effect on writers and artists. The École littéraire de Montréal resurfaced in 1907, this time as part of the regionalist movement of le terroir, devoted to rural themes of the cult of the soil. The literary review founded in 1909 by the École called Le Terroir⁶³ was "an echo of the movement of 1860."⁶⁴ Charles Gill, a francophone artist and poet who was an original member of the École of the 1890s, summarized the nationalist sentiments of the new École in the first issue of Le Terroir: "The years accumulate over our heads. We witness with bitterness the agony of our dreams. The

enthusiasm of our the first days has disappeared, replaced by a more tenacious feeling: that of duty."⁶⁵ Gill, like Roy, defined the goal of the regionalist movement as the need to discover and express the national soul.⁶⁶

According to Paul Wyczynski, Le Terroir and Le Nigog represent the two diverse literary orientations in French Quebec during the first quarter of this century: the one regionalist, the other based on "art for art's sake."⁶⁷ However, these intellectual orientations were not entirely clearcut for there was throughout the first decades of this century a constant interaction between moderate and more radical elements, a sharing of ideas, some mutual support and some condemnation, as those involved in the arts attempted to integrate their personal inclinations with the collective need. Those few who remained on the radical fringe, who refused to relinquish their individuality and their need for personal expression, defended their actions as advancing French Canadian culture. The young aesthetes of "le Soc," an avant-garde literary society of students at l'Université Laval in Montreal, caught in the burgeoning patriotism, professed their devotion to the national cause.⁶⁸ Guillaume Lahaise, Paul Morin, René Chopin, and Marcel Dugas, who helped found this group in 1909, shortly thereafter scandalized the literary establishment with their radical writings. Morin, Chopin, and Dugas were contributors to the arts review Le Nigog, launched in 1918.

This review evolved out a Montreal circle of writers, artists, architects, musicians, and intellectuals who shared a passion for modern French culture. Many of the group had recently been in France, immersed in the vibrant atmosphere of Paris, but had been forced home by the war.

In their Nigog articles they waged a battle against the limitations of cultural regionalism. They called for artistic freedom from the tyranny imposed by Quebec's critical establishment and proclaimed that art can be national without being nationalistic.⁶⁹ On the periphery of the Nigog group were nationalists of enlightened vision like Abbé Olivier Maurault, the eminent economist Édouard Montpetit and the journalist Olivar Asselin, who recognized the importance of external influences and universal values on cultural development. Le Nigog lasted only one year. It perceived the vast mass of the French Canadian public as artistically illiterate, and the intellectual sphere to which the review was addressed was precisely the group which would denounce it for treachery and dilettantism. Le Nigog was doomed by the pronounced regionalist attitude of this period, which was not only a cultural movement, but the manifestation of an influential new brand of nationalism described by Wade as "an intense provincialism."⁷⁰

Bitter animosity between the French and English over Canada's role in World War I and over the conscription crisis had again constricted the broad Canadian nationalism represented by Bourassa's movement to the "Quebec-centredness" of the Confederation era.⁷¹ In the 1920s and 1930s there was even a significant revival of separatism initiated by the journal L'Action française.⁷² Prominent spokesmen for post-war nationalism were associated with L'Action française, founded in 1917 by the Ligue des Droits du français, and modelled after the rightist nationalist review in France by the same name.⁷³ Abbé Lionel Groulx, professor of Canadian history at the Université de Montréal, became the "the guiding spirit"⁷⁴ of the movement. He "preached a cult of devotion

to history and to the traditions of the race, of racial pride and of opposition to anglo-mania and cultural exoticism."⁷⁵ His intense national consciousness was summed up in his watchword, "rester d'abord nous-mêmes."⁷⁶ Abbé Groulx exhorted students and young intellectuals to participate in nationalist action in order to defend and strengthen French-Canadian culture. His article, "Une Action intellectuelle," appearing in L'Action française in February 1917, summoned writers to dedicate themselves to producing a literature that would be "Catholic and French, and also bravely regionalist."⁷⁷ He declared that the time for "intellectual vagabondism," when writers who had gone to France demonstrated a "mania for exoticism," was over.⁷⁸ L'Action française was a major force in nationalist attitudes through the 1920s, expanding its influence through lectures, annual symposia, and the publication of nationalist works.⁷⁹ It was very successful at embracing nationalists of a more broad-minded outlook, many of whom participated in its activities. The French Canadian elite were alarmed at the rapid growth of industry controlled by English Canadians, British, and Americans and the consequent effects on French society in Quebec. Industrialization placed French Canadians in an inferior economic position, caused social hardships, disrupted traditional rural life, and "poisoned" Catholic morality in the urban environment.⁸⁰ A program of colonization and agriculturalism supported by L'Action française had widespread popularity among some intellectuals.⁸¹ However, the growing extremism of the narrow religious nationalism proposed by the journal saw its support by moderates dwindle, and led to its eventual demise in 1928.⁸²

The movement gained new life in 1933, when the old guard of L'Action

française along with younger ultranationalists founded the journal L'Action nationale, which advocated national action centred on Catholicism, language protection, and policies which would support a return to the land.⁸³ This strongly regionalist current between the wars was characterized by increasing attitudes of intolerance and isolationism. Intolerance and the obsession with ethnic distinctiveness, cultivated by Abbé Groulx, surfaced in the 1930s as a deplorable racism reflecting ideas rampant in Europe, and was propagated along with fascist sympathies by L'Action nationale and its supporters.⁸⁴ Although extremist opinions were held by only a small faction, the overall atmosphere of nationalist fervor and conservatism was pervasive, and Quebec culture remained stagnant among the intelligentsia. Against this backdrop, the battle for freedom and modernity in the arts was carried on by a few vocal individuals like Victor Barbeau with his publication Cahiers de Turc in the 1920s, or dissident periodicals such as Le Jour and La Relève in the 1930s.⁸⁵

According to Maurice Lemire, the clerical-nationalist influence on French Canadian culture developments during the first forty years of this century was powerful enough to eliminate any large scale dissident struggles. He wrote:

The fact that a young poet began to read and love Symbolist poetry in the solitude of his room does not constitute a revolution, nor initiate the struggle. It is on an individual basis that certain writers disengaged themselves from clerical influence, that they regrouped and expressed their preferences. It is necessary to add that groups such as le Soc, l'Arche and others have never had official existence and that it was only on the occasion of the founding of a review, like Le Nigog or La Relève, that they emerged from the underground. These dissidents were so deprived compared to those who were already established that the repercussions of their actions remained relative.⁸⁶

The visual arts in French Canada demonstrated a growing national spirit parallel to that of the literature. Beginning around the 1890s, French Canadian artists created an idealized image of Quebec that corresponded to the nationalist credo. One can point to the most obvious examples: the history paintings of Charles Huot, Henri Beau, and Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Côté;⁸⁷ the historical monuments and sculptures of habitants of Philippe Hébert, Alfred Laliberté, and again Suzor-Côté;⁸⁸ and the illustrative art of anecdotal genre and folklore of Henri Julien and Edmond-J. Massicotte.⁸⁹ With the increased popularity of regionalist novels and anthologies of stories numerous artists, including Leduc, were recruited as illustrators. The best known examples are probably the illustrations by both Suzor-Côté and Clarence Gagnon for Louis Hémon's Maria Chapdelaine.⁹⁰

In a broad survey of easel art of this period, the demarcation between that of French and English Canadians is not easily discerned. The turn of the century was marked by a preponderance of landscapes and rural genre scenes created in styles and idioms borrowed from Europe. Highly polished anecdotal genre in the academic manner, as found in the work of George Reid and Robert Harris, was fashionable in the 1890s. A more intimate and subjective approach to the same subject matter also became prevalent, sparked by a vogue for Barbizon painting and especially for The Hague school among wealthy English collectors in Montreal.⁹¹ The extremely successful works of Homer Watson and Horatio Walker helped popularize romantic rural themes. The idealized image of the rural landscape and agricultural life of Canadian genre coincided with the vision of rural Quebec generated in the nationalist ideology.

However, French Canadian artists perpetuated this image with more persistence, longer, and with greater intimacy than their English counterparts, even as the reality of such an idyllic existence became more and more distanced from the truth. Like the literature, French Canadian art repeated regionalist themes and formulas, with slight variation over time as new styles were introduced from Europe. As described by Gérard Morisset, a typical French Canadian scene repeated since 1890 would commonly include "an old habitation of stone or wood, situated in a hilly landscape, in winter or summer, with the St. Lawrence or a river, a team of horses, farm implements and some animals."⁹²

French Canadian artists were slow to adopt new forms because of the conservative tastes of their patrons and, in particular, their demand for copies of accepted masterpieces and other admired works. The most important patron in French Canada was the church; a few wealthy French Canadians commissioned portraits or collected paintings, and at the turn of the century some artists found patrons in the English community. Russell Harper sums up the decades before 1900:

Progressive, vital painting was the exception rather than the rule in French Canada during the later nineteenth century. Stagnation, lack of inspiration, and repetition of religious subjects where either creativity or startling innovation was unwelcome, could be found on all sides. Absence of innovation in the Quebec art scene should cause no real surprise. It was not just that creativity had been stifled by the uninformed dictates of laymen; the artists themselves were acutely aware of fabulous reputations which had been built solidly on superior copying.⁹³

The church was the most despotic and reactionary of patrons. Programmes and styles were prescribed by the clergy who wanted their churches decorated in copies of Renaissance or Baroque schemes, or in the Early

Renaissance mannerisms of the Nazarene School, typified by the work of Napoléon Bourassa. Copying in the academic manner was encouraged in the training most artists received through apprenticeships, in classes such as those established at the Institution Nationale in the 1870s and 1880s by Abbé Chabert, one of the principal teachers in Montreal,⁹⁴ or in French academies for those who were fortunate enough to study in Europe. This situation continued well into the new century; Leduc regularly submitted to the requests of clergy for decorations consisting of copies or at least pastiches of proven models.

The limited opportunities available to French Canadian artists gradually expanded around the turn of the century as the small number of Canadian patrons began to take more notice of Canadian rather than exclusively European art, when it corresponded to their conservative tastes. Francophone artists received some patronage from the affluent English community which dominated the arts scene with its influential institution, the Art Association of Montreal. French Quebecers were much less interested in art.⁹⁵ Even among the nationalists there was only a slowly growing attention to art, for it was not considered as vital an instrument of propaganda as literature. Illustrative works depicting regionalist scenes, such as those by E.-J. Massicotte, were increasingly in demand for periodicals and literary works to support traditional themes, but these publications primarily attracted an elite audience.⁹⁶ Attempts were made to foster French Canadian arts by a small number of dedicated individuals. In 1890, Senator L.O. David sponsored an unsuccessful venture to establish an annual Salon to exhibit French Canadian painting.⁹⁷ Presumably, this event was not continued in

subsequent years because of lack of support. That left the exhibitions of the Art Association and the Royal Canadian Academy as the only showcases in Montreal for French Canadian art. The reviews of these exhibitions in the Montreal press suggest an overwhelming preponderance of anglophone names among the artists who participated, and the coverage of opening nights indicate an attendance solely by the English community.⁹⁸ By 1913, the plight of the relatively few French Canadian artists was again given focus. Edmond Dyonnet, secretary of the Royal Canadian Academy, protested in the Year Book of Canadian Art that, of the seventy-five members of the Academy, only eight were francophone.⁹⁹ In 1916, Abbé Olivier Maurault initiated a series of solo exhibitions of French Canadian artists at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice in Montreal. The first show featured the work of his friend Leduc.¹⁰⁰ The establishment of a Musée des Beaux-Arts as a permanent exhibition space for French Canadian art became the dream of several prominent members of the community. In 1917, the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste of Montreal and the Société Historique supported a project to stimulate such efforts by sponsoring exhibitions and a collection of French Canadian art of le terroir.¹⁰¹ A Société canadienne des beaux-arts was established in 1918 to pursue the idea of a museum as well as the creation of provincially funded art schools.¹⁰² The province began to buy works from the annual exhibitions at the Art Association. Olivier Maurault gave the project publicity in L'Action française in 1920, but pointed out the difficulty the appointed jury faced because of the distinct lack of French Canadian art on exhibition.¹⁰³ He quoted statistics from the 1920 spring show which indicated a discouraging ratio of 187 works by anglophones to 27

by francophones in "a French province."¹⁰⁴ The Musée du Québec was finally opened in Quebec City in 1933.¹⁰⁵ In the early 1920s, the provincial government opened Écoles des Beaux-Arts in Quebec City (1921) and Montreal (1923) to provide training in the fine arts, industrial arts, and the traditional crafts of Quebec.¹⁰⁶

Nationalist sentiment and the slowly growing encouragement of artists perpetuated the interest in regionalist themes painted in a conservative manner. Although study in Europe became more common, few artists had the inclination to experiment in any depth with the modernist trends of their European contemporaries. While poets in Montreal had discovered the Symbolists by the 1890s, Quebec artists paid little attention to this European movement. Leduc was one of the rare exceptions to show interest in Symbolism at the turn of the century. Another was Adrien Hébert, who discovered Symbolist works during study in Paris from 1912 to 1914,¹⁰⁷ well after they were out of fashion there, and his interest was temporary. Even Impressionism, established in France long before 1900, had little effect in Quebec until it was brought home in a modified style by Maurice Cullen in 1895.¹⁰⁸ Suzor-Côté was the first French Canadian artist to exhibit landscapes strongly influenced by Impressionism when he returned to Canada in 1908.¹⁰⁹ The French academies remained the main attraction for most French Canadian students and in Quebec esteemed teachers such as William Brymner,¹¹⁰ Edmond Dyonnet,¹¹¹ and Joseph Saint-Charles¹¹² sustained the academic method. Academicism became further entrenched with the establishment of the Écoles des Beaux-Arts, directed by artists from France experienced in the traditions of the French academies.¹¹³

However, the objective formality and precision of the academic manner was commonly moderated by a more romantic and subjective approach, stimulated originally by the interest in modern Dutch art in Montreal. The public and critics had grown fond of art which evoked a poetic, atmospheric effect, while at the same time maintaining truth of observation.¹¹⁴ The new subjective criteria were delineated by the Montreal collector, E.B. Greenshields, in Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Masters, published in 1906. He quoted at length from a lecture given by William Brymner on the importance of individual expression in art:

Thus an artist, although he imitates nature and reproduces its external forms, must throw the light of his individual thought upon it, and this thought or emotion that he conveys by means of nature must be his own thought, or some emotion he has personally experienced, and his manner of expressing himself must be proper to himself.¹¹⁵

Brymner's work exemplifies the blending of the academic tradition with the more painterly and personal qualities which characterize much of the Canadian art of this era. The French Canadian writer Henri d'Arles (pseudonym of Abbé Henri Beaudet), in his book Propos d'Art (1903), praised both the academic treatment and the "poetry of the native soil" that he found in the paintings of Charles Huot.¹¹⁶ Henri d'Arles felt that such art was essential to raise the intellectual and moral level of "our people" and chided the public for their apathy.¹¹⁷ He had attended lectures on art by the French aesthete Comte Robert de Montesquiou in New York, and Montesquiou wrote the preface to his book.¹¹⁸ Although d'Arles's commentary reflects some of the Symbolist ideas which Montesquiou proposed, those ideas have been submerged significantly in an academic viewpoint and regionalist sympathies.

Maurice Cullen was the most successful artist in Quebec by the second decade of the century because, as Sylvia Antoniou suggested, he "managed to settle somewhere in the centre of aesthetic taste. His paintings of indigenous subject matter were inoffensively beautiful in comparison to the rebellious trends of contemporary Europe."¹¹⁹ Fernand Préfontaine, the foremost art critic of Le Nigog and advocate of form over subject matter, called Cullen "our best artist."¹²⁰ The restrained Impressionist technique found in the work of Cullen and Suzor-Côté, and the touches of Fauvism found in Clarence Gagnon, were as much as the public would tolerate; even Préfontaine found John Lyman a "troubling painter" because of his incomprehensible use of "disagreeable" colours.¹²¹ The few artists in Quebec who boldly displayed a strong modernist influence were harshly condemned by the established critics. There were no radicals among French Canadian artists as there were among French Canadian writers. The innovators were anglophones like Maurice Cullen, John Lyman, James Wilson Morrice, Henry Clapp,¹²² and A.Y. Jackson. But signs of Post-Impressionism were soundly condemned by the critics, exemplified by the diatribes against the works of Randolph Hewton, Jackson, and Lyman when they were exhibited in Montreal in 1913.¹²³ S. Morgan Powell's reaction to Lyman's work appeared in the Montreal Daily Star:

Crudity, infelicitous combinations of shades, unharmonious juxtaposition of tints, ugly distortion of line, wretched perspective, and an atrocious disregard for every known canon of sane art, are here.¹²⁴

No doubt such a response to modernism served as a deterrent for less hardy souls. Morrice, Clapp, and Jackson left Quebec to find more enlightened surroundings.¹²⁵ In 1927 Jackson was still railing against

the Montreal art world; the Toronto Star quoted him as saying. "There is no more bigoted place than Montreal....About the only freedom they have in Montreal is for booze."¹²⁶

For the majority of French Canadian artists regionalist themes continued to take precedence over form. Even those artists who began to take more liberty in style demonstrated a commitment to local subject matter. Jean-René Ostiguy's 1982 exhibition at the National Gallery, Modernism in Quebec Art, 1916-1946, mounted to demonstrate the growth of modern art in Quebec between 1916 and 1946, in fact serves to confirm the force of regionalism among many of those that stand out in this period: Suzor-Côté, Gagnon, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Rodolphe Duguay, André Biéler, Jean-Paul Lemieux, and others.¹²⁷ Maurice Raymond's painting of 1940, Poem of the Land, epitomizes the continued adulation of the agricultural heritage of French Canada.¹²⁸ The communal desire to create an indigenous art was recognized by the journalist Jean Chauvin in Ateliers, a survey of Quebec artists written in 1928. Chauvin acknowledged that Quebec art had been enriched by lessons learned from the European avant-garde but lauded the fact that, unlike artists in Europe for whom form had become an obsession in itself, French Canadian artists had dedicated themselves to expressing the French Canadian spirit and their own social heritage. He judged the best works of Suzor-Coté and Alfred Laliberté as their images of le terroir.¹²⁹ Chauvin had great admiration for Marc-Aurèle Fortin who "dreamed" that Canadian artists "by applying themselves to the school of light and sun, by inspiring themselves from the rustic scenes of their country, will evolve towards a profoundly national art which reflects the temperament

of the race."¹³⁰

In the histories of Canadian art, like those of Russell Harper and Dennis Reid,¹³¹ the topic of a national art generally begins with the Group of Seven. Yet it is readily apparent that nationalistic impulses were equally strong among French Canadian artists in Quebec. French Canadian artists did not seek recognition like their more famous counterparts, but their art also remains unappreciated as a collective national vision because it largely lacks originality or innovative form. Bound to conservative styles and clinging to repetitious images based on an idealized conception of the past and rural life, much of the art has had only local interest. Leduc was one of the few to produce exceptional work; more than anyone else, he was able to express in an independent and lasting form the spiritual experience of the land and the everyday environment which was at the heart of the French Canadian heritage and sentiments.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

¹ Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher and Jean-Claude Robert, Quebec: A History 1867-1929, trans. Robert Chodos (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1983), pp. 454-460.

² Denis Monière, Ideologies in Quebec. The historical development, trans. Richard Howard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 118-120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴ Linteau et al., p. 532.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 279 and pp. 532-534.

⁷ "The parish was not only an institution of religious organization; it quickly became the basic institution of all of rural society and indeed of Quebec society as a whole." *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁸ From 1851 to 1929 the urban population in Quebec rose from 20 per cent to 63 per cent. Half a million French Canadians had moved to the United States by 1900. Monière, p. 147 and p. 179.

⁹ Linteau et al., p. 266.

¹⁰ Fernand Ouellet, "The Historical Background of Separatism in Quebec," (Liberté, IV, March 1962, 90-112); in French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), p. 58.

¹¹ Monière, pp. 143-145.

¹² This quotation comes from Quelques considérations sur les rapports de la société civile avec la Religion et la Famille, published by Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivières in 1866; translated and reprinted in part in Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), I, 346. Laflèche advanced the necessary unity between church and nation: "A nation is constituted by unity of speech, unity of faith, uniformity of morals, customs, and institutions. The French Canadians possess all these, and constitute a true nation. Each nation has received from Providence a mission to fulfil. The mission of the French-Canadian people is to constitute a center of Catholicism in the New World."

¹³ Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1967, I, 341.

¹⁴ Quoted by Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook in Canada 1896-1921. A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), p. 131.

- ¹⁵ Monière, pp. 20-21
- ¹⁶ Linteau et al., p. 531.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 268.
- ¹⁸ Maurice Lemire, ed., Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec (Montréal: Fides, 1978), I, xxi and xxv.
- ¹⁹ Wade, I, 343.
- ²⁰ Monière, p 141.
- ²¹ Wade, The French Canadians, I, 342-346.
- ²² Monière, p 141.
- ²³ The final fate of Institut was sealed with the infamous Guibord case, arising from Bourget's denial of a Christian burial for Joseph Guibord who had been an Institut member and vice-president. Wade, I, 347-349.
- ²⁴ Wade, The French Canadians, p. 437.
- ²⁵ Linteau et al., p. 283.
- ²⁶ Maurice Lemire, ed., Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec (Montréal: Fides, 1980), II, lxxv.
- ²⁷ Classical colleges were select secondary institutes run that focused on the humanities, preparing students for socially prominent careers as clergy or in the liberal professions such as law or medicine. See Claude Galarneau, Les collèges classiques au Canada français (Montréal: Fides, 1978).
- ²⁸ Lemire, Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, I, xxiii.
- ²⁹ Wade, The French Canadians, I, 289.
- ³⁰ Ibid., p. 287.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 295.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ In Le Foyer, a literary journal founded by the École, Crémazie summarized his ideas on the role of the French Canadian writer: "Renouncing without regret the beautiful dreams of echoing glory, he should regard himself as amply rewarded for his labors if he can instruct and charm his compatriots, if he can contribute to the conservation of the old French nationality on the young soil of America." Quoted by Wade in The French Canadians, I, 307.

- ³⁴ Lemire, Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, I, xl.
- ³⁵ Léopold Lamontagne, "Les Courants idéologiques dans la littérature canadienne-française du XIXe siècle," in Littérature et société canadiennes-françaises, Fernand Dumont and Jean-Charles Falardeau, eds. (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1964), pp. 105-109.
- ³⁶ Ibid., pp. 106-109.
- ³⁷ The writer Napoléon Legendre, worried about the growing infiltration of French literary ideas into Canada, "sounded a solemn warning against the 'pestilence'," "the 'corruption' of realism" and "the 'madness' of symbolism" in a paper entitled "Réalistes et Décadents" given before the Royal Society of Canada in May, 1890. Jane M. Turnbull, Essential Traits of French-Canadian poetry (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938), p. 116. There was a condemnation of Symbolism, in la Revue canadienne (1888), by Charles-Marie Ducharme. Realists fared no better; no one dared praise or imitate the likes of Honoré de Balzac, Henri Beyle Stendhal, Eugène Sue, Alexandre Dumas, or Émile Zola. Lemire, Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, I, xxv-xxvi.
- ³⁸ Linteau et al., p. 545.
- ³⁹ Paul Wyczynski, "L'École littéraire de Montréal, origines-évolution-rayonnement," L'École littéraire de Montréal, Archives des lettres canadiennes, (Montréal: Fides, 1985), VI, 13.
- ⁴⁰ The background, interests and writings of those involved in these literary groups is well documented in the articles on the members of the École contained in volume II of Archives des lettres canadiennes which is devoted to L'École littéraire de Montréal.
- ⁴¹ Soeur Sainte-Berthe, "Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, poète," ibid., p. 71, n. 26.
- ⁴² Ibid., pp. 73-75.
- ⁴³ Louis Dantin, "Préface" to Jean Charbonneau, L'École Littéraire de Montréal (Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque, 1935), p. 8
- ⁴⁴ Charles Gill, "Un mot au lecteur," Les Soirées du Château de Ramezay (Montréal: Eusèbe Senécal et Cie, 1900), p. viii. The generally conservative application of lessons from French models is demonstrated by the works of members of the École contained in this anthology. A wariness of the extremism of Symbolism is also apparent in the text of a lecture by Jean Charbonneau given in April 1899. "Quelques mots sur le symbolisme" is an analysis of Symbolism based largely on the writings of Charles Morice, especially La littérature de tout à l'heure (1889). Charbonneau concluded that Symbolism mistakenly tried to separate art from life and art from nature. He said that it was obscure and that it contaminated the purity of the French language and French identity with its "cosmopolitanism." Jean Charbonneau, "Quelques mots sur le

symbolisme," *ibid.*, pp. 220-252.

⁴⁵ Wyczynski, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁶ Linteau et al., p. 542.

⁴⁷ Linteau et al., pp. 489-495.

⁴⁸ Brown and Cook, p. 138.

⁴⁹ Joseph Levitt, Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf (Ottawa: Les Éditions de l'Université de Ottawa, 1969), p. 145.

⁵⁰ Jean-C. Bonenfant and Jean-C. Falardeau, "Cultural and Political Implications of French-Canadian Nationalism," in French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology, p. 29.

⁵¹ Asselin was editor in 1904 when it was founded and Fournier became editor in 1908. The viewpoints of these two independent minded nationalists are examined in "Jules Fournier: trouver le mot de la situation" by Renald Bérubé (pp. 367-378) and "La pensée paradoxale d'Olivar Asselin" by Pierre Berthiaume (pp. 379-396) in L'Essai et la prose d'idées au Québec, Archives des lettres canadiennes (Montréal: Fides, 1985), VI.

⁵² Paul Wyczynski, "Essai sur la littérature: des origines à 1960," L'Essai et la prose d'idées au Québec, p. 93.

⁵³ Linteau et al., p. 456.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Wade, The French Canadians, I, 516.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 525.

⁵⁷ Turnbull, p. 167.

⁵⁸ Lucie Robert, "Camille Roy et la littérature," L'Essai et la prose d'idées au Québec, p. 414.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

⁶⁰ Camille Roy, "La Nationalisation de la littérature canadienne," in Essais sur la littérature canadienne (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1925), p. 196.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 193. In nationalist terminology, "Canadian" equates with Québécois.

- ⁶³ The title of the review was explained by the editors in the first issue: "This word expresses better than any other, our goal; the affirmation of our national literature, the exaltation of our soil and the uniting of Canadian literary youth." Roger Chamberland, "Le Terroir," in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, 1070.
- ⁶⁴ Wyczynski, "L'École littéraire de Montréal," p. 25.
- ⁶⁵ Quoted by Renald Bérubé in "Les Phases," in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, 866.
- ⁶⁶ Wyczynski, "L'École littéraire de Montréal," p. 24.
- ⁶⁷ Wyczynski, "Essai sur la littérature: des origines à 1960," p. 87.
- ⁶⁸ Persan (pseudonym of Marcel Dugas), "Estudiantina: 'Le Soc'," Le Nationaliste, 6 February 1910, p. 3.
- ⁶⁹ Armand Guilmette, "De Paris à Montréal," Le Nigog, Archives des lettres canadiennes, (Montréal: Fides, 1987), VII, 39.
- ⁷⁰ Wade, The French Canadians, II, 865.
- ⁷¹ A.I. Silver, The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 50.
- ⁷² In 1922, L'Action française set out its proposal for separatism in a series of twelve monthly articles entitled, "Notre avenir politique." Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Action Française: French Canadian nationalism in the twenties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 90-98.
- ⁷³ Trofimenkoff, pp. 18-26 and Wade, The French Canadians, II, 867.
- ⁷⁴ Wade, II, 867.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 869.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 871.
- ⁷⁷ Lionel Groulx, "Une Action intellectuelle," L'Action française, 1 (February 1917), 39-40.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 39.
- ⁷⁹ See Trofimenkoff.
- ⁸⁰ Trofimenkoff, p. 83.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 58-70.
- ⁸² Ibid., pp. 99-113.

⁸³ Wade, The French Canadians, II, 901-912.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Guilmette, pp. 78-82. Some of Barbeau's articles are reprinted in his anthology La Face et l'envers (Montréal: Les publications de l'Académie canadienne-française, 1966).

⁸⁶ Lemire, Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, xiv.

⁸⁷ Gérard Morisset, La Peinture traditionnelle au Canada français (Ottawa: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1960).

⁸⁸ Jean Chauvin, Ateliers (Montréal: Louis Carrier et Cie, 1928).

⁸⁹ Bernard Genest, Massicotte et son temps (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1979).

⁹⁰ Gérard Morisset, p. 184 and pp. 189-190.

⁹¹ Jean Chauvin recalled the dealer William Watson saying that prior to 1900 a dealer would not dare suggest Canadian works to his clients. Business leaders such as Sir William Van Horne and Lord Strathcona amassed renowned collections of old masters, but at the same time developed a passion for Barbizon and The Hague School works. Ateliers, p. 239. The popularity of this art with Canadian collectors is likely partially attributable to the concurrent rage for Barbizon art in the United States which peaked in the 1880s and 1890s. See Peter Bermingham, American Art in the Barbizon Mood (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975). Horatio Walker's immense success with Canadian and American collectors attests to the popularity of this style of art.

⁹² Morisset, p. 187.

⁹³ Russell Harper, Painting in Canada: a history (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 219.

⁹⁴ This school was renamed the Institution Nationale: École des Beaux-Arts, Science, Arts et Métiers et Industrie and was destroyed by a fire in 1887. Sylvia Antoniou, Maurice Cullen (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Gallery, 1982), p. 48, n. 21. It has been mentioned often in the history of this period and linked with the training of numerous Quebec artists. Jean Chauvin in Ateliers described the academic methods of Abbé Chabert who brought plaster casts with him from France to provide material for the process of copying. pp. 223-224.

⁹⁵ An article appearing in 1892 in Arcadia, a Montreal arts review, made the following observation: "With the exceptions of the churches and the public buildings, all, or nearly all of what we have enumerated as belonging to our city, has been acquired through the unaided efforts of the English-speaking part of our population. The apathy and indifference to all artistic movements shown by our French-Canadian compatriots, have

thrown the burden fairly and squarely upon Anglo-Saxon shoulders. We are assured that, although our French-speaking compatriots number some 140,000 of the 250,000 of Montreal's population, there is not to be found among them a public library, a museum, an art gallery, or a musical society." Quoted by Arlene Gehmacher, p. 5.

⁹⁶ In a letter (1918) to Leduc from the Société Saint-Jean Baptiste de Montréal asking him to contribute illustrations for an anthology of stories based on French Canadian history, Émile Miller commented on "the educational power of the image, especially when it enriches, enhances and comments on a text." He continued, "The Société Saint-Jean Baptiste de Montréal would like to see all the youth of the country able to learn through the image, the hundred episodes of the marvelous epic of French Canada." Letter from Émile Miller, 12 November 1918. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/86.

⁹⁷ Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse / Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974), p. 194.

⁹⁸ Leduc saved clippings of exhibition reviews mainly through the 1890s in which very few French names appear. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/23.

⁹⁹ Jean Chauvin, Ateliers (Montréal: Louis Carrier et Cie, 1928), pp. 195-196.

¹⁰⁰ Olivier Maurault, "Vieux cahiers, vieux journaux," Le Revue canadienne, 18 (September 1916), 228-229.

¹⁰¹ There is correspondence from November 1917 in the Leduc archive from La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal explaining the project and asking Leduc for works of le terroir for an exhibition planned to demonstrate the need for a permanent museum to house such art. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/85.

¹⁰² Fernand Préfontaine, Le Nigog, 1 (June 1918), 207-208.

¹⁰³ Olivier Maurault, "Chronique d'art," L'Action française, 4 (June 1920), 284-285.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Le Musée du Québec: oeuvres choisies (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1978), p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ The intention of the school in Montreal to foster the applied arts and to revive the traditional crafts of Quebec is described in Ateliers, pp. 104-105.

¹⁰⁷ Jean-René Ostiguy, Modernism in Quebec Art, 1916-1946 (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1982), p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ Harper, pp. 232-233.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 235.

¹¹⁰ Brymner was a particularly influential teacher who conducted classes at the Art Association from 1886 until 1921. Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 104.

¹¹¹ Chauvin, p. 193. Dyonnet was a die-hard academic who railed against the modern tendencies in art, as Russell Harper makes evident in quoting Dyonnet from an article in The Yearbook of Canadian Art (1913). Dyonnet wrote with regard to Impressionism: "No French-Canadian painter fortunately has dreamed of following in their folly those despisers of art who have undertaken the mission of denying beauty and proscribing truth." As for Cubism and Futurism he wrote: "Our country is too young not to be attracted by novelty, but it has enough good sense not to allow itself to be made a fool of, or to take the grin of a monkey for the smile of a woman." Harper, p. 236.

¹¹² Chauvin, p. 225.

¹¹³ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960). Biographie critique et analyse de l'oeuvre (Montréal: Fides, 1978), pp 11-19.

¹¹⁴ Leduc kept newspaper clippings of reviews of Montreal exhibitions through the 1890s which confirm that the critics praised works that evoked a poetic mood and demonstrated a high degree of technical skill. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/23.

¹¹⁵ E.B. Greenshields, Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1906), pp. 59-60.

¹¹⁶ Henri d'Arles, Propos d'art (New York: Daniel V. Wien, 1903), p. 74.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

¹¹⁸ Comte Robert de Montesquiou, "Entrée de chœur," *ibid.*, pp. xv-xvi.

¹¹⁹ Sylvia Antoniou, Maurice Cullen (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1982), p. 30.

¹²⁰ Fernand Préfontaine, "Le salon de printemps," Le Nigog, 1 (May 1918), 169.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 170.

¹²² Harper. p. 331.

¹²³ Louis Dompierre, John Lyman 1886-1967 (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1986), pp. 31-37.

¹²⁴ S. Morgan Powell, Montreal Daily Star, 29 March 1913; quoted in John Lyman (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1963), n.p.

¹²⁵ Morrice continued to send works to the AAM shows until 1916 but he purposely chose paintings that were "at least ten years old," an indication of his lack of interest in the Canadian art scene and his recognition that his newer works would not be well received. Nicole Cloutier, James Wilson Morrice 1865-1924 (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1986), pp 55-59.

¹²⁶ Peter Mellen, The Group of Seven (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), p. 13

¹²⁷ Jean-René Ostiguy, Modernism in Quebec Art, 1916-1946 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1982).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

¹²⁹ Chauvin, re Laliberté, pp. 136-145. Of Suzor-Côté, Chauvin wrote: "His best work is the paintings of our Canadian life, of our history, of our traditions and our legends. Canadian life, the people of the countryside, he illustrates again in a more vigorous manner in his bronzes." p. 91.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹³¹ Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973).

CHAPTER 2WRITINGS: THOUGHTS AND THEORY

Leduc was a man of remarkable complexity and independent thought; during his lifetime he acquired mythic stature as a sage of saintly qualities. Jean Chauvin, in Ateliers (1928), declared Leduc the "most astonishing and the most mystical of our painters" and called his studio "la Maison du Sage".¹ Mgr. Olivier Maurault, one of Leduc's closest friends, encouraged this image of Leduc in his article "Ozias Leduc: peintre mystique," written in 1938.² Guy Viau, who met Leduc through Paul-Émile Borduas, wrote, "Ozias Leduc was a profound humanist, a painter, poet, and philosopher who represented an old French-Canadian peasant aristocracy now almost vanished; and by one of those paradoxes which are Leduc's secret, he was at the same time a trail-blazer."³ Later the scholar Jean Éthier-Blais gave recognition to Leduc as "one of the most profound and mysterious spirits of our intellectual history."⁴

Intensely religious but with a "great open-mindedness,"⁵ Leduc achieved a markedly private faith through a lifetime dedicated to study and reflection. His intellectual keenness and philosophical depth provided the basis of his rapport with friends in the intellectual community, but at the same time set him apart from most other artists of his period. The personal form and vision which he achieved in his art evolved from a thoughtfully conceived synthesis of his metaphysics and contemporary art theory. His dedication to a pursuit of divine beauty through the process of art was for him a means of knowing God and of purifying his own soul; his life and art were integrally bound. In his personal notes Leduc wrote:

The artist actually impregnated by his art heightens himself in his soul, knows a beauty more full, more delicious than the light, consequence of a simplicity, of an interior peace, of a serenity, with an innocence, which makes him strong against intractable and hostile matter, which is often inert in any case.⁶

His exceptional individuality was described by Borduas, who asserted that a characterization of Leduc would not submit to narrow Canadian parameters:

...the God of Leduc is acknowledged as being his own, as completely and patiently recreated as all the elements of his thoughts. Leduc's is a world complete unto itself, a world without flaw. Nothing in the slightest is borrowed. He has read a lot, and he has travelled, but he has conserved only that to which he has been able to give a completely new life; and, disregarding difficulties, he has acted in accord with his deepest beliefs....Leduc's is the spirit of the conscious dream, heedless of people, time or place—except that he allows them to enter the dream. It is in this sense only that he recreates his world and gives new life to the old Canadian sleep: the sleep of the spirit in America.⁷

The scope and intensity of his thought becomes apparent in an examination of his personal documents in the Archives nationales du Québec. He was a compulsive notemaker; the archives contain hundreds of excerpts from things he read and fragments of personal reflections in which he clarified his thoughts. His appetite for ideas seems boundless, particularly with regard to the history of man's search for understanding. His extensive inquiry was linked to his lifelong obsession with the "elusive mystery of life and of the existence of the universe,"⁸ which he expressed in enigmatic poetry and prose poems, especially in the 1930s and 1940s. The recurrent theme "man wants to know" is explored in a series he entitled "Comprendre." The following segment ponders, Pascal-like, "this mystery of a beginning and an end":

What is space? This pit where the earth rolls, the earth this grain of sand, this drop of heat in the great sidereal cold.

Where will the earth go in this infinity? Its destiny, link of a great chain. Its destiny renewed perhaps at its own end, not the end of spent matter, not the end of life either; but finished the end of this earth with man, as man knows it. The earth as man knows it, as man will have made it in the immensity that contains everything; could such an earth rebegin? Man has linked God to this dust.⁹

Leduc, like Pascal, affirmed that it was only through faith that man could find solace and truth. Maurice Gagnon, the first to publish a selection of Leduc's poetry in 1941, noted the parallels between Leduc's poetry and his painting in terms of thought and evocative power.¹⁰ There are fundamental themes that recur throughout the writings and the art: the mysteries of existence, the passage of humanity, the duality of human nature, the struggles of the human spirit, and the expression of his own faith. For Leduc, the act of painting itself was an act of faith; he wrote that paintings are "prayers finished in images...acts of faith materialized."¹¹

But unlike Pascal, Leduc believed it necessary to engage the whole human being in the search for understanding: reason and knowledge, as well as intuition and faith. The range of his investigations indicates that the construction of his own thought evolved from a vast background of largely self-achieved knowledge. His notes reveal that he was fascinated by mythology, legends, and fables and studied, as well, theories of their origins.¹² His scrutiny of philosophy covered the spectrum from the ancient to the modern, from Plato and Aristotle¹³ to Henri Bergson¹⁴ and Jacques Maritain,¹⁵ with a particular interest in epistemology.¹⁶ He similarly was interested in the alternative responses to positivism and materialism at the end of the nineteenth century, an era of ideological debates in which rationalists were pitted against

spiritualists, mystics, and idealists.¹⁷ From a study by René Lote on contemporary "Idealism," he made note of the theories constructed in reaction to positive science by idealists such as Boutroux, Fouillée, Bergson, Dunan, and others, which explored the power and interior realm of the "ideal."¹⁸ He read Auguste Comte;¹⁹ he examined, at least superficially, modern physics²⁰ and the theories of Einstein; he knew the philosophy of Henri Poincaré, read Nietzsche,²¹ and investigated the ideas of Freud.²² His enduring interest in comparative viewpoints was symptomatic of his personal need to engage and balance all of his own capacities for understanding in search of his own 'ideal'. It is also indicative of his independence; his quest for truth, goodness, and beauty did not adhere to one system of thought but extracted what was pertinent from all he examined. His taste in literature tended to the spiritual, the mystical, even the exotic. He read Dante, Blake, Heredia, Pierre Loti,²³ René Ghil,²⁴ Paul Verlaine,²⁵ Paul Fort, and Léon Bloy.²⁶ Numerous notes and books in his collection pertained to Christian symbolism.²⁷ These related most directly to his church decorations, but were also an accessory to the whole realm of symbolism and spiritual expression in the arts which was his particular territory. His knowledge of art history was extensive. He was fascinated by primitive art which he regarded as the origins of "art in the service of religion" to fill man's innate spiritual needs.²⁸ He studied medieval art which represented "the greatest glory of symbolism"²⁹ and knew the work of Émile Mâle,³⁰ J.-K. Huysmans,³¹ John Ruskin,³² and William Morris.³³ He read numerous periodicals including art and literary journals such as Masters in Art,³⁴ Art et Décoration,³⁵ Les Arts de la Vie,³⁶

International Studio,³⁷ Revue Universelle,³⁸ and L'Art Vivant.³⁹ He was interested in the ideas of Le Corbusier on architecture,⁴⁰ and was familiar with Cubism, Futurism, and Surrealism.⁴¹

From the plethora of reflections and references, Leduc emerges as a modern Christian humanist. It would take a full study of the huge volume of fragmented evidence of his philosophical growth to do justice to his beliefs; what is important here is that his humanistic perspective made him appreciative of individual vision and gave him a belief in human progress built on wisdom of the past. He viewed the world as part of an evolving but harmonious cosmos regulated by eternal laws. He trusted in a universal truth and in an integration of human knowledge, on all levels, to progress to the ultimate truth. He believed in the dignity and potential of human beings, in human freedom, self-determination, and personal salvation. Leduc recognized the dual nature of humanity, and the internal battles waged against one's own impulses, battles that he experienced throughout his life. He could empathize with the nostalgia for faith of Pierre Loti, the torments and anxieties of Verlaine, the soulful voice of Guy Delahaye. Within a humanist framework Leduc would construct his art theory over several decades of contact with art and ideas originating primarily in France, ideas connected with the spiritual revival which began with a wave of mysticism, as Symbolism, before the end of the century and evolved to a rebirth of orthodoxy manifest in a Catholic modernism, culminating in the scholastic and humanist philosophy of Jacques Maritain.

His introspective easel paintings of the 1890s, the figure studies and particularly the still lifes, are significant early indicators of

his humanism and of the concerns which would engage him philosophically and artistically throughout his life. These are intimate reflections on the human spirit and art as a spiritual process. In them he explored the paths of human understanding and the timeless desire to bridge the temporal and eternal. His still lifes suggest that through art, the past and the present, faith, knowledge, and intuition can be realized in unity as paths in progress to the ultimate (yet unattainable) truth. In paintings such as La Phrénologie and Nature morte au livre et à la loupe (see Chapter 3), he appears to express concern that knowledge had become fragmented, particularly as a result of the modern scientific attitude which neglected the spiritual essence of reality and the realm of human feeling. A miscellaneous note from an undetermined date has some relevance to his intentions in these works:

The created man, who in turn became creator, exhausts the depths of his soul to remake the collective unity of the history of the world. This unity, which fades in differentiation will be restituted to its initial splendour by the poet, by the artist in a painful effort.⁴²

Symbolism, described by Robert Goldwater as "part of a philosophical idealism in revolt against a positivist, scientific attitude,"⁴³ attracted Leduc when he discovered this broad and often eccentric movement at the turn of the century. He explored the possibilities of subjective expression and artistic reform opened to him by Symbolism. His reflections echo ideas associated with theorists such as Charles Baudelaire, Charles Morice, Albert Aurier, Maurice Denis, and the critics who wrote for the journal Art et Décoration. This journal maintained a Symbolist proclivity long after the apex of the movement and was a major source of inspiration for Leduc who subscribed to it

from 1897 until 1939.⁴⁴ Artists such as Puvis de Chavannes, Henri Martin, René Ménard, Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer, Maurice Denis, and others whose names have been associated with Leduc were featured in illustrated articles that described their work and thought. An article on Maurice Denis appeared in 1907, reiterating his theory of "néo-traditionnisme" and demonstrating his transition to a more "humanized" approach derived from nature.⁴⁵

Within the Symbolist orbit Leduc found an art of renewed religious inspiration, an art that was concerned with the realm of personal inner experience, dreams and mysticism. Aurier wrote of the need of mysticism "to save our society from brutalization, sensualism and utilitarianism." Positive science will return man to "animality, pure and simple. We must react. We must recultivate in ourselves the superior qualities of the soul. We must become mystics again."⁴⁶ Breaking with academic conventions and prescribed codes, Symbolism opened up the potential of art as an expressive medium in a radically fresh way. The greatest revelation for Leduc was the concept of art as an individually created symbolic language of forms and aesthetic elements capable of directly transcribing a private vision or emotion. Leduc approached art as a spiritual experience, whereby the act of creating becomes an act of knowing. It was, for him, a process of catharsis, of self-awareness and self-growth. He felt that conventions, imitation, scientific theories and the technical obsessions fostered by the various schools disconnect the artist from the true value of the creative process. He wrote:

Before art there are only men attempting to liberate themselves by all means; using enough reason, enough inspiration, watching oneself in each effort of the tool toward the goal to be attained, expression of a personality in communion with total

nature.⁴⁷

Symbolist idealism coincided with Leduc's own reliance on a personal idealism, an idealism that would evolve with personal growth: "To live with fullness, the soul constantly seeks to idealize, to progress towards a new ideal, towards an unexpressed beauty."⁴⁸ His "mission" was to express a spiritual experience directly: "The Beautiful without speeches, the Beautiful without intentions, the Beautiful without apostolate. The Beautiful without servitude. The Beautiful free as space and time. Nature interpreted, not copied."⁴⁹ Leduc's vision was not detached from reality like that of Symbolists such as Odilon Redon, Gustave Moreau, or Félicien Rops; he sought intimate contact with the divine in the world around him, with everyday living beauty in his own natural environment of Saint-Hilaire. For Leduc, earthly beauty was a relative, infinitely diverse, and constantly evolving reflection of Absolute Beauty⁵⁰ with each artist conceiving beauty in his own way. The imitation of nature did not capture the essence of reality,⁵¹ nor allow the artist to create an image of his own ideal.

To follow the idealist conception of Art? Yes, on condition that this idealism is led, by the hand through life....I express myself in front of nature; my intention is not to duplicate nature. If I am a painter, I can not with colour make a sun which could light my studio. From this, the conventions of art, the play of signs...materialize by stages while progressing towards an image which is the reflection of my means, which is the mirror of beauty which is inside me.⁵²

This notation recalls the following quotation from Cézanne, cited by Maurice Denis in his article "Cézanne,": "I wanted to copy nature but I did not succeed. But I was content with myself when I discovered that the sun, for example, could not be reproduced, but that it was necessary to represent it by something else...by colour."⁵³ For Denis the contrast

of the two words "reproduce" and "represent" summarized the doctrine of pictorial (not literary) Symbolism, "the Symbolism of equivalents."⁵⁴

In many of his random notes Leduc considered the derivation of his own artistic vocabulary. Each artist must create his own symbolic language in order to communicate an original vision, his symbols are invented during the creative process: "Creative man recognizes himself in art and by painting by means of the signs which are particular to each one; signs which each invents in front of the work in progress, undertaken with the supreme goal of responding to the infinite drama which tortures the artist."⁵⁵ Often Leduc's thoughts recall the ideas of Baudelaire; for example, he wrote that like Delacroix and Ingres, each artist extracts his particular symbols from the "dictionary of nature."⁵⁶ Elsewhere he stated that the artist uses a vocabulary created "from his ingenuity of invention. A type of mysterious alphabet, instinctive or from reason."⁵⁷ Essential to that vocabulary was the expressive capacity of the aesthetic properties of art. Leduc wrote that drawing is the intellectual aspect of art; colour relays feeling. The image, that is, the idea expressed in the work, is realized through the synthesis of colour and drawing: "by the arrangement of its elements: lines, suggested forms, tonal values, colours--equilibrium of the whole."⁵⁸ This is rather like Maurice Denis's famous dictum of 1890: "Remember that a picture--before being a battle horse, a nude woman, or some anecdote--is essentially a plane surface covered with colours assembled in a certain order."⁵⁹ In terms reminiscent of Baudelaire, Leduc described the role of his imagination, the creator of his dreams, of his ideal, in the conception of his art:

The substance of my creative art, comes from the wide open world of dreams. Substance of a living imagination, rendered palpable by the sign of a play of lines, of forms, of colours, also, therefore, substance of the universe. Thus, a world a little unreal; but of precise aspect--incarnation of the subtle, of the magical, of the infinite, from meditation. Meditation before creation. Art of myself, art connected to my fantasy, restricted to time and space....⁶⁰

The Symbolist intention was an individual artistic vision, but as H.R. Rookmaker points out in his extensive study of the evolution of Symbolist theory, there was also an integrated humanist desire to produce an art of universal validity which conveyed a sense of unity and harmony between man, nature, and the spiritual world.⁶¹ In La Littérature de tout à l'heure (1889), the Symbolist writer Charles Morice looked for an art which would "suggest the whole of man by the whole of art."⁶² "Integral Art" would result from "that intense and contemporaneous desire of the human mind to combine the mystic and scientific stream into one large and living river of Beauty united with Truth in Joy."⁶³ The artist and nature are bonded through the soul; for Albert Aurier, a work of art is a "synthesis of two souls, the soul of the artist and the soul of nature."⁶⁴ That bonding is inherent in the symbolic language of correspondences by which the aesthetics of art, form, colour, lines, etc., can reveal ideas and feelings.⁶⁵ By rationally ordering the elements of his composition according to the universal laws of beauty, the artist suggests the harmonious order which permeates all aspects of divine creation. These ideas were ubiquitous in the theories, the reviews, and the artist statements at the turn of the century. Maurice Denis specified that the "subjective deformation of Nature" must be counterbalanced by "objective deformation" of the plastic elements which "obliged the artist to transform everything into

Beauty."⁶⁶ Leduc made notes on these ideas of Denis, recording that the artist must "submit to objectivity" to achieve an art that is not content with "reproducing nature" or "expressing a personality," but aspires to "realize eternal beauty with more clarity, more humanity and more generality."⁶⁷

Leduc sought to elevate his personal vision to universal terms by distilling his perception of beauty in accordance with the "inevitable harmonic law of order and rhythm."⁶⁸ He wrote, "The Geometry which has presided over this divine creation, crowned by life, must also be the foundation of art, a human creation of which the last word is beauty."⁶⁹ Leduc echoed the Symbolist notion of the mystical bonding between artist and nature in describing the artist's intuitive apprehension of the eternal laws:

There is a sum of active qualities, a fullness of cohesion, a perfect equilibrium...in each being, in objects or things that art recognizes as their supreme reason. The life of art springs from this aspect of nature and its most beautiful works are those in which the artist has most intensely vibrated before this spectacle. His sensitivity allows him to discern the beauty which is everywhere but that art alone can codify.⁷⁰

Leduc found an interesting adaptation of Symbolist theory in Camille Mauclair's Idées vivantes, a "post-Symbolist" work by this writer and critic who, like Leduc, advocated that art must be attached to reality.⁷¹ Leduc owned a copy of Mauclair's book⁷² and made notes from it.⁷³ Mauclair's text delineated his conception of the fundamental unity of all things and the relationship of that unity to the arts. Mauclair based his recognition of universal laws on the contributions of modern science, which informs us that the universe is diverse and everchanging but unified by eternal laws of "rhythm, light, movement."⁷⁴ He realized

that the more science discovers, the more mysteries arise, making the universe "infinitely more beautiful by multiplying its enigmas."⁷⁵ As in Symbolist theory, Mauclair believed that that the artist creates with an aesthetic language derived from nature to evoke the eternal laws.⁷⁶ "At the finish of a work begins the meditation on the infinity which it inspires."⁷⁷ With regard to the perception of the eternal laws of nature he wrote:

There is a moment where the contemplation of the laws of the universe, creates in a being of superior comprehension, the state of pure intelligence and where he ceases to need to limit the diverse orders of thought to understand them separately, where he ceases to be a painter, chemist, poet, sculptor, algebraist, musician, to be simply a conscience who understands the general laws. This is the supreme state, the state of the mystic or philosopher.⁷⁸

The lesson of nature is the fundamental unity of all things and all knowledge.⁷⁹ This is the message that Leduc extracted from Mauclair. He copied ideas from the chapter "L'identité et la fusion des arts," noting as a heading: "a universal truth which could reconcile all understanding, the most rudimentary as well as the most evolved."⁸⁰ He summarized Mauclair's comment that primitive poetry based on the imitation of the universal rhythm was a "sign of the eternal human instinct that feels the existence of a synthetic rapport between all the manifestations of thought and nature. This rapport has been the Cabala, or the ritual prayer, or the alchemical formula, or again the eternal philosopher's stone."⁸¹

By the mid 1910s, Leduc had progressed to a secure mastery of his own symbolic language, close to nature, but with as much emphasis on expression by form as subject matter. The transition away from the literary symbolism of his early easel art, such as his still lifes of

the 1890s, is evident in the evocative landscapes of this period such as Pommes vertes (1915) and Neige dorée (1916). Particularly in a work like Lueurs du soir (1916), a work comprised of color and light, he was moving into abstraction. Yet although his forms were simplified, colours subjective, space flattened and so on, his "deformations" were never the bold colors or the highly abstract primitivism found in the work of Gauguin or in Nabis works by Sérusier or Ranson, or even Denis.

Leduc's church decorations indicate a similar evolution. As early as his paintings in the Saint-Hilaire Church, completed after his return from France, there is an effort to communicate and inspire at an intimate level through both iconography and form. His inspiration in the Saint-Hilaire programme can be traced to his interest in the work of Puvis de Chavannes and the neo-medievalism popular in Europe during the late nineteenth century, found in the work of artists such as the Pre-Raphaelites, William Morris, and the Nabis and other French Symbolists. Later, Maurice Denis's ideas on sacred art had a strong influence on Leduc, encouraged by Abbé Olivier Maurault, who was taken with Denis's work during studies in France from 1910 to 1913.⁸² Like Denis, Leduc wanted to create a total expression of "supreme beauty" by harmonizing the conventional signs which carry the religious dogma with the "joyful ordering" of the aesthetic elements.⁸³ Leduc owned a copy of Denis's Nouvelles Théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré (1922) which Ostiguy said he collected in sections between 1917 and 1922.⁸⁴ Excerpts from this volume are found in Leduc's notes.⁸⁵ His goal, encouraged by the model of Denis, was a renaissance of religious decoration.⁸⁶ Abbé Maurault also supported Leduc's interest in medievalism, sharing with

him an enthusiasm for the writings of Huysmans and the comprehensive iconographic studies of Gothic art by Émile Mâle.⁸⁷ There was much in the medieval conception of art and the role of the artist that harmonized with Leduc's own ideas, just as it did for Denis⁸⁸ and other European artists who were interested in the spiritual and symbolic intensity of Gothic art.

During the 1920's Leduc studied Jacques Maritain's elaboration of scholasticism as art theory in Art et Scholastique (1920), a book also found in Leduc's library.⁸⁹ Maritain provided a link between contemporary art, medievalism, and the scholastic tradition. In Art et Scholastique Maritain not only cited "Baudelaire almost as often as Aristotle and Aquinas,"⁹⁰ but referred to numerous proponents of modern art. The continuity of ideas from Baudelaire to Denis⁹¹ to Maritain flowed through Leduc's reflections, and Maritain's placing of the artistic process within a theological framework had a significant influence on his mature thought.

Symbolism had encouraged the mystical component of Leduc's art. Reinforced by Maritain, the intellectual aspect of art assumed greater importance. "Art is an intellectual virtue" is Maritain's major theme in Art et Scholastique. Transcendental beauty in God's creation is apprehended as "integrity," "proportion," "brightness or clarity" by the intelligence via the senses.⁹² "Beauty is the splendour of form [spiritual essence] shining on the proportioned parts of matter," that is, "a lightning of mind on a matter intelligently arranged."⁹³ "The creator in art is he who discovers a new type-analogy of the beautiful, a new way in which the brilliance of form can be made to shine upon

matter."⁹⁴ Using a symbolic language which originates in nature,⁹⁵ the artist disciplines and intellectually orders his work in accordance with his "synthetic intuition," his artistic conception.⁹⁶ However the intellectualization in the scholastic approach does not preclude the artist's recognition of beauty through his intense sensibility which feeds the intellect. Maritain specified that art must involve the whole man:

...the virtue of art, which resides in the intellect, must not only overflow into the sensitive faculties and the imagination, but also require the artist's whole appetitive faculty, his passions and his will, to be rectified in relation to the end of his art...The artist must be in love with what he is doing...so that beauty becomes connatural to him, bedded in his being through affection, and his work proceeds from his heart and his bowels as from his lucid mind.⁹⁷

Three major speeches that Leduc gave in the 1930s on symbolism and the value of art are his most complete discourses on his philosophy of art.⁹⁸ They represent his mature views and demonstrate the integration of Maritain's scholastic theory with his own ideas. He quoted portions of Maritain's text, including the dictum "Art is an intellectual virtue," and substantially paraphrased other sections.⁹⁹ The emphasis on rational ordering of the elements of art, on self-discipline, and disciplining matter, which appear in these speeches was clearly reinforced by scholastic theory. In a radio lecture "Remarques sur l'art" from 1936, Leduc stressed at length that the artist must be the master over matter in order to realize his ideal.¹⁰⁰ He said that intellectual, moral, and technical discipline allow art to be more subtle and more human. Discipline exalts the creative power of the artist, allowing his heart to unite with art resulting in the "spiritualization of matter." The engagement of the intellect and the

will in the artistic process had clear philosophical dimensions for Leduc. Within this same speech, he likened the creative process to the battle of Jacob and the Angel, the struggle between body and spirit. Elsewhere in his notes he wrote: "We see that life is a battle: fight against the material--fight against oneself, and reward comes from heaven for the good combattants."¹⁰¹

Leduc never relinquished his romantic and mystical inclinations. Even within his speeches there are poetic evocations of the mysterious and unknown world beyond reality.¹⁰² At the same time that he was paraphrasing Maritain, he was reading Bergson's The Two Sources of Morality and Religion (1932)¹⁰³ and writing deeply spiritual poetry that seems a blend of Pascal, Mallarmé (or any of several Symbolists), and Catholic doctrine. His article "L'Histoire de S.-Hilaire: on l'entend, on la voit," which appeared in Arts et Pensée in 1954 is a telling fusion of the scientific and poetic.¹⁰⁴ Leduc expressed a fascination with the primordial and geological past from which the landscape around Saint-Hilaire evolved and a mystical sensitivity to the mountainous terrain:

The mountain as it is now--the particular features which have come about through the extremes of the Canadian climate--it is as though these were impregnating us and impelling us toward the expression of a free life, a life of legend, of heart and soul; filled with the dream images that inhabit these accidents of matter. We follow willingly wherever our imagination leads us.¹⁰⁵

Borduas, so close to Leduc, admired the depth of feeling embodied in Leduc's art, but recognized the balance he sought to maintain between reason and feeling:

Leduc is the acme of the faculty of feeling. In his "psychic fecundity" he is a remote brother of the Douanier Rousseau or

the Facteur Cheval; but a brother fearful of dethroning reason-- though it is not in its apparent rationality that his painting is great; it is in the vertiginous delicacies of tone which mirror his soul.¹⁰⁶

The motifs of freedom of expression and of personal vision are central concepts of Leduc's thought and are coincident with his Catholic humanistic ideals and his belief in the social value of art. He believed that art has a twofold redemptive value: the process of creating elevates the artist and the work he produces instructs and inspires the viewer. Because of the inherent duality of goodness and evil in man, a consequence of Original Sin, personal salvation is dependent upon individual values and choices. There is an "equality of good and evil. The essence of life is to separate the good from the bad. Beauty is a succour--it is a choice of the intelligence and the will. It is God with us."¹⁰⁷ Art conveys the unity of mankind in its never-ending aspiration for truth and beauty. It has expressed a "basic spiritual kinship" through the "multiple images" of man's history,¹⁰⁸ and new perception builds on past knowledge, transforming it into unseen appearances of beauty.¹⁰⁹ Absolute truth is unattainable but each new insight that art reveals adds to the collective wisdom and inspires, directs, and aids the progression of humanity to a more perfect state. The essential social role of art as a spiritual guide became a major theme of Leduc's late speeches and also is expressed in his personal notes such as the following:

A being of matter and spirit like art cannot survive in a pure state because by dint of being itself, it destroys itself. It lives off this being, the man in whom it is represented and off the things which comprise its daily nourishment... Art is for man if not in him because of the use that he makes of it. It is through art that reason and wisdom are maintained from the past. We live from this heritage, always adding to it in the

adventurous search for an ideal--of an equilibrium, for which we are nostalgic. The dynamism of our being in becoming leads us towards the absolute, towards God, beauty manifested without condition.¹¹⁰

This notation is quoted and paraphrased from Maritain's "Frontiers of Poetry" in the second edition of Art et Scholastique (1927), an essay in which Maritain explored the "profound conflict which art cannot escape": the desire for artistic independence and the needs of the social environment in which art exists.¹¹¹ Maritain was concerned with the direction of modern art, as a gratuitous creative activity deteriorating into the "sin of materialism."¹¹² The situation could be rectified by "a return to religious practice, to an upright moral life or sound philosophy" balanced with a respect for the aesthetic quality of art under the artist's control. The solution is "clear to the philosopher":

Art must acquire that ideal independence, the desire for which is engraved upon its nature, in regard to the material obligations involved in its conditions of existence; it must turn these obligations to account, master them, show itself strong enough to shoulder them without stooping....¹¹³

According to Maritain, it is "by the impulse of invention itself, pursuing its course, that the necessary adjustments are made. Art rights itself by advancing further, not by stopping."¹¹⁴

These ideas are echoed by Leduc. For Leduc as for Maritain, it is the work of true creators, those with an individual vision, that contributes to humanity's spiritual and social development. Recurring through Leduc's writings is the theme that nothing is fixed; the earth and mankind change, but change can be directed by will. Art is "the witness of the effort of man to endure and progress to the perfection which he desires, it shows what he has invented for his perfection as a species, to finally arrive at the height of the concepts of his

intellect and beyond."¹¹⁵ One has to think here that some of Leduc's ideas on becoming and evolving were enhanced by a knowledge of Bergson. Bergson was extremely popular in France during the first part of the century and much admired by Leduc's friends, such as Marcel Dugas, who were in Paris just before World War I. Dugas wrote home describing Bergson as the "greatest philosopher in the world."¹¹⁶ Like Bergson, Leduc believed that man effects his own evolution through the creative process. Bergson believed that we are the artisans of the moments of our life. In Creative Evolution (1907) he wrote: "What we do depends on what we are; but it is necessary to add also that we are, to a certain extent, what we do, and that we are creating ourselves continually."¹¹⁷ For Bergson the intellect could only construct from past knowledge; it was intuition which was the "élan vital" which enacted change through creative vision.¹¹⁸ Among Leduc's notes is a summary of some of Bergson's ideas, clearly reflecting the text of Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion of 1932.¹¹⁹ The following comes from Leduc's summary of Bergson's concept of closed and open societies:

"Primitive" or civilized, societies are groups formed upon themselves, closed systems inside of which pressure is exercised on the individual independently from what would correspond to the individual quality of his soul, and from what would express his aspirations.... "Between the nation, as big as it might be, and humanity, there is all the difference from the finite to the infinite, from the closed to the open. It is not by enlarging the city that one arrives at humanity." By elevating itself above a morality of narrow social incorporation, humanity proved that it had conceived and practiced love of each for all, pure and universal charity. To an infra-intellectual pressure, is opposed an supra-intellectual inspiration, encouraging humanity to take into account the beneficial and sovereign influence of men who have said what others have not said before them, who have made what has not been made, who have impregnated the earth with a perfume which has never been breathed.¹²⁰

Leduc repeatedly expressed scorn for the preconceived ideas of the

"schools." Art which follows the whims of fashion, that is, "an art which flows with diverse winds [is an] art of the timid or worried. Those who have chosen to be can be creators. The names which the past has bequeathed to us are the names of creators. Conventions, traditions constrict and paralyze."¹²¹ Like Bergson, he attributed the "mechanization of human taste" to passivity, to the ease of succumbing to collective thinking, and to the fear of shocking or disconcerting.¹²² Regarding the quality of arts in French Canada, Leduc wrote the following note:

We are anxious for a literature, we are anxious for an art. Have we created a work of art? Of the hundreds of our artists, most who have known European art, traditional English, French--more or less revolutionary, how many have a personal vision of the actual world, of its preoccupations, desires, joys, tastes, ideas, worries, doubts, pains? How many have made a choice in the universe of forms, of ideas and even in the expression of themselves vis a vis the public? The compromise of the schools is a great constraint, few have the courage to escape it.¹²³

However, the artist "never has complete freedom...the constraints of acceptability make the work of art comfortable--not out of place in its milieu."¹²⁴ Additionally, for the work to have authenticity it must be generated from the roots and the response of its creator in his own environment. This is a theme found in Leduc's late speeches, which are also the documents which most clearly reflect nationalist sympathies and the growing conservatism of his latter years. In "Remarques sur l'art," he advised Canadian artists to "be true to our traditions; we have lived them. They have marked us with a particular distinction." For Canadian art to develop, it must avoid "borrowings," defy "the inconstancies of style," shun "snobisme."¹²⁵

Leduc saw the extremes of "automatic painting" adopted by his friend

Borduas and his Surrealist associates as a form of snobisme. Most important, he felt that this form of art meant abandoning oneself to base instinct or, as he decribed it, to "chaos."¹²⁶ This was, of course, the antithesis of his profound belief that the artist must be in control of his work for the creative process to have moral value. Originality which comes from within must be tempered by a discipline of will to the timeless parameters of order and harmony, reflecting the divine order of the universe. He believed that "order is at the root of beauty, that splendour is constituted in its unity."¹²⁷ In one of several notes on Automatism, Leduc associated it with the fatal weakness of human nature: "Without Eve succumbing to temptation terrestrial Paradise would have been inhabited solely by happy people. The torch of automatism turned upside down without the possibility of a spark. Eve succumbed. We can make a choice."¹²⁸

Despite his disapproval of Automatism, Leduc never failed in his support of Borduas, who believed intensely in the value of the path he was pursuing. Borduas expressed his gratitude for Leduc's tolerance and faithfulness in "Some thoughts about the work of love and dream of Monsieur Ozias Leduc": "I owe to him that rare permission to pursue one's own fate; when it became evident that I might stand for some values contrary to his hopes, no opposition, no resistance was felt: his precious and steady sympathy did not change."¹²⁹

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

¹ Jean Chauvin, Ateliers (Montréal: Louis Carrier et Cie, 1928), p. 118.

² "In the house, lives a sage--who is at the same time a painter.. and his wife....When you you leave them, you have the impression of having taken a cure of calm and serenity." Olivier Maurault, "Ozias Leduc, peinture mystique," Le Mauricien, 2 (February 1938), 4.

³ Guy Viau, Modern Painting in French Canada (Quebec: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1967), p.16.

⁴ Jean Éthier-Blais, "Ozias Leduc," Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, Conférences J.A. de Sève 15-16 (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1973), p. 33.

⁵ Robert de Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs (Montréal: Fides, 1968), p. 75.

⁶ Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal, 06,M-P58/1/14. Hereafter referred to as ANQM.

⁷ Paul-Émile Borduas, "Paul-É. Borduas nous écrit au sujet de Ozias Leduc," Arts et Pensée, 18 (July/August 1954), 177-179; translated by François-Marc Gagnon and Dennis H. Young in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings 1942-1958, ed. François-Marc Gagnon (Halifax: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1979), p. 136.

⁸ ANQM, 06, M-P58/1/8.

⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/54. Many of Leduc's poems are reminiscent of Pascal's reflections in his Pensées; "Comprendre," "Tous les mondes," and others recall passages from Pascal on the "Disproportion of man." For Pascal, man can only marvel before the wonders of the whole of creation: "Nature is an infinite sphere whose centre is everywhere, whose circumference is nowhere. In short, it is the greatest tangible sign of the omnipotence of God that our imagination boggles at the thought of him." Pascal added: "For after all, what is man in nature? A void in comparison with the infinite, a whole in comparison with the void, a middle term between nothing and all. Infinitely far from grasping the extremes, the end of things and their origin are completely hidden from him in impenetrable mystery. ..." Martin Turnell, trans. and ed., Pascal's Pensées (London: Harvill Press, 1962), p. 215 and p. 216. Leduc mentioned Pascal in his notes (ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14) and his friends Ernest Choquette, Guillaume Lahaise, and Robert de Roquebrune admired Pascal. Roquebrune wrote an article on Pascal in Le Nigog, 1 (June 1918), 181-184.

¹⁰ Maurice Gagnon, "Poèmes philosophiques du peintre Ozias Leduc," Technique, 16 (November 1941), 640-643 and 660.

¹¹ From notes in preparation for "Remarques sur l'art," a radio lecture he gave on the CBC for "L'Heure provinciale," 21 August 1936. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/7.

¹² For Leduc, fables were a "mirror of the soul of man," a "mirror of the secrets that man, insufficient and feeble [in understanding], believed concealed the sky." ANQM, 06, M-P58/1/14. He had several pages of notes he had made on the legend of King Arthur, its origins and its interpretation in art and music from Sir Thomas Mallory to Richard Wagner. Ibid.

¹³ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁴ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/16.

¹⁵ Maritain's Art et Scholastique (Paris: Art catholique, 1920) was in Leduc's library. Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse / Ozias Leduc: Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974), p. 223.

¹⁶ Among other philosophers mentioned in Leduc's notes are: Guillaume d'Ockam, Eckhart, Jakob Böhme, Descartes, Condillac, Kant, John Stuart Mill. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁷ Henri Lemaître, L'Aventure littéraire du XXe siècle: 1890-1930 (Paris: Pierre Bordas et fils, 1984), pp. 15-55.

¹⁸ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

²² ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/11.

²³ ANQM, 06,M-P55/1/14. Leduc copied out several poems by "J.M.H.," which can be found in Heredia's Les Trophées (1893), and a long passage from Pierre Loti, "La Galilée."

²⁴ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/16. Leduc copied out poems from Ghil's Dire du mieux.

²⁵ According to Craig Stirling, Leduc owned several books by Verlaine; see Stirling, Ozias Leduc et la décoration intérieure de l'église de Saint-Hilaire (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1985), p. 138. Leduc's friends such as Guillaume Lahaise and Marcel Dugas were ardent admirers of Verlaine's poetry. Dugas wrote a book on Verlaine, Feux de Bengale à Verlaine glorieux (Montréal: Marchand Frères, 1915) which he gave to Leduc.

²⁶ A memorandum in the Leduc file at the National Gallery of Canada library, from Guy Viau to Jean-René Ostiguy, 5 June 1968, lists Leduc's favourite reading material as told to Viau by Gabrielle Messier, Leduc's last assistant. Among the books listed are La Femme pauvre by Léon Bloy and the poetry of Paul Fort.

²⁷ Books found in Leduc's library are listed in Ostiguy, p. 223, and Stirling, pp. 116-118.

²⁸ From notes headed "Origine de l'art," one of numerous notes on the topic of prehistoric or early primitive art. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

²⁹ From a speech on symbolism in art given to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe, c. 1937. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/18.

³⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/95.

³¹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/11.

³² ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/16.

³³ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

³⁴ ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/74.

³⁵ Ostiguy, p. 29.

³⁶ Stirling, p. 118, n. 24.

³⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/133.

³⁸ ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/69.

³⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/155.

⁴⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/16.

⁴¹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁴² ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁴³ Robert Goldwater, Symbolism (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 1.

⁴⁴ Ostiguy, p. 99.

⁴⁵ Adrien Mithouard, "Maurice Denis," Art et Décoration, 22 (July 1907), 1-12.

⁴⁶ Albert Aurier, "Essay on a New Method of Criticism," from Oeuvres posthumes de G.-Albert Aurier (Paris, 1893); translated in Herschel B. Chipp, Theories of Modern Art (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 88.

⁴⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁴⁸ Speech to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/18.

⁴⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁵⁰ "Truth, Goodness, Beauty equally concern the intelligence in progress towards its ultimate perfection. What is chaos tends to order itself and blossom in rythmn with Beauty. A moment of the Universe in becoming is forever fixed by art, its ascendancy over matter achieves this marvel." ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁵¹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/38 and M-P58/1/14. "The Idealist is free, he sees Nature au naturel. He undertakes as a glorious duty to exalt it above itself, to extract its beauty, to take this beauty away from the mire where often it lies." Leduc, "Pensées," Amerique française, 11 (December 1953), 3.

⁵² ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁵³ Maurice Denis, "Cézanne," L'Occident, September 1907; in Maurice Denis, Théories 1890-1910 (Paris: L. Rouart et Watelin, 1920), p. 253.

⁵⁴ Maurice Denis, "Le Soleil," L'Ermitage, 15 December 1906; in Théories 1890-1910 p. 223. Denis made this comment in reference to the same quotation from Cézanne.

⁵⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁵⁶ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8. Baudelaire wrote that for Delacroix, nature was a dictionary, a concept related to the "principal formula" of Baudelaire's own aesthetic theory which was: "The whole visible universe is but a store-house of images and signs to which the imagination will give a relative place and value; it is a sort of pasture which the imagination must digest and transform. All the faculties of the human soul must be subordinated to the imagination, which puts them in requisition all at once." Baudelaire, "The Life and Work of Eugène Delacroix"; in Jonathan Mayne, trans. and ed., The Mirror of Art, Critical Studies by Baudelaire (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1956), pp. 314-315.

⁵⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/11. Leduc repeated the concepts of a symbolic language which passed from Delacroix to Baudelaire and to Symbolist theorists such as Denis and Aurier, who stated that objects appear to the artist as signs of "ideas, of absolute and essential beings....They are the letters of an enormous alphabet which only the man of genius knows how to spell." Albert Aurier, "Symbolism in Painting: Paul Gauguin," Mercure de France, 2 (1891), 159-164; translated in Chipp, p. 90.

⁵⁸ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁵⁹ Maurice Denis, "Definition du néo-traditionnisme," Art et Critique, 23 and 30 August 1890; in Théories 1890-1910, p. 1.

⁶⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14. Baudelaire expressed his admiration for Delacroix's art in similar terms: "It is the infinite within the infinite! It has the quality of a dream! and by this I do not mean those riotous Bedlams of the night, but rather the vision that comes from intense meditation....Eugène Delacroix is above all the painter of the soul in its golden hours." Baudelaire, "The Life and Work of Eugène Delacroix"; in The Mirror of Art, pp. 252-253.

⁶¹ H.R. Rookmaker, Gauguin and 19th Century Art Theory (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1972), pp. 142-148.

⁶² Rookmaker, p. 146.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 114.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 165-167.

⁶⁶ Maurice Denis, "Du Gauguin et de Van Gogh au Classicism," L'Occident, May 1909; in Théories 1890-1910, p. 268.

⁶⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁶⁸ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁶⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁷⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁷¹ Camille Mauclair, Idées vivantes (Paris: Librairie de l'art ancien et moderne, 1904). Mauclair's rejection of the extremes of Symbolism and the detachment of Symbolists from real life was part of a larger trend away from "decadence" at the end of the century and is discussed in Jean Pierrot, The Decadent Imagination 1880-1900, trans. Derek Coltman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 238-254.

⁷² Ostiguy, p. 223.

⁷³ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁷⁴ Mauclair, p. 232.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 199. Leduc expressed a similar idea with regard to the unsolved enigmas that remain from the discoveries of electrical particles and electro-magnetic fields. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁷⁶ Mauclair supported the idea that art conveys ideas not subjects: "There is only one subject in painting, it is this analysis, or more exactly the progression reduction of this analysis to a synthesis of expressions. The assembling of diverse colours, in a certain order, on a surface, always with a decorative and imaginative goal, that is all there is to painting." Idées vivantes, p. 253.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 232.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 235-236.

⁷⁹ "Natural forms are the best demonstration of the falsehood of divisions between the sciences and the arts, between moral and immoral, between goodness and beauty and in general all scholastic divisions. The lesson of nature is the unity in and by the multiple, the return to unity by diversity." Ibid., p. 237.

⁸⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁸¹ Ibid., and Mauclair, p. 225.

⁸² Olivier Maurault, Confidences (Montréal: Fides, 1959), pp. 74-75.

⁸³ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁸⁴ Ostiguy, p. 102.

⁸⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁸⁶ In a letter addressed to Abbé Granger, 6 October 1927, Leduc wrote of his goal, mentioning that he was inspired anew by Maurice Denis's recent trip to Montreal and his visit to Leduc's decorations in the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus and the Baptistery of Notre-Dame Basilica. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/152.

⁸⁷ Mâle is first mentioned in a letter from Maurault to Leduc in 1917. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/85.

⁸⁸ Maurice Denis, "L'École d'art sacré," Nouvelles Théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré; in Maurice Denis, Du symbolisme au classicisme, Théories, ed. O. Revault d'Allonnes (Paris: Hermann, 1964), p. 84.

⁸⁹ Ostiguy, p. 223. There is evidence in Leduc's notes that he also had access to the later edition of this book (Louis Rouart et Fils, 1927) which included three additional essays on poetry and art, and further footnotes referring to books published in the interim such as Max Jacob's Art poétique (1922) and Denis's Nouvelles Théories... (1922). Leduc made notes on "Frontiers of Poetry" from the 1927 edition. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁹⁰ John M. Dunaway, Jacques Maritain (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), p. 118.

⁹¹ In "L'École d'art sacré," Denis made reference to the teachings of St. Thomas and hoped that they could correct the excesses of some modern artists: "One can hope that the thought of St. Thomas, objectivist thought, friend of common sense--intellectualist, but without excess--will be able to contribute to redressing the spirit of contemporary artists and to pacify it in a unifying wisdom." Maurice Denis: Du symbolisme au classicisme Théories, p. 83.

⁹² Jacques Maritain, Art and Scholasticism, and other essays, trans. J.F. Scanlan (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), p. 24.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁹⁵ "If the artist studies and cherishes nature as much as and much more than the works of the masters, it is not to copy nature, but to base himself upon nature, and because it is not enough for him to be a pupil of the masters: he must be God's pupil, for God knows the rules governing the making of works of beauty..." *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49 .

⁹⁸ The three speeches were: a speech to the Union catholique des cultivateurs (1930), "Remarques sur l'art" for the CBC radio program "L'Heure provinciale" (1936), and a lecture on symbolism in art given to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe (c. 1937).

⁹⁹ The following passage taken from Leduc's speech to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe paraphrases a passage from Art and Scholasticism (pp. 62-64) and is also indicative of the compatibility of scholastic theory and that of Symbolism: "Art needs a substance of which the passivity, spiritually united to the activity of the artist, will give a new creature, an original being having the ability to move the human soul. A creature of art is not a copy of that of God. In its identity, it is only a purely human sign because only God creates masterpieces that are capable of moving themselves. Art is thus the creature and work of the artist, a transformed creature, the elements of which are contained in the total universe, but chosen by him and rearranged for his enchantment and ours."

¹⁰⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/13.

¹⁰¹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8 .

¹⁰² "The symbol is like the shadow of a flame which would be lit by a dazzling light and it is in the transparency of this shadow that one catches a glimpse of the divine mystery. The symbol is so powerful that it proves to be more than a game in the universal tendency of the soul towards a troubling unknown, of which one can see the limits and which makes us anxious." Speech to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/18.

¹⁰³ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/16.

¹⁰⁴ Ozias Leduc, "L'Histoire de S.-Hilaire; on l'entend, on la voit," Arts et Pensée, 18 (July/August 1954), 165-168.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 167; trans. in Laurier Lacroix, "The dream mountain of Ozias Leduc," Artscanada, 222/223 (October/November 1978), 11 and 14.

¹⁰⁶ Paul-Émile Borduas, "Quelques pensées sur l'oeuvre d'amour et de rêve de M. Ozias Leduc," Canadian Art, 10 (Summer 1953), 168; translated in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, pp. 133-134.

¹⁰⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8. Take the ideas from the past but transform them through a new vision: "say them again with new personal tools, to make them live in unseen aspects, but beautiful, beautiful with this beauty that lies within all matter, reward of ordered work which does not know pain but lives and triumphs by the poetry springing from the heart." Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Maritain issued a reminder that art must serve humanity. Art "will in the end decay if it rejects either the constraints and limitations required from without by the good of man or the service of our common culture, which requires it to make itself intelligible, accessible, open, to shoulder the burden of the inheritance of reason and wisdom by which we live, 'to interest the whole human race in its works and its refrain'--and you remind it of the conditions of its existence, the sum of which is: humanity." Art and Scholasticism, p. 92.

¹¹² Ibid, pp. 92-93.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 93

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 94.

¹¹⁵ From Leduc's speech to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe.

¹¹⁶ Marcel Dugas, letter to his niece Alice Courteau, March 1914; in "Lettres de Marcel Dugas à sa famille (1911-1914)," Études françaises (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1971), VII, 281.

¹¹⁷ From L'Energie spirituelle, a collection of Bergson's essays (1919); translated by H. Wildon Carr in Selections from Bergson, ed. Harold A. Larrabee (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949), p. 63.

¹¹⁸ It is to the intuition "that we must look for hints to expand the intellectual form of our thought; from there shall we derive the impetus necessary to lift us above ourselves. To form an idea of the whole of life cannot consist in combining simple ideas that have been left behind in us by life itself in the course of its evolution..." Ibid., p. 65.

¹¹⁹ Extracts from Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion are found in Selections from Bergson, pp. 137-160.

¹²⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/16.

¹²¹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/3.

¹²⁶ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹²⁷ Speech to the Union catholique des cultivateurs. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/19.

¹²⁸ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹²⁹ Borduas, translated in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, p. 132.

CHAPTER 3BEGINNINGS

Ozias Leduc began his artistic career in the late 1880s. His early training has been chronicled by Jean-René Ostiguy, Craig Stirling, and Arlene Gehmacher, but a shortage of primary source material from this period concerning his personal interests or ideas has made the study of his work difficult. His church decorations, under the supervision of others, conform to established standards. His easel art of still lifes and rural genre scenes also derives from conventions of the day. However, these early paintings embody a depth of thought and emotion which distinguish them from the work of his contemporaries in Quebec. They reflect his avid intellectual appetite and an amazing ability to absorb a vast amount from the resources available to him. They represent a young artist seriously exploring the medium of painting for its expressive potential and formulating ideas about the process and value of art. Displaying intimate images of his own personal environment, his paintings express his philosophical concerns and his profound connection to his own rural milieu.

Leduc was born in 1864 in the village of Saint-Hilaire, situated on the Richelieu River between Montreal and Saint-Hyacinthe. The family residence overlooked the Richelieu Valley from the flank of Mont Saint-Hilaire, the ancient eroded volcano which dominates the landscape for miles in all directions. The broad craggy mountain had a special allure for the inhabitants of the area; they knew its distinctive features intimately: the "Pain-de-sucre" pinnacle, isolated Lake Hertel, the "Portes-de-fer," the "Trou-des-Fées," and all the other sites connected

to legends passed down through the years. Saint-Hilaire was not only a picturesque village in a beautiful setting but also a place with an uncommon aura, for, as noted by Leduc's friends Arsène Bessette and Guillaume Lahaise, it seemed to nurture more than its fair share of people with exceptional talents.¹ Leduc was certainly one who brought recognition to the area but there were many others who counted among Leduc's friends: the prominent politician Louis-Philippe Brodeur; writers including Dr. Ernest Choquette, Arsène Bessette, and Guillaume Lahaise; and artists Raoul Ducharme, Paul-Émile Borduas, and several others who worked with Leduc as church decorators. Leduc's studio became a gathering place, like a rustic salon, for these and numerous other friends who were welcomed by his hospitality and invigorated by the lively conversation that was generated in his presence. Later in his life, Leduc kept a long record of those who had made the trek to visit him at "Correlieu,"² his Saint-Hilaire studio which he built close to the forest on the side of the mountain;³ the list of prominent names from Quebec society is extensive.⁴ In memoirs, anecdotes, and correspondence to Leduc, these visits are recounted with veneration for the host and reverence for the atmosphere of the locale.

The attachment to place was strong in the Saint-Hilaire community, to its history, geography, and agricultural lifestyle. Leduc's own deep connection to the land was strengthened by years of cultivating an apple orchard to supplement his income, like his father before him.⁵ This district was renowned for its Fameuse apples, a variety developed by an immigrant apple grower from Normandy.⁶ In his article "Ozias Leduc à Saint-Hilaire" of 1955, Leduc fondly recalled knowing this "charming old

man" when he was a boy, for the grower would often visit the Leduc home in the evenings. Leduc's father would read aloud the books that the then nearly blind old man brought with him. Leduc wrote, "They were beautiful evenings--when I was a child--I remember them well! These were my first history lessons, my first literary impressions."⁷ This rare, albeit brief, glimpse into Leduc's childhood memories invokes an image of a warm and rich environment, despite the family's humble means. This atmosphere is recreated in his informal portraits of his siblings made in the 1890s, such as L'Enfant au pain (Fig. 1), of 1892-1899, or La Liseuse (Fig. 3), of 1894, which show them absorbed in books or music.

Leduc was educated in the local schools for at least six years and perhaps for as long as nine years at a time when French Canadian children went to school for an average of four or five years.⁸ His studies continued late into his teen years; from 1880 to 1883 he attended the secondary institute, the École modèle de garçons.⁹ The teacher, Jean-Baptiste Galipeau, taught all subjects, including English and music, and encouraged Leduc's interest in art by providing him with reproductions to copy.¹⁰ This special attention from his teacher may have been the spark that ignited his artistic aspirations; it obviously made an indelible impression on him, for as late as 1954 he recalled Galipeau's support in a letter to Gérard Morisset.¹¹

One of Leduc's notebooks has entries dated 1882 and 1884.¹² The early entries were made during his school years and appear to be notes from lessons on ancient cultures and religions. The later entries indicate personal interests. It is one of the rare documents from this period of Leduc's life and gives insight into his intellectual

experiences. The contents suggest that M. Galipeau may have stimulated not only Leduc's interest in art but also his fascination with romantic literature and the history of myth and religion. The first notes record the laws of Zoroastrians, Minoans, Romans, Pythagoreans, Indians, Egyptians, Gauls, and Druids, as well as the Decalogue as derived from Hebrew. Included in this section is a poetic prose description of love and beauty in the Garden of Eden before the Fall in "Adam et Eve" (source uncited). The undated excerpt which immediately follows is again the description of a tropical paradise, in this case a mystical reverie by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre which Leduc copied under the heading "Couleurs dans les nuages des tropiques." The passage is a painter's delight, filled with images of the changing light and colour emanating from clouds and reflecting off the sea. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, a disciple of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, inspired numerous Romantic writers, including Lamartine and Baudelaire, with his personal philosophy of divinely ordered universal harmonies based on the union of opposites.¹³ It has been said that "he is a link in the chain attaching the Neo-Platonism of the visionaries of the end of the eighteenth century to the romantics who all read him and admired him."¹⁴ Among Leduc's undated entries are a few brief notes on Greek mythology, including descriptions of creatures such as griffins and Stymphalian birds. The notebook ends with "Noms de graveurs," an alphabetical listing of several hundred historical European artists, some accompanied with biographical details and the names of works which had been created or copied in prints.

Leduc copied such prints to hone his draughtsmanship. Copying in an academic manner was encouraged during his apprenticeships with the

church decorators Adolphe Rho and Luigi Capello. Rho had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and Capello was an Italian immigrant well versed in European methods.¹⁵ Leduc amassed a vast collection of reproductions and illustrated material from numerous sources, including art reviews and religious journals.¹⁶ This material also supplemented his education in art history and Christian iconography. Capello loaned him a French drawing manual, Méthode pratique de dessin, and he worked through all the exercises.¹⁷ Some of his early drawings and preparatory sketches for decorative works can be found in Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman, the exhibition catalogue of Leduc's drawings in which Laurier Lacroix emphasized the importance Leduc placed on draughtsmanship throughout his career.¹⁸

From 1883 until 1897 Leduc spent much of his time away from Saint-Hilaire pursuing artistic training and building the foundations of his career as a church decorator.¹⁹ He moved to Montreal in 1883 where he found work as a statue painter in the Atelier T. Carli.²⁰ Around this time he also was visiting Luigi Capello's studio, subsequently becoming his assistant.²¹ Later, in 1906, Leduc would marry Marie-Louise Lebrun (1859-1939) who was his cousin and Capello's widow.²² It is possible that Leduc initially become involved in church decoration through an introduction to Capello by his cousin. According to Gérard Morisset, Capello was an artist of some talent who was in demand for his frescoes, painted in what Morisset described as "a florid and somewhat insipid style."²³ In 1888, Leduc helped him decorate the church of Yamachiche,²⁴ which Morisset saw as an example of Capello's efforts to imitate the style of Tiepolo.²⁵ During 1890 and 1891, Leduc spent time working with

the decorator Adolphe Rho in his studio in Bécancour. Leduc helped him complete commissioned portraits and copies.²⁶ Morisset described Rho as a technician devoid of any feeling for composition or colour harmonies.²⁷ Although Rho was in demand as a decorator, his work consisted of pastiches and was dull and lifeless.²⁸ Leduc's experience with Capello and Rho gave him the opportunity to develop his technical skills as well as to gain experience in mural decoration. His later claims to be self taught are essentially accurate in that what he learned about the creative process and purpose of art were discovered through independent explorations.²⁹

By 1892, Leduc assisted Joseph Thomas Rousseau, who had received a major commission to decorate the new cathedral of Saint-Charles Borromée in Joliette.³⁰ Leduc produced twenty-four paintings in accordance with the decorative programme set out by Rousseau.³¹ Conforming to the tastes of the time, most of Leduc's compositions were, as he later described, "arrangements of paintings by well-known masters."³² The similarity between Leduc's Assomption, painted for the choir vault, and its source, an Assumption by Titian in the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, can be seen in illustrations of both works in Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc.³³ When Leduc established an independent career and could design his own programmes, he continued the tradition of borrowing from known works. The first of those programmes is found in the Saint-Hilaire Church, much of which was completed after Leduc's trip to Europe in 1897. The Saint-Hilaire murals, to be discussed in the next chapter, represent his first attempt to reconcile the conventions expected of religious art in Quebec and his desire to create modern relevant works

according to ideas he absorbed in France.

Leduc's easel paintings of this period, like his decorations, derive from established traditions. His style, subject matter, and compositions in both his still life and genre paintings drew upon historical and contemporary works which he discovered in reproduction or saw in Montreal. However he adapted those forms into a vehicle for personal expression. Gilles Corbell, a friend of Leduc's and director of the journal Arts et Pensée, was the first to write about the still life paintings which comprise the largest body of his early works.³⁴ Corbell noted their meditative quality and "enigmatic power," and called them a reflection of Leduc's poetic dreams. Arlene Gehmacher in her thesis In Pursuit of the Ideal: The Still Life Paintings of Ozias Leduc made a detailed study of his still lifes. She suggested that his paintings reflect an intellectual attitude absorbed from academic and Thomist/scholastic idealism. She cited Napoléon Bourassa, a disciple of the German Nazarenes and the French academic painter Hippolyte Flandrin,³⁵ as an influence on his ideas, including a shared belief that "the ideal is a product of divine inspiration."³⁶ There is, however, no proof in the still lifes, or in Leduc's writings, that he believed in divine inspiration; he wrote about spiritual communion and the divine gift of creativity, but not divine inspiration. Napoléon Bourassa's influence had only been felt by a small circle of decorators and had faded by the 1890s.³⁷ He was a dogmatic moralist and ultramontanist who, despite his efforts to spread his views through teaching and articles in the ultramontanist Revue canadienne, had few imitators.³⁸ Bourassa believed religious decoration and historical murals were "the only genre

worthy of an artist" and had little regard for easel art.³⁹ I doubt that Leduc was inspired by Bourassa. Nor do I agree with Gehmacher's assertion that a related influence on Leduc's idealism during this period was the "prevalent Thomist/scholastic attitude" adopted by the Catholic Church.⁴⁰ She herself noted that Thomism was only formally adopted by the Catholic Church in a papal bull in 1879 and implemented in teaching in Quebec in 1884.⁴¹ She wrote that Leduc's early paintings indicate a concern for the "Thomist concept of the relationship between the artist and nature and the Absolute."⁴² Scholasticism was only formulated as art theory in 1920 with the publication of Art et Scholastique by Jacques Maritain.⁴³ To make such a connection to Leduc's art of the 1890s is clearly illogical. Her quotations to substantiate Leduc's scholastic ideas are taken from speeches he made in the 1930s, after he had studied Maritain's work.⁴⁴ From this perspective of scholasticism, Gehmacher concluded that Leduc's paintings reflect "a pursuit of the ideal" based on a posteriori acknowledgement of God's existence through the evidence of nature.⁴⁵ She did not acknowledge that the "'search for the ideal' attitude" of the late nineteenth century⁴⁶ was as much a romantic as a classical attitude.⁴⁷ Seeking God in nature for some Romantics even took the form of pantheism, such as was prevalent in American art.⁴⁸ In Canada, as elsewhere, romanticism in art was often manifest in classical form and structure. The Canadian landscapes of Lucius O'Brien, John Fraser, William Raphael, Allan Edson, and other prominent artists of 1870s and 1880s correspond to the romantic landscapes of the American "idealist" artists of the Hudson River School and other luminists like Martin Heade, who, as Barbara

Novak has shown, painted in a classical style infused with mysticism.⁴⁹ The Barbizon and Hague School models emulated by Canadian artists during the 1890s capture the romantic spirit in a realist form. The subject matter Leduc chose, still lifes of humble kitchen objects as in Nature morte (étude à la lumière d'une chandelle) (Fig. 12), of 1893, and interior genre scenes like L'Enfant au pain relate to a romantic conception of the divine revealed in the everyday, as I intend to demonstrate later in this chapter.

Leduc subscribed to Arcadia, an English language journal published in Montreal between May 1892 and March 1893.⁵⁰ Arlene Gehmacher referred to this journal without attributing much relevance to it other than noting that the "conservative" articles demonstrated "the general, prevailing 'search for the ideal' attitude" in Quebec.⁵¹ However, I suggest that this journal likely had more than passing significance for Leduc as he was formulating his artistic ideas. Gehmacher failed to observe that Arcadia had a distinctly Romantic bias which could have nurtured Leduc's own romantic nature. Among its many articles on literature, music, and art were lengthy descriptions of the work and artistic theories of Albert Tennyson, Robert Browning, William Wordsworth, Walt Whitman, and Richard Wagner. The article on Wordsworth recognized him as "a genre artist" who believed "that a mine of moral beauty...lay hid in the commonest and humblest objects. He elicits a wealth of spiritual beauty from the most unlikely things, and reveals the heaven which lies beneath our feet."⁵² A passage from Wordsworth's essay "Poetry and Science" was quoted which expressed his humanistic conception of the union of intuition and science, that "the poet binds

together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society, as it is spread over the whole earth, and over all time."⁵³ An article on "Painter-Poets" discussed the artistic interests of John Ruskin, William Morris, Walter Crane, William Blake, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Washington Allston.⁵⁴ "Love of Art," one of several articles intended to educate the public about art, insisted that "nature is simply the artist's soul with all its sensations and its sentiments and that is what a picture should resemble. It should not so much be tied to nature as true to feelings and imagination."⁵⁵ The journal also published reviews from London and Paris covering exhibitions of contemporary art. There was favourable commentary on the art and ideas of the Pre-Raphaelites, Impressionists, Post-Impressionists, Symbolists, and the Rose+Croix group. An article on "The Rosicrucian Salon" stated that the Salon was "not only curious and original, but also artistic, and really responds to the higher aspirations in the domain of art."⁵⁶ From New York and Boston came articles on American exhibitions, with an appreciation for a wide range of work, from the "most advanced" artists such as John Twachtman, Childe Hassam, and Edward Brooks to the Barbizon works highly popular at the time.⁵⁷ John Singer Sargent and James Whistler were cause for American pride; the New York art critic applauded the "attention instead of ridicule" which Whistler had finally achieved.⁵⁸ Other articles from the United States kept Arcadia readers up to date on intellectual and literary events in that country. For example, in "Our New York Letter" in the issue of June 1892, the contributor Helen Moore reported on a commemorative evening held by the Theosophical Society on the anniversary of the death of Mme. H.P.

Blavatsky, and a meeting in Philadelphia dedicated to Walt Whitman during which a paper on "Whitman's Cosmic Consciousness" was read.⁵⁹ Although, as Gehmacher noted, the journal may not have been "avant-garde,"⁶⁰ it did introduce the reader to contemporary art and ideas not readily available in Quebec.

It should be remembered that romanticism was also a strong current in French Canadian literature, both among regionalists and those who sought a more independent expression. French Canadian romantics such as the poets William Chapman and Louis Fréchette were popular in the 1890s.⁶¹ Much later in his life, Leduc wrote in a letter to Marcel Dugas that "Fréchette was one of those who, in my youth, by their observations helped me release my personality as an interpreter of nature."⁶² Leduc did not mention dates, but Fréchette, whose roots were in the École de Québec and who had been made honorary president of the École littéraire de Montréal, died in 1908.⁶³ Romanticism ran strongly through the École littéraire de Montréal as it emerged in the 1890s, with poets like Louis Ferland, Charles Gill, and Albert Lozeau adhering to traditional Romantic models, while others in the group imitated Symbolist writers, generating a great deal of controversy.⁶⁴ Ernest Choquette and Arsène Bessette, writers from Saint-Hilaire who were close friends of Leduc, were ardent admirers of Romantic literature.⁶⁵ Gehmacher suggested that Ernest Choquette's brother Abbé Charles-Philippe, who taught at the Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe, influenced Leduc's awareness of scholasticism.⁶⁶ However, Leduc was closer to Ernest and shared his love of literature. In 1898, they collaborated on a romantic novel, Claude Paysan, illustrated by Leduc (to be discussed in Chapter 4).

During his lengthy stays in Montreal before 1897, Leduc followed arts events in the city. Through the 1890s he exhibited his paintings at the Art Association Spring Exhibition and the Royal Canadian Academy shows.⁶⁷ Judging from a collection of press reviews of exhibitions, which he saved,⁶⁸ he attended shows of European art held by the Art Association which featured paintings from Montreal collections. Reviews from La Presse (December 1893) and an unidentified French language paper (undated) enumerate the range of impressive works from several "schools" which could be seen at such shows: Dutch (Rembrandt, Hals, Hooch, Ruisdael, et al.), Spanish (Ribera, Velasquez, et al.), English (Constable, Turner, Reynolds, et al.), and especially French (Delacroix, Courbet, Corot, Millet, Daubigny, Breton, Ribot, Harpignies, Henner, Cazin, et al.).⁶⁹ Arcadia in 1892 noted some of the foreign works which had been shown at the Art Association, which it described as "midway between the Romanticists and the Impressionists," including "Vollon's still-lifes, Bonvin's interiors...[and] Ribot's heads."⁷⁰

In 1890, Leduc entered his first exhibition with imitative works. He sent two paintings to the Exposition des beaux-arts at the Salle Cavallo in Montreal: Le Christ en croix, based on a work by Léon Bonnat, and Mater Dolorosa, from a work by Guido Reni.⁷¹ The exhibition had been organized by Senator Laurent Olivier David and several other prominent French Canadians in the hopes of establishing an annual French Canadian Salon.⁷² Leduc received an encouraging review from G.A. Dumont in Le Monde illustré:

These two works indicate that Mr. O. Leduc has an extraordinary talent. We add that this artist will be a master in the future, if he continues to paint.⁷³

Leduc's modest response was published in a subsequent issue:

Truly, I did not think my paintings would attract the least attention, for I do not presume that they have any merit; I have shown them less to display my feeble abilities than as a pledge of the love that I profess for art, and also because duty compelled me to join my young colleagues in participating at the first public display of art in French Canada. But since you have seen them and said well of them, I must thank you from my heart. You can be certain that I will not forget the first encouragement I have received....⁷⁴

His talent for meticulous accuracy gained him recognition for the original easel paintings he exhibited during the 1890s. In 1892, his Nature morte, livres (Fig. 6) won an award for the best work by an artist under thirty at the Art Association spring exhibition.⁷⁵ The Montreal Star noted that:

The work is a marvel of true copy, and it is only to be regretted that Mr. Leduc does not launch out into more ambitious work, such as his skill must qualify him for.⁷⁶

The attitude that still life was a lowly subject and not suited for serious art was widespread in the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Still lifes were regarded by critics and academicists as mere decorations or as tools to hone and display technical skills. It was Leduc's virtuoso realism that continued to garner critical praise. When he exhibited three still-lives in 1893, one with the Ontario Society of Artists and two with the Royal Canadian Academy, they were credited for their high quality of exactitude.⁷⁸ Nature morte, oignons (Fig. 4), of 1892, one of those shown, is an outstanding achievement in illusionism, displaying an arrangement of red onions with such verisimilitude that the reviewer for the Montreal Star said one could "almost pick them off the canvas."⁷⁹ This painting and Nature morte (étude à la lumière d'une chandelle) (Fig. 12), of 1893, were deemed impressive enough to be included in the

Canadian exhibit for the 1893 World's Columbia Fair in Chicago.⁸⁰

The critics of this era completely missed the remarkable depth of these paintings, perhaps because they were unprepared for still lifes with symbolic and spiritual content. Few Canadian artists showed more than a passing interest in still life. Mary Hester Reid, who had studied at the Pennsylvania Academy where still life classes were part of the program,⁸¹ was a successful artist who specialized in floral studies.⁸² Others like Suzor-Côté⁸³ and Charles Huot⁸⁴ produced some works depicting fruit, flowers, and game. The still life tradition had lingered in France since the mid-century revival with the Realist movement, and paintings from the French school were exhibited in Montreal. Leduc's Nature morte (étude à la lumière d'une chandelle) can be perhaps be related to the tabletop studies of Antoine Vollon, or other French still lifes which may have been exhibited at the Art Association. But another influence in Canada came from the much stronger vogue for still life in American art.⁸⁵ Still life in the United States had been popular throughout the nineteenth century, and reproduction by chromolithography had made American still life prints widely available.⁸⁶ The proliferation of prints and the interaction of artists and patrons with their colleagues across the border made American still life accessible in Canada. Leduc's paintings reflect the American taste for refined precision and illusionism more than the painterly tradition of the French Realists rooted in the work of Chardin.⁸⁷ Both the meticulous rendering of the perfect circular apples on a humble wooden surface and the simple formal composition in Leduc's Trois pommes (Fig. 11), of 1887, is comparable to Raphaele Peale's fruit studies.⁸⁸ The

illusionism and the composition in Leduc's Nature morte, oignons is remarkably like Levi Wells Prentice's Apples in a Tin Pail (1892),⁸⁹ although his darkened tones and atmosphere is less characteristic of the American style. Leduc possibly knew of the work of the American painter William Harnett, who popularized a revival of the seventeenth century Dutch vanitas still life tradition, an association first suggested by Evan Turner in 1962.⁹⁰ Several of Leduc's paintings, beginning with Nature morte, violon (Fig. 5), of 1891, are also based on the vanitas tradition, which is likely more than coincidence because it was not an interest of French artists. Harnett, known for his trompe-l'oeil style, was at the height of his career in New York around 1890.⁹¹ Although Harnett died in 1892, he had spawned a large number of followers and imitators, and this 'school' remained highly active through the 1890s.⁹²

Barbara Novak identified the distinctive illusionistic realism of the American style of still life from Peale to Harnett as part of a dominant trend in nineteenth century American art that she called "conceptual realism--an idea is amplified to become form."⁹³ Conceptual realism embodied an underlying mysticism; objects were delineated with an empirical power that "transcended the real."⁹⁴ Referring to Harnett as a "romantic," Novak suggested that "the intensity with which he represented objects brings into play existential speculations on the mysterious nature of reality."⁹⁵ She further observed that the apparent challenge to apprehend physical substance is an expression of "existential urgency."⁹⁶ Likewise, the ultrarealism employed by Leduc in a work such as Nature morte, oignons (Fig. 4) conveys an compulsion to know, to seize, and to fix. The onions have been analyzed and finely

detailed in all their variations. The curving metallic bowl precisely reflects them in distortion; one has been sliced open to reveal a gleaming white center. Similar high realism also is found in Leduc's genre painting L'Enfant au pain (Fig. 1), and to a lesser degree in Le Petit liseur (Fig. 2), of 1894.

Sensitivity to the material, either acutely perceived, as in Nature morte, oignons or L'Enfant au pain, or alternatively dissolving and forming, as in Nature morte (étude à la lumière d'une chandelle) and La Liseuse (1894), is apparent throughout his work of the 1890s. The attention to physical substance is accompanied by an intense impression of a divine essence that animates the atmosphere in these compositions; one feels that the objects are bathed in a spiritual light. Robert Ayre noted that the objects in Leduc's still lifes appear to be "brought out of the dark and into the light and by the light he created for them."⁹⁷ An allusion to the creative process, whether artistic or divine, of fashioning form out of matter, seems very much a part of these paintings. They evoke a sense that the artist seeks a mystical bond through the process of creating as he tries to reveal the essence of reality.

It should be considered that the transcendental view of reality which Leduc represented in his paintings has its roots in Baroque art of the seventeenth century.⁹⁸ Leduc may well have been recalling those sources in his genre and still life, especially from Spanish and Dutch art, examples of which he would have known from exhibitions in Montreal (Velasquez, Ribera, Hooch, and others) or from reproductions. Whether Leduc was looking at American art or art from its European precursors,

he clearly recognized that such everyday subject matter could be a potent carrier of metaphysical meaning. Certainly the glowing transcendental quality of his light and even the complexity of his symbolic emblems, used especially in his vanitas still lifes, find no counterparts in Canadian art or in French and Dutch art of the Realist mode of the late nineteenth century. One must look to the American luminists or to seventeenth century Dutch and Spanish masters to find prototypes.

The desire to unveil the intangible essence of the ordinary distinguishes Leduc's genre studies and still lifes from those of the contemporary Realist movement.⁹⁹ The basis of nineteenth century Realism in materialism and the scientific attitude which equated "belief in the facts with the total content of belief itself"¹⁰⁰ was antipathetic to Leduc's intentions and is challenged in his work, most directly in his still lifes. His paintings can be seen, at least to some degree, as his personal response to contemporary concerns for a renewal of spiritual faith in the modern world. The reaction to materialism and positivist science was widespread in Europe by the end of the century, manifest in both a growing pessimism and a renewal of idealism, becoming embodied particularly in the Symbolist movement.¹⁰¹ Arcadia presented contemporary idealistic concerns and denounced "the realist school" in art, literature, and science.¹⁰² Most important, religious leaders and critics in Quebec repeatedly expressed a similar opinion, condemning Realism and Naturalism in literature for representing modern scientific attitudes and as an obsession with the material rather than the spiritual.¹⁰³

The body of Leduc's easel paintings from this early period of his career can be regarded as a cohesive whole, a compendium of his evolving thoughts about the value and process of art. They give evidence that he was following his humanistic instincts to fashion a vision of a universal spiritual truth that assimilated all levels of wisdom. His belief in the capacity of art to reveal spiritual truth is conveyed in a sonnet he wrote in 1905, and thus after his European trip, yet apparently still related to his earlier still life paintings.

Still-Life

A rustic table, very simple, on which
A book is placed, open, like a flower
In full bloom. Then, close by, an object of art,
Bewitching Buddha; adorned with clear sparkles

Reflections from a lamp, which very discretely
Allows to be seen around it, a radiant circle
Gradually darkening, to disappear from sight
And merge, in the blue of the night, softly.

A few letters, thrown pell-mell, nonchalantly;
Steal a bit of its fires, to highlight anew
The beautiful brilliant white pages of the book.

It is in the power of Art, the harmonies of the shade,
And the light; reconquered from the immense
Delirium, where countless worlds are in combat.¹⁰⁴

The lamp suggests wisdom and casts a radiant circle of light, indicative of a spiritual presence. Sharing that light with varying intensity are disparate objects representing levels of human understanding. The familiar scene with the simple setting and the carelessly thrown letters suggest commonplace perceptions and communication. At a higher level, intellectual knowledge is signified by the highlighted brilliant pages of the book, which like flowers in bloom are impermanent and will eventually fade. The Buddha, a symbol of faith and inner wisdom, conveys

an attempt to reconcile different beliefs in a fundamental truth. The poem suggests that the process of Art captures and synthesizes in a permanent form the momentary glimpses of truth and that spiritual wisdom may be attained through the apprehension of works of art.

The imagery in the poem corresponds most closely to his vanitas based still life paintings. The presence of 'the artist' (Leduc himself) is manifest in these works, either directly through the display of the artist's tools as in La Phrénologie (1892) (Fig. 8) and Nature morte (les trois sous) (Fig. 9), of 1892, or indirectly through the reproductions of drawings and paintings he included among his still life objects. The artist and the viewer contemplate the accumulated evidence of human achievements: art, music, and books of science, mythology, and religion. Physical objects, the knowable, are brought into sharp focus in contrast to the obscured imagery of the artwork, as in Nature morte (les trois sous), and the illegible titles of the books in Nature morte, livres, suggesting the imperfection and transience of human understanding of the mysteries of reality. This obscuring of images seems to be particular to Leduc's paintings; it is not characteristic of Harnett's work or that of his contemporaries. Beneath their serene façade, Leduc's works are enigmatic and disturbing. We feel compelled to decipher his indistinct references to titles and pictures, and his often strange juxtaposition of objects like the Phrenology bust, the background reproduction, and the artist's tools in La Phrénologie. We share his anxiety to know. In their original conception, vanitas still lifes were moralizing paintings "designed to make the observer contemplate the brevity of life, the frailty of man and the vanity of

all worldly things."¹⁰⁵ Certainly some of that intention is inherent in Leduc's deliberate reference to this still life mode and its various symbols of transience: candles, flowers, leaves, skulls, along with the accumulated evidence of the human passage.¹⁰⁶ In the original style objects were arranged in a state of contrived disorder which stressed the concept of human vanity.¹⁰⁷ In Allegory of Vanity (1660), by the Spanish artist Valdés Leal, illustrated in John R. Martin's book Baroque, we find the books, coins, reproductions, scientific instruments, flowers, candle, and so on, which also appear in Leduc's paintings "piled up like so much rubbish."¹⁰⁸ However, Leduc has arranged his objects in an orderly manner suggesting a respect for this testimonial of human existence. Objects have been chosen and arranged with symbolic significance. The paintings invite speculation, for, like their historical prototypes, they seem replete with multileveled meaning.¹⁰⁹ Leduc integrated the symbolism of traditional vanitas painting with his own iconography.

The first of his series, Nature morte, violon (Fig 5), from 1891, can be interpreted as a tribute to the music of the Romantic composers Richard Wagner and Hector Berlioz, whose portraits are visible in a book beneath a violin. But the question arises, as it does with regard to all the emblematic references in these still lifes by Leduc, whether or not these images were meant to be recognizable. Ostiguy suggested that the portraits were of Joseph Haydn and Berlioz;¹¹⁰ Gehmacher realized that the portrait on the left is of Wagner rather than Haydn.¹¹¹ The composition incorporates symbols of vanitas origin, in the extinguished candle, the flower, leaves, and silenced instruments. According to

Ingvar Bergström, musical instruments were included in traditional vanitas compositions as "a warning against a lazy and sinful life."¹¹² That, surely, is not Leduc's intended meaning in this work. Although there may be an implicit warning against earthly vanities, there is also a strong suggestion that, although these composers are dead and were subject to human foibles, their music remains a testimony of the human spirit and is timeless. Wagner and Berlioz broke with the classical tradition to become two of the boldest innovators in nineteenth century music; their intensely passionate and personal music is the essence of Romanticism. Leduc's painting seems a meditation on that once powerful human passion, now silenced like the instruments. Gehmacher maintained that Leduc acknowledged the artistic struggle of these composers and the immortality of their music, but that he also questioned the concept of the egocentric artist-hero which Wagner epitomized.¹¹³ She mentioned that Wagner did not acknowledge that creative genius was derived from God, and Leduc, by reference to Wagner, recognized "the dichotomy between the authority of the artist and the authority of God."¹¹⁴ Beginning in the 1920s, in his correspondence, speeches and poetry, Leduc expressed concern that self-indulgent art and vanity in one's creative powers were spiritually destructive. One of his writings from 1935 explored this theme; the following is an excerpt:

Man in the centre admires himself in his work, he is god, and his work bears his mark and the mark of nature which surrounds man. The power and the weakness of man meet here. Man creates only in obedience. He saw himself as god and drags some chains.¹¹⁵

This painting may be an early indication of those later views.

Nature morte, livres (Fig. 6), from 1892, and Nature morte au livre

et à la loup (Fig. 7), from around 1900, are designed in a compositional format which Leduc repeated in several paintings: an open illustrated text, or a sketchbook, or sketches in the foreground, with additional volumes and usually other artwork placed behind. In Nature morte, livres the prominent image is an open book which displays, veiled under a protective tissue, a barely distinguishable illustration of an artist painting a model. It would seem to denote the artistic struggle to capture human existence. The titles Johnson's Natural History (Vol. 1) and the Nouveau Testament are visible among the books in a row in the background.¹¹⁶ Also among the books is Les anciens canadiens (1863), a nationalistic historical novel by the Quebec writer Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé based on the Seven Year's War, which creates an "Arcadian" image of the life of French Canada under the French regime in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁷ Perhaps these volumes signify the ways in which human beings find meaning in life, through science and nature, social purpose, and religion. The inclusion of Gaspé's book may refer to the perception of traditional French Canadian life as an ideal existence lived in harmony with both nature and religious faith.

Nature morte au livre et à la loupe (c. 1900), of uncertain date but of later origin,¹¹⁸ is more complex in its iconography. An image of a skull can be barely discerned in the illustration in the foreground, an obscure but unsettling foreboding of man's fate. A clearly defined reproduction of Cupid bearing a bow and arrow is placed in the centre of the composition, propped against a row of books. Directly above the picture of Cupid, representative of love and intuitive feeling, and on top of the books, is a large magnifying glass, a contrasting symbol of

the scientific process. The magnifying glass embodies the idea of a search for understanding. The book titles are apparently a combination of fictitious and actual works. Books to the right of the reproduction have as titles Rebelle, Nemesis, and Oracle, presumably representative of ancient mythological ideas about morality, divine retribution, and revelation. They comprise works of the human imagination. In contrast, on the right of the image of Cupid are titles reflecting ideas on the rational examination of the natural world and the scientific process. Here we find Botanique by Caustier and beside it, Jardin d'Épicure. The Jardin d'Épicure is perhaps the collection of articles published under that title by Anatole France in 1894.¹¹⁹ It adds a contemporary note to this painting by making reference to the scepticism and the "pessimistic conception of human existence" of French intellectual attitudes during the last two decades of the century.¹²⁰ Le Jardin d'Épicure, the "Bible of cynicism to fin-de-siècle France," expressed the author's ideas on the modern relationship between faith, science and morality.¹²¹ He professed a scepticism of both religion and science, declaring that science was dehumanizing and without morality: "To expect science to provide us with a moral system is to expose oneself to cruel disappointment."¹²² He held that morality rests only in feeling and freedom of will which science destroys.¹²³ Leduc's composition, with Cupid placed prominently between the image of mortality, the skull, and the books and magnifying glass, which represent alternate interpretations of existence, would seem to encourage a reflection on wholeness of humankind and the need to encompass faith, feeling, and rationality to give life meaning. The title Anneau d'Or, a golden ring,

on a book just to the left of Cupid, suggests the concept of an eternal and divine unity. Gehmacher interpreted the significance of the titles and objects in a Thomist context in her paper. In her reading, Jardin d'Épicure (not identified as Anatole France's book), Anneau d'Or, and Cupid represent earthly pleasure, Botanique and the magnifying glass as the scholastic view of "nature as evidence of God's existence; and the title Oracle, implicitly denoting "divine authority, inspiration and revelation," sums up the "theme of ideality."¹²⁴

In 1892 Leduc created the haunting La Phrénologie (Fig. 8), a clever variation on the vanitas theme, which reflects on the artistic process. Phrenology was a nineteenth century pseudoscience which proposed that individual intellectual ability and character are innately determined and can be detected by an empirical analysis of the shape of the skull.¹²⁵ Phrenology's many detractors condemned it for its tendencies to atheism, materialism, and determinism.¹²⁶ The bust dominates the composition like a false idol with a mesmerizing superficial beauty and blind, impenetrable stare. It would seem to represent the dangers of the distortion of the scientific process and, in conjunction with the anatomy book on which it rests, may imply the scientific disregard of the heart, soul, and imagination. Arlene Gehmacher believed the bust represented the artistic goal of idealization of human form and suggested that the scientific attitude of Phrenology had parallels with Thomism (the brain of man was proof of the existence of God).¹²⁷ I tend to concur with the interpretation voiced by Jean Éthier-Blais that the skull creates the idea of a "geometric death" in which "scientific abstraction overshadows values of faith."¹²⁸ In contrast to the starkly

cold bust, symbolizing the scientific viewpoint, the realm of the imagination and ideals is represented by the depiction of a poetic, supernatural world in the reproduction of a painting in the background. This composition has been identified as an engraving of Sabrina, from a painting by the English Victorian classicist William Edward Frost¹²⁹ and based on John Milton's masque Comus¹³⁰. The bust, as form without feeling and an image of death, is juxtaposed with the representation of the immortal Sabrina, symbol of inner beauty, the purity of soul and spirit. The foreground landscape drawings also seem to be intentionally detached from the bust in the way they curl away from it. Artist's tools are scattered on both sides of the drawings. On the left are the 'scientific' instruments for observation, measurement, and drawing; on the right are tubes of paint and brushes, representing the expression of feeling. The illusionistic treatment of the drawing instruments and the glass of water which holds the brushes generates a sense of heightened reality, as does the mystical luminist lighting. The combined elements of the composition would seem to suggest that the artistic process must come from the soul and engage feeling and imagination as well as reason in the search for a higher reality, a transcendental beauty. The May issue of Arcadia in 1892 included an article on Robert Browning's poetry and artistic theories which reflect similar considerations.¹³¹ According to the article, Browning believed that art must express great ideals. He felt that decadence sets in when artists become entirely devoted to creating perfect form, as in Greek art and art of the late Renaissance:

The perfect is the death of aspiration....No soul lives in [Greek art's] incomparable forms....Art, then, is aspiration, the faith of endless growth, under discipline for immortal uses, expressing itself in whatever inadequate forms--forms, indeed

the more serious, the more inadequate--setting no attainable ideals, but with motives that pique while they inspire; fearing perfection, while it fears not failure; realistic in its love of beautiful things, yet with eyes of sympathy which look through things to the "unchanging realities which are behind the changes of time and the delusions of men"....Both science and art require the imagination or the idealizing faculty, which leads them into and through things to laws which are the true forms of things, the only realities, to accord with which is alone our power and peace.¹³²

Nature morte (les trois sous) (Fig. 9), from 1892, incorporated Christian imagery in the form of reproductions into a secular setting. Leduc again employed a trompe l'oeil style to depict the coins and personal letters in the foreground which evoke daily reality. Two reproductions behind his letters rest against his paintbox.¹³³ A picture of a cherub gazing upward¹³⁴ overlaps Guido Reni's Archangel Michael. In the hazy background, hanging on the wall behind loose papers and artist's instruments, a sketch of an Assumption by Leduc can be barely recognized.¹³⁵ The images of these spiritual beings are, perhaps intentionally, arranged iconographically and spatially in ascending order of the celestial hierarchy. In an article that Leduc wrote about his decoration for St. Ninian's Cathedral in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, he described his depictions of angels in the programme as a reference to the bond that God established between Himself and humanity through the intermediary ministry of His angels.¹³⁶ Perhaps in this secular context, the angels and the Virgin are a reminder of the connection between daily life and the divine, and the promise of salvation to be achieved through faith. The religious art reproductions, symbolically vague and partially concealed like human conceptions of the mysteries of the divine realm, indicate nonetheless that the artist is also a mediator, albeit imperfect, between the tangible and intangible worlds.

A variation of the same theme appears in Nature morte au livre ouvert (Fig. 10), of 1894, in which vanitas references are juxtaposed with Christian iconography. An illustration of a Madonna and Child by Botticelli¹³⁷ has been placed before us in an open book as a symbol of the Christian message of the promise of Redemption. A suggestion of revelation is implied in the unveiling of the image by the removal of its protective cover. The book, brightly illuminated and rendered in detail becomes the focus of the composition. Symbols of human mortality, an extinguished candle and a silent violin, are incorporated casually into the composition. Most of the background is filled with a darkened painting which appears to be an Adoration of the Magi.¹³⁸ This image would seem to suggest the offerings of human faith. As in Nature morte (les trois sous), the obscurity of the painted image, as well as the covering over the text of the book, suggest that knowledge of the Christian mysteries is beyond the grasp of humanity, but faith is essential to give life meaning.

Leduc's other paintings of this period, his figure studies and still-lives of humble kitchen objects, create a reverent image of his own rural milieu. Like the vanitas still-lives, these works evoke an aura of quiet meditation. A spiritual richness permeates the humble environment. There is no sense of uncertainty, no obscurity, but just the clear impression of unencumbered life existing in harmony with the everpresent Divine Spirit. Here life's meaning is found through deep piety and faith. "Multum in parvo" ("much in little") inscribed across a sketch for L'Enfant au pain, captures the essence of these paintings.¹³⁹ In this work and the other studies of his younger siblings, Leduc seems

deeply moved by the untroubled innocence of youth.

L'Enfant au pain (Fig. 1), like the others, is a personal adaptation of a commonplace theme.¹⁴⁰ Leduc has pared and formalized his composition, concentrating the sense of order and harmony and enhancing the spiritual atmosphere. To counteract an effect of starkness, he has used warm tones and bathed the scene in a diffuse golden light. The image is deceptively simple at first glance but it is infused with subtle symbolism. It can hardly be called a portrait, for the boy's face is tilted away from the viewer and partially concealed by his hat. It is the captured moment which is the subject of the painting. The child has set aside his humble meal and is completely absorbed in a private reverie, transported to a higher realm through his music. The meticulously detailed materiality of the bowl, the gleaming spoon, the textured bread, and the tattered shirt have been emphasized by catching them in the light, creating a heightened awareness that corresponds to the boy's inner experience. As Dennis Reid notes, the "obsessively pursued" detailing of colour and texture has created images that "transcend the material."¹⁴¹ The small size of the painting (50.8 x 55.9 cm), its scale, and the closeness of the figure to the picture plane increase the intimacy which engages the viewer as a participant in this private contemplative moment.

Le Petit liseur (Fig. 2), the portrait of his brother engrossed in copying an illustration, recalls the pastime of Leduc's own childhood. Similar informal portraits of people reading were prevalent in both Realist and academic art in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and Leduc's paintings of children with their books can be attributed to

that theme. Weisberg called such works a "Realist hybrid," that is, a genre figure and at the same time a portrait of someone familiar to the artist. They were commonly found in Canadian art of the period; William Brymner, William Cruikshank, and George Reid all produced similar studies, and the Montreal reviews mention other examples exhibited around this time. Leduc's small and intimate portrait of his brother (36.0 x 46.2 cm) contrasts with the large popular academic genre 'salon' pieces such as George Reid's Forbidden Fruit (77.5 x 121.9 cm) of 1889, which was contrived from a set in the artist's studio.¹⁴² The simplicity and atmosphere of Le Petit liseur is similar to that of L'Enfant au pain, but the forms and lighting are softer, evoking a dream-like mood. The figure is placed against a darkened background and encircled in a dim light which centres the focus on the face, hands, and book.

La Liseuse (Fig. 3), a portrait of Leduc's sister from 1894,¹⁴³ demonstrates an even more painterly manner. A mystical atmosphere has been summoned with a soft, darkened space around the figure and a light that highlights the finely modelled face like an inner radiance. L'Enfant au pain, with its precise clarity, recalls the manner of Vermeer; La Liseuse, with its dark tonalities and the glowing illumination of the face and hands, is reminiscent of Rembrandt.¹⁴⁴ Again Leduc has stripped his composition of every distraction to draw attention to the girl's serene face, absorbed in her reading, and her hands which rest reverentially on the text. She is enveloped in an undefined warm brown atmosphere, only slightly modulated in tone for her dress and hair. The effect symbolically blurs the demarcation between body and space as another means of enhancing the suggestion of a

transcendent experience.

Leduc's tabletop studies of humble objects, like his genre portraits, symbolize the truth and beauty to be found in simple settings. The earliest of his works, Trois pommes (Fig. 11), of 1887, epitomizes the devotion to perfection and detail with which all these works have been crafted. The composition is absolutely simple, containing only three apples, a plain ceramic bowl, and a rustic wooden table, but it has been rendered with amazing symbolic potency. Out of the darkened space the golden glowing apples have been presented at the edge of the table like an offering, literally and symbolically the fruits of Leduc's humble labour, both as an artist and a farmer. Their radiance is made more intense by contrast with the dull, worn table and their emergence from the dark surroundings. Lacroix and Gehmacher have suggested that the three apples, with their perfection of circular form, enclosed within the circular bowl, represent the Holy Trinity.¹⁴⁵ They unquestionably seem imbued with a divine essence. Leduc kept this painting in his personal possession until he gave it to Paul-Émile Borduas in 1942.¹⁴⁶ It was first exhibited in 1954.¹⁴⁷

Nature morte, (étude à la lumière d'une chandelle) (Fig. 12), of 1893, generates an atmosphere similar to that of Trois pommes. This, too, is a carefully ordered and precisely rendered composition. The objects from a humble meal are bathed in the light of a candle. As in La Phrénologie, there is a sense of the suprarreal in the illusionistic depiction of the glass, the spoon, and the candlestick, the play of light on their surfaces and the shadows they cast. The light which radiates from the candle infuses the scene with the sense of a mystical

harmony between the visible and invisible world. The simple objects suggest base matter illuminated by divine light, symbolized by the candle flame, with its halo of light and central location in the composition.

These modest still lifes, like all Leduc's easel art in the decade before his European travels, demonstrate an astonishing ability to take standard and conventional forms and to empower them with spiritual significance. Leduc's images surpassed anything of their kind in Canada. They do not represent mere observation, but derive from profound personal experiences. These paintings are a distillation of his early thoughts and feelings, and they set the tone for the work that would follow throughout his career. They are meditative works in a palpably spiritual mood. His use of light to generate atmosphere and the contrasting play of light and shade for symbolic significance became enduring characteristics of his work. His focus on interior scenes is indicative of his concern with the experience of the human spirit. His spiritual vision and humanistic quest for fundamental truth by assimilating science, feeling, and faith made him predisposed to the Symbolist current which he may have been aware of to some degree before his journey, but that we know he encountered and followed after 1897.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

¹ Arsène Bessette was a reporter for La Patrie and then Le Canada française. In an article "Rien n'est si beau que son pays!" appearing in Le Canada française (6 July 1900) under the pseudonym "Jean Rémuna," he named Louis-Philippe Brodeur (then M.P. for Rouville and Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons), Dr. Ernest Choquette (who had published three books), and Leduc as three examples of abundance of talent generated in this community. In a letter Lahaise sent to Leduc from San Francisco in 1916, he outlined a planned project to write about Saint-Hilaire, its legends, special places, and, in a "song to my friends," the special people who blossomed in its environment: Leduc, Bessette, the decorators Ducharme and Martin, Dr. Choquette, Judge Brodeur, the musician Mrs. Brahy, and several others. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84.

² Leduc named his studio after a ship used on Jacques Cartier's second voyage. In one of his notes Leduc wrote: "This historical name more and more forgotten can be interpreted as designating a place where the heart is in everything, for the friends and their friends who visit the artist that lives there." ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/57.

³ Helen Duffy, "Leduc's history of Mont Saint-Hilaire," Artscanada, 222/223 (October/November 1978), 16.

⁴ Leduc only began keeping a chronological account of visitors in 1934. For the period before this date he composed a list from memory; it is sixty-three pages long. Many of the visitors were from the arts community: writers, artists, architects; others were friends, friends of friends, and patrons that included clergy, politicians, and professionals. Leduc made numerous connections through his decorating contracts; the era of Le Nigog brought many new acquaintances. Abbé Maurault introduced him to another circle that included teaching associates and other prominent Quebec intellectuals and clergy, and Paul-Émile Borduas brought a new generation of artists in the 1930s and 1940s. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/57.

⁵ Leduc's father was a cabinet-maker as well as an apple grower. Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse/Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974), p. 194. Olivier Maurault estimated the size of Leduc's orchard at more than a thousand trees. "Ozias Leduc peintre mystique," Le Mauricien, 2 (February 1938), 4.

⁶ Ozias Leduc, "Ozias Leduc à Saint-Hilaire," Amerique française, 13 (July/August 1955), 197-198.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁸ The estimate of nine years comes from Ostiguy in Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse, p. 194, and is repeated by Arlene Gehmacher in In Pursuit of the Ideal: The Still Life Paintings of Ozias Leduc, M.A.

thesis, University of Toronto, 1986, p. 1. The elementary program (a primary course followed by a "model course") consisted of four or five years and children generally left school when they were ten or eleven. It was not until the 1920s that the programs were extended in length. Paul-André Linteau et al., Quebec: A History 1867-1929 (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1983), trans. Robert Chodos, p. 210 and pp. 466-467. Laurier Lacroix suggested that Leduc did not start school until 1877. Laurier Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1973, p. 265.

⁹ Gehmacher, p. 1.

¹⁰ Craig Stirling, Ozias Leduc et la décoration intérieure de l'église de Saint-Hilaire (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1985), pp. 35-36.

¹¹ Quoted in Stirling. *Ibid.*, p. 36

¹² ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/6.

¹³ Antoine Adam, Georges Leminier, and Édouard Morot-Sir, Littérature française, (Paris: Larousse, 1968), II, 13-14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁵ Rho was given assistance at the École by Charles Huot, "one of the most brilliant students there." Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 98.

¹⁶ Laurier Lacroix, Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draftsman (Montreal: Concordia University, 1978), p. 102.

¹⁷ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 97.

¹⁸ See particularly Lacroix's essay, "The Function of Drawing in the Work of Ozias Leduc," pp. 101-106.

¹⁹ Arlene Gehmacher provides details of Leduc's movements during these years, see pp. 1-2.

²⁰ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 194. Craig Stirling also found evidence that Leduc may have attended Abbé Chabert's school of art, for his name appears on a list of students of the school in Artistes et artisans au Canada by Émile Falardeau (Montréal, 1943). Stirling, p. 36 p. 42, n. 6. Olivier Maurault also wrote that he thought Leduc had attended this school. Olivier Maurault, "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique," p. 4. Abbé Chabert had his students copy from plaster casts which he had brought with him from France. Jean Chauvin, Ateliers (Montréal: Louis Carrier, 1928), p. 223.

²¹ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 194.

- ²² Ibid., p. 199.
- ²³ Gérard Morisset, La Peinture traditionnelle au Canada français (Ottawa: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1960), p. 135.
- ²⁴ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 194.
- ²⁵ Gérard Morisset, Coup d'oeil sur les arts en Nouvelle-France (Québec: Charrier et Dugal, 1941), p. 91.
- ²⁶ Lacroix, La décoration religieuse..., p. 266.
- ²⁷ Morisset, Coup d'oeil..., p. 66.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ He called himself self-taught in a letter, dated 1932, to É.-Z. Massicotte, Chief Archivist, Palais de justice, Montreal. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/157.
- ³⁰ Stirling, p. 38. Leduc also produced works of copy for other churches in 1891. He painted Saint-Charles Boromée (taken from an engraving by Charles Lebrun) for the Lachenaie church, Assomption County and a Descente de la croix (from a work by Ary Scheffer) for Notre-Dame-de-la-Paix, Verdun. See: Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 110 and p. 195; and Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., Appendix A.
- ³¹ Stirling, pp. 38-39.
- ³² Leduc, letter to Wilfred Corbeil in 1943, quoted in Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 16.
- ³³ Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 16. Three of the paintings he did for the church were originals. Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 196.
- ³⁴ Gilles Corbeil, "Ozias Leduc, peintre de natures mortes," Arts et Pensee, 18 (July/August 1954), 169-171.
- ³⁵ Raymond Vézina, Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916). Introduction à l'étude de son art (Montréal: Éditions Elysée, 1976).
- ³⁶ Gehmacher, p. 3.
- ³⁷ Roger Le Moine, Napoléon Bourassa, l'homme et l'artiste (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1974).
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Vézina, pp. 64-67.
- ⁴⁰ Gehmacher, p. 19.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 19 and p. 59, n. 49.

⁴² Ibid., p. 26

⁴³ Jacques Maritain, Art et Scholastique (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Catholique, 1920).

⁴⁴ Gehmacher referred several times to "Remarques sur la art," a CBC radio speech given by Leduc in 1936 and a lecture on art he gave to the Union catholique des cultivators in 1930.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 4 and p. 6.

⁴⁷ Baudelaire wrote: "It is this admirable, unchanging instinct for beauty which leads us to regard the world and its sights as manifestations of heaven. The insatiable hunger for all that belongs to the after-life which is revealed to us by life on earth is the clearest proof of our immortality." Quoted in Philippe Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 31.

⁴⁸ Barbara Novak, Nature and Culture, American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁴⁹ Barbara Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century, Realism, Idealism and the American Experience (New York: Praeger, 1969).

⁵⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/60.

⁵¹ Gehmacher, p. 7.

⁵² Hiram B. Stanley, "Some Remarks on Wordsworth," Part I, Arcadia, 1 (1 November 1892), 261.

⁵³ Stanley, "Some Remarks on Wordsworth," Part II, Arcadia, 1 (15 November 1892), 284.

⁵⁴ John Reade, "Painter-Poets," Parts I and II, Arcadia, 1 (1 October 1892 and 15 October 1892), 216-217 and 237-239.

⁵⁵ K.B., "Love of Art," Arcadia, 1 (15 February 1893), 423.

⁵⁶ "The Rosicrucian Salon," Arcadia, 1 (16 May 1892), 36. The reviewer of an exhibition of Symbolist and Impressionist paintings had reservations about the extremism of some Symbolist art, but praised the work of Eugène Carrière, Henri Martin, Fernand Knopff, and Maurice Denys (sic). Philip Hale, "Art in Paris," Arcadia, 1 (1 January 1893), 352. The Pre-Raphaelites were given attention in the reviews from London. An exhibition of work by Burne-Jones was reviewed, with the comment that the show displayed "refined and imaginative works by an educated man and a poetic thinker." H.G.D., "Art in London," 1 (1 February 1893), 401.

- ⁵⁷ Royal Cortissoz, "Art in New York," Arcadia, 1 (2 May 1892), 12.
- ⁵⁸ Royal Cortissoz, "Art in New York," Arcadia, 1 (16 May 1892), 34.
- ⁵⁹ Helen Moore, "Our New York Letter," Arcadia, 1 (1 June 1892), 63-64.
- ⁶⁰ Gehmacher, p. 6.
- ⁶¹ Jane M. Turnbull, Essential Traits of French-Canadian Poetry (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938).
- ⁶² Leduc, letter to Dugas, n.d. (1933). ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/158.
- ⁶³ Turnbell, p. 118.
- ⁶⁴ L'École littéraire de Montréal, Archives des lettres canadiennes, II (Montréal: Fides, 1972).
- ⁶⁵ A list of Choquette's favourite Romantic writers, published in La Petite revue in 1899, is cited in Gabriel Nadeau, "Le docteur Ernest Choquette et Nelligan," L'Union médicale du Canada, 101 (October 1972), 2136. Samples of Bessette's own romantic prose poetry are found in the Leduc archive. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/15.
- ⁶⁶ Gehmacher, p. 8.
- ⁶⁷ Gehmacher charted his exhibition record between 1891 and 1902. Leduc also sent some works to the Ontario Society of Artist shows in 1893 and 1894. Appendix A, n.p.
- ⁶⁸ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/23.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ "The Impressionists," Arcadia, 1 (15 December 1892), 325.
- ⁷¹ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 194.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Le Monde illustré, 11 October 1890. Copy found in the Leduc file in the library of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁷⁴ Le Monde illustré, 13 December 1890. Copy found in the Leduc file in the library of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁷⁵ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 195.
- ⁷⁶ Found in a clipping from the Montreal Star, 21 April 1892. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/23.

⁷⁷ William H. Gerdts, Painters of the Humble Truth, Masterpieces of American Still-Life 1801-1939 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), pp. 21-30. Gehmacher confirmed that this attitude was equally prevalent with Canadian critics. Gehmacher, p. 16.

⁷⁸ Gehmacher, p. 15.

⁷⁹ Montreal Star, 28 February 1893; quoted in Gehmacher, p. 15.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Gerdts, p. 30.

⁸² R.H. Hubbard, The National Gallery of Canada Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960. p. 257.

⁸³ Hugues de Jouvancourt, Suzor-Côté (Montréal: Stanke, 1978).

⁸⁴ Jean-René Ostiguy, Charles Huot (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1979).

⁸⁵ The hanging game pieces by Suzor-Côté and Huot are strikingly similar in composition and simplicity to works by the trompe l'oeil school associated with William Harnett as illustrated in Alfred Frankenstein, The Reality of Appearance, the Trompe l'Oeil Tradition in American Painting (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1970). Suzor-Côté's Raisins secs et amandes piquées (1896) recalls Raphaëlle Peale's still lifes with almonds and raisins. See Jouvancourt, p. 74 and Gerdts, fig. 3.5, fig. 3.7, and fig. 3.9.

⁸⁶ Gerdts, pp. 21-31.

⁸⁷ See Gabriel P. Weisberg, The Realist Tradition, French Painting and Drawing 1830-1900 (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980).

⁸⁸ Gerdts, pp. 55-59.

⁸⁹ A colour reproduction of the Prentice still-life can be found in Gerdts, Plate 20.

⁹⁰ Jean-René Ostiguy, "Ozias Leduc, peintre indépendant," Vie des Arts, 29 (Winter 1962-1963), 19.

⁹¹ Alfred Frankenstein, After the Hunt: William Harnett and Other American Still Life Painters 1870-1900 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 86-87. Frankenstein noted that some of Harnett's paintings were selling for thousands of dollars at this time.

⁹² See Chapter 8, "William Michael Harnett and Illusionism," in Gerdts, pp. 153-206.

⁹³ Barbara Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 223.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁹⁷ Robert Ayre, "Ozias Leduc's Serene Life Beside the St. Lawrence," Montreal Star, 14 January 1956, p. 21.

⁹⁸ John Rupert Martin, Baroque (London: Penguin, 1977), pp. 119-138.

⁹⁹ The Realists were concerned with "confronting the concrete experiences and appearance of their own times with an earnest and serious attitude and a fresh, appropriate imagery" Linda Nochlin, Realism (New York: Penguin, 1985), p. 111. Nochlin maintained that insistence on contemporaneity which the Realists assumed was a "Romantic rather than a Realist formulation," albeit vaguely defined by the Romantics (pp. 104-105).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-45.

¹⁰¹ See for example: Philippe Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence, Symbolist painting of the 1890s, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 25-34; and Jean Pierrot, The Decadent Imagination, trans. Derek Coltman 1880-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

¹⁰² "Much of the work of this school in all these departments may be fittingly characterized as being revoltingly brutal, embodying all the cruelty, filth and vice of ancient Greece, without a trace of her artistic feeling." "The Impressionists," Arcadia, 1 (15 December 1892), 325.

¹⁰³ Léopold Lamontagne, "Les courants idéologiques dans la littérature canadienne-française de XIXe siècle," in Littérature et société canadiennes-françaises (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1964), pp. 114-119.

¹⁰⁴ Une table rustique très simple, sur laquelle
Un livre est posé, ouvert, telle une fleur
Épanouie. Puis, tout près un objet d'art, charmeur
Bouddha; s'en panachant de claires étincelles.

Reflets d'une lampe, qui très discrètement
Laisse voir autour d'elle, un cercle
Allant s'assombrissant, pour disparaître aux yeux
Et finir, dans le bleu de la nuit, sourdement.

Quelques lettres, jetées pêle-mêle, nonchalamment;
Prennent un peu de ses feux, pour de nouveau redire

Des pages du livre, le beau blanc éclatant.

C'est en puissance d'Art, les accords de l'ombre,
Et de la lumière; reconquis du délire
Immense, où combattent mondes sans nombre.

ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14

¹⁰⁵ Ingvar Bergström, Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century, trans. Christina Hedström and Gerald Taylor (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), p. 155.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁰⁸ Martin, pp. 136-137.

¹⁰⁹ Bergstrom discussed the complexity of symbolism in the Dutch tradition in Dutch Still Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century and "Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' Pictures and Still Life," Burlington Magazine, 97 (1955), 303-308 and 340-349.

¹¹⁰ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 114.

¹¹¹ Gehmacher, p. 27.

¹¹² Berström, Dutch Still Life Painting..., p. 156.

¹¹³ Gehmacher, p. 28.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp 27-28.

¹¹⁵ L'homme au centre s'admire en son oeuvre, il est dieu, et son oeuvre porte sa marque et la marque de la nature qui entoure l'homme. La puissance et la faiblesse de l'homme, ici, se font signe. L'homme ne crée qu'en obéissance. Il s'est vu dieu et traîne des chaînes. Dated 8 June 1935, ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹¹⁶ Gehmacher, pp. 29-30.

¹¹⁷ Les anciens canadiens (1863) was a historical novel based on the events of the Seven Years' War, but primarily concerned with creating an image of the idyllic everyday life of French Canada under the French regime in the eighteenth century. Roger Duhamel, Manuel de littérature canadienne-française (Ottawa: Éditions du Renouveau Pédagogique, 1967), pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁸ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste... (p. 36), and Gehmacher (Fig. 11, n.p.) attribute this work to around 1900.

¹¹⁹ Reino Virtanen, Anatole France (New York: Twayne, 1968), pp. 98-103.

¹²⁰ Pierrot, p. 9.

¹²¹ Régis Michaud, Modern Thought and Literature in France (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1967), p. 18.

¹²² Virtanen, p. 99.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

¹²⁴ Gehmacher, pp. 31-32.

¹²⁵ Thomas Hardy Leahey and Grace Evans Leahey, Psychology's Occult Doubles (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983), pp. 45-113. There were numerous offshoots, in the form of social movements, which evolved out of this 'science' first developed by Franz Joseph Gall at the turn of the eighteenth century. These often bizarre and radical movements were particularly prevalent in England and later in the United States in the last half of the nineteenth century. The various theories associated with these groups were promulgated in journals and newsletters and thus were widely known.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-89.

¹²⁷ Gehmacher, pp. 34-35.

¹²⁸ Jean Éthier-Blais, "Ozias Leduc," Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, Conférences J.A. de Séve 15-16 (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1973), p. 44.

¹²⁹ Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 102 and p. 106, n. 3.

¹³⁰ Gehmacher, p. 69, n. 49. Milton's masque concerned the conflict between sensual pleasure and morality and virtue, and was based on an English myth which melded local legend with Greek mythology. The painting shows a scene in which the virtuous Sabrina, after being drowned in the Severin River by her mother's rival, is attended by the water nymphs of the God Nereus who had revived her and made her an immortal goddess. See John Milton, The Portable Milton, ed. Douglas Bush (New York: Viking Press, 1971), pp. 3-4. The theme of the masque certainly ties in with the vanitas theme which is a reminder to focus one's life on matters of the soul.

¹³¹ W.S. Barnes, "Robert Browning's Art Poems," Arcadia, 1 (2 May 1892), 9-11.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 10. The article in Arcadia on Wordsworth discussed similar artistic intentions: "Wordsworth, indeed loved reality, and was often too eager for facts; but still he rendered things as they seemed to him, guided by the strongest imagination, noblest feelings and deepest thought." Stanley, p. 262.

¹³³ Gehmacher, p. 32.

¹³⁴ Ostiguy designated this a reproduction of Anton Raphael Mengs' Cupid Sharpening His Arrows in Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 116. This identification was repeated by Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 102 and Gehmacher, p. 32. For Lacroix and Gehmacher, the iconography then becomes a contrast between sacred and profane love. I have not been able to confirm the identification of this reproduction. This clipped image could have come from any number of sources. Leduc used such cherubs in his painting of the Assumption for the Saint-Charles-Borromée church in Joliette, derived from a composition by Titian. See Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 16.

¹³⁵ Ostiguy again was the source for the identification of the Assumption and the painting by Mengs, repeated by Lacroix (p. 102) and Gehmacher (p. 33).

¹³⁶ Ozias Leduc, "The Decorations of St. Ninian's Cathedral," The Casket, September 1903. Copy found in ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/148.

¹³⁷ The artist's name is legible beneath the reproduction.

¹³⁸ Gehmacher, p. 36.

¹³⁹ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste..., p. 119.

¹⁴⁰ Charles Huot created a similar work in The Repast, illustrated in R.H. Hubbard, Painters of Quebec: Maurice and Andrée Corbeil Collection (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), p. 109. A work entitled The Last Crust (artist uncited) appeared in the 1892 Spring Exhibition of the Art Association, and is sketched in the review in the Montreal Star which Leduc clipped. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/23. Weisberg included illustrations of numerous comparable works by Bonvin, Bastien-Lepage, Vollon, Bail, et al. in The Realist Tradition.

¹⁴¹ Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 123.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp 100-101.

¹⁴³ The sitter was Leduc's sister Ozéma, who would later serve as the model for the Virgin in the mural L'Assumption in Saint-Hilaire Church. Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 26.

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, Rembrandt's Titus reading, illustrated in Michael Levey, A Concise History of Painting from Giotto to Cézanne (New York: Praeger, 1962), fig. 337; and Rembrandt's Mother, illustrated in Hermine Van Guldener, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Munich: Knorr and Hirth Verlag GmbH, 1969) fig. 47. The reverent touch of the illuminated hand on the book in Rembrandt's portrait of his mother is the same gesture Leduc has created in La Liseuse.

¹⁴⁵ Laurier Lacroix, "Ozias Leduc," OKanada, original text for German language catalogue to the OKanada exhibition at the Akademie der Kunste, Berlin, December 1982/January 1893 (Ottawa: The Canada Council / Akademie der Kunste, 1982), p. 53; Gehmacher, p. 21.

¹⁴⁶ Gehmacher, fig. 1, n.p.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER 4NEW HORIZONS

A seven months' stay in Paris in 1897 was to have a permanent impact on Leduc's art. The work he produced from 1897 to 1909 exhibits a prominent eclecticism resulting from his exploration of new forms stimulated by his experiences abroad. While it is apparent that Leduc had been inspired by his contact with contemporary European art, the development of his art must also be considered with reference to his Quebec milieu and the growing regionalist interests during this period. These two streams of influence were often diametrically opposed and Leduc was caught in the tension between internationalism and nationalism which characterized the cultural atmosphere in Quebec. The following discussion is intended to show how both influences played strongly on his own attitudes and are reflected in his art of this period.

To Europe

In October 1895, Leduc received his first independent commission as a church decorator when he was asked to decorate his own parish church of Saint-Hilaire.¹ Craig Stirling's thesis Ozias Leduc et la décoration interieure de l'église de Saint-Hilaire is a comprehensive study of that décoration.² My interest is the shift in styles in Leduc's programme as a result of his stay in Europe, but my analysis will be summary because much of that information is covered in Stirling's text.

Leduc began work in the church in 1896 but the decorations were not completed until 1900.³ After some of the preliminary work had been done, Leduc was sent to Europe by Curé Laflamme to expand his experience in

church decoration.⁴ It was a rare and important opportunity which Leduc would otherwise not likely have had because of his own lack of financial resources.

Leduc arrived in London on May 19, and spent several days there before going on to France.⁵ The rest of the year, until his departure from Le Havre on Christmas Day, was spent in Paris. Unlike most of the Canadian artists there, Leduc did not enroll at any of the academies or study under any master, but rented studio space and used his time to work on his own art and to prepare his church decorations.⁶

There is no archival evidence to indicate what Leduc saw in Europe, but his access to art was as unlimited as his curiosity. In the London spring exhibition of the Royal Academy at Burlington House and in a show at the New Gallery, he could have seen the paintings of John Singer Sargent and the Pre-Raphaelites Edward Burne-Jones and John Millais, and numerous mythological scenes by Victorian Classicists such as Frederick Leighton, Edward Poynter, George Frederick Watts, and John William Waterhouse.⁷ In Paris, he had ample time to visit the museums, the salons, and the small galleries. As his mission was to prepare for his decorations of the Saint-Hilaire church, he undoubtedly studied murals in the churches and public buildings in the city. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes was at the height of his popularity at that time,⁸ and Leduc probably saw his celebrated paintings at the Panthéon, the Sorbonne, and the Hôtel de Ville. Craig Stirling ascertained that Leduc brought home reproductions of the Pantheon decorations of the life of Saint-Geneviève,⁹ and some of Puvis's cartoons for these murals were exhibited at the spring salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts.¹⁰ At "La

Nationale," Fritz Thaulow, Jean-Charles Cazin, Eugène Carrière, Auguste Rodin, Edmond Aman-Jean, René Ménard, Giovanni Boldini, and others of the "dissidents" also exhibited their work.¹¹ At the official salon of the Société des Artistes Français, artists such as Lucien Levy-Dhurmer, Jules Breton, Henri Martin, and Henri Harpignies exhibited alongside the academics Léon Bonnat, Adolphe Bouguereau, and Jean Léon Gérôme.¹² Ambroise Vollard held a group exhibition for the Nabis in his gallery and published the second Album des Peintres-Graveurs, which contained a selection of their work.¹³ The last salon of the Rose+Croix was held from March 5 to March 21, 1897, just prior to Leduc's arrival in Paris.¹⁴ Art Nouveau was the fashion in decorative arts, and Leduc may have visited Samuel Bing's Maison de l'Art Nouveau in Paris. French avant-garde art and literary magazines published at this time which propagated the ideas of the Symbolist movement and carried original lithographs or reproductions include L'Image, L'Ymagier, La Plume, La Revue Blanche, and Art et Décoration.¹⁵

Leduc mingled with other Canadians who were part of the Canadian social network that had been established in Paris.¹⁶ He joined "La Boucane," a Canadian club frequented by artists, and attended their gatherings in hotels and cafes.¹⁷ Among his friends in Paris were the Canadian artists Murray Prendergast and Raoul Barré.¹⁸ Ostiguy suggested that he sought out Joseph Saint-Charles and Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Côté who were in Paris at the same time.¹⁹ Laurier Lacroix has since established that Suzor-Côté only arrived in Paris in November,²⁰ but it is probable that the two artists did meet. According to Ostiguy and Lacroix, the evidence of Leduc's figure studies from Paris, such as

those for Erato (muse endormie), indicate that he joined other Canadian artists, including Saint-Charles and Philippe Hébert, in an improvised studio where they could share a model.²¹

Of the many Canadian artists to have spent time in France in the last decade of the nineteenth century, no one was so profoundly influenced by the Symbolist current as Leduc. Free of the prejudices imposed by the academy or private masters, he was predisposed to the philosophical idealism and aesthetic theories which he encountered within the Symbolist orbit. His own art during the decade following his return to Canada indicates by its eclecticism a period of experimentation with many different ideas and influences. Some of his paintings are very private, and it is these works which most definitely demonstrate his changing interests. More public work, like his Saint-Hilaire Church decorations, his illustrations, and his commissioned paintings indicate to varying degrees an effort to adapt his changing style to prevailing cultural standards.

Some changes are immediately detectable in his art; others evolved over several years as he grew more familiar with modern currents. His subscriptions to art and literary journals were enormously important in expanding his awareness of international art and reinforcing new influences. Modern French literature was available to him in La Revue universelle²² and Les Arts de la Vie,²³ a very short lived review, which featured Symbolist poetry and essays on art. He subscribed to Art et Decoration, which appealed to his interests in decoration and contemporary art.²⁴ Like the English arts journal The Studio²⁵ and its American edition International Studio,²⁶ which he also read, much of Art

et Décoration was devoted to Art Nouveau decorative arts. It ran articles on furniture, jewellery, graphics, ceramics, glassware, and architecture and reviewed the current salons. Most important for Leduc, it presented features on artists that represented Symbolist ideals. Artists reviewed in its pages included Puvis de Chavannes, René Ménard, Aman-Jean, Lévy-Dhurmer, and others whose names have been loosely linked to Leduc by Ostiguy and subsequent observers.²⁷ Leduc also subscribed to Masters in Art, an American journal published monthly from 1900 to 1908.²⁸ Masters in Art featured one artist in each of its monthly issues, focusing primarily on the old masters, but also presenting an eclectic selection of more recent nineteenth century artists including J.M.W. Turner, Jean Meissonier, Jules Breton, James A. McNeill Whistler, Puvis de Chavannes, Burne-Jones, and G.F. Watts. On the back of a 1906 letter sent to Leduc by the journal requesting suggestions of "ten masterpieces of paintings," to be offered later in reproduction, Leduc made the following list:

Corot: Danse des Nymphes
 Whistler: Portrait of his Mother
 Millet: Les glaneuses
 Poussin: Les Berghers d'Arcadie
 Ingres: La Source
 Puvis de Chavannes: L'Inspiration chretienne
 Watts: Love and Life
 Delacroix: La Barque du Dante
 Claude Lorrain: Embarquement de la Reine de Saba
 Turner: Fighting Temeraire²⁹

The common denominator of these varied choices, from the works of Poussin in the seventeenth century to Puvis's in the nineteenth, would appear to be their power to express the imaginary. Although the paintings by Whistler and Millet depict everyday subject matter they suggest a transcendental experience,³⁰ and those of the classicists

Lorrain and Poussin dwell on allegorical themes. From Corot, Leduc chose one of the artist's rare mythological compositions. Leduc's own fascination with the realm beyond reality, the territory of the mind and spirit, is represented in the selections he has made.

The earliest effects of Leduc's European experience upon his work can be found in the decorations of Saint-Hilaire church. Built between 1825 and 1837,³¹ the church is a small, unpretentious stone structure designed in a simplified neo-Gothic style. Leduc's paintings admirably complement this architectural setting. Given charge over the entire decoration, he was able to develop a decorative scheme which was unified in conception. As Craig Stirling has shown in his analysis of the style and symbolism of the decorative motifs in the programme, Leduc was obviously inspired by Art Nouveau and the then-fashionable medieval revival.³² Leduc owned books on Gothic decoration like Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionnaire d'architecture Française de XIe au XVIe siècle (1864-1868).³³ His subscription to Art et Décoration would have reinforced his interest in Art Nouveau. Leduc created frames and borders and filled transitional spaces with stylized neo-Gothic and Art Nouveau forms. His mural paintings are framed in shapes imitative of vaulted Gothic arches and are further enclosed in borders filled with stylized intertwining vegetal shapes and mock mosaics. Vegetal decorations on the ceiling vaults echo the forms found in the mural borders. As well as providing a unified effect to the programme, the individual vegetal motifs of vines, laurel, the fleur de lis, etc. also carry Christian connotations.³⁴ On the vault of the nave, framed in decorative crowns of ivy and laurel, are traditional symbols of Christian doctrine, including symbols of the

Passion, the Virgin, the Holy Trinity, and the Laws of Moses.³⁵

Although Leduc generally achieved a unified relationship among all aspects of his decoration, there is an apparent discrepancy of styles in his mural paintings at Saint-Hilaire which is symptomatic of his own inner conflicting tendencies between ingrained tradition and an exploration of the new. There is a striking difference in style between the paintings in the sanctuary of the church and those in the nave, a contrast Stirling has completely overlooked. Four large, elaborate paintings, imitative of Renaissance and Baroque art, are adjacent to the altar. L'Adoration des Mages and L'Ascension (Fig. 13) face each other on the walls of the choir and L'Assomption de la Vierge (Fig. 14) and Saint-Hilaire rédigeant son traité flank the altar on the right and left.³⁶ In their use of modelled form, deep colours, and compositional devices such as celestial beings observing the sacred events from swirling clouds, these murals adhere to the established Quebec taste and the manner of Leduc's own traditional training. Paintings illustrating the theme of the seven Sacraments and of the four Evangelists decorate the side walls of the nave. They contrast with the sanctuary murals in their simplicity of form and intimate feeling, which reflect the modern influences he had freshly absorbed. But, as Stirling pointed out in his analysis of the formal aspects of the programme, all the murals differ in varying degrees from his pre-1897 decorations and reflect the influence of modern concerns.³⁷ A simplification in style, attention to the symbolism of colours, and a more two-dimensional consideration of form and spatial organization can be detected even in the sanctuary paintings. Colour harmonies and linear rhythms are used throughout

murals to enhance a sense of order and unity, which, as Stirling observed, reflected Leduc's new concern to make his religious decorations inspirational through the symbolism of aesthetics as well as iconography³⁸

However, it is the nave paintings which represent the most significant and lasting changes in Leduc's approach to sacred art. These paintings demonstrate a strong affinity to the works of Puvis de Chavannes. The similarities to Puvis's style are easily discernible: the simplified classicism, the static, frieze-like arrangement of figures in a shallow space, the flat, cool, subdued colours of close tonality, the pictorial synthesis achieved by harmonizing hues and linear rhythms, and the serene reflective mood. Stirling noted Puvis's influence on Leduc in the Saint-Hilaire decorations, but he also suggested an equally strong influence from the Pre-Raphaelites in terms of structure, realism, colour, and the depiction of the landscape. There may be some influence from the Pre-Raphaelites, but the qualities Stirling discerned appear more closely related to the paintings of Puvis. While there may be more precision in the delineation of still-life objects and landscape elements in the Saint-Hilaire murals than one finds in Puvis's work, Leduc's detailing does not approach the precision found in Pre-Raphaelite painting which Stirling suggested.³⁹ Nor did Leduc use the strong colours characteristic of Pre-Raphaelite art in the landscape settings of the murals.⁴⁰

While Leduc was at work on his programme, Art et Décoration in 1898 featured a lengthy tribute to Puvis by Léonce Bénédite.⁴¹ Bénédite's analysis of Puvis's "exclusively personal language"⁴² and discussion of

several of his murals would have reinforced Leduc's interest in the French artist and may even have triggered the shift in style between the nave and sanctuary paintings.⁴³ One of the principal aspects of Puvis's art that Bénédite admired was his expression of high ideals in a form that reawakened a sense of "Life" and humanity.⁴⁴ He wrote that Puvis's art expresses "the fervent cult of beauty, the ardent love of truth, of the natural and of life, the narrow comprehension of the great harmonies which surround us, felt with a profound soul of the contemplative, but carefully analyzed with a sane eye, clairvoyant and always logical."⁴⁵ Bénédite considered the Panthéon mural Saint Germain l'Auxerrois bénit sainte Geneviève à Nanterre (Fig. 15) to be "the most beautiful example of mural decorations of the second half of our century"; "nothing is more elevated, more ideal, more synthetic, and at the same time nothing is more determined or believable...."⁴⁶ The elements of the familiar, the expressive gestures, and naturalistic details that Puvis incorporated into this and his other murals, which Bénédite noted, gave contemporary relevance to the ideals and religious themes that his paintings embodied.

In the murals of the Seven Sacraments and the Four Evangelists, Leduc emulated both Puvis's reduced expressive form and his concept of rendering religious ideas with an independent vision and a modern relevance. Even in his choice of subject matter, Leduc appears to have been intent to reach the observer with themes of a living faith. His scenes depicting the Sacraments and the Evangelists are set in familiar and naturalistic surroundings incorporating features of the local landscape, notably the characteristic shape of the Mont Saint-Hilaire

and Quebec maple trees as in Le Baptême du Christ (Fig. 16). Presumably his intent was to induce an awareness of the constant presence of God, to be experienced individually through living with Sanctifying Grace. The sense of intimacy which he sought in these works is heightened by the location of the paintings at eye level in close proximity to the congregation along the nave walls. Despite the hieratic style, there is a naturalism in the poses, the gestures, and the settings which imparts a feeling of immediate relevance. A sense of participation by the viewer is encouraged by means of the scale and frontal placement of the figures close to the picture plane. The figures are shown as withdrawn into a meditative state, intensifying the sensation of an inner spiritual experience. Eyes downcast, they recall the introverted figures found in the art of Puvis and Symbolists such as the Nabis, as well as Leduc's own earlier genre portraits. But Leduc's figures are especially similar to those of Puvis if one compares the features, profiles, and gestures. Bénédite admired Puvis's use of gesture which he found, "always exact and measured, never forced...so expressive because it is always appropriate to the act or the moral role of the individual."⁴⁷ The figure of Christ in Le Baptême du Christ (Fig. 16) resembles the fisherman in Puvis's Le Pauvre pêcheur reproduced in Bénédite's article.⁴⁸ Stirling noted the authenticity of the vestments of the figures and the interior settings in accordance with the time of Christ.⁴⁹ Yet, the simple interiors as in La Mort de saint Joseph (Fig. 17) and Le Souper d'Emmaüs or even Le Christ dans la maison de Simon (Fig. 18) seem to me to be intentionally generalized in order to create the impression that they could be Quebec settings. That impression is

enhanced by the inclusion of touches of the everyday in the furnishings and the realistically rendered still life motifs, like table settings and flower arrangements, which while carrying symbolic meaning have been incorporated like casual familiar details. Puvis added similar motifs to his murals, for example, in the Panthéon decorations and in L'Inspiration Chrétienne, illustrated in Art et Décoration.⁵⁰

In particular, Leduc gave his decorations regional and personal relevance by locating sacred events in the Saint-Hilaire landscape. In L'Ascension (Fig. 13) the background comprises a scene of the Richelieu valley and the silhouette of Mont Saint-Hilaire.⁵¹ Even in the interior scene Le Christ dans la maison de Simon a similar landscape can be glimpsed through the doorway. The Evangelists Saint Luke (Fig. 19) and Saint Mark sit meditatively in the local forest, in intimate communion with nature. Gospel scrolls lie beside them and their symbolic attributes, the ox and the lion, are incorporated naturalistically into the scene. Le Baptême du Christ takes place in a grove of maple trees overlooking a vista of the valley. In Le Christ remettant les clés à saint Pierre (Fig. 20), Christ symbolically sweeps His hand across a profile of the mountain, a gesture which, as Stirling noted, recalls the words "upon this rock I will build my Church."⁵² The founding of the faith on Canadian soil was an idea first expressed in art in the seventeenth century by Frère Luc in paintings such as La France apportant la foi aux Indiens de la Nouvelle-France (c. 1671) (Fig. 21),⁵³ a work which bears resemblance both to Le Christ remettant les clés à saint Pierre and Le Baptême du Christ. In fact, the pose and gestures of the kneeling Indian in Frère Luc's painting are markedly

similar to those of St. Peter, and Christ's gesture of pointing is like that of the allegorical "France." The representation of an elevated forest setting above a distinctive Canadian landscape also suggests that Leduc was making reference to Frère Luc's painting, perhaps as a reminder of the continuity of the historical mission of the faith.

The landscape settings are clearly intended to be inspirational, to arouse an emotional apprehension of the divine presence in the natural world. The use of twilight illumination and coloured sunsets evokes a romantic, mystical atmosphere. The romantic treatment of the skies, although muted, especially in the nave paintings, and the sense of distant space created by a modulation of tone toward the horizon as in Le Baptême du Christ, as Stirling noted, distinguish Leduc's landscapes from those of Puvis.⁵⁴ However, Stirling detected no similarity between the landscape settings of the two artists, finding "the landscapes of Leduc [to be] visionary compared to the immateriality of those of Puvis de Chavannes."⁵⁵ Puvis's landscapes are simplified but they are not immaterial. Bénédite commented that Puvis's landscapes were neither general or impersonal, but rather possess a "truth" of precise observation, as, for example, in the formation and detailing of trees. A comparison of Leduc's murals to Puvis's decorations at the Sorbonne and the Hôtel de Ville in Paris, illustrated in Art et Décoration, reveals strong similarity in the depiction of landforms, vegetation, and trees, as well as the repeated use of a frieze of forest in the middle ground.⁵⁶ The continuity of soft pastel colours which Leduc used to unite figures and landscape symbolically, as in Saint Marc l'évangéliste and Saint Luc l'évangéliste (Fig. 19), clearly reflects Puvis's

influence. Bénédite suggested that Puvis observed "a kind of unconscious pantheism which is found among nearly all the great primitives." Puvis sympathetically transfigured "the harmonies between man and Nature," "the close bond of figures to the soil," which, as well as being a philosophical and moral truth, is also an aesthetic truth.⁵⁷

The Saint-Hilaire murals are the first evidence of Leduc's own spiritual union with his natural environment, a theme which would become predominant in his later landscape paintings. He would continue to incorporate Quebec scenes into his sacred art throughout his career. Later programmes, such as that at the Sacré-Coeur Chapel in the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile-End (Montreal), dating from 1917-1919, use local scenes in a manner which reflects the nationalist theme of the unity of church and "nation." Any nationalist message, if any, is far more subtle in the Saint-Hilaire murals, but it can be suggested that, through his decoration, Leduc wanted to encourage a revival of faith in French Canada, an issue of prime concern to the Catholic Church. We know from correspondence later in his career and from his notes that Leduc envisioned a renewal of church decoration in Quebec, through both iconography and form.⁵⁸ One of his undated notes refers to the "renaissance of today's religious art" and states that the artist strives to "create a milieu which facilitates prayer, which puts the faithful in a state of receptivity. He knows that certain colours, lines...prepare us for religious emotions."⁵⁹ Stirling referred to a letter from Leduc to his friend Abbé Olivier Maurault which expressed his hope that his art would help regenerate French Canadian religious faith.⁶⁰ That interest seems rooted in the Saint-Hilaire programme.

Curé Laflamme had allowed Leduc the rare freedom to explore an alternative approach to church decoration. Unfortunately, many of Leduc's subsequent commissions would require him to continue borrowing from recognized works in the established tradition. After the completion of his work in Saint-Hilaire, Leduc applied by letter for a commission to decorate the Church of St. Joseph of Biddeford, Maine, in 1900.⁶¹ After listing numerous subjects as possibilities for paintings, he assured the curé that these works would be "arrangements after photographs or engravings of works of masters."⁶² He did not obtain the contract but the letter indicates the kinds of work expected of artists in this era. Leduc often became frustrated by the restraints imposed by his clerical patrons, as he expressed in one of his notes:

Impurity is introduced in art by orders given to the artist. There is always some restriction in a paid commission--the artist submits, but his liberty to completely express himself is constrained and often totally annihilated. That is why commissioned works are most often inferior, if not failures.

In 1903, Leduc and his assistant Raoul Ducharme decorated Saint Ninian's Cathedral in Antigonish, Nova Scotia.⁶³ Here, too, he copied known works, basing scenes from the life of Christ on "paintings by Dobson, Plockhorst, Bonnat and Hofmann," as he explained himself in an article he wrote in English for the parish paper, The Casket.⁶⁴

Leduc had been requested to write the article to explain his programme in Saint Ninian's for the readers of The Casket.⁶⁵ Not only did he describe the symbolism of the paintings, but he also gave a brief lesson on the means and value of art which reveals much about his idealist vision during this period. Although he may have had to submit to clerical and public taste, that did not prevent him from designing

programmes with careful consideration to the expressive potential of formal aesthetics. The essence of the article is that art must be inspirational through a synthesis of form and imagery. Art, wrote Leduc,

[should] evoke grand and noble thoughts, calculated to make man happier by making him better. Moreover, the supreme object of Art is to instruct; and whenever it has forgotten this object, history shows us it in decay. Its glory is bound up with the ideas which it calls forth. In spite of the beautiful form, the perfect technique, the magnificent colouring with which it has been clothed at certain periods of its evolution, it has often remained void. It has drawn attention merely by its exterior, and the mind has grown quickly tired of it....It is from the interpretation of every great thought that Art draws the diverse aspects which make it so charming; it is there that is found the true source of its progress,--progress akin to that of the soul, which produces and explains the progress of the Ideal whose steady ascent leads to the Beautiful, the Good, the True.⁶⁶

For art "to set free an idea," the aesthetic components "lines, forms, colors" must be coordinated and arranged according to "certain fixed principles, in order to produce a harmonious effect....Lines have harmonies; colors have vibrations, they grow strong or weaker according to fixed laws."⁶⁷

The completion of the Saint-Hilaire decoration in 1899 was followed by a short lull until 1901. From 1901 on, Leduc was to be almost constantly employed as a church decorator.⁶⁸ With commissions for portraits in between, he was left with little time for his personal paintings. However, the few examples that do exist from this period demonstrate an investigation of models he had discovered during his trip and his consciousness of the art journals which he read. These paintings exemplify Leduc's excursion into ideas and forms unusual in Canadian art of this time. They can only be considered as private exploratory works and, like his paintings of the 1890s, convey his intense self-examination and his preoccupation with the role of art. Most of these

paintings were created without regard for their exhibition value or saleability, the only exception perhaps being Nature morte (1898) (Fig. 22) which, according to Gehmacher, was exhibited at the Art Association in 1898.⁶⁹ These private paintings either stayed in Leduc's possession or eventually found their way into the collections of his friends, especially the Choquette family.⁷⁰

Nature morte (Fig. 22) continues Leduc's series of still lifes on the theme of the realm of art. According to the date printed on the edge of the canvas it was painted in February and March of 1898, shortly after his return from Europe, and seems a reflection on Symbolist painting he encountered. His composition is structured in three planes. In the foreground is Leduc's sketchbook resting on top of other loose drawings and open to a preparatory drawing of Mary Magdalene for Le Christ dans la maison de Simon in the Saint-Hilaire Church. In the middle ground, and placed centrally in the composition, is a circular mirror. In the background is a small painting and an artist's mannequin, both resting on what appears to be a stack of issues of The Studio. We can decipher the letter T and the dates APRIL 1897 and JUNE 1897 in block letters resembling the typography of The Studio of that period. Our attention is first drawn to the background of the still life, by the anguished figure in the small painting, and by its deep blood-red background which contrasts with the cool colours used throughout the rest of the still life. This disturbing portrait recalls similar figures created by Odilon Redon, the Symbolist painter of dreamers and dreams, especially his Closed Eyes of 1890.⁷¹ But Leduc's dreamer is more shocking, like the nightmare visions represented in Redon's darker works

on the human experience and death, and in that of other Symbolist painters like Edvard Munch, or in poetry by Paul Verlaine and Émile Verhaeren.⁷² The face is strained with profound suffering; tightly knotted sinews bulge from a yellowed cadaverous frame wrapped in a dark shawl. It seems to suggest the fearful agony of a man faced with his own mortality. The mannequin is twisted into a contorted position with its legs facing backward and its torso and head forward. Its right arm is outstretched; the left arm is bent, creating a gesture which, juxtaposed against the little painting, could perhaps be interpreted as defensive, a rejection of the kind of torment the image represents. The reflection in the mirror is an incongruous fusion of the figure painting and the mannequin behind the mirror and the scene presumably in the room in front of the still life arrangement, consisting of a vaguely perceptible figure seated before a window with a landscape seen through it. Enclosed within the circle of the mirror frame, the image seems to suggest the terrestrial sphere, nature, the everyday, and inner human anxieties. According to Guy Michaud, the mirror was "one of the key themes of symbolism"; it was "the tool of dreams," and "the tool of analogic thought."⁷³ Among its connotations, the mirror represented an inward search for self-revelation.⁷⁴ In one of his notes, Leduc wrote that "Art will make us see the effigy of our dreams and the infinity of our desires. It is the reflection of our soul, as in a mirror."⁷⁵

The extremes of the soul, and of the realm of art, are represented by the contrasting figures of the tormented Symbolist image and the serene meditative Mary. As the painted figure in the background first attracts our attention, the still life reads from background to

foreground, ending with Leduc's own sketch. The meaning is enigmatic, but Leduc seems to be expressing his belief that art must seek beauty representative of a higher reality, that it can inspire and mediate between humanity and the unknown. As he wrote in the Casket article, art must "evoke grand and noble thoughts calculated to make man happier by making him better."

Around the border of the painting, which would be hidden by a frame, Leduc printed his artistic credo: "DRAWING/COLOUR/COMPOSITION/THE TRINITY OF THE PAINTER," as well as his name, the date, and his address in Montreal. By reference to a trinity, he implies that painting is a quasi-religious act. This corresponds to the idea of the artist as a creator, making form and inspirational meaning out of matter, which recurs consistently throughout his notes. His trinity of tools to give shape to his ideas reflects his recognition of the expressive potential of the formal elements of art, a potential he would explore with growing confidence and individuality. In Nature morte he remained close to the naturalistic style that he had followed before his trip. Although he would never completely abandon naturalism, he would eventually develop his own visual language where form and idea were synthesized as in the Symbolist mode.

Four works based on mythological themes, Érato (muse endormie) (Fig. 23), Érato (muse dans la forêt) (Fig. 24), Nature morte (le mannequin qui pleure) (Fig. 27), and Endymion and Séléné (Fig. 28) demonstrate the eclecticism of his art of this period as he experimented with aesthetic means and newly discovered territory in subject matter. Érato (muse endormie), dating from around 1898, is Leduc's first easel painting

depicting a purely imaginary subject, but it follows from the interest in mythology demonstrated in his personal notes and in his still lifes. Here mythology becomes the entire focus, a change attributable to the profusion of mythological references in late nineteenth century art and literature in Europe. Mythology was a popular theme in the Pre-Raphaelite, Victorian classicist, academic, and Symbolist art available to him during his trip. In Quebec, young poets of L'École littéraire de Montréal, enamoured with the poetry of the Parnassians and the Symbolists, wrote their own poems filled with mythological images and dedicated to the muses.⁷⁶ Canadian artists, on the other hand, were too pragmatic and conservative to allow themselves flights into the realm of pure imagination, and with few exceptions, mythological references did not appear in Canadian painting.⁷⁷ Even nudes, as in Leduc's images of Erato, which proliferated in European and even American art,⁷⁸ were not to be found in Canadian exhibitions. The rare exceptions that come to mind are Paul Peel's nudes which were displayed in Toronto in the early 1890s,⁷⁹ but it was not until the 1910s that such figures appeared with some frequency in Canada, and even later in Montreal.⁸⁰ The Montreal Herald in December 1897 noted the opinion expressed in London regarding the quality of art collections found in Montreal: "...the nude is conspicuous by its almost absolute absence, speaking highly for the refinement and high purpose which I may venture to say characterizes the majority of the elite of the Dominion."⁸¹

Erato (muse endormie) (Fig. 23), from around 1898, is painted in an academic manner, but without the academic hard edge and polish; it is comparable to the delicate modelling of the Symbolist Lucien Lévy-

Dhurmer.⁸² Themes of sleep were widespread through late nineteenth century art. Mythological themes incorporating sleeping figures were extremely popular with Victorian classical painters.⁸³ The idea of the dream as an escape from modern reality or as a means of entering a higher world of beauty was also prevalent in the Symbolist movement. Goldwater described dreaming, along with suggestion and mystery, as "key concepts" of Symbolism,⁸⁴ and artists such as Puvis de Chavannes, Gauguin, Ferdinand Hodler, and the Nabis were fascinated by sleeping and dreaming figures. Leduc's painting evolved from an nude study done in Paris, which, Ostiguy noted, corresponds to a standard academic theme of a "sleeping bather."⁸⁵ The charcoal sketch, Nu endormi sur un rocher, illustrated in Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc,⁸⁶ differs from the final composition only in the arrangement of the clothing and the lack of a lyre. With the subtle inclusion of a symbolic lyre, almost hidden under a bending branch at the right, Leduc infused meaning into the final painting by attaching it to a mythological theme. His use of muted green and golden tonalities and glowing light creates a poetic, dreamlike atmosphere. For the first time Leduc placed one of his dreaming or contemplative figures in a natural setting. Erato, the Greek muse of lyric and erotic poetry,⁸⁷ seems to have emerged from the darkness of the cave to her left and shed her clothes to bathe in the radiant sunlight. Arms outstretched and head resting on a mossy rock outcropping, she has fallen asleep in the intimate verdant setting, suggesting a perfect harmony with her surroundings.

Leduc's painting could possibly be related to the legend of the three fairies who lived in a hidden grotto, Le Trou des Fées, on Mont

Saint-Hilaire. This well-known local legend was retold by Leduc's close friend, the journalist Arsène Bessette, in his column in Le Canada français in September of 1900.⁸⁸ In the legend, according to Bessette, two of the fairies were filled with kindness and by their magical powers would give gifts of beauty, happiness, and success to those who believed in them and listened to their wisdom. The other fairy was malevolent and could spread all the evils of humanity. She only left their mountain dwelling to punish those who disobeyed or disbelieved; she condemned them to live in misery and sickness, or entrapped them in the dark depths of the cave where they were terrorized. A local man who had encountered one of the fairies on the mountain told of her perfect beauty, incomparable to human beauty. She wore a luminous tunic through which could be detected her faultless form. In his article Bessette mentioned that friends, the Leducs, had explored the quite inaccessible place where the fairies lived.

The date of Érato (muse dans la forêt) (Fig. 24) is uncertain; Ostiguy has dated it around 1906. However, this Érato may have been painted earlier. Ostiguy based his dating on the repetition of the female figure in a poster Leduc designed for a contest sponsored by Art et Décoration (Fig. 25), and suggested that this poster was created in 1907.⁸⁹ It seems more likely that this poster pertained to contests sponsored by Art et Décoration in either 1899 or 1901,⁹⁰ because Leduc included the name of Gustave Soulier as secretary of the journal in his design, and Soulier's name no longer appeared on the journal in 1907. I would like to suggest here that Leduc may have been inspired by the text and illustrations in Léonce Bénédite's article "La Lyre et les Muses par

Henri Martin," which appeared in Art et Décoration in January, 1900.⁹¹

Bénédite compared Martin's muse paintings with those of Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau. He wrote that the lyre for Martin "is the emblem of inspiration, of bountiful enthusiasms, of fertile and creative genius." It is also, as for Moreau, "the emblem of order, of measure, of rhythm, of harmony" and, as for Puvis, "the sign of a kind of natural religion, contemplative and pantheistic, of adoration and communion with all the splendours of the Universe and of Life."⁹² Martin's muses repeatedly appear at twilight in settings of pine woods. Bénédite described the muses in Troubadours (1893) as "mysterious spirits of the woods, blossoming in the last throws of the day, from the imagination exalted by the softness of the hour and the splendour of the spectacle, daughters both of nature and of man."⁹³ In Sérénité, they are the "divine emanations" of "the intimate communion between nature and man."⁹⁴ In summary, Bénédite observed that for Martin:

Muses represent to the eyes of his spirit the emanations of all that is beautiful in life; they are the very quintessence of life. That is why they are bittersweet and melancholy, because their being is expressed from life only through sorrow. They have a resigned charm to their smile for they know life is sad but they tell us dream is permitted.⁹⁵

In Érato (muse dans la forêt), Erato personifies Leduc's poetic dreams. Like Martin's muses, she inhabits a darkened pine forest, almost abstract in its rhythm and simplicity, similar to that in Martin's painting Douleur (Fig. 26), which appeared in Bénédite's article.⁹⁶ Even the halo of mysterious light, which illuminates the figure and the space behind her, corresponds to the light effects in Douleur. Erato stands leaning against a large rock in a forest glade, her pose a suggestion of symbolic meaning. Her right hand rests on the rock beside her lyre, and

her face is upturned and her eyes closed in intense reverie. Like Martin's muses, she represents a link between the earthly and the aspiration to the divine. Leduc has heightened the mood and supernatural connotations of his painting by reducing his colour to the dark green, depicting the earth and forest, and the starkly contrasting golden tones, which unite the figure and the brilliant light. The repetitive pattern of simple, soaring tree trunks recalls Baudelaire's famous line from the poem "Correspondences": "Nature is a temple where living pillars / At times allow confused words to arise."⁹⁷ Puvis's forests are a "sacred woods"⁹⁸ and Symbolists like the Nabis, especially Maurice Denis, created simplified ritual forests, comparable to those of Martin, which evoked Baudelaire's forest temple.⁹⁹

Leduc's nude muse is physically comparable to Martin's Beauté,¹⁰⁰ Eve in Lévy-Dhurmer's Au Paradis, or, as Ostiguy suggested, "the twilight bathers of René Ménard."¹⁰¹ But Leduc's muse, in her expression and her radiant form, appears more impassioned. Leduc may have been thinking of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Beata Beatrix when he conceived his painting, for the haloed trance-like state of both 'muses' is greatly alike.¹⁰² The greens and golds in Érato also recall the colours of Rossetti's painting, although they are less lurid. A reproduction of Beata Beatrix appears in Leduc's painting Nature morte (le mannequin qui pleure), dated by Ostiguy as around 1907,¹⁰³ in conjunction with his own Érato (muse dans la forêt).

In Nature morte (le mannequin qui pleure) (Fig. 27), Leduc placed his muse in the company of William Edward Frost's Sabrina (first seen in Leduc's La Phrénologie of 1892) as well as Rossetti's Beata Beatrix. The

painting of Érato (muse dans la forêt) occupies the center of the composition, partially covering the painting of Sabrina which fills the background. In the foreground, Beata Beatrix can be identified in a reproduction which lies beneath Leduc's own notebook open to an drawing of female hands. Reference is thus made to a progression of immortalized poetic "muses," real and mythical, who have inspired dreams of beauty and paradise: Sabrina, the mythical poetic inspiration of Milton's Comus (and Frost's painting),¹⁰⁴ and, in Rossetti's painting, his dead wife Elizabeth Siddal and her historical prototype, the famous Beatrice, Dante's guide to Heaven in The Divine Comedy.¹⁰⁵ By analogy Leduc's Érato symbolizes his own quest for spiritual understanding through art. A mannequin in front of the reproduction of his painting is posed in a gesture of weeping and seems to mourn for those who suffer life's sorrows.

The themes of myth and dream and the escape from earthly bonds are embodied in the subject of Endymion et Séléné (Fig. 25), dated between 1904 and 1910, which Leduc painted during this period of mythological works.¹⁰⁶ According to the myth, Endymion, a young huntsman, while asleep one day on Mount Latmus, captivated the moon goddess Selene (Diana) with his beauty. At Selene's request Zeus granted Endymion eternal youth and immortality, but on the condition that he must remain asleep forever.¹⁰⁷ This painting could have been inspired by George Frederick Watts's Diana and Endymion, which appeared in Masters in Art in 1906, although there is little similarity between the painting by Leduc and that by Watts.¹⁰⁸ Leduc also had a newspaper clipping (source and date unknown) of an article by one Odette Montausier on

"Mythologie," which retold the myth of Diana and Endymion and included an excerpt from a poem by Théophile Gautier.¹⁰⁹ The poetry described the idyllic setting, filled with birds, flowers and sparkling dew, where Endymion slept, which does not correspond to the painting. However, the text of the article creates an image of Diana, absorbed, gazing at her loved one sleeping in a mountain landscape similar to the scene Leduc has depicted. Montausier wrote,

The goddess.. guides her magical team [of deer] towards the mossy bed where Endymion, the young and beautiful hunter, sleeps under the protective foliage of the oak trees; the hyssop that he crushes perfumes the fresh air of the night... Diane, radiant, with a light step approaches the young hunter. She is tranfigured. Never has such pure beauty appeared to the profane eyes a mortal.¹¹⁰

Leduc created an intimate forest grotto, illuminated by torch light, suggesting a transformation of the legendary fairy dwelling of Mount Saint-Hilaire into Mount Latmus.¹¹¹ In this small (23.5 x 27.4 cm) work he has evoked an imaginary world by using jewel-like pastel colours in a broken Impressionist manner. The style and colours are unusual in Leduc's easel paintings to this date but very effectively add to the atmosphere.¹¹² The painting recalls a quotation from Burne-Jones that Leduc had noted, probably from the issue of Masters in Art which featured this artist in 1901:

I mean by a picture, a beautiful romantic dream of something that never was, never will be, better than any light that ever shone, in a land no one can define or remember,--only desire.¹¹³

Leduc's mythological paintings are quite different from the larger body of his more conventional work of this period: his portraits, commissioned landscapes, and illustrations. However, they can be seen as a part of his exploration of the interior realm of dreams which is a

recurring theme in his art. Another unique work is the tiny (18.0 x 11.0 cm) charcoal drawing Profil dans un nuage (Fig. 29), from 1908, which Jean-Paul Riopelle acquired from Leduc in 1944.¹¹⁴ Ostiguy described this drawing as Surrealistic.¹¹⁵ It is absolutely simple in form and almost seamless, creating a union of land and sky. The only demarcation is a single soft silhouette of horizon which bisects the drawing. What may be the suggestion of Mont Saint-Hilaire can vaguely be perceived in the far distance, but it is a landscape conceived from the imagination. A profile of a male head created in the cloud and a glowing light beyond make up the dominant image. The entire scene emerges out of soft rhythmic strokes of the charcoal which evoke the meditative mood of the artist. Only in 1916, with Lueurs du soir, would Leduc return to creating a spiritually inspired landscape with such almost abstract simplicity of light and tone. Leduc's landscape paintings of the mid-1910s seem to be more to be influenced by the landscapes of the Scandinavian artists such as G.A. Fjaestad and Prince Eugen. Could that influence also be reflected in this unusual drawing? Prince Eugen was the subject of an article in The Studio in December 1897,¹¹⁶ and the same journal, in March 1904, had an article on Swedish painting. Both carried reproductions of mystical landscapes created with great simplicity and soft rhythmic contours.¹¹⁷ Other possible inspirations may have come from the background landscapes in paintings by Symbolists like René Ménéard, illustrated in Art et Décoration or, even the quiet atmospheric landscapes of the American tonalists, influenced by the example of James McNeill Whistler, who was featured in Masters in Art in December 1907. In Wanda M. Corn's catalogue The Color of Mood: American

Tonalism 1880-1910 there are several examples of comparable meditative scenes created simply out of the subtle play of tones and diffuse light, such as John H. Twachtman's Along the River (c. 1890) or Whistler's The Lagoon Venice: Nocturne in Blue and Silver (1879-80).¹¹⁸ Closer to home, James Wilson Morrice was exhibiting his Whistler-like landscapes at the Art Association in Montreal during this period.¹¹⁹

Leduc's Social Milieu and Commissioned Works:

Leduc's social circle at the turn of the century was comprised largely of people from his community. His friends were his strongest supporters, and many of his easel pieces and his illustrations were commissioned by or through them. Several of these works, with pronounced regionalist themes, demonstrate the stimulus of ideas cultivated in his own milieu. Before looking specifically at those works I would like to examine some of his personal relationships with those who shared his interests and social attitudes.

Many of Leduc's friends were well educated and actively involved in politics, literature, journalism, and teaching. The first decade of the century in French Quebec was marked by the escalation of nationalistic sentiments.¹²⁰ Henri Bourassa ignited public patriotism. It was a time of political debate on nationalist issues in the partisan press and stirring speeches by politicians and clergy on French Canadian values, preservation of language and customs, and the role of Quebec in the Canadian context. Nationalism was a strong element within Leduc's milieu, but it was generally a broad-minded nationalism concerned with cultural enhancement and progress, and the positive social values represented by French-Canadian traditions. Dr. Ernest Choquette and

Louis-Philippe Brodeur were involved in Liberal politics, and Arsène Bessette was a reporter for Liberal newspapers, first for La Patrie in 1898 and then Le Canada français in 1900.¹²¹ In September 1900, Le Canada français reported on a Liberal rally organized by Brodeur, then Speaker of the House of Commons, and held in Saint-Hilaire.¹²² In the speeches that the article recorded, it is evident that Saint-Hilaire was considered a Liberal stronghold, a place proud of its history of political liberalism, its racial tolerance, and its French-Canadian heritage. Pride of heritage was clearly evident among Leduc's friends. They demonstrated a nostalgia for the past and a strong attachment to their rural roots. Ernest Choquette wrote regionalist novels set in the Richelieu Valley; Arsène Bessette extolled the virtues of rural life and the preservation of local legends in his column; Gustave Ouimet wrote a local history and had Leduc create a drawing to head it;¹²³ Abbé Henri Beaudet (who used the pseudonym Henri d'Arles) bemoaned the loss of rural traditions in Quebec and praised the rural genre painting of Charles Huot in his book Propos d'Art.

Beaudet, whom Leduc knew while he was associated with the Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe at the turn of the century, was a prolific writer who became mainly known as a critic and historian of French-Canadian literature.¹²⁴ Although Beaudet moved to New York and then New England to take up religious duties,¹²⁵ he became an ardent nationalist associated with L'Action française, and seems to have spent a lot of time in Quebec.¹²⁶ He probably met Leduc through Ernest Choquette's brother, Abbé Charles-Philippe Choquette, who was a professor at the seminary. Leduc's relationship with Beaudet is sketchy, revealed only in

a small correspondence and a mention of his name by mutual friends. While at Saint-Hyacinthe he became one of the visitors to Leduc's studio and seems to have had high regard for Leduc's art. He was associated with the Dominican journal La Rosaire and in 1900 asked Leduc to contribute some of his "most picturesque and poetic" drawings for an article he had written.¹²⁷ Ostiguy remarked that Beaudet had planned to write a monograph on the Saint-Hilaire Church decorations but that his manuscript was lost.¹²⁸

I mention Beaudet here because he voiced an idealism similar at times to ideas expressed by Leduc. In 1903, Beaudet wrote Propos d'Art, based on a twelve day visit to the studio of Charles Huot on the Île d'Orléans.¹²⁹ Although a self-confessed neophyte in art,¹³⁰ he had become a fervent enthusiast and had attended a series of lectures on art by the French aesthete Comte Robert de Montesquiou in New York early in 1903. Beaudet had obviously been inspired, for he asked the Comte to write the preface for his book.¹³¹ Propos d'Art presents a vision of art which blends some modern conceptions with an intense appreciation of the classical and historical traditions, sometimes corresponding to Leduc's own thoughts. One is left to wonder about mutual influences and also the sharing of attitudes within the Saint-Hilaire circle. Beaudet sent Leduc a copy of his book, and their mutual friend Gustave Ouimet reminded Leduc to send Beaudet a copy of his article in The Casket.¹³²

Beaudet believed that it was through art that Beauty and the ideal were most perfectly expressed.¹³³ Art alone "can purify the spirit, open the soul to the nuances of feeling" and "ennoble the heart."¹³⁴ His thoughts on landscape painting express a romantic attitude, it is the

paintings of the Barbizon painters Théodore Rousseau and Narcisse Diaz de la Peña which epitomize for Beaudet his ideal of "works of love."¹³⁵ He stated: "God is the Supreme Artist, whose work, immobile in its essence, takes on diverse forms of beauty, merely by the play of light and shade."¹³⁶ The artist, moved by the spectacle of nature, attempts to fix these effects in his art, but absolute fidelity to nature is impossible and a futile goal. A photograph is not art; art must have "certain invisible mysterious qualities which speak to the imagination, which should be suggestive, inspirational. It must favour the dream, and around it, the atmosphere must be full of poetry."¹³⁷ Absolute fidelity only captures the exterior, and in realism we feel no vibration of soul. Nature presents the image, which the artist idealizes, corrects, and arranges to transform into "a genre of beauty which does not exist in reality,--spiritual beauty, which comes from the soul."¹³⁸ He talked about the artist's battle to render his ideal, from the "image living within him." Art lets us penetrate "the mystery of human thought"; it translates the artist's dreams "born from his imagination."¹³⁹ Like Leduc, Beaudet believed the lessons of the past, the traditional rules of order, must be maintained, but that art cannot return to a purely classical form because society evolves and understanding changes.¹⁴⁰ He was dismayed by the "anarchy" he saw in modern French art: its decadence of sentiment, its exaggerations ("revelations of a certain mental disequilibrium"), and its total concern for form rather than subject which he called "the materialization of art."¹⁴¹

Beaudet admired Charles Huot's academic realism which was at variance with Leduc's experimental art of this period, but Huot's genre

pieces which Beaudet praised, although highly detailed, were in some ways similar to Leduc's own rural regionalist scenes to be discussed shortly. In the work of both Beaudet and Leduc one can detect an attempt to reconcile modern concepts with the conservative influences which they absorbed from their own society. Beaudet appreciated the sincerity of Huot's genre paintings, which preserved images of the rapidly disappearing lifestyle of old Quebec.¹⁴² Huot's Le Sanctus à la maison (Fig. 30), a scene of "exquisite religious beauty," depicts a peasant mother, who, having remained behind to "guard" the home and prepare the meal while her family is at mass, kneels in prayer at the sound of the sanctus bell.¹⁴³ Beaudet called this work a masterpiece for its combination of elevated inspiration and elegant execution, in which everything is ordered to the clear revelation of the idea.¹⁴⁴

Another of Leduc's friends who appears only briefly in his correspondence was Arsène Bessette (1873-1921), who grew up in Saint-Hilaire.¹⁴⁵ After attending classical college he took up journalism with a idealistic passion. It was in the early years of his profession that he was closely in touch with Leduc, who encouraged his writing and became his confidant. In 1902 Bessette wrote to Leduc, "I consider you my best friend, you are the first one who knew how to understand me and to encourage me in the path I pursue. Your artistic soul could not be deceived about my aspirations. And for that I am eternally grateful to you."¹⁴⁶ Romantic prose pieces by Bessette are found in the Leduc archives.¹⁴⁷ A prose poem entitled "L'Automne a la Campagne" was dedicated to Leduc.¹⁴⁸ In it, Bessette described the transformations of nature as they mirror human emotions. Autumn reflects fading dreams, and

makes thinking men "reflect on the ephemerality and nothingness of all human life." He envied the contentment of humble rural people who never know "the tortures of a too fertile imagination, the rending of an impassioned heart burning with chimeric pleasure...." Life-giving spring renews vigour to the hearts of men: "especially to those who march towards glory, to all the slaves who are tyrannized by the love of art, let spring give its fertile and inventive genius without which man can not leave the ranks of mediocrity."¹⁴⁹

In his column in Le Canada français, Bessette commented on the state of French Canadian society. He displayed a nationalism which is in many respects akin to that of Henri Bourassa; he promoted tolerance, respect, harmony, and equality with the English sector of the population while stressing the need for the promotion of the best of traditional French Canadian virtues.¹⁵⁰ Bessette's intense patriotism is conveyed in columns such as "Patriotisme," in which he described love of country as a sacred form of love,¹⁵¹ and in an ardent review of a stirring speech on nationalism given by Mgr. Rozier from France, which defined the foundation of nationalism in three words: "Religion, Patrie, Famille."¹⁵² He demanded for French Canada the same privilege of historical pride granted to English Canada, and a mutual respect between the two ethnic groups. Bessette championed nationalism through cultural development, stressing that intellectual advancement must accompany material progress.¹⁵³ He repeated the nationalist idea that it was in the intellectual areas in which French Canadians, by virtue of their heritage, demonstrated a superiority over the English and complained that the arts were ignored in French Canada: "It is the cult of beauty

which is especially lacking in our compatriots. The arts are not encouraged enough".¹⁵⁴ "Because we are a minority we must make up in quality what we lack in quantity ...We are descendants of a people of artists and scholars, we must cultivate the beautiful things: literature, painting, music, sciences..."¹⁵⁵ He also promoted the moral values of agriculturalism. In "Le Problème Social" the virtues of the liberty and tranquility of rural life are contrasted with the unhappiness and immorality which have been products of industrial development and urbanization. He warned that material progress must not mean the sacrifice of traditional values.¹⁵⁶ In a column in May 1901 entitled "M. Osias Leduc" (sic), Bessette paid homage to his friend Leduc, whose name, he regretted to say, was not well-known by the public.¹⁵⁷ He introduced the reader to Leduc's studio, described as "consecrated to art." What he admired most about Leduc's work was its originality in interpretation of subject matter; his art moved the viewer with its revelation of "the discrete aspirations of his artistic soul." He admired the rural landscapes that Leduc painted for Judge Choquette and his portraits which captured the moral and intellectual essence of their subjects. He described Leduc as a man "gifted with a delicate spirit and superior intelligence," a gentleman, full of the qualities of charm and kindness which gained him the friendship of whoever he met.¹⁵⁸

Bessette became disillusioned with journalism early in his career, a column in 1901 condemned the lack of integrity of both publishers and journalists in Quebec.¹⁵⁹ He asserted that a French Canadian newspaper must serve the national purpose, that it "has a mission to instruct and

raise the moral level; it must undertake to destroy prejudice among its readers and inspire the taste for truth and beauty."¹⁶⁰ His semi-autobiographical novel about a journalist, Le Débutant, published in 1914, was a denunciation not only of journalism in Quebec but also of reactionary nationalism and the religious fanaticism, bigotry, and political corruption connected with it.¹⁶¹ Le Débutant was condemned by the Archbishop of Montreal, and Bessette lost his job with Le Canada français.¹⁶² Only Albert Laberge, his friend and a friend of Leduc's, publicly came to Bessette's defence.¹⁶³

Dr. Ernest Choquette (1862-1941) was a central figure in Leduc's social circle and his lifelong friend. Originally from a farming family in Beloeil, across the Richilieu from Saint-Hilaire, he moved to Saint-Hilaire in 1886 to set up his medical practice.¹⁶⁴ He was active in the medical community in the province, as well as being active in politics and as a writer.¹⁶⁵ A staunch Liberal supporter, he campaigned in the 1890s with his friends Lomer Gouin, who became premier of Quebec from 1905 to 1920,¹⁶⁶ and the lawyer Louis-Philippe Brodeur,¹⁶⁷ who became speaker of the House of Commons in 1900 and a minister in the Laurier cabinet.¹⁶⁸ Choquette was nominated to the Quebec Legislative Council in 1910.¹⁶⁹ His brother, Charles-Philippe, was a professor of science at the Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe; his specialties were geology and astronomy, and he aroused Leduc's interest in these sciences.¹⁷⁰ Another Choquette brother, Philippe-Auguste, founded the newspaper Le Soir with Brodeur in 1896, became a judge of the Supreme Court in 1898, and in 1904 was appointed to the Senate.¹⁷¹

Ernest Choquette, like Leduc and others in this milieu, had a

passion for literature. According to his published response to a inquiry from La Petite revue in 1899 regarding his literary preferences, his particular tastes were inclined largely to French Romantic writers: Musset, Gautier, Daudet, Chateaubriand, and Loti. His favourites were Lamartine, Hugo, and Lacordaire.¹⁷² The philosophers he most admired were De Maistre, Pascal, and La Bruyère.¹⁷³ The influences of his French masters can be detected in his own romantic writing. His novels fall into the regionalist mode of historical settings and rural themes, but within these contexts he emphasized the human drama.

Choquette's first book, Les Ribaud (1898), was a historical novel set in the district around Saint-Hilaire during the 1837 rebellion, a period that loomed large in local history.¹⁷⁴ Choquette was immersed in the oral accounts of the rebellion told to him by those who had been Patriote participants, such as Toussaint Brodeur, Louis-Philippe's father.¹⁷⁵ Based on a tragic love story of a French girl and an English soldier, the novel does not glorify the events of the era, but rather emphasizes the dangers of obdurate patriotism.¹⁷⁶ Les Ribaud, was performed as a play, Madeleine, in 1903.¹⁷⁷ It was presented in Saint-Hilaire in 1928 and at the National Monument in 1929. Sets for these productions were designed by Leduc and Paul-Émile Borduas.¹⁷⁸ In 1899, Choquette published Claude Paysan, a novel of le terroir, extolling rural life.¹⁷⁹ Leduc did the illustrations. The next year Choquette produced Carabinades, a collection of stories based on the life of medical students, for which Leduc designed the cover.¹⁸⁰ La Terre, another novel of le terroir, appeared in 1916. Maurice Lemire described La Terre as a much more deliberate work of nationalist dogma than Claude

Paysan ¹⁸¹ In La Terre, Choquette preached his belief that the survival of French Canada was dependent upon its agricultural vocation ¹⁸²

According to Choquette, Claude Paysan evolved from a close collaboration between himself and Leduc ¹⁸³ Laurier Lacroix quoted from Choquette's comments, which appeared in La Patrie in December 1898: "We have thought up a plan, Leduc and I, a really mad plan: it's to produce something new this winter: an illustrated novel. He'll do the illustrations, which will be very good, I assure you; I'll do the book which will unfortunately be very bad" ¹⁸⁴ Set in the environs of Saint-Hilaire, the novel creates a deeply sympathetic image of rural peasant life and its intimate relationship with the land. The novel is filled with references to nature, the church (the sound of angelus bells is repeatedly mentioned), and family devotion, with the mother as the soul of the family. Within this context, the novel functions primarily as a love story, unusual in this genre. ¹⁸⁵ The main character, Claude Drioux, is a noble-hearted young peasant who becomes responsible for the small family farm and the sole support of his beloved mother after the death of his father. His best friend, Jack Dufferin, an Irish immigrant dubbed Jacques, has formed no strong attachment to rural life and leaves to find fortune and excitement in the city. Claude, left behind and lonely, is also desperately in love with Fernande, a city girl who spends her summers in the countryside. He becomes obsessed by an idealized vision that he has created of her. A relationship is impossible, not only is she distanced from him by her higher social status and her cultured ways, but she is indifferent to love. Only when she is near death from consumption will she recognize his affections and give him her

attention, and then mainly out of pity for his obvious despair. His grief, on her death, leads to his suicide. Jacques, who returns disillusioned with city life, is adopted by Claude's mother.

Leduc's illustrations help to convey the emotions explored in the novel and to produce a sense of empathy with the life in this rural community. He has reached to the heart of the story and chosen key moments which translate the essence of the social and natural setting, as well as the evolving human drama. Twelve of the sixteen drawings, which include that for the cover, illustrate the rural landscape of the Richelieu Valley around Saint-Hilaire. He has created a very strong sense of place, with views of the forest, the river, and fields around Claude's home. He has concisely and sensitively summarized the rural lifestyle: the agricultural work, the pastimes (a rural dance), the close sense of community and family, and the faith. Images of sowing and threshing, representative of the cult of the soil, have been included, depicted with a stress on the rhythmic action these activities entail as described in Choquette's text and symbolic of the harmony between man and nature. The caption, taken from the text, under the scene of Claude sowing (Fig. 31), reads: "... Always making his great gesture of sowing in the crystalline limpidity of the sky." Leduc's sower is a timeless image related to representations ranging from those in Gothic cathedrals (Fig. 63) to that in Jean-François Millet's The Sower (1850).

In the novel Choquette emphasized the human experience within the local environment; consistent with Leduc's concerns, this becomes the focus of the illustrations. In keeping with the text, the natural world mirrors inner experience; the seasons, the elements, and the time of day

all reflect the progression of events and the changing human emotions. The scenes are infused with a meditative and dream-like atmosphere by their soft tonal rendering and diffuse light which brings them close to the realm of Symbolism. As in his Saint-Hilaire Church decorations, Leduc has simplified his forms and reduced his imagery to concentrate his expression and ideas.

The Studio in August 1897 (an issue which Leduc may have owned¹⁸⁶) featured the work of Giovanni Segantini, with reproduced rural scenes of peasant life strongly resembling the romantic naturalism of Leduc's illustrations.¹⁸⁷ Not only does Segantini use the same formal simplification and the gently modulated middle tones found in Leduc's illustrations, but his figures are also quietly reflective. Segantini's tonal drawing In the Fields, depicting a woman gathering hay, is similar to Leduc's illustration of Claude sowing, both in style and in the mood of harmony with the land which is enhanced by the gentle rolling landscape.¹⁸⁸ The Shepherdess by Segantini (Fig. 32) captures a young girl lost in thought and uses a rustic fence as a compositional device to separate spaces and figures¹⁸⁹ like that in several of Leduc's scenes as, for example, when Fernande meets Claude with his hat full of cherries for his mother (Fig. 33).

In his scenes with exterior settings, Leduc expresses a bond between the rural inhabitants and their natural surroundings. The small figures of Claude and his mother are depicted in a vast peaceful landscape as they walk quietly together along a country road on their way to mass (Fig. 34). The curving rhythms of the fields, the fence, the road, and the distant mountain unify the composition and contribute to the sense

of continuity and harmony. The spire of the village church rises like a beacon against the silhouette of the mountain, drawing forward the procession of the rural faithful. Claude is always treated as very much in accord with his environment, but not so Jacques who, in the story, is discontent with rural life. In a scene in which Jacques approaches Claude's house for an evening visit during the winter (Fig. 35), nature is shown as harsh and bleak; the coldness and isolation seemingly reflect his inner feelings in this milieu. Choquette characterized Fernande as a city girl who also lacks the peasant sensitivity to the land. Leduc's illustrations emphasize that she is an image of perfection only in Claude's fantasies. In two scenes in which Claude and Fernande meet, Leduc depicts her as a dream-like apparition. One encounter occurs, as noted above, when Fernande approaches Claude to speak to him as he heads home after cherry picking (Fig. 33). Claude is intimidated by her, and Choquette in the text contrasts the humble rustic simplicity of the tongue-tied peasant to the condescending amusement of sophisticated Fernande, who realizes his embarrassment. Leduc stressed the distance between them by the fence which separates them. She is a pale and somewhat intangible figure, while Claude is solid in his rural earthiness. Later in the story Claude watches her, unseen and with a sense of wonder, as she gathers hawthorn flowers at the edge of the river (Fig. 36). He is enclosed in a thicket in the foreground, rendered up close in naturalistic detail. Fernande, beyond in a misty landscape framed by the bushes, has been drawn with a very light touch and bathed in a soft light, suggesting an ethereal vision. She recalls the chimerical figures of any number of Symbolists such as Alphonse Osbert,

Henri Le Sidaner, or Maurice Denis.¹⁹⁰ The rowboat from which she has emerged is placed beside her, symbolically supporting the idea of a fleeting vision and perhaps a reference to the transience of her life. In a scene set shortly after Jacques has left the community, Claude, haunted by a deep sadness, wanders dejectedly across the countryside trying to escape his feelings of isolation. Returning to a site filled with bittersweet memories from his youth, he seeks comfort in the tranquility of the forest (Fig. 37). Head bowed, he sits for a short while on a fallen tree, sadly recalling the naive joys and the friends of days now gone. The scene recalls the wooded settings of the Saint-Hilaire Church murals, but here the forest is barren and sombre, the figure smaller, to reflect Claude's mood. He holds his hunting rifle against himself, a foreboding of his suicide. In the illustration of his drowning (Fig. 38), the tragedy is dramatized by the extremes of lighting, gestures, and the agitated rendering of the river and the forest along its bank. The moon hidden behind the cloud and the glare of light from the lantern which illuminates the figures from below heighten the grim atmosphere. Again, a symbolic boat is partially visible on the river to the left in the composition. The final illustration of the book evokes with a monotone grey haze, a mood of deep sadness, as the dark silhouettes of Claude's mother and Jacques kneel over his grave and that of his father (Fig. 39). Headstones, crosses, and the river in the background emerge out the gloom.

The interior scenes which depict Fernande and Claude's mother alone with their sorrows impart a melancholy silence. Claude's mother, in a scene set shortly after her husband's death, is pictured in her simple

home and peasant clothes, framed in a soft halo of light (Fig. 40). In the story she is represented as a noble and unselfish figure, the epitome of the idealized image of the rural French-Canadian mother. Leduc recreated that sympathetic portrayal of her in his drawing. He placed her beside the hearth, the symbolic centre of rural family life. Fernande is a smaller figure in the more elaborate setting of her family's country home (Fig. 41). Her head is turned away from the light and the beauty of the landscape beyond the window. She knows she is dying. The caption reads: "She does not deceive herself, it is true. Her emaciated hands and her arms, her handkerchief spotted with blood, were too convincing." Leduc's evocative images of loneliness and sickness vividly convey the mood of Choquette's novel.

Leduc expressed his admiration for Choquette and Claude Paysan in a speech to the Union catholique des cultivateurs in 1930. In a reference to the rural setting of Choquette's novel, he remarked.

The son of a farmer, the Honorable Dr. Ernest Choquette, in his literary work to the glory of the Canadian earth of Saint-Hilaire, has pages describing the work of the fields and the views of our countryside, which demonstrate a deep sensitivity, a high comprehension of nature enhanced by art for the benefit of the human being.¹⁹¹

Leduc was commissioned by Judge P.-A. Choquette in 1900 to paint scenes of the Choquette family farm in Beloeil.¹⁹² The three resulting paintings are conventional farm scenes. Leduc painted them as nostalgic mementoes of country life. As Ostiguy pointed out, Labours d'automne (Fig. 42) corresponds closely to the composition of Charles Huot's Habitant Ploughing, île d'Orléans (c.1901),¹⁹³ although in Leduc's work the landscape, rather than the figure and oxen, predominates. The scythe sharpener and setting in Les Foins (Fig. 43) represent traditional rural

imagery. A remarkably similar example is Farmer Whetting his Scythe (1848) by American artist William Sidney Mount.¹⁹⁴ Among Suzor-Côté's many regionalist drawings of farm life is a scythe sharpener, Le Faucheur aiguisant sa faux from 1913.¹⁹⁵ Leduc worked from photographs he had taken for the figure in Les Foins and for the composition of third picture of the series, La Ferme Choquette, l'hiver.¹⁹⁶ In Les Foins, as in Mount's painting and his own illustrations for Claude Paysan, the landscape has been softened in a diffuse light. The depiction of an atmospheric distance in the background shows that the photograph was merely a starting point. The three paintings were displayed in the window of the shop of Louis Morency in Montreal where they had been sent to be framed. They received high praise in L'Union des cantons de l'est.¹⁹⁷ The winter scene was "executed by the hand of a master"; everything in Les Foins, "the colouring, physiognomy, attitude, denotes true artistic talent"; Labours d'automne is a "delicious poem like the others."¹⁹⁸

More than twenty-five years after these works were completed, Arthur Lemay singled out these "scenes of le terroir," full of poetry and sincerity, as his favourite among Leduc's paintings in an article in Le Terroir.¹⁹⁹ Claude Picher chose Labours d'automne to illustrate his tribute to Leduc in l'Événement Journal after his death in 1955.²⁰⁰ Picher designated Leduc as "a truly Canadian character" not only because of his subjects but also because of his authentic style which he thought avoided direct borrowing from foreign art.²⁰¹ He wrote that Leduc demonstrated a "constant humility before nature" and was "a painter of le terroir devoid of niggardly regionalism."²⁰²

Leduc received several commissions for genre scenes and realistic works in other commissions that he received through his Saint-Hilaire friends. In 1899, Louis Boyer, a Montreal law partner of Louis-Philippe Brodeur, commissioned a still life of hanging woodcocks, to be modelled after Leduc's copy of a painting by Suzor-Côte of two pigeons which Boyer had admired in Brodeur's office.²⁰³ The same year, Madame Raoul Dandurand, the wife of Brodeur's other law partner, Senator Dandurand,²⁰⁴ requested that Leduc contribute a work to a "deluxe booklet illustrated by our best Canadian artists" to be sent to the 1900 Exhibition in support of l'Oeuvre des livres gratuits.²⁰⁵ She suggested the theme of "the arrival of some books in a modest country family in the midst of which there would be an invalid grandmother."²⁰⁶ The idea represents the kind of sentimental genre scenes popular in Quebec. Mme. Dandurand was a woman of stature in French Canada; she was in the forefront of the French Canadian feminist movement at the turn of the century,²⁰⁷ a writer, and an influential and outspoken promoter of the advancement of French Canadian arts.²⁰⁸ She had important connections, and when Leduc sent her a copy of Claude Paysan she showed it to the Prime Minister with the suggestion that he consider Leduc for artistic projects in Parliament, should they arise.²⁰⁹

Leduc's reputation as an illustrator had spread, and in 1906 he was asked to contribute to the second edition of Contes Vrais, an anthology of stories by Pamphile Lemay,²¹⁰ first published in 1899. In a preface to a 1973 edition of Contes Vrais, Romain Légaré wrote that Lemay's stories "evoke the Quebec soil" under varied themes found in the traditions of French Canadian life: legends, customs, patriotism, and

faith. Each story carried a "moral, religious, or patriotic teaching, conforming to the mentality of the era and to Lemay's conception of literature as a ferment of action, a sort of ministry, 'the highest expression of civilization and progress'."²¹¹ Leduc chose to illustrate "Le Réveillon," a story which takes place at a Christmas Eve party where old Gaspard, who believed he was descended from one of the Magi, recounted a tale of being guided to the church one Christmas eve as a youth by the Christmas star. Leduc's illustration (Fig. 44) shows the moment when the young boy gazes in wonder from the edge of the forest at the star-lit belltower. Laurier Lacroix observed that this drawing is similar in composition to the illustration from Claude Paysan in which Claude watches Fernande by the river.²¹² Edmond-J. Massicotte, the well-known illustrator of regionalist themes for periodicals and books, greatly admired Leduc's work and acquired the original drawing for "Le Réveillon" after it was shown in 1916 during Leduc's solo exhibition at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice.²¹³ Massicotte's illustrations, collected by Bernard Genest in Massicotte et son temps, display rural scenes like those found in Leduc's commissioned works but, if somewhat idealized, they are primarily naturalistic and detailed documents of farming, rural family life, and traditional customs.²¹⁴

In 1900, Leduc received his first portrait commission from Louis-Philippe Brodeur, who asked him to paint his official portrait when he was appointed Speaker of the House.²¹⁵ The painting (Fig. 45), based primarily on photographs, was executed with scrupulous care over a period of four years. Monique Lanthier has carefully analyzed this work, which conforms to the highly polished academic manner demanded in formal

portraits but also demonstrates Leduc's desire to convey the intimate character of his friend.²¹⁶ Dissatisfied with photographs of Brodeur taken by Notman's, Leduc based his composition on photographs he took himself.²¹⁷ The pose is unusually informal for an official portrait and, through the gesture of head resting on hand and direct eye contact with the viewer, Leduc has given a sense of immediacy to his image of Brodeur.²¹⁸

Leduc's sensitivity to the sitter is obvious in his more personal paintings of his sister, in Portrait de Mme. Lebrun (Fig. 46), from 1899, and of Ernest Choquette's brother, in Portrait de l'Abbé C.P. Choquette (Fig. 47), from around 1900. These informal portraits, painted in the softer style which became characteristic of his painting after his trip in 1897, seem to have arrested the figures in a moment of quiet personal activity. Although the portrait of Abbé Choquette was produced from photographs, it conveys a convincing naturalism as the subject momentarily looks up from his work to gaze, distracted by his own thoughts, at the viewer.²¹⁹ Mme. Lebrun, having temporarily set her needlework on her lap, is similarly absorbed in reverie. Her reputed "sternness" of character²²⁰ is sympathetically described by Leduc as an inner anxiety captured in her expression and her tense and uncomfortable pose on the hard chair, her hand tightly grasped on the armrest. There is something a little wry and ironic about the expression of her mouth. In fact, this is a very affectionate portrait in which Leduc has attempted to seize both the outer and inner reality of his subject. His treatment conveys a strong physical presence. He has paid careful attention to a gentle modelling of the face and hands. The fine details

of the blouse and its lacy ornament, and the way it is highlighted as it catches the light, recalls the effects of the meticulous realism of L'Enfant au pain (1892-1899). The pearly pinks which glow from the blouse are reflected in the face, softening its sombre air and generating a sense of warmth. The illuminated figure and the darkness of her skirt stand out strongly from the muted, green, ambiguous plane of background, creating a contrast between the physical and a sense of the unseen or inscrutable. L'Enfant au pain represented the conceptualization of a spiritual experience, and the figure remained anonymous. Here, Leduc has been concerned with a revelation of character, and the portrait imparts a penetrating psychological insight.

The intimation of interior reflection in Leduc's portraits is potently captured in his self-portrait of 1899 (Fig. 48). His own image emerges out of the soft dark space around him. The gaze is riveting and suggests deep thoughts beneath the serious countenance. This painting encapsulates the self-analysis and intense probing embodied in Leduc's art and expressed in his private writings. The artist Fernand Leduc remarked in a tribute to Leduc published in Arts and Pensée in 1954 that twenty years earlier, before he had ever met Leduc, he saw this self-portrait with its aura of profound wisdom for the first time and thought it was a painting of the head of Christ.²²¹ It recalls the poetic mystery of Eugène Carrière's portrait of Paul Verlaine (1890),²²² or the transfixed image in Segantini's self-portrait (1895), illustrated in The Studio in August 1897.²²³

The contemplative and mysterious aura evoked in Leduc's self portrait exemplifies the art he created on his return from Europe. There

is a continuity with work dating before his trip in the focus on inner experience and the search for the essence of the world around him, even in his commissioned work. The sense of place which appeared in his genre portraits, like Le Petit liseur, here extends to a connection with the Saint-Hilaire landscape. His devotion to the traditions and the beauty of his own rural environment was an attitude shared by his Saint-Hilaire friends, but his subjective and poetic interpretations of the landscape derive from influences outside of the models of interest to other Canadian artists. There is no consolidation of style in his art of this period, which is marked by a continual transition of form, a play of the old and the new. Inspired largely by art in the European Symbolist tradition which he had first observed in Europe and subsequently followed closely through his periodicals, he sought his own aesthetic language suited to his personal needs of expression.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

¹ J. Craig Stirling, Ozias Leduc et la décoration intérieure de l'église de Saint-Hilaire (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1985), p. 60.

² Stirling's thesis was completed at Concordia University in 1981 and was published by the Quebec government in 1985. See n. 1.

³ Stirling, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73. Sponsoring European study for decorators was not common practice in Quebec, although in 1890 Curé Sentenne of Notre-Dame in Montreal sent Henri Beau, Joseph Franchère, Joseph Saint-Charles, Ludger Larose, and Charles Gill to Paris and Rome to prepare decorations for the Sacré-Coeur Chapel in Notre-Dame. They were sent with precise instructions on the subjects for the programme and had to submit sketches of their preparatory work. Gérard Morisset, La Peinture traditionnelle au Canada français (Ottawa: Le Cercle du livre de France, 1960), p. 180.

⁵ Leduc kept receipts, invitations, and notes from friends that he accumulated during his trip. According to his receipts he stayed at the Craven Hotel in London from May 19th to the 25th. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/65.

⁶ Stirling, p. 73.

⁷ "Studio Talk," The Studio, 11 (June 1897), 47-48. Henri Frantz, "Les Salons Anglais: Royal Academy et New Gallery," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 18 (July/December 1897), 251-260.

⁸ Richard J. Wattenmaker documented the extent of Puvis de Chavannes' popularity and influence upon a broad spectrum of artists, writers, and patrons in Europe and in the United States in Puvis de Chavannes and The Modern Tradition (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975). In 1895, more than five hundred artists and writers attended a banquet in Paris held in honour of his seventieth birthday. *Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁹ Stirling, p. 128. In 1926 Leduc painted three scenes of the life of St. Geneviève for the church of Sainte-Geneviève-de-Pierre-Fonds. In Leduc's painting, Saint Germain d'Auxerre bénissant sainte-Geneviève, the figures of the two saints derive from the scene on the same subject in the Panthéon decoration. Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse/ Ozias Leduc: Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974), p. 172.

¹⁰ Albert Besnard, "Le Salon de 1897 (Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts)," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 17 (June 1897), 504. Photographic reproductions of popular works on display were sold at the various salons and became a significant means of disseminating influences. Philippe Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence, trans. Robert Baldick (New

York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 207-208.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 503-515.

¹² Albert Maignan, "Le Salon de 1897, Société des Artistes Français," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 17 (May 1897), 353-372, and 17 (June 1897), 461-476.

¹³ Artists included in the exhibition included Bonnard, Denis, Ibels, Lacombe, Ranson, Roussel, Sérusier, Vallotton, and Vuillard. George L. Mauner, The Nabis: Their History, and their Art (New York: Garland, 1978), p. 197.

¹⁴ Robert Pincus-Witten, Occult Symbolism in France: Joséphin Péladan and the Salons de la Rose-Croix (New York: Garland, 1976), p. 190.

¹⁵ Jullian, pp. 207-208.

¹⁶ Among his correspondence are invitations to formal and informal functions held by Canadians in Paris. He was invited to a formal Canadian embassy banquet in honour of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and to Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations with the Paris branch of the Société Nationale Canadienne Française Saint-Jean-Baptiste. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/65.

¹⁷ Correspondence regarding "La Boucane" is found with Leduc's documents of his trip. "La Boucane" has been mentioned in biographies of various artists who spent time in Paris and was apparently established by Philippe Hébert (c. 1889) as a monthly reunion of Canadian students. See Sylvia Antoniou, Maurice Cullen (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Gallery, 1982), pp. 4-5, and p. 48, n. 24. According to Gabriel Nadeau, most Canadians in Paris belonged to this club which had a president and secretary and even a club doctor. "Le docteur Ernest Choquette et Nelligan," L'Union médicale du Canada, 101 (October 1972), p. 2142, n. 20.

¹⁸ Correspondence from Prendergast is found in his Paris file and a later letter from Barré, dated 1929, recounting their friendship in Paris is also found among Leduc's documents. Barré had been a student at Julian's and after Paris moved to New York to work. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/98. Murray Prendergast should not be confused with the American artist Maurice Prendergast who was a friend of James Wilson Morrice. The Canadian painter died in 1899. Stirling, 1985, p. 90, n. 66.

¹⁹ Ostiguy, p. 99. Ostiguy may have derived this idea from Olivier Maurault's comment that Leduc was in Europe at the same time as Saint-Charles and Suzor-Côté in his article, "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique," published in Le Mauricien, 2 (February 1938), p. 4. Leduc kept clippings of the activities of Saint-Charles in Paris which were reported in the Quebec press. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/23.

²⁰ Laurier Lacroix, "The dream mountain of Ozias Leduc," Artscanada, 222/223 (October/November 1978), p. 14, n. 3.

²¹ Ostiguy, p. 126, and Lacroix, Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman (Montreal: Concordia University, 1978), p. 28. Both historians found that Leduc's painting Érato (muse endormie) c. 1898 and the studies from which it derives indicate the use of a shared model in Paris. Lacroix noted the similarity between the configuration of the figures in La Chute, a sculpture by Hébert, and that in Érato. Suzor-Côté also did a remarkably similar nude study, Douleur, in which a grieving figure rests against a background fabric draped in a manner echoing the shape of the rock in Leduc's painting. Douleur is illustrated by Hugues de Jouvancourt in Suzor-Côté (Montréal: Stanke, 1978), p. 148. No date was given for this work, although it was exhibited at the Art Association in 1915. *Ibid.*, p. 105. It could suggest that Suzor-Côté shared the studio with the other Canadians in Paris.

²² A subscription receipt for 1902 can be found in ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/69. Founded as the Revue encyclopédique, the title was subsequently changed in 1901 to the Revue universelle, and the journal ceased publication in 1907. Paul Harvey and J.E. Heseltine, eds., Oxford Companion to French Literature (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), p. 616.

²³ According to Stirling, Leduc subscribed to this journal. Stirling, p. 118, n. 24. Twenty-one issues of Les Arts de la Vie were published between January 1904 and September 1905. Contributors included Henri Bataille, Henry Ghéon, André Mellerio, J. Péladan, Émile Verhaeren, and A. Suarès. Romeo Arbour, Les Revues Littéraires éphémères paraissant à Paris entre 1900 et 1914 (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1956), pp. 10-11.

²⁴ Jean-René Ostiguy stated that Leduc subscribed to Art et Décoration from 1897 to 1939. Ostiguy, p. 99.

²⁵ A stack of magazines which appears in Nature morte (1898) appear to be copies of The Studio from 1897. In a memorandum in the Leduc file at the National Gallery of Canada library, Guy Viau listed The Studio among Leduc's favorite reading material, as told to him by Leduc's last assistant, Gabrielle Messier. Guy Viau to Jean-René Ostiguy, dated 5 June 1968.

²⁶ In a draft of a letter to Putnam's in New York in 1903 Leduc requested books he had seen advertised in International Studio. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/133.

²⁷ A sampling of the artists featured included: in 1898--Théodore Chasseriau, Lévy-Dhurmer, Fernand Khnopff, Puvis de Chavannes, Walter Crane; in 1899--Carlos Schwabe, Franck Brangwyn; 1900--Henri Martin, Mucha, Armand Point, Rodin; 1901--Schwabe, Jean-Charles Cazin, Albert Besnard, George Minne, photographs by E.J. Steichen; 1902--René Ménard, Aman-Jean; 1903--Mucha, Henri Le Sidaner, Henri Martin; 1904--Puvis de Chavannes; 1905--Mucha, Rodin, Brangwyn, Whistler, Boldini; 1906--Eugène Carrière, Jean-Paul Laurens, Henri Martin; 1907--Maurice Denis, Carrière; 1909--Besnard, Puvis de Chavannes, Axel Gallen-Kallela; 1910--Besnard, Martin; 1911--George Desvallières. Often the articles focused on

mural decorations which had been done by the various artists. The publication of the journal was suspended during the war years. As well as articles on particular artists there were features on Scandinavian art and architecture, Japanese art, modern architecture, modern Christian art by Louis Hourticq (1911), and reviews of decorative arts exhibitions throughout Europe.

²⁸ Stirling, p. 118, n. 24. Correspondence between Leduc and Bates and Guild Company, publishers of Masters in Art dated between 1902 and 1909. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/74 and 06,M-P50/7/133.

²⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/74. All of these paintings had appeared in Masters in Art by 1906 except Whistler's painting, which appeared in the last issue of 1907, perhaps indicating that Leduc did not actually respond to the questionnaire but drew up his own list later. Beneath the final list, a preliminary list is visible and includes the names Carrière, Henner, Fantin-Latour, and Cazin.

³⁰ Linda Nochlin notes the "timeless, quasi-religious" implications in this painting by Millet. Realism (New York: Penguin, 1985), pp. 117-118.

³¹ Stirling, p. 24.

³² Stirling, pp. 97-119.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 102. Stirling listed several other books Leduc owned such as William James and George A. Audsley, Polychromatic Decoration as Applied to Buildings in the Medieval Styles (London: Sotheran, 1882) and Edouard Gerspach, La mosaïque (Paris: A. Quantin, 1881) which were likely sources for ideas in the Saint-Hilaire programme. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-111.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-115.

³⁶ Stirling noted the similarity of two of these compositions to works Leduc may have known. He compared L'Adoration des Mages with a painting by Hippolyte Flandrin in Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris (p. 165). L'Ascension is similar to a painting by John Lafarge in the Church of the Ascension in New York, which was in turn derived from two Renaissance works, one by Raphael, the other by Palma le Vieux (pp. 165-166). Leduc kept a copy of Century magazine which contained a reproduction of Lafarge's painting (p. 166). That copy can be found in ANQM, 06,M-P50/8/187.

³⁷ Stirling, pp. 123-138.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-83.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁰ Ibid , p. 127.

⁴¹ Léonce Bénédite, "Puvis de Chavannes," Art et Décoration, 4 (November 1898), 129-153.

⁴² Ibid., p. 138.

⁴³ Stirling does not record the order in which the paintings were executed.

⁴⁴ Bénédite, p. 148.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 153.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 142.

⁴⁷ Bénédite, p. 150.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 149.

⁴⁹ Stirling, pp. 131-132.

⁵⁰ L'Inspiration Chrétienne was reproduced in Bénédite's article on p. 145.

⁵¹ Stirling, p. 166.

⁵² Ibid , p. 205.

⁵³ According to R.H. Hubbard, Frère Luc's painting was in the Monastère des Ursulines in Quebec City from the early nineteenth century. R H Hubbard, Canadian Landscape Painting 1670-1930 (Madison: Elvehjem Art Center, University of Wisconsin, 1973), p. 38.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 127.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 135.

⁵⁶ Bénédite, pp. 140-141 and p. 143.

⁵⁷ Ibid , p. 151.

⁵⁸ Leduc, letter to Curé Granger, 6 October 1927. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/162.

⁵⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

⁶⁰ Stirling did not cite a date for the letter to Maurault. Stirling, p. 82.

⁶¹ Leduc, letter to the cure of the parish of St. Joseph, Biddeford, Maine, 29 May 1900. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/131.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ostiguy, p. 199.

⁶⁴ "The Decorations of St. Ninian's Cathedral," The Casket, September 1903. A copy of this article is found in the Leduc archives. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/148.

⁶⁵ Ibid., n.p.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ See Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., Appendix A. Lacroix provides a list of all Leduc's church decorations and their dates.

⁶⁹ Arlene Gehmacher, In Pursuit of the Ideal: The Still Life Paintings of Ozias Leduc, M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1986, fig. 9.

⁷⁰ M. and Mme Édouard Clerk who owned many pieces of Leduc's art, such as Érato (muse endormie) and Érato (muse dans la forêt), were the daughter and son-in-law of Ernest Choquette. Nadeau, p. 2141, n. 6.

⁷¹ Redon produced a lithograph of the original painting in 1890 and also made several other variations of the image in paint and drawing media. French Symbolist Painters, Moreau, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon and their followers, exhibition catalogue (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972), p. 117.

⁷² Jullian, pp. 87-99.

⁷³ Guy Michaud, Le Thème du miroir dans le symbolisme français, Cahiers de l'Association internationale des Études françaises, no. 2 (May 1959), 199-216; quoted in Jean Pierrot, The Decadent Imagination: 1880-1900, trans. Derek Coltman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 208.

⁷⁴ Pierrot, p. 209.

⁷⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/54.

⁷⁶ Examples of such poems are found in L'École littéraire de Montréal, Archives des lettres canadiennes (Montréal: Fides, 1972), Vol. II. Mythological themes are particularly prevalent in the work of Henry-Marie Desjardins and Émile Nelligan, but are also found in the poetry of É.-Z. Massicotte and Albert Ferland who wrote: "The Muse wants you alone in the garden of silence / Await the nirvana of her voice...Patience!" Soeur Jeanne-Leber, "L'Esthétique de Ferland," *ibid.*, p. 158.

⁷⁷ A comparable example is Rêverie, a pensive muse with a lyre, exhibited by John Pinhey at the Royal Canadian Academy show in 1897. An illustration of this painting is found in R.H. Hubbard, The National Gallery of Canada Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), III, 408. Suzor-Côté, who tried his hand at a little bit of everything, did a few simple pastel sketches based on mythological themes which are illustrated in Hugues de Jouvancourt, Suzor-Côté.

⁷⁸ Charles C. Eldredge, American Imagination and Symbolist Painting (New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, 1979), p. 47.

⁷⁹ Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 97-98.

⁸⁰ See R.H. Hubbard, The National Gallery of Canada Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture. Suzor-Côté's nude figures began to appear in the 1910s, Douleur in 1915. Hugues de Jouvancourt remarked that "Suzor was one of the first artists to rebel against the quiet prohibition that the Church impressed on its faithful, concerning the full nude in art." Suzor-Côté, p. 129.

⁸¹ Quoted in Sylvia Antoniou, Maurice Cullen (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1982), p. 13.

⁸² Lévy-Dhurmer was the subject of an article, "A Dream Painter. M. L. Lévy-Dhurmer," by Gabriel Mourey in The Studio, 10 (February 1897), 5-11. One of his nudes appears in the reproduction of Il était une fois une princesse, p. 7. A similar nude appeared in his Au paradis exhibited at the Société des Artistes Français exhibition in Paris in 1897 (illustrated in Gazette des Beaux Arts, June 1897, p. 468). Art et Décoration carried an article on him, "Lévy-Dhurmer," by Gustave Soulier in January 1898, pp. 1-13.

⁸³ "Victorian painters were not merely trying to depict classical myth, they were dreaming of a lost world, and a lost innocence. High Victorian painters are often described as dreamers, and the figures in their pictures are often lost in reverie, dreams or sleep." Christopher Wood, Olympian Dreamers (London: Constable, 1983), p. 26.

⁸⁴ Robert Goldwater, Symbolism (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 116.

⁸⁵ Ostiguy, p. 126.

⁸⁶ Lacroix, Dessin inédits..., p. 27, fig. 11.

⁸⁷ Maurice Pillard-Verneuil, Dictionnaire des symboles, emblèmes et attributs (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1981), p. 65. This book was first published in 1897, and Leduc owned a copy. Ostiguy, p. 225.

⁸⁸ Jean Rémana (pseud. of Arsène Bessette), "La Légende du Trou des Fées," Le Canada français, 28 September 1900, p. 2. According to Bessette's account of the legend, the fairies possessed perfect beauty which could be compared to no human being. They were benevolent and "were content to distribute marvellous gifts to those who listened to their sage advice and to punish ingrates or the imprudent who disobeyed them." In the story that Bessette related, a young girl who scoffed at the belief in fairies living in the mountain mysteriously disappeared without a trace.

⁸⁹ Ostiguy, pp. 137-138.

⁹⁰ The results of poster design contests for the journal were given in Vol. 5 (1899), 58-64, and Vol. 10 (1901), 162-164. Leduc's interest in these poster contests is indicated by other rough sketches he did in different designs which are found in the archives. In one of these sketches, an artist sits behind an neo-Gothic/Art Nouveau window frame, or arcade, drawing a landscape with Mont Saint-Hilaire in the distance. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/38.

⁹¹ Léonce Bénédite, "La Lyre et les Muses par Henri Martin," Art et Décoration, 7 (January 1900), 1-10. In 1895, Martin decorated the Hôtel de Ville in Paris with his allegorical muse paintings, which Leduc may have seen. Two of those paintings, La Peinture and La Sculpture, are reproduced in this article.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6 and p. 9. Bénédite referred to Martin's settings as "the religious night of the forest." *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁹⁷ "Correspondences," translated in Enid Rhodes Peschel, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Verlaine, Mallarmé (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1981), p. 95.

⁹⁸ Puvis's Le Bois Sacré cher aux Muses was illustrated in Bénédite's article "Puvis de Chavannes," Art et Décoration, p. 20.

⁹⁹ George L. Mauner, The Nabis: Their History and Their Art, 1888-1896 (New York: Garland, 1978), p. 241.

¹⁰⁰ Reproduced in Bénédite, "La Lyre et les Muses par Henri Martin," p.

¹⁰¹ Ostiguy, p. 137. "René Ménard," by Gaston Migeon appeared in Art et Décoration, 11 (April 1902), 101-112, and included an illustration of Nu sur la Mer (1899) with a nude similar to Érato, p. 101.

¹⁰² A reproduction of Beata Beatrix (c. 1863) can be found in Robert L. Delevoy, Symbolists and Symbolism (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), p. 33.

¹⁰³ Ostiguy, p. 190. Ostiguy likely dated this work in accordance with the date he assigned Érato (muse dans la forêt).

¹⁰⁴ See La Phrénologie in Chapter 3, p. 96.

¹⁰⁵ Delevoy, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰⁶ Ostiguy gives a date of c. 1910, p. 140. Victoria Baker in Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., suggests a date of around 1904, p. 24.

¹⁰⁷ New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology (New York: Crescent Books, 1986), p. 143.

¹⁰⁸ Watts, Masters in Art, 6 (January 1906), plate III.

¹⁰⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/47. "Mythologie: Diane vs Endymion" by Odette Montausier, n.d., origin unknown.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Both Ostiguy (pp. 140-141) and Lacroix ("The dream mountain of Ozias Leduc," p. 10) have suggested that Mont Saint-Hilaire was the setting for Leduc's mythological beings.

¹¹² The National Gallery of Canada has Leduc's study (1903) for a portrait of Msgr. John Cameron of Antigonish. The final portrait is sedate and official, but the study is quite astonishing, for it has been painted in a style rather like that of Endymion and Séléne, in pastel colours (primarily pinks) and in a broken and exuberant manner. The colours and style are so out of keeping with the subject and the pose that it seems that Leduc was revelling in the joy of pure painting, while consolidating his composition for his final work. A reproduction of the study is found in Ostiguy, p. 38. The official portrait, now at St. François Xavier University in Antigonish, is reproduced in Monique Lanthier, Portrait et photographie chez Ozias Leduc, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1987, p. xvii, fig. 5.

¹¹³ Burne-Jones, Masters in Art, 2 (July 1901), 24. Leduc's notation is found in ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/47. As in the article Leduc recorded that Puvis's remark came from a letter to a friend.

¹¹⁴ Ostiguy, p. 43 and p. 139.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 139

¹¹⁶ Tor Hedberg, "A Modern Swedish Landscape Painter, Prince Eugen," The Studio, 12 (December 1897), 162-167.

¹¹⁷ Axel Tallberg, "Modern Painting in Sweden," The Studio, 31 (March 1904), 97-112. Included are landscapes by A. Schultzberg, Karl Nordström, B. Lind, Prince Eugen, Gunnar Hallström, and Fritz Karfve which are of similar mood. After Rain by Fritz Karfve (p. 104) has comparable tones, simplicity, and linear rhythms.

¹¹⁸ Wanda M. Corn, The Color of Mood: American Tonalism 1880-1910 (San Francisco: M.H. De Young Memorial Museum, 1972), Plate 5. "Les Premiers ouvrages de Whistler," an article by François Monod, appeared in Art et Décoration in June 1905, pp. 183-192. Whistler was featured in Masters in Art in December 1907 and had been included on Leduc's list of painters of "masterpieces" for this journal.

¹¹⁹ See Nicole Cloutier, James Wilson Morrice 1865-1924 (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1986). For example, Morrice's The Public Gardens, Venice, a soft tonal painting (c. 1902) was exhibited at the Art Association in 1906. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

¹²⁰ Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), I, 447-607.

¹²¹ Reginald Hamel et al., eds., Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois (Montréal: Fides, 1976), p. 223. Hamel states that Bessette began work at Le Canada français in 1901, but, in fact, his columns begin under the pseudonym Jean Rénuma in 1900.

¹²² "À St-Hilaire," Le Canada français, 21 September 1900, p. 1.

¹²³ Letters exchanged between Ouimet and Leduc from 1899 and 1903 discuss this work referred to as "Au pays des Souvenirs." ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/71 and 06,M-P50/6/131. Another file contains a sketch for the cover of Ouimet's work, now entitled Histoire de Saint-Hilaire de Rouville and dated 1907. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/44.

¹²⁴ Hamel et al., p. 10.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Action Française: French Canadian nationalism in the twenties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

¹²⁷ Beudet, letter to Leduc, 1 October 1900. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/68. According to this letter, Beudet, Ouimet, and Ernest Choquette spent time together in Leduc's studio.

¹²⁸ Ostiguy, p. 101.

¹²⁹ Henri d'Arles (pseud.), Propos d'Art (New York: Librairie française des États-Unis, 1903).

- ¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 1-3.
- ¹³¹ In his preface Montesquiou remarked that Beaudet was one of the first and most attentive listeners at his lectures and encouraged him in his idealized vision of art. "Entree de Choeur," Propos d'Art, pp. xv-xvii.
- ¹³² Ouimet, letter to Leduc, 10 September 1903. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/71.
- ¹³³ Henri d'Arles, p. 2.
- ¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 3.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid., 39
- ¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 15.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid., pp 16-17
- ¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 17.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 35.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 80-81.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 79-84.
- ¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 11-14.
- ¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 102.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 101-108.
- ¹⁴⁵ Hamel et al., p. 61.
- ¹⁴⁶ Bessette, letter to Leduc, 24 February 1902. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/70.
- ¹⁴⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/15.
- ¹⁴⁸ Ibid. The dedication reads: "Please, dear sir, accept the pages which follow as an expression of gratitude for the interest and the sympathy that you have always displayed for me."
- ¹⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁰ He warned of the dangers of fanaticism, writing that pride in one's own culture must not mean lack of respect or even hatred for the equally valuable culture of others. "Fanaticism," Le Canada français, 14 March 1902, p. 2.
- ¹⁵¹ Bessette, Le Canada français, 10 January 1902, p. 2.

¹⁵² Bessette, "Le Baptême d'une race," Le Canada français, 4 April 1902, p. 2.

¹⁵³ For example: "Une Oeuvre Patriotique," Le Canada français, 15 March 1901, p. 2, and "L'Amour de la Patrie," Le Canada français, 27 June 1902, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Jean Rémuna (pseud. of Bessette), "Une Oeuvre Patriotique," Le Canada français, 15 March 1901, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Quoted from a column promoting the importance of education for French Canadians: "Instruisons-nous," Le Canada français, 24 January 1902, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Rémuna, "Le Problème Social," Le Canada français, 22 February 1901, p. 2. He wrote that one of the most serious evils of industrialization and urban living was the rise of feminism which was destroying the family. Women were created for love, marriage, and motherhood. His moralistic, anti-feminist attitude was displayed in several articles, for example in "Un Blasphème," 21 June 1901, and "Vielles filles," 11 October 1901.

¹⁵⁷ Rémuna, "M. Osias Leduc," Le Canada français, 3 May 1901, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Rémuna, "Journalisme et Journalistes," Le Canada français, 29 March 1901, p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Madeleine Ducrocq-Poirier, "Le Débutant," in Maurice Lemire, ed., Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec (Montréal: Fides, 1980), II, 331-333.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 332.

¹⁶³ Hamel et al., p. 61. Laberge's own harshly realist novel about the poverty of rural life, La Scouine, was condemned by Mgr. Paul Bruchési, Archbishop of Montreal, in 1909. Gilles Dorion, "La Scouine," in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, 994.

¹⁶⁴ Gabriel Nadeau, "Le Docteur Ernest Choquette et Nelligan," I, L'Union médicale du Canada, 101 (October 1972), 2131.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 2132-2135 and p. 2138.

¹⁶⁶ Gouin supported economic development policies which brought him strong opposition from Bourrassa and his nationalists. Bourrassa challenged Gouin in the 1903 election and defeated him in the constituency of Saint-Jacques. Gouin was generally a moderate and a conciliator. He promoted progressive educational reforms to enhance the

quality of French-Canadian life and to open economic opportunities. See Paul-André Linteau et al., Quebec a History 1867-1929, trans. Robert Chodos (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1983), pp. 506-511.

¹⁶⁷ Nadeau, p. 2142, nn. 13 and 15.

¹⁶⁸ Monique Lanthier, Portrait et Photographie chez Ozias Leduc, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1987, p. 63.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 2130.

¹⁷⁰ Ostiguy, p. 133, and Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 37. According to Lacroix, Choquette wrote a Description géologique de la montagne de Beloeil.

¹⁷¹ Nadeau, p. 2142, n. 13.

¹⁷² Quoted in Nadeau, pp. 2136-2137. In 1902, Choquette gave a lecture on French literature for L'Union catholique, in which he discussed the four French writers that he felt had most influenced French Canadians: Lamartine, Veillot, Hugo, and Dumas père. The suggestion of Hugo and Dumas apparently was not entirely well received by the clergy in attendance. Ibid. p. 2137.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 2136.

¹⁷⁴ It was dedicated to Lomer Gouin who had encouraged Choquette to write it. Ibid., p. 2132.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 2132.

¹⁷⁶ Maurice Lemire, "Les Ribaud," Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, I, 657-660.

¹⁷⁷ The novel was transformed into a play through a collaboration between Choquette and the French writer Charles Ab der Halden; it was performed at Théâtre National Français in January 1903. Ibid., p. 1074.

¹⁷⁸ Nadeau, p. 2142. Choquette wrote a sequel to Madeleine called La Bouée, and a set design by Leduc for La Bouée is illustrated in Ostiguy, p. 81 and p. 180. Ostiguy suggested that this play may have been performed at the same time as Madeleine.

¹⁷⁹ Ernest Choquette, Claude Paysan (Montréal: La Cie d'imprimerie et de gravures Bishop, 1899).

¹⁸⁰ Nadeau, p. 2134.

¹⁸¹ Maurice Lemire, "La Terre," Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, 1065-1066.

¹⁸² Ibid.

- ¹⁸³ Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 31.
- ¹⁸⁴ Translated by Lacroix. Ibid., p. 31.
- ¹⁸⁵ Maurice Lemire, "Claude Paysan," Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, I, 128.
- ¹⁸⁶ Issues of The Studio of 1897 are possibly represented in Nature morte (1898).
- ¹⁸⁷ Burnley Bibb, "The Work of G. Segantini," The Studio, 11 (August 1897), 145-156.
- ¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 147.
- ¹⁸⁹ The Shepherdess, ibid., p. 156. Rest, illustrated on p. 147, is a similar composition.
- ¹⁹⁰ All three of these painters had paintings with comparable figures exhibited in Paris in 1897. See Osbert's Songs of the Night (p. 96), Le Sidaner's Treasured Hour (p. 65) and Denis's Portrait of Mlle. Yvonne Lerolle in three different poses (p. 35), in French Symbolist Painters, Moreau, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon and their followers.
- ¹⁹¹ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/54.
- ¹⁹² [Anonymous], "Belles peintures," L'Union des cantons de l'est, Arthabaska, 14 June 1901, p. 2.
- ¹⁹³ Ostiguy, p. 131. Illustrated in Hubbard, The National Gallery of Canada Catalogue..., p. 135. The painting was acquired by the National Gallery in 1901.
- ¹⁹⁴ Barbara Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 166, fig 10-1.
- ¹⁹⁵ Illustrated in Hugues de Jouvancourt, p. 34.
- ¹⁹⁶ The photographs and the subsequent paintings have been reproduced in Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 158, ill. 46-49.
- ¹⁹⁷ "Belles peintures," p. 2.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁹ Arthur Lemay, "L'Oeuvre du peintre Osiás Leduc," Le Terroir, 8 (March/April 1928), 186-187.
- ²⁰⁰ Claude Picher, L'Événement Journal, 9 July 1955. Copy found in the Leduc file at the National Gallery of Canada library.
- ²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid. The only European work in which Picher detected some correspondence to that of Leduc was the painting of Carrière, La Patelière or Dunoyer de Segonzac who were "equally impermeable to the pictorial revolution of modern art."

²⁰³ Arlene Gehmacher, p. 16 and p. 62, n. 20. In the Leduc archive, there is correspondence dated 1899 from Louis Boyer detailing his request for the painting and his appreciation of the final copy. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/67. In 1900 Broyer wrote again to Leduc asking if he would be interested in painting a picture of his friend's horse. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/68. An illustration of Nature morte: les pigeons (1898) by Leduc is found in Ostiguy, p. 198.

²⁰⁴ Lanthier, p. 36 and p. 57, n. 7.

²⁰⁵ Mme. Dandurand, letter to Leduc, 6 June 1899. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/67.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Linteau et al., p. 446.

²⁰⁸ Leduc had a newspaper clipping from 1901, "Encourageons les beaux-arts," which summarized a speech Mme. Dandurand made before the National Council of Women of Canada calling for the Council's dedication to the encouragement of the arts in Canada and for government support for art education and other art-related projects. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/23.

²⁰⁹ Mme Dandurand, letters to Leduc, 11 October and 1 December 1899. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/67.

²¹⁰ Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 43. The book was published by the Librairie Beauchemin (Montréal) in 1907.

²¹¹ Romain Légaré, "Préface," Contes Vrais (Montréal: Fides, 1973), pp. 7-12.

²¹² Lacroix, Dessins inédits .., p. 43.

²¹³ Abbé Olivier Maurault, letter to Leduc, 6 March 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84. Massicotte sought to meet Leduc through Maurault, the organizer of the exhibition.

²¹⁴ Bernard Genest, Massicotte et son temps (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1979).

²¹⁵ Lanthier, p. 37.

²¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 43-56.

²¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

²¹⁸ Ibid , pp. 43-56.

²¹⁹ According to Ostiguy the original version of the portrait, painted around 1900, was damaged and subsequently cut up leaving only the upper portion of the seated figure. Ostiguy, p. 133.

²²⁰ Ostiguy, p. 130.

²²¹ Fernand Leduc, "Ozias Leduc," Arts et Pensée, 18 (July/August 1954), 176.

²²² Illustrated in, French Symbolist Painters, Moreau, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon and their followers, p. 29. A lithograph that Carrière made of this portrait was shown at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1897. Ibid.

²²³ Segantini's self-portrait appeared in reproduction in Bibb, The Studio, 11 (August 1897), 145.

CHAPTER 5POETS AND LANDSCAPES

Around 1909, Leduc was introduced to a group of young writers and poets who shared his tastes in modern French art and literature. An examination of relationships formed out of this circle between 1909 and 1920 provides insight into the cultural environment in which Leduc's work evolved. One of his most enduring friendships to develop during this period was with Abbé Olivier Maurault, who provided him with both personal and professional support throughout his career, particularly with regard to his church decoration. In 1916, Maurault sponsored Leduc's important solo exhibition at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice in Montreal, which gained him the admiration of a wider audience. Among the forty works exhibited were several recent landscapes, part of a series Leduc began in 1913 and which was to comprise the major body of his easel art. A study of his landscapes produced during this decade shows Leduc at the height of his artistic powers, stimulated by international influences and his social milieu of these years.

Social Milieu:

Leduc became closely associated with an intellectual circle in Montreal made up of the writers who emerged from *Le Soc*, the student literary society at Laval in Montreal, and the collaborators and supporters of the avant-garde arts review *Le Nigog* of 1918. An eclectic mix of aesthetes, radicals, and liberal nationalists, the participants in this group were united by their enthusiasm for the culture of modern France and their frustration with the regressive regionalist attitude

which prevailed in Quebec. Heightened French Canadian nationalism during the war years strengthened regionalist forces and exerted a great deal of pressure on the artistic and intellectual environment. Early in this decade, the Symbolist and Parnassian writings of members of *Le Soc* sparked the highly charged debates between regionalists and modernists which were to mark this era, culminating in the controversy generated by the publication of *Le Nigog* in 1918. Jean Éthier-Blais has observed that intellectual society in French Canada had no centre; lines were drawn between the official proponents of *le terroir* and the upholders of the classical tradition represented by *L'Action française*, on the one hand, and, on the other, this small contingent of "exotics" or "Parisianists" as they were labelled by their detractors.¹ Despite their protestations of patriotism, the associates of *Le Soc* and *Le Nigog* were, with few exceptions, fundamentally isolated figures, devoted to art and detached from the realities of Quebec. Leduc also maintained his independence, always acting in accordance with his own philosophical beliefs. He was stimulated by the range of intellectual interests of his friends and shared their commitment to artistic freedom and cultural evolution. However, his own work demonstrates his ability to assimilate modern artistic tenets while maintaining a sensitivity to the regionalist and religious values of his own society. During this period he turned his attention to landscape painting, reflecting his love of his own rural environment, and he produced some of the finest and most original paintings of his career. He avoided the extremism found in the literary works of his friends, although he did flirt briefly with their esoteric interests in some of the illustrations he did for them. In many

respects, Leduc's social attitudes parallel those of the influential Abbé Maurault, who became one of his closest friends. Maurault was a participant in both factions and an advocate of the arts in French Canada. He was an enthusiast of the work of Maurice Denis, which he had encountered in France, as well as the medievalism of Huysmans and Mâle. He provided vital support for Leduc's commitment to a renewal of religious art in Quebec. The sharing of ideas and the mutual encouragement which evolved from Leduc's new relationships is recorded in the memoirs, tributes, and correspondence of Robert de Roquebrune, Olivier Maurault, Guillaume Lahaise, and Léo-Pol Morin, who were among those who became closest to him. His affection for them is captured in the portraits he produced of them.

Leduc was introduced into the milieu of Le Soc by Guillaume Lahaise, a young friend and poet from Saint-Hilaire.² Lahaise became acquainted with Leduc when, around the age of ten, he watched him decorate the Saint-Hilaire church.³ Despite their age difference, they developed a deep and lasting intimacy, finding in each other similar philosophical interests. Letters to Leduc from Lahaise after 1912, while he was away pursuing medical studies, indicate that he confided to Leduc his private aspirations and his deepest anxieties. Leduc painted portraits of Lahaise in 1911 and 1912, during the years that the young man's dreams of being a poet were being dashed by the denunciations of his work by the critics.

Lahaise first showed an interest in writing poetry as a student at the Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe.⁴ Lahaise entered the school of medicine at Laval in Montreal but continued to pursue his passion for

literature with his friends René Chopin, Marcel Dugas, Paul Morin, and Antoine Sylbert.⁵ In 1909, Lahaise, Dugas, and Jean-Baptiste Lagacé, joined by Chopin, Morin, and others, founded Le Soc.⁶ Lahaise was president of Le Soc in 1910, and in an article on the group's activities in La Nationaliste Marcel Dugas called him the "leader of the Symbolists in Canada" who "conducts its destinies to large horizons."⁷ Dugas reported on a speech by "the secretary" of the group who encouraged the participants to acquaint themselves with the great art of the past and present. The Symbolists were especially mentioned as worthy of emulation. The speech then took a highly nationalistic turn. The speaker exhorted the audience to keep alive the spiritual ideals, the moral, and intellectual virtues of their heritage, represented by the heroes and martyrs of the past. They must guard in their souls the great dream of Cartier, "this dream of a Catholic and French denomination in Canada," and "consecrate themselves to the eternal tradition" upon which French Canada was founded.⁸ This kind of rhetoric indicates that the group had been caught up in the student enthusiasm for the burgeoning nationalist movement inspired by Henri Bourassa. Their nationalism was no doubt encouraged by the support they received from Jules Fournier and Olivar Asselin during this period. These two outspoken liberal nationalists were not advocates of regionalism but envisioned an "intellectual and moral victory" of the French in America through an intellectual and spiritual rapprochement with modern France which would advance French Canadian culture.⁹ Fournier and Asselin defended intellectual freedom and gave support to the literary activities of Lahaise, Morin, and Dugas.

The commitment to the French Canadian cause becomes suspect in the work of the young three young writers.¹⁰ Their fascination with modern French ideas and preoccupation with their own highly personal writing seemed stronger impulses than defending national traditions. Although Morin, Chopin, and Dugas contributed to Fournier's L'Action¹¹ and Dugas wrote for La Nationaliste,¹² only Dugas would become directly involved in nationalist issues through his participation in Le Nigog.

With the appearance of a collection of poetry Les Phases in 1910,¹³ Lahaise, using the pseudonym Guy Delahaye, was the first of the writers in the group to publish his work in Canada. The influence of Symbolism is evident in the enigmatic and reflective nature of these poems. Marcel Dugas wrote:

Mr. Guy Delahaye has literary kin with René Ghil, Gustave Kahn, Adolphe Retté, Paul Verlaine, et al. He has read them frequently, knows their secrets as word jugglers, their manner. His book, of a very personal inspiration, makes him the most authoritative representative of the decadent school in Canada....Mr. Guy Delahaye contributes his stone to the edifice of our literature. Let us warmly welcome him.¹⁴

These works reflect many ideas Lahaise shared with Leduc: the conflict between the human body and the divine soul, the search for beauty in nature, and deliberations on death and salvation. Like that of Leduc, Lahaise's search for formal perfection mirrored his metaphysical vision.¹⁵ Lahaise may have fostered Leduc's interest in modern French writers. The copies Leduc made of numerous poems of René Ghil and J.M. Heredia, for example, could well date to this period.¹⁶

Each poem of Les Phases is dedicated to individual friends and members of the poet's family. The poems are arranged in two sections: the first section, "Poèmes psychiques," is dedicated to Albert

Laberge;¹⁷ the second section, "Poèmes corps et âme," is dedicated to Leduc.¹⁸ Within the first section is a triptych of poems, "Musique et névrose," dedicated to "The eternally living Genius of Nelligan."¹⁹ These poems exemplify the intellectual rapport between Leduc and Lahaise. There is a similarity between Lahaise's thought and symbolism and that expressed in Leduc's Érato (muse dans la forêt). In both cases, the mythological theme of the lyre is a metaphor for the experience of the artist or poet, the aspiration to spiritual liberation, and the tension between the terrestrial and the divine. Lahaise compares Nelligan to a lyre: "Man is a lyre of which the strings are his nerves...."²⁰ The three poems, "Âme de basse," "Âme de soprano," and "Âme de alto," reflect aspects of the total nature of humanity. Nelligan, like all men, possesses a double nature. Mean desires, hardness of heart, and falseness of mind are represented by the bass voice.²¹ The "soul of the bass" symbolizes those who succumb to vile instincts and who scorn and misunderstand the poet. The poet refuses mediocrity, the alto voice. Unlike ordinary men he triumphs over his own base nature and his soprano voice escapes the bonds of the earth to soar above the crowd.²² Lahaise seems to connect Nelligan to the prevalent Symbolist theme of "the tragedy and the anguish of the modern artist," often expressed through mythological allusions to Orpheus and the lyre.²³

Lahaise, in the company of friends or a lover, communes with the forest and mountain of Saint-Hilaire in a triptych, "Dans les bois, dans les monts," from the second part of the collection.²⁴ In the middle poem, "Noms sous l'écorce," dedicated to "Celles et Ceux de 'La Grotte des Fées'" (the fairy grotto of Mont Saint-Hilaire), the mountain

responds to their longing for "deeper experience, more true beauty and less uncertainty."²⁵ The mountain lavished secrets "which made us bow until we prayed." As followers of the mountain, they became faithful lovers of "forests, lakes and peaks," writing their names beneath the tree bark "to taste closer the soul of nature."²⁶

Keeping in mind that Leduc was creating his early landscapes and his mythological works during the period that Lahaise was writing his poetry, and that both were inspired by Symbolist models, we can reasonably assume that they shared a reciprocal encouragement.²⁷ Their mutual interest in mythology is confirmed by the fact that Leduc owned a two volume set of the complete works of Ovid, published in 1908, and signed on the covers by "Guy Delahaye."²⁸

Marcel Dugas later commented on the enigmatic quality of Lahaise's poetry. He wrote: "Les Phases (1910) certainly encloses the secret of a personality which is not easily divined by the vulgar. Initiation becomes necessary in order to enter into perfect communion with the author."²⁹ When the book was published, the exoticism and obvious Symbolist influences in the poetry caused a furor among the critics. A lengthy battle ensued in the press between the poet Albert Lozeau and Marcel Dugas, who took up the defense of his friend. Lozeau called the book a "perversion," a work of "artificial neurosis," a "baroque book with no trace of originality" with everything copied directly from the Symbolists, and he suggested the complicated form based on the number three was "bizarre as the start of a mental breakdown."³⁰ Dugas, in reply, accused Lozeau and l'École littéraire de Montréal of a conspiracy to stifle the book, and he attested to the sincere intentions with which

the book was written:

I defend Mr. Guy Delahaye, because, like me, he loves eternal things, poetry in its most imposing and noble manifestations, because he is a spiritualist who joins his hands and bows before the religious and social realities written on our shores. I defend him also as an unselfish servant of the Beautiful who will have his hour....I defend him also because he raises himself by the effort of his thought above the reigning apathy and has erected a little altar in his soul where he tends the sacred fire.³¹

Other critics entered the fray.³² The hostility of the reaction to his work seems to have been a shock to Lahaise. His own response to the critics was the publication in 1912 of his strange and biting satirical "Mignonne, allons voir si la Rose..." est sans Épines, a book consisting of a series of poems interspersed with quotations, dedications, footnotes, and asides. Throughout the book were illustrations by Leduc. The entire piece was a deliberate display of 'decadence' to shock and provoke the critics. The dedication reads, "To those with an absolute disdain for mediocrity, with immense laughter in front of stupidity."³³ Lahaise reproduced Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa beside his title page, and entitled it "Notre-Dame du Sourire dédaigneux." He "borrowed" the painting from Leonardo, and through additional references to works of other artists and writers throughout his text, Lahaise responded to his critic's detection of multiple influences in his work.³⁴ In his "Note sérieuse," he claimed that he has "simply wanted to amuse."³⁵ He asserted that Mignonne was created for the enjoyment of the "flexibility" of a joke; for a joke can take a thousand different forms.³⁶ Olivar Asselin wrote the preface, confirming that the work was an immense joke, intended to baffle those whose level of understanding and appreciation did not go beyond the "official"

Quebec literature.³⁷ In fact the work baffled friends and foes alike; even Asselin admitted in his preface that he could not understand it.³⁸ Lahaise suggested in the text that it was "ultra-futuro-cubiste"³⁹ Dugas later called it a "triumph of esotericism."⁴⁰

Leduc's illustrations are equally esoteric and are designed to help "amuse." They consist of nine clever drawings which, small in scale but complex in symbolism like the poems, confound the the viewer with their absurdity and multiple levels of meaning. There is particularly a play of duality which takes its lead from the dualism inherent in the themes of the text. The intentional reference to forms of duality is made clear in Lahaise's invocation to the double-faced Roman god Janus with which he begins the collection.⁴¹ Under "Note sérieuse" he added:

We have adopted Janusism; occult reasons; the cabbala teaches that in the Great-All-in-one considered under its triple aspect from a double viewpoint, there is a resolution in quaternity; we have been concerned with the trine, here is the dual, the one will come, the other....⁴²

Leduc's first illustration alludes to the duality denoted in the title of the volume. Under the heading "Justification du tirage" he placed two theatrical masks representing comedy and tragedy against a background of a rose bush (Fig. 49). A rose bush with thorns, replete with Christian symbolism, suggests the duality of salvation and suffering, pleasure and pain, good and evil: themes which run throughout the text. The masks reinforce the idea of humanity's dual nature as well as indicate the two-edged humour of the book.

Asselin's "Préface" ends with a drawing of two circus performers (Fig. 50). A clown looks in astonishment at the balancing trick of the acrobat, his wonder playfully emphasized in a large question mark. The

flexibility of the acrobat no doubt refers to the comment in the text that the "joke" is a skillful "exercise of flexibility."⁴³ The equilibrium embodied in the acrobat's performance suggests Lahaise's various notes on "the equilibrium of Mignonne'," one of which states:

The author of Mignonne is not a morphinomaniac nor a nymphomaniac, an etheromaniac nor an erotomaniac, a successomaniac (megalomaniac) nor a what-have-you maniac, unless being oneself (self made-man) (ipsomaniac, not dipsomaniac) is to be a maniac-no-matter-what, for there may still be some value in having produced a book "as bizarre as the start of a mental breakdown."⁴⁴

Lahaise's dark humour is reflected in Leduc's drawing following "Note sérieuse" which shows a laughing head traced in the design produced by a whip (Fig. 51). Equally disconcerting is the image of Medusa which Leduc created to illustrate "La Méduse," three dialogues which illuminate the theme, "La Méduse est mère de Pégase, et très belle, mais cache des serpents sous son gaze, la cruelle!"⁴⁵ Consisting solely of puns on the words muse and buse, Delahaye uses la, sa, ma, and ta to produce variations such as "Ma Muse / M'amuse" and "La Buse / L'abuse" which are bantered back and forth among "Cet Auteur," "l'Un, poète," and "l'Autre, idiot," or "vice versa." The word "Méduse" is not only part of the punning, but becomes an 'abusive muse.' In Leduc's illustration (Fig. 52) Medusa conceals her snakes under a headpiece. She is encircled with a halo consisting of the almost imperceptible word "Horreur" written three times, referring back to the "Horror! Horror!" that Delahaye earlier quoted from Macbeth, followed by a third "Horror!" at the idea that "Mignonne, like St. Paul, feels two beings in her."⁴⁶ In the Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, Renald Bérubé proposed that the illustration alludes to a duality in the idea of

Medusa, as she suggests both Eve and the Virgin Mary.⁴⁷ The head, on first glance, could be mistaken for that of Mary enclosed in a halo, but the presence of snakes could identify her as Eve, thereby evoking the sense of "Horror."⁴⁸ In this and other drawings, as well as the text, one can discover oblique references to Christian symbolism, which are "travesties of their current use."⁴⁹

Another such example appears at the end of a series of poems entitled: "Scènes de la Vie d'Amoureux...-?...-et de Bohème."⁵⁰ Among the six poems contained in this section are three which first appeared in the triptych "L'Amour Moqueur" in Les Phases.⁵¹ The primary theme through this series of poems in both collections is the treachery of love. The poet intellectually seeks his vision of ideal love, but his heart falls prey to blinding passion. The image of women which he creates is that of the femme fatale, a Symbolist obsession. The poems end with the conclusion "Love is a sonnet to the unbeautiful downfall."⁵² Leduc's illustration (Fig. 53) alludes to the opposition of sacred and profane love found in the poetry. A triangle, symbol of the Trinity, is superimposed with a serpent, "laughing satanically,"⁵³ twisted into the shape of a heart. The eye of God, which traditionally appears within the triangle, is replaced by a female (?) eye which winks at us through the frame made by the snake.

"Le 606" is a part of a send-up on the medical profession in "Scenes de la Vie de Médecin...-?...-et de Bohème".⁵⁴ The last "'pharmaceutical' stanza reveals a precocious futurism," according to André Bourassa.⁵⁵ A macabre illustration by Leduc enhances the strangeness of the verse (Fig. 54). The image of death emerges laughing from a mist. Has this

skull, perhaps the head of Adam,⁵⁶ materialized from the fumes of a pharmaceutical concoction in a mockery of scientific knowledge? Even the latest medical advancements and "Dioxydiamidoarsénobenzol"⁵⁷ cannot save man from his fate.

The last poem in the volume is "Le Poète,"⁵⁸ a variation of "Stymphale" from Les Trophées of Heredia, which precedes it here.⁵⁹ Heredia's poem treats the mythological theme of the defeat of the monstrous flesh-eating Stymphalian Birds by Hercules. By alluding to Heredia's poem and the ancient myth, Delahaye equates the Poet's victory to that of Hercules. In Delahaye's version the cloud of foul birds inhabiting the Stymphalian marshes have entrapped the Poet in their "black webs" of wings. Plucking "the nerve of his triumphal lyre" and accenting the "Song of the Reeds,"⁶⁰ (referring to the moment of the victory in Stymphale), his "art" parts the "astonished" clouds as "with hateful cries the crazed shadow fell." The sun beams through "brilliant openings" and "the ecstatic Bard smiles at the wide blue sky."⁶¹ The accompanying illustration concludes the volume with an image of roses and thorns (Fig. 51), as it began. The rose and thorns have been separated into two symbolic wreaths intertwined against a background of a mandorla of rays. The crown of thorns evokes the Poet's earthly suffering, and the wreath of roses denote his poetic and spiritual triumph.⁶²

Except for the appearance of a poem in the student newspaper at Laval in 1914,⁶³ "Mignonne, allons voir si la Rose..." est sans Épines was the last publication of "Guy Delahaye," although the editors of Le Nigog included his name in each issue among the contributors to their

review.⁶⁴ In 1912, Lahaise left for Paris to begin post-graduate work at the Pasteur Institute. He was in Paris at the same time as Marcel Dugas, Léo-Pol Morin, and Paul Morin. His letters to Leduc indicate that although he was very busy with his studies he tried to see everything: the Latin Quarter, the cafes, the museums, galleries, the city, and the countryside.⁶⁵ He wrote that Paris was everything he expected and he remarked, "It seems to me that I have always lived here."⁶⁶ He sent Leduc books, including one on Divisionism, and looked for one on Gustave Moreau, but it was temporarily sold out.⁶⁷ He apparently associated with Léo-Pol Morin and Dugas, at least to some degree, for he later made reference to the little colony they had in 1912-1913.⁶⁸ Dugas and Morin immersed themselves completely in the cultural life of the city.⁶⁹ They attended the elegant and avant-garde salons where they met Ravel, Édouard Schuré, and Jean Cocteau; went to the Closerie des lilas where Paul Fort reigned as "prince of the poets"; attended concerts of modern music and saw the second production of Le Sacre du Printemps and the performances of the Ballets Russes; heard André Suarès, André Gide, and Jacques Copeau honor Dostoyevsky at the Vieux-Colombier; and attended the lectures of Henri Bergson. Dugas was completely taken with Bergson, remarking that he "has renewed the face of philosophy."⁷⁰ He recognized that Bergson was "not Catholic, but a great spiritualist" and commented that "In Canada, in a country of cretins like our Canadian philosophical world, M. Bergson is a 'bête noire'."⁷¹

Like Lahaise, Dugas wrote home: "Paris is my homeland, I know no other."⁷² We can assume that this enthusiasm for France and what they had experienced was shared with Leduc when they returned to Quebec.

Evidence of gatherings in Leduc's studio is found in correspondence from Lahaise from California in 1916, where he had again gone for medical studies. He wrote that he missed the Sunday afternoon gatherings in Leduc's studio where the conversations covered "art, philosophy, science."⁷³ On the occasion of Leduc's solo exhibition at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, he sent his congratulations and commented that this recognition must give great satisfaction to all their friends: the Héberts, Roquebrunes, Laberge, Dugas, et al.⁷⁴

From 1916 to 1922, Lahaise studied in the United States and Cuba. His letters to Leduc indicate that he was deeply troubled and suffered through an identity and spiritual crisis, especially between 1919 and 1922.⁷⁵ He seems to have constantly battled with his double persona of scientist and writer, and his most anguished letters suggest a profound conflict between his artistic passions and his Catholic faith. He came to believe that his poetic indulgences were dangerous for his own soul.⁷⁶ Letters from 1916, still signed Guy Delahaye, reveal that he continued to harbour dreams of writing. He told Leduc of three projects that he had in mind. The only one ever to reach fruition was his religious piece L'Unique Voie à l'Unique But, which he described as "my same old project of a Way of the Cross, carrying the fundamental idea that for all great goals the path is difficult and the greater the goal, the more difficult the path."⁷⁷ He sent Leduc a book entitled Great Spiritual Writers of America, to which Leduc responded:

I wish there were a great number of these 'spiritual writers' in Canada. But as there is only a feeble elite here who believe in a work of art, it is probable that we will stagnate for a long time yet in our chaotic intellectual habitat...it is despairing.⁷⁸

Throughout all his correspondence Lahaise expressed his deep devotion for his friend and remembered with great warmth the times they shared together in the past. In the Leduc archive there is an undated letter, signed both Guy Delahaye and Dr. Lahaise, which summarized his regard for Leduc. It also may refer to Leduc's portraits of him which were shown in the 1916 exhibition at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice.⁷⁹ It reads:

Ecce Homo, the man who was, who is very much, among disciples, your very bad disciple in painting, or rather drawing, not much better in thought, but a lot more in sensitivity; which permits him to recognize that if the fruit are not beautiful, it is because this earth is not good.

Maybe my eyes hold a little bit of desires and dreams, they give significance to my whole life; let the better come from what I dream.⁸⁰

It was during 1911 and 1912, when Lahaise was in the midst of the controversy generated by his poetry, that Leduc created his sensitive portraits of his friend as doctor/poet. In these works he has expressed the young doctor's preoccupation with the realm of poetry. A charcoal drawing, two paintings and a medallion, from 1916, were composed from a photograph of Lahaise taken in profile.⁸¹ Leduc's main concern in portraiture was to capture the character of his subject. By portraying Lahaise turned away from the viewer, Leduc emphasized a sense of introspection, enhanced by the immobility of the figure and his dreamy gaze. A reviewer in La Patrie, "Ruth Bohème," seemingly a friend of Leduc, was full of praise for the art shown in his 1916 exhibition, except for the following comment on the portrait of "a little doctor":

...the head is good, but I find the pose--chosen by the model--too stiff, too mummified...he seems to be waiting, erect, arms glued to the body, a veritable statue of rock waiting for the centuries to pass by.⁸²

Lahaise, obviously having received a copy of this review, in turn remarked in a letter to Leduc that the "little doctor seems to be waiting for the centuries to go by--all stiff--which is due, alas!, to the shackles imposed by the little doctor on the inspiration of the artist."⁸³

The earliest painting, from 1911,⁸⁴ shows Lahaise seated and from the waist up (Fig. 56). The wall in the background is described as a simple abstract plane. The solidity of the figure, dressed in a contemporary dark suit and starched collar, contrasts with the indeterminate space and time evoked by the rendering of the background, similar to the manner that Leduc used in his Portrait de Mme. Lebrun (1899). The background plane is horizontally bisected by a single decorative band of stylized laurel leaves. The reference to laurel and the fixed, bas relief-like treatment of the figure is reminiscent of Roman coins or relief sculptures commemorating victors and heroes. Leduc's possible interest in that kind of commemorative model is exemplified by the portrait medallions which he produced around 1916, including the one of Lahaise for his parents in 1916.⁸⁵ Whatever the inspiration for the pose, by the singular inclusion of the symbolic laurel leaves, Leduc appears to associate "Guy Delahaye" with the mythological and classical tradition of the immortalized poet-hero, found as a theme in his poetry.⁸⁶ As Ostiguy suggested, Leduc's portraits of his friend reflect the encouragement he gave him to pursue his writing, despite the difficulties Lahaise encountered.⁸⁷

The highly original composition in the portrait of 1912⁸⁸ dramatically evokes an image of Lahaise possessed by the spirit of the

poet (Fig. 57). Leduc contrasted the realism of the figure to an imagined symbolic background, suggesting a discrepancy between the realm of reality and the mysterious world of the poetic dream. The figure, in his dark conservative suit, is precisely rendered and modelled in naturalist colours, imparting a strong physical presence which stands out sharply against the background, filled with Art Nouveau vapourous forms, painted freely and coloured a pale acid green. The head and outstretched arms of a draped female figure emerge like a low relief from the flowing animated atmosphere.⁸⁹ This is undoubtedly the poet's symbolic muse. She reaches out behind him to touch a swirling pinwheel shape. A clue to the meaning of this shape can be found in Leduc's painting Annonce de Marie Co-rédemptrice (c. 1922) from his decoration of the Bishop's Chapel at Sherbrooke. At the top of this painting, above the figure of Mary, is an identical "whirlwind"⁹⁰ enclosed in a circle. In his notes, Leduc designated the "whirlwind" as symbolic of "total creative power" which he associated with God as Creator.⁹¹ Applying this symbolism to the portrait of Lahaise, the whirlwind becomes the creative power of the poet. Its form emerges out of the amorphous substance around it, and its force seemingly draws the background figure toward it. Ostiguy connected this shape to the nebula of the Andromeda galaxy and Lacroix to the Andromeda constellation.⁹² Ostiguy apparently made this association from Leduc's notes on nebulae similarly depicted in his ceiling decoration of the Notre-Dame Baptistery.⁹³ Leduc's notes referred to several spiral nebulae: "the spiral nebula of the Big Dipper," the "spiral nebula of Andromeda," and the "nebula of Orion." He was interested in astronomy and knew the theory that nebulae were

comprised of the diffuse matter and gas from which new stars are born.⁹⁴ If this shape in the portrait is a reference to a nebula, it would appear to have a corresponding meaning to that of the "whirlwind": new creation, or the birth of the poetic idea. Leduc links the mythological symbolism of poetic inspiration with his belief in the artist's God-given power of creation.

Others portrayed by Leduc include the writer Robert de Roquebrune and his wife Josée, whom he met in 1912, when the young couple moved into her family home in Beloeil, across the river from Saint-Hilaire. The Roquebrunes became frequent visitors to Leduc's studio and developed a lasting friendship with him, maintaining a correspondence even after they moved to France after the war. Their passion for French culture had been kindled during a lengthy honeymoon in France, just prior to their move to Beloeil.⁹⁵ Roquebrune detailed their literary tastes in his autobiography of this period, Cherchant mes souvenirs. They were enthusiasts of Baudelaire and the Symbolists: Jules Laforgue, Verlaine, Mallarmé, and Rémy de Gourmont.⁹⁶ They kept current of literary events with subscriptions to the reviews they had enjoyed in Paris: Les Marges, La Nouvelle Revue Française, and the Mercure de France.⁹⁷ Roquebrune described the Mercure de France as "the most vibrant and curious in Paris. Rémy de Gourmont, Guillaume Apollinaire, Paul Léautaud collaborated on it and these three writers pleased us enormously."⁹⁸ He and his wife returned from France with numerous books to stock their library.⁹⁹ Josée shared the fashionable interest in the Middle Ages and read Huysmans (especially enjoying La Cathédrale) and Ruskin on medieval architecture and sculpture.¹⁰⁰ Robert also admired Huysmans, and in 1916

the Roquebrunes gave Leduc a copy of Huysmans's Trois Églises et Trois Primitifs.¹⁰¹ Robert was a founder of Le Nigog, one of its three editors. He was the main contributor on literature, and his articles reflect his tastes in French literature, including continual references to the Mercure de France. Josée was the secretary of the review and also wrote a few articles, the most comprehensive being an adulatory study of Jules Laforgue.¹⁰²

Roquebrune cultivated the image of an aesthete and a dandy. Everything about him was polished and refined, from the way he lived to his style of prose. He was vainly conscious of his aristocratic pedigree, and signed his works with a name created from his French ancestry, Robert LaRoque de Roquebrune.¹⁰³ Independently wealthy, he devoted himself completely to writing¹⁰⁴ until he moved to Paris in 1919, at which time his interest in French Canadian history led to a long career at the Canadian Archives in that city.¹⁰⁵ He and Leduc respected each other's intelligence and shared a love of art, but there was a reserve between them, preventing close intimacy. In Cherchant mes souvenirs, Roquebrune described his relationship with Leduc and, while affectionate and astute, his characterization of his friend is somewhat condescending.¹⁰⁶ He commented that Leduc and his wife were from "habitant" stock. However, he felt that Leduc's charisma and intelligence elevated him beyond his station. He wrote:

Josée and I admired him. The man had great charm. He was a refined peasant and an authentic artist. Of medium size, he had a beautiful pensive face, slow gestures, a low and charming voice. An innate distinction, this distinction that one meets in certain peasant races of France and French Canada, made him the equal of a great seigneur....A 'religious' painter, he was a sincere believer but with a great open-mindedness.¹⁰⁷

His affection for Leduc was genuine. His correspondence from Paris after 1919 nostalgically recalled the evenings they spent together in deep discussion. On the lasting effects of such moments, he remarked, "More than one of your ideas remain alive in me."¹⁰⁸ Leduc's great sensitivity particularly affected Roquebrune. Commenting on the beauty of the French countryside, he expressed a wish that they could enjoy it together, "for you have been a very great influence in my life, dear friend. You have taught me a lot about how to feel. This is why a landscape always makes me regret being without you."¹⁰⁹

Leduc expressed his sentiments about his cultivated friend in the charcoal drawing he did of him around 1916 (Fig. 58). As Leduc inscribed in his own records, the pose is derived from the portrait of Comte Robert de Montesquiou (1897) by Giovanni Boldini.¹¹⁰ Boldini's painting was reproduced in Art et Décoration in 1905, accompanying an article on the artist by Camille Mauclair.¹¹¹ Mauclair praised the ability of Boldini to capture the "character of decadence" which many of his sitters represented, their vanity, arrogance, exaggerated tastes, gestures, etc.¹¹² Leduc surely knew of the famous Montesquiou who had epitomized decadence for Huysmans and served as the model for the character of des Esseintes in À Rebours.¹¹³ Abbe Henri Beaudet had been inspired by Montesquiou, and more recently Paul Morin had met him in Paris, returning to Montreal with his photograph and an exaggerated dandyism in imitation of the French aristocrat.¹¹⁴ Leduc connected Roquebrune to this French tradition of the anti-bourgeois aesthete which had been cultivated by Baudelaire.¹¹⁵ Thus he made a strong statement about the character of his friend. The Boldini portrait is evoked in the

affected way Roquebrune brandishes his cane, the pose, and the manner of dress. However, the pose is less exaggerated and the demeanor is less haughty.

Roquebrune recalled the circumstances of this portrait in Cherchant mes souvenirs¹¹⁶ Leduc had initiated the idea of doing portraits of both Robert and Josée. According to Robert, "My likeness came together very quickly on the paper. My face was without mystery for him and perhaps without interest."¹¹⁷ He apparently was not aware of any allusion to the Boldini portrait; he simply called the portrait "a little bizarre."¹¹⁸ The cursory treatment of the periphery of the drawing likely indicates that Leduc carried it as far as his own interest took him, as Roquebrune himself suggested. Although the two men shared artistic interests and a certain idealism, Leduc had no regard for the affectations displayed by his arrogant friend. In his account of the events, Roquebrune detected some hostility from Leduc, but that it was masked by extreme politeness.¹¹⁹ His explanation for Leduc's behaviour was that he had become infatuated with Josée.¹²⁰

According to Roquebrune, Leduc had been much more interested in the portrait of Josée and lavished a great deal of time and care on it. Robert believed that during the process he had become quite taken with his model:

The presence of this young woman, her fresh imagination, her conversation full of culture, her elegance, her beautiful legs, all this had intoxicated the simple peasant which Leduc was. Regarding the ravishing face constantly to reproduce it on paper, he had become amorous of it.¹²¹

Unfortunately this portrait is lost; it was taken from the Roquebrunes' Paris apartment by the Germans during World War II. Robert felt that

Leduc had successfully captured his wife's charm. The image was lifelike, yet subtle and "a little magical."¹²² Leduc had portrayed her in his studio, posed before a piano, books, and some flowers, to "express the spirit and the poetry which was the essence of Josée."¹²³ The drawing was shown in the 1916 salon of the Royal Canadian Academy held at the Art Association in Montreal. Albert Laberge called it the "jewel of the exhibition" in his review in La Presse.¹²⁴ Like Roquebrune, Laberge praised the way Leduc had revealed the character and "even the soul" of his model:

All the atmosphere in which she lives is there. Amongst books, flowers, paintings, sheets of music which surround and frame her, the artist has painted a delicate and pensive woman's face, such as poets describe to us.¹²⁵

Earlier in the year, from February the 20th to March the 15th, Abbé Olivier Maurault had sponsored Leduc's exhibition at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice. The catalogue included an excerpt from a promotional article that Roquebrune had written for L'Action just prior to the opening.¹²⁶ He began his article on a nationalistic note, delineating his vision of an "truly ethnic" art, "free of clichés and pastiches," which will be the "the highest manifestation of a strong race, full of vitality and intellectual activity." Such an art, "born of the French-Canadian genius," would bear witness to the growing independence and strength of the "race." Thus, he said, there was a need to support artists like Leduc. He praised Leduc for his originality, stating that his art was free from the eccentricities of structure and stylizations demonstrated in European art from Manet to the Cubists. Leduc did not indulge in such anxious efforts to be new: nevertheless, his work had not remained static but had evolved slowly in search of greater

perfection. He extolled Leduc's recent landscapes:

[As a] landscapist, he has translated the nature of a moved soul and of an idealist brush. Having lived a whole existence, a very noble existence, between art and nature, he has subjugated the second to the first while ennobling it.¹²⁷

He described these landscape paintings as the lyrical works of a poet and hoped that the exhibition would gain Leduc due recognition for his "elevated effort toward Beauty."¹²⁸

In 1916 Roquebrune published a small booklet of lyrical prose poems, L'Invitation à la Vie.¹²⁹ The form and polished style of this collection represented a rare event in contemporary Quebec literature.¹³⁰ The title derives from the first and longest piece which is followed by six other very short works, including three "Paysages." The last of the evocations of landscapes, "Une Ville," describing Montreal, is dedicated to Leduc.¹³¹ On the title page is an epigram from Émile Verhaeren: "And I am going without knowing where. With my heart fervent and mad."¹³² "L'Invitation à la Vie," dedicated to Josée, has been described as a poem of love, "a celebration of marriage, impregnated with a sensualism of a vaguely Baudelairian resonance, and thus a little 'daring' for its era."¹³³ It takes up the Symbolist theme of the denial of death through the pleasures of sexual love and generates the sense of an inner turmoil between body and spirit. As in many Symbolist works, it is the young woman who lures her lover into an intoxicating escape from reality through sensual joy. She repeatedly laughs in the face of mortality and has no fear of the intimations of death, which pervade the atmosphere in the references to the darkness of the night, the passing seasons, the echoing voices which cry in the wind and the masks of death which reflect the woman's image in pools of water. Love is only an illusory

yet compelling diversion from life's inevitable passage toward death.

Leduc prepared the illustration for the cover of the booklet, depicting two stylized snakes, entwined symmetrically around a stalk of lilies, creating a variation on a caduceus (Fig. 59).¹³⁴ It seems to have been Josée who proposed the image of the serpent. In a note to Leduc she wrote:

I was thinking today of all the fabulous and heraldic animals from amongst which I know you want to take inspiration for your illustration. And, I have seen the amphisbaena, this serpent with a head at each of its extremities and which moves equally backward and forward. It seems to me it could provide a beautiful decorative effect, treated by you.¹³⁵

A preliminary sketch for the design indicates that Leduc experimented with this suggestion.¹³⁶ In the sketch Leduc placed the lily stalk inside a cross shaped frame. Surrounding the base of the cross he explored the configuration for a two-headed snake or two snakes. By eliminating the cross in the completed version and integrating the lilies and snakes, he created a more potent image. In a Symbolist approach, he has united two conventional images (popular with Symbolists) in an unconventional manner. Lilies were a prevalent emblem of the Symbolists; as Philippe Jullian observed, they were "the chosen flower of the aesthetes."¹³⁷ Symbolizing purity and immortality, the lillies comprise an opposing force to the serpents which connote sin and mortality. The form of the caduceus is a symbol of balance. By uniting these two symbols in the resemblance of a caduceus, Leduc signifies their equilibrium.¹³⁸ Replacing the traditional wand of the caduceus with the lilies produced a symbol of the duality of human nature, and the moral struggle between the aspiration for purity and the force of carnal instincts.

Through the Roquebrunes, in 1915 Leduc met Abbé Olivier Maurault and the artists Adrien and Henri Hébert, who admired his work and wanted an introduction.¹³⁹ In 1916, Leduc spent much of his time in Montreal decorating the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus, and he began attending the salon at the Westmount home of Roquebrune's close friend, Fernand Préfontaine. Préfontaine, like Roquebrune, was independently wealthy and, although trained as an architect, did not practice.¹⁴⁰ From Roquebrune's descriptions, he was very much a fashionable aesthete and had enjoyed several trips to Paris.¹⁴¹ Roquebrune said Préfontaine loved to play with ideas, and he enjoyed listening to him, "for he never spoke in banalities, and I admired the ingeniousness of his mind. In a country of conformism, a fellow like him was a rare bird."¹⁴² The atmosphere of Préfontaine's soirées is described in Cherchant mes souvenirs, as "a reunion of friends who liked to meet to talk Literature, painting, music were our preoccupations. We were all very influenced by France, by what was being done in France."¹⁴³ Many of the participants had recently returned from Paris, forced home by the war, and were filled with enthusiasm for the vibrancy of life and the arts in that city. The pianist Léo-Pol Morin would play his beloved Debussy and Ravel for them and help recreate the ambiance of the left bank of Paris where he had lived.¹⁴⁴ Out of these gatherings the arts journal Le Nigog was born.¹⁴⁵

Roquebrune gave a long list of the collaborators who joined them as plans for Le Nigog were formulated. Among those he mentioned are the Héberts and Alfred Laliberté, several writers including René Chopin, Paul Morin, Jean-Aubert Loranger, Jean Chauvin, and his brother Édouard; Léo-Pol Morin and his friend the composer Rodolphe Mathieu; Louis

Bourgoin, a scientist; several architects; Édouard Montpetit, who was a professor at the Université de Montréal and several English members of the faculty at McGill.¹⁴⁶ He also noted that "my old friend, the spiritual Abbé Olivier Maurault, was part of our little chapel without being the chaplain."¹⁴⁷ Leduc came intermittently when he was in Montreal. Roquebrune wrote, "His deep voice was rarely heard, but he listened to us with attention and amused himself greatly in this milieu of young people."¹⁴⁸ The members of the group represented an eclectic assortment of tastes, but on the whole their admiration for things French tended to be somewhat conservative, and often attached to currents slightly out of fashion, as in the case of Roquebrune, Chopin, Morin, Adrien Hébert, and Laliberté,¹⁴⁹ whose tastes were connected to the Symbolist generation.

Although Leduc was not a regular participant at the Montreal gatherings, his friends came often to see him in Saint-Hilaire. Maurault described the atmosphere of those gatherings in his book Confidences.¹⁵⁰ He recounted the "lively and instructive conversations" that developed while Leduc painted someone's portrait, that of "Guy Delahaye, or Robert de Roquebrune, or me."¹⁵¹ We can assume that within this environment Leduc shared in the interests and ideas of his friends, and they in his. Léon Bloy, Paul Fort, Verlaine, Péladan, Debussy, Pascal, Baudelaire, Huysmans, and other names mentioned in Le Nigog, and in various writings of his friends, correspond to those in Leduc's own notes and library. When the Nigog group dispersed in 1919, Léo-Pol Morin, the Roquebrunes, the Préfontaines, and Marcel Dugas went to live in France. In 1923, they contributed to a special edition, Le Canada, published by the Paris

journal, Le Monde Nouveau.¹⁵² Préfontaine contributed an article on Canadian artists and writers in which he wrote:

Ozias Leduc, over the past few years, has acquired a distinguished position among Canadian painters. Known at first by his religious paintings, the exhibition of his works in Montreal in 1916, brought him to the attention of a larger public. As a landscapist, Leduc has given a infinitely poetic and varied image to Canada. His studio on the mountain of St. Hilaire has become the meeting place of Canadian artists and intellectuals and it is no exaggeration to say that this painter exercises an influence on a great number of Canadian spirits by his own spirit and his art.¹⁵³

Léo-Pol Morin, who, along with Roquebrune and Préfontaine, was one of the directors of Le Nigog, had grown especially fond of Leduc during 1917 and 1918, and he spent a great deal of time in his studio.¹⁵⁴ Leduc drew a charcoal portrait of Morin which reflects the intimacy between them (Fig. 60). It successfully conveys the poetic dreams of his young friend who was completely dedicated to the world of music and art. A letter from Morin after he returned to Paris in 1919 confirms the closeness of their relationship and, as well, reveals much about the artistic idealism of the musician. Morin was bitterly disenchanted with the falseness and paralysis of the life and art which he found in post-war Paris. All that he had once venerated now seemed dead to him. He wrote, "How I admire you in your scepticism, and how I long for the peace that you have completely made for yourself."¹⁵⁵

The portrait of Morin has been dated to 1925, but as Monique Lanthier has suggested, it may well have been painted around 1918 when Morin was often in Saint-Hilaire.¹⁵⁶ This is a more sympathetic portrait than that of Roquebrune. Leduc focused on the face, drawing it softly in detail to capture the thoughtful expression. As in his own self-portrait of many years earlier, Leduc blended the contours of the head with a

darkened background to evoke a dream-like atmosphere, heightened here by the contrast between the shadows in the face and the whiteness and simplicity of the casual shirt.

The participants of Le Nigog had put their plans together over a period of three years.¹⁵⁷ The idea for the review had its roots in articles on French literature Roquebrune had been encouraged to write for L'Action by Jules Fournier and Olivar Asselin.¹⁵⁸ The articles gave Préfontaine the idea to start an arts review.¹⁵⁹ Fournier and Asselin undoubtedly provided inspiration with their fervent desire to advance a French Canadian culture based on modern French models. Roquebrune greatly admired them both: "They scandalized this conformist and dismal world which then comprised Canadian society. These two journalists represented the liberty of spirit and a combative will which shook our dusty bourgeoisie a little during one of our lowest eras."¹⁶⁰

Leduc's contribution to Le Nigog was peripheral but supportive. He designed the cover illustration and, according to a letter from Léo-Pol Morin, was also asked to write about art.¹⁶¹ Morin said that if Leduc were only more outgoing he would perhaps "write to us, of art, of these irrefutable things that you know how to enclose in a sceptical smile....Will you dare, one day, to commit yourself to that sort of excess! You well know that Le Nigog solicits you ceaselessly."¹⁶²

Leduc was present in Montreal the evening that Préfontaine proposed the work "nigog" for the title.¹⁶³ He suggested this word because "no one will know what it means."¹⁶⁴ Nigog was an obscure Indian word for a long harpoon-like weapon that was used for fishing,¹⁶⁵ and Philippe Hébert (father of Adrian and Henri) had produced a sculpture on this

theme called Le Sauvage au Nigog.¹⁶⁶ The collaborators liked "the symbol of the dart."¹⁶⁷ The strange word paradoxically made a regional object seem exotic¹⁶⁸ and also suggested an armed attack. The regionalists were to be stabbed with their own weapon, so to speak. The editors wrote in their first edition: "An active review of art is not necessarily combative but, in a country like ours where art is held in indifference and even in suspicion by many, a review such as Le Nigog will inevitably have some disagreeable things to say."¹⁶⁹

Leduc's cover design consists of a nigog, highlighted in bold black, decorated with an array of esoteric symbols (Fig. 61). The inspiration for the motif may have been derived from some unknown model, for in a draft of a letter presumably to Roquebrune, Leduc urgently asks him to please send the document that he has been waiting for so that he can prepare the cover, or at least submit some ideas.¹⁷⁰ The integration of symbols from various cultures and religions suggests the review's aim of universality. It denotes the unity and the timeless aspirations of the human spirit, which interested Leduc as much as the other Nigog participants. The overall form of the design recalls that of the caduceus, which he had previously researched for L'Invitation à la Vie. The caduceus is commonly associated with the messenger gods of Greece and Rome, Hermes and Mercury. The image may have alluded to the figure of winged Mercury carrying the caduceus which was the insignia of the Mercure de France. In Leduc's drawing, the winding snakes of Mercury's caduceus have been replaced by two spiralling strands of Art Nouveau flora. As in the traditional form of the caduceus, wings are attached to the shaft by a disc. The diagonal crossing of the plant forms together

with the intersections of the wings and the words, Le Nigog, with the vertical shaft of the nigog also create variations on the Christian cross, both the Eastern and the Latin versions.¹⁷¹ In an analysis of the drawing, Jacques Blais suggested that the disc divided by a curving line represents the symbol of the T'ai-chi.¹⁷² The T'ai-chi was a neo-Confucian concept of the "Supreme Ultimate," the universal principle which shapes the cosmos and the beings in it.¹⁷³ It can only be speculated whether or not Leduc, or the others in the group, knew of Confucianism, but several had probably encountered ideas on oriental religions through their interest in Symbolism and universal ideas. On top of the T'ai-chi symbol is a stylized flame which, according to Blais, is probably a "sign of the miracle of the tongues at the Pentecost," which as well as carrying religious significance plays on the idea of the universality of the language of art.¹⁷⁴ Blais suggested that Leduc's play of images is a visual equivalent of the play of words and the power of the imagination so appreciated in the Nigog program.¹⁷⁵ He found Leduc's drawing an oxymoronic design suggesting the balance of opposites, full of forms expressing cosmic unity.¹⁷⁶ Leduc also prepared a drawing for "Montréal," a poem by Roquebrune. The poem appeared in the December issue but without the illustration, for the review had run out of funds.¹⁷⁷

Le Nigog set its confrontational tone in the first issue. Adopting the aggressive style of Asselin and Fournier, the editors, Roquebrune, Léo-Pol Morin, and Préfontaine, as well as several contributors intended to shake the public out of their complacency. In the introductory article, "Signification," the editors berated both the critics and the

public for their lack of interest in and ignorance about art.¹⁷⁸ The purpose of the review was "to unite cultivated minds and to spread artistic ideas free of ignorance and foolishness."¹⁷⁹ The editors proclaimed their "patriotic devotion to the cause of art in Canada" and the belief that French Canada would gain respect by the quality of its culture.¹⁸⁰

Roquebrune, Morin, and Préfontaine were the most prolific contributors and took turns harpooning the establishment on issues in literature, music, and art respectively.¹⁸¹ The fundamental battle was against the prevailing regionalist attitude, by which works were judged solely on subject matter. Roquebrune wrote that it was essential that writers "are not completely crushed at their very beginnings by public indifference and the malevolence of political journals who lord it over public opinion even in matters of art." The Nigog articles maintained that the "official" obsession with themes of le terroir undermined the essentials in art: the quality of form, the value of universal themes, and, most important, the right to artistic freedom. Préfontaine wrote in regard to art in Quebec:

How many times have I seen so-called art critics of Montreal give their impressions of the salons from a narrowly patriotic point of view, solely admiring works of strongly Canadian subject matter! Art, like science, is universal. One would not dare speak of a philosophy, a physics, or chemistry as purely Canadian, this would make no sense; but one wants to limit art to the representation of Canadian scenes. This is to doom to the most complete impotence the artists to whom the anecdote of le terroir says absolutely nothing and who want to create works of art without having to concern themselves with the patriotic sentiments of their fellow-citizens.¹⁸²

In "Le régionalisme en poésie," Édouard Chauvin, after registering his disgust with the tedious repetition of sanctioned subjects, summed up

the attitude of the collaborators with the query, "When we will know how to rid ourselves of this narrow-minded provincialism'?"¹⁸³

The review allotted space to the opposing view in an article by the musician Arthur Letondal, entitled "L'âme canadienne."¹⁸⁴ Letondal attacked the adherents of a universal art, saying that they were attached to fantasy and had a fixation with form. He contended that only Canadian subject matter, born of communion with the things one loves and knows, can truly express the Canadian soul. In the following issue, Marcel Dugas berated Letondal in turn for his tyrannical, narrow, and timid ideas.¹⁸⁵ Dugas expressed his bewilderment at the fear of new expression which could only enrich Canadian literature. He suggested that it was an illusion that French Canada was creating a civilization and asked how it could accomplish its destiny with bad literature written in barbaric dialect. He continued, "we want for ourselves the freedom of subjects, the individualism, the fantasy, everything that pleases us, amuses us, and prevents us from collapsing in boredom."¹⁸⁶ The battle between Letondal and Dugas continued in the September issue which published, in the form of letters, their responses to each other's articles.¹⁸⁷ Dugas's letter was immediately followed by his rebuttal to recent statements by two other regionalist critics of Le Nigog, Arthur Lebel and Claude Bâcle (pseudonym of Claude-Henri Grignon).¹⁸⁸ In the newspaper Le Pays, Lebel had condemned the review as being abstruse, elitist, and exotic.¹⁸⁹ Bâcle, journalist for L'Avenir du Nord, was Le Nigog's most persistent and caustic critic.¹⁹⁰ In August he had written an article denouncing the review's support of Symbolism.¹⁹¹ Using the example of a prose piece "Film. La guerre," by Hilaire le Jeune

(pseudonym of J.C. Drouin),¹⁹² Bâcle accused the collaborators, whom he described as "initiates," "dilettantes," and "ecstatics," of wanting to destroy the public language.¹⁹³ Dugas called his statements on Symbolism deaf and blind, and wrote, "To repudiate Symbolism is as ridiculous as to deny the existence of Classicism, Romanticism, Parnassianism."¹⁹⁴

Léo-Pol Morin's articles on music generated controversy in the music community.¹⁹⁵ He was castigated for his disavowal of Canadian music and his intolerance of public taste. His critics had little appreciation for the modern European music he promoted; Gustave Comte wrote, "He would like our population to collapse in a swoon before the musical acrobatics of the ultra-moderns, and to prostrate themselves, face against the earth, before such surprising conceptions of the sound effects men."¹⁹⁶

Despite the criticism of his detractors, Morin's many articles on music in Le Nigog best expressed the review's position on the importance of individual vision and universal values in art. His thoughts are similar to those recorded by Leduc in his notes, and one can understand the rapport between them. Morin stressed that it is not the subject that is important in music but the manner of treating it; it is form which expresses its intimate human essence.¹⁹⁷ Music is the work of the imagination through which aspects of the real are arranged and transformed into a "personalized truth" in accordance with an individual perception of the world.¹⁹⁸ The composer does not recreate nature but interprets it to express himself. What makes art Canadian, or Russian, or French? "Each of these forms of art expresses the soul, or a part of the soul of a people, out of it the race is expressed. But what diversity in the expression! As many different expressions as

individuals."¹⁹⁹ In fact, he maintained, the differences between cultures are only superficial:

[Music] wants to express man and nature through individuals, through feelings and intellects. It must be universal and above regional particularities which are only an accident of human backgrounds. Its language being understood everywhere, its domain is the entire world.²⁰⁰

Morin's articles were the most informative in the review. He analyzed the modern music of England, Russia, the United States, and Spain, as well as the French masters he especially admired: Debussy, Fauré, Ravel, Dukas. In these studies he discussed the importance of originality, without artificial virtuosity,²⁰¹ and stressed the essence of music as the expression of the human spirit.

Roquebrune extolled the writing of Quebec writers Nelligan, Dugas, and Édouard Chauvin, but his articles concentrated mainly on the literature of France.²⁰² Although he wrote about a broad range of literature, his articles tended to be brief and rather superficial. The concept of artistic freedom, so essential to the ideals of Le Nigog, was discussed by Roquebrune in "La jeune littérature française avant 1914," a schematic survey of the "multiple tendencies" in modern French literature.²⁰³ His theme was that in France, "No aesthetic had as much value as liberty."²⁰⁴ While young French writers admired past and present masters and were influenced by them, they would not tolerate a tyranny of ideas or succumb to docile imitation. It was the originality, the diversity, and the respect for the individual which made French literature so vibrant, and those were the goals to which French Canadians should aspire. In "De l'opportunité d'un culte de la supériorité littéraire," Roquebrune maintained that the continuing

connection with France was essential for French Canadian survival.²⁰⁵ Like Olivar Asselin, he asserted that the need for contact with modern French culture was beyond debate, writing:

Our country being French by its language, by its astonishing past, French especially by its indomitable tenacity to not be anything else, makes it necessary to care about the contemporary literary movement in France....We were born of this civilization and we must seek to reconnect ourselves with it. If France should disappear one day, we would no longer have a reason for being.²⁰⁶

He insisted that he was not preaching a particular school of French literature but an awareness of French culture in general: "We must bear with it, be penetrated and saturated with it. It is the essential condition for the superior life of our race."²⁰⁷

Préfontaine's articles on painting were extremely simplistic. Other than passing comments about Monet, Degas, Albert Besnard, and Rodin,²⁰⁸ and a mention that Impressionism had become an "official school,"²⁰⁹ there was no discussion of contemporary European currents. The only article on European art was a brief one on Cézanne, written by Robert Mortier, a visiting French artist.²¹⁰ Préfontaine's commentary was directed toward the issue of subject matter. His article, "Le sujet en art," in the February issue, began with a quote from Rémy de Gourmont: "The subject in art has interest only for children or illiterates."²¹¹ The gist of the essay was that the subject should serve only as "a point of departure for an idea" because the true value of a work comes from its expressive form; "an artist who would sacrifice composition, artistic feeling, and structure to the subject, would make of his work something that has little in common with art."²¹² He used examples from traditional art by Raphael and Fra Angelico to illustrate the idea that

we do not need to know the subject to experience aesthetic pleasure.²¹³ About the Symbolist painter Arnold Böcklin, he commented that "moralizing and philosophical tendencies" rarely produce successful work, although he admitted that Böcklin also painted some very simple works, without philosophical pretensions, which are "marvels."²¹⁴ Préfontaine promoted the work of Canadian artists. He declared that many were equal to those who exhibited in major international cities: Cullen, Clarence Gagnon, Dyonnet, the Héberts, Laliberté, and "the solitary Leduc."²¹⁵ About Leduc he wrote, "Very extraordinary, this one, who, far from all centres of art, has succeeded in making absolutely remarkable work."²¹⁶ His reviews of the Art Association and Royal Canadian Academy exhibitions were cursory, consisting primarily of comments about mood, atmospheric effects, and generalities about composition. Maurice Cullen was praised for his broad treatment and solid composition in Habitant Farm; Suzor-Côté had treated his Vieux Pommier with "vigour;" Henri Hébert's Le Fatum was an "implacable figure, rigid and mysterious" and "very moving;" George Delfosse's Lecture interrompue gave "an impression of very quiet intimacy."²¹⁷ Préfontaine failed to note that many of the works he liked were fundamentally regionalist. His most interesting comment was reserved for John Lyman, whom he called "a troubling painter" because his portraits, although well drawn, "are unfortunately painted with colour I do not understand. Mr. Lyman, who is an artist, evidently has the right to use the colouring he wants, but, all the same, the pleasure that I have from seeing his works is spoiled by this use of disagreeable hues."²¹⁸

Henri Hébert was the only practising artist to contribute an article

to Le Nigog. His ideas echo those of Préfontaine, as he believed that expression in art comes from form and not subject matter.²¹⁹ He wrote,

The artist looks first for a plastic harmony; if an idea grafts itself on top and explains itself well, all the better, if there is only a beautiful form too bad for the idea; the work is beautiful and decorative, and that is its goal.²²⁰

The most contemporary ideas on art were expressed by Louis Bourgoïn in an article on "Art et science."²²¹ Bourgoïn believed that science and technology had opened up entirely new vistas for art. Science has altered our ideas about the solidity of matter and has revealed that there are no absolutes. What applies in science also applies to art, as the evolution of our thinking encourages new artistic conceptions. He wrote:

The new schools which appear absurd to many do not seem to us any more condemnable in their endeavours than the logical conceptions which are responsible for the construction of non-Euclidean geometry or the quantum theory. Because things do not correspond to anything real, it does not follow that they are absurd or useless.²²²

The numerous articles on architecture exemplify the gap between what was happening in the cultural community in Quebec and that in more progressive international centres. The contributing architects had much to say about the deplorable state of Quebec architecture.²²³ However, the specific buildings they praised, the neo-Classical Bank of Montreal building, for example,²²⁴ were usually traditional in style. The architectural theories defined in the review, the considerations of harmony, proportion, sobriety, simplicity, etc.,²²⁵ derive essentially from classicism. Pierre-Richard Bisson, in his analysis of the architectural content of Le Nigog, concluded that the collaborators demonstrated the prevailing conservatism in the province and a

surprising lack of interest in the most influential modern movements²²⁶ They made no reference to the ideas of Gropius and Le Corbusier in Europe, or H.H. Richardson and Frank Lloyd Wright in the United States.²²⁷

Leduc also had a strong interest in architecture and held subscriptions to several architectural journals.²²⁸ His notes demonstrate a progressive attitude toward architecture as a creative art. He had copied out several pages of the theory of Le Corbusier.²²⁹ Two pages of his own reflections on architecture are indicative of his accrued ideas. In summary, he criticized "our architects" for their fear of creating in a new style, a fear deriving from submission to social constraints and proven styles, from fear of new industrial materials, and most of all fear of themselves and their own lack of creative ability. He wrote:

This fear of oneself is, without doubt, the wisdom, the timorous wisdom of those who cannot invent. Refuged in their demi-science, they abdicate their art, forget their function, their mission, and become careful archeologists. Forcing us, without the will of a strong opinion, always to look, with our eyes toward the future, on the outdated façade of the past, and to replace our anxious steps, we who are avid for freedom, in the ancient steps of our predecessors.²³⁰

The economist and nationalist Édouard Montpetit, who was a professor at the Université de Montréal, and the architect Ramsay Traquair, each wrote one article for Le Nigog which demonstrated their interest in the social value of art.²³¹ The ideas that they expressed are similar to ideas Leduc would discuss in public speeches about art in the 1930s. Montpetit lamented the fact that art had become "an anomaly" in Quebec because the people had become devoted to material pursuits.²³² "But art is infinitely better than an article of commerce. Art reveals; art

attests; art is a national element, a very high necessity. One judges a country by its art."²³³ Through art the artist discloses his dreams, creates beauty that enriches lives, "unites hearts in the same cult," and "participates in the ideal of the nation."²³⁴ Traquair revealed an anti-elitist attitude, for although he supported many of the ideas stated by others, he placed them clearly in the context of service to the general public. To Traquair, the artist's public responsibility to provide accessible art was more important than self-indulgence. He wrote:

The love of civilized man for Nature is no proof of the existence of beauty in Nature but rather of the great power of the human mind, itself the highest product of Nature. It is the function of the highest form of the human mind, the artistic, to reveal to man the beauty which is latent in his own mind and which awaits only this touch of inspiration to be apparent in every work of nature or of man. The artist is a servant of the public and his duty is to make life beautiful for each man by awakening man's own emotions.²³⁵

Traquair believed that artists must be concerned with producing useful art, practical well-designed articles for everyday life, and should take an interest in upgrading popular art forms such as posters and "the coloured supplement."²³⁶

The last issue of Le Nigog appeared in December 1918. The major participants were tired of a battle that seemed futile.²³⁷ The war in Europe was over, and several of them looked forward to returning to France. As they had anticipated in their first edition, Le Nigog exacerbated the "regionalist quarrel" that had simmered since the first diatribes against the "exotics" of Le Soc.²³⁸ The ideas presented in the review were hardly radical, especially by modern European standards. Nor had the review been particularly educational, for many of the articles

were simplistic and generalized. Nevertheless, the Nigog's demands for artistic freedom represented a challenge to the regionalist programme. The proposal that subject matter was of no consequence in art contradicted the importance of the regionalist vision of French Canada. The confrontational attitude of many of the articles of the review diminished any grounds for conciliation that might have been established between the factions. Le Nigog was condemned for being dogmatic, elitist, and traitorous.²³⁹ Even after its demise, regionalist supporters continued to denounce the review, in large part as a foil to bolster their own ideas.²⁴⁰ In 1919 in La Revue nationale, the writer Léo-Paul Desrosiers voiced lingering animosity toward members of the Nigog "school," castigating them for their smug sense of superiority. He accused them of contempt for the French Canadian public and artists and of betraying their own country.²⁴¹ Looking back on this period, Marcel Dugas recognized that he and his colleagues had committed excesses and that a conciliation should have been possible, for the sides were not especially far apart.²⁴² Reflecting on the quarrels over the issue of regionalism he commented that the sides were divided "primarily by a question of form" rather than regionalist subject matter.²⁴³ He wrote:

The soul of the truth which can be found in true regionalism was not inaccessible to us. In the past we denounced a crude shapeless regionalism which was only a coarse reproduction of life. We were keeping ourselves for that which, in the future, would raise itself to a form of art.²⁴⁴

The reaction against Le Nigog must also be considered in the context of the rising nationalist sentiments during the war years and the consolidation of nationalist leadership in the hands of Abbé Lionel Groulx and the supporters of L'Action française. In his call for

"intellectual action" in L'Action française in 1917, Groulx had expressed relief that the era of "exoticism" appeared to have passed ("thanks to God") and that French Canadian literature would henceforth be Catholic and French, and "bravely regionalist."²⁴⁵ Blanche Lamontagne's Par nos champs et nos rives (1917), a volume of lyrical regionalist poems depicting life in the Gaspé, was extolled by Abbé Camille Roy in Le Parler français as the model of works of le terroir.²⁴⁶ In contrast, Albert Laberge's realist novel La Scouine, depicting the grinding poverty and sordidness of rural life, was published in only sixty copies and discretely distributed amongst friends. Laberge had published extracts of his text in various periodicals over a number of years, and in 1909 his work had been soundly condemned by Archbishop Bruchési of Montreal as "vile pornography."²⁴⁷ The year Le Nigog appeared was filled with nationalist-sponsored events: conferences, lectures, publications, and pilgrimages to historical sites under the auspices of L'Action française;²⁴⁸ the founding of the Société des Arts, Sciences et Lettres which sponsored lectures on regionalist topics and founded a journal, a new Le Terroir;²⁴⁹ and literary competitions for the writers of le terroir, sponsored by the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal.²⁵⁰

Although Leduc associated with the Nigog circle, he also took part in nationalist activities during this period. Letters to him from the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, dated 1918, indicate that Leduc participated in a "patriotic undertaking" to publish booklets of illustrated stories of French Canadian history intended to educate the youth of the country.²⁵¹ This was probably the volume Fleurs de lys,

produced from the entries of the 1917 literary competition, which had history as its theme.²⁵² Leduc contributed nine illustrations for a story about the explorer La Verendrye by Judge L.-A. Prud'homme.²⁵³ In 1917, at the request of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, he participated in an exhibition of works of le terroir in support of a movement to create a Musée de Beaux-Arts for French Canadian artists.²⁵⁴

Leduc probably made close contact with prominent nationalists during the years he worked on his decorations for the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile-End, Montreal. The curé, Abbé Philippe Perrier, was actively involved in the nationalist movement through numerous organizations, including L'Action française, becoming its president in the 1920s.²⁵⁵ His presbytery was a nationalist salon; among those who attended his weekly gatherings were eminent clerics, supporters of L'Action française, Henri Bourassa, and Leduc's old friend Abbé Henri Beaudet when he was in Montreal.²⁵⁶

Olivier Maurault:

As noted above, Leduc initially became friends with Abbé Maurault through mutual affiliation with the Nigog group. Their friendship blossomed because of a shared interest in ecclesiastical art and remained firm long after the group dispersed. Maurault had maintained a carefully balanced alignment with both the modernists associated with Le Nigog and the nationalists associated with L'Action française. His participation in Le Nigog was marked by discretion. Although he attended the collaborative meetings in Préfontaine's library, his only written contribution to the review was "Ambiance," a brief encouragement to

improve the quality of French spoken in Quebec and a lament for the ugliness of modern Montreal.²⁵⁷ In August 1918, he wrote "Tendances de l'art canadien" for L'Action française which appears to refute the views on art expressed by Le Nigog.²⁵⁸ He wrote, "The subject? I know, it has little importance in art! However, we must attempt to acknowledge it in order to draw out the tendencies of our indigenous art."²⁵⁹ Citing examples of rural landscapes and genre scenes by various artists, he maintained that regionalist subjects had inspired strong and original works.²⁶⁰ He concluded:

Let us not be intimidated by those irritated by the word "terroir." The country and the things of the country do not move them and they have no qualms in confessing it or flaunting it. On our part, we believe our history is very beautiful, our seasons rich and varied, our rural people truly picturesque. The artists with refined senses will know how to discover beauties in it that have escaped us and will know how to fix them by means of the pencil, the brush, or the chisel, and will always merit our gratefulness and maybe, as well, a little glory.²⁶¹

In 1919, using the initials B.M., he penned a carefully worded defense of Le Nigog.²⁶² He mourned its demise for, while it had "committed imprudence" in touching sensitive subjects such as regionalism, it had stimulated a much needed discussion of art.²⁶³ He called the collaborators "courageous" and, although "certain philosophical theories, certain poetic imaginations, sometimes caused disarray and suspicion," he felt that "often the expression has surpassed the thought of the writers and one should not too readily accuse Le Nigog of truly dangerous tendencies."²⁶⁴

Maurault was situated in the midst of the nationalist movement by virtue of the positions he attained within the Sulpician order. When Leduc met him he was Director of the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice (1915-

1918) and vicar at Saint-Jacques Church in Montreal (1915-1926). He later became curé of Notre-Dame Basilica (1926-1929), Superior of the Externat classique de Saint-Sulpice (1929-1934), and Rector of the Université de Montréal (1934-1955). He began an association with the university when he was appointed chaplain for the École Polytechnique in 1916, and in 1919 he became a member of the university's administrative council.²⁶⁵ Through Maurault, Leduc was introduced into a more nationalist milieu. He met friends Maurault had made through his activities at the Bibliothèque, associates from the university, other contributors to L'Action française, and fellow clergy. Often Maurault's friends would accompany him on his visits to Saint-Hilaire.²⁶⁶

In 1972, Jean Éthier-Blais, who knew Maurault while he was a student at the Université de Montréal, wrote an intriguing assessment of him which makes the apparent contradictions in his actions less puzzling.²⁶⁷ Éthier-Blais described Maurault as a man of refined cultural tastes who "refused the human mold that our society offered him. One had to have a certain courage to assert oneself as an aesthete in a period when art signified the sin of degeneracy."²⁶⁸ He contended that Maurault survived by his social skills, his refinement, his eloquence, his intelligence, and his appropriate silences. He fulfilled his delight in the world of beauty through the social and ceremonial duties he was required to perform and his dedicated support for the arts. Éthier-Blais described Maurault's life in Montreal as one of internal exile. Although personally careful to adhere to social conventions, he had "a tenderness for the men who dare, before society, to affirm their own being," and he "preferred the unusual over custom," which is the reason he gave his

support to Paul-Émile Borduas and the writer François Hertel during the 1930s.²⁶⁹ "Mgr. Maurault does not forget that other destinies, the antithesis of his own, enlighten our time. With a certain irony, he has put his feebleness at the service of their strength."²⁷⁰

Maurault's promotion of French Canadian culture was vital to many in the arts community. He published numerous articles in L'Action française and its associated yearly publication L'Almanach de la langue française, in which he championed artists and writers of merit and encouraged public patronage of the arts. Some of these articles were published in two collections: Brièvetés in 1927 and Marges d'histoire in 1929.²⁷¹ The range of his tastes and interests is revealed in these writings which include praise for the poetry of Paul Morin²⁷² as well as tributes to prominent ultranationalists like Abbé Groulx and Mgr. Louis-Adolphe Paquet. In his own way he encouraged regionalist writers to probe the deeper realm of the human soul and to purify their expression by attention to contemporary French models. For Maurault, as for Leduc, modern form and universal human sentiments did not exclude nationalist concerns. Reviewing the book Âmes et Paysages by the "regionalist theorist" Léo-Paul Desrosiers, he concluded that this work demonstrated to writers "the possibility, while remaining regionalist, to touch humanity."²⁷³ Maurault saw his role as an educator in the tradition of the Sulpician order.²⁷⁴ While associated with the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice he supported cultural study groups like the Cercle Ville-Marie and founded a chapter of the nationalist youth society, the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française.²⁷⁵ He initiated the art exhibitions at the Bibliothèque and put the library facilities to use as

an intellectual centre for meetings, lectures, and concerts.²⁷⁶ More than anyone else, he was responsible for bringing Leduc to the attention of the public. Leduc was the first of the artists featured in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice exhibitions, and the show generated a great deal of interest in his work.²⁷⁷ Maurault was delighted with the public response and wrote to Leduc about the strong attendance, "You are certainly much better known today than a month ago. And that is part of my goal."²⁷⁸ Maurault had a special interest in ecclesiastical art, especially French Gothic architecture, and he became the strongest supporter of Leduc's religious decorations. He shared Leduc's concern for a revitalization of church decoration in Quebec. His articles and books on the art and architecture of Quebec churches served to generate public interest. His articles in L'Action française and the Almanach de la langue française directed attention to Leduc's decorations in the Church of Saint-Raphael de l'île Bizard and the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile-End, Montreal.²⁷⁹ In 1921, he published a monograph on Leduc's decoration of the Sacré-Coeur Chapel in the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus which explained the theme and iconography of the programme.²⁸⁰

Despite the difference in their ages²⁸¹ and their social backgrounds, Maurault and Leduc developed a long and intimate relationship which evolved out of their mutual interest in art, their similar ideas on the social value of art in Quebec, and their spiritual accord. Like Roquebrune, Préfontaine, Paul Morin, and others in the Nigog circle, Maurault had been brought up in a wealthy Montreal family which enjoyed a rich cultural life.²⁸² After being ordained in 1910, he

spent two years in France completing his studies.²⁸³ During vacations, he toured the country admiring its Gothic cathedrals,²⁸⁴ developing an interest in medieval architecture that he would pursue by reading Huysmans²⁸⁵ and Emile Mâle.²⁸⁶ Entrusted with the task of finding a decorator for the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, he searched Paris for a suitable candidate. He was attracted to the decorative works of Henri Martin, René Ménard, and Albert Besnard, but especially to that of Maurice Denis whom he met through a mutual friend, Abbé Léonce Marraud, an advocate of the modern Catholic art movement in France.²⁸⁷ Maurault was taken to Denis's studio and to see his work in the church of Vésinet and the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.²⁸⁸ While in Paris, Maurault followed the exhibitions of modern art, and subsequently "scrutinized tons of futurist and surrealist sculpture and painting."²⁸⁹ Although he tried to understand it, he could find no beauty in it, and concluded that the plastic arts must limit themselves to "the visible world, or to the world of the spirits,--the angels for example,--rendered visible invested in human forms,--and to abandon to music and poetry the expression of the subconscious."²⁹⁰

The friendship between Maurault and Leduc formed while Leduc was working on his decoration of the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus from 1916 to 1919. As Leduc designed the programme for the newly constructed baptistery, the Sacré-Coeur Chapel, Maurault furnished advice on Christian iconography, referring to Emile Mâle's L'Art religieux au XIIIe siècle en France. He explained the symbolism of the number eight in the context of baptism, quoting from Mâle's explanation of the medieval use of octagonal baptismal fonts: "It is difficult not to see

an application of mystical arithmetic taught by the Fathers. For them, the number eight was the symbol of new life...of the final resurrection and of that anticipated resurrection implied in baptism."²⁹¹ Leduc's response to Maurault's support was clear. "I discover in myself a strong penchant for symbolism and you encourage me."²⁹² The complexity of symbolism found in the Sacré-Coeur Chapel demonstrates the effects of Maurault's encouragement and an interest in the medieval conception of sacred art derived from Mâle and Huysmans.

Maurault's monograph on the Sacré-Coeur decoration is an important source of information on the iconography.²⁹³ Correspondence between Maurault and Leduc indicates that Leduc advised him on the text.²⁹⁴ Leduc emphasized that aspects of the programme related to the "the generative idea of the decoration" embodied in the Latin inscription over the entranceway.²⁹⁵ According to Maurault the inscription reads: "The Law intervened to make sin abound; but where sin abounds, grace has superabounded."²⁹⁶ Leduc stated that the profusion of significant details and emblems sum up the idea of superabundance.²⁹⁷ Leduc described his technique as polished toward perfection, but "expressive enough that nothing will escape the attentive visitor." He remarked that Maurault, because he was "used to dealing with ideas," could, more easily than himself, link the details which varied in importance to the total and show the unity of expression.²⁹⁸ In the monograph, Maurault described the four murals, Le Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, Le Pêché Originel, Le Baptême de Jésus, and La Crucifixion (flanked by panels depicting Le Mauvais Larron and Le Bon Larron), which carry the theme of Redemption. He also noted that Leduc linked the entire decoration together by means

of harmonious motifs where "nothing has been left to chance."²⁹⁹ The text and the accompanying illustrations reveal an integration of ideas gleaned from Gothic art with a concern to create a work with local and contemporary relevance.

Leduc's iconography, which incorporates signs of the zodiac with scenes of human labour, seems to be clearly derived from Mâle's explanation of the medieval conception of the universe as "a thought of God" where everything is ordered in the service of its Creator.³⁰⁰ According to Mâle, in Gothic cathedrals in France, all aspects of the iconography, including the celestial signs of the zodiac, Biblical themes, all the activities of humanity, past and present, and the world of nature, represent an encyclopedic vision of the ordered realm of God. In the Sacré-Coeur Chapel, in the arches of the apses, "among the heads of angels," Leduc inscribed the signs of the zodiac.³⁰¹ Maurault explained that this iconography related to the idea that "the permanence of sin and the permanence of grace are two indubitable facts. God, who is the master of time, has not wanted any of it changed over the centuries."³⁰² Among Leduc's own notes are several pages on the significance of the zodiac in medieval decoration.³⁰³ As in Mâle,³⁰⁴ Leduc noted that the signs of the zodiac were associated with images of human labour during corresponding months of the year, to signify that God was "the creator of celestial marvels, the author of their influences on earth and the first principle of all made above and below" and as reminder to all those who "fulfill their duties with zeal and gratitude" of the final recompense for useful ordered work.³⁰⁵ According to Mâle:

The Middle Age was not only the age of contemplation, it was the age of work accepted and conceived not as servitude but as enfranchisement. Manual labour...delivers man from the necessities to which since the Fall his body is subject, while instruction delivers him from the ignorance which has weighed down his soul.³⁰⁶

In the mural Le Sacré-Coeur de Jésus (Fig. 62), located above the altar, Leduc took the medieval theme of the value of labour and gave it regionalist relevance. Christ as the Sacred Heart is placed in a Quebec setting with scenes depicting agricultural and industrial workers. The composition recalls a sculpted frieze in Chartres Cathedral described by Huysmans in La Cathédrale. Huysmans wrote that beside an image of the fall of Adam and the expulsion from Eden, and "for the perpetual instruction of everyone," the sculptor had created "a calendar of stone, with all the work of the countryside and an industrial catechism with the work of the city...."³⁰⁷ Leduc's Le Sacré-Coeur de Jésus is accompanied in the chapel by a scene of the expulsion in Le Péché Originel, and, in the mural of the Sacré-Coeur, a skull lies at Christ's feet as a reminder of the fall of Adam.³⁰⁸ Maurault remarked that with his composition Leduc wanted

to recall the promises of the Sacred Heart to those who work and suffer....It is because of original sin that we work by the sweat of our brows; but thanks to the love of Jesus, this labour has compensations and will be one day crowned in the eternal rest.³⁰⁹

To the right of Christ is a scene of rural Quebec. The figures of a mother and child and a sower appear in the foreground, another farmer plows with his team of horses in the middleground and, beside a distant hill, some houses and a belltower are framed against a twilight sky. These rural images not only correspond to the agricultural iconography illustrated by Mâle which decorated Gothic churches³¹⁰ (Fig. 63) but

bear distinctly nationalist connotations. The mother and child, the sower, and the cultivator were ubiquitous regionalist images extolling the virtues of an idealized rural life. To the left of Christ is a modern industrial scene, with stone workers in the foreground, behind them a factory with its smokestacks and, in the distance, the city with a silhouette of a cathedral, which Maurault designated as "St. Peter's of Rome or of Montreal, no doubt."³¹¹ By balancing a rural scene with an urban image, Leduc's mural acknowledged the growth of industry in the province, a reality recognized with foreboding by clerical-nationalists.³¹² The church in the background can be interpreted as a reminder that participation in industrial development must be guided by the moral leadership of the church. It seems to me that Leduc's images of labour connect the medieval concept of work in the service of God and for individual salvation to the nationalist promotion of the same idea. Leduc may have been encouraged in his conception of the programme by the curé of the church, Abbé Philippe Perrier, a prominent ultranationalist. Quebec a History 1867-1929 remarks on the clerical-nationalist attitudes to social roles:

Glorification of work and effort was at the centre of all social conceptions. The inequalities existing in society were considered natural and willed by God. The human being would be rewarded for his deeds only in the hereafter; on earth, he had to accept deprivation and misfortune--also willed by God--without protest. Any challenge to the social order was thus to be condemned.³¹³

Placing the figure of Christ in familiar terrestrial settings, as in the Saint-Hilaire decorations, conveyed the idea of a living faith and the constant promise of salvation. Maurault called this mural "truly original, leaving far behind the ordinary pious image," especially in

the simplicity of the depiction of Christ, humble in his supplication for our love.³¹⁴ Christ is flanked by eight angels carrying symbols of the Passion. In his description of this mural, Maurault pointed out that Leduc used the number eight, "the symbolic number of the Redemption," throughout his decoration.³¹⁵ To denote the supernatural, these sacred figures are treated in a more hieratic manner than the figures in the Quebec scenes, which display the simplified naturalism of Leduc's Claude Paysan illustrations. Christ and his angels stand beneath the symbolic Tree of Life. Its branches and sinuous roots overflow the mural, extending into the decorative border, suggesting that it still grows vigorously. The border consists of stylized maple seeds and leaves, and apple branches entwined on a trellis, incorporating both local and religious connotations.

Le Pêché originel (Fig. 64), painted over the arch of the entrance, brings to life the theme of original sin and the promise of grace. On the left, Adam and Eve stand against the forest of earthly Paradise. Leduc has depicted that Paradise as a Quebec forest, vividly alive with thick, luxuriant growth like that one would find on Mont Saint-Hilaire. The figures are markedly human in the robust modelling of their nude bodies and in their convincing gestures of sorrow and isolation. They symbolically "graze a sterile bush, charged with spines,"³¹⁶ which separates them from the forest and the Virgin on the opposite side of the mural. Eve cowers behind Adam who turns, arm outstretched, in supplication to the Virgin. Maurault remarked that Adam looks to the Virgin, "confident in the promise of Redemption."³¹⁷ The Virgin, haloed in a light filled with stars, stands on a crescent moon and a serpent

amid a profusion of roses, also against the background of the forest. The spiny bush and the prominent coiling body and hideous head of the vanquished serpent potently denote the constant peril of temptation and evil. The radiant Virgin is posed like the figure of Erato in Érato (muse dans la forêt),³¹⁸ only in this case the eyes are downcast and the countenance is serene. On the arch of the door, eight angels kneel piously toward the Virgin. The angel closest to Her kneels in a gesture of the Annunciation.³¹⁹

The expressive quality of this painting, particularly in the gestural treatment of the background and the modified classicism of figures of Adam and Eve, is rather similar in style to the work of the French artist George Desvallières, in works like La Fanfare or Le Bon Larron, illustrated in Art et Décoration in 1913.³²⁰ Although Leduc was not imitating Desvallières directly, for certainly his interpretation of emotion in Le Sacré Coeur and Le Bon Larron is distanced from the anguished, tortured figures in corresponding paintings by Desvallières,³²¹ he surely would have been interested in the text of the accompanying article. Paul Cornu, author of the commentary, observed that Desvallières derived his inspiration from the art and ideas of the Middle Ages and that he was dedicated to penetrating the human and living aspect of the Christian faith. Maurice Denis's similar ideas were undoubtedly an influence on Leduc by this time as well, considering that Leduc and Maurault shared an interest in this artist. Both Desvallières and Denis envisioned a renewal of sacred art representative of its own era and expressive of intimate religious experience.³²² These two artists were cofounders of the Atelier d'art sacré in Paris in 1919.³²³

The chapel paintings reflect Leduc's constant intention to make religion personally relevant. In comparison with his decoration in the Saint-Hilaire Church, this programme exhibits a higher degree of originality in the conception and complexity of the compositions. Having absorbed influences from Puvis de Chavannes, the Pre-Raphaelites, and an assortment of modern painters, he had consolidated his own decorative style. By no means extreme, his manner remained basically naturalistic but gently stylized and simplified, with an accent on the linear, imparting a hieratic quality yet keeping the work accessible to the viewer. The decoration of the baptistery had taken two years, an indication of Leduc's dedication to the project. Both Curé Perrier and Louis N. Audet, the architect who had designed the chapel, petitioned Leduc to complete his work.³²⁴ Responding by letter to Audet, Leduc stressed the importance that he placed on this programme and added:

Perhaps it is necessary for me to accept once again that a considerable work of art cannot be executed in Canada by a Canadian for the unbelievable reason that it takes him too long. A foreigner could hope to have a little more latitude. I have nothing to teach you on this state of things and I will add no remarks.³²⁵

Landscapes:

During the decade between 1910 and 1920, Leduc's intimate attachment to nature inspired him to produce the most profoundly original landscape paintings yet seen in Canada. Works such as Pommes vertes (Fig. 71), Neige dorée (Fig. 73), and Lueurs de soir (Fig. 74) began to emerge when he turned his full attention to expressing his spiritual preoccupations through the Saint-Hilaire landscape. To appreciate the uniqueness of Leduc's paintings of this period, it needs to be recognized that the

traditionally honoured masters of the metaphysical landscape in Canadian art history such as Lawren Harris and Emily Carr, who were also active during this period, did not begin to create their unique spiritual masterworks until after 1920. Like Harris and Carr, Leduc developed a personal aesthetic means of expressing his apprehension of the divine in the natural world around him. His form evolved from his long examination of the ideas associated with European Symbolism, and while it is apparent that he was aware of more modern abstract currents, he rejected them for an approach more closely related to his own philosophical perspective.

He expressed the spiritual communion he felt with the Saint-Hilaire landscape in many of his personal notes and certainly in his late article, "L'Histoire de S.-Hilaire, on l'entend, on la voit."³²⁶ His remarks, in a speech to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe in 1937, convey his sense of oneness with nature and his desire to translate that experience into paint:

The game of the artist is free, like space and time, but humanly subjugated to the fatalities of existence, fatalities imposed by the cosmic enchainment of the universe. He accepts the destiny of the seasons, the climates, the sun, and the nights and thereby becomes an aspect of nature. No doubt the illusion of an empathetic participant, but an illusion which leads him to make a symbol of the object of his contemplation. It is the mirror of his aesthetic sentiments, where the me and the not-me join by following the path of the heart.

Everything is colour in the game of the artist-painter. This colour is not the light but undulates with light. The artist knows this and by his game he makes the imponderable inhabit it. Through colour, he makes light break forth, lightly or more sombre. Light regulates the opacity and allows him to represent dazzling daylight, fading twilight, ascending night. For the painter, daylight is colour, like the seasons, the climates. Colours, people and things, water, cloud, the mountain which gets lost in it, lightning as well as the dark storm, the sun as well as the rainbow.

In his game, the artist embraces the world of light and of night without limit, and renders them, so to speak, "palpable" for us. He affixes himself to things and thus gives them the appearance of his dream.³²⁷

Many writers have commented on the spiritual quality of Leduc's landscapes.³²⁸ Louise Beaudry's recent thesis, Une analyse formelle iconographique de quatre paysages (1913-1921) d'Ozias Leduc, is an intensive analysis of Fin du journée, Pommes vertes, Neige dorée and L'Heure mauve in the context of Christian symbolism.³²⁹ Her exhibition catalogue, Les paysages d'Ozias Leduc, lieux de méditation / Contemplative Scenes, the Landscapes of Ozias Leduc, summarized her interpretations of these paintings and other of Leduc's landscapes. Because Leduc was so immersed in Christian iconography, many of the symbolic references in his religious decorations may also be discernable in his landscapes. We find images of the rainbow,³³⁰ apple tree, and fire,³³¹ and the symbolic use of colour and darkness and light³³² that recur in his decorations. But Leduc's motifs also can be traced to the Romantic repertory as much as to specifically Christian iconography: for example, the blasted tree in Le Cumulus bleu (Fig. 66), the precipitous cliff in Fin de journée (Fig. 65), and the mountain in Neige dorée (Fig. 73). Beaudry's literal analysis of every detail, from spatial arrangements to form, colour, and imagery, and her attempt to give a complex and definitive theological reading of Leduc's paintings is bogged down in subjective over-interpretation.³³³ For example, Beaudry found the symbol of Christ embodied in each of the four works studied in her thesis. The ladder in Fin de journée became Christ the Redeemer;³³⁴ the tree in Pommes vertes was a symbol of "the life of the cosmos,"

"immortality," "the central axis of the earth and the Universe," Christ and the Cross;³³⁵ the pine tree near the centre of the picture in Neige dorée was the Crucifixion of Christ, the trees on either side were the two crucified thieves, and the small pine accompanying the "thief" on the right was "humble and repentant man";³³⁶ the colour violet in L'Heure mauve (Fig. 75) was the symbol of Christ, mauve the symbol of God, and their union meant the Crucifixion has passed.³³⁷ Beaudry's analysis of colour relied largely on Leduc's lengthy notes on "Le Symbolisme des Couleurs," a valuable but undated document which begins with the statement:

By the choice of his tones and their nuances, the painter can modify the general idea of a composition and give his subjects and his lesser objects a particular language and a separate philosophy. A tradition of the conventional language of colours is established; it is revived in these notes made in the course of reading. Colours can just as well be signs of ideas as are lines or forms.³³⁸

Leduc had compiled multiple meanings for colours and their variations which derive from mythology and Eastern religions as well as Christian symbolism. Beaudry chose her colour meanings selectively in order to justify her reading of the paintings. Out of the five pages Leduc devoted to the colour green, she chose, with regard to the green of the apples in Pommes vertes, the symbolic meaning of "hope and promise," as well as the idea of regeneration derived from Leduc's notation that green is associated with the Hindu god Vishnu and that Christ wore a green robe as a child.³³⁹ Leduc's use of green in Pommes vertes may well mean regeneration, but he did also note that this colour had a variety of significations from "folly and moral degradation" to temptation and an association with the Devil. For Leduc, colour was associated with the

presence of light, which represented the immanence of God. He wrote:

A painting? It is freezing the memory of a coloured instant. The instants in the day are multiple and the days dissimilar; their colours with thousands of sincere brushstrokes of the artist are only documentary elements. They will make iridescent the verisimilitude of his creations, creations subordinated to the universal creation, of which the author, merged with it, inhabits the light: the good god of painting.³⁴⁰

Leduc's landscape paintings express the apprehension of God through an affective response to the natural world and invite direct experience rather than demanding to be read analytically for all symbolic content. In a Symbolist manner, Leduc searched for new and less determinate "equivalents" in order to enhance the multileveled evocative power of his works.³⁴¹ Subject and subjective form are integrated, with the aesthetic elements of painting, line, colour, and composition, transforming scenes from the everyday landscape into meditations on metaphysical themes. And contrary to what Beaudry has suggested, the use of colour and form derive as much from intuitive feeling as from traditional symbolism. As Leduc stated in his notes, the artist devises his visual language during the creative process:

Man finds himself in art and painting by means of signs which are particular to each one; signs which each invents in front of the work in progress, undertaken with the goal of responding to the infinite drama which tortures the artist.³⁴²

The tiny charcoal drawing, Profil dans un nuage (Fig. 29), of 1908, was the first of Leduc's pure landscape series, but no others appeared until 1913, when he painted Fin de journée and Le Cumulus bleu. From this point his paintings demonstrate the growing mastery of a decorative style as he created a personal formal language which allowed him to move from the literal depiction of appearances, as in Fin de journée, to a more abstract and powerful expression of his inner experience,

exemplified by Lueurs du soir (1916). However, each landscape remains distinctive. It was important to Leduc to paint with a fresh vision each time he began a work and to avoid developing a "manner." He expressed that intention to Maurault sometime during this period, as Maurault later recalled in his article, "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique."³⁴³ Leduc had told him: "I do not have a particular manner and I do not want one; each time I paint, I am looking for something "³⁴⁴ He added, "I never copy [nature] on the spot; I know its aspects by heart. I know the different types of trees and their configurations come to me as soon as someone mentions their name: my arm traces them by itself."³⁴⁵

Although Leduc did manage to stay free from adopting a formula, his work increasingly reflects the influence of Symbolist art and theory. The evolution of his approach can be traced to the assimilation of ideas found in the international journals he had studied for over a decade. The strong decorative quality displayed in Pommes vertes and Neige dorée was undoubtedly influenced by the Art Nouveau concerns of Art et Décoration and The Studio and their constant selection of features on stylized graphic and applied arts, Japanese art, and the various painters who worked in a decorative Symbolist mode. In particular, Leduc seems to have derived inspiration from the landscapes of Scandinavian Symbolists, who had also come to the attention of the embryonic Group of Seven painters in Toronto at this same time. Leduc's winter landscapes especially demonstrate a strong resemblance in the use of rhythmic forms, compositional structure, spiritual twilight lighting, and pastel colouring to the work of Scandinavian painters such as Anshelm Schultzberg (Fig. 72), Gustav Fjaestad, and Anna Boberg, who had been

featured in The Studio,³⁴⁶ The International Studio,³⁴⁷ and Art et Décoration.³⁴⁸ It is surprising that this has not been noted before, although Arlene Gehmacher briefly suggested the need to look at a Scandinavian influence.³⁴⁹ Leduc's growing interest in pure landscape may have directed him to the romantic paintings of the Scandinavian artists whose concerns seemed to mirror his own. If he was looking at their work, he would have been aware of the underlying nationalist sentiments which it often embodied. The issue of nationalism in Scandinavian art was discussed in various articles that appeared in the journals, mentioned as early as 1897 in an article on Prince Eugen in The Studio.³⁵⁰ An article on Finnish art in Art et Décoration in 1908 discussed the evolution of modern Finnish art in terms of the assimilation of French influences which allowed for personal expression and the reflection of place while thwarting a narrow regionalism.³⁵¹ While Leduc's landscapes cannot be termed nationalist works, like Scandinavian Symbolist paintings they do represent a desire to express his emotional and spiritual connection to his own local terrain. Also like Scandinavian landscapes, Leduc's paintings retained a fundamental truth to nature while reflecting Symbolist influences. Roald Nasgaard commented on this aspect of Scandinavian Symbolism: "Northern painting, unlike French, however, shied away from pure aestheticism, saw art in the service of life, and consequently remained faithful to its subject to the point where it never really forsook its realist roots."³⁵²

The coincidence of influences from Art Nouveau and Scandinavian art that appear simultaneously in Leduc's landscapes and those of the Group of Seven around 1914 is intriguing, for the Toronto painters were the

only other artists in Canada who were working in a similarly distinctive style at this time. There is a remarkable correspondence in the use of compositional elements, such as the decorative foreground screen of branches which appear in both Leduc's Pommes vertes and A.Y. Jackson's A North Country Lake, Algonquin Park (1914) as well as Tom Thomson's Red Leaves (1914) and Northern River (1915).³⁵³ The rendering of snowscapes in a Fjaestad-like fashion with rhythmic forms, painted in what J.E.H. MacDonald described as "finely harmonized pinks and purples and blues and cream yellows,"³⁵⁴ is found concurrently in Leduc's landscapes and several works by Lawren Harris.³⁵⁵ How much, if any, of Leduc's apparent interest in this European school came from an awareness of the art of the Toronto painters, or is simply a matter of looking at the same sources at the same time? Peter Mellen noted the influence on Thomson's work by an article on tapestries designed by Swedish artists in the March 1913 issue of The Studio.³⁵⁶ Leduc surely also knew of this article which appeared in April in The International Studio as well, with colour reproductions of tapestries displaying decorative patterns of stylized foliage across the foreground.³⁵⁷ There is little evidence to indicate that Leduc knew about the activities and nationalistic concerns of the Group, but their growing notoriety could hardly have gone unnoticed.³⁵⁸ They were certainly largely responsible for inspiring a new movement directed to capturing the character and spirit of the Canadian landscape.³⁵⁹ Albert Laberge was a friend of A.Y. Jackson³⁶⁰ as well as Leduc. In a letter to Leduc in 1916, Laberge indicated that they had previously spoken of Jackson, and passed on a laudatory remark Jackson had made after seeing Pommes vertes:

I can still hear my friend Alex Jackson before your Pommes vertes. You should have seen his enthusiasm, and you know that Jackson is at the very forefront of our artists. On several occasions he said to me: if this man found himself a group of painters to stimulate him, to force him to produce, he would be the best of all, because he has originality and is a marvellous colourist....I am reporting this to you because it seems to me that the appreciation of this artist whom I admire amongst all will mean something to you.³⁶¹

Despite the obvious similarities between the aesthetic interests of Leduc and those of members of the Group, there still remains marked differences between his work and theirs. Leduc did not use their strong bold colours or free impasto gestures, nor is his landscape the wild north, untamed and rugged. He was not interested in defining the reality of the Canadian landscape, seeking instead its essence through private experience. Nature became the source of his aesthetic language to "codify" his perceptions of transcendental beauty.³⁶² Leduc's works are highly refined, delineated in subtle delicate colors, and carefully crafted, conveying his own need for discipline. The scenes he created are quietly inspirational through the intimate presentation of imagery, where everything is seen at close range. Often the landscapes are tinged with an edge of anxiety or melancholy, most obvious in Fin de journée and L'Heure mauve but also a subtle aspect of works such as Neige dorée and Pommes vertes.

One can understand why A.Y. Jackson was taken with Pommes vertes, for it was the first of Leduc's landscapes to demonstrate a sophisticated decorative design. The earliest of Leduc's landscape paintings of this period, Fin de journée and Le Cumulus bleu, from 1913, retain the simplified naturalism found in Claude Paysan and the scenes of the Choquette farm. Both tend to the literal and are also the only

works that suggest the physical presence of people.

Fin de journée (Fig. 65) expresses a spiritual theme by means of anecdotal metaphor. Leduc described it in a letter to a prospective buyer in 1927. He wrote that it represented

an immense rock of brownish tone darkening toward the base that personages, miners or geologists, now invisible, have scaled by means of a long rope ladder still suspended on its flanks; at the bottom of the ladder and to the right in the painting some tools are left behind, and nearer the centre, the remains of a pyre are dying, a slow bluish smoke rises, tracing some capricious curves on the damp and barren stone.³⁶³

Except for a small patch of a twilight sky at the right hand corner of the scene, the entire canvas confronts us with a sheer rock face. The bit of light contrasting with the darkness of the rock is a vivid example of the "battle between darkness and light" which, as Jean Éthier-Blais pointed out, is a fundamental component of Leduc's art.³⁶⁴ The symbolism implies the terrestrial ignorance in which humanity exists. To reach the full light which can only be glimpsed at the summit of the cliff, the men have had to make a precarious symbolic ascent up the ladder from the site of their explorations at the base. The primordial setting recalls Leduc's fascination with the span of geological time and the evolution of Mont Saint-Hilaire. The geological references, in the setting and the discarded tools, in conjunction with the composition, reflects his belief that the scientific quest for knowledge must be augmented by faith in God in order to achieve true understanding.³⁶⁵ The theme of the transitory passage of humanity, prevalent in his landscapes, is reinforced here by the meanderings of the smoke that drift up the rock wall alongside the ladder.

Le Cumulus bleu (Fig. 66) depicts the aftermath of a storm which has

left a tree shattered in the foreground, its fallen trunk and branches sprawled on the ground beyond a fence. In this work Leduc took a step, albeit a subtle one, from a romantic naturalism to a more formal Symbolist aesthetic to convey meaning and evoke feeling. That transition is evident primarily in the compression and flattening of space. The subject matter of the painting is connected to the long Romantic tradition of an isolated tree, subjected to the forces of nature, as a personification of human aspirations and emotions.³⁶⁶ Leduc's rendering of this theme maintains the Romantic convention of the picturesque tree reaching beyond the horizon to connect with now gentle billowing clouds, the transition between the terrestrial and the eternal, as, for example, in Thomas Cole's Landscape with Tree Trunks (1825).³⁶⁷ Like Cole, Leduc has highlighted the interior of the splintered end of the standing trunk in a glowing golden-pink hue, which matches the colour of the twilight sky seeping through the transparent clouds. A sense of vertical motion is encouraged by the diagonal slope of the hill and the parallel lines of the fence, which move from the foreground of the painting up and along the horizon to the crest. The gestural strokes which delineate the grass, the foliage on the fallen branches, and the circular motion in the cloud also enhance and unify the sensation of an upward sweep. Leduc reinforced that feeling by flattening the background space through colour and the gestural surface, thus pulling the hill and cloud back to the picture plane. The spatial arrangement of the stump of the ravaged tree, isolated and pressed against the picture surface, elicits the viewer's empathy with the depicted drama. This is not the distanced observation of man dwarfed by nature seen in traditional Romantic

landscapes, but the application of a Post-Impressionist and Symbolist compositional device of truncated forms and figures placed on the picture plane to heighten the sense of an intimate personal experience. The foreground elements of tree and fence have been carefully observed and delineated with attention to natural detail in contrast to the freer treatment of the rest of the painting, seemingly to impart a strong impression of actuality, somewhat like the "conceptual realism" of Leduc's paintings of the 1890s. The spiky fragments of the trunk, the agitated treatment of the foliage and twisted shapes of the fallen branches, as well as the glowing golden sky contribute to intensify the emotional response to the scene.

Three drawings from this period are precursors of a large series of drawings of fanciful landscapes, "Imaginations," that Leduc would begin in 1936. These drawings are more spontaneously expressive than his paintings. That is especially evident in the charcoal drawing Paysage de tempête avec arc-en-ciel of 1914 (Fig. 67). The force of an abating storm is effectively captured with gestural strokes that animate a wind blown tree³⁶⁸ (or perhaps tall grasses) in the foreground and the sky filled with clouds behind. A lightly drawn rainbow cuts an arc across the background. A rhythm of curves and lines and the merging of forms generates the impression of a union of natural elements. As Laurier Lacroix noted, this is one of several of Leduc's landscapes that indicate his interest in depicting atmospheric phenomena in order to arouse an emotional response.³⁶⁹ This is an unusual work in that it originated as a preparatory composition on canvas, but, because of its success as a drawing, was left in that state.³⁷⁰ Feu de forêt (Fig. 68),

of 1918, also indicates a fascination with the expressive potential of natural events. Lacroix wrote that "swirls of flames, air and trees seem to form a whole in which those three elements, blending one into the other, all participate in the same celebration of light."³⁷¹ Le Pain de sucre (Fig. 69), of 1915, is a small charcoal drawing, approximately the same size as Profil dans un nuage from 1908, and was acquired along with this earlier work by Jean-Paul Riopelle.³⁷² The very simple tonal composition displays an evening view of the top of Mont Saint-Hilaire and the peak known as the "Pain de sucre," through a foreground bordered with the darkened silhouettes of trees. Twilight lighting predominates in Leduc's landscapes as it does in the works of many of the Symbolists. Twilight may be thought of as a time for dreaming, a moment of mystery and transition. That sense of transition is captured here both by the dusk and in the symbolic image of the mountain as intermediary between earth and sky.

A small landscape painting (26.6 x 14.6 cm), entitled Paysage (Fig. 70) has been dated by Louise Beaudry to sometime around 1913.³⁷³ Its imagined topography and panoramic vista, as well as its sketch-like spontaneity and small size, make it very different from his other paintings of this era and put its date in question. However, it does strongly reflect the Romantic tradition which appears to have been of interest to Leduc around 1913. The distant waterfall and river coursing through a dark and barren gorge is his variation on the commonplace Romantic theme of river canyons prevalent in North-American painting of the nineteenth century. The configuration of this painting, even to the arching cloud in the sky, is reminiscent again of Thomas Cole's

Landscape with Tree Trunks, or is comparable to a Canadian work such as Joseph Légaré's Les chutes de Saint-Ferréol.³⁷⁴ Yet, even with the suggested vastness of the depicted scene, Leduc has made it seem intimate by the small scale and simplicity of the composition. The idea which the painting evokes nevertheless evolves from its Romantic precursors. The grey river seems to emerge in the distance from the cloud of the same colour. Its twisting path through the desolate wilderness encapsulates the terrestrial trials of humanity. The eye follows the curving river back to its source where the upward sweep of the cloud encircling a warm, glowing, pink and golden sunset sky implies enlightenment and ascent.

In Pommes vertes (Fig. 71), from 1914-1915, Leduc eliminated all extraneous detail, purified his forms, and used a reduced palette. Taking a scene derived from his own apple orchard, he has formally transformed it to create "a world a little unreal, but of precise aspect, an incarnation of the subtle, of the magical, of the infinite."³⁷⁵ In its meticulous rendering and carefully ordered composition, the painting exemplifies the search for perfection characteristic of Leduc's approach to art and integrally related to his personal spiritual aspirations. The foreground is screened and shaded by branches laden with luminous green apples spreading across the picture plane. The decorative pattern of the leaves, branches, and apples has been stylized in an linear Art Nouveau manner. The modelled treatment of the apples and the proximity of the branches to the viewer create the impression of being suspended right amongst them. The tree occupies a high viewpoint, and in the spaces framed by the branches, a landscape,

of a close green hue, dotted with trees can be seen below. An almost identical composition, even in the depiction of the trees on a receding landscape, can be found in Portrait of the Artist's Mother by Axel Gallen-Kallela which appeared in Art et Décoration in 1909.³⁷⁶ Gallen-Kallela placed his figure completely across an elevated foreground and cancelled the sense of three dimensional space in the lower distance by tilting the background landscape forward. Leduc has achieved a two-dimensional effect by filling most of the background space with a flat plane of incandescent colour representing a twilight sky, similar to that in Paysage, which clings to the surface of the canvas. Its golden glow is picked up in the highlights on the apples, enhancing a feeling of harmony between the terrestrial and the divine, which is visually suggested by the configuration of the branches. The painting is meditative in mood; the stillness is imbued with a sense of timelessness. Like many of Leduc's works, it seems a frozen moment of the perception of beauty, as he described so often in his notes: "Beauty is the momentary glimmer of the perfection of forms in their eternal becoming. It is a point, a fixed moment of the universal dynamism offered to our sensitivity which is enriched by it."³⁷⁷ Pommes vertes was the first of Leduc's paintings purchased by The National Gallery of Canada after it was exhibited in 1915, and it was subsequently included in several international exhibitions.³⁷⁸

Around the time that Leduc painted this work, Marcel Dugas published his book on Verlaine, Feux de Bengale à Verlaine glorieux (1915). Dugas read aloud from this book at the Alliance française in Montreal in February 1915.³⁷⁹ For Dugas, Verlaine's poem "Crépuscule du Soir

Mystique," describing the moment of union between Memory and Twilight,³⁸⁰ exemplified Symbolism.³⁸¹ He described the Symbolists as "metaphysicians":

In the search for the hidden significance of things, they direct their effort to wrest the secret of the enigmas of the universe; they converse with them, position themselves at the centre of things, give them a poetic voice, and breaking with contingencies, vulgar realities, they surrender to the essential.³⁸²

Dugas gave Leduc a copy of this book and its second edition, Verlaine, essai (1928), published in Paris, which Leduc acknowledged were very precious to him.³⁸³ The admiration of Dugas and his friends for the Symbolist poets, which they shared with Leduc, surely encouraged Leduc's own interest in Symbolism and influenced his changing approach to his landscapes.

The elegantly beautiful Neige dorée (Fig. 73), Leduc's next major work, painted in 1916, was also bought by the National Gallery after it was shown in the Royal Canadian Academy exhibition that year.³⁸⁴ The critic Rodolphe de Repentigny remarked that "it is a work worthy of appearing with a few works which are the landmarks of our civilization."³⁸⁵ As in Pommes vertes, Leduc suggests a sense of distance which is then contradicted by the decorative flattening of pictorial space. According to his own notes, he stressed two-dimensionality to enhance the spiritual quality of his art:

Art is simultaneously an imitation and a decoration....By avoiding sculptural roundness, because of modelling with its oppositions of shade and brightness, one arrives at pure colour. The resulting flatness of form has superior decorative qualities --logically it induces "verticality" of horizontal planes. It is an art which accepts "frontality" and only wants unreal images, spiritual visions of things.

Neige dorée presents a compressed view of Mont Saint-Hilaire to generate

a feeling of ascent. The high horizon, hovering viewpoint, and the reduction of space used in this composition were features commonly found in Symbolist art from the Nabis to the Scandinavians and adapted originally from the influence of Japanese art.³⁸⁶ In this painting, the eye travels up the mountain guided by Art Nouveau arabesques of melting snow and by the progression of pine trees on its slope. The rays of a setting sun strike the snow at the base of the mountain giving it a rich golden radiance which dims to soft green shadows toward the summit. The sculpted volutes of snow are created by thickly applied curving brushstrokes of pale pastel blues, pinks, and creamy yellows carefully laid beside each other. A small wedge of sky, just perceptible in the top left hand corner beside the "Pain de sucre," is filled with flowing clouds, painted in subdued blue tones, echoing the patterns of the snow. The painting is filled with movement which suggests the idea of an inner harmony with the universal rhythm of nature, recalling the ideas of Camille Mauclair in Idées vivantes which Leduc extracted in his own notes. Form and imagery (the golden sunset, the coming spring, the mountain and its darkened peak) become metaphors for a theme of transition and Leduc's spiritual aspirations.

In 1916, Leduc also painted Lueurs du soir (Fig. 74), which the French modernist art-critic Père Marie-Alain Couturier, during his stay in Montreal, was to describe as "Surrealism before its time."³⁸⁷ Repentigny also expressed his admiration for the advanced abstract nature of this painting. He wrote, "The treatment takes away from us all sense of dimension and space; there are only glimmers that remain-- thus, by his concentration on the subject assimilated, Leduc has arrived

at pure painting by 1916."³⁸⁸ The simplicity of this snowscape truly exemplifies Leduc's maxim "Everything is colour in the act of the artist."³⁸⁹ Not only do dimensions escape us but form seems to almost dissolve in light. Led by the simple line defining a ridge of snow up from the shadows at the bottom of the composition we reach a radiant sunlit area against a plane of serene blue sky. Leduc has again worked with a sense of animation, applying his broken strokes of the same sky-blue pigment to describe shadows in the snow with a gentle rhythmic motion; however, the overall atmosphere is one of meditative stillness. He has gradually dispensed with the detailed symbolism found in Le Cumulus bleu and Fin de journée to express directly a spiritual experience. In his notes Leduc wrote, "Creative art hides its science. It achieves fullness with very little. The Universe which contains everything--is it not made of nothing?"³⁹⁰

The last painting of this series, L'Heure mauve (Fig. 75), from 1921, is another snowscape, but of a different mood. As in most of the other paintings of this period, the landscape is treated as a flattened vertical plane. However, previous works display a small border or a section of sky suggesting spiritual goals. In L'Heure mauve we are required to focus entirely on the temporal world. We are presented with a close-up segment of the mountainside where the path is blocked by an entangled barrier of sharp-edged branches lying over the snow. The angular pattern of the frozen, lifeless branches with their dead oak leaves is both beautiful and disquieting. The colour of the snow is chalky, an effect of the use of oil on paper, and consists of solemn muted tones of blue and ochre. The brown branches are outlined in blue-

grey shading. Their jagged shapes recall the barren, spiny bush that appeared in the mural of Le Péché Originel in the Sacré-Coeur Chapel and evoke the idea of earthly tribulations. The semblance of a circle has been created from the branches on the left side of the picture, implying a crown of thorns.³⁹¹ The snow seems draped like a garment, perhaps a shroud or a veil, spreading from the top vertex of the triangle formed from the branches. The symbolic imagery, created through colour, form, and structure, invites reflection on death and redemption.

According to a list of drawings in the "Imaginations" series which Leduc compiled, it is apparent that winter snow scenes remained a common theme in Leduc's later landscapes.³⁹² One of his miscellaneous notes suggests that snow may have been intended as an allusion to God:

The Eternal Father: A white old man, not whitened by the years, but, according to a subtle symbolism, subtle white like the snow and ice of high summits are white. One can conceive of it as the permanence, at these heights, of the glacial phenomenon and its constant colour which should suggest to man taken by the idea of a God without beginning or end or without limit--the enduring image that he would make of it could be inspired by the appearance of frozen fields and by the resplendence of their whiteness.³⁹³

Leduc's landscapes are an eloquent expression of his innermost reflections. He had discovered the power to speak through the landscape and it continued as the most prevalent subject matter in his easel art. Although he never discarded references to nature to enter the realm of pure abstraction, he increasingly expressed himself through colour, light, form, and gesture. As he purified his aesthetic means he gradually dispensed with literal symbols, and they appear rarely in his landscapes after 1914. His artistic language had evolved out of a study of European art, influenced by theories formulated at the turn of the

century. In the Canadian context of their time, Leduc's landscapes are unquestionably progressive, although by international standards they are far from avant-garde if we consider that this era saw the abstract spiritual paintings of Wassily Kandinsky, Marc Chagall, Piet Mondrian, Marsden Hartley, and Georgia O'Keeffe. In their refined beauty and natural imagery, Leduc's paintings appealed to public taste at all levels and from all points of view: realist, regionalist, or avant-garde. Jean Éthier-Blais commented that Leduc's art had "an insidious way of being located at the aesthetic level of his era, while surpassing it."³⁹⁴ "Ruth Bohème," writing in La Patrie in March 1916, encouraged the public to attend Leduc's solo exhibition: "All those who have a bit of love for la terre in their heart go fill their eyes with something pure and strong....These are not the images of futurists or neurotics conceived by certain hallucinating brains."³⁹⁵ Émile Vézina, reviewing Leduc's show in Le Devoir, praised him as a "traditionalist" whose work displayed "no revolutionary style" or "excessive affectations."³⁹⁶

The redirected interest in the Canadian landscape which emerged among other artists undoubtedly was of some inspiration to Leduc.³⁹⁷ Jackson, Harris, MacDonald, and others from the Toronto group of painters were in the public eye with their work and ideas. Maurice Cullen and J.W. Morrice were then among the most influential painters in Quebec, and their fresh visions of the Quebec countryside, their snowy landscapes, along with those of Suzor-Côté and Clarence Gagnon, had captured public attention. However, Leduc's interpretation of his local landscape was an independent and original expression of his own ideals. Through his form and subject matter, he demonstrated more consideration

for regionalist concerns and public attitudes than some of his Nigog friends. His art achieves what Roquebrune, Dugas, and Édouard Chauvin said would be possible "in the hands of a man of genius":³⁹⁸ that is to take Canadian themes and make them sublime; to "sing of Canada with a real beauty of expression, with a strong sensitivity;"³⁹⁹ and to discover "the soul of truth" in regionalism.⁴⁰⁰ His paintings carry both local and universal significance. They effectively reunite the local landscape with its religious roots, the component at the heart of nationalist feeling.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

¹ Jean Éthier-Blais, "Marcel Dugas et son temps," Études françaises (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1917), VII, 258-268. Also see Maurice Lemire's introduction in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec (Montréal: Fides, 1980), II, xi-lviii.

² It is difficult to say how early Leduc was aware of Lahaise's social circle in Montreal. In the numerous dedications included in Lahaise's first book of poetry, Les Phases (1910), Leduc is included along with friends from Le Soc, as well as the journalists Albert Laberge and Olivar Asselin. Laberge may also have met Leduc earlier through their mutual friend Arsène Bessette. There is a letter to Leduc from Paul Morin in Paris, February 1912, thanking him for his "kind words," probably in regard to his book of poetry, Le Paon d'email, published in 1911. "I hope, on my return to have the great pleasure, thanks to our common friend, to meet you and to have you visit me." ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/80. Lahaise's friends Asselin, Morin, Marcel Dugas, René Chopin, and Jean-Baptiste Lagacé are all on Leduc's list of visitors to his studio. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/57.

³ Laurier Lacroix, Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman (Montreal, Sir George Williams Art Galleries, Concordia University, 1978), p. 46.

⁴ Gabriel Nadeau, "Le Docteur Ernest Choquette et Nelligan," Part II, L'Union médicale du Canada, 101 (November 1972), 2455.

⁵ André Bourassa, Surrealism and Quebec Literature, trans. Mark Czarnecki (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 17.

⁶ Jules Fournier, Anthologie des Poètes Canadiens (Montréal: Granger Frères, 1920), p. 270.

⁷ Persan (pseud. of Marcel Dugas), "Estudiantina 'Le Soc'," La Nationaliste, 6 February 1910, p. 3.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Pierre Berthiaume, "La pensée paradoxale d'Olivar Asselin," L'Essai et la prose d'idées au Québec, Archives des lettres canadiennes, (Montréal: Fides, 1985), VI, 392. Berthiaume examined Asselin's nationalist ideals in this article, pp. 379-395, and in the same volume, Renald Bérubé looked at the ideas of Jules Fournier in "Jules Fournier. trouver le mot de la situation," pp. 367-378.

¹⁰ The poetry of Paul Morin is the epitome of Parnassian refinement. The Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois refers to him as "the first true representative of the literary tendency of "art for art's sake" in French Canada." Nevertheless, Morin professed his patriotism in a letter to Georges Vanier, 12 May 1911: "Some descriptions, some notes, a

return to the Greek pastoral poem, much colour, a great concern for treatment, for rhythm and for rhyme. I have only wanted to do one thing --to give literary Canada an impulsion towards a literature, not exotic, not externae, but exoticized in the sense that the poet can choose Damascus or Nuremberg without failing his national duty." Quoted in Reginald Hamel et al., Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois (Montréal: Fides, 1976) p. 515.

¹¹ Robert de Roquebrune, "Jules Fournier," Le Nigog, 1 (May 1918), 169.

¹² Marcel Dugas not only contributed articles on Le Soc to La Nationaliste, but according to Bernadette Guilmette, he also wrote articles on French theatre productions in Montreal for this journal. Guilmette, "Marcel Dugas, essayiste," pp. 480-481. He also wrote articles on literature for l'Action, between 1911 and 1913. Jean Éthier-Blais, "Marcel Dugas et son temps," p. 278. Correspondence between Asselin and Dugas also indicates the closeness of their friendship. "Lettres de Marcel Dugas à sa famille (1911-1914)," Études françaises (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1917), VII, 289-294.

¹³ Guy Delahaye, Les Phases (Montréal: Déom, 1910).

¹⁴ Persan, "Estudiantina," La Nationaliste, 17 April, 1910, p. 2.

¹⁵ According to Marcel Dugas, Lahaise chose a poetic form based on the number three (poems of three stanzas of three lines each and arranged in triptychs) for spiritual significance. Dugas quoted Lahaise: "My form is based on a fact more ancient than the world, eternal as God....It is based on the necessary relationship between one and three, of the unity and the trinity; God, Father and Son, Spirit; Truth, Goodness, Beauty; Space, Length, Width, Height; Time, Past, Present, Future, etc." Marcel Dugas, "Les 'Phases' et M. Albert Lozeau," La Nationaliste, 1 May 1910, p. 2. Further comments by Dugas on the metaphysical significance of Lahaise's search for formal perfection in his poetry are found in his essay "Guy Delahaye"; in Marcel Dugas, Littérature canadienne (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1929), pp. 39-40.

¹⁶ Leduc had copied "Nuit aux Terrasses" and "Les Terroirs" from Ghil and nineteen sonnets from Les Trophées by Heredia. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/16 and 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁷ Delahaye, Les Phases, p. 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9. Lahaise had discovered the Symbolist poetry of Émile Nelligan, the gifted young poet of the École littéraire de Montréal, when it was published in 1904. In 1906, his fascination with Nelligan led him to seek permission from the poet's mother to visit him at the Hôpital Saint-Jean-de-Dieu. Taken with Lahaise's sincerity, Nelligan's mother gave him the rare permission to see her son and presented Lahaise

with two of the poet's works. In 1924, Lahaise became a staff psychiatrist at this mental hospital, and Nelligan was his patient until his death in 1941. Lahaise lived on the grounds of the hospital and the two men developed a close relationship. Nadeau, p. 2455 and Jeanne Dansereau, "Ses amis s'appelaient Nelligan, Paul Morin et Osias Leduc," La Presse, 5 October 1968, p. 29.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

²¹ Dugas, Littérature canadienne, p. 42.

²² Ibid., pp. 42-43.

²³ Jean Pierrot, The Decadent Imagination, trans. Derek Coltman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 199-201. Pierrot quoted Schuré on this image of the artist in the painting of Moreau: "The type he generally clothes in a form drawn from mythology or fancy is in fact the driven and wandering poet, tormented by our modern age, a storm-tossed soul at once potent and weak, sublime and wretched, wavering continually from doubt to faith, from splendid ecstasies to black discouragement." Ibid., p. 200. The most famous of Moreau's paintings on the theme of Orpheus was Une jeune fille recueillie pieusement la tête d'Orphée et sa lyre portées par les eaux de l'Herbe aux rivages de la Thrace from 1865, which spawned variations by several admirers including works by Séon, Delville, and Redon. A colour reproduction of Moreau's painting is found in the catalogue French Symbolist Painters, Moreau, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon and their followers (London: Hayward Gallery, 1972), Plate I.

²⁴ Delahaye, Les Phases, pp. 101-108. The dedication on the triptych is to Albert Ferland, a poet associated with the École littéraire de Montréal. Turnbull wrote that, in his Romantic poetry, Ferland "made Nature the confident of his woe." Jane M. Turnbull, Essential Traits of French-Canadian Poetry (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938), p. 156.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 105-106.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 106.

²⁷ In "Mignonne, allons voir si la Rose..." est sans Épines (Montréal: Déom, 1912), Lahaise wrote that Les Phases was created over a period of four years, p. XXV.

²⁸ Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse / Ozias Leduc: Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974), p. 137.

²⁹ Dugas, Littérature canadienne, p. 44.

³⁰ Albert Lozeau, "'Les Phases' ou le danger des mauvaises fréquentations," Le Devoir, 10 April 1910, p. 1.

³¹ Marcel Dugas, "Les 'Phases' et M. Albert Lozeau," Le Devoir, 21 April 1910, p. 3.

³² Germain Beaulieu sided with Lozeau in Le Devoir, 23 April 1910, p. 2, and Le Nationaliste, 8 May 1910, p.3. Those who gave support to Lahaise included Albert Laberge and Madeline Huguenin, a friend of Jules Fournier and Olivar Asselin. Laberge wrote that the appearance of Les Phases "has nearly caused a revolution. Contrary to antique and solemn custom, the book did not contain one piece on Saint-Jean-Baptiste, nor a little ode to France; even the heroes of '37 have been forgotten. Not only that, but the author had dared to be himself, original, personal, translating his own thoughts and ideas." "Les Phases," La Presse, 23 April 1910, p. 18. "Madeleine" found the debut of Lahaise was "full of promise and beauty," and called him a friend to whom she was proud to have given early support. "Chronique 'Les Phases,'" La Patrie, 2 May 1910, p. 4.

³³ Delahaye, "Mignonne...", p. XI.

³⁴ Renald Bérubé, "Mignonne, allons voir si la rose..."" in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraire du Québec, ed. Maurice Lemire (Montréal: Fides, 1980), II, 711. Lahaise even included a satirical "Bibliographie" in the collection, including such names as Nietzsche, Péladan, Rodin, Pascal, Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac ("Le Chef des Odeurs suaves"). Delahaye, "Mignonne...", p. XXXIX.

³⁵ Ibid., p. XXXIV.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Olivar Asselin, ibid., p. XIV.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. XVI-XVII.

³⁹ Ibid., p. XXIV. The Quebec writer André Bourassa later analyzed it under the heading: "The Futurism of Guy Delahaye," in Surrealism and Quebec Literature, pp. 17-19. Bourassa noted that the Futurist Manifesto by Marinetti was known in Quebec in 1912 where it was both quoted and condemned in Le Devoir. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

⁴⁰ Dugas not only admitted that he did not understand Lahaise's book but that he found it disturbing for it exceeded the limits of literary vengeance. Dugas, Littérature canadienne, p. 47.

⁴¹ Delahaye, "Mignonne...", n.p.

⁴² "Mignonne...", p. XXIV. Translation from A. Bourassa, p. 18. Maurice Lemire stated that Lahaise was well versed in the occult and that he knew Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire and the Cabala. Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, xxxix. Lahaise mentioned Saint-Hilaire in his "Bibliographie" under "Les Eusomphaliens" in "Mignonne...", p. XLI.

- 43 Delahaye, "Mignonne...", p. XXXIV.
- 44 Ibid., p. XXVII. Translation from A. Bourassa, p. 19.
- 45 Delahaye, "Mignonne...", pp. 7-14.
- 46 Ibid., "Notes sérieuses," p. XXVII.
- 47 Renald Bérubé, "Les Phases," in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, p. 712.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Laurier Lacroix, "Ozias Leduc, illustrateur," unpublished paper given at a symposium, Le milieu culturel d'Ozias Leduc, 14 October 1978, at Concordia University. Lacroix kindly sent me a copy of his paper.
- 50 Delahaye, "Mignonne...", pp. 15-30.
- 51 Delahaye, Les Phases, pp. 125-129.
- 52 Delahaye, "Mignonne...", p. 30. Translation from A. Bourassa, p. 20.
- 53 Bourassa, p. 20.
- 54 Delahaye, "Mignonne...", pp. 31-44.
- 55 Bourassa, p. 18.
- 56 Lacroix, "Ozias Leduc, illustrateur."
- 57 In the final line of "Le 606," the German doctor, "disciple of Ehrlich," says, "come see me, I will treat you with 'Dioxydiamidoarsénobenzol'." "Mignonne...", p. 44.
- 58 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
- 59 Ibid., pp. 55-56.
- 60 Ibid., p. 58.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 In notes he made on symbolism, source uncited, Leduc wrote that a crown of flowers was the symbol of victory. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/47.
- 63 Guy Delahaye, "La douloureuse prière qu'il ne faut pas exaucer," L'Étudiant, 4, 31 December 1914, p. 1.
- 64 In 1934 Lahaise published a religious essay under his own name: L'Unique voie à l'unique but, Immaculée Conception (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1934). Hamel et al., p. 390.

⁶⁵ "Guy Delahaye," letter to Leduc, 18 December 1912. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/80. This letter indicates that Leduc had plans to travel to Paris sometime in the early part of 1913, and Lahaise expressed his eagerness to see him. There is no further mention of these plans or why the trip never took place.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ "Guy Delahaye," letter to Leduc, dated 24 February 1913. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/81.

⁶⁸ Lahaise, letter to Leduc from Fort Richey, Florida, 23 January 1922. Lahaise asked Leduc to have Morin greet their mutual friends in France when he returned, and mentioned a woman in Florida whom he intended to see who was so kind to their "little colony of 1912-1913." ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/90.

⁶⁹ The record of their activities can be found in letters Dugas wrote to his family and friends which are found in "Lettres de Marcel Dugas à sa famille (1911-1914), pp. 275-287. A more extensive account of their trip is found in Marcel Dugas, "Léo-Pol Morin," Approches (Québec: Éditions du Chien d'Or, 1942), pp. 9-39.

⁷⁰ Dugas, letter to his niece Alice Courteau, March 1914. "Lettres de Marcel Dugas à sa famille," p. 281.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Dugas, letter to his sister Maria, 14 March 1914. Ibid., p. 279.

⁷³ Lahaise, letter to Leduc, 15 June 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84.

⁷⁴ "Guy Delahaye," letter to Leduc from Los Angeles, 1 February 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84.

⁷⁵ In a letter from Havana, dated May 1919, Lahaise wrote of a ceaseless fight, almost impossible to believe, that he was enduring to try to achieve a normal life, to transform thirty years of an "abnormal heredity" and a life "complicated without cause" into "a simple life and a future free from fraudulent possession." He added, "You who know me better than anyone, can perhaps understand what this represents in effort, anguish and horror." ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/ 87. In December 1921, in a letter from Seffner, Florida he wrote that he had decided "to organize all my life according to the Way of the Cross and dedicate myself to a work of love more than a work of art, but one does not exclude the other." ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/89.

⁷⁶ Writing about Leduc's enduring dedication to his private dreams, Paul-Émile Borduas made the following comment: "Guy de la Haie [sic] was also aware of a dream, but he was awakened so brutally that he could never return to it: after a magnificently droll flight he returned to encounter within himself a deadlier dream, where terrible and isolating

Catholic security awaited him." Paul-Émile Borduas, "Paul-É. Borduas writes to us about Ozias Leduc," Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, translated by François-Marc Gagnon and Dennis H. Young (Halifax: The Press, Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1979), p. 136. The battle against the vanities and dangers of his poetic obsessions are reminiscent of Leduc's notes and poetry about the "sin of narcissicism," some of which reads: "powerful he erects his work; but his work will make him dependent on it, it will dominate him, it will reject him.... He admires his work and admires himself in it--what man of the artificial domain? A god who drags himself." ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/11.

⁷⁷ Lahaise, letter to Leduc from San Francisco, 1 October 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84.

⁷⁸ Leduc, draft of a letter to Lahaise, December 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/141. The book is by George Hamlin Fitch and was published by Paul Elder and Company in San Francisco in 1916. It contains chapters on numerous American writers including R.W. Emerson, Walt Whitman, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorn, H.W. Longfellow, Wendell Homes, H.D. Thoreau, and Mark Twain.

⁷⁹ In a letter dated 7 March 1916, Lahaise thanked Leduc for the exhibition catalogue and remarked that it gave him satisfaction to know that he could at least be appreciated as a picture, if not as a poet and person. He was sure his mother had tears in her eyes when she saw the picture of her dear son, the poet, although at the same time she would curse it, as in Baudelaire's poem "Benediction":

When by a decree from supreme powers,
The Poet appears in this troubled world,
The mother frightened and full of blasphemies
Clenches her fists toward God,
Who takes pity on her.

ANQM, 06,M-P60/3/84.

⁸⁰ "Guy Delahaye," Dr. Lahaise, letter to Leduc, undated. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/129.

⁸¹ Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 46.

⁸² Ruth Bohème, "Un peintre de 'chez nous'," La Patrie, 11 March 1916, p. 16.

⁸³ Lahaise, letter to Leduc, 15 June 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84.

⁸⁴ Illustrated in Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 202.

⁸⁵ Lahaise mentioned this medallion in his letter of June 15, 1916 from San Francisco. There is an illustration of a portrait medallion of Louise Lecours dating from 1916 in Ostiguy, p. 202.

⁸⁶ "A grove of laurels grows on the top of PARNASSUS, the home of the Muses. In portraiture a laurel bush or branch implies that the sitter is a literary or artistic figure." James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (London: John Murray, 1979), p. 190.

⁸⁷ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 141.

⁸⁸ There is a preparatory drawing illustrated in Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 45. The drawing differs from the finished painting in the pose of female figure in the background.

⁸⁹ The pose of the figure and the configuration of the drapery recalls the image of Diana in Diana and Endymion by Watts. Watts, Masters in Art, 6 (January 1905), plate III. Even the unearthly green cast of the background can be found in Watt's paintings. Leduc also could have been looking at the work of Lévy-Dhurmer. The manner in which the figure emerges from the background resembles the draped sorceress in the bronze bas relief Sorcière, illustrated in Gustave Soulier, "Lévy-Dhurmer," Art et Décoration, 3 (January 1898), 10. Even the mesmerized figure of Lahaise is reminiscent of the female in profile in Nocturne, illustrated in the same article, p. 12.

⁹⁰ Leduc calls this shape a "whirlwind" in his notes. Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1973, p. 195.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 144 and Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 46. Ostiguy suggested the female figure encourages the poet to "follow his star." He mentioned that the "famous nebula Andromeda" is adjacent to the Pegasus constellation, presumably making a connection to the myth of Medusa, but that seems slightly far-fetched. He also suggested that "Andromeda" may have been intended to refer to Mrs. Brahy, a composer from Saint-Hilaire, whose music inspired "Musique et névrose-Tryptique Sinistre" in Les Phases. Ostiguy, p. 144.

⁹³ Illustrated with Leduc's notes in: Jean-René Ostiguy, "Étude des dessins préparatoires à la décoration du baptistère de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal," Bulletin, The National Gallery of Canada, 15/1970, 20. Ostiguy's text under this illustration makes reference to the Delahaye portrait.

⁹⁴ Ostiguy noted Leduc's friendship with Mgr. C.-P. Choquette who had written a book on astronomy. Ibid. Leduc also wrote a prose piece entitled "Nébuleuses" which is found among his papers. This work is a meditation on the substance and significance of nebulae. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/54.

⁹⁵ Robert de Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs (Montréal: Fides, 1968)

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 41.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 40-41 and p. 68.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

⁹⁹ The books they collected demonstrate the broad spectrum of their tastes. Some examples: Moralités légendaires by Jules Laforgue, the novels of Paul-Jean Toulet, the Mémoires of Saint-Simon, the twenty volumes of Michelet's Histoire de France, all the works of Stendhal, Flaubert and Merimée, and English novels including the works of Dickens. Ibid. p. 40.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁰¹ Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 3, n. 3.

¹⁰² Josée Angers, "Un anti-sentimental: Jules Laforgue," Le Nigog, 1 (September 1918), 295-298.

¹⁰³ Roquebrune's background is summarized in Jean-Guy Hudon, "Robert de Roquebrune," Le Nigog, Archives des lettres canadiennes (Montréal: Fides, 1987), VII, 89-94.

¹⁰⁴ While in Beloeil, he completed a novel, Les Habits rouges (published in Paris in 1923), based on the 1837 rebellion, which he claimed was not a nationalist novel but rather a story of love and heroism. Cherchant mes souvenirs, p. 70

¹⁰⁵ Hamel et al, p. 593.

¹⁰⁶ Roquebrune, Cherchants mes souvenirs, pp. 74-81.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 75.

¹⁰⁸ Roquebrune, letter to Leduc, 1 May 1920. ANQM, 06, M-P50/4/88.

¹⁰⁹ Roquebrune, letter to Leduc, dated 20 May 1919. ANQM, 06, M-P50/4/87.

¹¹⁰ The portrait is listed in Leduc's account of works sold to the Musée de la Province as Portrait de Robert de Roquebrune dans la pose de Montesquiou -- Boldini. ANQM, 06, M-P58/1/7.

¹¹¹ Camille Mauclair, "J. Boldini," Art et Décoration, 18 (November 1905), 148. Leduc may even have seen this portrait in Paris in 1897, the year it was painted. "Studio Talk" in The Studio of June 1897 (p. 64) reported that there was a Boldini portrait shown in the Champs de Mars exhibition: "M. Boldini is always mannered, and his portrait of a fashionable poet, whose celebrity tires and irritates us somewhat, oversteps the limits of fancy."

¹¹² Mauclair, pp. 145-154.

¹¹³ Robert L. Delevoy, Symbolists and Symbolism (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), pp. 50-51.

¹¹⁴ Victor Barbeau, "Paul Morin," Versions, Cahiers de l'Académie Canadienne-Française, 13 (1970), 117. The admiration of Paul Morin for Montesquiou is discussed by Victor Barbeau who had known Morin since they attended the Collège Sainte-Marie together. Morin's interest in Montesquiou was well known among his friends; Marcel Dugas gave him a four volume set of Montesquiou's poetry. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹¹⁵ Delevoy, p. 51.

¹¹⁶ Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs, pp. 77-78.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ According to Roquebrune's account, Leduc's wife had confided to him with distress that her husband had become obsessed with Josée. She told him, "He thinks about her all the time, he dreams about her and says her name and most often he does not sleep....He is very unhappy." *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Albert Laberge, "De remarquables toiles au salon de nos peintres," La Presse, 18 November 1916, p. 3.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Robert de Roquebrune, "L'exposition Leduc," L'Action, 19 February 1916, p. 1.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Robert de Roquebrune, L'Invitation à la Vie (Montréal: Déom, 1916).

¹³⁰ Jean-Guy Hudon, "L'Invitation à la Vie," in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, 597.

¹³¹ Roquebrune, L'Invitation à la Vie, n.p.

¹³² *Ibid.*, n.p.

- ¹³³ Hudon, "L'Invitation à la Vie," p. 597.
- ¹³⁴ The caduceus is an ancient symbol which has appeared in numerous cultures throughout history. It fundamentally takes the form of two snakes entwined around a wand, with two wings extending from the top. J.E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 35-37.
- ¹³⁵ Josée de Roquebrune, letter to Leduc, undated. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/84.
- ¹³⁶ ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/144.
- ¹³⁷ Philippe Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 173.
- ¹³⁸ Cirlot traced the tradition of the caduceus as a symbol of moral equilibrium to the Romans. Although it has had various connotations in other traditions, by its form it fundamentally suggests duality and opposition combined in a state of active balance. Cirlot, pp. 35-37.
- ¹³⁹ Letters from Maurault and Roquebrune to Leduc, 1915. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/83.
- ¹⁴⁰ Roquebrune said Préfontaine gave up architecture because of his bad sight. Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs, p. 95.
- ¹⁴¹ Roquebrune described Préfontaine and their close relationship throughout Cherchant mes souvenirs. Not only did they enjoy each others company in Montreal but spent a great deal of time together in Paris after the war. Roquebrune described his literary tastes as closely corresponding to those of Josée, p. 95.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97 and p. 103.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- ¹⁴⁹ Jean-René Ostiguy commented on the Symbolist influences in the work of Hébert and Laliberté in Modernism in Quebec Art, 1916-1946 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1982). According to Ostiguy, Hébert returned to Canada after study in France with an appreciation of the Nabis, especially Xavier Roussel, p. 28. Illustrated works include Hébert's Decorative Panel, Sunset (c. 1915), p. 32, and Ship at Sea (c. 1918), p.

34, and Laliberté's Bust of the Artist (c. 1918), p. 26. Jean Chauvin, in Ateliers, discussed the influence of Symbolism on the art of Laliberté and called him "an artist of the years around 1900," p. 136. In particular he compared his work to that of Rodin. Jean Chauvin, Ateliers (Montréal: Louis Carrier et Cie, 1928), pp. 136-145.

¹⁵⁰ Olivier Maurault, Confidences (Montréal: Fides, 1959), pp. 134-135.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² "Le Canada," Monde Nouveau, 1-15 August 1923. Roquebrune commented in Cherchant mes souvenirs that he met the director of the Éditions du Monde-Nouveau through Léo-Pol Morin, p. 139.

¹⁵³ F.P., "Artists," Le Monde Nouveau, 1-15 August 1923, p. 38.

¹⁵⁴ There are several letters from Morin, beginning from 1917, in the Leduc archive. He often spent his vacations in Saint-Hilaire. In a letter from August 1918 mentioned that he was looking forward to spending another fifteen days with Leduc in his "marvelous domain where you allow us an exquisite small studio. I count on returning at the end of this month and to build myself up as I usually do each time I live in your mountain." ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/86.

¹⁵⁵ Morin, letter to Leduc, 8 June 1919. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/87.

¹⁵⁶ Monique Lanthier, "Le Portrait d'homme d'Ozias Leduc au MBAM retrouve son identité," Journal of Canadian Art History, IX/2 (1986), 165.

¹⁵⁷ Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs, p. 100.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 98-100. His first article was on the subject of "poor Henri Bordeaux and his novels which were so admired in 'the best society' of Montreal. I expressed a complete scorn for this literature and in a ferocious tone which young people generally take. Fournier was enchanted and wrote to me to continue my collaboration." Ibid., p. 100. Roquebrune would continue his attack on Bordeaux and also Paul Bourget in Le Nigog. R.R.R., "Bourget-Bordeaux," Le Nigog, 1 (August 1918), 275-276.

¹⁵⁹ Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs, p. 100.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 98-99.

¹⁶¹ Morin, letter to Leduc, 6 August 1918. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/86.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs, p. 102.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

- 165 The word was defined in a footnote in the first issue of Le Nigog. La Rédaction, "Signification," Le Nigog, 1 (January 1918), 2.
- 166 Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs, p. 102. There is an illustration of Hébert's sculpture in R. H. Hubbard and J.-R. Ostiguy, Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art (Ottawa, The National Gallery of Canada, 1967), fig. 164.
- 167 Roquebrune, Cherchant mes souvenirs, p. 102.
- 168 Jacques Blais, "Présence aux mirages: la poésie du Nigog," Le Nigog, Archives des Lettres canadiennes, VII, 182.
- 169 La Rédaction, "Signification," p. 3.
- 170 Leduc, draft of a letter to Roquebrune (?), n.d. ANQM, 06,M-50/6/143.
- 171 Jacques Blais, "Présence aux mirages," p. 183.
- 172 Ibid.
- 173 Ninian Smart, The Religious Experience of Mankind (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 186. Smart likened the form/matter system of Chu Hsi to that of Plato, "li" being the form of a species, and "ch'i" being "the material, vital energy" which distinguishes each individual. This system was also one of polarities or dualities in which humanity seeks balance between the material and the spiritual, a harmony between "human and cosmic nature," pp. 186-187.
- 174 Jacques Blais, p. 182.
- 175 Ibid.
- 176 Ibid.
- 177 This is the explanation given to Leduc in a letter from Roquebrune, 7 December 1918. Fernand Préfontaine was the chief financial backer of the review but realized that due to its reception it was not worth continuing. Bernadette Guilmette, "Fernand Préfontaine," Le Nigog, Archives des lettres canadiennes, VII, 171.
- 178 "La Rédaction, "Signification," p. 2.
- 179 Ibid., p. 3.
- 180 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 181 Roquebrune in "De l'opportunité d'un culte de la supériorité littéraire" (March, pp. 79-83) blamed the dominance of "partial and unjust" criticism by "ignorant scribblers" and "dolts" who promote the "worst mediocrities" for inhibiting French Canada from reaching its

potential of cultural superiority.

Léo-Pol Morin in "La légende de l'art musical canadien et les musiciens de Montréal" (January, pp. 13-22), asserted that "there is no Canadian musical art" and blamed not only the ignorant critics, but the entire music establishment including the musicians themselves, and the society women, "the "dames de arts," "experienced propagators of the worst taste and impregnated with a less helpful snobbism" who "guide public opinion and immobilize it in a disconcerting cretinism."

Fernand Préfontaine in "Le public canadien-français et les arts plastiques," (January, pp. 23-27) began with the statement, "The apathy of the French Canadian public for all the plastic arts is somewhat astonishing and completely incomprehensible." Under the pseudonym of Paul Brunot, Préfontaine was responsible for the biting satirical "Dialogue des bêtes" which appeared monthly and "tried to stigmatize certain infatuations, offensive or foolish opinions, certain judgements that he saw as the height of stupidity." Marcel Dugas, Littérature canadienne, p. 130.

¹⁸² Fernand Préfontaine, "Le sujet en art," Le Nigog, 1 (February 1918), 47-48.

¹⁸³ Édouard Chauvin, "Le régionalisme en poésie," Le Nigog, 1 (June 1918), 185-188.

¹⁸⁴ Arthur Letondal, "L'âme canadienne," Le Nigog, 1 (July 1918), 213-216.

¹⁸⁵ Marcel Dugas, "Jeux et ris littéraires à M. Arthur Letondal," Le Nigog, 1 (August 1918), 251-257.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁸⁷ Letondal, "À M. Marcel Dugas, poète," Le Nigog, 1 (September 1918), 305-306, and Dugas, "À M. Arthur Letondal, musicien," *ibid.*, pp. 306-307.

¹⁸⁸ Dugas, *ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

¹⁸⁹ Arthur Lebel, "Les Deux Camps," Le Pays, 14 September 1918, p. 4; quoted in Armand Guilmette, "De Paris à Montréal," Le Nigog, Archives des lettres canadiennes, VII, 66.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-75.

¹⁹¹ Claude Bâcle, "Sur le symbolisme," L'Avenir du Nord, 23 August 1918, p. 2.

¹⁹² Published in Le Nigog, 1 (June 1918), 198-201.

¹⁹³ Bâcle, p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Dugas, in "Correspondence," Le Nigog, 1 (September 1918), 308.

¹⁹⁵ Armand Guilmette, pp. 73-74.

¹⁹⁶ Gustave Comte, "Une réponse à qui déplore l'existence de Beethoven, Saint-Saëns et autres grands musiciens et qui ne craignent pas l'ire des 'dames d'art'," Le Passe-Temps, 23 February 1918, pp. 64-65; quoted in Guilmette, p. 73.

¹⁹⁷ Léo-Pol Morin, "M. Rodolphe Mathieu et le terroir," Le Nigog, 1 (May 1918), 160.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 161-162.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 162.

²⁰¹ Léo-Pol Morin, "La Musique espagnole d'aujourd'hui," Le Nigog, 1 (September 1918), 278.

²⁰² Roquebrune contributed articles on Léon Bloy (February), Jacques Copeau's théâtre du Vieux Colombier (March), Baudelaire (March), Pascal (June), as well as praise for local writers: Marcel Dugas (January), Jules Fournier, a tribute on his death (May), Émile Nelligan (September), and Édouard Chauvin (October).

²⁰³ Roquebrune, "La jeune littérature française avant 1914," Le Nigog, 1 (August 1918), 267-273.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 268.

²⁰⁵ Roquebrune, "De l'opportunité...", 79-83.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 81. In his article on Asselin, Pierre Berthiaume wrote: "Asselin did not hesitate to make concrete propositions for the goal he always avowed, to associate French Canadians intimately with France on the intellectual level; for him, the country could only survive intellectually by reattachment to the home of its culture, of the French spirit." At the time of his enlistment [in the army, during the war], Asselin made this celebrated statement: 'We, the French of America, will remain French only through France.'" Berthiaume, "La pensée paradoxale d'Olivar Asselin," p. 390.

²⁰⁷ Roquebrune, "De l'opportunité...", p. 81.

²⁰⁸ Préfontaine, "Le public canadien-français et les arts plastiques," p. 26.

²⁰⁹ Fernand Préfontaine, "Nécrologie," Le Nigog, 1 (January 1918), 34. Préfontaine wrote that Impressionism was now official because works by Monet and Degas had been placed in the Louvre.

²¹⁰ Robert Mortier, "Cézanne," Le Nigog, 1 (April 1918), 119-120.

²¹¹ Préfontaine, "Le sujet en art," p. 44.

- ²¹² Ibid., p. 45.
- ²¹³ Ibid., pp. 45-46.
- ²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 47.
- ²¹⁵ Préfontaine, "Le public canadien-française et les arts plastiques," pp. 24-25.
- ²¹⁶ Ibid.
- ²¹⁷ Préfontaine, "La salon de printemps," Le Nigog, 1 (May 1918), 169-170.
- ²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 170.
- ²¹⁹ Henri Hébert, "Le sujet en art," Le Nigog, 1 (May 1918), 148-151.
- ²²⁰ Ibid., p. 151.
- ²²¹ Louis Bourgoïn, "Art et science," Le Nigog, 1 (September 1918), 284-287.
- ²²² Ibid., p. 287.
- ²²³ The contributors were Fernand Préfontaine, Jean-Charles Drouin, Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, Ramsay Traquair, and John Roxburgh Smith.
- ²²⁴ J.-C. Drouin, "La Banque de Montréal," Le Nigog, 1 (January 1918), 5-12.
- ²²⁵ Repeated throughout the articles but defined especially in Fernand Préfontaine, "Le beau en architecture," Le Nigog, 1 (October 1918), 315-322.
- ²²⁶ Pierre-Richard Bisson, "Le Nigog et l'architecture," Le Nigog, Archives des lettres canadiennes, pp. 269-316.
- ²²⁷ Ibid., pp. 310-311.
- ²²⁸ Leduc subscribed to the Journal of the Royal Architectural Association, American Carpenter and Builder, House Beautiful, and Architecture. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/56, 06,M-P50/3/81, 06,M-P50/3/82, and 06,M-P50/4/94.
- ²²⁹ ANQM, 06-M-P58/2/16.
- ²³⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.
- ²³¹ Édouard Montpetit, "L'art nécessaire," Le Nigog, 1 (February 1918), 37-42; Ramsay Traquair, "The artist and the public," Le Nigog, 1 (March 1918), 69-77.

- ²³² Montpetit, p. 38.
- ²³³ Ibid., p. 40.
- ²³⁴ Ibid., p. 41.
- ²³⁵ Traquair, p. 72.
- ²³⁶ Ibid., pp. 72-74.
- ²³⁷ Armand Guilmette, p. 76.
- ²³⁸ Ibid., pp. 56-75.
- ²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 63-67.
- ²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 78-80.
- ²⁴¹ Léo-Paul Desrosiers, "L'École du Nigog," La Revue nationale, 1 (July 1919), 251-257.
- ²⁴² Dugas, "Le Nigog," Littérature canadienne, p. 127.
- ²⁴³ Marcel Dugas, "Robert de Roquebrune," ibid., p. 150.
- ²⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁴⁵ Lionel Groulx, "Une Action intellectuelle," L'Action française, 1 (February 1917), 39.
- ²⁴⁶ Camille Roy, "Un poète régionaliste, Mlle. Blanche Lamontagne," Le Parler français, 4 December 1917, pp. 194-212; quoted in Armand Guilmette, pp. 70-71.
- ²⁴⁷ Gilles Dorion, "La Scouine," Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, 993-998.
- ²⁴⁸ See volume 2 (1918) of L'Action française for documentation of its various activities.
- ²⁴⁹ Armand Guilmette, p. 69.
- ²⁵⁰ The Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal began to sponsor literary contests based on regionalist themes in 1915. The competitions were initiated to stimulate both amateur and professional writers and to propagate "the taste for a wholesome literature of le terroir" amongst the population. The first theme was la Croix du chemin, followed by la Corvée in 1916, Fleur de lys in 1917, and Au pays de l'érable in 1918. The best works from each contest were published in an anthology. André Gaulin, "La Croix du chemin et autres recueils de contes de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal," Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, II, 310-313.

²⁵¹ Émile Miller of the Société S.-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, letters to Leduc, November 12 and November 16, 1918. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/86.

²⁵² Gaulin, p. 311-312. Leduc's name is mentioned among the list of illustrators for the books from 1918 and 1919.

²⁵³ Miller, letter to Leduc, 16 November 1918. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/86.

²⁵⁴ L.J. Rivet for the Société S.-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, letters to Leduc, November 6 and November 25, 1917. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/85.

²⁵⁵ Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Action Française: French Canadian nationalism in the twenties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 16.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Olivier Maurault, "Ambiance," Le Nigog, 1 (April 1918), 125-126.

²⁵⁸ Olivier Maurault, "Tendances de l'art canadien," L'Action française, 2, (August 1918), 369-372.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 370.

²⁶⁰ He mentioned Suzor-Côté, Gagnon, Franchère, Rosaire, Saint-Charles and Massicotte. Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 372-373.

²⁶² B.M., "Revue des périodiques, Le Nigog," Revue trimestrielle canadienne, February 1919, pp. 430-431; reprinted in Olivier Maurault, Brièvetés (Montréal: Louis Carrier et Cie, 1927), pp. 98-101.

²⁶³ Maurault, Brièvetés, pp. 99-100.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 100-101.

²⁶⁵ Bibliographic details are found in Maurault's autobiographical work Confidences (Montréal: Fides, 1959), and in Reginald Hamel et al., Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois, pp. 490-491.

²⁶⁶ In Confidences, Maurault mentioned some of these visits in the company of friends from university: Lagacé, Doré, Montpetit, and Lorrain. p. 134.

²⁶⁷ Jean Éthier-Blais, "Mgr. Olivier Maurault," Profils littéraires, Cahiers de L'Académie canadienne-française, 14 (1972), 98-107.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 98.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 101.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 105

²⁷¹ Olivier Maurault, Marges d'histoire (Montreal: Librairie d'Action canadienne-française, 1929).

²⁷² Maurault found Morin's poetry full of beauty and fine sensitivity. Maurault responded to the questions he said were always asked: "Is it Christian this time? Has he become regionalist?" He suggested that some of Morin's poems are decidedly Christian, while others show some religious sentiments. Morin is not regionalist, but that does not mean he "scorns things of his country. And if, in celebrating universal feelings and distant countries, he gives us beautiful verse, we must not complain." Maurault, "Poèmes de cendre et d'or," Brièvetés, pp. 120-125.

²⁷³ Maurault, "Âmes et Paysages," Brièvetés, p. 128.

²⁷⁴ Olivier Maurault, "Vieux cahiers, vieux journaux," La Revue canadienne, 18 (September 1916), 209-231.

²⁷⁵ Maurault, Confidences, pp. 86-89 and pp. 93-94.

²⁷⁶ Olivier Maurault, "Vieux cahiers, vieux journaux," pp. 228-231. Maurault envisioned the musical evenings as a "salon des musiciens" like those Paris, where Canadian composers would be given an opportunity to present their newest compositions. Ibid., p. 230

²⁷⁷ With regard to this exhibition Maurault later wrote: "For many Montrealers it was a revelation, for the artist had until then only decorated some country churches and had only sold some easel paintings to a few amateur collectors. After this exhibition, all the connoisseurs wanted to have one of his canvases in their collections." Olivier Maurault, Confidences, p. 134,

²⁷⁸ Maurault, letter to Leduc, 6 March 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/84.

²⁷⁹ Olivier Maurault, "Chronique d'Art," L'Action française, 4 (February 1920), 76-78; Louis Deligny (pseud. of Maurault), "Deux tableaux dévoilés à l'île Bizard," Almanach de la langue française (Montréal: La Ligue d'Action française, 1922), pp. 86-88.

²⁸⁰ Louis Deligny (pseud. of Olivier Maurault), La Chapelle du Sacré-Coeur. Église du Saint-Enfant Jésus, Montréal. Une décoration du peintre Ozias Leduc. (Montréal: Imprimerie du Messager, 1921).

²⁸¹ When they met Leduc was 51 and Maurault was 29.

²⁸² Maurault described his family background in Confidences.

²⁸³ Ibid., pp. 63-79.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 68 and p. 78.

²⁸⁵ Ostiguy, "Étude des dessins préparatoires à la décoration du baptistère de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal," p. 2.

²⁸⁶ Maurault, letter to Leduc, n.d. (c. 1916). ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/84.

²⁸⁷ Maurault, Confidences, pp. 74-75.

²⁸⁸ Ibid. He had chosen Denis for the commission, but his superiors in Montreal postponed the project.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 75.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. His literary tastes were equally conservative at this time. He wrote that he read "the four B's--Bourget, Bordeaux, Bazin, Barrès," as well as Rostand, the "Gaulois, the organ of the aristocracy, and the more democratic Echo de Paris." Ibid., pp. 73-74.

²⁹¹ Maurault, letter to Leduc, n.d., c. 1917. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/85.

²⁹² Leduc, letter to Maurault, 27 April 1917, found in the Maurault archive at the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice and quoted in Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 2.

²⁹³ Reprinted, without illustrations, as "La chapelle du Sacré-Coeur: Église du Saint-Enfant-Jésus" in Marges d'histoire, pp. 51-60.

²⁹⁴ Correspondence dating from 1920. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/88 and 06,M-P50/6/145.

²⁹⁵ Leduc, draft of a letter to Maurault, 12 April 1920. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/145.

²⁹⁶ Deligny, La Chapelle du Sacré-Coeur, 1921, p. 10.

²⁹⁷ Leduc, letter of April 12.

²⁹⁸ Ibid. Another draft in this file indicates the response this decoration received from Suzor-Côté. In reply to a letter from Suzor-Côté, Leduc wrote, "Your informed artist's glance has justly grasped that it is, perhaps, too crafted, quite simplified I feel, but complete enough. Your critique proves it successfully expresses the general ideas. I retain your good words, and I will continue with more vigour to distinguish the essential from what is not, but sometimes instinct can pull from obscurity and the unconscious works which the intellect has not anticipated." Dated September 1920.

²⁹⁹ Deligny, p. 8.

³⁰⁰ Émile Mâle, Religious Art in France: XIII Century, translated from the 3rd ed. by Dora Nussey (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1913).

³⁰¹ Deligny, pp. 13-14.

- 302 Ibid., p. 13.
- 303 ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.
- 304 Mâle, pp. 64-75.
- 305 Ibid.
- 306 Mâle, p. 64.
- 307 J.-K. Huysmans, La Cathédrale (Paris: Plon, 1964), p. 237.
- 308 Deligny, p. 14.
- 309 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- 310 Mâle, pp. 73-77.
- 311 Deligny, pp. 15-16. The Montreal Cathedral was modelled after St. Peter's in Rome. Paul-André Linteau et al., Quebec: A History 1867-1929, trans. Robert Chodos (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1983), p. 199.
- 312 Trofimenkoff, p. 60.
- 313 Linteau et al., p. 270.
- 314 Deligny, p. 14.
- 315 Ibid.
- 316 Ibid., p. 9.
- 317 Ibid.
- 318 Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 138.
- 319 Deligny, p. 9.
- 320 Paul Cornu, "George Desvallières," Art et Décoration, 33 (March 1913), 69-82. Cornu described the evolution of Desvallières's unique vision which conformed to his personal, romantic, and spiritual nature. His religious art was not remote and idealized but rather meant to profoundly relate to daily human life. The article explored the development of his expressive "synthetist" style in the context of the art of this period, including the similarities of his purpose to that of Maurice Denis.
- 321 A reproduction of Le Sacré-Coeur by Desvallières was included with Cornu's article, n.p.

³²² Recall that by 1917, Leduc was collecting Denis's writings which would comprise Nouvelles théories published in 1922. It included the essay, "Pour l'art sacré," which was the text of a lecture given in 1918 and another, "L'École d'art sacré," which discussed the philosophy of the school of religious art that he and Desvallières established in 1919. Maurice Denis, Du symbolisme au classicism: Théories, ed. O. Revault d'Allonnes (Paris: Hermann, 1964), pp. 78-86.

³²³ Denis, p. 81.

³²⁴ Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, pp. 29-30.

³²⁵ Ibid., quoted from an undated letter to Audet, p. 32.

³²⁶ Ozias Leduc, "L'Histoire de S.-Hilaire, on l'entend, on la voit," Arts et Pensée, 18 (July/August 1954), 165-168.

³²⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/18.

³²⁸ Early recognition came from Mortimer Lamb, who gave high praise to Neige dorée, complete with a full page illustration, in a review in The Studio of the Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition of 1917. Lamb observed that Neige dorée demonstrated "a certain fine spirituality, expressed without a suspicion of self-consciousness, and in no degree detracting from its bigness and virility." Lamb, "The Thirty-eighth Exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts," The Studio, 70 (February 1917), p. 32.

³²⁹ Louise Beaudry, Une analyse formelle et iconographique de quatre paysages (1913-1921) d'Ozias Leduc (1864-1955), M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1983. In 1896, Beaudry mounted an exhibition of Leduc's landscapes at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and the catalogue to the show contains a similar analysis of other of his paintings. Louise Beaudry, Les paysages d'Ozias Leduc, lieux de méditation / Contemplative Scenes, the Landscapes of Ozias Leduc (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1986).

³³⁰ In a preparatory note for the painting of Le Jourdain in the decoration of the Notre-Dame Baptistery in Montreal Leduc wrote that "the rainbow pledges the fulfillment of the promises of God, promises of regeneration by his well-loved son the Redeemer." Reproduced in Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 31.

³³¹ In his "Summary of the elements of the entire decoration," for the Notre-Dame Baptistery, Leduc noted that flames signified "the purifying fire of divine Love." Ibid., p. 5.

³³² Darkness, "sombre browns and blacks," signified the soul before it was purified, before the receiving of Baptismal Grace. Ibid., p. 9.

³³³ In an article published in the Journal of Canadian Art History, Arlene Gehmacher strongly criticized Louise Beaudry's catalogue, Le paysages d'Ozias Leduc, lieux de méditation. Gehmacher noted the highly speculative and often self-contradictory nature of Beaudry's overly-detailed insights. Arlene Gehmacher, "Les paysages d'Ozias Leduc, lieux de méditation / Contemplative Scenes, the Landscapes of Ozias Leduc," Journal of Canadian Art History, IX/2 (1986), 186-202.

³³⁴ Beaudry, Une analyse formelle et iconographique..., p. 49.

³³⁵ Ibid., pp. 75-77.

³³⁶ Ibid., pp. 112-114.

³³⁷ Ibid., p. 148.

³³⁸ ANQM, 06, M-P50/2/48.

³³⁹ Beaudry, Une analyse formelle et iconographique..., p. 75.

³⁴⁰ ANQM, 05, M-P58/1/8.

³⁴¹ Referring to the use of convention symbols by Symbolist artists, Robert Goldwater wrote: "The use of such attributes is in partial contradiction to the avowed purposes of symbolism. Because their meanings are known and established they are at once recognized and are read as part of a vocabulary rather than being felt through the more immediate and less literary medium of an expressive form. For this reason symbolism's use of the details of nature to convey its meanings is usually much less specific and tries to depend more on common human experience and association than upon a learned iconography." Robert Goldwater, Symbolism (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 43.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Olivier Maurault, "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique," Le Mauricien, 2 (February 1938), 4-5.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid. This passage from Leduc is similar to a remark made by Puvis de Chavannes which Léonce Bénédite recorded in his article on this artist in Art et Décoration. Puvis commented, "I have never made a study of nature for my landscapes. I look a great deal, I record and then it is all a matter of logic. When one has the sense of a person, one knows how he must look in all circumstances; when one knows nature, the characteristics, the conformation of a poplar, one never forgets its figural anatomy." "Puvis de Chavannes," Art et Décoration, 4 (November 1898), 151.

³⁴⁶ Tor Hedberg, "A Modern Swedish Landscape Painter, Prince Eugen," The Studio, 12 (December 1897), 162-167.

Axel Tallberg, "Modern Painting in Sweden," The Studio, 31 (March 1904), 97-112.

T.L., "Studio Talk," The Studio, 49 (March 1910), 146-148. A colour reproduction of a snow and seascape by Anna Boberg accompanied this article.

Axel Gauffin, "The Landscape Paintings of Prince Eugen of Sweden," The Studio, 54 (December 1911), 173-185.

A.G., "Studio Talk," The Studio, 57 (December 1912), 253-258.

T.L., "Studio Talk," The Studio, 57 (January 1913), 335-338.

³⁴⁷ Agnes Branting, "Modern Tapestry-Work in Sweden," trans. E. Adams-Ray, The International Studio, 49 (April 1913), 102-111. This article was first published in The Studio, 58 (March 1913), 102-111.

³⁴⁸ Étienne Avenard, "L'Exposition Finlandaise au Salon d'Automne," Art et Décoration, 24 (November 1908), 137-146.

Étienne Avenard, "Axel Gallen-Kallela," Art et Décoration, 26 (July 1909), 6-48.

³⁴⁹ Gehmacher, JCAH, p. 202.

³⁵⁰ Hedberg, "Prince Eugen," pp. 162-167.

³⁵¹ Avenard, "L'Exposition Finlandaise...", pp. 137-146.

³⁵² Roald Nasgaard, The Mystic North, Symbolist Landscape Painting in Northern Europe and North America 1890-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 8.

³⁵³ The works by Jackson and Thomson are illustrated in Peter Mellen, The Group of Seven (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), pp. 40, 41 and 51.

³⁵⁴ From J.E.H. MacDonald's lecture on "Scandinavian Art," given at the Art Gallery of Toronto, April 17, 1931, and quoted in Jeremy Adamson, Lawren S. Harris, Urban Scenes and Wilderness Landscapes 1906-1930 (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1978), p. 53.

³⁵⁵ For example, Spruce and Snow, Northern Ontario (1916), illustrated in colour in Adamson, p. 52.

³⁵⁶ Mellen, p. 50.

³⁵⁷ Branting, "Modern Tapestry-Work in Sweden," April 1913.

³⁵⁸ During this decade most of their art was exhibited in Toronto at the Ontario Society of Artist and Canadian National Exhibition shows. Harris's exhibition record is detailed in Adamson, p. 69, and p. 208, n. 85. Jackson exhibited at the Art Association show in Montreal in 1914 and 1915. Mortimer Lamb, reviewing his work in The Studio, called him

"the leader of the new Canadian School." Lamb, "Studio Talk," The Studio, 65 (August 1915), 212.

³⁵⁹ Eric Brown wrote of the renaissance in Canadian art in The International Studio in 1915. "A younger generation is coming to the fore, trained partly in Canada, believing in and understanding Canada, and at least to some extent encouraged by Canadians. They are painting their own country and realising its wonders and its individuality with an outburst of colour and strength which bids fair to carry all before it." Eric Brown in "Studio Talk," The International Studio, 55 (May 1915), 209-211.

³⁶⁰ Jackson indicated his nationalist sentiments in a letter to Laberge in 1914, in which he described his efforts to paint the Ontario wilderness: "The Canadian who does not love keen bracing air, sunlight making shadows that vie with the sky, the wooden hills and frozen lakes. Well he must be a poor patriot." Quoted in Nasgaard, p. 166.

³⁶¹ Laberge, letter to Leduc, n.d. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84. Although the letter is undated, it must be from 1916, because Laberge mentioned that he had just seen Lueurs du soir at the Art Gallery. According to Ostiguy that painting was shown at the Montreal Spring Exhibition in 1916. Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc; peinture symboliste et religieuse, p. 152. Also according to Ostiguy's catalogue (p. 146), Pommes vertes was exhibited in 1915 at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, and twice in 1916 in Montreal: at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice show and at the Montreal Spring Exhibition. Pommes vertes also gained the attention of Mortimer Lamb, who praised it in his review of the Spring Exhibition in The Studio. He mentioned Leduc among the artists "whose recent works indicate increase in power and adequacy of expression." He wrote that Leduc, "who is self-taught, is an artist of decided originality; and one of his pictures in oil at this exhibition, representing a fruit-laden branch of an apple tree in olive tones against a twilight sky, was greatly admired." Lamb, "Studio Talk," August 1915, p. 213.

³⁶² ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

³⁶³ Leduc, draft of a letter to Mr. Gustave Lanctot, Ottawa, 1 December 1927. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/152.

³⁶⁴ Jean Éthier-Blais, "Ozias Leduc," Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, Conférences J.A. de Séve 15-16 (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1973), p. 36.

³⁶⁵ Barbara Novak explored this theme in nineteenth century American painting in the chapter, "The Geological Timetable: Rocks," in Nature and Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 47-77.

³⁶⁶ Robert Rosenblum discussed the significance of the imagery of the tree in Romantic art from Caspar David Freidrich to modernists such as Van Gogh in Modern Painting and the Northern Tradition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), pp. 36-40.

- ³⁶⁷ Cole's painting is illustrated in colour in The Natural Paradise, Painting in America 1800-1950, ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1976), p. 58.
- ³⁶⁸ Laurier Lacroix, Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman (Montreal: Concordia University, 1978), p. 48.
- ³⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 56.
- ³⁷² Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 150.
- ³⁷³ Beaudry, Les paysages d'Ozias Leduc, lieux de méditation, p. 23.
- ³⁷⁴ R.H. Hubbard, Canadian Landscape Painting 1670-1930 (Madison: Elvehjem Art Center, University of Wisconsin, 1973), p. 54, plate 9.
- ³⁷⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.
- ³⁷⁶ Avenard, "Axel Gallen-Kallela," p. 40.
- ³⁷⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.
- ³⁷⁸ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 146.
- ³⁷⁹ B. Guilmette, "Marcel Dugas, essayiste," p. 476.
- ³⁸⁰ Paul Verlaine, Oeuvres complètes de Paul Verlaine, preface by Charles Morice (Paris: Albert Messein, Éditeur, 1938), I, 23.
- ³⁸¹ Ibid., p. 477.
- ³⁸² Ibid.
- ³⁸³ Leduc, draft of a letter to Dugas, 13 December 1928. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/153.
- ³⁸⁴ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 150. In November of 1916 Leduc was also elected an Associate of the Academy. Edmond Dyonnet, who was the Secretary of the Academy, notified him in a letter dated 19 November 1916. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/84. In reply, Leduc commented that he understood Dyonnet was responsible for his nomination and expressed his gratitude. Leduc, draft of letter to Dyonnet, n.d.(1916). ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/141.
- ³⁸⁵ Rodolphe de Repentigny, "Il faut connaître Ozias Leduc," La Presse, 14 January 1956, p. 66.

³⁸⁶ The composition of this view of Mont Saint-Hilaire and the decorative rhythms of the snow are especially similar to a woodcut print of Mont Blanc by the Nabis artist Félix Vallotton, which was part of a series of Alpine views he made in 1892. Vallotton's print is reproduced in Nasgaard, p. 25.

³⁸⁷ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 152.

³⁸⁸ Repentigny, p. 66.

³⁸⁹ Speech to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe. ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/18.

³⁹⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

³⁹¹ This observation was also made by Éthier-Blais, Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, p. 46. The symbolic image of entangled and thorny branches appears in George Minne's Les Adolescents dans les épines (1892) and Burne-Jones The Briar Wood (1884-1890), both illustrated in Robert Goldwater, Symbolism (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 50. Goldwater describes the imagery as representative of "souls enmeshed in nature" and "the hostility of matter to spirit." Ibid.

³⁹² ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/7.

³⁹³ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

³⁹⁴ Éthier-Blais, Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, p. 34.

³⁹⁵ Bohème, "Un peintre de 'chez nous'," p. 16.

³⁹⁶ Émile Vézina, "L'exposition Leduc," Le Devoir, 21 February 1916, p. 1.

³⁹⁷ In his review in The Studio of the 1917 Royal Canadian Academy exhibition, Mortimer Lamb commented, "the exhibition evidenced a further advance in the evolution of Canadian art, which is year by year becoming more individual, more indigenous, and less weakly reminiscent of the art of other and older countries and of former times and manners. This applies, naturally perhaps, more particularly to the development of Canadian landscape painting, in which direction, the scope, opportunity, and stimulation are greatest. The inspiration of quite the majority of canvases in the exhibition under notice was derived from the study of landscape; and the interpretation and expression of these diverse but always distinctively Canadian aspects of nature were in many instances personal, sincere, and satisfying." Lamb, "Studio Talk," The Studio, 70 (February 1917), 30.

³⁹⁸ Chauvin, "Le régionalisme en poésie," Le Nigog, 1 (June 1918), 186.

³⁹⁹ Roquebrune, "Pour s'entendre sur le régionalisme en art," Le Nigog, 1 (October 1918), 335.

⁴⁰⁰ Dugas, "Robert de Roquebrune," Littérature canadienne, p. 150.

CHAPTER 6

THE MATURE YEARS

Leduc's social and cultural circle had enlarged through the relationships he made in the 1910s. After the Nigog group dispersed, the atmosphere in his social environment became more conservative. There was, as well, a growing conservatism in Leduc's own attitudes which is evident in his notes, speeches, and letters. He participated in community affairs and pursued church decoration with a renewed vigour. New social contacts evolved to a large degree through his friendship with Abbé Maurault. The social setting after 1920 and his response to it are the discussed in the first section of this chapter. The second section examines his major decorative programmes of this period, other commissioned work, and his personal easel art, in terms of social demands and his own interests.

Social Environment and Evolving Thought:

After the First World War, French Quebec settled into two decades of a relatively undisputed reign of political and cultural regionalism.¹ With the demise of Le Nigog, the effort to affect progressive change in the arts dissipated. In his essay on Le Nigog, Armand Guilmette even suggested that one of the consequences of the review was to strengthen its nationalist opponents, who savoured the victory of le terroir.² The determination to nationalize French Canadian art and literature was given fervent support by public institutions, cultural organizations, and the influential propagators of the dominant ideology, the nationalist periodicals.³ L'Action française, in particular, carried

article after article defending the need for regionalist arts to serve the national cause.⁴ André Bourassa described this period of cultural history in Quebec as the "dark ages."⁵ Ateliers, Jean Chauvin's study of Quebec artists published in 1928, is a revealing document from the 1920s which conveys the nationalist attitudes of leading French Canadian artists.⁶ The Écoles des Beaux-Arts were opened in Montreal and Quebec City to encourage the development of French Canadian artists and to produce a class of artisans who would renew the traditional crafts associated with the French Canadian heritage.⁷ Charles Maillard, the Director of the École des Beaux-Arts in Montreal from 1925 to 1945, was an influential and dogmatic advocate of the necessity for an art of "national" subject matter, formulated in an academic style.⁸

Leduc's own nationalist sympathies in this period are demonstrated in his social commitments, his public statements on art, and his commissioned work. He displayed an increasingly conservative attitude toward modern society and the role of the modern artist, conditioned by the environment of the time, but also a product of the philosophical considerations and religious fervor that governed all his actions. As always, he maintained an avid curiosity towards international cultural developments, subscribing to foreign journals, for example, L'Art Vivant, Les Nouvelles littéraires,⁹ Art News, and Art et Décoration.¹⁰ But in his assessments of modernity, the new was judged against his own religious and social standards. While his easel art and his church decorations, especially in the Bishop's Chapel in Sherbrooke and in the Notre-Dame Baptistery,¹¹ demonstrate continued vitality and originality, his fundamental aesthetic concepts remained attached to theories from

the turn of the century. Even his fascination with medievalism had evolved from his early interest in the late nineteenth century romantic revival. That interest developed into a serious study of Gothic Art exemplified by his study of the works of Emile Mâle. The French philosopher Jacques Maritain published Art et Scholastique in 1920, which provided a medieval scholastic framework for contemporary art. Maritain's artistic theory complemented Leduc's own thoughts and provided his ideas with a firm theological foundation. Leduc found an accord with Maritain's concept that art is subjective expression, an individual realization of beauty requiring "the artist's whole appetitive faculty, his passions and his will," but guided by prudence and intellect.¹² Leduc's social perspective may owe something to Maritain's other writings on his humanist Christian social philosophy,¹³ well known in Quebec and inspiring nationalists as diverse as Abbé Groulx¹⁴ and the modernists' Saint-Denys Garneau and his associates around the review La Relève (1934-1940).¹⁵ Not only was Leduc reading Maritain, but Henri Bergson, Léon Bloy, and Paul Fort. However, it must be recognized that whatever influences Leduc assimilated from Maritain, or any other sources, were incorporated into an independent vision that had evolved over decades of reflection. Independent thought was fundamental to his conception of personal growth and human progress. Although he supported a nationalist view of art, he believed there was a need for individual insight within the creative process. He stressed this in his public addresses on art and in his private counsel to younger artists.

The personal relationships that Leduc formed during this last period

of his life demonstrate again that he attracted admiration from all factions. He was idolized by conservatives like the artists Rodolphe Duguay and Paul Gagné, the anti-Communist polemist René Bergeron, and at the same time garnered the admiration of Paul-Émile Borduas and the radical Automatiste group from the Ecole de Meuble. Leduc's relationship with Abbé Maurault remained extremely close. Maurault continued to support Leduc's art and drew him into a more conservative milieu. Maurault arranged many of the commissions that Leduc received in this period, including church decorations, devotional images, and the illustrations for Abbé Adélard Dugré's nationalist novel La Campagne canadienne. In 1938, Leduc was awarded an honorary doctorate from the Université de Montréal.¹⁶ He attributed this recognition to Maurault who was then Rector of the university.¹⁷ Maurault was involved in nationalist circles in Montreal and his speeches and articles of the 1920s indicate an extensive patronage of nationalist endeavours.¹⁸ He contributed regularly to L'Action française and its associated yearly journal, L'Almanach de la langue française, which advertised itself as "the tiny textbook of popular patriotism."¹⁹ In 1933, he became a director of L'Action nationale,²⁰ successor to L'Action française and, like it, the leading voice of the ultranationalists.²¹ Maurault frequently solicited Leduc's services on behalf of L'Action française and the Almanach.²² There is no evidence that Leduc contributed in any way other than dispensing occasional advice; however, he clearly maintained an awareness of the activities of this nationalist organization.²³ Maurault, along with other prominent nationalists such as Albert Lévesque,²⁴ Camille Roy, Harry Bernard, and Jean Bruchési, was

on the executive of L'Association des Auteurs canadiens, a society that Leduc joined in 1932.²⁵ The Association was formed to encourage solidarity among French Canadian artists and writers. Its various activities included lectures, literary contests, and the promotion of French Canadian works, especially for use in education.²⁶ In November of 1932, it organized a Semaine du Livre et de l'Art canadiens,²⁷ and Leduc contributed two pieces to an exhibition of art and books held at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice in conjunction with the week's activities.²⁸

Leduc's letters to Maurault reveal that he suffered bouts of self-doubt and discouragement with regard to his art. At such times he turned to his faithful friend Maurault, for example, writing in December 1923: "I need sympathy, I also need to be led back to work and to art. Doubt and disgust are at my door."²⁹ An earlier letter from January of the same year, suggests Leduc had adopted a new resolve in artistic attitude and he expressed ideas which reappear in later statements of his views.³⁰ This letter indicates that he had previously written to Maurault with a question of personal concern about art and he thanked him for his advice. Leduc confessed that he had been seduced by some kind of artistic "heresy": "I recognize that I have known for a long time that I could not, in spite of my zeal, support such heresy but I had not yet confided this weakness to my friends. Nevertheless, I felt the need to do it. Now it's done." Leduc did not specify what he meant by the "heresy" which had attracted him, but the context of the letter suggests it may have been related to the idea of artistic self-indulgence and the "art for art's sake" attitude that had been prevalent in the Nigog milieu. That era had passed, and now Leduc committed

himself to the view that the artist serves a social role, his mission being to inspire and guide through his art. He remarked that he was pleased that Maurault did not "too harshly hold against me this weakness of my past." He affirmed that he had decided to never speak in public about theories on art, especially those theories "which are incompatible with my small gifts as a logician without artifice and tricks." He continued,

I agree with you that painting is a craft. Therefore, the painter must be simply be a good craftsman, be ambitious to achieve with strength, a plastic vision, his vision. In this way, he will reach a personal art, a vehicle of his thought which always must be lofty and strong.

By exalting the real with respect this art will add beauty to the world.

The privilege of a painter, as well as that of a poet, is it not to designate, to show men beauty which is the most deserving of our admiration.

Mr. É. Montpetit, in a lecture on 'The production of art from the economic point of view,' said, among many truths tending to magnify the role of the artist in society, that the work of art is educational.' I agree also, that this function will only be possible on the condition that it pleases us or moves us (think about the theory of art for art's sake and then about the preponderate craft).³¹

The designation of art as a craft and the artist as a craftsman may connect to the interest Leduc shared with Maurault in medievalism and perhaps even by this date an awareness of Art et Scholastique. For Maritain, the synthesis of intelligence, prudence, and art was the foundation of scholastic theory and was exemplified in the medieval concept of the artist as an artisan.³² Leduc's remarks correspond to the scholastic view that, through prudence, the artist submits to humility and directs his will to the spiritual value of art.³³ Leduc's growing preoccupation with the role of art as a spiritual guide in this last period of his life seems to have been at least partly inspired by the

medieval model of the artist, attributable to his reading of Maritain, and perhaps Male as well, and encouraged, it seems, by his friend Maurault. This conception of art certainly melded with the nationalist ideal of the social responsibility of French Canadian artists. Without trying to read too much into Leduc's rather nebulous comments in this letter, we can see that they do reflect ideas that he would later elaborate in the 1930s in three major lectures on art (despite his vow to never speak about art publicly). His lectures resulted from a commitment to social action that began in Saint-Hilaire.

In Ateliers, Jean Chauvin maintained that after his 1916 solo exhibition Leduc retreated from sight into his "hermitage" in Saint-Hilaire.³⁴ Leduc indeed retreated from the Montreal art scene in that he seldom exhibited his work after 1920 and produced only a few, mostly commissioned, easel pieces until the mid 1930s.³⁵ However, he remained extremely active. Much of his time was consumed by his church decorations which he pursued with a new zeal. Through the 1920s and 1930s, he was involved in the affairs of his own local community.

His community service in Saint-Hilaire began in 1918 when he was elected to the first of two terms on the Commission scolaire du village de Saint-Hilaire,³⁶ serving as president during his second term. Letters to Leduc from Edmond-J. Massicotte, dated 1919 and 1920, record that, as a school commissioner, Leduc initiated the "patriotic idea" of distributing some of Massicotte's prints illustrating rural Québécois traditions, possibly as school prizes.³⁷ In 1920, Leduc purchased three dozen copies of Massicotte's print Retour de la messe de minuit (1919).³⁸ From 1924 to 1931, Leduc served four terms as a municipal

councillor³⁹ In 1925, he was the president of the Comité des fêtes de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste for Saint-Hilaire⁴⁰ Drafts of speeches Leduc made as a councillor⁴¹ and during the Saint-Jean-Baptiste festivities⁴² reveal that his dedication to social duty was directed by lofty goals. His words often echoed nationalist sentiments, especially in two respects: in the concern that the traditional character and moral values of the rural community must be preserved,⁴³ and that the pursuit of economic prosperity must be tempered with a recognition of the dangers wrought by materialism and deeper human needs.⁴⁴ As a councillor he was interested in the preservation of the natural beauty of Saint-Hilaire and he cautioned that political decisions must not be based solely on monetary considerations but must consider that "the useful readily unites with beauty and by this alliance acquires an unsuspected fullness which has incalculable beneficial consequences."⁴⁵ In his Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day speech, Leduc called on his audience to practise a living and constructive patriotism like their ancestors before them and to take pride in the beauty and the progress of Saint-Hilaire.⁴⁶ "Let us be conscious of our Canadian soul, apply ourselves to make our own intimate patrie prosperous...embellish our dwellings, their surroundings, look after our farms." He reminded them that "truth, virtue, justice, harmony, and beauty take precedence over the concern for material interests, the passionate struggle for fortune and the uncontrolled seeking of comfort." Even in a speech to members of the local quoits club, Leduc spoke of the moral value of athletics, and advocated that in games beauty, goodness, and truth must always predominate.⁴⁷ He sponsored a local commission d'embellissement⁴⁸ and served as a member

of this committee at least from 1922⁴⁹ to 1924.⁵⁰ In 1925, he promoted a project to turn Mont Saint-Hilaire into a national park. In correspondence to the provincial premier he stated the need to designate the area a park to preserve its "picturesque beauty" and out of respect for its historical significance.⁵¹ He was concerned about the damage done to the mountain and orchards on its slopes resulting from the removal of material for use in a nearby highway project. He regretted the encroachment of industry in the area and hoped the province would continue to encourage the cultivation of apples.⁵² In 1937, he was one of the founders of the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe, established to conserve local history through the collection of documents and the establishment of a museum.⁵³ The society also gave support to contemporary scientific, literary, and social works.⁵⁴

In 1930, Leduc spoke on art to the local branch of the Union catholique des cultivateurs.⁵⁵ His effort to generate public awareness of art may have been stimulated by his plans for a series of articles for the parish journal, La terre de chez nous.⁵⁶ Leduc was asked to contribute to the journal as a result of the positive response to his published speech from a Saint-Hilaire "fête."⁵⁷ He suggested that some "brief and simple notes" on art would be appropriate. Voicing the nationalist concept of the ethnic heritage, he wrote, "Our agricultural class by its French lineage possesses a latent poetry...we have great need to be the people that we want to be, to cultivate our sensitivity, our taste, to place them in accord with the sense of logic, grace, purity, clarity, [and] rectitude that we have inherited from our ancestors." He enumerated suggestions for topics: "The essence of art,

art as an intellectual virtue, the goal of art, the dignity of art. Beauty--its definition, the divisions of art, the beaux-arts, the industrial arts, art in the home, art in the church." Further notes that appear to be related to his speech are headed "Campaign in aid of Beauty," and begin with the statement: "A movement in this direction by our intellectual elite. Why shouldn't the agricultural class, the farmer, enter into this movement?"⁵⁸ Leduc's desire to foster an appreciation for the applied arts as well as the fine arts was clearly an aspect of his nationalist concerns, but also had been nurtured by years of reading European journals. The Arts and Crafts tradition had been perpetuated in The Studio, Art et Décoration, and then in L'Art Vivant, which also reviewed the decorative arts, furnishings, even women's fashions. Leduc had been inspired by the ideals of William Morris, had made notes on his theories of "Art and Honesty,"⁵⁹ and, as late as 1947, in a letter to the composer J.J. Gagnier, mentioned his own sympathy with Morris's dedication to the spiritual value of beautiful things.⁶⁰

Leduc's speech to the farmer's union followed the topics he had outlined for La Terre de chez nous. The Union catholique des cultivateurs had been established in Quebec in 1924 with a concern for the "moral and intellectual" sustenance of French Canadian farmers.⁶¹ Leduc presented them with a lengthy and highly philosophical address on the importance of art and beauty in their lives. A fundamental theme was the necessity of art to renew and elevate the human spirit in the modern materialistic world. He began:

The human being, the farmer like all other men, has needs other than those conditioned by material value. Endowed with

intelligence he recognizes order and beauty as values that he aspires to enjoy. His heart makes demands which must be satisfied it is precisely the role of art to meet these demands and aspirations.

He went on to describe the public image and social function of the artist. His remarks revealed his own conservative views on modern art, which he considered as self-indulgent. He said that in the "not too distant past," especially in Europe, the artist's "greatest desire was to stun the bourgeoisie. By his excessive words, exaggerated gestures, his pretensions to eccentricity, he had succeeded in discrediting himself in honest people's minds. Despite his great talents, sometimes his destiny remained most shabby." He continued, remarking that "there have always been some very great artists even amongst the least civilized," and "a great soul often inhabits a depraved body." As an example, he referred to Verlaine:

The poet Verlaine, this subtle artist, was an alcoholic. However, as my friend Marcel Dugas rightly says in his study of Verlaine's strange life and his singular art: "This god, this faun, this poet, this fallen and renewed Ariel, has perfected the miracle of a superhuman Christian and of a being subjugated to all the terrestrial infirmities."

However, Leduc said, the "Bohemian times have ended" and "apart from a few ancient examples who still persist and resist the evolution which propels the whole modern intellectual movement, the artist has become like everyone else." The artist is a sensitive individual,

affected little by the morbid feverishness of our jazz-band era, of Charlestons danced by cropped flappers, with cigarettes in their mouths! He has remained rather calm. His restraint causes a reaction which outlines itself against strident modern materialism and tends to bring art back into more temperate regions where tradition has not been banished, to maintain it, away from the influence of exaggeration in everything, characteristic of an era where one can easily be contrary to what was edified in the past."

The artist pursues an ideal of beauty, and in doing so becomes a kind of priest, his mission being

to reveal to his delighted contemporaries his splendid conception of a universe made iridescent by the prism of his intelligence, celebrating the Cause of causes, to make them see in themselves unsuspected riches, reasons for more love, for more clarity in their own conduct.

He continued with an elaboration of the value of art and beauty based largely on the ideas of Maritain, whom he cited by name.⁶² Leduc's discussion followed three aspects of scholastic theory: "art is an intellectual virtue, art is an expression of sentient beauty, and art is a producer of the useful." The last part of his address concerned the idea that everyone can satisfy the innate desire for beauty through a deeper awareness of its presence in their everyday lives, in their homes, and in a sensitivity to the grandeur of nature around them. He suggested that individually and collectively the people of Saint-Hilaire could participate in the national "movement towards beauty." Living with beauty was linked with moral and spiritual growth. He said that it was important to realize that "we are interdependent and the goal that man pursued by uniting his energies is not only to achieve material well being but also to feed his spirit, to give it the intellectual nourishment for which it yearns--nourishment that comes from the same sources from which art rises." Ernest Choquette was specifically credited as an example of someone who had benefitted the whole village by the embellishment of his home and who had demonstrated a love for his own environment. Reading a passage from Claude Paysan in which Claude harvests his grain in the fall, Leduc said that Choquette had created "a literary work to the glory of the Canadian earth of Saint-Hilaire." His

writings "mark with fullness, how profoundly an elite soul vibrates in contact with the soil where his roots are deep."

In August 1936 Leduc gave a radio lecture on the CBC on "L'Heure Provinciale," entitled "Remarks on art," and intended to help foster an enlightened taste in art. It was addressed to both the public and to artists.⁶³ In preparatory notes for the speech he outlined his thoughts. He wrote,

sincerity must be the base of all our actions; the snobisme of those who see only the alleged revolution in art....They are the ones who are behind today...art returns to reliable techniques tempered by time. Yes, art returns to a renewed humanism; paintings are acts of faith materialized, rendered visible by the plastic arts.⁶⁴

In the first half of the speech he set forth the idea that art serves the human aspiration "for a superior life" and the "desire for perfection."⁶⁵ Through art, the artist communicates with and inspires his brothers, "rendering palpable Poetry, essence of Beauty." He described art as a "union of spirit and matter" and he emphasized that art required intellectual and technical discipline in order for the artist to realize his ideal, his intangible dream. In terms similar to those used by Maritain, Leduc explained that in art matter is necessarily dominant, thus requiring the obedience to rules which makes artistic mastery by the "radiation of a will of realization" more expressively human.⁶⁶ The unity of art and artist achieves "a spiritualization of matter, a symbolic image of the interior world which stirs at the bottom of the soul."

Leduc went on to consider the question of the significance of Canadian art. It is clear from the context of the speech that Leduc used the term "Canadian" as it was prevalently used in Quebec, that is as

synonymous with "French Canadian." He said that in all its multiple manifestations, whether architecture, sculpture or painting, Canadian art emitted a truth, albeit rudimentary, "which is a an aspect of the moving effigy of the Canadian soul, a reflection of our taste." However, "truly great creators are rare," and Canada had not "been favoured" with any great artists. Despite the continual attempt to create a Canadian identity, Canadian art displayed a mixture of diverse French influences, remained hesitant, and was often of doubtful taste.

This art is not entirely to our glory... Nevertheless, as it stands, it is strongly a sign of an active intellectual life, undeniably reassuring and favourable. The anxiety and doubt which sometimes creep into our soul and oppress us, because of our relative insufficiency, through our soul those feelings will disappear like a bad dream.

He maintained that it was necessary to "accept the salutary constraints which stimulate and purify." He set out a series of guidelines for artists, which he believed were essential for the success of Canadian art. He spoke in general terms, discussing neither subject matter nor form, but rather concentrating on the concept of art as an expression of a significant and original vision, rooted in the artist's own identity and, above all, of a profound faith and lofty inspiration. Art must be "without ostentation; let us not believe that appearance alone is sufficient." Make no compromise with ugliness, "for fear of falling into the deadly sin of accepting it," because by such reaction "the will is obliterated, the soul inert, paralyzed, dying."⁶⁷ Sounding a great deal like Lionel Groulx whose "watchword" was "rester d'abord nous-mêmes,"⁶⁸ Leduc said:

Let us know ourselves well, to remain ourselves. Avoid borrowings and imitations. Let us have a profound culture, in order that nothing false should come along to spoil the

character of our intellectual image. Let us be faithful to our traditions; we have lived by them. They have marked us with a particular distinction.

The goal must be to have works of art which are only a "pure reflection of invigorating Beauty. Let us be on guard against the inconsistencies of fashion and flee from snobisme" Leduc concluded with a statement of his idealist vision of the spiritual value of art which he delineated through a series of "beliefs." He affirmed: "I believe in all-powerful progress, which by its verb, Art, son of eternal necessity, rendered fertile by knowledge, animates all humanity and directs it." In essence, he expressed his conviction that art, a balance of truth and beauty, evidences and inspires human progress toward perfection in the constant battle between good and evil.

There is no doubt that Leduc subscribed to the nationalist desire for an independent French Canadian art. But his conception of art as bearing the imprint of its milieu, the Canadian soul, is more closely associated with the broader vision of a universal expression like that defined by Léo-Pol Morin in Le Nigog.⁶⁹ Jacques Maritain made similar observations regarding the inherent subjective nature of art which also may have nurtured Leduc's ideas. Maritain first asserted that art transcends national boundaries and finds "its limits only in the infinite fullness of beauty. Like science, philosophy and civilisation, by its very nature and object it is universal."⁷⁰ But he observed that art is also dependent upon the "subject" [the artist] in which it resides:

It does not reside in an angelic mind: it is subject in a soul which is the substantial form of a living body and which, by the natural necessity in which it finds itself of learning and becoming perfect slowly and with difficulty, makes the animal it

animates a naturally political animal. Art is therefore fundamentally dependent upon everything which the race and the State, spiritual tradition and history transmit to the body of man and his mind. by its subject and its roots, it belongs to a time and a country. For this reason the most universal and most human works of art are those which bear most openly the mark of their country.⁷¹

Traces of Bergson's ideas can perhaps also be detected in Leduc's conception of the dynamic impulse of the soul toward perfection, a recurring theme in these public lectures and in his private poetry of this period. The concept of art as a materialized act of faith created from a soul aspiring to divine love and beauty, and as a "carrier of joy," parallels Bergson's descriptions of mystical aspirations which are the impetus of human progress found in The Two Sources of Morality and Religion (1932),⁷² a book Leduc knew sometime in this period.⁷³

The artist as mystic, sage, and moral guide was the theme of Leduc's last public speech, given to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe around 1937.⁷⁴ His topic was "Symbolism in Christian art," which he felt "had become a mystery for many people."⁷⁵ He wanted to educate his audience to understand and appreciate the symbolic qualities of art. He stated that symbolism evolved out of the human need for understanding and could be traced back to cave art, but the Middle Ages were the period of its greatest glory. He did not confine himself to religious art, but spoke about symbolism as being the core of all other manifestations of art, which are "tributaries" of religious art. He described symbolism as analogies from nature to express abstract spiritual ideas. As in his previous speeches, he explained that art serves the constant need of the soul to progress toward the Ideal, which he described as an "atavistic instinct towards beauty." The artistic

process was described as both intuitive in the artist's relationship to nature and intellectual, as "art is an intellectual virtue."

The artist sees and hears, his gaze passes through his heart, and his consciousness is opened. Presdestined and free, the artist serves, guides, dominates. What he does not see he represents to himself according to his imagination and his own dreams....[Art] is an unselfish act, all to the advantage of one's fellow-man, which leaves the imprint of man on man. Moral effect. By essence, Art is an imprint of man on matter, representing Art itself--whereas, an imprint on the moral of man achieves civilization.⁷⁶

Younger artists continued to turn to Leduc for counsel, or out of admiration, even in the late years of his life. Several were interested in church decoration; most tended to be traditional in outlook. Rodolphe Duguay and Paul Gagné both greatly respected Leduc and exemplify the lingering conservative faction in Quebec arts. Paul-Émile Borduas, encouraged by Leduc to follow in his own footsteps, was eventually to denounce everything that tradition represented in French Canada. François-Marc Gagnon asserted that Borduas's radical manifesto of 1948, Refus Global, "marked the end of the old conservative ideology in Quebec."⁷⁷

It is obvious from many of the letters Leduc received from admirers that they were inspired by his art and his words, and he was always willing to provide support. Leduc had been persuaded to give his radio lecture of 1936 by "a young [female] artist of my parish whom I wish to encourage."⁷⁸ That young artist was likely Gabrielle Messier, who became his student and assistant in 1940.⁷⁹ Leduc sent a copy of his speech to Raoul Ducharme, a sometime assistant and a longtime friend.⁸⁰ Leduc's broadcast had deeply impressed Ducharme, and he had "reread [the copy] several times better to understand all that is true, great and

consoling in your words."⁸¹ The letters of Rodolphe Duguay expressed similar sentiments.

Duguay, a respected painter and printmaker from Nicolet, had long admired Leduc's art and cherished a close friendship with him beginning in the 1930s. Profoundly religious, in his early years Duguay had been torn between a career as a church decorator or as an independent artist.⁸² During study in Paris at various academies from 1920 to 1927, he made up his mind to devote himself to depictions of the Quebec landscape.⁸³ Duguay was a dedicated regionalist and, although his works depict traditional rural subjects,⁸⁴ many of his romantic landscapes such as Coup de vent or Arbres en fleurs resemble Leduc's works.⁸⁵ Comparing the landscapes of Duguay to those of Leduc, Lévis Martin commented that they lack Leduc's "sense of the monumental" and his "capacity for conjugating power and refinement." He thought the mysticism of both painters was nourished from different sources: "The symbolism of Leduc is more universal in its resources. Duguay's remained that of the Christianity of his childhood."⁸⁶ Leduc gave Duguay two of his drawings, Paysage deux tons in 1937,⁸⁷ and La Meule (Fig. 99) in January 1938.⁸⁸ Of the latter, Duguay remarked, "One must have a lot of heart to put so much poetry in a thing so small and so simple."⁸⁹ He wrote that he was having "this little masterpiece" framed for his studio where it would serve as inspiration: "It will tell me that above all else one must paint with one's soul, that theories are useless, the modern ones among others, that I must give them up at any cost if I want to produce personal work." He recalled that during his visit to Leduc's studio, Leduc had advised him to rid himself of all influences that

prevented him "from taking flight."⁹⁰ Duguay, like Leduc, maintained his independence and enjoyed a quiet modest life completely dedicated to his rural environment and his own work.⁹¹ His distance from transformations in the Canadian art scene is apparent in a letter to Leduc in 1953, in which he thanked Leduc for the copy of the journal Canadian Art (which was no doubt the Summer issue carrying Borduas's homage to Leduc⁹²), and added, "It is a review I did not know, I believe little in the credo that is preached in it."⁹³

Leduc got to know Paul Gagné while working in Sherbrooke on the decorations for the Bishop's Chapel. Gagné was hired to photograph the decorations.⁹⁴ Trained at the École des Beaux-Arts in Montreal,⁹⁵ he worked as a photographer and taught drawing.⁹⁶ However, he revealed in his many intimate letters to Leduc that he longed to become a painter and dreamed of opening his own school of applied arts. He wrote that he had "faith in the future of our little nation and I am convinced that it will be saved by agriculture and by craftsman."⁹⁷ Leduc encouraged Gagné, and his fondness for him is indicated by the gift of three works from his "Imaginations" series.⁹⁸ In gratitude for Soir maison de rêve, Gagné wrote:

Knowing your history, your profound love of your native soil, your religious attachment to your marvellous place, and all that surrounds it, your intimate comprehension of the magical language of powerful nature which encircles you truly gives a moving peaceful and tender force to this little sketch...We are far from the noisy life of the cities, the car horns, the frivolities...How I would also love the tranquility where in peace, silence and piety, those reflections of a divine Beauty are formed, expressed in a tangible manner.⁹⁹

Gagné paid similar tributes to Leduc's work throughout his letters. He expressed his disdain for modern artists, contrasting the depth of

Leduc's art with those who "can only paint or sculpt the exterior of things, without manifesting the soul of beauty."¹⁰⁰ He shared Leduc's belief that society had become shallow and materialistic and needed to be renewed through art.¹⁰¹ In a letter from 1943, Gagné condemned "our so-called abstract artists," "artists à la Picasso."¹⁰² He said that while viewing a great deal of Picasso's work in Europe the previous year, he detected the "sickle and hammer that he inserts in 90% of his works." Gagné believed that there was a secret international communist language in Picasso's art and that of his "consorts," and he wrote, "there are other similar rogues in the world, but there are also imbeciles who imitate them...." He continued,

You have told me that you do not want to take sides on this question where you have friends in the two camps, but I know your work too well to not know your intimate opinion. Besides, I will change my mind myself, when I see an abstraction signed with your name.¹⁰³

By 1943 the Contemporary Arts Society and Automatiste exhibitions in Montreal had generated enormous controversy and split the arts community. The references by Gagné to Leduc having friends in both camps obviously alludes to the close relationship he maintained with Paul-Émile Borduas and some of his associates. Gagné's opinions are representative of the lingering anti-communist sentiments generated by the French Canadian ultranationalist "crusades against Communism" of the 1930s.¹⁰⁴ Similar perceptions of "organized artistic corruption" led René Bergeron,¹⁰⁵ an ardent Catholic and militant anti-communist journalist,¹⁰⁶ to condemn the Montreal Surrealist "agitators"¹⁰⁷ in Art et Bolchevisme published in 1946.¹⁰⁸ According to Bergeron's letters to Leduc on the subject of his book, he, like Gagné, assumed that Leduc

shared his opinions.¹⁰⁹ In Art et Bolchevisme, "a document of the era,"¹¹⁰ Bergeron contrasted the work of the revolutionaries with that of "true" Quebec artists who respect "Truth, Beauty and Goodness,"¹¹¹ citing Leduc, Adrien Hébert, Rodolphe Duguay, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, and several others. His chapter on Leduc concludes,

The name of Leduc is so intimately linked to Canadian art, that Maurice Gagnon himself feels the need to call him to witness, going as far as to represent him as the precursor of the ultra-moderns, the same way Hertel tries to justify the fat Léger through the great Michelangelo. From that one sees that glory is cruel by the ransoms that it imposes.¹¹²

Leduc, in response to a draft of this chapter that Bergeron sent him before the book was published, wanted Bergeron to delete the word "genius" that he had intended to use and to replace it with "creator," Leduc specified that he aspired "to occupy a place apart in the hall of Canadian art."¹¹³ He hoped that Bergeron would not judge by comparisons for an artist "aims for a style, for an original skill, if he is not a follower or the ape of someone."¹¹⁴

Like Duguay, Gagné, and Bergeron, Leduc could not accept abstract art, but his objections were based on his concerns for artistic integrity rather than fear of social revolution. Leduc had long been aware of the movement toward abstraction;¹¹⁵ journals such as L'Art Vivant and Art News kept him informed about most of the modern movements. He made an effort to be open-minded, as Maurault commented in an article on him in 1938. With regard to Leduc's tolerance for new ideas in art, Maurault wrote, "Faced with cubism or some other barely comprehensible manner of painting, he abstains from condemning it outright, according some intelligence to the artist and believing that, in his error, there could be a parcel of truth."¹¹⁶ Leduc continued to

give support to Borduas and his friends even though their ideas were in conflict with his own. Gilles Corbeil wrote that Leduc "refused to judge the painters of his era, always having a good word to say about the works that were shown to him."¹¹⁷ Guy Viau, who had been a student and friend of Borduas, later wrote that Leduc, "despite his great age and his academic background...never failed to show the most intelligent sympathy with the daring experiments of the younger generation."¹¹⁸ However, in his personal notes Leduc recorded his true thoughts about modern movements. He regarded complete abstraction as a dangerous reversion to chaos: "In the most abstract art the subject (for there is always a subject) would not come from anything. A décor is necessary, as a logical milieu is necessary to life. Abstraction proceeding in direct line from Chaos is monstrous, barren, inconceivable."¹¹⁹ While Leduc's own art drew upon intuition and imagination, reason was always brought into play to compose his work in correspondence with the order that represented beauty. Automatism, on the other hand, contradicted Leduc's belief that art and humanity progress through a process requiring will and rationality:

Automatic painting: painting made by someone of intelligence under the domination of a paint brush, only a paint brush. However, this someone is sensitive, if he does not control his tools, it is the tools that will be right, and the tool, most often, is not civilized. It gesticulates from the scum of matter, from where art scarcely emerges. Is it progress to abandon oneself arduously to the instinct that man possesses in common with the beast. Art evolves; but, it evolves little in its signs, which to be grasped must be simple and properly written. Art lives from the new, but not from a new condoned by snobisme--today in fashion as it was yesterday.¹²⁰

Despite his distaste for the dangerous art that Borduas pursued, Leduc remained Borduas's loyal friend and confidant, much as he had for

Lahaise and the others of the Nigog era.¹²¹ His relationship to Borduas was solidly bonded through many years of intimate contact, mutual respect, and a harmony of thought that persisted in spite of the apparent differences between them. Their friendship allowed for honesty, as demonstrated by Leduc's letter concerning the painting La Cavale infernale which Borduas exhibited in 1943:

Is your 'Mare from Hell' bent on rushing into evil, or will she turn towards the good? She seems to possess all the reality of what is called the surreal.--We see her moving along dead-end paths, in a chaotic land whose order, inevitably, she cannot grasp. Her fate, her blinkers, seem to hold her fixed for evermore--the torment of an overpowering past, towards which she looks back helplessly, coupled with the anxiety of a limitless future of which she has no glimpse. So her little forked she-devil's feet stay earthbound, motionless for all eternity, unless the painter moves them....It is not perhaps the mission of art to preach a moral--nevertheless, Art inevitably teaches--informs. It is the confessor of souls. Another of its attributes, undoubtedly, is that of organizing into a cosmos the chaos of the unconscious. Out of disorder, suffering, imbalance, it shows the way to stability, harmony, joy.¹²²

Borduas's tributes to Leduc in the 1950s¹²³ and the correspondence between the two confirms that any disagreements were healed by the affection between them.¹²⁴

Although Borduas encountered numerous influences during his career, the inspiration and insights provided by Leduc, his first mentor, remained with him. Borduas developed in an atmosphere permeated with Leduc's philosophical values and artistic theories. From the age of 16, when he first became Leduc's student and shortly thereafter his assistant, he was immersed in the realm of Christian symbolism and the symbolism of Leduc's own inner vision.¹²⁵ He helped Leduc decorate the Bishop's Chapel in Sherbrooke and the Notre-Dame Baptistery in Montreal, which were Leduc's most esoteric programmes. In an article on his friend

Borduas, written in 1937, Maurice Gagnon suggested the lasting effects of long conversations "heavy with erudition, with philosophy" exchanged between Leduc and Borduas in the "course of daily labour" over the years they worked together.¹²⁶ Borduas himself described the environment which Leduc created as a "spiritual soil," "where feeling dwells--overflowing everywhere the thin confines of consciousness."¹²⁷ Leduc trained him and directed him towards a career as a church decorator.¹²⁸ He ensured that Borduas mastered the fundamentals of art in accordance with his own belief in artistic discipline, that "by the total obedience to the rules of his craft, the artist exalts his creative power."¹²⁹ He instructed Borduas to copy from reproductions as he himself had been trained almost four decades earlier; Borduas later referred to this period as "lessons in art history"¹³⁰ While Borduas worked as his assistant through the 1920s,¹³¹ Leduc sent him to formal art classes, first at the École des arts et métiers in Sherbrooke¹³² and then, in 1923, at the new bastion of academic training, the École des Beaux-Arts in Montreal.¹³³ Although this early education had an academic basis, Leduc tempered the instruction with his own aesthetic theories. Borduas's attempts to break with tradition and to encourage personally creative art in his own teaching career at the Externat classique Saint-Sulpice and later at the École du Meuble were rooted in the example set by Leduc. At the Externat he used a French teaching manual, introduced to him by Leduc, which encouraged free and uncriticized drawing for children.¹³⁴ At the École du Meuble he studied historical works with his students, looking for the "moral constant" and profound personal expression, the qualities that united all great art.¹³⁵

Borduas's first teaching position with the Catholic School Commission in Montreal ended abruptly in 1928, at the beginning of his second year, when he resigned over a personal dispute with Charles Maillard.¹³⁶ With Leduc's encouragement and financial support supplied by Maurault, Borduas pursued studies in church decoration in Paris at Maurice Denis's Atelier d'art sacré.¹³⁷ Commissions were scarce during the Depression years when Borduas returned to Quebec in 1930, and Leduc was responsible for most of the few small jobs he did obtain.¹³⁸ Borduas, by necessity, gave up church decoration and turned to teaching in 1932, hired by Maurault to teach drawing at the Externat classique Saint-Sulpice.¹³⁹ In 1937, he joined the faculty of the École du Meuble,¹⁴⁰ where he was to lead his students into the territory of Surrealism and, in 1948, to the publication of Refus Global.

During his years in Montreal, Borduas visited Saint-Hilaire frequently, spending his summers there and, from 1945 to 1952, lived in a house he had built beside the Richelieu.¹⁴¹ His friends from Montreal were frequent visitors to the village, and many of them went with him to visit Leduc in his studio;¹⁴² Maurice Gagnon, Robert Élie,¹⁴³ Guy Viau, Fernand Leduc,¹⁴⁴ Jean-Paul Riopelle, and Père Alain-Marie Couturier were among those drawn to Leduc and his art.¹⁴⁵ In "Quelques pensées sur l'oeuvre d'amour et de rêve de M. Ozias Leduc," written two years before Leduc died,¹⁴⁶ Borduas recognized Leduc's influence on him throughout his career:

I owe to him my taste for belle peinture from even before we met.

I owe to him, that rare permission to pursue one's own fate; when it became evident that I might stand for some values contrary to his hopes, no opposition, no resistance was felt;

his precious and steady sympathy did not change....

I owe to him, what we never finally achieve, an ambition for the highly finished; though to Breton I owe the propensity to risk which will never leave me. Not that Leduc takes no risks, but that they are concealed by his manifest poise; and maybe without Breton, I would not have discovered the half of them.

I owe to him, finally, the freedom to pass from the spiritual and pictorial atmosphere of the Renaissance to the power of the dream which opens upon the future.¹⁴⁷

As François-Marc Gagnon noted, in this tribute Borduas maintained that the determining influences of Leduc on his development were his craftsman-like honesty, his sense of perfection, and his conception of art as an expression of interior dreams.¹⁴⁸ Leduc's inspiration prepared Borduas to be receptive to Surrealism. The relationship between these two men represents the link between Symbolism and Surrealism in Canada. The connection between the interior world of Leduc's art and the realm of the unconscious that Borduas explored through Automatism has been obvious to some observers.¹⁴⁹ Gilles Corbeil even went so far as to say that the Surrealist movement in Montreal "would scarcely have been possible" without Leduc.¹⁵⁰

However, Leduc's influence on Borduas has only been considered with regard to the art itself. An area that remains to be examined is the lingering trace of Leduc's influence on the ideas and theories Borduas expressed primarily in his writings. I believe that there is substantial evidence of a similarity of thought which deserves attention, considering Borduas's enormous impact on French Canadian art and society. This topic merits further investigation which is beyond the scope of this paper, but I do wish to illustrate this point with a few examples to underscore Borduas's legacy from Leduc.

Obviously, Borduas's own statements which begin in 1942 reflect Surrealist theory, but as Ray Ellenwood observed in Artscanada, with the exception of "a few references here and there, the use of an occasional Bretonism," these writings demonstrate that Borduas absorbed "only the very basic and general notions" he needed.¹⁵¹ Commenting on Borduas's "emphasis on openness and spontaneity," Ellenwood mentioned that he spoke of "generous spontaneity marching toward the unknown, towards the infinite," a statement containing "key words" for Borduas.¹⁵² The statement Ellenwood quoted came from Borduas's article "Ways to appreciate a work of art," and the full sentence reads:

To the extent that the active forces of Egyptian intelligence were illuminated by this faith, the intellectual disciplines of different human activities evolved in order, purity and generous spontaneity towards the unknown infinite: the essential route for all life.¹⁵³

Borduas referred to the idea that the "vivifying raison d'être" of Egyptian culture was religion and this statement, as well as much of this entire article, strongly resembles ideas expressed by Leduc in his notes on the essence of early Egyptian art.¹⁵⁴ Leduc's influence is reflected in Borduas's opening statement that among the "innumerable ways to appreciate a work of art, only one is absolute, and it is not very common: it is the one which allows the contemplation of substantial beauty."¹⁵⁵ Borduas continued, "The essential of philosophical life is not possession of knowledge but the constant seeking after that possession."¹⁵⁶ The predominant idea of the text, that art, through time, was at its purest form when it expressed innate metaphysical aspirations, corresponds to ideas expressed by Leduc, as does Borduas's corollary that as civilizations evolved, art became distracted from its

true goal by an obsession with exterior realism and thus became degenerate. Borduas traced the cyclical process of the rise and fall of art from prehistoric times, when art "served magic," through Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Christian cultures (contrasting the Middle Ages and the Renaissance)¹⁵⁷ in order to emphasize his point that art decays when it abandons its spiritual origins and becomes attached to the objective pursuit of realism and superficial beauty. Leduc's notes on the primitive origins of art, including the early art of Egypt, deal with the same concept as art originating from spiritual needs and include the identical thought that early art "pure and disinterested, having no other goal than itself, united itself with the idea that it contained a powerful magic" which served religion.¹⁵⁸ Borduas wrote that society has been conditioned to

superficial qualities, ideal beauties or natural appearances, when we should have been fixed unblinkingly on real beauty, on the intrinsic beauty of the work....We have loved in art only its willed, realized, figurative achievement--fixed, impersonal and consequently dead--when we should have seen in it the spontaneous, the generous, the indelibly personal (which is eternally living, and inexorably changing).¹⁵⁹

Thus modern art, which "turns to the forms of the invisible world," causes "total confusion." Like Leduc, who stated that art is the union between matter and spirit, he "insisted" that art consisted of two things:

tangible matter...and the sensibility of the artist. Sensibility is invested in matter: the more universal the sensibility the more lively, more identifiable and more pure it will be. This alone is the essence of a work of art...The naturalism of ancient art is a mirror of reality external to the artist. The subjectivism of art today is a mirror of his internal reality.¹⁶⁰

Also like Leduc, Borduas stated that one must love nature for itself.

When we are able to discover in nature its intrinsic beauties and to contemplate them, we shall be able to rediscover the specific beauty of a work of art and to differentiate superficial beauty from true beauty, which will be seen in its substance and its infinite mysteries.¹⁶¹

Despite the call for social revolution and the condemnation of the Catholic Church in Refus Global, there are even aspects of this manifesto which bear the imprint of Leduc's beliefs.¹⁶² Borduas, like Leduc, asserted that change must come from within, by self-discovery, and not by copying models established in France, as was the fashion in French Canadian art at the end of the 1930s.¹⁶³ Leduc would never have supported Borduas's polemic against the church and he yet would have agreed that the culture of French Canada had been retarded by clerical influence and social repression; Leduc's statements about his clerical patrons, and the lack of courage of Canadian painters and architects give evidence of his opinions. Both men believed that progress comes through individual morality and spiritual liberation. François-Marc Gagnon recognized Borduas's "Bergsonian view of the evolution of Christianity,"¹⁶⁴ that is, that "moral evolution" peaked in the thirteenth century and thereafter declined as "intuition gave way to reason; gradually, to preserve a supremacy which had once been spontaneous, acts of faith gave place to calculation."¹⁶⁵ This is an idea Borduas first expressed in "Ways to appreciate a work of art," and it coincides to some degree with Leduc's own Bergsonian perceptions and his views of medieval art. Like Borduas, Leduc believed art must emerge from deeply human sensibilities and original acts of creation, although he would never have allowed passion to rule unchecked by reason. There would have been some accord with Borduas's praise of the poètes maudits

who "dared express loud and clear what the unhappiest among us stifle quietly within, in shame and in terror of being overwhelmed. Illumination comes from the example of these men--the first to acknowledge contemporary anxieties, so painful and pathetic..."¹⁶⁶ Not only had Leduc read and admired the Symbolist poets, including those he counted among his friends, but his own late poetry confessed similar private spiritual anxieties that had accompanied him all his life.

Borduas may have shown Leduc the manuscript of Refus Global before it was published.¹⁶⁷ A draft of a letter Borduas addressed to his friend Robert Elie in February of 1948 contains harsh words for Leduc, perhaps in response to Leduc's appraisal of the document.¹⁶⁸ Borduas began by stating that there were four men in his life who had preserved the faith, with qualification, that he had in mankind: Ozias Leduc, John Lyman, André Breton, and Robert Elie. The draft is very rough, with additions and erasures (noted here in brackets), but contains these passages about Leduc:

Leduc is a typical case of our forced historical isolation. Castaway from the Italian Renaissance, who leaps three centuries of rationalism to flounder in sentimentality, resulting from the regression which happened between times of the moral in strictly individual values....

Leduc well knows what is [the more] sane, courageous and heroic but prefers at the price of his "salvation" and that of his friends, his soft quietude, his pleasant anxieties, the clever joy of destroying his passions, his ardours, his enthusiasms, in the intoxication of reaching thus for perfection, generosity, gentleness, indulgence, goodness, truth.

I have a moral certainty that Leduc is a poisoned being. The charm of his painting [still life] is to attain by dint of illusion, the sentiment of nothingness. Only his colour conserves a certain measure of weight. The form so full that it seems untouchable, unreal as the refusal...as death.

His house is a cavern of apostates and larvae who flatter his

diabolic vanity. He does not dare disturb this for fear of seeing the last illusion of his universe disappear...

Leduc, by his unique fear, achieves accord with society. Coupling in a tomb.¹⁶⁹

These are words obviously written in anger but no doubt embody a certain honesty of sentiment and a certain grain of truth. Leduc in this period did opt for the security of his faith and yield to the pressures of society, just as he had to varying degrees throughout his life. Leduc was not a revolutionary, not even during the era of Le Nigog. He pushed the boundaries of art in Canada and encouraged a progressive vision of cultural development, but his actions were gentle and always within the acceptable limits of tradition and faith. It was his artistic offspring, the rebellious Borduas, who would uproot the old and usher in a new age in French Canada.

Leduc's art of this period:

Maurault's staunch support for Leduc extended to all aspects of his art but was particularly important for him with regard to his church decorations. Maurault helped Leduc procure two of his most important commissions: the Baptistery of the Notre-Dame Basilica in 1927, where Maurault was curé at the time and, in 1942, the Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Présentation in Almaville-en-bas. Maurault's patronage and their shared interests in Gothic art and in the art and theories of Maurice Denis seem to have been vital to Leduc's profound dedication to sacred art, which is apparent in the programmes in the private chapel of the Bishop of Sherbrooke and the Notre-Dame Baptistery. Leduc's letters to Maurault reveal his frustration with the lack of understanding and

admiration shown for his work by other curés. While completing his murals in the Bishop's Chapel, Leduc wrote: "What you tell me is of great comfort. You know I am convinced that I do not express myself fully in this kind of work, a fear of not pleasing, of being misunderstood reduces me to zero level."¹⁷⁰ He remarked that while working on recent decorations in Lachine he was treated like "the man who makes the mess" and when finished, the church was deemed "clean enough!" He added, "This kind of appreciation discourages me often, and I wish then to change professions."¹⁷¹

Leduc recognized Maurault's passion for Gothic architecture in a preliminary drawing for a portrait that he planned of him (Fig. 76). The charcoal study from 1923 portrays him against a background consisting of a juxtaposition of façades and architectural details of several Gothic cathedrals that Maurault admired. The conception for the background was a mutual decision,¹⁷² based on Maurault's designation of himself as "a man of cathedrals."¹⁷³ Ostiguy noted the resemblance to Lévy-Dhurmer's famous portrait of George Rodenbach,¹⁷⁴ which shows the Belgian poet in front of a scene of the Gothic architecture of Bruges. It is possible that Leduc was influenced by Lévy-Dhurmer's painting, for it had appeared in reproduction in Art et Décoration in 1898.¹⁷⁵ But rather than just a head and shoulders portrait, Leduc depicted Maurault in a three-quarter figure to include the clerical robes denoting his role and character. As in his Portrait du poète Guy Delahaye from 1912 (Fig. 57), the subject is presented against an imagined background, symbolic of his preoccupations. Leduc wrote that he wanted to give the cathedral background a "clear significance, reasonably defined, which will

properly show a sensitive bond between the person represented and the beautiful architecture."¹⁷⁶ He requested that Maurault send him a photograph of the façade of Notre-Dame in Montreal and mentioned that, in working on the drawing, he had obliterated part of the façade of Rheims but had kept the rose window. Pertaining to the sequence of images in the background, he added: "For the 'cathédraliers' and the curious who will be interested, we have this progression-Montreal, Rheims, Amiens, Paris, etc...the portal of Rheims, the choir of Beauvais, the nave of Amiens, the belltower of Chartres."¹⁷⁷ Because this is only a preliminary sketch, the details that Leduc planned are only partially recognizable. Ostiguy recognized the balustrade of the arcade from Notre-Dame in Montreal to the right of the figure and the towers of the church, but found the other cathedrals unidentifiable.¹⁷⁸

For unexplained reasons, Leduc discarded this compositional design in the final version of his portrait of Maurault (Fig. 77), choosing instead a simple darkened plane decorated with two vertical bands of "stylized olive branches."¹⁷⁹ As the olive branch symbolizes peace, wisdom, and immortality,¹⁸⁰ Leduc probably found it a significant emblem for his friend, as well as a play on the name Olivier.¹⁸¹ The pose in the portrait has been preserved from the earlier drawing and the expression, as in all Leduc's portraits, is contemplative. As in the first portrait of Guillaume Lahaise (Fig. 56), the background is an undefined space and, in conjunction with the vegetal design from classical sources, imparts a sense of timelessness and of commemoration. To express his gratitude for the final painting, Maurault gave Leduc a volume of Vingt-cinq sanguines, dessins rehaussés et dessins de Maurice

Denis which he had ordered from Paris. Leduc was delighted with the gift and commented in a letter of thanks that "this work is worthy of a museum or a public library."¹⁸²

In October 1927, Maurice Denis visited Montreal. Leduc attended a luncheon in his honour at the Cercle universitaire, the faculty club at the Université de Montréal.¹⁸³ Before lunch, Denis, with a party including Maurault and Charles Maillard, stopped to view Leduc's work in progress at Notre-Dame. According to Leduc's account of the visit in his journal, Denis climbed the scaffolding and said "with condescension, that all these nuances are very harmonious." In the afternoon, Leduc accompanied Denis to see the decoration of the Sacré-Coeur Chapel in the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus.¹⁸⁴ Although Denis may have been condescending in his attitude toward Leduc's work, meeting him seems to have made an impression on Leduc, for he mentioned in a letter to Curé Granger that the "benevolent visit" of the "celebrated renovator of modern religious art" to the Sacré-Coeur Chapel strengthened his own devotion to a renaissance of sacred art.¹⁸⁵ Further evidence of Leduc's interest in Denis during this period is found in his personal notes. Besides extracting text from Denis's Nouvelles théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré,¹⁸⁶ he copied from the Courier de Genève (1928) illustrations and the descriptions of Denis's window designs for the Church of Saint Paul in Geneva.¹⁸⁷ It was also in 1928 that Leduc and Maurault encouraged Borduas to attend Denis's Atelier d'art sacré in Paris.¹⁸⁸

Denis's theories reinforced Leduc's desire to make his decorations more personally expressive. Denis described the fundamental aspect of

the creation of sacred art as the need for the work to express the artist's own spiritual emotions.¹⁸⁹ In "Pour l'art sacré," Denis wrote:

To represent, to symbolize our emotions, translate religious feelings by plastic means, it is to work on our most intimate depth, it is to release the clear image of our faith from the mysteries of our interior life... Instead of a system of allegories or hieroglyphics, cold, banal and stiff, instead of whatever sweetish conventions, of a hypocritical and sugary image, instead of the picture of history applied to religion, the Christian artist must give us a living art, drawn from his own soul, and speaking the language of his heart. To adopt such method, to seek the correspondences between the plastic signs and the modalities of his own religious sensibility, is to institute a kind of asceticism where I see the best rendering of the symbolist theory.¹⁹⁰

He also confirmed for Leduc that there is no formula or style proper to Christian art. Denis wrote, "The symbolist point of view...permits us a kind of eclecticism which offers us the teachings of all the schools of all the ages."¹⁹¹ And he incorporated the scholastic theology of St. Thomas into the program of his Atelier to correct the "excess of modern art."¹⁹² A remark of Denis's seems to encapsulate the approach Leduc was to use in his decorations of this period: "The liturgy, being based on the traditional rapport between the images of the sacred text and revealed truths, between the phenomena of nature and the phenomena of the interior life, carries special enlightenment to artists whose function is to translate the truths of the faith in poetic language."¹⁹³ In his personal notes, Leduc recorded similar concerns. He stated that sacred art must teach and embellish. These goals are integrally related and realized through the individual pursuit of beauty, achieved by "the joyous arrangement of the whole, in perfect harmony--signification, line, form and colour."¹⁹⁴

Leduc was able to apply his ideas in the decoration of the Bishop's

Chapel in Sherbrooke, because it was one of those infrequent commissions in which he was allowed complete freedom.¹⁹⁵ The project spanned a period from 1922 to 1933, with Leduc attending to other commitments in between. After preparations were completed in Saint-Hilaire, Leduc worked in Sherbrooke from 1922 to 1923,¹⁹⁶ and from 1931 to 1933.¹⁹⁷ The programme is esoteric and complex in its symbolism. Leduc chose as his theme the co-redemption of humanity by Christ and the Virgin Mary,¹⁹⁸ illustrated through four main murals: L'Annonce de Marie Co-rédemptrice (Fig. 78), L'Annonciation (Fig.79), Recouvrement de Jésus au temple (Fig. 80), and Le Crucifiement (Fig. 81). When pressured to complete his work, Leduc justified his slowness as a result of the amount of study and care he had taken. He wrote to the architect Louis Audet, who was in charge of the project, that he wanted to give it all that he could, "first in terms of an idea and then of execution."¹⁹⁹ He explained that his plans had required a great deal of difficult research of "dogmatic iconography of the Middle Ages, theology, history, symbolism, etc. These works are not put here to impress you but to let you know how decorative religious art can interest an artist honestly wanting to express himself fully on an occasion which he considers as opportune."²⁰⁰ According to a letter Leduc later wrote to Pierre de Ligny Boudreau at the National Gallery, his goal in the design of the programme murals was not to represent "historical scenes, but rather philosophical speculations on a given theme." He used the example of the mural Jésus retrouvé dans le Temple (Fig. 80) to explain his intentions:

In Christ Discovered among the Doctors, it is not the reunion of members of a family accidentally separated...which is represented, but rather a "something" which, if it has no such material form, nevertheless exists, and which emanates from the elements--

personages and things--in the arrested image we see--the stirring image one might say, the emotive idea which subtends both the spectator and the suggestion given by means of line and colour. In this "something" is--the child Jesus, to whose words we have no key; the mother whose heart is aching; and the mission which our Father in Heaven is communicating to the Earth."²⁰¹

Leduc's desire to stimulate ideas and feelings by aesthetic means as well as by imagery is conveyed in part by one of the most prominent elements he used, the Art Nouveau cloud forms with which he surrounded figures and united his compositions. They evoke a spiritually charged atmosphere and literally connect the terrestrial with the supernatural realm symbolized in emblems above the scrolls in each of the murals. These swirling lines recur throughout Leduc's easel works and sacred art. First appearing in his poster design for Art et Décoration (Fig. 25), these decorative Art Nouveau forms were later used to create the mysterious background atmosphere in Portrait du poète Guy Delahaye, and to describe the movement of snow and clouds in Neige dorée (Fig. 78). We find them again later, enveloping the figure of the Virgin in Mère Aimable of 1941 (Fig. 101). In the final decorative programme of his career, Leduc would unify his composition of La Sainte Trinité (Fig. 88) in the Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Présentation in Almaville (1943-1955) with similar decorative forms. Maurault called them "capricious arabesques of clouds (unconscious memories perhaps of the modern style of 1900)."²⁰²

Laurier Lacroix's master's thesis is a comprehensive study of the aesthetics and iconography of the chapel which makes extensive use of Leduc's own notes, sketches, and correspondence. Although Lacroix's work reflects meticulous research, I do not entirely agree with all his

observations. In particular, I believe that Lacroix has not placed enough emphasis on the importance of medieval symbolism for Leduc, and on Leduc's professed interest in a renewal of church decoration inspired by Denis's ideas.²⁰³ Also, I cannot agree with Lacroix's final interpretation of the theme of this programme. Lacroix concluded that the iconography and compositional scheme confer equal status to Mary and Christ, which is not in accordance with Catholic theology.²⁰⁴ Considering the elevated role that Leduc has given Mary, in conjunction with the abundance of symbolism pertaining to the natural world which he detected throughout the decorations, Lacroix interpreted Leduc's programme as a reflection of Leduc's adherence to a kind of universal primitive mythology.²⁰⁵ Lacroix felt that Leduc had symbolized Mary as a form of idealized fertility goddess conveying a message of a return to a primordial (pre-Fall) paradise and state of purity by a close connection to the natural world.²⁰⁶ Lacroix continued by equating this mythology with the dominant French Canadian conservative ideology of the "attachment to traditional national values (possession and exploitation of the soil, Catholic religious practice)."²⁰⁷ Lacroix wrote: "The episcopal chapel of Sherbrooke illustrates the step where Leduc proceeds to an iconographic research which expresses the dogmatic message of the Church and which accords to an equally important personal aspect of his religion: cult of the earth pure and fertile like the Virgin."²⁰⁸

Leduc may have overstepped the boundaries of orthodoxy in his presentation of the Virgin in his programme, but there is no firm reason to suggest that for Leduc the Virgin represented a supreme fertility goddess. Leduc was reading Mâle at this time. He and Maurault had

studied Mâle's L'Art religieux au XIIIe siècle en France, and in 1926 Leduc collected his own volumes of Mâle's Gothic studies.²⁰⁹ Mâle explored the medieval devotion to "the cult of the Virgin" and the profusion of Gothic iconography dedicated to extolling her role and perfection.²¹⁰ According to Mâle, the Virgin was revered with the "lofty conception" that she was "the eternal thought of God."²¹¹ Quoting from the Office of the Virgin read at this time, Mâle wrote, "I was created from the beginning and before the centuries"²¹² and from St. Bernard: "with Mary we pass from sin to grace. She is the intermediary between God and man."²¹³ Regarding the iconography of the miracles associated with the Virgin, Mâle explained:

After her legends, nothing was more famous in the thirteenth century than the miracles of the Virgin. She was to the people as grace supreme over law....She was the 'advocate' who pleaded desperate causes, and whose hands held the treasure of God's mercy....She was present at the weighing of souls, and caused the scales to dip on the right side.²¹⁴

The honour bestowed on the Virgin, beginning in the thirteenth century, is evidenced in the dedication of a large chapel to her "in the axis of the cathedral, not far from the altar."²¹⁵ Leduc's veneration of Mary in the private chapel of the bishop seems very much in keeping with the medieval tradition.

Lacroix concluded that Leduc's Mary was representative of a personal and nationalistic "cult of the land" from the extensive use that the artist made of symbols derived from nature. He suggested that Mary was "closely associated with the fertility of soil" as the "mystic rosebush," the "burning bush," and "the fruit of the tree of Jesse."²¹⁶ These symbolic references to Mary were, as noted by Mâle, prevalent in medieval literature and iconography.²¹⁷ Lacroix listed the numerous

other natural symbols that Leduc incorporated into his programme: the apple tree, the serpent, the rainbow, the fountain, rivers, stars, moon, vines, lilies, dove, etc.,²¹⁸ and suggested these images reflected Leduc's mythological vision associated with a longing for a return to a terrestrial paradisaical state.²¹⁹ However, there is no evidence to read these elements as other than Christian symbols. According to Mâle's description of Gothic art, motifs from the natural world can be seen as an aspect of the "Mirror of Nature."²²⁰ In his address to the Société d'histoire régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe on symbolism, Leduc paraphrased Mâle: "The world, thought of God, is a symbol, a material sign of this thought. Thus all beings and things express a spiritual idea."²²¹ Mâle wrote that by reading nature, one reads "the thoughts of God," and knowledge comes from "penetrating to the inner meaning intended by God for our instruction....All being holds in its depths the reflection of the sacrifice of Christ, the image of the Church and of the virtues and vices. The material and spiritual worlds are one."²²² While I agree with Lacroix that Leduc had an obvious spiritual attachment to his own environment, Leduc's choice of natural symbols in this particular programme does not appear to carry unorthodox mythological or regionalist associations.

As we have seen in Leduc's decoration of the Church of Saint-Hilaire and the Sacré-Coeur Chapel, Leduc did draw on scenes and imagery from the Quebec environment in his sacred art. In the Sacré-Coeur Chapel and later in Notre-Dame-de-la-Présentation, one can clearly suggest that there is a connection between his imagery and the nationalist ideology. In these cases, and in another programme designed immediately following

the completion of the Bishop's Chapel, in the Church of Saint-Michel of Rougement (1933-1935),²²³ his depiction of the Quebec landscape is done in a naturalist manner, and the local references are obvious. When Leduc wanted to relate his murals to lessons of faith in a Quebec context, he did so clearly. That is not the case in the Bishop's Chapel where there are no evident regionalist references. Natural elements are fundamentally employed as Christian symbols and fully integrated into the theological iconography. It must be remembered that the Bishop's Chapel was not for public use, but rather was a private chapel used by the resident clergy of the bishop's palace.²²⁴ Therefore, there would be no need for a nationalist programme in this context.

The Notre-Dame Baptistery, decorated during 1927 and 1928, demonstrates a further progression of Leduc's symbolic language given the opportunity for unrestricted creation.²²⁵ Jean Éthier-Blais described this decoration as brimming with "semi-mystical notations.. a primary symbolism, if one desires, but which, by a sort of estoteric gongorism, plunges again into the refinements of scholastic mysticism."²²⁶ He called it the "exaltation of pure symbol" and continued, "The symbol defines the faith. Ozias Leduc, highly spiritualized, elevates himself, by his art, above the religion of his time. His works do not teach, nor reveal. They define a spiritual dynamic, of which the messianic achievement is only the pretext."²²⁷ I do not agree that Leduc had no intention of teaching or revealing, but these works powerfully evoke a spiritual experience. The theme derives from the Sacrament of Baptism by which "the Devil is overwhelmed and peace is re-established between regenerated man and God."²²⁸ The

complexity and range of ideas and symbolism which Leduc has used to explore this theme is illustrated by his own notes and sketches reproduced in the study by Jean-René Ostiguy published in the National Gallery Bulletin in 1970.²²⁹ Ostiguy remarked in his introduction that in the Baptistery decoration "Leduc openly aligns himself to the movement for the renewal of religious painting initiated in France by Maurice Denis."²³⁰

The ceiling vault in the Baptistery (Fig. 82) is alive with swirling nebulae, gleaming golden stars, and a luxuriant stylized "plant without end,"²³¹ symbolic of "the regenerated soul."²³² It reflects Leduc's personal fascination with astronomy and its philosophical dimensions.²³³ He divided the ceiling into eight sections: four representing "the physical sky" and four representing "the theological sky."²³⁴ The entire design is highly stylized with the theological sky consisting of symbols of the Trinity and "the plant without end," fashioned in a repeated symmetrical design indicative of perfect divine order.²³⁵ The physical sky is filled with random stars and spiral nebulae of various galaxies²³⁶ which represent "the condensation of cosmic matter in the becoming of the world."²³⁷ The abundance of notes regarding this ceiling alone reveal the careful consideration Leduc gave to the scheme.²³⁸

The murals which decorate the walls illustrate La Rédemption (Christ on the Cross), Le Paradis, and Le Jourdain, interspersed with the attributes of the four Evangelists. The most interesting murals are the stylized landscapes depicting Le Paradis and Le Jourdain, both empty of human life. Le Paradis (see a sketch in Fig. 83) is an original and highly symbolic composition illustrating the theme of sin and salvation.

A flaming sword appearing from the central image of the Tree of Life in Le Paradis is "guarding the tree and defending the entrance to Paradise."²³⁹ The Tree contains seven apples, "seven being the number of Creation."²⁴⁰ "The abundance of sin," symbolized by the serpent entwined around the tree trunk, is balanced by "the superabundance of grace," symbolized by the four rivers of Paradise, which, Leduc explained, flow "toward the four cardinal points: symbolizing the diffusion of the doctrine of Jesus to the four corners of the world by the Four Evangelists."²⁴¹

Le Jourdain (Fig. 84) depicts a central image of eight lilies, eight symbolizing regeneration, and the lilies symbolizing "purity by Baptismal grace."²⁴² The composition closely resembles Gustave Moreau's painting of Mystic Flower (Fig. 85), from around 1875.²⁴³ In both cases the enormous lily plant growing in the foreground dominates a landscape, with water flowing behind it. In Leduc's preparatory design, illustrated in Ostiguy's study, he had even planned to have a cross emerge out of the top of the plant,²⁴⁴ like the one the Virgin carries in Moreau's work. In the final version, an opening in the sky is filled with radiant light, perhaps representative of the presence of the Holy Spirit. The water of the Jordan "signifies purification," and the two sources of the river emerge from the rainbow above the landscape.²⁴⁵ Leduc wrote, "The rainbow pledges the fulfillment of God's promises of regeneration by the Redeemer, his beloved son."²⁴⁶

At the age of 76, in 1943, Leduc began the last of his church commissions for the Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Présentation in Almaville. This work was completed by his assistant, Gabrielle Messier,

who painted the last mural after Leduc's death in 1955.²⁴⁷ Maurault helped Leduc attain this commission. In 1942, knowing of plans to decorate this church, he wrote to the curé, Arthur Jacob, suggesting Leduc as decorator.²⁴⁸ Maurault described Leduc to Jacob as one of the best artists in the country and the best among religious painters. He added: "Mr. Leduc is of a rare intellectual quality. He is also a Christian philosopher; a Catholic who nourished himself on the liturgy and symbolism of the great Middle Ages."²⁴⁹ The most complete study of the Almaville programme is a monograph written by Jacob in 1960, who had discussed the theological themes of the works with Leduc.²⁵⁰ Olivier Maurault wrote the concluding essay in the study, praising the decoration which he described as "a meditation on the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption," and which he felt displayed all the attributes which made Leduc such an exceptional artist.²⁵¹

The programme includes nine murals depicting theological motifs and six murals depicting regionalist themes. Four of the second group of paintings represent contemporary life in the surrounding community and the other two illustrate the history of the Jesuit martyr, Père Buteux, who discovered the Shawinigan district and was killed by the Indians there. There is a dichotomy of styles between the naturalism used to depict the historical and local scenes, and the more hieratic manner of the theological murals. However, within this last group there is an inconsistency perhaps related to their subject matter, with the Présentation de Marie and La Sainte-Famille au travail (Fig. 86) demonstrating a simplified realism close to the paintings of the regionalist group. Jacob commented that the Holy Family was depicted as

ordained by Providence, "poor and humble (but not miserable)" to serve as "a lesson for all families on earth."²⁵² La Tentation du Christ dans le désert and La Tentation de nos premiers parents (Fig. 87) are treated in a very linear and decorative style, reflecting their theme which, as described by Jacob, symbolizes "the internal fight between the natural and the supernatural life."²⁵³

The outstanding mural of the programme is the large painting of La Sainte Trinité (Fig. 88), above the altar and over the boldly printed first words of the Lord's Prayer: NOTRE PÈRE QUI ÊTES AUX CIEUX. Jacob wrote that the mural integrates the themes of the temple of Divine Glory and the temple of prayer, to recall that prayer is absolutely necessary for salvation.²⁵⁴ In the mural, Leduc incorporated conventional iconography into a celestial environment of his own invention. The central image consists of a vertical arrangement of the three persons of the Trinity, represented in a traditional iconographical arrangement, such as that found in Masaccio's Trinity fresco in S. Maria Novella (c. 1426).²⁵⁵ Christ on the Cross, representing the mystery of the Redemption,²⁵⁶ looks up to the Holy Spirit represented as the Dove, and God the Father depicted as an old man at the top. Six angels in gestures of quiet adoration flank this primary image, and the entire mural is enveloped in an unified space "of light and clouds"²⁵⁷ animated by Leduc's characteristic design of sinuous lines. The sacrifice of Melchizedek appears at the base of the mural on the left; the sacrifice of Abraham appears on the right.²⁵⁸ The curving walls of the choir which intersect the mural are painted with vertical groups of angels singing divine praises: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.²⁵⁹ This painting inspired the

French Canadian composer J.J. Gagnier to write a symphonic poem entitled Envolée mystique, which was broadcast by the CBC on January 4, 1948.²⁶⁰ Leduc was greatly touched by this tribute, and in a letter of gratitude to Gagnier he declared his love for music, which he said dominated all the arts because it possessed "the magical power of expressing itself without a support that one can touch...it is all soul."²⁶¹

The local scenes appear along the nave walls and represent the "law of work."²⁶² "Apostolic work" is the subject of the murals which represent the mission and martyrdom of Père Buteux.²⁶³ Père Buteux au pied des chutes Shawinigan (Fig. 89) portrays the priest discovering the Shawinigan Falls in 1651. According to Jacob, the waterfall symbolizes the trials and difficulties of the missionary's voyage.²⁶⁴ However, sustained by the idealism of his goals, signified by the angel of the Saint-Maurice region which hovers above him as his guide, he would not succumb to defeat.²⁶⁵ An apparition of factory smokestacks and the façade of the church appears above the falls, representing the future of the area which Père Buteux foresees in his imagination.²⁶⁶ Jacob explained further:

The artist has imagined, with respect to the falls, a cosmic phenomenon, a radiant cross which, although electricity was not yet known, allows him to intimate that there was a hidden force in the falls which one day would be at the service of the Christian civilization.²⁶⁷

La mort de Père Buteux represents the death of the priest at the hands of the Iroquois in 1652.²⁶⁸

Accompanying these two scenes are four murals depicting local occupations:²⁶⁹ Le Bûcheron et le défricheur, Le Semeur (Fig. 90), Le Chargeur de meules (Fig. 91), and Le Couleur de métal. As in the Sacré-

Coeur Chapel in the Church of Saint-Enfant-Jésus, the occupations represent those dedicated to the land, the lumberjacks and the agricultural workers, and those involved in the development of the country through modern industry, the pulp mill workers and the metalworkers. The image of "the sower" can be traced back to Leduc's illustration of Claude sowing for the novel Claude Paysan, from 1899. Leduc's simplified style of naturalism had changed little over the years in his commissioned works. These murals function as visual documentation of the nationalist ideology, signifying work in the service of the faith and the continuity of the divine mission in Canada. In conjunction with the historical murals of Père Buteux, they tie the present to the past and indicate that the original dream has become a reality. But also, as in the Sacré-Coeur Chapel, they are an updating of depictions of the labours of the months and the Seven Arts which were used, according to Mâle, in Gothic art to indicate God's universal concern for all man's activities, and that man serves God through his work.²⁷⁰ Jacob described the scenes of work:

These four works are similar in structure: from the sky of each emanates a beam of light which falls on the worker. It is the supernatural light of the faith and the life of grace, to make it understood that every worker, no matter who he is or what his job, if he works in grace with God, gives God the glory which He expects of him, this participation to the glory to God on earth will give him the right to enter into the intimate life of the Holy Trinity forever....²⁷¹

Maurault sponsored Leduc for many other commissions in addition to church decorations. On Maurault's recommendation, Leduc was asked to illustrate the second edition of the regionalist novel La Campagne canadienne by Père Adélarde Dugré,²⁷² published in 1927.²⁷³ Dugré was an ardent nationalist and a regular contributor to L'Action française. La

Campagne canadienne is a novel of nationalist doctrine, a roman à thèse, modelled on L'Appel de la race (1922) by Abbé Groulx.²⁷⁴ As in the earlier work by Groulx, the theme of the novel is "the destructive effects of interracial marriages."²⁷⁵ Leduc knew Dugré's nationalist intentions in writing this work for they were elucidated in the preface of the first edition which he sent to Leduc.²⁷⁶ In his preface, Dugré stated that French Canadian society must remain distinct from that of the Anglo-Saxons, and must particularly resist being enticed by the secular, materialistic society of the United States. The morality, faith, customs, and language of French Canada represented unique values that had to be preserved, values constantly under siege but most faithfully maintained in rural Quebec. In response to Dugré's request with regard to his book, Leduc wrote, "Its illustration would interest me greatly, being a devotee of 'la Campagne,' moved by its multiple aspects and passionate for beautiful images."²⁷⁷ Maurault apparently transmitted to Dugré some of Leduc's ideas for an approach to the illustrations.²⁷⁸ Dugré then wrote to Leduc:

I willingly accept your point of view, I do not want an exact reconstruction of places where the described scenes take place, nor the reproduction in images of these scenes themselves...The picture would serve as a complement to the text, fixing the perception, aiding the imagination or prolonging the thought.²⁷⁹

Nonetheless, he thought it important for Leduc to visit the setting of the story,²⁸⁰ the Pointe-du-Lac region near Trois-Rivières. At the end of May, Leduc travelled to this area and, accompanied by Dugré, visited the various sites to take photographs and make sketches.²⁸¹

The story centres on Dr. François Barré (Dr. Frank Barry), from Pointe-du-Lac, who moves to the United States to seek better

opportunities. Without having written the American medical exam, he finds a position as chief intern at a fashionable private clinic near Duluth, Minnesota. On the death of his employer, he loses his job. Unqualified to practise independently, he returns to Quebec where he is offered a place in a hospital at nearby Trois-Rivières. Reunited with his family after many years, he joyfully rediscovers his French Canadian roots. He is surprised at the prosperity he sees all around him in French Canadian society and realizes that this prosperity incorporates a preservation of morals, faith, and patriotism, in contrast to modern American life. His American wife, Fanny, is stereotypically materialistic and without faith; she serves as a counterpoint to the equally stereotyped French Canadian women in the story who are virtuous, pious, courageous, and attached to traditional customs. Fanny cannot tolerate the coarseness of rural life and refuses to stay in Canada. Dr. Barre, torn between his new-found love of Quebec and his wife, chooses to follow her back to the United States.

Leduc prepared dozens of preliminary drawings,²⁸² but only twenty illustrations appeared in the published volume. Five were full-page illustrations; the other fifteen vary in size and were integrated into the text. These drawings differ little from the illustrations for Claude Paysan of almost thirty years earlier. Leduc has again concentrated on the psychological states of the characters and on conveying the beauty of rural life. His drawings are expressions of his own sentiments as much as complements to the text. Ten of the illustrations are images of the countryside and generalized scenes of traditional rural life, such as farmers returning from the fields on the haywagon or a scene at mass,

which are basically interchangeable with those of Claude Paysan.

In a review of these illustrations in L'Action française,²⁸³ Maurault observed that there is nothing especially picturesque about the Pointe-du-Lac landscape, but that Leduc had managed to capture all of its charm in his drawings of the old stone mill, the family home, and the scenes of the Saint-Maurice River.²⁸⁴ He praised the illustration Au bord du Saint-Maurice (Fig. 92), as "one of the most beautiful landscapes in black and white that we know...where all the qualities of the delicacy and the emotion of the artist meet."²⁸⁵ This illustration appears at a point in the story where François revisits familiar sites from his childhood. Sitting by the river, he thinks about the past and compares the path he has chosen with that of his school friends who remained faithful to the dreams of the old days, devoting themselves to religion and their country. In the illustration, as Maurault pointed out, one of the trees along the steep bank is nearly uprooted and "is suspended in space." No such tree is described in the text and Leduc has created a symbol evoking François's life and thoughts.

Several of Leduc's drawings can be related to the themes of the nationalist ideology which are glorified in the novel. Agriculturalism and the importance of family life are given attention in illustrations such as La Faucheuse de Georges,²⁸⁶ François examina la patte du cheval,²⁸⁷ Retour des champs (Fig. 93), Le Souper de famille,²⁸⁸ and a double portrait of François's parents.²⁸⁹ Leduc also emphasized the idea of rural piety in Pendant la grand'messe (Fig. 94) and scenes depicting François's brother, Abbé Louis Barré. Abbé Barré is a central and idealized figure in the story. Noting Leduc's ability to interpret the

characters, Maurault suggested that his portrayal of Abbé Barré "corresponds well to one's idea of the family priest."²⁹⁰ By choosing to illustrate scenes where Abbé Barré appears in a landscape setting, Leduc intimates a spiritual link between the priest and nature. C'était ravissant de côtoyer le fleuve (Fig. 95) illustrates a scene in which he stops to admire the beauty of the river as he walks home from mass. Laurier Lacroix observed that the figure dominates the landscape, thereby designating his importance.²⁹¹ In "Comme tout cela est beau!" (Fig. 96), François and Abbé Barré talk quietly by the side of the road. The road recedes into the distant countryside, and becomes a symbolic image, used twice in Claude Paysan, to designate the human passage through life. The theme of passage also is symbolized in the repeated image of the river and boats. Here it is the Saint-Maurice River; in Claude Paysan it was the Richelieu.

As in Claude Paysan, the figural studies capture the characters in moments of contemplation and sorrow. In Elle pleurait (Fig. 97), Leduc illustrated a scene in which Fanny weeps as she sadly compares the elegant lifestyle and sophisticated society she had known in the United States to the humbleness that faces her if she and her husband remain in Quebec. It is evening, and Leduc has placed her in front of a window overlooking a beautiful twilight view of the river and the city beyond, indicated by the undulating trail of smoke from a factory. The lattice framework of the window creates an impression of two crosses behind her head and against the sky, as if to indicate the spiritual essence of this environment. Leduc may have been influenced in his use of this compositional device by Maurice Denis, who often used a similar symbol

of subtle crosses formed in window frames with figures set in front.²⁹² In this small drawing Leduc has managed to capture much of the feeling of the novel.

Leduc was commissioned to design several devotional images, beginning in 1929 with Le Bienheureux André Grasset, in honor of the Canadian born martyr of the French Revolution (Fig. 98). The contract for this work came from Maurault²⁹³ and the Gothic framing of the elements in the design reflects Maurault's tastes. According to Ostiguy, the success of this work led to other commissions.²⁹⁴ In 1936, Leduc created two paintings of the martyr Père Jacques Buteux for Abbé Albert Tessier. Leduc was recommended to Tessier by Rodolphe Duguay, who called Leduc "the greatest of our religious artists"; Maurault arranged the introduction.²⁹⁵ Tessier, from Trois-Rivières, was a member of the clerical-nationalist establishment and, like Maurault, was one of the directors of L'Action nationale.²⁹⁶ In his account of the project of the paintings, Tessier recalled that Leduc had been attracted by the history of Père Buteux and had referred to him as "the apostle, your hero and mine."²⁹⁷ Leduc poured over documents about Buteux, trying to discover "the soul and the face of our hero."²⁹⁸ In the end, he produced two portraits rather than one, out of "love and veneration."²⁹⁹ Le Pasteur des Attikamègues (Fig. 99) takes the form of a commemorative portrait with the lettering of the title incorporated into the painting. Leduc rendered the visage of the martyr in the painterly manner that he reserved for intimate portraits of family and friends. The background is described in an impasto characteristic of these late works. As Tessier suggested, Leduc seems to have been inspired by the example of this

martyr and his spiritual mission. The intense countenance is reminiscent of Leduc's self portrait from 1899. In the second version, Le Père Buteux (Fig. 100), the priest is depicted in a wilderness landscape spreading the faith to the Indians.³⁰⁰ Père Buteux and two converts are represented as transfixed with religious ardour. The passion of the figures is reflected in the vitality of the landscape, again highly textured and created with many small but fervent gestural strokes. As in Le Cumulus bleu (Fig. 66), the painterly surface of the background brings it up to the picture plane, integrating the landscape and figures with a sense of connectedness.

Tessier commissioned other works from Leduc, including the devotional images Mère Aimable in 1941 and La Saint-Famille in 1942. Mère Aimable (Fig. 101) places the Virgin and Child in the context of a French Canadian home, in the company of a young mother and her baby in a cradle. A tranquil view across the Richelieu to the Saint-Hilaire church and Mont Saint-Hilaire, framed by an open doorway, is in the centre of the composition. The entire image can be seen as emblematic of nationalist themes: "the revenge of the cradle"³⁰¹ (French Canadian dominance by means of a high birthrate), the piety and purity of rural French Canadian women, and the link between the faith and rural Quebec. As in his church decorations, Leduc has integrated Christian iconography into a secular setting, a concept common also to paintings by Maurice Denis which this work resembles. Ostiguy noticed a resemblance between Mère Aimable and Denis's L'Annociation, illustrated in an article by Maurice Gagnon in La Revue Moderne in September 1937.³⁰² The two works, simplified and expressive in form, depict a similar setting and a

prominent landscape seen through a doorway trimmed with decorative vines. Leduc may also have known of the many domestic scenes of mothers and children by Denis that evoke similar sacred connotations and, in a similar way, integrate a landscape with an interior scene via a window or open door.³⁰³ The space occupied by the Virgin is defined by the rhythmic lines which describe her mantle and extend into an aura around her. Again we can refer to Leduc's first use of these forms in a similar manner around the figure in his Art et Décoration poster design (c. 1899-1908).

After the success of Mère Aimable, Tessier commissioned La Sainte-Famille.³⁰⁴ He was interested in both the inspirational and nationalist value of a devotional image of the Holy Family. He wrote: "The devotion to the Holy Family stems from 1642, date of the founding of Ville-Marie. Since then, it is before the Holy Family that our human foyers have found again the true sense of life. All our admirable familial history centres around this great theme."³⁰⁵ La Sainte-Famille a l'atelier, from 1942,³⁰⁶ is probably a preparatory drawing for this commission. Tessier rejected Leduc's first composition.³⁰⁷ "Instead of having the Holy Family at work," he wanted a more traditional image.³⁰⁸ He envisioned a picture of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph enthroned, at their feet a family circle at prayer, and below "perhaps a Canadian landscape": "fields, a croix du chemin, some houses, a church belltower."³⁰⁹

Leduc's late pure landscapes also maintained a link to naturalism, but his intimate charcoal drawings are extremely simplified images conjured out of his imagination. Two drawings from the 1920s link earlier works like Paysage de tempête avec arc-en-ciel (1914) to the

fifty-two drawings from the "Imaginations" series which Leduc completed between 1936 and 1941. Nuage à flanc de montagne (Fig. 102), of 1922, and Banc de neige (Fig. 103), from around 1927, describe imagined views of the mountain obscured by dominant images of an animated swirling cloud in the first work and, in the second, by a surging wave of snow created in the same manner with gestural patterns of strong rhythmic lines. Both cloud and snowbank become abstracted expressions of spiritual longing. In Banc de neige, the stillness of the mountain and sky, rising above the snow, suggests divine permanence and serenity. Both these works have been created with a spareness of means that is characteristic of the "Imaginations" drawings.

In this series he depicted scenes derived from stored images of the local landscape: the mountain, forests, lake, fields, and broad vistas with an expanse of sky. They are romantic works, like his earlier landscape drawings, capturing nature in its various moods of weather, seasons, and time of day. These are not detailed works but simplified sketches in line or tone which extract the essence of his ideas. Some verge on the purely abstract, such as one image of three planes of flattened tone delineating the darkened contours of a ridge of hills, a lighter ridge "behind", and the sky above, broken only by a few streaks of light and the dots of several stars. Several describe trees according to his feelings of the moment: one a darkened edge of a forest, another the silhouettes of huge trunks soaring beyond the picture plane, and yet another a lone tree that extends past the four edges of the paper, its branches forming a decorative pattern of curving rhythms. One drawing is simply the arc of a road disappearing behind a slope at the edge of the

picture, and a cloud above the horizon. Leduc gave these drawings away to his friends. La Meule (Fig. 104), the drawing Leduc gave to Rodolphe Duguay, is only 14.7 by 8.3 centimetres and represents in a soft, poetic manner the unassuming scene of a haystack against a border of trees, with a hill rising behind. In a letter to one recipient, Leduc described them as works of "pure imagination," "little squares of paper of minimal value," and said he took "sadistic pleasure in burdening his friends with them."³¹⁰ He carefully recorded the sequence, titles, and owners of these fifty-two works.³¹¹ Laurier Lacroix proposed that Leduc's desire to keep track of the drawings suggests a logical progression and development to the series.³¹² However, the drawings are scattered and have never been assembled as a unit. In his 1974 catalogue on Leduc, Ostiguy reproduced an undated photograph of an arrangement of twelve of these works.³¹³

Two paintings from this era, Crépuscule lunaire and Paysage sombre, exhibit the same spontaneous freshness found in his drawings. Crépuscule lunaire (Fig. 105), a tiny work from 1937, is derived from a drawing by the same name.³¹⁴ This work exemplifies Leduc's ability to create a mystical atmosphere with the utmost economy of color and form. Here he utilized the maximum power of chiaroscuro, and the image is close to the abstract. Moonlight breaks through a screen of darkened, black-green trees to reflect in water in the foreground. The composition is two-dimensional, with the horizon bisecting the picture plane into sky and earth, and the streaks of reflected light and the lines of the tree trunks emphasizing vertical motion. The brilliant light of the moon in the sky and in reflection dominates the composition. The tactile

painterly surface and the softened, marginless forms adds to the evocation of a mystical moment.

Paysage sombre (Fig. 106) is dated to 1941, the year it was given to Abbé Tessier as a gift.³¹⁵ Again Leduc shows an interest in the interaction of sky and water, but the atmosphere is energetic rather than contemplative. The sky, trees, and water have been broadly defined, as in a rapid oil sketch. The gestural treatment is quite different from other works by Leduc in that the paint has been applied in thick strokes without his characteristic element of linear rhythms. According to Ostiguy, when Leduc showed this work to his assistant, Gabrielle Messier, he said, "You see? I can be as modernistic as the next man."³¹⁶

Two other paintings of this period return to the use of anecdotal references to denote meaning. La Maison de passeur (Fig. 107), from 1938-1939, depicts the Saint-Hilaire landscape in autumn from across the Richelieu. In the foreground Leduc has placed a small ferry boat used to transport people from Beloeil to Saint-Hilaire, and on the other bank is the ferryman's house, highlighted in a shaft of late daylight. In 1938, Leduc received a letter from Paul Gagné which passed on a request for a landscape painting for Mr. Préfontaine, a friend of Gagné's.³¹⁷ Gagné gave Leduc the suggestion of a scene representing "Le bateau traversier." He remarked that he chose this idea, not only for his friend, but "for the entire country and future generations," because "to the stranger," the ferry reminds him the most of the character and the beauty of the Richelieu in this area. "With a slice of the mountain, a patch of sky, a little of the Richelieu, all reunited because of the painting, this would be magnificent I believe."³¹⁸ Leduc obviously

adopted Gagné's idea and, with his own impulse toward symbolism, transformed it through composition and lighting into a contemplative metaphor for his constant theme of human passage. The clarity of light and the reflective surface of the water recall the luminist mode of his very early paintings of the 1890s, although it is combined here with a degree of impasto, especially in the delineation of the mountain. The naturalistic rendering of this work is commensurate with the fact that it was a commissioned piece.

Paysage de neige (Fig. 108), from 1939-1940, is a variation on the same theme. The end of the human term is symbolized by the reference to winter and the impending night. Although the scene generates a sense of the isolation and smallness of humanity in the immensity of space, there is nothing bleak or fearful about the winter setting. As in his earlier snowscapes such as Lueurs du soir, Leduc has described the blanket of snow in a blend of soft pastel colours which, in conjunction with the warm colour of the sky, generates a feeling of tranquility. An important element in the painting is the glow of light in the human dwelling which echoes the bright yellow twilight. This detail seems symbolic of Leduc's commitment of faith. The little house filled with light imparts a feeling of security, making the spaces become more fathomable. Paths to the horizon are indicated by the zig-zag pattern of fences across the snow. The violet skyline blends into a blue strip of haze which blurs the boundary between earth and sky. The sense of space is also countered by the two-dimensional design of the composition, consisting of horizontal bands of colour. The sky comes forward by the force of its hue. As in all Leduc's landscapes, we are presented with a view of the

world which embodies Leduc's apprehension of his own harmony with the universe. Leduc's poetry and musings of this period help to illuminate his landscape paintings. For example, reflecting ideas conceptualized in this painting, one of his notes reads:

Finally to the earth we will return
 In the fullness of years
 As we return to the hearth at the twilight of evening
 When our eyes are still full of the light of day
 And our feet tired from useless steps
 We return there, dragging our feet along the humid and cold
 soil, along the sure and fatal path.
 Your life, your desire, and your destiny
 vibrate with the same accord
 Your prayer cannot devise God
 Your faith is as much part of the universe as your doubt.
 The universe is in God, your thought, your dream is material of
 the universe.³¹⁹

In the shaky hand of his last years Leduc wrote the following poem:

I have passed, come in order to finish.
 Suspended, there were flowers, frost, colour.
 The shade was blue where my desires ended.
 I had come to finish.
 Right at the pole a star sometimes was naked
 At the other side of the world, suspended, a star in the process
 of becoming, threw its last rays before dying.
 Between the star of the pole and that from the end of the world,
 the void ceaselessly was filling itself,
 With a thousand nothings, colour of time, colour of space, which
 are going to fade away.
 I have travelled in this climate, my soul open before sinking
 into the nothingness of memory.
 One can see everywhere in the universe the seed exploded in
 becoming,
 Some flowers are in the shade, there the game of life exalts
 itself before ending.
 My heart has grown and then passed away as well as my desire,
 The sun like me has come to end.³²⁰

Landscapes and poetry were Leduc's means of recording his private reflections. From the few illustrations of his "Imaginations" drawings that are available, they seem a natural expression of his feelings and faith. Crépuscule lunaire, a beautiful painting created in the same

spirit as his drawings, brings to mind Leduc's early motto "Much in little," jotted on his drawing for L'Enfant au pain. The paintings La Maison de passeur and Paysage de neige are studied formal works and tend to the allegorical, like Le Cumulus bleu from 1913. Although his late landscapes demonstrate a variety of means and often a further simplification of form, none exhibit a marked evolution in pictorial vocabulary; Leduc had found his aesthetic means and subject matter prior to 1920. Even the drawings represent a continuity from similar works as early as Profil dans un nuage of 1908. The recollection of earlier and much more conservative forms is readily apparent in his commissioned pieces where private expression had to be submerged to the public need. The most successful commissioned works were his decorations in the Bishop's Chapel and the Notre-Dame Baptistery in which he was able to integrate social requirements with his personal interests. These important works reflect the research and careful consideration that went into their conception and into which Leduc put so much of himself. They represent the culmination of his own decorative style which began in the Saint-Hilaire Church but are especially noteworthy for their originality and complexity. Even in the intricacy of the iconographic schemes, his murals do not appear as remote sacred images, but rather by form, colour, and composition become more intimate expressions of a deep faith, inviting a similar response from the viewer.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

¹ Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), II, 862-915.

² Armand Guilmette, "De Paris à Montréal," Le Nigog, Archives des lettres canadiennes (Montréal: Fides, 1987), VII, 78.

³ Maurice Lemire, ed., Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec (Montréal: Fides, 1980), II, liii-lv.

⁴ See for example Arthur Laurendeau's articles "L'Artiste," L'Action française, 4 (April 1920), 145-157, and "Méditation d'un artiste sur la patrie," L'Action française, 9 (February 1923), 106-113. Laurendeau focused on the issue that the arts in French Canada were a necessary means to accentuate and fortify the differences and the "superiorities" of the "race" in order to ensure its intellectual, spiritual, and physical survival. Referring to the ideas of Maurice Barrès, popular among Québécois nationalists, Laurendeau emphasized that ethnic differences were nourished and purified when a people was strongly rooted in its native soil. Thus, "exoticism, derived from nomadism," which "tends to cut the roots which feed and nourish the human plant," must be banished from French Canadian arts. February 1923, p. 107.

⁵ André Bourassa, Surrealism and Quebec Literature, trans. Mark Czarnecki (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 28.

⁶ Jean Chauvin, Ateliers (Montréal: Louis Carrier et Cie, 1928).

⁷ Charles Maillard, who became the director of the École des Beaux-Arts in Montreal in 1925, was especially dedicated to this aspect of the training of young artists. Chauvin quoted a statement by Maillard on the goal of the school in this regard. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

⁸ See François-Marc Gagnon, "Paul-Émile Borduas and modernism. "I hate all nationalisms," ArtsCanada, 232/233 (December 1979/January 1980), 15-18.

⁹ Correspondence regarding subscriptions for L'Art Vivant and Les Nouvelles littéraires, beginning for the year 1930, are found in ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/56 and 06,M-P50/6/155.

¹⁰ These journals are listed in the memorandum in the Leduc file at The National Gallery of Canada library, which lists Leduc's favourite reading material according to Gabrielle Messier. Art News, The Studio, L'Art Vivant and Art et Décoration were listed as his favorite art journals. Also on the list were: all Émile Mâle's works; artist biographies such as Raphael by Louis Gillet and Rodin by Paul Gsell; Maurice Denis's Nouvelle théories sur l'art moderne et sur l'art sacré; Paul Fort's poetry; Léon Bloy's La Femme pauvre; Marcel Dugas's books; and the literary journal Les Nouvelles littéraires, "which he read from

the first to the last line." Memorandum from Guy Viau to Jean-René Ostiguy, dated 5 June 1968.

¹¹ In a draft of a letter to É.-Z. Massicotte (Chief Archivist for the city of Montreal), who had requested biographical material on Leduc to include in the Biographies canadiennes-françaises by R. Ouimet, Leduc commented that his church decorations were "for the most part impersonal works," but that he was presently working on some religious paintings of a "sharply contrasting character" from what he produced before. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/151. The latter is undated but is a response to Massicotte's request, dated 29 September 1926. The idea to include Leduc in Ouimet's biographies had evolved out of a conversation between Massicotte and Maurault, during which Maurault had said, "Osias [sic] Leduc does not have the publicity that he deserves." ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/95.

¹² Jacques Maritain, Art and Scholasticism, trans. J.F. Scanlan (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), p. 48.

¹³ Other writings by Maritain: Primauté du spirituel (1927) and Humanisme intégral: problèmes temporel et spirituel d'une nouvelle chrétienté (1936).

¹⁴ Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Action Française: French Canadian nationalism in the twenties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 24 and p. 102.

¹⁵ Paul Wyczynski, "Essai sur la littérature: des origines à 1960," L'Essai et la prose d'idées au Québec, Archives des lettres canadiennes (Montréal: Fides, 1985), VI, 101-102.

¹⁶ A letter notifying Leduc of his award was sent by Édouard Montpetit, who was Secretary-General of the university. Dated 14 May 1938. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/107.

¹⁷ In a draft of a letter to Maurault, 23 May 1938, Leduc expressed his gratitude for the honour bestowed on him and added, "There is no other than you at the bottom of all this." ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/163. Leduc received a flood of congratulations from friends past and present at the news of the doctorate, and in a response to Robert de Roquebrune, he wrote of the long and supportive friendship of Maurault. He expressed his indebtedness to Roquebrune for originally bringing them together. n.d. ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/163.

¹⁸ Olivier Maurault, Brièvetés (Montréal: Louis Carrier et Cie, 1928), and Marges d'histoire (Montréal: Librairie d'Action canadienne-française, 1929).

¹⁹ Trofimenkoff, p. 38.

²⁰ Wade, p. 901.

²¹ Ibid.

²² In 1919, Maurault asked Leduc to design a seal that the L'Action française could use for many purposes, "especially on its books." The seal would contain the motto of the journal, "jusqu'au bout," which denoted "a work of combat and construction." Maurault, letter to Leduc, n.d. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/87. In 1921, on behalf of the journal, Maurault asked him if he would illustrate a book by Joyberte Soulanges, a project which would require eleven drawings prepared within a month. Maurault, letter to Leduc, 1 April 1921. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/89. The Almanach, in 1923, refers to Comment ils ont grandi by Joyberte Soulanges, for which Joseph Dubois had designed the drawings, and may be the book Maurault had in mind. Almanach de la langue française (Montréal: La Ligue de Action française, 1923), p. 2.

²³ In a letter dated 2 December 1921, Maurault sought Leduc's opinion on improving the artistic layout of the Almanach. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/89. Leduc responded that the journal was "hopelessly grey." Regarding Joseph Dubois's compositions for the section "La vie religieuse et sociale," he said Dubois should be reminded of Gustave Moreau's "principle of necessary richness," learned by consulting the masters; "they all give us the advice to not make poor art." Asked to consider a choice for artistic director for the following year, Leduc commented that he did not support G. Fraipont "who is not of le terroir." Leduc, drafts of letters to Maurault, n.d. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/146.

²⁴ In 1936, Albert Lévesque, now the publisher of the Almanach de langue française, requested that Leduc contribute illustrations for the next edition of the journal which was to be dedicated to "Les Canadiens français chez eux." He wanted something that would illustrate two important chapters entitled "Leur Physionomie" and "Leurs Moeurs" and he suggested drawings of "types of French-Canadians," such as a curé, a notary, a habitant, a Canadian mother, et al., or "scene of family life," such as "family prayer, the donation, the paternal benediction, the violinist," etc. Lévesque, letter to Leduc, 14 October 1936. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/105. Laurier Lacroix stated that Leduc contributed illustrations to the Almanach in 1936, however, I found no trace of his work in this issue. Laurier Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1973, p. 283. According to the date of the letter from Lévesque those illustrations would have appeared in 1937 (an issue I did not find).

²⁵ Jean Bruchési, President of the Association, letter to Leduc soliciting him to join the society, 15 April 1932. ANQM, 06, M-P50/101.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ The Semaine du Livre et de l'Art canadien was described in the list of the year's activities for 1932-1933 which the Association sent to Leduc. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/102.

²⁸ Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc: peinture symboliste et religieuse / Ozias Leduc Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1974), p. 212.

²⁹ Leduc, letter to Maurault, 29 December 1923, found in the Maurault archive at the Archives du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice; quoted by Monique Lanthier in Portrait et photographie chez Ozias Leduc, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1987, p. 101.

³⁰ Leduc, letter to Maurault, 16 January 1923. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/148.

³¹ Ibid

³² Jacques Maritain, Art and Scholasticism, trans. J.R. Scanlan, pp. 20-22. "In the powerfully social structure of medieval civilisation the artist ranked simply as an artisan, and every kind of anarchical development was prohibited to his individualism, because a natural social discipline imposed upon him from without certain limiting conditions. He did not work for society people and the dealers, but for the faithful commons; it was his mission to house their prayers, to instruct their minds, to rejoice their souls and their eyes." Ibid., pp. 21-22.

³³ Ibid., pp. 14-20.

³⁴ Chauvin, pp. 118-126.

³⁵ In a draft of a letter to Robert de Roquebrune in Paris in 1927, Leduc commented cynically on the selection of his work to be included in the Exposition d'art canadien at the Musée du Jeu de Paume which had been mounted by the Royal Canadian Academy. He wrote: "While preparing the exhibition, the organization probably said to itself that the painter Leduc has not appeared in an exhibition for many years so that he is rather forgotten and out of style. His proximity presents no danger to the young Canadian painter and his name, along with two or three others, among all the foreign sounding English names will indicate in what proportions the culture of art is divided between Canadians of French and English origin. His manner, having attracted a little attention in its time, crystallizes in a couple of known works, which in this case, including them with his relatively stronger associates, will give an indication of the quality of the technical development of the small French element in Canada occupied with art. As one might expect, the foreigner will come to the conclusion, that being the most numerous, the richest, the least stay-at-home, and loving more risk and adventure, we, the English, have greatly advanced in the expression of national Canadian art, and that we will continue to dominate them while subjugating them, for we will never surrender.

I undoubtedly deceive myself. The organization has not spoken to itself; it is incapable of such calculations. Its goal must be to demonstrate how much Canada, in the unlimited field of art, owes to France, which will see in this display of our artistic labour, anxious to be clear and understandable, the symbol of a sincere tribute of recognition, like that of a student for a beloved and esteemed master." Draft dated 16 May 1927. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/152.

³⁶ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc . . , p. 206.

³⁷ Massicotte, letters to Leduc, June 1919, and June and July 1920. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/87 and 06,M-P50/4/88. In a letter to Leduc, dated 1 June 1919, Massicotte commended Leduc for his "patriotic idea" and stated that he was greatly flattered to be asked for his work.

³⁸ Letters to Leduc from Massicotte with regard to the purchase of three dozen prints, dated 11 June 1920 and 24 June 1920. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/88. A reproduction of Retour de la messe de minuit can be found in Bernard Genest, Massicotte et son temps (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1979), p. 85.

³⁹ Ibid , p. 209. A petition, dated 1928, requesting him to run for re-election is found in the archives as well as notes for two speeches. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/52.

⁴⁰ Documents pertaining to this celebration are found in ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/53. Other listed members of Leduc's committee included his old friends Ernest Choquette and Guillaume Lahaise as well as Paul-Émile Borduas.

⁴¹ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/52.

⁴² Dated 19 June 1925 ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/53.

⁴³ For example, L.-O. David in L'Action française in May 1917 (p. 129) wrote, "The settler and the farmer have been the major artisans of our national destiny, the most faithful conservers of our religious and moral characteristics and of our dearest traditions. More than ever we count on them to ensure our happiness, our prosperity, and our influence in Confederation." Quoted and translated in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Action Française: French Canadian nationalism in the twenties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 68 and p. 135, n. 60.

⁴⁴ "A distaste for materialism characterized Groulx's and the Action Française's reflections on the economic questions....Its writers always contrasted the spiritual superiority of an idealist, Catholic, and French society with the moral decadence of the materialist American way of life." Trofimenkoff, pp. 59-60.

⁴⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/52.

⁴⁶ Dated 19 June 1925. ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/53.

⁴⁷ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/49.

⁴⁸ Leduc mentioned his role in the establishment of this committee in a letter to Henri Hébert, 28 November 1924. ANQM., 06,M-P50/6/149.

⁴⁹ Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc..., p. 277.

⁵⁰ In his letter to Henri Hébert in 1924, Leduc asked for support in a campaign to have a monument commemorating L.-P. Brodeur, which Hébert had designed, located in Saint-Hilaire rather than elsewhere in the

province. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/149.

⁵¹ Drafts of letters to the premier found in ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/53 and 06,M-P50/6/150.

⁵² ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/150.

⁵³ In a letter to Robert de Roquebrune in Paris in 1938, he mentioned the founding of the society and asked for a copy of Roquebrune's novel Habits Rouges plus any documents and artifacts he could contribute from his family history. ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/163.

⁵⁴ Preparatory notes for a lecture on "Symbolism in Art" that Leduc was to give to the society in 1937. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/11.

⁵⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/19.

⁵⁶ Draft of an undated letter from Leduc to Paul Boucher of La terre de chez nous outlining his proposed articles for the journal. ANQM, 06,M-P55/1/14.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/49.

⁵⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P50/1/14. Leduc quoted Morris: "Have nothing in your homes that you do not consider useful or that you do not think is beautiful." Further ideas from Morris on industrial arts included the thought: "The work of art must be a joy for the one who produces as well as for the one who will use it."

⁶⁰ ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/173.

⁶¹ Trofimenkoff, p. 69.

⁶² Leduc quoted the following passage from Maritain: "Beauty is in the splendour of form and this splendour has a thousand ways of shining on matter. It is the obvious splendour of colour or shade, it is the intelligible clarity of an arabesque, of a rhythm or of an equilibrium, of an activity or movement: it is the reflection upon things of human or divine thought, it is above all the deep splendour of the soul shining through, of the soul which is the principle of life and animal energy or the principle of spiritual life, of sorrow and passion." This passage can be found in Art and Scholasticism, trans. by J.F. Scanlan, pp. 28-29.

⁶³ Leduc received a letter from Édouard Montpetit, dated 15 June 1936, asking him to take part in this program devoted to artists from Saint-Hilaire which had been organized by M. Letondal. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/105.

⁶⁴ Cursory notes on "Remarques sur l'Art." ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/7.

⁶⁵ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/13.

⁶⁶ Maritain wrote that art "must have opposition and constraint, the constraint of rules and the opposition of matter. The more obstinate and rebellious the matter, the better will art, by its success in mastering it, realise its own end, which is to make matter resplendent with a dominating intelligibility." Art and Scholasticism, p. 130.

⁶⁷ Notes on Huysmans in the Leduc archive indicate his interest in Huysmans' belief that the great enemy of sacred art was "the Devil" under the guise of "Ugliness," a concept which Huysmans explored in Les foules de Lourdes. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/11.

⁶⁸ "The more we preserve our French and Catholic virtues, the more faithful we remain to our history and traditions, the more we remain the element impermeable by the American spirit, the strongest element of order and stability." Abbé Groulx in Soirées de l'Action française (Montréal, 1926); quoted in Wade, p. 871.

⁶⁹ There is a random note among Leduc's documents which most clearly outlines his conception of the personal and national expression in art. It is undated but seems relevant to the ideas he was voicing at this time, and thus I have included it here. "Look with serenity, but not without melancholy--our situation; Canadian sentiment: national consciousness./ The desire to be initiated to the possibilities of our own art.../ God--time and our wisdom--the perfection of our desire will bring us safely to this goal; for a collective soul--intimately linking us within its expression, which comes on the one hand, from a distant innate heritage./ Inimitable images--sleeping at the bottom of our consciousness rising when in contact with familiar experience. Guiding images, we do not always know the reasons from where they come....These profound reasons can lend the artist, there is no doubt, the right to work at his own whim, to see only what it is, a combination of lines and colours in a magical transmutation of climate, necessary for the expression for his thought out acts--acts reaching to legendary countries--unreal creations of each one." ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/8.

⁷⁰ Maritain, Art and Scholasticism, trans. Scanlan, p. 78.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 78-79.

⁷² Harold A. Larrabee, ed., Selections from Bergson (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949), pp. 137-160.

⁷³ Some of Leduc's notes are clearly based on his reading of Les Deux Sources de la Morale de la Religion by Bergson, which was published in 1932. See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁷⁴ ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/18.

⁷⁵ Draft notes for his introduction to the lecture. ANQM, 06,M-P55/1/11.

⁷⁶ Both Maritain and Bergson described morality as rooted in a complete love of God above all things. Larrabee, Selections from Bergson, pp. 153-160. Maritain, Art and Scholasticism, trans. Scanlan, p. 74.

⁷⁷ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976), p. 28.

⁷⁸ Leduc, draft of a letter to Édouard Montpetit, June 1936. ANQM, 06, M-P50/7/161.

⁷⁹ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 214.

⁸⁰ Ducharme, letter to Leduc, 23 September 1936. ANQM, 06, M-P50/5/105.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Rodolphe Duguay, 1891-1973 (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1979), p. 13.

⁸³ Ibid. pp. 12-13. An entry in Duguay's diary in 1924 recorded his joy with his decision to be a landscape painter and included the comment: "Nature is a bit of God...the sky, the trees, the earth, the water. To admire these masterpieces. It is a prayer, that is the way I understand the landscape." Ibid., p. 13.

⁸⁴ Lévis Martin described Duguay's depictions of his "microcosm" of Nicolet, as the expression of "the end of an era....The wood engravings, the paintings become the optical condensers of an entire people, traditional peasants, still Catholic and always French. A people isolated, stripped, who has seemed to have made an ideal of this very dispossession by taking refuge in spiritual values and le terroir." Lévis Martin, "Rodolphe Duguay, dernier grand légataire d'une tradition picturale," Rodolphe Duguay, p. 34.

⁸⁵ Both landscapes are reproduced in Rodolphe Duguay: Coup de vent appears on 69 and Arbres en fleur is on 107. Ostiguy connected Duguay's landscapes to the inspiration he derived from Leduc, and noted the similarity of some of his work to drawings from Leduc's "Imaginations" series. Jean-René Ostiguy, Modernism in Quebec Art, 1916-1946 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1982), pp. 28-29.

⁸⁶ Lévis Martin, Rudolphe Duguay, p. 32.

⁸⁷ Recorded as a gift to Duguay in February 1937, in Leduc's numbered list of works from the "Imaginations" series. ANQM, 06, M-P58/1/7.

⁸⁸ The back of this drawing is inscribed "Jour de l'an 1938-d'Ozias Leduc." Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 183.

⁸⁹ Duguay, letter to Leduc, 10 January 1938. ANQM, 06, M-P50/5/107.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

- ⁹¹ Rodolphe Duguay, 1979.
- ⁹² Paul-Émile Borduas, "Quelques pensées sur l'oeuvre d'amour et de rêve de M. Ozias Leduc," Canadian Art, 10 (Summer 1954), 158-161.
- ⁹³ Duguay, letter to Leduc, 7 September 1953. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/122.
- ⁹⁴ Correspondence from Gagné regarding his photographs, 1932 and 1933. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/101 and 06,M-P50/6/102.
- ⁹⁵ Gagné, letter to Leduc, n.d. (1943). ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/112.
- ⁹⁶ Gagné, letter to Leduc, 16 February 1943. ANQM, 06,M-P50/112.
- ⁹⁷ Gagné, letter to Leduc, 16 February 1943. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/112. He asked Leduc if he would give him some lessons to improve his composition and painting. In the draft of a responding letter, also found in this file, Leduc wrote, "You can be sure of all my support," and offered to give him some instruction if he could come to Almaville where Leduc was decorating a church.
- ⁹⁸ Leduc gave Gagné Soir maison de rêve (1936), À l'heure brune and Candeur-Reflets ciel, arbres et eau (1937). ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/7.
- ⁹⁹ Gagné, letter to Leduc, 30 December 1936. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/105.
- ¹⁰⁰ Gagné, letter to Leduc, 2 November 1932. ANQM, 06, M-P50/5/101.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰² Gagné, letter to Leduc, n.d., (1943). ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/112.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.* In fact, Leduc did make a completely abstract drawing which he gave to Gilles Corbeil with the comment, "You see, I can easily compete with Borduas." Gilles Corbeil, "Rencontres avec Ozias Leduc," Le Devoir, 14 January 1956, p. 16.
- ¹⁰⁴ Wade, p. 904.
- ¹⁰⁵ René Bergeron, Art et Bolchevisme (Montréal: Fides, 1946).
- ¹⁰⁶ Jean-Noël Jacob, René Bergeron (1904-1971), Polémiste, écrivain, peintre (Saint-Nazaire, Québec: Les éditions JCL, 1985).
- ¹⁰⁷ Bergeron specified the theme of his book in a letter to Leduc, dated 13 April 1946. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/115.
- ¹⁰⁸ Marie-Alain Couturier, the Dominican priest from France who gave vital support to Borduas and his associates in Montreal, had published his religious interpretation of modern art in Art et Catholicisme in Montreal in 1941.

- ¹⁰⁹ Bergeron, letter to Leduc, 13 April 1946. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/115.
- ¹¹⁰ Jean-Paul Tremblay, "Art et Bolchevisme" in Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, ed. Maurice Lemire (Montréal: Fides, 1980, II, 68.
- ¹¹¹ Bergeron, p. 88.
- ¹¹² Ibid , p. 96.
- ¹¹³ Leduc, draft of a letter to Bergeron, 10 April 1946. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/3.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ Leduc had taken notes on Cubism from L'Art Cubiste by Guillaume Ganneau (1924). ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.
- ¹¹⁶ Olivier Maurault, "Ozias Leduc, peintre mystique," Le Mauricien, 2 (February 1938), 5.
- ¹¹⁷ Corbell, "Rencontres avec Ozias Leduc," p. 16.
- ¹¹⁸ Guy Viau, Modern Painting in French Canada (Quebec: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1967), p. 16.
- ¹¹⁹ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14,
- ¹²⁰ Ibid.
- ¹²¹ When La Librairie Tranquille, distributor of Refus Global, would not send Leduc his reserved copy without a prepayment, Leduc wrote: "Mr. Paul-Émile Borduas who signed 'Refus Global' lives in St. Hilaire. He is one of my most precious friends. He is an artist. In St. Hilaire, we are several artists--Our ways are different than yours." Quoted in Françoise Le Gris, "Chronologie des relations entre Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas," Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, Conférences J.A. de Sève 15-16 (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1973), p. 123.
- ¹²² Leduc, letter to Borduas after seeing a photograph of the painting in the catalogue of the Dominion Gallery exhibition (October 2-13, 1943). Quoted by Françoise Le Gris in "Chronologie des relations entre Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas," pp. 120-121. Reprinted and translated in François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), p. 186.
- ¹²³ Paul-Émile Borduas, "Quelques pensées sur l'oeuvre d'amour et de rêve de M. Ozias Leduc, Canadian Art, 10 (Summer 1953), 158-161 and 168. Paul-Émile Borduas, "Paul-É. Borduas nous écrit au sujet d'Ozias Leduc," Arts et Pensée, 18 (July/August 1954), 177-179. Both these articles appear in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings. 1942-1958, ed. François-Marc Gagnon and trans. François-Marc Gagnon and Dennis Young (Halifax: The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1979).

¹²⁴ Some of that correspondence is reprinted by Françoise Le Gris, pp. 100-132.

¹²⁵ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique et analyse de l'oeuvre (Montréal: Fides, 1978), pp. 6-24.

¹²⁶ Maurice Gagnon, "Paul-Émile Borduas, Peintre montréalais," La Revue Moderne, 18 (September 1937), 10.

¹²⁷ Borduas, "Some thoughts about the work and love and dream of Monsieur Ozias Leduc," Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, p. 131.

¹²⁸ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique, p. 9.

¹²⁹ Leduc, "Remarques sur l'art." ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/13.

¹³⁰ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960); Biographie critique, p. 8.

¹³¹ François-Marc Gagnon chronicled Borduas's apprenticeship under Leduc during these years. Ibid., pp. 9-23. Borduas assisted Leduc with his decoration of the Bishop's Chapel in Sherbrooke (1922-1923) and the chapel of the convent of the Dames du Sacré-Coeur in Halifax (summer of 1924). In the summer of 1926, Borduas and Dollard Church executed most of Leduc's designs for the decoration of the convent of Saint-Hilaire and Borduas, alone cleaned and retouched an earlier Chemin du croix by Leduc at the Church of Saint-Romuald in Farnham. In the summer of 1927, he helped Leduc decorate the vault of the Notre-Dame Baptistery. As Gagnon suggested that evidence of the strong impression Leduc's work made on Borduas is indicated by a gouache copy Borduas made of the baptistery mural, Arbre de vie (which Leduc had entitled La Paradis). Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹³² Ibid., p. 10.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 11.

¹³⁴ Paul-Émile Borduas, Projections libérantes / Liberating Projections in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, p. 90.

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 95-105.

¹³⁶ "The letter written, I went to see my dear Monsieur Leduc. His great understanding, his complete approval of my irreparably rash gesture, was more precious than all that I had just voluntarily lost " Ibid., p. 87.

¹³⁷ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique, p. 30.

¹³⁸ In 1930 he helped Leduc decorate the Church of Saints-Anges at Lachine; in 1932 he completed a Chemin de croix (a replica of that in the Saint-Hilaire Church) for the Church of Saint-Michel in Rougemont. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-50.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁴¹ François-Marc Gagnon, "A Borduas chronology," ArtsCanada, 224/225 (December 1978/January 1979), 4.

¹⁴² Corbeil, "Rencontres avec Ozias Leduc," p. 8.

¹⁴³ A letter from Robert Élie to Leduc, dated 28 March 1944, recalled the "magificent evening that we spent in your studio" and thanked him for the work of Leduc's which he received via Borduas which seemed "the savoury fruit of a happy wisdom." He hoped their arrival did not seem like a veritable invasion and that they did not abuse his hospitality with their "too lively curiosity for your works." ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/113.

¹⁴⁴ Fernand Leduc wrote a tribute to Leduc in Arts et Pensée, commenting: "The paintings of Leduc do not offer themselves, but let themselves be taken and attract us in depth. Nothing exuberant or boisterous, but all the boldness of lively intensity smouldering like glowing embers. One forgets the individual to rediscover oneself in the universal. The miracle of the prestige of Leduc, in an era where the value is attached more to provocation and exhibitionism than real presence, is due in my opinion to the inexhaustible radiation of his life. It is less a question of weighing the plastic qualities of the work of the painter than understanding the lively presence which inhabits it. Moreover, it appears to me as a sign of vitality, that despite all paradox, we turned ourselves by instinct towards his work." Fernand Leduc, "Ozias Leduc, peintre exemplaire," Arts et Pensée, 18 (July/August 1954), 176.

¹⁴⁵ Records of the various visits by Borduas and his friends are contained their correspondence to Leduc and in Leduc's diaries and lists of visitors to his studio during these years.

¹⁴⁶ Reprinted and translated in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, pp. 131-134.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁴⁸ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique, pp. 23-24.

¹⁴⁹ Jean Éthier-Blais, "Ozias Leduc," Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, p. 36.

¹⁵⁰ Gilles Corbell, "Ozias Leduc, peintre de natures mortes," Arts et Pensée, 18 (July/August 1954), 171.

¹⁵¹ Ray Ellenwood, "Surrealism Borduized," Artscanada, 224/225 (December 1978/January 1979), 15.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Paul-Émile Borduas, "Ways to appreciate a work of art," in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, p. 25. This text is reprinted from a lecture Borduas gave on November 10, 1942 at the Windsor Hotel in Montreal, under the auspices of the Philosophy Department of the Université de Montréal. Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14. The study of influences on Borduas's thought is not an easy task, because the sources are multiple. François-Marc Gagnon detected the influence of Maurice Gagnon, who taught art history at the École de Meuble, as well as texts that Borduas owned on Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art, on his ideas. Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique, pp. 141-146.

¹⁵⁵ Borduas, "Ways to appreciate a work of art," Écrits / Writings, p. 23.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁵⁷ Borduas stated that medieval art represents the pinnacle of Christian art, that it had acquired "by the sole virtue of disinterestedness, wealth upon wealth of plastic expression." The Renaissance, with the shift to artists' self-consciousness and the pursuit of superficial perfection of classical art, marked the "premature old age" of Christian art. Ibid., p. 30. Perhaps Leduc had directed Borduas to Jacques Maritain, who made similar comments. Maritain wrote, "The Renaissance was destined to drive the artist mad and make him the most miserable of men ..by revealing to him his own grandeur and letting loose upon him the wild beast Beauty which Faith kept enchanted and led after it obedient, with a gossamer thread for leash." Art and Scholasticism, trans. J.F. Scanlan, p. 22.

¹⁵⁸ Several pages of notes in the Leduc archive deal with this topic, including five pages under the heading "Origine de l'art " ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁵⁹ Borduas, "Ways to appreciate a work of art," Écrits / Writings, p. 32.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁶² Paul-Émile Borduas, Global Refusal in Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings, pp. 45-54.

- ¹⁶³ For further on the issue of "cultural rattrapage" prevalent in this era, see François Gagnon, "Le Refus global en son temps," Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, pp. 80-88.
- ¹⁶⁴ Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique, p. 224.
- ¹⁶⁵ Borduas, Global Refusal, Écrits / Writings, p. 49.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ¹⁶⁷ Françoise Le Gris, pp. 127-129.
- ¹⁶⁸ Published in François Gagnon, "Trois textes de Paul-Émile Borduas sur Ozias Leduc," Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas, pp. 136-138.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137,
- ¹⁷⁰ Leduc, letter to Maurault, 16 April 1931, found in the Maurault archive at the Archives du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice; quoted in Lanthier, p. 101.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷² Leduc, draft of a letter to Maurault, n.d. ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/181.
- ¹⁷³ Maurault, letter to Leduc, January 1917. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/85.
- ¹⁷⁴ Jean-René Ostiguy, "Étude des dessins préparatoires à la décoration du baptistère de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal," Bulletin, 15/1970, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 10.
- ¹⁷⁵ Gustave Soulier, "Lévy-Dhurmer," Art et Décoration, 3 (January 1898), 9.
- ¹⁷⁶ Leduc, letter to Maurault, 18 January 1923. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/148.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* As to the use of the word "cathédraliers", he commented that he had seen it in a Montreal journal, in an article by Jean Rameau reprinted from the Gaulais. He suggested that it will make Maurault think of how Joris-Karl Huysmans had made cathedrals fashionable.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 10.
- ¹⁷⁹ Olivier Maurault, Confidences (Montréal: Fides, 1959), p. 135.
- ¹⁸⁰ Maurice Pillard-Verneuil, Dictionnaire des symboles emblèmes et attributs, Reimpression de l'édition de Paris, 1897 (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1981), p. 130.
- ¹⁸¹ Leduc designed several ex-libris for friends which incorporated symbols which could be associated with the name of the patron, including one for Maurault (c.1919), depicting the Gothic spire of a Quebec church

on a background of olive branches. Laurier Lacroix, Dessin inédits d'Ozias Leduc / Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman (Montreal: Concordia University, 1978), p.61.

¹⁸² Leduc, draft of a letter to Maurault, 20 March 1925. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/150.

¹⁸³ Noted in Leduc's diary, 8 October 1927. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/6.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Leduc, draft of a letter to Curé Granger, 6 October 1927. (Either this date or that in the diary is incorrect). Granger had commissioned Leduc to paint three works for the Church of Saint-Geneviève-de-Pierrefonds in 1926.

¹⁸⁶ Notes derived directly from Denis's article "L'École d'art sacré" can be found in ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14. Comparisons were made from this same article found in Maurice Denis, Du symbolisme au classicisme, Théories, ed. O. Revault d'Allonnes (Paris: Hermann, 1964), pp. 81-86.

¹⁸⁷ Leduc attributed these notes to "Supplement du 'Courier de Genève', 7 Oct 1928." ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/7.

¹⁸⁸ François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸⁹ Maurice Denis, "Pour l'art sacré," Du symbolisme au classicisme, Théories, p. 78.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Maurice Denis, "L'École d'art sacré," Ibid., pp. 83-84.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁹⁵ Laurier Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1973, p. 239.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 143 and p. 150.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. x and Leduc's outline of the programme, ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

¹⁹⁹ Leduc, draft of a letter to Louis Audet, 7 February 1927. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/152.

200 Ibid.

201 Quoted and translated in Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., pp. 168-169.

202 Olivier Maurault, "Hommage de Mgr Olivier Maurault à l'artiste Ozias Leduc," in Arthur Jacob, Légendes des tableaux de la décoration en l'église Notre-Dame-de-la-Présentation d'Almaville (Trois-Rivières Le Bien Public, 1960), p. 43.

203 Lacroix mentioned the Denis's visit to the Notre-Dame Baptistery and the Sacré-Coeur Chapel du Mile-End but suggested that there was no evidence of any intense communication between Leduc and Denis. He wrote: "Denis probably felt the distance which separated him from Leduc's work, their works only having after all only certain secondary stylistic affinities, even if they were based on a common interest for symbolism." Ibid., p. 140.

204 Ibid., p. 226.

205 Lacroix derived this mythology from the writings of Eliade Mircea in Traité de l'histoire des religions and Mythes, Rêves et mystères. Ibid., pp. 217-246.

206 Ibid., pp. 240-245.

207 Ibid., p. 248.

208 Ibid.

209 A letter to Leduc from the Librairie Armand Colin in Paris, 3 March 1926, indicates that Leduc wrote to them inquiring about Mâle's works. Told they could be found through Canadian distributors, Leduc had Guillaume Lahaise find them for him in Montreal. Lahaise, letter to Leduc, 18 July 1926. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/95.

210 Émile Mâle, Religious Art in France: XIII Century, trans. Dora Nussey (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1913), pp. 231-266.

211 Ibid., p. 238

212 Ibid.

213 Ibid., p. 223.

214 Ibid., p. 258

215 Ibid., p. 232.

216 Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc..., p. 240.

- 217 According to Mâle, Trees of Jesse depicting the Virgin at the top are commonly found on arches and doorways of medieval churches. Mâle, p. 166.
- 218 Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc..., p. 237.
- 219 Ibid., pp. 239-242.
- 220 Mâle, pp. 27-63.
- 221 ANQM, 06,M-P58/2/18. Mâle wrote: "The world therefore may be defined as 'a thought of God realised through the Word.' If this be so then in each being is hidden a divine thought; the world is a book written by the hand of God in which every creature is a word charged with meaning." Mâle, p. 29.
- 222 Ibid., p. 29.
- 223 There is an illustration of the Apparation de saint Michel au Mont Gargan from the Rougement programme in Lacroix, Dessins inédits... (pp. 83-84) which shows a distinct silhouette of Mont Saint-Hilaire in the background.
- 224 Laurier Lacroix, "La chapelle de l'évêché de Sherbrooke: quelques dessins préparatoires d'Ozias Leduc," Bulletin, The National Gallery of Canada, 30/1977, 3.
- 225 In a letter to Roquebrune, dated 16 May 1927, Leduc wrote that he was working "with carte blanche" on this decoration. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/152.
- 226 Éthier-Blais, "Ozias Leduc," pp. 26-27.
- 227 Ibid., p. 28.
- 228 From Leduc's notes on his decoration, reproduced in Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 6.
- 229 Ostiguy, Bulletin.
- 230 Ibid., p. 2.
- 231 From Leduc's "Sommaire des éléments de l'ensemble de la décoration," ibid., p. 5.
- 232 Written on a sketch for the vault, ibid., p. 16, fig. 11.
- 233 Many of Leduc's poems and prose poems centre on the mysteries and evolution of the cosmos. His fascination with the essence and meaning of nebula is conveyed in a piece on "Nébuleuses": "Diffuse abundant matter, a bit luminous; perhaps the primitive substance, the chaos from which the stars and waves are organized through condensation? Or else even the radiation emanated from these bodies, the residue of this progressive

hour which, little by little, disorganizes them and causes them to loose themselves in space. This substance may be the source of the marvellous oscillation that the suns of space travel through in an eternal circle, going endlessly from chaos to organization, and from there, by some other play of matter, reach other chaos. Always new becomings--however, it is perfectly possible there is in space but not in time some similar new beginnings, identical worlds, two men who would be each other's double " ANQM, 06,M-P50/2/54.

²³⁴ Notes on the vault reproduced in Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 7.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

²³⁶ Leduc's own interest in astronomy is indicated in this decoration which includes images of the nebula of the galaxies of the Milky Way, of Andromeda, Orion, and of the Big Dipper. Ibid., p. 20, fig. 17.

²³⁷ From Leduc's notes, *ibid.*, p. 7. On a sketch of a section of the ceiling, fig. 16, Leduc wrote: "The Infinity of stars and other stylized celestial bodies. An arrangement of lines, colour and gold, entangle and together connect the suns and the world of Space." Ibid., p. 19.

²³⁸ Ibid., pp. 16-26, figures 11 to 29.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 37, fig. 44. Elsewhere in a separate note, Leduc recorded that a flaming sword represented the archangel Jophiel who chased Adam and Eve from Paradise. Jophiel was the "protector of the humble-hearted seekers after truth" and "guardian of the Tree of Knowledge." ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

²⁴⁰ Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 37, fig. 44.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 31, fig. 36.

²⁴³ Leduc may have known this work. It appeared in reproduction in L'Oeuvre de Gustave Moreau by Georges Desvallières published in Paris in 1913. French Symbolist Painters (London: Art Council of Great Britain, 1972), p. 82 and p. 153. In a letter to Leduc from Paris in February of 1913, Guillaume Lahaise remarked that he had looked for "the book on Moreau"; however, it was sold out but it was to appear again soon. ANQM, 06,M-P50/3/81.

²⁴⁴ Ostiguy, Bulletin, p. 31.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Jacob, p. 38.

- 248 A copy of Maurault's letter to Curé Jacob, 29 January 1942, is found in the Leduc archive. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/111.
- 249 Ibid.
- 250 Jacob, p. 38.
- 251 Maurault, "Hommage de Mgr Olivier Maurault à l'artiste Ozias Leduc, ibid., pp. 40-43.
- 252 Jacob, p. 15.
- 253 Ibid., p. 17.
- 254 Jacob, p. 21.
- 255 Reproduced in Masaccio, Masters in Art, 8 (June 1907), 227.
- 256 Jacob, p. 9.
- 257 Maurault, "Hommage de Mgr Olivier Maurault à l'artist Ozias Leduc," in Jacob, p. 42.
- 258 Ibid.
- 259 Ibid.
- 260 Letter to Leduc from Gagnier, 31 December 1947, informing him that his composition will be broadcast on the 4th of January. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/116. Leduc responded immediately, a draft of his letter is dated 31 December 1947. ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/172.
- 261 Letter to J.J. Gagnier, Doctor of Music at the Université de Montréal, n.d. ANQM, 06,M-P50/7/173.
- 262 Maurault, "Hommage de Mgr Olivier Maurault à l'artiste Ozias Leduc," in Jacob, p. 41.
- 263 Ibid.
- 264 Jacob, p. 27.
- 265 Ibid. The Mauricie is the district and the Saint-Maurice River runs through it.
- 266 Ibid.
- 267 Ibid.
- 268 Ibid., p. 29.
- 269 Ibid., p. 31.

- 270 Mâle, pp. 64-97.
- 271 Jacob, pp. 32-33.
- 272 Dugré, letter to Leduc, 8 May 1925. Dugré sent a copy of the first edition (1925) and a request for thirty to fifty illustrations to be completed by the end of the year. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/94.
- 273 Adélarde Dugré, La Campagne canadienne (Montréal, Imprimerie du Messenger, 1927).
- 274 Maurice Lemire, "La Campagne canadienne," Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, (Montréal: Fides, 1980), II, 174.
- 275 Ibid.
- 276 Adélarde Dugré, La Campagne canadienne (Montréal: Imprimerie du Messenger, 1925), pp. 5-8.
- 277 Leduc, draft of a letter to Dugré, 18 May 1925. ANQM, 06,M-P50/6/150.
- 278 Dugré, letter to Leduc, 19 May 1925. ANQM, 06,M-P50/4/94.
- 279 Ibid.
- 280 Ibid.
- 281 Notes for 28 May 1925 in Leduc's diary from this period. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/6.
- 282 Laurier Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 77.
- 283 Louis Deligny (pseud. of Maurault), "Illustrations," L'Action française, 18 (October 1927), 219-222.
- 284 Ibid., p. 221.
- 285 Ibid.
- 286 Dugré, La Campagne canadienne (1927), p. 62.
- 287 Ibid., p. 136.
- 288 Ibid., p. 92.
- 289 Ibid., p. 176.
- 290 Ibid., p. 222.
- 291 Lacroix, Dessins inédits..., p. 77.

²⁹² Probably the best known example in Denis's work is The Annunciation (1890) which can be seen in Robert Goldwater, Symbolism (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 101, fig. 90. See also Déjeuner devant un abri Breton (c. 1901), reproduced in Maurice Denis: Orangerie des Tuileries (Paris: Musée de l'Orangerie, 1970), p. 59, fig. 161.

²⁹³ Lacroix, La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke, p. 281.

²⁹⁴ Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 210.

²⁹⁵ Albert Tessier, "Ozias Leduc et le Père Jacques Buteux," Le Mauricien (June 1951), 306-307.

²⁹⁶ Wade, p. 201.

²⁹⁷ Tessier, p. 307.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ostiguy documented two other versions of this composition which differ in the configuration of the priest: one a charcoal drawing, the other also a painting. Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 182.

³⁰¹ Louis Lalonde, "La Revanche des berceaux," L'Action française, 2 (March 1918), 98-108.

³⁰² Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 185. The reproduction of Denis's L'Annonciation appeared in Maurice Gagnon, "Paul-Émile Borduas, Peintre montréalais," La Revue Moderne, 18 (September 1937), 10. Gagnon also included an illustration of the same painting in his article "La Peinture moderne, peinture religieuse," Technique, 15 (April 1940), 250.

³⁰³ See, for example, Premiers pas de Noël (1897) in Antoine Terrasse, Denis: Intimités (Lausanne: International Art Book, 1970), p. 43.

³⁰⁴ Tessier, letter to Leduc, n.d., (1942). ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/111. Tessier referred to Mère Aimable as Mater Amabilis.

³⁰⁵ Ibid. A seventeenth century example of a painting of the Holy Family in a Quebec setting is Frère Luc's The Holy Family with a Huron Girl (c. 1671) reproduced in the catalogue Vatican Splendour, Masterpieces of Baroque Art (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1986), p. 43. The accompanying text states, "Under Laval and the Jesuits the devotion to the Holy Family became a leitmotif of Quebec's seventeenth-century religious art." Ibid, p. 44.

³⁰⁶ Reproduced in Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 90 and p. 186, fig. 76.

³⁰⁷ Tessier, letter to Leduc, 22 March 1942. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/111.

308 Ibid.

309 Ibid.

310 Leduc, draft of an unaddressed letter, 16 November 1939. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14. He gave the number, 31, and title of the work, Fumées industrielles, which according to his own record of the series indicates it was given to P. Gonsalve Poulin. ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/7.

311 ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/7.

312 Lacroix, Dessin inédits..., p. 86.

313 Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc..., p. 213.

314 Drawing 22 has the same title, and was given to Mme. Theriault of Montreal. Ostiguy also notes that there is a preliminary study for this painting in the Theriault family. Ostiguy, *ibid*, p. 183.

315 It was apparently given in conjunction with a portrait of Tessier's father. *Ibid*.

316 *Ibid*.

317 Gagné, letter to Leduc, 2 June 1938. ANQM, 06,M-P50/5/107.

318 *Ibid*.

319 ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/11.

320 J'ai passé, venu pour finir.

De suspendues, il y avait des fleurs, des givres, de la couleur.
L'ombre était bleue où finissait mon désirs.

J'étais venu pour finir.

Tout au pôle une étoile quelquefois était toute nue
A l'autre bout du monde, suspendu, un astre en devenir,
jetais ses derniers feux avant de mourir.

Entre l'astre du pôle et celui de la fin du monde,

le vide ne cessait de se remplir,

De mille riens, couleur du temps, couleur de l'espace,
qui vont s'évanouir.

J'ai voyagé dans ce climat,

mon âme ouverte avant de sombrer au néant du souvenir.

On voit dans l'univers partout la semence éclaté en devenir,

Des fleurs sont dans l'ombre,

le jeu de la vie s'y exalte avant de finir.

Mon coeur a grandi puis a passé de même que mon désir,

Le soleil comme moi est venu pour finir.

ANQM, 06,M-P58/1/14.

CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps the best way to conclude this study is to reflect on the question asked of Paul-Émile Borduas by Gilles Corbeil: "In what sense does Leduc seem Canadian to you?" Borduas's response was that "Leduc is the sweetest of European fruit to ripen in Canada: fruit which has retained only a general characteristic--like a sentimental souvenir--from its place of origin....Historically speaking, it belongs to the cycle from Renaissance to Surrealism, but it could take on a definite form, a particular taste, only after a long germination at Saint-Hilaire...."¹

As Borduas observed, the essence of Leduc's unique thought and art evolved from two sources. First and foremost were his deep roots in his own social and physical environment; second was the vast array of ideas he derived from European sources, guided by his own intellectual and philosophical needs. Leduc integrated these two influences in a profoundly personal vision, which made his art, the intimate reflection of his thought, exceptional in its era. While his work embodied the regional, it also extended into the realm of the spiritual and universal.

Leduc was very much a product of his own rural milieu and its French Catholic heritage. His faith was uncommonly open-minded, his bond with the landscape was distinctly mystical, the simplicity of his lifestyle and his lack of material concerns were remarkably ascetic, but fundamentally these aspects of his character derived from his French Canadian rural origins. He lived in Saint-Hilaire all his life, and his devotion to the traditional life of this community is evidenced by his

commitment to local activities in the 1920s and 1930s. His respect for the rural heritage and his perception of the spiritual and moral values which it represented corresponded to the prevailing national attitude shared by French Canadians across the social and political spectrum.² They were sentiments that Leduc held in common with friends from Saint-Hilaire such as Arsène Bessette, Ernest Choquette, Guillaume Lahaise, and with later acquaintances such as Adélard Dugré and Rodolphe Duguay. He "collaborated" with Choquette on Claude Paysan, a decidedly regionalist novel, and, while many of his illustrations probe the territory of inner human experience, often his idealized scenes of agricultural work and rural activities correspond to conventional pastoral themes of le terroir. Even considering that these drawings and similar illustrations for La Campagne canadienne were usual components of this genre of novel, they also exemplify his own regionalist sympathies.

Leduc's personal easel art is regional in an independent and profound sense, expressing a metaphysical conception of the connection between the world around him and his innermost self. From his early still lifes and genre portraits to the landscapes of his late years, Leduc conveyed his spiritual idealism through an intimate response to his rural environment. The paintings of the 1890s reflect his philosophical and mystical personality. His questing intelligence and interest in the wider world outside Quebec led him to an interest in modern European art, especially that of the Symbolist movement which he encountered during his trip to France in 1897. Continual contact with contemporary European currents, maintained through the scrutiny of

international journals and foreign books, enabled him to enhance the power and the originality of his expression. Initially working in relative isolation, Leduc found intellectual stimulation and invaluable support for the path he was pursuing through relationships with Guillaume Lahaise and others connected to the avant-garde intellectual milieu of Le Nigog. The most innovative of his works, such as his Portrait du poète Guy Delahaye and his remarkable landscape paintings such as Lueurs du soir and Neige dorée, were created during this era. Leduc's art was intentionally original as a manifestation of his belief that the artistic process must evolve from an individual inner experience for it to profit spiritual growth. Similarly, art must present a fresh vision to the viewer for it to be enlightening and inspiring; for Leduc, art was the vanguard of human advancement. The same philosophical concept was the basis for Leduc's advocacy of cultural progress and his individual counsel to other artists, whom he encouraged to find themselves, to avoid imitation and conventions. In his speech "Remarques sur l'art," he advised French Canadian artists to develop their own identity through original expression that finds its source in the individual soul, marked with the distinctions of the national heritage.

Leduc was dedicated to a renewal of sacred art. Inspired by the neo-Gothic revival, the work of Puvis de Chavannes, the ideas of Maurice Denis and other European proponents of modern decorative art, he aspired to give his own church decorations contemporary relevance through modern form, intimacy of imagery, and the incorporation of local motifs. Beginning with his decorations in Saint-Hilaire Church, he introduced

features of the Quebec landscape into his murals, giving them regional significance and encouraging the reflection on faith as an integral aspect of French Canadian life. Programmes in the Sacré-Coeur Chapel and Notre-Dame-de-la-Présentation in Almaville seem distinctly nationalistic because they include representations of the theme of manual labour in Quebec under the guidance of the church. These decorations appear designed to serve not only the spiritual needs of the individual, but also to serve the dominant nationalist ideology. Interpreted in a broader sense, these scenes also are associated with the traditional medieval theme of the sanctity of labour which Leduc derived from Émile Mâle's examination of Gothic iconography. This synthesis of levels of meaning, both local and the universal, inspired by diverse sources, was characteristic of Leduc's personal approach to his decorative works. His "penchant for symbolism," as he described it to Olivier Maurault,³ led him to produce programmes of complex iconography united by a fundamental Christian theme, usually associated with the promise of Redemption. He hoped to encourage a revitalization of interest and understanding of Christian symbolism, in order to convey the Christian message with greater power and depth. Although Leduc was often limited by clerical restraints in the degree of personal expression that was allowed in his decorative commissions, he managed to create programmes which stand out as bold landmarks of modern sacred art in Quebec.

Leduc was an anomaly among Canadian artists of his time. As a result of the wide range of his intellectual and philosophical pursuits, he looked to sources of little interest to other Canadian artists. His art represents a rare blend of the regional and the international, with a

individual voice that separates it from the conformism characteristic of most other French Canadian art of the first decades of the century. While much of his art is distinctive, his most original work emerged gradually after his journey to Europe as he consolidated his own aesthetic language and discovered the landscape as a powerful vehicle of expression. Until the 1920s, he was one of the most experimental artists in Canada, at times moving close to abstraction as he distilled the essence of his own experience. Within the confines of the cultural environment in Quebec, he created progressive works which are of important significance in both the French Canadian context and in the broader spectrum of Canadian art. After 1920, his easel art, including his landscapes and his commissioned works, changed little in terms of aesthetic evolution. Although he tried to remain receptive to new modernist trends, because of his own philosophical perspective he could not accept the passing fashions of abstract art. However, in his own way, by example and by encouragement, Leduc expanded the boundaries of French Canadian art in terms of aesthetics and in the interiority of expression. In the influences that he exerted on a subsequent generation of artists, Leduc was the Canadian precursor of the modernist movement of Borduas and his associates, who went on to revolutionize Canadian art in the 1940s.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

¹ Paul-Émile Borduas, "Paul-Émile Borduas writes to us about Ozias Leduc," in Paul-Émile Borduas, Paul-Émile Borduas. Écrits / Writings. 1942-1958, ed. François-Marc Gagnon and trans. François-Marc Gagnon and Dennis Young (Halifax: The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1979), p. 135.

² Paul-André Linteau et al., Quebec: A History 1867-1929, trans. Robert Chodos (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1983), p. 531.

³ Leduc, letter to Maurault, 27 April 1917; quoted in Jean-René Ostiguy, "Étude des dessins préparatoires à la décoration du baptistère de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal," Bulletin, The National Gallery of Canada, 15/1970, 2.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

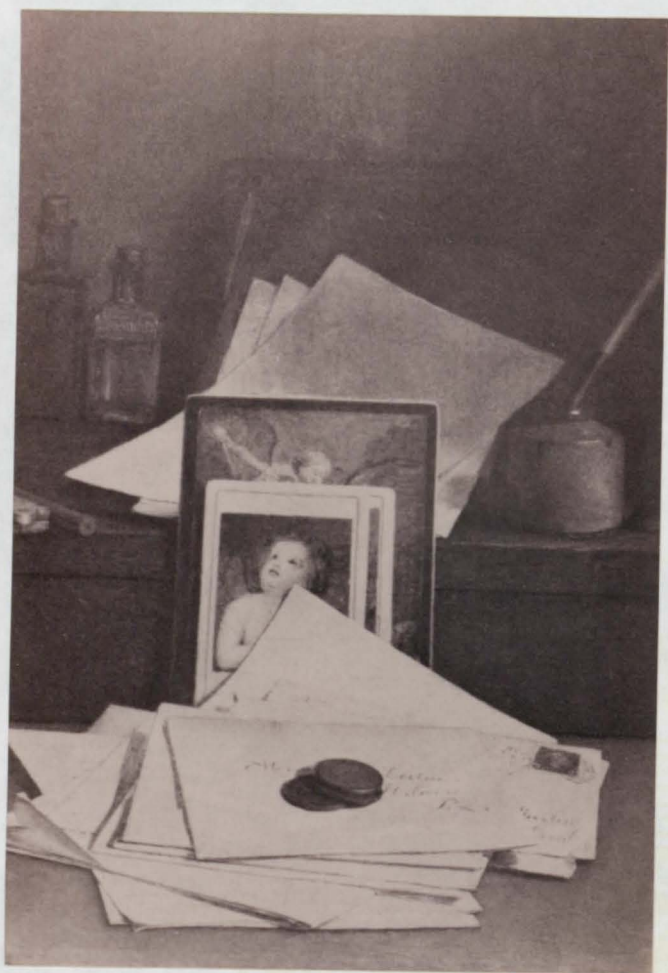


Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

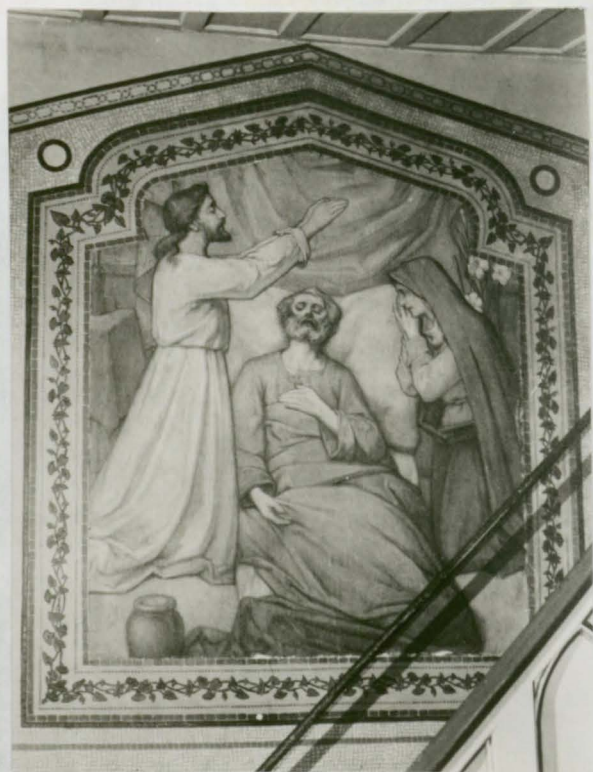


Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

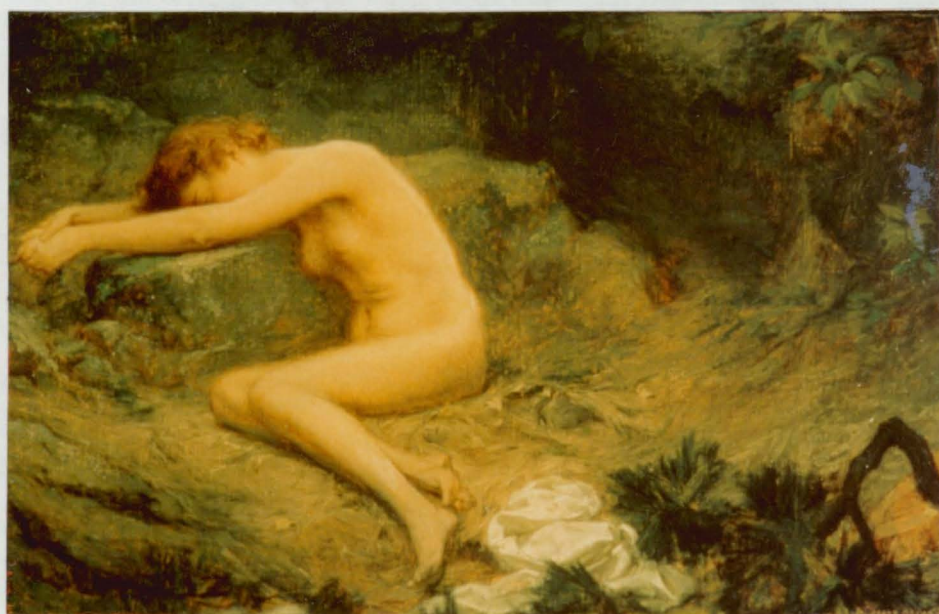


Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 26

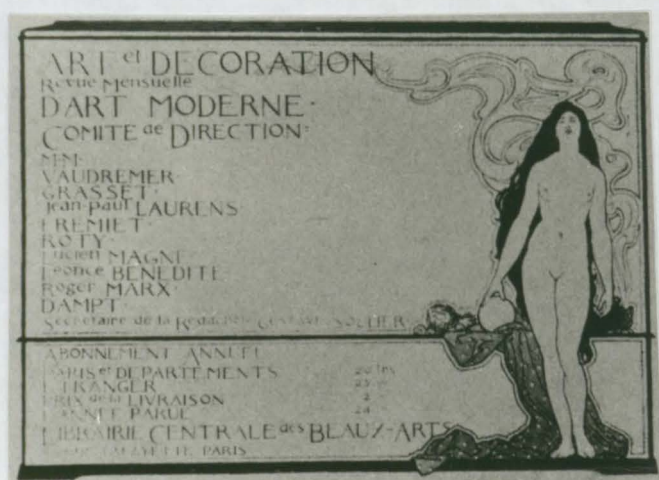


Fig. 25



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30

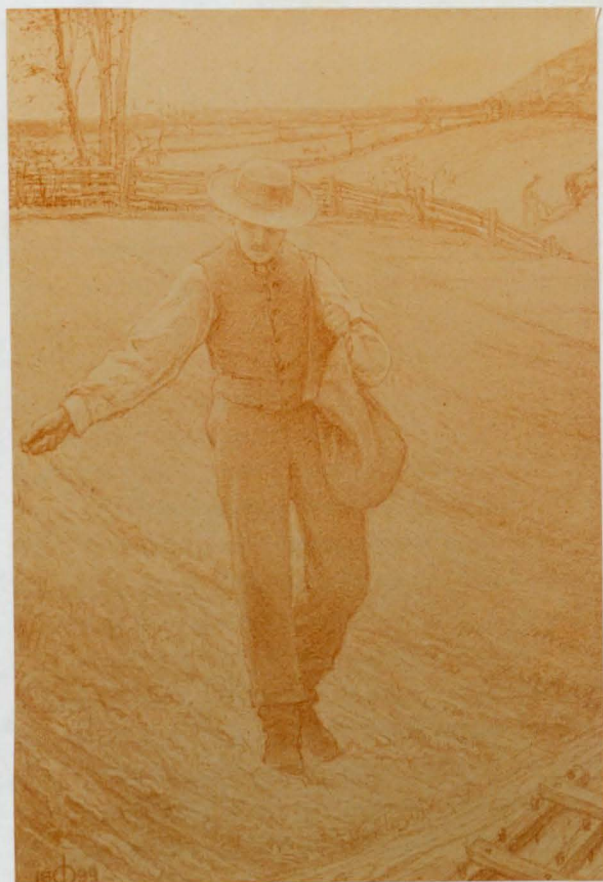


Fig. 31

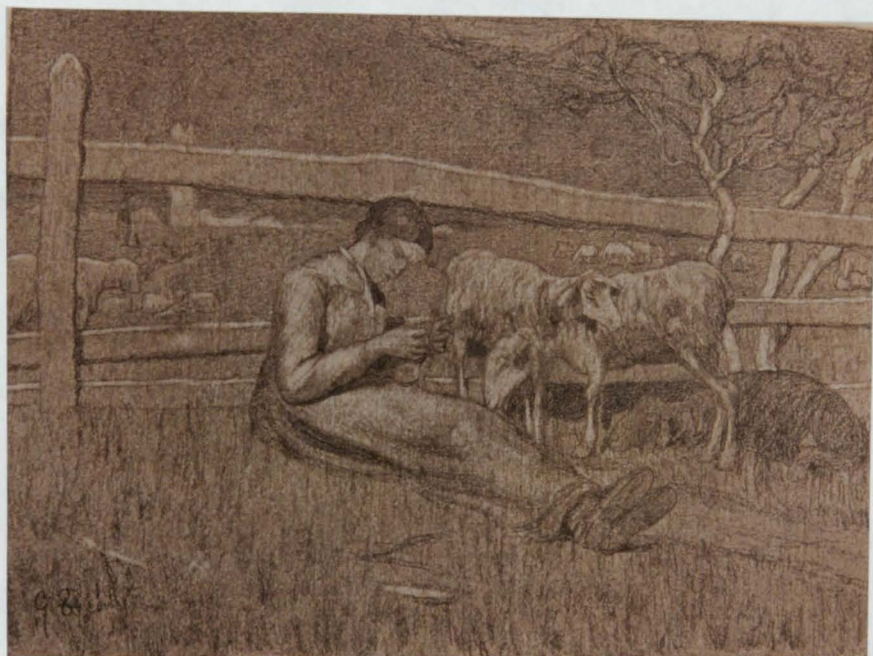


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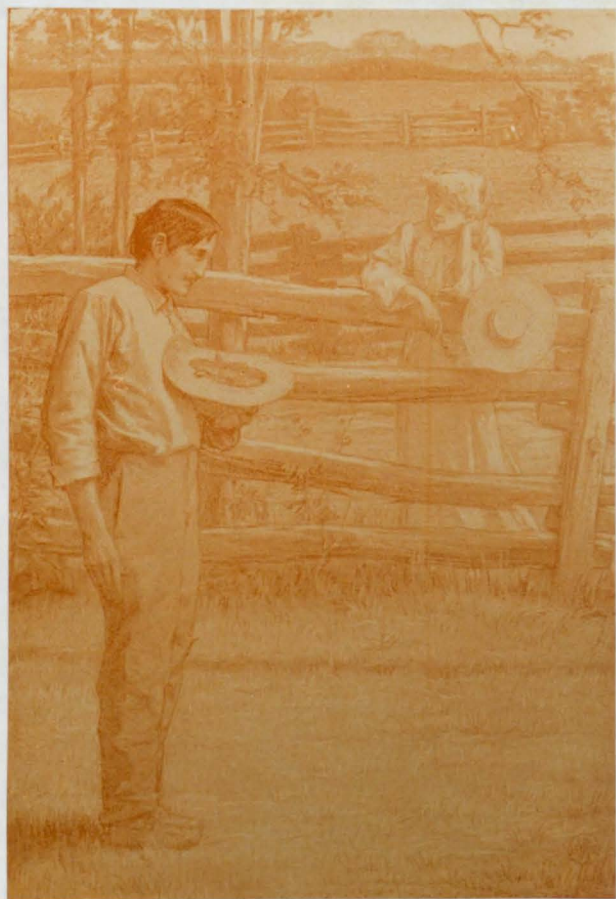


Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43

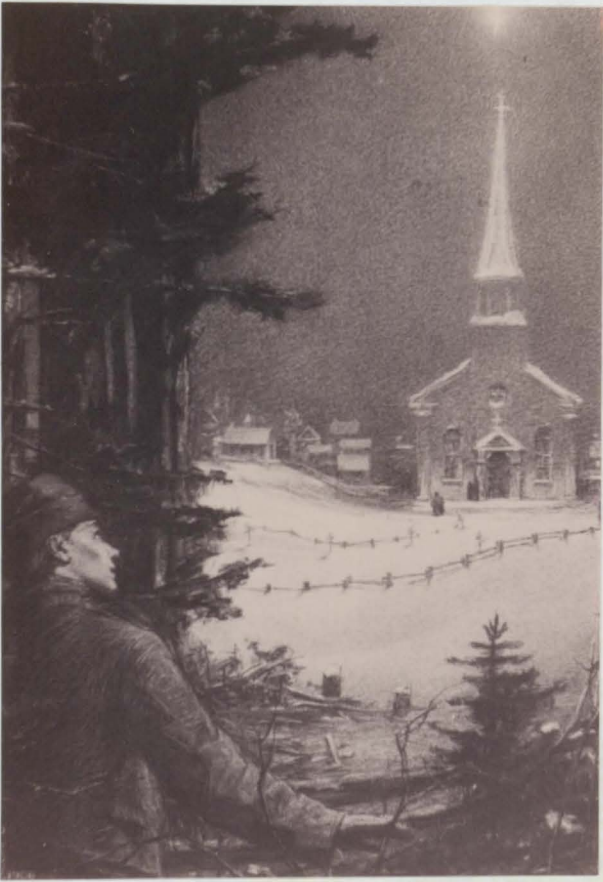


Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50

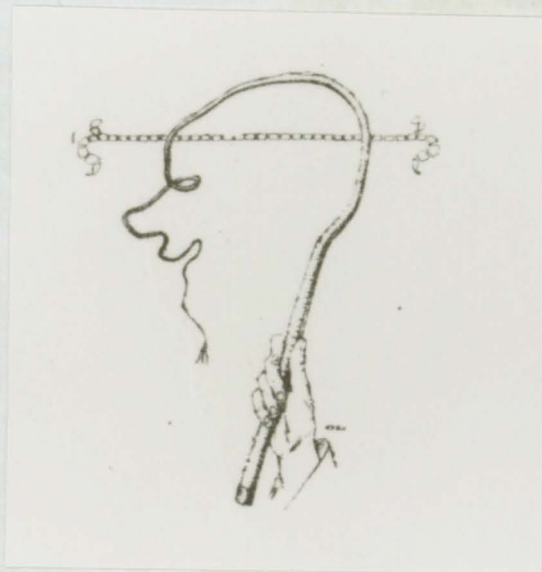


Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 54



Fig. 55

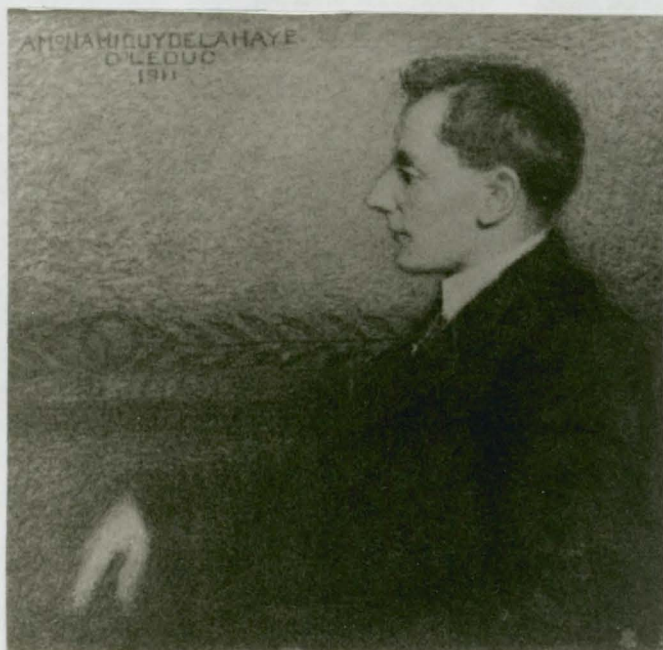


Fig. 56

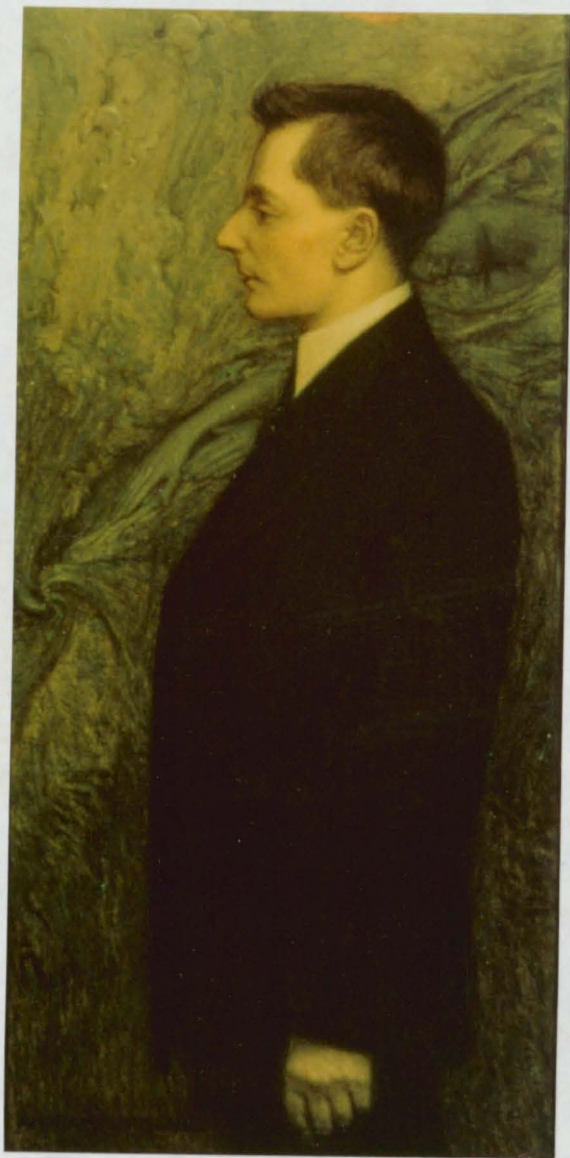


Fig. 57



Fig. 58

R. LA ROQUE DE ROQUEBRUNE



Fig. 59

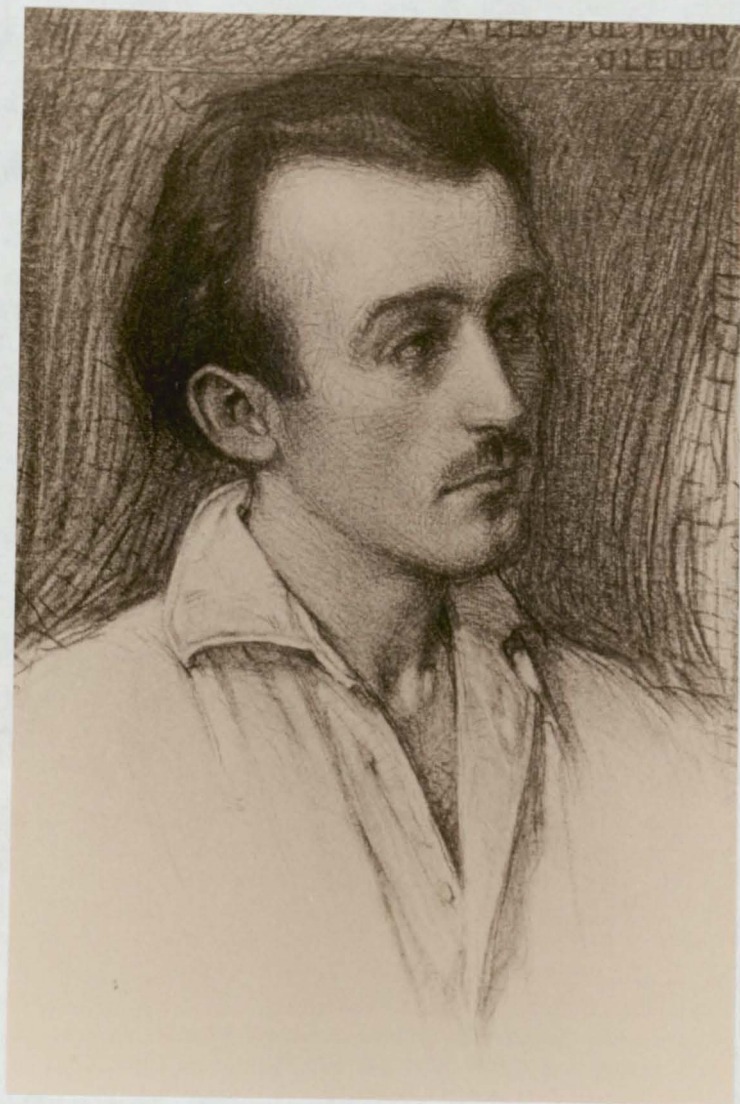


Fig. 60



Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69

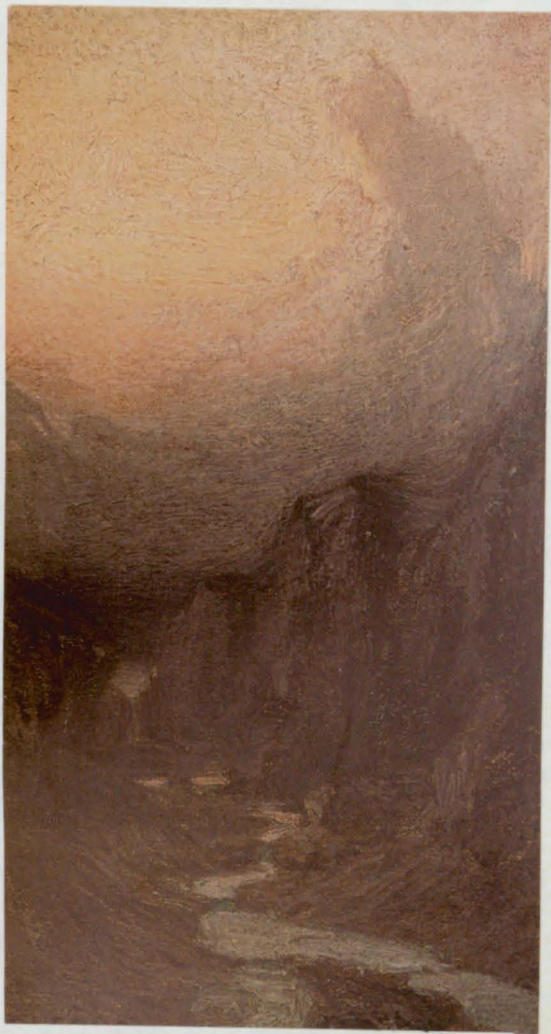


Fig. 70



Fig. 71





Fig. 72



Fig. 73

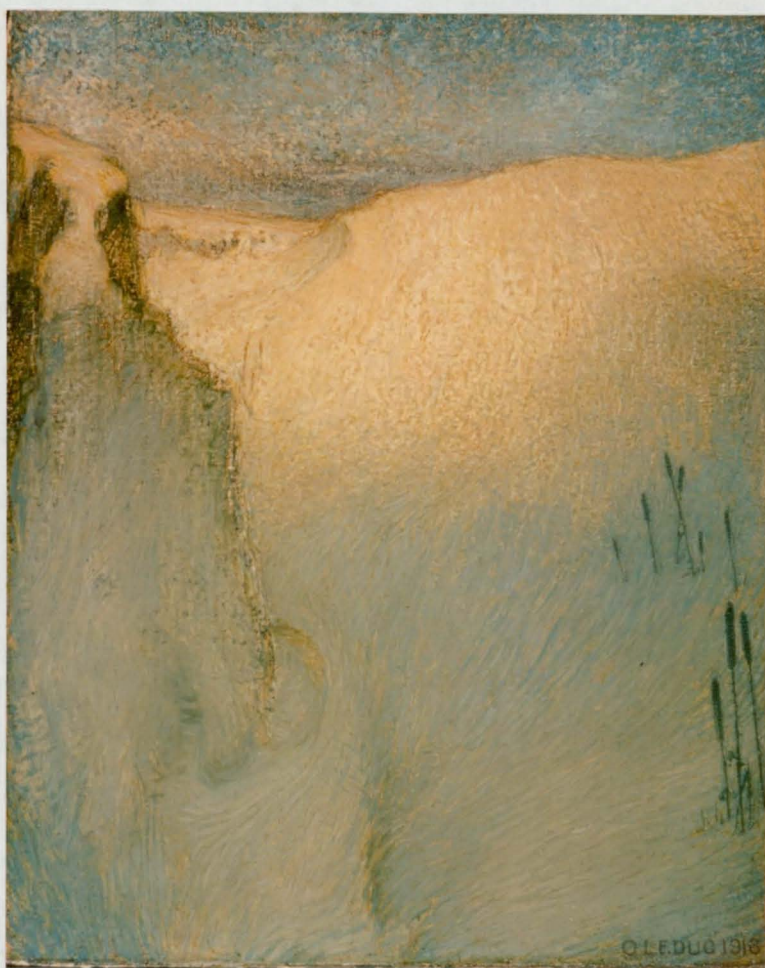


Fig. 74

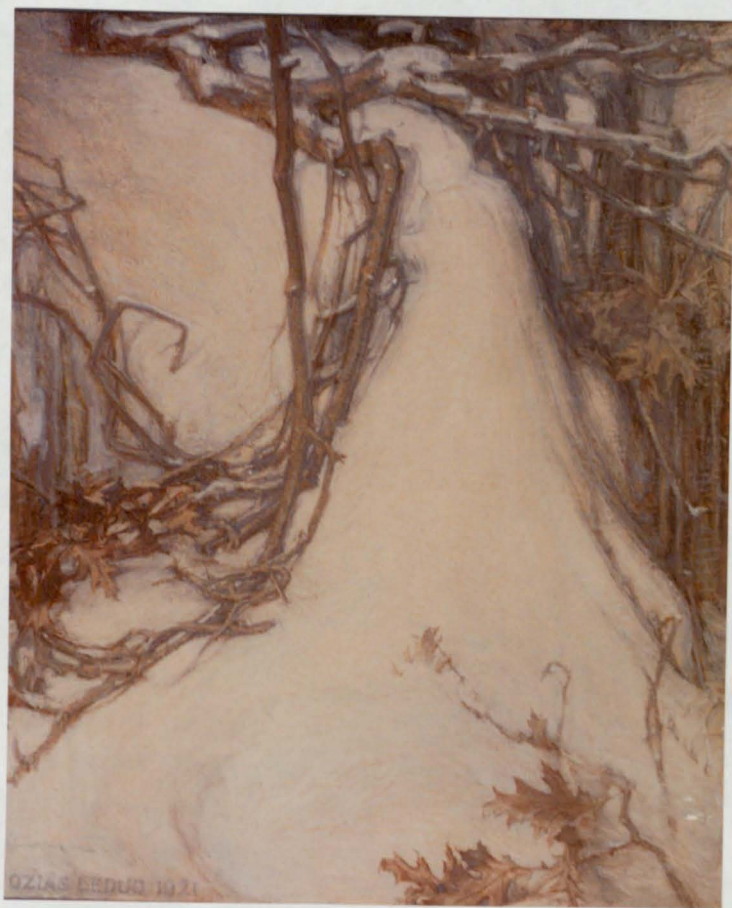


Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78



Fig. 79



Fig. 80

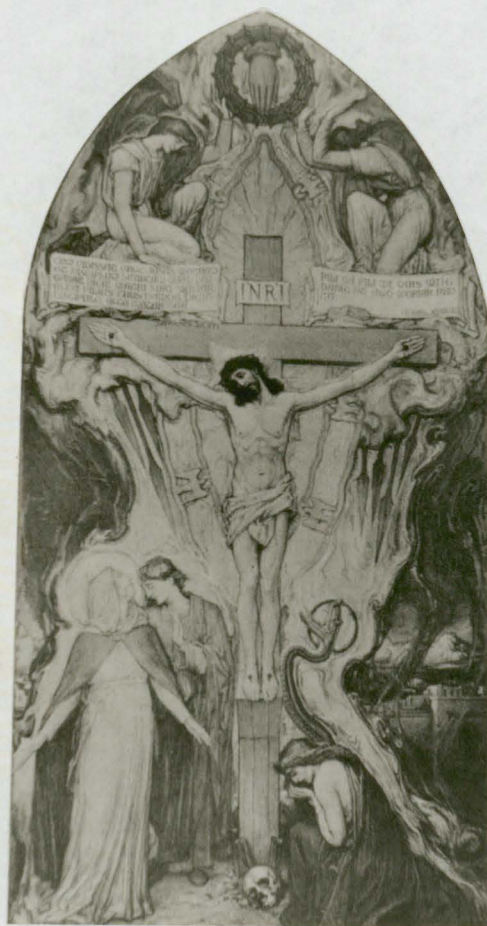


Fig. 81



Fig. 82

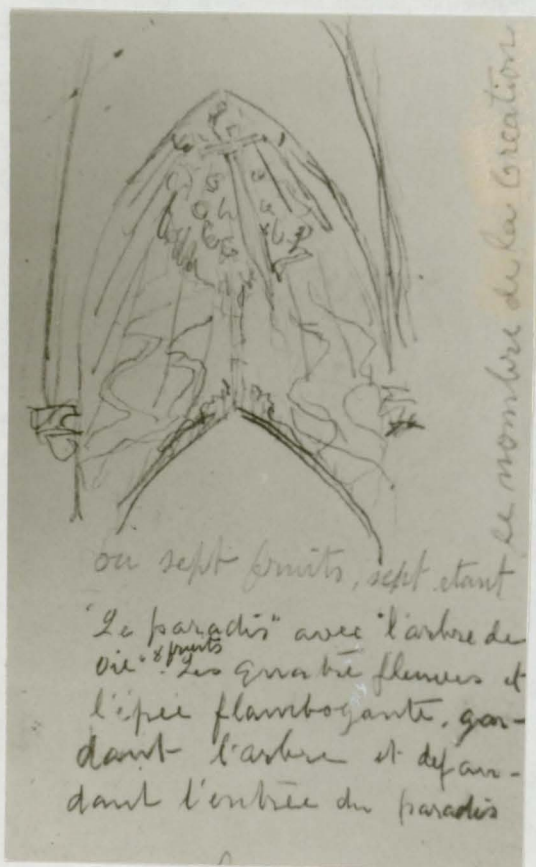


Fig. 83



Fig. 84



Fig. 85



Fig. 86



Fig. 87



Fig. 88



Fig. 89



Fig. 90



Fig. 91

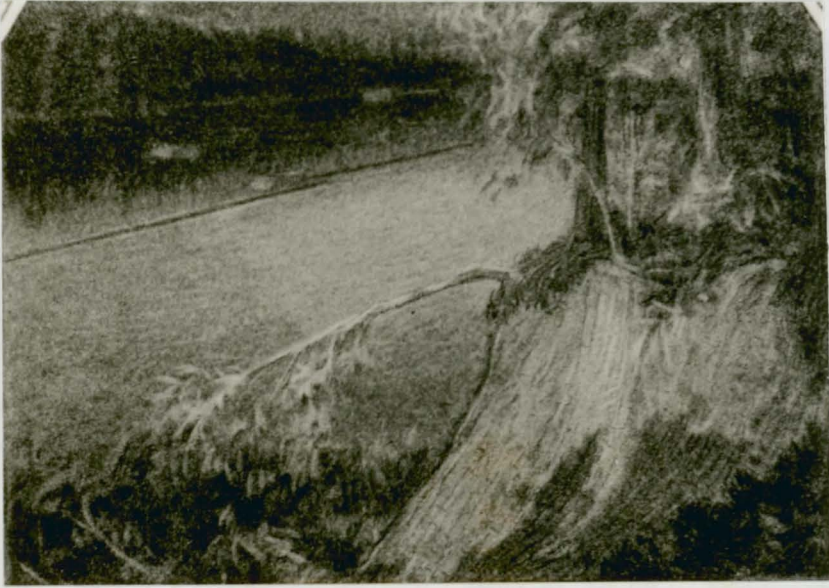


Fig. 92



Fig. 93

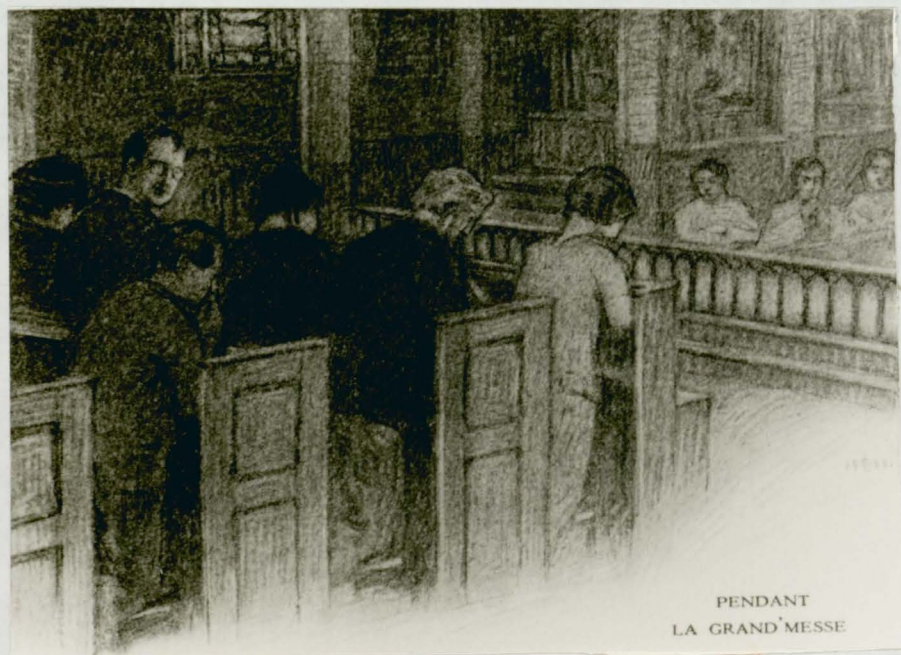


Fig. 94



Fig. 95



Fig. 96



Fig. 97



Fig. 98



Fig. 99



Fig. 100



Fig. 101



Fig. 102



Fig. 103



Fig. 104

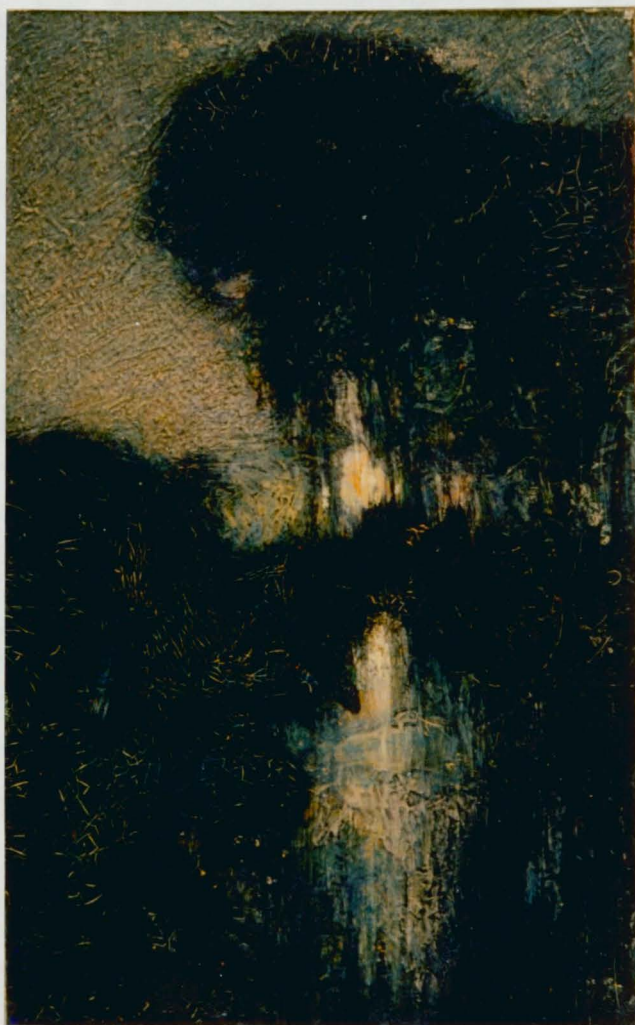


Fig. 105

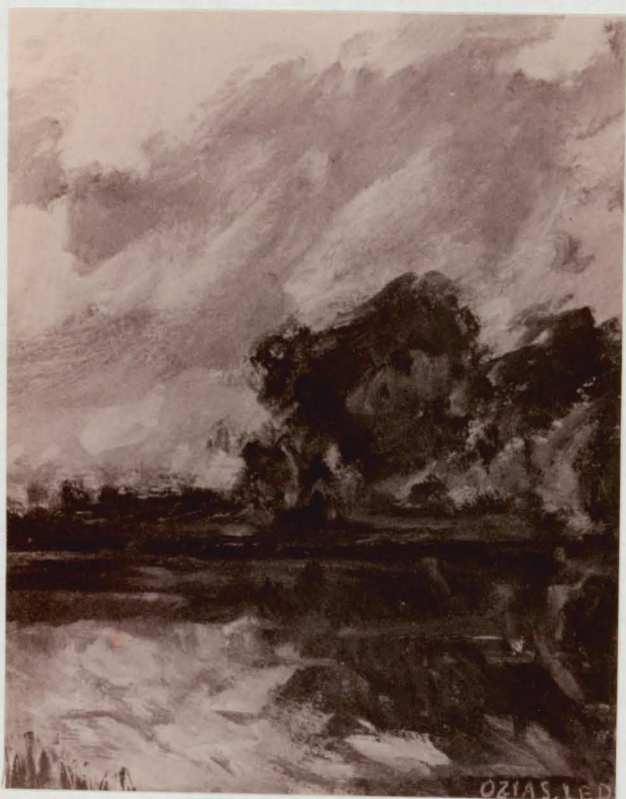


Fig. 106



Fig. 107



Fig. 108

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PERIODICALS CONSULTED:

<u>Arcadia</u>	<u>The International Studio</u>
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<u>Almanach de la langue française</u>	<u>Le Nigog</u>
<u>Art et Décoration</u>	<u>The Studio</u>
<u>Artscanada</u>	

VITA

Surname: WINTERS Given Names: Barbara Ann

Place of Birth: Winnipeg, Manitoba Date of Birth: 17 June 1944

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Manitoba (St. Paul's College)	1962 to 1965
University of Victoria	1972 to 1973
University of Victoria	1976 to 1980
University of Victoria	1984 to 1990

Degrees and Diplomas Awarded:

B.Sc.	University of Manitoba	1965
Dip. Ed. (First Class)	University of Victoria	1973
B.F.A. (First Class)	University of Victoria	1980

Honours and Awards:

University of Victoria Graduate Scholarship	1984-1986
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Author



Signature

BARBARA ANN WINTERS

Name

July 11, 1990.

Date