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**Chief Justice Sir James Monk, Monkville in
Montreal, and some Related Neo-Palladian Revival
Architecture in Early Lower Canada and Nova Scotia**

Wendela. F. Stier

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History**

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

December 1990

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ABSTRACT

Chief Justice Sir James Monk, Monkville in
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Architecture in Early Lower Canada and Nova Scotia

Wendela F. Stier

This thesis describes the villa of Chief Justice, Sir James Monk, which was built in 1803, and which still stands as an integral part of the Villa Maria complex in Montreal.

The time-frame 1750 to 1820 has been selected, and within this period the two decades from 1790 to 1810 have been given particular attention

The study examines Monk's family connexions, and the ideological and architectural context of his mansion-houses in Lower Canada and Nova Scotia. The provenance, authorship and design of some early British architecture in these colonial regions is examined further. The final section is devoted to the philosophy behind Monk's villa, its plan, elevation and interior, and identifies probable sources of inspiration.

Overall, this is a first general assessment of major architectural monuments raised in Quebec City and Montreal by the administration of the period, and of the importance and intrinsic meaning of the Palladian villa as model and type.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANQM	Archives Nationales du Québec (Montréal)
ANQQ	Archives Nationales du Québec (Québec)
ASQ	Archives du Séminaire de Québec
CIHB	Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings
CND	Congrégation de Nôtre Dame (Montréal)
DCB	Dictionary of Canadian Biography
IBC	Inventaire des biens culturels du Québec
IOA	Inventaire des oeuvres d'art (Québec)
NAC	National Archives Canada (Ottawa)
NMC	National Map Collection (Ottawa)
PANS	Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax)

CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SIR JAMES MONK

- 1745/46 9 March, born in Boston, Massachusetts.
- 1746 26 March or 1 April, baptized, King's Chapel, Boston, Massachusetts.
- 1749 Family moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1761-67 Clerkship in father's legal office, Halifax.
- 1768 Certified as Attorney-at-Law in Nova Scotia.
- 1770 Sailed to England: legal studies.
- 1771 Called to the Bar from Middle Temple, London: married Elizabeth Adams between 1770 and 1774.
- 1774-76 Returned Nova Scotia, commissioned Solicitor General and Acting Attorney General.
- 1777 Quebec, Quebec City, Attorney General.
- 1787 Purchased property on Saint Louis Street, Upper Town, Quebec City.
- 1789 Dismissed from Office, sailed to England.
- 1792 Reinstated in office in Quebec City, returned to Lower Canada.
- 1794 Appointed Chief Justice at the Court of King's Bench, Montreal.
- 1795 Purchased a "Villa on the Mountain near Montreal."
- 1796 6 September, the Great Fire of Quebec City.
- 1803 Commenced building Monkville, Montreal.
- 1819-20 President of the Assembly, Lower Canada.
- 1820 Left Lower Canada for England and France.
- 1825 Made Knight of the Bath.
- 1826 18 November, died Cheltenham, England.

INTRODUCTION

Padua, den 27. September, 1786.

"Endlich habe ich die Werke des Palladio erlangt,... veranstaltet durch einen vortrefflichen Mann, den ehemaligen englischen Konsul Smith in Venedig. Das muss man den Engländern lassen, dass sie von lange her das Gute zu schätzen wussten, und dass sie eine grandiose Art haben, es zu verbreiten.

J.W. von Goethe
Italienische Reise

The interest in England in publicizing the works of Andrea Palladio, is as remarkable as the spate of architectural publications it generated, and which between approximately 1715 and 1775 was an entirely English phenomenon.¹ Many of the works were practical manuals, rather than theoretical treatises, and several of these well-illustrated books answered a direct need. They were highly valued in North America, and their influence on architectural style was considerable in English-speaking communities and larger urban centres in the thirteen colonies.

In Canada the pattern-books probably arrived earlier in Nova Scotia than in Quebec, where their impact cannot be measured before the 1790's. Very few neo-Palladian buildings remain from those earliest decades. The present study focuses

¹ John Harris, The Palladians, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1982) 20.

on one of them, Chief Justice, Sir James Monk's country-retreat of 1803, which now forms the heart of the Villa Maria school and convent in Montreal.

Because of the dependence on books with the villa-model and arithmetic relationships as a common denominator, some destroyed buildings can be fairly well reconstructed from information in building contracts, literary descriptions, old illustrations, and similar surviving structures. The process provides further insights on Monk and his villa, and conjecturally establishes the authorship of some of the major monuments of the first generation of "Palladian" buildings in Lower Canada.

Palladio's Quattro Libri, once removed from Vicenza to England, were the object for Inigo Jones's [1573-1652] serious studies, as evidenced by his avant-garde and truly visionary architecture. Imbued with neo-Platonic philosophy, his oeuvre was also "solid, proportionable according to the rules, masculine and unaffected," and it was sustained in England through two generations of eclectic experiments and Baroque adventures.² In the early 1700's, liberal Whigs, brought together by Enlightenment ideals, consciously revived Jones's style.³

The driving force behind these re-revivalists was, of

² John Summerson, Inigo Jones, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1966) 139.

³ James S. Ackerman, The Villa. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) 156.

course, Lord Burlington whose fame was wide spread through Alexander Pope's celebrated words:

"You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse.
And pompous buildings once were things of Use.
Yet shall, my Lord, your just, your noble rules
Fill half the land with Imitating-Fools."⁴

Burlington's importance, however, lay more in his philanthropy and in his advocacy of the classical rules of order, than in his pure and coldly academic architectural style, which never gained much popularity far beyond his own circle of connoisseurs. It was instead the "noble rules" from Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus, [1715, 1717 and 1725], and particularly James Gibbs's Book of Architecture [1728] which filled half the land, as well as the North American colonies with "Imitating-Fools."

After the completion of his much-acclaimed church of Saint-Martin-in-the-Fields in London, Gibbs decided to make his achievement known "especially in the remote parts of the Country," and shrewdly addressed his publication to the aspiring gentlemen amateurs of a new and prosperous middle class. They eagerly received his "Book," his didactic writing-style was easy to understand, and the fine three-dimensional illustrations were more accessible to the non-professional than Palladio's two-dimensional drawings. Another major factor which explained Gibbs's popularity was no doubt the sculptural richness of his architecture, in

⁴ Ibid., from Pope's Epistle to Lord Burlington.

which many details have a Baroque provenance.

In North America, Gibbsian windows, quoining and keystones have decorated every possible type of building until the 1900's. Many early twentieth-century buildings in Montreal for instance, provide ample evidence of the point.

As a tertiary-form, Palladio's architecture, with its simplicity of elevation, was reduced to formalism. It was neutral, not bound to particular functions, and easily adapted to any size of structure. In British North America classic unity and balance as a whole, and in detail, was often lost. But the colonial administrators, with their loyal fellow-citizens found the buildings "chaste," or free from excess. Despite artistic shortcomings, the buildings gave a sense of order and proportion, reflecting not only an ideal, but acting as monuments to the British Enlightenment itself.

Very little has been written about the earliest neo-Palladian architecture in Lower Canada, for the reason, no doubt, that very few such buildings have survived. When Montreal became the fur-capital of the world in the late 1700's and early 1800's, the monied British merchants and administrators [between whom the difference is often indistinguishable], soon established themselves in Palladian-inspired country-houses, with interior decoration of eclectic Neo-classic motifs from The Works of Robert and James Adam [1773-1778]. Most famous, almost mythical, are the mansions of Simon McTavish [1804] and his nephew William McGillivray

[1801-2], which have long since disappeared.

Monk's house at "Monk Ville," [later called Monkland, Monklands and Villa Maria] is less legendary, but nevertheless is an historical landmark. As it stands, it shows substantial alterations made to suit the taste and purpose of the mid 1840's, when it became a vice-regal residence. Yet it is possible to establish the features of the old house, and the drawings and specifications made by the architect George Browne [1811-1885] for the Board of Works in connexion with the modernizations are useful research tools. The existing building contracts provide further evidence, as does, not surprisingly, all available documentation on the first English court-houses, which as types were new in the Colony. Monk was an ambitious administrator, and the first Chief Justice of Montreal, already commissioned when the Court-House was constructed 1799 to 1803. He was a product of the Enlightenment, and a typical representative of his class. Monk was exactly a contemporary of Thomas Jefferson and shared his interests in the works of Cicero and the writers of the Scottish Enlightenment, but professed Stoicism rather than Epicureanism as a personal philosophy. He also lacked the creative imagination of the American. This is revealed in hundreds of pages of his surviving private correspondence. Both men built themselves a retreat on a mountain, with salubrious air and access to fresh spring-water. Both were

involved in husbandry, but spent most of their time reading and writing, unless official duties called them away. Jefferson was constantly involved in his buildings, and his villa, Monticello, is a neo-Palladian tour-de-force. Monk was occupied by buildings for about a decade, commencing c. 1796. He knew well what he wanted, was no connoisseur, but consulted the best of books and craftsmen. Architecture in the abstract was not his interest, but rather its symbolical value.

Jean-Claude Marsan justly deplores the disappearance of McTavish's, McGillivray's and Joseph Frobisher's mansions.⁵ These buildings were the first monuments "of the takeover of power in Montreal by a capitalist bourgeoisie," and Marsan points out that "a study of their architecture could have informed us better of their aspirations."⁶

The aim of the present thesis is to elucidate at least Monk's aspirations as reflected by his villa, in the context of the architecture and society of early Lower Canada.

⁵ Jean-Claude Marsan, Montreal in Evolution, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981) 130.

⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER 1

SIR JAMES MONK: ANTECEDENTS AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

The family of Sir James Monk⁷ belonged to the earliest independent settlers in Nova Scotia who arrived there from Massachusetts in 1749 on the foundation of the City of Halifax. They were not Loyalists as is sometimes contended,⁸ although later they sympathized with the Loyalist cause and some Loyalist relatives joined them in Nova Scotia after the American Revolution. James and several of his siblings were born in New England, yet all of them were brought up and educated in Halifax, and hence they could be considered to be first generation Haligonians.

James Monk was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on 9 March 1745/46,⁹ and he had been baptized there at King's Chapel on

⁷ James H. Lambert, "Monk, Sir James" DCB, vol. 6, (1987), p. 581. James Monk was made a K.B. in 1825, in recognition of his services.

⁸ Pierre-Georges Roy, Les juges de la province de Québec (Québec: Redempti Paradis, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi, 1933) 383. "Sir James Monk ... pratiqua comme avocat à la Nouvelle-Ecosse, où sa famille s'établit en 1749." and p. 385: "La famille Monk avait laissé Boston, dans le Massachusetts, lors de la Révolution américaine, pour la Nouvelle-Ecosse, parce qu'elle voulait rester anglaise."

⁹ With the Calendar Act of 1751 England changed from the Julian calendar (Old Style) to the Gregorian calendar (New Style). In 1582-83 when the Roman Catholic countries had adopted Pope Gregory's adjustments of the calendar one month had been advanced by ten days, and the New Year was changed

26 March 1746.¹⁰ His parents were of British and British North American colonial descent, but little else is certain about earlier generations of his lineage, since there exists no complete genealogical study of the Monk family.

A privately printed genealogy, contained in the Monk Papers at the National Archives in Ottawa,¹¹ seems to have been collected in an effort to document a noble descent for the Monks. The fact, moreover, that these data, when compared to older hand-written genealogical notes, are sometimes contradictory and that they all contain significant lacunae complicates the situation.

For the purpose of understanding the socio-cultural milieu of James Monk, some of his family connexions, however, need to be determined. This can be done by examining legal and semi-legal records, and with these gleanings an order can be established which will allow a reconstruction of Monk's immediate relatives on both the spear and distaff sides, their milieu, and their movements.

that the day following 2 September 1752 should be termed 14 September, and furthermore that the commencement of the year should be January first. The latter adjustment had been made by the Scots already in 1600. DCB marks occurrences during the three first months of the year Old Style/New Style eg. 3 January 1739/40, a model which is also followed in this thesis.

¹⁰ A.W.H. Eaton, "The Deering or Dering Family of Boston, Massachusetts, and Shelter Island, New York." N.Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record, LII (1921), p. 49.

¹¹ A.R. Forrest, The Pedigree of the Forrest, Lowther, and Monk Families (Derby: A. Johnson, 1864)

James Monk Senior in England

In a post-script to a "Memorandum Book" kept by James Monk's father and namesake, it is stated that the father was "Born in Wales in Great Britain, Educated at Eaton Collidge"¹² and "Came very Young to Boston".¹³ The same text also indicates that the Elder Monk arrived at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1749, and died there suddenly 6 May 1768, at the age of fifty-one.

Data abstracted from various other documents confirm the validity of the information in this post-script. The earliest is provided by the archives of Eton College, where in 1728 James Monke [sic] was registered as a King's Scholar, i.e. as a foundation scholar who received a free education.¹⁴ The award of this scholarship to Monk might indicate that his British ancestry was quite well-connected. His father would not necessarily have been poor, or even an old Etonian himself, but he would have had to be English.¹⁵ The curriculum at the College usually lasted for five to six

¹² Direct quotations taken from eighteenth-century documents contain archaic and nonstandard wording which has been reproduced verbatim, without further comments.

¹³ PANS, Microbiography, Monk, James - 1768, age 51. Memorandum Book 1749-1768.

¹⁴ R.A. Austen-Leigh, The Eton College Register, 1698-1752, alphabetically arranged and edited with biographical notes (Eton: 1927) 237.

¹⁵ Letter, Penny Hatfield, Eton College Archivist, to W. Stier, 12 June 1989.

years.¹⁶ "James Monke" was recorded as having left Eton in 1731, and therefore never completed his course of studies.¹⁷ In addition to these school records, Eton College holds a copy of a baptismal certificate of "James, son of George and Elizabeth Monke, baptized June fourteenth, 1717 at St. Margaret's Lothbury" in the City of London.¹⁸ Although the surname is spelt differently from that of the Monks in North America, where there is no final e, the year of baptism, 1717, which was probably the year of birth as well, can safely be taken as referring to James Monke/Monk.

Concerning a possible Welsh provenance of the Monke/Monk family there is only the evidence given in the "Memorandum Book". It is, nevertheless, probable that James Monk Sr. was born in Wales, a possible reason being that Wales was his mother's homeland. In other records London is stated to be his place of origin. Since the descendency of the male side often takes priority, it is likely that the father was a Londoner. That would explain why Monk is always said to have come from London, in the records kept in Boston, in letters and in genealogical notes.¹⁹ A Welsh background would also run counter to the Eton stipulation that the father of a

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ PANS, MG 100, vol. 191, no. 7-7a. Letter, Jeremy Potter, Deputy Keeper of Eton College Collections to Mrs. Barbara Christie, Halifax, N.S., 5 April 1973.

¹⁸ Austen-Leigh, p. 237.

¹⁹ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19.

King's Scholar must be English. Thus, until 1731 at least, the little information that is extant points towards an English background and upbringing for James Monk Senior.

James Monk Senior in New England.

When, why and with whom James Monk Sr. took passage to the North American colonies remains undisclosed. However, he must have arrived in Massachusetts, after leaving Eton in 1731, and some time before 15 September 1736, when a sheriff's writ was issued against him in Boston as a merchant.²⁰ At that time the nineteen-year-old Monk apparently lacked ready money since the sheriff, in pursuance of a court order for about twenty pounds, attached a handkerchief of Monk's which was "shown by the defendant to be his estate."²¹ Some months later Monk's situation improved and he paid his debts in full.²²

The next relevant entry in the Boston records, dated 31 January 1739/40, makes it known that a Boston merchant and his wife gave a deed to Samuel Wentworth and James Monk "both of Boston, aforesaid merchants".²³ Apart from the chronological data, the information that Monk and Samuel Wentworth were partners is illuminating. It bears witness to

²⁰ Eaton, p. 47

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., from Boston Deeds.

Monk's early connexion with the prominent New England family of Wentworths -- and later also with the English branch²⁴ -- who were part of the colonial merchantocracy. One leading family member was Sir John Wentworth [1737-1820], who became Governor of New Hampshire, a noted Loyalist and Surveyor General for North America, and later Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia,²⁵ where he undertook the building of the neo-Palladian residence, Government House [1800-1805]. Moreover, Monk eventually married into this clannish family, and his decendants became frequent visitors at the Bedford Basin and Halifax residences of the Wentworths after they were established in Nova Scotia.

It is possible that it was Monk's business partner Samuel Wentworth who had arranged his marriage to the sixteen-year-old Anne Dering,²⁶ in Boston on 20 January 1740/41.²⁷ Anne was born in that town on 6 October 1724, as the third daughter of Henry Dering and Elizabeth Packer, and

²⁴ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Paul Wentworth, a kinsman and English agent for the American Wentworths, was one of the witnesses at the marriage between James Monk's son, George Henry, and Samuel Wentworth's granddaughter, Elizabeth Gould, which took place on 14 December 1782 at the church of Saint-Martin-in-the-Fields in London.

²⁵ Judith Fingard, "Wentworth, Sir John" DCB, vol. 5, (1983), p. 849.

²⁶ The traditional way to spell Dering was with one e, but some of Anne's siblings and the following generations in North America wrote the name with a double e, Deering.

²⁷ Eaton, p. 47.

was Samuel's sister-in-law.²⁸ In the union with James Monk, she gave birth to at least ten children, and died a widow at the age of sixty-five on 25 November 1789, in Windsor, Nova Scotia.²⁹

Anne's family, the Derings or Deerings, were merchants of conspicuous social importance in pre-Revolutionary Boston. Among many other ventures her father Henry, together with Col. Daniel Henchman, Gillam Phillips, Benjamin Faneuil and Thomas Hancock, had received the exclusive right to manufacture paper, through an act passed in the General Court at Boston in 1728.³⁰ The mill, built at Milton, Mass. appears to have been the first in the Colony.³¹ The Derings or Deerings, moreover, were indeed the same family from which came Frances Deering Wentworth. She was the cousin and wife of Sir John Wentworth in Nova Scotia,³² the daughter of Elizabeth Deering and Samuel Wentworth, and thus the niece of Anne Dering Monk. Later she also became an Aunt to James Monk's grand-children, after his son George Henry [George or Harry] married her niece Elizabeth Gould, a grand-daughter of Samuel Wentworth.³³

²⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

²⁹ The Nova Scotia Magazine, November 1789, p. 400.

³⁰ Eaton, p. 44.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Fingard, p. 848.

³³ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19.

At the time of his marriage, and later in 1743, James Monk, besides being a merchant, also held a post as a constable according to the Boston Town Records.³⁴ A constable was an officer of the peace, and this is the first indication of Monk having some qualifications -- other than family connexions -- for holding legal office. It is not known if and or he studied law, but there is evidence that he had some basic training, as there exists what seems to be an autograph note-book filled with neatly copied law cases. Inside its parchment covers is a written note indicating that it was begun on 20 December 1735.³⁵ Monk was eighteen years old at that time, and the notes were commenced almost a year before the incident of the handkerchief, and thus four years prior to his first appointment as constable.

The first issue recorded in the marriage of Anne and James Monk was a son, Samuel -- Samuel Wentworth was one of the godfathers³⁶ -- who was baptized in King's Chapel, Boston, on 11 June 1742. This child probably died in infancy, since there is no further mention of him. On 8 August 1744,

³⁴ Eaton, p. 47.

³⁵ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Monk Family Papers.

³⁶ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. In these notes is also mentioned Samuel Monk's godmother, Miss Elizabeth Monk, concerning whom a later hand has added the notation "his Aunt." From this it might be inferred that James Monk had an unmarried sister in Boston. He also seems to have had a brother. At the baptism of James and Anne Monk's eighth child, Robert, in Halifax, N.S. on 1 July 1756, one of the godfathers was "Uncle Charles Monk."

the Monks baptized a daughter, Anne, in Boston. She grew up in Halifax and Windsor, Nova Scotia, becoming the second wife of a Swiss Huguenot, George Deschamps, who was a magistrate, registrar of probate, and businessman of Windsor, N.S.³⁷ In the church records for September 1776 at Windsor, Mrs Anne Deschamps was listed as one of the godmothers of Elizabeth Anne [Eliza or Liza]. Elizabeth was the daughter of one of Anne's younger brothers, George Henry and his wife Elizabeth [Betsy or Eliza] Gould,³⁸ and she became the sole heiress to another of Anne's brothers, Sir James Monk.

James Monk Senior at Louisbourg

In the year following the birth of his daughter Anne, James Monk Sr. made another bid to advance himself to an office of profit. In a letter dated 22 June 1745, addressed to Sir William Pepperrell from the Governor of Massachusetts, William Shirley, the latter wrote: "I must recommend to your favour and protection Mr. Monk, Mr. Dering's son-in-law, who

³⁷ PANS, MG 100, vol. 191, no. 6-6e. G. V. Shand: Typed Notes. Shand's notes on the Nova Scotian Monks are of a semi-private character, and not fully researched, but some of his information remains valuable.

³⁸ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Elizabeth Gould was the daughter of John Gould and his wife Elizabeth Wentworth in Boston. Elisabeth Wentworth was the daughter of Samuel Wentworth and his wife Elizabeth Deering, daughter of Henry Dering and his wife Elizabeth Packer. In short, Elizabeth Gould was the granddaughter of Samuel Wentworth and cousin to the Monks, Deerings and Wentworths.

carries an Aide du [sic] Camp's commission in his pocket."³⁹ The commission had been given to Monk on 10 June.⁴⁰ In all probability, therefore, he took part in the siege of Louisbourg, and may have been present there at the French capitulation on 28 June.⁴¹

James Monk's departure for Louisbourg might have been caused by his being "unfortunate in Trade & oppressed by his Creditors."⁴² Between 1734 and 1740 Boston's shipbuilding, fishing, distilling and related trades had declined by 66 per cent,⁴³ and the town had entered on an economic depression which lasted for decades. That Monk fell upon hard times and lacked funds as a Boston shop-keeper was made apparent in November 1745, when an execution was ordered on his trustees, by several creditors. A similar writ was issued in September 1746, according to the Boston Town Records, and at that time the names of the trustees were different.⁴⁴ If Monk had expected to be able to satisfy his creditors in 1745, this expectation might have come to nought by July

³⁹ "The Pepperrell Papers," Mass. Hist. Soc. Collection, 6th ser., X (1899), p. 288.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Monk, James" DCB, vol. 3 (1974), p. 457.

⁴² PANS Microbiography - James Monk's "Memorandum Book."

⁴³ G.B. Warden, Boston 1689-1776 (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1970) 103.

⁴⁴ Eaton, p. 48.

1746, when Monk lost £500 as creditor to the estate of an insolvent, Benjamin Gerrish.⁴⁵

It is proposed in the DCB that Monk may have remained in Louisbourg during the English occupation from 1745 to 1749.⁴⁶ This would mean that Monk was accompanied by his family at the fortified town. If that were the case they must have left Louisbourg on at least two occasions; first for the baptism of James [Jemme] on 26 March, or 1 April 1746, at King's Chapel in Boston.⁴⁷ Then, some years later, Monk and his wife must have travelled to Norwalk, Connecticut, where George Henry was born on 14 August, and christened in October of 1748.⁴⁸ However, similar displacements of families with infants would be contrary to practice. Instead, it seems more

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ DCB, vol. 3, p. 457.

⁴⁷ Regarding James Junior's day of baptism the family papers give the March date, yet Eaton says that it took place on the first of April according to King's Chapel's records. Unfortunately these records have not been available for necessary verification of the data given by Eaton who at times is unreliable. For example he does not separate Old Style/New Style; he states that George Henry was baptized at King's Chapel some time in 1748, family sources give New Hampshire as place of birth and baptism, with an exact date; nor does he ever mention that the wooden King's Chapel, built in 1688, was replaced in 1750 by Peter Harrison's stone structure. The years of construction undoubtedly forced the Anglican congregation to hold services elsewhere, and this might be one explanation for confused recording.

⁴⁸ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. This information comes from handwritten notes, and which also indicate that one of the godfathers was Samuel Wentworth. The godmother was Mary Gooch, an older sister of Anne Dering Monk (A.W.H. Eaton, p. 46).

likely that the father left the family behind, and travelled alone, privately and perhaps on an official mission. If the recorded date of birth of James Jr., 9 March 1745/46,⁴⁹ is correct, he could have been conceived just before the siege of Louisbourg, and Monk might have been absent from Boston for about ten months.

George Henry's appearance in the records in 1748 indicates the father's presence in Massachusetts, or Connecticut, the previous year. Then again, this suggestion is conventional; the Georgian aristocracy, at home and in the Colonies, could have quite unconventional relationships. The liaison in Halifax for example, in the 1780s between Frances Wentworth and Prince William Henry bears witness to this.⁵⁰ So does the acceptance of the illegitimate son of George Henry Monk, Henry George Windsor, whom Elizabeth Anne called "my half-brother and a most worthy and deserving person" in her will of 1838.⁵¹ In this, her last will and testament, she also bequeathed Monkland,⁵² her Uncle's Monkville in Montreal, which she had inherited, to Henry George's son, George Henry Windsor upon the condition that he took her

⁴⁹ Lambert, p. 581.

⁵⁰ Fingard, p. 849.

⁵¹ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19.

⁵² After Sir James Monk's demise, "Monk Ville" was referred to as "Monkland," and later often as "Monklands." The Board of Works, later the Department of Public Works, seems to be the first to write "Monklands."

husband's surname: Aubrey.⁵³

The Portraits of James Monk, Senior and Junior

Such a striking physical dissimilarity appears to have existed between the Monk brothers James and George Henry, that it resulted in a royal trope. In a draft for a letter to James Jr., dated Halifax 23 March 1795, George Henry relates a conversation in French, held at the Wentworths', among Prince Edward, Mme de Saint-Laurent [his mistress, Thérèse-Bernadine Mongenet] and the writer. The talk was of the prince's wish to rent James's house at Quebec in case he would be stationed again in that city, and a remark was made about "our respecting family etc., the cause of such vast difference in size between you and me" and then, G.H. Monk added in brackets how "he [Prince Edward] often diverts himself with my Falstaff appearance."⁵⁴

No likeness of George Henry to illustrate his Falstaffian features, has been found, but there exists a fine, undated miniature portrait of James Monk Jr.⁵⁵ It is a small painting in oils on ivory by an unidentified

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ PANS, MG 23, G 11, 19.

⁵⁵ McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal, M22340, portrait miniature of James Monk, measuring 79x61mm.

artist⁵⁶ showing the bust of Monk in three-quarter view. The image is realistic in the classical tradition and could represent any citizen of good standing, ancient or contemporary, were it not for the historical dimension of fashion and medium which gives it a specific date (fig. 1).

The miniature is firmly placed in the early nineteenth century by Monk's garment. It is a plain, well-tailored, navy-blue dresscoat where the cut of the collar indicates a terminus post quem of 1804.⁵⁷ The sleeves of the coat seem to be à l'imbécile, wide at the shoulder and tight at the wrist,⁵⁸ and this style could advance the date of execution of the painting as far as the decade 1810 to 1819.⁵⁹

Unfortunately, the authenticity of this portrait cannot be established. No other image of Monk, has been located for comparison. Yet, in this image James Monk has no Falstaffian physiognomy. On the contrary, the miniature rendering shows a face with high cheekbones, a prominent jaw and a thin, rather small but well-shaped mouth. His aquiline nose appears long; level, large eyes, the left a little more closed than the right, gaze coolly out of deep-set sockets. Combativeness

⁵⁶ Donald Blake Webster with M.S. Cross and I. Szylinger, Georgian Canada, Conflict and Culture 1745-1820 (Toronto: The Royal Ontario Museum, 1984) 204.

⁵⁷ Carl Koehler, A History of Costume (Dover: 1963) 378-79.

⁵⁸ François Boucher, 20,000 Years of Fashion (New York: Abrams, Inc. n.d.) 369.

⁵⁹ Koehler, pp. 388-89.

might be suggested, even some austerity, but there is nothing jolly, round or soft here. The fluffy red-blond curls, which rather romantically frame much of his face are in a style contemporary with the dress. This fashionable coiffure crowning Monk's stern appearance, betrays a certain vanity; some fine horizontal lines cutting across the forehead add an intellectual dimension of pensiveness. These lines, furthermore, are the only indication of maturity and of advancing age.

This miniature could very well have been executed by an English hand in the Colonies, as suggested, rather than be of English provenance.⁶⁰ In judging the date of execution by the style of dress, the costume is too recent to have been in fashion during Monk's stay in England 1789-92.⁶¹ His next passage to that country, from which he never returned, did not take place until 1820,⁶² when he was seventy-five years old. The resemblance then, of this image to the model is impossible to assess. Should it bear any likeness to James Monk in his sixties, it must have been flattering indeed.

James Monk Sr. also had himself portrayed. The 91,4x71,1cm oil on canvas, kept in a private collection, was executed by John Wollaston during his stay in the North

⁶⁰ Webster et al., p. 204.

⁶¹ Lambert, p. 513.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 513-14.

American colonies,⁶³ it is a similar example of artfully complimentary portraiture (fig. 2). The figure is shown in three-quarter length. Monk's stance is erect, and he holds a gold-laced cocked hat under his left arm, with his right hand tucked into the waistcoat. The wig-framed face is oval; the jaws are more accentuated than the chin, and the nose is straight. The only feature of character is the mouth with its thin overlip and full "Habsburg" underlip which might imply stubbornness. Monk looks quite young for his approximately thirty-five years at the time. The artistic licence taken in this portrayal makes it hard to see any likenesses between the elder and the younger Monk. That there really is a relationship, finally, is established from inscriptions.

The portrait of Monk Sr. is another indication that he visited the American colonies after Louisbourg, since Wollaston arrived in New York no earlier than 1749.⁶⁴ This was the same year in which Halifax was founded, and there is a conceivable connexion between Monk's establishment in that town and the portrait. The date of the portrait is given as "1773" in Georgian Canada.⁶⁵ Wollaston stayed barely a decade in the Colonies,⁶⁶ and hence this would indicate

⁶³ Webster et al., p. 96.

⁶⁴ Grace Wallace, Dictionary of Artists in America 1564 to 1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957) 698.

⁶⁵ Webster et al., p. 96.

⁶⁶ Wallace, p. 698.

that the missing figure is 5 and that the year of execution of the painting was 1753.

James Monk Senior in Nova Scotia

James Monk Sr. had officially settled in Nova Scotia in 1749, and in September of that year a warrant was granted to him "to be assistant Surveyor of the lands within this Province".⁶⁷ The art of surveying was part of a gentleman's educational curriculum; Thomas Jefferson [1743-1826] and the Rev. Jérôme Demers [1774-1853], who in the United States and Lower Canada respectively, were instrumental in spreading the taste for formal architecture, were both trained in surveying. For colonials, land-measuring skills were no mere matter of dilettante interest, but rather a necessity. This is borne out by the 1789 report on education in the Province of Quebec which called for free parochial primary schools, and a system of free county secondary schools whose curriculum would include surveying.⁶⁸

One of the professional perquisites of a good surveyor was the possibility of securing prime lands in the course of

⁶⁷ PANS, RG 1, vol. 164. Commission Book of Nova Scotia 1749-1766, p. 33, 25 September 1749.

⁶⁸ Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, rev. ed. 1968) 85. It is interesting to note, that in the times of the Enlightenment, the project for a parochial school system was unanimously supported by the Council, leading French Canadians included. The Catholic and Protestant bishops opposed it, and Whitehall deferred it indefinitely.

his work, and it cannot be a mere coincidence that, for instance Peter Jefferson, the father of Thomas Jefferson,⁶⁹ as well as John Wentworth and James Monk Sr., sought and received offices as surveyors. Surveying expertise coupled with legal appointments often paved the way to financial advancement. Thus by 1753, the date suggested for the execution of the portrait, the Elder Monk ought to have been a citizen of considerable means.

In December 1750 he had been appointed a justice of the peace. In January 1750/51 he was made "Marschall and Serjeant of Mace of His Majesty's Court of Vice Admiralty in Nova Scotia." In March 1752 he became a Justice in the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the Town and County of Halifax.⁷⁰ He had also received land grants, like other settlers, and the Debtors' Act of February 1750/51, "that godsend to sundry Nova Scotians" freed Monk from debts contracted in England or in any of her colonies, prior to the establishment of the city of Halifax.⁷¹

A census taken in Halifax in July 1752, finds James Monk living in the South Suburbs. He was the head of a household of eight persons, consisting of one male and one female above the age of sixteen, and two males and four females under

⁶⁹ Adams, ed., p. xxxvi.

⁷⁰ PANS, RG 1, vol. 164. Commission Book of Nova Scotia 1749-1766, pp. 48, 58 and 73 resp.

⁷¹ John Bartlet Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia (New York: Russel and Russel, 1970) 75.

sixteen.⁷² These numbers and the distribution of the sexes of the minors do not tally with the baptisms recorded in Boston. According to the records of King's Chapel, the naming of only one daughter, the Anne mentioned above, was registered before 1752. After her came three sons, James Junior, George Henry, and Thomas. The latter was baptized 28 February 1749/50, and little else is known of him.⁷³ A daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized in mid-October, 1751 in Halifax, and she also seems to have died an infant.⁷⁴ From this it might be inferred that the earlier-mentioned Samuel, Thomas, and possibly Elizabeth were no longer alive when the census was taken. But what about the four minor females? Did the Monks have two or three young resident maid-servants? Another possibility is that the census figures are unreliable. The information that James Monk Sr. lived in the South Suburbs of Halifax in 1752 is all that seems certain; that he headed his own family remains an assumption.

A fifth son, Charles, was born in Boston to James and

⁷² T.B. Akins, History of Halifax (Halifax: Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1895) 252.

⁷³ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Here it reads that Thomas was born in Boston on the first of February, and christened 28 February 1749/50. A.W.H. Eaton (p. 49), says that the baptism took place in King's Chapel on 21 February 1749. To the manuscript is added a note that Thomas died at Boston, New England, when a school boy.

⁷⁴ Ibid. The script is not fully legible, but the names of the godparents and the officiating clergyman differ from those of the other children, so it may have been a question of an emergency baptism.

Anne Monk on 24 October 1753. He was christened there in the King's Chapel on 12 December of the same year, and presumably with at least one of his parents in attendance. Charles was the last of Monk's offspring to be born and baptized in Boston. Three more children were born and baptized between 1753 and 1759, all in Nova Scotia.

Outside of Boston, the Monks had relatives in Connecticut and Philadelphia with whom they corresponded and met several times. It is therefore conceivable that Monk Sr. was absent on a visit in the South at the time of Charles's baptism and concurrently had his portrait made by Wollaston who may have worked in Philadelphia at times as well.⁷⁵ Naturally the painting could have been made in New York, as suggested in Georgian Canada⁷⁶ but it is nowhere documented that James Monk ever was in that city.

Halifax had until 1753 been good to Monk. It enabled him to settle his old debts, and it assured him of official status by making him a Judge in the Court of Common Pleas, as well as a landed gentleman. He prospered, and his family grew. Under these circumstances, as a symbol of personal achievement, it was customary to have a portrait executed. The opportunity for the realisation of such a project could have arisen at the time of little Charles's baptism. With a stubborn expression on his otherwise young, unlined face, and

⁷⁵ Webster et al., p. 219.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 96.

dressed for the occasion, James Monk Esq. was depicted by Wollaston.

From early on, the elder Monk's efforts to prosper in Nova Scotia seem to have been marred by accusations, litigations, and chaotic financial conditions, in spite of Government appointments and access to generous land allotments. In connexion with what Brebner refers to as the "Windsor land grab" for example, when some fifty grantees received over 60,000 acres of confiscated Acadian lands in the Piziquid [now Avon] River area, James Monk felt that he had been discriminated against.⁷⁷ He wrote a secret report about this to the Board of Trade in London in November 1762, which had little effect. All it achieved was the allowance of a small salary in recompense for his services. This should not have come as a surprise to Monk. He could hardly have been fully unprejudiced in the matter, as he had been Solicitor General since 1760, until then without a regular salary and with a few axes to grind.⁷⁸

The Minutes of the Council held at the governor's house in Halifax, in April 1753, reveal some of Monk's earlier manipulations.⁷⁹ In complaints against Otis Little, the King's Attorney and Advocate of the Admiralty, who had forcibly taken away land from a Thomas Power, the latter

⁷⁷ Brebner, p. 36.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ PANS, MG 1, vol. 3006, no. 2.

turned to Monk for counsel, only to be told "that he was not intitled to a Lot as he was a Roman Catholick."⁸⁰ Monk had also intimidated Power's wife and made her believe that she had better sell her house and lot to him for £300, rather than run the risk of having it forfeited by the King in case her husband was hanged for charges of alleged piracy.⁸¹ Eventually, the Council responded to the complaints by dismissing Otis Little. Monk was exonerated, but the Council reprimanded him for showing a character unworthy of a Magistrate.⁸² They warned him that this was not the first time he had been suspected of bad behaviour, and in the event of any recurrence he would be dismissed. The final remarks in these minutes are not only typical of the times, but quite revealing of Monk who was "to be informed that the Quere contained in his answer to the Governor and Council, whether he is not a Judge by Inheritance, and cannot be removed, is

⁸⁰ Religious and other freedoms were curtailed for Roman Catholics in Nova Scotia after the expulsion, in 1755, of the Acadians, who had refused to swear the oath of allegiance to the British King, on religious grounds. A law passed in the Colony, in 1758, excluded Roman Catholics from the House of Representatives and from owning land. In 1779 a Catholic Relief Act was passed in England, and finally in 1784 a bill of religious freedom was ratified, so that the Nova Scotia Catholics could acquire land and build churches. From: A. Duffus, E. MacFarlane, E. Pacey and G. Rogers, Thy Dwelling Fair, Churches of Nova Scotia 1750-1830 (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press 1982) 153.

⁸¹ PANS, MG 1, vol. 3006, no. 2.

⁸² PANS, MG 1, Council Records, 7 April 1753.

impertinent and absurd".⁸³

Yet these were rather empty threats. In Nova Scotia, as was the case throughout the Western world at the time, justice was a matter of class. Indeed, it should be remembered that even when the Council was supplanted in 1754 by a Supreme Court, only the Chief Justice, and to some degree the Attorney General and the Solicitor General had any formal legal training. All the other dispensers of justice were judicial amateurs⁸⁴ and rarely hesitated to use their power for personal gain.

That justice was determined by considerations of social standing was made manifest by Monk's appointment as Solicitor General in 1760, and by the fact that in the previous year, as he claimed, he had been forced to sell his Asssistant Surveyor's office to the son of the Surveyor General, Charles Morris.⁸⁵ Moreover, contrary to Monk's own assertions, he had not been denied valuable shares in land allotments. By 1765 Monk had acquired two lots of 400 acres in the Townships of Halifax, and about 20,000 acres in and near Windsor, half of it in his own name, and half in the name of other family members.⁸⁶

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Brebner, p. 211.

⁸⁵ Blakeley, p. 457.

⁸⁶ PANS, MG 100, vol. 191, no. 6-6e. G.V. Shand: Typed notes. Shand has verified the grants at the Land Grant Office of the Nova Scotia Government in Halifax.

James Monk Senior and Monkville, Nova Scotia

In most cases, these land allotments were tax-free for ten years, and had to be cultivated within thirty years. That Monk Sr. was not merely a greedy land speculator, but also had some honourable intentions, is evidenced by his interest in agriculture. In 1757 Monk wrote to Jared Eliot, a clergyman and well-known amateur agronomist in New England, who had published essays on field-husbandry, and thanked him for a letter and some of the essays.⁸⁷ Apparently Monk had been asked to contribute to Eliot's writings but declined, as he was "much crowded with other business."⁸⁸ Yet this did not restrain Monk from asking Eliot's counsel regarding the effects of salt spray on vegetation, or for further suggesting that they contrast the winters of Nova Scotia with those of New England, by measuring how deep the frost penetrated into the ground.⁸⁹

The inventory made at Monkville, Nova Scotia, after James Monk's sudden death in 1768, also bears witness to his interest in agriculture, in its classical and philosophical aspects, as well as the practical. In the library among some twenty titles of history, and classical authors such as Homer, Horace and Pliny, were William Durham's Physico

⁸⁷ Jared Eliot, Essays upon Field-Husbandry in New England, As it may be Ordered (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1760, reprint New York: AMS Press, 1967) 235-7.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 235.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 237.

Theology [1712], and William Wollaston's The religion of Nature Delineated [1724] together with The Art of Measuring Land, Virgilian Husbandry (borrowed from a neighbour), Duhamel on Husbandry, Elements of Agriculture and The Manner of Raising Forest Trees.⁹⁰

By 1767 Monk had left Halifax and withdrawn to his country home "Monk Ville" at Windsor, "where he lived near a Year in continual Misery," to quote the "Memorandum Book." The misery was probably caused as much by creditors as by the difficulties of amateur husbandry. According to the inventory Monkville was a rather well-equipped Georgian estate on a modest scale. It had a sizable quantity of farm implements, a stock of cattle large enough to keep the house-hold self-sufficient, and twelve servants.⁹¹ The house contained quite a variety of kitchen utensils, crockery, china, glass, pewter, silver and linen. Among the furniture there was a four-post bedstead, several other beds, four valuable featherbeds and pillows, a backgammon table, nine chairs, and a desk and table made of mahogany.⁹² The mahogany pieces, at least, were most probably importations from Boston or Philadelphia, where West Indian mahogany would have been available.

Interestingly enough the inventory does mention two

⁹⁰ PANS, RG 48, The Estate of the late James Monk Esq.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

pictures, and they may have been portraits of Monk and possibly his wife Anne. Among the chattels were also personal items such as a pewter ink-stand, a seal and a sand-box, penknives, snuff boxes, two ear-trumpets and four pairs of spectacles. Monk's personal wardrobe was quite limited, and some clothes could therefore have been kept aside from the inventory. The situation might have been the same in respect to the absence of legal text-books excepting the one title, Messages at the Court of England 1717.

Exactly how the elder James Monk acquired the Monkville estate in Nova Scotia remains a conundrum. It seems that he was owed money by some Halifax merchants and that as a portion of the repayment on 30 November 1766, Monk seized in fee "a certain Tract of Land called and known by the name of Monk Ville situated in the Fork of the River Piziquid."⁹³ This was number six and part of number seven of the so called

⁹³ PANS, MG 100, vol. 191. Information found in Bundle No. 35. In Chancery: "Answer of Anne Monk the Widow of James Monk deceased etc. Defendant. To the Bill of Complaint of James Monk Esq. Complainant, filed by the Register November 22nd, 1775". What exactly this dispute was about is not clear, but it could have been some mortgage on Monkville. In a letter dated 29 May 1778 James wrote that he had remitted money to George Henry which he could use for paying his bills "or any other necessities" he might have, "and more particularly so, should there be need and occasion to discharge any part or the whole of the Mortgage on Monk Ville, to the late B. Gerrish." James Monk had been the executor of his father's will, and the family might have objected to some early measures he took in discharging the debts of the insolvent estate. In March of 1776 the matter was settled, however, and a Writ of Habere Facias from the Court of Chancery in Halifax gave James Monk possession of the Monkville estate and house.

Justices' Lands [confiscated Acadian land], which the British Crown had redistributed.⁹⁴ The property contained about 200 acres of improved lands and about 1.700 acres of forest and unimproved lands.

The physical aspects of the dwelling house are unknown. From the notes in the "Memorandum Book" it seems that Monk was involved in some building activity after 1765. Although there is no evidence to indicate whether this was new construction, or, what is more likely, only maintenance work on an existing structure. If the inventory accurately reflects the contents of the building, it could have had four to six rooms. The house would very likely have been a sturdy wooden frame structure, like its New England counterparts, a rectangular mass with a central chimney-stack. It might have had a gambrel roof which allowed more head-room in the attic storey, and it could have had a three-room attachment at the back and be of the "salt-box" type.⁹⁵ Several examples of this type of building, dating from the 1750s onwards, are still to be found in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia.⁹⁶

Considering the date of construction, there is another remote possibility that the house at Monkville, N.S. was in

⁹⁴ PANS, RG 20 'C', vol. 34. From part of an old annotated map, signed M. Morrison, Depy. Surv. Watermark on paper is dated 1813.

⁹⁵ Elizabeth Pacey, Georgian Halifax (Hantsport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1987) 103-4.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

the neo-Palladian style. It could then have been similar to the late eighteenth-, or early nineteenth-century wooden villas with lateral extensions of Chief Justice Salter Sampson Blower's [1741/42-1842] in the same neighbourhood,⁹⁷ and Chief Justice Ludlow's on the River St. John in New Brunswick,⁹⁸ or like the stone pile at Monkville in Lower Canada (figs. 3, 4, 5).

These Palladian villas have been depicted by George Heriot [1759-1839], and all belonged to Chief Justices. From this, there is some reason to conclude that it was the fashion among British North Americans in high positions of the legal profession to build Palladian country homes. The structures and their decorations were humble and plain by comparison with their European prototypes, and other villas in the thirteen colonies, but the style nevertheless remained the symbol of the educated, governing and monied class.

Culture and the Legal Profession in the 1700's

Law and culture in the Colonies were closely related in the second half of the eighteenth century, and a small, but

⁹⁷ NAC, C-12730, George Heriot, watercolour over graphite, 130x184 mm, with autograph inscription: Chief Justice Blower's Seat near Windsor, N.S.; Drawn of the Spot by Geo. Heriot, 22 June 1807.

⁹⁸ Gerald Finley, George Heriot, Postmaster-Painter of the Canadas, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983)128. In the drawing, which belongs to Royal Ontario Museum, Ludlow's house has a red roof [painted shingles?] and it was coloured yellow in imitation of neo-Palladian stone, and Palladian stucco façades. The media are watercolour and graphite, and the size is 336x489mm.

influential group of professional lawyers often were the arbiters of contemporary culture. Their authority went beyond more abstract notions of morale and beauty to encompass concrete involvement in architectural design, and landscape gardening as well. The versatility and the range of interests of the profession is well-known, from Thomas Jefferson [1743-1826] in Virginia and Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell [1766-1839] in Quebec City. Inspiring them was perhaps Henry Home, Lord Kames [1696-1782]. He was a major figure in the law courts of Edinburgh and a Scottish man of letters, with whom Benjamin Franklin and other contemporary notables corresponded and visited.⁹⁹

Kames¹⁰⁰ published works on a wide variety of subjects ranging from the philosophy of law through criticism and aesthetics, to gentleman farming and education. His most widely read publication was Elements of Criticism, which appeared in 1762. Like several other Kamesian writings it contained a good portion of didacticism, in that it offered practical suggestions for the development and refinement of taste to an increasing, and culturally conscious middle-class,

⁹⁹ Arthur E. McGuinness, Henry Home, Lord Kames (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970) 14.

¹⁰⁰ Lord Kames was the judiciary title Henry Home took as a Lord-in-Ordinary of the Court of Session at Edinburgh in 1752. His critical writings were published under the name of Henry Home, yet he is mostly referred to today as Lord Kames. Earlier versions of the name were Keams or Kaimes. In this context it can also be mentioned that Home and Hume are related families.

and it had a far greater initial popularity than David Hume's seminal Treatise of Human Nature [1739].¹⁰¹ The Judge's two-volume work went through six English editions before his death in 1782. Elements had been translated into German in 1763, and Home's critical writing influenced the aesthetic theories of Lessing, Herder and Schiller.¹⁰²

In America, Kames's Elements had more than thirty editions. It remained standard reading for students of rhetoric beyond the 1850's.¹⁰³ For a century, therefore, the Kamesian ideals of the social purpose of the arts, including architecture and gardening, and the judicial function of the critic, was kept alive.¹⁰⁴ In Thomas Jefferson's library catalogue of 1815, most of Kames's writings are represented. Moreover, Jefferson recalled Kames in a letter in which he listed gardening as "a 7th fine art" arguing that it was "allied to landscape painting."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ McGuinness, p. 26.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁰⁴ Ian Simpson Ross, Lord Kames and the Scotland of His Day (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 289.

¹⁰⁵ William Howard Adams, Jefferson's Monticello (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983) 168. -- "Gardening was first an useful art: in the garden of Alcinous, described by Homer, we find nothing done for pleasure merely. But gardening is now improved to a fine art;..." wrote Kames, later adding: "It requires indeed more genius to paint in the gardening way:..." Henry Home Elements of Criticism (Edinburgh: John Bell and William Creech, sixth edition, 1785, reprinted New York: Garland Publishers Inc., 1972) 2:430 and 437.

That Kames was known and available in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces as well, is attested to by the inclusion of "Kames Sketches" [Sketches of the History of Man, 1774] in the inventory of the estate of the late Benjamin Frobisher of Montreal in 1788.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, James Monk wrote to George Henry's wife, Elizabeth, from London in 1790, that "as a feeble instrument" in her work of rearing her children he presents her with some books.¹⁰⁷ Among the titles were Thomas Sheridan's Art of Reading, and Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments [1759, sixth edition 1790]. Sheridan would give the children "a Correctness and energy to their speach, which is of the utmost importance in the arrangement and Communication of Ideas." Smith would afford lessons to the children's "patterns of conduct, guided by invariable maxims of acting from deliberate Reason, and to the constant attention to the Consequenses of those actions."¹⁰⁸ "I shall add," Monk also said, "Lord Keams on Criticism, at a future date."¹⁰⁹

In his critical writings, Henry Home was influenced by the doctrine of moral sense as expressed by Shaftesbury and

¹⁰⁶ ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, N.P., 24 June 1788, Greffe no. 417.

¹⁰⁷ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Date, 28 July 1790.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Hutcheson.¹¹⁰ This was the doctrine of the intimate connexion between beauty and virtue, in which as a consequence moral philosophy played an important role in aesthetics.¹¹¹ Regarding gardening and architecture, which he considered to be at the same time useful as well as fine arts, he did not wish to lay down any rules for improving them in utility; "it being no part of my plan to treat of any useful art as such: but there is a beauty in utility; and in discoursing of beauty, that of utility must not be neglected."¹¹² The ruling principle in both arts ought to be simplicity.¹¹³

The gardens of William Kent [1685-1748], were the designs Kames preferred. He was, moreover, amongst the first to stress a psychological impact of nature:

"Gardening, beside the emotions of beauty from regularity, order, proportion, colour, and utility, can raise emotions of grandeur, of sweetness, of gaiety, of melancholy, of wildness, and even of surprise and wonder."¹¹⁴

... "It seems to me far from an exaggeration, that good professors are not more essential to a college, than a spacious garden sweetly ornamented, but without anything glaring or fantastic, so as upon the whole to inspire our youth with a taste no less for simplicity

¹¹⁰ McGuinness, p. 36.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Home, vol. 2, p. 431.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 434.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 432.

than for elegance."¹¹⁵

In North America this Kamesian sentiment seems to have been echoed again by Thomas Jefferson when designing the University of Virginia [1809-1826].

Kames's architectural preferences were predominantly Palladian. He considered that a building ought to correspond to its intentions¹¹⁶, and "have a certain character or expression suited to its destination."¹¹⁷ Bookish Palladianism was criticized in a pragmatical Kamesian fashion. Architectural form ought to be suited to climate,¹¹⁸ proportions of doors in dwelling-houses ought to correspond to the human size, and windows should be sufficiently large to convey light to every corner of the room.¹¹⁹ The steps of a stair, again, "ought to be accommodated to the human figure, without regarding any other proportion: they are accordingly the same in large and in small buildings, because [here speaks common sense] both are inhabited by men of the same size."¹²⁰ The purpose of both gardening and architecture was to inspire "a taste for neatness and elegance." Thus acquired, it would extend "by

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 454.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 455.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 433.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 459.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 456.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 457.

degrees to dress, and even behaviour and manners."¹²¹

Early Suburban Life in North America

In the British Crown Colonies of Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, some of the most influential judges and military officers seem to have been largely responsible for the introduction of the Palladian style in private, as well as official, architecture, which in Kamesian terms should both inspire and teach. These professionals were the product of the neo-Platonic philosophies of Shaftesbury and Kames, and well-read in Virgil, Horace and Pliny, whose cultured suburban life they wished to emulate. Those who could afford it, built houses in the country, furnished as urban dwellings, and surrounded by "natural" gardens. One of the earliest and most famous of these new Romans, or "Happy Men" in North America was of course Thomas Jefferson at Monticello.

The life of the "Happy Man" [beatus vir] as it was lived in the suburban villa of the eighteenth century, represented the end of European feudalism. To keep up an estate of this kind was costly for gentlemen farmers, and demanded much cheap labour in the form of slaves, serfs or servants. Bankruptcy, therefore, was not uncommon in the squirearchy. Jefferson had to sell his fine library to the Congress, in order to save Monticello, in spite of the fact that the villa

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 485.

was run entirely by slave labour. After his death, "Monticello ... with the Lands of the said estate adjacent thereto, including the Shadwell Mills" finally had to be sold, and the sale was "being made for the payment of the testator's debt."¹²²

Sixty years earlier, in December 1768, and on a smaller scale, there had been a similar situation in Nova Scotia. Monkville had to go under the hammer at a public auction to pay the debts of the testator, the Solicitor General, James Monk. The buyer was James Monk Junior, but he did not seem to get a Writ of Possession until some court procedures had cleared the way in 1776.¹²³

On 1 May, in the following year, he gave a Power of Attorney to his brother George Henry, the Honourable John Butler and John Fawson, Esqr., authorizing them to: "defend any Cause, matter or thing whatsoever, respecting my Real or Personal Estate in the Province of Nova Scotia."¹²⁴ In the same text he specifically mentioned Monkville, of which he had "granted and sold unto the said George Henry Monk one half part... under certain conditions and limitations etc."¹²⁵ In a marriage contract drawn up 13 September 1818

¹²² Richmond Enquirer, Offer for the sale of Monticello, 22 July 1828.

¹²³ PANS, MG 100, vol. 191, Bundle no. 35.

¹²⁴ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Monk Family Letters.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

for George Henry Junior and Jane Pangman, daughter of Peter Pangman, of Lachenaie by Montreal, finally, the Chief Justice gave his nephew grant "on all and every part of an Estate... in the Township of Windsor in Nova Scotia, called Monkville containing about Two Thousand, Two Hundred and Fifty acres of Land with all the buildings thereon..."¹²⁶ For many years prior to this grant of Monkville to his nephew, James Monk's letters reflected his concern for the administration of this estate in Nova Scotia, and after 1803 the references could easily be confused with another Monkville, his own construction in Montreal in Lower Canada.

James Monk Junior's Professional Career

After serving a regular clerkship with his father from September 1761 to September 1767, James Monk Jr. received his certification as Attorney-at-Law in Nova Scotia from the Attorney General William Nesbitt in 1768.¹²⁷ In 1770 James Monk went to London where he read law at the Inns of Court until April 1771, at which time he was called to the English

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ PANS, MG 100, vol. 191, no. 4. It is unclear whether James Jr. became certified as an Attorney before or after his father's death. The large parchment document is dated March 10, 1768, prior to the father's demise in May of the same year. Yet the text reads that James Monk served in regular clerkship "with his late Father James Monk, Deceased, his Majesty's Solicitor General...".

Bar from the Middle Temple.¹²⁸ After this, probably, and before his return to Nova Scotia, he married Elizabeth Adams, about whom little else is known than that she owned a fully equipped house, possibly on James Street in London's Chelsea.¹²⁹ The couple had no children, and Elizabeth Adams died in Montreal 19 December 1812.¹³⁰

Correspondence from the London years shows that Sir Clifton Wintringham [1710-1794], the Physician-in-Ordinary to King George III, was Monk's English patron,¹³¹ yet Monk had originally been a protégé of Joshua Mauger, member of the House of Commons, and the Board of Trade's official adviser on Nova Scotian Affairs.¹³² With these connexions, it is small wonder that Monk obtained not only a writ of mandamus

¹²⁸ W. Stewart Wallace, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada limited, at St Martin's House, 1926) 286.

¹²⁹ NAC, RG 23, G 11, 19. The suggestion for this address is found in a letter; N. Philipson to Elizabeth Adams Monk, London 23 February 1775, and a draft; Elizabeth Adams Monk to Mrs Tibbs, Halifax 4 January 1779.

¹³⁰ Anglican Diocese Records, Montreal. 22 December 1812 an obituary entry was made: "On the 19th Day of December 1812 Elizabeth the late wife of the Honourable James Monk one of the members of His Majesty's Executive Council in the Province of Lower Canada and Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench Died and was buried on the 22nd following." Witnesses were Chartier de Lotbinière, James Hughes, and it was signed by J. Mountain, Minister.

¹³¹ Barry Cahill, "James Monk's 'Observations on the Courts of Law in Nova Scotia', 1775" UNB Law Journal 36 (1987) 131, n. 3.

¹³² NAC, Dartmouth Papers 2708-09. Letter J. Mauger to J. Pownall, 9 December 1773.

to be Solicitor General, but also a promise from the Secretary of State, the Earl of Hillsborough, that he should succeed to the Office of Attorney General in Nova Scotia on the first vacancy.¹³³

Monk returned to Halifax in 1774, where he was to have only a brief career as Solicitor General and Acting Attorney General of Nova Scotia,¹³⁴ despite the recommendations of powerful patrons. In 1776 he was appointed Attorney General for the Province of Quebec, rather than for Nova Scotia, and this re-appointment by the colonial administration in London was at least partly due to political expedience. Monk's Nova Scotian tenure had been turbulent, especially in his investigations of deficiencies in the public accounts and the subsequent prosecution for the recovery of the missing funds.¹³⁵ The House of Assembly petitioned the King in Parliament for redress of grievances, asking "to be delivered from the Oppression of Practitioners in Law", i.e. the Solicitor General.¹³⁶ Monk's diligence had caused much bad blood in local political circles, and a quick change of his position probably was deemed to be the best means by which the Board of Trade could restore calm in the Colony.

¹³³ PANS, RG 1, vol. 347, no. 33. Mandamus signed by Hillborough, 31 July 1772.

¹³⁴ Lambert, p. 511.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Cahill, p. 134.

In May of 1777 James Monk was commissioned Attorney General at Quebec City.¹³⁷ About a decade later, he proved to be uncompromising once more. He was dismissed from Office in 1789, after acting in his private capacity as attorney for the colony's merchants in their opposition to a legal bill brought forward by the French party. This bill, intended to extend the use of civil law after the Coûtume de Paris, had been prompted by the arrival of the Loyalists, and by what the French party saw as a threat of anglicization.¹³⁸ In a six-and-a-half hour speech in the Legislative Council, thanks to which a compromise bill was passed,¹³⁹ Monk attacked the administration of justice, and especially the judges. He accused them of ignorance, and berated them for assuming the powers of legislators in applying Parisian or English law, or even equity, as it suited them.

After his dismissal Monk sailed for England to plead for reinstatement in his post. His efforts to achieve this paid off only in 1792, when he returned to Lower Canada, the eastern part of Quebec, created by the division of the province in 1791. In announcing his restoration, he told George Henry that "the Views of the Govemt. must be the fact we [the judges] are to take. But," he warned, "distinguish between your Govt. and this at St. James. I was ruined by

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Wade, p. 83.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

supporting the political views of a Colony Govt.... The Quiet and Tranquility of the Colony is the object here, and no Consideration should hazard that object of a politic Man."¹⁴⁰

Two years later, in December 1794, James Monk was nominated Chief Justice at the Court of King's Bench in Montreal, although he had applied for the more prestigious office at Quebec, where the Chief Justice not only served the Quebec circuit, but also was the supreme legal figure in Lower Canada. Monk's private correspondence discloses, however, that he remained confident for many years about the prospects of elevation to the Quebec office. When the promotion did not materialize, he felt both slighted and disappointed.

He moved from the Capital in April 1803, and wrote to his sister-in-law: "I cannot enter into all the multifarious motives that induced me to sell my property in this Town [Quebec]. I have necessarily changed the scene of my hopes to Comfort."¹⁴¹ "The vessel I hired is nearly loaded," Monk continued, "and I am about leaving this place for Montreal where I shall be very constantly occupied during the summer in my buildings ... a few months labor will, I hope, raise me an ample if not an Elegant Covering at the Mountain near

¹⁴⁰ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. James Monk to G.H. Monk, London, 13 August 1792.

¹⁴¹ NAC, MG 23, G 11. Letter, James Monk to sister-in-law, Elizabeth Monk, Quebec, 27 April 1803.

Montreal."¹⁴² A detailed contract for the masonry to this "Elegant Covering" had already been signed in March of 1803, and the contractors had committed themselves to commence construction between 20 May and 20 June.¹⁴³ The place at the Mountain was later named "Monk Ville," like the Chief Justice's parental home at Windsor, N.S. It remained Monk's domicile for twenty years, and although neither his first, nor his last home, it was his most cherished property. He was directly involved, both in the construction and the upkeep of the place, and his concerns about Monkville fill much of his private correspondance.

¹⁴² NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19.

¹⁴³ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., le 3 Mars 1803, no. 102. Marché entre L'honorable James Monk, Esqr, Juge en Chef et Gilbert Duchatel et J. Bte. Sené, Mrs Maçons.

CHAPTER 2

AUTHORSHIP AND STYLE IN SOME EARLY BRITISH ARCHITECTURE
IN LOWER CANADA AND THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES,
RELATED TO MONKVILLE IN MONTREALAcquisition of a "Villa at the Mountain near Montreal"

There are few details in Monk's family correspondence about when and how he became the owner of the country estate of Monkville at Montreal. The property was mentioned for the first time in a passing reference in the text of a politically-charged and gossipy letter from Quebec in 1795, addressed to George Henry.¹⁴⁴ Monk said that he had left "the Great heats of Climate in Montreal," but would go back after having attended to some parliamentary duties, "essential to perfect the system of administering our laws. -- My views then will be to return to a beautiful Villa I have on the Mountain near Montreal where I must raise a Box of retreat not a Chateau of Pride."¹⁴⁵ The project was not

¹⁴⁴ NAC, RG 23, G 11, 19. Dated 15 July 1795.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. In classical and older texts there is often ambiguity as to whether "villa" refers to the estate, the buildings on the estate, or exclusively to the residence as in present-day language. Monk here clearly uses "villa" in its broadest sense, that is the estate. As a cultured man of

realized until 1803, and for eight years Monk had to content himself with the buildings constructed by the previous owner, William Dummer Powell.

Powell was a Loyalist born in Boston in 1755.¹⁴⁶ He studied French and Dutch in Rotterdam, and law in Boston under the last British Attorney-General of Massachusetts, Jonathan Sewall/Sewell,¹⁴⁷ father of the future Chief Justices of Quebec and Montreal, Jonathan and Stephen Sewell [1770-1832] respectively. After the Boston Tea Party in 1773 Powell took a stand against the Continentals and left for the more Loyalist New York City. In 1775 he sailed to England, where he entered the Inns of Court at Middle Temple in 1776 aiming to be called to the English bar.¹⁴⁸

The financial situation of the expatriate family soon deteriorated, however, and Powell "did not take his Call owing to the undue burden the payment of the fees would cast upon his father's finances."¹⁴⁹ In 1779 Powell decided to

the late eighteenth century, he also indicates that this was his country retreat, by calling it "Monk Ville."

¹⁴⁶ William Renwick Riddell, The Life of William Dummer Powell, First Judge at Detroit and Fifth Chief Justice of Upper Canada (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission 1924) 10.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 147, n. 14. The family in America spelt the name "Sewall" until the Revolution, when Jonathan [1728-1796] went to England. "He there visited the tomb of his ancestors and finding the name spelled 'Sewell' he altered the spelling of his name to accord with the original."

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p 149, note 23.

leave London, which was crowded with unemployed Loyalists, and take passage to Quebec, where he had relatives and connexions.

To obtain a licence to practise law¹⁵⁰ in this colony during the early years of British rule, until 1785, "favouritism and favouritism alone was the sole guide."¹⁵¹ Equipped with recommendations from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Germain, Powell had hopes for Sir Frederick Haldimand's patronage in Quebec, but he was discouraged after a meeting with the old soldier-turned-governor.

In Sir Frederick's view any American-born person was prima facie a rebel, and his prejudice against the legal profession was no secret. "Il faut plutôt des soldats que des avocats" was one of his favourite sayings.¹⁵² Powell finally obtained a licence to practise law in the colony through the intervention of Governor John Wentworth. On the

¹⁵⁰ The judicial system during the French régime did not permit the practice of lawyers: "Toutes les causes se jugent à l'audience ou sur rapport. Il n'y a ni avocats, ni procureurs, les notaires en servent; les parties sont admises à plaider elles-même leurs affaires; les audiences se tiennent à huit-clos. Il y a des justices dans toutes les paroisses.... Il y a un conseil souverain qui juge en dernier ressort les appels des juges inférieurs," Louis-Antoine de Bougainville [Marquis de Montcalm's Aide-de-Camp], reported in "Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle France à l'époque de la guerre de sept ans (1757)," published among Documents inédit sur l'histoire de la Marine et des colonies (Paris?: March-May 1861) 591-92.

¹⁵¹ Riddell, p. 149, note 23.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 19.

advice of James Monk, to whom among others Powell had brought letters of introduction, he avoided the Capital and went into private practice in Montreal.¹⁵³

In the island city, Powell's first client was Pierre Du Calvet, a French Huguenot, and "a tenacious, punctilious, and captious habitué of the courts."¹⁵⁴ Du Calvet was charged with issuing a libel against the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and the proceedings were brought on by James Monk.¹⁵⁵ By successfully defending the case, Powell probably earned the resentment of the Bench, and the Governor.¹⁵⁶ What was more important for his career, though, was that this won him the favour of Montreal's merchants, and he quickly prospered in his legal practice.¹⁵⁷

By August 1786, Powell's financial situation permitted a major investment, and he acquired from Gilbert Leduc:

"une portion de terre seise et située à la Côte St Antoine près de cette ville de la contenance de trois arpents de front et plus ... [illegible] sur d'en sept arpents moins trente pieds dans la ligne du Sud ouest et d'en sept arpents et trente pieds de profondeur dans la ligne du Nord est, joignant d'un côté à M. Duffy et à Urtubise, D'autre côté a Joachim Descarry; D'un Boût par derrière à la terre des Représentants ... [illegible] et d'autre Boût sur le devant au dits vendeurs avec un chemin de vingt pieds de largeur le long de la ligne du dit Joachim Descarry depuis le terrain présentement vendu jusqu'au chemin de

¹⁵³ DCB, vol. 4, p. 606.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 229.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ DCB, vol. 6, p. 606.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

travers de la ditte Côté St Antoine."¹⁵⁸

The purchase-sum was "7,800 livres ou shellings," and it was to be paid in three installments commencing with 6,000 livres 1 October 1786 and then 900 livres on the same date in the two succeeding years.¹⁵⁹ Powell described the property as being "a most desirable villa on the mountain not three miles from Montreal,"¹⁶⁰ and he erected upon it "a house, barn and other buildings."¹⁶¹

Powell and Monk were acquainted, and probably enjoyed reciprocal hospitality; each had become the agent for the other in his city. When Powell was appointed First Judge at Detroit in the spring of 1789, accounts were taken in their "sort of partnership," as Powell called it, and showed that the latter owed Monk some £413 currency.¹⁶² For various reasons, Powell was unable to meet his financial commitments. In the autumn, when he needed a security upon an appeal in a lawsuit, Monk offered his assistance, but only on condition that he would continue as Powell's agent, and that he

¹⁵⁸ ANQM, Court of King's Bench, Montreal, June Term 1795, no. 63, "Jas Monk Esquire, Plaintiff, vs. Wm D. Powell Esquire, Defendant, Exhibit number 2, Copy of Deed of Sale from Gilbert LeDuc to William Dummer Powell Esq." dated 14 August 1786.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Riddell, Appendix E, p. 273.

¹⁶¹ Quebec Gazette, 15 January 1795.

¹⁶² Riddell, Appendix E, p. 273.

received security on Powell's Cote Saint Antoine property.¹⁶³ Powell assented, and mortgaged his villa to pay the debt. This was the beginning of what Riddell called "A Legal Episode: Monk v. Powell," a long-drawn-out, and rather notorious case. It ended in the courts of Upper Canada in 1848, long after the death of both Monk and Powell, when the judgement finally was paid by Powell's heirs.¹⁶⁴

The payments had to be honoured, in spite of the fact that in 1795 Monk had already become the owner of Powell's property for £150 currency, "a vile price,... one third of the price paid for it and less than one-fifth of the money expended on it" according to the debtor.¹⁶⁵ Previously there had been a considerable correspondence between the parties in the matter. Monk had gone to England for three years. Powell was in Detroit, and had missed some legal proceedings. A writ of execution against Powell's goods and lands in Montreal was finally issued 27 December 1794, and the following advertisement was placed in the Quebec Gazette, in mid January 1795:¹⁶⁶

Montreal, to wit} By virtue of a Writ of Execution
issued out of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench for
the said District, at the suit of James Monk, Esquire,

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. Riddell was a justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, and he has researched the case. His accounts are published in "Appendix E."

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 275 and n. 7. Quotations from "Case in the Court of Appeals, Upper Canada, in Powell, Appellant y Monk Respondent."

¹⁶⁶ Quebec Gazette, 15 January 1795.

against the goods and chattles, lands and tenements of William Dummer Powell, Esquire, to me directed, I have seized and taken in execution, as belonging to the said William Dummer Powell, a lot or piece of land situate at the Cote Saint Antoine, in the parish of Saint Mary, in the district aforesaid, containing three arpents in front by twelve or thirteen arpents in depth, more or less, but being only two arpents broad in the rear, bounded in the front by Gilbert Le Duc, and behind by James Walker, Esquire, on one side heretofore by Joachim Decaris, now represented by Jean Baptiste Billion, and on the other side by Gervais Decaris, with a house, barn, and other buildings thereon erected: Now I do hereby give notice, that the said premises will be sold and adjudged to the highest bidder, at my Office in the City of Montreal, on Saturday the sixteenth day of May next, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon; at which time and place the conditions of sale will be made known.

EDWD. WM. GRAY, Sheriff.

All and every person having claims on the above described premises, by mortgage, or other right or incumbrance, are hereby required to give notice thereof, in writing, to the said Sheriff, at his said office, before the day of sale.

After the auction was concluded, and the sheriff had taken his commission, paid the printer and the bailiff for publishing the sale on the church door, for "crying the premises," and for "taking the description" on them, only £142.18.10 currency was raised.¹⁶⁷ From this sum was also deducted a further £27.1.8 currency for lods et ventes and £2.10.0 currency for cens et rentes, which Powell owed to "the Gentlemen of the Seminary."¹⁶⁸ In all, therefore,

¹⁶⁷ ANQM, Court of King's Bench, Montreal, Vacation after April Term 1795, no. 63. Sheriff's statement of the monies levied by virtue of the Writ of Execution issued in the cause of James Monk, Esquire, vs. William Dummer Powell, Esquire, 16 May 1795.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. Opposition of Joseph Borneuf, agent and attorney by procuration to the Gentlemen of the Seminary of Montreal, in the case of James Monk, Esquire, vs. William

Powell only received £113.7.2 currency for his Cote Saint Antoine property, and still remained indebted to Monk. Monk did not pursue his claim until the early 1820's, when his nephew and agent, George Henry, reopened legal procedures to recover the balance of the debt.¹⁶⁹

James Monk's Townhouse in Quebec City

Acute financial problems may have been the cause of the long delay in the realisation of Monk's plans for Monkville. Prior to the purchase of Powell's country estate, Monk was the owner of at least one property in the Upper Town of Quebec City on Saint Louis street. In a deed of sale from Pierre Roy and Teresa Dubault, passed before "T. Pinguet and his confrere" 27 March 1787,¹⁷⁰ James Monk had paid £155 currency for a lot of land on the North side of Saint Louis street.¹⁷¹ The lot, with a one-storey stone house and other

Dummer Powell, Esquire, 15 May 1795.

¹⁶⁹ Riddell, p. 276, and letter, J. Monk to nephew George Henry, London, 20 July 1825.

¹⁷⁰ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Information from the first copy of a deed marked "F. Tetu, N.P., 3 January 1803, The Honorable James Monk and Elizabeth Monk, his Wife, to The Honorable John Elmsley, Chief Justice of the Province, Deed of Sale, of a Lot of Land and a dwelling house on the North Side of St Lewis Street."

¹⁷¹ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Information from a fragment of an original Deed of Sale of a lot of land in Saint Louis street, Pierre Roy to James Monk, Esqr., 27 March [1787].

buildings,¹⁷² stretched 96 feet in front, by 40 feet in depth on the North East, and 79 feet in depth on the South West.¹⁷³ At the time of Monk's sale of the same to Chief Justice John Elmsley in 1803, it was described as bounded in front by Saint Louis street, in the rear by land belonging to the Communauté of the Ursuline Nuns, on the North East side by Louis Antoine Panet, Esquire, and on the South West side by the Honourable Francis Baby, Esquire.¹⁷⁴

Nothing is mentioned in the 1803 sale about the building undergoing extensive renovations made necessary after the great fire on 6 September 1796. A release from the mason's contract for this work was signed only on 23 May 1804,¹⁷⁵ yet the change of ownership had taken place 1 May 1803.¹⁷⁶ The six-year-old Philippe De Gaspé witnessed the blaze. After lamenting the loss of the Recollet Monastery, on whose devastated property the Anglican cathedral and the Court House soon were erected, he turned his attention in his

¹⁷² NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. From Deed of Sale, 3 January 1803, Monk to Elmsley etc.

¹⁷³ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. From fragment of Deed of Sale, Roy to Monk etc., 27 Mars [1787].

¹⁷⁴ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. From Deed of Sale, 3 January 1803, Monk to Elmsley etc.

¹⁷⁵ A.J.H. Richardson, Geneviève Bastien, Doris Dubé and Marthe Lacombe, Quebec City: Architects, Artisans, and Builders (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, History Division, 1984) 447.

¹⁷⁶ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. From Deed of Sale, 3 January 1803, Monk to Elmsley etc.

memoirs to the Convent of the Ursulines. The flames had reached it, but "le clergé, l'évêque en tête, était accouru au secours des bonnes religieuses," and "ce fut son énergie qui préserva cette précieuse maison..."¹⁷⁷ He continued:

"Je demeurai un petit quart-d'heure à contempler l'incendie de la maison du juge Monk. C'était le premier que je voyais. Je trouvai les hommes assez bêtes que de jeter par les fenêtres du premier et du second étage, les miroirs, les cabarets chargés de verrières et de précieuse porcelaines. Passe pour les chaises d'acajou et les sofas, pensais-je; un meublier pourra les mettre sur les jambes."¹⁷⁸

In the 1803 Deed of Sale to Elmsley, Monk's house was described as a single-storey building. According to De Gaspé's testimony it was two-storeyed, and even if his memory failed him, the contract for the renovations clearly stated that cut stone was to be delivered for the casements of seven windows "de vingt cinq pieds chacun pour la devanture du second étage."¹⁷⁹ Monk had only one large stone house in Quebec. The difference of one or two storeys seems to be a question of interpretation. What was called in French "second étage" could be the first floor or attic storey in English usage. Elmsley paid £333.6.8 currency, plus interest, for the

¹⁷⁷ Philippe A. De Gaspé, Mémoires (Quebec: N.S. Hardy, 1885) 57.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ ANQQ, Th. Planté, N.P., 8 Novembre 1796, Marché no. 332, "Furent presents le Sieur Michel Parent, maître maçon et le Sieur Augustin Jourdain, maître maçon, Le quel Sieur Parent ayant entrepri le retablissement de la Grande Maison de L'honorable James Monk, sel qui en cette haute ville rue St. Louis, etc."

property. This was a considerable amount of money for the period, and it should have bought him a fair sized-house.

The Quebec Gazette, 8 September 1796, also contained information about the "dreadful fire" which broke out in Thomas Dunn's stable "Tuesday last," and which was communicated by the west wind to Monk's house on the east side, and then caught at the "Recolect's" at least 200 yards from where it began. The report summed up:

"Thirteen or fourteen houses in all, are entirely burned down, two belonging to Chief Justice Monk, three to Berthelot Datigny, Esquire, and two to Mrs. Cugnet. During the conflagration the roofs of many other houses also caught fire, which were saved by timely assistance."

Monk wrote to George Henry that he was absent on the day of the fire, which started at his neighbour's, Mr. Dunn's. "My buildings were put in flames and Consumed! Two dwelling Houses, a Wood House, a Stable do. There are few such Houses as my large [word illegible], the Cellar vaulted, floors tiled, first stay flagged."¹⁸⁰ Monk claimed that had he been at Quebec, his loss would have been less. As it was, he said, he had lost his home.

"I am a heavy sufferer. I can form no exact estimate, but the greater part of my furniture, all my wines, Books and Papers are saved, yet I expect it will take one to two thousand pounds to restore me...and I shall so prepare matters as to be reestablished in my old quarters this time twelve months."¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, Quebec, 9 October 1796.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

The news of the Quebec fire reached Nova Scotia before George Henry received his brother's report. This is evident from some details in the comments that James's loss

"must indeed be a serious misfortune... Your large house was considered almost proof against fire. I suppose it was not insured, and that the whole loss must face on you alone. It is said that all your furniture was destroyed, which must be a heavy loss as you had ever a desire for the best and large stores.... Your garden must be entirely ruined, a loss hardly to be recovered in a life time."¹⁸²

While James Monk "prepared matters," the contents of another note of sympathy was communicated by George Henry, to whom it was addressed:

"I Shall always Receive With the greatest pleasure and gratitude, the Remembrance of your Amiable Brother and I Shall be particularly obliged to you, Sir, if you Will be So good as to assure him of My best Sentiments of friendship and esteem. I am truly Sorry for His Misfortune, but nothing is to be Said on Such an occasion for Before an affliction is digested, Consolation ever Comes too Soon, and When it is digested it Comes too late.

I have the Honor to be with sincere Regard
Dear Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servant
T. de St. Laurent

Lodge the 13th of December 1796."¹⁸³

Prince Edward also wrote to George Henry that day, regarding some of his horses which had been quartered in the stables at Monkville, N.S. adding:

"I now beg when next you write to your worthy brother,

¹⁸² NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Draft of letter G.H. Monk to brother James, Windsor, N.S. 26 October 1796.

¹⁸³ PANS, MG 23, G 11, 19, vol. 8. Monk additional correspondence 1795-1812.

you will assure him of my most friendly remembrance, and tell him how truly concerned I was to hear of his serious loss by the late fire. I shall allways be happy to hear from him, when he has a few moments to give me, as I sincerely regret whenever there are any causes to interrupt our correspondence."¹⁸⁴

That Prince Edward discreetly had enquired about the possibilities of staying in Monk's house at Quebec in case he would again be posted to that city, has already been mentioned.¹⁸⁵ The one to two thousand pounds Monk intended to spend on renovation certainly would re-establish the building as a suitable residence for the Duke of Kent. As a matter of fact, Monk himself returned to this subject in a letter in 1799, when he wrote that he had mentioned to Governor Wentworth that he wished the Duke would make a purchase of his "Palace" for the temporary residence to the Commander in Chief.¹⁸⁶ Monk was of the opinion that His Royal Highness ought to have a lodging in Quebec "and there is none -, no House, next to the Chateau, [which] could be made so suitable as mine," he said.¹⁸⁷

It was the Chief Justice's private practice, rather than his public office, that enabled him financially to shoulder

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ PANS, MG 23, G 11, 19. Draft for letter G.H. Monk to brother James, Halifax, 23 Mars 1795.

¹⁸⁶ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, Quebec, 1 May 1799.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

all the expenditures.¹⁸⁸ In 1793, for example, Monk along with Thomas Aston Coffin and David Lynd, had been appointed attorneys for Brook Watson and Company.¹⁸⁹ This meant that he and his colleagues looked after this London firm's interests in Quebec, and they were not negligible. By the early 1780's Brook Watson carried on about one-quarter of the province's trade.¹⁹⁰ Such wealth made Watson politically very influential at St. James, and he had strong ties with the English party in Quebec, through Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, William Grant, Thomas Dunn and Monk himself.¹⁹¹

The stone-masons to whom Monk gave the contract for rebuilding his Quebec townhouse after the fire, were Michel Parent [1745-1815] and Augustin Jourdain [1736-1804]. Parent, an estimator and contractor, came from a Quebec dynasty of master masons, and was the grandson of Charles Parent, who owned the family quarry at Beauport.¹⁹² Together with Jourdain, he later quarried stone both for the old Court House and the Anglican Cathedral in the Capital. Parent's son Jean was also employed in the family trade, until 1804 at

¹⁸⁸ From "Hallifax in ye 22d of June 1769," already, Anne Dering wrote to her Brother that her son "Jemme" had the character of a gentleman which he would "ever study to support." (NAC, RG 23, G 11, 19)

¹⁸⁹ DCB, vol. 5, p. 192.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 843.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Richardson, et al., p. 447.

least, and he executed much skilled work on these buildings.¹⁹³ For the Anglican Cathedral, Jean cut the cornices, "the two angular stones of the pediment," and the stones for the arches of the portico.¹⁹⁴

Jourdain was a member of another, and very extensive, dynasty of house-wrights operating in both Quebec and Montreal.¹⁹⁵ In 1781-82 he provided cut stone, with which he built the presbytery at St. Louis-de-Kamouraska. Ten years later he built the church there as well.¹⁹⁶ After the Quebec fire, his brother Michel [1731-1797], who had already executed masonry work for several important institutions in the Quebec area, repaired the house and stables of Monk's neighbour Thomas Dunn.¹⁹⁷ Like Parent's son, Jourdain's son and namesake was employed as a mason at the Anglican Cathedral.

For the renovation of Monk's house, Augustin Jourdain contracted to provide and cut the stone before the end of March 1797.¹⁹⁸ The labour consisted of dressing stone for the window casements, seven per floor, of 25 foot each. Moreover, he was to deliver 22 feet of dressed quoining

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 329.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ ANQQ, Th. Planté, N.P., 8 November 1796, Marché no. 332, Parent-Jourdain-Monk.

stone, and an extra 27 feet of small-sized masonry for another casement, which was to replace the old entrance. A new entrance must have been designed, therefore, and perhaps more in the late Georgian taste, because in the final clause of the contract Jourdain is asked to "tailler la pierre de deux consoles avec trois pieds carré audessus des consoles," and the price for this was "trois livres courants pour le tout."¹⁹⁹

Monk's massive house was built in the traditional Quebec style, and with extra fireproofing, as testified by his writings. Although not "modern" for the time, it was considered "elegant."²⁰⁰ Whether the inside retained the mediaeval enfilade plan is not known, but the large sum designated for renovations could suggest major interior changes.

As regards comfort, the renovated house was certainly well heated. The twelve-year-old son of G. H. Monk, Charles William [William], had been sent to Quebec to learn French, and in a letter to his "Dear Mama in Hallifax," 12 August 1800, he wrote:

"The people of this Country do not suffer so much

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Joseph Bouchette, A Topographical Description of the Provinces of Lower Canada, with Remarks upon Upper Canada, and the Relative Connexion of Both Provinces with the United States of America. (London: W. Faden, 1815) 451. By the time this book was written, Monk's house had been converted into quarters for officers, who had "the greatest reason to be satisfied with their quarters," according to its author.

from the cold as they do at Nova-Scotia, because they so well guarded against it; I have seen some of the largest cast iron stoves here that ever I saw before, there are six very large stoves in my Uncle's house at Quebec."

The cast-iron stoves used in Quebec were often noticed by travellers in the province. Isaac Weld reported that in large houses there were generally four or five stoves placed in the hall and ground-floor apartments, whence flues passed in different directions through the upper rooms.²⁰¹ Besides these stoves, open fireplaces were frequently found in the lower apartments. "It is more," however, said Weld, "on account of the cheerful appearance they give to the room, than for the sake of the warmth they communicate, as by the stoves the rooms can be heated to any degree."²⁰²

The Finnish-Swede Peter [Pehr] Kalm [?-1779] observed that there were no dampers on the Canadian stoves.²⁰³ Mrs. Simcoe mentioned that they mostly were excessively heated,

²⁰¹ Isaac Weld, Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797. (London: John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1807) 393-94.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 394.

²⁰³ Pehr Kalm Resa till Norra Amerika (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1753; repr., Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 4 vols. 1904-29) 3:235. The Finnish-Swede Kalm was a disciple of Linnaeus, and professor at Åbo [Turku] University in Finland, then a Swedish province. It was on Linnaeus' initiative Kalm made the North American tour, which lasted for two-and-a-half years. During Kalm's travels Linnaeus expressed discontent with the way the itinerary was followed. Moreover, only after Kalm's return to Sweden in 1751 could he be convinced that in parts of America, situated on the same latitudes as Southern Europe, the winters were as severe as in the Nordic countries.

and she "found it sometimes necessary to open the finettes, or sliding panes of glass in the windows."²⁰⁴ John Lambert, finally, felt that the locals, from dread of the Canadian winter, "believed that they could not keep the stove too hot" and often raised the temperature to 90 or 100 degrees.²⁰⁵ After writing about the "injurious effects" of this to the health, Lambert added:

"The furniture of the houses is generally made in Canada, for that brought from England falls to pieces in a room where there is a stove."²⁰⁶

These cast iron-stoves had been available in the Colony since the end of the French régime,²⁰⁷ after the official opening of the forges at Saint-Maurice in 1738.²⁰⁸ The

²⁰⁴ J. Ross Robertson, The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co., Ltd, 1934) 54. Mrs. Simcoe was the wife of the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada [1792-1796]. Her entries in the diary often lack details, yet they are revealing on the very lively social life at Quebec in the winter of 1791-92.

²⁰⁵ John Lambert, Travels through Canada and the United States of North America in the years 1806, 1807, & 1808 (London: C. Cradcock and W. Joy, 1813) 316.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Marcel Moussette, Le chauffage domestique au Canada (Québec: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1983) 132.

²⁰⁸ Albert Tessier, Les Forges Saint-Maurice (Montréal: Les Editions du Boréal Express, 1974) 71. In 1730 Louis XV gave assent to François Poulin de Francheville, Seigneur at Saint-Maurice, to extract iron ore and build forges on his demesne (p.51-52). A major problem soon lay in financing this enterprise. To ease economical pressure Francheville incorporated it in 1733 as "Francheville et Cie," and company documents henceforth carried the name "Forges du Saint-Maurice." (p. 55) The official opening of the iron works only took place on 20 August 1738, when the fire had been successfully lit at the forges after months of failed

prototype is considered to have been a box-shaped stove on four legs. It consisted of six cast panels;²⁰⁹ one for the base, four for the sides, of which the front one was decorated with a fleur-de-lis in bas-relief and had a door to receive large logs, and one for the top with a hole for the exhaust pipe. After 1762 the forges at Saint-Maurice offered a new model in large and small sizes, which carried British royal arms.²¹⁰ Later still, motifs became less regal, and Adamesque and other designs were used. In the 1780s some cast-iron stoves were imported from Scotland, and around 1794 stoves were also made at the Batiscan iron-works.²¹¹ Whichever of these makes Monk had, they made a strong impression on his nephew. Charles William must have been accustomed to the less efficient open fireplaces preferred by the British at home and in the colonies.

Early Buildings with Neo-Palladian Influences

Before the 1790s there had not been much building by British civilians in Quebec. With few exceptions, the newcomers, military, merchants and administrators such as Monk, simply purchased available local housing. To a great extent, the Quebec style was derived from mediaeval France,

attempts (p. 69-70).

²⁰⁹ Moussette, p. 132.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

and could be said to be an acclimatization of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century colombage [half-timber] buildings with high, pitched roofs. Because of the recurrent disasters of fire the use of exposed wood in construction was outlawed,²¹² and by the middle of the eighteenth century most new city housing was made entirely of stone, with fire-break gables extending above the roof line. This feature also was incorporated into detached buildings, and rural houses, especially in the Montreal area, and it gives them their typical French Canadian character.

One of the first persons to update the local style was Adam Mabane [c.1734-1792], the Scottish physician and judge, who acquired Samos, a large single-storey stone building on Saint-Louis road at Sillery in 1769.²¹³ It had belonged to the Seminary of Quebec, and was constructed in 1732.²¹⁴ To his house, Woodfield as he called it, Mabane added one storey and symmetrically-placed well-defined dependencies to make a

²¹² Marsan, p. 113. In Montreal, after the great fire of 19 June 1721, there was an "Ordinance ruling on the reconstruction of houses in fireproof materials in the towns of the colony and on other purposes," dated 8 July 1721. It was confirmed and completed by a second, "ruling on the construction of houses in fireproof materials in the towns etc.," which Marsan says "constituted a true abridged construction and town-planning code." Ordinance particulars found in Marsan; note 25.

²¹³ France Gagnon-Pratte L'architecture et la nature à Québec au dix-neuvième siècle: les villas (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1980) 324.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

villa in a Palladian fashion.²¹⁵

More convincingly Palladian than Mabane's transformed estate, was perhaps General Haldimand's 1781 construction which was picturesquely appointed above the Montmorency falls. Verandah-surrounded, and with two pavilions, laterally connected by an open colonnade, the Haldimand house was built on a Palladian plan, more square in proportion than the classical model. On a hypothetical reconstruction the verandah-block has a large overhanging roof with concave hips, which represents a type found in the Southern United States.²¹⁶ A connexion might be that from 1767 to 1773 Haldimand held rank in the British Army as a Brigadier-General, with headquarters in Florida. This type of house derived from eighteenth-century plantation houses in the Caribbean, and had its origins in seventeenth-century Brazil.²¹⁷ For Quebec it was a novelty.²¹⁸ Both the selection of the site and the plan for the country home clearly reflected the prevailing British taste. Haldimand was au courant; he even had "a small temple in the Chinese style" placed at a strategic point in his demesne.²¹⁹ Indeed, there was conveniency [utilitas] in Palladian terms; the

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

²¹⁷ Ackerman, p. 20.

²¹⁸ Gagnon-Pratte, p. 24.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

house corresponded fully to the station of its builder.²²⁰

When Prince Edward was posted as a regimental commander to Quebec, from 1791 to 1794, he leased the Montmorency premises. That he would be attracted by both the grounds and the villa is no matter for surprise. It was representative of the new governing Imperial power, and it suited his personal tastes. Edward's interest in art and architecture is well documented, and John Wentworth appreciated "his zeal & industry in the minutiae of tactics, architecture, & domestic economy."²²¹ The Prince's town-house was situated just down St. Louis Street from François Baillairgé's workshop, and he was well acquainted with the sculptor-architect and his work.²²² Baillairgé designed a figurehead for the schooner Royal Edward in 1793, and it was a sculpture from life of his royal neighbour.²²³

In spite of the special attention he paid to building, Prince Edward does not seem to have been involved in any construction work at Montmorency, or in Quebec City itself, yet he could very well have been a source of inspiration to the "Chateau Clique" of officers, administrators and businessmen. After 1790, several private homes were raised in

²²⁰ Andrea Palladio, The Four Books of Architecture (London: Isaac Ware, 1738) 2:1 Cpt.

²²¹ Pacey, p. 134.

²²² Richardson et al., p. 131.

²²³ Ibid.

the revival style of English neo-Palladianism, notably "Powell's Place" [1790-96?], Thomas Dunn's town-house [1795-97], and Judge Bowen's town-house [c. 1800].²²⁴

Later, on arrival at Halifax in 1794, the Prince played a significant role in major building projects like the Martello Tower [1796-1798], St. George's round Church [1800-1801] and the Town Clock Tower [1802-1803].²²⁵ For his personal residence Prince Edward transformed Governor Wentworth's "Friar Laurence's Cell" on the shores of Bedford Basin, into a large country house, the "Lodge."²²⁶ In terms of the period Edward furthermore "improved" the landscape so that the natural order would provide a contrast to the architectural order. In addition to the local beech and birch clumps in the garden-scape, Edward added imported trees and plants. During the Spring of 1800, he had ordered 12 peach-trees for potting, as well as 12 nectarine, 6 apricot and 6 plum trees for the Lodge. There were also shrubs on the list -- 80 vines, 12 raspberry bushes and 12 Trumpet Honeysuckles; and flowers, including tulips, roses, pink carnations, red and white dogs'-tooth violets, Dutch crocuses, Constantinople narcissi, Crown Imperial Lilies and 6 blue "Peruvian

²²⁴ Gagnon-Pratte, pp. 25-27.

²²⁵ Pacey, pp. 25, 79 and 137 resp.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 132.

Squills."²²⁷ When George Henry wrote about Monk's ruined garden "hardly to be recovered in a life time" the reference was to a formal garden, of which there were many in the Upper Town of Quebec, as indicated on contemporary survey maps. The garden at the Lodge, on the other hand, must have been one of the earliest, if not the first, example of English picturesque landscaping in British North America.

From John Elliot Woolford's and George Heriot's watercolours²²⁸ it can be determined that the Lodge was a three-storeyed structure with a flat roof, terminated by a plain cornice, and with its line broken only by chimneys. The front façade had a curious two-storeyed open colonnade; on the visible northern side of the building there are two two-storeyed, semi-circular, projecting bays with Palladian or Venetian windows. The central second storey in the back also has a projecting bay which seems to contain a large arched window. It could also be argued that this is an entrance with a semi-circular transom, the lower part being hidden by greenery (fig. 6).

On the picturesque grounds were walks with grottoes and

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 134.

²²⁸ Janet Wright, Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984) 139. Illustration no. 107 referred to as a "Watercolour Depicting the Duke of Kent's Estate in the Nineteenth Century," with its slim, towering structures is stylistically reminiscent of Woolford. The original, however, would have to be studied in order to determine the authorship. Heriot's drawing is shown in Finley, p. 189.

ornamental houses scattered about and "there was an artificial lake a few hundred yards in the rear of the dwelling, on one side of which was a wooden Chinese temple."²²⁹ The only surviving ornamental structure is the wooden "Round House, where the regimental band used to perform every evening" for Prince Edward.²³⁰ This is also referred to as the "Music Pavilion," and it has been suggested that it was designed by William Hughes.²³¹ Capped by an over-sized, hemispherical dome crowned with a prominent globe, all of which is supported by a slender Tuscan colonnade. This round building is the boldest early neo-classical statement extant in Canada (fig. 7).

The pure geometrical structure of the Music Pavilion, having only the most essential features of the classical form, was not uncommon in the provinces and places removed from the cultural centres in Europe. In the North American colonies, considerations of climate, local resources and material would rarely permit much architectural embellishment. A simplicity of style, moreover, always had

²²⁹ G.E. Fenety, Life and Times of the Hon. Joseph Howe (St. John, N.B.: E.S. Carter, 1896) 87.

²³⁰ Ibid. p. 90.

²³¹ Natalie Clerk, Palladian Style in Canadian Architecture (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984) 21, also attributes the Old Town Clock in Halifax to Hughes, but she gives no sources. Pacey (p. 141) convincingly states that Lieutenant William Fenwick, a protégé of Prince Edward, designed the clock in agreement with his mentor; she has no suggestion as to who might have been the author of the "Music Pavilion."

been favoured by Protestant Northerners, and "the Beautys of Architecture may consist with the greatest Plainness of the structure," as John James "of Greenwich" [1672-1746] said.²³²

The prediliction for simple lines and well defined planes is made particularly evident in the official buildings that the British erected in Quebec and in the Atlantic provinces, from the 1790s to the 1820s.

The first wave of European colonizers with Imperial ambitions in the area were French Catholics -- Huguenot and other Protestant settlement was banned in New France by a royal decree in 1628. The newcomers brought their local vernacular housing styles, which were modified by the demands of the new environment, and in 150 years had developed into a Quebec vernacular. Their official and ecclesiastical buildings were rarely designed and built in one sustained effort, yet with few exceptions they adhered to the formal conventions of the Baroque.

Against this stylistic rhetoric of the Counter

²³² John Harris, William Talman, Maverick Architect, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982) 40. Quotation from John James [1672-1746]. In Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York: Dover Publications, n.d.) p. 55, Fiske Kimball says that during colonial times "among professional architects of reputation... only one is known to have been in America: John James, 'of Greenwich,' who was in Boston in the late seventeen thirties." No source is given for this information which has not been repeated in more recent standard literature by either William H. Pierson, Jr., or John Summerson.

Reformation, the second wave of invading empire builders from the Old Continent, the British Protestants and their Loyalist followers, stated their presence in the language of a rather severe neo-Palladianism. This need on the part of Protestants for a distinctive architectural attitude, which had receded in most parts of Europe by the beginning of the eighteenth century,²³³ resurfaced in Quebec with the arrival of the British. The statement of the new governors, including several Huguenots in leading positions, was unequivocal. Travellers and fellow-Protestants shared the satisfaction George Heriot pronounced in 1807 on viewing the new Court House and the Anglican Cathedral: "constructed with the best materials the country could afford and executed in a neat and handsome stile. The church, although not much ornamented, may be pronounced elegant, the rules of architecture having been adhered to in its structure."²³⁴ Yet in keeping with the British convictions that their Palladian architectural form had moral and didactic values, as expressed by Kames for instance, Heriot regretted that the Court and the church did not have "separate situations" since "in a country where public buildings capable of attracting notice are rarely to be met with, two edifices of such consequence should not have

²³³ John Summerson, The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969) 39.

²³⁴ George Heriot Travels Through the Canadas (London: Richard Phillips, 1807, reprint Edmonton: M.G.Hurtig, 1971) 69.

been placed so near to each other."²³⁵

Authorship of Early British Architecture in Quebec

At the time for the design of the Court House and the Anglican Cathedral British professional architects were rarely available in Quebec or the Atlantic provinces. John Plaw [1745?-1820] was an early exception. He emigrated to Prince Edward Island, but not until 1807, where he designed a handsome little neo-Palladian court house, built in wood, and which was demolished in 1972 (fig. 8).²³⁶ In 1812 Plaw was hired for the construction of the Admiralty House in Halifax. A whole series of plans and written specifications for the project were signed and delivered by him in 1813, only to be rejected. Except that it retained Plaw's five bays, the dull Georgian, typically colonial structure finally erected has a marked gravity and shows little similarity to the architect's vertically accentuated elevation, which was more Neoclassical than Palladian. Much of the interior plan and the quite exceptional Adam-inspired details of decoration, such as archways, fireplaces and stucco ceilings, however, seem to be executed more or less according to Plaw's

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Clerk, p. 90.

intentions.²³⁷

Rather than being the creation of a single professional architect, the concept for the earliest British architecture was a joint effort by a building committee whose members consulted pattern-books by Colen Campbell, James Gibbs and Robert Morris, which had become standard, and others. After a consensus was reached, the committee would delegate the execution of the drawings and the specifications to trained military draughtsmen, surveyors or master craftsmen.

In the case of the Anglican Cathedral in Quebec, Major William Robe of the Royal Artillery, and a disciple of Paul Sandby, was the principal architect and supervisor during the construction [1800-1804]. Throughout the work he continually had had "the aid of Capt. Hall's [William Hall, Royal Artillery] judgement and good taste," and it was Hall who "gave the general plan of the church."²³⁸ The dimensions "were in great measure taken from those of the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, but the state of materials and workmanship in Canada made a plain design necessary."²³⁹

"Having a considerable knowledge of architecture and

²³⁷ No drawings exist showing Plaw's ceiling designs. (Pacey, p. 64) It was customary, however, for Georgian architects to prepare the drawings for the plasterwork and specify the colour scheme.

²³⁸ Fred C. Würtele, The English Cathedral, (Quebec: "Morning Chronicle" Office, 1891) 78.

²³⁹ Ibid. p. 77. The plan of St. Martin's, excluding the porch, measures c. 150 by 75 feet (Gibbs, plate 2), and that of the Quebec version 136 by 75 feet (Bouchette, p. 436).

drawing," Robe made the "designs within the church, as well as the construction of the roof"²⁴⁰ and "all the detail drawings for the guidance of the artificers,"²⁴¹ according to his own notes. In these is also said that "the whole designs within the Church are of the ancient Ionic order, but from the proportions of different approved masters according to their situation."²⁴² The "masters" mentioned are Palladio, Alberti, Vignola, and Blondel. The works of the latter, Robe specified, are "now in the Quebec Library."²⁴³

The architecture of the English Cathedral was "chaste and correct," and the building altogether "the most faultless structure ... within the whole province," according to Bouchette.²⁴⁴ An innovation in Lower Canada, the style was nevertheless retardataire and far from being original.

In 1817, the American traveller Joseph Sansom recognized that the steeple of the Episcopal Cathedral in Quebec, though on smaller scale "evidently" had been "modelled from that of Christ Church, Philadelphia" which was, he wrote, "the handsomest structure of the spire kind that ever I saw in any

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Richardson, p. 496.

²⁴² Würtele, p. 78.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 79.

²⁴⁴ Bouchette, p. 436.

part of the world."²⁴⁵ Even if Sansom was only partially correct about the provenance, Robe and Hall's cathedral building in Quebec, like Christ Church in Philadelphia, [its main body of 1744 designed by Dr. John Kearsly²⁴⁶ and the steeple of 1754 by the architect Robert Smith,²⁴⁷] are akin, as well as Peter Harrison's King's Chapel in Boston [1749-1754] for example. They all share features obviously borrowed from James Gibbs's [1682-1754] fine illustrations of Saint-Martin-in-the-Fields found in A Book of Architecture, published in London in 1728 with the author's opinion that it "would be of use to such Gentlemen as might be concerned in Building, especially in the remote parts of the Country, where little or no assistance for Designs can be procured."²⁴⁸ In the "remote" North American colonies it was consulted extensively; so much so, that there is almost an identifiable "Gibbsian" style in itself.

²⁴⁵ Joseph Sansom, Travels in Lower Canada (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1820) 41.

²⁴⁶ William H. Pierson, Jr., American Buildings and Their Architects, the Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles (Garden City, New York, Anchor Books, 1976) 135.

²⁴⁷ Sansom, p. 41, wrote that the steeple of Christ Church, Philadelphia, had "the most elegant variety of forms, with the most chaste simplicity of combination. It is allowed by all foreigners to do great credit to the taste and talents of the architect, (Robert Smith.)" Pierson, p. 135, said "the spire was not completed until 1754 and is the work of another hand."

²⁴⁸ James Gibbs, A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments. (London: 1728) Introduction p. i.

As it was the building committee which would suggest a suitable example, mostly a "time-worn cloak of conformity,"²⁴⁹ the choice would be limited to the neo-Palladian churches designed by Gibbs. In larger Anglican churches it often translated into imitations of St. Martin's. In smaller churches the plainer "Marybone Chapell" [St. Peter, Vere Street], would be the model like for the exterior of the prefabricated St. Paul's, Halifax, N.S., whose "oak frame and pine timbers were brought by sea from Boston, and [possibly] Portsmouth, New Hampshire," in 1750 (fig. 9).²⁵⁰

The role of the "architect" in these cases, therefore, was less that of a creative designer, than that of a borrower and adapter as draughtsman and engineer. That this combination of functions did not always result in a smooth building process is attested by changes made to the already approved design of the Anglican Cathedral in Quebec, and later the necessity "to spoil its elegant proportions by raising the roof at least ten feet higher," as a measure of

²⁴⁹ Pierson, Jr., p. 129.

²⁵⁰ Philip McAleer, "St. Paul's, Halifax, Nova Scotia and St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, England," The Journal of Canadian Art History VII/2 (1984) 135 n. 16. Usually Boston alone is given as the provenance of the prefabricated timbers of St. Paul's, (see e.g. Pacey, p. 72). McAleer says, in his footnote, however: "A second New England centre is mentioned without authority in Founded upon a Rock: Historic Buildings of Halifax and Vicinity Standing in 1967 (Halifax: The Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 2nd ed., 1971, p. 12: 'The oak frame and pine timbers were brought by sea from Boston, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire'."

adjustment to the "peculiarities" of the climate.²⁵¹

The designs of the Quebec and Montreal Courthouses, were very probably invented by a committee for which active members, like Judge Jonathan Sewell, even submitted sketches. That the style chosen would be neo-Palladian classicism seemed inevitable. Its insistence on logic and clarity, and reliance on established rules, was the embodiment of the image the British administration wanted to project: that of respect for order, reason and good government. The question remains, though, which model would be used, and whose interpretation? Sometime in the Spring of 1799 François Baillaigé was consulted, because on 23 June he entered in his "Journal" that he had:

"fait et livrez un plan du rez-de chaussé et des premiers étages hier au soir avec les élévations d'un edifice pour les salles d'audiance & cours de justice proposé pour être exécuté a québec, avec leur divers offices, voutes &c. dirigé par M.r Perraut greffier & demandé par M.r Suel [Sewell] avocat du Roi, un des trois commissaires de cet edifice."²⁵²

Baillaigé's proposal must have displeased Sewell. It was not mentioned by him in a letter from Montreal in September 1799, adressed to Lieutenant William Hall at the Royal Artillery Headquarters in Quebec. Instead, Sewell wrote

²⁵¹ Sansom, p. 40.

²⁵² IBC 1-2695(3), photocopy of François Baillaigé's Journal (1784-1800). Baillaigé made no further entries in this matter in the Journal. Richardson, p. 79, mentions, however, that Baillaigé in 1801 "possibly prepared another 'Plan of the [old] Court House submitted to the Commissioners' (or he may still have been billing for the one prepared in 1799)."

about "our," his and Hall's, Court House in this letter, which also is quite revealing of the selective process followed by the commissioners. It reads:

My Dear Hall,

Your favour of Thursday last was a very acceptable channel of Information respecting our Court House, and the Information itself such as I could wish - one thing excepted viz. that you propose to lay the first stone before my return - For if you do "damn me if ever I call you Jack again" - I have eat the Court House and slept upon the Court House ever since I came to this great and opulent City - meetings and re-meetings, opinions and sentiments, & explanations and arguments in favor of our plan, difficulties and partial approbations with respect to size, length, breadth, height. Doors, windows, ceilings and soforth have been with me as thick as hops and produced the most agreable irregularity of thought and confusion of Ideas imaginable. - From this chaos I find it difficult to extricate myself sofar, as to give you an outline of some new ideas which I have collected upon the subject, but I can rouse myself enough to tell you that I think our Plan capable of some improvement. I see one thing as clear as mud - that this district has determined to have a Court House larger than ours - which I don't like. They should be of equal Dimensions. The wants of each let them say what they will are nearly equal - I have seen many pretty elevations in several Books of Architecture which I have here met with, but I have seen but one which is practicable of which I approve - Of this I enclose you a sketch, a poor one, but enough to give a distant idea of the Front. It gives I think a new Idea with respect to our Portico which may possibly obviate the objection I have to the inequality of the Upper Room - I send it to you for your consideration till I see you which will be (God willing) in a fortnight.

I think upon reflection since I saw you that our Clerks rooms are rather too small for reasons I will detail when I see you - Our vaults should be higher than we proposed - There should be a Door in the Session Room in the middle of the Portico and I recommend strongly to the Commiss. to ask for the Middle Door of the Intendants Palace and to take it down immediately - Our Room above should be vaulted, and if a little larger than we proposed it will not be the worse - There must be a large flight of steps up to the Portico, over the Area the whcle length of the Portico - and many other things "quae nunc prescribere longum est" - Perhaps all this is already done in your elevation but as I have not

got it or the plan I cannot avoid saying what I have - this brings me to the point for which this Letter was wrote - viz - To beg you will send me the elevation and Plan by return of Post I want it not myself but for my brother commissioners. It is essential that I should have it for them, and therefore I beg you will favor me with ... [illegible]

Commr Sewell joins me in best compliments etc.²⁵³

That Sewell's principal avocation was architecture at the time is confirmed by the sketch he attached for Hall. It is a little iron-ore ink drawing made with the aid of a ruler, somewhat smudged, but which must have taken him quite some time to produce (fig. 10). In comparing it to the stern Gibbsian structure raised 1799-1803, it is evident that Sewell's objection to the inequality of the upper room was respected.

The building retained three flat planed pavilions; monumentality was conveyed by the pedimented centre which ran the full height of the structure, but the rhythm of the bays was changed from one-three-one, to three-three-three (fig. 11). The one-storey portico suggested by Sewell is extended beyond the core, and is very heavy, with its five bay arcade of rusticated piers ending with plain single bays. The suggested termination by an entablature and balustrade moved out to the very edge of the façade is typical of the late Georgian manner. Ornamental balustrades like this one were uncommon, and seldom if ever built in the Canadas in the early years. This was due to practical concerns rather than

²⁵³ NAC, RG 1, E15A, (1799) - Quebec Court House. Letter Sewell to Hall, 22 September 1799.

aesthetic choice. Besides the extra cost, a roof with a balustrade in Quebec's inclement winters would be as inconvenient as a low pitch; it also might accumulate heavy snows which would be prevented from escaping and cause the roof to collapse under their weight.

The ubiquitous northern chimneys are forgotten in Sewell's drawing -- a Campbell-Gibbs-Morris hotchpotch -- and his façade does not have the Gibbsian quoining, of Baroque origin, which is a very common feature on neo-Palladian buildings in Quebec. The omission of the quoins must have been done purposely; these perhaps were excessive for the taste of the Judge, who had no such decorative features on his own rather austere Georgian town-house either. This "spacious and handsome" building²⁵⁴ was constructed 1803-1804 on St. Louis Street, Quebec City, where it still stands at the present day.

It is not known if Sewell ever received the drawings of the Quebec Court House for his "brother commissioners," Isaac W. Clarke, A. Davidson, L. Foucher, and the treasurer John Richardson, in Montreal. On 18 October 1799, however, William Hall sent plans, elevations and sections, with two estimates, to the Quebec commissioners. The covering letter ended with the following lines:

"should you propose any alteration in these [height of vaults and first storey], or in other parts, it should be mentioned to the Governor, before he puts his

²⁵⁴ Bouchette, p. 451.

signature to the plan."²⁵⁵

With regard to the commissioners' roles as "amateurs," and perhaps even connoisseurs, this is quite revealing. They had the final say in matters of design, as long as the Governor affixed his approbatur. The executant, however, was Hall. Point three in a resolution dated 30 December 1799, stated:

"que Monsieur Hall donnera un mémoire de la quantité nécessaire de pierres de Beauport pour les arrières voutes des fenestres des fenestres [sic] et portes et pour autres endroit ou il conviendra de l'employer."²⁵⁶

His capacity is also confirmed by a voucher of 1 March 1803 for William Hall, Superintendent, granting him £30.0.0 for sundry plans, elevations and sections from 24 September 1799, and monies "short added" to him as Superintendant 1799-1803 for 104 days at 10 Shillings.²⁵⁷

Chief Justice Monk's name is missing from the list of the commissioners for the Montreal Court House, built 1799-1803. An explanation might be that his legal and political dealings and frequent absences from Montreal would complicate his attending the meetings. That he should have no influence over the project, or otherwise remain uninvolved and ignorant, is unlikely. Especially as in March 1803, the supervisor of the works, William Gilmore, was assigned by

²⁵⁵ NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 15. Quebec Court House.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 20. Quebec Court House.

Monk to inspect the construction work at Monkville.²⁵⁸ Considering that Gilmore was employed for similar services at the site for Simon McTavish's country house towards the end of that same year,²⁵⁹ his talents and ability must have been favourably regarded.

Whether Gilmore came from Britain, or was an American Loyalist remains undisclosed; the name, though, suggests a Scottish provenance. He was a stone carver and a master mason by profession, and an active member of the Scotch Presbyterian Church at St. Gabriel Street in Rev. John Young's time [1792-1802].²⁶⁰ Later, around 1805, Gilmore and his son Arthur, also a mason, and "of the Barrack Department"²⁶¹ were subscribers to pews in the projected

²⁵⁸ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 3 Mars 1803, Marché no. 102.

²⁵⁹ ANQM, J.Gerbrand Beek, N.P., 8 December 1803, no. 1763A, Contract to Build a Dwelling House, Simon McTavish vs. Gilbert Duchatel and Jean Baptiste Séné.

²⁶⁰ Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887) 57 and 137.

²⁶¹ Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto. In the records of St. Gabriel Street Church 1 November 1814 was registered the burial of "Arthur Gilmor of the Barrack Department age thirty nine years died at Laprarie on the twentieth day of October last." Witnesses were Wm Marten and the prominent Scottish taylor and merchant Beniah Gibb. On 12 August 1807 "Arthur Gilmour of Montreal, Master Mason, aged thirty two years" had married the 18 year old Mary Kay, according to the same records, which were witnessed by the couple and William and Robert Gilmore.

Episcopal Church in Montreal.²⁶² On 30 December 1807 "Messieurs William and Arthur Gilmore, Mrs Maçons" engaged a fifteen-year-old, Pierre Dumoulin, as an apprentice until his 21st year "sans lui céder ni cacher aucune chose."²⁶³

A third Gilmore, Robert, is entered upon the records of the St. Gabriel Street church as a "clerk at the stone [store?] keeper general's department."²⁶⁴ He must have been closely related to the others, as he had a son baptized as William Arthur Robert in May 1807, and the ceremony was witnessed by himself and William and Arthur Gilmore.²⁶⁵

The Court House in Montreal seems to have been William Gilmore's first major contract in that city. William Hall drew up the plans and sections, and assisted "the commissioners at various times in carrying on the building" and was paid £50 currency for his services 24 October 1800.²⁶⁶ On 2 December 1799, John Richardson had been

²⁶² NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 26. "List of subscribers for pews with Protestant Episcopal Church in Montreal - who have paid the whole or part of their subscriptions." No date. 1805 conjectural; William Berczy received payments for "sundry drafts etc. of a church," 19 March 1805, and William Gilmore was paid for preparing cut stone for the same church, 30 March 1805.

²⁶³ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 30 December 1807. Engagement de Pre Demoulin à William & Arthur Guilmor.

²⁶⁴ Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto. St. Gabriel Street church records: Baptism of William Arthur Robert Gilmor, 12 May 1807.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 15.

requested "please to pay to Mr. Louis Charland the sum of ten Guineas for services by him done about surveying the lot of the ground and about a plan, etc. of the Court House."²⁶⁷ There seems to be little doubt, therefore, about Hall's responsibility for the final design of the building, Charland surveyed the lot and made a plan or map. From surviving documents it is clear that Charland was active as a surveyor between 1790 and 1813. In July 1803, for instance, Simon McTavish used his services for surveying land he had bought from Charles Partenait in the St. Antoine Suburb,²⁶⁸ where he later that year commenced building a country house under Gilmore's supervision.

Bosworth and Clerk named François Xavier Daveluy dit

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ ANQM, CA-601/16-1, Louis Charland, Arpenteur. Charland was the author of several major surveys, and of the complete "Plan de la ville et cité de Montréal 1801," [NAC, R 340, Montreal 1801 (copy 1919, E.P.J. Courval)]. For the time he was singular in that he almost always signed with a title under his name which facilitates following his career. First he styled himself "Arpenteur." McTavish's certificate, was signed with "Arpenteur Juré." In English documents he called himself "underwritten landsurveyor," and signed himself "Sworn Surveyor." In 1803 he also wrote "Inspecteur des Chemins," and in 1806 "Surveyor for this Province." Before his disappearance in 1813, Charland received an assignment in 1812 to survey some ten lots near rue Champs de Mars sold by James McGill, John Richardson and Jean Marie Mondelet "Commisaires appointées en verty d'un Acte intitulé Acte pour enlever les anciens murs et les fortifications de la ville de Montréal et pour voir autrement à la salubrité, commodité et embellissement de la dite ville."

A miniature portrait of Louis Charland, made by William Berczy [1744-1813] ca. 1799 is kept at ASQ. It is executed in watercolour on paper, and reproduced in John Andre's William Berczy, Co-Founder of Toronto (Toronto: Ortoprint, 1967) 72-73.

Larose as the "builder" of the Montreal Court House.²⁶⁹ "Builder" is a general term which can be interpreted in many ways, and it does not disclose the exact function of the title-bearer. A closer look at the contracts will in several instances reveal and separate the functions, and in the case of Daveluy, in present-day English he was what would be referred to as general contractor.

Daveluy, a mason, was paid close to £3000 currency for his work and material on 20 December 1800.²⁷⁰ Previously, on 24 April, he had signed a contract with the Commissioners "pour la construction d'une salle de justice" where "Messieurs François Davelui La Rose et Barile Proulx maitre entrepreneur ... promettens en s'engagens avec ... [les] Commissaires appointés pour la Batisse d'une Chambre d'audience à Montréal de contracter en passer marché obligatoire ... pour la dite Batisse sur tel plan qui sera approuvé par S. Exc. le Lieutenant Gouverneur de cette Province."²⁷¹ The third condition in this contract eliminates any further doubt about Daveluy's function, stating:

"Que les dits Srs Entrepreneurs suivrons et exécutons les directions de telles personnes appointés pour Surintendant, ou de la part desd. Srs Commissaires pour veiller à l'exécution et regularité de l'ouvrage."

²⁶⁹ Bosworth, p. 158, and Clerk, p. 80.

²⁷⁰ NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 18.

²⁷¹ ANQM, Louis Chaboillez, N.P., 24 April 1800, no. 4062.

William Gilmore, master mason, was the executive supervisor, suggesting that he also interpreted drawings. Among his sundry expenses, for which he was reimbursed 23 December 1800, were his expenditures for a "Courier for bringing Plans from Quebec" and the "Constables for attending the procession at Laying the Corner Stone." His yearly salary was £91.5.0 currency, to which should be added the money he made on the contract he held jointly with "Arthur Gilmor" where they agreed "to furnish and del' or the cut stone that shall be required for the said building [Court House], that is to say, for Vaults, Doors, Jambs, and Windows, plain Quoins of quinces for the Angles etc."²⁷² They also provided piers for two double gates and two single gates, and built the wall and coping in front of the Court House, and cut the stone for the frontispiece.

In spite of Jonathan Sewell's objections, Montreal's Court House was made larger than its counterpart in Quebec. It did have three storeys and nine bays, but these were distributed through five pavilions on a 144 foot long main façade,²⁷³ not three on 136 feet as in the Capital.²⁷⁴ The terminals, moreover, were framed in quoining, and adorned

²⁷² NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 20. From undated Copy: "Contract for Stone Cutters work - Messrs William and Arthur Gilmor."

²⁷³ Bouchette, p. 150. The depth of the building is not indicated by the author.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 434. The "breadth" of the building was 44 feet.

with Venetian windows on the upper storeys and a Diocletian window, [semi-circular spanning with two upright mullions], on the ground floor. The monotonous rhythm of the Quebec model was broken, and the astylar formula was less austere. The façade was also given a more plastic quality by alternating the advancement and the recession of the pavilions (fig. 12).

The centre was pedimented, and rectangular apertures were pierced in the recesses of blind arcading.²⁷⁵ The Palladian balance between wall and voids was carefully followed, but not the hierarchical order of the windows, which were of equal size in the upper storeys. This is rarely seen in Gibbs's buildings, for instance, but could have been a concession to requirements of interior lighting. A

²⁷⁵ In the chapter "Au Québec," p. 81, in Les premiers palais de justice au Canada (Ottawa: Environnement Canada, 1983), Margaret Carter, ed., André Giroux writes about the Court House that: "Les détails d'inspiration classique de ce bâtiment (fig. 1), fenêtres en forme de niche, pilastres, et fronton démontrent une influence nettement britannique." The figure he refers to (p. 82) has the caption "Premier palais de justice de Montréal. Construction 1800-1813; architecte inconnu. Ce bâtiment fut incendié en 1844." Giroux's details do not fit his illustration, a chromolithograph of 1865 by John Walker, showing John Ostell's [1813-1892] Court House, 155 Notre Dame St. E., built 1850-1856. This building replaced the first court house; cpr. Ellen James, John Ostell, Architect, Surveyor (Montreal: McCord Museum, McGill University, 1985) cover and p. 77. Nor do they fit John Drakes 1828 rendition of the first court house. This was completed in May 1802 when John Richardson paid among others "William Gilmore for a Years Salary, Fras. X Daveluy for Builing a Wall, and Tous. Peltier for Laying pavement (NAC, RG 1, E15A. Montreal Court House 1802). In 1813 "Repairs" had been "Done Out, as well as Inside of the Court House" by the firm of Chevalier & Phillips (ANQM, J.M. Mondelet, N.P., 15 August 1813, no. 3606).

modillioned cornice carried the commonplace hipped roof, and in Daveluy's accounts, no.76, there is a charge of £2.10.0 for "colouring the Gables." The central pediment contained the "king's arms" and Sansom mentioned that they were "elaborately executed in Coade's artificial stone."²⁷⁶

The execution in Coade Stone of the royal arms must have pleased the Commissioners; when it came to ordering a statue of Lord Nelson in 1807-1808, "the Committe for erecting a

²⁷⁶ Sansom, p. 73. - Coade stone, despite appearances, is a kind of fired clay-product similar to terra cotta, and normally pale-cream-coloured. It can also be greyer, pinker or whiter depending on the different metallic oxides which are added to the clay. Coade stone was produced 1769-1840, and has proven more durable than most natural stone. Its formula, long lost, is now chemically known, and a constituent of vital importance was grog, or ground-up pottery. "Almost certainly this was the secret of the extraordinary stability of Coade stone in the kiln and of its exceptionally small rate of shrinkage." Alec Clifton-Taylor & A.S. Ireson, English Stone Building (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1983) 240. The use of grog was implied in the 1790s when the Coades actually referred to their product as Lithodipyra (ibid.). Practically all leading architects and "builders" of the time are found in the surviving records of the manufactory at Narrow Wall, Lambeth, in England [Alison Kelly, "Coade Stone in Georgian Architecture," Architectural History, 28:1985, p.71 and note 2]. Robert Adam, William Chambers, Robert Mitchell, John Plaw and Paul Sandby are among those recorded, so are Charles Bulfinch and Henry Latrobe. How Sansom learned about "Coade's artificial stone" is not known, but in 1784 Eleanor Coade's company listed more than 750 of its items in a catalogue, and perhaps some copies reached the Colonies. Standard American architectural writing is silent about Coade stone, yet John Tayloe III ordered bases and capitals for front porch columns, and fitted two rooms with chimney-pieces made of this material in his Washington, D.C., residence, the Octagon. It was designed by Dr. William Thornton and built 1798-1800. [George McCue, The Octagon (Washington, D.C.:American Institute of Architects Foundation, 1976) 41-45]. The capitals are classical Ionic and the mantels are decorated in a rather elaborate Adam style, and remain in situ in an excellent state of repair.

monument to the memory of the late Lord Nelson" again chose this material.²⁷⁷ Among the members of the committee were John Richardson from the Court House, and James Monk. They had a design prepared by an architect in London, Robert Mitchell,²⁷⁸ at a cost of £25. To this was added £11.5.0 for his "making out all the working drawings with particular directions for Executing the Pillar with the stone of Canada from the foundation upwards," and another £25 "for the working drawings & Instructions in Superintending the Execution of the artificial stone ornament during the time

²⁷⁷ In Montreal there are three known instances where Coade stone was used: the "King's Arms" mentioned before and statue of Nelson, and the bas-relief plaques with John Flaxman-like designs, which decorated the main façade of the first Bank of Montreal built in 1818. The latter, four in number, represent Agriculture, Manufacturing, Navigation and Commerce, and are now displayed in the bank's building at Place d'Armes. The connecting link in the acquisition of the armorial, the statue and the emblematic devices seems to be John Richardson, who was a commissioner at each project.

²⁷⁸ Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, (London: John Murry, 1978) 553-54. Little is known about Mitchell's provenance; he is said to have been born in Aberdeen, and was practising in London from 1782 onwards. Identified works by him exist from c.1770 to 1800. In 1801 he published Plans, etc. of Buildings erected in England and Scotland; with an Essay to elucidate the Grecian, Roman, and Gothic Architecture. His last known oeuvre was the design of the Nelson Column with its explicit iconography. The source for this type of neo-classical monument was Trajan's Column [180-193 A.D]. Yet instead of the spiralling low relief on it - a bande dessinée illustrating the emperor's victories - Mitchell chose medallions, a mode found on the Arch of Constantine [312-315 A.D]. These medallions with sculpture in bas-relief are placed on a cubical base upon which rests a plain Doric [Tuscan] column carrying the 8-foot-tall figure of Nelson.

they were Executing at Coade & Sealy's Manufactory."²⁷⁹

Locally Monk and his "brother commissioners" made William Gilmore their executive supervisor and contractor of the works. This was concurrent with a similar function entrusted to Gilmore at the new Gaol, constructed 1808 to 1813,²⁸⁰ and these became his final assignments. His role in erecting the Nelson monument is made clear in a letter of 18 April 1808, from the Committee's London agents, accompanying the Bill of Lading for "17 packages" containing "Ornamental parts of the Monument intended to commemorate Lord Nelson's Victories."²⁸¹ "Also enclosed," they wrote, is "a letter from Messrs Coade & Sealy noting the content of each separate package giving instruction as to the manner of placing and fixing the whole with the mode of making the necessary Cement which we hope will be sufficiently understood by your artists or masons..."²⁸²

Preparation of the column had already gone ahead in Montreal, for which Gilmore and his son Arthur were paid £100

²⁷⁹ Chateau Ramezay, Montreal, Comité Monument Nelson, correspondence 1805-1810.

²⁸⁰ The dates of construction for this prison vary in different secondary sources. Often quoted is J. Douglas Borthwick, From Darkness to Light. (Montreal: 1907), which is a history of Montreal's prisons from 1760 to 1907. On pp.11-12 the author is mistaken on the date of construction and confuses this prison with the building replacing it.

²⁸¹ Chateau Ramezay, Montreal, Comité Monument Nelson, correspondence 1805-1810.

²⁸² Ibid.

currency on 1 October 1807.²⁸³ The mounting and inauguration of the monument probably was planned for 1808 as the inscription on the western and front panel on the plinth indicates.²⁸⁴ Why the "17 packages Ornamental Parts," which arrived at Montreal on 12 July 1808,²⁸⁵ were stored until 1809 is uncertain. Evidently there was a change of mind with regard to the permanent location of the memorial. As late as 11 July 1809 at "Special Sessions of the Peace, Mssrs Richardson, Chaboillez, the Chief Justice Monk with Mr Ogilvy of the Committe for erecting a monument etc..., requested the consent of the Magistrates to erect the same on the Upper part of the New Market."²⁸⁶ The "Upper part" was specified as being the North West end of the market, and the motion sought for a lot "not exceeding 30 feet square."²⁸⁷

The original site chosen for Nelson's column seems to have been beside the Eastern transept of the Protestant

283 Ibid.

284 The closing words of the text on the panel read: "This Monumental Column was erected by the Inhabitants of Montreal, In the Year 1808." It is placed under the crocodile [seven feet long and ten inches high] recalling Nelson's first major naval victory, the Battle of the Nile against the French, in August 1798. The emblematic beast cost £10.10, and was not included in the original contract [Chateau Ramezay, document 2224].

285 Elizabeth Collard, "Nelson in Old Montreal, A Coade Memorial," Country Life, 24 July 1969, p. 211.

286 Chateau Ramezay, Montreal, Comité Monument Nelson, correspondence 1805-1810.

287 Ibid.

Church [formerly the Church of the Jesuit College] on Notre Dame Street. This is learnt from an undated fragment of a map,²⁸⁸ probably made after the fire of June 1803 which "injured the church itself as to render it useless for the purposes of worship."²⁸⁹ The ruinous state of the church is clearly indicated on this map by the stippled outline of the apse, the East side and the South front; only the Western wall and transept are drawn in continuous line. In a small square space close to the outline of the Eastern transept is written "NELSON'S Column," with markings on two sides of "30 feet." This confirms an intended location of the memorial different from the final position in the New Market. On Gother Mann's Map of Montreal 1802,²⁹⁰ the site by the church which was intended for Nelson is already indicated, and it is possible, therefore, that the Admiral would have replaced an earlier religious monument.

Today the column still stands, and on the upper West end of the New Market [Place Jacques Cartier] as requested by the Commissioners in 1809. Maybe the survival of the almost 200-

²⁸⁸ NMC, H3/340, Montreal [1848]. Attached to: "Thompson and Parry 1848, Submission for new Courthouse and Gaol." The material, probably linen, and the style of writing on the fragment bely the date of the map together with which it has been catalogued.

²⁸⁹ Bosworth, p. 101.

²⁹⁰ NMC 11053. "Plan of the Town and the Fortifications of Montreal shewing the Reserves now proposed to be made for military purposes 1802 etc...submitted by Gother Mann, Col. Command. R. Eng., Quebec 11 November 1802."

year-old monument can be attributed to the masons' expertise and skill, and the decision not to carry its height above the 50 to 60 feet prescribed by Mitchell.²⁹¹ According to Bosworth, moreover, at the laying of the first cut stone for the foundation 17 August 1809, a plate of lead was deposited, bearing the names of the executive Committee, also mentioning that the monument was erected "under the direction of William Gilmore, stone-cutter and mason, from designs obtained from _____ Mitchell, an architect in London."²⁹² It appears that with this credit Gilmore had received a final and official accolade from his contemporaries.

Despite these indications, Gilmore never could have taken part in other than preparatory stone-cutting work, prior to the actual raising of the column. A receipt for £50 currency "on account of disbursements in the erection of the Lord Nelson Monument" was signed 5 August 1809 by his son Arthur,²⁹³ who in extant documents never has been called other than a stone-cutter. His new role as supervisor is recorded in an invoice from Joseph Gauvin, a contractor:

²⁹¹ Collard, p. 211.

²⁹² Bosworth, pp. 153-54. -- Among the Chateau Ramezay "Comité Monument Nelson" documents there is a draft for the text of this plaque which is almost identical to Bosworth's, except that it omits Gilmore's Christian name. In this context can also be mentioned that Bosworth's description of Nelson's monument is one of the more substantial, and that the details seem to be correct.

²⁹³ Chateau Ramezay, Montreal, Comité Monument Nelson, correspondence 1805-1810.

Doit Mss Commis. au monument de Nelson à Joseph Gauvin
par l'ordre de M. Gilimort savoir
1809

Juillet 10	-fourni 25 madrie de chaine	11-13-4
	-faire une calotte pour couvrir des dessus du monument	-13-
Sept. 29	-pour avoir fait une planche dans l'angare pour placer le statue Nelson	-06-
1810 Mai 24	-faire les moules pour les barotin pour rentourer le monument	-18-

which is signed "The above is just, A. Gilmor [sic]." ²⁹⁴

In the meantime, Arthur Gilmore also had extended his business; on 27 April 1809 the following advertisement was inserted in the bilingual Quebec Gazette:

- The Subscriber begs leave to inform the Gentlemen of Quebec that he has appointed EDWARD CANNON and SONS his agents in that City. - He has always on hand a general assortment of Chimney pieces, hearth, tomb and head stones, &c. &c. from the quarries near Montreal nearly equal in beauty, and superior in duration to the best Marble. Samples may be seen by applying to his agents.
- Also a small quantity of American Marble on hand.

The liaison with the Cannon Company tied together the business of the two most important British families of master-masons and building contractors in Lower Canada.

The Cannons, Edward [1739-1814], and his sons Lawrence [1780-1815] and John [1783-1833] came to Quebec from Newfoundland in 1795, where Edward had arrived from Ireland in 1774.²⁹⁵ Edward was the master mason, supervisor and inspector for the stone-cutting intended for the Anglican Cathedral, and according to Robe, he and his sons "laid

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Richardson et al., pp. 167-69

almost all cut stone ... a considerable part which was cut by them and also part of the ornamental stonework", such as the Ionic capitals of the exterior pilasters, and sculpted vases.²⁹⁶ They also executed the masonry of the Prison [Morin College] in 1808,²⁹⁷ of which François Baillaigé was the architect; and they held contracts for a number of important private constructions. John was a legislator and an architect as well, and the inventory of his assets made after his death listed several books on architecture including "Ware's Architecture...", "Treatise of fortification...", "Hopper's Architecture...", "Builder's Jewel..." and "Benjamin's Rudiments."²⁹⁸ Once, at least, the father had been called architect; in a document placed in the cornerstone of the Union Hotel in Quebec, built in 1805,²⁹⁹ and which was one of the earliest major British commercial undertakings.

A similar situation applies to William Gilmore, he also

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 167

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 168. -- To this list must also be added John Cannon's signed copy of James Gibbs's A Book of Architecture [second ed. 1739], which is kept at the McGill University collections in Montreal. Cannon's name and the date, possibly 1806, has been scratched over by the next owner who was Thomas Baillaigé [1791-1859]. He acquired the book upon Cannon's death in 1833, as the date after his signature indicates. Moreover, he seems to have presented Gibbs to his cousin, Charles Baillaigé [1826-1906], the year prior to his own death. This is suggested by a third signature on the titlepage, "Chs Baillaigé 1858."

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 167.

received the title of architect on odd occasions. Once in 1800, he was called "Stone Cutter & Architect" and as such should provide, set, and put up the cut stone for an arched doorway for the parish church being built at Boucherville. This church, the "Sainte-Famille," was the first undertaken by the curate Pierre Conefroy, and was built on an absidal Latin-cross-plan to a very influential design.³⁰⁰ A second time, many years later, and posthumously, Gilmore was recorded as architect in a "Statement of Account for monies expended in the Common Gaol at Montreal," dated 19 December 1812, and on a salary voucher paid to his estate.³⁰¹ The statement reads "To William Gilmore Architect for superintending the mason work per account No. 7, £22.15.- paid in full per voucher No. 8."³⁰² Signed by Arthur

³⁰⁰ ANQM, Peter Lukin père, N.P., 28 October 1800, no. 1972, Articles of Agreement between William Gilmore & François Xavier Lapevieve Esq. & alii. Gilmore will cut the stone on his premises in the Quebec suburb. As to the design of the "church door" it reads: "agreeable to a plan thereof immediately delivered over to the said William Gilmore the same having been first signed by the said Parties & P. Lukin one of us the said notaries, en vouttes which the said William Gilmore declares well to know and understand..." The parish church in Boucherville was the first of Conefroy's churches on what in Quebec has been labelled the Conefroy plan. Conefroy, called Godefroy and Godfroy in the document, is found among those who signed the agreement. In 1811, in a "Marché entre François Lacroix et Arthur Gilmor" (ANQM, J.A. Gray, N.P., 2 March 1811, no. 3042) it is stated that Arthur G. will furnish the cut stone for "l'église de Ste Marie," that sixteen windows must "en tout conformer à celle de Boucherville et dont les clefs impostes ... seront saillans."

³⁰¹ NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 24, Public Building.

³⁰² Ibid.

Gilmore, 20 May 1809, this voucher continues: "The Honorable Pierre Louis Panet etc.... To the Estate of the late William Gilmore, Architect Drs. For superintending the Mason work of the said Gaol [in the City of Montreal], per appointment from the third day of June 1808, to the first day of September following being ninety one days at five Shillings Curcy. per day etc."³⁰³ Gilmore had died 25 September 1808³⁰⁴ and was no longer alive when the first cut stone of the foundation was laid for Nelson's Column on 17 August 1809, although the commemorative lead plate suggests the contrary.

It is difficult to say what Gilmore's title of Architect, indicated beyond his usual responsibilities for the execution and supervision of mason-work. The statement refers yet to another titular Architect, Louis Charland, the "sworn surveyor." As was his custom, he signed with a title, and for duties carried out for the Gaol he affixed "Archte" or "Archte de la prison."³⁰⁵ In that function he was employed twice, from 1 January 1808 to 1 January 1810, and from 1 April 1811 to 1 July 1812. His salary was £100

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto. St. Gabriel street church records furnish the particulars: "William Gilmor of Montreal Stone Cutter aged fifty nine years, died on the twenty fifth instant & was buried the twenty seventh day of September one thousand eight hundred & eight in presence of these witnesses," signed: Arthur Gilmor, Robert Gilmore and I. Sommerville Min.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

currency per annum,³⁰⁶ against the £91 paid to Gilmore.

To Charland's title of Architect is also added Superintendant and Inspector, and the text on a surviving voucher throws some light on his mandate:

"To Louis Charland, Architect. For his salary and allowance as inspector and superintendant of the building [the Gaol at Montreal], and also for plans furnished at various times by order of the Commissioners between the 1st day of January 1808, and 1st January 1810. 2 Years at £100 Curcy per Annum by agreement. For ditto, from the 1st day of April 1811 to the 1st day of July 1812, ditto £125."³⁰⁷

Did Charland therefore, like Robe for example, make the designs and "all the detail drawings for the guidance of the artificers"? It is probable he did. In the twelve-page-long list of specifications for the masonry to the Gaol, is the statement

"Le tout sera fait sous la conduite et direction de Maître Louis Charland qui a fait les dessins du dit bâtiment et qui donnera a l'entrepreneur les profils particuliers pour toutes les parties d'architecture qu'il conviendra."³⁰⁸

To this is added in the margin: "ou celui qu'il plaira aux dits Commissaires d'appointer au lieu et place du dit Louis Charland."³⁰⁹

The Gaol was a plain structure with three pavilions, the

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ ANQM, J.A. GRAY, N.P., 27 February 1808, no. 2034. "Dévis et Marché de la maçonnerie d'une prison pour le District de Montreal."

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

central pedimented, and terminated by a hipped roof with a lantern. It was adorned with keystones and quoining, and a string course on the façade accentuated the separation of the major floors.³¹⁰ This form had become a theme with very few variations (fig. 70), and was to remain consistent for administrative buildings for many years in the early nineteenth century. The building type, differing from that of the Court House for example, was not new in Quebec, and did not require a particularly inventive mind in designing. A surveyor and a master-mason in consultation with "amateur" commissioners would provide all the skills needed.³¹¹

The general contractor for the Gaol was F.X. Daveluy dit Larose, who ran up the highest account, amounting to £6072 currency and a few shilling and pence. The supplier of some of the more elegant features was Arthur Gilmore: "For two cutstone Pillars and vases, and coping in the front of the building," he received £135 currency as per the agreement.³¹² A handsome vase or urn, similar to those at the Gaol entrance, had also been placed as a finial on the central pediment of the Court House in a Gibbsian touch.³¹³

³¹⁰ Clerk, p. 81, ill. 32.

³¹¹ The surveyor also designed a weighing hall and house to be built at the old market according to another contract (ANQM, Thomas Barron, N.P., 25 July 1809, no. 1579).

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Clerk, p. 80, ill. 31.

There is, moreover, another similar vase still extant at the McGill Monument, of which a replica stands on the University campus in front of the Arts Building, and it is possible that it came from Arthur Gilmore's "general assortment of hearth, tomb and headstones etc. etc. from the quarries near Montreal..."

Before undertaking the supervision of work on the Gaol and the Nelson column, William Gilmore had been in charge of the construction of the Episcopal Church in Montreal.³¹⁴ The inventive designer of this Anglican parish church was William Berczy [1744-1830], painter, architect, author and colonizer. Berczy was born and educated in the German states, and was one of the founders and earliest settlers of York [Toronto]. His first visit to Quebec took place in 1802, and in August 1803 he won an architectural competition for Christ Church in Montreal.³¹⁵ That the design would have to be inspired by Gibbs's churches was probably a condition for entry, as Anglicans regularly gave preference to these as models for orthodox and religiously appropriate centres of worship.³¹⁶

In March of 1805 Berczy signed a receipt from Mr Fred. W. Ermantinger, Treasurer to the Committee etc..., for "thirty pounds currency for sundry drafts &c of a Church made

³¹⁴ Bosworth, p. 102.

³¹⁵ Canadian Magazine, (1825) 125.

³¹⁶ Clerk, p. 25.

at the request of the said Committee."³¹⁷ Gilmore received £100 currency, and £30 currency "on account of Cut stone preparing by him for the Episcopal Church," 30 March and 27 April, 1805 respectively.³¹⁸ The structure took almost 15 years to complete, and Gilmore was no longer alive when the steeple finally was raised, and then not in stone as earlier planned, but in wood. Yet the masonry work of the core had advanced quickly; already in December of the same year the Committee requested that "Mr Pierre Poitras [sic]" should be paid forty pounds currency on account of his contract "for covering in tin the church." For this sum he signed a receipt on 10 December 1805.³¹⁹ In 1806 Poitra received further payments on the same contract. This was not the first time that this master-carpenter and contractor had worked under the stewardship of Gilmore; they had already co-operated at the construction of Monk's and McTavish's country houses in 1803-1804, according to the contracts.

³¹⁷ NAC, RG 1, E15A, vol. 26.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

JAMES MONK'S MONKVILLE AT MONTREAL

Grounds and Husbandry

To the Powell property bought at auction in 1795, James Monk added more land which he seems to have acquired from the Hurtubise family, 27 April 1796 as is documented in the Sulpician archives.³²⁰ Exactly how large an area Monkville covered at Monk's death in 1826 it has proved difficult to establish. Yet there is a later lease in which the references give a good approximation of the acreage.

No land deals seem to have been made between the distribution of Monk's estate and 6 October 1828, when the farm house was leased to a tenement farmer, with the "Barn, Stables and Cowhouse," and the land belonging to it, "being

³²⁰ Information from McGill University, Nobbs Room # 8, unpublished essay by D. Irene Droste, "History of the Villa Maria Convent, Montreal," (1959) 6: "The Sulpicians have evidence that Monk bought property on April 27, 1796, from the Hurtubise family, who had bought a large portion of the western section of the Sulpician's land in 1700." -- The present archivist at the Sulpician archives in Montreal, M. Harel could neither verify Droste's statement, nor arrange access to the archives.

one hundred and eighty five acres more or less."³²¹ The lessor George William Aubrey of "Monkland in the Parish and County of Montreal" and his wife Elizabeth Ann Monk reserved for their "benefit and enjoyment the Mansion House and all buildings adjoining."³²² They also excluded from the lease the yard and the garden, and "a piece of land recently enclosed by a railing," and the road from the house "to the outer gate at the King's Highway."³²³ Regarding the size of the estate, the conclusion that can be drawn from the information in this lease is that Monkville comprised at least 185 acres. This was not a very large area, yet Monk's farm, or villa, compares quite well to the farm of one of the wealthiest men in Montreal, Simon McTavish, which contained about 300 acres.³²⁴

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, Monkville lay at a distance of some three kilometres north west of what was left of the crenellated city walls.³²⁵ The estate was reached by way of the Cote Saint Antoine Road. Travelling on

³²¹ ANQM, Henry Griffin, N.P., 6 October 1828, no. 7888. Farm Lease for 3 Years from George W. Aubrey, Esq., to Arthur Hopper.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ The Montreal Herald, 11 January 1817. Advertisement: "Farm to Let ... at the Mountain, belonging to the estate of the late Simon McTavish etc."

³²⁵ De Bougainville, p. 582, under Observations: "Mont-Réal, mal fortifiée avec un mur crénelé."

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horseback or in caleche could be arduous, and sometimes dangerous, especially during wet seasons. In October 1814 Monk reported that his niece Elizabeth might picture him as "a Hermit and Herself as a Solitary Nun. Husbandry, Politics, Philosophy and Family, without Company, Parties or the Gay world. What a dreary scare! But to be serious," he added, "my time, and the very bad Roads have confined us more than desired."³²⁶

Because of these inconveniences, most of the new monied administrators of the British élite chose locations closer to the urban centre. On the skirts of the mountain, there were by 1815 many good country-houses possessing all the requisites of desirable residences.³²⁷ Yet the area near town, and all round the lower part of the mountain was

"chiefly occupied by orchards and garden-grounds; the latter producing vegetables of every description, and excellent in quality.... The orchards afforded apples not surpassed in any country."³²⁸

At the more distant estate of Monkville, there were orchards also, yielding upwards of 100 barrels of apples in 1826,³²⁹ and garden-grounds. On one occasion Monk wished he could send some of his harvest of thirteen hundred bushels of

³²⁶ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to sister-in-law Elizabeth Monk, Monkville, 28 October 1814.

³²⁷ Bouchette, p. 160.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Draft addressed to Sir J. Monk, dated Grace Hall, 27 October 1826. -- Grace Hall was Peter Pangman's residence at Mascouche.

potatoes, "garden stuff and produce in proportion," to his relatives in Nova Scotia.³³⁰ In addition to the orchards and gardens, Monk owned forests, had planted trees, and was involved with animal husbandry, like his father although he did not, like him, live in "continual misery." On the contrary, Monkville in Montreal was profitable, and upon information that the Monk family was reinstalled in Halifax N.S., and could be reached by sailing vessels, the "gratified" Chief Justice declared:

"I shall have the means of making the produce of Monk Ville present itself at your table. I shall endeavor to ship by a vessel the first that goes, 3 bls of Flour, 1 of Rye & 2 of Indian Meal. 1 brl. of Ham & Chops, 1 of Pork, 1,5 brs of Butter and another of Hogs Lard for your good fish and frying pan."³³¹

In 1796 the Monks also became proprietors of a city dwelling, or a "new Villa delightfully situated, commanding a beautiful prospect near to a plentiful & cheap market" in Montreal. It is here that Mrs. Monk seems to have resided, rather than sharing her husband's country lodgings.³³² On 9 October 1803 a nephew, James Frederick [James], met "Mrs.

³³⁰ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to sister-in-law Elizabeth Monk, Monkville 28 October 1814.

³³¹ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, letter incomplete, n.d.

³³² NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19, G.H. Monk to sister-in-law Elizabeth Monk in Montreal, 27 September 1796. This "Villa" was possibly the residence at 36 St Jacques, listed under "Monk, The Honble. James, President and Administrator in Chief," in Thomas Doige An Alphabetical list of the Merchants, Traders, and Housekeepers residing in Montreal. (Montreal: James Lane, 1819).

Monk, ... a very well informed woman," who displayed "pleasing manners," and she invited him to tea at her "holdings" in Montreal, where she had been, as he said, ever since his Uncle had moved out of Town.³³³

When the Chief Justice had removed to the country, it was to the former Powell farm with "a house, barn and other buildings." What the "other buildings" comprised at the time of Monk's takeover is not known. In 1826, however, he searched for a purchaser of the estate which he estimated to be worth £5.000, and a private inventory taken then discloses that there were hot-houses, stables, coach- and farm-houses, a "small house near the mansion house - the Temple," and the mansion house; all in good repair.³³⁴

The hot-houses kept by Monk are evidence of his interest in amateur agronomics, similar to that of his late father. At the end of the eighteenth century, hot-houses do not seem to have been common: Mrs. Simcoe reported that "la Baronne" [Lemoine de Longueuil] had the only hot-house she had seen in Canada.³³⁵ Ice-houses, on the other hand, were "very

³³³ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. James Frederick to sister Eliza in Windsor, N.S., October 1803. James Frederick also told her that Mrs. Monk was unacquainted with what their Uncle was doing, "which appeared rather strange" to him. A likely explanation is that the couple had separated, as Monk made no further written reference to his wife.

³³⁴ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Drafts [by nephew George Henry?] addressed to J. Monk, dated Montreal, 22 July 1826, and 27 October 1826.

³³⁵ Robertson, pp. 97-98, from Mrs. Simcoe's diary-entry 19 June 1792.

general ... but seldom used for the purpose of furnishing ice for a dessert."³³⁶ The ice was used to cool liquors and butter, and the ice houses served as larders to keep meat.³³⁷ Ice houses were, indeed, traditional, and the lack of reference to them in the Monkville inventory is conspicuous.

The "Temple" is as worthy of note as the hot-houses. It was an empty building, without any "injury" except that some of the "plaistering" had fallen down.³³⁸ Whether it was a "House of Confucius," as small structures in the Chinese style often were called, or a Neo-classical temple, similar to the Duke of Kent's "Round House," it is not possible now to establish. Monk would surely have been acquainted with both Haldimand's, later Kent's, house [Montmorency] and the "Lodge" on the grounds of which such structures had been erected.

There seems to have been a certain predeliction for the Chinese temples, and smaller paper- or wood-models were used for decorative purposes at indoor festivities, as evidenced by the specification in Baillaireg 's Journal:

"livrez aux Cuisini  du Chateau deux tourelles ou pavillions chinois de divers Couleurs avec leurs

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to nephew G.H. Monk, London, August 1826, and draft for inventory addressed to J. Monk, Montreal, 22 July 1826.

Clochettes. Couleurs et fasson vaut Neuf chelin."³³⁹

Chinoiserie in its true form had made its début in the Trianon de Porcelaine [1670-71] at Versailles, and was at first a divergence, like rococo, from baroque classicism.³⁴⁰ Until the 1770s in Europe, and later in the colonies, chinoiserie centred mainly in steeply-curved bridges, pagodas, tip-tilted eaves, with or without bells, and reticulated lattice-work screens applied to walls, fences and furniture.³⁴¹

In the New World, in the young American republic, Thomas Jefferson in particular knew how to apply lattice-work with great originality, and this detail might well be considered a hallmark of his otherwise Palladian, and classically-influenced architecture. At Monticello [1769-1809], Barboursville [1817], and at the University of Virginia [1817-26], he successfully superimposed Chinese railings on classical cornices and arcades, without losing any stylistic cohesiveness. One source of inspiration for Jefferson's "chinoiserie" were plates in Sir William Chambers's [1723-1796] Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, etc. [1757], which was included in his book collections by the

³³⁹ Baillaigé, entry 16 January 1793.

³⁴⁰ Christopher Thacker, The History of Gardens (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) 175.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 176.

early 1770s.³⁴²

Chambers had tutored Prince Edward's father [later King George III] in architecture, and dedicated his Treatise on Civil Architecture [1759] to the King. Among the many royal commissions Chambers received was one at Kew, where Prince Edward grew up. The architect had been invited to adorn its gardens with some temples; and these were made "all of wood & very small" including the "very high tower [pagoda]" of 1761.³⁴³ These structures also appear as illustrations in Chambers's Of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew [1763], and quite likely these plates or images from Designs of Chinese Buildings etc., were models for Baillairegé's "tourelles" and the "Chinese temples" raised in Quebec and Nova Scotia, especially after the time of Prince Edward's stay.

Living the life of a gentleman, and being a member of Prince Edward's private circle, Chief Justice Monk would possibly try to emulate the Prince's garden, and erect a Chinese temple on his own grounds. He was, moreover, acquainted with some Chinese culture through readings of Confucius, whose teachings he had asked his nephew George Henry to forward to his nieces. The nephew obliged, and sent

³⁴² William Bainter O'Neal, Jefferson's Fine Arts Library (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976) 55.

³⁴³ Horace Walpole, Journals of Visits to Country Seats (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982) 23. These Journals are contained in two MS note-books inscribed "Book of Materials, Sept. 1759," and "Book of Materials, 1771" with contents ranging from July 1751 to September 1784.

them with some fraternal advise to "les Demoiselles Monk":

"Je crois que vous avez un petit extrait qui mon Oncle tira des ouvrages de Confucius, le Philosophe Chinois. Ce là où vous pouvez trouver des idées sur le travail qui peuvent vous être utiles. Je vous conseille de le lire souvent et de suivre l'avis qu'on y trouve."³⁴⁴

George Heriot's aquarelle of Monkville in 1813, shows neither "the Temple" nor "other buildings," but only the "mansion house" of 1803 and what could be a large barn or stables (fig. 5). The barn is a rectangular, one-storeyed building, covered by a low-pitched roof, with dormers in the English or American style. Both structures are placed in "splendid isolation" from the surroundings, and dominate the natural environment in the Palladian and English classical fashion. The architecture stands in sharp contrast to the backdrop of forest greenery, and to the lawn with clumps of deciduous trees, which stretches across the lower plane. Animating the picture are grazing cattle, and some adult figures and children walking on a country road which wends its way towards the turning staircases of the mansion.³⁴⁵

The view from "the high lands" of Monkville was never

³⁴⁴ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. G.H. Monk Jr. to Les Demoiselles Monk, Montreal, 10 August 1809.

³⁴⁵ Heriot has not identified the figures here, as he often did for example on the pictures of "Powel place" dated c. 1800, and "Fête given by Sir James Craig at Spencer Wood" of 1809 (Finley pp. 241, no. 74, and 254, no. 166 resp.). It is not impossible, however, that in the central group of four, the slender male figure to the left represents one of the nephews; the main, heavier-set male figure, carrying a staff, might be James Monk, and the two female figures, slightly to the rear, the nieces Lucy and Eliza, all of whom seem to have been in Montreal at the time.

described by Monk, but Lord Elgin was eloquent about it in the 1850s. He had resided at "Monklands," which the government had leased as the gubernatorial residence 1844-1849. In one of his Canadian leave-taking speeches Elgin assured a Montreal audience that his sojourn had been pleasant. He gives the vice-regal seat a special mention:

"...I shall remember those early months of my residence here, when I learnt in this beautiful neighbourhood to appreciate the charms of a bright Canadian winter day, and to take delight in the cheerful music of your sleigh bells. I shall remember one glorious afternoon - an afternoon in April - when, looking down from the hill at Monklands, on my return from transacting business in your city, I beheld that the vast plain stretching out before me, which I had always seen clothed in the white garb of winter, had assumed, on a sudden, and, as if by enchantment, the livery of spring; while your noble St. Lawrence, bursting through his icy fetters, had begun to sparkle in the sunshine, and to murmur his vernal hymn of thanksgiving to the bounteous Giver of light and heat..."³⁴⁶

The earliest known depictions of this view were made by an amateur artist, Mrs. A.F. Dyneley [F.D.], and date from the mid-1800's.³⁴⁷ Dyneley made at least three watercolours

³⁴⁶ Theodore Walrond ed. Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin (London, John Murray: 1872) 166. No date given, but it must have been 1851-1854, the years in which Lord Elgin expected his term as Governor General would terminate. Elgin withdrew to Monklands after his carriage had been pelted with stone on 25 and 30 April 1849 during the riots in connexion with the Rebellion Losses Bill. On 16 May his eldest son, Victor Alexander, was born (p. 86), and the Elgin family remained at the estate until the late Autumn, when it was decided that the government should alternate its sessions between Upper and Lower Canada and Montreal lost its status as capital.

³⁴⁷ Mary Allodi, Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum, 2 vols. (Toronto: The Royal Ontario Museum, 1974) 1:D. Mrs. A.F. Dyneley was the wife of Colonel Thomas Dyneley, C.B., Aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria, and

not know what sort of declining days he would have to sustain:

"It is the Stoic's, and among them particularly the first mentioned that dry my tears: and I confess, often, with shame."

"I always expect the sublime.... Wherefore then am I to deplore the departed darling of my expectations. Is it for Him: for his very uncertain loss of happiness that the tears of reason are to flow?... Is it for myself that I bewail the Stoic resolution of his?"³⁶²

Apart from physical well-being, Stoic self-sufficiency, seems to be what James Monk wished to attain at Monkville; to be able to withdraw, and learn to live the life of a sage who would receive neither injury nor insult. Yet the early death of William touched him profoundly. He could not help being vexed by the course of things,³⁶³ and was ashamed of his inability to distance himself in the manner of a Stoic.

"My Monk Ville will be solitary," he admitted, "My retreat I fear too pensively fixed..," adding:

"When Shall I hope to see my Henry, on the rural walks and participating in the comforts of a habitable cottage, now prepared for receiving the sources of social friendship, and fraternal love?"³⁶⁴

His fears were later proven well-founded; the estate was "too pensively fixed," and maybe the "comforts" of his "cottage" were intellectual rather than physical. From 1824 until his

³⁶² NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to brother G.H. Monk, Monkville 1 May 1807.

³⁶³ Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, transl. Maxwell Staniforth (London: Penguin Books, 1964) VII:38 "Vex not thy spirit at the course of things; They heed not thy vexation."

³⁶⁴ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, Montreal, 15 April 1807.

death the Chief Justice repeatedly offered Monkville for sale to several colleagues, but all his efforts were in vain.

His treasured villa was too much a symbol and a monument of the classical sage, and as such held little attraction after the Napoleonic wars. His niece, adopted daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, preferred urban Montreal to rural Monkville [Monkland], where she stayed only rarely. It was not until her demise that her husband, William Aubrey, and brother, Samuel Cornwallis, succeeded in leasing Monkland to the government as a residence for the Governor General.

The Plan of the Mansion House

When Monk started construction of his Monkville dwelling he chose the design of a two-storey pile on a raised basement with four rooms in plan and a transverse hall. Its external measures are 61 by 48 feet [18.59 by 14.63m], which translates into a ratio of circa 4:3. The general arrangement, and ratio, of this plan, to which lateral appendices were added in many instances, had become the most common of American Colonial types, and it lingered on to the 1830's.³⁶⁵ The longevity of the plan, with its rather inflexible interior arrangements, is attributed to the builders' dependance on books with illustrations by Campbell, Gibbs, and others, inspired by Inigo Jones's [1573-1672] neo-

³⁶⁵ Kimball, p. 153.

in the area; two in July 1850, one representing the "View of Nuns Island & the River near Montreal from Monklands,"³⁴⁸ and the other showing "Monklands," the residence.³⁴⁹ The third watercolour, from May 1851, is a "Sketch near Monklands, Montreal"³⁵⁰ which contains a pastoral scene, with a French-Canadian style cottage overlooking the plains and a distant mountain. The artistic quality of these renditions is mediocre, yet they communicate Kamesian grandeur and sublimity³⁵¹ with the elevated appointment of Monk's villa and "the vast plain stretching out" before it, a situation which since has been lost in the urban sprawl.

senior staff officer with the British forces in Canada 1848-1852. She often copied and signed Canadian topographical views, yet those from Monklands seem to be her own creations.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 1:735, blue and brown washes, scraping over pencil. (136x251) Inscribed verso View of Nuns Island & the river near Montreal from Monklands. F.D.; lower centre of mount Nun's Island, St. Lawrence, from the Garden at 'Monklands', Montreal; lower right of mount F.D. July 1850, ROM 969.299.2.

³⁴⁹ NAC, C113740; watercolour over pencil, 180x252mm. Recto lower left signed in brushpoint F.D. July 1850, verso written in pencil Monklands.

³⁵⁰ NAC, C113738; watercolour over pencil, 180x252mm. Recto of mount, lower centre, written in pencil Sketch near "Monklands", Montreal, Canada, recto of mount, lower right, signed in pencil F.D. May 1851.

³⁵¹ Home, vol. 1:4. The author distinguishes grandeur from sublimity; the first is characterized by great magnitude, the second by high elevation i.e.: "The elevation of an object affects us no less than its magnitude... A great object makes the spectator endeavour to enlarge his bulk;... An elevated object... makes the spectator stretch upward, and stand a-tiptoe." (p. 211)

The Idea of "Monk Ville"

"I shall get myself on 'my high lands on the Mountain'... Not to enjoy the Poets Contemplation in viewing the wreck below. But to enjoy a Peace ... I shall seek as much retirement as possible."³⁵²

With this statement of Horatian fastidiousness, Monk revealed sympathies with the Stoic philosophers several years prior to raising his "box of retreat." The isolation of Monkville, therefore, must have appealed to him as it would provide the peace he sought. Distancing himself at will from active life in politics and the law courts, he could retire to philosophy, husbandry and his extended family.

"I love the Govt. but I love you & your family more,"³⁵³ he avowed to his brother. The dedication and commitments of a paterfamilias, and professional accomplishments attest to his sincerity. Yet he had had his public trials as a judge and "politic man," especially in decades of the 1790s, when he was dismissed from office, and in the 1810s, when the House of Assembly in Quebec initiated procedures of impeachment against him and his colleague, Jonathan Sewell. Despite these and other difficulties, he always acted up to his convictions; yet he seems to have resented many of his contemporaries, an attitude which comes to the fore in his comment that "Men and Kings are not as

³⁵² NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, Quebec, 1 May 1799.

³⁵³ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, London, 13 August 1792.

they should be."³⁵⁴

Not having any children of his own, James Monk was ever the generous Uncle who provided everything from clothing to education and a second home, for his nieces and nephews. His prime concern, however, was the health of all around him. With rural life Monk had "purchased a Lease of Renewed vigor, health & spirits," and he regretted not being able to convince his sister-in-law to "pluck up" her "stakes among the fogs at Halifax" and take part in the labours and "Joys of Health" at Monkville.³⁵⁵

These "joys of health" he must have valued highly, as he had during his lifetime often mentioned being "sickly."³⁵⁶ Moreover, he eventually brought his niece Eliza to Monkville as her "indifferent state of health" made it "advisable that she should try a change of climate."³⁵⁷ His "misfortunate William" had also been nursed there. The salubrious environment could not restore the nephew's health, and he died after a couple of months with "a deranged mind, a loss

³⁵⁴ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, Quebec, 15 July 1795.

³⁵⁵ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to sister-in-law Elizabeth, Monkville, 28 October 1814.

³⁵⁶ Monk seems to have suffered from diabetes [which was cured!] and arthritis, but perhaps most from winter melancholia. "Monsieur le Juge en Chef is actually in sound Good Health and Spirits,... & all his winter Jaunty over," wrote G.H. Monk to his wife from Montreal, 28 February, and 21 March 1817, resp.

³⁵⁷ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Wentworth Monk, to brother Henry, Halifax, 21 Juli 1814.

of reason" in 1807.³⁵⁸

William had just returned from "Princeton College in the Jerseys," where the Chief Justice had sent him, notwithstanding the Bishop of Nova Scotia Inglis's reprobation of "the democratical principles inculcated in that Seminary."³⁵⁹ The uncle was convinced that any success in life for William "must infinitely rest on himself," and during a four year term the nephew had "acquired correct morals, and that was what mattered most."³⁶⁰ Monk had little respect for the opinion of the clergy: "for priests are priests, wary, temperate, incidious ---. ---. ---!"³⁶¹. James Monk, like his contemporary Thomas Jefferson, and Lord Kames, considered ethics more important than theological exegetics.

In solacing his brother -- and himself -- about the loss of William, Monk wrote that "were it not for Marcus Aurelius, Cicero and the ancient Scholars of Zeno's school," he would

³⁵⁸ Anglican Diocese Records, Montreal. 3 March 1807 the following entry was made: "On the 1st day of March 1807 died William Monk, nephew of the Hon. James Monk, Chief Justice for the District of Montreal, and was buried the third following." Witnesses were James Reid and Henry Fraser, both of Montreal, and it was signed by J. Mountain, Minister.

³⁵⁹ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. G. H. Monk to J. Monk, Windsor, 5 September 1802.

³⁶⁰ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. Undated page of letter in J. Monk's writing. Contents suggest it was addressed to the brother G.H. Monk about 1806.

³⁶¹ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to G.H. Monk, Quebec, 27 April 1803.

Palladianism.³⁶⁶

Westover [after 1726], Mount Airy [1758] in Virginia, and John Vassal house [1759] in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to name a few, are all akin to Monkville in plan.³⁶⁷ So were Acacia Grove [1799-1802], Starr's Point, Nova Scotia, Mount Uniacke [1813], Halifax, Nova Scotia (figs. 72 and 73), and Haldimand's house [1781], Powell's Place [1790-95] (figs. 15 and 16) and Thomas Dunn's house [1795-1797] in Quebec.³⁶⁸ In Montreal there was the house of Richard Dobie, at No. 27 St. Jean Baptiste Street, sold to Simon McTavish in 1795, and known under the last owner's name (fig. 17).³⁶⁹ It is also quite likely that William McGillivray's country-house [1802-

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 73 and 77.

³⁶⁸ Gagnon-Pratte, p. 20, 25, 27 .esp.

³⁶⁹ ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, N.P., 26 February 1795. Richard Dobie Esquire, to Simon McTavish Esquire, Sale of a House and a Lot in Saint Jean Baptiste Street, City of Montreal. -- It is clearly stated that Richard Dobie had sold to Simon McTavish, "all that certain house and Lot of Ground wherein he the said Richard Dobie now dwells Lying and being Situate in the said City of Montreal in Saint Jean Baptiste's Street consisting of a Stone dwelling House in the English Taste." In 1786 McTavish had leased a new house for seven years from Dobie. (ANQM, Edw. WM. Gray, N.P., 27 April 1786, R. Dobie to S. McTavish Lease of a House etc.") This does not seem to be the same house as McTavish bought nine years later, but a neighbouring building, since in the lease it was "expressly covenanted and agreed by and between the said parties that the Ice House belonging to the said hereby demised Premises shall be used and enjoyed in common between them the said Richard Dobie and Simon McTavish."

1803],³⁷⁰ south of Dorchester [René Levesque], and on the Ruelle des Seigneurs, in Montreal³⁷¹ was built on the Palladian four-room-plan. In 1818 McGillivray replaced old dependencies with "substantial Brick Wings" 33 by 38 foot each [10,06 by 11.58m]³⁷² to the building, and by deducting them from a plan of 1856 included in a sales contract,³⁷³ it could be inferred that the 1803 core measured c. 54 by 36 foot [16.46 by 10.97m], equivalent to a ratio of 3:2, and lending itself to the above plan (fig. 18).

None of these buildings has an architect's name attached to it, because in all probability they were the invention of builders and master-craftsmen consulting book-engravings. The builder might have made a sketch of his "invention," and the final drawings and specifications would have been supplied by the craftsmen as a condition of their trade. Some such drawings, at times very primitive, are attached to notarized

³⁷⁰ ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, N.P., 22 September 1802, no. 1680. Marché D'ouvrages de Menuiseries, Lambert, Gauvin & Trudeau avec William McGillivray, Ecuier.

³⁷¹ McCord Museum, Montreal. Undated manuscript regarding the projected Lachine Canal, with a plan localizing McGillivray's house. Address named in a contract, ANQM, D.E. Papineau, N.P., 22 September 1856, no. 3740. "Sale by la Banque du Peuple to Hble Charles Wilson," of "A lot of ground lying and situate at Cote St. Antoine, in the City of Montreal,... known under the name of Villa-Rosa, bound in front by Dorchester street etc."

³⁷² ANQM, H. Griffin, N.P., 5 January 1818, no. 2079. Contract and Agreement between Robert Kerr & others and the Hon. William McGillivray.

³⁷³ ANQM, D.E. Papineau, N.P., 15 January 1818, no. 2079.

building-contracts and preserved in Quebec's archives as a matter of legal requirements, and others have survived in private collections.

Before British architects were recognized as a separate professional group, they were often found in the ranks of surveyors. Later they could practice in both professions as did Wren, Gibbs and James for instance. Moreover, the rudiments of surveying were well known by men of the leisure class. Governor Sir John Wentworth in Nova Scotia, for example, knew the art, and eventually he must have acquired measuring skills beyond those of the average journeyman, as he held the office of Surveyor General for North America [1783-1792]. Wentworth was also an amateur and connoisseur of architecture. He belonged to a family with architectural pretensions on both sides of the Atlantic, and was the driving force behind the construction of the neo-Palladian official residence in Halifax N. S. Thus it was probably he who chose Isaac Hildrith, a surveyor and house-wright, as supervisor and architect for the project.³⁷⁴ Hildrith was

³⁷⁴ Isaac Hildrith [1741-1807], immigrated to Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1783 where, with Aaron White, he submitted the plans for Christ Church in 1788. They were accepted for their "Strength, convenience and beauty," and realized by the authors late 1789. [From Marion Robertson, King's Bounty, Halifax, Nova Scotia Museum, 1983, p.180.] On Woolford's drawing [1817] the structure looks like a New England Meetinghouse with a bellfry on the gable. After the dedication in 1790 Bishop Charles Inglis wrote: "It is a neat and well constructed building, and capable of holding 1000 persons. I consecrated the Church - the first ever consecrated in British America." (Ibid.) Hildrith had his roots in Yorkshire, like the Wentworths. He was buried at the

called Architect in 1800, and seems to have been one of the first in British North America to receive that title.³⁷⁵ Yet his role at Government House must have been subordinate to Wentworth's. Rather than Hildrith's invention, the design of Government House more probably is a result of the Governor's educated taste (fig. 19).

Monk was related to Wentworth through marriage, and on familial terms with him, but no proof has been found indicating that they ever discussed architecture. Government House was known to Monk; in a letter of 1807, he referred to his "Angel Aunt" [Frances Wentworth], and "the Sumptuous Roof of her residence."³⁷⁶ He could have visited the place, but it is more likely that its design had been conveyed to him in epistolary form.

James Monk himself wrote extensively to his Nova Scotian relatives about "Monk Ville at the Mountain," as is indicated in an unaddressed and undated message by his hand, reading: "Let this note of reference be added to the Draft of

Anglican churchyard in Shelburne, and the headstone reads: "Here lye the remains of Isaac Hildrith Esq., architect, who departed this life on 16th september, 1807, a loyal subject, an able artist and an honest man." [From Arthur B. Wallace, An Album of Drawings of Early Buildings in Nova Scotia (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia and the Nova Scotia Museum 1976) pl. 35.]

³⁷⁵ Ibid. At the ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone for Government House in 1800, Hildrith was listed as Architect.

³⁷⁶ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. J. Monk to sister-in-law Elizabeth Monk, Monk Ville, 23 September 1807.

Description at about page 8 "Mansion House."³⁷⁷ This "Draft of Description" has not been located.³⁷⁸ Only a plan exists marked "The first Story B," to which is added in Monk's writing: "Monk Ville Mansion House."³⁷⁹

This plan is drawn in ink with a ruler on plain paper. It is inscribed "Front of the first Story, 61 feet by 48," in the lower part. An arrow shows the orientation, roughly north-south, but closer to south-west/north-east. The scale is noted as "5 feet to an Inch." There are indications of measurements, and the different sub-divisions of the space have been identified in neat lettering (fig. 20).

The most striking aspect of the plan is that neither fireplaces nor staircases are indicated. Otherwise it is very close to what was realized, as seen from the plan measured and drawn by Gary Naves, a McGill University School of Architecture student in the late 1960's,³⁸⁰ (figs. 21, 22,

³⁷⁷ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19, vol. 2.

³⁷⁸ This description predated 23 September 1807, when Monk wrote to his sister-in-law: "As to the young ladies, should they become importunate with Criticisms 'on the elegance and convenience of Apartments etc.' show them the descriptions of Monk Ville on the Mountain, and tell them you will give them a Furlough, and passport whenever they may find themselves too much straightened in the 'Nauseous Seaport Town of their Habitation'." (NAC, MG 23, GII, 19.)

³⁷⁹ NAC, RG 23, G 11, 19, vol. 2.

³⁸⁰ McGill University, Traquair drawings, Drawer 5, Folder 3: Montreal, Villa Maria, Main Floor and Basement Plan, Scale 1/8" = 1'-0", Gary Naves [n.d.]. The easily discernible central block of the main floor corresponds to the old first-storey plan of Monkville. -- Naves received a B. Arch. in 1969, according to McGill Directory of Graduates

23 and 24). The measurements correspond, interior and exterior apertures are the same, except where obvious additions have modified them. The original fore-and-aft of the structure were identical, as were the side, so that it had an entrance on the north as well as the south front. The northern access was absorbed into the slightly elevated connexion resulting from the addition of the 1840s.

On the old plan the front rooms were laid out to be 20.9 by 24 feet [6.37 by 7.31m], and 20.9 by 25 feet [6.37 by 7.62m] respectively. The extra one foot was never added to the eastern space, named "Drawing Room." Instead, this was made identical to the western space, the "Dining Room", from which followed that the back rooms, 17 by 20.9 feet [5.18 by 6.37m], also were mirror images. The smaller western space was subdivided into a "China Closet" and "Butler's Pantry," and the eastern was intended to serve as "Library." Whether the division of the western space ever took place is doubtful; back-to-back fireplaces seem to have been installed on the wall separating the front and the back rooms, and their positioning would not permit the projected arrangement

1980, p. 719. He made four measured drawings of Villa Maria, as above, and an "Attic, Roof and Second Floor Plan," as well as "Front Court, North and South Elevations," and "Lateral and Longitudinal Sections, Window Section, Reception Room and End Bay Front elevations." Strictly speaking, Naves drew Monklands, with its east, west and north extensions added by the Board of Works' architect, George Browne, to accommodate the Governor Generals 1844-1849 [NAC, Canadian State Books, Board of Works' Minutes Books, and Department of Public Works, Registers of Letters Received 1843-1850].

for a closet and a pantry.

The main four-room plan was probably duplicated on the second floor, where possibly a fifth room was created by closing off the front space of the upper hall.³⁸¹ The back is partly occupied by the landing of a staircase which rises in two parallel flights from the north-western side of the central hall of the first floor, where a single flight also descends to the basement. The location of the staircase seems to be unchanged from the original. Moreover, this arrangement is both economical and space-saving, by comparison with the more conspicuous stairway, which dominated the hall-way at McTavish's St. Jean Baptiste Street house (fig. 17). It should be added, however, that this positioning, was dictated at least in part, by the existence of a half-basement.³⁸²

Another of these imposing staircases, so common in American Colonial houses, and "irrespective of whether there

³⁸¹ This was done at McTavish's St. Jean Baptiste street house. In the inventory taken after his death the space is described as "a small room front at the Top of the Staircase." A bed and two Windsor chairs were kept there, and it contained the linen closet, with 19 pair fine sheets, 30 pair common sheets, 47 fine Damask table cloths, 74 fine Damask napkins, 114 chamber towels, 9 white large bed quilts, 18 servants Callico quilts, 11 Chintz window curtains etc. (ANQM, J.G. Beek, N.P., 20 September 1804, no. 1798. "Inventory of all and Singular the Estate ... of Simon McTavish, late of Montreal,.. " 15 September 1804.)

³⁸² Ramsay Traquair and G. A. Neilson, "The House of Simon McTavish No. 27 St. Jean Baptiste Street, Montreal." The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, November 1933, vol. 10, p. 191.

were important or public rooms above",³⁸³ had been installed at Spencerwood [formerly Powell's Place], according to Frederick Rubidge's measured drawing of the "Principal or Ground-Floor" made for the Department of Public Works in 1851³⁸⁴ (fig 15.). From this drawing the plan of what once was "Powell's Place" is easily discernible. With its area of 52 by 36 feet [15.85 by 10.97m], circa 4:3 ratio, and interior division, including fire-places on the central separating wall, this is no more than an early version in the Canadas of a much-repeated pattern.

The reconstruction of the plan of Powell's Place [la résidence de Bois-de-Coulonge], made by Gagnon-Pratte, keeps the large staircase in the lower end of the transverse hall, which is terminated by a window rather than an exit.³⁸⁵ Considering that this was a country-house, it seems unlikely that the hall was other than open-ended, as in the case of Monkville, and other Anglo-Palladian-inspired architecture. The proposed model for the original staircase and its location are also debatable.

Henry-Watson Powell was a Brigadier-General, and it is highly likely that his house-type would have been an academic

³⁸³ Kimball, p. 128.

³⁸⁴ NMC 15395.

³⁸⁵ Gagnon-Pratte, p. 25, fig. 28.

concept, possibly "fished"³⁸⁶ out of books by himself, and then drawn up by one of his staff. That the original plan had become a standard four-room-central-hall-formula, which changed little for almost a century, is evidenced by two drawings of elevations and plans for the Ordnance Office in Montreal 1823 (figs. 25 and 26). The first is a one-storey, one-room-deep building,³⁸⁷ and the second is an enlarged two-storey version.³⁸⁸ The plan of the main floor in the larger house is the common Palladian formula. The central hall with its staircase and bipolar exits is there, and so are the two rooms on opposite sides. Concessions have been made for improved circulation, yet the upper storey remains a duplicate of the lower.

If it is accepted that Powell's Place was planned with a central hallway where there were doorways at either end, Monkville is simply a larger version of the same concept. As regards the site of Powell's staircase, it could be argued that it rose, like Monk's, from the rear face of the hall, or, considering the earlier date, more impressively from the centre of the wall, as in the public Ordnance Office. Either alternative would allow space and access to the exits.

³⁸⁶ Benjamin Latrobe made the remark that Thomas Jefferson was "fishing" his designs out of literature (O'Neal, p. 1).

³⁸⁷ NMC 2174.

³⁸⁸ NMC 2170.

Elevation and Masonry

For the realization of the mansion house, Monk had engaged two master-masons and contractors, Gilbert Duchatel and Jean Baptiste Séné from the faux-bourg Ste. Marie in March of 1803.³⁸⁹ Duchatel could barely sign his name and Séné was illiterate, which was not uncommon, even among skilled craftsmen. These masons do not seem to have been involved in anything but private contracting. In 1801 Duchatel had built a second storey on a greystone house in Notre Dame Street.³⁹⁰ Nine months after he and Séné had contracted with Monk, they took another contract with Simon McTavish; to erect a dwelling-house at his farm on the Mountain.³⁹¹ In 1806, Séné made an addition to a Notre Dame Street building.³⁹²

The masons obliged themselves to "crépir ou tirer les joints, plat ou quarrés ... suivant les directions qu'ils en recevront du ... Honorable James Monk."³⁹³ They would make

³⁸⁹ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 3 March 1803, no. 302.

³⁹⁰ ANQM, Jonathan Abraham Grey, N.P., 23 June 1801, no. 648. Agreement John Tefler and Gilbert Duchatel, masons, and William Martin, Montreal.

³⁹¹ ANQM, J.G. Beek, N.P., 8 December 1803, no. 1763A. Agreement Gilbert Duchatel and Jean Baptiste Séné, master masons, and Simon McTavish.

³⁹² ANQM, Peter Lukin, père, N.P., 22 janvier 1806, no. 368. J. Bte Séné, entrepreneur maçon du faubourg de Québec, à faire pour François Lacasse "la maçonnerie pour élever son magasin..."

³⁹³ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 3 March 1803, no. 102.

the chimney-stacks according to the directions and taste of Monk, and coat them with mortar made from lime, sand and cowdung, and place and set the masonry of the core of the building.³⁹⁴ The masonry consists of "pierres taillés [hammer dressed] ou brut," and was furnished by the contractors for "Vingt et une Livres, de vingt coppres, par chacune toise de Maçonnerie, mesure française."³⁹⁵

The work should be executed with the help of six to eight good masons and a sufficient number of labourers. Three contracts from 17 March 1803 for "compagnons maçons," the first probably a banker, and the other fixer-masons, have been found, namely: Jean Baptiste Séné [Jr?], Alexis Gauder and Th. Rousseau.³⁹⁶ All declared "ne savoir signer," and the first two were paid "huit Livres, de Vingt coppres, par chaque journée," Rousseu received "Sept livres, dix Sols," besides which the employers would provide room and board, but the masons accepted only board, preferring to stay in their own homes.³⁹⁷

The type of structure raised, a small block, five bays

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Ibid. 1 toise = 6 French feet = c. 2 metres.

³⁹⁶ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 17 March 1803, nos. 110, 111, and 112. Engagement of Alexis Gauder, JBte Séné and Th. Rousseau resp., by Gilbert Duchatel and JBte Séné.

³⁹⁷ Ibid. Monk advanced "la Somme de vingt cinq Livres cours actuel de cette province, egalle a celle de Six cens livres de vingt coppres," giving c. 24 livres to £1.0.0 currency, which value was about 9 percent less than the Sterling.

wide, was since the 1740s what in architectural terminology had become a "villa," a house for retreat.³⁹⁸ The larger, traditional type with extensions, and intended for display and Georgian hospitality, remained a "country house."³⁹⁹ Ultimately the English "villa" was based on Palladio, but Ackerman suggests that the "inspiration may well have come from a drawing of Inigo Jones in Burlington's collection for the Queen's House, Greenwich,"⁴⁰⁰ where the five-bay-formula is clearly expressed (fig. 27).

The rhythm of the bays of a conventional English villa was 1-3-1, and this elevation expressed the interior, as well, which, despite beautiful proportions, made the house "a habitation rather than a home," as Goethe aptly put it.⁴⁰¹ In Colonial Palladianism in the late 1700's the rhythm was often changed to 2-1-2, reducing the width of the hall, and reflecting a more economical utilization of space. This was the model Monk chose. The choice could not have been inspired by Powell's Place since the elevation there had the typical 1-3-1 rhythm, as seen in Heriot's depiction of c. 1800, and more clearly in Rubidge's elevation drawing of 1851 (fig.

³⁹⁸ Ackerman, p. 150.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ J.W. von Goethe, Italienische Reise [1786-1788] (Hamburg: Christian Wegner Verlag, 1951) 55. "Inwendig kann man es wohnbar, aber nicht wöhnlich nennen." The comment was made about the Villa Rotonda in Vicenza.

16). The one-bay hall is indicated on the exterior by a one-bay flat-roofed portico consisting of two pairs of columns in the front and two single columns beside the few steps leading into the building.

The earliest neo-Palladian structures raised in the Canadas, whether official or private, were mostly a rather empty repetition of a formula based on symmetry and proportions conceived with the aid of arithmetic, a concept foreign to Palladio himself. His buildings were all reinventions. Moreover he was a stone mason before becoming an architect at the age of thirty, and he probably transferred his original sketches into work-drawings geometrically, as masons used to do, even adopting the mediaeval Golden Section out of early trade habit.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² Olle Svedberg, "Palladio, matematiken och instrumenten." Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, vol. 52:1, 1983, p.14. Svedberg discusses Wittkower's theory in Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism third ed. (London: Alec Tiranti Ltd. 1962) which states that the architects of the Renaissance used arithmetic rather than geometry when designing buildings; that is, the process began with the parts, and ended with the overall concept. Saying "that this seems rather strange" Svedberg shows that Palladio probably made use of geometry, rather than arithmetic, when the final proportions of his villas were determined. The author convincingly demonstrates that both the plan and the elevation of Barbaro's villa at Maser can be worked out with the Golden Section triangle, starting from the entire plan and then proceeding to the interior divisions. Wittkower, on the other hand, proceeding from modules, falls short, and cannot fully offer an explanation for the measurements of the hall (p. 130, fn. 1). Svedberg concludes that the theory, but not the practice of architecture is widely understood, particularly in the case of the Renaissance, and that there are indeed several possibilities. His examples show that Palladio could have transformed his sketch into a final design geometrically, whereas arithmetic seems less useful

To the colonial builders, the arithmetic formula gave a "chaste" result, and it was always easy to apply. It might even be seen as a practical modular system, and an uncodified fore-runner to Durand's Ecole Polytechnique teachings [1795-1834].⁴⁰³ That Gilmore, master mason and supervisor at the Court House, would be employed by Monk, therefore, was only natural. He was experienced, and knew the neo-Palladian formulae, and would be able to transform Monk's linear ideas into three dimensions.

Monk himself had an amateur's concept of architecture. This is evident in the contract, in which he gave practical instructions regarding the chimneys, and also the stoves, in the kitchen, where "les dimensions seront données par l'honorable James Monk."⁴⁰⁴ Furthermore it is stated that he would provide the master masons with keystones for the windows "semblables à celles de la Maison de Justice, du côté des remparts."⁴⁰⁵

for compositional purposes in the fine arts.

⁴⁰³ Allan Braham, The Architecture of the French Enlightenment, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 255. The basis for Durand's designs was geometry, and his patterns were widely used by the nineteenth century architects. In his Précis des leçons d'architecture the illustrations are laid out on a grid, or "le papier rayé à carreau, dont on se sert à l'Ecole Polytechnique," moreover this was "très-propre à faciliter les moyens de grouper et croquer la disposition des masses d'un projet de bâtiment." (Collins, p. 162) -- So proper, in fact, that it is still in use.

⁴⁰⁴ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 3 March 1803, no. 102.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

These did not catch the eye of John Drake, who did not indicate them on the drawing he made of the Montreal Court House in 1828 (fig. 12).⁴⁰⁶ Nor did they strike Heriot as important in his "Monkville 1807," yet, as it now stands, the Monkland house has prominent, false, "winged," tripartite keystones over the windows on the main façade (fig. 26). These keystones are made of a harder stone than the rest of the building, and they look fresh beside the weathered masonry of the window surrounds. It could be argued that they are replacements. On Notman's photograph of Villa Maria, taken at the end of the last century, the façade had accretions, and was excessively patched with rather light-coloured mortar. This made the rendering flat, and fine details are therefore difficult to discern (figs. 27 and 28).

Today, in the rear of the building, over what seems to be some original window apertures, there are small plain, keystones, and their quality, and state of preservation, is in tune with the surrounds, indicating that they date from 1803 (fig. 31). This does not necessarily mean that the window-tops of the main façade once were identical to the plain ones in the back. Even though Notman's photograph is without great detail, it looks like there were the large "winged," keystones on the front façade. This design of

⁴⁰⁶ Gérard Morisset, L'architecture en Nouvelle France, (Québec: Edition du Pélican, re-edition 1980) fig. 39b.

keystones was very popular, and typical of Gibbs (fig. 32), who often replaced the architrave on his Serlian window-surrounds with this type of decorative elements.⁴⁰⁷

When Simon McTavish started erecting his country house in 1804, he engaged Monk's master-masons and supervisor, and he also wanted "the window tops to answer and fit key stones" like those at the Court House.⁴⁰⁸ The dimensions were to be given by William Gilmore or some other master mason inspector. From this, the question arises as to what design the popular windows at the Court House really followed. There is a probability that it was Serlian surrounds from Gibbs, with false, "winged" keystones, like those later seen on the illustration of the Episcopal Parish Church, designed by William Berczy in 1804 (figs. 33 and 34).

McTavish not only wanted the keystones, but requested that his building "be coursed in the same Manner as the New

⁴⁰⁷ Sebastian Serlio, The Five Books of Architecture, transl. by Robert Peake (London: Robert Peake, 1611)IV:7 Fol. 48. Serlio seems to have been the first to mention windows corresponding to the classical orders, and they were soon part of architectural decoration as seen in Italy, France and England. In 1619 Inigo Jones designed the Newmarket Palace which has Serlian surrounds with "winged" keystones pressing up against the string course. The first real Baroque country-house in England, Chatsworth, completed by William Talman in 1705, also had these surrounds, and is decorated with the same kind of keystone (Harris, plate 22). In Gibbs's Book of Architecture they recur in several plates, e.g. 33, 34 and 66, and are most likely the source of inspiration in North America.

⁴⁰⁸ ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, N.P., 8 December 1803, no. 1763A.

Court House,"⁴⁰⁹ that is with "bonne Pierre Grises ... les pierre de taille pour les coins, fenêtres des voutes, Portes et autres endroits,... les joints quarrés dans les deux façades, avec des Pierres d'égale épaisseur de huit et de neuf pouces."⁴¹⁰ He had ordered dressed masonry for his country home, like Monk, and this could very well have been the first instance in Montreal. James Duncan's [1806-1881] picture of McTavish's unfinished house c. 1830,⁴¹¹ renders the masonry with "joints quarrées," but not the keystones (fig. 35). Yet there are small black markings on the "window tops" on the façade of the main block, possibly indicating the places where keystones were to be inserted. Moreover, McTavish has borrowed the complete fenestration pattern of the basement from the the Court House basement, where the extreme bays have Diocletian windows, or windows with semi-circular transoms. On the storeys above the basement with its round-topped windows the Court House was fitted with Venetian windows, and that model has been reworked for McTavish, where the extensions have received three-part windows as well, but where the central, larger aperture is covered by a straight lintel, rather than an arch (fig. 12).

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Masonry specifications for the Montreal Court House from ANQM, Louis Chaboillez, N.P., 23 April 1800, no. 4062. "Marché de Sr François Xavier Daveluy avec Messieurs les Commissaires nommés pour la construction d'une Salle de Justice."

⁴¹¹ ASQ, Album Jacques Viger.

Monkville, as seen in Heriot's drawing (fig. 5), also had round-headed windows, on the second storey of the east façade, and probably on the opposite side, as well, and another such window on the second storey in the central bay over the pedimented portico. On the sides, they have disappeared with the addition of extensions, and the façade-window has been transformed into a balcony door, more or less echoing the main entrance below, with side lights.

In the contract, these smaller windows have not been mentioned, but only "les Couvertures & appuis de fenêtres nécessaires pour seize croisées,"⁴¹² which would indicate that the northern and the southern façade had similar fenestration, as there are eight major casements on the front. It also confirms that the present side-hung windows, not sashes, belonged to the original plan, as at the Court House and McTavish's. These windows "are made to open [inwards] lengthwise in the middle, on hinges, like folding doors: and where they meet they lock together in a deep groove."⁴¹³ Isaac Weld expressed the opinion, that when closed they "are found to keep out the cold air much better than the common sashes, and in warm weather they are more agreeable than any other sort, as they admit more air when

⁴¹² ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 3 March 1803, no. 102.

⁴¹³ Weld, p. 394.

opened."⁴¹⁴ Regarding the window sills, Monk made the sensible specification that, rather than be typically flush on the plane, they should be made to project two inches, with channelling "pour l'égout de l'eau."⁴¹⁵

The bush-hammered stone of the façade is set in thick beds of mortar, "joints plats." The piano nobile is separated from the basement and the second storey by taller windows; twice the height of the others, in Palladian fashion. The contract called for "Cordons" necessary for the house at thirty sols per foot. If by "Cordons" is meant string courses like those seen in pictures of the Quebec and Montreal court houses for example (figs. 11 and 12), they never were used, and the scabbled finish of the façade-masonry was left uninterrupted.

The only other decorative stone-details, are the "Common Corners as used in the ... City of Montreal,"⁴¹⁶ or fully dressed quoins, on the four right angles of the house. There is a slight difference in the length of the outbands, which makes them less intrusive on the otherwise rather rustic surface (figs. 28 and 36). Quoins, with shorter, regular outbands, also emphasize the slightly raised central bay of

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. The truth of this statement is confirmed by the fact that the double-hung sash windows, so common in north-western Europe with its temperate climate, never became popular in Scandinavia.

⁴¹⁵ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 3 March 1803, no. 102.

⁴¹⁶ ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, 8 December 1803, no. 1763A.

the front. The making of this bay is not mentioned in the contract, nor is it indicated on Monk's plan.

The masonry walls are two and a half feet thick, but they are not of the common type, with a solid rubble core, according to the note Monk wanted to have added to the "Draft of Description." Instead

"there are placed horizontally at proper distances in the wall, say 3 feet, battons projecting nearly an inch, on these are nailed uprights on which the lathes are fixed. By this means a column of air of 1 1/2 inch round the whole walls are secured by which means all humidity of the wall & all damp penetrations are cut off, and the rooms are as dry as in a wooden building, but more warm in winter & more cool in summer."⁴¹⁷

The efficiency of this measure, when the house was occupied, is not known. After standing empty for a long period, the place could be so humid, according to extant letters, that it needed airing and heating for a week.

Structural and External Carpentry

As was often the practice in Montreal, the contract for carpentry- and joinery-work was signed several months after the masonry contract. On 16 June 1803 Monk employed the master carpenter Pierre Poitra [Poitras] to provide supplies and execute all the necessary carpentry-work for the house-building. The responsibilities were to be shared with Germain Duret [Durette], a master-joiner, and the work was to be carried out according to the specifications in an "acte sous

⁴¹⁷ NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19.

seign privé" of 11 March.⁴¹⁸

About Duret the archives do not reveal much. Joiners often signed private agreements, unless they acted as contractors, like for instance James Eddy in Quebec. From the "Memorandum of Sundry works to be made by the piece," attached to a contract of 3 October 1803, some information can be derived about the kind of details that were required for the execution of carpentry in the "English taste."⁴¹⁹ A frontice piece, in the Ionic order and carried on pilasters, was to be made for the street door, for instance ⁴²⁰ Inside Eddy was to make plain dados for two rooms, and "fix them up with a Modillion Cornish" so that they would "be compleated to the Ionic order with its Chimney piece etc..⁴²¹ McGillivray's contract of 1803 was much less specific, only telling that Sash-windows "de Six verres de hauteur sur quatre de largeur, les verres de neuf pouces sur douze," were to be installed, as well as exterior six-panel-doors with semi-circular windows, crowned by cornices.⁴²²

⁴¹⁸ ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 16 June 1803, no. 140.

⁴¹⁹ ANQQ, James Voyer, N.P., 3 October 1803. Agreement between Thomas Place, Merchant of Quebec, and James Eddy to do all Carpenter's and Joiner's work requisite to a certain Messuage or Dwelling House situate in Saint Lewis Street.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, N.P., no. 1680, 22 September 1802. Lambert Gauvain & Trudeau, Menuiziers, avec William McGillivray Equier, Marché D'ouvrages de Menuizeries.

Indoor cornices were "simples a deux moulures," the doors six-panelled, six-foot-six high, and three-foot-three wide⁴²³. Only from a later contract is it known that the doors had architraves, because they should be stripped "and be trimmed with pilasters according to the modern style."⁴²⁴ Monk was most exacting in all his contracts, no doubt, therefore, that the private agreement that he and Duret signed was worded more to the effect of the first "Memorandum."

Duret's signature testifies to his being an artisan. It has fine calligraphic qualities consistent with the style of the eighteenth century; plain, slightly slanted, and with an almost printed quality. Poitra, the master carpenter and contractor, endorsed with less dexterity, and capitalizing only the p of Pierre, but not of "poitra."

Poitra was active until at least 11 January 1822, when he and Nicolas Kinceleur Rigaud sub-contracted for shingle roofing of two chapels at the church of Ste-Madeleine-de-Rigaud.⁴²⁵ In 1819 he had sub-contracted for carpentry-work

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ ANQM, Henry Griffin, N.P., 10 August 1822, no. 4270. Contract and Agreement between Daniel Ross Junior and Simon McGillivray.

⁴²⁵ ANQM, Charles Louis Nolin, N.P., 11 January 1822, no. 693. "Marché Michel Arcouette et François Leclerc, couvreurs, à couvrir en bardeaux pour Pierre Poitras etc."

for the same church.⁴²⁶ In that year the Société Pierre Poitras-Nicolas Knisleur "maître charpentier et couvreur, et maître charpentier" had also undertaken to execute carpentry and joinery work on the presbytery, tower, and steeple of the parish church at Saint-Eustache-de-la-rivière-Duchesne.⁴²⁷

Prior to this, Poitra spent some time in Upper Canada where he built the steeple for St. Andrew's Presbyterian church at Williamstown in 1816.⁴²⁸ The Pierre Poitra who received £12.10.- currency in August 1816 "pour avoir fait cinq sieges de chène pour les privés dans la prison Communes, fourni le boi menuiserie &c,"⁴²⁹ must be a namesake. The signature differs considerably, and the task seems to be rather menial for an expert like "Pierre poitra, maître charpentier et couvreur."

In 1805 Poitra had built a steeple for the chapel at Hotel-Dieu in Montreal,⁴³⁰ and this was around the same time as he was engaged for the roofing of the Episcopal church. From the nature of these contracts it is quite

⁴²⁶ ANQM, Jean-Marie Cadieux, N.P., 30 November 1819, no. 604. "Marché Amable Coursel dit Chevalier et François Boyer dit Quital, à faire pour Pierre Poitras et Nicolas Kinceleur les travaux menuiserie etc."

⁴²⁷ ANQM, André Jobin, N.P., 27 September 1819, no. 1678. "Société Pierre Poitras-Nicolas Kinceleur etc."

⁴²⁸ Clerk, p. 78.

⁴²⁹ NAC, RG 1, E15A, Public Building 1812.

⁴³⁰ ANQM, Louis Chaboillez, N.P., 4 September 1805, no. 7113. "Marché Pierre Poitra à faire pour les Religieuses de l'Hôtel Dieu les travaux pour le clocher etc."

evident that Poitra's skills were much in demand by the different religious communities. Yet there are other documents in the archives showing that he also did carpentry work for individuals.

One of the earliest records is Poitra's invoice for work executed at "l'Hotel du Sir John Johnson" which was deposited for arbitration in 1799.⁴³¹ In 1797 he had been doing major "Ruffing and covering" of the house, gallery and stables etc., at a cost of £378.14.8 currency. The arbitrators adjusted the sum to £376.7.6, and delivered the token difference of £2.7.2 currency to the notary.

The carpentry Poitra did for Monk in 1803 was of a similar nature, only that it was all new construction. Together with "Durette," he was to purchase the necessary lumber, and employ six to eight good carpenters to install beams and joists, and prepare the boards for roofing.⁴³² All wood should be "ensaisonné et Sec de deux Ans, et de bonne qualité."⁴³³ In case Monk decided to use roofing shingle the "entrepreneurs" would prepare this as well.⁴³⁴

Whether the original covering ever was shingled is impossible to determine from Heriot's watercolour, and from

⁴³¹ ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, N.P., 11 May 1799, no. 1317. "Jugement Arbitrale par John McKutcheon etc. entre Sir John Johnson Barnt et Pierre Poitra."

⁴³² ANQM, Louis Guy, N.P., 16 June 1803, no. 140.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

Board of Works' accounts the only reference to roofing shingles is for the stables.⁴³⁵ On Notman's photograph the roof of the mansion house is metal-clad, as it is today.

Two chimneys, then as now, but with considerably lower stacks, studded the hips. The chimneys were probably enlarged in 1844-1845.⁴³⁶ The demarcation-line for the addition is obvious on Notman's photograph, and is accentuated by the lower horizontal ridge of the present metal coating.

It is possible that the roof Poitra raised conformed to eighteenth-century classicism with an inclination of 18 to 20 degrees, as conveyed by Heriot. Such a low pitch, seen on George Browne's [1811-1885] lateral extensions of 1844 for instance,⁴³⁷ hardly allowed for an attic storey, and dormers were dispensed with. The main decoration was instead a modillioned cornice, which is only suggested by

⁴³⁵ NAC, RG 11, vol. 75, 1848. An item regarding the "Removing old shingles on stables & renewing do." is found in the "Schedule of Tenders for the construction of additional Wings & Outbuildings at Monklands."

⁴³⁶ NAC, RG 11, vol. 85. Geo. Browne, Architect, 22 January 1846, "Reports upon extra and other work performed by Contract at Monkland for the Board of Works by George Bowie Contractor." It records only "old chimney heads taken down and faced with stone." The present tall chimneys are visible on Dyneley's drawing of "Monklands 1850."

⁴³⁷ When designing the "wings" Browne gave the roofs a hierarchical order of inclination; the slope of the main roof is c. 35 degrees, the back extension c. 28 degrees and the lateral wings c. 20 degrees.

Heriot.⁴³⁸

A king-post truss, similar to the one seen on the 1823 plan for the Ordnance Office (fig. 26), carried the gently-sloped roof. A study of the present attic at Monkland reveals that the roof has been modified, even if many of the trusses and rafters are hidden behind layers of fiberglass insulation. An old king-post, with visible broad-axe marks, has been lifted on to sawn beams. This raising does not seem to have been radical enough to change the incline of the roof from 20 to its present 35 degrees. It is suspected, therefore, that the 28 degrees of the rear addition, which would be more appropriate for the Canadian climate, may indicate the original slope of the roof of Monkville. The struts are morticed into the post and secured with a peg. Their angle remains unchanged, and so there is also the possibility that the roof has been pushed out slightly, and now has a larger overhang than earlier, unless the end of the struts were shortened. A jumble of additional ties and braces are the result of work "making two rooms in roof of old house & flooring garret."⁴³⁹

The present columned porch, crowned by a balcony, and

⁴³⁸ NAC, RG 11, Geo. Browne, Architect, 22 January 1846; Reports etc. The 1844 additional "wing" in the back of the Monkland house has a modillioned cornice as has the core of the building. The "126 level feet of Dental cornice, and 214 level feet of facia [sic] more than put up" specified in the reports, might not only be left over from new installations, but also from repair of an already existing cornice.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

reached by an overstated axial approach, gives but a poor approximation of Monkville's once-pedimented portico, with handsome curving staircases. The columned projection seems to have been transformed by the Board of Works, but not the Gargantuan stairs, which had not yet been built when Notman took his picture, sometime after 1870, when the axial "Avenue de tout Grace" at Villa Maria had been created, and was levelled and tree-lined.⁴⁴⁰

The portico was the most striking exterior feature, and not a common one in Canada, where it was "necessary to be sheltered from the severity of the cold, the rain, or the snow; and it would be very easy to build with some little taste, to correspond with the building."⁴⁴¹

Heriot's rendering shows that Monk's portico had indeed been made with "some little taste," and corresponded very well to the building (figs. 37 and 38). It was made of wood, and raised on a masonry podium, similar to the rest of the building, with quoined corners. The portico was tetra style with equidistant, probably Corinthian, columns, carrying an entablature, and covered by a low pitched roof. The pediment

⁴⁴⁰ CND 630.010, Notes sur la batisse Villa Maria. These notes were begun in connexion with the construction of the second western wing by H.M. Perrault in 1868, and they are not consecutive. Under 1870, "Améliorations" is the entry: "Niveler l'avenue de tout Grace, \$268.50, Clouture l'avenue \$100.00." The fence is in Notman's photograph; as well as the saplings, which now, a century old, majestically arch the avenue. This would date the picture to 1870-1875.

⁴⁴¹ Lambert, vol. 1, p. 315.

had what looks like a small oculus. Against the wall there are today four stop-fluted, Corinthian pilasters leaving the central space wider for the door. It is unlikely that it ever looked different, even if Heriot drew columns there. The rather well-proportioned columns, and pilasters with neat fluting, and fine capitals, now with much of the details hidden by layers of thick oil-paint, may well have been the work of Duret, the master-joiner, or cabinet-maker.

Interior and Decorative Woodwork

Whether Monkville had an indoor privy with an oak-seat installed, is not known, nor if there was a bath-tub anywhere. Considering Monk's concern with health, at least the tub is probable. His brother could have inspired ideas of personal hygiene after writing euphemistically:

"What Willich most strongly recommends, is more attended to in this family, than is usual in others. The boys might have informed you of what had been the practice with them; & that our Bedroom is furnished with utensils, not common in this country; which with an addition of a tub of water, answers every purpose. When I left England, I had two made of japed Tin, to be sure against breaking; one is quite worn out by use, and the Japan worn off the inside of the other.⁴⁴²

Hydraulic technology for piping water to all floors had been available in Europe for at least seventy years.⁴⁴³ Yet running water was not to be on the list of building

⁴⁴² NAC, MG 23, G 11, 19. G.H. Monk to J. Monk, Windsor, 5 September 1802.

⁴⁴³ Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House, (Penguin Books, 1980) 256.

priorities before the early 1800's,⁴⁴⁴ and it is doubtful Monk had any. If he did, it was probably only piped rain-water. Among the first tasks Browne's "Artificer's" had to perform in 1844 was to "fit up" the cook's and Stewart's quarters with pipes for running water, and install some "water closets patent, selfacting with cistern leaded."⁴⁴⁵

On the main, and second storey, Monkville had four back to back fireplaces, and it is not known if there were any auxiliary iron-stoves. Board of Works added an "ornamental chimney piece to the Great Dining Room forming one wing," and five of Joseph Smolenski's patented "Russian Stoves" (figs. 39, 40 and 41),⁴⁴⁶ placing at least one in the "old building." These stoves were the common ceramic-tile stoves [in German Kachelöfen] which, with repeatedly improved flue-systems, have been used in Northern Europe since the Middle Ages. Smolenski's patent has very much in common with a Swedish patent for wood-saving ceramic-tile stoves (1769 and

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ NAC, RG 11, vol 83, April 1844. From "Detailed Estimate of Artificers work to be done in and about Monkland," signed by George Browne, and "Amendment of Artificers work."

⁴⁴⁶ Canadian Patent Office, October 1837, Patent No. 46, John Vannovous: "patent for the introduction of a peculiarly constructed stove." In November the rights were transferred to Smolenski, who took out other letters of patent (No. 72) in November 1844 for, amongst other things, "Alteration in the construction of the crockery or Brick stove, being an improvement on the stove being introduced by one John Vannovous."

1775), which Gustavus III had Louis Masreliez design a classical columns for his villa or "Pavilion" at Haga, around 1790 (figs. 42 and 43).⁴⁴⁷

Prior to Smolenski's Canadian patent and fabrication of ceramic tile-stoves, in 1831, Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell had already praised the efficiency of such stoves, and showed designs at the Literary and Historical Society in Quebec.⁴⁴⁸ Perhaps this was the reason for their immediate success, because in 1839, the very year of Smolenski's patent, the wood-saving smoke-free stoves were erected in the Court House and the Basilica of Quebec, and later also at Christ Church in Montreal, Monkland, and probably the Court House.⁴⁴⁹ They found their way into many lesser places, as well. J.G. Kohl visiting Montreal, in the "Côte de Neige," in the 1850s reported that the Canadians, "noted in this country for the high temperature at which they keep their abodes... have great Dutch-tile stoves."⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁷ Grefwe C.J. Cronstedt, Beskrifning på En Inrättning av Kakelugnar Til Weds Besparing, Jämte Bifogade Kopparstycken. (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1767) This is the 1767 description of the wood-saving ceramic-tile stoves with copper-plate illustrations.

⁴⁴⁸ Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, vol. 2, 1831, pp. 327-321.

⁴⁴⁹ Helen H. Lambart, The Rivers of the Potters (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Publications in History, No. 2, n.d.)4.

⁴⁵⁰ J.G. Kohl, Travels in Canada and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania, (London: George Manwarig, 1861)102. "Dutch stove" probably refers to the use of coloured Dutch tiles for the stoves. "Russian stove" must

All six remaining fireplaces in Monkville, and the one added in 1844, have been modified with Rumford-inspired stoves. These stoves were easily introduced into the opening of the fireplace, and were invented by the American-born Count Rumford in 1785.⁴⁵¹ By narrowing the throat of the chimney, reducing the fireplace opening, angling the sidewalls, and fitting a grate, Rumford devised a less smoky and more efficient fireplace.⁴⁵²

In Canada, "a few of the British inhabitants" had soon "introduced fire-places with grates as in England," Lambert said.⁴⁵³ Berczy's conversation-piece of 1809, The Woolsey Family, attests to the truth of this.⁴⁵⁴ In the right-hand corner of the picture appears part of an Adamesque mantelpiece fitted with a grate, or cast-iron basket very much like the one found in the fireplace in the eastern wing of 1844 at Villa Maria. The fine crafting at Villa Maria blends well with the Greek Revival style of the black marbelized mantelpiece, where the mantel and frieze with fretwork and riefs, is supported by two pairs of coupled

have been Smolenski's own trade-name.

⁴⁵¹ Witold Rybczinski, Home, a Short History of an Idea, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1986) 131.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ Lambert, vol 1, p. 315.

⁴⁵⁴ The painting was completed by William Berczy in Quebec in 1809, and now hangs in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa.

Doric columns marbelized in brown (figs. 44, 45 and 46).⁴⁵⁵

The same cannot be said about the grates in Monk's Dining and Drawing rooms. They are hardly "triumphs of the metal-workers' art"⁴⁵⁶ but rather nineteenth-century mass productions, and probably intended for burning coal. They are fixed with extra marble slabs set immediately next to the original slabs, adjacent to the wooden surrounds of the fireplaces in the rather handsome old Adamesque, "Composition" chimney-pieces. (figs. 47 and 48).

The use of marble for the fireplace surround was standard in the smallest English houses in the latter part of the eighteenth century.⁴⁵⁷ In the United States, residents of Baltimore were offered marble chimney-pieces in 1786, and a few years later, imported Italian marble was also advertised as available.⁴⁵⁸ Whether Richard Dobie obtained

⁴⁵⁵ Mathilde Brosseau (CIHB, Monklands [Villa Maria Convent] - architectural report, n.d.) mistakes the marbelization for marbel, and the Doric columns for Tuscan on this Greek Revival mantelpiece which she compares to a similar one in the "Blue Stone House" at Port Hope, Ontario. The Blue Stone House Mantelpiece is plainer, and less successful than Monkland's; there are only single Doric columns, the frieze has fretwork, but no terminal riefs, and the mantelshelf has no mouldings. In fact, the Port Hope mantel-piece is from Asher Benjamin's The Practical Housebuilder. Benjamin's horizontal emphasis is changed for verticality, and the Doric dimensions are lost.

⁴⁵⁶ Stanley C. Ramsey and J.D.M. Harvey Small Georgian Houses and their Details 1750-1820, (London: The Architectural Press 1972)14.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Henry J. Kauffman, The American Fireplace, (New York: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1972) 145.

the marble and Portland stone, for the fireplaces in his houses in St. Jean Baptiste Street in Montreal, directly from England or locally on the North American continent, remains an open question. When Simon McTavish took the lease of one house in April 1786 there were two "marble hearths" on the second floor "quite entire," but a small piece of the third, "the Portland stone hearth" was broken off.⁴⁵⁹ However, the hearths described in the lease, may be other than the Adamesque chimney-pieces in the "House built in the English Taste" at 27 St. Jean Baptiste Street, and accurate dating cannot be established. They could have been installed prior to Dobie's sale until 1804, when an inventory made after Simon McTavish's death comprises utensils and rugs for two hearths in the large Drawing-room without specifying chimney-pieces.

The two chimney-pieces upstairs in Monkville, and those downstairs stylistically belong to the then prevailing Adam school. The upstairs pieces are plainer and show less Composition ornaments (figs. 49 and 50). One has a similar grate to downstairs, but no marble, and the other has an elegantly crafted cast-iron basket, which is larger and could have been intended to hold wood. It is probable that this grate was there in Monk's time, as it is fully integrated with the surrounding white marble (fig. 49).

⁴⁵⁹ ANQM, E.W. Gray, N.P., 27 April 1786, no. 57. "Richard Dobie and Simon McTavish, Lease of a House etc."

A modest eighteenth-century mantelpiece in wood, with Doric panelling, backing on the western main floor, also has a factory-made grate. Neither of the fireplaces is in working order.

The delicacy of the carving and Composition ornaments of the chimney-pieces, doors and cornices in the front parlours, and in the entrance hall, is diminished by garish metallic paints, and the addition of dark, stenciled borders under the cornice and of the ceiling. The mantelpieces have retained an original off-white colour, but suffer from excessive layers of paint.

In the western parlour, Monk's dining-room, the mantelshelf is carried on consoles, embellished with beads and vines in Composition (colourplate 1). The frieze also has Composition ornaments, consisting of a centre-piece with a vase and swags, flanked by festoons, and terminated by classical female figures positioned on the trusses. That on the right-hand side can be identified as carrying a cornucopia, which is an appropriate iconographic emblem for a dining-room. Apart from these motifs, there are also fine beading, bead-and-reel, and egg-and-dart mouldings in plaster.

The overmantel consists of two pilasters, standing on plinths, which are decorated with vases and anthemias. This is an infelicitous arrangement, as the pilasters and plinths are broader than the inferior responds. The placing of plinths above consoles is top-heavy, and against the rule of the

Orders (fig. 47). Similarly disproportionate overmantels with pilasters were featured at 27 St. Jean Baptiste Street,⁴⁶⁰ and these probably held mirrors, rather than plaster ornaments, as the inventory of 1804 lists "two large mirrors" in the "large Drawing room" (fig. 51)⁴⁶¹

On Monk's overmantel is a plaque with a classical grouping; the theme seems to be Dionysian, as one figure is extending a cup. Above this plaque is placed, rather illogically, a large vase with swags above, and festoons below. This whole ensemble, finally, is enclosed by a decorated band, punctuated by paterae. All these details conform to the Adam Style, and the somewhat unfortunate assembly is best described in a contemporary "dévis" as "une cheminée à la mode" with decorations "de la matière vulgairement appelée composition."⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ Traquair and Neilson. Mantel from the West room shown in drawing of details of stairs and the internal woodwork, p. 190, and that from the East front room in photograph, p. 191. The one shown in the photograph is the only one extant, and is described as "typical American 'colonial' of late XVIII century 'Adam' type." (p. 189) It has an iron grate and yellow veined (jaune antique) marble surround, a delicately moulded frieze and mantelshelf with a carved [Composition?] central panel. (*ibid.*) At the sides are downwards tapering, fluted pilasters, and on the trusses are [plaster?] paterae. The overmantel consists of a large sunk panel framed by broader, fluted, and tapering pilasters.

⁴⁶¹ ANQM, J.G. Beek, N.P., 20 September 1804, no. 1798. "Inventory of all and Singular etc."

⁴⁶² ANQM, J.M. Mondelet, N.P., 19 October 1811, no. 3570. "Dévis d'ouvrage de Menuiseries que [word illeg.] faire dans une Maison a voute ... au Sr Antoine Mallard... situées et faisant face sur la place du Nouveau Marché et la Rue Notre Dame..."

The discrepancy seen in the design of the two parts, could suggest that the more cohesive mantelpieces were prefabricated, and that in Monk's house the overmantels may have been produced by Duret. Unfamiliarity with the stylistic language would explain the excessive eclecticism in the choice of the otherwise well-executed details.

In Monk's drawing-room the chimney-piece, and especially the mantel, is more elaborate than any other in the house. Frieze and mantelshelf are carried by Corinthian columns. On the bedmould on the frieze there are tassels instead of dentils. The frieze is decorated with arabesques and vases. On the central panel is a motif similar to that on the overmantel in the dining-room, and on each truss is a Muse, as an apropos to the intended function of the room.

This mantelpiece, [in the United States called Federal-style], "is an outstanding example of the work done with molded ornaments."⁴⁶³ Similar examples are known from South Carolina, in the area of Charleston, and most notably in Nathaniel Russell's House, dating from the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶⁴ The single major difference between the mantelpieces is that Russell's has paterae interspersed with sheaves on the frieze, rather than the vases and arabesques on Monk's. Otherwise, the tassels, the Muses, the centre plaque-theme, and the Corinthian columns

⁴⁶³ Kauffman, 143.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 139

are features common to both (figs. 52 and 53).

The mere fact of their duplication attests to the ornaments being moulded, rather than carved. This is perhaps no more evident than on the wall-frieze under the cornice, with its dancing putti holding garlands, and chair-rails with vines in the dining-room. In Monk's drawing-room the repetition of a facsimile anthemion pattern on chair-rails and fanmotif on the cornice testify to the same thing, as do the neat mouldings and cornices of the door-frames (fig.61).

The provenance of the Charleston and Montreal moulds for Composition ornaments is unknown. One possible source, however, is Philadelphia. The owner of the "original American composition ornamental manufactory" in that city, Robert Wellford, advertised to the public in April 1801, that "the invention of Composition Ornaments offers a good embellishment at a moderate price."⁴⁶⁵ He assured his readers that he could supply "ornaments to suit almost any fancy," and "take orders from any part of the Continent." He also promised "printed directions for fixing composition gratis."⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 136.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. In an advertising broadside of 6 April 1801, Wellford explains that what are usually termed Composition Ornaments are cheap substitutes for wood carving, particularly for "enriched mouldings, etc... It is a cement of solid and tenacious materials, which when properly incorporated and pressed into moulds, receives a fine relieve; in drying it becomes hard as stone, strong, and durable so as to answer most effectually the general purpose of Wood Carving, and not so liable to chip."

There is, therefore, little doubt about the ready availability of the moulds for Composition ornaments, even in the Canadas.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps the oldest surviving Adamesque chimneypiece in Montreal comes from the Mallard-Beaudry house at 1130 Clark Street, a traditional building from the early 1780s, and now demolished (fig. 54). The piece is exhibited at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and belonged to the illiterate yet very successful soap-manufacturer, Antoine Mallard [1762-1824]. The architecture of its wainscotting is old-fashioned, in that it covers the entire wall, but the traditional bolection moulding on the panels is exchanged for deep chamfering. Some of the panels, and the frieze, are decorated with paterae, and the design of the mantelshelf, with gouged mouldings, and originally painted off-white or beige,⁴⁶⁸ are clearly Adam-inspired.

⁴⁶⁷ Brosseau (p. 15) compares Monk's columned chimney-piece to a similar one in the Executive Council Room in Nova Scotia's Province House. The profile and the columns are in same style, but not the mouldings and frieze motif, which depicts the Nelson monument at Carlton Hill in Edinburgh. Province House [1811-1819], Canada's finest neo-Palladian building, seems to have been designed by John Merric, a painting contractor. Richard Scott, a mason from Scotland, was the supervising architect. David Kinnear, who carved the Coat-of-Arms for the central pediment, was also a Scot, and some Scottish firms are found among the suppliers. Pacey, (p. 50) writes, therefore, "it is highly likely that the ornate mantels, door and windows were imported from Scotland. Considering that many of Lower Canada's merchants had connexions in Scotland, this could be another possible source of Composition ornaments worth investigating.

⁴⁶⁸ Information regarding the colour comes from the Curator of Canadian Painting prior to 1960 at Montreal Museum for Fine Arts, Dr. Nicole Cloutier.

The more "à la mode" chimney, or mantelpiece, with composite ornamentation, which Mallard had Isaac Shay make in 1811, was to be installed at another house then under construction at the corner of the New Market and Notre-Dame Street. Louis Charland, the surveyor and architect of the prison, made the plans and specifications for this house in September 1810.⁴⁶⁹ It is still standing, although with much restoration. The only original woodwork surviving from this building, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, is part of a poorly-preserved cornice, which also is Adam-styled, and was to be painted in a colour,⁴⁷⁰ and not gilded.

The colours of Duret's woodwork at Monkville are not known, except for the chimney-pieces. Moreover, it is difficult to assess exactly the nature of the original joinery. The neo-Palladian staircase in the hall with its slender turned bannisters, a high-relief scrolled string, and a moulded rail seems to be original. The structure is made in maple and pine, although cherry or wild-cherry tree was very common, and used for McGillivray's "Escalier a Console" with "Barreaux tournées."⁴⁷¹ A similar staircase to Monk's is

⁴⁶⁹ ANQM, J.M. Mondelet, N.P., 25 September 1810, no. 3440. "Ratification du Dévis annexé par le Sr Antne Mallard & Nlas Morin," includes six pages of specifications, signed Louis Charland, "Archte", 1 September 1810.

⁴⁷⁰ ANQM, J.M. Mondelet, N.P., 19 October 1811. "Dévis d'ouvrages de Menuiserie etc."

⁴⁷¹ ANQM, J. Gerbrand Beek, N.P., 22 September 1802, no. 1680.

found at 9, Hébert, Québec which, dates from c. 1790,⁴⁷² and the prototype for this, once common model, can be found in William Pain's The Builder's Pocket-Treasure of 1763 (figs. 55 and 56).⁴⁷³

An arched separation of the hall is another Composition feature, and typically Adamesque, with its decorative keystone (fig. 57). On Monk's plan the parlour chimney-pieces are flanked by a door and a niche, or space for a cupboard (fig. 20). This has been replaced by two four-panel doors [typical of the mid 1800's], whose dimensions and surrounds differ from the old double three-panel doors (figs. 58, 59 and colour plate 2). The door-surround in the drawing-room is the only one with pilasters supporting the cornice. The extra elaboration here indicates the importance of the room; such hierarchical treatment of the decoration was customary, and is well in tune with Palladian theory (fig. 60).

The colours of the parlours were quite probably as conventional as the pattern-book woodwork decoration. The accepted scheme would have been a combination of blue-greys, off-whites, and sometimes pastel, with occasional gilt ornaments, which would give an overall airy grace. The walls of the dining-room at the Prince's Lodge were papered with

⁴⁷² Brousseau, H7.

⁴⁷³ William Pain, The Builder's Pocket Treasure; or, Palladio delineated and explained (London: W. Owen, 1763) Plate 31, "which by Inspection, will appear so plain as to need no further Explanation."

English hunting scenes,⁴⁷⁴ and there is always the possibility that Monk also used imported wallpaper.

That James Monk, besides his philosophical leanings "had ever a desire for the best," or in other words aristocratic taste, is evident in his well-appointed villa at "the Mountain near Montreal" where seclusion and a dominant situation were part of its character. As a "chaste" neo-Palladian residence without meretricious ornament it was a model for study and imitation, with elegant public rooms, furnished with some fine mahogany pieces of which a card-table has survived (fig. 62).⁴⁷⁵

Rather than erecting monuments to barbarism,⁴⁷⁶ the eighteenth-century British administrators chose to build in a restrained neo-Palladian style to inspire "a taste for neatness and elegance ... and manners."⁴⁷⁷ Among them, Chief Justice Monk found personal satisfaction in constructing a Palladian "box of retreat," something honourable and a monument to British culture and good taste.

⁴⁷⁴ Fenety, p. 86.

⁴⁷⁵ Webster, p. 192, no. 215 Card table, Montreal c. 1810 (73.7x91.4), made for Sir James Monk, R.O.M., Canadian Department, 958.19.1.

⁴⁷⁶ Thomas Jefferson, Writings, ed. Merrill D. Peterson, (New York: Literary Classics of the United States Inc., 1984) 829. Jefferson to Madison, letter September 1785, regarding the Virginia Capitol. - The word barbarism was often used synonymously with ignorance, and in connexion with architecture it meant that the rules of the orders had not been respected.

⁴⁷⁷ Home, vol. 2, p. 85.

CONCLUSIONS

What emerges from a close examination of Monk's villa is some insight into his personal aspirations, above and beyond the ideals inspired by Pliny and the Stoics which he professed so openly. After rescuing his father's insolvent estate in Nova Scotia, and probably coming into some money through his marriage, he started a legal career which must have provided a substantial income. He intended to spend no less than £2.000 for the renovations of his Quebec townhouse. Moreover, in comparing the size of Monkville, with contemporary mansions like Powell's Place in Quebec City, McGillivray's "Château St. Antoine," and McTavish's uncompleted country-house in Montreal, the Chief Justice's villa is inferior only to the country-houses of McTavish and his nephew, the wealthiest merchants in Montreal. As it stands, with its c. 272 square metre plan Monkville is much larger than Powell's Place with c. 174 square metres, but smaller than McGillivray's "Chateau" where the core alone covered c. 181 square metres. Adding to it the dependencies [size taken from 1818 "substantial brick-wings"⁴⁷⁸] each of c. 116.5 square metres, McGillivray's mansion was truly

⁴⁷⁸ ANQM, Henry Griffin, N.P., no. 2079, 5 January 1818. Contract and agreement between Robert Kerr and others and the Hon. William McGillivray.

baronial and may have covered a area of c. 414 square metres.⁴⁷⁹

There is no information available about the woodwork in Powell's Place or McTavish's house. McGillivray's contract of 1802 discloses that the house had dependencies, sash-windows, and entrances with cornices, not porches. The interior seems to have been decorated with simpler cornices than Monkville; chimneypieces and Composition ornaments are not mentioned. About their existence there can be very little doubt, however, they were "à la mode," and McGillivray kept abreast with fashion. This is evidenced by the portrait he had painted of himself, his wife and an infant by William Berczy in 1806.⁴⁸⁰ It is a conversation piece which owes much of its original composition to Robert Andrews and His Wife [1748-50] by Thomas Gainsborough [1727-1788], the

⁴⁷⁹ After allowance for any possible errors in calculation, Powell's Place would comprise no more than 200 square metres in plan. If McGillivray made the brick-wings twice as large as the old ones, the core with c. 181 square metres, plus the wings, c. 116.5 square metres, would together total c. 297 square metres, or about 25 square metres more than Monkville.

⁴⁸⁰ This group-portrait in oil, 120x90 cm, at the McCord Museum (M18683), has long been ascribed to Louis Dulongpré (1759-1813), but in 1967 it was attributed to Berczy by John Andre (p. 61). William Dunlap painted over parts of the composition in 1820, mainly the figure of McGillivray [Paul Bourassa in Dulongpré, A Closer Look, (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1988) 12, by R. Derome, P. Bourassa and J. Chagnon]. X-ray photographs of the portrait (ibid., fig. p. 13) reveal Berczy's McGillivray as sitting at ease, with a crossed leg in a balanced contrapposto, rather than in the present cramped position, with uncrossed legs and strangely frontal shoulders.

favorite portraitist of the British high society.

The masons' contract for McGillivray's building has not been located, and therefore it is debateable whether it might have been influenced by the Montreal Court-House, which was a strong source of inspiration to Monk and McTavish. They had masonry, pointing, windows, key-stones and quoining made after the model of the Court House. For correct execution of these details, and the body of the masonry, they employed as supervisor the Court-House master-mason and stone-cutter, William Gilmore.

The author of the drawings for the court-houses was Lieutenant William Hall, who had assisted Major William Robe⁴⁸¹ with "judgement and good taste" and "gave the general plan" for the Anglican Cathedral in Quebec. The design of the "Salle d'audience" was as much Hall's as the commissioners', whose authority is well documented; it was not François Baillairgé's as proposed by Luc Noppen.⁴⁸² Most active among the commissioners at the time was Chief

⁴⁸¹ Robe also made the Plan and Elevation of the Upper Town Market Building in Quebec. It was constructed in 1806 and demolished around 1815 (Clerk, p. 98). The building was round, domed, and crowned with a wide lantern. It was new, and unsuccessful as a type in the Colony. Clerk places it among "circular ornamental buildings occasionally designed by the Palladians." A better proto type seems to be Le Camus' "Halle au Bled," in Paris, domed by Legrand and Molinos in 1782-1783, using small batons according to a technique by Philibert de l'Orme. The Halle au Blé, and its dome was much admired, not least by Jefferson, who used de l'Orme's batons in his own dome at Monticello.

⁴⁸² Luc Noppen in François Baillairgé et son oeuvre (1759-1830), (Québec: Le Musée de Québec, 1975)71-72.

Justice Jonathan Sewell in Quebec City, and the Honourable John Richardson in Montreal. Richardson was a committee-member or commissioner for Nelson's monument, the Prison, Montreal General Hospital [1819], Bank of Montreal [1820] and the Lachine Canal Project [1821].⁴⁸³

Hall was the executant architect and supervisor at the Court-House in Quebec, and William Gilmore was the executant master-mason and supervisor in Montreal. Gilmore also most likely made the drawings and specifications for Monk's and McTavish's houses "on the Mountain," as well as for the Episcopal Church, which was designed by William Berczy. He supervised the construction of the hall of the church, and was also engaged for cutting the stone for the Nelson column and supervising the assembly of the monument, besides being "architect" at the Prison, completing at least the specifications for the masonry before he died. The architect for the Prison, in a more modern sense, was the surveyor Louis Charland, who produced drawings and was the executant supervisor. Charland also designed a Weighing-Hall and house at the Old Market, and Antoine Mallard's home at the corner of Notre Dame Street and the New Market. Mallard's house was to be vaulted, and have Gibbsian keystones and a façade built in "pierre piquée [punched or boucharded] comme au front de

⁴⁸³ Newton Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta or the History of Montreal, (Montreal: William Greig, 1839) 126 and 165.

la maison de Toussaint Pothier."⁴⁸⁴

The architect for the Prison [Morrin College] in Quebec [1808-1811] was François Baillairgé, yet he did not have full control over the building-programme. He made a manuscript note in his copy of Philibert de l'Orme, whose arithmetical seven-part module he used for the design that:

"c'est dommage que.... les Commissaires miaient fait retrancher les Pilastres des ailles et leur Corniches; l'unité est rompue."⁴⁸⁵

Regarding the authorship of the first buildings erected by the British administration, it becomes clear that local specialists were used for the prisons, which were already known as types. The court-houses and churches represented new types in the Colony and had to be managed by Britons. The design was decided by commissioners and officers consulting architectural treatises and pattern-books. For the realization of the projects, British master-craftsmen were engaged. This was only logical, as architecture in New France was to a great extent the product of an artisan tradition, and house-wrights put their confidence in the collective memory. Many were illiterate and could not interpret pattern-books even if these were published bilingually in French and English as were for example "The Works" of the Adam brothers. Once instructed, however, the local artificers easily adapted

⁴⁸⁴ ANQM, J.M. Mondelet, N.P., 25 September 1810, no. 3440.

⁴⁸⁵ Luc Noppen in François Baillairgé et son oeuvre (1759-1830) (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1975) 73.

to the styles "à la mode" as is evidenced by building-contracts.

- The role of the notaries in New France in perpetuating and perhaps even modifying the local style, must not be forgotten. They must have had as much power as the first British administrators, not only in suggesting building-styles, but also in actually dictating the specifications.

The curate Conefroy, having drawn up his "dévis" for the new parish church at Boucherville, asked for William Gilmore's services in executing and setting up a portal. This seems surprising, that the curate should consult Gilmore instead of the local habitans who were well-reputed stonecutters. He also requested Gilmore "to facilitate the masons and workmen to put up the same with order and taste."⁴⁸⁶

The portal was executed in finely-dressed limestone according to the Ionic order and may have been inspired by Gibbs (fig.71). It has Scamozzi's angular volutes, like those found in Pain's The Builder's Pocket-Treasure,⁴⁸⁷ and the door-aperture is vaulted (figs. 65, 66 and 68). What may have been special about this portal is the use of five-sided voussoirs fitted into the coursing, and which Gilmore claimed "well to know and understand," is their preparation and fitting. Five-sided voussoirs are not compatible with the

⁴⁸⁶ ANQM, Peter Lukin, père, N.P., 28 October 1800, no. 1972.

⁴⁸⁷ Pain, plate 6.

common rubble-masonry of New France, as they form an arch with a stepped extrados to accommodate coursed masonry. Moreover, rather than thrusting vertically like four-sided voussoirs, they are distributing the stress into the wall, and, therefore, both the design and "fixing" were out of the ordinary and needed to be demonstrated and supervised. These "Augustan" voussoirs are decorative, as well, and other instances of their early use in Canada is found in the rustication of Quebec Court-House (fig. 69) and Government House in Halifax (fig. 19).

As a whole the fabric of the parish church in Boucherville is one of the first major examples where a cross-fertilization between new and old ideas is made manifest in Lower Canada. Looking back to old St. Peter's in Rome, and beyond, Conefroy re-established the Latin absidal-cross plan, which with its spaces for auxiliary altars for personal devotions is suitable to Catholic liturgy and ritual. At the same time he relinquished organic design-principles and modernized the façades. On the front the apertures received linear organization borrowed from Gibbs's "Marybone Chapell" (figs. 63 and 64). A mediaeval vertical accent was retained, but the arched door- and window-surrounds received Gibbs's projecting key-stones and voussoirs (figs. 64 and 67). The projecting keystone in the arch of the central portal is decorated "à la mode" with an Adamesque vase and swag-motif in bas-relief (fig. 65). Even

the tower of the church is a close approximation to that of Gibbs's "Marybone Chapell" (figs. 63 and 64).

When Noppen says Conefroy "cherche à affirmer ce caractère particulier du Québec, issu de plus d'un siècle d'évolution" adding that "l'influence anglaise ne réussira pas à modifier en profondeur l'architecture religieuse: tout au plus utiliser-t-on les nouvelles formules comme ornement," he is indulging in demagoguery. The plan of Catholic and Protestant churches derives from different requirements in liturgy and ritual. The first churches built by the Scots and the English in Lower Canada were to answer the needs of the Protestant service with its emphasis on preaching, where the pulpit is the liturgical centre. For this, a hall or a central-plan, as for instance St. George's in Halifax, was the most appropriate layout.

About the propriety of neo-Palladian revival architecture representing British authorities there was no doubt, and the longevity of the style is remarkable. In 1836 the architect John Ostell designed the Gibbsian-inspired Custom House on St. Paul Street in Montreal,⁴⁸⁸ and later yet in 1843-1848, Province House in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, was designed by Isaac Smith after another neo-Palladian-inspired formula.⁴⁸⁹

Haldimand's Montmorency house, Powell's Place and Monk's

⁴⁸⁸ James, p. 32.

⁴⁸⁹ Clerk, p. 88.

villa as gentlemen's residences were like the court-houses ultimately modelled on the Palladian villa. The style of these buildings was transmitted from England via books, and this explains their uniformity. The intrinsic value of the country-houses was once as self-evident and explicit as the iconography of the Nelson-column. In the 1820's, however, more convenient interior plans and other classical revival styles came into fashion mostly via the United States, and "chastity" and classical orders were no longer the sole measure for good taste. "Pensively" located country-retreats lost their appeal after the Horatian and aristocratic ideals they were built on had died with the Napoleonic era. Haldimand's, Powell's and Monk's villas were on the market for a long time, and when Powell's and Monk's villas finally were leased or sold it was as vice-regal residences. No mean fate, but a difference in function. Equipped with lateral dependencies and other adjuncts they served as country-houses, large and spacious enough for the Victorian representation of the qualities of the British Empire.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3
Fig. 4



Fig. 5

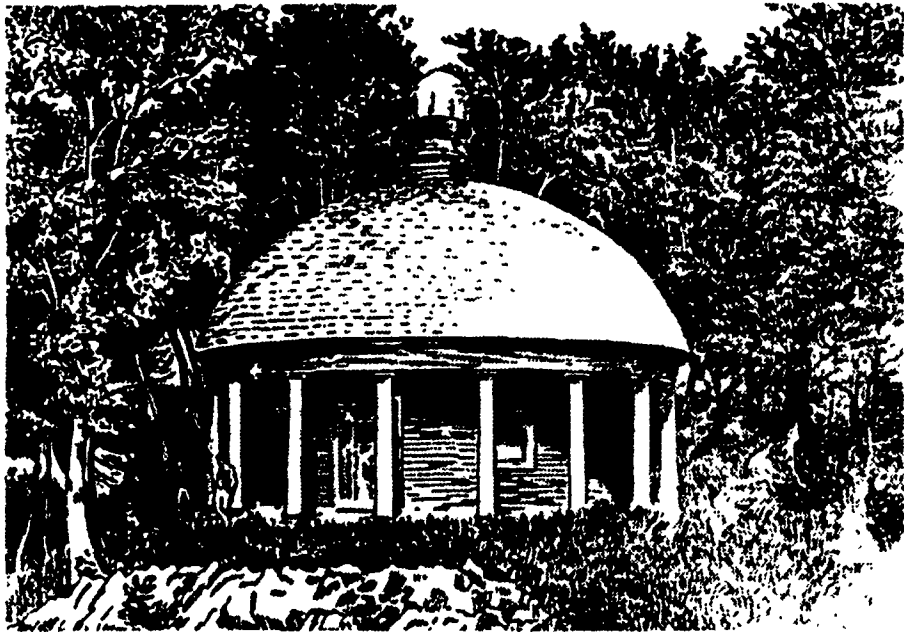


Fig. 6
Fig. 7



Fig. 8
Fig. 9

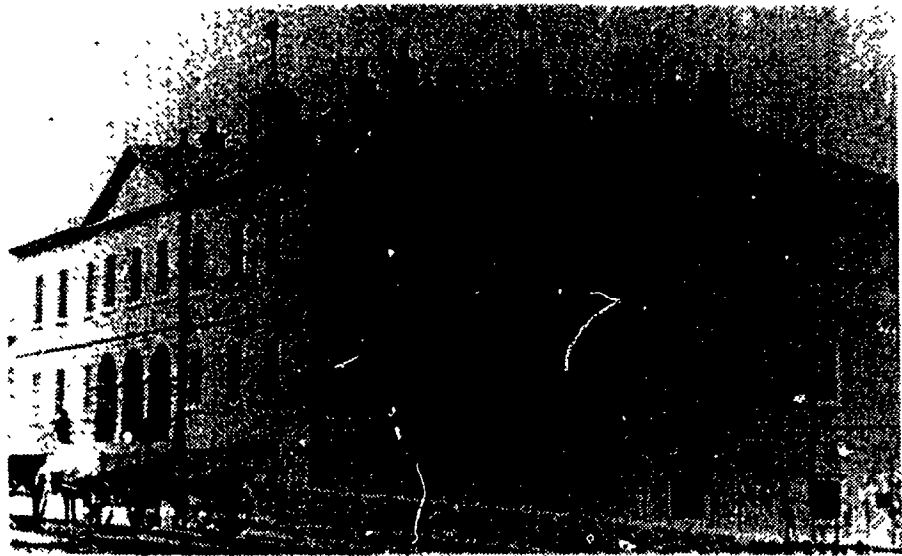
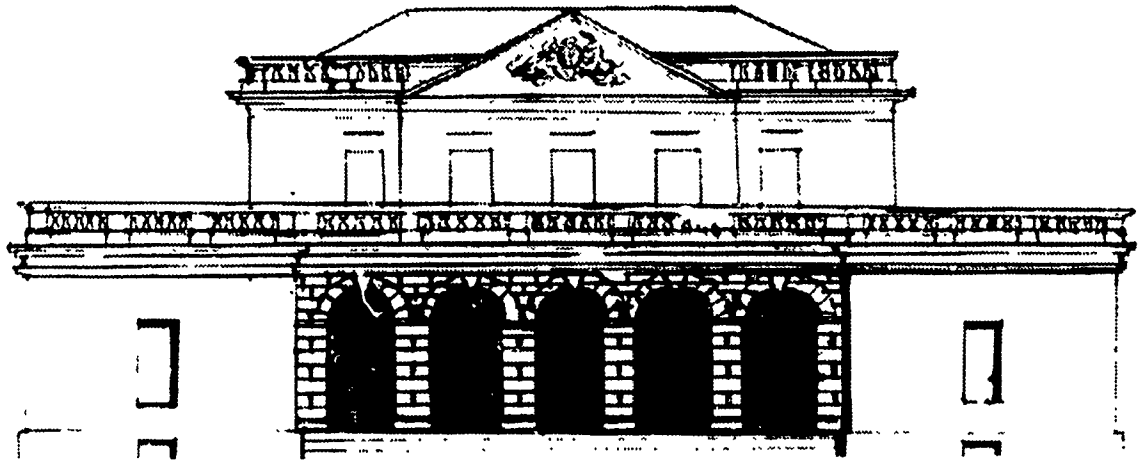


Fig. 10
Fig. 11

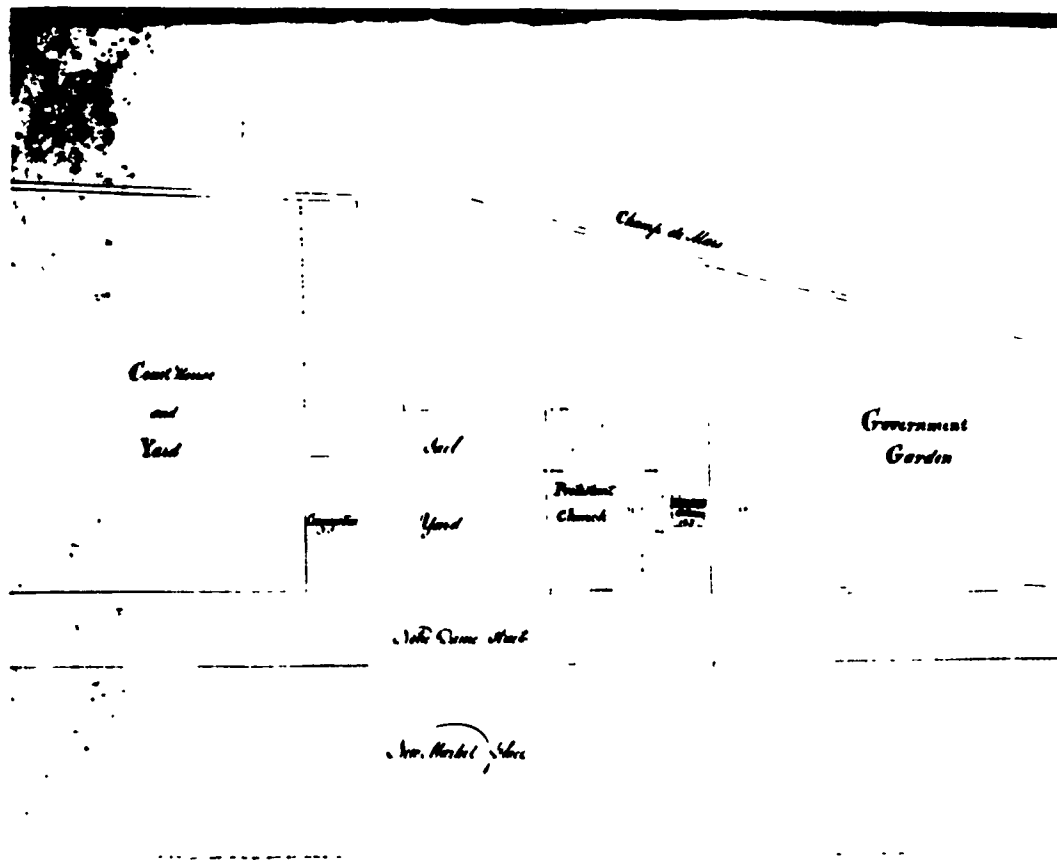


Fig. 12
Fig. 13



Fig. 14

PRINCIPAL OR GROUND-FLOOR.
SPENCER-WOODS.

The dark tint shows the proposed additions

Scale as shown on page 10.

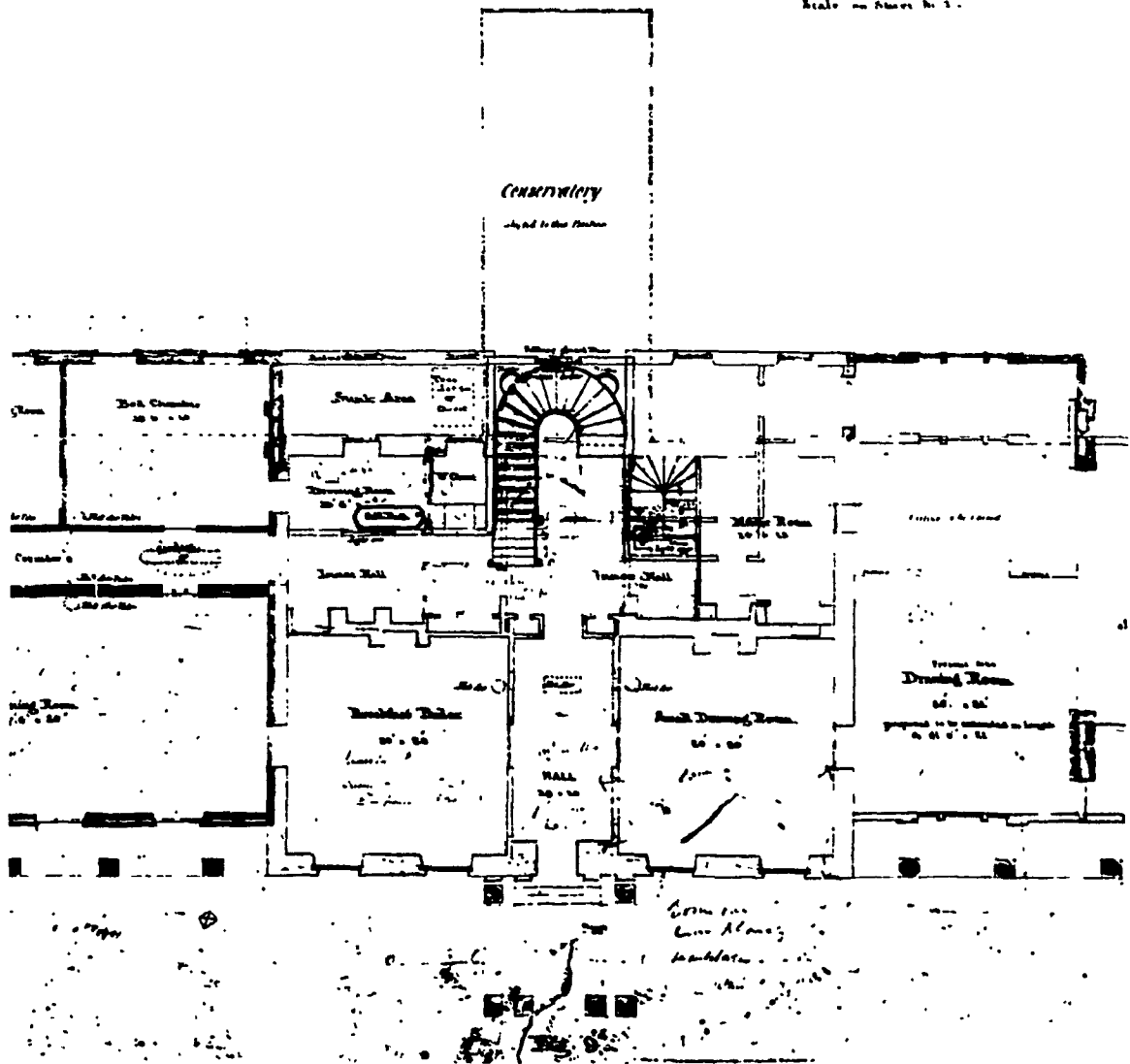


Fig. 15



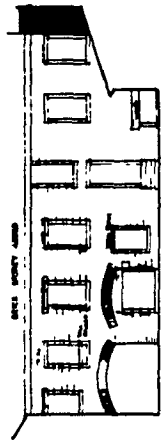
REAR - ELEVATION
Fig. 2



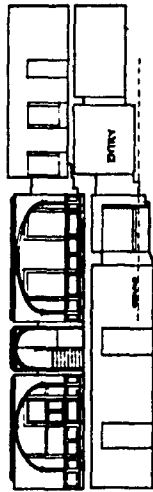
FRONT - ELEVATION.
Fig. 1

**No 27 St JEAN BAPTISTE St
MONTREAL QUE.**

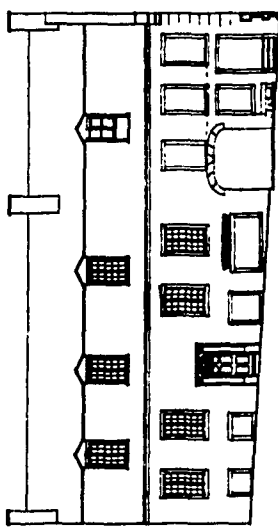
DETAILS OF THIS BUILDING WERE MEASURED IN
1937. ACCORDING TO THE SURVEY OF THE STREETS
AND THE PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT THAT TIME
UPON THESE SURVEYS AND OLD PHOTOGRAPHS
1/2" = 1'-0"



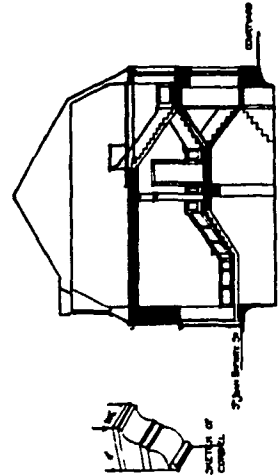
ELEVATION TO COURTYARD
1/2" = 1'-0"



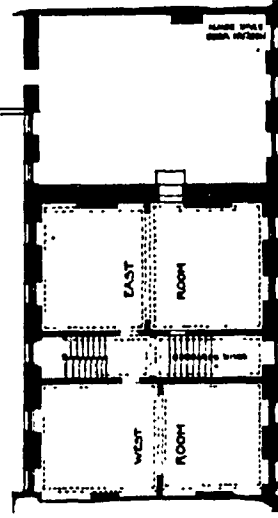
LONG SECTION
1/2" = 1'-0"



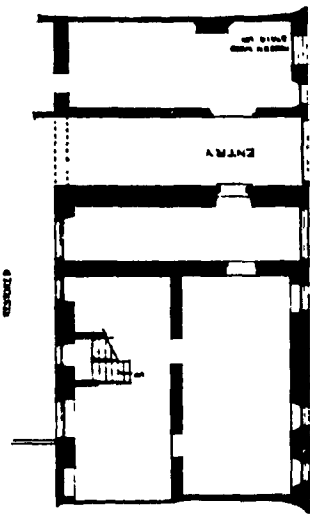
ELEVATION TO STREET
1/2" = 1'-0"



SECTION
1/2" = 1'-0"



FIRST FLOOR PLAN
1/2" = 1'-0"



BASEMENT PLAN
1/2" = 1'-0"

Fig. 17

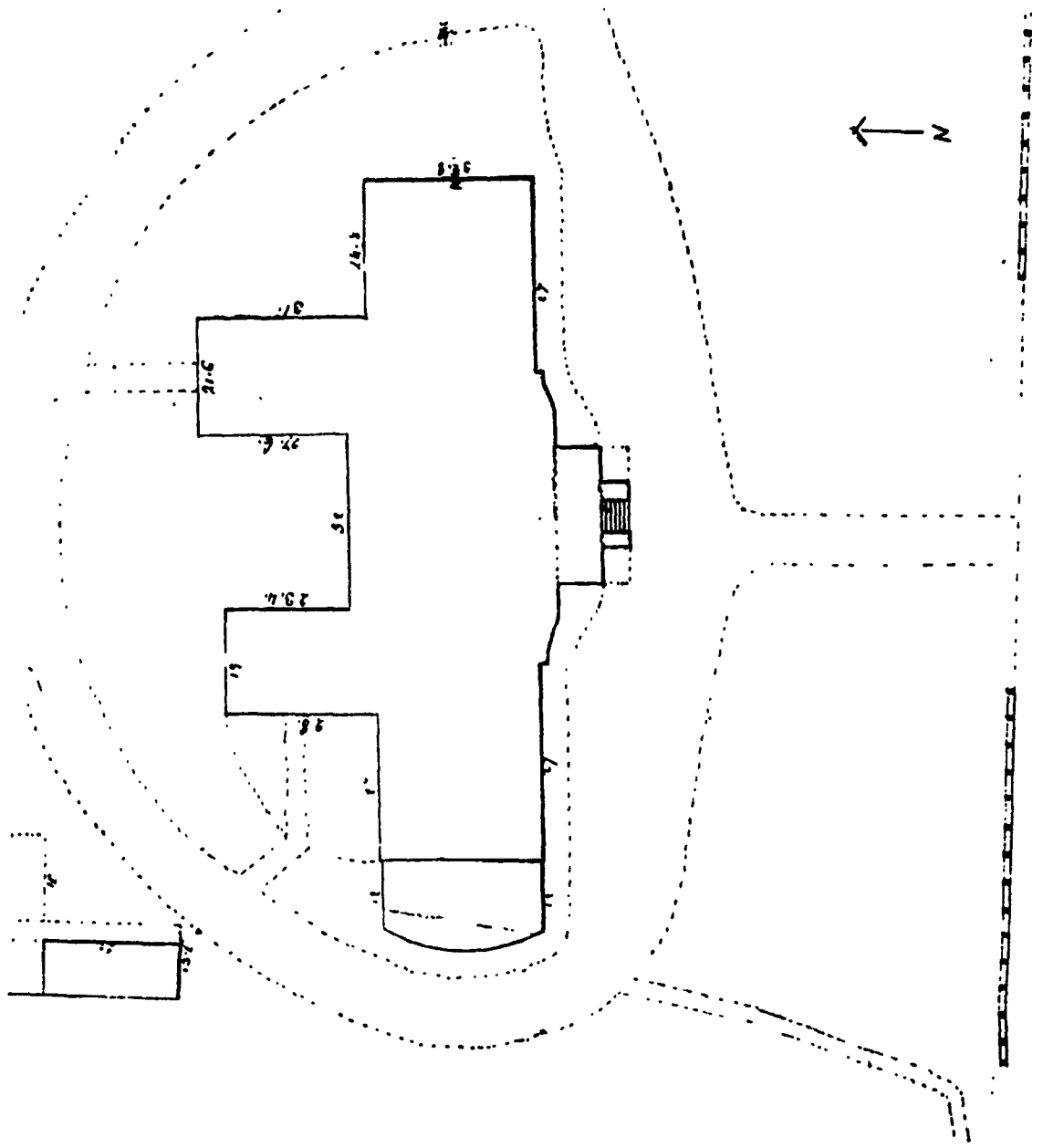


Fig. 18

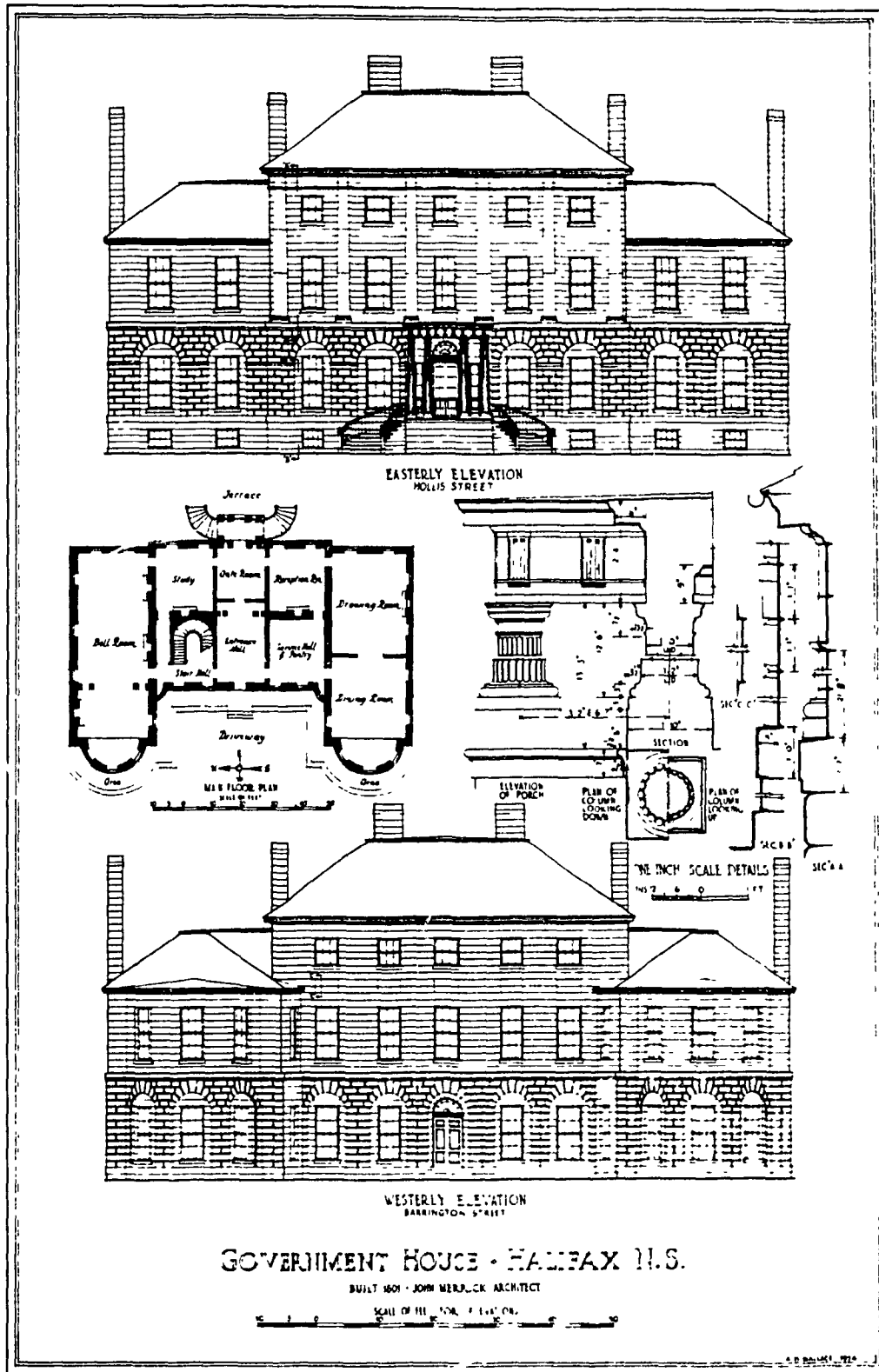


Fig. 19

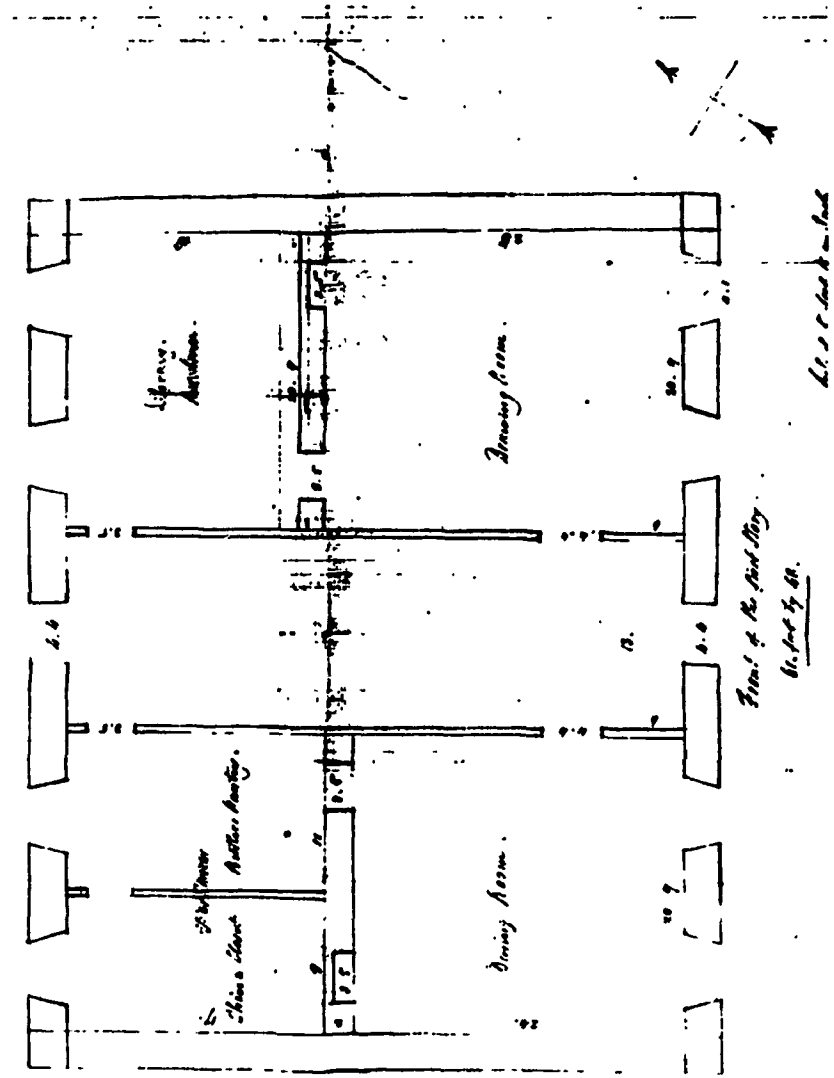


Fig. 20

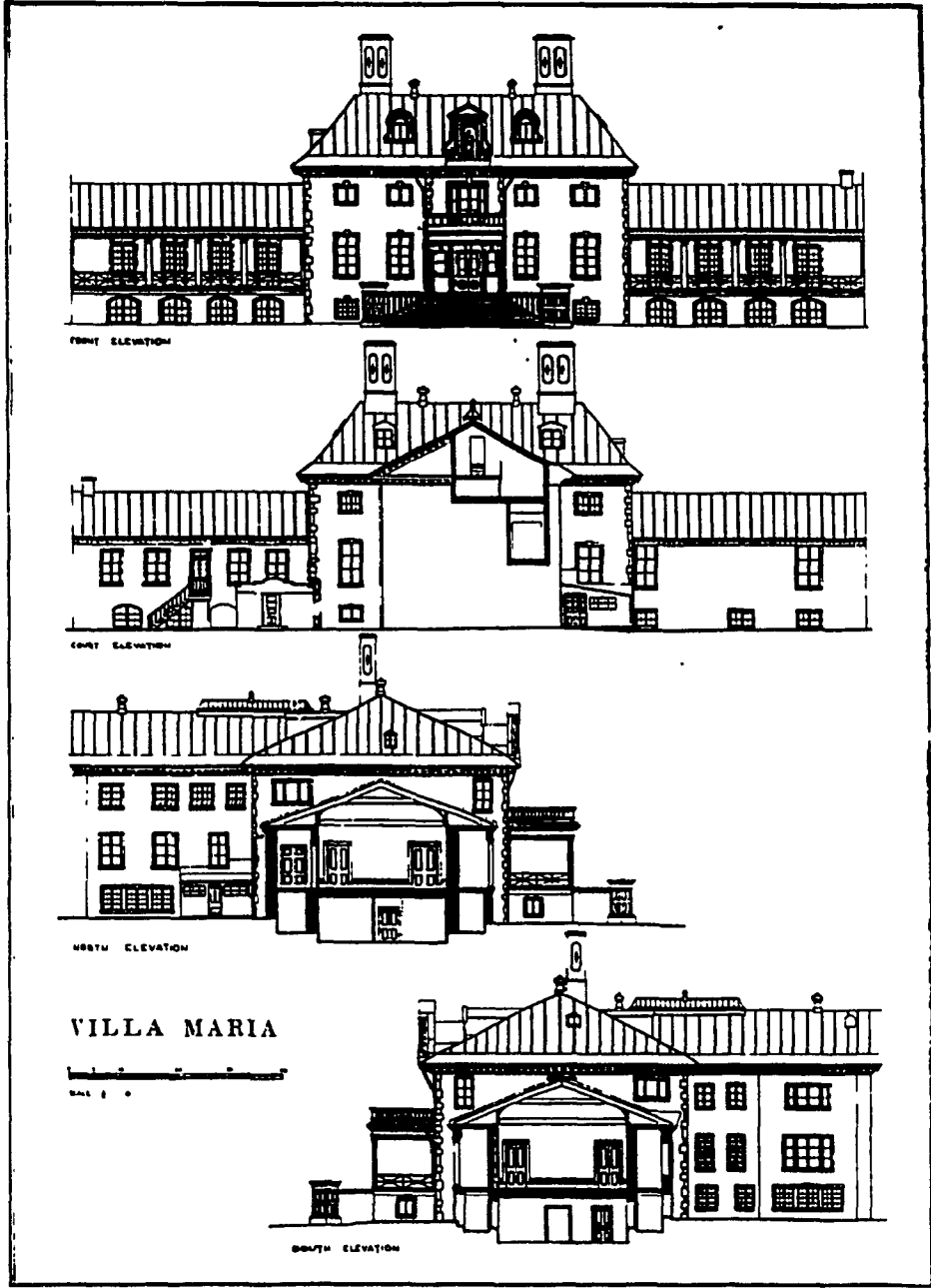


Fig. 21

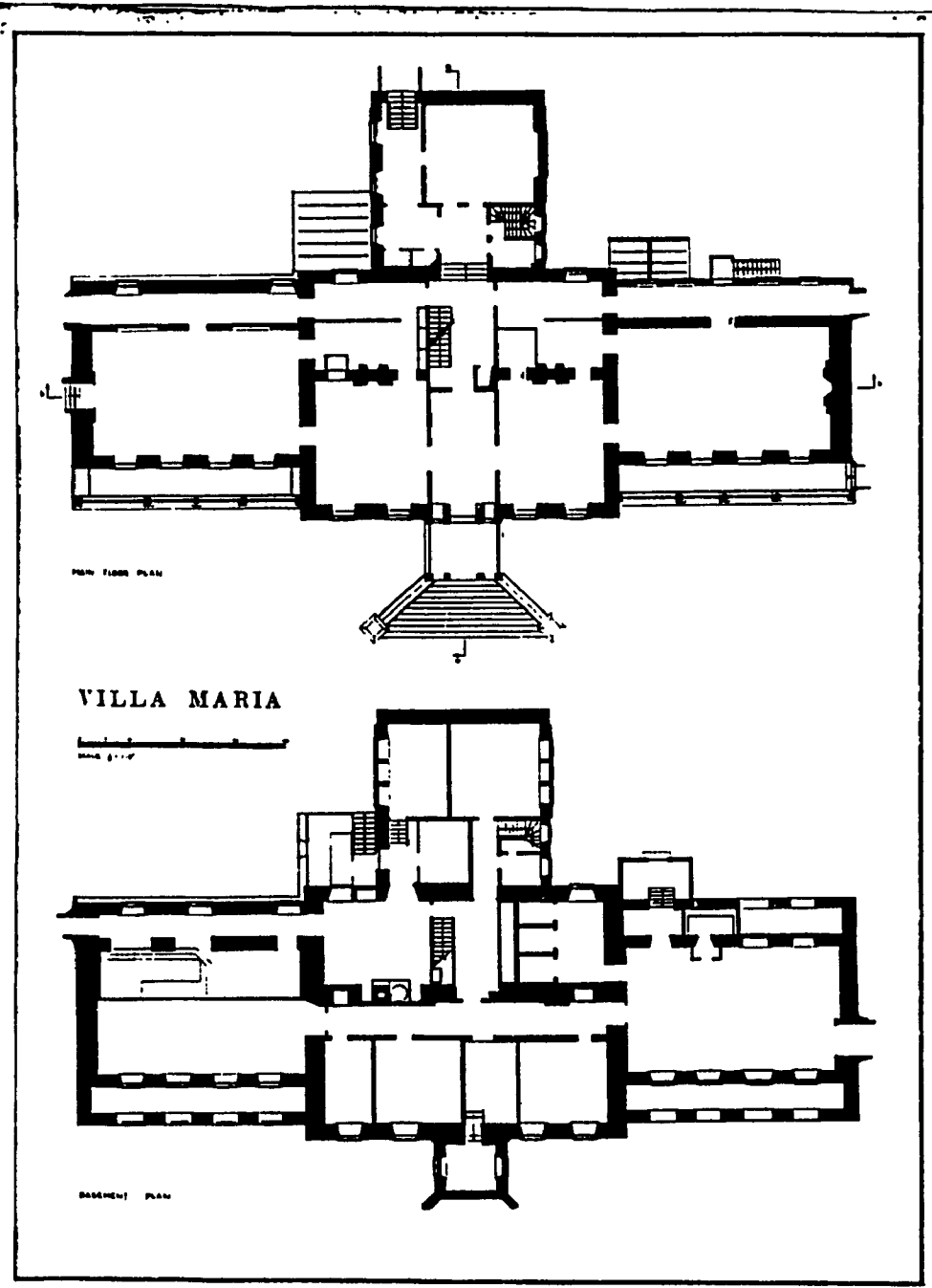


Fig. 22

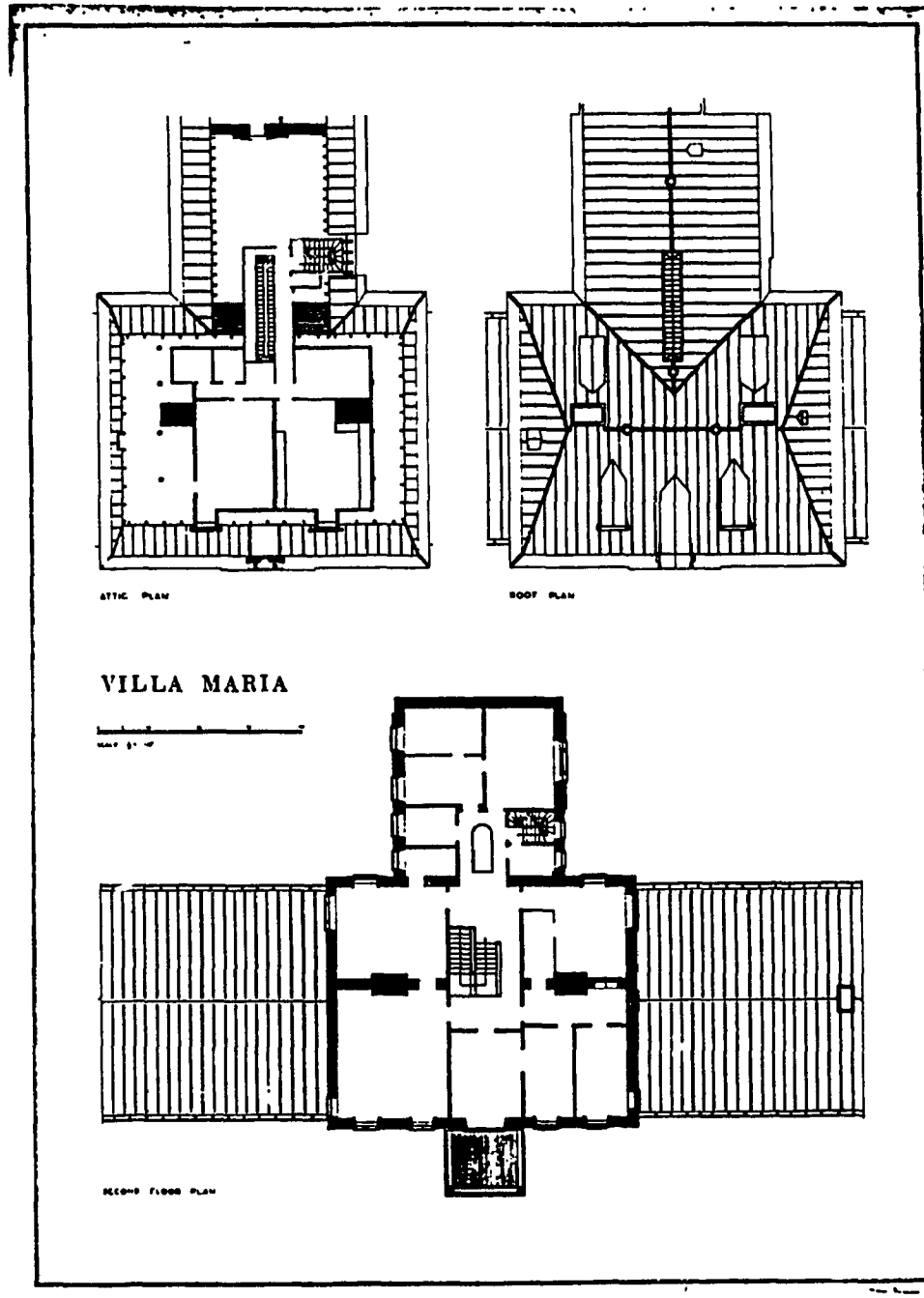


Fig. 23

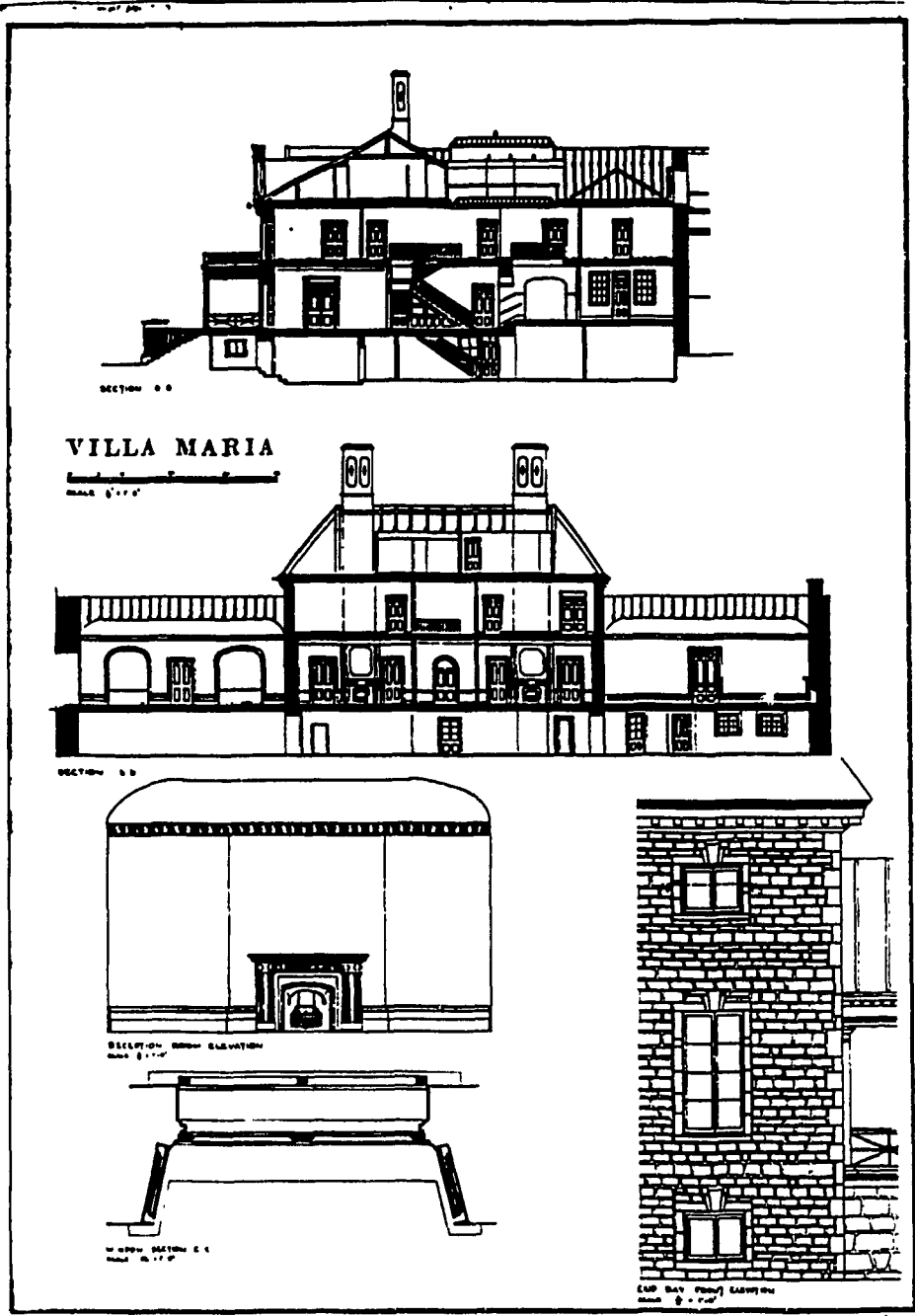


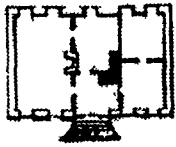
Fig. 24

NAVIGATION and PLAN

Architectural Office

Proposed site plan for the construction of a building for the use of the Navy, which is to be situated on the site of the former site of the old building at 27th St and the new site of the building will be a two-story building with the approval of the Board of Health of the City of New York and the other authorities concerned with the construction of the same.

27th St
1st Ave



Architectural Office

Wm. H. ...
Superintendent

1867

Fig. 25

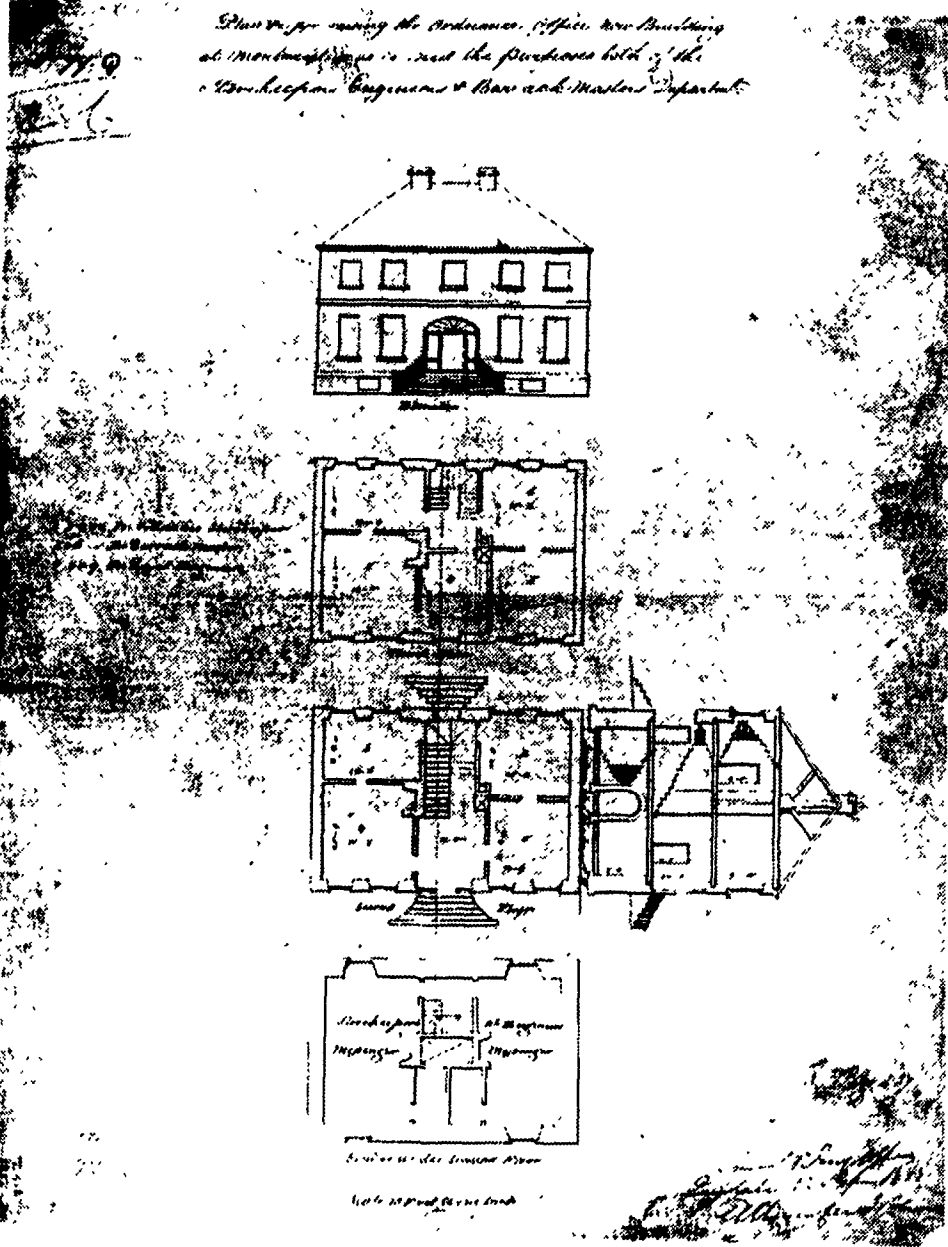
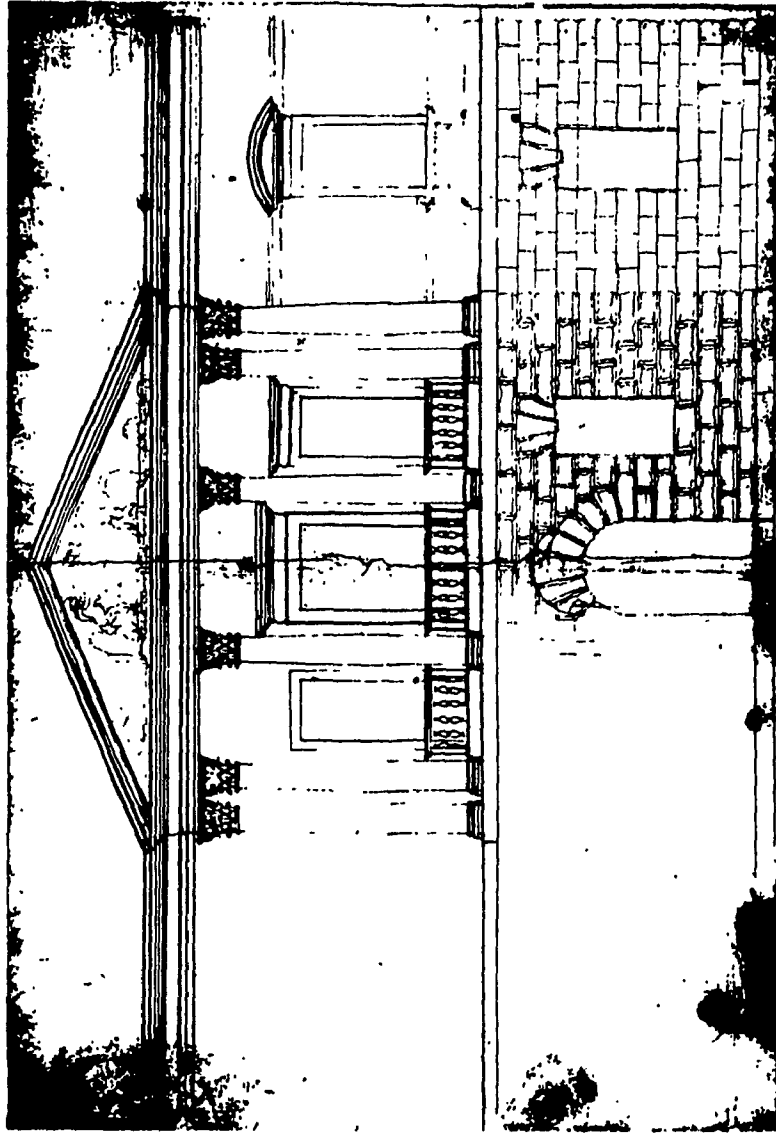


Fig. 26



Inigo Jones, preliminary design for the Queen's House, Greenwich, 1616



Fig. 28
Fig. 29

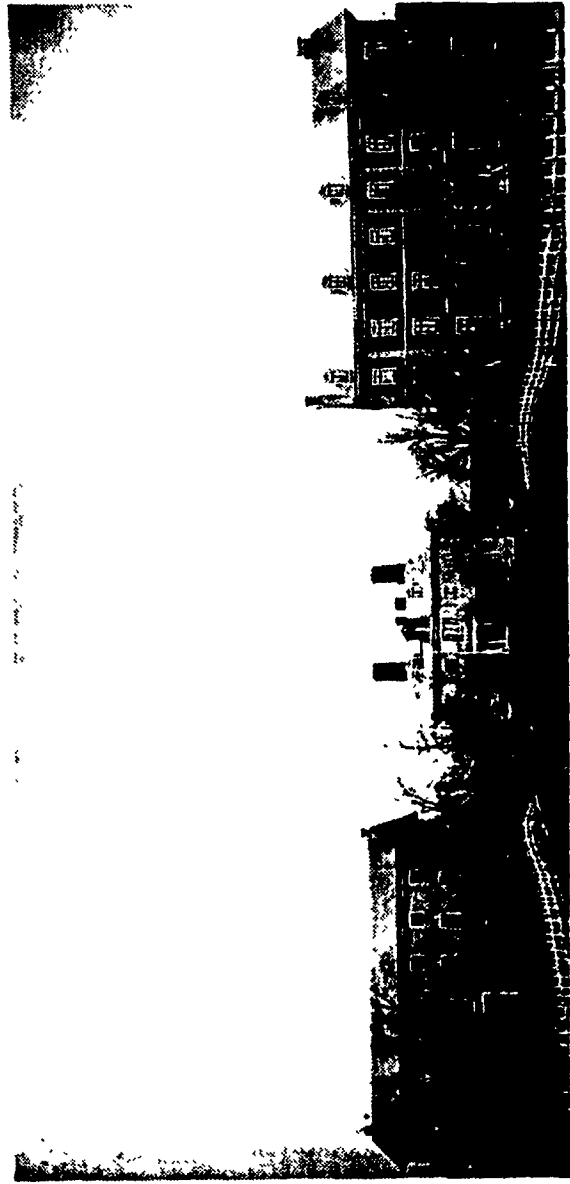
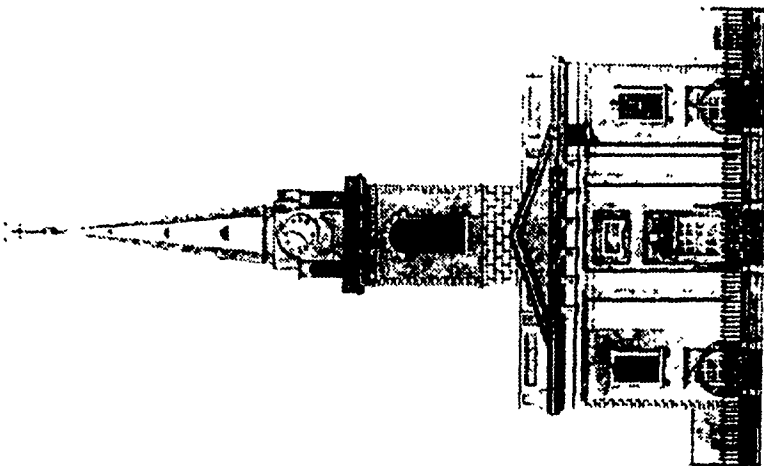
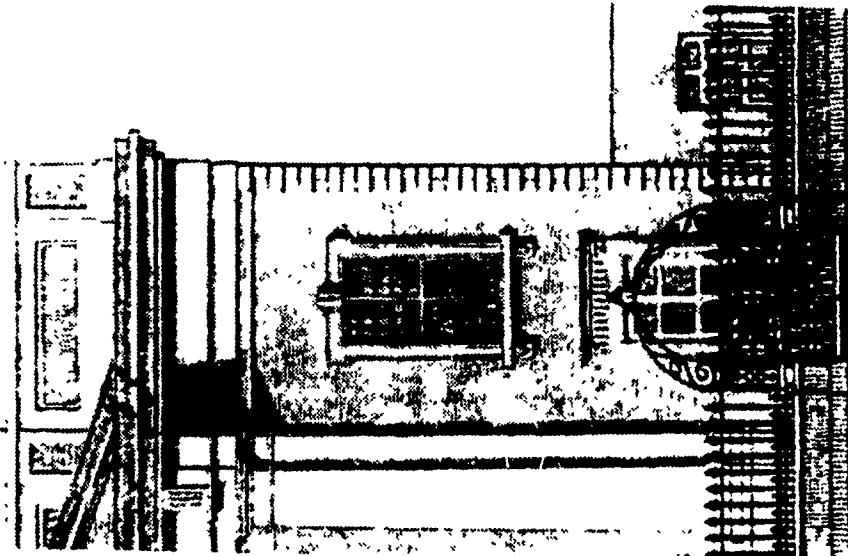


Fig. 30



Fig. 31
Fig. 32



Figs. 33 and 34

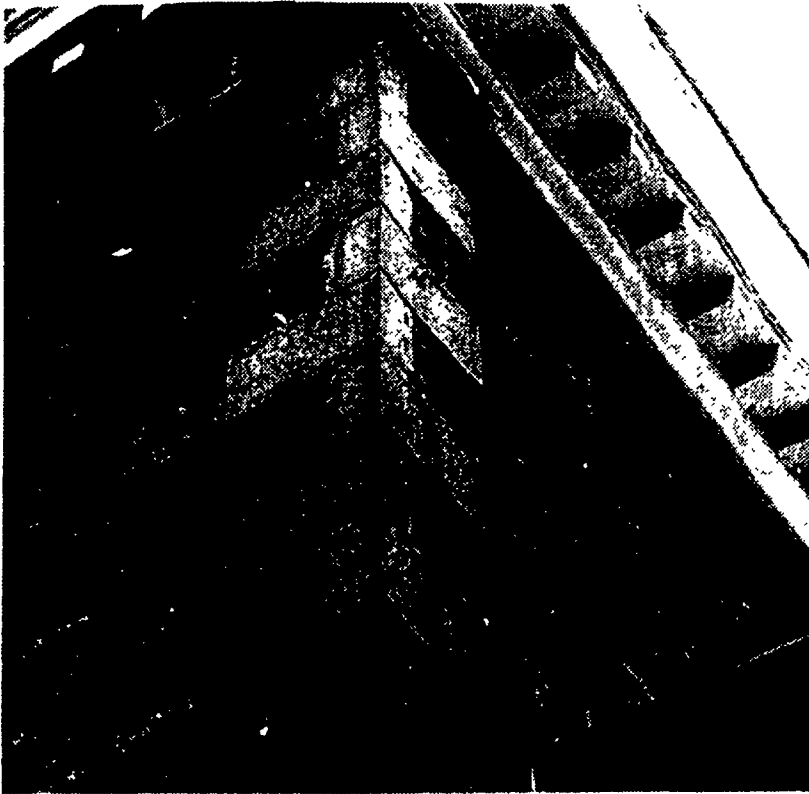


Fig. 35
Fig. 36

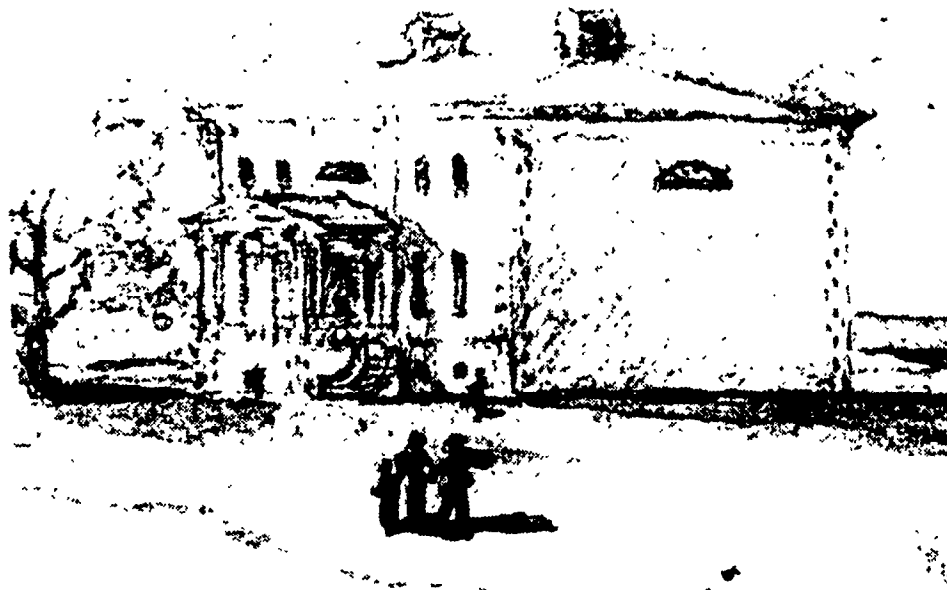


Fig. 37
Fig. 38

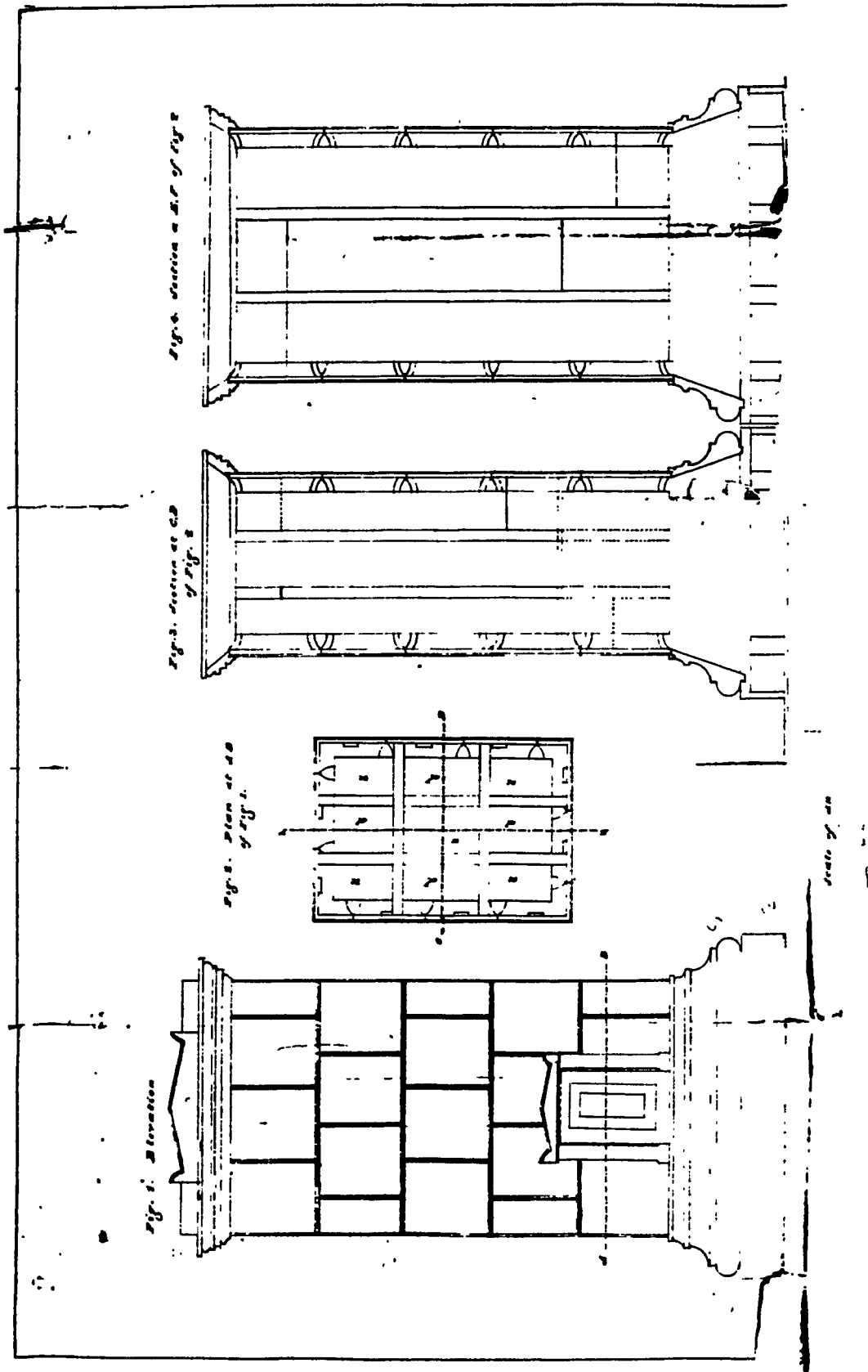
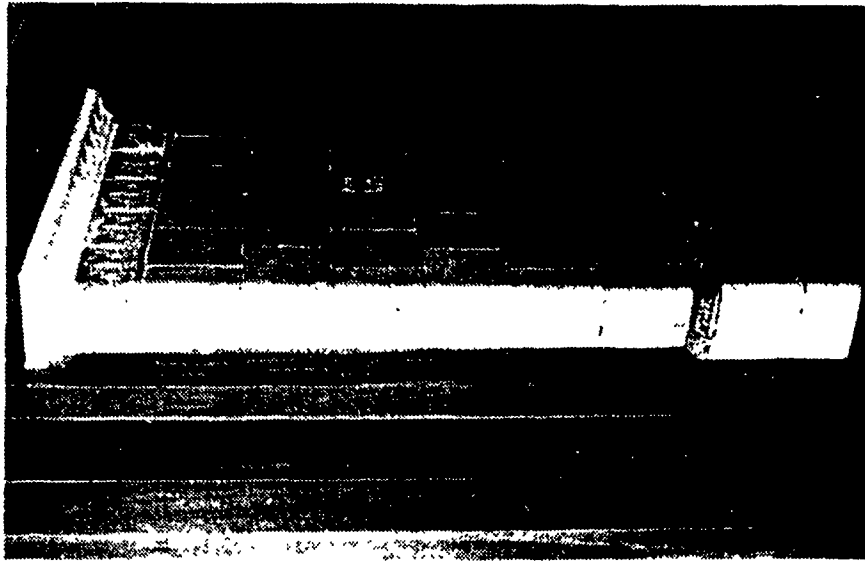
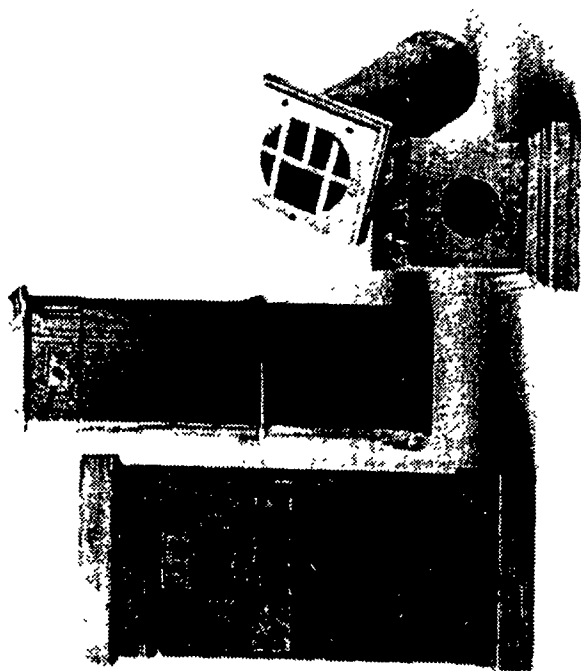
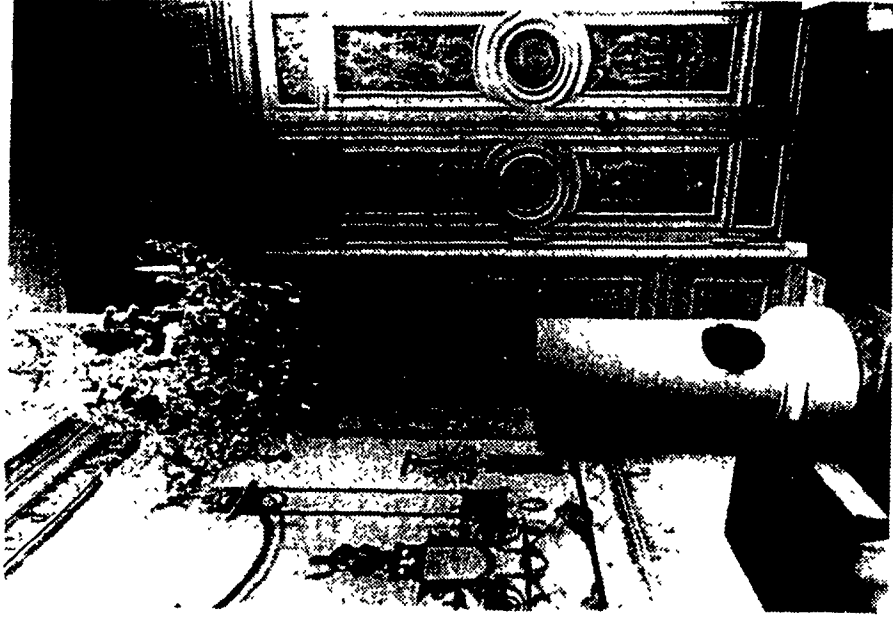


Fig. 39



Figs. 40 and 41



Figs. 42 and 43

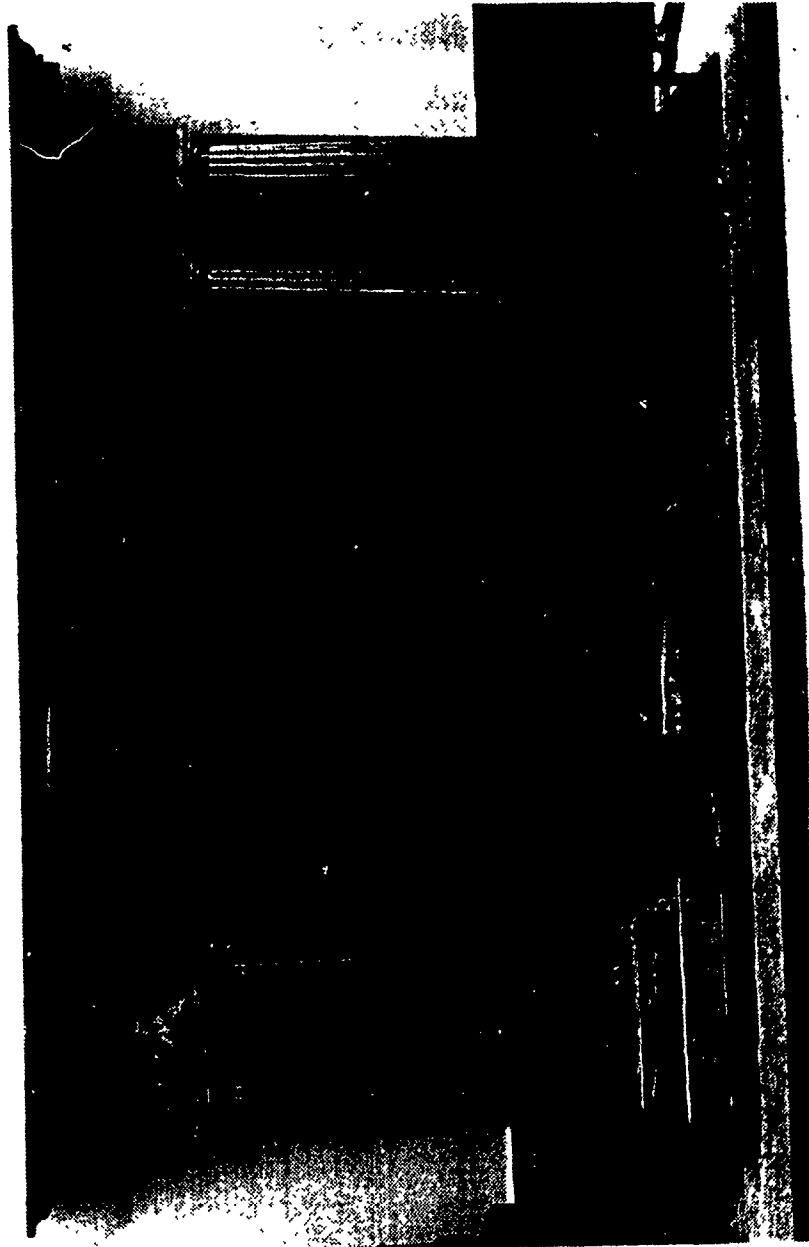
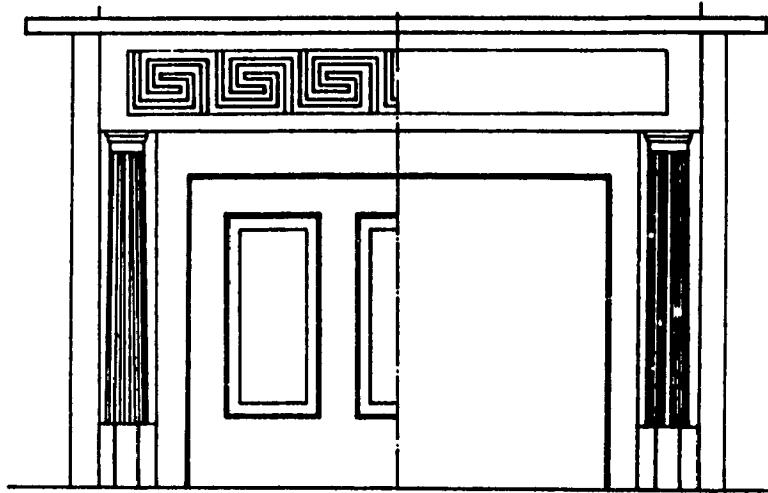


Fig. 44



Scale of feet & inches

Fig. 45
Fig. 46

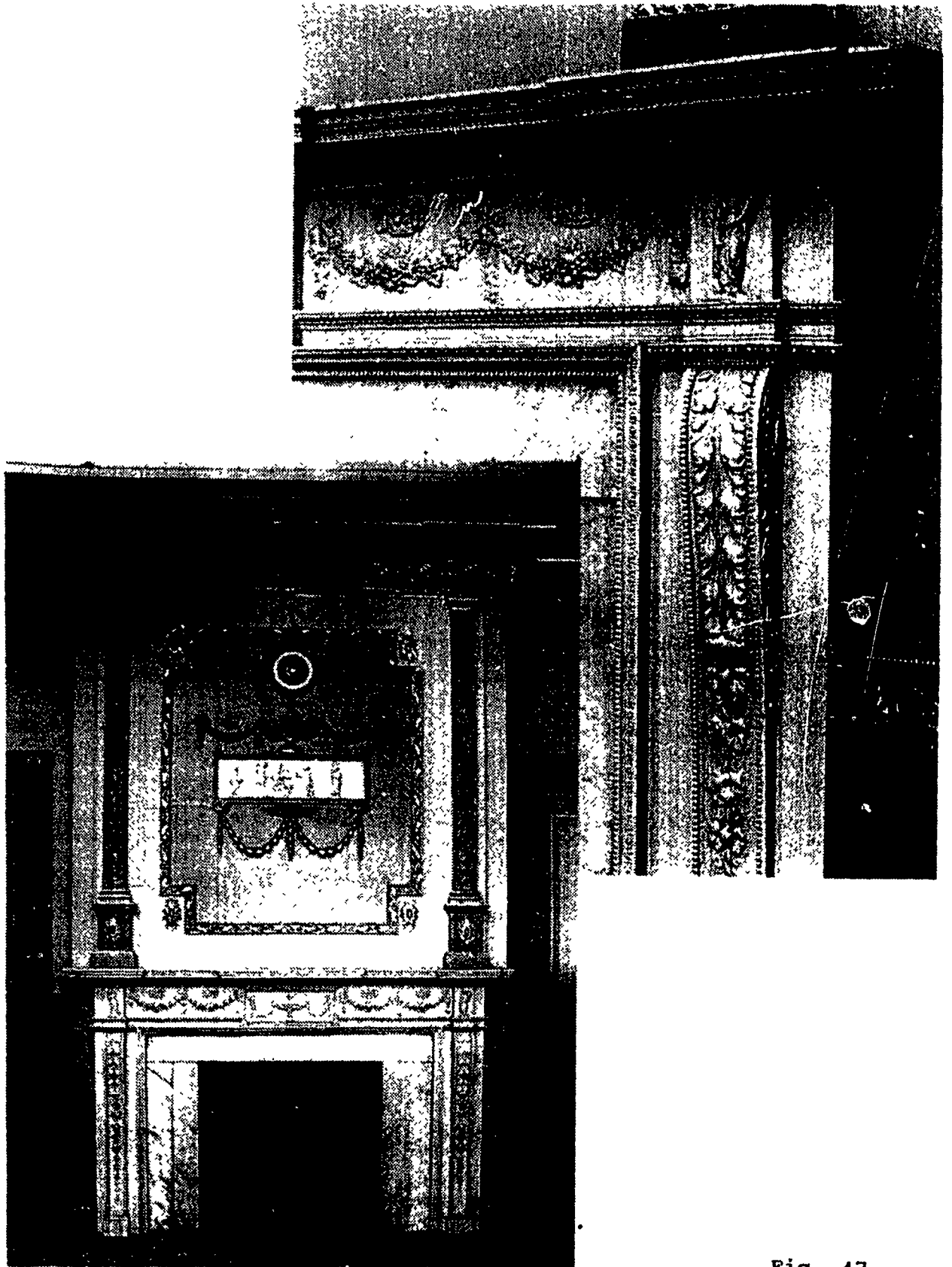


Fig. 47



Fig. 48

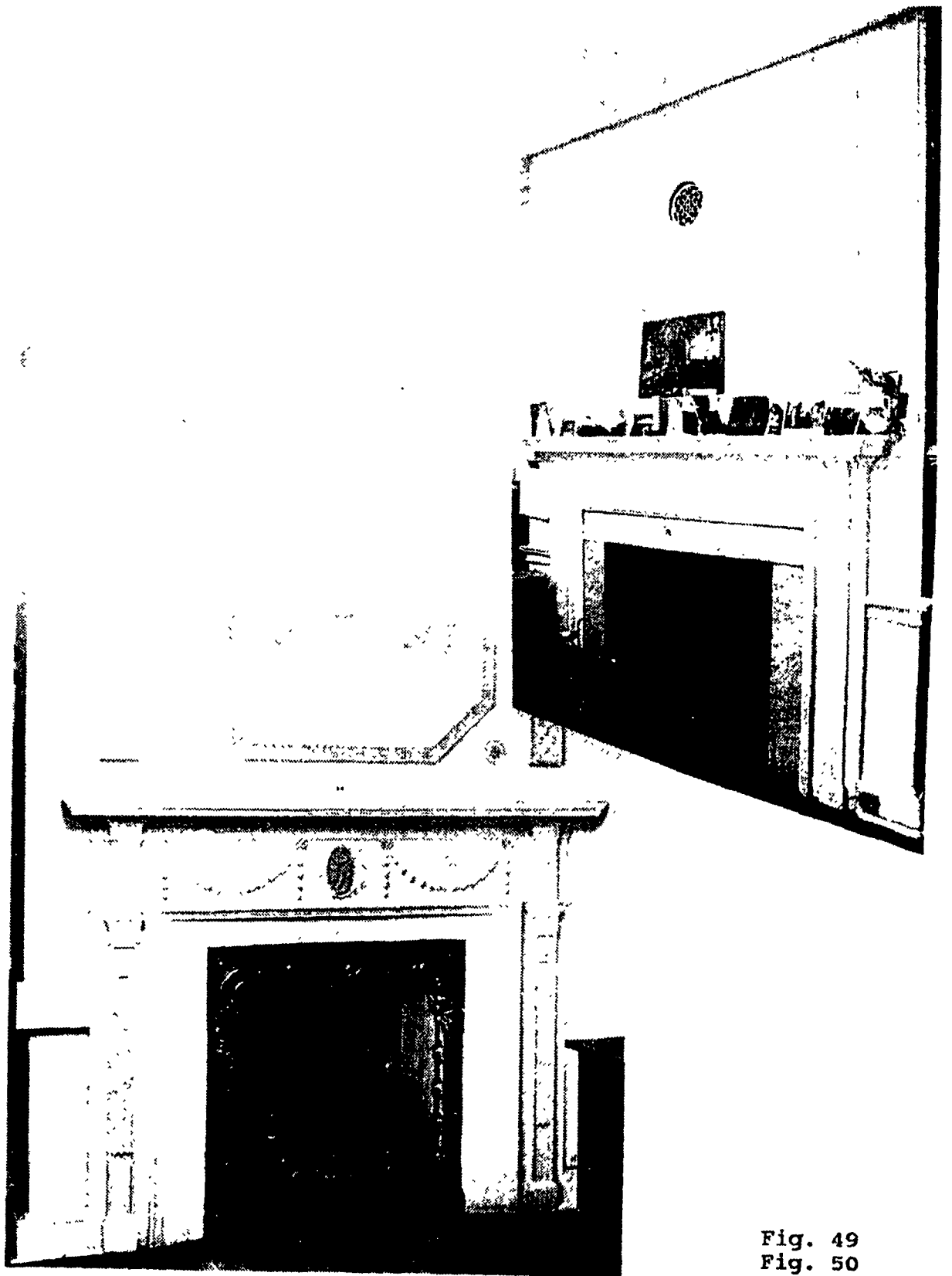


Fig. 49
Fig. 50



Fig. 51

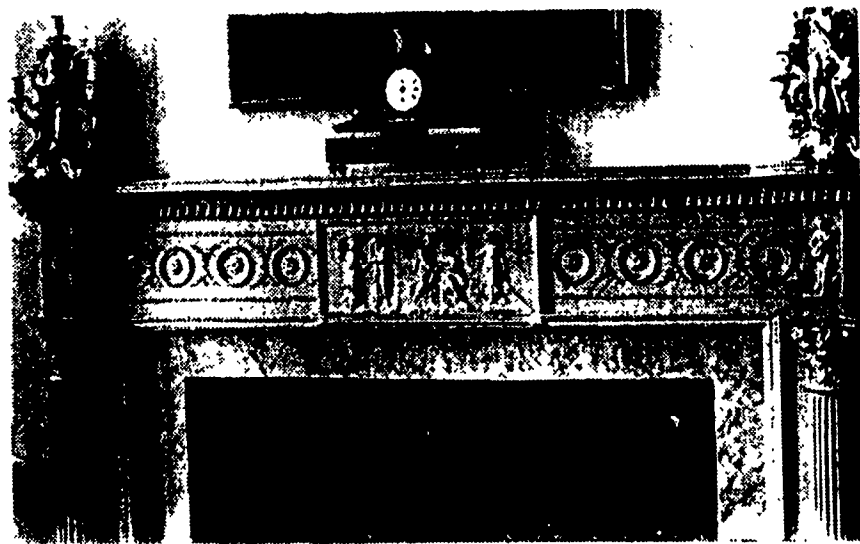


Fig. 52
Fig. 53

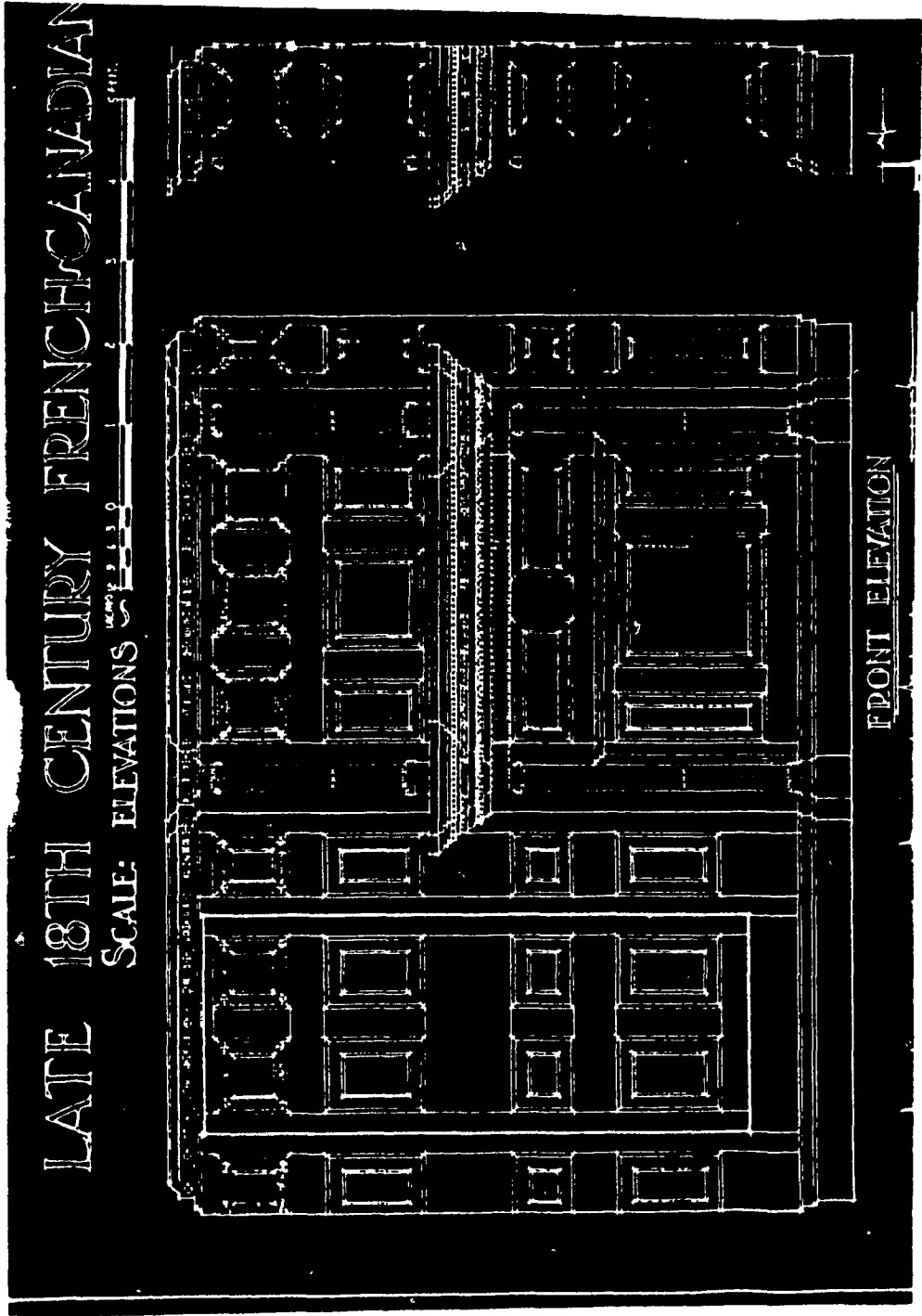
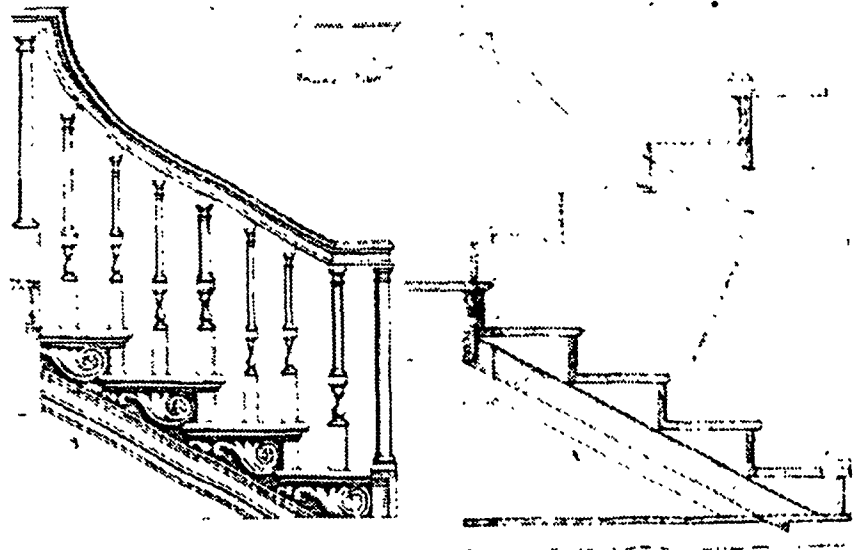
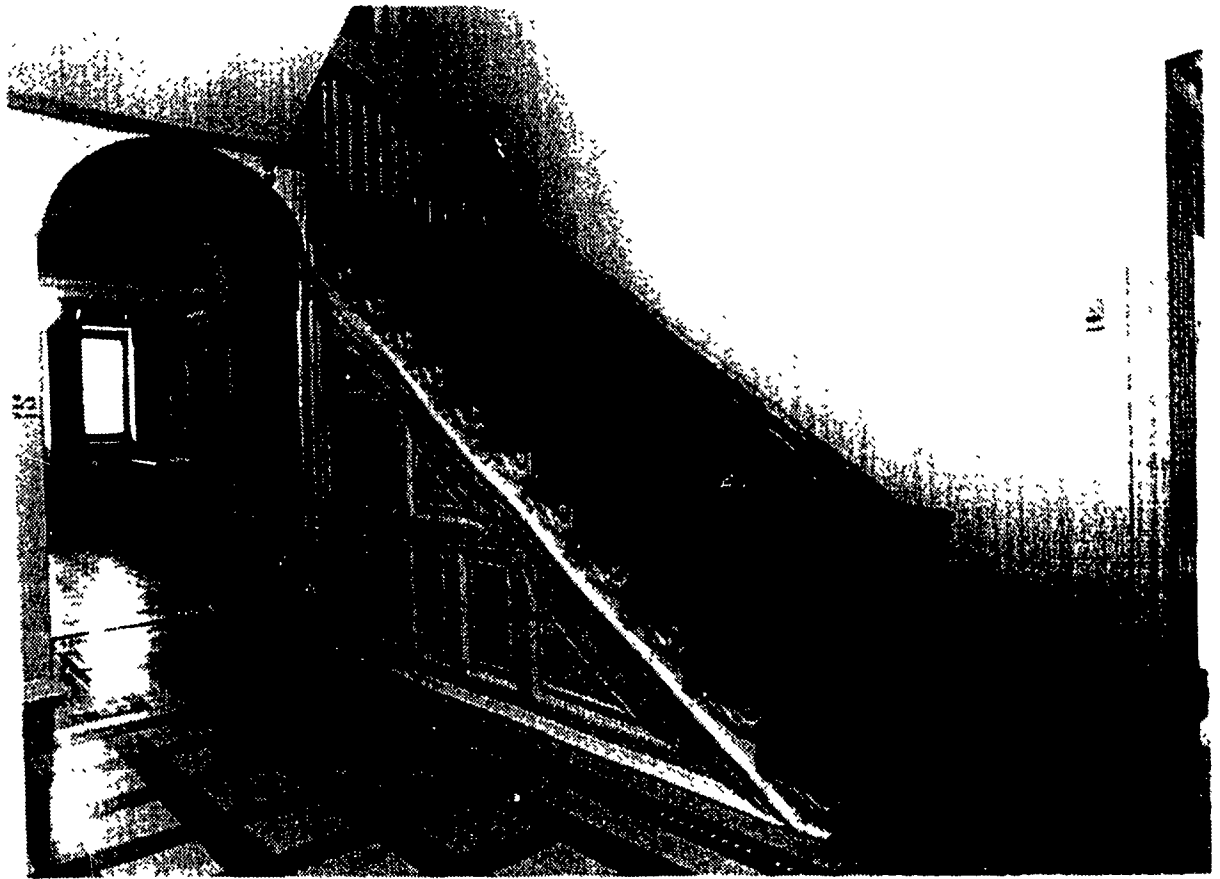


Fig. 54



Plan of balustrade and part of stairs

Fig. 55
 Fig. 56



Fig. 57



Fig. 58
Fig. 59

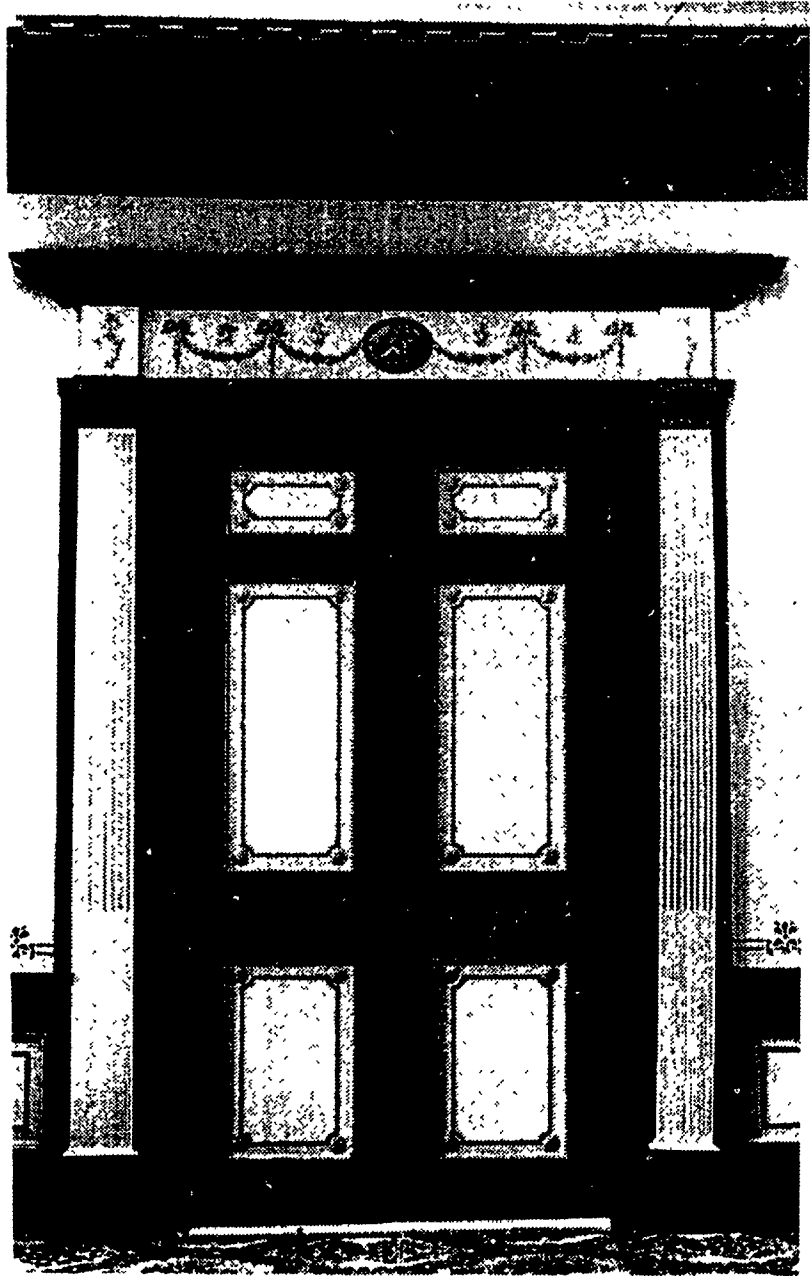


Fig. 60

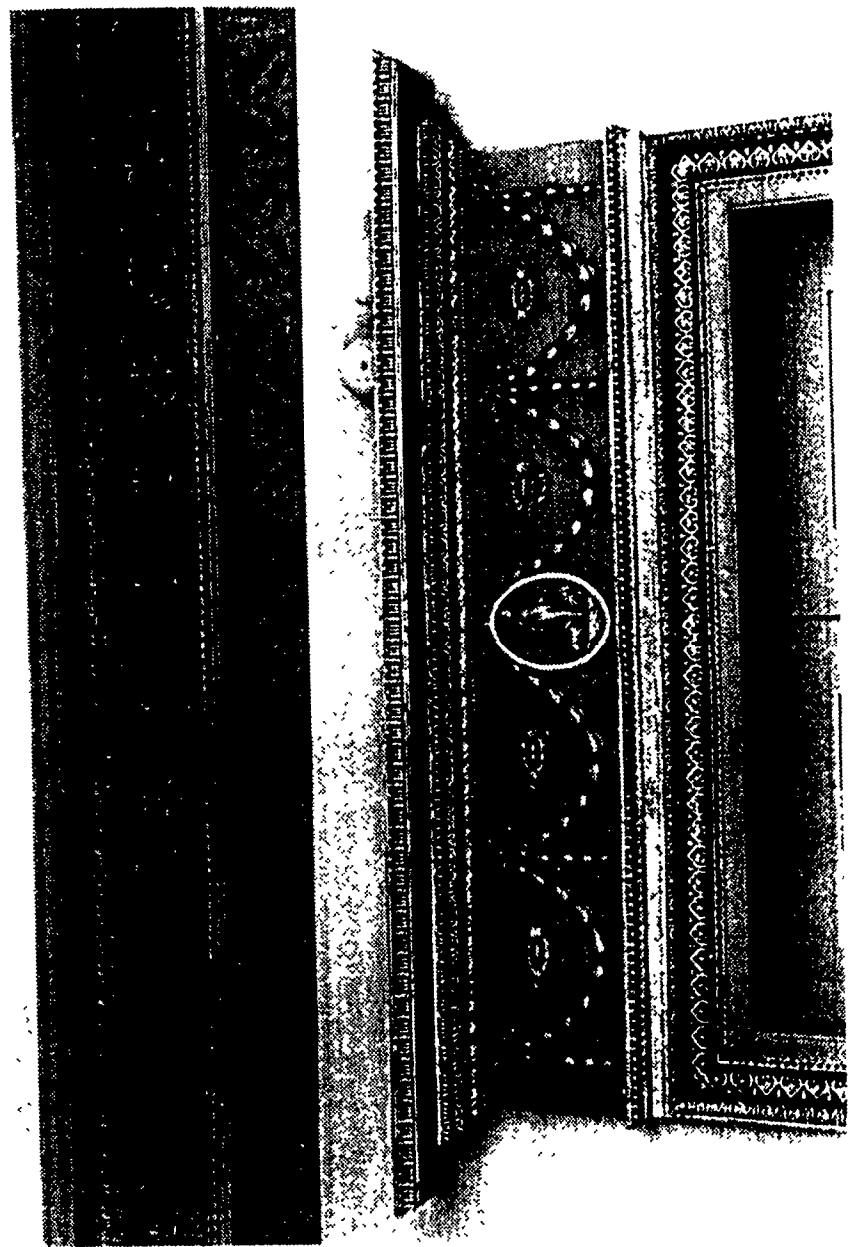


Fig. 61

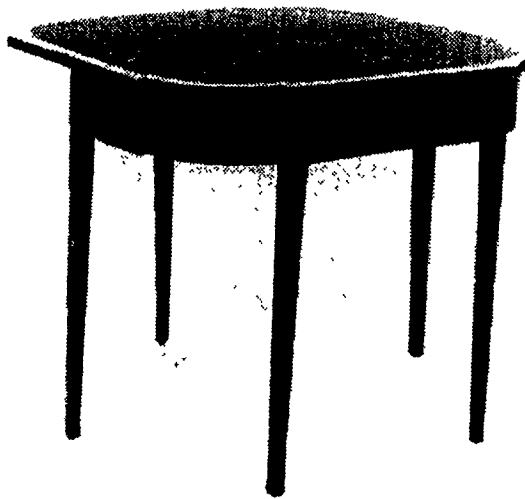
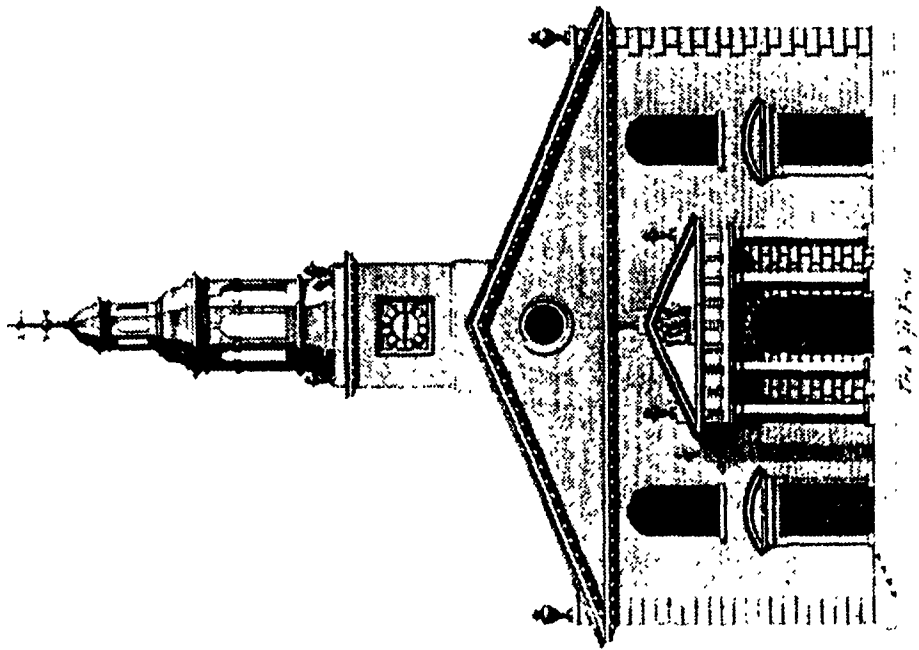
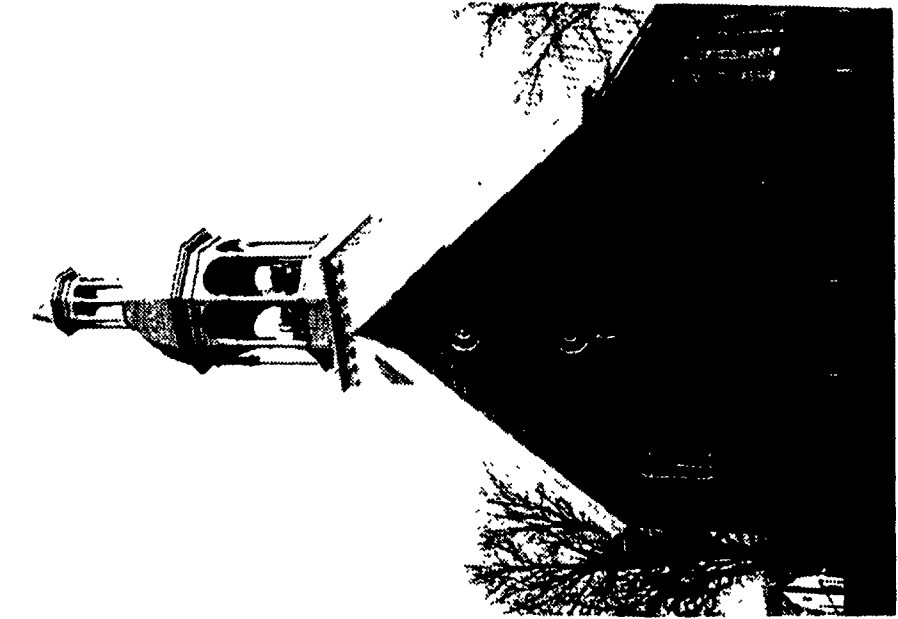
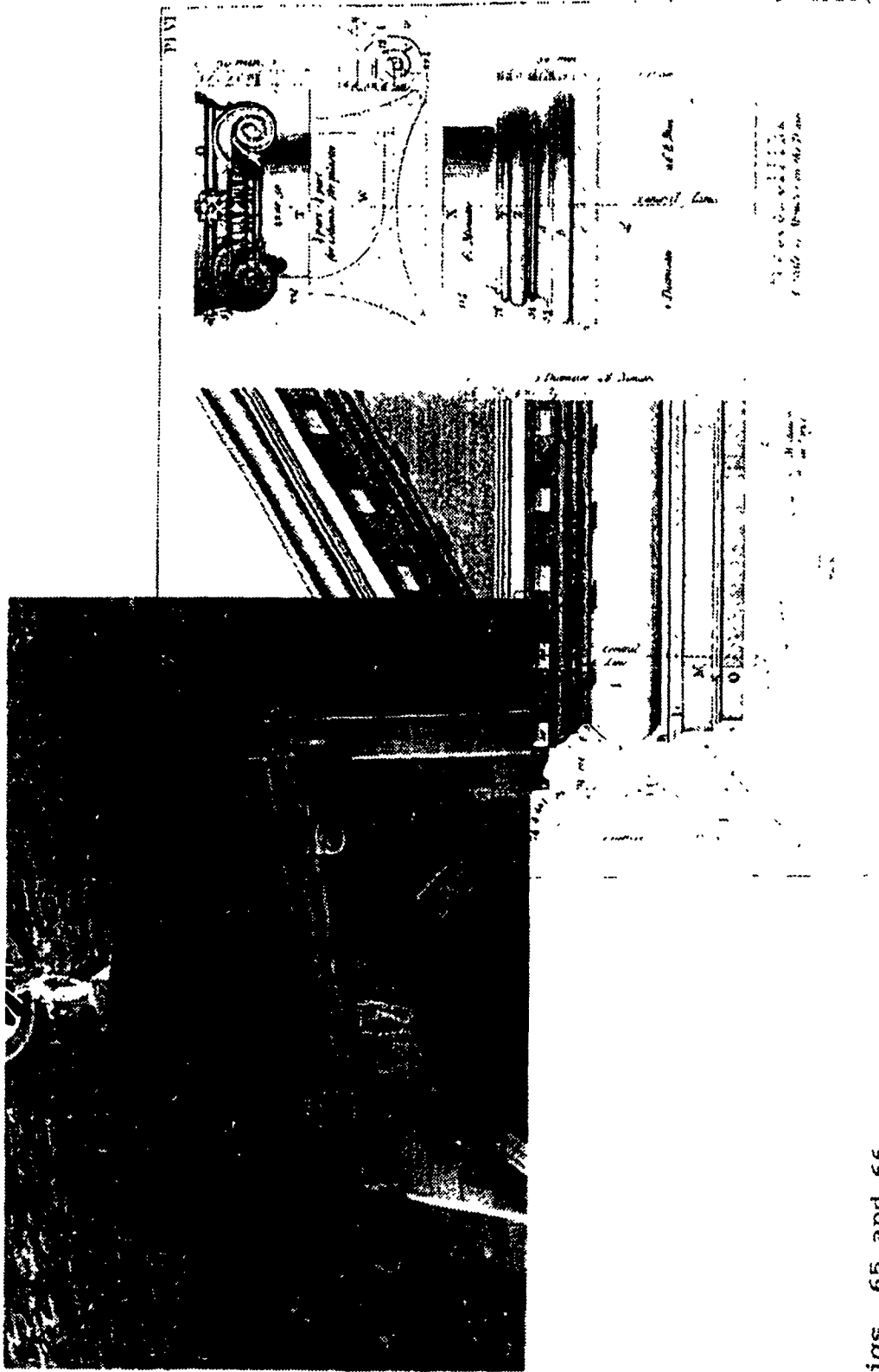


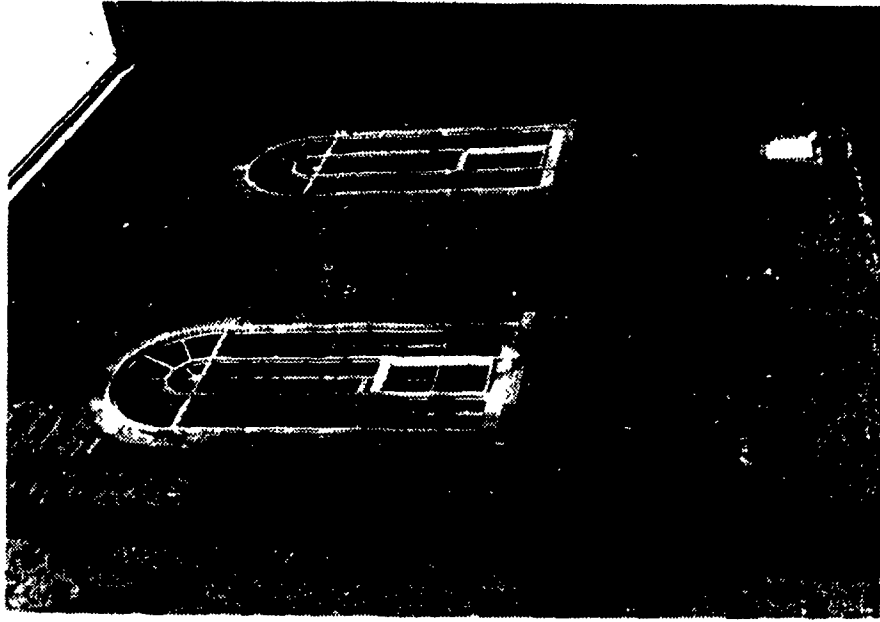
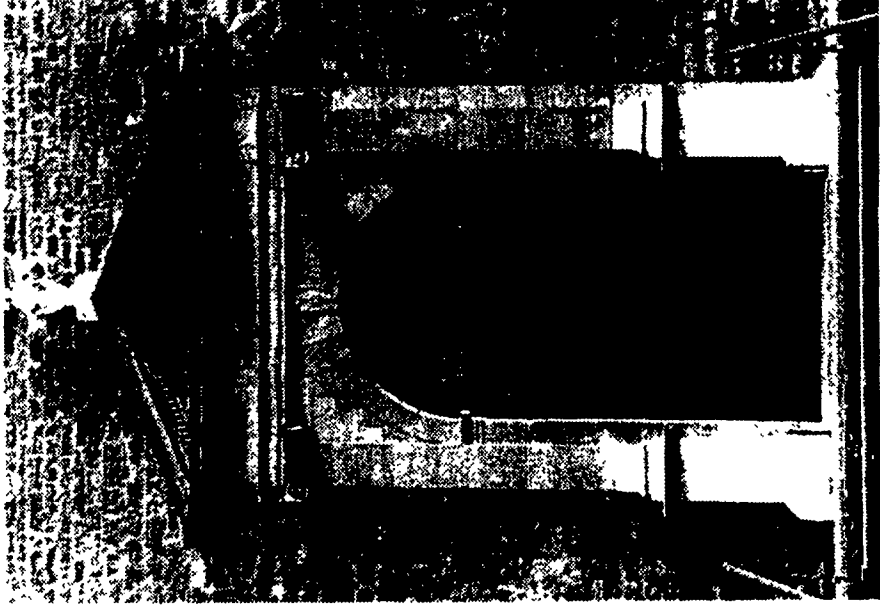
Fig. 62



Figs. 63 and 64



Figs. 65 and 66



Figs. 67 and 68

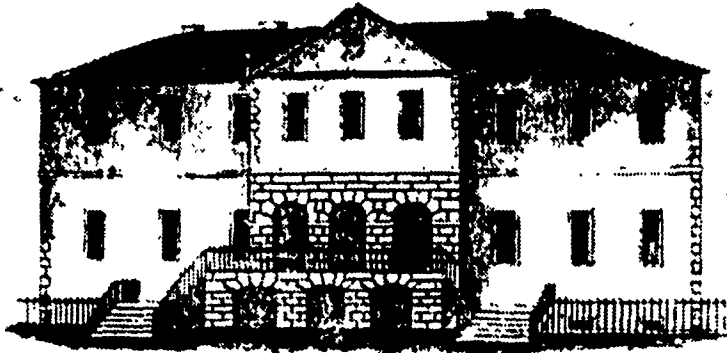
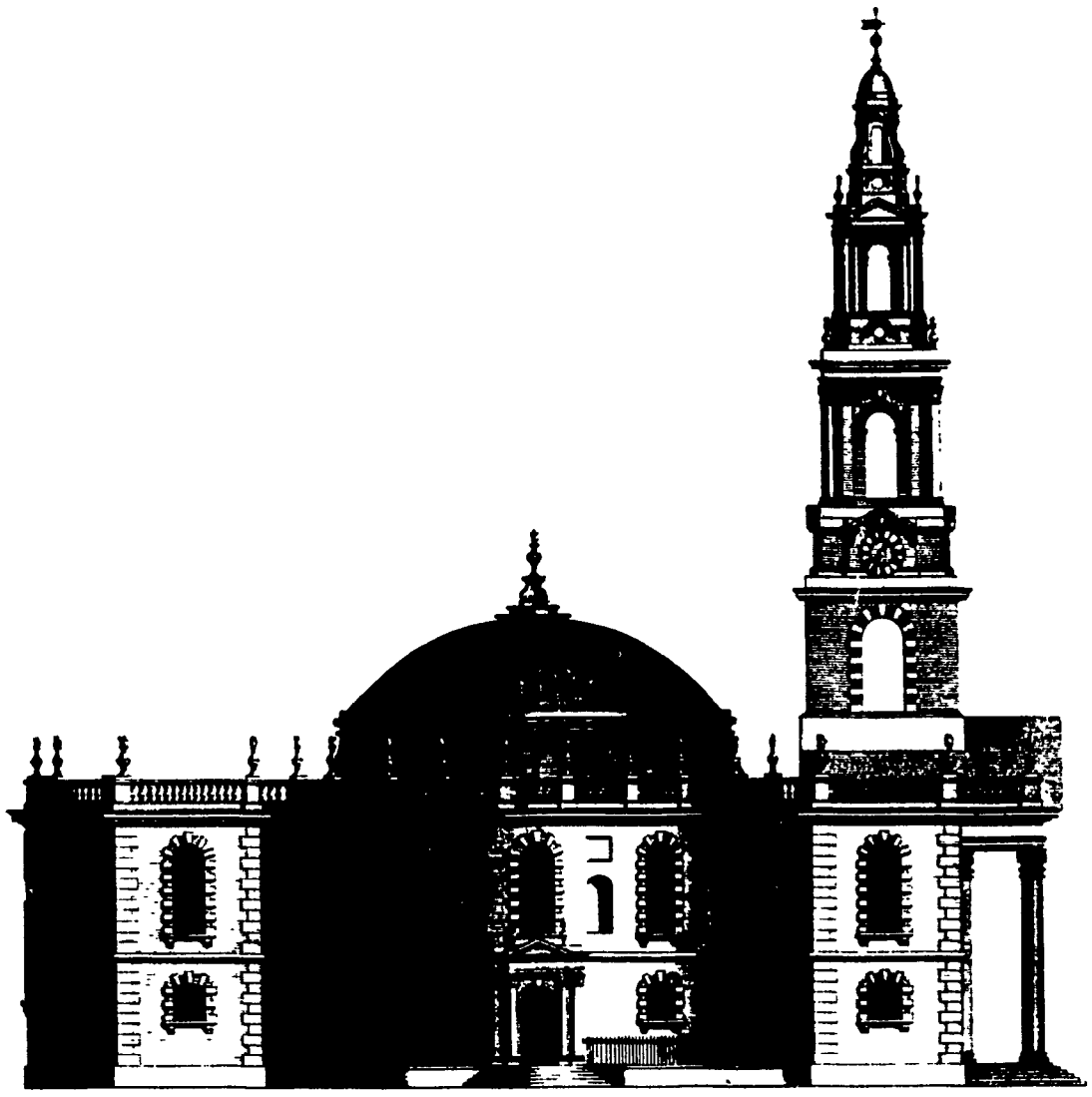


Fig. 69
Fig. 70



10
The North Side

Fig. 71

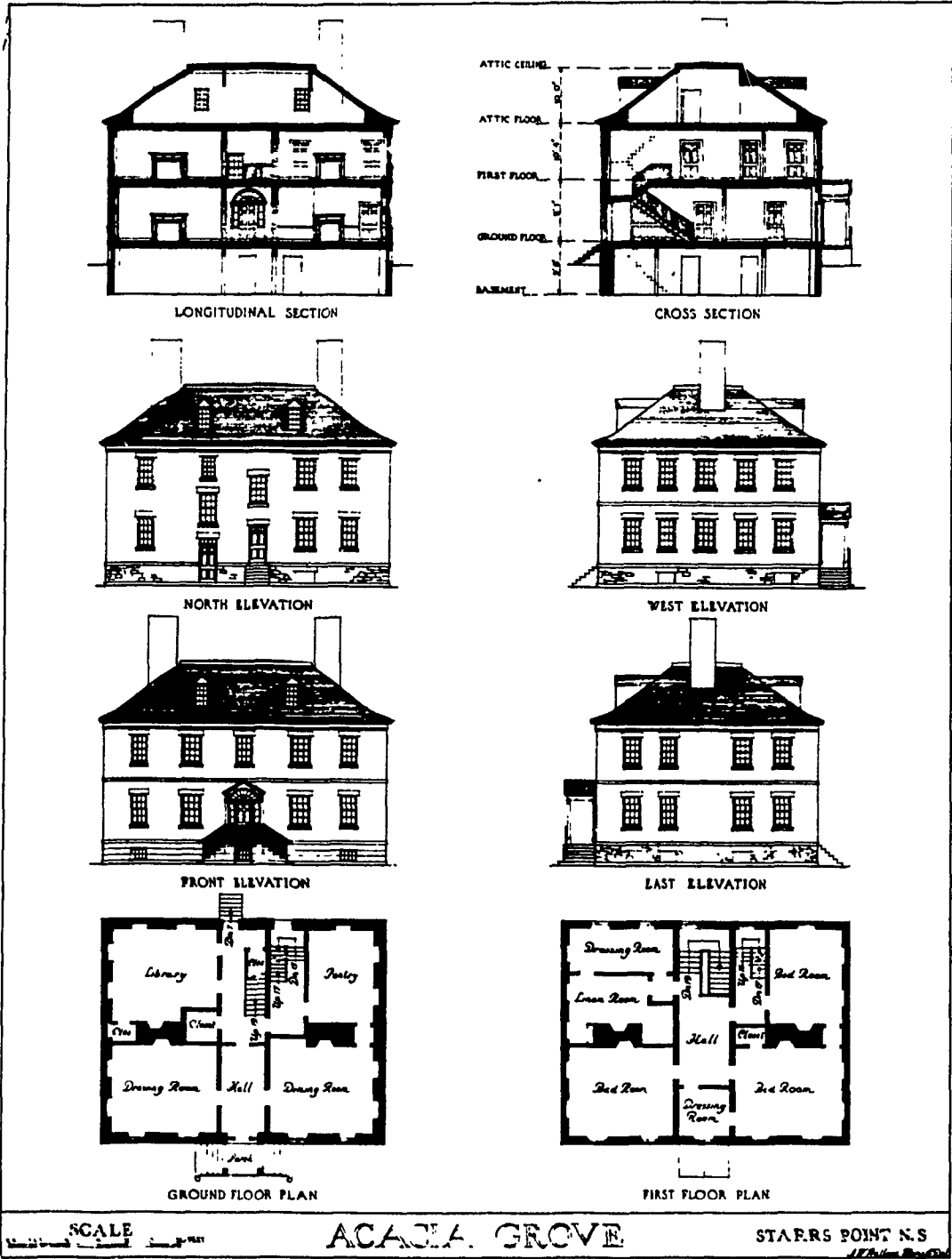


Fig. 72

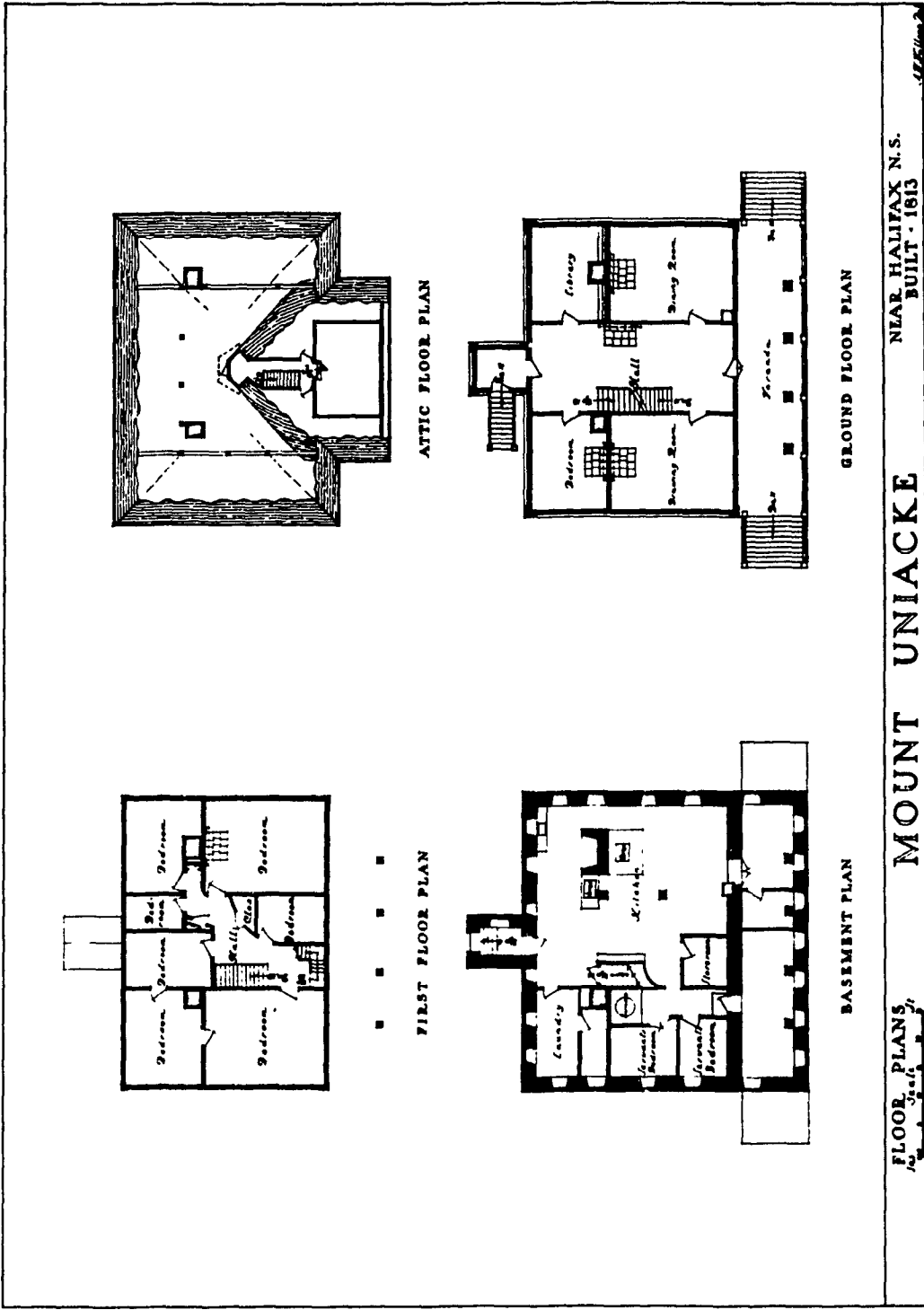
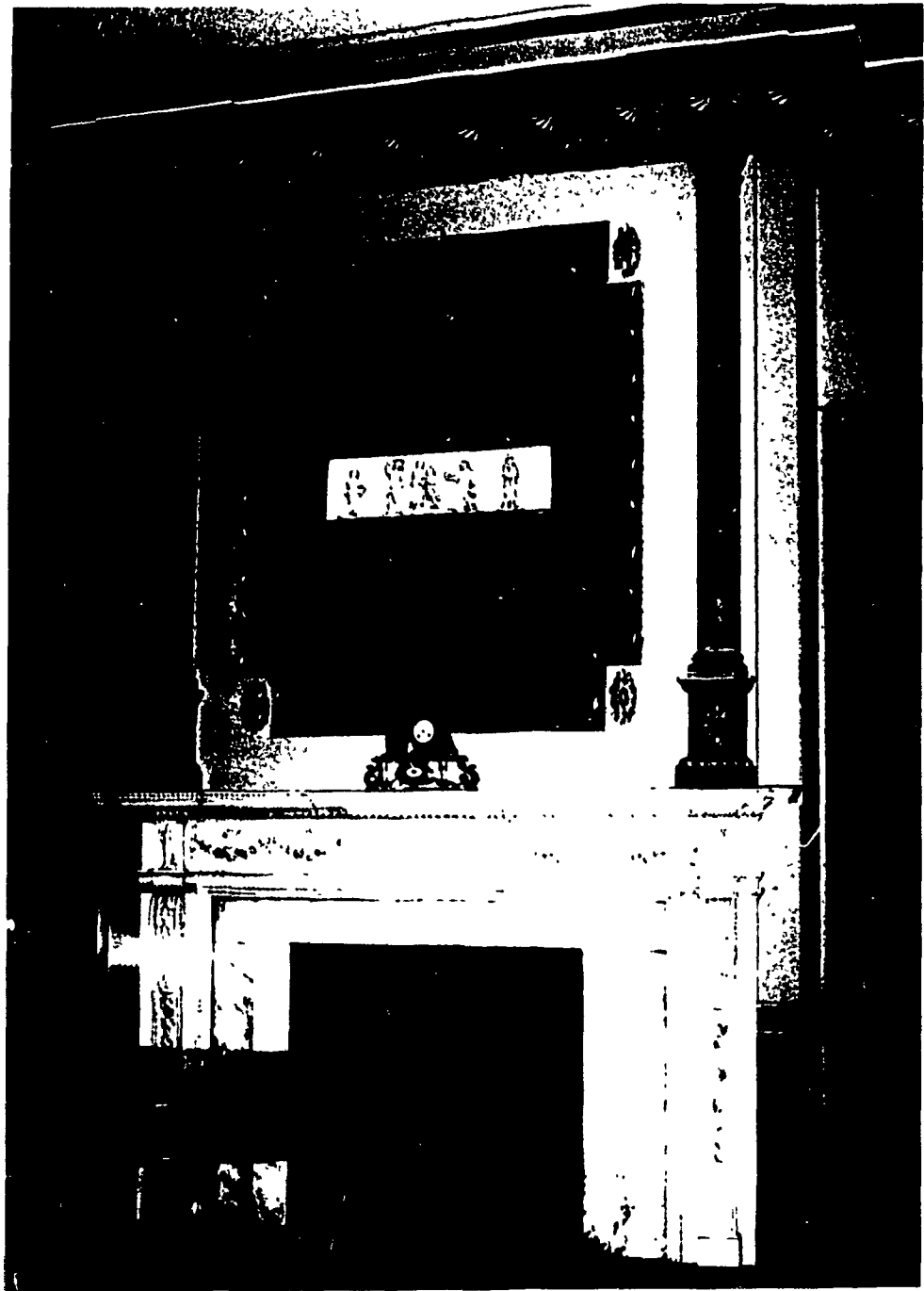


Fig. 73



Colour plate 1



Colour plate 2