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Imperialist Intent – Colonial Response

**The Art Collection and Cultural Milieu of Lord Strathcona
in Nineteenth-Century Montreal**

By

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August 2002

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the nineteenth-century art collection of Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona (1820-1914), in relation to intersecting questions of imperialism, colonial relations, and cultural status. Both the formation of the collection and its dispersal are linked to a dialectic of cultural hegemony and national identity in nineteenth-century Canada. Smith came penniless to Montreal from Scotland in 1838, became the wealthiest man in Canada by the end of the century, and is known as Lord Strathcona after being raised to the peerage by Queen Victoria in 1897. My discussion of the rise and fall of Strathcona's collection is informed by postcolonial theory and its critical re-reading of imperialism. While British imperialism was the ideology that governed Strathcona's activities, Anthony Giddens's structuration theory is introduced to account for how personal agency remains operative within this dominant ideology.

Strathcona formed a significant collection of European paintings and Asian art, which was, however, largely dispersed by the institution charged with its care, thus reducing its significance. Krzysztof Pomian's concept of collectors as select individuals who mediate symbolic cultural power through semiotic constructs provides an important methodological anchor for an analysis of the collector and his collection, as does Carol Duncan's work on the motivation to collect art and to structure cultural identity through control of museums. As well, the princely model of collecting reveals the humanist values operative throughout the centuries by comparison of Strathcona to the Medici in terms of the deployment of spectacle.

This thesis makes use of primary source materials to compare Strathcona's collection to several of his peers in order to place him in his cultural milieu during a time in Canadian history when Montreal was a British enclave in a French province. Analysis of fragmented primary source inventories, catalogues, personal letters, and records held by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and the National Archives of Canada, identification of paintings documented in the Notman photographs of 1914-1915, and my tracing of the public portraits of Strathcona by Robert Harris still on view in Montreal institutions allowed me to create useful inventories that previously did not exist.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse étudie la collection de Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona, (1820-1914). Cette collection est examinée en rapport à l'ensemble de questions interreliées ayant trait à l'impérialisme, aux relations coloniales et au statut culturel. Dans cette optique, tant la formation de la collection que son démantèlement sont examinés à la lumière d'une dialectique liant l'hégémonie culturelle et l'identité nationale au Canada au 19^e siècle. Strathcona arriva d'Écosse à Montréal, sans moyens, en 1838, et devint à la fin du 19^e siècle l'homme le plus riche du Canada. Nous analysons l'essor et le déclin de la collection de Strathcona à partir de la théorie post-colonialiste et de sa relecture critique de l'impérialisme. Nous nous référons également à la théorie de la «structuration» d'Anthony Giddens, qui me permet d'expliquer comment l'entreprise individuelle demeure opérationnelle au sein de l'idéologie impérialiste.

Strathcona a rassemblé une collection significative de tableaux européens et d'art asiatique. Cette collection fut, cependant, dispersée en grande partie par l'institution qui en avait la garde, ce qui a amoindri sa signification. La théorie de Krzysztof Pomian, selon laquelle les collectionneurs sont des individus spéciaux qui incarnent un pouvoir culturel symbolique par le biais de constructions sémiotiques, a fourni un cadre méthodologique important pour l'analyse du problème du collectionneur et de sa collection. Les recherches de Carol Duncan sur les motivations à collectionner et à structurer l'identité culturelle à travers le contrôle des musées ont également été mises à contribution. De même, le modèle du prince-collectionneur, qui révèle la

présence effective de valeurs humanistes à travers les siècles, fut utilisé dans une comparaison entre Strathcona et les Médicis dans la perspective de la collection comme déploiement de spectacle.

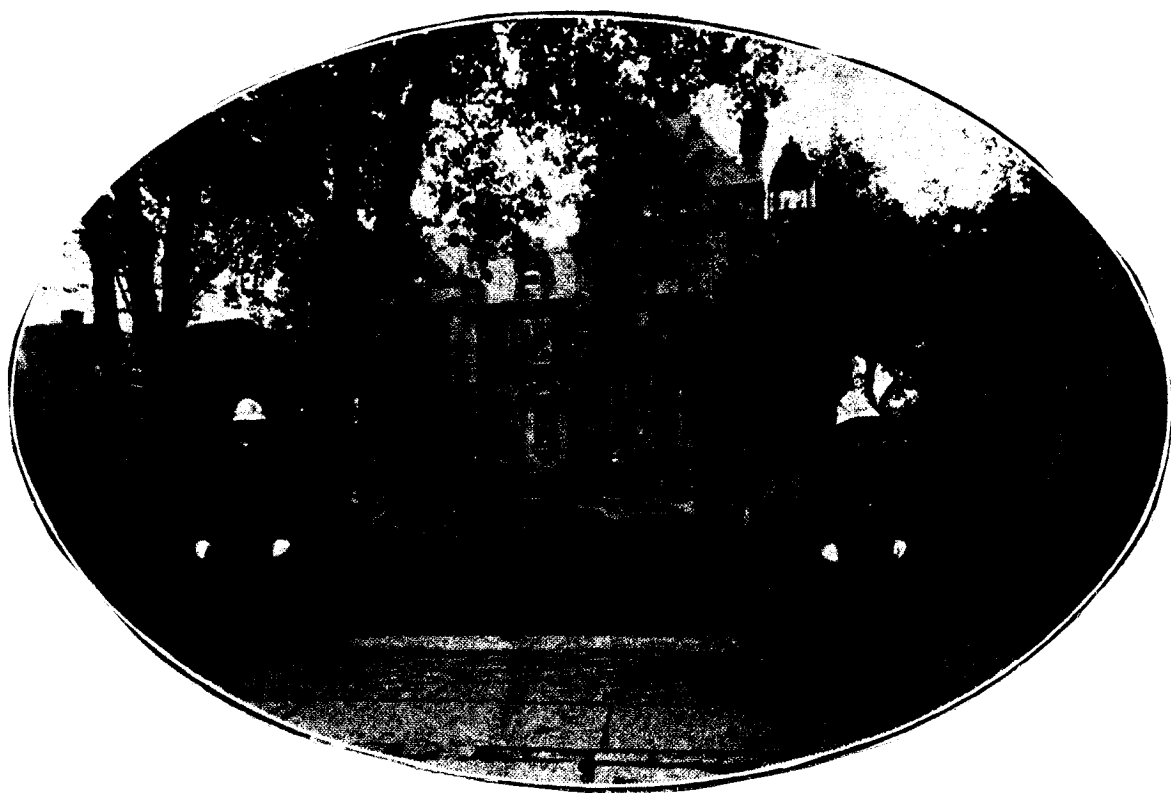
Cette thèse repose sur un corpus de sources primaires utilisées pour comparer Strathcona à plusieurs de ses pairs dans le but de le situer dans son milieu culturel. L'analyse d'inventaires fragmentaires de sources primaires, de catalogues, de lettres personnelles, de dossiers localisés au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal et aux Archives Nationales du Canada, l'identification des tableaux de la collection dans les photographies de Notman, de même que ma recherche des portraits publics de Strathcona ont abouti à la création d'inventaires auparavant inexistantes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Professor Ting Chang for finding merit in the original paper prepared on this topic for a graduate seminar at McGill University in the spring of 2000, and for seeing this project through from beginning to end. I am sincerely thankful to Professor Chang and Professor Johanne Sloan for agreeing to co-supervise this thesis. Credit is due to Dr. Sloan for her insight and patience in assisting to structure the format of this thesis. Rigorous analysis by both advisors substantially strengthened the theoretical basis. Hopefully, they will see the realization of this collaborative project as a tribute to their diligence and talent.

Danielle Blanchette's assistance in providing access to files at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA), and for generating other very useful information has been invaluable. Marie-Claude Saia's provision of photographic reproductions from the MMFA collection attests to her high professional standards. I thank all of my thesis examiners for their very constructive criticism.

My colleagues at McGill University, Eugenio Felice, Anne Beauchemin and Maria Brendl provided challenge and encouragement. Dr. Felice, in particular, made this undertaking seem like a great adventure. Kate Sowley's gracious translation of the first version of my *Abstract* into French is thankfully recognized. The present version, necessitated by revisions in content to the text, is the translation of my kind friend Anne Beauchemin. Yuri Poruk's assistance with identification of the eighteenth-century portraits in Strathcona's collection, and our discussions about nineteenth-century Montreal provided sound clues. Chantz Strong's wit and encouragement were essential. Erik Sandbergen's supportive companionship has endured through many revisions, and I thank him most sincerely. Rad Cüljat's perspective of Canadian culture has informed my own. Finally, I thank my uncle Roy Clarence Pierce for initiating my interest in history, my grandfather Alexander Pierce for his insight into nineteenth-century Canadian politics, my mother Marjorie June Pierce for spurring my passion for art and its histories, and my aunt Marguerite Pierce for her legacy and the aesthetic vision she proffered.



Residence of Lord Strathcona, Dorchester Avenue, 1909.

Source: *Montreal: The Imperial City of Canada. The Board of Trade Illustrated Edition of Montreal* (Montreal 1909), page unknown.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis sets out to analyze the form, the meaning, and the cultural significance of the art collection of Donald Alexander Smith, first Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, 1820-1914 (Illus. 1), who rose from commoner to aristocrat in the British colonial system, during an era of British imperialism in Canada. Imperialism, colonial relations and cultural status inform the meaning of the collection and its role in Canadian art history. The absence of any previous in-depth historical analysis of the relationship between the power structures of imperialism and collecting activities in Montreal provides the incentive for this thesis. There has been no study that has considered Lord Strathcona's collection vis-à-vis his biography, his place in the Canadian hierarchy of wealth, power, and prestige. Strathcona was an agent of British imperialism, gathering resources from Canada to enrich Great Britain. His involvement in railways and industry benefited the development of Canada in a power field of economic imperialism. In the cultural sphere his imperialism was to impose, by means of the art he collected and exhibited, a "humanizing body of values and concepts through which the *educated* both recognize each other and communicate with each other (through a common vocabulary of metaphors and historical or classical references)".¹ His cultural activities at the Art Association of Montreal justified bourgeois, racist, and imperialist assumptions of authority, as European "high culture" was adapted to provide visual symbolization not only of his own elite status, but as an ideal for the developing nation of Canada.

Lord Strathcona's imaginative *Schatzkammer* or treasury of two hundred European paintings, forty-nine Chinese bronze sculptures, two hundred porcelain items,

¹ Kenneth Coutts-Smith, "Some General Observations on the Problem of Cultural Colonialism," *The Myth of Primitivism*, ed. Susan Hiller (London and New York 1991), 16-19.

as well as textiles and armor of Chinese and Japanese origin, was collected between 1882-1893. These objects helped to establish and to proclaim his position in the imperial hierarchy during the years he was involved with the Art Association of Montreal (AAM). In 1927, this collection, presumably still almost completely intact in his home on Dorchester Street, was offered to the AAM by Royal Trust on instructions from Strathcona's grandson, who inherited his title.² This donation held the potential to be the core of the AAM's collection, and to memorialize the contributions of the collector to the nation of Canada, and yet it was not preserved. Although his collection is largely dispersed, I set out to reconstruct it, and then to analyze it in order to understand why it was accumulated and why it did not survive. Strathcona is centrally featured in the most-published photograph in Canadian history, where he is shown driving the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Craigellachie, British Columbia in 1885 (Illus. 6). Yet, in a recent history book the only mention of him is in the caption for this photograph in which he is identified as "the president of the Bank of Montreal".³ Imperialism during the years 1875-1914, dubbed the "Age of Empire", consisted of commercial enterprise that installed wealth-generating systems and their human operatives in colonies such as Canada. Strathcona was a pawn of imperialist ideology and its structure to generate economic resources for Great Britain. However, it is the material culture accumulated through his imperialist intent that has become as important to Canadian civilization as the commercial enterprises with which he was associated during his lifetime. Art has the

² An unsigned memorandum on Royal Trust stationery, 6 December 1927, to Arthur Browning located in the Art Association of Montreal files, apparently formalizes the offer of the collection to the museum by second Baron Strathcona, following the death of his mother, Margaret Smith, Strathcona's only child.

³ Craig Brown, ed. *History of Canada* (Toronto 1997), 361.

capacity to fulfill the function of memory, whereas commerce does not.⁴ Without images, perhaps we cannot imagine ourselves, as John Ralston Saul has considered in his debate on human imagination.⁵ That is why the works of art in the museum help us to know ourselves.

The theoretical armature of my analysis principally draws upon the postcolonial critique of imperialism, in both its economic and epistemological manifestations,⁶ the application of Anthony Giddens's structuration theory, and two theories of collecting in particular: Carol Duncan's concept that those in control of the museum impose their own view of culture,⁷ and Krzysztof Pomian's theory of semiophores, semiophore-men and thing-men that imaginatively clarifies the loss of cultural status due to the waning of the aura surrounding a cult figure.⁸ Strathcona had achieved cult status during the years 1900 to 1914. When Strathcona's status was reduced by the scandal resulting from a book published by a political enemy in 1914, this cult status waned.⁹

The writings of Edward Said mark a significant moment in the development of postcolonial theory, the perspective from which I approach my thesis topic. While the term "Orientalism" is not a synonym for any ideological "othering" of cultures different

⁴ John Ralston Saul, *On Equilibrium* (Toronto 2001), 247-250.

⁵ Ralston Saul, *On Equilibrium*, 142.

⁶ My key references are Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York 1996), and *Culture and Imperialism* (London 1993); John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto 1997), and *On Equilibrium*; Coutts-Smith, *The Myth of Primitivism*, 16-19.

⁷ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London and New York 1994/1998), 279-286 and *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York 1995).

⁸ Pomian, Krzysztof, "Foreword" and "The Collection: Between the Visible and the Invisible," *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, U.K. 1990), 1-44.

⁹ W.T.R. Preston, *The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona* (London 1914).

from one's own, this debate has been extremely helpful in the analysis of how former European colonies such as Canada view themselves vis-à-vis European culture. Said's book *Culture and Imperialism*,¹⁰ further examined the racism and classism inherent in the colonial project. Nicholas B. Dirks proposes that "in certain important ways, culture was what colonialism was all about."¹¹ It is not too much of a leap to suggest that in Canada, cultural imperialism took the form of the elite attempting to impose the idea that European culture was the model those living in Canada must follow and strive to emulate. As John Ralston Saul has stressed, this is the kind of colonial thinking that continues to diminish Canadian autonomy. The equation is that colonial equals inferior because it is always imitative.¹² In agreement with this, I propose that it is a colonial attitude to dismiss art collections formed in Canada during the late nineteenth century as being inconsequential in comparison to European collections. The colonial mentality of the administrative class that replaced the nineteenth-century capitalists at the Art Association of Montreal may be read as being a colonial mindset, since these museum administrators dismissed the collections formed by the Scottish elite by selling them to dealers. This purge can also be seen as a reaction to imperialism. Postcolonial theory allows one to argue that it was European humanism that was imposed by the nineteenth-century capitalists who controlled the Art Association of Montreal. Strathcona and his peers, because they were among the richest and most powerful men in Canada, decided what visual culture to collect and exhibit. Their choice was to create a presence of

¹⁰ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London 1993).

¹¹ Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor 1992), 3.

¹² Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin*, 3-54.

European culture so that collective memory could be addressed to a European past. The bureaucrats who succeeded these capitalists imposed their own views of cultural viability, demonstrating the replacement of one structural system by another.

Some scholars have explicitly linked humanism to imperialism, a connection which I develop at length in the body of this thesis. Kenneth Coutts-Smith saw the construct of humanism, arising during the Renaissance from a renewed interest in the civilization of ancient Greece and Rome, as being imperialist insofar only the educated would understand its rarified aspects. In this way they set themselves apart, while at the same time establishing cultural hegemony.¹³ Paula Findlen connects the revival of the ancient art of memory during the Renaissance to both the appearance of collections and museums as symbols of humanism.¹⁴ These principles, arising out of Renaissance humanism, were affected in Montreal.

The bureaucrats who succeeded these capitalists imposed their own views of cultural viability, demonstrating the replacement of one structural system by another. The structuration theory of Anthony Giddens allows for the consideration that in institutions such as those with which Strathcona was involved intimately, namely the Hudson's Bay Company, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Art Association of Montreal, and the office of the Canadian High Commission to London, structure is a social system "organized hierarchically and laterally within societal totalities". While Giddens recognizes that the individual is socialized into a particular society, "the structural properties of social

¹³ Coutts-Smith, "Some General Observations" *The Myth of Primitivism*, 16-19.

¹⁴ Paula Findlen, "Renaissance Collecting and Remembrance," *Museums and Memory* (Stanford 2000), 161.

systems are certainly exterior to the activities of 'the individual'".¹⁵ Although Strathcona's involvement in these institutions served the needs of the British Empire by generating wealth for an elite back in Britain, the riches and the prestige that were his reward for doing so meant that he could engage in nation building activities in Canada through his philanthropy in health care, education (particularly women's education), and in the humanistic and knowledge-gathering activity of art collecting. The type of visual art he collected and exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal over a period of several years constituted cultural imperialism, since along with others of his class, he decided European art was to be shown to define Canada as a European culture. When he began to collect and exhibit Asian art, the domain was expanded, but it was still following the model established by Britain of collecting non-Western objects as a way to represent its empire.

Applying Pomian's construct of the semiophore-men at the top of the social hierarchy as being distanced from the thing-men and their mundane world re-situates the collector from the structural to the personal realm. Pomian's idea that semiophore-men provide a link to the invisible and intangible values of a given society through distancing themselves from the mundane¹⁶ was a factor in Strathcona's mystique. In 1900, he was distinctive for his great age while his wealth and magnanimity set him apart. His art collection was not acquired for investment but as part of his strategy to remove himself from the world of commerce to the world of influence signified by one's power and wealth. By withdrawing his visual art from the economic circuit, caring for it, and

¹⁵ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1984), 170.

¹⁶ For Pomian, the invisible is spatially and temporally distant, "situated in a time of its own, or outside any passing of time, in eternity itself", *Collectors and Curiosities*, 24.

displaying it, it became semiophoric. Pomian's theory is that the power of certain individuals declines when they lose status in the hierarchy. After Strathcona's death, he was no longer a force within the structure of these institutions, his influence declined, and his status was reduced. I show that his loss of status was produced when his art collection was sold over time by the institution charged with the care of his collection.

Carol Duncan's idea of the museum as a ritual site allows semiophores to be regarded as part of the ritual of those "longing for contact with an idealized past."¹⁷ Duncan's concept of the visual reordering of what is exhibited as corresponding to the cultural ideals of the group in charge of the museum helps to explain the rise and fall (and present resurrection) of Strathcona's collection. Strathcona was a representative man"¹⁸ during the Victorian era of the British Empire. Dubbed "Canada in a swallowtail coat," he became an elegant symbol for the imperialist diaspora. Together with his peers in Montreal, he shared the humanist idea that art would help to educate and instruct the populace. An enthusiastic group of private collectors, of whom Strathcona was one, expended time and money to build the Art Association of Montreal to project what they considered high cultural ideals, a situation similar to the one in England and in communities across the United States.¹⁹

The collection itself is a kind of *archive of knowledge* that needs to be excavated for the information and the wonder with which it was invested. By the term "archive of

¹⁷ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 17.

¹⁸ One of his biographers, John McNaughton, recognized that Strathcona had become a symbolic figure, representative of Canada and its place in the empire. MacNaughton uses the term "representative man" in *Lord Strathcona* (London and Toronto 1927), 378.

¹⁹ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rites, Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York 1995).

knowledge" I am referring to the concept of Victorian positivism and the idea that control of the British Empire hinged on British monopoly over knowledge. The urge to collect information and objects was endemic, representing a bureaucratic model for structuring the world. The might of the British Empire was fabricated through symbols that included Queen Victoria herself, as well as icons of the world's civilizations drawn together in the British Museum. Certainly all power radiates from knowledge: a vast network of knowledge was and is necessary, then, as now, to generate power, and through power, wealth may be acquired along with its visual manifestations. A corollary of my project will show, too, that taste should not be a criterion for disposing of works of art left in trust, since taste changes over time. In fact, the competence of the collection's keepers at certain times is also an issue. For example, Evan H. Turner, director of the MMFA in 1960, sidelined the importance of Strathcona's collection when he stated,

while it contained an interesting pair of Flemish mannerist narrative subjects, formerly in the collection of Charles I of England,²⁰ it consisted for the most part of the 19th century painters admired at the turn of the century. Mr. R.B. Angus' collection displayed a more original taste, although his collection, as did most of the great ones of the period, emphasized 17th century Holland, 18th century England and 19th century France.²¹

This opinion by Turner indicates an ignorance of the historical periods represented in Strathcona's collection, which invalidates Turner's assessment. It also illustrates Duncan's theory that those in power influence perception and reception.

²⁰ John H. Steegman, *Catalogue of Paintings, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal 1960) identifies these paintings as *The Woman that Touched Christ's Garment* and *The Woman of Samaria*, both 1610, oil on canvas. Their provenance is described as progressing from the Collection of Anne of Denmark, Queen of England before 1616; her son, Charles I of England; Marchioness of Hamilton, 1637; Dukes of Hamilton; Hamilton Palace Sale 1882, No. 1044, bought by M.S. Nathan; 1st Lord Strathcona, Montreal, citing J. Steegman, *Burlington Magazine* (November 1957), 379; Presented 1927 by Lord Strathcona and Family to the Art Association of Montreal.

²¹ Evan K. Turner, "Introduction," *The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal 1960), unpaginated.

Evidently since 1980 academic painting and other nineteenth-century works have been re-evaluated internationally. Britain's National Gallery, for example, has "nearly tripled its collection of French nineteenth-century painting..." and placed it in prominent galleries.²² The MMFA permanent collection galleries, newly re-installed and re-opened on the fourth floor nearing the end of 2002, prominently enshrine eight of Strathcona's paintings, indicating a reassessment of the semiotic value of the collection, with important consequences for the reputation of the collector. The force field set up between the viewer and the paintings re-establishes the presence of the collector and his humanist values, and sanctifies his choices. It also indicates that a new administrative order at the MMFA has decided what cultural values to impose since the ritual procession through the building establishes the primacy of French painting in the museum's collection, suggesting French painting is at the top of the art historical hierarchy.

Through a process of gathering, cross-indexing, and analyzing primary source material, my study provides a larger picture of Strathcona's collection. It considers also the broader cultural significance of Strathcona, who lost status due to the reception, perception and consequent treatment of his art collection. The Strathcona family gift presented an opportunity for the museum to preserve knowledge that is important to Canadian identity.²³ Inventories from 1927 and 2001 at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, when compared to the 1914 inventory at the National Archives of Canada, together with information gleaned from de-accession records at the MMFA, provide information as to dates of sales, buyers and realized sale prices of the majority of Strathcona's

²² This information is from Richard R. Brettell, "The Problematics of Collecting," *The Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. LXXVII, No. 2, June 1995, 166.

paintings. Some records exist concerning attempts at various times to dispose of the Asian collection, including a 1928 auction catalogue.²⁴ When this loss is considered through the lens of postcolonial theory, it provides insight into the mechanisms of power enmeshed in the traces of material culture.

If one goal of postcolonial studies is to restore history "to people and cultures 'without' history", as Edward Said proposes,²⁵ then postcolonial theory has ramifications for the Canadian experience, where identity is often framed as a longing and a quest for a sense of history. Canadians are both inside and outside European culture, repressed by the ambiguity of what delineates the construct of Europeanism, and how an ideological "othering" has transpired in Canadian history, overdetermined by the political and the regional. A study of Lord Strathcona's art collection through a reconfiguration of the "historical imaginary"²⁶ provides a route into the issue of Canadian identity as it was formulated in an era of British imperialism.

One can find this yearning for history in twenty-first millennium Montreal in the publicity banners for the 2001-2002 opera season. The poignant face of Katherine Kelly from Tissot's painting *October, 1877*, (Illus. 2), owned and brought to Montreal from London by Lord Strathcona, was reproduced with permission of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art by *L'Opéra de Montréal* and emblazoned on street banners, the opera

²³ In this instance by the term "knowledge" I mean facts, what can be known, what one can perceive and therefore can understand.

²⁴ Jenkins Galleries, *The Final Portion of the Janes, Strathcona and Massey Properties, June 19th and the Three Following Days* (Toronto 1928).

²⁵ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York 1993), 35.

²⁶ This term is used by Will Straw, "On and Around the Raft: An Interview with Marvan Hassan," *The Raft of the Medusa, Five Voices on Colonies, Nations and Histories*, Jocelyne Doray and Julian Samuel, eds. (Montreal, New York, London 1993), 92.

subscription program, and other publicity materials to suggest the allure of the opera experience. The use of the detail of Tissot's painting *October*, focusing on Kelly's face, evokes the romance not only of Montreal's past and a connection to "high" art, but provides the subliminal suggestion that Montreal is a centre for fashion and culture. Painted by a French artist dislocated to London, of an Irish woman against a backdrop of Japanese influence, the detail of *October* is somehow resonant of the glory of Empire. Through the eyes of the mysterious nineteenth-century woman whose arch gaze meets those of passers-by, the literati may imagine the figure of a top-hatted patron, (possibly the spectre of Lord Strathcona) standing in the wings. One motivation for Strathcona acquiring *October* and other larger-scale academic paintings was to seek to redress the negative opinions that outsiders had formed of Montreal. Donald MacKay recounted that English satirist Samuel Butler accused Montreal of suffering from "Philistine tendencies," when he mocked the city in *A Psalm to Montreal* that ended in the lamentation "O God! O Montreal!"²⁷ Mackay pointed out the validity of Butler's critique since anglophone Montreal did not have an opera house and "in the 1870s was starved for culture".²⁸ Lord Strathcona contributed to the effort by members of the Montreal elite to change this reality, enacting with his peers the ritual of citizenship referred to by Carol Duncan, whereby those who control the museum decide what cultural ideals to portray.²⁹

²⁷ Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile, Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver and Toronto 1987), 103-104, writes that Butler's disgust with Montreal was published in London in the *Spectator*, following that author's trip to Montreal to follow up on a questionable investment. Butler apparently "wandered into the attic of the museum of the Natural History Society", where he found a sculpture of *Discobolus* placed in a corner, its genitals turned away from the public gaze.

²⁸ MacKay, *Square Mile*, 107. Montreal had a Philharmonic Society with a voice chorus of 250 and a 45-piece orchestra prior to 1894, according to Lovell's *Montreal Directory, 1894*, 1041, cited by Heather Victoria Haskins, *Bending the Rules – The Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada, 1894-1900*. M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1995, Chapter IX, 200, footnote 5.

²⁹ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," 279-286.

Overview of the Chapters

In Chapter I, pertinent biographical literature is reviewed, expanding on the brief biography provided in this introductory chapter. I suggest that Beckles Willson, who wrote two biographies of Strathcona, attempted to "forge a national imaginary" based on Scottish heritage through references to British literature. Willson positions Strathcona as being self-consciously aware of how he could contribute to the culture of the young nation of Canada. In this chapter, I indicate that it was Strathcona who initiated the Canadian Pacific Railway syndicate, one of his contributions to empire building. One of the greatest philanthropists of his age, Strathcona's long life and vitality allowed him to be active in colonial matters until his death, at age ninety-four.

Smith left his Scottish homeland in 1838, at age eighteen to emigrate to the British colony of Canada, where he joined the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). He wore his fingers raw from counting odourous fur pelts in a HBC Lachine warehouse before being sent to Labrador as a fur trader. Thirty years later, in 1848, he arrived back in Montreal as the HBC chief commissioner for Montreal, wealthy since he had husbanded his resources and those of his fellow officers of the HBC in the Bank of Montreal, garnering interest for himself, thus providing influence in banking. He proceeded to scale the pinnacles of Victorian society through social interaction with the Scots elite of Montreal, and later with British royalty through the signs of power he orchestrated. He aided the new Dominion Government of Canada to settle the Riel Rebellion in 1870, entered parliament in 1871, invested in the industrial revolution, and was the mastermind behind the syndicate of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), completed in 1885. He

grew richer through investments in what became the Grand Trunk Railway in the United States, operated by his friend J.J. Hill, an expatriate Canadian and fellow art collector. Strathcona's collecting activities converge with the dates he was associated with the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) from 1882-1893, an activity that enhanced his status. He was knighted in 1886 for his role in the CPR, a date that coincided with renovation of his Montreal home and significant purchases of art. He was named Canadian High Commissioner to London in 1896, and raised to the peerage in 1897, an entitlement that was augmented to hereditary status in 1900, following his financing of a troop of soldiers from Canada's Northwest, the Strathcona Horse, to aid the British in the Boer War. He became London governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1899, a post he held until his death in 1914.

In Chapter II, the concept of imperialism is discussed as an archive, as an economic strategy by the British and the diaspora they unleashed in Canada, and as a political consideration for the forming nation of Canada. One of the accoutrements of imperialist success is an art collection that only the very wealthy can afford. The white colonizers who withdrew raw resources from Canada for an elite class in European cities felt that the white man must and would impose his superior civilization on coloured races and impose higher values on savages.³⁰ Strathcona's meeting with Father Lacombe to ask for his help in moving CPR tracks through Blackfoot peoples' territory is an example of Strathcona's imperialism. Imperialism is complex and encompassed the opinion in the 1880s that Canada should be a nation within the British Empire to prevent American encroachment on Canadian territory justified by the American policy of Manifest

³⁰ J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism – A Study* (London 1902), 137-158.

Destiny.³¹ Other views were voiced including that of Henri Bourassa (1868-1952), who rejected imperialism as racist, reactionary and anti-Canadian, propelled by the interests of commercial and financial interests.³² Strathcona's own views on the institution of British imperialism was that at the end of the nineteenth century it had evolved from a conquering force to a commercial enterprise encompassing trading partners like Canada, exchanging preferential trading opportunities to Canada in exchange for loyalty to Great Britain.³³ Arguably, Strathcona's participation in the AAM to impose a culture of European humanism on Canada was also imperialist. By displaying European paintings and Asian objects in his home, he signaled his place in the hierarchy of Empire.

Various theories of how power operates are brought together in the economic and social theory of *structuration* proposed by Anthony Giddens, discussed in Chapter III, and forming an undercurrent throughout this thesis. In structuration theory "the dualism of the 'individual' and 'society' is reconceptualized as the duality of personal agency and societal structure."³⁴ The 'structure' of structuration theory is defined as rules of social contact that generate mutual knowledge, operative across time and space, mediated by a shared language. Why were art collections formed in Montreal by a predominantly Scots elite at the end of the nineteenth century? Giddens's proposes that a common culture is formed over time through proximity, and that control of the object world was the

³¹ Carl Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought* (Toronto 1969) contains debates on imperialism within Canada.

³² William L. Grant, "Part II, The Critique of Imperialism," *Empire Club Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Session of 1911-12* (Toronto 1913), 223-228 in Berger, *Imperialism*, 64.

³³ "Notes on Imperialism," *Address to the Empire Club, London, 1914*, Microfilm A-1087, Donald A. Smith fonds, National Archives of Canada.

³⁴ Giddens, *Constitution*, 162.

occupation of capitalist society. Vast amounts of capital were centred in Montreal, resulting from the Canadian industrial revolution and Montreal's primacy in shipping and transportation in rail and sea systems. Capitalism and industrialism generated a nation-state to service private economic ventures indispensable to the continuing reproduction of capitalism. Power, Giddens proposes, arises from diplomacy and persuasion, rather than through brute force. In the theory of structuration, using power for personal rather than collective gains is described as an aspect of society where individual action intervenes to secure personally advantageous outcomes. Mutual knowledge, mediated through class, produces cultural norms, an aspect important to understanding why art collecting was seen as a signifier that one was worthy of high status and qualified to be a leader.

Chapter IV reviews relevant literature on collecting and art collections, illuminating the complexity of the activity. My study has benefited from recent scholarship on collecting, marrying structure and method with thought and argument, demonstrating that an analysis of art collecting may benefit from a multi-methodological approach. Psychoanalytic theory continues to fascinate theorists as diverse as John Forrester, whose article on Freud's collecting practices remains a model of clarity, and others such as Russell Belk and Ruth Formanek, who combine psychoanalysis with sociological methodology. Jean Baudrillard implicates sexual fetishes and commodity fetishes as neuroses compelling the collector seeking to dispel a sense of depleted humanity.³⁵ Krzysztof Pomian sets forth that a semiological reading of collecting activities as signs that established collectors' superiority in the domain of meaning, a

³⁵ Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1994), 7-24.

construct that applies as much to nineteenth-century Canada as it did to earlier European eras. A fine model for the use of semiology, psychoanalysis and social history is provided by Stephen Bann's case study *Under the Sign, John Bargrave as Collector, Traveller, and Witness*. Competition for cultural domination fuel the narcissistic need to establish personal memorials and dictate the identity of a community through control of the museum as Carol Duncan argues. Duncan's work on the rituals performed both by art collectors to enhance their status and by administrators who control cultural identity within the museum can be seen as a new postcolonial model for former colonies controlled by the descendants of European colonizers. Mieke Bal considers Saussurian structuralism, as well as the psychoanalysis of Freud and Lacan, and imposes them on a narrative structure to explain the phenomena of collecting.

The princely model of art collecting outlined in Chapter V links spectacle to the perception of power, wealth and status. I propose that the best model for imagining Strathcona's collection is that of the princely collection in order to situate my subject, Lord Strathcona, and the aspirations that brought him to the practice of art collecting. To think that the model of princely collecting cannot be equated with the history of collecting by the "merchant princes"³⁶ in Montreal in the 1880s and 1890s is colonial thinking. Some inherit wealth, title and *things*. Others obtain the accoutrements of nobility through their own capability. Thus, the Medici are proposed as a comparison to the art collector Lord Strathcona in nineteenth-century Montreal; a brief historical overview of some princely collections is provided. One trajectory of art collecting arose out of the fashion for gathering objects in *Cabinets of Curiosities*. The word *cabinet*

³⁶ Donald Mackay, *The Square Mile, Merchant Princes Of Montreal* (Vancouver 1987), installed this term in the Canadian imaginary.

gradually evolved to mean a *chamber, room or gallery* where art was displayed. In the German lands there is a distinction between collections of curiosities or *Wunderkammers* and collections of art or *Kunstammers*. Collections of paintings, best displayed on walls and affordable to only the very wealthy, have always held tremendous semiotic importance as *signs* of power and knowledge. Princely collections were emulated by those who desired to be considered noble. Logic indicates that the practice of royal art collecting, a model for the aristocracy, is also an historical model for those who made princely fortunes and aspired to nobility in nineteenth-century Canada. That many wealthy citizens of Montreal sought appendages to their names would seem to indicate their fervour for ennoblement. There is no doubt that with the North American industrial revolution spectacular fortunes were created, allowing many individuals to take on aristocratic trappings. Not only did they acquire paintings once held by European aristocrats and royalty, they also bought paintings represented to them by dealers as being "Old Masters." In Montreal these individuals have been termed "merchant princes," following the model of the Medici, merchants of Florence who acquired royal identity through ostentatious display. There never has been, as Krzysztof Pomian points out, any doubt that money and art collecting are separable.³⁷ This was the case for the wealthiest man in Canada in the late nineteenth century, Sir Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona (Illus. 1), knighted in 1886, with a full twenty-eight years of productive life ahead of him to continue to accrue wealth and power.

Chapter VI ties colonialism to the racist and imperialist assumptions of liberal-humanism arising out of Renaissance mercantilism and feeding into nineteenth-century

³⁷ Pomian, "Foreword," *Collectors and Curiosities*, 1.

bourgeois capitalist assumptions concerning imposition of a "high culture" to serve themselves.³⁸ Coutts-Smith's observation that colonialism and imperialism cannot be separated historically or socially is an idea germane to my premise that Strathcona's intention with his art collection was imperialist. If the economic arm of imperialism was to gather land and resources by building institutions for this purpose, the cultural arm was to institute European humanist symbols for Canada. The Montreal elite strove to build an "imperial city". This chapter situates Lord Strathcona in his milieu, and elaborates the formation and the intent of his collection against an overlay of imperialism and colonial relations. Operative is Giddens's structuration theory where co-presence in time and place shapes the constitution of social conduct.³⁹ Thus by circulating with the heads of the British imperialist state on a social level, Strathcona was both enabled to act, and free to do so, by his own agency. Clearly, colonial class mobility within the British imperialist structure is a determining factor of Strathcona's identity and his collecting activity.

Chapter VII outlines and elaborates Strathcona's art collection, and fleshes out the humanist aspirations inherent in it. From scattered inventories of 1914, 1927, and 2001 as well as primary source materials at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, the National Archives of Canada, and the McCord Museum, Montreal, I have reconstituted Lord Strathcona's collection of paintings, documented in the Appendices. From the estimated two hundred paintings in Lord Strathcona's collection, ranging in date from the sixteenth through to the late nineteenth century,⁴⁰ it would seem he acquired fifty

³⁸ Coutts-Smith, "Some General Observations," 16-19.

³⁹ Giddens, *Constitution*, 116.

⁴⁰ Several paintings by Flemish artists were from the sixteenth century.

landscape paintings, nearly half of these being seventeenth-century Dutch works. He also owned four marine or coastal views, twenty-eight salon paintings of women and girls, nineteen paintings with Christian subject matter, twenty-one everyday life scenes, seven rural views with cattle or sheep, nine history paintings, ten portraits of aristocrats, four paintings of mythological subjects, four still life paintings, four architectural views, and one Orientalist painting. He also had a collection of Chinese and Japanese art. His Chinese collection was said to be principally from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).⁴¹ Strathcona allowed himself to be commemorated in a number of public portraits, attesting to his interest in being memorialized.

Largely through dealers, Strathcona acquired mainly academic paintings from several countries in the following numbers: English (33), French (31), Dutch (31), Flemish (8), Italian (22), Canadian (18), American (14), German (9), Norwegian (1), about twenty paintings of unknown provenance, and others that did not appear on inventories but can be seen in the Notman photographs of 1914-1915. In common with the majority of collectors of seventeenth-century Dutch art, Strathcona was middle class, and from a Protestant country steeped in Calvinism, meaning that his moral values may have been similar to the Dutch of two centuries earlier. Since the bourgeoisie in eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Europe were influenced by seventeenth-century Dutch models, it does not seem incongruous that Strathcona, also middle class, at first collected works by European artists espousing bourgeois values, centering around charity, the centrality of the family, piety, sobriety, and nature as central to spiritual health. The Flemish and seventeenth-century Dutch works were amongst Strathcona's first

⁴¹ Thomas E. Norton, "Oriental Treasures from the Strathcona Collection," *Canadian Homes and Gardens* (Toronto June 1928), 96-104.

acquisitions. His interest in academic works that generally had a firm provenance was influenced by the discovery that some of his earlier acquisitions of Old Masters had proved to be fake.⁴² These larger-scale academic paintings enforced the effect of the humanism he valued through the signs they projected.

His imperialist ideology propelled him to transcend the middle class, however, affecting his choices in art. As Homi Bhabha states, "Culture is the symbolic realm through which we enact a range of imaginative aspirations..."⁴³ One might add that visual display serves this end powerfully. That is, by the 1880s, other choices became available to North American collectors including English eighteenth-century aristocratic portraits, arms and armor, and Asian art. When Strathcona expanded his collection to include these items, I submit that they represented his ascendancy to aristocratic status. This coincides with the age of British high imperialism from 1875 to 1914. That is, to cement Great Britain's prominent place as colonizer and collector of other cultures, objects were given a prominent place. The Empire was grand and rich and abundant. It projected stagecraft and one-upmanship for the spectacle and the glory of empire, described by David Cannadine as "ornamentalism".⁴⁴ Records have not yet been found to establish when Strathcona collected his Asian treasures, although he was lending Chinese pieces to Art Association of Montreal loan exhibitions in the 1880s and up until 1891.⁴⁵

⁴² Angus supposedly commented as early as 1885 that Strathcona intended to donate his collection to a museum, but the uncertain provenance of his Old Masters discouraged him, as reported by Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, (Toronto, Oxford 1996), 352. His nineteenth century paintings were not acquired until after 1885, as auction records indicate.

⁴³ Homi K. Bhabha, "On Cultural Choice," *The Turn to Ethics*, Marjorie Garber, Beatrice Hanssen, Rebecca L. Walkowitz, eds. (New York 2000), 181.

⁴⁴ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London 2001), 173.

⁴⁵ *Art Association of Montreal Annual Report 1880-92* (Montreal 1881-1893).

The Art Association of Montreal, renamed the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) after 1939, sold Strathcona's paintings, including works by Rosa Bonheur, Alexandre Cabanel, J.J. Tissot, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Baron Henry Leys, H.J. Bauerman, Annibale Carracci, Martin Heade, J.L. Meissonier, John Fraser, Cornelius Kreighoff and others for as little as \$10 each. His paintings by Camille Corot, J.M.W. Turner, and Jules Breton likely were taken by Strathcona to England, and have since been sold. Although portraits by Thomas Gainsborough, George Romney, Ferdinand Roybet, and Titian are shown in his home in the Notman Collection photographs of 1914-1915, the fate of these portraits is unknown. Most unfortunately, Strathcona's collection of Japanese and Chinese art, including armor, bronze sculptures, textiles, ceramics and furnishings completely disappeared in the hands of the AAM, leaving only a photographic trace. Significantly, his humanist values were inclusive of Asian art. The multicultural aspects of his collection are apparent in the Notman photographs of 1914-1915. Through a discussion of the various genres Strathcona held, and what they meant, several conclusions may be drawn, including the suggestion that he viewed all of his collection as part of his *Schatzkammer* or treasury, synecdochical of the British Empire and his place within it.

By comparing Strathcona's collection to others both inside and outside Montreal in Chapter VIII, an eroded and fading archive approaches reformulation. One constant through time is how power operates through cultural relations. Using a variety of methodological tools, supported by my statistical analysis outlined in the Appendices, I elaborate Strathcona's collection and compare it to the collections of Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, Sir George A. Drummond, and R. B. Angus of Montreal. I contend

that the dominant Scots elite imposed European humanism on Canada through architecture, their art collections and their exhibitions. By cross-referencing the paintings of Strathcona to the collections of his peers in Montreal and further afield, through a survey of the collections of James J. Hill of St. Paul, Minnesota and William Thompson Walters of Baltimore, the goal is to establish that his collection was equal to others of the time, and to point out that the same number of paintings collected by Walters formed the nucleus of an important art institution, the Walters Art Gallery.

Chapter IX considers the dispersal of Strathcona's collection. While public portraiture, monuments, and buildings named after Strathcona memorialize him, it does not appear that he, or other Montreal art collectors were attempting to establish personal memorials. They did not donate their private collections *en masse* to the Art Association of Montreal in their wills, nor did they provide endowments for their homes to be maintained as museums of art. It seems rather that they considered their art collections as part of their accoutrements as gentlemen and as property to be inherited by their families. In this they differed from a good number of private collectors in Britain and the United States who intended their private collections to be available to the public and to serve as memorials.⁴⁶ While they lived, however, their art was exhibited at the AAM and sent to other institutions in New York and London to project their own and Canada's prestige.⁴⁷

Finally, in my "Conclusions" I show how an art collection and its reception can shed light on the motives to define cultural idealism within a developing social space. A

⁴⁶ John Soane in London and Isabella Stewart Gardner in Boston are examples of collectors who formed their collections, as well as the homes that housed these, as personal memorials.

⁴⁷ Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal 1989); Collectors Files, Montreal Museum of Fine Art Archives; Strathcona Fonds MG29-A5, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, MG29-A60, National Archives of Canada, *passim*.

consideration of how culture continues to be manipulated by power fields has also been generated by my readings of Carol Duncan and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, whose scholarship implicates the museum in shaping culture. With respect to the activity of the Art Association of Montreal, and later the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in the dispersal of the Strathcona collection, one of my objectives is to establish that surveillance and protection of our visual art heritage must be stringent. We are all shaped by the past. Understanding each facet of it contributes to the archive of knowledge.

With the re-installed permanent collection on the fourth floor of the MMFA in December 2002, Strathcona's status as a collector inspired by humanism is perceivable to those who know what signs to find. Eight of the paintings on display are from Strathcona's collection. In Chapter VII, I demonstrate how Strathcona mapped humanism onto the colony of Canada by his choices that moved away from the spiritual world to paintings where humans and the human environment were the subject of art, stretching back to Pythagoras's idea that "man is the measure of all things." Then as now, the content of the paintings can be recognized by those initiated to the iconology. The new installation demonstrates a re-evaluation of Strathcona's position in the hierarchy of our collective memory. Structuration theory insists that events occur within a locale. One can note that this re-evaluation was imposed by a museum director and chief curator from France, in collaboration with an American associate curator, perhaps indicating that the reassessment of Strathcona's choices and the cultural endorsement it represents continue to be dependent on affirmation from elsewhere. The works shown in the reinstalled MMFA permanent galleries also demonstrate that an imperialist agenda is operative in

the humanist signs everywhere apparent, since European art is privileged in the installation.

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY

Review of the Biographical Literature

The rational discourse in *Lord Strathcona, A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* by Donna McDonald affirms the reputation of an empire builder as championed by McDonald, a Canadian ex-patriot living in Great Britain where "the colonial" still has a ring of the alien and the rustic. An annalistic strategy places McDonald's text closer to a documentary than to a drama. Events are recorded in chronological order, packed with minutiae such as the reference to Strathcona's 1897 proposal to use the maple leaf as an insignia for the Canadian flag.¹ Her approach is also feminist since she looks carefully at Strathcona's relationship to his Canadian-born, partly Cree wife, Isabella Hardisty, and how he honoured her in the face of racist society, never placing her in the background of his high profile political and social life. McDonald, and others, substantiate the importance instilled by Strathcona's mother concerning the deportment of gentlewomen, an aspect of Strathcona's perception important to his later chivalry. McDonald's feminist perspective is also influenced by postcolonial theory. For instance, she documents the attitudes of Sir George Simpson as well as that of John Stuart, Strathcona's uncle, respectively governor and officer of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), who deserted their aboriginal wives and children, to illustrate how Strathcona was different. Simpson shocked even the fur traders when he "callously turned his back" on his "country wife," the term employed to refer to cohabitation of European men and indigenous women. McDonald recounts Governor Simpson's attitude:

¹ Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto 1996), 411.

The "commodity," as he referred to Margaret, was superfluous as far as he was concerned, and Stuart was instructed to marry her off to someone else. He had abandoned other "bits of brown," as he contemptuously called the Indian and half-breed women for whom he saw no purpose beyond sexual gratification, but it was generally supposed that the relationship with Margaret was more substantial.²

John Stuart left his country wife in Canada as well, and made no provision for his children of this union, a circumstance Barbara Stuart Smith, Strathcona's mother, sought to redress.³

McDonald's comprehensive, well-researched biography is the latest to capture nuances of Strathcona's character. It provides insightful details concerning what may be all aspects of his life. The extensive bibliography includes references to unpublished sources useful for primary research with parameters different from her own. The art collection her subject amassed is considered in less than two pages, pointing to the need for a sustained art historical study. The author includes a brief mention of Strathcona's Japanese collection, as well as an opinion concerning disposal of his art collection.⁴ While McDonald's editors did not think it useful to include an appendix of key dates for ease of reference, I address this omission in my Appendix I.

Admitting to "admiring the career" of Lord Strathcona, Beckles Willson, a Canadian writer and journalist, wrote his biography, *Lord Strathcona, The Story of His Life* in 1902, even in the face of Strathcona's "unconquerable modesty and his well-

² McDonald discusses the falling-out between Strathcona's uncle John Stuart, and Governor George Simpson, in *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 31-32.

³ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 70.

⁴ Lord Strathcona made no provision for his art collection in his will. McDonald expresses the opinion, drawn from a statement by R.B. Angus, that Strathcona had some trouble with fakes early on, discouraging him from a further blunder in providing funds for the protection of his collection, which would throw doubt on his judgement, in *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 352.

known aversion to publicity."⁵ Willson was commenting ironically, since this first biography was written without Strathcona's co-operation. Coloured by the style of his nineteenth-century prose, Willson's writing is both powerful and moving. He conveys his protagonist from humble beginnings in the Scottish lowlands, through the glory of empire, returning him as Canada's "Grand Old Man" to the seat of civilization as Lord Rector of Aberdeen University. Lord Strathcona's art collection is mentioned in one paragraph of the 247-page text. In chapter one of his account, Willson links Strathcona's biography to the literature of Charles Dickens and Shakespeare.⁶ By including references to English literature, Willson implies what Will Straw terms a "national imaginary." In discussion with Marwan Hassan on the role of language and literature to the "nationalist imaginary," Straw proposes that a "common circumscribed cultural heritage" may be produced through "a sense of linguistic cohesion which is an important foundation of nationhood...a means by which diasporic populations forge a sense of collective identity across national boundaries."⁷ This sense of trying to "forge a national imaginary" based on Scottish heritage is important, since it gave impetus to Willson's second biography sanctioned by Strathcona as a counter-measure to a slanderous book written by his political enemy, W.T.R. Preston. Willson's 1915 biography *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, is an ambitious undertaking of 632 pages. In this expanded biography Willson benefited from letters and other correspondence accessible to him.⁸ He also

⁵ Beckles Willson, *Lord Strathcona, The Story of His Life* (London 1902), unpaginated preface.

⁶ Willson, *Lord Strathcona, The Story*, 1-15.

⁷ Will Straw, "On and Around the Raft: An Interview with Marwan Hassan," in *The Raft of the Medusa, Five Voices on Colonies, Nations and Histories*. (Montreal, New York, London 1993), 92.

⁸ Willson's papers and correspondence related to Lord Strathcona are at the National Archives, Ottawa.

interviewed Strathcona's family members and others who knew Strathcona, including Prime Ministers Laurier, Tupper and Borden, as well as Strathcona's friend Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, who exercised editorial control.⁹ Willson's biographies read like fictive accounts of the incredible life of Strathcona and the history of the Canadian nation. Certainly, Willson positions Lord Strathcona as a linchpin of the British Empire, by including the eulogizing text of British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), whose duty was to promote imperialism. At Lord Strathcona's funeral in Westminster Abbey in 1914 Chamberlain explained how Strathcona fit into the imperial model:

He was a splendid illustration of the opportunities which the British Empire affords to its sons, and of the use the best of them can make of these opportunities. With no advantages of birth or fortune, he made himself one of the great outstanding figures of the Empire. He made a great fortune, but what was more, he used it nobly, not for himself, but for his country and his Empire. He did more than make a fortune. He helped to make a great nation, the greatest of our sister nations over the seas, and to encourage in that nation a larger patriotism which, abating not one jot of its own local spirit can yet impress the Empire as a whole, can think Imperial and place Imperial interests before any local interests...¹⁰

While Willson's 1915 biography contains sixteen full-page photogravures, it does not mention Strathcona's art collection at all. However, Strathcona's personal motto was "In the van." According to Willson, Strathcona "heartily sympathized with Mr. Chamberlain's idea that our Empire should become more conscious of itself."¹¹ It is this self-consciousness alluded to by Willson that provides a way into the study of

⁹ Willson credits Van Horne with his "council" in the Preface to *The Life of Lord Strathcona*. Correspondence between Willson and Van Horne throughout 1914 confirm Van Horne's involvement in the biography, found in Sir William Van Horne fonds, microfilm M-7493 and M-7494, National Archives of Canada.

¹⁰ Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 586.

¹¹ Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 586.

Strathcona's art collecting activities. One aspect of Strathcona's motivation was that he saw it as his moral duty to contribute to forming culture in the young nation of Canada.¹²

In W.T.R. Preston's book of 1914, *The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona*, the discourse is one of knowledge and power. As a long-time Liberal supporter, Preston's 1899 appointment to London to head an Immigration Office for Canada was authorized by Sir Clifford Sifton, Minister of Immigration under Prime Minister Laurier. Conflict resulted because Strathcona took offence when Preston trespassed on the jurisdiction of the office of High Commissioner, established under the former Conservative government. Preston's intrusions created an acrimonious relationship that eventually cost him his position.¹³ Preston cloaks his subject in a pall of evil, charging that Strathcona was central to every political crisis in the Dominion of Canada during the years 1870-1910, because he was the most influential force in "the defeat and victory of political parties since Confederation."¹⁴ According to Preston, Strathcona "moulded the tone and character of the political life of the country as well as its Parliamentary legislation."¹⁵ To Preston, "the most important figure in the public life of Canada since 1870, although not always in the public eye, has undoubtedly been Lord Strathcona."¹⁶ The text is rife with insinuation and innuendo, when it is not defamatory. Irony is also employed, as when

¹² I address his ethics in another part of this thesis, drawing from Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London 1930/1992) and from his own addresses as president of the Art Association of Montreal.

¹³ Alexander Reford, "Smith, Donald Alexander, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIV, 1911-1920 (Toronto, Buffalo, London), 945.

¹⁴ W.T.R. Preston, *The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona* (London 1914), 13.

¹⁵ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 13.

¹⁶ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 13.

Preston connects the warmth shown to Strathcona during a 1909 reception in Winnipeg to that city's request to Strathcona to donate one million dollars for the Selkirk Centennial Exhibition which was intended to be an international exhibition of the caliber of Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond jubilee celebrations.¹⁷ Preston's intention was most certainly to demean the High Commissioner in passages such as the following:

Perhaps it had begun to dawn on Lord Strathcona's mind that the welcome given to him had some connection with the request for a million dollars. It is quite true that behind the scenes there had been warm discussions as to how much the "Grand Old Man" could be induced to "cough up."¹⁸

Analyzing Strathcona's rise to power by determining how he became wealthy, Preston is insightful. First, Strathcona gained the confidence of his fellow officers in the Hudson's Bay Company, had their pay changed from yearly to monthly, invested their monthly cheques, paid them three per cent annually, and retained for himself the balance of the interest of between four and five per cent. In this way he gained influence in banking circles.¹⁹ He soon invested his and his associates' money in the Bank of Montreal, and eventually became the largest shareholder. In due course, he was appointed a director, and thereafter served as president for two terms.²⁰ His appointment as resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869 gave him control of an area "from Hudson Bay to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains -- an area greater than France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Scandinavia, Holland and Belgium combined."²¹

¹⁷ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 472.

¹⁸ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 285.

¹⁹ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 19.

²⁰ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 20.

²¹ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 21.

Scenarios are presented to cast his enemy in a jaundiced light as a grasping, greedy, and even foolish man. Preston's antagonistic rhetoric dispels any pretence of objectivity. Moreover, Preston's arguments concerning Strathcona's conspiratorial relationship to Louis Riel are convoluted. Preston implies that Europeans, including Strathcona, duped the natives of the notes promising them land once it was surveyed.²² Preston also points out that when the Hudson's Bay Company land was sold to the newly formed Canada, shares plummeted in London. According to Preston, these stocks were bought up by Strathcona, then resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, for between £9 to £12 per share, effectively giving him control of the company. Thereafter, the Hudson's Bay Company shares rose to £130 on the London Stock Exchange by 1911.²³ Being principal shareholder allowed Strathcona to assume control of the top post, as the London Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, from 1889 until his death in 1914.

Strathcona's non-support of John A. MacDonald following corruption charges levied by the Liberal opposition against the Conservative Party in the wake of the election of 1872 resulted in the subsequent defeat of the Conservative Party. By his non-confidence motion to defeat the Conservative government, Strathcona intended, Preston argues, to scuttle Sir Hugh Allen's charter to build a transcontinental railway. Strathcona then waited in the wings to build the railway at a later date himself. The syndicate that Strathcona formed for this purpose smoothed the way to a railway deal with the

²² Preston, *The Life and Times*, 55-56. According to Donna McDonald in *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 329-348, Strathcona put an end to this practice that took place under his Hudson's Bay Company successor in Red River.

²³ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 38-39. McDonald explained that Strathcona did not, in fact, secure controlling interest of the HBC until 1883, and after he did so, corrupt practices ended, in *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 337-338.

Dominion government by way of financial contributions to the Conservatives.²⁴ These charges are thought provoking. However, since Preston believed Strathcona's syndicate provided monies to savage his own political career,²⁵ his book cannot be considered a strictly critical inquiry, since the tone is of a tirade in which facts are not weighed fairly.²⁶ There is, however, a grudging admiration on the part of Preston, for the sheer power of his opponent. While implying that he had set the record straight, people at the time realized that Preston's attack was scurrilous, intended to ruin the reputation of all the prominent Conservatives since Confederation.²⁷ Sworn testimonials in Strathcona's private papers prove that Preston left a copy of his unpublished manuscript with Strathcona's secretary,²⁸ leading to my speculation that Preston expected to be bribed not to publish it. This may have been a trap, but Strathcona chose not to step into it. Significantly, Preston was the only non-Scot to write a biography of Strathcona, an aspect commented upon in the press of the time.

John MacNaughton's book *Lord Strathcona*, published in 1927, employs a combination of florid hyperbole and balanced exposition, perhaps because the book has two voices, that of the author and that of his editor (the book was published several years

²⁴ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 60-90.

²⁵ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 76-77.

²⁶ An account in *The Toronto Daily News*, 3 December 1914, p. 11, by J.S. Willison who disclaims owning any CPR stock or having any financial relations with the CPR, decided to set the record straight in the interests of historical accuracy and political fair dealing. According to him, the government petitioned Strathcona's group to build the CPR (no doubt based on their successful experience with James J. Hill's railway).

²⁷ John MacNaughton points out that Preston was a Liberal party organizer, and also *not* a Scot, in *Lord Strathcona* (London 1927), 346-347.

²⁸ Strathcona Papers, MG29-A5, National Archives of Canada.

after MacNaughton wrote it). Interested in the psyche of the man who had arrived from a great distance to assume a place over time in the corridors of imperial power, this author purports to relate history from the privileged position of an insider. MacNaughton, a history professor at Queen's University, knew Strathcona during the years when Strathcona served as Chancellor of McGill University. MacNaughton deduced that once Lord Strathcona "seized the idea of Empire he never despaired of its realization, any more than he had despaired of the Canada that was to be..."²⁹ Actually Canada was united by means of imperialist violence with materialistic motives. Not surprisingly, MacNaughton's perspective is not nationalistic; it is class-based. He appears to enjoy the moments of his subject's rapture and seems to identify with this as a privileged, white, male member of an educated oligarchy that celebrated the rise of the Anglo-Saxon mercantile class. Specifically, MacNaughton lauded the accomplishments of a fellow bourgeois Scotsman, the economically dominant ethnicity and class in Montreal in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This author's account reads like a film script where the opening scene depicts Lord Strathcona presiding as Chancellor of Aberdeen University, in the presence of the King of England who fondly calls him, "Uncle Donald."³⁰ On this occasion, Strathcona, partial to grand gesture, built a hall expressly to accommodate 2,500 people for a dinner party in Aberdeen, Scotland in 1906.³¹ Thus MacNaughton's account begins with Lord Strathcona positioned as a royal peer, and then proceeds by means of flashbacks to detail his subject's arrival at these princely portals.

²⁹ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 325.

³⁰ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 5.

In accord with other biographers, MacNaughton writes that Strathcona's father, Alexander Smith, was a tradesman with a disposition to drink. He suggests that Strathcona learned his manners and values from his mother, Barbara Stuart, whose brothers were important figures in the Northwest fur trade. In 1838, prior to his departure for Canada, Strathcona spent time with one of these uncles, John Stuart in London. By emulating Stuart, the young Donald Smith refined his courtly dignity and kindly manner, hallmarks of his personal style.

While MacNaughton does not refer to Freud, this author analyzes psychological motivations for some of Strathcona's philanthropic activities. He mentions, for example, that Strathcona had wanted to be a doctor. However, there was no money for him to attend university after his parents supported his older brother John's medical education. Stationed in India, John subsequently died of recurring malaria. MacNaughton attributes Strathcona's motivation for endowing the Royal Victoria Hospital and the McGill Medical School to interest in memorializing his brother's memory.³² In a similar vein, Strathcona's endowment to Victoria College for women at McGill and his commission of the 1895 sculpture of Queen Victoria by Princess Louise, the Duchess of Argyle, was, MacNaughton speculates, to memorialize his sister Margaret who died in 1841 of smallpox when Strathcona was twenty-one.³³ In other words, MacNaughton considers Freudian themes of desire and nostalgia.³⁴ While this author does not discuss Lord

³¹ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 7.

³² MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 18.

³³ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 17.

³⁴ For a discussion on how various authors approach a psychoanalytic motivation to collecting, see Ting Chang, "Models of Collecting," *The Oxford Art Journal*, 19:2 (1996), 95-97.

Strathcona's interest in art at all, his attribution of Strathcona's philanthropy to nostalgia for his sister points to mourning and memorializing as one reason for some of his choices of paintings of little girls and women.

MacNaughton's gift for characterization allows that Strathcona was autocratic, secretive, indirect, and had a long memory --to reward those who aided him, and to punish those who stood in his way.³⁵ Most importantly, MacNaughton recognized that Strathcona was "'Canada in a swallow-tail coat' -- a stately figure worthily embodying in his own visible person the history and aspirations of the Dominion which in consequence he represented as it is never likely to be represented again."³⁶ So dedicated to Canada and his work for the Empire was he that he made his hundredth voyage across the Atlantic, from London to Montreal, then across Canada to Vancouver, a distance of two thousand miles, at the age of ninety-three, partly by a horse-drawn coach.³⁷ As MacNaughton astutely proclaims:

...none was ever quite so much of a representative man...The popular imagination makes no mistakes in that use of its eyes by which it picks out the figures canonized by it and handed down with a halo on their brows...That old man *was* Canada...The whole history of our country, from the mink trap and birch-bark canoe down to the grain elevator and the ocean-liner, lived and breathed and moved and walked about visibly under the tall grey beaver hat.³⁸

Strathcona had been an impoverished clerk counting odourous pelts of small, fur-bearing animals, and eventually became so rich, that teams of others counted his money. One of

³⁵ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 376, 377. MacNaughton's source may have been an article by J.S. Willison, *The Toronto Daily News*, 3 December, 1914, 11.

³⁶ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 336.

³⁷ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 340 and McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 490.

³⁸ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 378.

the greatest philanthropists of his age, it is through his interest in art, however, that new light may be cast on his character and aspirations.

Finally, a 1989 exhibition and the accompanying catalogue, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* presents the opportunity to consider modern European paintings in the collections of seven Montreal collectors. Biographical details of artists and collectors are provided, along with a useful provenance of the works, some lost, some in the exhibition, but many no longer in the collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. The summary provided in this catalogue of Lord Strathcona and his collection is approximately six hundred words, augmented by catalogue entries organized under the names of the artists in the exhibition. Sources are carefully detailed in this scholarly work by Janet M. Brooke, which provides valuable signposts for further research.

Brooke suggests:

While there has never been any doubt that until World War I, the most significant collections of European art in Canada were formed for the most part in Montreal, their history, how and why they were formed, and how they compared in quality to their counterparts elsewhere in North American and in Europe remain to be fully explored.³⁹

The Biography of Lord Strathcona

Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona (1820-1914), was a nineteenth-century empire builder with a lasting bond to Montreal where he formed an art collection that was part of his imperialistic intent. Born one year after Queen Victoria, he left his Scottish homeland for the British colony of Upper Canada in 1838, the year following Queen Victoria's coronation. Strathcona's hometown was Forres, site of Shakespeare's *MacBeth*. Charles

³⁹ Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920*, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1989, 12.

Dickens in *Nicholas Nickleby* immortalized Strathcona's uncles, the Grants of Manchester, as the "Cheeryble brothers".⁴⁰ His mother, Barbara Stuart, and his father, Alexander Smith, were of clan Grant,⁴¹ of the district of Strathspey. The war cry of clan Grant, "Stand fast Craigellachie,"⁴² was a phrase that resonated in 1885, when Strathcona drove the last spike into the railway tracks at Craigellachie, British Columbia, ceremonializing the completion of the nation-spanning railroad and a united Canada (Illus. 6).

During the years Strathcona formed his art collection, he was involved with The Art Association of Montreal (AAM) from 1882-1893. Incorporated in 1860, the AAM stemmed from the Montreal Society of Artists, organized in 1847. By 1939, the AAM had evolved into the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA).⁴³ Exhibitions were organized by the AAM in various Montreal sites. It opened its first gallery, under the auspices of Lord Lorne, in 1879, on land donated by Beniah Gibb in Phillips Square.⁴⁴ The first mention of the "Hon. D. A. Smith" in conjunction with the AAM may be in the *Annual Report of the Art Association of Montreal 1882*, where he is cited as a "Life Member," having duly qualified by donating \$100 to the AAM in 1891. In the annual report of 1884 he is listed as a member of the "Finance and Building Committee" and the

⁴⁰ This is elaborated by Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona*, 14. Dickens visited Montreal in 1842 where he had a two-week speaking engagement at Molson's Theatre Royal, according to Mackay in *The Square Mile*, 37.

⁴¹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 13.

⁴² Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 4.

⁴³ Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*, Second Edition (Toronto 1988), 34.

⁴⁴ Gibb also provided the museum with an \$8,000 bequest and its first collections of pictures and bronzes, as explained by Evan H. Turner, "Introduction," *The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*, collections catalogue, 1960, unpaginated. Phillips Square fronts on St. Catherine Street between Union and University avenues.

"Education and Instruction Committee" and as a "Councilor" for a two-year term, beginning in 1885. In the annual report of 1889, Sir Donald A. Smith was appointed to the rank of "Governor" for donating \$1,000 to the building fund. At the Annual General Meeting of 1890, R. B. Angus presided as chair, and Sir Donald A. Smith was elected to the Presidency for the term beginning 1891. In the annual report for 1891, the name of Smith's friend, William Van Horn appears for the first time as a "Councilor." In 1892, Smith donated \$5,000 to the building fund, raising his status to that of "Benefactor." In the 1893 annual report, Smith's name tops the list of "subscriptions to the endowment fund" at \$6,000. That year the society completed a "new building, containing a fine gallery available for special exhibitions, commodious rooms for the Antique and Life Classes, and bright, cheerful Library and Reading Room." This edifice was described as a "new wing topped with twin cupolas," which "doubled the building's gallery space"⁴⁵ (Illus. 3). Its inauguration was presided over by Smith and the Governor General of Canada, the Earl of Aberdeen, together with the Countess of Aberdeen.⁴⁶ In 1893, Smith retired as president; Van Horne is recorded as being elected to the position of vice-president. Smith was thanked for "the signal services" rendered "to the Association and the cause of art during his term of office."⁴⁷ That Van Horne, who collected Japanese and Chinese art, should join the board the very year Strathcona was elected president surely has significance. It not only indicates a social link between the two men, who had been business associates for years, but allows for the speculation that Smith may have followed Van Horne's example in his art collecting activities, since Van Horne had

⁴⁵ H  l  ne Lamarche, *Looking at the Collections of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*, (Montreal 1992), 21.

⁴⁶ *Art Association of Montreal, Annual Report, 1893*, 4.

greater experience. Strathcona and Van Horne, who collected paintings by several of the same artists, were unique in their circle for collecting Japanese and Chinese art.

It is useful to place Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona, in his place at the apex of Empire.⁴⁸ For it was colonial imperialism, invested in by a British society espousing middle-class, Victorian values of hard work, material acquisition, and social climbing that determined the course of his life's aspirations and accomplishments. Eric Hobsbawm has termed the years 1875 to 1914 "The Age of Empire" as well as being "a new type of empire, the colonial."⁴⁹ Strathcona's life clearly demonstrates the British Imperialist policy of dispersing its agents to all areas of the empire to create wealth for Great Britain. These agents were to be from the British aristocracy or to be raised to this class to give them authority. Donald A. Smith set his life's course when he followed in the footsteps of other Scotsmen, some of whom were his relatives. His famous uncle John Stuart was with the explorer Simon Fraser when his party traveled overland to the Pacific in 1808. Stuart was thus amongst the first Europeans to reach Canada's Pacific coast by an overland route.⁵⁰ John Stuart became the Lesser Slave Lake Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company after it amalgamated with the North West Company. It was this same John Stuart who provided a letter of introduction for his nephew directed to Governor

⁴⁷ *Art Association of Montreal Annual Report*, 1893, 26.

⁴⁸ Lord Strathcona lived in Canada for fifty-eight years, (1838 to 1896), and helped to formulate it as a nation. As Canada's High Commissioner to London, he had a different position than the Governors General, who were appointees from Great Britain and were not long-term residents of Canada. I place him at the apex of Empire, since he served the imperial cause as an appointee from the colony of Canada. He had helped to build the British Empire. He was in London not only as emissary to Canada, but as a peer in the House of Lords, a position he had earned through his contributions to the Empire.

⁴⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London 1987/1997), 56,57.

⁵⁰ Beckles Willson, *Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life* (London 1902), 9.

George Simpson of the HBC in Canada.⁵¹ Another relative, Cuthbert Grant, a *Nor'west* fur trader, led his Métis allies in a shoot-out in 1816 which ended in the death of twenty-one men from Lord Selkirk's highland colony on the Red River, in what is now Manitoba.⁵² (Métis and First Nations fur trader hostility to the settlers was due to their justified fear that settlement would ruin their livelihood of fur trading and buffalo hunting.)⁵³

Three weeks after arriving in Canada, and with no better opportunities to tempt him, Smith began work as a minor clerk in the company warehouse at Lachine, Quebec. The formality of Smith's manner and his reserve were sometimes resented as "airs." In Beckles Willson's tale, gleaned from a letter of one of Smith's fellow apprentices, events following Smith's arrival in 1838 are described:

Mrs. Simpson, who always took a friendly interest in the 'indentured young gentlemen,' as they were called, was attracted by the simplicity and gentle address of the newcomer's manners. She invited him to tea; she occasionally commanded his escort on boating excursions. Once, after the Governor had returned after an absence at Red River, we heard that there had been a scene, and that in consequence young Smith, although innocent of any offence but that of obliging a lady, was in disgrace, one gentleman averring that he had heard the Governor, in a highly pitched treble, declare that he was not going to endure any 'upstart, quill-driving apprentices dangling about a parlour reserved to the nobility and gentry.'⁵⁴

⁵¹ John Stuart also provided Donald Smith with a second letter to Alexander Stewart of Boucherville, "the oldest and most valued" of John Stuart's "North-West friends," asking him to try to place Donald in some better situation than that of the Hudson's Bay Company, cited by Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 27.

⁵² Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada* (Toronto 1997), 78.

⁵³ It was Donald A. Smith, HBC chief commissioner in Montreal and a special commissioner for the Dominion government, who was most instrumental in quenching the fires of rebellion in Red River in 1870, thus saving the lives of settlers and other inhabitants.

⁵⁴ Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 50.

Considered an upstart by Governor Simpson, because of the effect of his genteel bearing and manner of speaking, the eighteen-year old Smith was sent by Simpson to Tadousac, three hundred miles north of Montreal, where he endured his first Canadian winter.

Smith worked for seven years in the neighborhood of the Saguenay River, whose solitude is said to have impacted his character. When looking at Bocklinton's *The Island of Death*, in a London gallery fifty years later, he commented that it looked like the Saguenay, except the trees were different.⁵⁵ (Arguably, the experience of living for thirty years in isolated fur trading posts had an effect on the type of stark, unpeopled landscape paintings he later collected). In 1843, Smith was posted to Mingan, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. The nature of the fur trade, and perhaps Simpson's malice, assured that Smith continued northward. Willson repeats the story that when the autocratic governor ignored Smith's letters requesting permission to leave his post to seek medical attention for snow blindness, Smith decided to proceed to Lachine in any case, since he had been warned by a native that he might go blind. (This anxiety over his eyesight may have been a factor in the primacy he gave to visual art in later years). Simpson decided Smith and his eyesight were expendable. After a cursory examination, and irritated that Smith had left his post, Simpson immediately banished him to Labrador on foot, through snowdrifts in bitterly cold winter. Along the way, one of his Indian guides died of starvation and exposure, and Smith and the second guide arrived near death at Mingan, where Smith recuperated until spring. He spent twenty-five years in Labrador, described by Willson as "the bleakest corner of the earth," where winters were eight months long and temperatures stayed at -50 degrees Fahrenheit. Several times he

⁵⁵ Cited by Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona, and Mount Royal*, 54, from R. M. Ballantyne. *Hudson's Bay*, date, page not provided.

traversed the two thousand miles by foot and sled to and from Montreal and his various Labrador posts.⁵⁶ To give an idea of the conditions, one HBC factor described his party's exploratory foray by dog sled in winter along Labrador's coast as exceedingly dangerous, hampered by ice and treacherously strong currents. The interior was "dreary and sterile" without vegetation, except for lichen and sparse willows.⁵⁷ Smith's days were consumed by suggesting and implementing efficient improvements which increased HBC profits. In addition to a certain amount of office work, he traded beads and provisions for furs. After thirteen years in Labrador, he was promoted to Chief Trader (1852-61). In another ten years, he was made Chief Factor (1862-69). In 1868, when he was forty-eight, and after thirty years of employment with the Hudson's Bay Company, he was posted to Lachine, near Montreal, and from 1871-73 he was a chief commissioner of the HBC Company, with control over Labrador and of Rupert's Land.⁵⁸

The fur trader from Labrador, who spent his free time reading or writing long letters to his mother on "imperial stationery," was known for his farm and garden where he grew flowers and sufficient vegetables to feed the settlement.⁵⁹ He strove to create European comfort in various remote trading posts, an effort repeated in his attempts to make his environment sensually pleasing for himself and others in his Montreal home. Politeness and respect for the dignity of others proved helpful in negotiating with those

⁵⁶ Willson, *Lord Strathcona, The Story of His Life*, 26-27.

⁵⁷ Willson, *Lord Strathcona, The Story of His Life*, 23.

⁵⁸ Rupert's Land was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by British royal charter in 1670, taking no account of the indigenous people already living there. It contained all of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, much of the Northwest Territories, and a large portion of northern Ontario and northern Quebec.

⁵⁹ Charles Haddock, later dean of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, visited the HBC post at Labrador and was purportedly impressed at the seven acres under cultivation, much of it under glass, in Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 90.

who had furs to sell.⁶⁰ In a well-known painting in the National Gallery of Canada entitled *Donald Smith and the Indians*, 1860, William Hind depicts Smith wearing a red flannel shirt, homespun trousers, a fur hat and moccasins (Illus. 4) indicating he dressed for his environment. Juxtaposed with later photographs and paintings of Strathcona, the semiotics of his appearance illustrate his adaptation to urban society. Assuredly, Smith moved swiftly to improve his social position in the colonial empire. Rather than living in Lachine, he took up residence in Montreal's "Golden Square Mile," occupied mainly by wealthy Scots who controlled the industrial and political life of Canada. While in Labrador he had been building financial capital. During the thirty years that he had worked in remote posts, he had taken care of his investments. Certainly, in Montreal he was quick to form partnerships with established Montreal entrepreneurs with names such as Stephen, Redpath and Alan.⁶¹ Investments included manufacturing, American railroads, mining, steamships, and secondary industries.⁶² In essence, by the time he arrived in Montreal he was already a wealthy man. Once there, he grew wealthier quickly.

Economic representations were a determinant of social hierarchy in the Victorian Age; a show of abundance proclaimed power. Commodity culture as it interfaced with Empire began with the Great Exhibition of the Crystal Palace in 1851. By the time of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 (one year after Sir Donald A. Smith was knighted),

⁶⁰ Willson's story of Smith's acquisition of rare fox pelts from the trader Dugas shows that he was successful because he was not grasping but extremely patient and respectful, in *The Life of Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 56-59.

⁶¹ Montreal nineteenth-century capitalists and their enterprises are discussed in Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile. Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver, Toronto 1987).

⁶² McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*; see Index, 598, for an account of Lord Strathcona's investments.

capitalism as spectacle had cemented its hold economically and semiotically. Victoria, dressed in severe black mourning clothes for twenty-six years after her husband Albert's death, was made into an icon of reverence for God, the past, and duty. She also stood as a symbol of one who possesses wealth, status, longevity, mastery and *things*. These *things* represented middle class aspirations for luxury goods, upward mobility and social significance.⁶³ In photographs Lord Strathcona looks like a biblical Moses with his white beard and sober garb (Illus. 5). He became the Empire's Colonial Albert,⁶⁴ also attired in black mourning clothes, restored to life, and surrounded with luxury goods reflecting his imperial status as newly-risen consort, a commemoration of the privilege empire could bestow. Roland Barthes writes:

Ultimately, one might say that the object of structuralism is not man endowed with meanings but man fabricating meanings, as if it could not be the *content* of meanings which exhausted the semantic goals of humanity, but only the act by which these meanings, historical and contingent variables, are produced.⁶⁵

If, as Barthes thought, structuralism seeks to link the ideological to the aesthetic,⁶⁶ Lord Strathcona's appearance, or formal structure, permits a certain meaning to be transmitted. Lord Strathcona, thin, broad shouldered and more than six feet tall by a contemporary account,⁶⁷ was "grave, dignified and deliberate" in his gait, his voice and in his manner of speaking. The young Warden of Montreal's Victoria College describes his voice as

⁶³ These ideas were generated by reading Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, Advertising and Spectacle 1851-1914* (Stanford, California 1990).

⁶⁴ Edward VII referred to Strathcona as "Uncle Donald." John MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 5.

⁶⁵ Roland Barthes, *Critical Essays* (Evanston Illinois 1972), 218.

⁶⁶ Barthes, *Critical Essays*, 219.

⁶⁷ The Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefannson, financially supported in his Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1914-1918 by funds from Strathcona, described his appearance in Keith Wilson, *Donald Smith and the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Canada 1978), 73.

a revelation of his personality; in an almost startling way it betrayed in an instant the man. It was resonant, far-reaching, almost hard in the way every word and every inflection was sent out to reach its purpose, every word conveyed a sense of power behind it.⁶⁸

Described as self-contained, watchful and prudent, he was uninterested in and disapproving of personal talk, perhaps because he was often the target of gossip himself with regard to his personal and political life. The circumstances of Strathcona's marriage were that Isabella Hardisty, daughter and granddaughter of HBC officers, was married to HBC clerk James Grant, in a ceremony solemnized by her father, a HBC officer authorized to perform ceremonies in the Northwest, equivalent to a justice of the peace. When Isabella subsequently changed her mind, preferring Strathcona, she left Grant. As the only Hudson's Bay Company authority on site, Strathcona conducted a ceremony to legitimize his own marriage to Isabella. In the same way as Isabella's father had been, Strathcona, as senior HBC officer on site, was in charge of performing marriages in the community where they lived. Persistent rumors surrounded their marriage, with the result that the couple re-married in both Europe and in New York in later years. Victorian salaciousness concerning relations between the British male diaspora and colonial women were a sign of the age. Even Queen Victoria sniffed at the Strathcona's perceived circumstances.⁶⁹ Perhaps this embarrassment fueled Strathcona's desire for gathering wealth and ascending the social register. Conceivably, he wished to counteract the slight, on all fronts, wherever and whenever it occurred to himself and to his wife over a period of sixty-two years.

⁶⁸ Hurlbatt, in Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 591.

⁶⁹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 424.

His demeanor was that of a person who "had dwelt long in solitude."⁷⁰ In photographic and painted portraits he has a patrician bearing, piercing gaze, unsmiling, sober expression and somber, elegant attire. What can be signified in a person as a social sign? Since the sign is an idea that operates in a field of signification, the signifiers here are that he is strong featured (*ergo* strong willed), patriarchal (evoking Moses), and nineteenth-century European (due to the full beard then in style, as well as the cut of his suit). The photograph of the face is a simulacrum implying intellect, rationality, constancy and certainly power. Such a face is that of a capitalist, confident of his perceived right to hoard more wealth than could workers; thus, the formal structure of his image permits meaning to be transmitted. He has chosen to wear these clothes rather than a flannel shirt and a fur cap; his beard is neat and trimmed.⁷¹ He has allowed himself to be photographed in a time and place of his choosing. His appearance and his appearing are constructs signifying many ideas and radiating countless signifiers. The photograph is even *theatrical* in the density of the signs.⁷² Strathcona's cousin, George Stephen, also raised to the peerage, was incredulous at how Strathcona assumed with such ease and enjoyment the trappings of imperial power. Stephen's biographer indicated Stephen did not wear his coronet so easily.⁷³

⁷⁰ Willson attributes this description to one of Lord Strathcona's unnamed visitors, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 596.

⁷¹ In the nineteenth century people of all classes who sat for photographs made an effort to wear their best clothes and to appear at their most dignified and formal. This fact does not change the effect of viewing Lord Strathcona's portraits.

⁷² Barthes thought the theatrical depended on an intellectual system of signifiers such as language and ideology projected through activity or costume. See Barthes, *Critical Essays*, 263.

⁷³ Heather Gilbert, *Awakening Continent* (Aberdeen 1965), 259.

The historical backdrop against which Strathcona's activities were enacted was the turmoil following the 1867 confederation of the Canadian colonies. To prevent American encroachment⁷⁴ the young Dominion of Canada purchased Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company for \$1.5 million (£300,000 pounds). This alarmed the people who lived in Rupert's land, since they had not been consulted, leading to a rebellion in Red River in 1870, and Smith's cool intervention as mediator. As the Dominion Government's representative, and more importantly as the HBC commissioner for the Montreal office,⁷⁵ who had risen through the ranks, he was accustomed to dealing with the voyageurs and people of the land. To his advantage, he was respected as the Hudson's Bay representative, and seen by the rebels in this role more so than as an official commissioner of the Dominion Government. Sir John A. MacDonald tactically rejected a suggestion from George Stephen that Colonel Wolseley accompany Strathcona to Fort Garry in Red River.

The Prime Minister decided that:

Smith goes to carry the olive-branch, and were it known at Red River that he was accompanied by an officer high in rank in military service, he would be looked upon as having the olive-branch in one hand and a revolver in the other.⁷⁶

Riel had seized control of Fort Garry by the time Smith arrived. Smith was met at the border and forced to turn back. However, he returned by an alternate route, was

⁷⁴ Willson, *Lord Strathcona, The Story of His Life*, 182, recorded that the United States Senate Committee on Pacific Railways of February 19, 1869, contained the following passage: "The opening by us first of a Northern Pacific railroad seals the destiny of the British possessions west of the ninety-first meridian. They will become so Americanized in interests and feelings that they will be in effect severed from the New Dominion, and the question of their annexation will be but a question of time."

⁷⁵ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 134.

⁷⁶ Letters from John A. MacDonald to George Stephen, 27 November, 1869, 1 December 1869, cited by Heather Gilbert *Awakening Continent, The Life of Lord Mount Stephen*, Vol. 1:1829-91 (Aberdeen 1965), 20,21 refers to the discussion between Smith, Stephen and MacDonald. The quotation is from Pope, *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald* (Toronto 1921), 112, cited by Gilbert, *Awakening Continent*, 21.

arrested by Riel and jailed for a period of three months. In danger of execution, he was careful not to offend his jailers in any way. That Smith kept his counsel is indicative of the kind of perseverance and resolve that resulted in his tremendous public and financial success. As a result of his conduct during the Riel rebellion, as a calm negotiator who respected all factions, the citizens of Manitoba elected him as a member of the newly formed Manitoba Legislature (1870-1874), and also as a Member of Parliament for the Dominion Government (1870-1880). He held both posts concurrently with his employment as chief commissioner for the Hudson's Bay Company (1871-1873).

Of principal importance to Canadian history is Strathcona's role in transferring the lands of the Northwest from the indigenous people to the Dominion of Canada from 1869-1870, without the large-scale bloodshed of the American experience in dispossessing First Nations' peoples. Social problems experienced by the indigenous people in Canada as a result of imperialism have in no way abated in the present, and represent a catastrophe, documented by writers such as R.T. Naylor.⁷⁷ Strathcona can be seen to represent what Homi Bhabha terms a *hybridity*, "where the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is more complex and more nuanced –and politically fraught –than Fanon and Said imply..."⁷⁸ He had Métis relatives on both sides of his family, and his only child was partly-Cree, a fact that very nearly precluded Queen Victoria from awarding him the hereditary peerage. To the Métis in Canada, however, Strathcona was a known entity as the chief operative of the Hudson's Bay Company.

⁷⁷ R.T. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age 1453-1919* (Vancouver 1987), 400-405.

⁷⁸ My reference here is to Homi Bhabha's concept of "hybridity" or "A Third Space," where a new culture develops between the colonized and the colonizers. For a discussion see Bart Moore-Gilbert, "Homi Bhabha: 'The Bhabhalian Performance'," *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London, New York 1997), 114-151. For Frantz Fanon's views see *Black skin, white masks* (New York 1968).

Strathcona, as Van Horne related in an unpublished biographical sketch, "knew the Northwest like the back of his hand."⁷⁹ He also understood the way of life of the people, and had lived amongst them. His endorsement of the Ojibwe name "Manitoba," meaning "Manitou's Land" (God's land) for the new province indicates this. He also respected the statutes written by Riel, who had been educated in Montreal, and presented them to Sir John A. MacDonald. Strathcona's unspoken sympathy for Riel was a serious political issue of the day. Riel was a Catholic Métis, educated by the church. Strathcona's brother-in-law, Richard Hardisty, whose grandmother was Cree, accompanied Strathcona and Sir Charles Tupper to Red River. According to MacNaughton, Hardisty was a fur trader who "went in and out among the Métis, flattering, cajoling, explaining and even bribing."⁸⁰ Riel eventually agreed to release Strathcona from jail to participate with him in a public meeting at Fort Garry. More than one thousand people gathered to hear Strathcona's promises on behalf of the Dominion of Canada. The dissenters were said to be "soothed and flattered by the grave courtliness and sweet reasonableness of his manners," and agreed to send representation to the dominion government in Ottawa.⁸¹ With Strathcona's blessing (and purse), and certainly with the acquiescence of John A. MacDonald, Riel was paid to disappear until after the federal election of 1872. Conspicuously, Riel spent the money in Red River and was himself elected as Member of Parliament for Provencher twice.⁸² Riel was expelled from the House of Commons in 1874, because he had executed an English-speaking man from Ontario, Thomas Scott, during the rebellion. Although

⁷⁹ National Archives of Canada, Van Horne Papers, "Biographical Sketches," Vol. 102.

⁸⁰ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, (London and Toronto), 138.

⁸¹ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 142.

⁸² MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 169.

Riel retreated to Montana where he taught school until 1875, his supporters recalled him and he subsequently led two rebellions. The final rebellion at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, resulted in several deaths, for which Riel was charged. Arrested by the Northwest Mounted Police (instigated by Strathcona's recommendation of 1870 to bring law and order to the Northwest), Riel was executed, thus becoming Canada's first martyr, since French Catholic Canadians saw Riel's death as religiously and linguistically weighted. Strathcona's support for Riel, as McNaughton recounts, was from a realization that Riel "was more sinned against than sinning."⁸³ When Strathcona was made Land Commissioner by the Hudson's Bay Company (1874-1879) to oversee the land transfer to Canada and to sell plots of land awarded to the HBC by the Dominion of Canada as part of the terms of sale of Rupert's Land, there was likely cognizance on his part that he was the devil's master, since sale of these lands amounted to coercion of the Métis and indigenous peoples.

According to W.T.R. Preston, Strathcona manipulated Riel to suit changing goals. That is, first he sought Métis co-operation to protect HBC fur-trading rights by having the Métis discourage European settlement that would mean the demise of the fur trade.⁸⁴ This criticism is unfounded, since Governor Simpson was in charge until 1868, and thereafter, the Hudson's Bay Company London owners sold Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada. Preston implied Strathcona was in complicity with Riel and negotiated with the Métis to retreat to the United States for \$5,000 and certain "promises." This meant that when the Canadian militia, under Colonel Wolseley, arrived in Red River, after great

⁸³ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 166.

⁸⁴ W.T.R. Preston, *The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona* (London 1914), 40.

trial, everything had been settled already by Strathcona, and there was no battle to be fought.⁸⁵ This deprived Wolseley and his soldiers from a glorious finalé to their epic voyage across a roadless Rupert's Land to reach Red River. Strathcona fought for Métis French language rights in Manitoba in 1895 and 1896, his last work before retiring from the House of Commons.⁸⁶ In 1898 Strathcona proposed a bill to England's House of Lords to legitimize colonial marriages. It was opposed since "it would alter the succession to real property in England."⁸⁷ He proposed the same bill in 1900, and it was again defeated. In effect, he was fighting racism, since passing of the bill would mean colonial heirs could be propertied British subjects. He would have been very aware of racism and its impact due to the slights he suffered because of the mixed-blood status of his wife and daughter. Preston and others tried to embarrass him constantly on this subject. When Strathcona won the hereditary peerage it was a great victory against racism, since his daughter and her children inherited aristocratic stature.

Certainly Riel was a pawn in the imperialist quest for land and fortune. A week after Strathcona drove the last spike of the transnational railway in the Rocky Mountains, and took part in a ceremonial trip through to Vancouver Island, the CPR party headed back to Montreal. As Van Horne's biographer Walter Vaughan recounts, "Van Horne conceived the idea of giving Smith a surprise party at his own house..." which was "closed, servantless, and only partly furnished" since Strathcona now divided his time between London and Montreal. Van Horne had connected rails right up to the doors of

⁸⁵ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 30-31.

⁸⁶ His last speech in the House of Commons was in February 1896, according to McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 398, the same year to was posted as High Commissioner to London.

⁸⁷ Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona*, 240-241.

Smith's house *Silver Heights*. In one of the macabre contrasts that characterize history, Riel was executed in Regina the very morning that Van Horne had arranged the surprise party at Strathcona's estate outside of Red River.⁸⁸ While the CPR party was enjoying refreshments in the sunshine, in Regina Riel was extinguished by means of a noose.

Nonetheless, Smith's civility and apparent rationality impressed others affected by the sale of Rupert's Land.⁸⁹ These were the "Wintering Partners", as the officers of the fur trade were called. They felt they should share in the profits of the sale, since they had more vested in it than the London financiers who had provided the initial capital for the fur trade. The Wintering Partners sent Smith to London in 1870 to negotiate on their behalf; he came away with a new deed poll where the Wintering Partners received £107,055 and 100 shares in the company.⁹⁰ Since the Board of Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company in London now knew more of Smith's character and capabilities, they appointed him Chief Commissioner in 1871. By 1873, this title had been changed to "Land Commissioner," to oversee the sale of HBC lands allotted by the 1867 sale to Canada, a task he apparently found tedious.⁹¹ One can speculate that Strathcona already

⁸⁸ My attention was drawn to this juxtaposition by Donna McDonald's text, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 328.

⁸⁹ This rationality may have been a front, an imposed signifier, since Beckles Willson has provided evidence that Smith believed in "second sight." In 1841 he had dreamed that his sister Margaret was calling out to him on her deathbed. A year later, in a letter from his mother, he learned Margaret had died on the day of his dream, in *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 71.

⁹⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 190-194.

⁹¹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 236. McDonald wrote that Smith took very little personal interest in the lands of Manitoba and the Northwest, preferring to invest in banks, manufacturing, transport, mortgages and personal loans. In Manitoba, these were handled by a Winnipeg lawyer, Sedley Blanchard, on his behalf, McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 241. He resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1879. However, the shares he bought in the HBC in the bear market after 1867 at £9 to £12 a share increased by 1,300 per cent on the London stock exchange by 1911, at which time he became *de facto* the largest shareholder and in a position to elect board members and appoint officers. In fact, in 1889, he was appointed Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, England.

envisioned a role much different than this for himself in the developing nation.

Undoubtedly he could envision the potential of the Northwest. Since he had orchestrated social success in Montreal through a visual display of wealth and suitability, he was well aware of the effect image could play in shaping power fields, and quite likely had a glimmering of his role, as an attendant figure. Somewhat like Lord Polonius in Shakespeare's play *Hamlet*, Strathcona saw the truth and exercised patience for those not as experienced or as strategic as he who needed time to enact the plot. T.S. Eliot's poem *The Love Songs of J. Alfred Prufrock*, refers to Shakespeare's play, and comments on Polonius's role. This passage serves also to describe Strathcona:

No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be;
Am an attendant lord, one that will do
To swell a progress, start a scene or two,
Advise the prince; no doubt, an easy tool,
Deferential, glad to be of use,
Politic, cautious, and meticulous;
Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse;
At times, indeed, almost ridiculous—
Almost, at times, the Fool.⁹²

Strathcona liked pomp and ceremony. This aspect of British culture has been discussed by David Cannadine, a Cambridge-educated historian in his book, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, published in 2001. Cannadine is referring to displays of ritual and spectacle that enforced an ordered imperial hierarchical society with ornamentalism constructed through pomp and ceremony, glory and chivalry, stratified by class and status, more than by race or gender.⁹³ Apparently, Strathcona was relied on for advice (and possibly campaign funds and favors) by all the Prime Ministers of his

⁹² T.S. Eliot, *Love Songs of J. Alfred Prufrock*, 2262.

⁹³ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London 2001), 173.

generation. Certainly, he was "Politic, cautious, and meticulous," sometimes to the irritation of others, for they never knew quite which way he would act. His speech pattern was precise and his sentences could be complicated.⁹⁴ However, like other visionaries of the time, he could project beyond the immediate turmoil to see a nation in the making. The vision that he saw is how he intersected with Canada's economic history. Strathcona invested ten years of his time in acquiring and promoting the Saint Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway. His major partners were James J. Hill, a Canadian ex-patriot railway builder, and Norman Kittson, Strathcona's steamship transportation business partner in Manitoba, and Strathcona's cousin George Stephen, a wealthy manufacturer and president of the Bank of Montreal (later known as Lord Mount Stephen). These connections did not arise casually. Heather Gilbert, Lord Mount Stephen's biographer, wrote that Stephen was not initially enthusiastic:

Stephen's attention was first directed to the St. Paul and Pacific in 1873 or 1874, when Smith, who had occasion to make frequent journeys through Minnesota to Winnipeg and the North West, used to return to Montreal and *bore his cousin exceedingly with his pipe-dreams of rail connections* between the older Provinces of the East and new territories of the West. *He talked at length of the part the Minnesota lines must play, and plagued Stephen to join with him in some plan for acquiring the properties of the St. Paul and Pacific.* He was already in touch with J. J. Hill on the subject, but prior to 1876, no particular scheme was discussed. *Stephen was not enthusiastic; he had never seen either Minnesota or the Canadian West,* had heard unfavourable reports of the latter and thought, in short, *that Smith was being a little less than realistic.* By the spring of 1877, however, even Stephen was *beginning to be convinced by the persistent reiterations of his cousin* regarding the possibilities of the territories in question...⁹⁵

⁹⁴ MacNaughton retells an anecdote of Strathcona descending to his cobwebby wine cellar with his attendant named Stewart (a play on the word servant or "steward"), while wearing his top hat. The top hat fell off and extinguished the candle Stewart was holding, and in his ensuing labyrinthine monologue, MacNaughton couches a critique of Strathcona's pandering to royalty and his briefly extinguishing the political flame of John A. MacDonald, in *Strathcona*, 369-372.

⁹⁵ Heather Gilbert, *Awakening Continent*, 38-39. The emphasis is mine, since it is important to stress that it was Strathcona who initiated the railway syndicate.

A well-known story of the time was that Strathcona and Stephen risked their personal wealth on taking over this bankrupt railway and extending it to Winnipeg from the American border. When they succeeded, this railway was the foundation of an immense fortune.⁹⁶ Importantly for Canada (and for Smith's syndicate) it was the experience gained in the financing and running of this railway that gave the Conservative government of the day the confidence to award the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) contract to Smith's syndicate in 1881.⁹⁷ Railroads, amongst the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century,⁹⁸ were seen as being essential to uniting Canada from sea to sea. For the provinces, they formed the main motivation for joining the dominion of Canada. A national railway could move settlers into the vast expanses of unsettled lands; raw materials produced by the settlers would be sent to eastern Canada by railway; these materials would pay for the manufactured goods of Ontario and Quebec. The railway could also move goods to either the Pacific or the Atlantic coasts. From the Atlantic coast, they could then be moved from Montreal by ship to markets in England. Vancouver created a gateway to the Orient.

A railway to unite Canada was the dream of "the Old Man, the Old Flag, the Old Policy," the beloved Prime Minister John A. Macdonald.⁹⁹ Smith brought Macdonald's

⁹⁶ Of course the St. Paul and Minnesota railway was nurtured by the life work of Canadian James J. Hill, whose story is told by Albro Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (Oxford 1978).

⁹⁷ This opinion is expressed by J.S. Willison, "Is it History or Romance?" *The Toronto Daily News*, 3 December 1914.

⁹⁸ Eric Hobsbawm determined that railway building employed more men than any other industrial undertaking and was the most dramatic nineteenth-century instance of industrial progress in the Western world, in *The Age of Empire* (London 1987), 27.

⁹⁹ Desmond Morton mentions that this term was coined by a journalist, as cited by Morton, *A Short History of Canada* (Toronto 1997), 128.

government down by his 1873 non-confidence motion in the House of Commons when he proclaimed he could not support Macdonald and the Tories, because they had committed a grave impropriety in taking money from an expectant contractor who wanted to build a national railway.¹⁰⁰ Sir Alexander Mackenzie then formed a government under the Liberals, and building of the transcontinental railway was largely stalled. The Tories were back in power by 1878, the Smith syndicate had been granted a contract to build the Canadian Pacific Railway by 1881. It is important to interject that Strathcona's motive for wanting to build the railway across Canada was not money. My research indicates his motivation was similar to that of Prime Minister MacDonald. They both saw it as a tool to build the nation, and both became obsessed with its completion. The eight hundred letters in the National Archives of Canada indicate Stephen and MacDonald were in contact almost daily over political and financial details of the road. MacDonald conferred with Stephen as to how Strathcona's money could be used such as in a bid to silence criticism of the CPR through take-over of *The Globe*, a Toronto newspaper supportive of the Liberal party.¹⁰¹ Stephen was the conduit to power through a railroad across North America for both MacDonald and Strathcona. Like the field marshall who plans strategy of the campaign for the greater glory of king and country, Stephen executed the dream of others, while Sir William Van Horne was the general who carried out the strategy. In this scenario, if MacDonald was the king, Strathcona was the pretender to the throne. Stephen did not really understand Strathcona, and found him a riddle. Supposedly due to the fallout from the Pacific Scandal of 1873, when Strathcona

¹⁰⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 224, citing the *Globe*, 7 November, 1873. The contractor was Sir Hugh Allan and his American partners.

had scuttled MacDonald's government, Stephen sought to omit Strathcona's name from incorporation documents for the CPR, and eliminate him from the syndicate, so that he alone might share the glory of the railway with the Prime Minister. In 1889, Stephen wrote to Sir John Rose:

I had terrible bother with Don Smith because his name is not printed in the papers submitted to the House. It was not necessary to have it there and both Angus and I thought we were doing him a good turn in keeping it out. He has been like a baby over the thing.¹⁰²

This letter was followed the same day by a letter from Stephen to MacDonald, who of course knew that Strathcona was involved in the syndicate in spite of all that has been written to the contrary. It reads:

I had to tell him I omitted (his name) to avoid discussion in the House but rather than he should be unhappy I would let him out of the business. He is excited almost to a craze and so troublesome that I do not care if he does withdraw though his money and cooperation would be useful, so would his knowledge of and influence in the Nor West...¹⁰³

The point is that Strathcona wanted to be known for his involvement with the railway, and he meant to see it completed. His persistence led to his subsequent knighthood in 1886, the peerage in 1897, and hereditary peerage in 1900. Van Horne believed Strathcona had a nobler purpose than either R. B. Angus or George Stephen. Of his associates at the CPR, Van Horne assessed Angus as "a sound conservative banker..." He noted that George Stephen was melancholic since his title would die out with him but, "as organizer of finance, he was the man without whom the CPR would not have been

¹⁰¹ George Stephen fonds, National Archives of Canada, microfilm C-1486.

¹⁰² Stephen to Rose, 16 December 1880, National Archives of Canada, Mount Stephen fonds, Microfilm C-1486, and cited by Heather Gilbert, *Awakening Continent*, 72.

¹⁰³ Stephen to MacDonald, 16 December 1880, National Archives, C-1486, and cited by Gilbert, *Awakening*, 72.

built." ¹⁰⁴ Van Horne reserved his fondness for Strathcona. In a biographical sketch of Strathcona, he was far more expansive than he had been for Angus or Stephen. For Van Horne, Strathcona was:

...a Highlandman [sic] who would rather die than fail... He pledged his last dollar for the C.P.R. In his eighty-ninth year, as High Commissioner of Canada, he plays the big game of politics and business and society with the zest of a youngster, embarking on an ocean passage at a moment's notice, keeps three or four houses open on each side of the Atlantic, and dispenses fantastic and prodigal hospitality like a Highland chieftain dipping his hand into the coffers of an Oriental prince... Today with perfect adequacy to his rank and an old fashioned grand courtesy of manner, he is a peer and a prominent figure at the heart of Empire. No wonder the Canadian people are fond of him. He is their picturesque figure, their Grand Old Man, the favorite symbol of their immense vitality.¹⁰⁵

The CPR had been an immense undertaking, with unfathomable expenses. For example, by 1883, this railway corporation narrowly missed going bankrupt, apparently at great risk to the personal fortunes of its financiers, Stephen and Strathcona. In 1884-85 the CPR lacked funds to pay their striking employees.¹⁰⁶ Strathcona was hundreds of thousands of pounds out of pocket from the CPR.¹⁰⁷ Two questions arise: first, why would Strathcona have donated \$50,000 of his own money to McGill University in 1884 if he needed it to finance the railway? Second, why did George Stephen undertake to build his mansion (completed in 1883) if he needed the money to finance the CPR? The

¹⁰⁴ Sir William Cornelius Van Horne "Biographical Sketches," undated, but before 1915, National Archives of Canada, MG29 A60, Unpublished Papers, Vol. 102.

¹⁰⁵ Van Horne, "Biographical Sketches," MG29 A60, Vol. 102.

¹⁰⁶ Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona*, 416, 417.

¹⁰⁷ This information is from Willson, *Lord Strathcona, The Story of His Life*, 211-212. By 1900, the CPR was making money for Stephen, Strathcona and their shareholders, termed "a great Canadian success story...made possible by the personal and financial risk of Sir George Stephen and Sir Donald Smith," Craig Brown, ed., *The Illustrated History of Canada*, Revised edition (Toronto 1998), 359. Still by 1900, Strathcona was eighty years old. Smith and Stephen each lost £300,000 by the Canadian Pacific according to a letter written by Sir Henry Tyler 26 August, 1988, Public Archives of Canada, MG A22, cited by Gilbert, *Awakening Continent*, 235.

answer could quite simply be that unforeseen costs led to underfinancing. Criticism at the time positioned Strathcona and Stephens as taking the money that the government needed for hospitals and other public services. Incontestably, whatever the criticism was at the time, the one million dollars that Strathcona and Stephen each subsequently gave to McGill University for the Royal Victoria Hospital quieted critics. Historian Desmond Morton's opinion is that the CPR financial situation was saved by Louis Riel's second uprising, since the government secured another loan for the railway on the basis of the CPR moving Canadian troops to the site of the rebellion in Batoche, Saskatchewan.

Morton has assessed the logistics:

The CPR's promise that it would somehow get troops and equipment over its unfinished track was argument enough for a further loan...The CPR could pretend that it had saved the Northwest from Riel. In fact Riel saved the CPR from ruin...If any corporation made a difference, it was the Hudson's Bay Company. Without its supplies and transport (Major General) Middleton could hardly have stirred beyond the CPR track.¹⁰⁸

Strathcona was associated with both the CPR and the HBC. As a key figure in the 1885 completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, he had instigated the syndicate and remained a motivating force. In recognition of this accomplishment, he was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1886 and raised to the peerage in 1897. Thereafter, his Fort Street mansion was used as a vice-regal residence. It was thus closer to a colonial court than any other gathering place of the privileged in Montreal. Thereafter, his art collection served its purpose to portray the social aspirations of a new country, and Strathcona's yearning for it to be seen by aristocratic Britons as civilized. My view is that Strathcona saw it as his duty as an empire builder to enrich his surroundings with items he

¹⁰⁸ Morton, *A Short History*, 115.

considered signifiers of high culture, so that he could radiate a positive image of Canada, and his role in its development.

As Van Horne alludes, Strathcona had become an elegant symbol of Canada¹⁰⁹ (Illus. 7). He refused nomination as successor to Prime Minister Boswell to lead the Conservative Party and serve as Prime Minister of Canada, although Canadians also saw him as a "representative man," and sent hundreds of letters asking him to lead Canada.¹¹⁰ He was by then seventy-six years old. Wisely, he chose instead to replace Sir Charles Tupper as High Commissioner in London in 1896. Tupper thus became head of the Conservative Party, and Prime Minister of Canada, although reportedly Borden preferred Strathcona as his successor. The effect of his refusal was that Strathcona's subsequent base was London, where he had easy access to figures central to the power of the British Empire. In 1900, he contributed one million dollars to raise and equip a troop from Canada's Northwest to serve the British in the Boer War. He supported the British Empire with his loyalty, his wealth and his unpaid labour in all public offices he held throughout his career. As MacNaughton described Strathcona, he was:

A very old man, always with a certain detachment of manner, as if he had passed some boundaries of time and space beyond his fellows...It was this impersonal Olympian attitude, backed by his earnest love of his adopted country and deep-seated belief in her destinies, that made him to the popular mind what a London journalist called, 'Canada in a swallow-tail coat--a stately figure worthily embodying in his own visible person the history and the aspiration of the Dominion...His great wealth was also a real practical advantage for the fuller discharge of his duties. It enabled him to throw round his position an atmosphere of splendour and magnificence well befitting the ambassador of a great people.'¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 378.

¹¹⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 399-400.

¹¹¹ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 338-339.

It was his very wealth that assured his position, since Prime Minister Laurier found it convenient to keep him in office for this reason. He was sworn to the Imperial Privy Council in 1904, followed by election in 1908, as a fellow of the Royal Society.¹¹² His immense fortune, acquired mainly through investment in American railroads, was used in the service of the British Empire. He died in London, is buried in Highgate Cemetery, and his heirs continue to live in the United Kingdom as titled British subjects.

In his old age, Canadians glorified Strathcona, at least until Preston's book cast doubt. When Strathcona visited Canada in 1911, with two of his grandchildren, Frances and Donald, they were invited to visit or receive honours in "almost every settlement between Winnipeg and the Pacific."¹¹³

¹¹² Reford, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 939-947.

¹¹³ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 473.

CHAPTER II

THE DIALECTIC OF IMPERIALISM

The Imperial Archive

The nineteenth-century imperialist model of *the archive* as a repository of all knowledge, as proposed by Thomas Richards in *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and Fantasy of Empire*,¹ is seductive. *The archive* is also fragmented and difficult to recover, although the sands of less than a single century obfuscate certain objects of desire, namely paintings and other components lost from Lord Strathcona's art collection. The parameters of this study, then, take as a synecdoche of the larger cultural paradigm, a nineteenth-century subject who formed his art collection in Montreal during a period of British cultural imperialism within Canada. Drawing on theory from a variety of perspectives, a postcolonial attitude allows one to draw knowledge about the past from various points of view to illuminate, in some measure, the larger archive.

The Discourse of Imperialism as Background to Formation of a Canadian Art Collection

By the end of the eighteenth century financiers and merchants in London had been accorded gentlemanly status. An astute analysis of the empowerment of the bourgeoisie is provided by D.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins. One of their conclusions is that being a gentleman (and being accepted as a gentleman) was a matter of bearing as well as behavior, although the original heraldic definition of a gentleman was one who had been granted the right to bear a coat of arms. While the symbolic power of this usage outlived

¹ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive, Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London, New York 1993).

its practical application, a gentleman continued to be identified by his bearing. In the Victorian era the nobility was enlarged on an unprecedented scale. Even previously, a spirit of "chivalrous medievalism" and renewed loyalty to the crown, complex etiquette of deportment and manners was devised "to separate gentlemen from players, and calculated to subdue by the ordeal of social humiliation, those who attempted to rise above their station without first completing a long and costly rite of passage."²

An idea germane to the Canadian experience was that imperial ideology forged a "gentlemanly diaspora" to generate wealth for the elite.³ The thesis of Cain and Hopkins is that British imperialism was a gentlemanly activity designed to maintain the capital necessary for preservation of the elite class. Public school students were indoctrinated in service to the Empire. These schools imprinted values and principles of conduct, and emphasized duty and loyalty to the crown.⁴ An imperial mission was the export version of the gentlemanly order.⁵ Britain would "identify" and "create" gentlemen, if none existed, by investing such individuals with the gentlemanly attribute of power.⁶ Two paintings by Canadian artists illustrate this point. William Hind's *Donald A. Smith and the Indians*, 1860, (Illus. 4), depicts Donald A. Smith as a fur trader, and documents the humble beginnings of the future Lord Strathcona. Forty years later, a full-length portrait

² D.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914* (London and New York 1993), 32.

³ Cain, *British Imperialism*, 45.

⁴ Cain, *British Imperialism*, 31.

⁵ Cain, *British Imperialism*, 34.

⁶ Cain, *British Imperialism*, 35.

by Robert Harris entitled *Lord Strathcona*, c. 1900 (Illus. 8), presents Strathcona as the founder of Victoria College, and chancellor of McGill University.

Strathcona was a bourgeois capitalist bent to the will of the dominant British elite. He worked in their service, and his capitalist wealth was indeed harnessed to the existing British power structure.⁷ For example, with his financial backing and administrative guidance as chairman, the British founded Burma Oil and British Petroleum. Certainly, a prerequisite of gentlemanly status of the first order was ownership of an estate such as that acquired by Strathcona in 1894 at Glencoe (Illus. 9), near Ballachulish on Loch Leven, accessible by his yacht, the *Morag*.⁸ There he built a mansion designed by Scotland's most-famous architect Rowand Atkinson. The grey granite house was trimmed with red sandstone, and replete with his coat of arms:

Carved into the stone above some of the windows was Donald's crest, a beaver gnawing at the base of a maple tree, sometimes with *perseverance* on a scroll, sometimes surmounted by a thistle and sometimes by a fleur-de-lis. The beaver, the tree and the motto, all taken directly from the North West Company's coat of arms, demonstrated again how Donald traced his lineage through his uncles and his cousins who had explored Canada's prairie provinces, discovered British Columbia's northern lakes, and traced the Fraser River to its mouth. The beaver also linked Donald with the Canadian Pacific Railway for Van Horne, in designing the company's corporate symbol, had paid Donald a subtle compliment in selecting his beaver, gnawing some maple leaves, as the railway's identifying image.⁹

In 1903 Strathcona also acquired Debden Hall, a seventeenth-century estate in Essex, with a seventeen-bedroom mansion, a village of thirty-five cottages, forty-two farms, a park and a lake. Before his family moved into it in 1908, Strathcona increased

⁷ For a discussion on his financial activities and investments, see Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto and Oxford 1996), and particularly her useful Appendix, pages 527-34. The information about Burmah Oil and British Petroleum is reviewed on pages 466-468.

⁸ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 400-401.

⁹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 414.

its acreage by seven-hundred-and fifty-three.¹⁰ His third estate was on the Scottish Islands of Colonsay (Illus. 10) and Oronsay, stretching over nine miles and joined at low tide by a sand bar.¹¹ Acquired in 1904, Colonsay is the principal residence of his heirs today.¹² As Cain had stated "An alliance between land and money was firmly in place well before the economic and political consequences of industrialization compelled attention."¹³

Strathcona's involvement in Canada coincided with the period 1880-1914, when "imperialism" was a new thrust in "The Age of Empire."¹⁴ Imperialism, is defined by Edward Said as:

...the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; colonialism which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory.¹⁵

Imperialism and free trade broadcast a global economy where exploitation of indigenous people was the rule, and white colonizing forces withdrew raw resources for an elite class in European centres. (In Canada the initial thrust was the fur trade.) The intent of imperialism was to stimulate the European economies, and fill the coffers of the classes for whom investing in the colonizing enterprise was a form of economic expansion. All major European powers took an imperialist stance of expanding their borders: Germany, Italy and Belgium appropriated about one million acres each and

¹⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 452-453.

¹¹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 458-459.

¹² McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 505.

¹³ Cain, *British Imperialism*, 71.

¹⁴ Eric Hobsbawn has written a book on this subject, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, (London 1987/1997).

¹⁵ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York 1993), 9.

France and England appropriated close to four million acres each. While these newest acquisitions were largely in Africa, Britain prided itself on being the largest imperialist state with territory in one-third of the world.¹⁶ Still, economic gain was not the entire motivation – political and military rivalries or an interest in establishing power fields also drove the spirit of competition.¹⁷

A classic source, John Hobson's book, *Imperialism-- A Study*, originally published in 1902, explained that it was England's business and industrial class with surplus capital to invest who propelled Victorian imperialism, involving governments in their acquisitive plan through mobilization of patriotism and racial superiority. His text leaves little doubt concerning the racism and sinister reality of the times. Indigenous people in the colonies are referred to as "the lower races."¹⁸ The imperialist rhetoric was that the white man must and would impose his superior civilization "on the coloured races."¹⁹ England had to do her best to impose her higher values on "the savages".

Imperialism in Britain at this time won working-class votes, since all Britons could feel superior to those being colonized.²⁰ Although Britain's presence in North America had been established in the seventeenth century, Said reminds us that

¹⁶ Hobsbawn, *The Age of Empire*, 62-74.

¹⁷ D.K. Fieldhouse, "Hobson and Economic Imperialism Reconsidered," *British Imperialism, Gold, God, Glory*, edited by Robin W. Winks (New York 1963), 44.

¹⁸ J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism – A Study* (London 1902), 122. Hobson has been widely quoted and synthesized by those writing on imperialism during his day and in the present day, although his theories are not always attributed.

¹⁹ Hobson, *Imperialism – A Study*, 137-158.

²⁰ Hobson, *Imperialism – A Study*, 105. Hobson was an exact contemporary of Strathcona, and his writing is particularly useful for an insight into imperialist attitudes. He observed them first hand and personally held imperialist views, providing a compelling realism to historical data. He is the basis for future writing on this topic, thus his work can be considered a classic study.

imperialism is not only the process or policy of establishing an empire, but of maintaining it.²¹ Hobson views imperialism as an economic impulse as well as an avenue for surplus or unsavoury population. Financial dealers and investors profited from the patriotic enthusiasm of politicians, soldiers and philanthropists who were their obedient instruments. The press was often controlled directly through ownership by imperialist sympathizers or through advertising by organized financial classes who are "the parasites of patriotism".²² Imperialist powers eschewed free trade and sought protection for their products. Used by governments to seek new markets for its surplus production and to realize economic gains outside their country, imperialism advanced war, militarism and a 'spirited foreign policy' as necessary means. In Hobson's opinion, if the strong, organized industrial and financial interests had had to pay the cost themselves, imperialism would not have been so attractive.²³

On Joseph Chamberlain's appointment as Colonial Secretary in 1885, British imperialism became more entrenched.²⁴ Chamberlain's campaign, broadcast in the rhetoric of jingoism and "the white man's burden,"²⁵ was to obtain certain markets, raw materials and food supplies in the colonies. Chamberlain himself said, "The Anglo-Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the predominant force in the history and civilization of the

²¹ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 9, citing Michael Doyle, in *Empires*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 45.

²² Hobson, *Imperialism - A Study*, 46-61.

²³ Hobson, *Imperialism - A Study*, 61.

²⁴ Carl Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought* (Toronto 1969), 3.

²⁵ "The White Man's Burden," is from a poem written by Rudyard Kipling in 1899 admonishes non-whites as childish and backward.

world."²⁶ Civilization was the excuse -- profit was a strong motive. Said cites two aspects of imperialism as an idea:

...based on the power to take over territory, an idea utterly clear in its force and unmistakable consequences; and the practice that essentially disguises or obscures this by developing a justificatory regime of self-aggrandizing, self-originating authority interposed between the victim of imperialism and its perpetrator.²⁷

This rhetoric falls into the type of colonial discourse where the colonized are construed "as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and establish systems of administration and instruction."²⁸

Imperialism in Canada in the 1880s and 1890s

Hierarchical structures had been created in Quebec, first by the French, then by the British. The seigneurial land tenure system and a veneration for the institution of monarchy existed in Quebec at the time Quebec was ceded to the British following the battle between French and British forces in 1759. The Quebec Act of 1774 granted French civil law and religious and language rights to inhabitants of Quebec. Quebec today remains under French civil law through the Constitutional Act of 1791. A hierarchical structure existed in Ontario where a small clique known as the Family Compact controlled wealth and prestige. The British created peerages in the colony of Canada throughout the eighteenth century to cement bonds between crown and empire. The idea of creating aristocrats to serve Great Britain persisted into late nineteenth-

²⁶ Cited in Hobson, *Imperialism – A Study*, 160.

²⁷ Said discusses Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, in *Culture and Imperialism*, 69.

²⁸ This passage refers to Homi Bhabha's discourse, cited by Charles Acland, "Hybridity and the Subversion of Frontiers: The Vampire and the Raft," in *The Raft of the Medusa, Five Voices on Colonies, Nations and Histories* (Montreal, New York, London 1993), 113.

century Canada. British imperialism remained a force in Canada until 1919, when the government of Canada asked George V to refrain from bestowing titles on Canadians.²⁹ Late nineteenth-century Canada had two camps –nationalists and imperialists. The imperialists thought Canada could be a nation within the British Empire, a position shared by John A. MacDonald and Lord Strathcona. (Certainly, as the "lord of the train," Strathcona was a locomotive propelling empire building. Railways and their engines were described by Hobsbawm as the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century.³⁰) It was the achievement of the Canadian Pacific Railway that resulted in Strathcona's high status.

The debate as to Canada's direction was addressed by the intellectuals of the day. Stephen Leacock defined imperialism as a united system of defense and imperial authority in which Canada could share, since Canada, on its own, had become petty and corrupt, whereas the Empire represented a higher civilization.³¹ Leacock's view was colonial in that any other place had to be better than Canada, and Canadians should look elsewhere for their ideals. Carol Duncan's research into English society in the eighteenth century dispels the naive idea Leacock held that pillars of English society were anything but self-serving. Duncan posits that the English bought and sold influence and conducted the nation's business in a corrupt manner based on manipulation through money and notorious self-interest, so it would hardly be the model Leacock sought.³² However, during the 1880s, there were those who looked to imperialism as a status symbol

²⁹ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London 2001), 145.

³⁰ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 27.

³¹ Stephen Leacock, "Imperialism as Anti-Colonialism," in Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism*, 47-51.

³² Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums*, 36-41.

connecting them to the upper and moneyed class of Britons and excluding French Canadians. "English-speaking Canadians were more British than the British...Imperialism, on the sentimental side, was a glorification of the British race" and they felt it was their destiny as special people "to direct policy and control events."³³ The irony in the colonial mind-set has been recently targeted by John Ralston Saul, who notes that in large measure, the Anglophone population of Canada was not English, but Scottish and Irish, "the descendents of the losers" in earlier battles where the Celts had been beaten by the English.³⁴ In *Reflections of a Siamese Twin*, (1997), Ralston Saul equates colonial mentality as that of an illusory family relationship (with either Britain or France). There is not and never has been a family relationship. To insist on one is embarrassing for the metropolitan centres and humiliating for the colonies.³⁵ Ralston Saul earned a Ph.D. from King's College, London, and identifies himself as a Celt.³⁶ His view of what it means to be "British" is from a twentieth-century Canadian perspective, and is different from how Strathcona perceived it. Great Britain was created by the union of England and Scotland in 1707. The people thereafter were known as "Britons". In the nineteenth Century Canada's nationhood was in its infancy, and the majority of those who lived there identified themselves as "Scottish", "Irish", "English", or "French". In that age, those who were English, Scottish or Ulster Scots *did* feel a family relationship with Great Britain, whereas the French were distinct from the British by their language,

³³ Frank H. Underhill, "History Against Geography, Imperialism Against Isolationism," in Berger, 98.

³⁴ John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century*, (Toronto 1997), 84.

³⁵ Ralston Saul, *Reflections*, 22.

³⁶ Ralston Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards: The Dictatorship of Reason in the West* (Toronto 1993), 577.

religion and history. The Irish related to the French since they shared a religion and both resented British imperialism. The Scots were linked to the English principally by commercial ties.

The martyrdom of Riel cannot be underestimated for its effect in inflaming the imperialist debate. When Riel was executed in 1885, the French were affronted because many of the Métis were half French (until recently the pejorative term "half breeds" was employed for those who were of mixed blood who spoke English). They saw Riel's execution as an imperialist act. Catherine Mattes, a Métis curator from Winnipeg proposed that "For the British colonists, conquering Riel and the Métis meant conquering the West."³⁷ Wilfred Laurier is said to have been outraged by Riel's execution. In a public gathering at the Champ de Mars in Montreal, he denounced the Prime Minister's action:

Had I been born on the banks of the Saskatchewan...I would myself have shouldered a musket to fight against the neglects of government and the shameless greed of speculators.³⁸

Laurier was referring to the displacement of indigenous people by the Hudson's Bay Company that benefited from the sale of plots of land that it had kept as part of the negotiation with Canada. There were also many private land speculators making guesses as to where the railway would be placed. Cities such as Calgary, Alberta, were founded based on passage of the railway. Persons involved with the CPR were in an ideal position to speculate. Documents in the National Archives of Canada show that Strathcona and

³⁷ Catherine Mattes, *Rielisms*, (Winnipeg 2001), 14.

³⁸ Bumstead, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post Confederation History* (Don Mills 1992), 397. To say one thing to gain political support but to befriend and support "one of the shameless speculators" is what transpired eventually. McDonald recounts that after Strathcona arranged for Laurier to be knighted, "the two men cemented a friendship" that was to last the rest of their lives, McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 417.

R.B. Angus invested in Vancouver real estate, which they transferred by 1906³⁹ to Royal Trust, an estate management firm set up by Lord Strathcona prior to 1906.

In 1884, Torontonians formed a branch of the British-initiated Imperial Federation League. Their spokesman, D'Alton McCarthy, advocated that Canada should be English-speaking and Protestant. McCarthy stirred up the emotional issues of religion and ethnicity by proclaiming that separate French Catholic schools in Manitoba should be disallowed. He advocated that Canada be "a British country in fact as well as name."⁴⁰ His French counterpart was Honoré Mercier who "seized on the feelings of isolation and impotence of French Canadians whose collective desire to save the Métis leader had been ignored."⁴¹ Mercier also baited English-Canadians by invoking the Pope and discussion of reclamation of Jesuit lands in Quebec.

Imperialism, in the sense that Canada would become a nation within the British empire, was seen by some as a strategy for Canadian survival against American pressure. In 1887 "a continental union" (CU) was proposed between Canada and the U.S. (essentially the present free-trade agreement). The nationalists thought this was incompatible with Canada's best interests. Others proclaimed imperialism was a step up from colonialism on Canada's way to nationalism.⁴² The American policy of Manifest Destiny made Canadians anxious as the American imperialists took over property in the Philippines, the Caribbean Islands and to the north and southwest (directly benefiting

³⁹ This information was found in National Archives of Canada, Strathcona Trust (series), MG29-A.

⁴⁰ Desmond Morton *A Short History of Canada* (Toronto 1997), 118.

⁴¹ Morton, *A Short History*, 118.

⁴² In a published address to the Empire Club in 1911-12, William L. Grant spoke on "The Fallacy of Nationalism," *Empire /Club Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Session of 1911-12* (Toronto 1913), 223-228, reproduced in Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism*, 60-62.

American capitalist J. Pierpont Morgan, an impassioned art collector).⁴³ This anxiety led to greater pro-British sentiment and thoughts of Canada's place as a nation within the British Empire.

Sending Canadian soldiers to the Boer War in 1899 and 1900 was seen as a decisive event in the history of Canadian imperialism. Pressure on Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier from English Canada to send troops was immense. Laurier compromised by sending two contingents of volunteers, supposedly in return for British intervention with the Americans in the Alaska boundary dispute. When the British refused to engage however, Alaska was bought from Russia by American imperialists.⁴⁴

Out of this discourse emerged Henri Bourassa (Quebec) and J. S. Ewart (Winnipeg) with the idea of Canada as a sovereign state. Henri Bourassa founded the *Ligue Nationaliste* to combat imperial menace. French Canadians were not caught up in the glory of the British Empire: Bourassa saw imperialism as racist, reactionary, and anti-Canadian. Like John Hobson, author of *Imperialism: A Study*, Bourassa traced the drive for imperial unity back to financial and commercial interests.⁴⁵

These were the issues of the day when Lord Strathcona was forming his collection. Strathcona was first and foremost an imperialist. His loyalty was to Queen Victoria. Visual evidence of this is the sculpture of Queen Victoria in front of Strathcona Hall (Illus. 11), the present site of McGill University's faculty of music. Strathcona was

⁴³ Hobson, *Imperialism – A Study*, 57.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of this complex and divisional issue, consult Bumstead, *The Peoples of Canada*, 150-157.

⁴⁵ William L. Grant, "Part II, The Critique of Imperialism," *Empire Club Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Session of 1911-12*, (Toronto 1913), 223-228 in Berger, *Imperialism*, 64.

viewed as an ally by the royal family; the Queen's fourth daughter, Princess Louise, agreed to create the sculpture of the queen, positioned at the entrance of Victoria College (Illus. 12), at Lord Strathcona's behest. During the Boer War, as a loyal subject, Strathcona stepped forward in 1900 to raise a troop from the Northwest, advancing one million dollars for this purpose. Later, as Chancellor for the University of Aberdeen, he sat at the same table as Edward VII (and in fact housed and entertained the royal party at his Montreal home during an extended visit, to the consternation of the Allan family, who were, as a result, socially eclipsed). Perhaps because Strathcona was courtly he seemed to be comfortable socializing with royalty. The Aberdeens were close to him, and it is obvious from the published dialogue in the AAM Annual Report for 1893 that the three had conversations about the role of art and university education in forming Canadian culture.⁴⁶ There is evidence to suggest that Lady Aberdeen was influential in his decision to support education for women in Montreal.⁴⁷ In his address at the opening of the AAM new building in 1892, the Count of Aberdeen suggested:

We may well look forward to the growth of a Canadian School of Art, we see germs already. I notice that a large number of the loan collection are of the Dutch school; and why does it stand so high? Because those who painted were satisfied to take their inspiration from their own country. And certainly you may get inspiration from this country if it was obtainable from Holland.⁴⁸

That the Aberdeens championed Strathcona as a candidate for the peerage is highly likely.⁴⁹ The Duke of Connaught, Queen Victoria's youngest son Prince Arthur, was a

⁴⁶ Art Association of Montreal, *Annual Report*, 1893.

⁴⁷ In the AAM *Annual Report*, 1893, page 6, Strathcona refers to the Countess of Aberdeen's interest in the education of women, referred to by the Count of Aberdeen in a speech on education and the development of a school of Canadian art, Art Association of Montreal, *Annual Report* 1893, 6.

⁴⁸ The Earl of Aberdeen delivered this advice in an address recorded in the Art Association of Montreal *Annual Report*, 1893, 6-8.

houseguest of the Strathconas in Montreal, and a champion of the older man's knighthood.⁵⁰ Strathcona also established an affectionate bond with Queen Alexandra. His biographer Donna McDonald discovered that although Strathcona "was aware" of Alexandra's husband's philandering and gambling, he respected the institution of the crown.⁵¹ To Strathcona's funeral Queen Alexandra sent a "cross-shaped tribute of lilies and heliotrope orchids together with her inscription: 'In sorrowful memory of one of the Empire's kindest of men and the greatest of benefactors.'"⁵²

Imperialism's Diaspora

It is clear that Strathcona was a member of the diaspora of gentlemen created by those in power in Great Britain to serve their needs.⁵³ As previously mentioned, he was born in Scotland as Donald Smith, came to Canada at age eighteen, sought employment with the Hudson's Bay Company, with which he was associated from 1838-1914. The Hudson's Bay Company, created by a royal charter in the seventeenth century, was an imperialist institution to gather furs, natural resources and wealth from the colony of Canada. Through his canniness, Strathcona became the principal shareholder of the Hudson's Bay Company, held controlling shares from 1889, the year he became governor in London, a position he held until his death in 1914.

⁴⁹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 395, refers to Strathcona as one of Ishbel Aberdeens "enthusiasms."

⁵⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 352.

⁵¹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 482.

⁵² McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 501.

⁵³ Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 45.

In Anthony Giddens's *structuration theory*, implicit rules of conduct have to be enacted in a "locale" or power container.⁵⁴ In all colonial situations a conquering or imperial power imposes and superimposes its will on an existing, indigenous or forming society. Very importantly, once Eastern Canada was settled, and the Dominion of Canada was formed, this union embarked on its own imperialist project to take over Rupert's Land and the West. A photograph made in 1909 of Lord Strathcona and Father Lacombe shows the two in conversation (Illus. 13). What transpired between them some years earlier was a negotiation where Strathcona sought Father Lacombe's cooperation in the peaceful takeover of Blackfoot lands for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Father Lacombe, of the Oblate order, was also an imperialist figure whose colonizing mission was to spread the French language and to Christianize the heathens. All priestly orders in Canada owned some land, the Jesuits in Quebec being an example. Using Said's model of geographic domains as a construct for imperialism, where the "actual geographic possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about,"⁵⁵ it is clear that Strathcona was an agent of imperialism abetted by Father Lacombe's co-operation.

It is important to state that Strathcona viewed imperialism as a practical union. Canada wished to take its place as a partner in the British Empire, with preferred trade ties to Great Britain for its products. As Strathcona explained in an address to the Empire Club in London, imperialism was "for the good of humanity and in the interests of peace

⁵⁴ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society, Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge, UK 1984), 118-122.

⁵⁵ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 78.

and civilization."⁵⁶ In a chancellor address at Aberdeen University in 1900, the High Commissioner to Canada addressed the assembly with the following words:

I am inclined to believe that the growth of Imperialism in its true sense, and in its earlier stages, commenced in the Colonies, and that it dates from the time they received the grant of responsible government. In British North America, the desire to promote closer and professional trade relations between the different provinces at once became a leading question...The Empire is a galaxy of nations, all subject to one sovereign, and proud of one flag; and yet not bound so closely together, in regard to matters of a practical nature, as they are in sentiment or loyalty.⁵⁷

The choice Strathcona made to become an art collector is embedded in the field of the dominant ideology of imperialism and colonial relations. When the wealthy Scottish bourgeoisie of Montreal displayed European art in their homes, it reflected their place in the hierarchy of Empire. Rules of conduct were being enacted in a *locale*. Collections of objects from other cultures constituted the omniscient gaze of the European colonizer.

⁵⁶ National Archives of Canada, Strathcona fond, microfilmed addresses, A-1087.

⁵⁷ National Archives of Canada, Microfilmed Addresses, A-1087.

CHAPTER III

ANTHONY GIDDENS'S STRUCTURATION THEORY AND A POSTCOLONIAL VIEW ON THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF POWER

The appropriateness of applying Giddens's theoretical model to the Canadian imperialist project is that Canada was united by British imperialists, men who were knighted by Queen Victoria for their activity. It thus allows one to frame social activity in Montreal (and art collecting as one of its visible signifiers) under the mantle of British imperialism with its underpinnings in economic theory since commercial enterprise was one of the key reasons the empire existed in the first place.

An understanding of cultural norms, as mediated through class constructs situated in language, produces "mutual knowledge." In *structuration theory*, social practices "are organized through the medium of language."¹ The very structure of the English language draws on a corpus of syntactic and semantic rules, which reproduce social practices.² The ontological security one feels with a language in which one is at home can offset every other dislocation felt by a subject estranged through ruptures in identity, time and place. A member of Strathcona's circle, Lady Drummond, expressed the common view of Montreal's elite constituency when she remarked, "The Empire is my country. Canada is my home."³ Her remark supports the premise put forth by Giddens that social conduct is

¹ Philip Cassell, "Introduction," *The Giddens Reader* (London 1993), 10.

² Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 13.

³ Donald McKay, *The Square Mile, Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Toronto 1987), 157.

intrinsic to the structural properties that social systems display, not something either marginal or additional.⁴

Structuration theory, as a theory of social practices ordered across space and time --from Great Britain to Canada through the imperialist diaspora, for example-- purports that human action, like cognition, is a continuous flow of conduct. As Giddens makes clear, all social interaction requires intelligible communication operative across time and space. His idea of a common culture forming over time through proximity is instructive for understanding art collecting in Montreal in the late nineteenth century, undertaken generally by men of Scottish birth⁵ who considered themselves British subjects. Indeed, *structuration theory* is an apt paradigm for examining a social structure dominated by nineteenth-century Montreal capitalists, several of whom produced art collections. Control of objects and the object world, a determinant of capitalist society, was an overweening interest of the elite of Montreal and the society they created prior to World War I.⁶ Giddens's concept of how social systems bind time and space is relevant to a consideration of the colonial model where social reproduction takes place through mechanisms of social integration.⁷ By way of example, Smith moved to Montreal in 1868, after thirty years of living in fur trading posts. His integration into society was abetted through his cousin George Stephen, an already wealthy and established member of Montreal society. Smith positioned himself in this milieu by buying a mansion on Dorchester Street, the most fashionable street in Montreal, where twenty-five mansions

⁴ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Cambridge 1984), 332.

⁵ William Cornelius Van Horne, an American, was one of the few exceptions.

⁶ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 21.

⁷ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 22.

once stood, an act embodying the power of representation.⁸ The team of Smith and Stephen scaled the pinnacle of society together, controlling the Bank of Montreal, becoming captains of industry and, in time, British lords. (After 1897, Smith was known as Lord Strathcona, and referred to by that title; Stephen became Lord Mount Stephen).

Industrialization, too, impacted the time-space continuum in that, after completion of a cross-Canada railway in 1885, Strathcona could, like others, travel from Montreal to Vancouver in three days,⁹ a certain factor in social integration, social reproduction of norms and consolidation of a nation-state. Faster steamboats meant that Strathcona could cross the Atlantic from England to Canada in less than one week, a trip he made more than one hundred times, for the final time in 1913 at the age of ninety-three.¹⁰

While the combination of capitalism and industrialism generated a centralizing nation-state to service private economy indispensable to its reproduction, despite the power of the emerging state, *space* was left for the growth of the private economy.¹¹ In industrialized nations, control of *allocative* resources yielded far more power under capitalism than did control of *allocative* power in any previous society.¹² The Canadian situation, with Montreal as the railway centre and nexus of shipping meant that vast amounts of capital were centred in the city and compression of time and space through faster transportation and the telegraph expedited the transfer of commodities between

⁸ MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 41.

⁹ It was a 2.5 day journey by the CPR, in McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 328.

¹⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 460 and 490.

¹¹ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 26.

¹² Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 46.

Montreal, New York, London and Paris. The means to buy art and the awareness of its desirability and availability was due to the globalization made possible by nineteenth-century industrialization.

One of Giddens's most important ideas is that "Power is not a state of affairs, but a capability."¹³ It is due to competence in the routines of social life that one gains agency or power.¹⁴ Thus, Lord Strathcona, with his impeccable manners and his intention to become wealthy, adhered to his Protestant ethic of "being the best he could be."¹⁵ Through language ties, social ties, and his capability, he was empowered *by other people* to gain and retain power. Visible manifestations of his power were his many attributes, including his private art gallery. In a review of the sociological literature of his peers, Giddens refers to the "body idiom" of Erving Goffman, based on semiotic representation, which proposes:

To be a human agent, one must know not only what one is doing, but must also demonstrate this to others in visible fashion...through the disciplined management of bodily appearance, control of the bodily posture and of facial expression.¹⁶

Strathcona understood the process of "exhibiting presence" to others. His public exhibition of himself was tightly controlled –he was sober and aristocratic in attire, erect in posture, unerringly polite and gracious to all. His personality and deportment gave him power in the eyes of others as he lived out his own fantasy of being aristocratic.

¹³ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 121.

¹⁴ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 89-90.

¹⁵ Max Weber discusses Calvinism as an influence on entrepreneurial attitudes in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 1930 (London 1992).

¹⁶ Anthony Giddens cited by Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 138.

Strathcona was given a mandate to exercise power, providing an example of Giddens's concept that power is generated by a social system of individuals, not a faceless state. One can posit that within the Canadian parliamentary system, once Manitoba was made a province and endowed with the power to elect representatives to serve in the Manitoba Legislature and in the federal House of Commons, Donald A. Smith was elected to both, legitimizing his positioning as a leader. This afforded him influence. His authority was the basis of his power. Importantly, power is implicit in the use of persuasion rather than force to overcome resistance.¹⁷ Strathcona's diplomacy during the Red River Rebellion relied on his persuasiveness. The use of power in this sense is "achievement of objectives which both sides in a power relation desire."¹⁸ Giddens also suggests that power rests not only upon trust and confidence but also upon deceit and hypocrisy.¹⁹ Deceitful behaviour was in effect when the syndicate of Hill, Kittson and Smith won the competitive edge in transportation in that system by ramming and sinking the steamer of a rival on the Red River.²⁰ In Marxist theory, power is employed to further collective class goals. By using a common-sense observation, Giddens surmises that using power for *personal* rather than *collective* gain is frequently a motive and inducement. Financial reward, an incentive for compliance on the part of others, is often a *basis* for power by a third party. Moreover, power is not to be accepted at its face value for often formal authorities are puppets whose strings are pulled behind

¹⁷ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 217-218.

¹⁸ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 219.

¹⁹ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 221.

²⁰ Keith Wilson, *Donald Smith and the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Toronto 1978), 40.

the scenes,²¹ which is how one critic, W.T.R. Preston, characterized Lord Strathcona's relationship to the Canadian government, since he often appeared to be controlling it.²² Records of proceedings in The House of Commons show that Strathcona would not back down when he believed he was right --²³ it was Strathcona's non-confidence motion in the house that brought down the Conservative Government of John A. MacDonald in 1873. Later, Smith lost his parliamentary seat in Ottawa because it was proven that his agent had bought votes in Red River. However, once he was knighted in 1886, Smith re-entered parliament. After Strathcona's death, J.S. Willison refuted gossip that MacDonald forced Strathcona to run as a Conservative in 1886 to show visible support for MacDonald as a kind of atonement for Strathcona bringing down MacDonald's government in 1873. This atonement may be viewed as nuanced hypocrisy.

According to Giddens power is not just domination of the state over civil society or an ideology that permeates society, but rather "society itself is a system of power founded in entrenched divergences."²⁴ Giddens's theory of *structuration* situates individual action and intervention in the course of events as power. He defines power as "the use of resources, of whatever kind, to secure outcomes."²⁵ Implicit rules of social conduct have to be enacted in a *locale*.²⁶ A *locale* is different from Michel Foucault's concept of an *episteme*. History, for Foucault, is constituted in what he calls *epistemes*, or

²¹ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 225.

²² W.T.R. Preston, *The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona* (London 1914), 13-14.

²³ *Debates of the House of Commons* (Ottawa 1886-1896).

²⁴ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 226.

²⁵ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 227.

²⁶ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society, Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge, U.K. 1984), 118-122.

fields of power which encompass everything from discourse, to knowledge to the production of things, even pleasure.²⁷ Giddens does not refute this, but he disagrees with Foucault's concept of a "history-less subject," if by this Foucault means that the forces controlling humans are totally hidden. In Giddens's theory of *structuration*, human beings "are always and everywhere regarded as knowledgeable agents, although acting within historically specific bounds of their unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of their acts."²⁸ Further, Giddens disagrees with Foucault's genealogical method where discipline and power are subjectless agents of history. For Foucault *genealogy* is

a form of history which accounts for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to refer to a subject, whether it be transcendental in relation to the field of events or whether it chases its empty identity throughout history.²⁹

People build these systems, Giddens insists. Most can carve out some space of control, and have more freedom of choice than Foucault allows.³⁰

It is useful to define *structuration* by what it is not. First, all power does not rest with the state. *Structuration* incorporates the idea of human behaviour as action, in compatibility with structural components of social institutions where notions of power and domination are associated with the concepts of action and structure.³¹ As an example, the Canadian Pacific Railway was a mechanism to compress time and space.

²⁷ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 229.

²⁸ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 232.

²⁹ Michel Foucault, *Power, Truth, Strategy*, (Sydney Feral Publications 1979), cited by Giddens in *The Giddens Reader*, 229.

³⁰ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 232-234.

The company or structure operating it was a social institution, a powerful corporation that created cities and supported thousands of people who in turn kept it in action. Strathcona is the symbol associated with the completion of the railway across Canada. He was also an agent of military power because the Canadian Pacific Railway moved troops to the Northwest during the Riel rebellion. One historian has accredited this actualization to the Hudson's Bay Company,³² again synonymous with Strathcona's power since he was associated with the Hudson's Bay Company for seventy-five years, eventually controlling the company as its largest shareholder and sitting as its governor in London from 1889 until his death in 1914. Strathcona also raised and outfitted a legion of warriors from the Northwest, known as *The Strathcona Horse*, to serve the British Empire in the Boer War. In doing so, he became associated with state authority as a power within the Dominion of Canada and within the British Empire. Even though he was an agent of imperialism, he achieved his ends through his own capability and the power given to him through his demonstration of his capability.

Individualism and entrepreneurship have driven Canadian history. Giddens's idea of capability is therefore an applicable template to the situation of Lord Strathcona and other members of the Montreal elite. One way they demonstrated their power was to possess costly art that they could afford because they had created enough wealth to do so *by their own agency*.

³¹ Cassell, *Giddens Reader*, 241.

³² Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada* (Toronto 1983/1997), 115.

CHAPTER IV

REVIEW OF THEORIES, METHODOLOGIES AND MODELS OF COLLECTING

The phrase "theories of collecting" is understood here to mean the hypothetical knowledge of principles and methods employed to analyze art collecting. "Theoretical models" refers to texts that have contributed to the discourse of art collecting. While it is true that several methodologies may be used to consider art collecting such as aspects of semiology, psychoanalysis, socio-history, or postcolonialism, it is rare to find any successful application of only one methodology in isolation. Reviewed briefly in this chapter are the theoretical approaches proposed by Frederick Baekeland, Ruth Formanek, Russell W. Belk, Krzysztof Pomian, Jean Baudrillard, Mieke Bal, and Carol Duncan. The methodology of Baekeland draws on psychoanalysis, while Formanek and Belk find sociological methodology useful. Baudrillard and Bal may be considered poststructural theorists drawing on semiology and psychoanalysis. Duncan's approach is informed by Marxism: her analysis about the museum as a site of power, and how this affects museum collections is noteworthy for its postcolonial stance. Paraphrased are case studies by John Forrester whose methodology is Freudian psychoanalysis, and Stephen Bann, who employs both poststructural theory and semiological terms borrowed from Pomian. Both Forrester and Bann demonstrate effective application of theory to their case studies.

Psychoanalytic Theory

The psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan continue to be employed by theorists wishing to understand art collecting. It is necessary to mention

three ideas proposed by Freud as constituting the beginning of the discourse. The first is Freud's idea of gendered subjectivity in his familiar castration and Oedipus complex. According to Freud, both boys and girls feel whole as a part of the body of their mother. Boys recognize females do not have a penis, so in fear of being castrated they identify with the father and decide not to compete with him for sexual possession of the mother. Girls recognize they are already castrated and project their desire onto the father, and the possibility of fulfilling their lack through bearing a male child in the future. For both boys and girls this Oedipal complex results in establishment of their own identity, with both boys and girls realizing they need either a person or an object to re-achieve wholeness. Second, the destabilizing effects of this complex, which affects both sexes, results in a narcissistic search for wholeness through investment of their libido onto another object. In Freudian theory, this object should be another person. When it is a non-human object, that object is termed a *fetish*. Third, subjectivity is structured by innate drives like the sex drive, the aggressive drive and the death drive, whose over-deployment may result in certain behaviors such as a compulsion to collect.

Lacan moved away from a sexual interpretation of the Oedipus complex to stress the linguistic structure of the unconscious in three orders: the *imaginary*, the *symbolic* and the *real*. In the *imaginary* order, the child has a conscious recognition of her/his subjectivity or difference from the other and a process of ego splitting occurs. In the next stage, the *symbolic* order, the ego is again split with the acquisition of language so that the child imagines she/he has power. This power is recognizing that desire must be controlled since the phallus -- that neither sex has but both desire -- is unobtainable. Language allows symbolic control and entry into the *real*. With both Freud and Lacan the

deferral of desire has implications for the accumulation of objects, which are seen to offer comfort and satisfaction because they can be possessed, ordered and controlled.

Frederick Baekeland inventories a number of largely superficial examples based on seemingly casual research (such as non-documented conversations with collectors he knows), referring to psychoanalytic tropes of the aggressive drive and the death drive, fetishism, exhibitionism, voyeurism, and narcissism. Baekeland's article, "Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting," first published in 1981, draws primarily from the research of others published in psychoanalytic journals from 1930 to 1976, without clearly distinguishing methodology from motive. His article functions more as a list rather than as a cohesive study or a theoretical model, indicating the difficulty of employing a methodology seamlessly. In his wide-ranging essay, Baekeland reiterates that the collector forms a collection to satisfy both his vanity and to promote social mobility since, "owning works of art has always been thought to imply education, cultivation and refinement."¹ Most collectors, then, are not simply art lovers, but are attracted to certain objects because of their symbolic value which can aid in the collector's self definition. Baekeland cites Henry Clay Frick, the industrialist who "used to sit reading the *Saturday Evening Post* surrounded by his Rembrandts and Holbeins."² By extension if I, the collector, surround myself with fabulous possessions, which only the very wealthy and connected can acquire, my status in my own eyes, and in the view of others is that of a noble person. Baekeland's synthesis of the motives of wealthy nineteenth-century American collectors is succinct:

¹ Frederick Baekeland, "Psychological aspects of art collecting," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Susan M. Pearce, ed., (London, New York 1994/1998), 206.

² Baekeland attributes this insight to S.N. Behrman, *Duveen*, (New York 1952), 89.

For the tycoon, collecting art also extends the range of competitive activities from the boardroom and market-place to the auction gallery and drawing-room. With rare exceptions he is apt to rely on experts or dealers with access to famous experts not only to authenticate the expensive works of art he buys but also to suggest them. Thus, Mellon, Frick, and Kress had their Duveen (who in turn could fall back on the prestigious art historian Bernhard Berenson), Charles Lang Freer and the Havermeyers had the painters Whistler and Mary Cassatt as advisors...Big collectors are moneyed people who for personal or social reasons use their wealth under expert advice to bring together quickly a number of celebrated works of art and boast of their possession: they are usually financiers...Their motives have included vanity, the pleasure of buying a work from under the nose of a rival and the need to compete with him.³

Freudian Model

A more successful application of psychoanalytic theory which provides a model for considering art collecting is John Forrester's article, "'Mille e tre': Freud and Collecting." While Sigmund Freud, a collector, wrote case studies on Raphael and Michelangelo, he viewed this practice as problematic since a proper analysis requires the presence of the patient so that transference can occur between the analyst and the analysand. John Forrester succeeds, however, in using a psychoanalytic methodology to shed light on the collecting activities of Freud. Forrester is able to take a psychoanalytic approach to Freud's collection of dreams, jokes, case studies and his antique objects because Freud recorded his self-analysis and from it formulated his theory of the *Oedipus Complex*, derived from his own ambivalent relationship to his father. Forrester establishes that Freud likely projected his surplus narcissistic ego onto his collection of three thousand antique objects which he began to collect in 1896 following his father's

³ For his assessment Baekland drew on Aline B. Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors* (New York 1958), Samuel N. Behrman, *Duveen*, (New York 1952), and P. Cabanne, *The Great Collectors* (New York 1963).

death.⁴ Forrester implies that the objects were erotic substitutes for his departed father who was his narcissistic object choice. In this Forrester is supported by Freud's idea that collections of objects are "a substitute for the libidinal tie to an idealized object."⁵ It is not really a leap for Forrester to proclaim that "Every piece or item in each of his collections thus represented a paternal figure standing guard over the mysterious feminine. And every successful analysis of them represents an Oedipal victory."⁶

While Forrester succeeds because he had access to what is essentially primary research formulated by Freud, Ting Chang points out the limitation of the use of a solely psychoanalytic approach to the study of art collecting. Problematic in this regard is Werner Muensterberger's book *Collecting: An Unruly Passion* of 1994. As Chang argues, Muensterberger's analysis is one-dimensional since he neglected historical and social analysis and limited his study to pathology, employing "a retroactive and in many cases, posthumous analysis," with insufficient information, ignoring "the logic of fetish, fantasy and symptom as general social structures."⁷

Object Relations Theory

Newer psychoanalytic thought ascribing 'relational-model' theories attributes the collecting urge not to negative impulses such as anality, sexual or aggressive drives, but

⁴ John Forrester, "'Mille e tre': Freud and Collecting," *The Cultures of Collecting*, John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds. (Cambridge, Massachusettes 1994), 230.

⁵ *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1887-1904*, ed. J. M. Masson. (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 6 December 1896, 107-8 cited by Forrester, "Freud and Collecting," *Cultures of Collecting*, 233.

⁶ Forrester, "Freud and Collecting," *Cultures of Collecting*, 251.

⁷ Ting Chang, "Models of Collecting," *The Oxford Art Journal* (19.2 1996), 95-97.

to the desire to seek "contact and engagement with other minds,"⁸ through sharing joy in their possessions. Ruth Formanek's article, "Why they collect: collectors reveal their motivations,"⁹ based on a psychoanalytic methodology and a sociological approach to data collection by way of questionnaires and contact through letters directed to collectors, seems ethical. Theorist Russell W. Belk, whose insights on collecting are gleaned from consumer behaviour research, is in agreement with Formanek and others that,

Our self-definition is often highly dependent upon our possessions. The collection is especially implicated in the extended self because it is often visible and undeniably represents the collector's judgement and taste.¹⁰

Belk approaches the subject of collecting through consumer research analysis; he is primarily concerned with psychoanalytic methodology. First published in a 1988 paper, his thought reverts to the idea of taste as a parameter of judgement –in other words, the mid-twentieth-century model of describing collections practiced by art historians such as Frances Haskell, whose interest is in connoisseurship. Belk surmises that while most collecting is a form of consumer consumption, art collecting can be ascribed with higher motives since the collector has "a sense of noble purpose in generating knowledge...or providing those who see it with a richer sense of history."¹¹ While motives such as "seeking power, knowledge...prestige, mastery and control..." are acknowledged, their

⁸ Ruth Formanek, "Why they collect: Collectors reveal their motivations," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 327-335.

⁹ Formanek, "Why they collect," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 329.

¹⁰ Russell W. Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 321.

¹¹ Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," *Interpreting Objects and Collecting*, 321.

psychological importance in connoting "fantasies about the self" offers an alternative perspective on the impulse to collect.¹²

Baudrillard's System

In "The System of Collecting," Baudrillard proposes that possessions with which the subject "seeks to piece together his world, his personal microcosm," constitute what he terms a *system*.¹³ For Baudrillard, an investment in objects compensates for an inability to invest in human relationships.¹⁴ Baudrillard suggests that "categories of objects" "tyrannically induce categories of persons."¹⁵ Objects may be *sexual fetishes*, where one is stimulated erotically by a piece of clothing – a glove, a shoe, a piece of lace, a leather suit. Objects may also have a different connotation –that of a *commodity fetish*.¹⁶ While this type of fetish is a substitute for the need for a close relationship with another human being, it may differ from a sexual fetish in that the attachment may not be erotic, but simply comforting, thus providing a feeling of wholeness. For Baudrillard, as for Freud and Lacan, consumption is propelled by a lack. Baudrillard posits that withdrawal into an object system is synonymous with loneliness since there is no social

¹² Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," *Interpreting Objects and Collecting*, 322.

¹³ Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," *The Cultures of Collecting*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1994), 7.

¹⁴ Baudrillard, "The System," *Cultures of Collecting*, 12.

¹⁵ Mark Poster, ed. *Jean Baudrillard, Selected Writings* (Stanford, California 1988), 16,17.

¹⁶ The term *commodity fetish* was first proposed by Karl Marx. See Maynard Solomon, *Marxism and Art* (Detroit 1973/1986), 38-42.

discourse. A collection can never rise above infantilism because it has the air about it of depleted humanity (dead stuff).¹⁷

Baudrillard's statement is conflicted, since one objective behind formation of a collection can be to bring objects together and display them in order to show others, which would be an activity directed toward social discourse rather than loneliness.¹⁸ More supportable is Baudrillard's idea that the consumer's choice of objects constitutes a classification system encoding social behaviour; in turn, these behaviours establish parameters of class and hierarchies of knowledge.¹⁹ One idea unique to Baudrillard is that of "the jealousy system." If I have it, another cannot, and if I have the power to devalue another's objects, through deaccessioning, I am reducing the value of these objects.²⁰

The Concept of Mourning and Memorializing as a Theory of Collecting

Freud's "On Transience" of 1916, that deals with the theory of mourning, including reactions to devastating cultural loss as a human psychological characteristic can be introduced through a discussion of Bann's text.²¹ Freud proposed that the objects we lose are invested with libidinal force, and after a period of mourning, the libido

¹⁷ Baudrillard, "The System," *Cultures of Collecting*, 24.

¹⁸ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge U.K. 1987/1990), 8. This idea of collecting as a mode of social discourse is also discussed by Frederick Baekeland, 205-210, Ruth Formanek, 327-335, Russell W. Belk, 317-326, and Brenda Danet and Tamar Katriel, 220-239, in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*.

¹⁹ Poster, *Jean Baudrillard*, 3-4.

²⁰ Baudrillard, "The System," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 18-19.

²¹ Bann, *Under the Sign*, 81.

attaches itself to new objects as a substitute for the old.²² Bargrave became a collector, Bann argues, in the process of reinvigorating his libidinal attachments. By ceasing to commemorate his family, Bargrave became a committed collector. In doing so, his collection became a memorial to himself.

Baudrillard also considers the process of mourning and memorializing.

Possessions do not provide immortality, but because objects can be withdrawn and displayed, they transcend death.²³ According to Baudrillard, pleasure in collecting relies on the uniqueness of each item in the collection, equivalent to the collector as a unique individual,²⁴ "For it is invariably *oneself* that one collects."²⁵ By the same rationale, one can multiply oneself continuously. In this, collecting is a narcissistic activity reflecting a desirable countenance back to the collector, allowing him to reproduce himself and therefore to evade death.²⁶ The spirituality that one speaks about in art is really a sense of calm occasioned by the dissipation of frustrations and tensions neutralized in the contemplation of an object.²⁷ When one possesses a unique object the gratification is even greater because possession augments the worth of the owner.²⁸

²² Bann, *Under the Sign*, 28. In Freud's essay "On Transience," mourning occurs when the libido will not renounce its objects for others at hand. When it does, the mourning is over, in "On Transience," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Volume XIV (1914-1916) James Strachey, ed. (London 1957/1968), 307.

²³ Baudrillard, "The System," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 17.

²⁴ Baudrillard, "The System," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 10.

²⁵ Baudrillard, "The System," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 12.

²⁶ Baudrillard, "The System," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 11.

²⁷ Baudrillard, "The System," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 11.

²⁸ Baudrillard, "The System," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 12, 13.

Competition and Cultural Domination as a Motive to Collect

When the activity of collecting is situated in Baudrillard's space of social struggle where the collector's opponent "loses the object, literally by having to sell or otherwise yield it,"²⁹ then the opponent (*the other*) no longer has the object and thus has not won, but has lost -- not only the object, but its meaning and the power of being in possession of it.

Collectors who form private collections may have the idea to donate them to a public museum, or to establish a museum in their own name. Either way, they achieve their goal of cultural domination, since their objects from elsewhere are gathered together in one place and imposed or parachuted into the existing cultural milieu. The power to decide on the identity of the museum, as presented in its art, extends to representation of the broader community.³⁰ As Carol Duncan argues:

Museums can be powerful identity-defining machines. To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and some of its highest most authoritative truths. It also means the power to define and rank people, to declare some as having a greater share than others in the community's common heritage--in its very identity.³¹

The bourgeois moral imperative to provide social instruction for moral improvement and cultural education was part of the motive behind the formation of art associations. When art associations formed, collectors were either part of the original group or drawn to it, which was the situation with the Art Association of Montreal, formed in 1860. The Art Association of Montreal exhibited in a number of spaces before

²⁹ Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," *Culture of Collecting*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1994), 114.

³⁰ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 286.

³¹ Duncan, "Art Museums," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 286.

acquiring its first more permanent facility. Before the advent of professional museum directors, trustees who ran the gallery were often collectors, as was the case with The Art Association of Montreal. These collectors may have been attracted to this activity by narcissistic needs. As Ruth Formanek maintains, narcissism can drive one to enhance self-esteem by collecting objects *and* people. Not only does the art make a collector feel elevated, but meeting others with collecting interests can also fuel narcissistic satisfaction.³²

Semiology as a Methodology: Krzysztof Pomian

In *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, Krzysztof Pomian argues that choices made by collectors are influenced by a link between the visible and the invisible "concentrating on 'semiophores' or objects bearing meaning, on their production, their circulation and their consumption'." The nature and content of the collection depend on the collector's position "in the hierarchies of power, prestige, education and wealth."³³ One may assume that by 'visible' he means material culture available to see and to touch. Pomian provides a description of what he means by 'the invisible':

The invisible is spatially distant, not only beyond the horizon but also very high or very low. It is also temporally distant, either in the past or in the future. In addition, it is beyond all physical space and every expanse or else in a space structured totally differently. It is situated in a time of its own, or outside any passing of time, in eternity itself.³⁴

³² Ruth Formanek, "Why they collect: collectors reveal their motivations," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 332.

³³ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 5.

³⁴ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 24. Pomian's thought here is likely influenced by Walter Benjamin's idea of distance as contributing to the aura. Benjamin wrote that "The essentially distant object is the

The 'invisible' exists in language since language allows people to communicate "that they have been in contact with something concealed from the human eye."³⁵ The invisible can be described in discourse, setting it apart from visual perception.³⁶

By considering collections up to the eighteenth century, mainly in Italy, Pomian proposes that the history of collecting is indeed based on *semiophores* -- objects which have no usefulness other than that of being removed from economic circulation and inserted as part of a collection. *Semiophores* are not useful things. They are invested with meaning because they have been taken out of the circuit of useful *things*. This distinction carries through for people, as he explains:

At the top there is inevitably a man or *semiophore-men* who replace the invisible: gods, God, ancestors, society taken as a whole and so on. At the bottom, on the other hand, are *thing-men* who have at the most only an indirect link with the invisible, while between the two extremes are those in whom meaning and usefulness are to be found in varying degrees. This hierarchical organization of society is projected onto space, *as the residence of the semiophore man*, be he king, emperor, pope, grand pontiff or president of the republic, is seen as a centre from which one cannot move without also being increasingly distanced from the invisible.³⁷

To be a *semiophore-man*, it is necessary to withdraw from mundane activity and distance oneself from those who must carry it out by surrounding oneself with *semiophores* and displaying them³⁸ in a collection. By a "collection" Pomian means:

A set of natural or artificial objects kept temporarily or permanently

unapproachable one. Unapproachability is indeed a major quality of the cult value," in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations* (London 1973), 222-223, 243, 479.

³⁵ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 26.

³⁶ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 26, 27.

³⁷ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 32.

³⁸ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 32.

out of the economic circuit, afforded special protection in enclosed spaces adapted specifically for that purpose and put on display.³⁹

Pomian identifies two types of collections – private collections and museum

collections; both had a political influence on city life. As well, the first known collections of objects are thought to have had a religious significance. What emerges from Pomian's text is that from the fifteenth century on, in European civilization, royalty as well as all those who occupied the upper echelons of the hierarchy were forced to emulate princely collectors. The role of art patron was an instrument of propaganda for collectors. Collections were founded to mark the collectors' superiority and to ensure them a position in the domain of meaning.

A Theoretical Model: Semiology, Psychoanalysis and Social History

An example of how this functions is provided by Stephen Bann in *Under the Sign, John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler, and Witness*. Bann's thesis is that historical understanding, offered by a case study such as John Bargrave, has contemporary importance for the genealogy of collecting. This author's evocation of Pomian's model of the *semiophore-man* and his collection of *semiophores* is arguably plausible in the instance of Bargrave, an ordained minister in the Anglican order, already playing the role of a semiophore-man. By considering the network of operative signs⁴⁰ and their interconnected discourses, Bann is able to provide a new estimate of the collector's work. The collector was an Englishman dispossessed of his ecclesiastic canonship during the civil war that saw the fall of Charles I, and the rise of Republicanism under Cromwell.

³⁹ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 9.

⁴⁰ I am using the term "signs" as Saussure first proposed it where the sign is comprised of a signifier (sound image) and a signified (concept or visual image).

The Bargrave family lost property and became nearly extinct, losing their status as landed gentry. Thereafter, Bargrave exiled himself to Europe, living at this time on a small pension. Bann proposes that Bargrave consciously reconstructed his lost identity by gathering *semiophores* in the amassing and ordering of a collection.⁴¹ A person who displays what Pomian terms *semiophores*, or objects infused with meaning, is a *semiophore-man*, a person who is at the top of society or a representative of society as a whole. It is this idea that Bann proposes as an initial framework to consider Bargrave's work as a collector. Pomian's *semiophore-man* is qualified to mediate between the visible and the invisible because he withdraws objects from their utilitarian purpose and constitutes them as *semiophores*.

In Bargrave's time, collecting was a practice in which the objects were removed from the economic circuit. Further, all objects, whether they were free or expensive, were considered part of the entire collection.⁴² Bargrave's interest in collecting was partly scientific, partly fetishistic, and also intended to bear witness to his presence and his activities.⁴³ A collection can be a testimony to the significance of a life lived as a reflection of historical events and circumstances and the collector's place as a *semiophore-man*. Bargrave was a witness to the English civil war and also a witness to the eventual restoration of the monarchy when he regained his status in the church and acquired land through one of the usual means, which in his case was marriage to a woman who had property. Bann makes the case that each of the items in Bargrave's

⁴¹ Stephen Bann, *Under the Sign, John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler, and Witness* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1994), 12.

⁴² Bann, *Under the Sign*, 88.

⁴³ Bann, *Under the Sign*, 1-24.

collection refers to an event in European history. Thus his collection had the purpose of establishing Bargrave in memory as a witness to historical events as is attested by the text around or under certain visual materials in his collection. For example, a small painting of an Algerian, and also an embalmed chameleon, are souvenirs of his successful venture to Algeria as an agent of the British crown to ransom Christians from the Turks.⁴⁴

His collection survived, Bann concluded, because it was not remarkable, so thus not subject to pilfering. Only knowledge of the social hierarchy, and the education to decipher these souvenirs, can unlock their meaning. Bann has integrated a socio-historical model with semiotics in his study of Bargrave. Additionally, he finds psychoanalytic theory useful.

Carol Duncan: A North American Postcolonial Model

Considering postcolonial theory as a methodology for examining a high status activity like art collecting may at first seem incongruous, since the postcolonial subject has generally been presented by theorists as dispossessed or unacknowledged.⁴⁵ As Ralston Saul has explained, looking elsewhere to other cultures for direction from a position of inferiority characterizes former colonies like Canada who continue to struggle for cultural definition in a political milieu where multi-culturalism thrives. This is not the operative position of an American art theorist Carol Duncan. In stressing that ideological needs in Europe and America led to the formation of museums as arising from an

⁴⁴ Bann, *Under the Sign*, 24-130.

⁴⁵ Works consulted include those by Edward Said, Anne McClintock and Hommi K. Bhabha, who deal with the aspects of minority culture from the position of colonized people. Both Canada and the United States were once colonies of Great Britain, seen by the Britons as inferior.

international bourgeois culture,⁴⁶ Duncan equates the experience of the United States, a former colony of Great Britain, to that of Europe. Her work has the effect of establishing that it is only when a sense of national identity is well defined is there an accompanying certainty of cultural autonomy.

Duncan's most-persuasive argument is that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the elite citizenry in America did not see themselves as subservient to others; they considered themselves capable of determining the cultural face of their nation. Like Pomian, she infers that art collections presented to the public represent the hierarchy of power that determines what knowledge is presented as symbolic of the aspirations of a culture.

Control over what is exhibited and which donors are remembered can be explained by Anthony Giddens's theory of *structuration*, which sets forth the same position Duncan takes: The elite operate through a social network with international connections necessary to their political and economic objectives.⁴⁷ Using research based on collecting activities in eighteenth-century Britain, Duncan posits that collecting was a means to breach class boundaries, achieve social distinction,⁴⁸ and an upper-class identity. Art was for social display, as she discusses.⁴⁹ Duncan's main museological critique is that the bourgeoisie adapted aristocratic knowledge while espousing a program of education for the underprivileged, which she views as hypocritical. She states that past and current American museums serve a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant elite, just as the

⁴⁶ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York 1995), 3.

⁴⁷ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 54 and passim.

⁴⁸ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 35,36.

⁴⁹ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 35-40.

museums in Britain served the needs of a propertied, "better class" of people. Duncan's perspective somewhat undermines the idea advanced by Giddens of human agency and subjectivity that allows for social mobility.

Her principal theory is that the art museum is a ritual site, emulating the form of temples or palaces in order to replace religion and the aura surrounding royalty with the cult of art. To prove this, she sets out to describe the ritual structures of the museum as having processional corridors, large halls for ceremonial gatherings, interior sanctuaries for effigies, and an enforced code of behavior designed to suggest sanctification while intimidating the subject who is propelled through the spaces.

Duncan's thesis is that

...the longing for contact with an idealized past, or with things imbued by immortal spirits, is probably pervasive as a sustaining impetus not only of art museums but many other kinds of rituals as well.⁵⁰

While private interests in aggrandizement and *noblesse oblige* dictated the form of American museums that imported European art or emulated it, Duncan also coins, and briefly discusses in a related article, the term *ritual of citizenship* as exhibited in the development of museums in both Europe and North America. This ritual was performed by citizens who built the museums and the museum collections, compelled by their desire to be seen as civilized and civilizing.⁵¹ The *ritual of citizenship* that Duncan discusses

⁵⁰ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 17.

⁵¹ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the ritual of citizenship," *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London and New York 1994/1998), 282-283.

briefly in her article can be subsumed under Giddens's theory where implicit rules of social conduct have to be enacted within a *locale*.⁵²

Postructural Theory: Mieke Bal

Influences on poststructuralist theory include Saussurian structuralism, as well as the psychoanalysis of Freud and Lacan.⁵³ While Mieke Bal employs both semiology and psychoanalysis to discuss the phenomena of collecting, evidence of a poststructuralist view is seen in Bal's thought. She posits that either the object or the collector can be the narrative agent, essentially proposing the poststructuralist "interaction" of reader and text.⁵⁴ Bal's interest in "how narrative functions socially, ideologically, historically,"⁵⁵ and its effect on the individual's subjectivity, allowed her to tie it to the collector's mind set. Objects collected, perceived semantically as signs, signify codes or meanings understood by those who share a common culture. In her essay "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," Bal wants to be able to classify collecting as a narrative or story with beginning, middle and end. This is a form rising directly out of literary theory and its basis in language. In Bal's "logic of narrative possibilities" the plot engages subjects "on both sides of gender, colonialist and capitalist splits."⁵⁶

⁵² Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society, Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge, U.K., 1984), 118-122.

⁵³ Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice & Poststructuralist Theory* (Cambridge, Massachusettes and Oxford, UK 1987/1992), 22,23.

⁵⁴ According to Madam Sarap "structuralism sees truth as being 'behind' or 'within a text,' while poststructuralism stresses the interaction of reader and text as a kind of performance rather than passive consumption through reading, in Madan Sarup, *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism*, (Athens, Georgia 1989), 3,4.

⁵⁵ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 97.

⁵⁶ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 114.

"Narratives are *constative* texts: like affirmative sentences, they make a statement."⁵⁷ The gist of her thought is that the *beginning* is the discovery of a lack. Visual experience establishes the lack,⁵⁸ denies it, and replaces it by an acquisition. This is why people shop for what they do not need. In some cases, a fetish or substitute object can replace what is missing. The term "fetish" can be understood in its psychoanalytic sense as the phallus which no one has (Lacan),⁵⁹ or in its materialist sense as a commodity (Marx).⁶⁰ The *middle* of the narrative is achieved when an object is collected and inserted into the whole. It is here that an object changes from thing to sign, or from presence to absence as it is "denuded of its defining function so as to be available for use as a sign."⁶¹ Her theory purports that there are three choices for meaning in reference to an object: one possibility is that of a *synecdoche* -- a substitute or stand-in of an entirety; another evaluation could be *metonymic*, if the item has a relation to another object or idea. The third possible relationship is *metaphoric*, wherein one object stands in for all others.⁶² The *end* of the narrative for Bal, is perfection or completion of the collection.⁶³

The object can always be retrieved, so it defers death. That is, there is no end to the narrative unless the collector stops collecting or judges the collection to be complete,

⁵⁷ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 98.

⁵⁸ In Freud "the Lack" is the missing penis; in Lacan, "the lack" is symbolic, since no one possesses the phallus. Bal discusses "lack" as a fetish in "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 106.

⁵⁹ In Lacan's thought the phallus is an attribute of power transformed symbolically as discussed in Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: A Selection* (London 1977), 281.

⁶⁰ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 107-109.

⁶¹ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 111.

⁶² Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 111.

⁶³ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 113.

which is the *end* since it is the equivalent of stasis or death. Eros comes to rest at the feet of Thanatos. Bal's theory has limited application to art collecting, particularly to a collection of paintings that cannot be compared to a collection of stamps, butterflies or coins in that it is more open-ended and usually does not contain a finite number. Bal does not deny that the complex or motivation to collect is a true *problematic*. That is, "the impulse to collect within a cultural situation that is itself hybrid, is a mixture of capitalism and individualism enmeshed with alternative modes of historical and psychological existence."⁶⁴ Self-evidently, art collecting is illogical and motivated by desire. This desire may be triggered by any number of factors. A collector's motivation may be a pastime (and thus a deferral of time and a postponement of the end of time since an object can always be retrieved).⁶⁵ The desire to collect may be for aesthetic pleasure, risk or adventure, a sense of community, prestige, domination, sensual gratification, fantasy and the desire to reframe objects, the ambition to achieve perfection, extending the self, or reaffirming one's existence, identity or immortality.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 110.

⁶⁵ This idea was put forth by Baudrillard in "The System," *Cultures of Collecting*, 16-17.

⁶⁶ Bal, "Telling Objects," *The Cultures of Collecting*, 103, paraphrases Susan M. Pearce, "Collecting Body and Soul," *Museum, Objects, and Collections, A Cultural Study* (Leicester and London 1992), 48-67.

CHAPTER V

MERCHANT PRINCES AND PRINCELY COLLECTIONS

In the history of humanity, those at the top of the hierarchy are imperialists in the historical sense of the word. The term "imperialism," as I employ it, comes from the concept of an imperial force, like that of Alexander the Great, the Roman emperors, dictators and tyrants, Catholic popes, Christian kings, Catherine the Great who harnessed Potemkin, and the captains of industry whose wealth was created by the circumstances of the Industrial Revolution, itself supported by imperialism at home and abroad. All imperialists take the property and the labour of others to create wealth for themselves and surround themselves with the trappings of this wealth. Paramount amongst imperial signs is ownership of a collection of art –from the Renaissance onwards paintings were seen as the pre-eminent form of visual art.

Merchant Princes

The historiography of art collecting, the body of writing on art collections and art collectors, is weighted towards scholarship focused on fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth-century European collections. However, there is a continuum in the use of art for ostentatious display, and for its signification of knowledge or learning. Ownership of a recognized collection of paintings suggests that the collector has the sophistication necessary to collect art and the knowledge to know what to collect. The fact that many are intimidated or awed in the presence of art suggests a specialized learning is necessary to understand it. At the very least, one should possess a degree of comfort with the social norms of its production and reception. Collecting and displaying art, associated with power and the right to rule, have several precedents: The fifteenth-century activity of

three generations of Medici in Florence;¹ the sixteenth-century acquisitiveness of the papal court in Italy;² the sixteenth-and seventeenth-century formation of princely collections by rulers such as the Hapsburgs in the German lands and Spain;³ and the emulation of "princely collections" by aristocrats and bourgeois collectors in eighteenth-century England.⁴ In the Canadian context we find the adaptation of art collecting by a small elite in nineteenth-century Montreal as part of their transition from bourgeoisie to titled aristocracy.

In collecting and displaying art for its semiotic value, the Medici in Florence (1434 to 1494) positioned themselves as being more worthy than their former peers, thereby legitimizing their defacto rule.⁵ There is a correlation between the social mobility of the Medici from merchants to princes in the sixteenth century and the change in status of an elite mercantile class in Montreal to aristocratic entitlement in the late nineteenth century.⁶ In Montreal those who earned their fortunes through mundane business endeavours came to be called "Merchant Princes." The connection with fifteenth-century Florence is clear – just as the Medici grew rich through banking and money lending, the Montreal collectors in this thesis controlled the Bank of Montreal, the richest bank in Canada in the late nineteenth century. The Medici fortune was accumulated through

¹ The three generations of the Medici family considered are Cosimo (1389-1464), his son Piero (1419-69), and his grandson Lorenzo "The Magnificent" (1448-92).

² Frances Haskell discusses papal collections in *Patrons and Painters. A Study of the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London 1963).

³ Niels von Holst, *Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (London 1967).

⁴ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York 1996), 34-42.

⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London and New York 1992), 47.

⁶ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 47.

usury. The Medici bank "remained a central pillar of Medici power."⁷ The fortune of one of Montreal's merchant princes, Lord Strathcona, was formulated similarly. After 1887, he had control of the Bank of Montreal as its largest shareholder. Additionally, like the Medici, he operated a vast network of private loans from mortgages to political "favours."⁸ One private loan, documented in the Strathcona papers, and amounting to the type of usury for which the Medici were despised, was to a Colchester brewer, Arthur O. Stopes, who borrowed £670 from Lord Strathcona in 1907. Subsequently, and as a result of ill health and bad fortune, Stopes was forced to sell his family home and all of its contents at auction July 20 and 30, 1913. Certain paintings listed for auction in this sale were singled out by check marks in the margins of the auction catalogue found in Lord Strathcona's private papers, indicating they may have been of interest to Strathcona. Eva Stopes's subsequent letter to Strathcona's daughter (Appendix X) refers to the kind of unfortunate situation that illustrates why there is a moral stricture against lending and borrowing. Concerning the "political favours" referred to above, much was made by political commentators at the time that Strathcona's *Last Will* forgave loans he made to two cabinet ministers, one in the Laurier government, and one in the MacDonald government.⁹ Lord Strathcona was known as a financier of the following projects: The Canadian Pacific Railway, the St. Paul and Deluth Railway (the basis of The Great Northern, the largest railway monopoly in the United States), and Burma Oil (that

⁷ Melissa Meriam Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico, Image and Anxiety, Politics and Finance* (Firenze 1994), Introduction, xi.

⁸ Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography* (Toronto Oxford 1996), 197. Through terms of his will, debts accrued through loans to political figures were cancelled. See McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 497.

⁹ See Appendix II of McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 534.

became British Petroleum). Strathcona's association with the CPR alone was enough to establish his primacy in Canadian politics, since the CPR *was* the state.¹⁰

The Medici gained power through money and maintained it by manipulation of the system of election of officers.¹¹ Preston, although suspect since he was a Liberal, made the case that Strathcona gained power through his wealth and maintained it as puppet master of the Canadian electoral system, bribing voters and elected officials.

In a capitalist society "a sense of having" dominates.¹² Arguably, the Medici had this instinct. The way they conducted their affairs was by the same principles that dominate capitalism – the use of the labour of others to build private fortune, concentration of wealth, and the resultant ability to influence government. As R.T. Naylor writes, Florence "suffered the sharp economic storm of an uncontrolled capitalism,"¹³ a situation also rampant in late nineteenth-century Montreal.

Additionally, just as the Medici assembled objects and re-circulated them into new discursive fields of power in the fifteenth century, so too did Strathcona and his peers with objects resonant of an aristocratic European heritage. The effect was to articulate a semiotic space of imperialist power. A display of arms and armour in the palace of a Medici, in the dining room of an eighteenth-century British industrialist or in the mansion of Strathcona, served the purpose of a military articulation of power.¹⁴ The

¹⁰ R.T. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age 1453-1919* (Vancouver 1987), 380 cites Edward Beatty, president of the CPR as stating in 1934, "We long ago ceased to fear the oppression of the state, for we long ago realized that we were the state."

¹¹ Frederick Hartt, *Italian Renaissance Art* (New York 1987), 205.

¹² Stephen F. Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art, A Critical History* (London 1994), Introduction, 11.

¹³ Naylor, *Canada in the European Age*, 123.

¹⁴ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 50.

Medici held armour for its possibility of being melted down into bullion in times of need.¹⁵ Carol Duncan points out that country houses in eighteenth-century Britain were also furnished semantically so that "Trophies in the hall, coats of arms over the chimney-pieces, books in the library and temples in the park could suggest that one was discriminating, intelligent, bred to rule and brave."¹⁶ Strathcona had displays of armour, arms, and coats of arms. Not only did he own a collection of Japanese arms and armour, but once risen to the peerage, he installed his coat of arms on the exterior of his estate home at Glencoe, Scotland.

Florence was the cradle of Renaissance humanism, with the Medici as its greatest patrons of the arts. They supported a Platonic academy and patronized philosophers, architects, painters and sculptors, leaving a legacy that is considered a high point of civilization. Just as Florence in the quattrocento was the financial and cultural centre of Italy, Montreal held this position in Canada throughout the nineteenth century. The idea that a man could achieve dignity by means of a classical education was a view shared by Strathcona, who quoted Livy and associated himself with institutions of higher learning. The humanists in Florence revived the study of ancient Greek and Roman texts and art, synthesizing antiquity with the fourteenth century. A humanist inclination in Montreal sought to graft European culture onto the body of Canada, and like Florence, Montreal had a large number of wealthy art collectors who sought to acquire the treasures of other ages to aggrandize their own. Just as the Medici invested their wealth to make Florence magnificent, so too did Strathcona seek to glorify Canada's place in the British Empire.

¹⁵ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London 1978), 3, cited by Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals* (London and New York 1995), 38.

¹⁶ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 38.

Many sought and received Strathcona's patronage. The Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, for instance, benefited from Strathcona's connections in scientific and political circles.¹⁷ Strathcona was also a patron of Canadian painters and musicians. In addition to Canadian paintings held in his own collection, Emile Falardeau in *Artistes et Artisans du Canada* mentions that Strathcona bought a painting by Aldéric Rapin "*La Descente des Rapides*." Falardeau also referred to a gold medal Rapin received:

Cette médaille avait été offerte par le grand financier anglais Sir Donald A. Smith, K.C.M.G. président de la Banque de Montréal, et protecteur des artistes de l'époque.¹⁸

Strathcona provided scholarships for music students and saw that Canadians had their opportunity on the imperial stage, as Willson recounts:

On the afternoon of Dominion Day the High Commissioner of Canada and Lady Strathcona gave their first reception in celebration of the day, at the Imperial Institute...a feature of the occasion, then as afterwards, was the music supplied by Canadian musicians studying in Europe.¹⁹

In an address at the opening of the Art Association of Montreal's new building at Phillip's Square in 1892, Strathcona expressed a desire for closer association between the museum and university education in Canada. He also envisioned "art professorships and lectures on the cultivation of Art, and its application to the industries of the country" so that "art and its refining influence may permeate the land, beautifying its homes, improving its

¹⁷ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 488.

¹⁸ Emile Falardeau, *Artistes et Artisans du Canada: Troisième Série* (Montreal 1943), 49.

¹⁹ Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, (Cambridge 1915), 464.

manufactures, and enriching the life of the people." He stated that encouragement of a Canadian school of art would bring increased patriotism.²⁰

Of Cosimo's grandson Lorenzo, known as "the Magnificent", it is said that:

He actively cultivated an image of his own magnificence, culture, wealth and power and understood clearly how he might use his reputation to gain political advantage.²¹

As Machiavelli notes in *The Prince*, how one is viewed in the eyes of others is more important than who one actually is.²² Lorenzo used diplomatic gestures or stagecraft and his reputation as a patron and connoisseur of art and culture to win fame.²³ Like Strathcona, Lorenzo's interest was less in patronizing art and artists than it was in employing their works as ambassadorial devices. Just as tours of the Medici palace were offered to visiting ambassadors, so too did Strathcona regale visitors with his galleries of paintings and objects.²⁴ Florence gained a reputation as a cultural mecca under Lorenzo. During Strathcona's era, as the host whose invitations were eagerly sought, Montreal became established as an imperial city and a North American cultural centre in terms of its architecture and the pleasures available to the wealthy. Montreal was considered "an important centre for art of the finest quality."²⁵

²⁰ These sentiments were expressed in Strathcona's address during the inauguration of the new building 29 November, 1892, and recorded in *The Art Association of Montreal Annual Report*, 1893, 5, 6.

²¹ Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 14.

²² Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (New York 1950), 65, cited by Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 25.

²³ Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 28.

²⁴ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 352.

²⁵ A London dealer D. Croal Thomson made this statement in "The Brothers Maris," a special issue of *The Studio*, edited by C. Holme (London 1907), xxix, cited by Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal 1989), 16.

Both actively sought to become connoisseurs and arbiters of taste.²⁶ Lorenzo did this by courting artists; Strathcona accomplished it by his attentiveness to British royalty, who were associated with promotion of the arts in Canada. Some further comparisons are pertinent: The Medici held onto rule by force of arms, and Strathcona financed an army to serve the empire. When he was fifty-five years old, Cosimo de Medici commissioned Michelozzo to build a house in the Via Largo, Florence.²⁷ In comparison, when Strathcona was fifty-five, he bought a grand stone mansion on Dorchester street and began to expand and decorate it until it became one of the most opulent homes in Montreal, appointed in a style understood in North American as being that of the Renaissance.²⁸ Hooper-Greenhill has argued that in Florence, the "best" collectors were those with the greatest resources "in terms of wealth and communication networks."²⁹ In nineteenth-century North America, art dealers formed their network around the new merchant princes, the barons of industry. In a world interpreted semiotically, Piero de Medici, son of Cosimo, gathered images of "Emperors and Worthies of the past" to indicate that he was their legitimate heir in terms of the power he held.³⁰ Similarly, the impetus for owning portraits of the Habsburg emperors and other members of the European nobility, as well as art once hoarded by them, served to suggest the collectors of Montreal were valid inheritors of the right to be rich. Both the Medici and Strathcona

²⁶ Gombrich, *The Early Medici*, 307-311, cited by Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 30.

²⁷ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 4.

²⁸ François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile, Montreal 1850-1930* (Montreal 1987), 54-55. The reference to North Americans adopting a style in domestic architecture that they understood to be of the Renaissance appears in McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 350.

²⁹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 65.

³⁰ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 29.

exemplified the ambition of the rising bourgeoisie and were regarded as upstarts by the aristocrats of their respective milieus.

However, as millionaires they could pursue the pleasure and the semiotic power of their fortunes. One of the greatest delights of being wealthy is to own works of art considered to be aesthetically and ritually splendid. That the Medici owned paintings of Christ, the Virgin and the saints is seen by Hooper-Greenhill as motivated by the perception of these paintings as objects of mysticism and contemplation.³¹ These precepts may well have been the motivation behind Strathcona and his Montreal peers, all Protestants of Calvinist origin, to acquire paintings of Roman Catholic subject matter. The aesthetic power of religious paintings would imbue the collectors with the perception of high morality. Installed on walls of stone, these paintings would convey a different message than the pastoral scenes that some of them also collected –that is, the Catholic paintings suggested the imperial power of the Roman Catholic Church, where bishops led military expeditions, while paintings of sheep suggested Christian values of a less militant type. In medieval Florence, family groups clustered together in neighbourhoods; in Montreal the wealthy lived along Dorchester Street and in an enclave known as the "Golden Square Mile." Just as the Medici directed the gaze of fellow citizens to visual evidence of Medici wealth, thus increasing their power,³² Strathcona and his peers created a spectacle for the eyes of their fellow citizens in the baronial architecture and its opulent contents.

³¹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 68.

³² Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 57.

Like Strathcona and his colleagues, the Medici were philanthropists, although perhaps self-serving since enlarging, building or decorating churches not only glorified God, but also the patron.³³ In order to atone for his sin of usury Cosimo de Medici "spent vast sums on public patronage...to erect the Church of San Lorenzo, to complete the Dominican Friary of San Marco...and to renovate the Church of the Holy Spirit in Jerusalem."³⁴

Strathcona's patronage of Victoria College (Illus. 12), the Strathcona Medical Building at McGill University, and the Royal Victoria Hospital also had the effect of creating public goodwill and countering criticism that most of the financial wealth of Canada was in the hands of the few.

Nineteenth-century imperial politics were not those of the Machiavellian late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In certain ways the nineteenth century was more sinister. Hypocrisy and smooth deceit were employed in both epochs, and where these methods failed, coercion and force were effective. Cunning and ruthlessness overpowered the gullible and treachery and greed bore fruit for the bourgeoisie who had gained aristocratic stature in Florence and in Montreal. There was the same obsession with power: In Italy, it was the Papacy against the city states, and in Canada it was the British Empire against a region already inhabited by French colonists and indigenous peoples who were pushed out, annihilated or reduced to abjection.³⁵ Resources were extracted, pollution spread and impossible settlements were established by a government

³³ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 34.

³⁴ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 55-56.

³⁵ For a discussion of cynical imperialist activity towards North American indigenous people see Naylor, *Canada in the European Age*, 399-405.

that used lies to attract settlers to inhabit areas of Canada where human physical labour and survival is still the driving force. The great empires of the nineteenth century were built on the backs of slaves, the indentured, and the deceived, whereas in Italian city states, craftsmen were guided by the rules of their guilds and considered their work to be that of free men. In Canada, freedom was an illusion: The life of Italian serfs seems pleasant compared to the struggle of peasants in Canada. Canadian agrarians were brutalized by extremes of weather, exorbitant railway transportation rates set by the CPR, and grain and livestock prices established by government agencies to keep the peasants in bondage to banks and mortgage companies.

Medieval Florentine society, comprised of priests, peasants and warriors all subject to the Catholic church, was replaced by a society of craftsmen ruled by guilds and controlled by wealthy families. Florence, a city-state, was a merchant city with a republican government dominated by bankers, merchants and manufacturers.³⁶ The Medici were not hereditary rulers, but they assumed this role through semiotic, economic and military articulation of power. So too did Strathcona, through the personal construction of his image, his economic signification, and his acts to institute military operations such as the Northwest Mounted Police, and the Strathcona Horse regiment.

Cosimo de Medici assumed many public expenses himself to lend the republic of Florence lustre and prestige.³⁷ Lorenzo de Medici entertained the Florentines "continually with masquerades and revels, pageants and processions, engaging the best artists to design the masks and decorate the floats."³⁸ Like Cosimo de Medici, Strathcona

³⁶ Frederick Hartt, *Italian Renaissance Art* (New York 1987), 12.

³⁷ J.H. Plumb, *The Penguin Book of the Renaissance*, (London 1961/2001), 140.

was fond of spectacle. Strathcona did not accept a salary as Canadian High Commissioner to London, nor was the lavish entertaining he provided in this post paid for by the Canadian government. Under his orders, a huge coronation arch was erected for Canada in 1902 to celebrate the ascension of Edward VII. Preston's animosity took the form of criticism of Strathcona's extravagance, when he charged that Strathcona approved the funds for the Coronation Arch without a thought as to who would pay the bill.³⁹ Preston writes:

The extravagance of Canada therefore created a record. The crimson roses alone that were purchased to decorate the lower part of the structure, and which only arrived rich in fragrance the night before the coronation, cost more than all the other public decorations on Whitehall. In point of publicity Canada received ample return for the expenditure. The arch was the great feature of the coronation decorations. Pictures appeared in tens of thousands of publications throughout the world. Hour after hour as many as one hundred and fifty at the same time pointed their Kodaks at the structure. The issue of picture postal cards ran into tens of millions. Scores of excursions were run from all parts of England to London with the special attraction of seeing the Canadian Arch.⁴⁰

The arch was intended to be a highly-visible symbol of Canada's prestige, and the power of the High Commissioner. Four hundred years after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, cultural symbol of the Renaissance, another icon created himself in the New World as a symbol of Canada's entrance onto the imperial stage. The mythic aura surrounding Lorenzo has preserved his image. While both had political enemies, Lorenzo's own correspondence has helped to preserve his memory. Conversely, Strathcona's letters were destroyed by his family, and his personal and financial records

³⁸ Plumb, *The Penguin Book of the Renaissance*, 144.

³⁹ W.T.R. Preston, *The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona* (London 1914), 245.

⁴⁰ Preston, *The Life and Times*, 245.

were burned in a fire.⁴¹ The preservation of Strathcona's grandeur is not aided by the illegible handwriting of his existing documents. What Lorenzo did was to establish a foothold for his son Giovanni in the papacy by purchasing abbeys⁴² and financing the pope's debts⁴³ to ensure Medici survival after his death.⁴⁴ Strathcona's heirs live in Scotland, assured of their aristocratic status through a hereditary peerage. No heir was left in Canada to carry on his legacy or preserve his art collection that was left to rot for a number of years until donated to the AAM by Strathcona's grandson. Lorenzo's followers recorded his deeds for the glory of Florence, maintaining his legendary association with Florence, while Strathcona's supporters died out with those of his generation, who were loyal British imperialists. In Montreal, where a sense of Canadian identity has always resided uneasily,⁴⁵ imperialism gave way to nationalism and separatism. Just as the Papacy ended republican government in Florence, resulting in the dispersal of the Medici collections, bureaucratic and intellectual orders that imposed their own view of culture in Montreal dispersed the nineteenth-century Scottish collections.

Princely Collections

The ascendancy of the Renaissance papacy meant the popes became the princes and rulers of Europe. Nepotism, militancy, lust for power and sensual delight in visual

⁴¹ In January 1901 a fire in the Board of Trade building in Montreal reduced the bulk of Strathcona's records to ashes, McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 446.

⁴² Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 63.

⁴³ Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 189-214.

⁴⁴ Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, Introduction, x.

⁴⁵ Montreal was the primary site of Anglo-Canadian power until after the mid-twentieth century until Franco-Canadian ascendancy was clearly established in 1977 shortly after the first provincial election

display characterized the papacy. The predominance of the Hapsburg dynasty began when the king of Bohemia and Hungary was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1438, initiating the rule of the Hapsburgs as popes until 1806.⁴⁶

Rudolph II of Bavaria, a Habsburg who reigned from 1576 to 1611, as the Holy Roman Emperor, formed a collection of paintings as part of his *wunderkammer* or *cabinet of curiosities*. It is perhaps in the model he offers that one can see how paintings came to be displayed on walls, rather than on shelves, in a *kunstammer* or *cabinet of art* since he owned several thousand paintings. Rudolph II was said to be the most important collector in the sixteenth century. Since others have written about him, his collecting forms part of the discourse on collecting.⁴⁷ Moreover, Rudolph II provides an example of the bridge between the *cabinet of curiosities* and the impulse to collect paintings in a *kunstammer*. In the seventeenth century Rudolph's cousin, Philip IV of Spain, emperor of the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs, formed the greatest collection of his day, still largely extant. Philip IV's collection was important as a model for British royal collecting.⁴⁸

The association of knowledge with power related to art collecting activities of connoisseur-emperors like Rudolph II was transmitted first in the German lands through enactment of the ritual of citizenship through the visible symbolization of the privileged opening their collections to the public in order to retain influence in an era of German

victory of the separatist Parti Québécois which introduced Bill 101, also known as the charter of the French language.

⁴⁶ Peter Gay and R.K. Webb, "The Organization of Political Energies: Papacy and Empire," *Modern Europe to 1815* (New York 1973), 109-122.

⁴⁷ H. Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists. Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts, 1715-1633* (London 1976).

⁴⁸ Jonathan Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (1994).

nationalist stirrings. In France with the republican regimes, the Louvre was nationalized as a public gallery for the edification of the people and public galleries were instituted in every major French centre. This idea gained currency in England and America with the rise of the bourgeois mercantile class. However, individual bourgeois collectors had the same motive as earlier aristocratic collectors. The effect of owning a splendid collection of paintings elevated the bourgeois collector to the *semiophoric* realm. Certainly the collectors reviewed in detail in Chapters VII and Chapter VIII collected art as part of their desire to acquire aristocratic status. In addition to their acquisition of portraits of aristocrats, three of the Montreal collectors obtained portraits of the Habsburg rulers. Princely collections, then, were the models for bourgeois collecting activity in Montreal. Further, the desire to instruct and to set a high moral tone to improve others in society through the contemplation of art, a lightning rod of the Enlightenment, became a bourgeois moralising force in England and in North America. Art galleries open to the public became a nationalist factor in all countries one could survey. That is, art provided spiritual sustenance and elevated the citizenry by affording them the illusion of ownership of cultural property. In Montreal, collectors worked towards exhibiting their collections in various public spaces until the Art Association of Montreal gallery was opened in Philips Square on St. Catherine Street and Union Avenue in 1879. Strathcona's advocacy, shared by other Montreal collectors, was that Canada must display knowledge in areas such as visual art in order to be perceived as having an intellectual centre.

Without a soul, arguably the mind, intellection is not possible, and humanity remains base. Nationhood rests on culture.⁴⁹

Nineteenth-century Montreal provides an example of how imperialist intent can be detected in the art collector. Men, generally of Anglo-Saxon heritage, imposed a body of European art onto what they and visiting Europeans perceived as a void, to create what remains a Eurocentric culture. Ideas of what constituted "civilization" for Lord Strathcona are revealed by his activities on the Canadian stage. Most assuredly he wanted Canada to become a nation within the British Empire; his efforts geared towards realization of the nation-spanning railroad, trans-oceanic transportation, investments in technology, involvement in politics and imperial administration were directed to this cause even as he dictated instructions from his death bed.⁵⁰ Strathcona also understood his capability as a nation-builder, and how visual display in his person and his accoutrements would serve his goals. Certainly he was indoctrinated into, and had absorbed, the tropes of imperialism. His art collection was not only a backdrop for his progression as a colonial "prince" but it served to position him in the field of discourse with other collectors, both chiefs of industry and royalty. The Art Association of Montreal served as an instrument for them to project their ideals of high culture within a developing nation state.

In England Charles II (1600-1649) who reigned from 1625-1649, and his close advisor, Lord Buckingham, were influenced by an extended stay at the court of Philip IV. Charles II formed a collection that was rivalled in brilliance by the collection of his

⁴⁹ These ideas were proposed by Lord Strathcona in his 1892 address, as reprinted in the *AAM Annual Report*, 1893, 4-6.

⁵⁰ Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography* (Toronto and Oxford 1996), 494-498.

courtier, Lord Buckingham.⁵¹ When these two fell, one to the executioner's axe, the other to an assassin's will, their collections were sold at public auctions and many paintings found their way back to Spain, the Netherlands and France. Henceforth, in England, royal collectors maintained their collections for private enjoyment to avoid association with the ostentation of Buckingham's epoch and the violent resentment it had created. Conversely, British aristocrats and those made wealthy by the Industrial Revolution included paintings in their displays of wealth associated with power. According to Carol Duncan, this spectacle was mostly one of fashion or style, as she recounts:

The more land one owned, the more patronage, influence and wealth one was likely to command and the better one's chances to buy, bribe, and negotiate one's way to yet more wealth and social lustre.⁵²

Furthermore, art collections "betokened gentlemanly attainments" and "provided a display of wealth and breeding that helped give point and meaning to the receptions and entertainments they adorned."⁵³ Just owning paintings and art gave one the veneer of knowledge. As Duncan concludes,

However shallow one's understanding of them, to display them in one's house and produce before them the right clichés served as proof that one was cultivated and discerning and fit to hold power. Whatever else they might have been, art

⁵¹ For a discussion of Buckingham collection and his relationship to Charles I and Charles II, see Ron Harvie, *The Spectre of Buckingham: Art Patronage and Collecting in Early Stuart England*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, 1998.

⁵² Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 35-40. Duncan cites her sources for eighteenth-century English dynamics as being Asa Briggs, *The Making of Modern England, 1783-1867: The Age of Improvement* (New York 1965); Harold James Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (London 1969); Philip Corrigan and Erik Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford and New York 1985); Edward P. Thompson, "The Peculiarities of the English," in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (New York and London 1978), 245-301; and Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York 1973). This citation appears in Duncan's endnotes for Chapter II, *Civilizing Rituals*, 143.

⁵³ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 38.

collections were prominent artifacts in a ritual that marked the boundary between polite and vulgar society, which is to say, the boundary of legitimated power.⁵⁴

It is necessary to quote Duncan at length, because her discussion points to the difference between eighteenth-century collecting in England and the aspirations of the collectors in Montreal in the following century. The association of Lord Strathcona and his colleagues with the Art Association of Montreal demonstrates they had a civic conscience. While true that Strathcona and his Montreal contemporaries did not donate their art collections as a form of *noblesse oblige* or personal memorial, as did collectors such as William Thompson Walters in the United States, Canada's situation was far different from that of the United States at the end of World War I. The U.S. did not participate in the war, whereas Canada, a country with a small population and limited financial means, had been drained by participation in the war effort. Canada sustained not only heavy financial losses but also the loss of many lives, including those of the sons of the rich. After 1914, personal income tax was imposed in Canada to further diminish the family fortunes of wealthy Montreal collectors. While American collectors were in a position to benefit from the treasures made available by the changing fortunes of European collectors impacted by the war, the Canadian collectors redirected energy and resources to support Great Britain to win the war. World War I made the type of public-spirited generosity of the Americans who left their collections to museums less possible in Canada due to the reduced circumstances brought on by Canada's contribution of men and money to the British Empire.

⁵⁴ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 38.

CHAPTER VI

COLONIALISM AND CULTURE

Colonialism grew out of the Renaissance as a form of self-identification by a mercantile class in Florence and elsewhere, who justified their racist and imperialist assumptions of superiority by their liberal-humanism.¹ Kenneth Coutts-Smith states:

The notion that culture comprises a humanizing body of values and concepts through which the *educated* both recognize each other and communicate with each other (through the common possession of a vocabulary of metaphors and historical or classical references) was an invention of the High Renaissance.²

Coutts-Smith argues that bourgeois consciousness developed from the class assumptions of a European capitalist society that sprang from Renaissance mercantilism. These bourgeois capitalists formed a concept of "high culture" to serve themselves. Imperialism and colonialism cannot be separated historically or socially, since they arose from culturally colonialist attitudes permeating this domain of "high culture."³

John Ralston Saul situated the colonial as any cultural activity that looks to someplace else for its inspiration.⁴ In the late nineteenth century, the Scottish elite of Montreal looked to European architectural models as they built their European city on Canadian soil. Similarly, major collectors in North America during the 1890s can be regarded as operating from a colonial position, since the art they sought and acquired was

¹ Kenneth Coutts-Smith, "Some General Observations on the Problem of Cultural Colonialism," *The Myth of Primitivism*, ed. Susan Hiller (London and New York 1991), 16-19.

² Coutts-Smith, *Myth of Primitivism*, 19.

³ Coutts-Smith, *Myth of Primitivism*, 16, 17.

⁴ John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the end of the twentieth century* (Toronto 1997).

from elsewhere. Many nineteenth-century collections formed in both Canada and the United States could be termed colonial collections, or imperialist collections.

Montreal's leading citizens wanted Montreal to be known as an imperial city, according to laudatory publications of the day.⁵ In *Colonialism and Culture*, Nicholas B. Dirks states that "in certain important ways, culture was what colonialism was all about."⁶ Dirks claims that colonial conquest produced and enabled colonial knowledge, a view also proposed by Edward Said.⁷ Those interested in developing a "higher" culture in Montreal were relying on European prototypes. Not only was elite cultural distinction fundamental to distance the capitalists from the workers in order to demarcate a privileged class status, but nationalism also entered into the quest, as Dirks proposes:

Claims about nationality necessitated notions of culture that marked groups off from one another in essential ways, united language, race, geography and history in a single concept.⁸

Dirks's assessment that "colonial rulers were always aware that their power was dependent on their knowledge"⁹ deserves further consideration. An *imperialist ideology* united those of the same language and class who dominated, creating their own sphere of

⁵ Board of Trade, *Montreal: The Imperial City of Canada. Illustrated Edition of Montreal* (Montreal 1909) and Board of Trade, Montreal, *The Metropolis of Canada: the rise, progress and development of its industries...* 1907, purport Montreal as being an imperialist city.

⁶ Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor 1992), 3.

⁷ Edward Said "Yeats and Decolonization," in Terry Eagleton, *Frederic Jameson and Edward W. Said, Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature* (Minneapolis 1990), 72, postulates that culture was "the vital, informing and invigorating counterpart of the economic and political machine that stands at the centre of imperialism."

⁸ Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*, 3.

⁹ Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*, 7.

power.¹⁰ In his discussion of cultural hegemony Anthony Giddens proposes that ideology is produced in language, providing agency to the individual. Rosalind Coward and John Ellis consider this same question. They reiterate that the individual in society is socially constructed by language. Their thesis is an idealist assumption that bourgeois ideology seeks to establish individual free will, as against Marxist dialectical materialism, where the subject is already created by the system. Bourgeois idealism presented society "as consisting of 'free' individuals, whose social determination results from their pre-given essences like 'talented', 'efficient' 'lazy', 'profligate', etc."¹¹ That Giddens could not have formulated his *structuration theory* without the models of Marxism and Saussure's Structuralism is clear. Marxism posits modes of production as ideological, based on class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In Marxism, social explanations exist for who becomes a capitalist and who remains a labourer, determined largely by class structures. The state supports the ruling class and is controlled by it. Marxism originated as a polemic for the rise of the proletariat based on collective action; but it is a limited model for determining the cultural space of late nineteenth-century Canada. During this era in Canada, the state supported the ruling class, since not surprisingly the 'state' *was* the ruling class. Giddens's philosophy arises from the Althusserian model of the individual constructed within capitalism to the advantage of the ruling class. Althusser's philosophy is Marxist, however, and does not account

¹⁰ Michel Foucault proposes that all forms of knowledge are productive of power. See *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (Brighton 1980).

¹¹ Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, *Language and Materialism, Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject* (London, Henley and Boston 1977), 2. Part of the colonial ethos was to designate non-European people as "shiftless," "lazy," and so forth, discussed by Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather, Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York 1995).

satisfactorily for humanistic free will outside ideology.¹² Giddens drew on the model of Lacanian psychoanalysis in his insistence on individual will. In Lacan, it is straightforward that the dialectic between language and ideology is not the same as the one which is formulated by Marxism. It is Lacan's idea that the subject is formed through acquisition of language and resultant social relations. One's *subjectivity*, defined by Chris Weedon as one's conscious and unconscious thoughts, emotions and sense of oneself and one's way of understanding one's relation to the world,¹³ evolves around language and the discourse with the other. This creates what Lacan determined was a 'dialectic of desire' where wholeness is never possible, and where one strives to satisfy the narcissistic drive of one's ego, in turn creating individual agency,¹⁴ a principle of Giddens's *Structuration Theory*. The issue of elites formed through a common language is germane to Montreal, where those who became wealthy in the nineteenth century were most often Scots who had become Canadian. As Luc d'Iberville-Moreau elaborated in *Lost Montreal*, French Canadians "withdrew into their language and religion, leaving business to *Les Anglais*."¹⁵ D'Iberville-Moreau found that in Montreal the French lived mainly east of St. Laurent Boulevard, while the poor, including many Irish people, lived to the south in what is now St. Henri and nearby districts. St. James Street, Notre Dame Street and McGill College Avenue in Old Montreal were a hub of horse, carriage and car traffic, while the most fashionable avenue was Dorchester, graced by twenty-five grand mansions set in

¹² For a discussion of this, see Coward and Elsner, "Marxism, Language and Ideology," *Language and Materialism*, 61-92.

¹³ Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Oxford, Massachusettes and Cambridge, U.K. 1987/1992), 34.

¹⁴ This summary is drawn from Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits* (Paris 1966).

¹⁵ Luc d'Iberville-Moreau, *Lost Montreal* (Toronto 1975), 6 and 34,35.

spacious grounds.¹⁶ The present Canadian Centre for Architecture, at 1920 Baile Street, parallel to the former Dorchester Street, occupies the site of Strathcona's house, demolished in 1941. The Canadian Centre for Architecture also incorporates the Sir Thomas Shaughnessy house, once a duplex owned jointly by Van Horne and Strathcona.

Donald MacKay's description of Strathcona's residence notes that it had a \$50,000 mahogany staircase built by cabinet masters, dovetailed without nails "in its majestic sweep through the three-storey house..."¹⁷ Donna McDonald learned that this staircase led to a picture gallery that doubled as a ballroom. A skylight stretching the length of the room provided light for an alcove for musicians (Illus. 14). The Strathcona dining room was decorated with a tapestry depicting scenes from seventeenth-century Europe and a portrait painted of Strathcona by British academic artist William Walter Ouless. Three stained glass bow windows in this room, re-installed on the south wall of the Weston Pool after they were removed from Strathcona's home before its demolition in 1941, record names of French and English men important to the history of Canada. In acknowledging the history of Quebec by retaining these windows, Strathcona would also have been aware that his legacy was tied to the British imperialists who won the battle against the French near Quebec City in 1759.

In Mackay's description of Strathcona's residence he notes that:

He hired an English butler, a dozen maids and footmen whose domain was the eight-room suite on the bottom floor, and [he] entertained on a scale grander than that of Ravenscrag in Sir Hugh Allan's most expansive years.¹⁸

¹⁶ Donald McKay, *The Square Mile, Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver and Toronto 1987) 41.

¹⁷ MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 113.

¹⁸ MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 113.

Rivalry between Sir Hugh Allan and Strathcona became bad spirited. Strathcona was omitted from Allan's list of guests for high-profile social events. This rivalry carried through to the awarding of the charter for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Allan's bid to build it was scuttled by Strathcona when, as a Member of Parliament, he put forth a non-confidence motion for the government of John A. MacDonald who had accepted bribes from the Allan consortium, as revealed in the press of the day. It was this acrimony that fueled Strathcona's grandstanding. It was no accident that the reception hall in his home accommodated two thousand visitors. Strathcona's home also featured: "Renaissance fireplaces, marble bathrooms, fifteen foot (five metre) ceilings, a magnificent conservatory and gigantic paintings..."¹⁹ Following the princely model, the paintings were installed with the same purpose as that of European princes and rulers, whose goal was "to dazzle and overwhelm both foreign visitors and local dignitaries..."²⁰

Krzysztof Pomian has proposed that it is the social hierarchy that inevitably leads to the birth of collections. The nature of Strathcona's collection reflects his position in the hierarchy of education, wealth, power and prestige. Pomian, although speaking of the fourteenth century, stated:

Men at the top of the power hierarchy were required to manifest their artistic tastes... They founded collections or else ordered their servants to do so in their stead, these collections being a mark of their superiority and of their prominent position in the domain of meaning.²¹

Art collections and patronage were tools of cultural domination and by

¹⁹ François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile, Montreal 1850-1930* (Montreal 1987), 54-55.

²⁰ Carol Duncan, "From the Princely Gallery to the Art Museum," in *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York 1995), 22

²¹ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, U.K. 1990), 38.

purchasing culture (art, education) one could control the *semiophoric* meanings invested in objects.²² In the world of nineteenth-century capitalism, it was not necessary to have academic knowledge to be perceived as knowledgeable, as Carol Duncan argues in her book.²³ That Strathcona collected art, and what it likely meant to him is intriguing in light of what transpired between Lord Mount Stephen and Strathcona. Stephen charged in a typewritten statement that Strathcona took the credit for the CPR railway without doing any of the work after 1882.²⁴ Pomian's theory, then, provides a motive for Strathcona's behaviour: he distanced himself from the accounting and ongoing administration, which bored him in any case, to leave the mundane to others.²⁵ Pomian's idea of "distance" creating a perception of cultic magic is similar to the phenomenon discussed by Walter Benjamin as auratic. For Benjamin, "the essentially distant object is the unapproachable one. Unapproachability is indeed a major quality of the cult value."²⁶ Strathcona's posturing was effective in nineteenth-century imperialist society. To this day,

²² Pomian's succinct discussion appears in *Collectors and Curiosities*, 39.

²³ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 34-38.

²⁴ National Archives of Canada, Sir Donald A. Smith fonds, A1635 /1636. Photographs reveal George Stephens also had an impressive mansion and an art collection. Since it seems to have remained private, very little is known about it.²⁴ A site visit in September 2001 to Mount Stephens's former home at 1440 Drummond Street in Montreal, now the Mount Stephen Club, revealed that no original paintings are in situ. In addition to paintings of a later era, generally nondescript, there are several copies of portraits of Lord Mount Stephen, as well as copies of photographs of his family members. A reproduction of a photograph of Queen Alexandra and Edward VII is installed in a main floor office. Notman photographs show Oriental ceramics were positioned as decorative elements. Similar looking ceramics are in place at the Mount Stephen Club.

²⁵ Strathcona's illegible record-keeping and loathing for accounting was a source of continual irritation for Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, according to McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 43, 44. McDonald speculates he "was more interested in the broad sweep of ideas than he was in bookkeeping minutiae, although his superb memory for figures meant that ledgers sometimes seemed superfluous to him" in McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 49.

²⁶ Andrew Benjamin and Peter Osborne, eds. *Walter Benjamin's Philosophy, Destruction and Experience* (London and New York 1994) citing Walter Benjamin *Illuminations*, H. Zohn, transl. (New York 1969), 243, and Benjamin *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 1, 2 (Frankfurt am Main 1974), 479.

Strathcona's cult value remains the strongest presence at Montreal's Mount Royal Club on Sherbrooke Street where a portrait of him by Robert Harris reigns in the lobby, and the "Strathcona Room" at the top of the stairs remains set for a knight's reception. Strathcona was an effective *semiophore-man*. His courtly appearance, rigid courtesy, and icy self-control led MacNaughton to describe Strathcona as an inaccessible man, a Labrador iceberg.²⁷ In other words, he took on the appearance of distancing himself from the mundane. Willson's assessment is in accord with MacNaughton. Willson's analysis states:

He is too self-contained and too watchful to be drawn out. Control and a sort of lofty prudence are expressed by his bearing and by the intrepid look in his eyes. He carries with him the atmosphere that surrounds all men who have dwelt long in solitude. His favourite attitude when conversing is a strong folding of the arms and a downward pondering look.²⁸

Like other cities in North America, Montreal established a public art institution to share in European culture. By becoming active in the art world as a board member, executive and president of the Art Association of Montreal, Strathcona claimed his place in this social hierarchy. He was a wealthy man with social and political power. He served as a Member of Parliament in Ottawa for many years, first for the riding of Selkirk in Manitoba, and then as a Member of Parliament for the Montreal riding of Mount Royal. He acted as Chancellor of McGill University for more than two decades, and later, Chancellor of Aberdeen University. By the time he became an art collector, he was in a position of power in two major corporations, The Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway Corporation.

²⁷ John MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona* (London 1926), 365-366.

²⁸ Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, (London 1915), 596.

By becoming a major philanthropist of the day, he assumed the role of royal courtier, even a royal favorite, effectively a *semiophore-man* due to his high status. Strathcona required an opulent background and a show of power; not only were his Dominion Day parties in London social highlights, for which invitations were eagerly sought, but he entertained British royalty in his various homes.²⁹ Guests included the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra (Illus 15), who ascended England's throne as Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, Lord Lorne, Princess Louise, and her brother Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught with his wife the Duchess of Connaught, Lord Aberdeen and the Countess of Aberdeen, The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (the future Queen Mary and King George V), the Prince of Teck, and a number of Governors-General who used his house as their base when in Montreal. Strathcona's display of wealth, including his art collection, and his interaction with royalty were calculated to counteract his enemies such as Lord Minto, Governor General of Canada in 1900, who is said to have "disapproved of railways and the men who built them."³⁰ Strathcona's comfort with royalty was helped by his knowledge of art and his status as an art collector. Although he had met Queen Victoria many times, she reportedly disdained the circumstances of his marriage, and allegedly referred to him as "His Labrador Lordship."³¹ Victoria represented the great hypocrisy of her "age of upholding appearances." She harnessed the wealth and the political support of the wealthy middle class in spite of whatever personal views she held. Counteracting this type of snobbery (and hypocrisy) may have been a motivating factor behind Strathcona's grandiosity in the

²⁹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 423.

³⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 447.

coronation arch for George V, and in his lavish entertaining during Dominion Day in London.

Strathcona's rapport was stronger with the younger royals, Queen Alexandra, daughter of Danish King Christian IX, consort of Edward VII, and their son, who became George V in 1896, the year Strathcona was appointed High Commissioner to Canada. Elegant in attire of her own design (Illus. 16), Princess Alexandra was a talented watercolourist and photographer with her own painting studio at Marlborough House.³² She collected *objets d'art* such as Fabergé eggs. According to Strathcona's contemporary, Beckles Willson, "Between Queen Alexandra and Lord Strathcona the bond of personal affection and of veneration on the one hand, and of chivalrous loyalty on the other, was very noticeable."³³ It may be possible that Strathcona's support for women's education in Montreal, through his philanthropy, was tied into his chivalric wish to protect and champion women. Both Edward VII and his son referred to Strathcona as "Uncle Donald."³⁴ Queen Alexandra's daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Cornwall, visited Montreal and was the houseguest of Strathcona, as was the Duchess of Connaught, the wife of the Prince Arthur, youngest son of Queen Victoria, shown with two of her attendants (Illus. 17). The Duchess of Cornwall, later known as Queen Mary (Illus. 18) was known as a passionate collector of Chinese art, including lacquerwork, porcelains, bronzes and sculptures. Charlotte Gere and Marina Valzey, in their 1999 book, *Great Women Collectors*, paint a picture of Queen Mary an independent woman who

³¹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 424 and 447.

³² Charlotte Gere and Maarina Valzey, *Great Women Collectors* (London 1999), 110-113.

³³ Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona*, 564.

³⁴ MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona*, 5.

frequented antique shops, attended auctions, and decorated Buckingham Palace with hand-painted Chinese wallpapers, and bolts of damask and silk. Reportedly she had a curator's interest in all the royal collections and made their cataloguing her life's work.³⁵

In feeling comfortable around art, Strathcona could also feel better prepared to enter a conversation about it. As Carol Duncan's research into British art collectors reveals, the discourse required was superficial; merely to display paintings "and produce before them the right clichés served as proof that one was cultivated and discerning and fit to hold power."³⁶ Stephen Bann asks, "who is qualified to be a *semiophore-man* in a society in which the feudal hierarchy is yielding to the hegemony of bourgeois capitalism?"³⁷ The seventeenth-century British ecclesiastic John Bargrave's family qualified because they had a coat of arms and Bargrave's uncle Isaac was chaplain to Charles I. Just as Bargrave's father saw his passage from yeoman to gentry, John Bargrave was qualified, indeed obligated to express himself by converting the utilitarian into the *semiophoric*.³⁸ In comparison, Strathcona qualified as a *semiophore-man* because he was a bourgeois capitalist promoted by Queen Victoria to a position of lofty nobility. He had his own coat of arms, vast estates on two continents, immense wealth, and exquisite manners. He was not simply of the gentry – he was of the nobility. His utilitarian life was converted to the realm of the *semiophoric* by his own agency. He did not marry into property to regain status, as did Bargrave; Strathcona acquired his social

³⁵ Gere and Vaisey, *Great Women Collectors*, 102-116.

³⁶ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 38.

³⁷ Stephen Bann, *Under the Sign, John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler and Witness* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1994), 35.

³⁸ Bann, *Under the Sign*, 35.

standing through his capability, in spite of the British racism and snobbishness revealed, for example, in a letter written by Lord Minto, British Governor General to Canada around 1900. Concerning Strathcona's hosting of the future Queen and King of England in his Dorchester home during their visit to Montreal of 1901, Minto wrote,

...poor old Strathcona attempting to lead society [,] the ways of which he is ignorant of, with a squaw wife who is absolutely hopeless what could he expect.³⁹

Strathcona was also derided for his taste by Minto when he outfitted the royal suite with Canadian bird's eye maple furniture.⁴⁰ Strathcona did not escape from the colonial experience of rebuff. Whatever social limitations Minto perceived, Strathcona aligned himself with upper-class culture.

In full service to the Empire as a knight for twenty-eight years, there is little doubt that he saw himself as aristocratic and wished to be perceived as such by assuming the accoutrements. Strathcona perceived the code of liberal humanism identified during the Renaissance. His speaking patterns were always formal, and he gathered historical and classical references in his collection of manuscripts and paintings. He strove to rise to the top of the social hierarchy through adapting "high culture" to serve himself; this was, inevitably, a colonial response.

³⁹ Citation at second hand in McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 448, citing Minto to his brother, Peter Elliot, November 30, 1901, National Archives of Canada, MG 27, II B1, vol. 35.

⁴⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 448.

CHAPTER VII

THE ART COLLECTION OF LORD STRATHCONA

In this chapter, I provide an historical development for each genre of painting collected by Strathcona. After commenting on the form and meaning of works in his collection, I propose that his principal motivation for collecting was humanist imperialism.

Types of Paintings

Seventeenth-century Dutch artists were the first to provide paintings that appealed to a bourgeois market. In the seafaring nation of Holland, prosperous Calvinist Protestant merchants and farmers took to collecting paintings widely available in the marketplaces and from art dealers. They included landscapes, seascapes and marine views, scenes of everyday life, architectural views, pastoral scenes with domesticated animals, still life arrangements and portraiture. Collecting paintings became popular, and from this time, art dealers established themselves in Holland and in other European centres. As in even earlier eras, there was an exchange of ideas as artists who sought patronage traveled between countries during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

Landscapes

The landscapes of Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29-1682), who presented nature as an aesthetic experience bordering on the religious, were readily available in the nineteenth century. Strathcona acquired *Landscape with Rapids*, sold to him as being by van Ruisdael, but subsequently re-attributed to the Hudson River school. Nonetheless, it

demonstrates the influence of van Ruisdael on later painters. Moreover, van Ruisdael's vision inspired the Romantic impulse in other European countries in the following century. Romanticism, also influenced by Gothic architecture, sublimity in nature, and the emotion generated by colour, chiaroscuro and bravura brushwork, infused German art with a Romantic spirit, exemplified by the art of Phillip Otto Runge (1777-1810), and Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840.) Spiritual ideas about God, man and nature evoked by Runge's landscape paintings are also apparent in the paintings of Friedrich, who created landscapes melding nature and spirit in atmospheric colour understood as *sublime*. (The *sublime* inspires awe and fear and positions nature as an uncontrollable, overpowering and infinite force). Gothic landscapes such as Friedrich's *Ruins of a Monastery and Church Yard in Snow*, 1819, is really a vision of a graveyard, and demonstrates the association of ruins as melancholic images of despair and death. The Gothic style also became associated in the minds of the *volk* with nationalist yearnings, culminating in German unification under Otto von Bismarck in 1871. Around this time, and also influenced by seventeenth-century Dutch landscape and marine painters, British artist Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851) rendered his masterworks in light that dissolves substance, to suggest the drama of historical events charged by the force of nature. Turner, more than any other artist of this period, used colour to infuse his paintings with emotion. Turner's *Mercury and Argus*, 1836 (Illus. 20), epitomizing the sublime, satisfied several criteria for Strathcona. Acquired at a London auction in 1887, through the dealer Lawrie, it is larger-scale, measuring 150 x 109.2 cm., and thus would have a presence on his wall. It has the hallmarks of a salon painting in that it is of a mythological subject, and was painted by a member of the British Royal Academy. It also

has the undercurrent of the macabre present in many of Strathcona's paintings. The sketchy figures, obscured by a haze of colour, appear as if in Shangri-La or a heavenly marine landscape. Turner's atmospheric paintings paralleled an interest in natural science, electricity, and galvanization. Fifty years later, by the time Strathcona acquired it, this painting was probably considered more interesting for its Romantic aspects and its evocation of the sublime. That it was painted by one of the most revered artists in England gave it a cachet that a collector might well have found irresistible. Certainly such a painting did not allow social realities to detract from aesthetic pleasure. Like the Medici, who had revived an interest in classical themes, Strathcona was interested in classical references in art. During his thirty years in Labrador,¹ Strathcona had time to read and reflect on "philosophy, history, political economics, medicine, zoology, botany and theology."² Said to be cautious and watchful, revealing little of his feelings or thoughts, the story of the Roman gods Mercury and Argus may have appealed to Strathcona since it offers a warning of what disasters can befall one whose guard is down. Argus was a giant with a hundred eyes lulled to sleep by Mercury who then cut off Argus's head and put Argus's eyes into the tail of a peacock. Mercury, the god of commerce, travel and thievery, was eloquent and clever, much like Strathcona, judged by Father Lacombe to be "smooth but so firm."³

John Constable (1776-1837), also British, associated nature with an unchanging rural world. As with Turner, Constable is famous for painting skies of emotive power.

¹ The Biblical reference to the sojourn of Moses in the desert, where he clarified his thought, arises unbidden to mind. There are references in all religions to wisdom being gained through solitude.

² Beckles Willson, *The Story of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal* (London 1915), 86-87.

³ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 313.

While Turner's works can be seen to be questioning, if not critical, Constable presents rural landscapes as unaffected by industrialization or labour unrest. Strathcona owned one painting by Constable. *The Jumping Horse* is cited in a newspaper article published in Montreal in 1897.⁴ It appears in the 1914 inventory prepared by W. Scott & Sons (Appendix III), evaluated at \$7,500; it is also recorded in a detail of a Notman Photograph of 1915. The idyllic and poetic landscapes of French artists Claude Lorraine (1600-1682) and Nicolas Poussin (1593-1665), invoking a nostalgia for ancient Greece and Rome, inspired Camille Corot (1796-1875), who rendered figures, foliage, trees and skies in a blurry, painterly style different from the Neoclassism of Lorraine and Poussin. Corot's *St. Sebastian Succoured by the Holy Women*, is listed in the W. Scott & Son inventory of 1914, evaluated at \$20,000. It was exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal in 1890, and appears in a Notman photograph of Strathcona's collection in 1915-1916, but its present whereabouts are unknown. *Wooded Landscape* by Corot is listed in the W. Scott & Sons inventory, evaluated at \$10,000. Its present location is unknown. Corot was associated with the Barbizon School, a group of painters gathering in the forest of Fontainebleau near the village of Barbizon, thirty miles from Paris. With attention to nature, catching the effects of changing light in generally unidealized compositions, they painted. Members included P.E. Théodore Rousseau, (1812-1867), Jules Dupré (1811-1889), François Daubigny (1817-1878), Narcisse Virgile Diaz (1807-1876) and Jean-François Millet (1814-1875). Considered Realist painters, they drew on seventeenth-century Dutch traditions as well as Constable, in particular. In the increasingly dehumanized landscapes of the Barbizon painters the author Kenneth

⁴ Lennox Brown, "Art in Montreal," *The Herald*, 16 October 1897, Montreal, cited by Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920*, (Montreal 1989), Inventory, 181.

Coutts-Smith discovers alienation attributed to the artists' perception of the landscape as being an increasingly abstract entity in the industrial milieu of capitalism.⁵ Another group of Realist artists in Holland (1850-1900), reworked seventeenth-century Dutch genre traditions. Known as the Hague School, the group included Josef Israëls (1824-1911), Jacob Maris (1837-1899), Matthijs Maris (1839-1917), Anton Mauve (1838-1888) and Johannes Bosboom (1817-1891). Strathcona's collection contained two Hague School paintings by Joseph Israëls, both sold by the MMFA in 1945.

The Hudson River School, active in mid to late nineteenth-century America, found moral and religious inspiration in nature, borrowing from Dutch landscape conventions, Lorraine, Poussin, Friedrich and Runge, Constable and Turner, and the Barbizon and Hague school painters. The Hudson River School included Asher Brown Durand (1796-1886), John Scott Duncanson (1821-1872), Jasper Francis Cropsey (1823-1900), Fredric Edwin Church 1826-1900), Thomas Cole (1801-1848), Alfred Bierstadt (1830-1902), and Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904). Canadians Lucius O'Brien (1832-1839) and John Fraser (1838-1898) are often considered along with this school. Homer Watson (1855-1936), also Canadian, painted in the Hudson River style for ten years before falling more directly under the influence of the Barbizon school. Strathcona owned works by known Hudson River school artists, including *Autumn Scenery*, *Catskills* by Cropsey, and *Autumnal Sunset, N.J.* by Martin Heade, as well as works by O'Brien, Fraser and Watson.

⁵ Kenneth Coutts-Smith, "Some general observations on the problem of cultural colonialism," *The Myth of Primitivism*, Susan Hiller, ed. (London and New York 1991), 24-27.

The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) corporation offered free passage by train across Canada to encourage artists to paint the landscape. The CPR's intention was to use this art as propaganda to promote settlement to territories west of Ontario. A nationalistic school of art developed in Canada, based on the landscape as a metaphor for the power of the land and the resilience of its peoples. Even after publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871), nature continued to be considered a sublime and primordial force. For those in cities, landscape paintings offered the solace of unbridled nature without the need to leave the city. Landscape paintings in Strathcona's collection by artists who received free CPR passes or other patronage include John Fraser, Lucius O'Brien, James Alfred Aitken, Otto Jacobi, Wyatt Eaton, Homer Watson, Adolf Voigt and John Varley. It is not clear whether these works were purchases by Strathcona or if they were gifts to him from the CPR. Albert Bierstadt accepted transportation and accommodation from the CPR, perhaps hoping to rekindle his career through resultant patronage. To consider but one example, Bierstadt's painting *Mount Sir Donald*, 1889, was not purchased by Strathcona or any principal of the CPR.⁶ English artist Edward Roper's watercolour *Mount Sir Donald* met with similar disappointment.⁷ The majority of Strathcona's landscapes are European, but in fact the European vista is different from the North American. Strathcona perhaps felt more at ease with the picturesque than he did with sublime views of mountain peaks and deep valleys painted by artists in Canada in the 1880s. The picturesque represents civilization, while the sublime evokes wild, uncontrollable nature. The picturesque landscape may have

⁶ Donald A. Pringle, M.A. thesis, Concordia University, *Artists of the Canadian Pacific Railroad 1881-1900* (Montreal 1983), 148-160.

⁷ Pringle, *Artists of the Canadian Pacific Railroad*, 73.

been a form of escapism for him, since in his lifetime, he had endured much physical hardship, and he may have wanted to avoid reliving it. For instance, several times he had traversed Labrador to Montreal by snowshoes, a distance of two thousand miles. Before there were roads, he traveled from Montreal to Red River many times. He spent weeks in Louis Riel's jail, without any certainty that he would be allowed to live. He made more transatlantic voyages than anyone of his era, the last at age ninety-three when he traveled by steamship from London to Montreal, and then across Canada from Montreal to Vancouver by train and horse-drawn wagon. On this occasion, his carriage was overturned and he was thrown from it, tearing the muscles in his right arm and hand when the horses went out of control and nearly went over a cliff.⁸ Strathcona acquired a large number of landscape paintings. They range from seventeenth-century Dutch works, through to paintings by Canadian artists. Offering a window through which to observe the natural world, the landscape painting tames nature because it reduces it to the size of the canvas. Landscape paintings provide a distance from nature –there is no trudging through undergrowth, pursued by flying and stinging insects. It is rendered immutable. Encased in a frame, the landscape is also within range of control, to be revisited or disregarded. The landscape painting is the perfect frolicking ground for men who prefer the pursuit of business and wealth to the enjoyment of the pleasure nature provides. The landscape painting is the capitalist's princely park, whether forest reserve, mountain range, marine coastline or hillside vista. Capitalist wealth in the empire was created by the sweat of others not only in farming, but in timber clearcutting and pulp milling, and mining. The rich could afford to enjoy the landscape on estates so vast that the properties

⁸ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 476.

of neighbours did not encroach on their view. (Notably, Strathcona owned country estates in Canada, England and Scotland). To remove themselves further from the trouble of estate management, picturesque views of the world provided satisfaction without distress.

Dutch and English Marine Views

This genre has been interpreted as a celebration of Dutch and English primacy on the sea. As such, marine views commemorate the idea of empire.⁹ Another idea is that ships in distress, like those painted by Turner, are interpreted as "metaphors for the human soul, its early vicissitudes and yearning for salvation...and the precariousness of human pride."¹⁰ Strathcona's holdings in this genre seem to have been limited to two seventeenth-century Dutch works, and two nineteenth-century marine paintings by English artists. He possessed *River by Moonlight with Boats* by Aert van der Neer (1604-1677), *Dutch River Scene*, 1624-1629 by Jan van der Cappelle, a pupil of Cuyp and a friend of Rembrandt, *View on the Thames* by John Linnell (1792-1882) and *Leaving Port* by English painter Frank Wasley. The 1927 inventory (Appendix II) documents two other marine views, one by American artist Warthington Whitredge (1820-1910), entitled *By the Sea* and a painting entitled *River with Boats*, undated and unsigned except for the initials J.R.P. By contrast, Strathcona's associate, George A. Drummond owned twenty-six marine views.

⁹ George S. Keyes, *Mirror of Empire, Dutch Marine Art of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge 1990), 37-50.

¹⁰ L. O. Goedde, "Consentation, Realism and Interpretation of Dutch and Flemish Tempest painting," *Simolus 16* (1986), 139-149, cited by George S. Keyes, *Mirror of Empire*, 110.

Rural Views with Domestic Animals

The descriptive titles of two paintings acquired by Strathcona, *Sheep*, 1844 and *Sheep Leaving the Barn*, 1880, by Eugène Joseph Verboeckhoven,¹¹ indicate these are genre paintings of rural scenes with sheep. Two other paintings by Barbizon artist Charles Émile Jacques (1813-1894) *Fowls in Barnyard* and *Girls Feeding Sheep at Barn Door* may be categorized as of this genre. They offer a pastoral view free from the realities of the poverty often associated with the lot of the shepherd. In Christian iconography, sheep are a metaphor for Christians (the lambs of God). Paintings associated with the land, owned by the newly rich, allowed them to feel pious but also generated a bond with an imagined aristocratic past, where feudal lords or landed gentry owned vast herds, the peasants who tended them, and the land that provided for them. In the case of the Montreal collectors, none came from rural backgrounds, or peasant stock. All owned one or more country estates, not inherited, but rather acquired by the wealth they created from their capitalist activities.

Genre Paintings: Scenes of Everyday Life

Popularized by the Dutch, this genre found new life in nineteenth-century France. Millet idealized peasants at work, affording a romanticized dignity to hard labour. While his attention to realistic detail categorizes him as a Realist artist, his art retains a Romantic aspect, as does that of the *animalier* or painter of animals Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899), whose brushwork and chiaroscuro evince a debt to Théodore Géricault (1791-1824), who included horses in his history paintings as a metaphor for suppressed human

¹¹ These works were purchased at the Mary Jane Morgan Auction in 1886.

poetntial."¹² While Gericault depicted struggles between animals and men as a metaphor for human reason and animal passion, certain of Bonheur's paintings are closer in mood to the calm landscapes of sheep at pasture by Charles Émile Jacques. Jules Breton (1827-1906), a salon painter of the 1850s, painted idealized processions of pious peasants with realistic attention to regional costume, presenting rural life as static and wholesome. By contrast, Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) agitated social revolution by his portrayal of labouring peasants and citizens ascended from peasant class to the petit-bourgeoisie, who assumed bourgeois cultural codes. Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891) also was stirred by socialist realities after serving duty as a captain in the National Guard in the French Revolution of 1848.

The inventory I have reconstructed indicates that Strathcona owned approximately eighteen paintings of everyday life scenes. Examples of this genre are *Man Playing a Guitar* by Meissonier, *Young Artist Seated at a Table* by Thomas Couture and *Man Sawing Logs in Woods*, 1894 by Homer Watson. None of Strathcona's paintings in this genre are critical or questioning of prevailing styles and attitudes, although the number of working class hourly wage earners doubled in Montreal between 1870 to 1911, providing cheap labour for Canada's industrial revolution.¹³ In Montreal, poverty reduced workers to slum living conditions, malnutrition, and an infant mortality rate of more than twenty-five percent.¹⁴

¹² Harold Rosenblum and H.W. Janson, *19th Century Art* (New York and Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1984), 118, 119.

¹³ Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897-1929* (Toronto, 1974), 9.

¹⁴ J.M. Bumstead, *The Peoples of Canada, A Post-Confederation History* (Don Mills, Ont. 1992), 87, 88.

Popularized by Jan Vermeer (1632-1677), views of seated, standing, or relatively inactive females of all ages, usually domestic servants, with trite narrative content and the inclusion of iconic objects, such as a lute, representing lust, are meant to be moral admonishments. In a similar vein, Jan Steen (1625/26 – 1679), painted vignettes of daily life, including portrayal of children, adapted as a style by Jean-Baptiste Chardin (1699-1779) in his paintings of middle-class life in eighteenth-century France. William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905), a right-wing academician who painted in a Neoclassical style, often featured women and children in his paintings. There are abundant examples of nineteenth-century salon painters adopting this composition and subject matter as a saleable commodity. In this category, one could add the subject of a saintly mother, often used as propaganda, not only in Roman Catholic portrayals of the Madonna meant to encourage the flock to multiply, but in nineteenth-century portraits of Marie Antoinette as a good mother by Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842), intended to counter criticism of the queen. While seventeenth-century Dutch domestic scenes with a mother and children are portrayals of everyday life, they do not have the overt moralizing aspect of works by Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), an artist championed by the influential critic Denis Diderot (1713-1784). More critical is the art of Octave Tassaert (1800-1874) who realistically portrayed mothers suffering from poverty and other social problems.

Strathcona's "women on a pedestal" and Embodiments of the Macabre

Victorian paintings illustrate the bourgeois ideal of chaste middle-class women who stayed at home as caregivers and mothers, while working-class women performed menial domestic and sweated labour, often under inhumane conditions for a pittance.

Mother and Children in Church, 1886 (Illus. 21), a Realist portrait by Dutch academic artist Thérèse Schwartz is of an unsmiling, seated, peasant woman bearing an anxious look. Three children whose eyes are closed form a pyramid around the woman's body echoing earlier conventions of composition, particularly renditions of the Madonna and Christ. The distancing of bourgeois women from carnality eroticized them as Madonna figures –virgins even after childbirth. Strathcona may have found this group engaging for its depiction of the family unit. Three of his siblings died, one as a baby, disrupting his own family. The closed eyes of the children in this painting represent the spectre of death. The painting belongs to the idealized mother category of paintings Strathcona held. Janet Brooke has pointed out that Schwartz's painting "reflects the influence of current trends in French academic painting and of her Hague School contemporary Josef Israëls."¹⁵ If this were a Realist painting of another subject matter, it may not have attracted Strathcona -- considering that apart from a few Barbizon paintings in his collection, the only Realist paintings he acquired were of women or children. While true that Realism in art was based on a petit-bourgeois ideology, reality is also a spectacle where a semantic materialism is operative; that is, what *it is* as connoted by all elements. Barthes discusses the hermeneutic code that poses an enigma, solved by the progression of the narrative to reveal a truth. The key to the hermeneutic code is symbolic, essentially psychoanalytic, pertaining to who does or does not have the phallus.¹⁶ By having knowledge of the cultural code of the common people, Strathcona could enjoy his lordship, as he contemplated the pious mother. Viewing an unclothed woman such as

¹⁵ Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal 1989), 148-149.

¹⁶ Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, *Language and Materialism* (London, Henley and Boston 1977), interpret Roland Barthes' *S/Z* (London 1974), 45-60.

Manet's *Olympia*, 1863, would have embarrassed Strathcona, but the gaze is no less searching or scopophilic when the body is covered by cloth.

There is also a fetishistic aspect in *Two Children with a Kid*, 1860 (Illus. 22), by Narcisse Virgile Diaz de la Peña. Chiaroscuro dramatizes the supernatural effect of this painting. Together with the halo around the girls' heads, the unnatural look on their faces, and the funereal flowers sprinkled in the foreground, there is a feather on the side of the child on the right suggesting the wing of an angel. The fluffy goat with downward looking eyes has the softness of a cloud. The fact that the goat is smiling indicates it is an allegorical reference to God. This painting may be considered as part of the Victorian "cult of the little girl,"¹⁷ a continuation of the eighteenth-century convention of Sir "Sloshua" Reynolds.¹⁸ Understanding little girls as innocent and unsexed avoids the connection to death, since sex, in the Victorian era was associated with death.¹⁹ Precedents date from the Middle Ages, especially scenes of the *danse macabre*, which came to personify an association of women with death. The Renaissance topos of *vanitas* reminds one that life is brief. In eighteenth-century writings the idea of death as a crown of life emerges, as did the concept of dualities such as "no roses without thorns" and "no pleasure without sadness."²⁰ Pleasure and pain became associated as twins, where one was never found without the other. From the German lands the association of young women with death, and particularly infant death or premature death arose. Putti and

¹⁷ Carol Mavor, *Pleasures Taken, Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs* (Durham and London 1995), 14.

¹⁸ Desmond Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians* (London 1990), 221.

¹⁹ Mavor, *Pleasures Taken*, 25.

²⁰ E. Parkes Weber, *Aspects of Death and Their Effects on the Living* (London and Leipsic 1910), 52.

skulls represent the brevity of life and the idea that death commences with birth.²¹ As noted in Chapter IV, most collectors are not simply art lovers, but are attracted to certain objects because of their symbolic value which can aid in the collector's self definition. This painting may be a substitute for living persons, to help the collector feel he is not attached to the mundane world, since this painting has a strong Symbolist undercurrent.²² It was poignant for Strathcona since he had been attached to his wife's seven-year old sister whose death brought back the grief of losing his own sisters who died of smallpox.²³

Religious Art

If one considers seventeenth-century Holland as a point of reference, Rembrandt (1606-1609), preferred to paint Old Testament scenes, but he did not paint for a mass market. In predominantly Protestant Dutch society, architectural interiors of Christian churches, without statuary or icons, were acceptable. Wars and revolutions in the eighteenth century weakened European faith in God, although there was an attempt to revive religious art by a group of young German artists, known as the Nazarenes, who relocated to Rome in 1810. While Romantic artists such as Runge and Friederich contemplated the supernatural in their art, William Blake (1757-1827) rejected God as a vengeful being and invented a cosmology of his own. Painters in Great Britain may have

²¹ Jean Wirth, *La Jeune Fille et La Mort* (Genève 1979), 11, citing H.W. Janson, "The Putto with the Deaths' Head," in *The Art Bulletin*, t.19 (1937), 423-449.

²² The *Symbolist Movement* emerged in Europe in art and literature in about 1885 and lasted until approximately 1910. It combined religious mysticism, pagan myth, the supernatural, the erotic and the macabre in fanciful and decadent compositions. It influenced photography, the Pre-Raphaelites in Great Britain, and the Surrealists in the next century.

been influenced by religious reform in England around the middle of the nineteenth-century. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB), for example, took their inspiration from biblical episodes as well as the medieval tales of King Arthur. Attempts by PRB members John Everett Millais (1829-96), William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) to create paintings with Christian themes met with critical hostility. Sadism is apparent in scenes of martyrdom such as that of St. Sebastian, associated with eroticism and the Symbolist movement around 1885 to 1910. Religious paintings of a suffering Christ are also sadistic, arousing an homoerotic impulse.

So, while there was some interest by nineteenth-century painters in religious subject matter, the nineteen paintings of this genre owned by Strathcona were executed earlier. These were amongst the earliest paintings he collected and may represent what he considered to be "Old Masters." This group includes two sixteenth-century painting by Flemish artist Abraham Bloemart entitled in the 2000 MMFA inventory as *The Woman Who Touched Christ's Garments* (Illus. 23) and *Christ and the Women of Samaria* (Illus. 24), that narrate biblical teachings. *St. Sebastian*, c. 1600 by Guido Reni, *The Virgin and the Infant with St. John*, towards 1650, by Jacques Stella, *Jesus and John the Baptist*, identified as Flemish School, towards 1700, after Van Dyck, and *Infant Jesus in the House of Joseph* by Annibale Carracci (1560-1609). Strathcona could have absorbed this inclination for religious painting through his kinship with the French Catholic priests befriended during his years in Labrador, as well as through the presence of icons in Quebec Catholic churches.

²³ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 79.

Salon Paintings

In the salon paintings associated with the French Academy after the mid-nineteenth-century, historical themes and religious subjects increasingly were replaced by scenes of everyday life, landscape and portraiture, to satisfy middle class rather than aristocratic patrons, and to reflect a disaffection with the Catholic church. The format of the paintings did not change, however. They remained large in scale and evinced the primacy of line or contour drawing. A highly-finished look remained acceptable. Classical, mythological, allegorical or Orientalist themes as well as contemporary journalism, became the subject matter of salon art.²⁴ The French salons, under control of the state, naturally encouraged art that was uncritical of church or state, resulting in sometimes stereotypical and clichéd art like that of Bouguereau, whose sentimental, saccharine art epitomizes the genre known as French academic painting. In the 1800s, "middle class audiences demanded an art of moralizing sentiment rather than the grand public narrative and history paintings that characterized earlier salons."²⁵ The salons of the Second Empire, the period when Napoleon III was emperor of France (1848-52), favoured artists who suggested Proletarian subservience, such as Breton, with his idealization of rural peasant life. The Barbizon painters were allowed to exhibit in the salons as well, since their art was not considered subversive. Rousseau, Dupré, Diaz, Troyon, Corot, and Daubigny all found patronage in this way. In England, the salons were not controlled by the state, but as in France, Academicians determined what was shown in the salons. An academic painter is one defined as undergoing rigorous training

²⁴ Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art*, 233.

²⁵ Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (London 1990/1996), 162.

in an academy or school of art, generally under the tutelage of a recognized painter and academician. In European cities, academies, whether state supported or not, were controlled by the art establishment, providing official recognition by way of placement in salon exhibitions, with a system of medals and patronage. To collect academic paintings was perceived as a conservative choice since the function of academies was to bring the fine arts of a particular country into line with international standards, as opposed to the regional or the vulgar.²⁶

A review of the biographies of the artists represented by seventy-nine paintings from Strathcona's collection in the 1927 Annual Art Association of Montreal Exhibition reveals nearly all of the artists were members of European or North America academies, and with few exceptions, all had exhibited in the salons.

The Appeal of the Salon for Strathcona

The Communicants (Illus. 19), featured as No. 355 in the Paris Salon of 1884, is typical of Jules Breton's style of processions of figures in a rural setting. It features a saintly-looking young mother, holding one small child by the hand, while a young girl, presumably her daughter, takes leave of two old people, possibly her grandparents, before joining a procession of other pubescent girls dressed in communion clothing. Bathed in golden light, the scene is set between thatched roof stone cottages, with a Gothic spire in the background. This painting falls into the genre of everyday life of the common people. It also features the subject of a saintly mother, and is a salon painting with religious subject matter, offering representations of women and girls. Strathcona bought it at

²⁶ Matthew Craske, "Commerce and Politics Connect All Parts of the World," *Art in Europe 1700-1830* (Oxford, New York 1997), 29.

auction by having an associate outbid all of the other high-profile collectors who sought it.²⁷ A number of observations can be made in regard to this choice: Strathcona acquired this painting at great expense for its prestige value, since Breton was one of the artists most sought after at this time by North American patrons. It suggests Strathcona's taste was similar to other middle-class collectors, and that competition and cultural domination was a motive to collect it. Moreover, this acquisition falls into the category of a commodity fetish, since it was an object, desired by others, and thereby satisfying to his libido. The Object Relations Theory can be applied to his action in lending this painting to several public exhibitions, where others could share in the joy of viewing it. He insisted that *The Communicants* be available to Montrealers free of charge for two days each week during the course of the 1887 exhibition at the Art Association of Montreal, thus fulfilling a ritual of citizenship.²⁸ This act generated what Russell Belk might describe as "a sense of noble purpose" in creating the opportunity for all citizens to benefit from the uplifting effect of this painting. Rather than any socialist sympathies activities like this may suggest, it is likely Strathcona's motivation was much closer to the civic patronage of the Medici. The Medici toned down their exploitation of their city's riches through endowments and public fêtes to shift public gaze away from a rampant capitalism,²⁹ similar to that existing in Canada in 1890, when one-third of Canada's wealth was controlled by fewer than fifty men.³⁰

²⁷ "A Wondrous Art Sale," *The New York Sun*, 7 March, 1886, 9, cited by Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, 23.

²⁸ "At the Art Gallery," *The Daily Witness* (Montreal), 8 February 1887, cited by Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, 60.

²⁹ J. H. Plumb, *The Penguin Book of the Renaissance* (London 1964/2001), 123.

³⁰ Luc d'Tberville-Moreau, *Lost Montreal* (Toronto 1975), 69.

Alexandre Cabanel's *Desdemona*, 1880, and Jules Joseph Lefebvre's *Sappho*, 1884 (Illus. 25), are examples of salon paintings by French artists, who were both members of the academy.³¹ *Desdemona* was a character smothered by her husband Othello in Shakespeare's play *Othello*. Since Othello was a Moor, the painting can be seen to be Orientalist, since the co-option of this subject in 1880 has that implication. *Sappho*, a legendary Greek poetess from the Island of Lesbos, is a mythological subject implying the intellectual capacities of women. The fact that Strathcona owned these and other academic paintings suggests the uncritical response of a collector not interested in questioning the status quo or seeing art as a vehicle for any revolution but the industrial revolution, which benefited the capitalist class.

Portraiture

Seventeenth-century Dutch prototypes reignited interest in portraiture in eighteenth-century Europe. Aristocratic portraits, more formal and idealized, remained an important source of income for painters like Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), and Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) in eighteenth century Britain. Society in Britain retained its aristocratic pretensions, although in the following century portraits were rendered with a greater deal of Realism due to the influence of photography, which in turn generated greater middle-class interest in portraiture. In North America, portraits of aristocrats

³¹ Both of these paintings were acquired at the Mary Jane Morgan auction in New York in 1886.

became available to collectors by the 1880s assisting "the captains of industry" "to simulate feudal grandeur."³²

Strathcona owned approximately ten portraits of aristocrats, and no known portraits of commoners. His interest in obtaining portraits of royalty and aristocrats represented his approval of the monarchy and his interest in the British aristocratic order. The chastity, simplicity and grace evoked in portraits by Romney, Raeburn, and Gainsborough echo Strathcona's mother's teaching concerning the qualities of a gentlewoman. As discussed in Chapter V, owning portraits of the rich and titled suggests one is entitled to display these because of one's own exalted status. Such a display also serves the function of creating an illustrious ancestry that one actually lacks. Titian's *Portrait of Philip II of Spain*, St. Thomas Lawrence's *Portrait of George IV* as well as other portraits of aristocrats brought royal and aristocratic signifiers into Strathcona's gallery. He owned portraits of *Lady Yorke*, 1785, by Thomas Gainsborough (Illus. 26), *Lady St. Germain*, 1785, by George Romney (Illus. 27), and *Cavalier in a Blue Suit*, c. 1866 by Ferdinand Roybet (Illus. 28). Gallantry or flattery directed towards women, emerged in eighteenth-century portraiture.³³ Strathcona's biographers enunciate that gallantry became part of Strathcona's behavioural mode.

One element of the semiotics of spectacle was the use of commemoration.³⁴ While Strathcona, Van Horne and Angus all owned paintings by Canadians, the commissions to Canadian artists were generally for portraiture. Memorialization must

³² Matthew Josephson, *Robber Barons, The Great American Capitalists 1861-1901* (New York 1934), 332-341.

³³ Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians*, 167.

³⁴ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (Stanford 1990).

certainly have been the motive. Wyatt Eaton painted *Sir Donald Smith with Lady Smith* (location unknown). Robert Harris received a CPR commission to paint Sir Donald Smith in 1892. This may be the black-on-black painting rendered in rich oil paint on display at the Montreal Mount Royal Club. It was presented to the club by two of the club's founders, R. B. Angus and Alfred Baumgarten, in 1907.³⁵ Three other portraits of Strathcona by Robert Harris are in position at McGill University. Two are on a wall of the music theatre in the Redpath Hall, adjoined to Redpath/Blackader Library. A full-length portrait remains in place in the lobby of the Strathcona Music Building on Sherbrooke Street at the corner of University Avenue (Illus. 8). A fifth portrait, depicting Strathcona standing in three-quarter view in the pose of a ruler, is predominant in the lobby of the Royal Victoria Hospital, McGill Health Centre to the right of the entrance door (not illustrated here). A portrait of Strathcona by Alphonse Jonghers is now in the McGill University Collection held by the McCord Museum, Montreal. As a gift to Strathcona, James J. Hill commissioned Adolf Müller to paint Strathcona's portrait (location unknown). A portrait of Strathcona in a buffalo hide coat by Sir William Ouless is now in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Conceivably other portraits of Strathcona exist in institutions he endowed, such as Aberdeen University. These paintings were intended for public display and to commemorate his philanthropy and patronage.

Imperialism and Japanese Art

Orientalist painting, a nineteenth-century phenomenon created by salon artists in response to European imperialism, is associated with colonial conquest and its ideology.

³⁵ Baumgarten's house with its orchestra pit and ballroom is now the McGill Faculty Club.

Situated by Edward Said, Orientalism is a system to dominate, neutralize and familiarize Arab cultures of the Near East. Orientalist painters generally featured Middle Eastern subjects, the lure of the harem, and the mystique of Islam. During the 1880s an equal fascination with the Far East arose as more detailed information began to filter out of Japan about 'masters' and 'schools' in the applied arts. Few traveled to Japan, the culture was not known, and scholarship was scant.³⁶ French critic P. Duchesne de Bellecour saw sculpture, porcelain and lacquer at the Japanese display in the exposition Universelle de Paris of 1867, and wrote about its sumptuous craftsmanship and intricacy of technique.³⁷ Objects filtered into the hands of discerning European collectors following the political and social upheavals of the Meiji restoration of 1868.³⁸ Parisian art dealer Philippe Sichel visited Japan to acquire art objects including lacquer and scrolls.³⁹ At the 1878 Parisian Exposition, the collector Emile Guimet showed Japanese sculpture, ceramics and other art objects. Apparently the organizer and the translator of this exposition established a shop in Paris to deal in Japanese art, and began supplying the European market.⁴⁰ One Tadamasa Hayashi appeared frequently in the *Journal* of Edmond de Goncourt, an avid collector of Japanese art. In 1883 the Galerie Georges Petit presented the work of several collectors including bronzes and lacquers from the ninth century to 1868. Louis Gonse,

³⁶ J. Earle, "The taxonomic obsession: British Collectors and Japanese Objects 1852-1886" *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 128:864-73, 1986.

³⁷ Elisa Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late Nineteenth Century Europe* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1982), 5.

³⁸ Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art*, 8.

³⁹ Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art*, 9.

⁴⁰ Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art*, 13.

who organized the show, wrote an accompanying book, *L'Art Japonais*,⁴¹ reviewed for a North American audience in 1884. Two other books, written in English, were published by William Anderson in 1886. One was *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* and the other was *The Pictorial Arts of Japan*. In 1886, Vincent Van Gogh and his brother Theo, both collectors of Japanese prints, staged an exhibition at the Café Tambourin. Their dealer, Samuel Bing, launched a periodical *Le Japon Artistique*, published in six volumes from 1888 to 1891 in French, German and English.⁴² In the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889, Japanese art was prominent. The following year, Bing organized an exhibition of seven hundred and twenty-five prints at the École Nationale des Beaux Arts that helped to stimulate a fad for Japanese art, with Bing as its leading European dealer.⁴³ The art critic Albert Aurier wrote that in a Europe dying of "bougereantesque" and "cabanelique" syphilis, the art of China and Japan was pure and original.⁴⁴ Following the Paris exposition of 1867, critics, artists and collectors formed the Société du Jing-lar. In 1869, the American painter John La Farge published, "An Essay on Japanese Art,"⁴⁵ followed by an 1876 book, *A Glimpse of the Art of Japan* by the American art historian James Jarves.⁴⁶ In 1876, Japanese art appeared in Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition.

⁴¹ Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art*, 14.

⁴² Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art*, 20.

⁴³ Warren Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, (New York 1992), 24.

⁴⁴ Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art*, 81.

⁴⁵ John La Farge, "An Essay on Japanese Art," *Across America and Asia* (New York 1870), cited by Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 20.

⁴⁶ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 20.

Seen by more than ten million visitors, it was the sensation of the exposition.⁴⁷ In 1877, Edward S. Morse, an American, went to teach at the University of Tokyo, and by 1880. Morse was appointed head of the Imperial Museum and the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts. His 1884 review of Louis Gonse's *L'Art Japonais*, helped to establish Morse as an authority.⁴⁸ Oriental art, particularly that of Japan, was popular in Montreal during the 1880s for its decorative aspects. This was likely export ware distributed by firms like Morgan & Co. Made-to-order furniture based on Oriental prototypes was offered to the Montreal elite by William Scott & Son, art dealers and interior decorators.⁴⁹ Japonisme also became the favoured style of interior decorators employed by rich New Yorkers. For instance, William K. Vanderbilt's Fifth Avenue palace was "cluttered with Japanese style" for a ball there, considered as the New York social highlight of the year.⁵⁰ By 1892, Morse's collection of Japanese pottery had been purchased by the Boston Museum of Fine Art, who also hired him as curator of pottery.⁵¹ Exhibitions mounted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1890s, and by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts where Ernest F. Fenollosa was curator from 1891-1896 created an awareness of Japanese art in North America. During this time, the Art Association of Montreal included Chinese and Japanese objects in their exhibitions, reflecting the interest of their collecting members. During the years Strathcona was president of the AAM, the 1892 Annual

⁴⁷ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 30, 31.

⁴⁸ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 27.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Collard points to Notman photographs from this era as evidence in *The End of an Era, 1880-1914* (Montreal 1977), 15.

⁵⁰ Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons, The Great American Capitalists 1861-1901* (New York 1934), 331.

⁵¹ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 28.

Spring Show featured Chinese and Japanese objects loaned by Strathcona and Van Horne.⁵² The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago was notable for its replica of the twelfth-century *Phoenix Hall*, near Kyoto, built in situ by Japanese artisans.⁵³ Van Horne and others in Montreal collected fine art books, and the AAM received news of Asian art through their book and magazine subscriptions.

Strathcona's Japanese Collection

An inventory prepared by William Scott and Sons in 1914 for the insurance firm of Craddock Simpson Company of Montreal, at the behest of Royal Trust (Appendix III) records the following:

On Japanese antiques and curios, including Satsuma sword guards, knife handles, bronzes, swords with lacquer racks, gold lacquers and suits of armour... \$210,000; On Carvings, Tapestries and other furnishing of a Japanese temple...\$26,000.

Notman photographs of the interior of Strathcona's Montreal home in 1915 show the Japanese furnishings and objects in place with his European paintings. One can speculate that Strathcona may have acquired his Japanese furnishings by employing William Scott and Son, fine art dealers and interior decorators to appoint his home.⁵⁴ Some conclusion about Strathcona's Japanese collection may be made by drawing a comparison to the collection of the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum in Springfield, Massachusetts. Like Strathcona, Smith collected armor, swords, daggers, porcelain,

⁵² *Art Association of Montreal Annual Report 1891* (1892)

⁵³ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 29.

⁵⁴ There is no evidence of this in any of the dealers files preserved at the MMFA or noted in the MMFA data bank.

stoneware, carvings and tea bowls.⁵⁵ G. W. V. Smith bought primarily through European dealers, but his collection was later deemed not to be of museum quality,⁵⁶ a fate also met by Strathcona's collection in the judgment of Cleveland Morgan, curator of decorative art at the AAM and the MMFA for more than forty years. There is no evidence that Strathcona sought advice from any expert, such as Fenollosa, who advised various American collectors, including Charles Lang Freer and Isabella Stuart Gardner.⁵⁷ However, Van Horne was considered an expert on Japanese art, and he lived next door to Strathcona. Frederick Baekeland's suggestion that "The desire for knowledge of the past or of other countries should not be minimized as a motive for collecting,"⁵⁸ seems relevant here. Strathcona's delight in acquiring "the entire contents of a Buddhist temple"⁵⁹ can be imagined. Together with a desire to impress, his purpose in securing this must have been intellectual curiosity. If he wished to emulate Van Horne, who approached his collection of Japanese ceramics in a systematic, scholarly way by creating an inventory of each object drawn with his own hand, then Strathcona possibly saw his own Buddhist collection as an archive of intrinsic information.

The Reception of Chinese art

The Victorian fixation with the collecting of information and objects from other cultures, its ordering, classification and re-ordering, provided representations of the world

⁵⁵ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 72.

⁵⁶ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 72, 73.

⁵⁷ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 38.

⁵⁸ Frederick Baekeland, "Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting," *Interpreting Objects*, 209.

⁵⁹ This appears in the Craddock Simpson Inventory, Appendix III.

deeply embedded in the culture of Victorian imperialism. The acquisition of objects from other areas of the world in which Britain had colonial or proto-colonial political and military interests, and the ordering and displaying of them by the British Museum, a department of the British state, formed a three-dimensional archive.⁶⁰ Britain attempted to claim cultural terrain over an Asiatic empire by staging imperial displays of objects on home soil as well as in Berlin and Paris. These expositions related directly to colonial military action since seized objects were displayed as proof of territorial and cultural hegemony. Although China was not interested in English goods, the British coveted tea, silk and porcelain. The British therefore began bringing opium, grown in British India into China. Use of opium then spread to every stratum of Chinese society. When the Chinese tried to stop this trade, the British responded by a declaration of war. Following British victory in the Opium War (1839-1842), the Chinese acquiesced to the treaty of Nanjing. Therein, Hong Kong was ceded to the British, and the Chinese were forced not only to open Canton and four other ports to trade, but to provide \$21,000,000 in silver to the British.⁶¹ Chinese contempt for the British imperialists and the hostility between the two civilizations contributed to European perception that China was backward since China remained closed and alien to outsiders, although all imperialists had a mercantile presence in China in strips of land along the coast. The French critic Théodore Duret apparently viewed Chinese art without enthusiasm.⁶² The public, in London and North America, however, were drawn to Chinese art with a great deal of curiosity, as evinced

⁶⁰ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (Stanford, Ca. 1990).

⁶¹ Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London and New York 1998), 33.

⁶² Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art*, 108.

by huge crowds attending the exhibition of English merchant Nathan Dunn's collection in Philadelphia in 1838, and in London in 1842. The Dunn collection toured for several years, before returning to the United States for exhibition at P.T. Barnum's New York museum. In 1851, the Dunn collection was sold at auction, having served the purpose of making Chinese art better known. One eyewitness, Sidney George Fisher, who saw the Dunn collection in 1838, wrote in his diary that the porcelains were splendid and the Chinese lifestyle was "luxurious and refined."⁶³ It is likely that high-ranking literati assisted Dunn, a Philadelphia merchant operating in China, to assemble his collection. Diplomatic historian Warren Cohen suggests Chinese efforts to apprise Americans of Chinese art and culture was a diplomatic ploy to establish a basis for good relations with the Americans, who were enemies of the British. The Chinese strategy was "to set barbarian against barbarian."⁶⁴ As China began to produce products dictated by import market considerations, workmanship declined, leading to the demand for objects of earlier provenance. These were acquired or requisitioned, usually unfairly, and displayed as spoils of imperialist overtures. Chinese design was known from *The Grammar of Ornament*, a widely distributed and immensely popular book published by Owen Jones in 1856. The London Crystal Palace Exposition of 1861 featured Japanese and Chinese ceramics, including porcelains. Certainly the impact of this was important in a North American context. The millionaire Walter Thompson Walters saw the Crystal Palace Exposition. Thereafter, in conjunction with George Lucas, an American dealer in Paris,

⁶³ Nicholas B. Wainwright, ed., *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871*. (Philadelphia 1967), 65-66, cited by Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 12.

⁶⁴ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 14.

and Samuel P. Avery, a dealer in New York, Walters formed a major collection of Oriental art.⁶⁵ Walters in fact held 2,400 pieces of Chinese ceramics and commissioned S.W. Bushell to write *Oriental Ceramic Art*, a ten-volume work. It is possible that Avery, whose brother was the American Minister to China from 1874, was Strathcona's New York supplier of Chinese antiquities, since Strathcona purchased paintings from Avery, and Avery is known to have sold Chinese ceramics to every major collector in the United States.⁶⁶ The Hudson Bay Company had been exporting furs to Japan and China since the mid-nineteenth-century, raising the possibility that ceramics appeared in Canada as part of the trade process, since, historically, ceramics always appear along trade routes. Additionally, ceramic items were used as ballast in ships returning to Canada. Chinese influenced wallpapers and textiles popularized by William Morris (1836-1896), first in England, then in Europe and North America, were imported by William Scott & Sons for his wealthy Montreal clientele.⁶⁷

Strathcona's Collection of Chinese art

At the 1890 annual general meeting of the Bank of Montreal, Strathcona, the bank's president, enthused that the CPR had realized the dream of explorers like Simon Fraser and John Stuart to find a trade route to China through Canada.⁶⁸ John C.

⁶⁵ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 18,19.

⁶⁶ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 19. So well regarded was Avery as a collector that the Metropolitan Museum of Art bought Avery's own collection of Chinese pottery in 1879.

⁶⁷ Collard, *The End of an Era*, 15-16.

⁶⁸ Naylor, *Canada in the European Age*, 476. John Stuart, Strathcona's uncle, was with Fraser when they reached the West Coast of Canada in 1808. It was Stuart who named the Fraser River after the leader of the expedition, in Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto, Oxford 1996), 20.

Ferguson, a Canadian by birth, and a scholar, missionary, educator and author of *Outlines of Chinese Art*, *Survey of Chinese Art*, and many published articles, may have met Strathcona and even offered him objects. While Ferguson did not publish until after 1914, the year of Strathcona's death, Ferguson, president of Nanjing University, was also an art dealer. After 1897, he was appointed by the Chinese reformer Sheng Xuanhuai to high-ranking administrative posts with the Imperial Chinese Railway Administration and the Ministry of Posts and Communications. Lord Strathcona assumed his role as High Commissioner to London in 1896, and with his powerful railway connections, he was at the centre of diplomatic circles, and was involved with establishment of the Imperial Penny Post. As Warren Cohen found, Ferguson "had access to the finest art collections in China and could obtain magnificent paintings and bronzes."⁶⁹ Since it is not known when Strathcona collected his Asian works, apart from the fact that they were on site in 1915 when Notman photographed them, Ferguson cannot be ruled out as a supplier.

Strathcona was involved in the establishment of the Canadian Pacific Railway fleet of steamers to the Orient by 1887, the same year "the CPR showed a profit for the first time."⁷⁰ Montreal established trade with China by supplying cotton from the Southern United States. J. J. Hill's Great Northern, with Strathcona as the third largest shareholder, also transported American cotton to China, competing with British and Indian supplies.⁷¹ Economist R.T. Naylor recounts that Strathcona was "ecstatic about the possibilities of the Oriental trade" for restoring Montreal as a mercantile centre of the British Empire. So successful was the CPR in this regard, that the United States levied a

⁶⁹ Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, 68.

⁷⁰ R.T. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age 1453-1919* (Vancouver 1987/1991), 476.

surtax on Asian goods entering the U.S. from Canada.⁷² As a man of high status, Strathcona may have been offered Chinese items if he was perceived to have appreciated them.

When he collected works of China and Japan not represented to him as being inferior trade goods or manufactures for the Western market,⁷³ Strathcona had a model in the British Museum, whose operatives collected works from all over its empire of subjugated peoples.⁷⁴ Mainland China never became part of the British Empire, although Hong Kong was ceded to the British from 1842 until 1997. Nonetheless, The British Museum, symbol of cultural superiority for the British, regularly took treasures from other countries by subterfuge or force. In bringing the treasures of non-Western cultures to Montreal, Strathcona's art reflected his standing in the British hierarchy. Imperialism is an impulse to take the cultural property of others as trophies of superiority and conquest. In collecting Oriental art, even if he responded to the works with aesthetic sensibility, Strathcona was in collusion with the imperialist stance of accumulation and domination.

An imperialist institution, The South Kensington Art Gallery, founded in London in 1857, (renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899), collected what Said has termed an *empire of things*, some of which were intended to serve as an example of

⁷¹ Naylor, *Canada in the European Age*, 477.

⁷² Naylor, *Canada in the European Age*, 477.

⁷³ Ting Chang has pointed out that ordinary middle class people in France collected modestly-priced art of the Orient. This may have been the case in Canada too, since it is known that Van Horne paid only modest sums for his collection of Japanese ceramics and porcelains, as indicated by the figures entered into his hand-drawn catalogue, MMFA Archives, Collector's Files. There was, however, another market, driven by high-end auctions in North America and England.

⁷⁴ Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, 112.

craftsmanship to improve British design. In Montreal, Strathcona's items were regarded with museological interest. That Strathcona's Asian collection was seen as having an educational function is proven by a 1917 letter from Sir John Abbott to Lady Strathcona, Strathcona's daughter Maggie, on behalf of the Art Association of Montreal. Abbott proposed:

We are beginning a "Museum Section," in connection with the galleries and in the new building for the purpose of bringing together objects of use to the designer and worker as being good examples of various workmanship in the past, such as antique iron work, textiles, architectural design, china, embroidery etc, and I am asked to find out if you would be inclined to aid this educational movement by giving the Association some of the fine examples of Japanese and other china which I understand remain in the old homestead here. A selection from these would be of very great value to us, as it would make a notable addition to the collections already installed.⁷⁵ (Appendix VII)

Obviously Abbott and others involved with the AAM were familiar with the model of improving the quality of industrial design and workmanship provided by the South Kensington Gallery. It proves that Strathcona's collection was seen as being able to produce knowledge. His Japanese and Chinese furnishings and objects are depicted in Notman photographs of 1915/16 together with his European paintings (Illus. 14, 29, 30, 31, 32). The connection between manufactures of industry and the fine arts has been established by Jean Trudel who states that the mandate of the Mechanics Institute with participation from the Lower Canada Board of Art and Manufacturers was to found a School of Art and Design in Montreal.⁷⁶ This was in fact implemented by the Art Association of Montreal, whose school was under the direction of William Brymner for many years.

⁷⁵ Letter from Sir John Abbott to Lady Strathcona, 27 February 1917, in National Archives of Canada, "Strathcona papers," MH29A5, Vol. 1.

Items in Strathcona's collection were described as "Oriental treasures," by Thomas Norton in 1928.⁷⁷ "The Orient" and "Oriental" as constructions of colonial discourse are related to notions of knowledge and its power. By owning Chinese and Japanese ceramics and bronzes, or a painting of Moroccans relaxing on a terrace, the collector may have celebrated their difference and identified himself as being knowledgeable enough to recognize their value.

Strathcona's Iconographic Programme

To nineteenth-century British minds, as A. E. Coombes points out, material culture from colonized cultures was regarded "primarily as signifiers of British sovereignty."⁷⁸ This connotation is demonstrated by the iconographic programme on one wall of Strathcona's Dorchester Avenue mansion (Illus. 32), that illustrates the principle of the princely or gentlemanly hang. Although the Impressionists developed the precedent of installing their paintings in minimal frames on neutral-coloured walls, with space between them as early as the 1870s,⁷⁹ in the Notman photograph of 1915 the Victorian model of hanging pictures in tiers on the walls is employed. In it, individual works are subordinated to a larger decorative scheme that includes luxurious furnishings

⁷⁶ Jean Trudel, "Aux Origines du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, La fondation de l'Art Association de Montréal en 1860," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. XV, 1 (1997), 31-55.

⁷⁷ Thomas E. Norton, "Oriental Treasures from Strathcona's Collection," *Canadian Homes and Gardens* (June 1928), 96-104.

⁷⁸ A.E. Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," *Oxford Art Journal* Vol. II, Number 2, 57-68.

⁷⁹ Richard B. Brettell, "Modernity, Representation and the Accessible Image," *Modern Art 1851-1929* (Oxford 1999), 71.

and ornaments.⁸⁰ The upper portion of the walls are covered with silk, patterned with acanthus leaves, and the wainscoting is of costly woods. Tissot's *October*, in a gilded frame, shows a petite, fashionably-dressed young woman looking over her shoulder to meet the viewer's gaze. Parallel to *October* is Jules Lefebvre's *Sappho*, of approximately the same size, showing a flaccid young woman in Greek costume looking down, part of the assumed and conquered past. Sappho (7th c. B.C.), was the centre of a circle of young women and girls who lived on the Greek Island of Lesbos. The black-suited Kathleen Kelly, the model for *October*, widely known as the mistress of Tissot, died at the age of twenty-eight. She is painted performing "a Grecian dip," against a background of falling golden leaves, an influence gained from Japanese screen painting. Both of these portraits are idealized and refer to humanist values, since Kelly holds a book, a symbol of learning, and Sappho is presented as a poetic muse holding an instrument similar to a clavichord. The position of women in nineteenth-century society separated them into the virtuous, essentially sexless mothers and housekeepers -- sequestered and financially supported by men; and the licentious -- essentially all other women, including artists' models, female artists, servants and wage earners.⁸¹ Between *October* and *Sappho* hangs a landscape, *A Valley at the Edge of the Sea* by John MacWhirter (1839-1919). The untrammelled Scottish landscape was celebrated by the mid-nineteenth century as a metaphor for Scotland's unique cultural heritage, including the idea that the Scots were descended from the ancient Romans.⁸² This landscape was understood at the time as

⁸⁰ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Museums*, (London and New York 1995), 25.

⁸¹ Whitney Chadwick, "Sex, Class and Power in Victorian England," *Women, Art, and Society* (New York 1990/1997), 175-204.

⁸² Craske, "Commerce and Politics Connect All Part of the World," *Art in Europe 1700-1830*) 22, 25.

representing the virility and the hardness of the Scottish male. The juxtaposition of the three paintings indicates Strathcona's humanism was imperialistic, since, although chivalric, it was also dominating and controlling. Below MacWhirter's landscape is Baron Henry Leys's painting entitled *Antwerp Under Siege*, 1857 and 1865, suggesting the British empire's designs on Spain and its colonies. Positioned immediately under Leys' painting is a Chinese ritual vessel with two fantastic animals on the handles; the lid to the vessel has been removed and sits on the polished wooden floor in front of this elaborate ceramic container. This vase appears to be painted with a Chinese imperial court scene, and the lid is surmounted by a *kylin*. Other objects of both Japanese and Chinese origin are placed near the wall on the floor. Mieke Bal's narrative perspective, including her concept of *metonymy*⁸³ can be applied to each element of the pictorial scheme as a possession of Lord Strathcona. Thus, all elements stand for each other because they all are similar in that they are his possessions. *Metonymically*, each item signifies the others close in place (his home), logic (his collection) and time (his time, the time of the British Empire and its imperialist stance in large parts of the world).

Humanist Imperialism

The Notman photographs of Strathcona's mansion preserve the museological aspect of his gallery. They represent the *kunstammer* of a merchant prince, the world as he had come to know it. Commissioning architecture in stone, he helped to create the symbols of an imperial city. Visible evidence remains in the extant Royal Victoria Hospital, the Strathcona Medical Building, Victoria College, and in Strathcona Hall,

⁸³ Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1994), 106.

diagonally across from the Roddick Gates of McGill University, a structure that once housed the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Through chivalric gestures and display, he proved his worthiness to Queen Victoria, thus securing his dynasty by winning a hereditary peerage. Just as he used the name "Strathcona" rather than "Smith," he wished to be remembered as a humanist and statesman rather than only as a Scottish capitalist in service to imperialism.

Strathcona's biographers have stressed that although he aligned himself with the Conservative party, he retained his political autonomy and his individualism, propelled by self interest. The idea of the centrality of the individual in society is essentially humanistic. George Buchanan's book *The Law or Government Among the Scots*, 1579, proposed that "the people were always more powerful than the rulers they created,"⁸⁴ a view made familiar by John Locke. This idea influenced a new idea of government and resulted in the execution of Charles I in 1649. It is this legacy that gave Strathcona the moral conviction that it was his right to denounce John A. Macdonald's government for corruption, thus forcing the Conservatives to resign in 1873. The confidence of the Scots who succeeded in business in Montreal can be traced back to the 1707 union of Scotland and England that resulted in an economic boom, heralding Scotland's emergence into the modern world, influenced primarily by two of its own institutions: its universities and its law courts. Scotland's system of education was recognized as the best in the English-speaking world. The "Act of Setting Schools" had been passed by the Scottish parliament by 1696, and every parish in Scotland had a free public school. By 1750, there were lending libraries in most towns and even the poorest could learn to read in a

⁸⁴ Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York 2001), 18.

curriculum that stressed English, Greek and Latin. By the end of the eighteenth century Scottish literacy rates were approximately 75 per cent, compared to 53 per cent in England.⁸⁵ Strathcona spoke of the supremacy of the Scottish education system, and attributed to it, his own success.⁸⁶ Regarding Strathcona's championing of education for women, that too can be traced back to his Scottish roots. Frances Hutcheson, recognized as the founding father of the Scottish Enlightenment, wrote *The System of Moral Philosophy* espousing the right of individuals to political liberty and the idea that gender should not be a determinant of individual freedom.⁸⁷ By the mid-eighteenth century, Scottish chieftains were disarmed, marking an end to feudal society. In the cities, industry, knowledge and humanity were linked by a middle class of intellectuals such as Adam Smith who believed "that human beings have an inborn moral sense and natural regard for others."⁸⁸ Edinburgh became a center for book publishing and the idea of a polite society flowered in Scotland.

"Refinement" and "politeness" are words associated with the Scottish enlightenment as aspects of socialization and upward mobility.⁸⁹ These terms figure predominantly in descriptions of Strathcona by his biographers. Honour, courage, loyalty and generosity were characteristics attributed to both the ancient Greeks and Romans and to mercenary Scottish soldiers by Scottish writer Adam Ferguson, who published *Essay*

⁸⁵ Herman, *How the Scots*, 23.

⁸⁶ John MacNaughton, *Lord Strathcona* (London 1927), 5-7.

⁸⁷ Herman, *How the Scots*, 82.

⁸⁸ Herman, *How the Scots*, 197.

⁸⁹ Herman, *How the Scots*, 74.

on the *History of Civil Society* in 1768. Ferguson's book contains the first use of the word "civilization" in the English language. Another Ferguson, John, perpetrated the hoax of a blind Scottish bard who sung of the heroic exploits of Ossian.⁹⁰ From Arthur Herman's history, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World*, I extrapolate that by the nineteenth century, Scottish subjects who came to North America believed that they came from a civilized society where "self-interest, even greed" are beneficial to a commercial society where the wealth of the rich spills over to benefit the poor. They also recognized that capitalism brutalizes the poor and alienates the assembly line worker who is part of the process of specialization, leaving no time or money for leisure or education, concepts from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* that later influenced Karl Marx.⁹¹ In late nineteenth-century Montreal, vast numbers of urban poor lived in deplorable conditions, while a small number of wealthy people enjoyed vast material wealth.⁹² Thus, by imposing European art as high culture, Strathcona and others of his class justified their racist and imperialist assumptions of superiority by their liberal humanism. Their "high culture" was self-serving since, although accessible to the public, it was inaccessible to the poor who would have stood intimidated before it, alienating them further.

Roman Senators Going to the Forum, 1645-1655, by Jean LeMaire (Illus. 57), was exhibited in 2002 during the exhibition *Richelieu, Art and Power* at the MMFA, underscoring the link between the painting's Neoclassical subject matter, art, and power. In exhibiting this painting in his Montreal gallery and in the 1888 loan exhibition at the

⁹⁰ Robert Rosenblum and H.W. Janson, *19th Century Art*, 57.

⁹¹ Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (London 1805), cited by Herman, *How the Scots*, 220.

⁹² J.M. Bumstead, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History* (Oxford 1992), 72.

AAM,⁹³ Strathcona associated himself with the history of imperial Rome, a republic in which citizens debated freely. Giovanni Ghisolfi's *Ruins of a Palace and Soldiers*, 17th c. (Illus. 44), evokes a nostalgic longing for an imperial past, as does Alma-Tadema's *The First Course*, also known as *The Wine Tasters* (now lost), depicting Roman women tasting wine in an interior. These paintings, together with the two public sculptures associated with Strathcona and British imperialism,⁹⁴ the public portraiture heralding him as a remote philanthropist, the portraits of aristocrats he displayed, such as Thomas Gainsborough's *Lady Yorke*, c. 1785 (Illus. 26), the large-scale Neoclassical *Sappho* (Illus. 25), Raphael's portrait of a cardinal (Illus. 30), his Christian and Buddhist art (Illus. 14), representing not only European and Asian spiritual belief systems, but the power and wealth of the collector, act in concert to create a power field where past, present and the mythical collector converge.

In 2003, in the newly-installed permanent galleries of the MMFA, the eight paintings from Strathcona's collection reveal how he mapped European humanism onto the colony of Canada. Two of the seventeenth-century paintings refer to the spiritual world. They are *Abraham Sacrificing Isaac*, 1630 by Valentin de Boulogne (Illus. 43), and *Madonna and Child with Saint John*, 1650, by Jacques Stella (Illus. 55). These were part of Strathcona's early collecting activities where he sought to collect Old Masters. Thereafter, the paintings he acquired featured the activities of humans and the human environment. Their content was revealed to the initiated who had a specialized knowledge of their meaning. For example, Cornelius de Heem's *Still Life*, 1665, is not

⁹³ Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, Inventory, entry No. 14, 171.

simply a painting of fruit. To the initiated, it a *memento mori* or reminder of the brevity of life, and it is also symbolic of the wealth of seventeenth-century Dutch mercantile society. The architecture Strathcona fostered, drawing on medieval and classical prototypes (frontispiece, Illus. 12, Illus. 59), the two bronze memorial sculptures (Illus. 11 and Illus. 34), and the paintings with their hidden meanings are the type of cultural imperialism Kenneth Coutts-Smith referred to as "a vocabulary of metaphors and historical or classical references" through which the educated assumed liberal-humanist superiority.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ The sculptures referred to are the equestrian sculpture entitled *Strathcona Soldier's Monument* in Dominion Square, Montreal, and the sculpture of Queen Victoria in front of Victoria College, McGill campus, Montreal.

⁹⁵ Kenneth Coutts-Smith, "Some General Observations on the Problem of Cultural Colonialism" *The Myth of Primitivism*, ed., Susan Hiller (London and New York 1991), 16-19.

CHAPTER VIII

LORD STRATHCONNA'S MILIEU: NORTH AMERICAN CONTEMPORARIES

In order to understand what was unique and what was conventional in Lord Strathcona's collection, three other private collectors in Montreal, as well as two in the United States, are considered in this thesis. The following collectors are relevant to the discussion: Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, George A. Drummond and R. B. Angus of Montreal, James J. Hill of St. Paul, Minnesota, and William Thompson Walters of Baltimore. The Ryerson Collection of Toronto is mentioned briefly for comparative reasons.

The concept of the British Empire as a vast archive, where information was gathered and stored as a form of knowledge and power, has been established.¹ Imperialism was concerned not only with taking over the territory of others, but with intelligence collection, and administration based on it. There is evidence in the biographical literature that all the collectors discussed in this thesis had the same interest in collecting information and considering it as the knowledge they needed to excel in a materialist environment. However, they were compelled to go beyond utilitarian considerations as they assumed the role of society leaders. The enormous status of collectors and their links with the museum as a site of knowledge were firmly entrenched in European society by the end of the Renaissance. The function of art and its repositories was not only to retain knowledge but to generate it. Architecture and art provided a visualization of European culture, and served to enshrine it. The humanist urge to memorialize humans and their activity "was a central feature of the birth of the museum

in Renaissance Europe."² Paula Findlen connects the revival of the ancient art of memory to the appearance of collections in the Renaissance, which provided visual symbols of a humanist encyclopaedia. Museums were then established to preserve these memories.³ In the absence of scholars to persuade the wealthy to sponsor the creation of knowledge, as was the case in European situations, the bourgeois capitalists in Montreal came to the realization that their collections and their participation in the Art Association of Montreal could serve this function. Certainly they were aware that the visual arts situate and recall the spirituality, history, morality, and values of a society. One of the achievements of the Art Association of Montreal was to create a presence of European culture so that collective memory could be directed to a European past. In this way, memories were made available to a public to address what the collectors perceived as a cultural and historical void. To undertake this, each of the collectors had to feel they were qualified to participate. Their individual collections, the basis of Art Association of Montreal exhibitions, established the competency of these collectors.⁴ In each collector's microcosm, there is reflected a vision of the world as they saw and ordered it. In retrospect, critic Robert Ayre criticized the AAM for being operated "like a gentlemen's

¹ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive, Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London and New York 1993).

² Paula Findlen, "Renaissance Collecting and Remembrance," *Museums and Memory* (Stanford, California 2000), 162.

³ Findlen, "Renaissance Collecting," 161.

⁴ Sir Martin Conway analyzed Montreal collections and decided that "The Montreal collectors are by no means puppets in the hands of dealers; one and all of them choose for themselves," in "Sir William van Horne's Collection at Montreal," *Connoisseur* (July 1905), 135-142.

club" in a speech 28 March 1967.⁵ Their memories (of their childhoods, birthplaces, and life experiences) not only influenced their choices, but also determined how they interpreted knowledge about the world contained in their collections. In comparing their collections one can see patterns of convergence, with very little divergence. By ascertaining the parallels in terms of biography between Strathcona and the other collectors, the case may be made that individual and collective memory were determining elements in the contents of their respective collections.

It could be said that unlike Great Britain, where, as Carol Duncan has pointed out, the bourgeoisie agitated to share cultural influence with the aristocracy in the nineteenth century⁶, the situation in Montreal during this same époque was that the bourgeoisie imposed culture. In Britain, as Duncan explains, incitement for greater public access to art museums came from the bourgeoisie,⁷ but in Montreal, the bourgeoisie found that they had to establish and lead cultural institutions, because the few aristocrats sent to Canada did not remain long. Of course various governors-general appointed by Britain to Canada encouraged the arts. In 1879, Lord Lorne opened the Art Association of Montreal gallery at its Phillips Square site, and in 1880 he proclaimed the formation of the National Gallery in Ottawa. In actuality, artists were the original impetus behind the development of art associations and art galleries in Canada; the Art Association of Montreal, formed in 1860, grew out of the Canadian Society of Artists initiated in 1847. The basis of the AAM's collection was the 1879 donation by Beniah Gibb of seventy-two paintings. They

⁵ Lois Valliant, *Robert Hugh Ayre (1900-1950): Art – A Place in the Community. Reviews at 'The Gazette' Montreal (1935-1937) and at 'The Standard', Montreal (1938-1942)*. M.A. Thesis, Concordia University (Montreal 1991), 66, cites Ayre as making this criticism in a speech, 28 March, 1967.

⁶ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York 1995), 38.

⁷ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 40-47.

were works "by popular Dutch and Flemish painters of the period."⁸ Mr. Gibb, a merchant, also donated land in Phillips Square for a gallery, and a bequest of \$8,000. In 1892, an art collection of sixty paintings and a bequest of \$70,000 intended for the further acquisition of paintings came from John D. Tempest.⁹ The Agnes and William Learmont bequest of one hundred and eight paintings and eighteen drawings and watercolors followed in 1909. These were listed in *The Art Association of Montreal Catalogue of the Permanent Collection*, 1927, and include significant Dutch, English and French artists, as well as several Old Master (earlier European) paintings. Inventories in MMFA files show that one hundred and fifty-four paintings certainly arrived at the Art Association of Montreal in 1927 from Lord Strathcona's family. Van Horne's daughter Adeline bequeathed her share of her father's collection in 1941; it was apparently accessioned by 1944. Drummond's collection of two hundred and nine pieces was not donated to the museum, but sold in London in an estate auction in 1917, the same year that R. B. Angus donated approximately twenty paintings.

Overview

The historical narrative of late nineteenth-century collectors in Montreal, particularly Lord Strathcona and his friend Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, ties the Canadian experience not only to England and the United States, but to the impetus or imperative to collect art. These capitalists created an oligarchy through social patterns,

⁸ John Steegman, "Introduction," *Catalogue of Paintings, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal 1960), 4.

⁹ The 2002 MMFA Inventory indicates that thirteen of the original works of art from the Tempest bequest remain in the collection. Ninety-two works of art have been acquired with the funds left by Tempest for this purpose.

generating wealth to acquire art on a grand scale. Their commonality is that each took by whatever means necessary land and property belonging to others in order to create wealth, and then used their fortune to acquire art. From the Renaissance onwards, the connecting link between the quest for knowledge and/or power and its visible sign is art, specifically painting. Any one who owns or buys an antique or chooses to acquire an original painting is elevated in his/her own eyes and in the view of others. The aura of the object extends to the owner, with the tropes of cultural domination, intellectual sophistication, links to history and historically-significant identity contributing to what Walter Benjamin termed the ritual of the auratic.¹⁰ According to Benjamin, certain objects are invested with meaning if they play a part in a spiritual ritual or if they are unapproachable due to their distance in time or space. Benjamin proposes that objects reproduced by mechanical means do not have this aura. According to Benjamin's definition then, the "Carvings, Tapestries and other furnishings of a Japanese temple," belonging to Lord Strathcona and cited in the W. Scott & Sons inventory of 1914 (Appendix III) would have an aura in the Benjaminian sense, since they were part of the temple ritual. Also auratic would be the two paintings Strathcona acquired that were once in the collection of James I of England. Undoubtedly, Strathcona felt that the provenance of these two paintings imbued his collection with esteem arising out of the aura of the ritual that was part of court life. These paintings and objects provided aesthetic pleasure as well as serving as a beacon of superiority. If it is true that one desires what others desire, as Lacan posits, then an art collection signifies both desire and possession of the

¹⁰ Walter Benjamin's argument that the mechanical reproduction of objects abolishes the aura or cult value surrounding a ritual object is by now well known. See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations*, ed. H. Arendt, (London 1973), 219-253.

desired. This desire generates a spectacle, what Guy Debord described as "not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images."¹¹ This social relation was based on the alienation caused by mass production under capitalism, emptying productive activity of all meaning, and resituating the meaning in leisure activities, the consumption of goods and the entrenchment of the spectacle/spectator relation through specularization. As part of the spectacle, art serves capitalism since it is privileged as an expensive and prestigious status symbol, giving rise to a further alienation on the part of the dispossessed, as art becomes a symbol of the antagonism of those who do not control the means of production.¹² Discussed elsewhere in this thesis is Anthony Giddens's construct that wealth generates power since the wealthy are seen as capable, and are thus empowered by others. Baudrillard's depressing view that in capitalist culture commodities became the total occupation of social life, what Baudrillard terms the hyperreal simulacrum of reality, would thus be true. Benjamin's idea that objects lose their aura when they are mechanically reproduced, may be the departure point for Baudrillard's proposal that we are now reproducing a simulated nature and a simulated reality where the simulacrum overtakes the real, to create a culture of simulacra.¹³ This culture of simulacra was initiated in Canada in the nineteenth-century commodity culture of Montreal, where an empire of things and a show of wealth and theatricality dominated. In this milieu, if one was not already aristocratic, the illusion,

¹¹ Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes, the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1994), 427, citing Debord, *La Société du Spectacle* (Paris 1967/1977), paragraph 4.

¹² Guy Debord, "Writings from the Situationist International," *Art in Theory 1900-1990* (Oxford, U.K. and Cambridge, Mass. 1992/1993), 693-700.

¹³ Jean Baudrillard, *Selected Writings*, ed. Mark Poster (Stanford 1988).

even the reality, of an elevated status was possible through spectacle, as has been discussed by Thomas Richards.¹⁴ Because capitalism is driven by money, and everyone was either pursuing money or running after those who had it, only a veneer of gentility was required to disguise greed, as has been discussed by Carol Duncan who considered British capitalist culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Duncan debunks Debord's idea that capitalism is a society without culture. This is untrue, since money is always behind the imposition of culture and the spectacle of it. The wealthy capitalists in Montreal did create a spectacle of their wealth in their art-laden mansions. Their theatricality generated the spectacle of power, and impacted the culture of nineteenth-century Montreal.

Although hardly comparable in scope to the royal collections of Europe, Lord Strathcona formed a respectable collection equal to other nineteenth-century bourgeois collectors. His associates in Montreal, Sir William Van Horne, Sir George Drummond, and R. B. Angus accumulated paintings of a similar number, that is, around two hundred. James J. Hill, of St. Paul, Minnesota, a business associate of this group and also a friend of Strathcona, became known for his collection, which was equal in scope to the others. All five collectors generated their wealth through financial investment in the North American industrial revolution, particularly railways, as was the case with other collectors in both Canada and the United States.¹⁵ Arguably, for all of these collectors, their activity was more than the "frenzied contest of display and consumption,"

¹⁴ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London 1993).

¹⁵ In addition to James J. Hill, some of those who benefited from railway investments include J. Pierpont Morgan, Isabella Stuart Gardener, Henry Clay Frick, and Henry O. Havermeyer, and his wife Louisine, as documented by Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons, The Great American Capitalists, 1861 – 1901*, (New York 1934), 326-346.

elaborated by the author of *The Robber Baron*.¹⁶ In this book the author writes on Hill and several other American collectors who were also capitalists and financiers of the American industrial revolution.

In *Civilizing Rituals* Carol Duncan discusses how industrialists, merchants, professional and disgruntled gentry were locked out of power in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Opportunities Canada presented would have been a magnet for these types of men, among whom one could include George Drummond, an engineer, and R. B. Angus, a banker. Once in Canada, these professionals were drawn to the arts for the higher civilization they represented. Since the "arts" did not exist in Montreal, they had to join other like-minded individuals to create them.¹⁸ Compared to Drummond and Angus, Strathcona and Van Horne came from different situations, although they were also members of the bourgeoisie. Strathcona had received some training in a law office before coming to Canada, but more significant to his formation was his apprenticeship with the Hudson's Bay Company, whose managers were called "officers" for a reason. The "officers and gentlemen" of the HBC, the largest landowner in Canada until 1870¹⁹, took their orders from a Governor, Sir George Simpson, who by all accounts ruled as a tyrant. Van Horne acquired his knowledge of the railway business by beginning his apprenticeship as a child, after his father, a lawyer, died of cholera. While neither Van

¹⁶ Josephson, *The Robber Barons*, 326-346.

¹⁷ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 40.

¹⁸ Montreal had a Philharmonic Society with a chorus of 250 and a 45-piece orchestra prior to 1894, according to Lovell's *Montreal Directory*, 1894, 1041, cited by Heather Victoria Haskins, *Bending the Rules: The Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada, 1894-1900*. M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, (Montreal 1995), footnote 5, Chapter IX, 200.

¹⁹ Rupert's Land, granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by British royal charter in 1670, contained all of present-day Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, much of the Northwest Territories, and a large portion of northern Ontario and northern Quebec.

Horne nor Strathcona was trained in a profession, intelligence and application served to advance both of them sufficiently so that once Strathcona arrived in Montreal to set the stage, Van Horne was called in to act on it. As Montreal Commissioner for the Hudson's Bay, replacing Governor George Simpson when he died, Strathcona made contacts that brought him into the railway business. The most significant of these contacts was James J. Hill, who built the Great Northern Railway in the United States, with the financial support and friendship of Strathcona. Strathcona's cousin George Stephen and their associate at the Bank of Montreal, R. B. Angus, formed a syndicate with Strathcona to finance Hill. The success of Hill's first railway, eventually to become part of the network known as the Great Northern, was the basis of all of their fortunes. This experience and resultant success gave Prime Minister John A. Macdonald the confidence to provide Strathcona's syndicate with a contract to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, the first railway system to link the nation of Canada from Atlantic to Pacific.²⁰ On Hill's advice, the American general manager hired to undertake construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was William Cornelius Van Horne, eventually knighted for completing this task. There were already art collectors in Montreal when Van Horne arrived, but since Van Horne was Strathcona's neighbour and friend, it was likely Van Horne, a connoisseur, who influenced Strathcona in his decision to collect the art of China and Japan.

Judgement of a collector's choices has to be considered with respect to circumstances of birth, education, time, place, religion, morality, ethics and politics. What becomes available for purchase at a certain time or what is in vogue or in fashion

²⁰ Letters between Macdonald and Stephen dispel the myth that Macdonald was unaware that Strathcona was involved in the CPR charter, in Sir George Stephen fonds, National Archives of Canada, Microfilm Reels C-1486.

also has an impact on the content of collections. Strathcona's interest, motivation and activity must be set within the social, political, historical and cultural context of Montreal in the 1880s and 1890s, as well as into a larger North American milieu.

Born into a family with connections that proved to be important to his success in North America, nevertheless, his family could not afford to send their second son to university. To the Scottish public school system Lord Strathcona attributed his own, as well as the success of many of his countrymen, who like himself, had made their fortunes in North America.²¹ One has only to consider the accomplishments of the Scottish Canadians in Montreal to see evidence that his view, held by other bourgeois Scots, is supportable.

In Montreal, the Scottish Presbyterians, of whom Strathcona was one, collaborated as a colonial elite. Presbyterianism, a traditionally Calvinistic Protestant denomination, had a mundane disciplinary approach to routine money making, not necessarily for the pleasure of it, but as a kind of duty and an end in itself, according to the economist Max Weber who claimed "a correlation between Calvinism and entrepreneurial attitudes."²² Indeed, it is indisputable that the Calvinist diaspora in Montreal provided "the seedbed of capitalistic economy."²³ Weber's analysis, still debated eighty years after it was published, includes the idea that it was self-made men from the lower industrial classes, among whom one could include engineers like

²¹ Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal* (London 1915), 5.

²² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London 1930/1992), Introduction, xxi.

²³ This phrase is from Gothein, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Schwarzwaldes*, I, 67, cited by Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 43.

Drummond and drapers like George Stephen, who became capitalists.²⁴ Of the emerging capitalists of his day, Weber wrote:

As a rule, it has been neither dare-devil and unscrupulous speculators, economic adventurers...nor simply great financiers...on the contrary, they were men who had grown up in the hard school of life, calculating and daring at the same time, above all temperate and reliable, shrewd and completely devoted to their business, with strictly bourgeois opinions and principles.²⁵

Strathcona fits this profile. For one thing, he abstained from alcohol, and merely tasted the wines at formal dinners.²⁶ His code of ethics seems to have been governed by attention to opportunities for financial gain. One biographer writes:

He worked hard and he never missed a chance to make money, although he sometimes took risks that few others would have taken. The methods he used might not all be acceptable today, but they were generally thought acceptable in his day. Donald Smith was no better and no worse than other businessmen and politicians, but he was certainly more successful than most.²⁷

Politically, he was in the vanguard of Canadian provincial and federal politics, aligned with the Conservative party. This allowed him to wield influence. Although some charge that he used the political system to his own advantage,²⁸ this has to be balanced by his motions in parliament to protect minority rights in Manitoba in 1895-96,²⁹ and his

²⁴ Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 65.

²⁵ Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 69.

²⁶ Vilhjalmur Stefansson's 1912 account is similar to others, in that he noted that Strathcona took only a sip or two of each wine at multi-course dinners, in Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography* (Toronto and Oxford 1995), 465, 466, 116, 117 and 211.

²⁷ Keith Wilson, *We Built Canada, Donald Smith and the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Canada 1978), 76.

²⁸ Alexander Reford charges that Strathcona entered politics (first in 1870) "apparently encouraged by his superiors," of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that "he was referred to as the honourable member for the HBC," in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XIV*, Ramsay Cook, ed., (Toronto, Buffalo and London 1998), 941. See my Appendix I for details of Strathcona's political career.

²⁹ Wilson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona*, 428-454.

involvement as high commissioner to settle anti-Japanese riots in Vancouver in 1907.³⁰ Strathcona's attempt to promote emigration from Jamaica to Canada was vetoed by Sir Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior under Prime Minister Laurier, but this effort indicates that he encouraged black settlement in Canada.³¹ As Van Horne announced in Strathcona's defence concerning the charge that Strathcona was in a conflict of interest in holding political office while associated with major corporations such as the CPR and the Hudson's Bay Company, "Everyone who was doing anything, was involved in political life at the time. It generally had to do with ability."³² In any event, Strathcona's political fortunes were unstable since he lost his seat in 1880, following the charge that he had bought votes during the past election. He was, however, returned to office as an independent Conservative for Montreal West in 1887, and re-elected to this same office in 1891 with the largest majority in Canada.³³ Donna McDonald, his most current biographer, reports that Strathcona was rarely present in the House of Commons. She suggests that he felt he had done his duty by being re-elected and thus showing support for the Conservative National Policy.³⁴ His lack of interest in day-to-day management of Canada indicates he preferred to devote his energy to imperialism rather than to nationalism.

³⁰ Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona*, 554-555.

³¹ Alexander Reford, "Smith, Donald Alexander, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Ramsay Cook, gen. ed., Vol. XIV, 1911 to 1920 (Toronto, Buffalo and London 1998), 944.

³² National Archives of Canada, Van Horne Family Papers, MG29 A60, Vol. 102.

³³ Reford, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 941-943.

³⁴ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 387.

Strathcona was not the only collector of this group to hold political power.

George A. Drummond became a senator, and all of these men had political influence because of their wealth. Van Horne radiated power in both United States and Canada, although he never sought political office. However, as general manager and then president of the Canadian Pacific Railway and a key figure in other industries, both politicians and journalists sought his views. Van Horne's friendship with his investment partner General Root, American Secretary of War, advanced Van Horne's own imperialist aims when he later built railways in Cuba.

The link between art collecting, art museums and social influence arising from capital must be taken into account in this present study. Strathcona, like his peers, was involved in the Art Association of Montreal, working on committees and serving as president. The motivation for choosing to associate with others in the formalized context of an art association was "the ritual of citizenship" that Carol Duncan discusses. Conceivably it was the wish of each collector to assume a place in the hierarchy of power represented by the institution and its imposition of culture in Montreal. The Art Association of Montreal relied on "idealized citizens," its model being that established in England and the United States, where private citizens founded art institutions.³⁵ Lord Strathcona and his peers realized that Canadian citizenship included an awareness of European art and they sought to make that available to others, to inculcate these values and tastes.

As Duncan points out, the art museum has always been associated with knowledge and the values of a society. They are places for contemplation and learning.

³⁵ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, (London and New York 1994/1998), 279-285.

Speaking of the American system, she contends, "like other cultures, we too build sites that publicly represent beliefs about the order of the world, its past and present and the individuals place within it."³⁶ Like the Medici, who thought that the elevation and implementation of culture in Florence was not only their duty, but their right, the capitalists of Montreal were similarly motivated. Arguably the ideological position that Strathcona and the others adapted was appropriate for their historical moment. They embraced European high culture to counteract the dreary life imposed by bourgeois capitalism.³⁷ Their collections created a world of escapism and enchantment that they shared with the public through the loan of their paintings to exhibitions at the AAM. The contributions of this group of collectors extended beyond creating a presence of culture. In varying degrees they all financially supported institutions in the fields of health care and education, thereby improving the lives of others. Of this group, Strathcona stands out for his philanthropy. In the cause of women's education he donated \$30,000 to the Trafalgar Institute, a Montreal Protestant boarding school for girls, and a further \$120,000 to the Donaldson Endowment for the Higher Education of Women. He also contributed \$47,500 towards purchase of the Workman House for the Royal Victoria College for Women at McGill University, endowing it with \$800,000. Additionally he supplied \$18,000 for the purchase of Learmont house for the Royal Victoria Conservatory of Music. A major benefactor of the Royal Victoria Hospital, he donated

³⁶ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 8.

³⁷ Montreal was following a pattern of public museums being founded all over Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

more than 1.5 million dollars to its construction and its operation. His total endowments to McGill University exceeded three million dollars.³⁸

While he did not provide this type of funding to the AAM, he was involved during the 1880s and 1890s, probably to broaden his social circle and network of relationships by interacting with those of similar interests, including art dealers. The nineteenth century in North America was a time when collectors looked principally to European dealers for advice and to European artists as exemplars of artistic achievement. They often purchased works through the same network of dealers.³⁹ Michel Knoedler from Paris became a New York art dealer in 1846, succeeded by his son Roland F. Knoedler. Another New York firm, Boussod, Valadon and Company, a famous firm in Paris with a branch in New York, was known for their stable of academic painters. Durand-Ruel, who set up a gallery in New York in 1888, promoted Barbizon and Romantic artists.⁴⁰ Samuel P. Avery also sold to the Montreal group. Another network of dealers prominent in the United Kingdom included Koekoek and Lawrie. These dealers influenced what was collected through what they made available. Certainly new North American wealth, and the need for the wealthy to decorate and display, created a market for nineteenth-century paintings in North America.

Competition with his peers -- Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, Sir George A. Drummond, James J. Hill and R. B. Angus -- meant that Strathcona occasionally was

³⁸ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 509-511.

³⁹ Research attesting to the dealer system employed by Montreal collectors and James J. Hill appears in Janet Brooke, "Inventory," *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal 1989), 170-241, and in Jane H. Hancock, "Catalogue of the Exhibition," *Homecoming, The Art Collection of James J. Hill* (St. Paul, Minnesota 1991), 85-100.

⁴⁰ Jane Hancock "French Academic and Barbizon Painting" *Homecoming. The Art Collection of James J. Hill*, 2.

inclined to collect what they coveted. He outbid Hill for Jules Breton's *The Communicants*, 1884, at the Mary Jane Morgan auction in New York, and then shipped the work to Hill, who refused the gift, and returned it to Strathcona.⁴¹ In this case, *The Communicants* (Illus. 19) could be regarded as a trophy, since in American art collecting Breton was "the first painter to achieve what we today might call 'superstar' status..." according to Thomas Norton.⁴² Certainly, Hill would not have been the only contender for *The Communicants* at this well-publicized auction.

Based on consumer research, Russell W. Belk formulated several principles on collecting, one being that building an art collection may provide the collector with a sense of noble purpose, an acceptable veneer for acquisitiveness. Echoing Baudrillard, Belk suggests that an art collection is a form of "extended self" since it "undeniably represents the collector's judgement and tastes."⁴³ To be considered of good taste, however, the collection must "unfold in a pedagogical, edifying manner," according to James Clifford.⁴⁴ For instruction in this sphere, Strathcona could look to Van Horne.

In common with Strathcona, William Cornelius Van Horne (1843-1915) had an excellent memory, as has been commented on by their respective biographers. In the personalities of the two collectors there is a consistent element—they both liked to control situations and people, and by extension, needed to order and control their universe of

⁴¹ Both Hill and Strathcona were bidding through dealers, but Strathcona's directions must have been for his agent to acquire the painting at any cost, since the sale price broke auction records in New York, according to McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 352.

⁴² Thomas E. Norton, *100 Years of Collecting Art in America, The Story of Sotheby Parke Bernet* (New York 1984), 100.

⁴³ Russell W. Belk "Collectors and Collecting," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Susan M. Pearce, ed., (London and New York 1994), 321.

⁴⁴ James Clifford, "Collecting Ourselves," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 260.

objects. Van Horne provides a fascinating case study to consider if there is a link between personality traits such as the ability to retain thousands of details in one's head and the urge to collect. The memories of both collectors are often referred to as having been encyclopedic. Arguably, evidence of a fine memory is necessary to preserve and to convey knowledge. Without memory, individual and collective, there is no knowledge. Those who eulogized Van Horne and connected his knowledge and his art collection recognized this. *The Canadian Gazette*, published in London, England, 16 September 1915, reported that "a great Canadian and a great Imperialist in the best and widest sense of that word, has passed away in the person of Sir William Van Horne."⁴⁵ This eulogy attested that Van Horne was "a knowledgeable art critic," and "a great art collector." By his own admission, his collections were "the result of years of work and study."⁴⁶ The idea of imperialism and its association with knowledge as part of the archive of empire was proclaimed also by *The Winnipeg Telegram* which held that

His wide outlook made him an Imperialist, if that be (sic) the proper term, long before the vision of a more closely united Empire had entered the field of general discussion.⁴⁷

Seen as a remarkable accomplishment, his art collection was venerated by *The Winnipeg Telegram*.⁴⁸ The same day, *The Winnipeg Free Press* lauded Van Horne for doing much "to establish and encourage a Canadian standard in art," by his recognition of young

⁴⁵ *The Canadian Gazette* (London, 16 September 1915), No. 1,693, Vol. LXV, 594, National Archives of Canada "Press Clippings," MG29 A60, Vol. 102.

⁴⁶ *The Canadian Gazette*, 595.

⁴⁷ *The Winnipeg Telegram*, 13 September 1915, page unknown, National Archives of Canada, "Press Clippings," MG29 A60, Vol. 102.

⁴⁸ *Winnipeg Telegram*, 13 September 1915, page unknown.

Canadian artists and for his "timely help." By using paintings to advertise immigration to the Canadian West, Van Horne started a Canadian Pacific Railway art program. Several photographers, illustrators and artists received commissions, but many others received free passes on the CPR. Van Horne preferred those artists who could paint the landscape, and favoured artists such as Lucius O'Brien, John Arthur Fraser, George Horn Russell, John Hammond and Alfred Bierstadt. Strathcona and Angus were on the advising committee, and Van Horne acted as artistic director, telling the artists what and how to paint. Some of these paintings are in the private collection of the Canadian Pacific Railway Corporation, and were also given as gifts to employees of the CPR.⁴⁹ According to art historian Allan Pringle, "Company directors Van Horne, Stephen and Smith acquired a minimum of forty-eight works by CPR pass recipients for their private collections."⁵⁰ The effect of Van Horne's plan was to promote "the myth of the land as a basis for national art," as Dennis Reid discusses.⁵¹ No wonder Van Horne claimed to be Canadian, and Canadians claimed him as their own;⁵² it was his policy supported by Stephen, Angus and Strathcona, that helped to forge a nationalist style of art based on the Canadian landscape, a tool of nationalist propaganda that lasted well into the twentieth century.

⁴⁹ Allan Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne: Art Director, Canadian Pacific Railway," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. VIII (1984), 50-78.

⁵⁰ Pringle, "Art Director," 74.

⁵¹ Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada*. (Ottawa 1979), 6.

⁵² Van Horne was buried in his hometown of Joliet, Illinois. While he contributed much to Canada, he was born in the United States and buried there.

The statement that Van Horne's private art collection "acquired carefully and without ostentation, is a valuable asset to the nation," requires clarification.⁵³ *The Montreal Daily Mail* is helpful in this regard: to him his art gallery was "a glorious court where he met on intimate terms and conversed with great dreamers, the artists and master craftsmen of all ages." Not only did he have a collection of art catalogues and books on all three floors of his Sherbrooke Street mansion, but according to the Montreal newspaper,

Canada had no more generous and intelligent patron of art...his collection in Montreal alone was valued not long ago at upwards of \$1,500,000... not including rare Eastern curios...By bringing so valuable a collection of artistic emblems to Canada, as well as by his interest and activity in the promotion of artistic endeavour, Sir William noticeably raised the degree of true culture of the Canadian people.⁵⁴

Van Horne's collection was seen as a public asset because it was accessible. Interested parties could view his private collection by prior arrangement; the butler showed the collections if Van Horne or a family member was unavailable.⁵⁵ Later, Van Horne's daughter, Adeline, was curator of her father's collection as personal correspondence attests.⁵⁶ One such letter of thanks was from the Women's Art Society of

⁵³ *Winnipeg Free Press*, "Press Clippings," page unknown.

⁵⁴ *The Montreal Daily Mail*, 13 September 1915, National Archives of Canada "Press Clippings," MG29 A60, Vol. 102.

⁵⁵ A letter to Van Horne from J.B. Gilder of Hornblower and Weeks, Boston, New York, Chicago, 3 August 1912, mentions the butler also showed him paintings by "Enroh Nav," whom Gilder judged to be "a modern master." (This modern master was Van Horne, spelling his name backwards as a practical joke) in Adeline Van Horne Documents, National Archives of Canada, MG 29 A60.

⁵⁶ A letter from Stephen Bourgeois, 389 Fifth Avenue, New York, 8 November 1912 was directed to Adeline, asking permission for a third party to see the collection in the absence of Sir William, who was in Cuba in Adeline Van Horne Documents, National Archives of Canada, MG 29 A60, Vol. 90. This letter may have been a joke perpetrated by Van Horne, since the letter is from someone with the surname "Bourgeois." It is in the same vein as the letter, also of 1912 from J.B. Gilder with the firm "Hornblower and Weeks."

Montreal for "The opportunity of seeing so many paintings, the porcelain, tapestry, collection of ship models, the famous collection of Chinese and Japanese works of art."⁵⁷

Those who sought it out viewed Van Horne's collection as a museum. Strathcona's collection was similarly available to the interested.⁵⁸ Making their private homes and collections available to the public is an example of their performance in the ritual of citizenship similar to that conducted by German art collectors prior to German unification, in a climate of growing nationalism.⁵⁹

American Art News judged Van Horne "one of the best known and most prominent art collectors in North America."⁶⁰ The front-page tribute to Van Horne included a photograph of him, a biography, and an inventory of his art. The article further relates that

His taste in painting inclined towards the early Dutch, Flemish and Spanish schools in the works of whose masters his collections are perhaps the best in America. But he also loved the Barbizon and modern Dutchmen's work and that of some contemporary French painters, notably Cézanne. Oriental porcelains and early Chinese bronzes also delighted his collecting soul, and he had an unusual knowledge of both.⁶¹

The inventory provided by *American Art News* of Van Horne's collection of paintings "with the number of examples by each artist when more than one," is as follows, re-arranged by schools:

⁵⁷ National Archives of Canada, Adeline Van Horne Documents, National Archives of Canada MG 29 A60, Vol. 90.

⁵⁸ According to McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 352, "recommended connoisseurs were always granted a private view, whether or not Donald was at home."

⁵⁹ Niels von Holst, *Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs: The Anatomy of Artistic Taste from Antiquity to the Present Day* (London 1967), passim.

⁶⁰ *American Art News*, New York, Vol. XIII, No. 36, 18 September 1915, front page.

⁶¹ *American Art News*, 18 September 1915, 1.

Flemish: Master of the Half Figure, Master of the Virgin's Death (2), *Early Dutch*: Rembrandt, Franz Hals (5), J. van Ruisdael, Rubens, Terborch, Philip de Coninck (4), Mauve, Cuyp, Blommers (3) Govert Flinck, Nicholas Maes, Van Goyen, de Wet, Salmon Ruisdael, Miervelt, Ostade, Wouwermans, Teniers (2), *Italian*: Antonella Messina (6) Leonardo da Vinci, Tiepolo, Piombino, Canaletto, Forentino, Guardi (2), *Eighteenth-century French*, Le Prince, Greuze (3), Gérard, David, (2) *English School*: Constable, Naysmith, John Brown (6) Turner, Romney, Opie, Reynolds (3), Gainsborough, Morland, Bonington, Raeburn (2), *Hague School*: J. Maris (2), *German*: Albert Dürer (2), *Spanish*: El Greco, Goya, Salvator Rosa (6), Velazquez, Zurburan (3) Mazo, Murillo (2), *French*: Corot, Daumier, Ribot (6), Rousseau, Courbet (5), Diaz (4), Daubigny, Troyon, Cézanne, Renoir (3), Teniers, Sisley (2) Monet, Boudin, Géricault, Toulouse-Lautrec (no numbers given) *American*: Inness (4) *Impressionist pictures* (10 or 15), Paintings by Van Horne (25).⁶²

In addition to the *American Art News* inventory, a reviewer of the 1933 exhibition of Van Horne's collection at the Art Association of Montreal provides additional information that there were six paintings by the nineteenth-century French artist Adolphe Monticelli (1824-1886), eight paintings by American artists, "a few" works by Canadians -- notably a portrait of Van Horne by William Brymner, three Chinese paintings and one Japanese work.⁶³

To place Van Horne's collecting activities in context, he tried to establish a museum in Joliet, Illinois for the exhibition of fossils and geological specimens when he

⁶² *American Art News*, 18 September 1915, 1.

⁶³ H.P.B. "The Van Horne Collection," unknown publication, stamped "1933", likely *The Montreal Star*, in the clipping file, MMFA library Collectors' Files.

was eighteen.⁶⁴ Although it was never realized, his own collection was later donated to the department of paleontology of the University of Chicago."⁶⁵

At the age of twenty-nine, Van Horne, the youngest general superintendent of a railway in the world in the nineteenth century, purchased a painting by Rousseau.⁶⁶ By 1881, when Strathcona contacted Hill to find a general manager for the CPR, Hill did not hesitate to recommend Van Horne, then forty-one.⁶⁷ Van Horne's salary at the CPR allowed him to pursue seriously the collection of costly paintings, underscoring the link, between appropriate means and the inclination to collect. In 1882 Van Horne moved next door to Strathcona in Montreal, and it may be conjectured that Strathcona's interest in Asian art stemmed from this time. Van Horne's collection, illustrating the historical development of Japanese ceramics, was apparently already notable for its size and quality by 1866, when he was still only twenty-six.⁶⁸ Van Horne's interest was scholarly since he studied Japanese history and culture, and deciphered the Japanese characters on his porcelains with the aid of German-Japanese and Japanese-Chinese dictionaries.⁶⁹ Later, as a linchpin of the CPR and its steamship service to the Orient, he had access to the upper echelons of Japanese society and knew Emperor Ito.⁷⁰ His collection was partly augmented by "valuable gifts of jars and vases from Japanese statesmen and leading

⁶⁵ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 21.

⁶⁶ Vaughn, *Sir William Van Horne*, 192.

⁶⁷ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 54.

⁶⁸ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 192.

⁶⁹ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 297.

⁷⁰ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 299.

businessmen."⁷¹ Vaughan records that Van Horne "loved the form, the colouring and the glazing of pieces wrought by the hands of master potters."⁷²

Van Horne became president of the CPR in 1888, after Lord Mount Stephen resigned. In 1890 Van Horne bought a home at 513 Sherbrooke Street West, designed by J.W. Hopkins, a leading Montreal architect, and decorated by Eugene Colonna, a partner of Louis Tiffany. Luc d'Iberville-Moreau cites this home as being significant as a transition "between the late Victorian style and the more personal Art Nouveau"⁷³ (Illus. 33). Vaughan paints a compelling portrait of the collector's desire to settle in:

No one ever had a keener enjoyment in the sense of possession than he; and in hanging his pictures and in disposing suitably his other treasures or ceramics, bronzes, tapestries, antique models of ships, and so forth, he found the same absorbing pleasure as he had found in mounting and classifying his fossils.⁷⁴

He began to make thumbnail sketches of paintings in his collections on 6 December 1892, but catalogued only thirty-nine paintings. He seems to have found greater satisfaction in rendering ink drawings of his ceramics, porcelains and bronze objects. This catalogue of pencil and ink drawings of thirteen hundred items in his collection of objects, begun on 1 January 1893, shows that he collected signed works by artists from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, paying from \$3.50 to \$40 per work. His drawings, from 1.5 cm to 7.6 cm high, are on Arches paper, bound into a black, hardcover book, measuring 12.8 x 17. cm. He began to document Chinese items bought from Thomas B. Clarke, New York, but they are all crossed out, indicating de-

⁷¹ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 290.

⁷² Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 290. Van Horne confirms this in his undated "Biographical Sketches," National Archives Of Canada, MG 29 A60, Vol. 102.

⁷³ Luc d'Iberville-Moreau, *Lost Montreal* (Toronto 1975), 90.

⁷⁴ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 193.

accessioning. Other dealers recorded in his inventory are S. Bing of Paris, Lanthier of the American Art Association, Edward Gracy of New York, and Thom. Laurie & Sons, Glasgow, indicating that the same dealers were selling both paintings and Asian art. Van Horne also catalogued approximately forty pieces of Persian pottery in his collection.

That Van Horne bought and sold parts of his collection is obvious from his own documentation as well as the documentation of others who saw his collections. He seems to have retained all six of his paintings by Ribot. His inventory notes one Ribot was acquired from Blakester & Company in New York. Another, entitled *Balzac*, was obtained from W.S. Scott & Sons, Montreal. A third Ribot, *Woman Sitting*, acquired from W. Scott & Sons, cost him \$250. He noted in his book that this work was now valued at \$500, indicating that he regarded his collection as an investment. (Van Horne usually recorded what he paid, as well as indicating the present value beside each of his paintings.) Perhaps it was even with a view to investing that he purchased a Ribot jointly with A.W. Meysenburg from Lou Mettling, an artist and dealer in Paris. Also through Mettling, Van Horne acquired another Ribot from a certain Toumier Collection. He added a work by Bonvin in this same way. Others dealers with whom he negotiated include Robert L. Newman, and Cottie & Co., both of New York. Van Horne actively exchanged paintings as his notations indicate. He traded five works plus \$5,000 with Boussod, Valadon & Co. for a painting by Delacroix. (He indicated the value of the Delacroix as being \$12,000 or more.) Van Horne's catalogues prove that he dealt extensively with dealers in New York.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ This information is from two catalogues created by Sir William Van Horne's hand. These catalogues are in The Montreal Museum of Fine Art "Collector's Archives."

In April 1909 Van Horne was accompanied by his wife and daughter to Europe where he added to his own collection *Jewish Rabbi* by Rembrandt from the Rudolph Kann collection, *Cavalier* by Bartolome Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) from the Leuchtenburg collection, as well as *Countess Waldegrave* by British portraitist John Hoppner (1758-1810).⁷⁶ Van Horne collected up until the end of his life, in spite of ill health in 1913, 1914, and 1915. His last trip to Europe, in 1914, was to try to obtain a porcelain Lohan, or vessel, from a Chinese temple for his San Zenon estate in Cuba, inspired by a vessel he saw in the British Museum. Purportedly, he could not find one of the same quality during this trip, but he did buy a work by Matthijs Maris in Paris, the only Hague school work in his collection.⁷⁷

Van Horne's life was associated with gathering and accumulating land, property and fine art. He was not a British imperialist or even an American imperialist. More correctly, he was a capitalist imperialist. He is remembered for building the railroad "straight through Canada from coast to coast..."⁷⁸ He proceeded with bravado to build five hundred miles of track in one season, and in spite of great odds, completed the road in 1885, five years ahead of schedule.⁷⁹ Van Horne left the CPR at the age of fifty-six, with a web of investment interests that included presidency of Windsor Salt from 1892-1915, presidency of Laurentide Pulp Company, and presidency of Dominion Steel, known as the Dominion Iron and Steel Company after amalgamation with the Dominion

⁷⁶ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 366, 367.

⁷⁷ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 396-397.

⁷⁸ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 77.

⁷⁹ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 67.

Coal Company. He also had other pulp and mining interests.⁸⁰ Recalling an anti-reciprocity speech that Van Horne made in 1915, *The Canadian Gazette* credited Van Horne with keeping Canada "to the true national and Imperial road."⁸¹ For Vaughan, Van Horne's anti-reciprocity speeches "probably contributed more than the utterances of any one man on the Canadian side of the boundary to the overwhelming defeat of Laurier and reciprocity at the poles."⁸² Van Horne's motivation for speaking out against trade reciprocity between United States and Canada was likely due to the desire to protect his financial interests. Four years earlier, in 1907, he had advised the Canadian Prime Minister to be firm with the Americans in regard to pulp exports to the United States, and suggested banning them all together. "Stumps and holes in the ground—these only we have to show for our exports," he stated,⁸³ vocally advocating resistance to American imperialism, a tenet of Canadian imperialism to cement its position as a colony of the British Empire.

This is a curious posture in light of the fact that Van Horne invested with General Alger, U. S. Secretary of War, in a pulp mill at Grand Mère in Quebec and a tract of fifteen hundred square miles of forest intended to be cut down for the American market. He also invested with General Alger in pulp and power at Grand Falls, New Brunswick, and in coal mining in Cape Breton with Henry M. Whitney of Boston.⁸⁴ It was seemingly

⁸⁰ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 285-289.

⁸¹ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, September 15, 1915, No. 1,693, Vol. LXV, 595.

⁸² Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 382. All of the Montreal collectors were Conservative party supporters. (Drummond was chairman of the Conservative party in Montreal, for example).

⁸³ Cited by Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 351-352.

⁸⁴ Walter Vaughan, *The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne* (New York 1920), 264.

Van Horne's contact that opened the floodgate to American investment in Canada.

Walter Vaughan wrote two biographies, one from an American point of view in 1920, published in New York, and a second rewritten with certain aspects omitted or given a different interpretation, since the first book, published in the United States, positioned him as an American, while the subsequent text, published in Canada emphasized his Canadianness.⁸⁵ Van Horne had gained considerable practice in imperialist ethics from his Canadian sojourn. In an unpublished biographical sketch, Van Horne surmises:

Before the CPR, Canada was merely a cluster of Eastern provinces, with a port and little more on the Pacific...with the advent of the C.P.R., the wheat lands of the North West became a realizable asset; Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, Brandon, Edmonton, Kootenay, sprang into being...our commercial progress and present-day conception of nationality would be unthinkable without the C.P.R.⁸⁶

What Van Horne does not mention is that he dismissed CPR employees who sought to benefit by owning land along the railway line. This privilege of speculation was reserved for CPR directors, such as Van Horne, Strathcona and Angus, who created wealth by selling real estate holdings that they held.

Strathcona, Angus and Drummond were "club men." Although he attended dinner parties hosted by Strathcona, Van Horne preferred to spend his free time with artists like William Brymner, sketching with them and discussing art. Vaughn notes that Van Horne preferred to buy art rather than give to charity, since art was his passion.⁸⁷ Although not known as a philanthropist, he engaged in civic activity beneficial to the CPR. One Montreal monument that Van Horne was involved with was the *Strathcona Soldiers'*

⁸⁵ Van Horne was a naturalized citizen of Canada, but he had not become a British citizen, according to Vaughan, *The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne*, 197, 198.

⁸⁶ National Archives of Canada MG29 A60, Vol. 102, "Biographical Sketches," np.

⁸⁷ Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne*, 380, 381.

Monument Fund, in Dominion Square beside the CPR property. A letter from the architects of this monument executed to honor the regiment Strathcona founded asks for a decision from Van Horne on the direction of the equestrian statue⁸⁸ (Illus. 34). The monument served the CPR by seeking to add lustre to Strathcona's reputation after it was tarnished during 1914 and 1915 following Preston's slanderous book. Van Horne also undertook to supervise the production of Beckles Willson's second biography on Lord Strathcona, which was intended to counter negative effects of Preston's book. Willson's manuscript was received by Van Horne on 22 July 1915. Van Horne died shortly afterwards, but acted to protect the reputation of Strathcona and the CPR even on his deathbed.⁸⁹

An exhibition of Van Horne's collection was held at the Art Association of Montreal in 1933. Reportedly it was in "splendid condition" following restoration of the paintings and frames following a fire in the Van Horne home.⁹⁰ Purportedly seen by "thousands of people," it broke records for public attendance.⁹¹ The unillustrated catalogue does not distinguish between paintings and works in other media, or provide details beyond artists' names and titles. However, this exhibition included artists

⁸⁸ Letters of 10 July 1903 and 11 May 1905 in the National Archives of Canada "Sir William Van Horne fonds," Microfilm M-7493; M7494, deal with the subject of the Strathcona Equestrian monument. The rump of the bronze horse of Strathcona's equestrian monument is turned towards the statue of John A. Macdonald, which is positioned in the park on René Leveque Boulevard directly opposite the Strathcona Soldier's Monument.

⁸⁹ The letter sent with the manuscript from Beckles Willson to Van Horne 10 July 1915 is preserved in The National Archives of Canada, M7493, M7494.

⁹⁰ A letter of 23 October, 1933 from F. Cleveland Morgan to Adeline Van Horne conveys that Morgan attended the exhibition preview and was relieved to see the paintings were safe, in The National Archives of Canada, Van Horne papers, MG 29 A60, Vol. 92.

⁹¹ This information is from the general manager of Royal Trust who wrote to Adeline Van Horne 8 November, 1933, The National Archives of Canada, Van Horne papers, MG29 A60, Vol. 92.

represented in Van Horne's collection by only one work, whereas *American Art News* listed only those artists represented in Van Horne's collection by two or more works. Importantly, the catalogue confirms that Van Horne's collection was intact in 1933.

From this 1933 catalogue the following observations can be determined: Van Horne's interest in the individual, and his famous sociability is reflected by the statistics. Of the one hundred and ninety works exhibited, seventy-two were portraits, fifteen of aristocrats. In comparison, Strathcona's collection held only nine portraits of aristocrats indicating he may have collected just enough to imply an exalted ancestry. Where Strathcona sought entitlement, Van Horne reacted to his acceptance of knighthood sheepishly, perhaps because he was American.⁹² Like other Americans, however, Van Horne collected portraits of European aristocrats, including a life-size portrait of Philip IV by Velázquez (Illus. 35). Strathcona's interest in paintings of the female gender is reflected in the twenty-eight paintings he owned of women or girls, an interest Van Horne did not share. Like Strathcona, Van Horne collected around fifty landscape paintings, representing the second largest category in his collection. They both owned the same number of religious paintings, approximately twenty, making them distinct from other Protestant collectors in Montreal. Where Strathcona owned eighteen paintings of the everyday life genre, Van Horne's collection in 1933 contained fourteen. Surprising is the small number of rural views of cattle and sheep in the Van Horne collection. Only two can be determined from the catalogue, whereas Strathcona's collection in 1914 held around than ten. They both owned the same number of mythological subjects, approximately four. Strathcona's interest in history paintings is exhibited in the nine

⁹² Vaughan, *The Life and Work of Sir William van Horne*, 198 and 239.

paintings he owned, compared to Van Horne's tally of two. Van Horne favoured architectural views more than did Strathcona, since he owned thirteen as compared to Strathcona's three. Both eschewed hunting or military scenes.

Sir George A. Drummond (1829-1910), was an associate of Lord Strathcona, and like Strathcona, he died in England, after having lived more than fifty years in Canada. Born in Edinburgh and educated as a chemical engineer, Drummond came to Canada in 1854 to assume technical management of Redpath Sugar Refineries. Although it first opened in 1855, Redpath Sugar was reorganized in 1879 as the Canada Sugar Refinery Company with Drummond as president. He married founder John Redpath's daughter Helen, while John Redpath, a widower, married Drummond's older sister, thereby making it a family business. Drummond was also a director of McGill University, where his family connections were strong, since his brother-in-law, Peter Redpath donated funds for the Redpath Library and the Redpath Museum. Drummond became a Canadian senator in 1880, a director of the Bank of Montreal in 1882, and president of the Bank of Montreal in 1888, succeeding Lord Strathcona. He was president of the Art Association of Montreal in 1898 and 1899 and served on the National Gallery's Advisory Council from 1907 to 1910.⁹³ Several paintings from Drummond's collection were donated to the Art Association of Montreal. Drummond donated an Orientalist painting by Jean-Joseph Benjamin Constant, *The Day After a Victory at the Alhambra, Moorish Spain, Fourteenth Century*, 1882. Lady Drummond made a gift to the AAM of Charles François Daubigny's *Return of the Flock*, 1887, depicting a shepherd and flock by moonlight. Lord Atholstan purchased *The Raising of Jairus's Daughter*, 1878, by Gabriel Max, from the 1916

⁹³ Jean Sutherland Boggs, *The National Gallery of Canada* (Toronto 1971), 6,7.

Drummond Estate Auction in London, and presented it to the AAM. Additionally, Drummond's family bequeathed Corot's *L'Ile Heureuse*, 1865-1868. These paintings are listed in the inventory of the permanent collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art for the year 2000.

In common with Strathcona, Drummond's collection held works by the following artists: Rosa Bonheur, Benjamin Constant, Jules Lefebvre, Charles Meissonier, and J.M.W. Turner. Like Van Horne, Drummond acquired Realist paintings by Daumier and Courbet. The Barbizon school was represented in his collection by Théodore Rousseau, Corot, Millet and Daubigny. These artists were also represented in Van Horne's collection, but were not acquired by Strathcona, with the exception of two paintings by Corot, including one that he brought to London after he took up residence there in 1896. Drummond may have had more paintings by the Hague School than any other collector studied here, with the exception of R.B. Angus. Like Strathcona and Van Horne, Drummond's holdings were strong in seventeenth-century Dutch works. He also shared Van Horne's appreciation of the Spanish painters,⁹⁴ since he owned two paintings by Goya and one by Velazquez, that being *Queen Marianna of Austria*, the first wife of Philip IV. He also acquired a Van Dyck portrait of another Habsburg, *Queen Henrietta-Marie*, second wife and niece of Philip IV.

⁹⁴ Spanish art was not in demand and "many wonderful paintings were to be had for low prices," according to Aline Bernstein Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors: The Lives, Times and Tastes of Some Adventurous American Collectors* (New York 1958), 163. One collector who recognized their value was Henry O. Havermayer, who lamented that the United States had not demanded the Prado from the Spanish instead of the Philippines as a concession following the Spanish-America War of 1898, Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors*, 163.

The statistics of Drummond's collection are that he held paintings by French, Dutch, English, German, Italian and Spanish artists, in the following numbers: *French* (57), *Dutch* (50), *English school* (42), *German* (14), *Italian* (11), *Spanish* (2).

This can be determined accurately from the complete catalogue of his collection.⁹⁵ The only other Montreal collection that can be determined so thoroughly from extant records is the collection of Lord Strathcona, reconstructed in Appendices II-VI. For comparison's sake it appears that Strathcona held paintings by artists from the same countries as Drummond, with the exception that Strathcona had more Canadian paintings than any other known collector, including Van Horne.

The preponderance in Drummond's well-known collection of certain types of genre paintings may be what gave Montreal collectors the reputation of collecting Hague school paintings in great numbers. As noted by Janet Brooke, and verified by my statistics, this assumption proves to be untrue of the group as a whole.⁹⁶ Drummond acquired forty-three genre paintings (everyday life scenarios), twenty rural views with cattle or sheep, twenty-six marine or coastal views, fifteen landscapes, eighteen portraits of aristocrats, six Orientalist paintings, only one religious painting, and no Asian art. There is commonality with Strathcona in Drummond's interest in owning portraits of aristocrats.

Like Strathcona and Drummond, Richard Bladworth (R.B.) Angus (1831-1922) was born in Scotland. Following his emigration to Montreal in 1857, he joined the staff of the Bank of Montreal, where he became general manager in 1869. Ten years later he

⁹⁵ Christie, Manson and Woods, *The Drummond Collection of Pictures and Drawings, Chiefly of the Barbizon and Dutch Schools*, London, 26 June 1919.

⁹⁶ Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montréal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal 1989), 15.

resigned from the bank to participate in management of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway as Hill's second-in-command. Two years later Angus entered the syndicate of three other Canadians --Strathcona, Stephen, and Douglas McIntyre; and one American, John Stewart Kennedy of New York, to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. Directorships that he held included those of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canada Northwest Land Co., Ltd., Laurentide Pulp, and Royal Trust. As vice-president of Hill's railway, the Minneapolis & Manitoba from 1879-1910, he helped to create the wealth of Lord Strathcona, who was the third-largest shareholder in the railway after Hill and Kennedy.⁹⁷ A supporter and director of the Art Association of Montreal, Angus donated five paintings from his own collection to the AAM as early as 1879. Approximately twenty paintings were donated to the AAM by members of his family from 1922 to 1962, according to the MMFA 2000 inventory. A recently published list of works owned by Angus indicates he favored landscape paintings.⁹⁸ He acquired sixty-five landscapes, of which twenty-seven were marine views. He owned more marine views than any of the other collectors examined in this thesis. Compared to Drummond's holdings of forty-three paintings in the genre of everyday life scenes, Angus owned twenty-eight, while Strathcona had twenty-one and Van Horne had fourteen. In Angus's collection of twenty portraits, fourteen were of aristocrats. Angus owned thirteen rural scenes with animals, compared to fewer than ten owned by Strathcona. He owned more Orientalist paintings than other Montreal collectors, since he had eight. Records at the MMFA indicate he owned some Asian porcelain. Religious subjects were represented in Angus's collection

⁹⁷ Reford, "Smith, Donald Alexander," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 943.

by two prominent artists. He acquired *Madonna and Infant* by Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510), and another painting of the same title by Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio (1467-1516). He also held an architectural view, *Interior of St. Mark's* by Antonio Canaletto (1697-1768).

These holdings demonstrate that while his collection featured primarily nineteenth-century paintings, it was not exclusively of his era. Two of his best-known nineteenth-century works may be *The Death of Ophelia*, 1844, by Eugène Delacroix, and *The Crown of Flowers*, 1884, by William Bouguereau. Both paintings have a Symbolist attitude in that they connect females to death.

Angus acquired five Hague school works and four Barbizon paintings. In common with Strathcona, he owned two works by Josef Israëls and one by Homer Ransford Watson. That he declined knighthood in 1910 may indicate that he did not seek validation like other collectors who were knighted. It may also indicate anti-monarchical views. However, he regularly lent paintings to the AAM loan exhibitions, so his art collection was not primarily for private enjoyment.

The similarities and differences between James J. Hill (1838-1919) and Strathcona are revealing. Hill, alone amongst others considered here, was born in Canada in 1838 to a Scottish mother and Irish father in a farming community near Guelph, Ontario. He became an American citizen in 1880.⁹⁹ Hill's early misfortunes included the loss of his an eye and the death of his father. At the age of fourteen, Hill, like other entrepreneurs of his generation, left school in order to work to support the family. Like

⁹⁸ Gloria Lesser, "The R.B. Angus Art Collection: Paintings, Watercolors and Drawings," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. XV, 1, 108-123.

Strathcona, Hill had wanted to be a doctor, but for neither was there money for this type of education. Like Strathcona, Hill left home at the age of eighteen. He found work on the Great Lakes as a shipping clerk, and at the age of forty, in 1867, the year that Canada became a nation, Hill became the St. Paul agent of the St. Paul and Pacific railway.¹⁰⁰ This connection brought him into contact with Norman Kittson, a former HBC agent who ran an express from St. Paul to Fort Garry (later Winnipeg).¹⁰¹ Hill built the second steamboat on the Red River from a wrecked Mississippi stern wheeler to sell to Kittson. Kittson bought a second boat, and brought in Strathcona, then the Chief Commissioner for the Hudson's Bay Company with responsibility for Rupert's Land, as an investment partner. Soon their steamboats connected to rail tracks laid by the St. Paul and Pacific Railway. This bankrupt railway, owned by Dutch bondholders, presented an opportunity for Hill, Kittson and Strathcona to foreclose and own the railroad. Once Strathcona persuaded George Stephen, then president of the Bank of Montreal to join them, the railroad was re-organized as the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, with Hill as general manager. R. B. Angus left the Bank of Montreal to be Hill's second-in-command. Their timing was opportune, since the country began producing millions of tons of wheat and lumber.¹⁰² John S. Kennedy, a New York financier, joined Hill's syndicate, and eventually this Canadian/American team bought up the Great Northern

⁹⁹ Jane H. Hancock, Sheila Ffolliott, and Thomas O'Sullivan, "Chronology," in *Homecoming, The Art Collection of James J. Hill*, (St. Paul, Minnesota 1991), 62-63.

¹⁰⁰ Stewart H. Holbrooke, *James J. Hill, A Great Life in Brief* (New York 1955), 177, 178.

¹⁰¹ Holbrooke, *James J. Hill, A Great Life in Brief*, 184. Holbrooke indicates the journey between St. Paul and Winnipeg took one month by ox cart in fair weather, and slightly shorter by dog sled in winter, but this may be an hyperbole.

¹⁰² Holbrooke, *A Great Life*, 185-190.

and the Northern Pacific, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroads.¹⁰³ In the opinion of the author of *The Robber Barons, The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901*, Hill built "what was finally to be the most perfect railroad monopoly in the country..."¹⁰⁴ Hill gained strategic aid through a liaison with J. Pierpont Morgan, although Strathcona remained the third-largest shareholder after Hill and Kennedy. Hill and Strathcona became loyal friends.¹⁰⁵ After the last spike of the Great Northern was driven in 1893, a ball was held in Hill's honour in St. Paul. "Of Hill's original associates, only Sir Donald Smith was there. When Hill introduced him, the people of St. Paul...cheered the old gentleman lustily."¹⁰⁶

It is clear that Hill and his partners formed a fortress against invaders.¹⁰⁷ In an article entitled, "Men in Action," the writer reviewed the 9 May 1901 panic on Wall Street caused by the fight between the Hill-Morgan group and the Harriman-Kuhn-Loeb group of financiers for control of the Northern Pacific. A cablegram was sent to Strathcona offering him \$8 million for his stock in the Northern Pacific; similar cables were sent to Stephen and Kennedy. All three refused because of a promise to Hill from years before not to sell.¹⁰⁸ Their loyalty meant Hill became the railway baron of the Northwest. No doubt in declining the Great Northern's offer, they were all aware that by

¹⁰³ Holbrooke, *A Great Life*, 185-190.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons, The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901* (New York 1934), 248. The story of Hill's collaboration with Morgan is presented by John J. Winkler, *Morgan the Magnificent, The Life of J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913)* (New York 1930), 160-182.

¹⁰⁵ Albro Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (New York 1976), 520.

¹⁰⁶ Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest*, 397.

¹⁰⁷ Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest*, 372-373.

¹⁰⁸ Harry Tuck Sherman, "Men in Action," *The Worlds Work: A Lost Opportunity in the Pacific* (New York 1910), 12512-12514.

holding their shares, their profit would be far greater than the \$8 million offered by the rival line. Nevertheless, Strathcona and Hill's close friendship extended to collaboration in preparation for the visit of Lord and Lady Dufferin to "Silver Heights," Lord Strathcona's estate near Winnipeg.¹⁰⁹

Hill's avocation of art collecting began in 1881. Meticulous in recording business and personal correspondence, his papers are preserved, including a complete inventory of two hundred and eighty-five paintings bought and sold from 1881 to 1916, all documented by photographs.¹¹⁰ This ledger is entitled "The Pictures of Mr. Hill."¹¹¹

Thomas O'Sullivan, Curator of Art at the Minnesota Historical Society, ascribes perfectionism to Hill, who worked with a decorator to install his paintings, but made the selections and decisions on placement himself.¹¹² Since both Hill and Strathcona liked "fussing over arrangements,"¹¹³ it seems reasonable to conjecture that Strathcona, like Hill, also may have decided on the pictorial program in his art gallery.

Hill's business interests were far-reaching, and like Strathcona, he was also an imperialist. Hill wrote a series of articles entitled "Highways to Progress" concerning the United States capturing trade in the Pacific by building railroads in China and Japan. The goal was to provide better delivery than competitors in order to increase business with

¹⁰⁹ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 267-268.

¹¹⁰ Hancock, *Homecoming*, ix.

¹¹¹ Ffolliott, *Homecoming*, 21.

¹¹² Thomas O'Sullivan, "Showcase and Stronghold, The Art Gallery of the James J. Hill House," *Homecoming*, 52. Sheila Ffolliott mentions that Hill played a "dominant role" in choosing, purchasing and placing works of art and other furnishings in his homes in St. Paul and New York, in *Homecoming*, 41.

¹¹³ This is how McDonald describes their activity in regard to the visit of the Dufferins in *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 267.

Asia by 170 per cent. Hill's view was that "the bulk of the trade of the Orient was ours for the taking." In his plan, freight from the Orient would be loaded onto the Great Northern Pacific Railway at Seattle. In this way, "Control of the Pacific touches our future and unites our fortunes with those of the other nations that live upon its shores." The cover of the magazine depicts two Japanese women standing with three children waving American flags at the approach of a steamship, (Illus. 36) illustrating the kind of propaganda North America promoted concerning their incursions into Asia.

The fact that Hill owned paintings by the same artists as Strathcona, Angus, Drummond and Van Horne may be explained by Giddens's *structuration theory*, wherein cultural norms are mediated through class constructs. In this case social reproduction took place through mechanisms of social interaction between capitalists. Industrialization created social systems evidenced by the collection of the same type of art by these associates who lived at a great distance from one another. They all collected nineteenth-century paintings through the same network of dealers based on availability and their own moral values.¹¹⁴ Hill, a Protestant like the others, collected genre scenes of women in domestic pursuits, idealized views of animals or farm workers and landscapes. Some of these were paintings by the Romantics and members of the Barbizon school. From 1881 to 1889, Hill collected academic paintings of artists who taught at academies, mainly in Paris.¹¹⁵ He resold most of these to purchase more fashionable paintings, although he retained his works by François Bonvin, Jules Breton and Théodule Augustin

¹¹⁴ Sir Martin Conway, "Sir William van Horne's Collection at Montreal," *Connoisseur* (July 1905), 135-142, stated the opinion that "The Montreal collectors are by no means puppets in the hands of dealers; one and all of them choose for themselves." Numerous reference to Hill's correspondence with dealers indicates he rejected certain offerings and gave explicit instructions as to what he wanted to collect, in *Homecoming*.

¹¹⁵ Hancock, *Homecoming*, 85.

Ribot.¹¹⁶ He was sufficiently fascinated by Realism to acquire thirteen works by Jean-François Millet from 1886 until the month before he died in 1916. Eight paintings by Millet depict women in domestic scenes. *Normandy Pasture*, 1871-74, (Illus. 37) acquired from Knoedler in 1913 for \$28,800,¹¹⁷ is an unusual landscape by Millet, in which the tiny farm animals and human figures are secondary to the quality of the light and the atmosphere. Although Hill did not seem to have the inclination, subsequently, to collect Impressionist works, he did acquire one painting by John Constable, who influenced the Impressionists.¹¹⁸ Hill's collection is notable for the thirty paintings he acquired by Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot. Two prominent paintings, acquired to install in his new home with its larger art gallery after 1891, were Corot's *Biblis*, 1874-75, purchased for \$38,500, depicting figures in a stormy landscape and *Silenus*, painted by Corot for the Salon of 1838. *Silenus*, more comic than erotic, depicts bare-breasted young women teasing a stout nude male figure who is in bondage (Illus. 38). *Silenus* is the only painting in his collection with any nudity, perhaps justified by its mythological content. A view of Hill's gallery (Illus. 39) shows *Silenus* was installed in the middle of the wall on the right and *Approaching Storm*, attributed to Gustave Courbet was installed above the fireplace. Like Strathcona, he owned a painting by Virgile Narcisse Diaz de La Peña of children in folk costumes with a lamb in a woodland setting, and a scene by Charles-Emile Jacque of fowls in a yard. Hill was distinguished also for owning fourteen works by Delacroix, some too violent for Strathcona's taste. The fact that Hill also owned eleven bronze sculptures by Antoine-Louis Barye supports the idea that he may have

¹¹⁶ Hancock, *Homecoming*, 85-87.

¹¹⁷ Hancock, *Homecoming*, 93.

been titillated by violence. In fact he "had a fondness for hunting," and owned at least two works by Courbet, one entitled *Deer in the Forest*, 1868.¹¹⁹ Strathcona "shied away from sporting subjects, having had enough of that in real life."¹²⁰ It is tempting, therefore, to speculate that the only known work in Strathcona's collection of such a scene, Edward Bill's *Dead Pheasant in Field*, 1885, may have been a gift from Hill.

One subject matter Hill did disdain, however, were works romanticizing the American West and the indigenous people. When offered Albert Bierstadt's *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak*, 1863, he was simply "not interested." Art historian Sheila Ffolliott comments that this mountain panorama with Native Americans in the foreground was

in conflict with Hill's plans for the colonization and transformation of the Northwest into productive agricultural lands that would keep his railroad profitable—thus reflecting more the domesticated landscape represented by Millet and Troyon than the rugged, sublime, untamed Bierstadt.¹²¹

Hill's house is the only one extant from the group. Jane Hancock suggests that William H. Vanderbilt's gallery, measuring approximately 20 metres by 10 metres and rising two stories tall, built in New York in 1881, and opened on a limited basis to the public, was a model for Hill's second art gallery, opened to the public in 1891 through a free ticket system. Hill had built his first gallery in 1885, but soon needed a larger exhibition space. The second gallery, now administered as part of the Hill Historical Society, rises two stories in five metres of stone, capped by a skylight and is equal in size

¹¹⁸ Ffolliott, *Homecoming*, 24.

¹¹⁹ Hancock, *Homecoming*, 88.

¹²⁰ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 351.

¹²¹ Hill's view of the landscape is from Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest*, 366, cited by Ffolliott, a Hill family relative, in *Homecoming*, 35.

to Vanderbilt's gallery. Hill's home, (Illus. 40) designed in a Romanesque style after the American architect Henry Hobson Richardson, is "of roughhewn stone, carved capitals, rows of deeply recessed windows and ...broad round arches."¹²² The gallery was relatively austere, with dark oak wainscoting and burlap-covered wall, offset only slightly by the casing carved by John Kirchmayer as a housing for the water-powered pipe organ along one wall. The gallery highlighted his paintings, his collection of art books, and the sculptures by Barye. The parlour held other paintings such as Delacroix's *View of Tangier from the Seashore*, while portraits were displayed in the breakfast room and the music room.¹²³ Like Van Horne, Hill also collected art books. Rather than collecting paintings of European aristocrats, Hill was loyal to his adopted country. He acquired portraits of "Jefferson, Madison, Adams, Dolley Madison and Hamilton," according to Ffolliott.¹²⁴

Associates could be the recipients of valuable gifts from Hill, bought specifically as presents. He gave Rousseau's *A Woodland Path* to R. B. Angus, *Lion and Lioness in a Cave* to Van Horne, Corot's *Girl Walking* to Lady Mount Stephen and Jean-Jacques Henner's *Venetian Girl* to J. P. Morgan.¹²⁵ Hill also commissioned Adolf Müller, a young German artist to paint a portrait of Strathcona, as a gift to his friend.¹²⁶ Institutions also benefited from Hill's largesse. Ffolliott mentions that he "donated works from his

¹²² The architecture of Hill House is discussed by O'Sullivan, *Homecoming*, 49.

¹²³ O'Sullivan, *Homecoming*, 53.

¹²⁴ Ffolliott, *Homecoming*, 64.

¹²⁵ Ffolliott, *Homecoming*, 40.

¹²⁶ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 424, citing Müller-Urg to Hill, 19 June 1898, Hill papers.

collection to the Minneapolis Public Library in 1889, to the St. Paul Public Library in 1901, and to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1904."¹²⁷ Thirty-nine of Hill's paintings are in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute for the Arts.¹²⁸ Hill's donation of 1914 to this institution included works by Courbet, Chelminski and Michel.¹²⁹ Other paintings once owned by Hill are in the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, the Tweed Museum of Art, University of Minnesota-Duluth and the Cathedral of St. Paul.¹³⁰

In addition to Strathcona's immediate associates, it is instructive to consider the collecting activities of William Thompson Walters of Baltimore (1819-1894). Walters collected approximately two hundred nineteenth-century European paintings, about the same number as Strathcona. Both Walters and Strathcona owned paintings by twelve of the same artists, a significant number, while some of the paintings in the Walters Collection correspond to those held by other Montreal collectors. Walters's collection is extant, while many paintings once owned by Strathcona are now lost. Both Walters and Strathcona patronized nineteenth-century artists, with several important differences in terms of subject matter, which may be explained by differences in their respective values, and their religious and citizenship status. I have provided descriptions of certain paintings owned by Walters in order to compare them to paintings held by Strathcona, and his collecting circle. The major reason for considering the collection of William Walters is to show that Strathcona's collection compared favourably with it in scope and in holdings.

¹²⁷ Ffolliott, *Homecoming*, 26.

¹²⁸ Hancock, *Homecoming*, ix.

¹²⁹ Ffolliott, *Homecoming*, 26.

¹³⁰ Ffolliott, *Homecoming*, viii.

From this, it can be demonstrated that Strathcona's collection was worth preservation by the AAM since Walters's collection is the core of a renowned art centre, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Walters was born one year before Lord Strathcona and died ten years earlier. He was of Scottish-Irish descent, and had a limited education in civil mining. Like Strathcona, Walters invested in steamships and was involved in moneylending. His first capitalist enterprise was a prosperous wholesale liquor house. Walters spent the years of the American Civil War (1861-65) in Europe since as an active Southern sympathizer, it was dangerous for him to stay in Baltimore. On his return to the United States, he became involved in financing the restructuring of the Confederate railway system. Like the CPR principals, he invested in steamships since he realized the practicality of connecting water routes to railways. He began to buy art during his sojourn in Paris, following the advice of dealer, George A. Lucas, a fellow-Baltimorean. Walters began by commissioning paintings from Jean-Léon Gérôme, Camille Corot and Honoré Daumier.¹³¹ Once back in Baltimore, he attended art auctions and entered into partnership with Samuel P. Avery, a New York art dealer. Walters served on a number of American art advisory committees, as well as being a trustee and head of acquisitions for the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C.

Like his peers in Canada, Walters did not collect nude paintings, but this cannot be attributed to Protestantism since Walters was versed in the ritual of Roman Catholicism. Walters and his wife attended mass at St. Peter's Cathedral and celebrated

¹³¹ William R. Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Art from Romanticism to Art Nouveau* (Baltimore 2000), 7.

Holy Week in Rome.¹³² Unlike Strathcona, Walters did not eschew Romantic paintings. He owned several by Delacroix, including *Christ on the Cross*, 1846, *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*, 1854, and *Collision of Moorish Horsemen*, 1843/44. These works are considerably more sanguinary than the Delacroixs owned by Van Horne or Angus.¹³³ Certainly, the religious subject matter held by Strathcona and Van Horne was more picturesque than Delacroix's gruesome depiction of the suffering Christ. Indeed, Walters seems to have preferred violent subject matter, as seen in *The Suicide*, 1836, by Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, in *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops*, 1831, by Emile-Jean-Horace Vernet, (Illus. 41) and *The End of the Game of Cards*, 1865, by Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier which had apparently ended in a deadly sword fight. By comparison, Strathcona's painting by Meissonier, *Man Playing a Guitar*, n.d., is uneventful. Other paintings showing Walters's appreciation for the theatrical are *The Death of Caesar*, 1867, by Gérôme that can be compared to Strathcona's painting of the same title, identified as "English School." (Illus. 42) In Walters's Gérôme version, Caesar lies dead on the ground, while in Strathcona's English version, the action takes place in the distance, and there is no corpse. Another of Walters's paintings is extremely gruesome: *The Christian Martyrs' Last Prayer*, 1863/83, also by Gérôme, shows crucified young women burning, and a huddle of Christians of all ages praying as jungle

¹³² William R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore and London 1999), 30,31. William Walters was buried at the Grace Protestant Episcopal Church in Baltimore, but Johnston intimates this may have been convenient, since it was within walking distance of the Walters's home. Johnston suggests Walters was religious, but not affiliated with a church, Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 110.

¹³³ Janet Brooke illustrates Delacroix's *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*, c. 1853, now in the Philadelphia Art Museum, and *Lion and Lioness in a Cave* (stolen from the MMFA), both previously owned by Van Horne, and Delacroix's *The Death of Ophelia*, previously owned by Angus, and now in a private collection, as discussed in *Discerning Tastes*, 93 and 95.

animals are released from a trap in the arena floor, moments away from creating a bloody spectacle for the packed Coliseum. Alphonse-Marie-Adolphe de Neuville's *Attack at Dawn*, 1877, is another scene of carnage in a village that left two dead in the snow at dawn, following a surprise attack. By comparison, Strathcona's painting *Sacrifice of Abraham*, c. 1630, by Valentin de Boulogne, known as Valentin, shows the intervention of an angel in preventing Abraham from killing his son (Illus. 43). Another painting in the Strathcona collection, *Ruins of a Palace with Soldiers* by Giovanni Ghisolfi, 1632-1683, depicting soldiers at leisure, falls into the genre of the picturesque (Illus. 44), that is, it is a landscape with architecture that is striking in a quaint way.

Of the paintings Walters owned by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, there are two Roman scenes: One is a history painting of *A Roman Emperor – Claudius*, 1881, depicting the aftermath of his assassination, and the second is *The Triumph of Titus – The Flavians*, 1885. By contrast, Strathcona's Alma-Tadema showed Romans at leisure. Entitled variously as *Figures in a Roman House* (MMFA 1927 Inventory), *The First Course*, and *The Wine Tasters* (MMFA Catalogue 1927), it is known today only from a detail in a Notman photograph. It depicts figures lounging in an interior, presumably feasting.

Walters owned *After the Storm*, 1833, by Sir George Hayter, where a woman shrouded in white is being carried off by three soldiers, dwarfed by a giant tree snapped in half by the storm. Walters's taste for the violent carries through to the sublime, where the violence, although subdued, is still tangible, as apparent in the Romantic landscapes in his collection such as Andreas Achenbach's *Clearing Up, Coast of Sicily*, 1847, which again shows the aftermath of a sublime storm. Considerably more pastoral is Strathcona's

Italian Festival by Oswald Achenbach, brother of Andreas (Illus. 45). Strathcona seems to have preferred more static landscapes than did Walters, illustrated by paintings such as *Autumn Landscape* by American artist C.T. Anson, and *Beachey Head, Low Water*, 1861, by British artist William Stanfield. Even Turner's *Mercury and Argus* (Illus. 20) is more beatific than sublime. (Turner's *Ruby Castle, the Seat of the Earl of Darlington*, 1817 has remained in the Walters collection, while the painting Strathcona owned by Turner was sold by his family to the National Gallery of Canada.) Walters's painting by Sir John Everett Millais, entitled *News from Home*, 1856/1857, a view of a Scottish soldier of the Black Watch regiment reading a letter in a trench, was ridiculed by John Ruskin for its sanitized view of the life of a soldier.¹³⁴ The reception of Strathcona's famous painting by Millais, *St. Martin's Summer*, 1878, (Illus. 46) was more positive. The painting, depicting a scene of a river coming to rest in a tranquil pool, is judged by art historian Janet Brooke to be "one of the most important Pre-Raphaelite paintings to come to Montreal," after it was acquired by Strathcona through Koekkoek from the Christie's sale in London 20-23 June, 1888.¹³⁵ Both collectors held a work by Corot of the same title: *Saint Sebastian Succored by Holy Women*, 1851/53. A Notman photograph of 1915 shows Strathcona's Corot in place (Illus. 47). According to Thomas Norton, "Corot painted 4,000 pictures, 20,000 of which are in America," cited as "a famous aphorism of the day."¹³⁶ Walters also owned *The Evening Star*, 1864, by Corot, while Strathcona owned *A Landscape*.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ William R. Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Art, From Romanticism to Art Nouveau*, 121.

¹³⁵ Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, 128.

¹³⁶ Norton, *100 Years of Collecting in America*, 100.

¹³⁷ The reference to this second landscape owned by Strathcona is in Brooke's "Inventory" *Discerning Tastes*, 184.

The Barbizon school was well represented in the Walters collection. He owned *Landscape with Cottage*, n.d. by P.E.T. Rousseau, *A Bright Day*, 1835-40 by Jules-Louis Dupré, *Forest of Fontainebleau, Autumn*, 1871 by Virgile Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, *The Coming Storm, Early Spring*, 1874 by Charles-François Daubigny. Strathcona did not own works by Rousseau, Dupré or Daubigny. He did however, own a painting by Diaz de la Peña, although *Two Children with Goat*, 1860, (Illus. 22) is a genre painting, not a landscape. They both owned paintings by Jules Adolphe-Aimé-Louis Breton. Walters owned *Returning from the Fields*, 1871, (Illus. 48) depicting three barefooted teenage peasant girls walking with arms linked. Strathcona's choice by the same artist, *The Communicants*, (Illus. 19) is arguably more spiritual, not only because of its content, but due to the golden lighting. Walters owned the pastel and crayon on paper of Jean François Millet's *The Sower*, and two other paintings of peasants working in the fields by Millet, *Breaking Flax*, 1850/51, and *The Potato Harvest*, 1855. R. B. Angus's daughter donated *Churning* by Millet to the MMFA in 1949, (stolen in 1972).¹³⁸ Two paintings by Millet owned by Drummond were sold in London in the Drummond sale in 1919. In common with Van Horne, Walters owned several drawings of ink, watercolor and lithographic crayon on paper by Daumier. Van Horne owned three paintings by Daumier, R. B. Angus had two by Daumier, both now in European collections, and Drummond also owned two. Daumier's *The Loge*, 1854/57, held by Walters, shows a family in varying degrees of attentiveness at the opera, in a style influenced by Goya, while Van Horne's *Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs*, 1850, also by Daumier, (Illus. 49) remains one of the most

¹³⁸ Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, 214.

provocative and unusual works in the collection of the MMFA.¹³⁹ Hill owned one version of Daumier's *Third Class Carriage*, 1856-58 (Illus. 50). Strathcona's painting by Rosa Bonheur, *Stag in the Forest at Fontainebleau*, 1879, acquired from Koekoek for him at Christie's, 22 June, 1888, London for £1060,¹⁴⁰ was sold by the AAM in 1945 for \$175, (APPENDIX II); its whereabouts now unknown. Walters selected *Ploughing Scene*, 1854, by Bonheur. The contrast between the choices of the two collectors are that Strathcona generally avoided paintings of animals and men, although he owned twelve paintings of cattle or sheep in rural settings,¹⁴¹ not a large number given the popularity of this subject matter in the late nineteenth century.

Sentimental subject matter is an exception for Walters, while Strathcona preferred sentimental paintings of children, particularly little girls, and their young mothers, for example Thérèse Schwartze's *In the Church*, 1886 (Illus. 21). An exception for Walters was his painting by Pierre-Eduoard Frère *The Cold Days*, 1858, (Illus. 51) where three peasant children warm themselves at a stove. It has a similar pathos as Strathcona's painting *The Morning Wash*, 1863, by Théodule Ribot, (Illus. 52) in which small orphaned girls are seen in an atmosphere of deprivation. This is in contrast to the freedom children in North America are granted to explore tactile pleasures as depicted in Walters's painting by Ludwig Knaus entitled *Mud Pies* of 1863 (Illus. 53). An instructive comparison is provided by the twenty-eight paintings of mothers and children collected

¹³⁹ *Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs*, 1850, bridges Romanticism and Realism. In it, Daumier allegorizes France under the Republic as being at risk of rape, foreshadowing the end of the Republic and the restoration of the monarchy in 1852.

¹⁴⁰ Brooke, "Inventory," *Discerning Tastes*, 173.

¹⁴¹ Strathcona was known for his herd of Aberdeen cattle and buffalo at his ranch at Silver Heights, near Winnipeg. His buffalo herd formed the nucleus of the famous buffalo herd at Banff National Park, Alberta, and was also used to re-introduce buffalo onto the American plains.

by Strathcona versus the only painting of a mother and infant collected by Walters, which was Hugues Merle's *The Scarlet Letter*, 1861, (Illus. 54) depicting Hester Prynne.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's characterization of Prynne, an unmarried mother stigmatized by the large "A" for "adulteress" emblazoned in scarlet on her tunic, is depicted by Merle in the style of a *Madonna* by Raphael. However, in the Merle's version, the woman's expression is rebellious, not at all like the sweetly-calm expression of a Raphael *Madonna*. Rather than veneration of the mother-child relationship seen in Strathcona's painting by Jacques Stella, *The Virgin and Infant*, 1650, (Illus. 55), Walters's painting may seem to challenge the misogynist status quo, since the woman looks strong and spirited. The subject matter would have embarrassed Strathcona, who avoided personal talk or gossip.¹⁴² For whatever reason, Walters enjoyed the picaresque, that is paintings dealing with the episodic adventures of rogues and so on, while Strathcona's choices generally precluded anything but conservative choices.

The two collectors are similar in their choice of Neoclassical art. In the academic tradition Walters owned Paul Delaroche's mural, *The Hémicycle*, 1853, (Illus. 56) depicting famous painters as heroic figures in a Neoclassical style. Strathcona's *Roman Senators Going to the Forum*, c. 1650 (Illus. 57) by Jean LeMaire, is an equally clear statement of rational order. Walters's collection of mythological subjects was distinguished by acquisition of *The Evening (Lost Illusions)*, 1865/67, by Marc-Charles-Gabriel Gleyre. In it a robed, bearded man sits abandoned on a dock, while a sailing boat idles languidly nearby, implausibly filled with eleven fair-haired maidens, several of whom are standing, while a cross-legged cupid holding a wreath of flowers-- and the

¹⁴² Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, 596.

paddle-- perches precariously to starboard. Other academic paintings Walters owned are a mythological scene of *Nymphs Listening to the Songs of Orpheus*, 1853 by Charles-François Jalabert, and portrait of *Napoleon III*, c. 1865, by Alexandre Cabanel. Paintings that Strathcona owned of mythological subjects included Cabanel's *Desdemona*, 1880, sold in 1959 to Mrs. A. Millman of Montreal by the MMFA, Greuze's *Vestal Virgin*, n.d. (in MMFA inventory of 1927, but now unknown), and Jules LeFebvre's *Sappho*, 1884, (Illus. 25), notably all female subjects. Thomas Couture is represented in the Walters collection by an oil on canvas entitled *Lawyer Going to Court*, 1859/60, a humorous depiction of a scrawny, windblown lawyer walking at an inclined angle through muddy streets. The painting Strathcona owned by Couture, *Young Artist Seated at a Table*, does not reflect the humour of Couture's *Lawyer Going to Court*. *Young Artist Seated at a Table* might well have been selected for the centrality of the composition, since he favoured this format.

Like Strathcona, Walters owned a work by Baron Hendrik Jan Augustyn Leys, both scenes of Holland under Spanish rule. (R. B. Angus also owned *Charity*, 1850, by Leys, depicting a gentlewoman accompanied by her manservant, placing coins in the hand of a small boy flanked by a woman and a nun.) Leys, the teacher of Tissot, was well-known at the time.

Ten of Walters's paintings are Orientalist: Moorish scenes are by George Clarin, Eugène Fromentin, Charles-Théodore Frère, Alexandre Bida, Gérôme, Mariano Fortuny Marsal, José Villegas y Cordero, Edwin Lord Weeks and Josef Brandt. By way of contrast, the only painting Strathcona owned in an Orientalist style depicts clothed young

women lounging on a terrace at sunset, entitled *Evening –A Terrace, Morocco*, 1879, by Jean-Joseph Benjamin Constant (Illus. 58).

Thomas E. Norton attributes the establishment of a fashion for Chinese peach-blow-type bottles to William Walters's purchase of a 20.3 cm. high pink-glazed porcelain vase, dating to the reign of Kangxi (1662-1772) at American Art Galleries, where Strathcona was also a patron. The present Walters Art Gallery has an impressive collection of Oriental objects collected by the senior Walters. This interest also connects Walters and Strathcona, and provides a suggestion that Strathcona may have acquired his Japanese and Chinese art through Walters's partner, Avery, since Strathcona acquired paintings from Avery.

There is, of course, much better documentation of Strathcona's paintings than of his porcelains, ceramics, bronzes, manuscripts, armor and sculptures. Although the present whereabouts of many of Strathcona's paintings are unknown, a quantity were sold by the AAM or the MMFA to a Mrs. A. Millman of Montreal, associated with the Dominion Gallery and Dr. Max Stern. The Walters collection indicates that two hundred nineteenth-century paintings are sufficient to establish a permanent collection. The Walters Collection also provides a comparison of the content of a contemporary Strathcona may never have met, who was certainly not a member of his immediate circle like others discussed here.

Walters's collection is different from the Montreal collectors, reaffirming that social contact influenced choices. Walters did not collect Flemish works, or European genre paintings favored by the Montreal collectors. While Strathcona preferred idealized paintings of women and children, and calm landscapes, Walters's preference was for the

theatrical. One wonders whether the theatrical ritual of Catholicism informed Walters's choice. Perhaps Strathcona's choices are less theatrical because Canada was not forged into a warlike nation by civil war of the scale of the American Civil War of 1861-1865, which saw the Americans emerge with a standing army and as an aggressive imperialist power that began taking over nearby countries. By contrast to the imperialist policies of the United States, Canada has never tried to take over territory outside its boundaries, once these were established.

Strathcona's type of imperialism was to build a nation, to take stock of assets and resources, and to make them generate money, as any number of speeches delivered in the United Kingdom by the High Commissioner to Canada reveal. As Said has pointed out, "during the 1890s the business of empire, once an adventurous and often individualistic enterprise, had become the empire of business."¹⁴³ Strathcona's rectorial address at Aberdeen University in 1900 reiterated the importance of inter-colonial communication achieved through the Pacific cable connecting Canada and Australia, the Canadian Pacific Railway steamers to Japan and China and the Australian line between Vancouver, New Zealand, Sydney and Melbourne. Another of Strathcona's projects, realization of The Imperial Penny Post, gave people throughout the Empire the means to communicate at the cheapest rate possible. Imperialism, in its truest sense, he proclaimed, commenced in the colonies after the time of responsible government, the era where he played his role following his arrival in Montreal in 1868, the year after Canadian Confederation.¹⁴⁴ The United States became a nation by establishing its independence from Britain in the

¹⁴³ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London 1993), 23.

¹⁴⁴ Type written texts of Lord Strathcona's speeches are in the National Archives, Microfilm Reels A-1635/A-1636.

American Revolution of 1775-1783, and by building a standing army due to the large numbers of men mobilized during the American Civil War of 1861-1865. Conversely, Canada was not a nation until the twentieth century, the war of 1914-1918 being a significant date towards this perception. In the nineteenth century, the colony of Canada was seen as being subservient to Great Britain even after confederation of a number of British North American colonies in 1867. In Canada, activities such as endowment to the permanent collections of museums were confused by issues of identity, since the birthplace of the Montreal collectors was Scotland. Whereas, for Walters, born in the United States, Baltimore was his home and his family remained there. His son, Henry Walters continued to build the family art collection, and established the Walters Art Gallery as an institution in 1909. Hill also felt secure in leaving his art to various American institutions.

Strathcona, Drummond and Angus retained their collections during their lifetimes. Van Horne, Hill and Walters bought and sold with a view to improving their collections, and in the case of Van Horne and Walters, with an eye to investment. Hill may have been more driven by changing fashions than the others, since he disposed of his academic paintings to acquire Barbizon works. Of this group, Strathcona's collection, conventional for its time, became unique because it remains the largest extant nineteenth-century collection at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. In many ways, Tissot's *October*, the painting most often published in Montreal by the museum and by others wishing to evoke high culture, is a fitting symbol of Strathcona's connection to Montreal. Mysterious, Celtic, thin like the painting's patron, and dressed similarly in somber black, the young woman depicted is positioned against a background of golden leaves, a

memento mori and tribute to a Japanese aesthetic. *October* is not only a reminder of Strathcona's fascination with, and patronage of women,¹⁴⁵ but the book held by the young woman is also suggestive of the European legacy of humanism that he tried to foster in Canada.

Sweeping generalizations, generally uncomplimentary, have been made with regard to the conservative and academic content of the collection of Lord Strathcona.¹⁴⁶ I would like to provide an alternative perspective, while acknowledging the difficulty of reconstructing a collection on paper since all records are fragmented. While it is likely that he bought from dealers who presented works to him, they would also know what to offer to him, based on his instructions of what he wished to collect. His collection, in its difference from others in his social circle, represents a very personal view of the world. Rather than dismissively describing his paintings as conservative, I suggest that Lord Strathcona's chose his paintings for their formal properties: through their often symmetrical composition, they allowed him to realize an idealized, meditative space to provide solace from the chaos of a world where vying for social position in the hierarchy was expected of colonial subjects as they formed a world in the mold of the one left behind. By collecting paintings from known dealers by artists with accreditation in recognized academies, Strathcona sought to avoid any problems with attribution or

¹⁴⁵ Strathcona was the first major patron of education for women in Montreal. He also hired a thirty-two year old woman to be the first principal of Victoria College, which he founded to provide university education to women. He offered scholarships and grants to woman, and remained a supporter and admirer of them.

¹⁴⁶ For example, a comment by Evan Turner, isolating two Flemish works as interesting, while dismissing Strathcona's nineteenth-century paintings, and denoting R.B. Angus's taste as being more original, in Turner, "Introduction," *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (1960) unpaginated.

quality. His choice of academic paintings, dismissed as conservative by his critics, are in keeping with the formality and properness of his comportment.

Assuredly, Lord Strathcona's donation of one hundred and fifty-four paintings, and the offer of Chinese and Japanese furnishings, bronzes and porcelains was significant. Although I have compared it to the collection of William Thompson Walters, the basis of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Strathcona's collecting activity also can be considered in light of Dr. Egerton Ryerson's collection. Built from two European collecting tours in 1855 and 1856, Ryerson (1803-1882) acquired two hundred paintings and engravings, mostly copies of Old Masters, and nearly one thousand plaster casts of antique statuary. Dr. Ryerson was chief superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. His collection was formed to serve an educational purpose similar to that of the educational museum in South Kensington, London. The Ryerson Collection was judged to be significant enough to form the beginnings of the Art Gallery of Ontario, inaugurated as the Art Museum of Toronto in 1900.¹⁴⁷ The question one could ask is why Strathcona's Asian collection was not retained for educational purposes, since it was first sought by the AAM for this purpose.

In creating opportunities for themselves in the New World the imperialist diaspora developed a social order out of its knowledge and capability that allowed ascension to an elite status in one generation. Their art collections positioned them as men of means and arbiters of taste, worthy of the power they held. If this power allowed Strathcona to mix Asian art with European paintings, it is because the empire was vast and grand. His collection can be classified as representative of the need to gather and

¹⁴⁷ Art Gallery of Ontario, *Selected Works*, Toronto, AGO, 1990, 12-13.

display a microcosm representing the macrocosm, a fixation of the Victorian and Edwardian age.

CHAPTER IX

DISPERSAL OF THE COLLECTIONS

"And this is the ordinary end of objects which decorate the great houses," commented Borromeo, "to be put on sale and to be dispersed and torn apart like the cadavers of their patrons which are consumed by worms."¹

Excluding Walters,² all five of the collectors discussed here are represented in public institutions, although none of their collections are extant. Hill's is the only home and art gallery preserved as a museum (Illus. 40). The homes of Strathcona, (Illus. 59) Van Horne, (Illus. 60) Drummond (Illus. 61) and Angus (Illus. 62) have been demolished. Of the collections considered, the greatest number of paintings donated from a single collection to a museum was the gift of Strathcona's heir, the second Baron Strathcona, to the Art Association of Montreal (AAM), renamed the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) in 1939. As well, Strathcona's collection of Chinese and Japanese objects was also offered to the AAM unconditionally. From the Strathcona collection fewer than one-third of the paintings, remain in the collection of the MMFA. A large number of Japanese tea sacks and tea boxes are listed in the MMFA inventory, as well as several tea jars, five Japanese bowls and one Japanese incense box. Only two items of Chinese provenance are listed in the MMFA inventory: a pot, dated between 1885 to 1925 and a tea bowl, dated between 1127 to 1279. A receipt for forty-nine bronzes from Strathcona's collection delivered to Henry Morgan & Co. 22 November 1940 is all that remains of this category in MMFA files. On the same date, Henry Morgan & Co. also

¹ *Il Museo del Cardinale Federico Borromeo*, translated by Luigi Grasselli, edited by Luca Beltrami (Milan 1909), 45, cited by Paula Findlen, "Renaissance Collecting and Remembering," *Museums and Memory*, (Stanford, California 2000), 173.

² Walters gained his fortune from railway enterprises like the others, but he was not their associate.

provided a receipt to the MMFA for one hundred and fifty-one porcelain items from the Strathcona collection, not distinguished as to country or maker. A hand-written inventory in the MMFA collectors' files records that a number of items from the Strathcona collection were purchased from the MMFA by Morgan Trust in 1948, 1950, 1953 and 1956. This would indicate the fate of Strathcona's bronzes and other items, were it not for three additional pieces of information.

The first fact is that some of Strathcona's bronzes and ceramics were offered at auction in Toronto in 1928 by Jenkins Galleries. The second is that the MMFA's first official curator, appointed after the death of acting curator F. Cleveland Morgan in 1962, mentions in a newspaper interview that the museum did not have the room to display items including carvings, Japanese swords, and Chinese furniture from the Van Horne collection.³ As far as can be determined Van Horne did not collect these items. They are never mentioned elsewhere, are not recorded in Van Horne's own catalogues, or seen in any of the Notman photographs made of the Van Horne residence. Conceivably the source of these items was Lord Strathcona, since his objects disappeared after being given to the museum. It is known from several sources that Strathcona collected these sorts of items. Japanese and Chinese furniture and objects are clearly visible in Notman photographs documenting Strathcona's residence in 1915. As well, these objects appear in the inventories (APPENDICES III and IX). Furthermore, the museum had asked Lady Strathcona for items in 1917 (APPENDIX VII). Third, of the seven thousand objects added to the MMFA Decorative Arts Museum by Cleveland Morgan during his association with the museum from 1907 to 1962, the provenance of all is not clear. He

³ Dusty Vineberg, "A great collection dwindles," *The Montreal Star*, 2 December 1972, C-15.

did not always indicate which items he had donated and which were from other sources.⁴ Some of Lord Strathcona's "lost" items may in fact be unattributed or attributed incorrectly.

Some discrepancies appear in the Van Horne documentation also. Van Horne's daughter, Adeline Van Horne, offered one hundred and three paintings inherited from her father to the Art Association of Montreal in a 1941 bequest. As well, Adeline Van Horne donated to the AAM the Van Horne collection of prized porcelains, ceramics and bronzes from Japan, China and the Middle East.⁵ The AAM Annual Report for 1945 inventories sixty-nine paintings received from the Van Horne collection. Perhaps the others were not forthcoming, or were not accepted, although that is unlikely, given Van Horne's reputation. A further discrepancy is that in 1972, Ruth Jackson, the registrar of the MMFA, is quoted in *The Montreal Star* as stating that the museum inherited eighty-four paintings from Adeline Van Horne.⁶ Likely the sixty-nine paintings listed in the 1945 AAM Report represents only a partial list.⁷ An MMFA inventory in 2001 indicates that thirty-six of the Van Horne paintings remain in the MMFA collection. Therefore, at least half of the paintings of "one of the best known and most prominent art collectors in North America," according to *American Art News*,⁸ may have been sold or de-accessioned by the museum. Paintings inherited by Van Horne's son Richard passed to Van Horne's

⁴ Norma Morgan, *F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*. M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1985.

⁵ Evan H. Turner, "Introduction," *The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (1960), unpaginated.

⁶ Vineberg, "A great collection dwindles," *The Montreal Star*, 2 December 1972, C-15.

⁷ Art Association of Montreal *Annual Report*, 1945, 19,20.

⁸ *American Art News*, New York, Vol. XIII, No. 36, September 18, 1915, front page.

grandson William (known as "Billy"). About twenty nineteenth-century paintings were liquidated by a subsequent heir at auction in 1946.⁹ However, a photograph published in *Mayfair Magazine*, circa 1958, illustrates that part of the Van Horne collection "valued at over twenty million dollars" was still in the family.¹⁰ This photograph is of Edith Van Horne, née Molson, first wife of Billy Van Horne. The photograph shows her seated in her drawing room with "a Zurburan, four Frans Hals, three Rembrandts, one El Greco, a Rubens, a Velasquez, a Goya, a Holbein and a da Vinci drawing"¹¹ (Illus. 63). The Van Horne Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings were sold in New York around 1960, and the remaining pieces, amongst the most valuable in the Van Horne collection, were sold by the second wife and widow of Billy Van Horne at Sothebys in London and New York in 1972.¹²

To situate both the Strathcona and the Van Horne donations to the AAM and the MMFA in perspective, the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, began with one hundred seventy-four paintings purchased from three private collections in 1870. These were:

...mostly Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century paintings, with a few Italian, French, English and Spanish works ranging from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The cost, including expenses, came to \$116,180.27.¹³

⁹ Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal 1989), 23.

¹⁰ Luc d'Iberville, *Lost Montreal* (Montreal 1975), 18.

¹¹ d'Iberville, *Lost Montreal*, 18.

¹² Vineberg, "A great collection dwindles," *The Montreal Star*, 2 December 1972, C-15, provides the information that this widow was Margaret Hannon of Toronto, known as "Billie" Van Horne.

¹³ Calvin Tompkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1970/1989), 37.

By comparison, Strathcona's collections were evaluated in 1914 at \$219,000 for the paintings and \$210,000 for the Japanese art; the "Carvings, Tapestries and other furnishings of a Japanese Temple," were separately evaluated at \$26,000, for a total evaluation of \$660,000.¹⁴ (APPENDIX III).

Sir George A. Drummond's entire collection was sold as part of his estate at Christie's in the *George A. Drummond Sale*, London, 26 June 1919, in two hundred and nine lots. Senator Drummond is represented by only a few works in the current MMFA collection, while R. B. Angus is memorialized in the MMFA collection, according to a 2001 MMFA inventory, by eighteen paintings, two Japanese Edo vases, five items of Chinese porcelain and seven other minor works. Additionally, Angus's daughters donated several of their father's paintings in 1949 and 1956. That is, Mrs. R. Mac.D. Paterson donated Jean-François Millet's *Young Woman Churning*, 1849-1850, Rembrandt's *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1665, as well as two works by lesser-known artists. Mrs. C.F. Martin donated *Portrait of a Lady* by Dutch artist Gerard Terborch (1617-1681), *Portrait of a Young Man*, by Flemish artist Quenton Metsys (1466-1530), which presumably had been in her father's collection.¹⁵

An inventory of two hundred and eighty-five works purchased by James J. Hill from 1881 to 1914 provides a record of his collecting activity, although the eighty-three paintings in his estate at the time of his death in 1914 were dispersed.¹⁶ Twenty-five works were donated to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts by Hill and his descendants.¹⁷

¹⁴ Currency in United States and Canada was at par during this era.

¹⁵ Five paintings donated by daughters of R.B. Angus are listed in John H. Steegman, *Catalogue of Paintings, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal 1960).

¹⁶ Complete documentation of the James J. Hill collection is provided in Jane H. Hancock, Sheila Ffolliott, Thomas O'Sullivan, *Homecoming, The Art Collection of James J. Hill* (St. Paul, Minnesota 1991).

The collections of Strathcona, if preserved by the AAM and the MMFA, would have kept intact valuable historical information. The present MMFA collection presents only a fragmented view of late nineteenth-century collecting practices in Montreal. Disposal of Strathcona's collection was by means of direct sales to dealers, a practice not considered acceptable or ethical today.¹⁸ The William Thompson Walters Collection, on the other hand, was preserved in its entirety and formed the nucleus of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, established by William Walter's son Henry Walters in 1909.

Arguably the Montreal collectors reviewed here did not do enough for the Art Association of Montreal, compared to their American counterparts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Met began its collection with the purchase of three private collections in 1879, evaluated at half of the Strathcona collections alone. Thereafter, wealthy New Yorkers gave individual works as well as complete collections to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met). The first bequest to the Met was \$100,000 in 1883 from New York businessman Levi Hale.¹⁹ The first bequest to the MMFA was \$70,000 from John D. Tempest, however amounts of this size did not set a precedent. Of the group including Strathcona, Van Horne, Drummond and Angus, none provided a trust for the preservation and display of their collections. Again, to make a comparison with the Met, Catherine Lorileard Wolfe bequeathed one hundred and forty-three nineteenth-century paintings to the Met. Wolfe also provided a bequest of \$200,000 for a memorial gallery where the paintings were to be displayed as "the Catherine Lorileard Wolfe

¹⁷ Jane H. Hancock, "French Academic and Barbizon Painting in American Collecting, 1870s-1890s," *Homecoming, The Art Collection of James J. Hill* (St. Paul, Minnesota 1991), 15.

¹⁸ Collector's Files, *Strathcona Collection*, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

¹⁹ Tompkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 70.

Collection," setting a precedent for gifts of a similar kind to the Met.²⁰ As Richard Feigen cautions in his recent book, *Tales from the Crypt. The Painters, The Museums, The Curators, The Collectors, The Auctions, The Art*, the Met has not always followed its donors' wishes, and some truly scandalous events have occurred that seem to implicate the museum's past director, a curator, and one or more New York art dealers.²¹

Although highly speculative, it is conceivable that if one of the Montreal collectors had provided a \$5 million annuity such as the one left by Jacob S. Rogers of Paterson, New York, to the Met in 1901,²² perhaps the AAM would have been less likely to sell its nineteenth-century paintings. In the 1928 AAM *Annual Report* President F.J. Shepherd despairs:

In the United States towns apparently of much smaller population have merely to ask and be given, but with our citizens there seems to be a certain lack of enthusiasm for Art and its advancement.²³

In fact, by 1944, the AAM Annual Report contained notice on the inside cover to the effect that "The Art Association of Montreal does not hesitate to state on this conspicuous page that its financial requirements are pressing..." Although it is not clear when the AAM began to receive a grant from the City of Montreal, president C. F. Martin was able to say that in 1945 the amount of the grant from the city had doubled to \$500. Unfortunately, the province reduced its grant (amount not given) "on the plea of

²⁰ Tompkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 72.

²¹ Richard Feigen, *Tales from the Crypt. The Painters, The Museums, The Curators, The Collectors, The Auctions, The Art* (New York 2000).

²² Tompkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 91.

²³ F.J. Shepherd, *Art Association of Montreal Annual Report, 1928*, 12.

inadequate funds."²⁴ Certainly, no provincial funding was in place by 1928, when AAM president F. J. Shepherd suggested that because the province provided no financial assistance, the government might at least abolish death duties, as was the case in the United States, to help to compensate for the paucity of provincial funding. He complained that bequests to museums and hospitals "are still subject to very high death duties...a tax on generosity and charity."²⁵

The AAM had a valid complaint. Civic support for the Met was in place from 1873, when the gallery received a grant of \$30,000 from the City of New York; by 1893 the grant from the city rose to \$70,000; by 1901 the Met was allocated \$150,000 from city coffers. The Met had guards and professional staff by 1878, and hired its first director the following year. The City of New York paid all costs of new construction.

In contrast, the AAM was organized with committees to raise funds and take charge of building, but they had no substantial partners until 1972 when the MMFA "entered into a partnership with the province." Between 1904 and 1926 the principal cash donations were from James Ross, \$125,000; R. B. Angus, \$20,000; Estate of G. A. Drummond, \$10,000; other benefactors gave lesser amounts. Strathcona did not leave a cash bequest to the AAM.²⁶

In summary, the collections of Strathcona and Van Horne were not preserved by the AAM, and few works by Drummond or Angus even entered the collection of this museum. The failure of the capitalist elite to enshrine their culture was due not only to their lack of provisions to instate and maintain their collections, but there was also a

²⁴ C.F. Martin, *Art Association of Montreal Annual Report*, 1945, 7.

²⁵ F.J. Shepherd, *Art Association of Montreal Annual Report*, 1928, 12.

power shift. Once this generation of capitalists was no longer in charge, others came to power who wanted to impose their own vision of who and what was important. In the following decades, two different social classes took charge of the collections. These were the intelligensia and an administrative class whose subconscious social aim was to reshape culture in their own image. Provincial bureaucrats assumed a presence when on 21 December 1972, Bill 68 was passed in the Quebec National Assembly and took immediate effect. According to AAM president Sean Murphy, "From this moment on the Museum entered into partnership with the Government of Quebec. The Government appointed twelve of the twenty-seven members of the new Board of Trustees."²⁷ There was a positive financial benefit since in 1972 the Government of Quebec provided \$1.5 million to the MMFA. At the same time, the Government of Canada contributed \$3 million for expansion, participating in the kind of funding that has come to characterize the provincial/federal tug-of-war in Quebec.²⁸ A further \$1.5 million was donated by two other sources.²⁹ In Canada, there has usually been money for feasibility studies, facility expansion and construction, which are politically expedient, visible and do not imply ongoing funding for operations. No government is interested in financing operating costs, since the government wants museums to operate as revenue-producing businesses.

As discussed in Chapter IV, in Baudrillard's "jealousy system," objects are the equivalent of oneself, and if an object confronts one man with another, and the object is

²⁶ *Art Association of Montreal, Annual Report 1926*, 31.

²⁷ Sean B. Murphy, "Report of the President," *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Annual Report 1972-73*, 4.

²⁸ Canadian federal government fiscal support influences the balance of power in a province with separatist leanings.

²⁹ Murphy, *Annual Report 1972-73*, 4.

lost or damaged, "this would mean symbolic castration."³⁰ Baudrillard proposed collecting as akin to narcissistic object choice, where the objects are ideal mirrors, reflecting what is desirable. "It is invariably oneself that one collects," through identification with the collected item. By regressing to an earlier age, the collector can shield himself from the passage of time by recalling the object at will and controlling it by placement and display, or by concealment. The object, by outliving the collector, signifies the immortality of its owner.³¹ Once the collector is dead, however, control of the objects is in the hands of others.

One could argue that Strathcona's collection was symbolically castrated, following Baudrillard's theory, when Cleveland Morgan of the Art Committee of the Art Association of Montreal "picked out the best,"³² of the Chinese and Japanese ceramics and pottery. Morgan then instructed the secretary, Ethel Pinkerton, to label the bronzes without attribution as to donor.³³ Cleveland Morgan, of the Montreal department store *Morgans*, held a Master's degree in zoology from McGill University (1903) and had received further education in Europe. His interest in art collecting, developed during a study trip to Italy in 1900, was augmented by his association with Sir William Van Horne, a fellow member of the "For Men Only" Pen and Pencil Club, established in

³⁰ Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge 1994), 17-19.

³¹ Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," 7-24.

³² In an undated, handwritten letter in the Collectors' files in the MMFA Archives, written on Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York, stationery Morgan advised the secretary to arrange a temporary display of Strathcona's objects.

³³ Morgan letter, undated, written on Ritz-Carlton Hotel New York stationery, Collectors' Files, MMFA Archives.

Montreal in 1890.³⁴ Morgan joined the Art Association of Montreal in 1907, was on the exhibition committee in 1915, and became chairman of the museum committee in 1916.³⁵ He was appointed chairman of the AAM Decorative Arts Museum by 1917.³⁶ He decided on acquisition policy, considered the Decorative Arts Museum "his museum," and sought to administer it as he chose.³⁷ He was also a private collector. Japanese and Chinese items had been exhibited at the AAM before Morgan's involvement at the AAM, including an exhibition of Japanese ceramics in the spring of 1902.³⁸ Evidence of member's interest in Asian art arises from the fact that Fenollosa gave a lecture at the AAM in 1908.³⁹ Morgan's own interest may have been piqued by this visit, since he began purchasing Chinese pieces from Yamanaka and Company in 1909 and continued to collect from this source until 1929.⁴⁰

Morgan solicited gifts from members of the AAM, although his biographer Norma Morgan does not mention that there was any correspondence with any member of the Strathcona family in his private papers. However, the AAM Annual Report for 1928 records that "In 1927, Lord Strathcona donated a large collection of China, pottery and

³⁴ Norma Morgan, *F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Concordia University (Montreal 1985), 34-50.

³⁵ Morgan, *F. Cleveland Morgan*, 37.

³⁶ Evan K. Turner, *The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (A Handbook)* 1960, credits F. Cleveland Morgan, one of the AAM's youngest member for the policy change of 1917, from paintings to inclusion of decorative arts, unpaginated.

³⁷ Morgan, *F. Cleveland Morgan*, 77.

³⁸ Montreal Museum of Fine Art Library, "Exhibitions" file, refers to the exhibition being held from the 22 April to 5 May, 1902.

³⁹ Author unknown, "Japanese Color Prints," *Montreal Herald*, 31 January 1908, page unknown. Fenollosa gave his lecture at some point during the exhibition.

⁴⁰ Morgan, *F. Cleveland Morgan*, 77.

bronzes." Furthermore, the minutes of the Acquisitions Committee record that a meeting was held Friday, 4 March, 1927 at 11:00 o'clock. Present were Dr. F. J. Shepherd, president, H. B. Walker, vice-president, F. Cleveland Morgan and G. Horne Russell of the museum committee, and Arthur Browning of the Council, who was invited to be present. The minutes state that ninety-seven of Lord Strathcona's pictures were selected by this committee. An extract from the Minutes of a meeting of the council held on 9 December 1927 records:

The Secretary was also instructed to dispose of any duplicate pottery and bronzes of Lord Strathcona's collection which Mr. Morgan may not select, as per instructions received from the Royal Trust Company.⁴¹

The circumstances of the Strathcona bequest are clear. Royal Trust, the administrators of Strathcona's estate had a mandate to dispose of any works of art not required by the AAM. A memorandum to Mr. Arthur Browning on Royal Trust stationery, dated 6 December 1927 reads:

After designating certain pictures to be shipped to England, Lord Strathcona's instructions regarding the remaining pictures and works of art are as follows: 'Offer to Montreal Art Gallery selection of all remaining pictures and works of art. Dispose locally of all the remainder on the same conditions as given above.'⁴²

Krzysztof Pomian writes of those at the pinnacle of society as being *semiophore-men*, while those at the bottom are *thing-men*.⁴³ One is tempted to consider if Lord Strathcona's paintings and objects fell from their exalted existence after his death due to the self-serving action of *thing-men*. In de-accessioning his paintings and losing his

⁴¹ The AAM *Annual Report* for 1928 documents that Miss Pinkerton was appointed as secretary for the association as at January 1, 1927.

⁴² Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Collectors' Files: Strathcona. See Appendix IX.

⁴³ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, U.K. 1990), 32.

objects, the Art Association of Montreal, Royal Trust, and other responsible parties termed his objects not as *semiophores* but as disposable property to be sold over a period of years to commercial interests. With the dispersal of Lord Strathcona's paintings, during the years 1927-1960, the better part of Lord Strathcona's collection was removed from the temple of art, thus reducing his significance as a *semiophore-man*. As late as 1960, MMFA director Evan Turner sidelined the importance of Lord Strathcona's collection:

...while it contained an interesting pair of Flemish mannerist narrative subjects, formerly in the collection of Charles I of England, it consisted for the most part of the 19th century painters admired at the turn of the century.⁴⁴

Museums represent the individual's place within society, as Carol Duncan states:

To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and its highest values and truths. It is also the power to define the relative standing of individuals within that community.⁴⁵

By denigrating Strathcona's gift, Strathcona was subjected to reduced status and even exclusion. As Duncan posits, museum collections are formulated by the politics of their ruling patrons.⁴⁶ Further, what is seen and not seen in museums is determined by reigning authorities.

With regard to Strathcona's European and Asian collections, the conditions set forth to the AAM by Royal Trust call for the sale by Mr. F. R. Heaton at auction of the remainder of objects not selected by the AAM. The name "Strathcona" was not to be

⁴⁴ This comment from Turner appears in the "Introduction," *The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (Handbook)*, 1960, unpaginated. These "Flemish paintings" were described by John H. Steegman in another MMFA publication *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Catalogue of Paintings*, 1960, 66 as *The Woman that Touched Christ's Garment* and *The Woman of Samarra*, both c. 1610, oil on canvas from the Collection of Anne of Denmark, Queen of England before 1616; her son, Charles I of England, {sic} Marchioness of Hamilton, 1637; Dukes of Hamilton; Hamilton Palace Sale, 1882, No. 1044, bt. M.S. Nathan; 1st Lord Strathcona, Montreal. *Literature*: J. Steegman in *Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1957, p. 379, and reprod. Presented, 1927, by Lord Strathcona and Family.

⁴⁵ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York 1986), 8.

⁴⁶ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 1995, 3.

used as a draw in connection with the auction.⁴⁷ Instructions cited by the Royal Trust letter to the AAM from the second Baron Strathcona (grandson of the first Lord Strathcona) indicate:

Offer to Montreal Art Gallery the remainder of articles included in Japanese collection. Dispose locally of any residue.⁴⁸

Some of these objects may have been offered for sale in Toronto in May and June 1928 in auctions conducted by Jenkins' Galleries. At these auctions Strathcona's name was "used as a draw in connection with the auction," since the June catalogue is entitled, "The Final Portion of the Janes, Strathcona, and Massey Properties, June 19th and the Three Following Days." The result has been that there are few traces of Strathcona's Asian collection. The debate between aesthetics and history is relevant here. Roger Fry argues that the art object should be judged as a work of art on its aesthetic value alone.⁴⁹ The counterpart to this is that if an object has historical relevance, then it is also worth preserving. I can only surmise that Cleveland Morgan, who had the power to organize the collection at the AAM, did not judge objects in Strathcona's Asian art collection to be worth preserving, so they were discarded or preserved without being attributed to Strathcona, while his own significant collection remains at the museum. However, Cleveland Morgan was not Lord Strathcona, and did not factor into the Canadian imaginative as did Strathcona. Morgan's place is a minor one, as a collector of art. The construct of ownership is relevant to the auratic nature of objects. One has only to

⁴⁷ This directive was not followed as two auctions by the Jenkins Gallery in May and June 1928 *did* use the Strathcona name on their catalogue.

⁴⁸ MMFA Archives, Collectors' Files: Strathcona. (See Appendix IX).

⁴⁹ For a discussion of Fry's aesthetic theory, see Roger Fry, *Vision and Design* (Oxford 1920/1981).

consider the astronomical prices realized at the auction of celebrities' belongings to realize cult value is of essence. Many of the paintings executed in the nineteenth century were disregarded in the social evolution towards a modernist aesthetic. It cannot be said that representative works are held by the MMFA from these nineteenth-century collectors, since the museum disposed of the majority of works by every collector including Gibbs, Tempest, Learmont, Van Horne and Strathcona. The museum also disposed of paintings by artists in cases where there are no other significant examples, such as Lord Strathcona's *Stag in the Forest of Fontainebleau* by Rosa Bonheur. A culture of collecting did develop in Montreal. Janet Brooke found that there were more than one hundred collectors in Montreal during the time frame 1890 to 1920,⁵⁰ indicating that Montreal did validate collectors and collecting. It is as Dirks has concluded: "...domination never occurs outside history, and domination is never so totalizing as to be secured without continual struggle, contest and the will to mastery."⁵¹ One stays at the top as a *semiophore-man* by continuous injections of money into the cultural system, as is the case with the Rockefellers and the Gettys in the United States. With the institution of private income tax after 1914 large fortunes shrank and many could not afford to stay in their mansions. Canadian income tax laws did not encourage donations and unlike the United States, Canada imposed high death taxes with no financial incentive for heirs to donate art to institutions.⁵²

⁵⁰ Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal 1989), 12.

⁵¹ Nicholas B. Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*, (Ann Arbor 1991/1995), 23.

⁵² F.J. Shepherd, president of the Art Association of Montreal reports this fact in the *Art Association of Montreal Annual Report 1928*, (Montreal 1929), 12.

While it is unknown why Strathcona did not make better financial arrangements for the provision and safety of his collection, perhaps it only indicates that he found a balance between what John Forrester terms "the pressing needs of narcissism and the requirements of the world."⁵³ He decided instead to donate money to Harvard and Yale Universities, who bestowed him with honorary doctorates. He may not have had good advice about how best to preserve his collection.⁵⁴ Perhaps it eventually did not matter to him so much, since he was separated from it in time and distance. That is, his principal residences were not in Canada for an eighteen-year period before his death in 1914. It should be remembered, however, that during the time his collection was on display in his Montreal home, he was Canada's High Commissioner to Great Britain, and his Dorchester Avenue mansion was used as a vice-regal residence. It was thus closer to a colonial court than any other gathering place of the privileged in Montreal. Therefore, the collection served its purpose to portray the social aspirations of a new country, and his yearnings for it to be seen as civilized. Lord Strathcona may have seen it as his duty as an empire builder to enrich his surroundings with items he considered to be representative of European high culture, so that he could project a positive image of Canada, and his role in its development. If collecting can be associated with the narcissistic activity of increasing and maintaining self-esteem, as the object relations theorists suggest, objects *are* implicated into this quest. Again, when these objects are rejected by the museum, temple of taste, the collector's esteem is reduced.

⁵³ John Forrester, "'Mille e tre': Freud and Collecting," *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge 1994), 236.

⁵⁴ A letter from F. Scott & Sons, 23 March 1914 (APPENDIX IX), indicates the paintings and frames needed restoration.

The issue of de-accessioning of museum collections continues to be discussed. The Ullberg's 1981 treatise on museum trusteeship made important recommendations. Among these is that museum trustees should not be responsible for de-accessioning collections when they are in a conflict of interest. This speaks to the case of Cleveland Morgan and other collectors who served during various times on the Board of the AAM/MMFA. Additionally, museum trustees should never place themselves in a conflict of interest by acquiring objects from a museum collection sold at auction or through dealers.⁵⁵ The Art Gallery of Ontario policy of June 1983 policy extends this restriction to staff members "or anyone connected with the Gallery in any formal way, including membership of a committee or under a contract. Exploring the possibility of permanent loans to other institutions rather than selling any part of the collections in order to eliminate de-accessioning "for financial convenience and personal taste" were recommendations made by the 1991 Advisory Committee to the Government Art Collection in Britain.⁵⁶ The "Recommendations of the Policy Advisory Committee" of the MMFA of July 1994 would seem to have few safeguards against changing tastes.

While the history of Lord Strathcona's collection is clouded, it is clear that other important Montreal collections were sold after the death of the collectors, and few pieces entered or remained in the MMFA.⁵⁷ Fewer than one-third of Lord Strathcona's paintings are currently owned by the MMFA. The various inventories I have reconstructed indicate that many of Strathcona's paintings were sold at a great loss, both financial and cultural. More importantly, paintings now seen to be part of the art historical canon, once in the

⁵⁵ Alan D. Ullberg and Patricia Ullberg, *Museum Trusteeship* (Washington 1981), 80.

⁵⁶ Martin Feldstein, ed., *The Economics of Art Museums* (Chicago and London 1991), 31-32.

Strathcona collection, are no longer held by the MMFA. The fate of his Asian collection is far worse, since it has been reduced to insignificance.

⁵⁷ Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, 14.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

When Donald A. Smith arrived in Montreal in 1868, following thirty years of service in Labrador as an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, the opportunity to replace Governor George Simpson as Montreal commissioner of the HBC threw Smith squarely into the pretentiousness of Montreal Victorian society. Its snobbery may have fired Strathcona's resolve to achieve high status, since his biographer stresses that "his *amour propre* was easily slighted and he retaliated vigorously if he thought his honour has been impugned."¹ Conceivably to combat his perceived provinciality,² he set out to make a great fortune. Through seeking out capital investments, his resultant success generated social contacts and finally drew him to the circle of the Art Association of Montreal from 1882-1893. During these years he formed his Montreal art collection. Lord Strathcona's family donated one hundred and fifty-four of his paintings to the Art Association of Montreal, all of which seem to have been retained until the majority were sold over time by the institution.³ The Art Association of Montreal, renamed the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 1939, dispersed these paintings for nominal sums.

¹ Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto and Oxford 1996), 23.

² In *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 118, McDonald recounts that during the first meeting between Strathcona and his cousin, George Stephen, in Montreal, Strathcona was carrying a gaudy red carpet bag that he had just bought, thinking that it would "be a hit with the Indians" in Labrador. Apparently George Stephen treated the Smiths like "country cousins." Stephens tried to exclude Strathcona from the CPR charter and attempted to efface Strathcona's contribution, as revealed in Stephen's letters to Sir John A. MacDonald, Mount Stephen fonds, C-1486, National Archives of Canada. Stephens continued to make vitriolic comments and was resentful of Strathcona's achievement of a hereditary peerage, as Van Horne surmises in his "Biographical Sketches," undated, but before 1915, National Archives of Canada, MG29 A60, Unpublished Papers, Vol. 102.

³ Inventories and sales records at the MMFA indicate all of the paintings were retained until sold over time by the institution, although in 1927 the Acquisitions Committee recommended only ninety-seven be kept.

Yields from sales indicate the motive likely was not profit, since the sums realized were negligible. Perhaps those who disposed of the artworks intended to preserve the spirit of the collection through holding a select number of works. This was not effected however, since certain of Lord Strathcona's significant works were not kept, while other questionable, unknown, or less saleable works were retained. Since his art collection in its totality signified his high social standing and his magnanimous philanthropy, the effect of the dispersal of his collection is that Strathcona's status is historically reduced. In Baudrillard's universe of "object signs which are the only referent,"⁴ the sale of Strathcona's paintings by the Art Association of Montreal and the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, means that these works are circulating as signs of the collector's absence and presence.

In visualizing Montreal, grand nineteenth-century stone buildings in a blend of Gothic, Italianate and Neoclassical styles situate the city in relation to European history. Traces of opulent nineteenth-century domestic architecture evoke the semiotics of wealth and personal power. The glittering court that Strathcona strove to create in his Dorchester Street mansion lasted less than two decades. It is likely that in keeping his Dorchester Street house open for whatever use the empire needed, retaining a retinue of servants for this purpose, and leaving the art *in situ*, his intention was to maintain a presence in Montreal (frontispiece). This is indicated by the fact that the house was not closed until the death of his daughter Maggie in 1926.⁵ Thereafter, in 1927, Strathcona's

⁴ Mark Poster, *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings* (Stanford, Ca., 1988), 25.

⁵ This information is from correspondence in The National Archives of Canada, Strathcona Trust (series).

grandson gave all the treasures in the home to the AAM unconditionally, likely at the request of F. Cleveland Morgan.

One explanation for the disposal of the majority of his collection from the museum's permanent collection was the succession of the capitalist class by an administrative class, who exercised their preference for modern art and their power to determine cultural viability. As the social matrix shifted, the communications network circulated the exchange of views and the outlook of another type of hierarchy –the institutional.⁶ Strathcona's nineteenth-century paintings were generally dismissed and considered conservative by every MMFA spokesperson who has referred to them. It must be reiterated that nineteenth-century collections formed in Montreal, particularly that of Lord Strathcona, are associated with a period of British Imperialism in Canadian history. I maintain that Lord Strathcona's collection, in its unabridged state, was a testament to a young culture struggling for definition. When his objects were dispersed in various ways, their meaning as signifiers of his status was cancelled. Moreover, their *semiophoric* value as signifiers of a formative period in Montreal and Canadian history was reduced. Postcolonial theory rejects the idea of history as a form of progress. By now it is accepted that the art and ideas of each succeeding age are not more valid than those of the preceding era, they are merely different from them since they may be subject to other influences. Therefore, it can not be argued that Montreal and Canada outgrew Strathcona's collection. Progress need not imply destruction.

While traces of the imperialist diaspora remain embedded in the fabric of Montreal's urban core through extant nineteenth-century architecture, the art collections

⁶ J.H. Hexter, *On Historians* (Cambridge, Massachusettes 1979), 199-200.

and material culture are generally hidden from view. Several portraits of the Scottish male elite hang on the walls of the Mount Royal Club where Strathcona's memory is honored by the dominant placement of the portrait commemorating him by Robert Harris. Meetings are still held in the *Strathcona Room* of the Mount Royal Club, where gentlemen linger over port and cigars. The name of the patron, *Donald Alexander Smith*, 1895, remains incised on one side of the bronze sculpture of Queen Victoria in front of the *Strathcona Music Building* on Sherbrooke Street. Inside this same building, a larger-than-life size portrait by Robert Harris creates a presence in the entrance hall, honoring the memory of this same donor, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. Just as architecture serves as a significant marker of where one is, so too, do other cultural signs such as the paintings in permanent collections of art museums. From time to time a temporary exhibition is presented by the MMFA in its nineteenth-century galleries, such as the paintings on view on the fourth floor in the summer of 2002. Here, three of Strathcona's large-scale paintings were hung: Millais's *Saint Martin's Summer*, 1879, Constant's *Evening on the Terrace (Morocco)*, 1879, and Tissot's *October*, 1877. Also on view was a homage to all three of Strathcona's fellow Montreal collectors, each represented by one painting donated by them or their families. George A. Drummond was memorialized by Daubigny's large-scale *Return of the Flock*, 1877, R.B. Angus's generosity was commemorated by the display of Bouguereau's *Crown of Flowers*, 1884, and Van Horne was recalled by Decamp's *Saul Pursuing David*, 1853. This exhibition demonstrates revisionist thinking in which nineteenth-century paintings have been reconsidered and reinstated into museum collections, pointing out that fluctuations in taste should not be a reason for de-accessioning.

Nearing the end of his life, Lord Strathcona compared his birthplace in Scotland to Montreal. In 1910, when he was receiving the 'Freedom of the Town of Forres,' he compared Cluny Hill to Mount Royal and the rivers Findhorn and Mosset to Montreal's St. Lawrence River.⁷ Just as he was able to bridge time and distance, because he had crossed both points, so today his collection does the same for the viewer. In the history of the formation of his collection, one can find insight into the ideas and sentiments, the ethics, politics, ideology and material life of the nineteenth century, as Canada struggled to define its role as a dominion of the British Empire. Just as important for the Canadian psyche is the fact that Europeans and others immigrated to Canada hoping for a better life in a place where social mobility is possible. Many saw their status rise from landless to landowners in their lifetimes. It is not unusual for Canadians to rise from humble beginnings to prominence: Lord Strathcona was one who did so. In his story one may recognize character traits and other elements that forged Canada, not only entrepreneurship, calculated pragmatism, determination and panache, but politically-expedient strategy and adherence to social norms that established high status such as forming an art collection. In *Culture and Imperialism* Edward Said proposes that the contemporary world shares a common culture rooted in experiences of imperialism and colonialism. Although cultural nationalism ended formal empires, nationalism can all too easily replicate the essentializing and dichotomizing vision of the culture of the former imperial powers. Said hypothesizes the best way forward is with a mode of cultural criticism espousing hybridity (plural identity) rather than conceptions of identity based on

⁷ Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, (London 1915), 2, 3.

fixed categories such as race, ethnicity, or national identity.⁸ This is what Homi Bhabha calls "the third space" or a space where cultures come together. The criticism of hybridity is that historically, it has been deployed on behalf of the dominant.⁹ It creates "mimic men" and can be as oppressive as the monocultural system it deposes. Ralston Saul equates the United States with a European nation state, and Canada as the other, an experiment in multiculturalism wherein cultural nationalism eventually broke the ties with imperial empires.¹⁰ This is born out by the political reality in Quebec where art institutions are financially supported, and thus subject to the control of a separatist government. The diaspora that characterizes the modern Canadian is not indicative of movement from province to province solely for economic and cultural advantage. It also represents a search for meaning and a sense of identity as the mosaic comes under stress of erasure.

For Anthony Giddens, structure refers to patterns of social relationship, which exist only as long as they function.¹¹ It may be considered that the social pattern in Montreal changed shortly after 1914, with the deaths of Strathcona and his fellow collectors. This affected the reception and the preservation of their collections since the prestige of their collections declined when the powerful individuals who formed the collections were no longer a presence. None had any spokesperson to establish cult status for them or their collections.

⁸ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London 1993), passim.

⁹ Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London 1997), 194.

¹⁰ John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin, Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto 1997/1998), 102-116, and passim.

¹¹ Philip Cassell, *The Giddens Reade*, (London 1993), 114.

Cultivated to be an imperialist, Donald Alexander Smith died as an imperialist. While other traces of him have been placed in shadow, a visible dedication to Lord Strathcona remains in London where a stained glass window in Westminster Abbey describes him as "a great Canadian imperialist and philanthropist"¹² (Illus. 64). His art collection, with imperialism embedded in its structure, has been reconstructed by this project to provide evidence of this era of British imperialism and its role in the construction of Canadian cultural identity. The portrait of Lord Strathcona by an unknown artist (Illus. 65) may one day be described as a "portrait of an unknown man" unless the archive that represents the collector is preserved rather than selectively pruned for reasons of taste or political will.

Lord Strathcona contributed to Canadian culture not only through patronage of women's education, health care and social institutions, but he gave Canada for a brief time, a vision of the grandeur it could achieve through the spectacle he created. Through his art collection Strathcona proffered humanist ideals for a developing Canadian society. Although his art collection embodies imperialist principles, the humanism evinced through it, usually associated with patriarchy and elitism, is not gendered. The instrument that allowed Strathcona to rise to power was certainly his own humanist education, and his politeness or refinement, deployed in what Anthony Giddens has defined as a *locale* or social container where social interaction takes place. One can say that he was socially and culturally formed in language, a poststructuralist position that may seem at odds with the humanist view, supported by Giddens, that a person can achieve power through knowledge and through their own capability. Without the belief that each of us does have

¹² McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*, 503.

agency, we become dehumanized dwellers in Baudrillard's noisy world of simulacrum, where even self-interest cannot defuse the *ennui*.

Art collecting and its exhibition prevails as a civilizing force. The traces of Strathcona's collection suggest that while the *Schatzkammer* has been raided, this Scottish capitalist, and others like him, contributed to the formation of Canadian identity. It was well known that he had once been poor but had become wealthy, famous and cultured. He signified the New World dream of a society where one could have social mobility due to one's own ability.

Memory is a container of knowledge preserved through material culture and its traces. My original contribution to knowledge has been to reconfigure the archive of Lord Strathcona's art collection. As an agent of imperialism, he contributed to Canadian identity through the legacy of his art collecting activities and the acknowledgement that humanism is not only a European value. The archive he constituted was worldly and presages the multi-ethnicity and multi-culturalism that define Canada today.

APPENDIX I
Chronology of Key Events
Surrounding the Life of Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona
(Sir Donald A. Smith in 1886; Lord Strathcona from 1897)

- 1820 Donald Alexander Smith was born in Forres, Scotland, son of Barbara Stuart and Alexander Smith of clan Grant
- 1837 Queen Victoria came to the throne. Rebellions took place in Upper and Lower Canada
- 1838 Smith left Scotland for Canada and began to work for the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk. He was posted to Tadoussac, Quebec, on the Saguenay River
- 1843 Smith was appointed to take charge of the Seigneurie of Mingan, a territory east of Tadoussac, extending to the Labrador coast
- 1840 Upper and Lower Canada were united in The Act of Union forged by Robert Baldwin and Henri Lafontaine
- Egerton Ryerson became Chief Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada, and a system of free public schools was launched
- 1845 Smith was rebuked by Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company for the slovenly condition of the counting room and for his unsatisfactory record keeping
- 1848 Smith was sent by Simpson to Esquimaux Bay, Labrador, overland in winter; his guide died on way, and Smith nearly perished of starvation and exposure.
- Montreal was named the site for the new Canadian parliament
- 1849 The Lafontaine/Baldwin ministry announced a "Rebellion Losses Bill" to compensate the French habitants for damage caused by Sir John Colbourne and his Montreal militia who had razed farms during skirmishes. English Montrealers rioted, stoned the British governor Lord Elgin, burned down the new parliament buildings, and plotted annexation with the United States. Subsequently parliament alternated between Quebec City and Toronto in three-year terms
- 1849 The Gold rush began in California, resulting in American interest in taking over Canadian territory up to the 54th parallel. With the gold rush in Klondike in 1858, the British opened a fort at Esquimalt, on the tip of Vancouver Island, to hold the 49th parallel. The Hudson's Bay Company

was given Vancouver Island to manage as a Crown Colony under Governor James Douglas by 1851; Douglas proclaimed the mainland north of the 49th parallel as a separate colony and a detachment of Royal Engineers arrived to build roads under Matthew Baillie Begbie. Two separate capitals were formed -- one in Victoria and one in Westminster. The gold rush was over by 1866. In 1868 the colonies were reunited and the capital of British Columbia was restored to Victoria (Morton, 79,80)

- 1850s Railway fever began in Canada
- 1852 Smith was appointed Chief Trader for the Hudson's Bay Company
- 1853 Smith married Isabella Hardisty. He developed salmon canning and transport ships as a profitable sideline for the Hudson's Bay Company
- 1854 Smith's only child Margaret Charlotte was born (named after his sister Margaret and Isabella's sister Charlotte)
- 1861 The Grand Trunk Railway was built from Portland to Sarnia, but it went bankrupt. Grand Trunk interests (largely British) bought control of the Hudson's Bay Company. George Etienne-Cartier was Grand Trunk's attorney and also represented Lower Canada, while John A. MacDonald represented Upper Canada. By viewing watercolors, Queen Victoria selected Bytown, an unsightly lumber town on the Ottawa River, later named Ottawa, as Canada's capital. The government of MacDonald/Cartier fell as a result, but was reinstated two days later. Africans who had been enslaved in the United States escaped to Canada on the underground railway. Americans considered invading Canada to compensate for the departed Confederacy. British troops were sent to Canada to forestall an American invasion
- 1862 Smith promoted to Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company for the District of Labrador
- 1863 The Hudson's Bay Company became a public company with share offerings. The new directors were interested in land development in Canada
- 1865 For the first time Smith met his cousin, and future business partner, George Stephen of Montreal
- 1867 The Dominion of Canada was forged
- 1868 Smith was posted to Montreal as Chief Factor for eastern operations of the Hudson's Bay Company. He invested with George Stephen, R.B. Angus, and Andrew Paton in the Paton Manufacturing Company of

Sherbrooke, Quebec. He also invested in the Canada Rolling Stock Company with George Stephen, Hugh and Andrew Allan, Edwin Henry King and Robert James Reekie

- 1868 In Nova Scotia Joseph Howe mounted a campaign to repeal Confederation but by 1869 Howe had joined MacDonald's cabinet. Cartier and William McDougall, who later became governor of Manitoba, arrived in London and purchased Rupert's Land for \$1.5 million from the Hudson's Bay Company which retained a guarantee that 1/20 of the land in the fertile belt would remain with the company

The Métis, backed by Catholic priests fearful of an influx of Protestant farmers, formed a nationalist council under Louis Riel.

- 1869 Smith was sent by Prime Minister John A. MacDonald as special commissioner for the Dominion of Canada to Fort Garry (Winnipeg), Manitoba, to diffuse tensions over Dominion of Canada purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company
- 1870 Smith was detained by Riel in Fort Garry; Riel agreed to public meetings between Smith, himself, and the people of Red River on January 19 and 20. Smith presented the Dominion Government's instructions from Prime Minister MacDonald assuring land titles and representation to the inhabitants. Smith negotiated with Riel and his followers, who subsequently chose delegates to Ottawa. These delegates returned triumphantly with the colony named as the Province of Manitoba, with two houses for the provincial senate, two languages, and two religions. The execution by Riel's government of one of the Red River hostages, Thomas Scott, resulted in an outcry by certain Ontarians, who called for Riel's execution. Smith recommended a military force be sent to Manitoba to maintain the peace. The Dominion government sent a garrison to demonstrate to the Métis and the Americans that Canada was prepared to hold its territory

Smith served briefly as acting governor of Assiniboia. He was also appointed president of the Hudson's Bay Company's Council of Northern Development

- 1871 Smith negotiated with the Hudson's Bay Company executive in London for benefits and employment security on behalf of the fur traders whose livelihood was threatened by the sale of Rupert's Land to Canada

He was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company

- 1871 Smith elected to both the Legislature of Manitoba for Winnipeg and St. John and to the House of Commons for Selkirk, Manitoba

British Columbia became a province; The British withdrew their troops and \$6 million from the economy, leaving only a garrison in Halifax

A syndicate which included Smith, Stephen, Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt, George Laidlaw and others applied for a charter to build the Manitoba Junction Railway from Pembina, North Dakota, to Fort Garry, Manitoba. Several of these same men sought a charter to build a railway from Fort Garry to Fort William at Thunder Bay, Ontario. (Reford 940)

- 1872 Smith provided capital to found Almonte Knitting Company with Stephen and James A. Cantlie

- 1873 His non-confidence motion helped to scuttle the Conservative government of Prime Minister MacDonald; acrimony set in between Smith and MacDonald and his followers

- The Dominion government abolished the double mandate allowing simultaneous provincial and federal representation

- The Hudson's Bay Company separated the fur trade from land sales operation, and appointed Smith Land Commissioner

- 1873 MacDonald formed the Northwest Mounted Police, a force recommended by Smith

- 1873-74 Smith established a successful fleet of steamboats in Manitoba for the Hudson's Bay Company. With James J. Hill and Norman Kittson, Smith formed the Red River Transportation Company

- 1873 – 1874 Smith and James J. Hill, an ex-patriot Canadian, explored the possibility of taking over the failed American St. Paul and Pacific Railway

- 1875 Smith was among the incorporators of the Manitoba Western Railway which was to run from Lake Manitoba to St. Joseph (Walhalla, North Dakota) (Reford 941)

- 1876 Smith brought in George Stephen, who in turn interested a New York financier, J.S. Kennedy, to provide additional capital to purchase the St. Paul and Pacific Railway from its Dutch bondholders.

- 1878 The Smith/Hill/Kittson/Stephen/Kennedy syndicate obtained control of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway and began building in Canada. The line was extended to St. Boniface in Manitoba

The St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad (later the Grand Trunk Railway, the most powerful railway monopoly in North America) was created with Smith as a director and owner of one-fifth of the shares. He became the third-largest shareholder eventually

- 1878 Smith was delegated by the Canadian fur traders, known as the wintering partners of the Hudson's Bay Company, to renegotiate terms of the 1871 deed poll with the London office of the Hudson's Bay Company

- 1878 MacDonald and the Tories returned to power in Ottawa. The National Policy (NP) was to fill the empty Northwest with people. Then a flood of natural products could pour eastward to pay for a returning flow of manufactured goods. A railway was needed

- 1879 Smith resigned as the Hudson's Bay Land Commissioner, but continued to advise the Hudson's Bay Company. Smith's successor Charles Brydges became his adversary

- 1879 The Art Association of Montreal opened its new building in Phillips Square

- 1880 Smith lost his federal seat in the House of Commons for alleged vote buying

- 1880 Lord Lorne declared the formation of a national gallery in Ottawa

- 1881 A contract to build the Canadian Pacific Railway was awarded to Stephen and Smith's syndicate for \$25 million, 15 million acres of land along the line, a 25-year monopoly and permanent exemption of local taxes on its property (Morton 108)

- Smith and Stephen owned very few shares of CPR stock. However, Smith and Stephen became large investors in the many dependencies of the CPR, such as the Canada North West Land Company. Smith, Stephen and Van Horne invested heavily in Vancouver, the CPR's western terminus. Van Horne dismissed employees speculating in land along the CPR route, but was able to personally benefit from real estate investment, as were Strathcona and R. B. Angus

- 1881 Large numbers of immigrants arrived on the Canadian Prairies and the Northwest

- 1882 Smith was involved in establishing various business interests in Manitoba. He became a shareholder in The Canada Cotton Manufacturing Company with George Stephen and others

- 1882 Appointed a director of the Bank of Montreal
 - 1882 Joined others with similar ambitions at the Art Association of Montreal; was involved with the AAM until 1893
 - 1882 MacDonald's government created the powerful office of High Commissioner in London as a quasi-embassy for the Dominion of Canada
 - 1883 Economic slump; CPR floundered towards bankruptcy; Canada's national debt rose by 50%
 - 1883 Smith donated \$30,000 to the Trafalgar Institute, a girls' school in Montreal, as well as \$50,000 to the McGill Medical Faculty
 - 1884 He donated \$50,000 for separate classes for women at McGill University
 - 1885 The CPR Canadian-government loan was exhausted – the CPR could not pay their striking employees; Police and Métis clashed at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, where twelve people were killed. MacDonald's government gave CPR another loan to move troops and supplies to Batoche, Saskatchewan, to quell the Riel Rebellion. The Riel Rebellion thus saved the CPR. Riel was institutionalized for mental illness for a time. He formed a theocracy called the *Exovedate*. After the skirmish in Batoche he was brought to trial and hung in Regina to become a martyr for French Canadians (Morton 116, 117) and the Métis
- Montreal was the terminus of both of Canada's major railways and was also a major benefactor of the National Railway Policy with dozens of new factories. The English-speaking Protestant elites dominated, while French Canadians, Irish Catholics and others lived in slums, supported by low-paying factory or domestic work, the construction of canals, railways, mines and the city infrastructure
- 1885 Smith drove the last spike to signify completion of the Trans-Canada railway. This is the most published photographs in Canadian history. He embedded the first nail, which bent, into a diamond broach for his wife
 - 1885 The CPR set high rates since it was a monopoly
 - 1886 Sir Donald A. Smith was appointed a knight for his role in completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway; henceforth, he was known as Sir Donald Smith until awarded the peerage in 1897
 - 1886 Smith continued his art collection destined for his Montreal Dorchester Street mansion in earnest, indicating that he saw the art collection as important to perception of his growing status

- 1886 Donated \$70,000 for education for women at McGill University;
Donated \$500,000 to construction and endowment of Royal Victoria
Hospital, Montreal.
- 1887 Appointed President of the Bank of Montreal; Ran as a Conservative and
elected to The House of Commons
- 1888 Along with Stephen, Strathcona acquired control of the Minneapolis, St.
Paul and the Sault Ste. Marie railroads, as well as the Deluth, South Shore
and Atlantic railroads
- Was a founding partner with R.B. Angus, Van Horne and C.R. Hosmer in
the Federal Telephone Company to provide service in Montreal until it
was sold to Bell Telephone in 1891
- 1888 Donated \$100,000 to YMCA at Strathcona Hall
- 1888 Provided scholarships for art and music in Montreal and London (amounts
modest)
- 1889 Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier appointed W.T.R. Preston to direct new
immigration offices in London. Preston infringed on the power field of
the High Commissioner. Preston was eventually removed from office –he
retaliated by writing an acrimonious "biography" of Strathcona
- Strathcona re-entered House of Commons as an independent member for
Montreal West
- 1889 Strathcona achieved control of the Hudson's Bay Company as its principal
shareholder and was elected Governor in London
- 1891 Strathcona re-elected to the House of Commons with the largest majority
in Canada. The Conservatives, under MacDonald won the election on
loyalty. The election slogan was "The Old Man, the Old Flag, the Old
Policy." (Morton 128) MacDonald died three months later, believing he
had saved Canada from annexation by the United States
- Union with the United States was discussed following Goldwin Smith's
1891 book Canada and the Canadian Question. On the other hand, there
were those who looked to imperialism as a status symbol connecting them
to the upper and moneyed class of Britons and excluding the French
Canadians. (Frank H. Underhill, in Berger, 94) J.W. Dafoe wrote that
English speaking Canadians were more British than the
British...Imperialism was a glorification of their race and they felt it was

their destiny as special people to direct policy and control events. (Berger, 98)

- 1891 Strathcona served as first president of Montreal Safe Deposit Company (later Montreal Trust)
- 1891-1893 Strathcona served as president of the Art Association of Montreal
- 1895 The appointment of Joseph Chamberlain to the Colonial office in 1895 signaled the increasing seriousness of purpose of British Imperialism
- 1896 Smith tried to protect French language and minority rights in Manitoba in negotiations with Premier Greenway of Manitoba, Father Lacombe and Archbishop Adélard Langevin
- 1896 Smith's last speech in the Commons urged passage of the federal government's remedial bill for the Manitoba Schools Act; the bill was not passed
- 1896 Prime Minister Sir Mackenzie Bowell resigned; Sir Charles Tupper then named Bowell's successor and Strathcona replaced Tupper as High Commissioner to London
- 1896 Sir Wilfred Laurier took office in July and retained Strathcona as High Commissioner to London
- 1896 Strathcona donated \$300,000 and the land for the Royal Victoria College for Women, McGill University
- 1896 The United States closed American public land to homesteading – immigrants thus came to Canada for free land since the preferred U.S. was closed. American homesteaders also came to Canada between 1896-1911, when more than one million people poured into the Northwest
- 1897 Smith was honored with a peerage by the British government and was henceforth known as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal
- 1897 Laurier proclaimed an "imperialist preference" to satisfy imperialists in Toronto and Montreal. In affect, it was posturing. The main issue was would Canada aid in imperial defence
- 1899 Laurier sent two Canadian contingents to the Boer War (1899-1902) in return for presumed British leverage with the Americans in the Alaska boundary dispute –the British refused to engage and Alaska was claimed by the American imperialists

Out of this came Henri Bourassa (Quebec) and J.S. Ewart (Winnipeg) with the idea of Canada as a sovereign state

- 1899 Lord Strathcona formed Royal Trust and turned the private cash accounts he had managed for years over to this trust company, that still exists to manage estates of over \$500,000
- 1900/1901 J. J. Hill acquired controlling interest in the Great Northern Railway and a third line, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, were combined in 1901 into a holding company, Northern Securities Limited, of which Smith was the third largest shareholder with 54,000 shares each worth \$115 each, after Hill and J.S. Kennedy (Reford 943)
- 1900 Lord Strathcona provided \$1 million to raise a troop from Canada's Northwest to aid the Empire in South Africa, making Smith "the most important imperial figure in London." Sending Canadian soldiers to the Boer War in 1899 and 1900 was seen as a decisive event in the history of Canadian imperialism (Berger, 2) French Canadians did not want to send their sons to fight in British-generated wars
- In the thirty years before World War I, Canada had two camps – nationalists and imperialists. The imperialists thought Canada could be a nation within the British Empire. Imperialism was seen as a strategy for Canadian survival against American pressure. The nationalists thought this was incompatible with Canada's best interests (Berger, 4,5) Canadian historians are still divided as to the meaning of imperialism as a factor in Canadian history. (Berger 5) There were those who thought imperialism would protect Canada from being taken over by the U.S. Others thought imperialism was a progressive step from colonialism to Canadian nationalism
- 1900 Lord Strathcona provided a one million dollar endowment for operation of Victoria College for Women, McGill University
- 1900 Lord Strathcona's first peerage of 1897 was superceded by a second, making his peerage hereditary – his title was to be bestowed on future male heirs
- 1903 Henri Bourassa founded the *Ligue Nationaliste* to combat imperial menace. Bourassa believed imperialism was racist, reactionary and anti-Canadian. Like John Hobson, the English author of *Imperialism, A Study*, Bourassa traced the drive for imperial unity to financial and commercial interests. Chamberlain's campaign, disguised in the rhetoric of jingoism, and the white man's burden, was to obtain certain markets, raw materials and food supplies in the colonies. In return for a trifling tariff preference on Canadian wheat, Canada was to supply money and men

- 1904 Lord Strathcona invested 50,000 pounds in The Burma Oil Company, a British company; he became the largest shareholder and first chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, the forerunner of British Petroleum
- 1911 A Conservative Prime Minister, Robert Borden, came to power. He favored imperialist unity. Canada was committed to sending 500,000 men to Europe. Borden came close to sacrificing Canada to the Imperial Ideal (Saul, 87, 88). The Honorary member George Foster proposed Canada must take care to have defence in place and should do this through imperial co-operation and imperial supreme command in war times by contributing money to the British government (Berger 56). William L. Grant in a 1913 address to The Empire Club in Toronto advocated interdependence in the empire not the independence of Canada on its own. Grant argues that since Canada's population was only eight million people, it would not be respected on its own (Berger, 61). An operative slogan was "Interdependence through Imperialism"
- 1898-1914 As High Commissioner in London, Lord Strathcona's public speeches situated Canada within the British Empire (National Archives of Canada Microfilm A-1087), generally following the rhetoric proposed by other Canadian imperialist theorists. He also spoke of the progress of Canadian industry
- 1914 Lord Strathcona died in London. His funeral was in Westminster Abbey, but he chose to be buried next to his wife at Highgate Cemetery

APPENDIX II

LIST OF WORKS PRESENTED TO THE ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

From an Art Association of Montreal January 1927 Inventory

The following inventory was signed as having been "Received" by the Art Association of Montreal Secretary from the family of Sir Donald A. Smith, First Baron Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal in 1927. The works of art were offered unconditionally to the museum. The AAM inventory has many errors and omissions, partly addressed by comparing it to a 1914 inventory compiled by an independent art dealer and appraiser, W. Scott & Sons of Montreal (Appendix III). The original 1927 List of Works also has been augmented by entries shown in the 1927 catalogue of the permanent collection of The Art Association of Montreal. Additionally, it has been cross-indexed with the Montreal Museum of Fine Art inventory for the year 2000. The inventory has been re-arranged in alphabetical order by artists' names, and where titles or attributions appear in more than one context, it is noted.

Certain works that were never offered to The Art Association of Montreal appear in Appendix III, and likely represent paintings removed to London by Lord Strathcona or his family.

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Achenbach, Oswald 1827-1905, Prussian Dusseldorf Academy	<i>Italian Festival</i> Oil on canvas, 104.2 x 161.3	1927.219	<i>Everyday life</i>
Aitken, J.A. Canadian Royal Canadian Academy	(1) <i>Mount Sir Donald</i> Sold by MMFA in 1949 for \$35 <i>Not in 1927 AAM catalogue</i> Appraised by AAM in 1927 for \$20		<i>Landscape</i>
	(2) <i>Niagara Falls</i> , 19th c. Oil on canvas, 182.90 x 119.80 cm. <i>Not in 1927 AAM catalogue</i> Appraised by AAM in 1927 at \$1,000 ¹	1927(1974).37	<i>Landscape</i>
Alma-Tadema, Sir Lawrence Dutch (1836-1912) Member of several Academies	<i>Figures in Roman House</i> , 19th c. 18.5 x 45 cm. Re-entitled <i>The First Course</i> or <i>The Wine Tasters</i> , AAM Cat. 1927 Evaluated by W. Scott & Sons at \$6,000 in 1914 Evaluated by AAM for \$1,250 in 1927 Sold by MMFA in 1949 for \$35		<i>History Painting</i>

¹ Was Aitken's painting *Mount Sir Donald* devalued by whoever prepared the AAM appraisal simply because it was named after Sir Donald A. Smith? If so, who made the appraisal and why was the painting named after him so devalued in comparison to the painting entitled *Niagara Falls*, also by Aitken?

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Allonge, Auguste 1833-1898, French	<i>Autumn Landscape</i> Drawing, 59.80 x 94.20 cm.	1927.220	<i>Landscape</i>
Anson, C.T. American	<i>Landscape. Autumn</i> , 19th c. 62 x 100.30 cm. <i>Not in 1927 AAM catalogue</i>	1927(1974).42	<i>Landscape</i>
Bone, Henry Pien English	<i>Three Witches</i> , 18th c. Sepia and graphite on paper 33.7 x 27.6 cm. <i>Not in 1927 AAM catalogue</i>	Dr.1926.49	<i>Mythological</i>
Bauer, W.G.	<i>Winter Morning</i> Sold by MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded		<i>Landscape</i>
Bauerman, H.J. German	<i>Burgos Cathedral, Interior</i> , 1884 Sold by MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded <i>Not in 1927 AAM catalogue</i>		<i>Architectural Interior</i>
Berne-Bellecour, E. French, B. 1838	<i>French Sailor</i> , 19th c. Re-entitled " <i>The French Marine</i> " 22.5 x 16.5 cm. Sold by MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Benlliure y Gil, José Spanish	<i>Spanish House with Figures</i> , 19th c. <i>Not in AAM catalogue 1927</i> Sold as being by R. Gil, in 1943 for \$75		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Berghem, Nicholas Dutch	<i>Carousel of Monks</i> LOST <i>Not in AAM catalogue 1927</i>		<i>Religious</i>
Bloemart, Abraham Flemish, 1564-1658	(1) <i>Woman Taken in Adultery</i> 1927.228 The correct title is: <i>The Woman Who Touched Christ's Garments</i> Flemish, towards 1600 Oil on canvas, 114.30 x 147.30 cm.		<i>Religious</i>
	2) <i>Christ and the Woman at the Well</i> The correct title is: <i>Christ and the Woman of Samaria</i> Oil on canvas, 114.30 x 154.90 cm. 1927.229		<i>Religious</i>
Bonheur, Rosa French, 1822-1899 Salon Painter	<i>Forest at Fontainebleau</i> , 1879 The correct title was <i>Stag in the Forest of Fontainebleau</i> Oil on canvas, 60.8 x 50.7 cm. Appraised at \$5,000 by W. Scott & Sons in 1914 Sold to Dominion Gallery by the MMFA in 1945 for \$175		<i>Wildlife genre</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No	
Bonafazio di Pitati Italian	<i>Holy Family (From Hamilton Palace)</i> This may be Jacque Stella's <i>The Virgin and Infant with St. John</i> , 1650 Oil on canvas, 30.3 x 23.1 cm.	1927.449	<i>Religious</i>
Boughton, George English, 1832-1905 Royal British Academy	<i>Two Girls</i> Re-entitled as <i>The Finishing Touch</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1945 for \$80		<i>Everyday Life (Girls)</i>
Breughel, Pieter Flemish, 1525-1569	<i>Farmyard Scene</i> Oil on canvas, 58.40 x 96.50 cm. Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Attributed to Jan Breughel in AAM inventory 1927	1927(1974).40	<i>Everyday Life</i>
Bill, Edward English	<i>Dead Pheasant in Field</i> Attributed to Edward Brittz in AAM inventory 1927 Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Sold by MMFA in 1945 for \$25		<i>Hunting</i>
Cabanel, Alexandre French, 1823-1889	<i>Girl's Head (Hands Clasped)</i> Entitled <i>Desdemona</i> on the W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Appraised at \$1,400.00 in the W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Sold in 1939 by the MMFA no amount recorded		<i>Mythological</i>
Cameron, Hugh Scottish, 1835-1914 Royal Scottish Academy	<i>Young Girl Carrying a Child</i> Re-entitled <i>Carrying Little Sister</i> , 40 30.6 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1945 for \$60		<i>Everyday Life (Girls)</i>
Cappelle, Jan Van de Dutch, 1624-1679 pupil of Cuyp Friend of Rembrandt	<i>Dutch River Scene</i> , 1624-1629 Oil on canvas, 54 x 74.9 cm.	1927.281	<i>Marine Landscape</i>
Carracci, Annabale Italian, 1560-1609	<i>Joseph and Infant Child Jesus</i> Re-entitled <i>Infant Jesus in the House of Joseph</i> Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Appraised at \$2,000 in W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Sold by the MMFA in 1945 for \$50		<i>Religious</i>
Cecchi Vivenze, A. Italian	<i>Duet</i> , 1886 Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Sold by the MMFA in 1943 for \$75		<i>Everyday Life (Girls)</i>
Chialiva, L.	<i>Girl and Sheep in Barn</i> , 19th c. The sales inventory in MMFA files indicates this painting's condition was "ruinous"; therefore it was never catalogued Not in AAM catalogue 1927	RUINED	<i>Everyday Life (Girls)</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Coignet, T. French	(1) <i>Lake in the Mountains</i> (2) <i>Coast Scene</i> Both of Coignet's paintings were Sold in 1939, no amounts recorded		<i>Landscape</i> <i>Landscape</i>
Constant, Benjamin French, 1845-1902	<i>Evening -A Terrace, Morocco, 1879</i> Oil on canvas, 123 x 198.5 cm. Appraised at \$5,000 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914	127.243	<i>Orientalist</i>
Couture, Thomas French	<i>Young Artist Seated at Table</i> Re-entitled <i>Young Artist Eating</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1945 for \$100		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Cropsey, Jasper F. American, 1823-1900 Hudson River School	<i>Autumn Scenery, Catskills</i> Sold in 1945 by MMFA for \$50		<i>Landscape</i>
Dahl, Michael Swedish	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i> , oval, towards 1700 Oil on canvas, 74.20 x 62.5 cm. Not in AAM catalogue 1927	1927.305	<i>Portrait of Aristocrat</i>
Davidson, Charles Grant. English, D. 1902 British Academy	<i>Sheep and Landscape</i> A painting entitled <i>The Coming Storm</i> by Davidson Sold by the MMFA in 1943 for \$100		<i>Rural View with Animals</i>
Diaz de la Peña, N.V. French, 1807-1876 Barbizon School	<i>Two Children with Goat, 1860</i> Oil on canvas, 58.4 x 46.4 cm. Appraised at \$7,500 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914	1927.254	<i>Everyday Life (Girls)</i>
Dusart, Cornelius Dutch, 1660-1704 Haarlam Guild	<i>Dooryard of House with Cattle in Background</i> Appraised at \$1,500 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 <i>Peasants in Farm Yard</i> by Dusart Sold in 1945 by the MMFA for \$80		<i>Rural View with Animals</i>
Duvene, H Dutch	<i>Three Men Smoking</i> Duvene probably refers to the dealer; this work is re-attributed to The Dutch School, 17th c. Oil on canvas, 21.00 x 26.70 cm.	1927 (1974).46	<i>Everyday Life</i>
Duverger, T. E French	<i>Mother Carrying a Child</i> A painting by Duverger <i>Mother Dressing Child</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded		<i>Everyday Life (Mother & Child)</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Eaton, Charles Henry American, 1850-1901	<i>Near Avon, New York</i> This may be the painting on the MMFA data base 2000 described as "North American Landscape," 19th. C., No Dimensions Listed in MMFA Catalogue of Paintings, 1960, p. 64 with same title	1927(1974).43	<i>Landscape</i>
Everdingen, Albert von Dutch	<i>Mountains and Landscape</i> , 17th c Oil on panel, 15.9 x 25.2 cm. Not in AAM catalogue 1927	1927 (1974).47	<i>Landscape</i>
Farrer, Henry Unknown	<i>A Lake at Sunset</i> Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Sold in 1953 by the MMFA no amount recorded		<i>Landscape</i>
Fichel, Eugène French, 1826-1895	<i>The Hour of Mass, St. Sulpice</i> Appraised at \$3,000 by W. Scott & Sons Simpson 1914 Inventory Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Sold in 1951 by the MMFA for \$100		<i>Religious</i>
Fowler, Daniel Canadian, 1810-1894 Royal Canadian Academy	<i>Still Life, Flowers</i> , 1872 Drawing Sold in 1953 by the MMFA no amount recorded		<i>Still Life</i>
Fraser, John A. Canadian, 1838-1898 Royal Canadian Academy	(1) <i>River and Islands</i> 31.2 x 49.5 cm. Sold by MMFA in 1945 for \$125		<i>Landscape</i>
	(2) <i>Le Rocher Percé</i> , c. 1880 Watercolor, 43.50 x 32.60 cm.	1927.269	<i>Landscape</i>
	(3) <i>Mount Baker</i> 24.4 x 34.9 cm.	LOST	<i>Landscape</i>
	(4) <i>River and Mountains</i> 34.9 x 24.8 cm. Sold by MMFA in 1945 for \$10		<i>Landscape</i>
Frère, Pierre-Eduoard French, 1819-1886	<i>The Sick Child</i> Appraised at \$2,500 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Oil on canvas, 49.50 x 15.20 cm. 1927.270 ON MMFA INVENTORY BUT MAY BE LOST		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Fripp, George A. British	<i>Landscape, River and Mountain</i> Now entitled <i>Paysage</i> , 1836 Oil on canvas, 58.40 x 91.40 cm.	1927(1974).50	<i>Landscape</i>
Gifford, Sanford R. American	<i>Near Sorrento</i> Sold in 1953 by MMFA, no amount recorded		<i>Landscape</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Grace, James E. Unknown	<i>Birch Tree and Marsh</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1939 amount unknown		<i>Landscape</i>
Greuze, Jean Baptiste <i>French, 1725-1805</i>	<i>Vestal Virgin</i> Listed in AAM Inventory 1927	LOST	<i>Religious</i>
Heade, M.J. American, 1819-1904	<i>Autumnal Sunset, N. J.</i> Sold in 1945 by MMFA for \$40		<i>Landscape</i>
De Heem Dutch, 1606-1684	(1) <i>Still Life—Glasses</i> Re-entitled "Nature Morte, c. 1685 Oil on canvas, 62.9 x 61.6 cm.	1927.285	<i>Landscape</i>
	(2) <i>Still Life, grapes (now Nature Morte</i> Re-attributed as by Jan Albert Rootius, 1661 Oil on canvas, 68.60 x 49.90 cm.	1927.286	<i>Still Life</i>
Henry, Edward Lamson American, 1824-1919	<i>Passing the Toll Gate, 1887</i> Oil on canvas, 51.90 x 73.10 cm.	1927.290	<i>Everyday Life</i>
Hilder, R. Unknown	<i>Landscape and Cottage</i> <i>Cottage and Boat</i> by Hilder Sold by the MMFA in 1959 no amount recorded		<i>Landscape</i>
Hirt, H. Unknown	<i>First and Second Childhood</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1943 for \$100		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Horler, George.W. British	<i>Ram and Sheep, 1860</i> Oil on canvas, 71.10 x 91.40 cm.	1927(1974).49	<i>Wildlife</i>
Israëls, Josef Dutch, 1824-1911	(1) <i>Woman and Child with Dog Cart</i> Appraised at \$6,000 by W. Scott & Sons 1914 Inventory Sold in 1945 by the MMFA for \$500		<i>Everyday Life</i> (<i>Woman and Child</i>)
	(2) <i>Girl Knitting by Sea</i> Re-entitled <i>Woman on Sand Dunes Watching Sea</i> Appraised at \$6,000 in W.Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Entitled <i>Watching the Boats</i> in 1927 AAM catalogue Sold in 1945 by MMFA for \$200		<i>Everyday Life</i> (<i>Girl</i>)
Jacobi, Otto Reinhold Canadian, 1812-1901	<i>Sawmill in Mountains, after 1860</i> Re-entitled <i>The Old Watermill</i> watercolor, 40.20 x 78.40 cm.	1927.301	<i>Landscape</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Jacque, Charles Émile French, 1813-1894	(1) <i>Fowls in Barnyard</i> 14 x 23.5 cm. Sold in 1939 by MMFA no amount recorded		<i>Rural View with Animals</i>
	(2) <i>Feeding Sheep at Barn Door</i> Appraised at \$4,500 by W. Scott & Sons in 1914 Inventory <i>Girls and Sheep at Barn Door</i> was traded for another picture in 1938 by the AAM	TRADED	<i>Rural w/ Animals</i>
Johnson, David American, 1827-1908	<i>View of Pompton, N.J., 19th c.</i> Oil on canvas, 44.4 x 64.8 cm.	1937.304	<i>Landscape</i>
Kate, Herman F. Carel Ten Dutch	<i>Party at Table</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1939 no amount recorded		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Kneller, Sir Godfrey Dutch, 1646-1723	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i> Oval, 75 x 62.8 cm. Court painter to Charles I of England	LOCATION UNKNOWN	<i>Portrait of Aristocrat</i>
Krieghoff, Cornelius Dutch, 1815-187	(1) <i>Portage, Grand Mère</i> 21.7 x 26.8 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1940 for \$125		<i>Landscape</i>
	(2) <i>Man with Red Cap Smoking</i> 30.5 X 24.7 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1950 for \$150		<i>Everyday Life</i>
	(3) <i>Indian Woman</i> 24.2 X 19.1 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1939, No amount recorded		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Lefebvre, Jules French, 1834-1911	<i>Sappho</i> , 1884 Appraised at \$4,500 in W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Oil on canvas, 188 x 108 cm.	1927.312	<i>Mythological</i>
LeMaire, Jean French	<i>Roman Senators Going to Forum</i> , 1645-1655 Oil on canvas, 101.6 x 148.9 cm. By 1950 MMFA catalogue attributes painting to Jean LeMaire on attribution of Sir Anthony Blunt, <i>Burlington Magazine</i> (October 1943), 241-246. Appraised for \$2,000 and attributed to Jean Le Sueur in W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914	1927.313	<i>History Painting</i>
Leys, Baron Jean. Augustus. Henry Belgian, 1815-1869 Antwerp Academy	<i>Occupation of Antwerp by the Spaniards</i> , 1857 & 1865 Oil on canvas, 50.1 X 205.7 cm. Appraised at \$6,000 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Sold by the MMFA in 1953, no amount recorded		<i>History Painting</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Linnell, John English, 1792-1882	<i>View on the Thames</i> 18.5 x 30.5 cm. Sold in 1950 by MMFA for \$50		<i>Landscape</i>
MacWhirter, John Scottish, 1839-1919 Royal Academy and Royal Scottish Academy	(1) <i>Mountains and Valley</i> , 1876 Oil on canvas, 88.3 x 134.6 cm. (2) <i>Likely The Valley of Slaughter, Skye</i> (3) <i>Landscape Looking Out to Sea</i> , 1879 Oil on canvas, 120.70 x 188.60 cm. Appraised at \$2,500 in the W.Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 In 1927 AAM catalogue was entitled <i>A Valley by the Sea</i> ; also called <i>The Valley of Slaughter, Skye</i> <i>In MMFA Inventory 2000</i>	1927.319 MISSING 1927.318	<i>Landscape</i> <i>Landscape</i> <i>Landscape</i>
Madrazo y Garreta, R. Spanish, 1841-1920	(1) <i>Girl Preparing for Ball</i> Oil on canvas, 61 x 43.8 cm. Appraised at \$2,000 in W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Sold in 1943 to the Dominion Gallery, by the MMFA for \$100 (2) <i>Girl in Fancy Dress</i> 66 X 54.6 cm. Appraised at \$2,000 in W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Sold in 1939 by the MMFA to Mrs. M. Millman (Dominion Gallery) no amount recorded		<i>Everyday Life</i> <i>(Girls)</i> <i>Everyday Life</i> <i>(Girls)</i>
McEntee, Jervis American, B. 1828	<i>The Wintry River</i> Oil on panel, 45.10 x 35.60 cm.	1927.317	<i>Landscape</i>
Meissonier, Jean-Louis E. French, 1815-91	(1) <i>Man Playing a Guitar</i> Appraised at \$1,300 in W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Not in AAM 1927 catalogue Sold by the MMFA in 1943 for \$75 (2) <i>Cathedral at Tours, France</i> On 1927 List of Pictures Presented to the AAM, but then no further trace of it	LOST?	<i>Everyday Life</i> <i>Architectural View</i>
Meyer von Bremen, J. G. German, 1813-1866 Dusseldorf Academy	(1) <i>Child with Basket on Head</i> , 1883 Oil on canvas, 111.7 x 61 cm. Sold by MMFA in 1939 to Mrs. Millman (Dominion Gallery) Amount unknown		<i>Everyday Life</i> <i>(Girls)</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
	(2) <i>Return from the Village</i> Oil on canvas, 111.8 x 60.8 cm. Appraised at \$3,700 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 In AAM inventory as <i>Return from the Vintage</i> Sold by MMFA in 1939, Mrs. A. Millman Amount unknown		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Mieris (AAM name) (reattributed to A. Dou) Dutch	<i>A Dutch Pouterer's Shop</i> , 17thc "in the manner of Matthijs Maris" Oil on panel, 25.70 x 22 cm.	1927.1352	<i>Everyday Life</i>
Millais, Sir John Everett British, 1829-1896	<i>Glen, Waterfalls in Distance</i> Re-entitled <i>St. Martin's Summer</i> , 1878 Oil on canvas, 151 x 107 cm Appraised at \$7,500 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914	1927.325	<i>Landscape</i>
Millard, C. Canadian, 1837-1917 Royal Canadian Academy	(1) <i>Landscape and Mountain</i> (2) <i>Landscape and Mountain Brook</i> , 1874 Sold by the MMFA in 1953 no amounts recorded		<i>Landscape</i> <i>Landscape</i>
Moran, Edward b. 1829, English Royal Academy	<i>Evening in Meadow, Solitude</i> Watercolor on canvas; board 76.2 x 48.3 cm. in AAM 1927 catalogue	1927.329	<i>Landscape</i>
Moreau, Charles French, B. 1830	<i>The Music Lesson</i> , salon of 1884 Oil on canvas, 82.5 x 73 cm. Sold in 1945 by the MMFA for \$225		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Munthe, Ludwig German, 1841-1896	<i>Winter Road Through Woods</i> Oil on canvas, 82x 64.8 cm. Sold in 1945 by the MMFA for \$125		<i>Landscape</i>
Netscher, Gaspard Dutch, 1639-1684 Re-attributed to Musscher, Michie Dutch	<i>Lady Playing Guitar</i> , 1680 Appraised at \$2,500 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Oil on canvas, 44.8 x 38.9 cm.	1927.350	<i>Everyday Life</i> (Woman)
O'Brien, L.R. Canadian	<i>Mountain Scene</i> , 1886 Re-entitled, <i>Le Mont Sir Donald</i> on MMFA data base 2000 Drawing, 76 x 54.20 cm.	1927.355	<i>Landscape</i>
Pannini, Giovanni Paolo Italian, 1695-1768	<i>Roman Ruin</i> , 17th c. Oil on canvas, 78,7 cm x 104.2 cm. (Published in MMFA Catalogue of Paintings, 1960, p. 95) This is likely <i>Ruins of a Palace and Soldiers</i> , re-attributed to Giovanni Ghisolfi, 17thc	1927.364	<i>History Painting</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Parsons, Norman Unknown	<i>Moonlight on Sea with Fishboat</i> <i>Moonlight and Boat</i> by Parsons Sold by the MMFA in 1939, amount not recorded		<i>Marine Scene</i>
Philips, Herman German, 19th c.	<i>Girl Seated Against Cliff</i> Oil on canvas, 79.5 x 38.6 cm. In MMFA Inventory as <i>Girl Seated with Mandolin</i>	1927.126	<i>Everyday Life</i> (Girl)
Pierus, C. Dutch	<i>Four People Playing Cards</i> <i>Playing Cards, 1856</i> by "Pecrus" Sold in 1943 by the MMFA for \$75		<i>Everyday Life</i>
Pilsbury, Wilmot English, 1840-1908 Associate of Royal Academy	<i>Cottages and Fields, 1881</i> <i>Cottage and Hayfield</i> by "W. Pilsbury" Sold in 1943 by the MMFA for \$50		<i>Landscape</i>
Poole, Paul Falconer. Unknown	<i>Girl Seated in Field</i> <i>"Girl with Wheat"</i> Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Sold by the MMFA in 1939 no amount recorded		<i>Everyday Life</i> (Girls)
Quartley, Arthur America Associate, National Gallery	(1) <i>Woman Washing in the Sea</i> Watercolor, 26.60 x 36.80 cm. (2) <i>New York Bay</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1943 for \$100	1927.371	<i>Everyday Life</i> (Woman) <i>Landscape</i>
Raphael (copy) Italian	<i>Madonna</i> , original in Louvre <i>"Madonna of the Goldfinch"</i> by Caredellino Sold by the MMFA in 1950 for \$50		<i>Religious</i>
Rembrandt Dutch (NOT A COPY) 1607-1669	<i>Prince Threatening His Father</i> or <i>The Prince of Guelders</i> on W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Appraised at \$4,000 <i>Entitled Samson Threatening His Father</i> on MMFA data base Oil on canvas, 152.40 x 130.90	1927.375	<i>History Painting</i>
Reni, Guido (attributed) Italian, 1575-1642	<i>St. Sebastien</i> Oil on canvas, 137.3 x 100.4 cm. (Published in MMFA Catalogue of Paintings, 1960, p. 100.)	LOST	<i>Religious Painting</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Ribot, Théodule French	<i>A Children's Home</i> Appraised at \$3,000 on W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 This is <i>l'orphelinat</i> , 1863 <i>Also called La Toilette du Matin</i> Oil on canvas, 73.2 x 61 cm.	1927.381	<i>Everyday Life</i> (Girls)
Richards, T. Addison American, 1820-1900 National Academy	<i>On the Delaware River</i> 35.5 x 58.4 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1945 for \$30		<i>Landscape</i>
Robbins, Horace W. American, B. 1842 National Academy	<i>Early Autumn, Adirondacks</i> , 1883 Oil on canvas, 24 x 36 cm.	1927.383	<i>Landscape</i>
Romano, Giulio Italian, 16th c.	<i>Circumcision</i> Appraised at \$4,000 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Sold by MMFA in 1942 as by Nicolo Dell Abate for \$100		<i>Religious</i>
Ronner-Knip, Henriette England, 1821-1901 Royal Academy	<i>Cat, Kittens and Pup</i> <i>"Kittens and Pups at Play,"</i> by "Ronner-Knip" Sold by the MMFA in 1943 for \$100		<i>Everyday Life</i> (Animals)
Ruisdael, Jacob Dutch, 1628-1682	<i>Landscape, rapids in foreground</i> , c. 1650 Re-attributed to <i>American School, 19th c.</i> Oil on canvas, 90.60 x 129.30 cm. Not in AAM catalogue 1927	1927.133	<i>Landscape</i>
Salanson, Eugénie-Marie French	<i>The Fisher Girl</i> , 1886 Oil on canvas, 99.7 x 69.8 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1945 for \$100		<i>Everyday Life</i> (Girl)
Schreyer, Adolphe German, B. 1828 Frankfurt & Dusseldorf Amsterdam & Rotterdam Academies, Paris Medals	<i>Pack Horses</i> Oil on canvas, 64.2 x 92.7 cm. Appraised at \$9,000 in W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 ("Wallachian Pack Horses" on Scott Inventory) Entitled <i>A Wallachian Post</i> in AAM 1927 catalogue Sold by the MMFA for \$350 in 1951		<i>Rural with Animals</i>
Schnell German	(1) <i>Moonlight and River Landscape</i> (2) <i>Moonlight and River</i> Two works by Schnell, both entitled in the AAM Invenroy 1927 as " <i>Moonlight on Water</i> ," Sold in 1939 amounts not recorded Both not featured in AAM catalogue 1927		<i>Landscape</i> <i>Landscape</i>
Schwartz, Therese Dutch, B. 1852	<i>Mother and Children in Church</i> , 1886 Oil on canvas, 195.60 x 139.70 cm. Appraised at \$3,000 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914	1927.397	<i>Everyday Life</i> (Mother & girls)

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Scott, Julian English	<i>March of British Prisoners at the Battlefield of Saratoga</i> Not in AAM catalogue of 1927 Sold by the MMFA in 1950 for \$400		<i>History Painting</i>
Seitz, Anton Dutch	<i>The Watchful Mother</i> Not in AAM catalogue 1927 Sold by the MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded		<i>Everyday Life (Mother)</i>
Slocombe, Fred English	<i>Girl with Hay Rake</i> Not in AAM catalogue 1927	LOST	<i>Everyday Life (Girl)</i>
Smart, John English	<i>Moorland Landscape</i> , 1886 Oil on canvas, 93.80 x 154.90 cm. Not in AAM	127.138	<i>Landscape</i>
Sperling, John Canadian, Royal Canadian Academy	<i>Portrait of a Man</i> , 1837 Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 63.8 cm.	1927.403	<i>Genre Portrait</i>
Stanfield, William Clarkson British, 1793-1867.	<i>Beachy Head -Low Water</i> , 1861 Oil on panel, 17.80 x 25.40 cm.	1927.406	<i>Landscape</i>
Teniers, David the younger Dutch	<i>Market Scene</i> In AAM Catalogue 1927 as <i>The Village Fair</i> <i>Fête villageoise</i> , in MMFA Inventory 2000 Oil on canvas, 25.50 x 34.00 cm.	1927.408	<i>Everyday Life</i>
Tissot, Jean-Jaques (James), French	1) <i>Girl in Black, Autumn Leaves</i> Now, <i>October</i> , 1877 Oil on canvas, 216 x 108.7 cm.	1927.4	<i>Memento Mori (Woman)</i>
	(2) <i>The Emigrant</i> , 1873 Oil on canvas, 116.8 x 73.7 cm. <i>In 1927 AAM catalogue</i> Sold in 1945 by the MMFA for \$100		<i>Travel Painting (Woman with Baby)</i>
Titian Italian	(1) <i>Philip II of Spain</i> , 16th c. Appraised at \$2,500 by W. Scott & Sons Inventory 1914 Oil on canvas, 44.5 x 35 cm. Not in AAM catalogue of 1927	1927.412	<i>Aristocratic Portrait</i>
Italian	(2) <i>Tribute Money (a copy)</i> MMFA inventory indicated <i>Tribute Money</i> <i>(Copy of Titian's)</i> Not in AAM catalogue of 1927 Sold in 1939 for \$25		<i>Religious</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Italian	(3) <i>The Magdalen</i> , original in the Pitti Palace The MMFA inventory indicates a "copy by Workman" of "Titian's Magdalene in the Pitti Palace, Florence, Not in AAM catalogue of 1927 Sold in 1940 for \$25		Religious
Van der Neer, Aert Dutch, B. 1604	<i>River by Moonlight with Boats</i> In AAM catalogue 1927 as <i>Moonlight View on Lake</i> Oil on canvas, 48.3 x 61.6 cm. Sold by MMFA in 1953 amount not recorded		Landscape
Valentin de Boullogne French	<i>Abraham and Isaac</i> This is <i>The Sacrifice of Abraham</i> , 1630 Oil on canvas, 149.20 x 186.1 cm. Not in AAM catalogue 1927	1927.446	Religious
Verboeckhoven, Eugène Joseph Flemish, B. 1798, Member of Belgium, Antwerpt and St. Petersburg Academies	<i>Sheep</i> Oil on canvas, 23.4 x 29.2 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded		Landscape
Vernon, Paul	<i>Three Oriental Women Seated in Woods</i> Sold by MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded		Genre Portrait (Women)
Veronese, Paolo Italian, 1528-1588	<i>Two Women, One with Head Covered</i> Re-attributed to Alonzo Véronèse; may be a copy, MMFA data base indicates date as 16th c. -19thc. Oil on canvas, mounted on panel 25.10 x 33.50 cm. Not in AAM catalogue 1927	1927.45	(Women)
Vogt, Adolf Germany, B. 1842 (worked in Canada)	<i>Ram's Head</i> , c. 1865, Canadian Oil on canvas, 25.60 x 28.60 cm.	1927.422	Wildlife Genre
Wasley, Frank English	<i>Leaving Port</i> Oil on canvas, 73.7 x 96.5 cm. Sold by the MMFA in 1945 for \$50		Marine Landscape
Watson, Homer Canadian, 1855-1936	<i>Man Sawing Logs in Woods</i> , 1894 Oil on canvas, 45.70 x 61 cm.	1927.427	Landscape
Webster, Thomas English, 1800-1886	(1) <i>The Bird's Nest</i> Oil on canvas, 21 x 25.4 cm. Sold in 1943 for \$50 (2) <i>Woman in Red Cape</i> Oil on canvas, 26.8 x 23 cm. Sold in 1953, no amount indicated		Wildlife genre Genre Portrait (Woman)

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
Whitredge, Warthington American, 1820-1910 Studied Dusseldorf Academy	<i>By the Sea</i> Sold in 1943 for \$100		<i>Marine Landscape?</i>
Wouverman, Philip Dutch, 1614-1668	<i>A Skirmish of Cavalry</i> , 17th c. Oil on panel, 31.10 x 39.40 cm.	1927.441	<i>Military Scene</i>
Wynants, Jan Dutch, 1615-1679	<i>Roadway, Sportsman and Horse</i> Oil on panel, 22.2 x 20 cm. Now entitled <i>Peasant and Sheep</i>	1927.442	<i>Pastoral</i>
American School	<i>Cows in Woods</i> , 1887 <i>Cow on a Forest Road</i> in AAM catalogue 1927 Oil on canvas, 56.5 x 45.7 cm.	1927.448	<i>Pastoral</i>
Dutch School	<i>The Dentist</i> , 17thc. Oil on canvas, 36.20 x 48.50 cm.	1927(1974).44	<i>Everyday Life</i>
Dutch School	<i>Square in Front of Church</i>	LOST	<i>Architectural View</i>
Flemish School (Now entitled)	<i>Jason Killing Medusa</i> , 1630-40 <i>Persée Tuant Meduse</i> , 16th c. Oil on canvas, 99.30 x 144.5 cm.	1927.51	<i>Mythological</i>
Italian School	<i>Jesus and John the Baptist</i> This is likely the painting by the same title in the MMFA data base 2000 Flemish, vers 1700, after Van Dyck Oil on canvas, 74.30 x 62.20 cm.	1927.41	<i>Religious</i>
Italian School	<i>Death of Caesar</i> , 17th c. Re-attributed as English School, 17th c., Oil on canvas, 101.60 x 81.90 cm.	1927.150	<i>History Painting</i>
Unknown	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i> , Italian School Now attributed to Palma Vecchio, A., 19thc. MMFA data base Medium described as "painting" 59.10 x 46.70 cm.	1927.15	<i>Aristocratic Portrait</i>

Artist	Title	Accession No.	Genre
(None of the paintings on this page are listed in the AAM catalogue 1927)			
Unknown	<i>Madonna with Blue Robe and Hands Crossed</i> "A copy of a "Madonna after Sassoferato" Sold by the MMFA in 1940 for \$25		Religious
Unknown	<i>After the Resurrection</i> This may be Jacque Arthois's "Apparition of Jesus," 17thc.Flemish Oil on canvas, 99.20 x 125.50 cm.	1927(1974).52	Religious
Unknown (J.R.P.)	<i>River with Boats</i> Sold by the MMFA in 1939, no amount recorded		Marine Landscape
Unknown	<i>Three Japanese Girls</i> Sold by MMFA in 1939, no amount record		Genre Portrait (Girls)
Unknown	<i>Woman Conversing with Cardinal</i> MMFA inventory lists "Woman with Cardinal (probably a copy)" Sold in 1941 for \$250		Religious

The following paintings are on the MMFA data base, 2000 but seemingly cannot be matched with the above inventory:

School	Title	Accession No.	Genre
After Bassano	<i>Winter</i> , 17th to 19th c. Oil on canvas, No dimensions available	1927.36	<i>Landscape</i>
English School	<i>Woodland Road and Cottage</i> , 19th c. Oil on canvas, 52.10 x 45.70 cm.	1927(1974).48	<i>Landscape</i>
English School	<i>The Death of Caesar</i> , 17thc. Oil on canvas, 101.60 x 81.90 cm.	1927.150	<i>History Painting</i>
Italian School	<i>The Creation or The Age of Gold</i> , 17th c. Oil on canvas, 95.8 x 129.5 cm.	1927(1974).37	<i>Religious</i>
Stella, Jacques	<i>The Virgin and the Infant with St. John</i> , c. 1650		
French	Oil on canvas, 30.3 x 23.1 cm.	1927.449	<i>Religious</i>
American School	<i>Landscape with Rapids</i> , 19th c. Oil on canvas, 90.6 x 129.3 cm.	1927.133	<i>Landscape</i>

The following painting is not listed in the above inventories but was on exhibit at the AAM in December 2002:

Musscher Van, Michel	<i>Portrait of a Lady Playing a Flute</i> , 1680	
	Oil on canvas	1927.350

Portraits of Lord Strathcona by Robert Harris are owned by several Montreal institutions and were on exhibit in 2002 (undated):

- 1) The Royal Victoria Hospital, Main Lobby
- 2) The Mount Royal Club, Main Lobby
- 3) Strathcona Hall, Victoria College, McGill University, Main Lobby
- 4) and 5) Music Rehearsal Hall attached to Redpath Library, McGill University

APPENDIX III

Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G.

Picture schedule as described under item No. 5.

1.....	Lady Yorke	Thos. Gainsborough....	\$ 15,000
2.....	Lady St. Germain	Geo. Romney....	12,000
3.....	Wooded Landscape	J. B. C. Corot....	10,000
4.....	Cavalier in Blue Suit	F. Roybet....	3,000
5.....	Two children with Goat	N. V. Diaz....	7,500
6.....	Man Playing Guitar	Chas. Meissonier....	1,300
7.....	Portrait Georg IV	Sir. Thos. Lawrence....	2,500
8.....	Desdemona	A. Cabanal....	1,400
9.....	Glen with Water Fall	Sir John Milais....	7,500
10.....	Evening on Terrace	Benjamin Constant....	5,000
11.....	Wallachian Pack Horses	Adolphe Schreyer....	9,000
12.....	The Prince of Guelders	Rembrandt Van Ryn....	4,000
13.....	Madonna With Infant Christ	Unknown....	2,000
14.....	Entrance to Grand Canal	Francisco Guardi....	5,000
15.....	Portrait of a Cardinal	Raphael....	2,500
16.....	Lady and Gentleman in front of Castle	Albert Cuyt....	5,000
17.....	Phillip II. of Spain	Titian....	2,500
18.....	St. Sebastian	J. B. C. Corot....	20,000
19.....	Children's Home	Theodule Ribot....	3,000
20.....	In the Forest of Fontainebleau	Rosa Bonheur....	5,000
21.....	Mother and Child with Dog and Cart	Josef Israels....	6,000
22.....	The Jumping Horse	John Constable....	7,500
23.....	Sheep Entering Stable	Charles Jacque....	4,500
24.....	Figures on Roman House	L. Alma Tadema....	6,000
25.....	The Adoration	Jan Van Eyck....	2,000
26.....	Playing Cards	Cooper Nether	2,500
27.....	Infant Jesus in House of Joseph	Annibale Carracci....	2,000
28.....	Head of Girl with Cap	N. Maas....	1,500
29.....	Officer Speaking to Woman	Geo. Morland....	2,000
30.....	The Sick Child	Edouard Frere....	2,500
31.....	Lady in Black	J. J. Tissot....	2,000
32.....	Occupation of Antwerp by Spaniards	Baron Henri Leys....	15,000
33.....	Landscape	J. Macwhirter....	2,500
34.....	Sappho	Jules Lefebvre....	4,500
35.....	Woman Seated on Dunes Watching Sea	Josef Israels....	3,000
36.....	Mother and Child in Church	Teresa Schwartz....	3,000
37.....	The Hour of Mass at St. Sulpice	E. Fichel....	3,000
38.....	Christ and the Woman at the Well of Samaria	Abraham Blockmart....	1,500

APPENDIX III

Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G.

39.....	The Woman Taken in Adultery	<i>Abraham Blockmart</i>	1,500
40.....	Roman Senators going to Forum	<i>E. LeSueur</i>	2,000
41.....	The Circumcision	<i>G. Romano</i>	4,000
42.....	Return from the Village	<i>Meyer Von Bremen</i>	3,700
43.....	Dutch Scene	<i>C. Dusart</i>	1,500
44.....	Niagara Falls	<i>J. A. Aitkin</i>	2,500
45.....	Girl Preparing For Ball	<i>R. D. Madrazo</i>	2,000
46.....	Figure of Girl in Ball Dress	<i>R. D. Madrazo</i>	2,000
47.....	Portrait of Lord Strathcona	<i>W. W. Ouless</i>	3,600
48.....	Portrait of Man in Chalk and Water Color	<i>Rubens</i>	2,000
Total.....			\$219,000

FROM
THE CRADOCK SIMPSON CO.
Real Estate,
Insurance and Financial Agents
MONTREAL

APPENDIX III

ITEMS.

1—On the Building only of the partly Stone and Brick Dwelling House, covered with first-class roofing, including all porches, galleries, double doors, summer blinds and winter sashes, whether on or off the building, heating apparatus and connections, steam, water and gas piping, decorated plaster ceilings, fresco painting and permanent or fixed decorations, papering on walls and ceilings, cabinet work of paneling on walls and ceilings, grand staircase, mantle pieces in wood, tile, stone or metal, grates, hearths, and brass or iron fenders for fire places, tile and marble floors and walls, mosaic pavements, and all marble work or tile work of baths, basins or marble work in connection with plumbing work or heating apparatus, all electric light apparatus and wiring and connections and electric bells throughout the building, all plate glass and leaded ornamental glass, permanent fixtures of every kind in or on the building, and everything appertaining to a first-class residence, owned and occupied as a Dwelling House by the assured, situated and being No. 911 Dorchester Street West, Montreal, P. Q.....	\$ 100,000
2—On Household Furniture of every description, useful and ornamental, family wearing apparel, linen, plate, plated ware, silver, china, glass, earthenware, printed books, musical instruments, pianos and printed musics, sewing machines, gasaliers, lamps, gas-pendants and brackets, mirrors, statuary, ornaments and curiosities, billiard tables and all pertaining thereto, clocks, watches, jewellery, paintings and other pictures and their frames, other than those hereinafter enumerated, (in case of loss, no one clock, watch, article of jewellery, curiosity, picture, painting, engraving and frames, not otherwise enumerated in succeeding items, to be valued at over one thousand dollars,) family stores, including fuel, wines and liquors, and generally all moveable property and effects of every kind and description not otherwise enumerated in foregoing and succeeding paragraphs, all contained in the above described Dwelling House	87,000
3—On the building only of a stone, wood and glass conservatory and forcing houses, adjoining the above described building, and on the stone, wood and glass vestibule connecting said main building with the conservatory, including plate glass and glass of every kind in or on said conservatory, forcing houses and vestibule, heating apparatus and connections, and all plumbers' work and piping, tile flooring, mosaic pavements, fountains, marble work, stands, tables, glass partitions, tile lining on walls and ceiling, and all permanent fixtures in or on said conservatory, forcing houses and vestibule...	15,000
4—On the ordinary contents of said conservatory and forcing houses and vestibule, including chandeliers	3,000
5—On pictures, paintings, engravings and their frames as per schedule hereto attached..	219,000
6—On Japanese Antiques and curios including Satsuma, Sword Guards, Knife Handles, Bronzes, Swords with Lacquer Racks, Gold Lacquers and Suits Armour.....	210,000
7—On Carvings, Tapestries and other furnishings of a Japanese Temple.....	26,000
	\$660,000

APPENDIX III

All the property of Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal and contained in the above described dwelling House.

The Assured is permitted to increase or reduce the amount of insurance without notice until required.

Tradesmen and Artificers permitted to work on repairs, alterations or ameliorations.

This insurance to include loss or damage by lightning or explosion, whether fire ensues or not.

.....of the sum set opposite to each item above mentioned is covered by this Company.

Attached to and forming a part of policy No..... of

.....*Company*

.....

APPENDIX IV

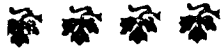
Telephone No. Main 1655

CABLE ADDRESS
"SCOTANSON MONTREAL"W. SCOTT & SONS
(ESTABLISHED 1850)F. R. HEATON
W. HEATON

Fine Art Dealers

99 Notre Dame Street, West

Montreal, March 23, 1914


 PAINTINGS
 WATER COLORS
 ENGRAVINGS
 EASTERN RUGS
 CURTAINS
 FRAMING


J. Craddock Simpson Esq.,

Messrs. Craddock Simpson Co.

City

Dear Sir,

We beg to hand you in duplicate inventory and valuation of the contents of the late Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal's residence, 911 Dorchester Street West, made by our Mr. F.R. Heaton.

We take this opportunity and feel it our duty to draw attention to the condition of the pictures, which need attention! Many of them are so dry that if they are not attended to and varnished they will crack and become much more difficult to deal with and so run very good chance of depreciating in value. The frames, which of course are a matter of minor importance, also need attention, many of them being in bad condition.

Trusting we have carried out your wishes in every respect regarding the inventory and valuation, we beg to remain,

Yours faithfully,

and obediently,

APPENDIX V

Paintings that May Have Been Sent to England

The following items are from the an inventory prepared by W. Scott & Sons for Craddock Simpson Realtors, Montreal, 1914, which is located in the National Archives of Canada (NAC MG29, A5, Vol. 1). These paintings DO NOT APPEAR on the "List of Pictures Presented to the Art Association of Montreal by Lord Strathcona, January 1927 (document in MMFA files).

A letter to J. Craddock Simpson, Esq., Montreal, March 23, 1914, indicates that W.R. Scott Appraisers completed an inventory of the paintings in the Strathcona mansion sometime before March 23, 1914. This inventory may have listed all items, however the version in the National Archives itemizes only forty-eight works of art. Certainly an appraiser will sometimes advise a client that an inventory of every single item is not recommended due to the cost involved, but it is unlikely financial restraint would have been an issue in the case of the Strathcona estate. There is no indication given in the Craddock Simpson version of the inventory that it is partial.

The Royal Trust Memo to Mr. Arthur Browning of MMFA January 1927 (document in MMFA files) mentions that Lord Strathcona had directed that certain paintings be sent to England, and the others offered to the Art Association of Montreal. Perhaps the paintings below were those sent to England.

Artist	Title	Evaluation
Corot, J.B.C.	(1) <i>Wooded Landscape</i>	\$ 10,000.00
	(2) <i>St. Sebastian</i>	20,000.00
Constable, John	<i>The Jumping Horse</i>	7,500.00
Cuyp, Albert	<i>Lady and Gentleman in Front of Castle</i>	5,000.00
Gainsborough, Thomas	<i>Lady Yorke</i>	15,000.00
Guardi, Francisco	<i>Entrance to Grand Canal</i>	5,000.00
Lawrence, Sir Thomas	<i>Portrait of George IV</i>	2,500.00
Maas, N.	<i>Head of a Girl with Cap</i>	1,500.00
Morland, George	<i>Officer Speaking to Woman</i>	2,000.00
Ouless, W. W.	<i>Portrait of Lord Strathcona</i>	3,600.00
(This may be the portrait of Lord Strathcona by Ouless in the National Portrait Gallery, London, England, Ref. No. 47818)		
Romney, George	<i>Lady St. Germain</i>	12,000.00
Roybet, F.	<i>Cavalier in Blue Suit</i>	3,000.00
Rubens	<i>Portrait of Man, chalk and water color</i>	2,000.00
Van Eyck, Jan	<i>The Adoration</i>	2,000.00

APPENDIX VI

Painting Cited in Other Sources

The following works were once owned by Lord Strathcona:

Source: Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes, Montreal Collectors, 1890-1920*, The Montreal Museum of Fine Art, 1989.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Breton, Jules
French | <i>The Communicants, 1884</i>
Oil on canvas, 124 x 191.5 cm.
Presently owned by Joey & Toby Tenenbaum, Toronto
(Brooke, <i>Discerning</i> , 58-60). |
| Henner, Jean-Jacques
French | <i>La Source, 1881</i>
Oil on canvas, 39 x 28"
(Brooke, <i>Discerning</i> , 196). |
| Turner, J.M.W.
English | <i>Mercury and Argus, 1836</i>
Oil on canvas, 150 x 109.2 cm.
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada
(Brooke, <i>Discerning</i> , 154-155). |
| Verboeckhoven, Eugène Joseph
Dutch | <i>Sheep Leaving the Barn, 1880</i>
Oil on canvas, 35 x 24"
(Brooke, <i>Discerning</i> , 235) |
| Wilkie, David
Scottish | <i>The Christening</i>
no other details
(Brooke, <i>Discerning</i> , 240) |

APPENDIX VII

Strathcona Papers
National Archives of Canada
MG24 A5, Vol. 1.

Enclosed with this letter is a letter
of 317 dated 1917. Received on 2
April 1917.

Recd 22 MAR



THE ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

27th February 1917

Dear Lady Strathcona

We are beginning a "Museum Section" in connection with the galleries and in the new Building for the purpose of bringing together objects of use to the designer and worker as being good examples of various workmanship in the past, such as Antique Iron work, Textiles, Architectural designs China embroidery etc. and I am asked to find out if you would be inclined to aid this educational movement by giving the Association some of the fine examples of Japanese and other China which I understand remain in the old homestead here. A selection from these would be of very great value to us, and would make a notable addition to the collections already installed.

With the hope that you may consider this request favourably
I remain
Respectfully Yours

APPENDIX VIII

**The following items are listed in the Montreal Museum of Fine Art
1927 Inventory of "Works of Art Presented
by Lord Strathcona and Family, Sold by the MMFA"**

Decorative Arts

(All untitled, artists not indicated)

China Hanging Fan	Sold in 1948 for \$18
Yellow Vase	Sold in 1948 for \$4.50
Two Tea Jars	Sold in 1948 for \$10.50
Small Tea Jar	Sold in 1948 for \$5.50
Pottery Vase	Sold in 1950 for \$75.00
Three Tea Jars	Sold in 1950 for \$13.50
Tea Jar	Sold in 1953 for \$5.00
Seven Tea Jars (not all from Strathcona) Sold in 1956 for \$40	

The following "Note" appeared at the bottom of the page:

Note: Registrar's listing of articles sold records 200 items
(Incense burners, vases, jars, bowls, teapots, dishes)

These were sent to Henry Morgan & Co. 1940, and most
If not all were returned to the Museum approx. 1956

APPENDIX IX

*
(original document from MMFA files)

Extract from minutes of a meeting of the Council held Dec. 9th,
1927 -

"The Secretary was also instructed to dispose of any duplicate pottery and bronzes of Lord Strathcona collection which Mr. Morgan may not select, as per instructions received from the Royal Trust Company."

Extract from minutes of 65th annual meeting, February 24th,
1927 -

The Chairman announced that a large number of paintings, some of them by painters of great reputation, had been received from the residence of the late Lord Strathcona, and are now on exhibition on the walls of the Lecture Hall.

These paintings are offered by the present Lord Strathcona and family as a gift to the Association. The Acquisition Committee may select those which in their opinion will be a valuable addition to the Association's collection; those not selected to be returned to Messrs. W. Scott & Sons.

A quantity of Japanese pottery, china, bronzes and other articles of vertu are also offered upon the same conditions.

APPENDIX X
Eva Stopes Letter to Lady Strathcona
17 March, 1915

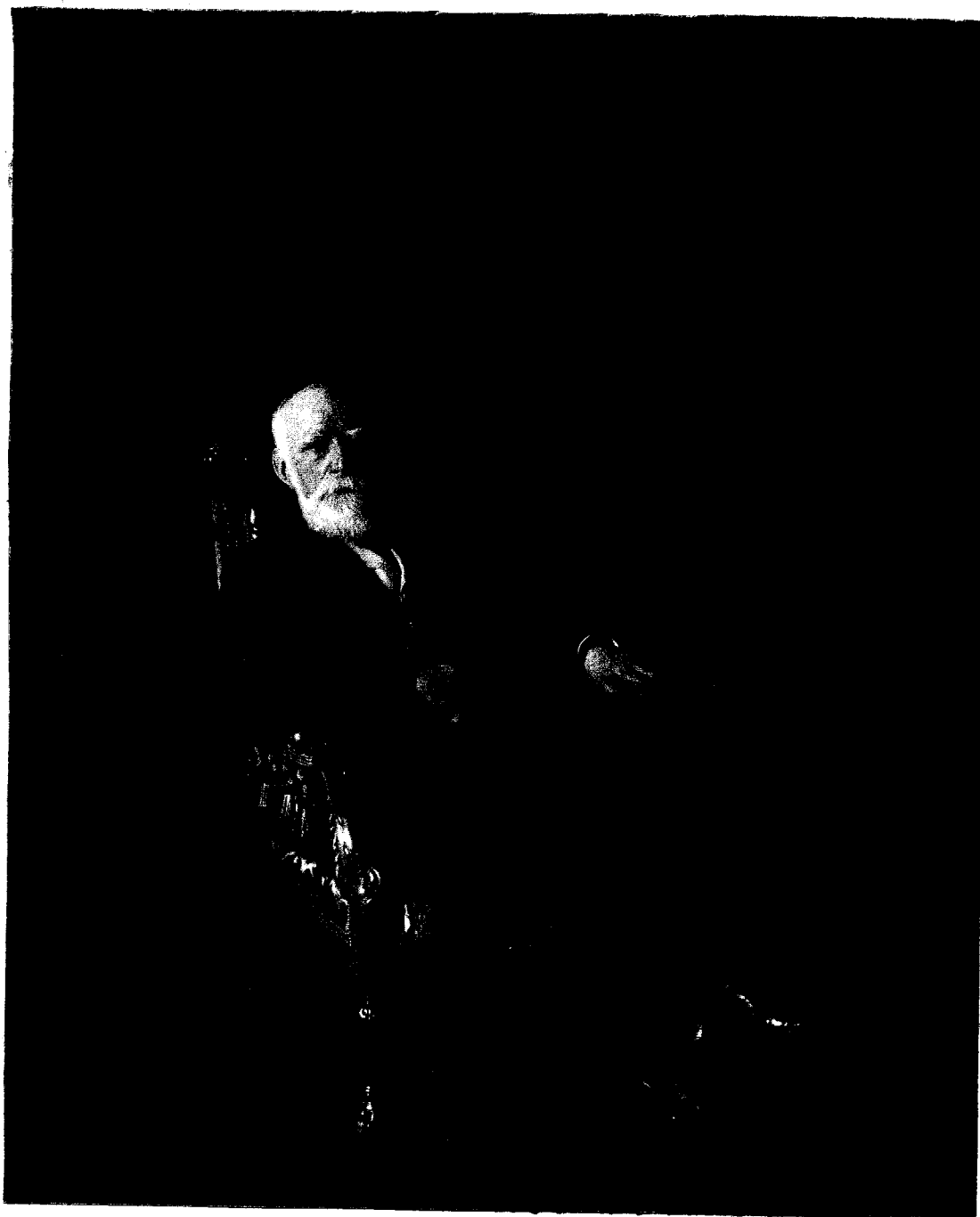
Dated, 17 March 1915, fourteen months after Lord Strathcona's death, Mrs.

Stokes wrote:

I heard by accident this morning that some proceedings were being taken against my poor husband who is so very ill. He was six months last winter in a Sanatorium -- in Bournemouth for consumption & just has been in bed for 3 weeks and has been bringing up blood for 4 days last week. I know your father has been good enough to lend him 670 pounds some years ago --and our home has been sold out --such a lot of nice things which did not bring anything; surely it ought to be enough. We live in two rooms & my two little boys are in a convent in Romford. We shall be willing to give you 3 or 4 of the pictures or more --if it only clears our debt --which I think we have suffered enough for it --my husband very ill --& no home --oh do have a little mercy on us --as if you want to do a charity --it is your chance. I have tried to get engagements in London as a pianist -- as I am a very good one. I have been to play to Lady Howard de Walden she was going away then--For my little children's sake & my ill husband --please have pity on us --as my husband has really no money & cannot pay the balance --he gets 700 a year & half of it is taken by Barclay's bank for debts --and he is frightfully handicapped all ways.

I shall be very very thankful to you for a reply and that you are willing to spare us any more hardship. It is very hard on me as I never expected that and I have the full knowledge that it is not my husband's fault the brewing trade has been so badly hit & his illness have been a great drawback to him. If you ever wanted somebody to play for you at time or accompany some singers --as I am very capable --I should be only to pleased to come & do it for you for nothing. If you want me to come & see you with pleasure--and could explain to you better than by writing --but I hope --I shall hear from you --satisfactorily --if there is a needed case --this is mine I can assure you in all sincerity. I hope I have not troubled you too much--¹

¹ Eva Stopes letter 17 March, 1915 to Strathcona's daughter, Lady Strathcona, National Archives of Canada, Strathcona Papers, General Correspondance, MG29 A-5.



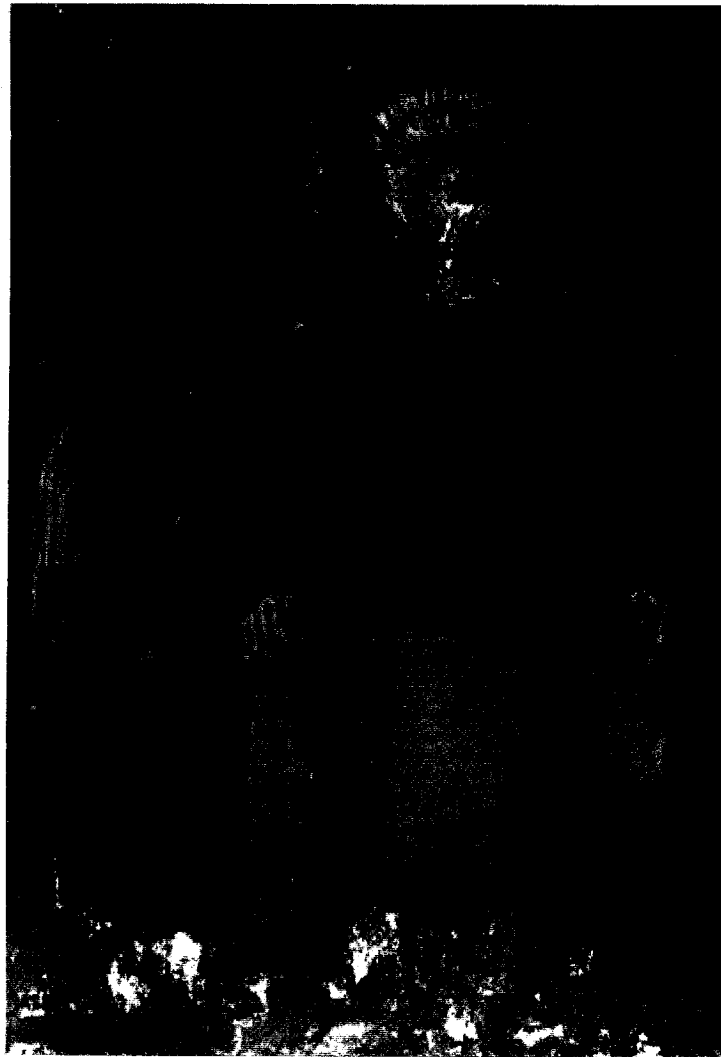
Illus. 1. William Notman Photographers, *Portrait of Lord Strathcona*, 1908. National Archives of Canada, PA29365.



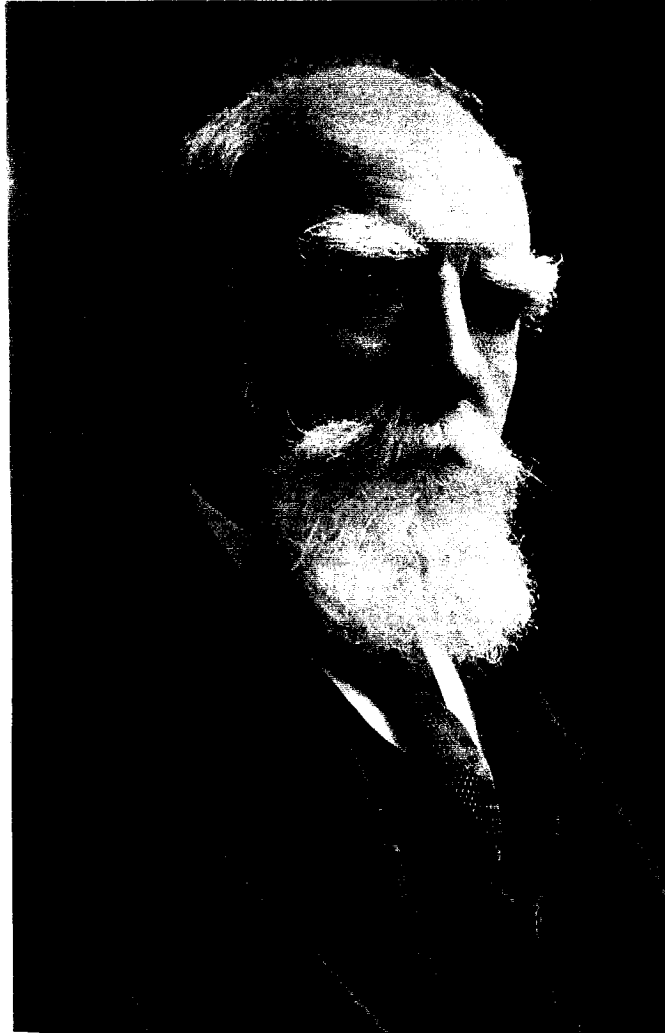
Illus. 2. Jean-Jaques Tissot, *October*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 216 x 108.7 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.410.



Illus. 3. Notman Photographic Archives, *Art Association of Montreal, Phillips Square*, 1892. Copy negative from Montreal Museum of Fine Art, 12 276.



Illus. 4. William Hind, *Donald A. Smith and the Indians*, 1860. Oil on board, 26 x 27.1 cm., National Archives of Canada, Accession No. C33690.



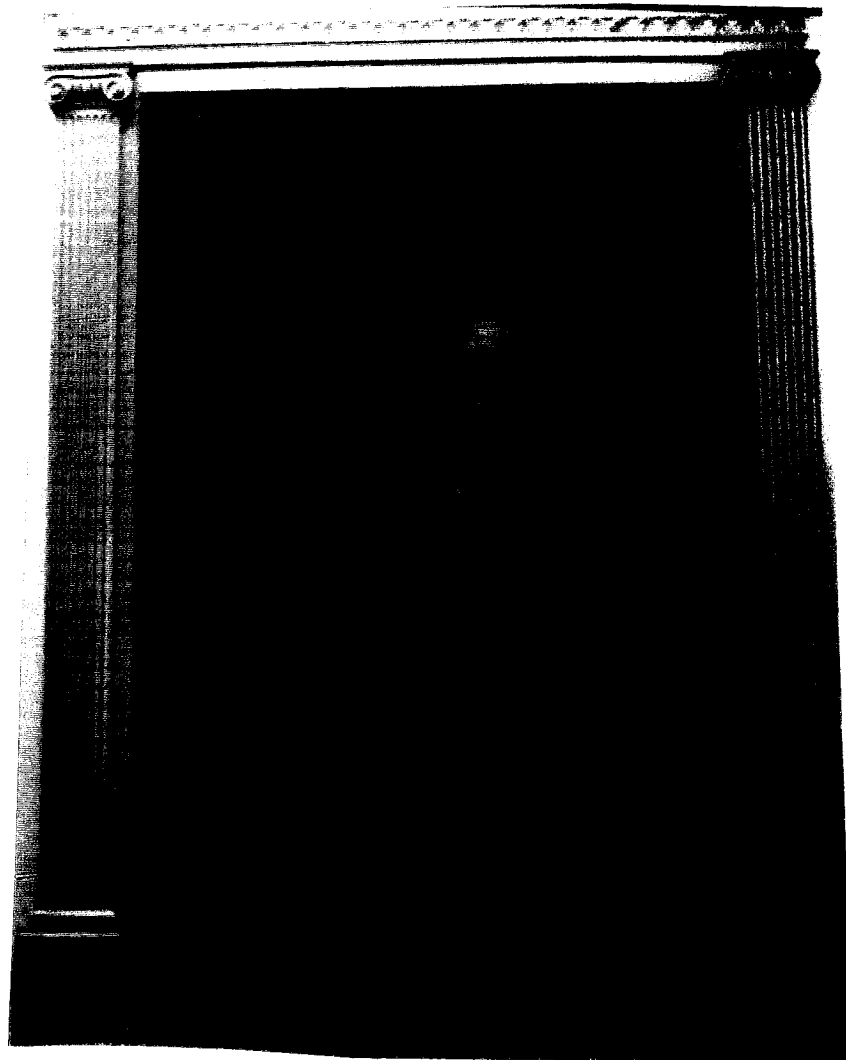
Illus. 5. Lafeyette, *Photograph of Lord Strathcona*, c. 1900. Provincial Archives of Manitoba 1987/363-S-58/2.



Illus. 6. Unknown photographer, *The Last Spike*, (Two views), 1885.
Glenbow Museum Archives, NA1494-6.



Illus. 7. Unknown photographer, *Lord Strathcona and Prime Minister Robert Borden in London, 1912*. Published in *Daily Sketch*, 22 January 1914. The British Library.



Illus. 8. Robert Harris, *Lord Strathcona, Chancellor of McGill University*, c. 1890, Oil on canvas, over lifesize. Collection of McGill University. Photo by Alexandria Pierce.

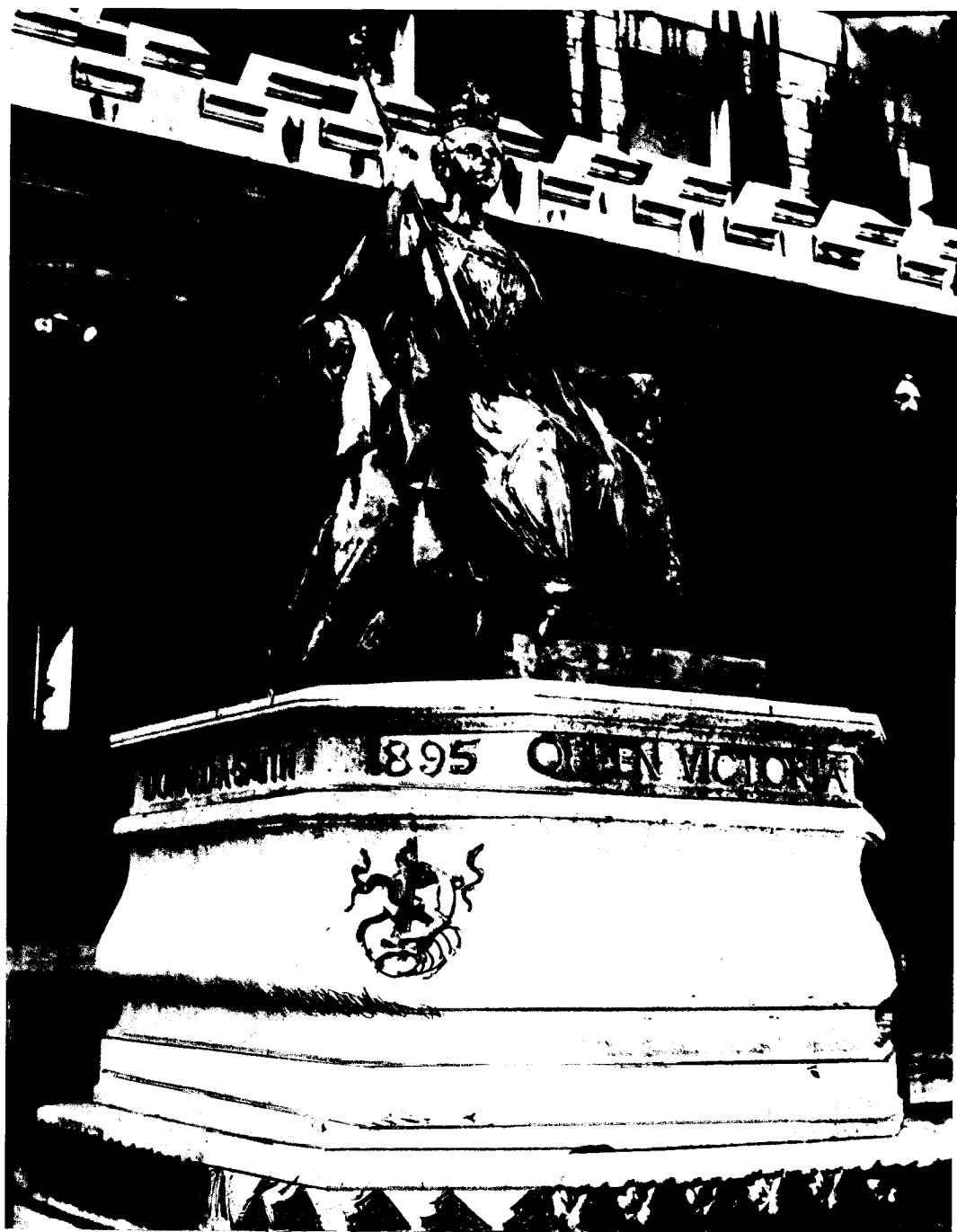


Illus. 9.

Robert McDonald photograph, *Lord Strathcona's Estate, Glencoe House*. Source: Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography Of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto, Oxford 1996).



Illus. 10. Robert McDonald photograph, *Lord Strathcona's Estate, Colonsay House*. Source: Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona, A Biography*.



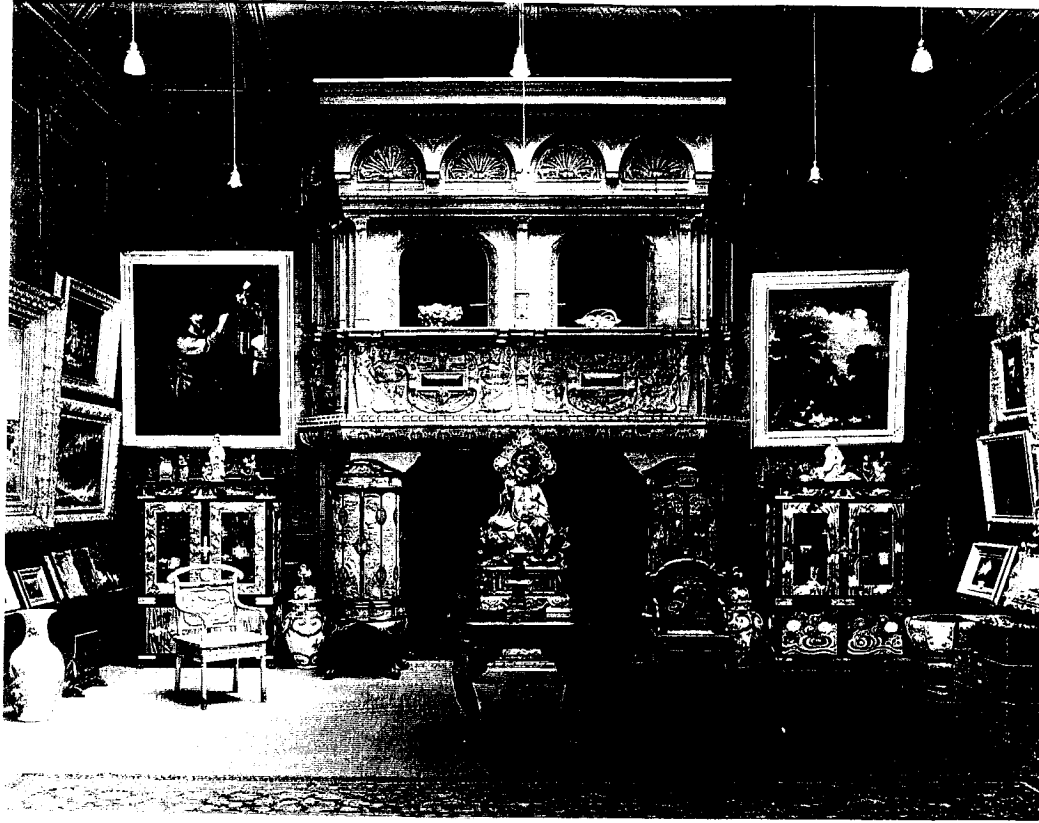
Illus. 11. Princess Louise, *Statue of Queen Victoria*, 1905, bronze.
Strathcona Hall, McGill University Campus, Sherbrooke Street
West, Montreal, McGill Archives PR000787.



Illus. 12. Unknown photographer, Victoria College Exterior, after 1895.
McGill Archives, PL00743.



Illus. 13. Unknown photographer, *Lord Strathcona with Father Lacombe, Government House, Edmonton, 1909.* Glenbow Museum and Archives NA-1328-61371.



Illus. 14. Notman Photographic Archives, *Strathcona House Interior Showing Minstrels' Gallery*. McCord Museum, View 16,059, 1915-16.



Illus. 15.

W.D. Downey, *Queen Alexandra in State Robes*, 1906. Notman
Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, MP-000.25.964.



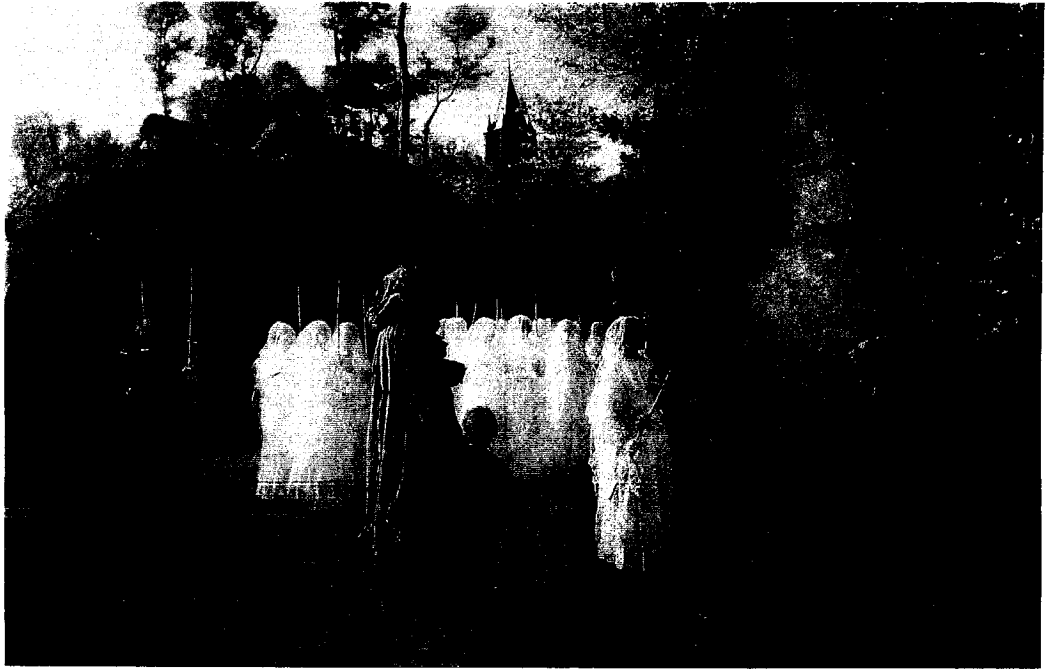
Illus. 16. Unknown photographer, *The Princess of Wales (later Queen Alexandra) with her Sister Dagmar (Marie Feodorovna, wife of Alexander III of Russia)*, 1873. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Illus. 17. Notman Photographic Archives, *The Duchess of Connaught's Group*, 1905. McCord Museum, MP-000-25.966.



Illus. 18. W.D. Downey, *Queen Mary*, 1902. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Illus. 19. Jules Breton, *The Communicants*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 124 x 191.5 cm. Private collection.



Illus. 20. J.M.W. Turner, *Mercury and Argus*, 1836. Oil on canvas, 150 x 109.2 cm., National Gallery of Canada.



Illus. 21. Therese Schwartz, *Mother and Children in Church*, 1886. Oil on canvas, 195.6 x 139.7 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.397.



Illus. 22. N. V. Diaz de la Peña, *Two Children with Goat*, 1860. Oil on canvas, 58.4 x 46.4 cm., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.254.



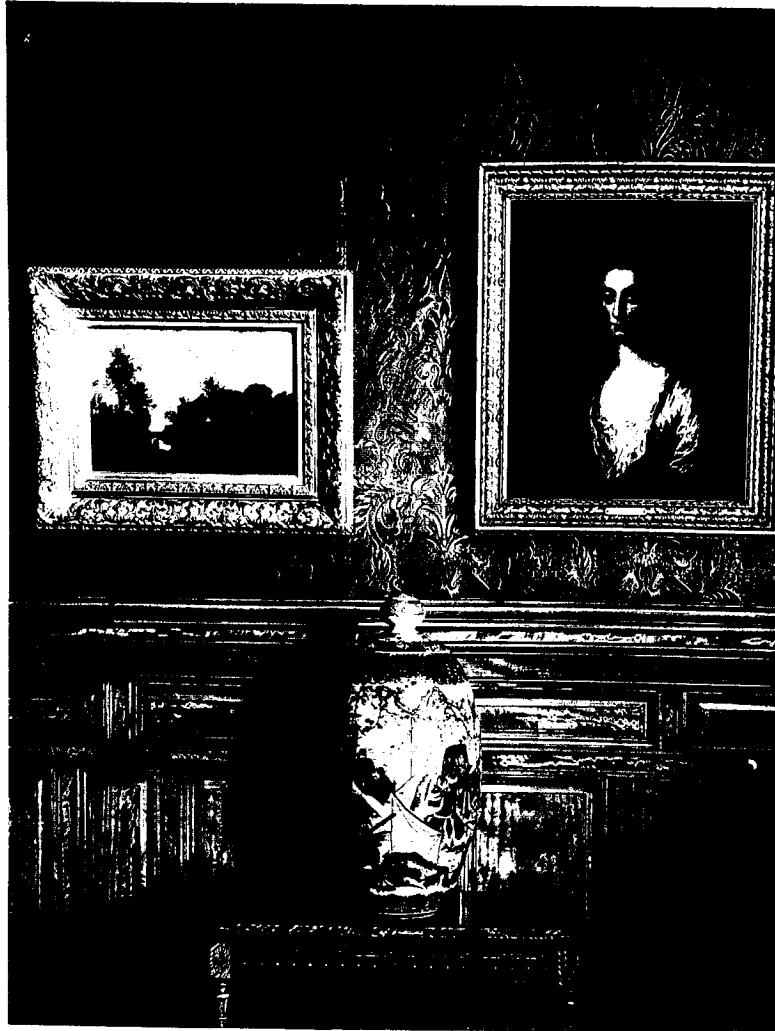
Illus. 23. Abraham Bloemart, *The Woman that Touched Christ's Garments*, towards 1600. Oil on canvas, 114.3 x 147.3 cm., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.228.



Illus. 24. Abraham Bloemart, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, towards 1600. Oil on canvas, 114.3 x 154.9 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.229.



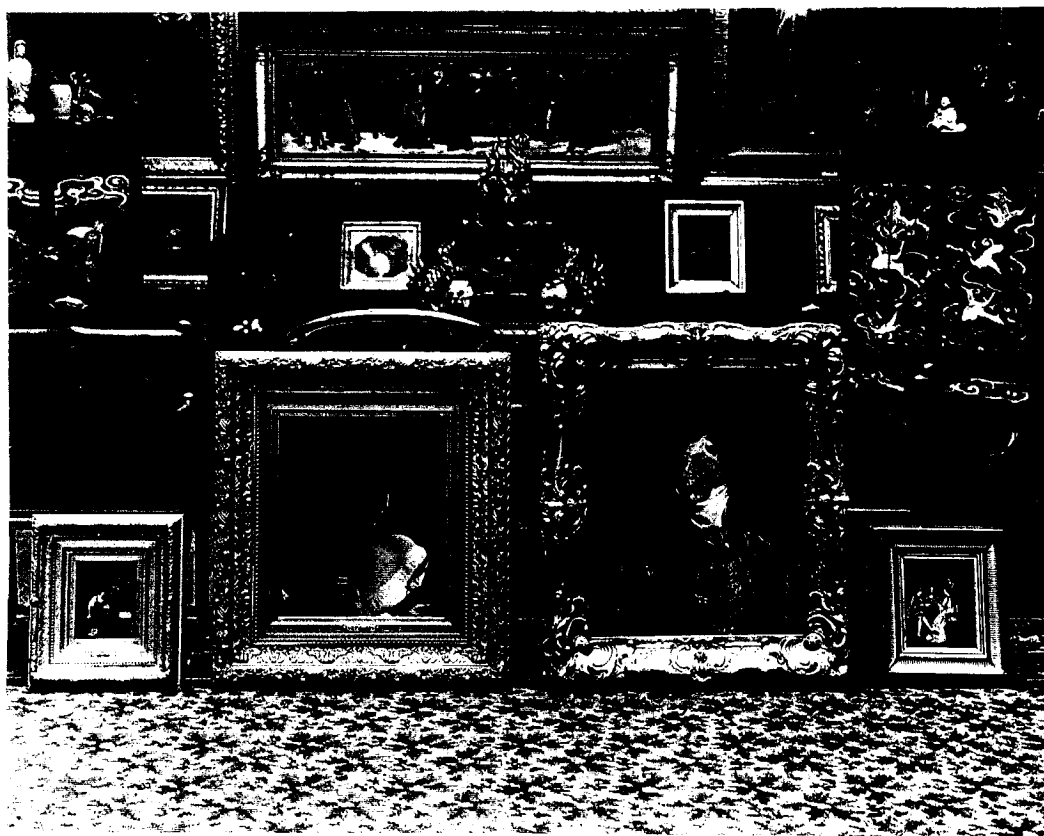
Illus. 25. Jules Lefebvre, *Sappho*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 188 x 108 cm.
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.312.



Illus. 26. Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Lady Yorke*, c. 1785. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum. Strathcona House Interior, 1915-16, View 16067.



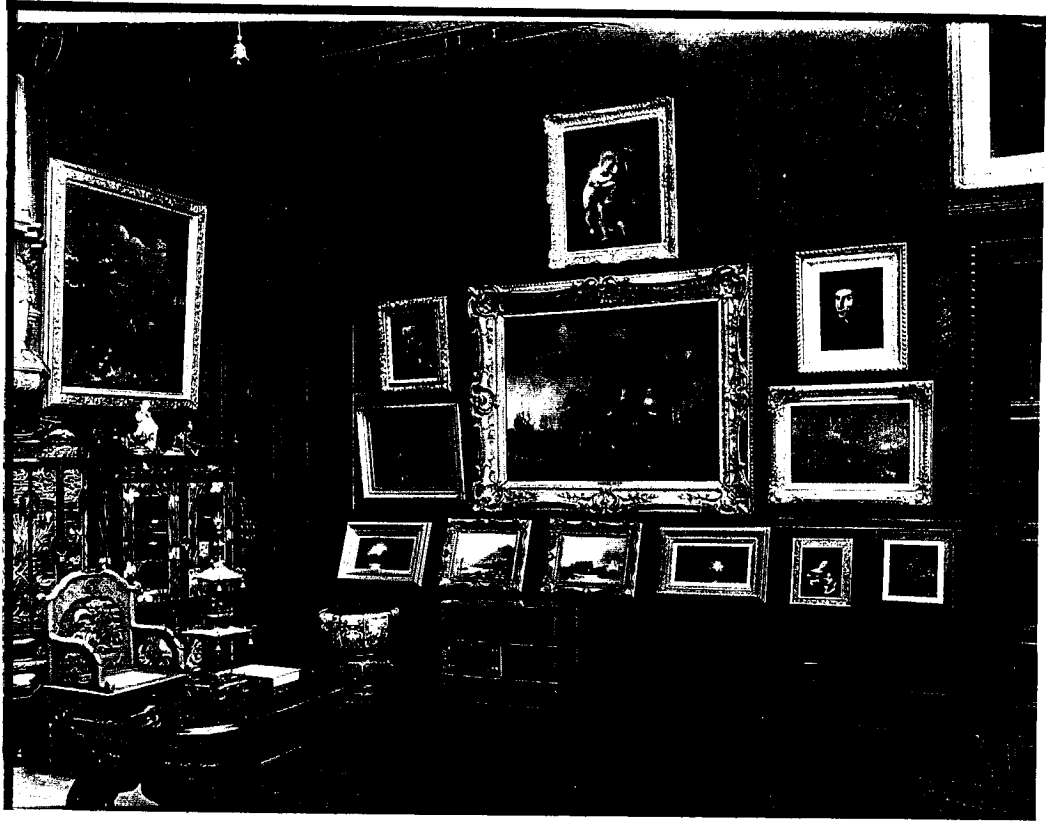
Illus. 27. George Romney, *Lady St. Germain*, c.1785. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Strathcona House Interior, 1915-16, View 16065.



Illus. 28. Ferdinand Roybet, *Cavalier in a Blue Suit*, 1866 (portrait third from left, bottom) Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Strathecona House Interior, 1915-16, View 16071.



Illus. 29. Notman Photographic Archives, *View of Strathcona House Interior with Chinese Furnishings*, 1915-16. McCord Museum, 16,063 View.



Illus. 30. Notman Photographic Archives, *Srathcona House Interior with Japanese and Chinese Furniture and Objects Together with European Paintings*, 1915-1916. McCord Museum, 16,060 View.



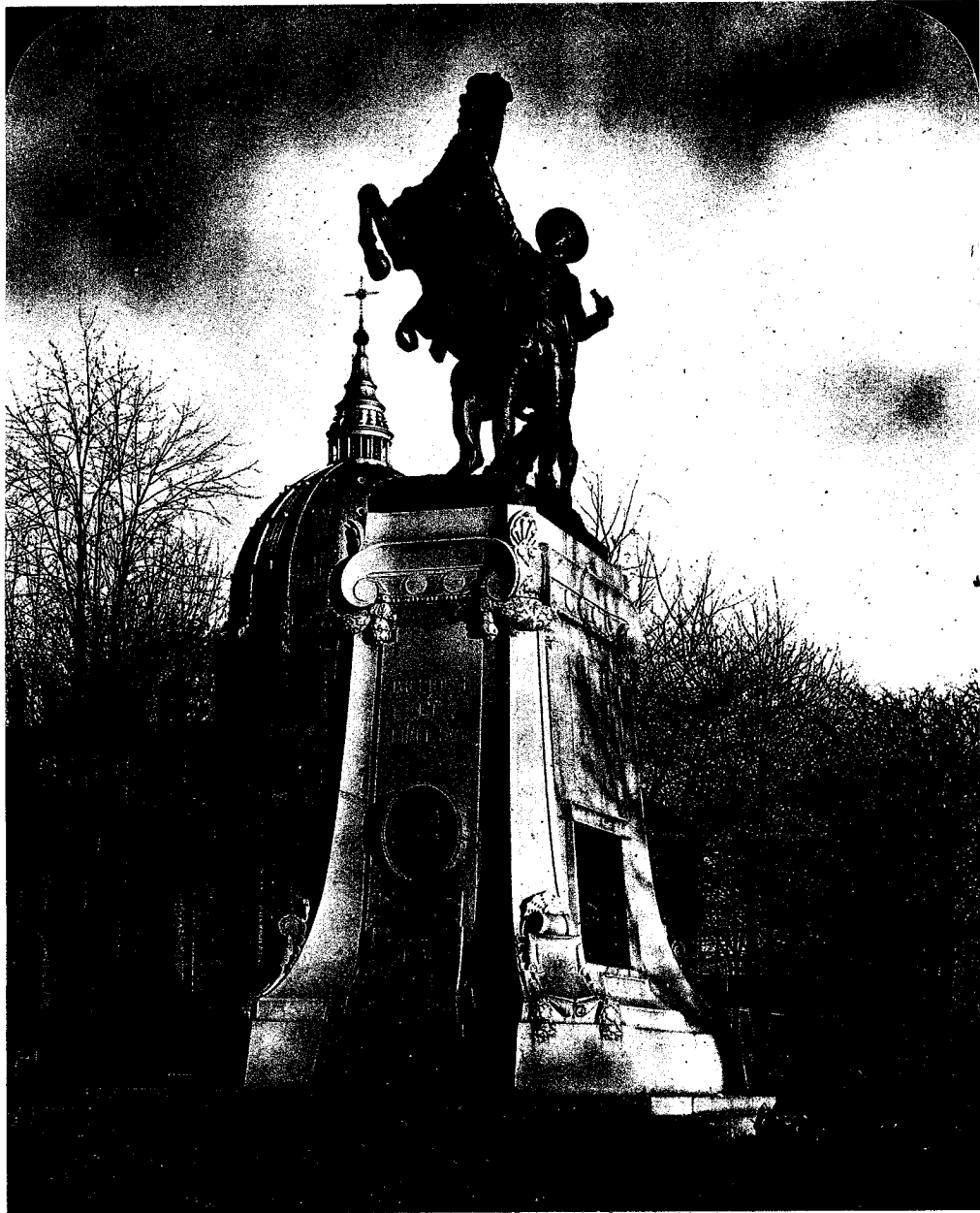
Illus. 31. Notman Photographic Archives, *Strathcona House Interior* (illustrating Princely Hang) 1915-16. McCord Museum, 16,061 View.



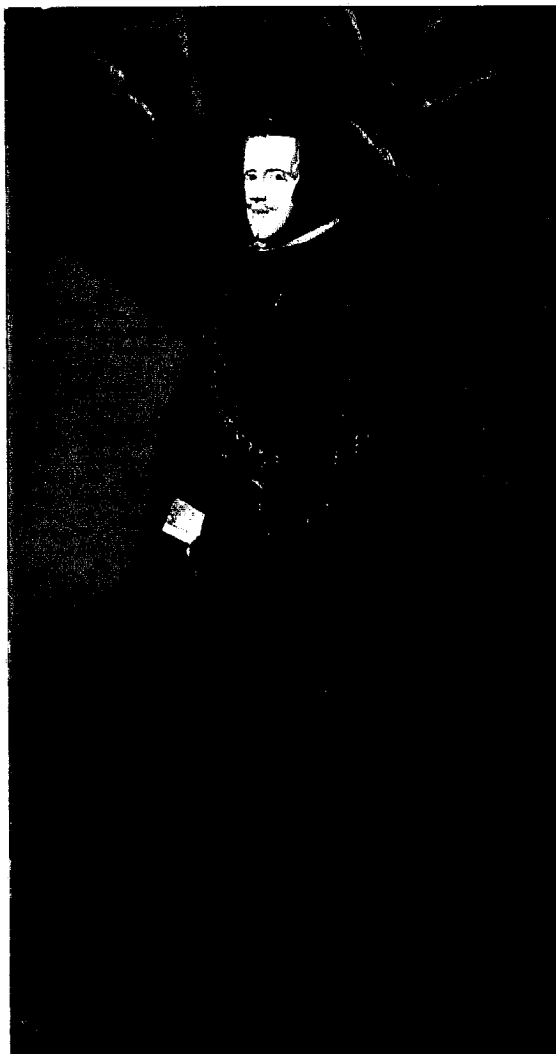
Illus. 32. Notman Photographic Archives, *Strathcona House Interior*, 1915-16, showing *October*, *Valley at the Edge of the Sea*, *Sappho*, and *Antwerp Under Siege* in situ. McCord Museum, 16,062 View.



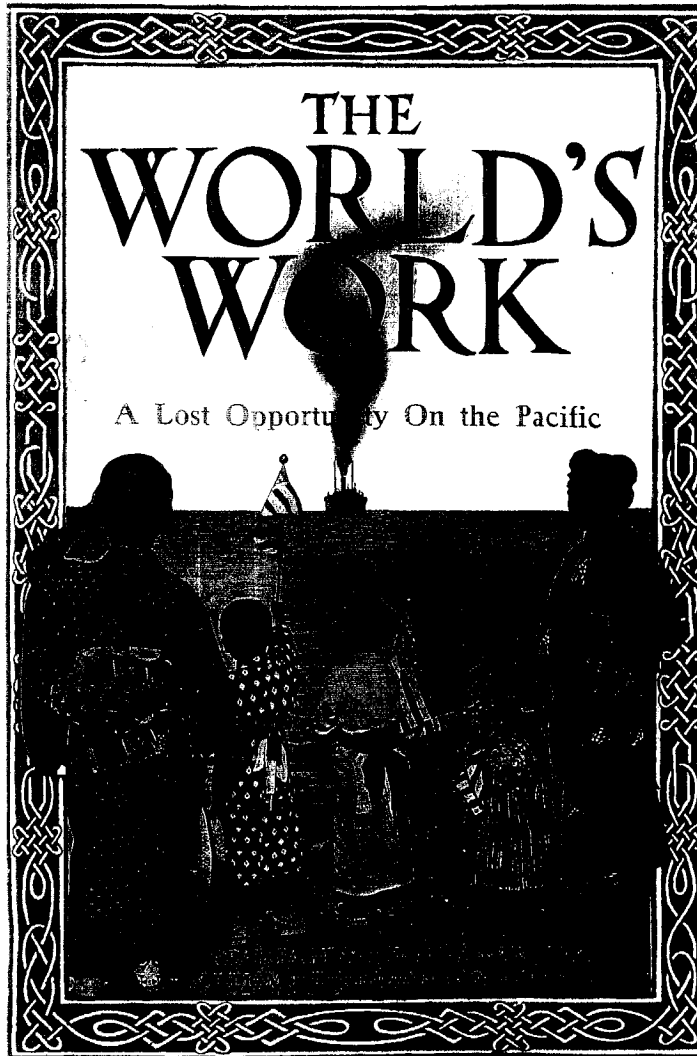
Illus. 33. Notman Photographic Archives, *Interior of Van Horne's House*.
McCord Museum, View 9338.



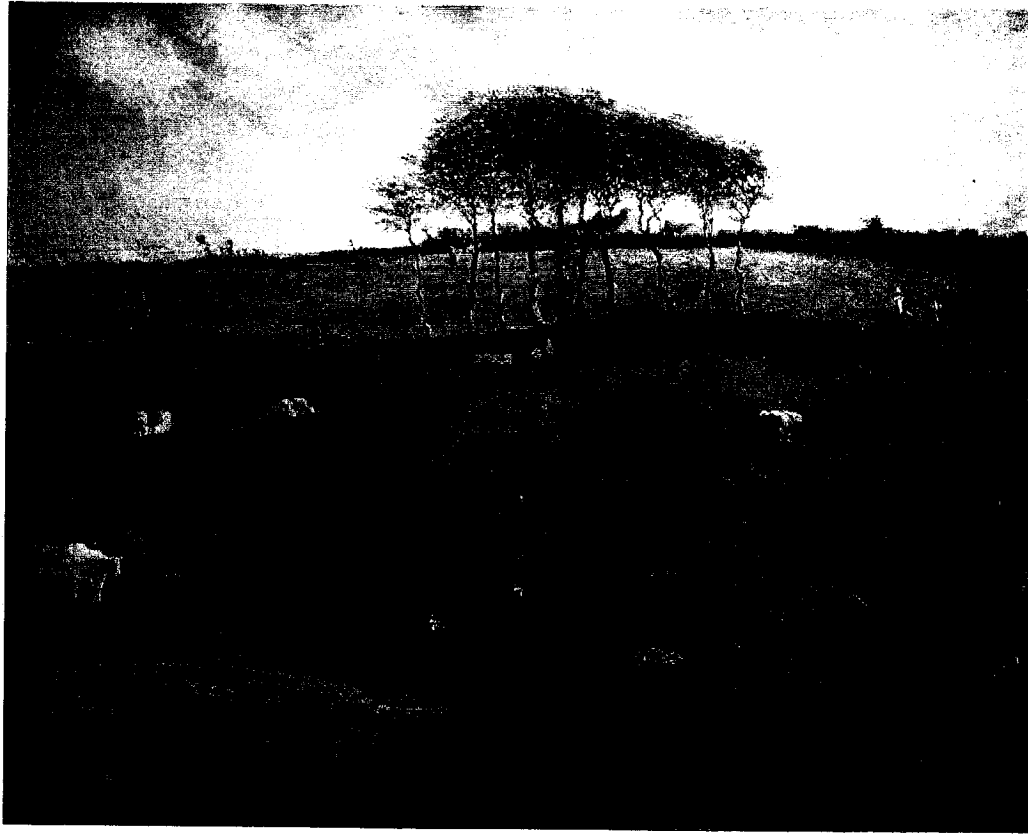
Illus. 34. Notman Photographic Archives, *Strathcona Soldiers' Monument*, 1907, Dominion Square (now Dorchester Square). McCord Museum MP-.25.922.



Illus. 35. School of Valazquez, *Philip IV*, 17th c. Oil on canvas, 206.4 x 110.5 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1945.932.



Illus. 36. Cover illustration, *Japanese Women in Kimonos with Three Children Standing at the Edge of the Pacific Ocean Waving American Flags as a Steamship Approaches*, in "Men in Action," *The World's Work: A Lost Opportunity on the Pacific* (New York 1910).



Illus. 37. Jean-François Millet, *Normandy Pasture*, 1871-74. Oil on canvas, 73 x 92.4 cm. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.



Illus. 38. Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *Silenus*, 1838, Oil on canvas, 247.4 x 176.5 cm. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.



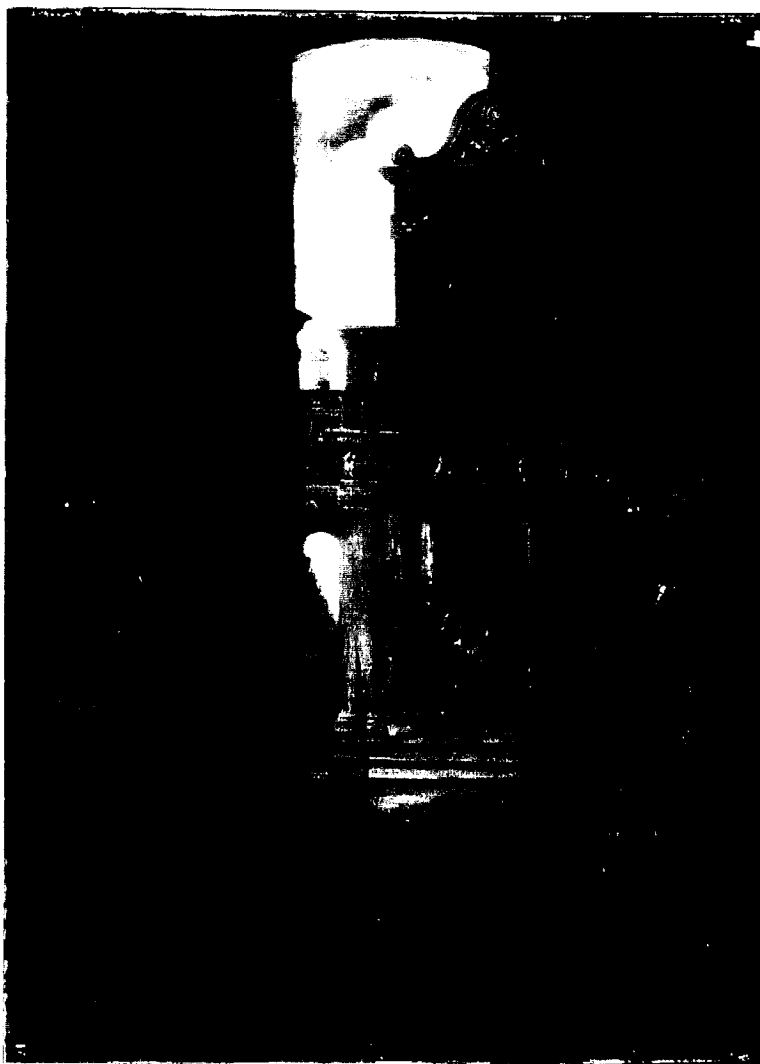
Illus. 39. Unknown photographer, *Hill House Gallery*, 1922. *Silenus* is on the right and Courbet's *Approaching Storm* is above the mantle. Source: *Homecoming, The Art Collection of James J. Hill* (St. Paul 1991), 46.



Illus. 40. Unknown photographer, *James J. Hill Home and Art Gallery*, 1905. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.



Illus. 41. Emile-Jean-Horace Vernet, *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops*, 1831. Oil on canvas, 85.6 x 131 cm., Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.54.



Illus. 42. English school, *The Death of Caesar*, 17th c. Oil on canvas, 101.6 x 81.9 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.150.



Illus. 43. Valentin de Boulogne, *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, c. 1630.
Oil on canvas, 149.2 x 186.1 cm., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts,
Accession No. 1927.446.



Illus. 44. Ghisolfi Giovanni, *Palace Ruins with Soldiers*, 17th c. Oil on canvas, 77.4 x 102.1 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.364.



Illus. 45. Oswald Achenbach, (1827-1905) *Italian Festival*. Oil on canvas, 104.2 x 161.3 cm., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.219.



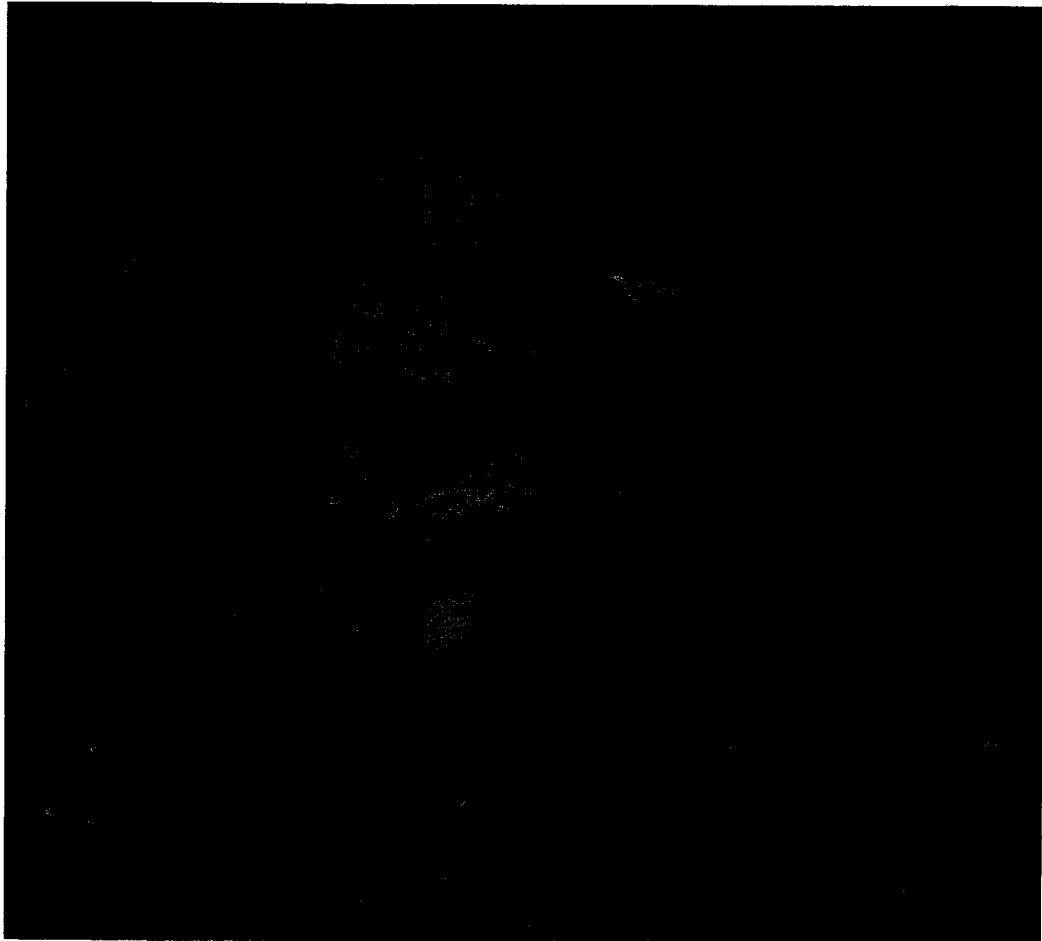
Illus. 46. Sir John Everett Millais, *St. Martin's Summer*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 151 x 107 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.325.



Illus. 47. Notman Photographic Archive, *Saint Sebastian Succoured by Holy Women*, 1851/53, is pictured to the right of the door, above the Chinese sculpture. McCord Museum, 16.061 View, Lord Strathcona's home interior, 1915-1916.



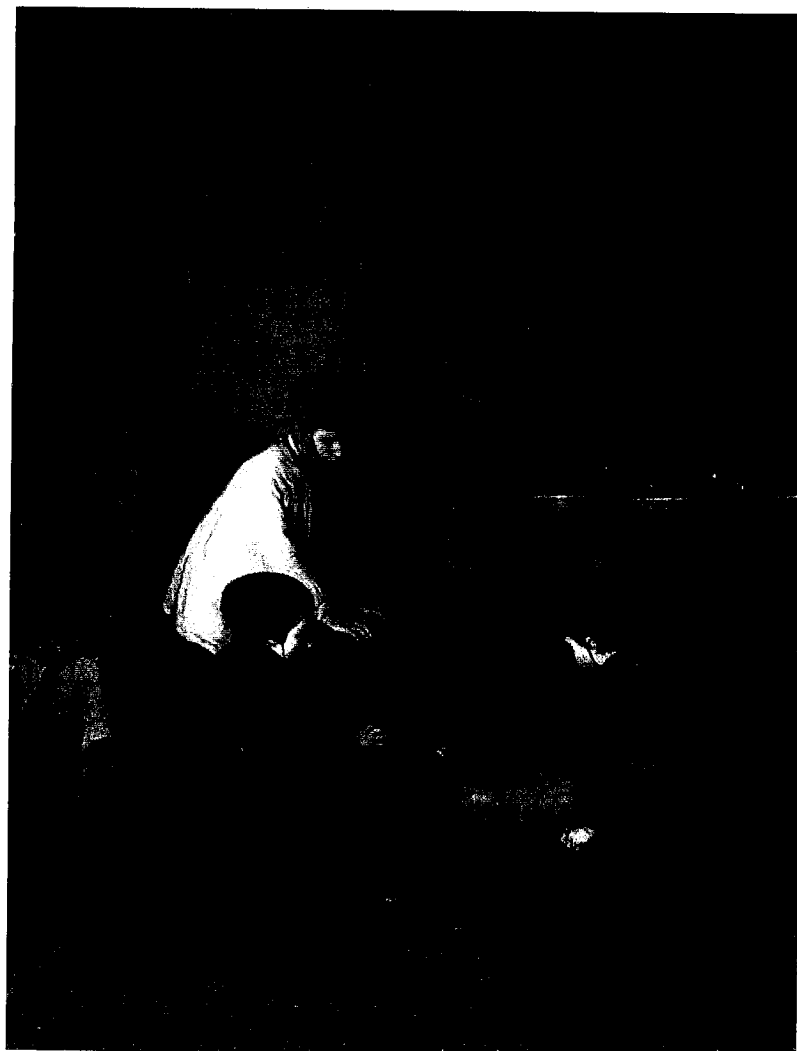
Illus. 48. Jules-Adolphe-Aimé-Louis Breton, *Returning from the Fields*, 1871. Oil on canvas, 69.5 x 104 cm. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.58.



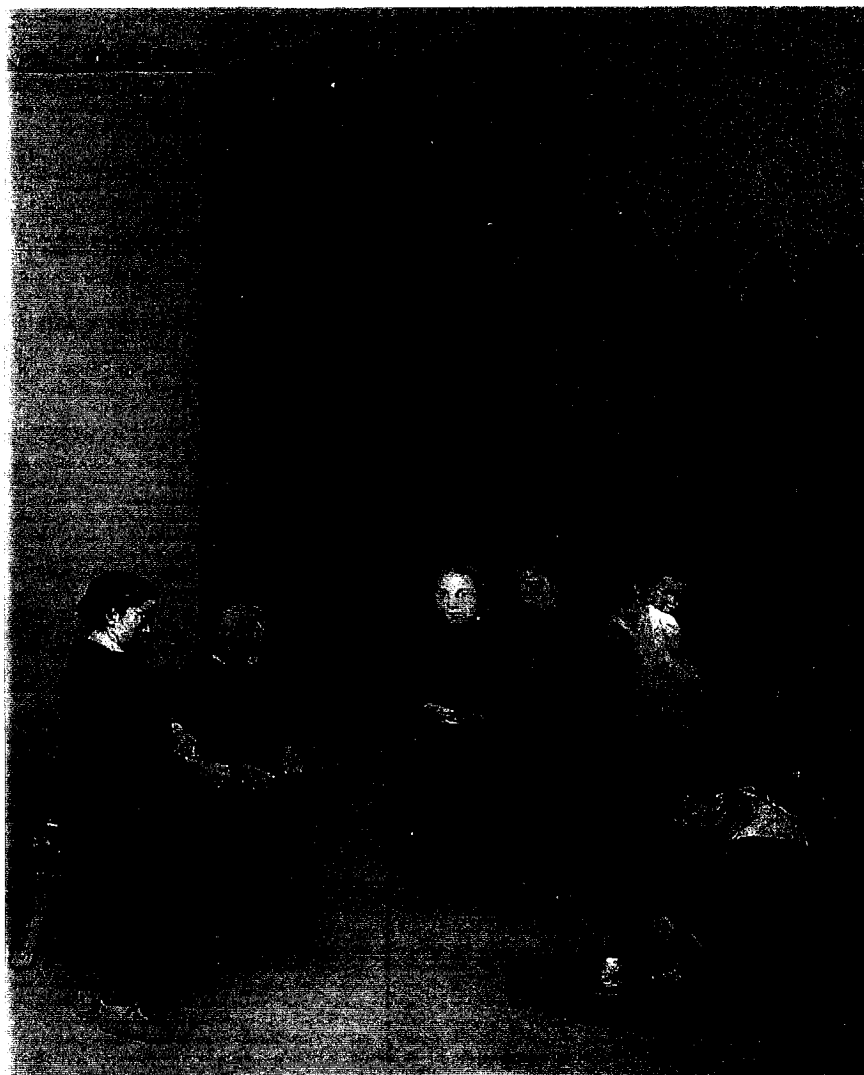
Illus. 49. Honoré Daumier, *Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs*, 1850. Oil on canvas, 131.8 x 97.8 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1945.880.



Illus. 50. Honoré Daumier, *The Third Class Carriage*, 1856-58. Location unknown, Hill Papers photographic documentation. (William Walters also owned a version of *The Third Class Carriage*, 1864. Ink, watercolor and lithographic crayon on paper, 205. 30.1 cm. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.1226.)



Illus. 51. Pierre-Edouard Frère, *The Cold Days*, 1858. Oil on panel, 41.3 x 31.8 cm. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.29.



Illus. 52. Théodule Ribot, *The Morning Wash*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 73.2 x 61 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.381.



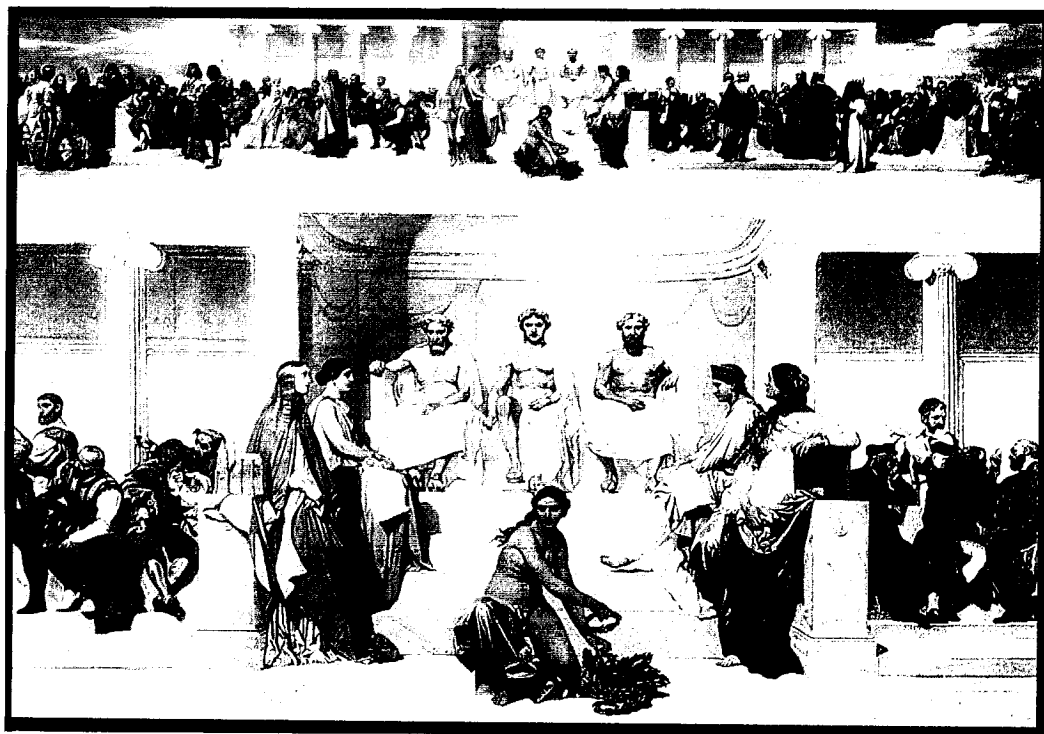
Illus. 53. Ludwig Knaus, *Mud Pies*, 1873. Oil on canvas, 64.4 x 109.4 cm.
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.21.



Illus. 54. Hugues Merle, *The Scarlet Letter*, 1861. Oil on canvas, 94.9 x 81.1 cm. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.172.



Illus. 55. Jacques Stella, *The Virgin and Infant with St. John*, towards 1650.
Oil on slate, 30.3 x 23.1 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts,
Accession No. 1927.449.



Illus. 56. Hippolyte (Paul) Delaroche, *The Hémicycle*, (detail) 1853. Oil on canvas, 41.6 x 257.3 cm. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.83.



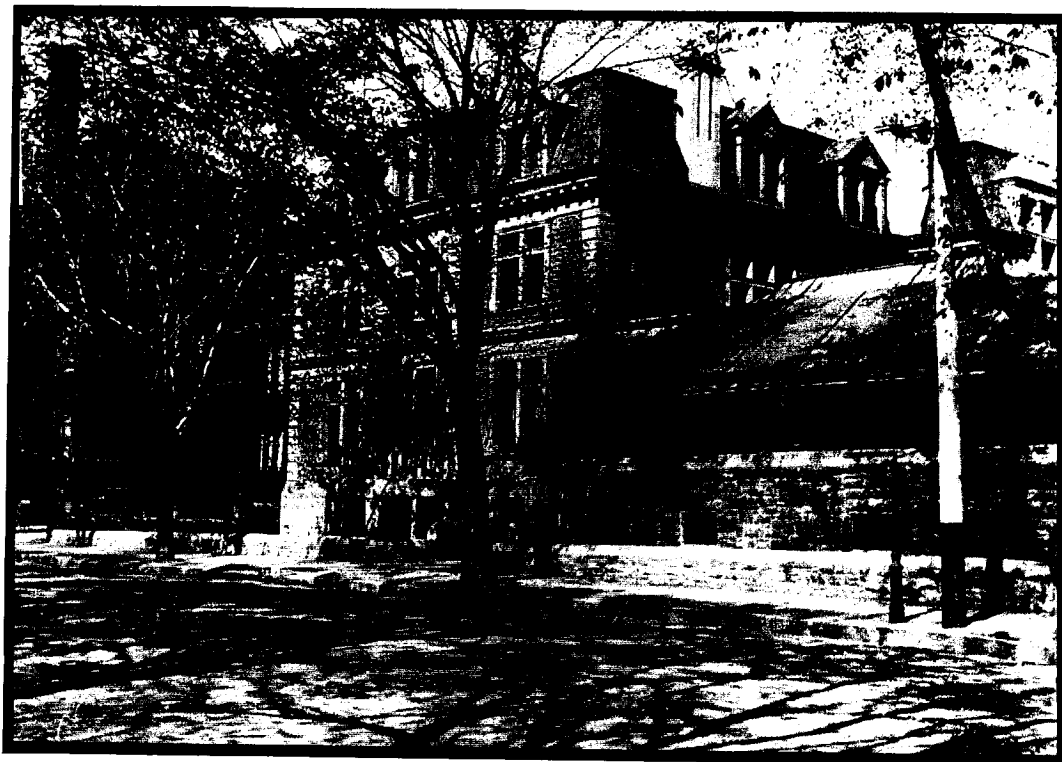
Illus. 57. Jean Lemaire, *Roman Senators Going to Forum*, c. 1650. Oil on canvas, 101.6 x 148.9 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 1927.313.



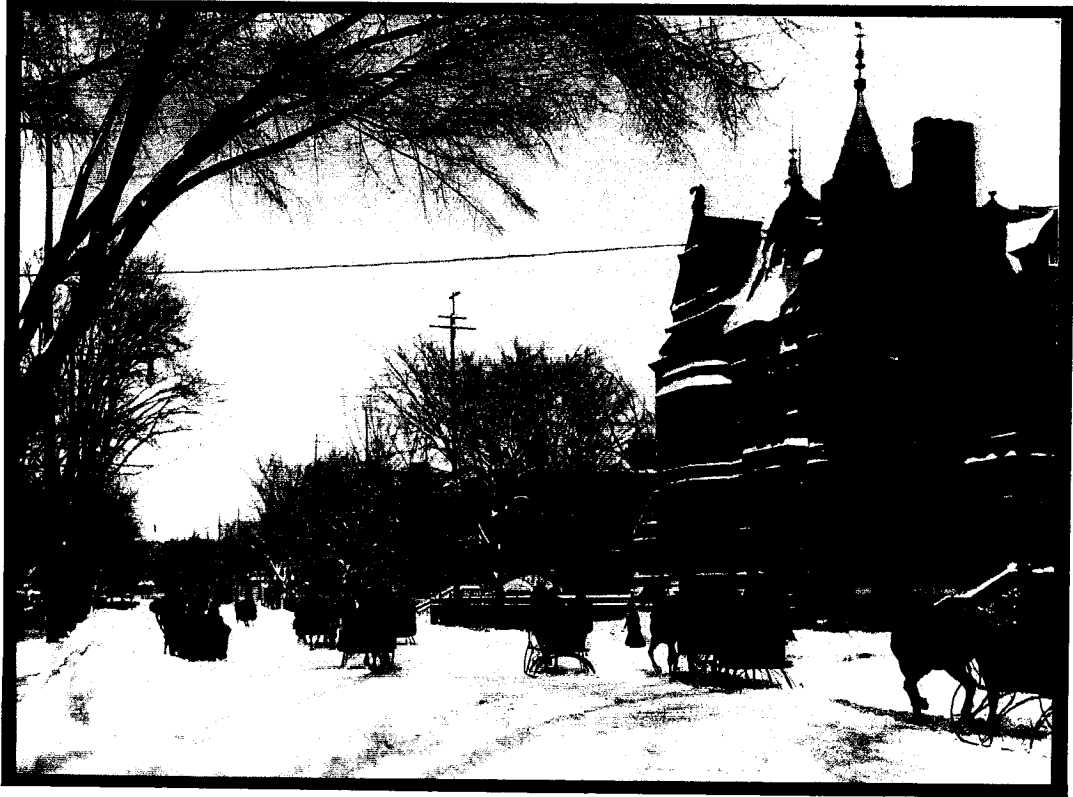
Illus. 58. Jean-Joseph Benjamin Constant, *Evening on the Terrace, (Morocco)*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 123 x 198.5 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession No. 127.243.



Illus. 59. Notman Photographic Archives, *Strathcona Home, Dorchester Avenue, Montreal*. McCord Museum View 4267.



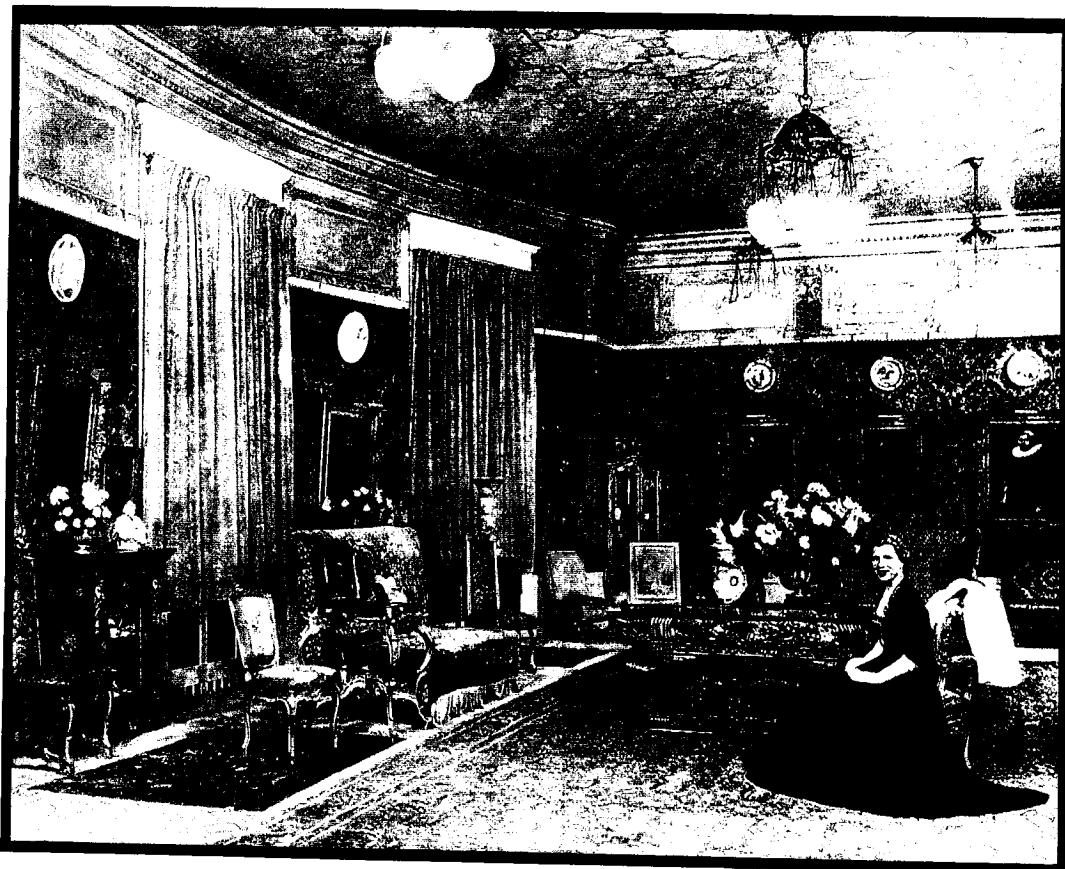
Illus. 60. Notman Photographic Archives, *Residence of Sir William Van Horne home, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal.* McCord Museum MP-1979.22.38.



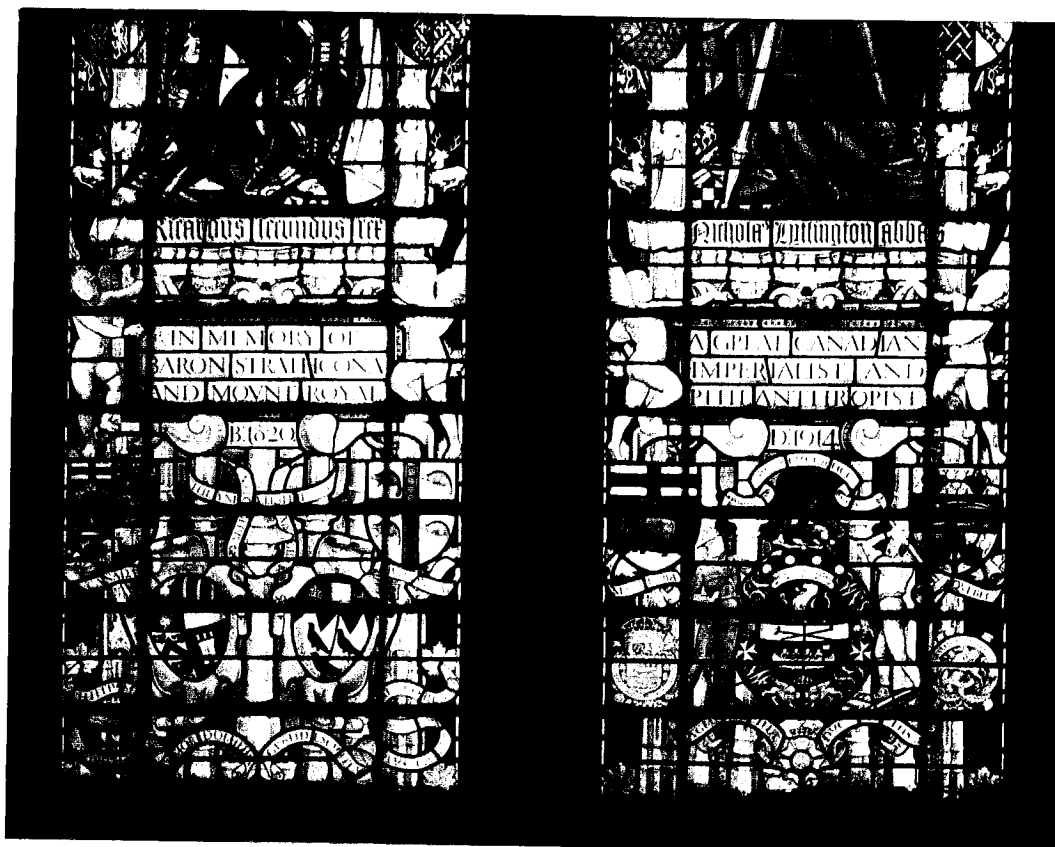
Illus. 61. Notman Photographic Archive. *Home of Sir George A. Drummond, 1900, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal.* McCord Museum.



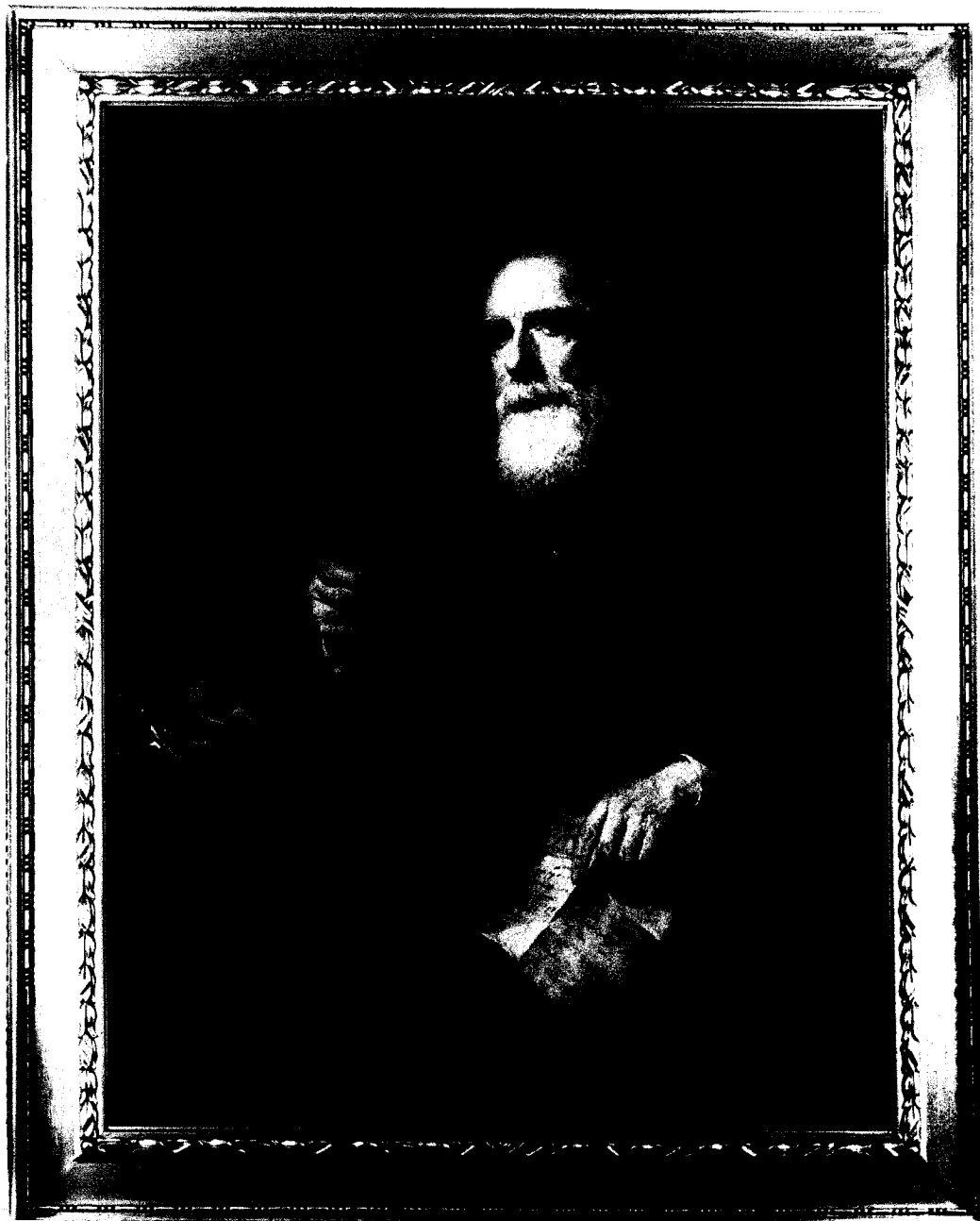
Illus. 62. Notman Photographic Archives, *Home of R. B. Angus*, c. 1900.
McCord Museum, MP-1979-22-29.



Illus. 63. Unknown photographer, *Edith Molson*, widow of William Van Horne, grandson of Sir William Van Horne, with paintings inherited from collection of Sir William Van Horne, *Mayfair Magazine*, 1958, page unknown.



Illus. 64. Artist unknown, *Stained Glass Window in Westminster Abbey in Memory of Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal*. McGill Archives, PR 023184.



Illus. 65. Unknown artist, *Portrait of Lord Strathcona*, c. 1900. McGill Archives PR027589.

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