



BEHIND THE RODDICK GATES

REDPATH MUSEUM RESEARCH JOURNAL
VOLUME III

BEHIND THE RODDICK GATES

VOLUME III

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Jewel Seo

Letter from the Editor

Since its conception in 2011, the Redpath Museum's annual Research Journal 'Behind the Roddick Gates' has been a means for students from McGill to showcase their academic research, artistic endeavors, and personal pursuits. Each year, students have engaged with our theme of McGill, the Museum and Montreal through essays and artwork, each a unique demonstration of our contributors' academic and creative capabilities. It is my hope that the outstanding original work showcased in this year's issue of the journal reflects the abilities of the wider McGill community.

In addition to a number of essays, this issue features the artistic contributions of Marc Holmes and the Montreal Sketching Club. Their beautiful drawings are a testament each artist's unique experience of the Museum and its collections, and capture the essence of every exhibit. Their work is a reminder that museums are a place of sensory experience, as well as a place of learning.

I took on the journal during my senior year; this project was a perfect capstone to my time at the Redpath Museum, and at McGill. As a member of the RMC for the past two years, I saw the journal as a chance to give a little bit back to the Museum, yet the project soon became much more than that. The journal gave me a chance to interact with a community of students with a common interest in the pursuit of knowledge, something that the Redpath Museum both fosters and embodies. It challenged me to meet new people, and reminded me that learning should not always be confined to the classroom. I hope to keep this message at heart even after my time at McGill comes to a close.

This year's journal could not have been made possible without the effort and dedication of the Redpath Museum Club executives, who have worked hard this year to expand our community and make sure the Museum is enjoyed by as many McGillians and Montrealers as possible. I would like to extend a special thanks to Ingrid Birker, for her unwavering support of the Redpath Museum Club and this publication. Thank you to the contributors, for their exceptional work, which I hope you enjoy as much as I do. And finally, thank you, the reader, for taking the time to support the endeavors of hardworking McGill students. Enjoy!

Kaela Bleho
March 2014

Meet the Authors

Alexander Grant *'Welcome to the Cabinet of Curiosities'*

Hello friends of the Redpath! I'm studying Chemical Engineering and Philosophy here at McGill. I am contributing to the journal because the Redpath Museum has been my favourite place on campus for years! Similar to how a cathedral influences its visitors, the museum makes me feel more composed and at peace after each visit. Years ago I stumbled onto an exhibit at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art called The Cabinet of Curiosities, and immediately knew that this would be the name of my apartment. In my piece I wanted to share with you the phenomenon of the Cabinet, and I hope you enjoy reading it!

Michael Zhang *'The Life of John Redpath: A Neglected Legacy and its Rediscovery through Print Materials'*

I am a U3 Art History major who specializes in the visual culture of slavery. More specifically, I work with photography, prints and other forms of popular media that portray the black slave subject from the time of the slave trade, up to the present day. The idea to write a piece on John Redpath's associations with slavery came to me after I had learned that James McGill was a slave-owner. This made me interested in finding out if other prominent early benefactors to McGill University also owed some their personal and financial successes to slave labour.

Rachael Ripley *'Eozoön canadense and Practical Science in the 19th Century'*

Hi there! I'm a U3 student double majoring in history and archaeology, with a minor in the history and philosophy of science. I wrote my piece when I was enrolled in HIST 335, Science and Medicine in Canada. A primary focus of that course was the development of hands-on research in the hard sciences. I chose to investigate the history of this particular artifact because it represented both the shifting nature of scientific practice, and the persistence of traditionally accepted ideas in the face of radical new theories about the origin of species. I currently belong to the Redpath Museum Club, and I have enjoyed participating in its efforts at scientific outreach by volunteering for such events as the Montreal Gem and Mineral Show, where I recently had the opportunity to talk with kids and adults about the materiality of volcanology.

Kathryn Yuen *'Historic Museum Architecture and the Phenomenology of Personal Memory in a Contemporary Society'*

This spring I will be graduating from McGill with a double major in Art History and English (Cultural Studies) and a minor in Communication Studies. During my four years of undergraduate study, I have spent two of them volunteering with Redpath Museum. At Redpath, I have befriended "Sara" the Triceratops, and I have developed an interactive exhibit of pull-out drawers for Sara, as part of my internship as an Assistant Curator to Ingrid Birker. My passion for art history, museums, and curating has inspired me to develop this research paper on historic museum architecture and its significant ties to memory.

Emily Baker *'The School Band: Insight into Canadian Residential Schools at the McCord Museum'*

Having grown up in Montreal, I have been visiting local museums since childhood and have developed a passion for visual arts. My first trip to the Redpath Museum was as a young child, and years later I still enjoy attending the museum and have recently contributed as a volunteer. It is my second year studying art history here at McGill, and I have begun to pursue research in the depiction of Native subjects in Canadian art. I chose to submit to the journal because I believe it is important to discuss the installation and curatorial techniques of our museums, and how these museums play a role in the preservation and presentation of Canadian art and history.

Alexandria Petit-Thorne *'History of the Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal'*

I am a U2 student pursuing a double major in Anthropology and International Development. This article was written for ANTH 357, Archaeological Methods, as an exploration of historical archaeology. Christ Church Cathedral was an optimal subject for this article, as it is familiar to McGill students who frequently pass by and shop under this landmark with little knowledge of its rich history. Thanks!

Katrina Hannah *'History of the Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal'*

I'm Kaiti, a U3 joint honours History and Anthropology student, and the VP External for the Redpath Museum Club. I had to research the history of a building in Montreal for a class, and I chose the Christ Church Cathedral because that's where my parents met way back in 1976, during the Olympics. I figured it would be a good chance to complete a paper that could be contributed to the museum and learn some more about my family history at the same time!

Meghan McNeil *'The Hurtubise House'*

I am a U2 anthropology student at McGill University, with a minor in History and Biology. I was interested in the Hurtubise house, as a historical archaeology project for Archaeological Methods, because it is a part of Montreal history that is still relevant today. Many people drive by the house every day and some comment on its rich history, but few know the detailed work and interest that has been contributed to this site. It is an honour to be able to share this knowledge with others.

Meghan Walley *'If These Walls Could Talk: The Assorted History of 4465 and 4467 Blvd. St Laurent'*

I am a student at McGill working on an honours degree in Anthropology with a minor in Geography. My first love in academia is Archaeology, and it was for a class in Archaeological methods that Katie and I originally wrote this piece. This research, intended to familiarize us with the methods used in historical Archaeology, contributed to my understanding the transformation of a spatially defined property over time in the broader context of Montreal's cultural landscape, thus allowing me to apply concepts from Anthropology and Geography. It also helped me connect with Montreal's history as an out of province student from Vancouver.

Kathryn Kotar *'If These Walls Could Talk: The Assorted History of 4465 and 4467 Blvd. St Laurent'*

I am an Honours Anthropology student completing my final year at McGill, but most importantly, I am a native Montrealer with an apt interest in our wonderful cultural heritage. It was a pleasure to practice historical archaeology within the boundaries of the city, and Meghan and I were lucky to stumble upon such a fascinating site. My passion currently lies in the archaeology and bioarchaeology of the Canadian Arctic and North Atlantic. I hope to continue my studies in graduate school next year, and will undoubtedly apply the principles and methods I've learned at McGill. Happy reading!



Marc Holmes- Redpath Animals



1

WELCOME TO THE CABINET OF CURIOSITIES

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF THE MODERN MUSEUM

By Alexander Grant

Only when we conjure a Herculean eruption of strength can we overcome the dead weight that is the door of the Redpath Museum. The first step inside transports us away from McGill's energetic buzz into the assiduity we adopt as museum-goers: our minds and bodies rewire themselves to be radically open to experience as we are pulled magnetically along exhibit narratives.



Figure 1: The Redpath Museum's Cabinet de Curiosité

Just a while ago, our lungs filled and unfilled with the rhythm of hydraulic pumps, but now they pulse like a jellyfish's swim. Our eyes prepare to scan back and forth between artifacts and texts to ensure we haven't missed any potential learnables. Our fingers link together against our lower backs out of fear of potentially forgetting to not touch things. We are overcome by the piety of the museum. As we pass the concierge's desk on the right we encounter the first of many museum-stuffs: the Curiosity Cabinet. The collection inside is small but important because it is the ambassador for all the other treasures housed in the building. Thus, it bears the heavy burden of making a good first impression.

I learned from Ingrid Birker, the Science Outreach Administrator for the museum, that the Curiosity Cabinet was the prototype for the other forty or so cabinets in the building created during renovations in 2002, and it ended up being left on the ground floor because it was too heavy to move elsewhere [1]. This particular exhibit is an island away from the continents of knowledge elsewhere in the museum, making it easy to miss as the kids start sprinting up the stairs to see the dinosaurs, but in this paper I hope to give the Curiosity Cabinet the notice it deserves.

The name of this cabinet is not merely an instance of amusing alliteration. The term 'Curiosity Cabinet', or more generally the concept of the 'Cabinet of Curiosities', also called *Kunstkammer/Wunderkammer* in German (art-room/wonder-room), has a rich scientific, historical, and intellectual background which I hope to describe by discussing a couple of different instances of cabinets of curiosities. I will also discuss how the Cabinet of Curiosities is reflected in the Redpath Museum's history and character.

In her paper on the Cabinets of Curiosities, Francesca Fiorani writes:

“Encyclopedic in nature, the Kunstkammer contained an impressive variety and amount of objects: minerals, fossils, plants, stuffed animals, ancient and modern sculptures and artifacts, paintings, scientific instruments, and automatons. A place of delight, refuge and intellectual entertainment, as well as a means to express self-promotion and political and intellectual prestige, the Kunstkammer was regarded as a microcosm or theatre of the world, and a memory theater. The Kunstkammer conveyed symbolically the patron's control of the world through its indoor microscopic reproduction.” [2]



Figure 2: A painting of a cabinet of curiosities

Such was the Cabinet of Curiosities: a Renaissance-inspired collection of specimens and illustrations from many disciplines, stored in a cozy room in which they were carefully arranged. The term ‘cabinet’ originally signified a room rather than a piece of furniture [3] but would later adopt its current meaning with the emergence of ‘curio cabinets’ like the Redpath Museum’s Curiosity Cabinet, which are useful for keeping dirt and dust from touching artefacts [4]. The idea of creating a space to represent an inventory of the universe was consecrated in 16th and 17th century German, British, Dutch, Danish, and Italian cabinets of curiosities, which evolved across the centuries to become the museums that we share today.

The Cabinet of Curiosities was marked by two curatorial styles: the first was a distinctive ‘patron’s control’, meaning that each cabinet was radically unique to its owner. Considering the Cabinet of Curiosities as a miniature representation of the world, it was necessary for each collector’s cabinet to be tailored to his worldview. Secondly, cabinets often followed a wall-to-ceiling approach in the arrangement of items, resulting in density, eclecticism, and an interesting visual experience [5]. Let us now enter and explore some important cabinets that were developed by notable collectors who best reveal the essence of the Cabinet of Curiosities.

Ole Worm (1588-1655) from Denmark was a linguist, physician, and natural philosopher (primordial scientist, one could say). His Cabinet of Curiosities is one of the most famous, and his carefully labelled and arranged collection has been cited as one of the first instances of the modern museum [7]. It contained preserved animals, horns, tusks, skeletons, minerals, as well as other types of equally fascinating man-made objects that were collected on trading and exploring expeditions [8]. Worm’s cabinet was a mix of fact and fiction: it contained what he thought was a Scythian Lamb (a mythical sheep-plant hybrid) that was actually just a furry variety of fern. He owned a narwhal’s tusk which many still thought was the horn of a unicorn, but Worm was one of the first to correctly identify it as belonging to a whale and not a magical horse [9].

Worm’s cabinet was pedagogical in nature. He was wary of relying on books to access knowledge and wanted to touch and see things for himself, so he gathered the subjects of

his studies together in one room.

In his cabinet, he was able to reflect on how extracting objects from their natural environments could impact their meaning [10]. Francesca Fiorani writes, “Ancient sculptures and automatons (machines) were equated as intermediaries between matter and human beings, between prehistory and present, thus dashing the differences between the creation of man and nature.” [11] These are themes that were handed down to museum curators who make these same considerations today.



Figure 3: An engraving of Ole Worm’s Cabinet of Curiosities

Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552-1612) created a Cabinet of Curiosities in Prague with a different character than Worm's. As emperor, he was responsible for projecting power, riches, and demonstrating his extensive connections; thus, his cabinet became a tool to demonstrate his valour. The Cabinet of Curiosities was intended to reflect the sum of the knowledge of the world, and the possession of this microcosm of it, "symbolized power over the world at large, the macrocosm," as Julia Teresa-Friebs explains in *The World of the Habsburg* [12]. His cabinet became an attraction for European princes and travelling scholars who were treated to tours.

Rudolf II's cabinet reflected his pansophical view of the world, an understanding that regarded everything as part of a universal, deistic system [13], a philosophy soon to be articulated in the work of Spinoza. Anselm Boethius de Boodt, Rudolf II's alchemist and physician, wrote of him in 1609:

"The Emperor is a lover of stones, and not simply because he hopes thus to increase his dignity and majesty, but through them to raise awareness of the glory of God, the ineffable might of Him who concentrates the beauty of the whole world into such small bodies and in them unites the seeds of all other things in creation." [14]

Upon visiting his cabinet, Cardinal Alessandro d'Este commented that, "the treasure was worthy of its owner." [15] This may be part of what motivated A.G. Dickens to write in 1977 that, "The [Cabinet of Curiosities] itself was a form of propaganda." [16] When Rudolf II's castle was plundered by the Swedes, an inventory of his collection was drawn up:

"The plunder from the castle at Prague included 470 paintings, 69 bronze figures, several thousand coins and medals, 179 objects of ivory, 50 objects of amber and coral, 600 vessels of agate and crystal, 174 works of faience, 403 Indian curiosa, 185 works of precious stone, uncut diamonds, more than 300 mathematical instruments and many other objects." [17]

Rudolf II's Cabinet of Curiosities had religious connotations and was politically utile, whereas Worm's was used for education and research. This shows the diversity of inspiration that motivates the creation of cabinets of curiosities: each of these cabinets (and their creators) is a curiosity in itself!



Figure 4: Rudolf II's covered bezoar cup (photo by Jan Vermeyen)

The Dutchman **Albertus Seba** (1665-1736) inherited the tradition of the Cabinet from these men and became one of the most famous collectors of all time. As a physician, Seba was responsible for meeting the crews of ships returning from colonial and exploratory missions to provide them with medical treatment. A by-product of his duties was that he had the opportunity to see the treasures brought back from distant lands such as snakes, birds, and corals. He would often buy curious things from these ships, and would sometimes even trade medical treatment for them.

Physicians doubled as pharmacologists at the time. As such, Seba was responsible for amassing a large herbarium from which he could combine exotic plants in the hopes of extracting new medicines (the sailors would bring him these specimens as well). Thus, his collection, “bearing the peculiar stamp of its owner’s interests and astuteness, could make its own contribution to the advancing knowledge about nature, and hence was a valuable instrument of research,” [18] wrote Irmgard Müsch in a 2001 re-publication of Seba’s *Thesaurus* (in which he illustrated many of his exotic specimens), called *The Cabinet of Natural Curiosities*.



Figure 5: An image created by Seba of some of his shell curiosities.

Seba would also boast about his cabinet, writing: “And there are no other collections in all of Europe wherein so many rare pieces are to be found.” [19] It was also a cabinet of medical curiosities, a kind of collection that is prevalent in schools of medicine today, where conjoined twins, fetuses, and other medical anomalies are put on display for the education of young physicians.

On top of the use of his cabinet of curiosities for medical/naturalistic education and research, Seba approached his Cabinet of Curiosities as an economic unit. Collections raised the social prestige of their owners, as was clear for Rudolf II’s cabinet. Consequently, Seba found himself to be the owner of a valuable product. When he heard that

Peter the Great of Russia was visiting Amsterdam, Seba sent him an inventory of his collection, knowing that Peter was amassing one of his own, called ‘The Cabinet of Wonder’ in St. Petersburg [20]. Sure enough, Peter visited Seba’s home and purchased his entire collection: 72 drawers of shells, 32 drawers displaying 1000 European insects, and 400 jars of animal specimens preserved in alcohol [21], which then made their way to St. Petersburg. Seba was then able to start a new cabinet of curiosities, and was ever keener to greet the sailors as they arrived in Amsterdam.

Worthy of note as well is **Sir Hans Sloane** (1660-1753), a friend of Seba’s with whom he exchanged letters and natural specimens. Sloane’s cabinet of curiosities eventually became the British Museum and the Natural History Museum in London [22]: two of the grandest museums in the world today.

These were some of the most important men in the tradition of the Cabinet of Curiosities. For centuries, the Cabinet of Curiosities was a centre of knowledge, education, culture, power, and worship, but this state of affairs was to change with the emergence of new ideas about how nature ought to be studied. In the late 17th and 18th centuries, Cabinets of Curiosities declined in importance and empirical authority due to changes in natural philosophy, which was evolving to become more scientific (to use this word anachronistically). Nature was approached with an attitude that was less personalized by particular collectors, and more universal, allowing for those who study nature to achieve consensus on interpretations of what they found. Irmgard Müsch writes in *The Cabinet of Natural Curiosities*:

“During the turbulent first half of the 17th century, bloody wars raged between Catholics and Protestants, yet the sciences offered a generally neutral sphere in which a new, more or less objective understanding of the world could be developed beyond theological controversy.” [23]

The Swede **Carl Linnaeus** (1707-1778) led this revolution in natural philosophy. He had no interest in the “extraneous ballast” [24] attached to the study of nature, as was common with religious or personalist interpretations. One example of a natural object that was popular to study is coral: it hardens when it is taken out of the water and it was not possible to call it a plant or an animal by traditional ambiguous definitions. It was even entertained that it could be a kind of mineral [25]. Corals are important to the Cabinet of Curiosities because they represent the intersection of different fields and contain a network of meanings (which is how Ole Worm treated his specimens), but Linnaeus was not interested in correlations with alchemy or other unscientific explanations that left border areas of species that could not be classified logically and efficiently.

In the eyes of the new natural philosopher, Ole Worm's cabinet would be considered confusing and subjective, rendering it unscientific. The way Linnaeus helped turn natural philosophy into science was to form the methodological basis of the classification of plants and animals [26] (the taxa, or classifications, such as kingdom, genus, and species) which is still used today.

Charles Darwin (1809-1882) was equally important in promoting the evolution of natural history into a systematized science, as his theory of natural selection rationalized taxonomy and gave new significance to the taxa [27]. Modern genetics has grounded this science in the more objective science of chemistry, as analyzing the DNA of different creatures has allowed us to trace their natural history with more precision.

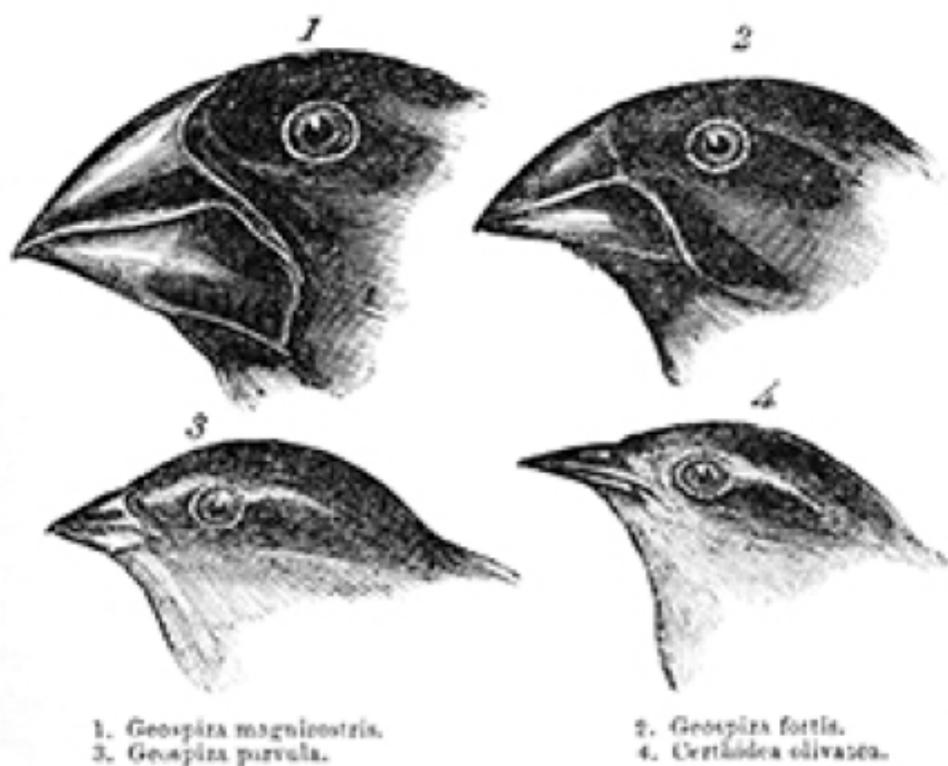


Figure 6: Observing the variation in the beaks of finches, Darwin was able to ascertain the lineage of some species

contain all the knowledge of the world. Man's understanding of nature was growing, as was the size of the world as we knew it. From then on, each field of study (for example, shells, minerals, or machines) was separated in different sections of museums, or given their own museums altogether, so as to present them in detail and in context.

The Cabinet of Curiosities' eclectic jambalaya of collected objects had lost its legitimacy, and became what it is today: an enjoyable space containing curious objects that do not claim to fit into comprehensive narratives. As the forerunner of the modern museum, the Cabinet of Curiosities remains a fascinating concept, and cabinets themselves are still stimulating experiences.

Much like how Linnaeus's classifications distinctly separated different species, Cabinets of Curiosities became dismantled and divided into more specialized collections. It no longer made sense to contain nature in rooms of shells, taxidermied animals, minerals, pottery, art, and machines all together. With the explosion of knowledge generated by the classification of nature, one room could no longer

The Redpath Museum's character and history closely follows the story of the Cabinet of Curiosities. As Susan Sheets-Peyson writes in her *Cathedrals of Science*:

"The collections which fall first into its possession at the time of organization exerted a major influence upon the character of a museum... For Montreal's Redpath Museum and the natural history museum at La Plata [Argentina], the core collections were originally the private natural history cabinets of their first directors." [28]

Susan Sheets-Pyenson discusses in her paper how colonial museums were largely dependent on a single curator for their contents, which resulted in personalist exhibits much like those of their predecessors: European cabinets of curiosities. William Dawson, the founder of the museum, was an obstinate creationist who wrote books attacking Darwin's theory of evolution, particularly by trying to show how modern discoveries confirmed Biblical stories like the Great Flood [29]. He was interested in working within the science of Linnaeus's classification, but his collection, which reflected how he saw the world, was not interpreted using natural selection and evolution. As new directors inherited the museum and the positive consensus about evolution and other explanations for natural phenomena gained popularity and confirmation, the Redpath Museum became an institution that was more and more a channel of modern, peer reviewed, experimentally confirmed scientific thought.

Regardless, today we can look at the museum's dinosaurs, minerals, and preserved animals, and experience the same appreciation, awe, and piety that William Dawson surely felt towards his cabinet of curiosities. It is not unfair to say that the Redpath Museum on the whole still is a cabinet of curiosities. Nature is beautiful, and all ways of interpreting it share an inherent kind of worship. Whether religiously, scientifically, pedagogically, politically, medically, or economically motivated, I contend that the essence of the Cabinet of Curiosities, and by extension, the modern museum, has been much the same for centuries. It is a space in which we marvel at the natural world, and learn to appreciate the environment, earth, and universe that we exist in.

So the next time you enter the Redpath Museum, stop for a moment at the Curiosity Cabinet and consider its immense historical, philosophical, and cultural background. It contains seahorses, part of the largest collection of seahorses on earth [30], a taxidermied Carolina parakeet, now extinct, and some interesting minerals which will surely make you more curious about the world, and encourage you to explore the entire museum. It is a place where we have the opportunity to discuss what we know, what we want to know, and how everything we know relates to everything else we know: it is a place you can enjoy no matter how you see the world.

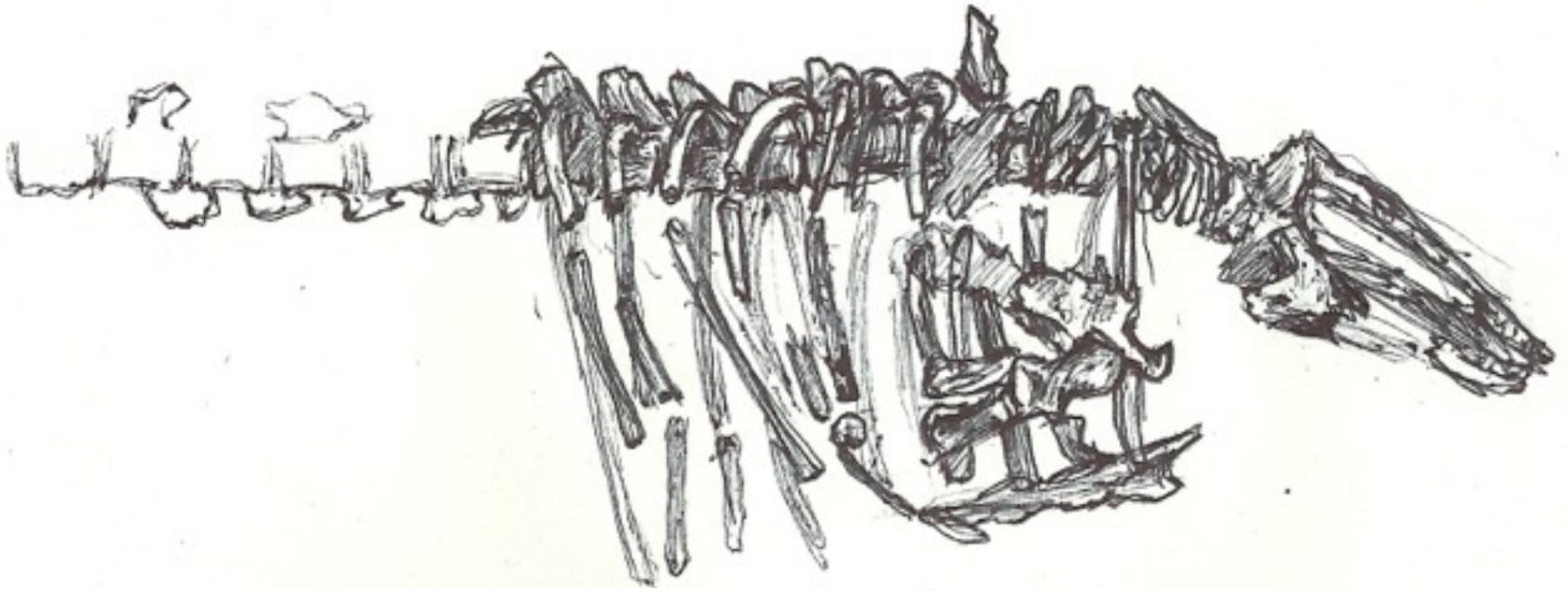
Welcome to the Cabinet of Curiosities!

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Sarah Popov- *Whale Skeleton, Anteater & Baboon*



2

EOZOÖN CANADENSE AND PRACTICAL SCIENCE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

By Rachael Ripley

This is a presentation of an artifact from the McCord Museum in Montreal, labelled *Eozoon Canadense*, some unique fossil specimens of McGill University, 1874-76. “The dawn animal of Canada,” as the Latin name describes it, enjoyed a brief but exciting life as the most ancient organism ever to be unearthed in the 19th century. The biography of this artifact reveals a salient shift toward a more practical engagement with the material world, in terms of the thinking and efforts of the scientist who identified it, as well as the scientific community writ large.

Sir William Dawson, the scientist who claimed to identify the organic nature of *Eozoön canadense*, had passionate interests in geological fieldwork and practical science education, which informed his relationship with this 'fossil'. During his academic training at Nova Scotia's Pictou Academy, Dawson developed a solid foundation in the classics: Latin and Greek [1]. The antique subject matter, and rote method by which Dawson learnt it, were typical of 19th century academic institutions. Higher educators did not appreciate research, fieldwork, or the pursuit of the sciences for their own sake. However, Dawson spent much of his spare time devouring texts on geology and natural history, and exploring the natural landscape around Pictou, venturing as far as the petrified forest at South Joggins. These exploratory trips yielded Dawson an enormous collection of “minerals, shells, and other natural objects” which he added to and shared with other Nova Scotian and Bostonian geologists and naturalists [2]. Informal networks of exchange of scientific materials and specimens were emerging in North America at this time, speaking to these disciplines' increasing interest in the potential of hands-on study. During the 1840s, Dawson was trained as an exploration geologist at the University of Edinburgh, where he was introduced to the new practice of preparing “thin sections of fossil animals and plants for the microscope.” [3] In this emergent field he was a Canadian pioneer, and his renowned mastery of microscopic study placed him in a position to authoritatively judge the nature of *Eozoön canadense*.

Dawson assumed both the principalship of McGill University and the chair of the Natural History Society in 1855. In his inaugural address at the latter, Dawson expressed his view of where science was heading, saying, “At a time when literary and scientific pursuits are so widely ramified everyone who aims to do anything well must have his special field of activity. Mine has been the study of nature, especially in those bygone aspects which it is the province of geology to investigate.” [4] The changing climate of science education in the 19th century was here shifting away from broadly-trained Renaissance men teaching subjects of all manner, toward specialization with a view to developing specific fields. Until Dawson arrived at McGill University, its teaching focussed exclusively on classics, law, and divinity; he revolutionized its educational program introducing innovative research programs in geology, biology, and the physical sciences [5]. Dawson insisted vehemently on the importance of using artifacts in teaching science, as previously students were trained, even in natural science, in the classical mode of rote memorization of Latin taxonomy. In 1871, McGill created Dawson's long-campaigned-for department of applied science, and in 1878 he was honoured with the endowment of the Redpath Museum of Natural History as a place to store his specimens and artifacts [6]. Sir William Dawson was practical and innovative as a scientist, representing in his personal and public life the values of fieldwork, practical learning, scientific specialization, and the use of artifacts to enhance teaching and research efforts. It was these values, and the public authority that they won him, that qualified Daw-

son to judge the origins of *Eozoön canadense*. The artifact being discussed would have been typical material for a new generation of scientists studying the natural world more directly.

The Geographical Survey of Canada provided the necessary context for the discovery of *Eozoön canadense*, its assessment, and subsequent significance in the scientific world of the 19th century. During the watershed of the Industrial Revolution, Canada was – following failed railway investments – financially destitute, and coal was becoming an extremely valuable commodity in the international market. Although the Canadian government had little interest in advancing the sciences for their own sake, the inventory sciences had the potential to provide for the province financially. The development of an internationally competitive industrial economy “would depend to a considerable extent on a viable mining industry.” [7] Thus, in September of 1841, the Canadian Legislature passed a resolution granting resources to a province-wide geographical survey, with the hope of discovering valuable mineral deposits like coal. In 1842, the Geological Survey of Canada – the country's first scientific agency – came into being [8]. In the same year, Sir William Edmond Logan, an amateur geologist, was appointed the first director of the Survey. Under his auspices, an enormous quantity of mineral samples were compiled for exhibition in Canada's contribution to the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations in London in 1851, which toured again in 1855 to the Universal Exposition in Paris. In light of the success of these endeavours, Logan was granted funds to establish a museum of geology at the Survey's home base in Montreal [9]. Here again we see the development of interest in the materiality of science, and by what avenues the international scientific and lay communities engaged with it. Dawson himself was deeply interested in the Survey, and in his annual address as president of the Natural History Society of Montreal in 1864, lauded its “practical and scientific results, and as greatly raising the scientific reputation of [the] country.” [10]

In 1858, Logan received a collection of unusual rocks discovered by a Surveyor from the Grand Calumet limestone on the Ottawa River, similar to others which he had received earlier. He became convinced that these were fossils by their formal similarity [11]. In 1859, Logan exhibited these specimens to the American Association in Massachusetts, and in the same year described them in the *Canadian Naturalist and Geology of Canada* [12]. In 1862, Logan brought them to England. Despite attempts to convince the scientific community of the organic nature of these remains in print and person, he failed to generate consensus. Logan's dual efforts toward acquiring legitimacy for his assessment in print, through scientific journals, and materially, by exhibiting the artifacts to different scientific institutions, demonstrate both the traditional textual nature of scientific communication and the new, materially-oriented direction in which it was headed. In 1863, similar specimens were discovered by the Survey in Grenville. At this time, Logan decided to prepare some microscopic slides from the most recent discovery to send to Dawson for examination [13]. In Dawson's words,

“[He] has had the happiness to submit these remarkable specimens to microscopic examination, at the request of Sir W. E. Logan, and have arrived at the conclusion that they are of animal nature, and belong to the very humblest type of animal existence ... The discovery of this remarkable fossil, to be known as the Eozoön canadense, will be one of the brightest gems in the scientific crown of the Geological Survey of Canada.” [14]

The scientific community at large was henceforth almost entirely convinced of the faunal nature of this “dawn animal of Canada,” supposed to be representative of the first living organism in the history of the earth. Throughout this period, many organized surveys in the field of geology were undertaken and material specimens exchanged which produced discoveries that challenged existing beliefs and hypotheses via their direct interaction with natural objects. *Eozoön canadense* was one of these caustic discoveries, whose revelation, identification, and subsequent significance was made possible by virtue of the Geological Survey of Canada.

19th century science was profoundly institutional, reputation-oriented, and textual, but by tracing the biography of *Eozoön canadense* it is possible to discern emergent elements of a progressive trend towards a more practical engagement with the materiality of science. As mentioned earlier, Logan took pains to present specimens of the 'fossil' to authoritative, reputable institutions in North America and overseas, seeking acknowledgment of his assessment. Later, Dawson and the other *Eozoönists* received legitimation of their identification by the acceptance of their position by Britain's leading authority on Foraminifera, the genus-designate of *Eozoön canadense*, William B. Carpenter [15]. Once further specimens were unearthed in North America and Europe by geological surveying, the director of the Geological Survey of Bavaria named a new, distinct variety, and the president of the Geological Society of London made a declaration in 1870 that “the grandest feat of geological science within the last few years is the astounding extension of the scale of geological time consequent on the discovery of *Eozoön canadense*,” and that recent discoveries appeared to close the then-raging debate concerning its natural origins [16]. In fact, this did not close the debate, but Dawson's persistent answer to his opponents' challenges was that the organic nature of the specimen was “accepted by all or nearly all those best qualified to judge.” [17] Scientific authority found its locus in institutions and the advocacy of individuals with established reputations.

Publication in journals was another way that formal legitimation was pursued by 19th century scientists, but it was also the arena in which scholarly disputes were undertaken. Initially, the fossil was formally presented in a series of papers by Dawson, Logan, Carpenter and Hunt in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London in February of 1865 [18]. Various journals printed accounts of the discovery which “clearly implied the widespread acceptance of the organic origin of Eozoön.” [19] The chief editor of the Ameri-

can Journal of Science, James Dwight Dana, habitually classified *Eozoön canadense* under “primordial fossils” in the index of the publication [20]. The first challenge posed to this assessment was the 1866 article entitled “On the So-called 'Eozoonal Rock'” published in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London by mineralogists William King and Thomas H. Rowney [21]. There were exchanges in Nature, The Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, and the American Journal of Science [22]. The controversy was one of the most significant in 19th century geology, and it persisted for half a century. At the time of his death in 1899, the organic-origin side of the debate had dwindled mostly to Dawson himself and a handful of motley supporters, though he never lost his enthusiasm for the subject and was in the midst of authoring yet another paper arguing the legitimacy of his identification [23]. However, it was only through material investigation that a final conclusion could be arrived at.

Although 19th century science may be typified by the importance of institutional, reputation-based consensus and textual culture, it is possible to see where, in relation to the biography of *Eozoön canadense*, there were emergent trends toward a more practical engagement with the materiality of science. First, there were networks of exchange of specimens between scientists on both a personal and professional level. Indeed, German zoologist Karl Möbius, unconvinced of the organic assessment of *Eozoön canadense*, received 90 specimens from Logan and Dawson. Beyond this, there were collective efforts in the scientific world to accumulate natural specimens that might be displayed and available to scientists and the general public, as seen in Dawson's Redpath Museum and the efforts of the Geological Survey. Finally, scientific education was becoming more hands on, which can be seen in Dawson's endeavours to establish the necessity of artifacts as teaching aids, and of having differentiated programs of applied science. It was by way of scientific institutions, consensus of reputable scientists, and publications that legitimation for the organic nature of *Eozoön canadense* attempted to be established, but by explicit mechanisms of international exchange networks, the collection and display of artifacts, and changes in science teaching methods, an emergent scientific trend toward practical science was evidently at work.

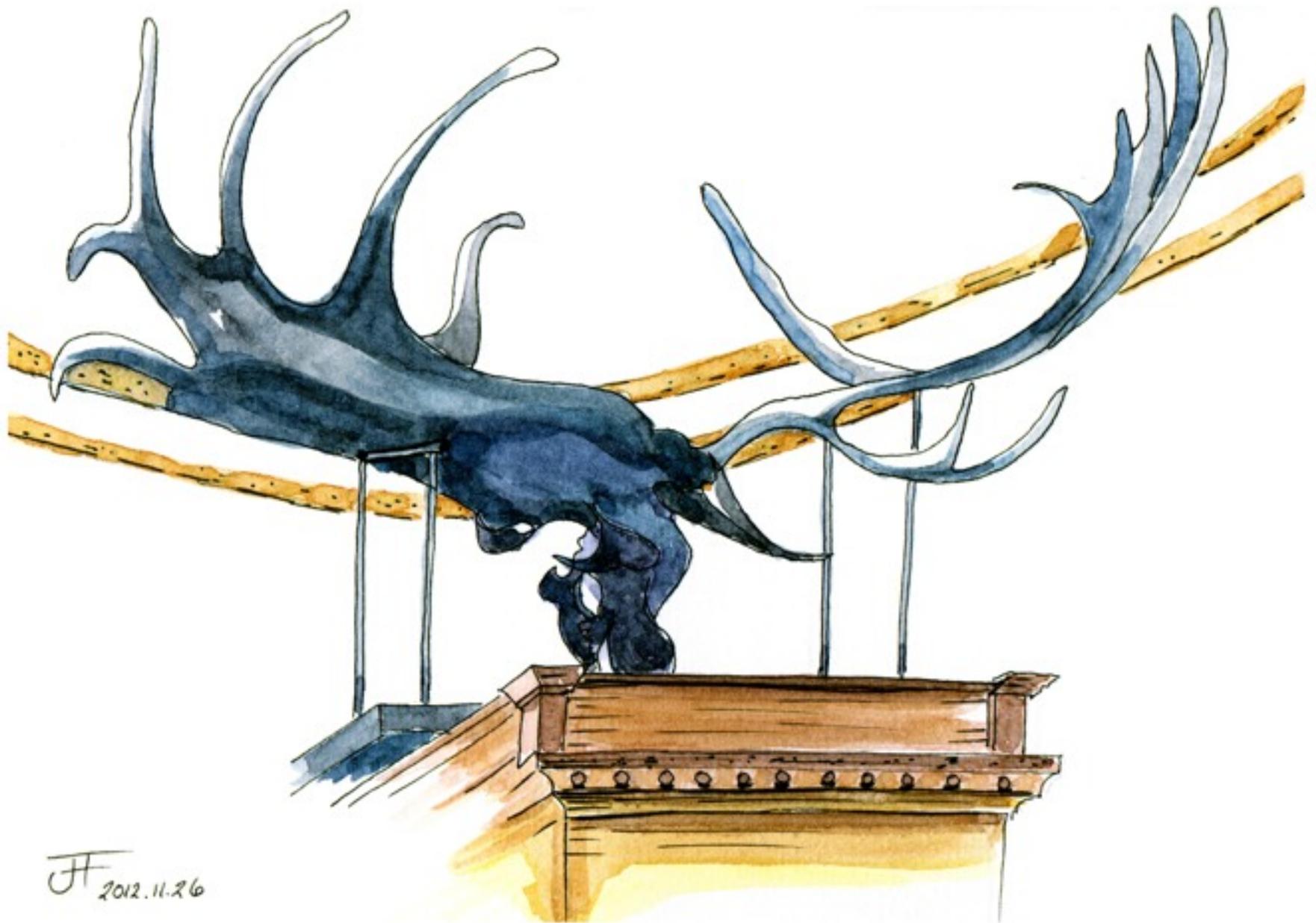
The McCord Museum's specimen of *Eozoön canadense*, and many others like it, were part of the emergence of a more material engagement with science in the 19th century. It was discovered by the Geological Survey of Canada, an intensive exercise in field work; was used as a teaching aid; was mounted in museums; travelled in international exhibitions; and was exchanged by scientists worldwide. Today, little doubt remains: *Eozoön canadense* is inorganic, but a study of its history provides valuable insight into the increasingly practical engagement with the materiality of science in the 19th century.

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JH 2012.11.26

Jane Hannah- *Giant Elk*



Figure 1: Carte géographique de la Nouvelle-France, engraving by Samuel de Champlain (1613)

3

THE LIFE OF JOHN REDPATH: A NEGLECTED LEGACY AND ITS REDISCOVERY THROUGH PRINT MATERIALS

By Michael Zhang

In Richard Feltoe's 2004 biography of John Redpath, *A Gentleman of Substance: The Life and Legacy of John Redpath (1796-1869)*, Feltoe provides not only an in-depth account of Redpath's journey from humble beginnings to his rise in becoming one of the richest industrialists in Canada, but also into the man's alleged good nature, as demonstrated by his support for the abolitionist movement. Redpath is lauded for advancing Montreal's economic infrastructure. Among his most notable contributions is the building of the Lachine Canal, which allowed for expedited shipping and major commercial expansion in the city. In addi-

tion, his sugar company, the Redpath Sugar Refinery, became one of Canada's first great corporations, and ignited an industrial revolution in Montreal. As such, the legacy that has been created is that of an innovator, a savvy businessman, and a kind-hearted gentleman. Yet, Redpath had lived the first half of his life during a time when slavery was still legal in Canada, and even in the latter half of his life, when Canada had outlawed the system of forced labour, the consequences of slavery on a global scale were still felt [1].

As a result, I believed that a businessman with such a high stature from this time period could not have so successfully built an empire without the exploitation of slave labour. The objective of this paper is to uncover whether, in the case of Redpath, his exploitation of slavery was deliberate or implicit, and to ascertain through which channels he profited from slave labour. The first step in this inquiry will be to determine how Redpath profited from the construction of the Lachine Canal during a period when the triangular trade was "active" There was no doubt that Redpath could be implicated in the triangular trade. After all, the triangular trade resulted in "the largest mass migration of coerced labor in recorded history" [2].

I endeavoured to uncover these inconvenient details in Redpath's life through the examination of contemporary prints. There were two principal reasons why I chose to limit myself to prints. Firstly, prints were generally widespread and cheap to produce. As such, they became a primary channel of visual communication used to reach the common folk. I wanted to see whether the exploitation of slavery by wealthy industrialists, such as Redpath, was well known to the general population of Montreal at the time. The second reason that I chose to limit myself to print images was that prints often promoted or served the commercial objectives of individuals, governments, or corporations [3]. I wished to see how the Redpath Sugar Refinery used the print media to promote and document their commercial endeavours and accomplishments. My analysis of prints uncovered many forgotten associations between John Redpath and slavery and its legacies. In the process of discovering the answer to that question, I uncovered another potential channel through which he could have profited from the slave trade, and in investigating that lead, I discovered yet another method of exploitation, and so on.

John Redpath's journey to becoming an industrial baron began in 1818, when he established a building and contracting firm [4]. One of the most significant assignments that Redpath's firm undertook was the excavation and construction of a canal to bypass the perfidious Lachine Rapids located at the southern end of the island of Montreal [5]. The importance of this project could not be understated. Before the Lachine Canal opened in 1824, ships could not navigate up the St. Lawrence River beyond Montreal, as they would get trapped in the force of these rapids [6]. The success of the construction project allowed for significant commercial growth for Montreal. However, the opening of the canal contributed directly to the expansion of the triangular trade and the importation of slaves and slave-

produced commodities into the province. However, as slavery was abolished in Canada in 1833, this meant that the Lachine Canal was an important part of the provincial shipping infrastructure that facilitated triangular colonial transoceanic trade for nine years. In other words, Canada, much like the United States, was enjoying prosperity that came from the exploitation of slave workers, which had just been streamlined with the opening of the Lachine Canal [7]. Yet, this fact is omitted from any biography of Redpath that I had read.

In an 1826 Parliament report, it was estimated that a structure similar in dimensions to the Lachine Canal could be erected for £145,802 [8]. Clearly, the British colonial government believed that the cost of constructing a canal on such a scale was worth the investment when compared to the loss of profit due to impassable waters. But what made the triangular trade so profitable in Montreal? The *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle-France* (fig. 1), a map engraved in 1613 by the explorer Samuel de Champlain, indicates the importance of the St. Lawrence waterway for the expanding French empire. Icons of ships mark the trade routes that could be used for navigation. What the map also shows are the defining commodities of New France, which included indigenous people, root vegetables, plants and fruits, trees, furred animals, and most noticeably, an abundance of fish of various varieties.

Of note here is the fact that the sea and various waterways account for half of the content on the map. This draws attention once again to the importance of these trade channels linking Europe to the New World. In addition, this served to depict the abundance of wealth present in the bountiful Atlantic. The cluster of detailed depictions of various species of fish serves to remind the viewer of the economic significance of the fish off the eastern coast of Canada. Fish was indeed of critical importance. A substantial amount of salt cod was exported from Canada to the American Deep South, Western Europe, and the British West Indies [9]. Salt cod would be loaded onto ships destined for these regions, where it would be exchanged for salt, sugar and tobacco from the American South and the Caribbean plantations [10], and for slaves from West Africa [11]. In addition to its use in facilitating trade, fish of lesser quality was used to feed labourers on plantations in the southern American states and in the Caribbean, as well as captured slaves on ships bound for the Americas [12].

In understanding the importance of Quebec's role in the triangular trade, it becomes evident why the Lachine Canal was urgently needed to facilitate economic growth in the province. The exchange of goods for slave workers and slave-produced commodities became one of the several ways in which John Redpath profited from slavery and its legacies.

In discussing the effects of the triangular trade, it is necessary to discuss the role of the St. Lawrence River. The St. Lawrence served as the main artery of the trade network leading to and from the province of Quebec. As such, numerous landscape prints of Montreal showcase the river, such as Robert Auchmuty Sproule's *View of Montreal from Saint Helen's Island* (fig. 2). The print depicts the St. Lawrence River in the foreground, and a hazy impression of the urban skyline in the background. a tree frames the left border of the print, while

the right side depicts an open expanse of water. Despite the title of the print, neither Montreal or Saint Helen's Island are the centerpiece of the work. Rather, the focal point of the work is an the advantageous view of the St. Lawrence [13]. The river is the route that connects Montreal from the financial activities of the rest of the world. This topographical print, like other landscape prints of Montreal from the time, was taken from “vantage points from the position of the St. Lawrence River... [and] invested in a colonial commercial... focus” [14]. In other words, the View of Montreal serves to depict the river as the facilitator of global trade and the origin of wealth and prosperity for the city.



Figure 2: View of Montreal from Saint Helens Island (1830) by Robert Auchmuty Sproule

Further, it is evident in these images that ships serve as an important icon. In View of Montreal, ships are scattered over the entire stretch of water. J.B. Harley argues that topographical scenes such as these were used to serve as a “social construction as a re-description of the world in terms of relations to power, cultural practices and priorities” [15]. We can take this to mean that a secondary objective of these images was to demonstrate the importance of Montreal and the St. Lawrence River in the grand scheme of the economic activities of the global trade network. It was because of the river that the city of Montreal could flourish, but it was because of its role in the triangular trade that rendered the St. Lawrence River useful.

Water would again play a crucial role in the prints depicting the Redpath Sugar Refinery, which would become Redpath's most profitable source of revenue. The Lachine Canal improved the economic state of the province, and made it possible for the manufacturing industry to develop in Canada. John Redpath saw this as an opportunity to open his sugar re-

finery in 1854 [16]. The success that followed is commemorated in a company-issued lithograph, *Canada Sugar Refinery, Montreal (Bird's-Eye View)* (fig. 3) [17]. There is black smoke billowing from the refinery's chimney into the clouds, almost if to suggest that the company's heights could quite literally rise to the limit of the sky. The smokestacks also signal that production is fully operational and the factory is busy at work. Yet, despite the black smoke and the association of industry to dirt and grime, the refinery appears exceptionally clean. Also of note here is the refinery's location right on the bank of the Lachine Canal. Access to water was considered to be "the single essential ingredient... required for establishing a sugar refinery" [18]. Further, the passing barge flying the flag of the British Empire suggests that the refinery is situated strategically to allow for direct access to the gateway of the Trans-Atlantic trade network. This positions the Redpath Sugar Refinery to profit significantly from the transactions of globalization [19].

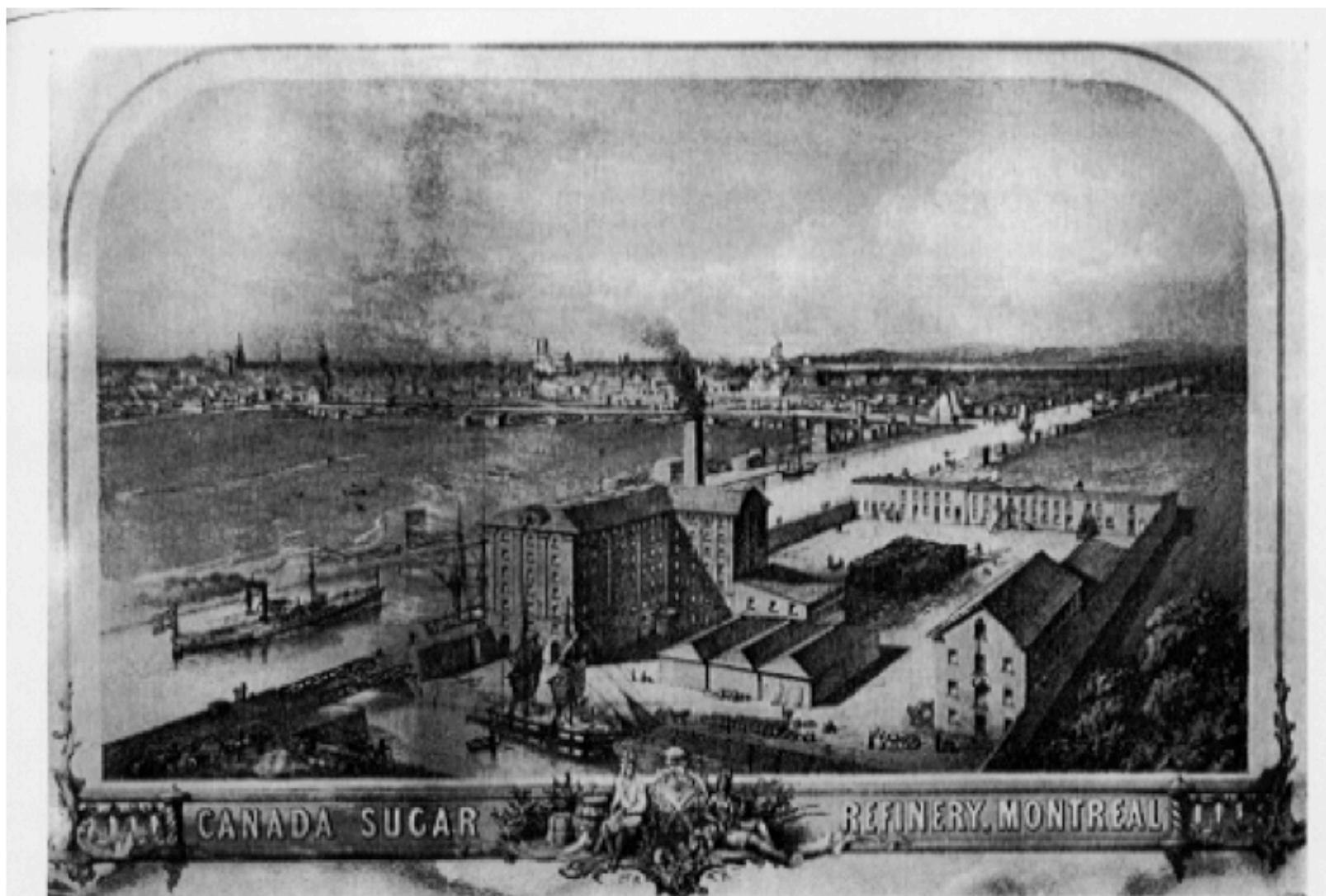


Figure 3: *Canada Sugar Refinery, Montreal (Bird's-Eye View)* (c. 1853-58) by Anonymous

As mentioned earlier, prints were affordable methods to both commemorate successes and to promote commercial objectives of a company. As such, these prints were likely to have been found in the offices of the president and other high-ranking officials within the organization [20]. Who would have seen these prints that hung on the walls these offices? Since records document that Redpath depended entirely on supplies of cane sugar imported from the West Indies, I speculate that among the viewers would have been

plantation managers from the British West Indies who were current suppliers or potential partners for the Redpath Sugar Refinery [21]. In any case, the visitor would have seen the print and noticed the refinery's size, condition and strategic location on the river bank. The print would have been effective in its mission to convince Redpath's partners that the company would be a dependable investment as a result of its strategic location for trade and distribution.

Although Redpath established his sugar refinery two decades following emancipation in Canada and the British West Indies, the ties between slavery and trade were not severed so quickly. The Redpath Sugar Refinery imported raw sugar from the British West Indies [22], where slavery was abolished in 1833. However, legal changes did not lead to overnight social acceptance as pre-conceived racial prejudices persisted, and economic and social disparities between the whites and blacks continued. In many of the colonies in the British West Indies, an apprenticeship period was introduced following emancipation. In these regions, slaves were obligated to serve as apprentices to their masters for a period of four to six years. While legally free, they still remained enthralled by the formal regulations governing these apprenticeships. They were to work forty hours and a half per week without pay [23], and "were constrained to submit in silence to every injury and comply with every demand, however iniquitous, that was made by their masters" [24]. In addition, plantation owners paid the emigration costs of indentured labourers from India, Africa and Portugal. These workers were not paid a wage, but were given food, shelter and clothing in return for their work. They signed agreements typically lasting five to ten years, and worked in conditions comparable to the black apprentices [25].

While punishments such as whipping were legally outlawed with slavery, prints such as *An Interior View of a Jamaica House of Correction* (fig. 4) serve as visual evidence that alternative methods of torture were soon introduced to bypass the law. Apprentices who were deemed to require discipline were sent to workhouses for alternative punishments, supposedly to be less severe methods of penalty than whipping. But a speech made by Lionel Smith, the Governor of Jamaica, beseeching the Jamaican House of Assembly to stop these forms of punishment proves that this was not true. The speech appears on the bottom edge of the print:

"The WHIPPING OF FEMALES, you were informed by me, officially, WAS IN PRACTICE; and I called upon you to make enactments to put an end to conduct so repugnant to humanity, and SO CONTRARY TO LAW. So far from passing an Act to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty, you have in no way expressed your disapprobation of it. I communicated to you my opinion, and that of the Secretary of State, of the injustice of cutting off the hair of females in the House of Correction, previous to trial. You have paid no attention to the subject."

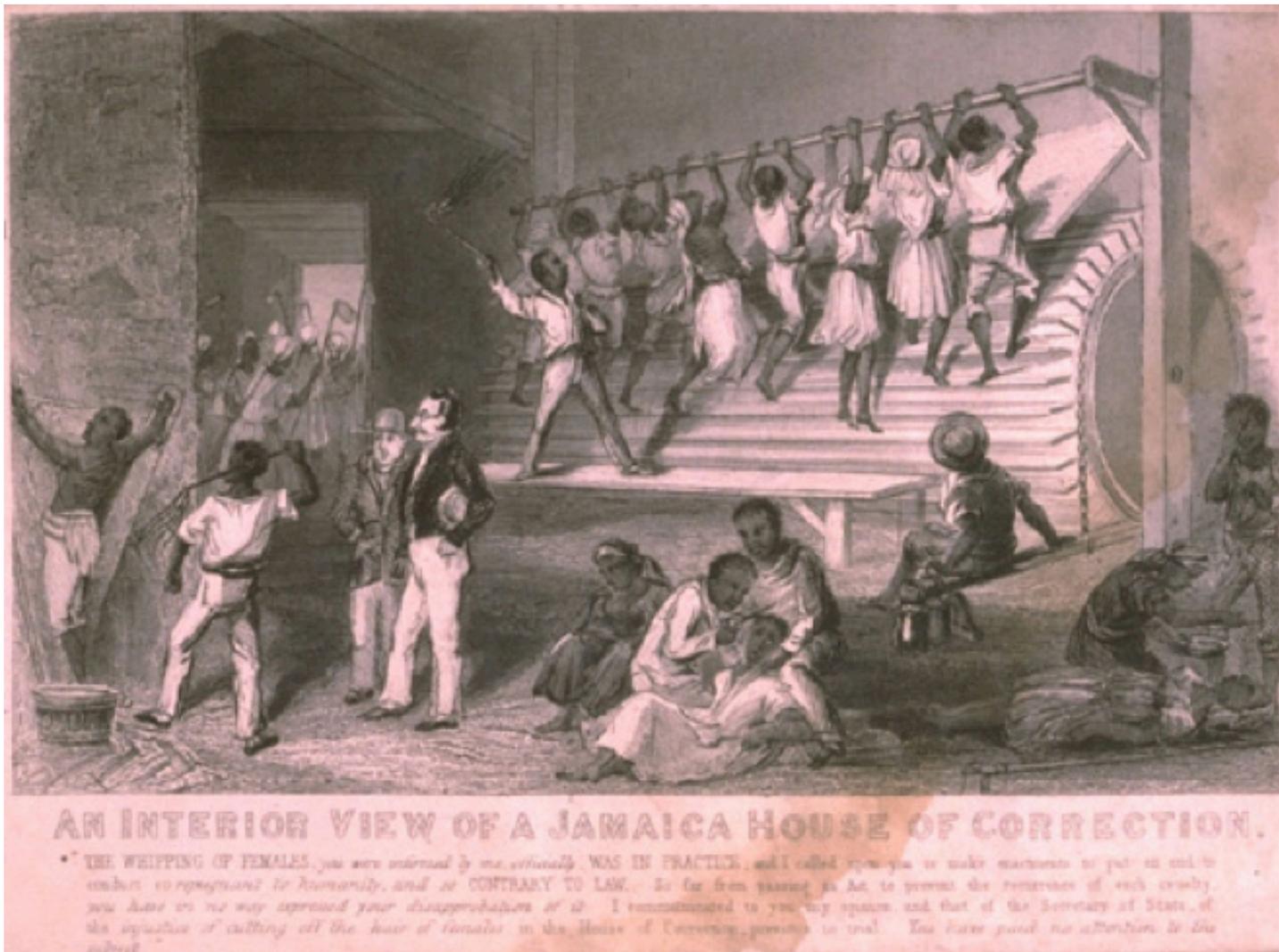


Figure 4: An Interior View of a Jamaica House of Correction (1838) by Anonymous

The nature of this speech seems to suggest that such cases of abuse were rampant throughout the British West Indies, even in the years following emancipation. But one contemporary bookseller had observed that it was the print's ability to visually capture the horror that made this print so popular [26]. In the print, indentured labourers found themselves flogged, starved, and tortured by the treadmill, a newly invented instrument of torture that was introduced, in addition to Jamaica, to Trinidad and Guyana [27]. Prisoners hung from their wrists and were made to run to spin the cylindrical drum of the treadmill. The device was made so that if a runner stopped or lost his footing, he would be dragged under the treadmill and be rolled over by the drum [28]. Moreover, a man in the left of the image is clearly seen being flogged. But of note here is that a black man is serving the role of the flogger, as two white supervisors stand behind to watch. In the foreground, a woman is restrained as her hair is being forcibly cut off [29].

The depiction of such an intense use of torture in 'An Interior View' leads to a safe assumption that former slaves who were forced to remain under the regime of their old masters as apprentices did not receive ameliorated treatment as a result of their "official" status as free men and women. Even at the end of their indentureship period, it was unlikely that these workers had many options for work. Presumably, the majority of marginalized labourers continued to work in environments where abuse was rampant.

In addition to his business transactions, John Redpath attempted to bolster his status through political affiliations. Beginning in 1849 and lasting until 1854, a movement for annexation by the United States was active in Quebec, supported mostly by inhabitants of American descent, French-Canadian nationalists and wealthy Anglophone businessmen. In 1849, the Montreal Annexation Association was formed by a coalition of several French nationalists and wealthy Anglophone industrialists [30]. Led by John Redpath as President [31], the Association's creation was in response to the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Corn Laws had guaranteed low or no tariffs for grain imported to Britain from its colonies, and its repeal meant that Canada was no longer competitive as a grain exporter to Britain. As a result, many prominent and wealthy figures in Quebec proposed annexation by the United States to recover from the economic isolation and stagnation brought upon by the repeal [32]. As the annexation movement was most prevalent in the 1850s, John Redpath and other entrepreneurs may have hoped to profit from the still-existing American system of slave labour that would push out farmers and labourers in Canada. If a system of slave labour was re-established in Canada, the prices of Canadian goods would be reduced and Canadian industrialists could once again become competitive on the global stage.

While Redpath and other members of Canada's affluent classes had substantial reason to support a political and economic union with the United States, what implications would this union have imposed upon the ordinary Canadian? The print *Little Ben Holmes* (fig. 5) depicts a blue-collar family of four pawning the British flag to Uncle Sam, while Benjamin Holmes, a Quebec banker, politician and annexation advocate, hides around the corner and looks over the scene with a mischievous smirk. The man of the household, wearing a farmer's hat, expresses his grief as he hands over the flag. Each member of the family is dressed in shoddy clothing. On the other hand, Uncle Sam stands tall in a polished suit and top hat. The family is effectively forced to sell their bond with their country to benefit the commercial interests of the wealthy. This print serves as a social commentary on reasons against annexation, and its affordability and mass distribution would have been vital in reaching



Figure 5: *Little Ben, Holmes* (1886) by John Henry Walker

and influencing the common population.

In my paper, I demonstrated how, through a system of omission and misdirection, links between Canadian slavery and those who were associated with it have been blurred. John Redpath is simply one of the numerous prominent Canadian figures whose financial and political profits from the exploitation of slave labour have been either understated or erased. I have also demonstrated the importance of the St. Lawrence River in the triangular slave trade system. I believe it is safe to say that nearly all who had worked on construction projects in harbours or those who had relied on the system of waterways for trade and profit, not only in Montreal, but on all geographical points of the triangle, were implicated in the slave trade in some degree. Whether their role was considered of little importance as to be mentioned in their biographies or if there was a deliberate intent of erasure, in either case, the portrayals of prominent men from the slave trade era should not be taken at face value.

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Images

1. Samuel de Champlain, *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle-France*, engraving by Samuel de Champlain (1613), Engraving, 20 x 25 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, Canada
2. Robert Auchmuty Sproule, *View of Montreal from Saint Helens Island* (1830), Print, 37 x 52.3 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, Canada
3. Anonymous, *Canada Sugar Refinery, Montreal (Bird's-Eye View)* (c. 1853-58), Lithograph, Redpath Sugar Museum, Toronto, Canada
4. Anonymous, *An Interior View of a Jamaica House of Correction* (1838), Frontispiece to James William's *A Narrative of Events Since the First of August, 1834*, 27 x 35 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK
5. John Henry Walker, *Little Ben, Holmes* (1886), Ink on Newsprint, 31.5 x 25.3 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, Canada



Jennifer Appel- *Gorgosaurus*



4

THE SCHOOL BAND: AN INSIGHT INTO CANADIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS AT THE McCORD MUSEUM

By Emily Baker

When critiquing museology, it is important to take into consideration which art objects are chosen for collection and display, and how these objects are contextualized within the institution through various curatorial techniques. Examining the installation and organizational choices of an exhibition can provide insight into the greater mandate of a museum and what it seeks to promote to its audience. At the McCord Museum in Montreal, institutional choices regarding didactic material, installation, and location of exhibitions allows for a better understanding of the museum's role in the preservation and presentation of Canadian

art and history. The McCord's temporary exhibition titled Honouring Memory – Canada's Residential Schools (fig. 1), on display from June 19th to October 20th 2013, provides insight into the McCord's narration of Canadian art and history, through the curatorial choices made in association with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCC). The use of didactic material, as well the design for the installation of The School Band (fig. 2) and twenty-three additional photographs on McGill College Avenue allows the viewer to get a better understanding of the museum's mandate and its role in the preservation and presentation of Canadian art and history.



A museum is a space that provides the public with the opportunity to view and learn about objects. Its mandate is to “collect and preserve objects, based on certain criteria of selection, and to give access to them.”[1] The McCord Museum is “dedicated to the preservation, study and appreciation of Montreal’s history, as recounted by its people, artists and communities living in the city’s past and present.”[2] McCord houses one of the largest collections of First Nations objects in North America, amounting to over 1.4 million artifacts that include “costumes, textiles, photographs, decorative and visual artworks and textual archives.” [3] The museum sees visitors from all over Canada and the globe, offering educational and cultural projects and activities [4], while making sure to include “objects related to the history of the working class and ‘outcast’ groups” [5] in

Figure 1. Honouring Memory – Canada's Residential Schools, June 19th 2013-October 20th 2013, 24 large-scale mounted photographs, McCord Museum, McGill College Avenue, Montreal, Canada.

Figure 2. Unknown photographer, The School Band, Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School in Lebret Saskatchewan, (about 1930), large-scale mounted photograph, McCord Museum, McGill College Avenue, Montreal, Canada.

order to provide a multifaceted view of Canadian history. When the McCord Museum was inaugurated in 1921 and under the mandate of David Ross McCord, some of the collections were created out of Victorian ideals and behaviors, which would seem inadequate and unacceptable in a contemporary museum. However, the collections today are varied and at times unconventional, making sure to provide visitors with greater insight into the development of Canadian history [6].

The Honouring Memory exhibition played an important role in representing the mandate of the McCord Museum. Through choices made for the design, display, didactic material and location of the exhibition, Honouring Memory exemplified the McCord's methods for the treatment and presentation of history. Located on McGill College Avenue between De Maisonneuve Boulevard and President Kennedy Avenue, the exhibition was on view twenty-four hours per day, seven days per week in the heart of downtown Montreal, allowing it to receive a large amount of public exposure. The message behind Honouring Memory was one that reveals “the fate of thousands of Aboriginal children who grew up in residential schools intended to eradicate all traces of their culture” [7] and exposes the Canadian government's attempt to assimilate First Nations children by honouring their stories and playing a role in the healing and reconciliation project created by the TRCC [8]. By presenting the exhibition in such a highly trafficked location, the McCord Museum allowed these stories to receive mass exposure. Author James R. Miller wrote in reference to the exposure and discussion of residential schools, that “the sin of interference [9] has been replaced by the sin of indifference.” [10] Through Honouring Memory, the museum does not allow for an attitude of indifference toward the history of residential schools, but rather does the opposite in exposing it to the public at large. The School Band was displayed along with twenty-three other images, placed in a row down a pedestrian walkway. The images were large, and each was provided with text explaining the significance of the photograph. The School Band explained how music was used as a means of “civilizing” First Nations children, and while they were encouraged to play European instruments, they were prohibited from using their own instruments (fig. 3).

By creating such a public exhibition that takes up such a large amount of physical space, the McCord Museum emphasizes its role in educating the public about residential schools and their devastating and long lasting negative implications on First Nations people.



Figure 3. Detail, Unknown photographer, The School Band, Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School in Lebret Saskatchewan (about 1930),

The School Band, through its aesthetic properties and role within the larger context of the exhibition and museum allows for the successful narration of an important aspect of Canadian history. The photograph of the band is a good example of “Euro-Canadian education completely [disrespecting] Native methods of learning” [11] and tradition. By showing how Eurocentric culture and practices were imposed upon Native students, as displayed by the Native youth posing with their European instruments, the image effectively narrates a portion of history revealing how “white-run boarding schools [intended to] eradicate [Native culture]” [12]. The visual medium of photography can suggest to its audience the notion of evidence and proof. A message can be communicated through writing, but to have a visual record of events displayed on large billboard-like structures gives The School Band and the Honouring Memory exhibition a certain legitimacy that can only be achieved through employment of the visual image. By placing the series of photographs in a row along McGill College Avenue, the exhibition produces a clear visual narrative of the history of residential schools, along with providing textual information to further iterate this aspect of Canadian history. The School Band, and its place in Honouring Memory, plays a crucial role in opposing what has been described as the “standard account” of explaining the history behind residential schooling. In this account, the schools are explained as having been “created with the best of human intention where abuse may have occurred [in isolated incidents]” [13]. However, this account minimizes the long lasting negative ramifications of the residential school system and does not properly address the problems associated with these schools [14]. By displaying The School Band and its exhibition outdoors, with clear visual, textual and didactic evidence, the McCord makes obvious the events that took place in these institutions.

The School Band, and its place among the images used to narrate an important part of Canadian history can be contextualized within the McCord Museum’s larger mandate to provide visitors with a multifaceted and comprehensive narrative of Canadian art and history. Honouring Memory, through various curatorial techniques, follows through with its purpose to “inform all Canadians about what happened in the one hundred and fifty year history of residential schools” [15] and proves its mission within the McCord Museum to participate in the healing and reconciliation process.

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Suzanne Marinier- *Gorgosaurus*



‘Triceratops’- Courtesy of Jane Hanna of the Montreal Sketching Club

5

**THE MUSEUM OF MEMORIES: HISTORIC ARCHITECTURE AND THE
PHENOMENOLOGY OF PERSONAL MEMORY**

By Kathryn Yuen

The past is not dead. Certain places and spaces evoke rich memories so that the past becomes present. It is this ability to bring the past into the present in ways that can be personal or collective, but also voluntary or involuntary, that gives an enormous amount of diverse power to memory. Memory is significant to the functioning of historical museums, particularly in a contemporary society, because it activates the present day viewer in relation to history in a highly personal way, and it allows the past to intermingle with the present. McGill’s Redpath Museum demonstrates that the past and historic styles of architec-

ture continue to live on today. Because of this, buildings like Redpath Museum provide an important niche in our contemporary culture: one that consistently grounds us in contrast to the rest of society that is becoming increasingly focused on the future. Despite the fact that there are a growing number of museums fashioned with contemporary architectural styles and futuristic materials, museums with historic architecture are still necessary today.

Architecture, in relation to museology, is defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) as “the art of designing and installing or building a space that will be used to house specific museum functions, more particularly the functions of exhibition and display, preventive and remedial active conservation, study, management, and receiving visitors” [1]. This paper will specifically discuss museum architecture within the context of traditional spaces, how architectural designs may be used to historically date space, and how this affects viewers physically and emotionally in terms of phenomenology and memory. These museological issues on historic architecture will then be applied to McGill University’s Redpath Museum as a case study. By looking at the Redpath Museum, this paper will demonstrate that historic forms of architecture still play an important function within contemporary culture and society because historic architecture has the power to activate the viewer through memory. This paper will argue that historic forms of architecture encapsulate Walter Benjamin’s concept of the “aura,” which allows the viewer to become submerged in a textually rich environment of a specific time period. The resulting powerful phenomenological response in the viewer transforms the past and historical memories, allowing them to become current through the filter of one’s own personal and contemporary memories. At Redpath Museum, it is one’s personal memories that become indirectly put on display.

The Architectural History of the Redpath Museum

In 1880, Peter Redpath commissioned the Redpath Museum in celebration of the 25th anniversary of McGill’s principle Sir William Dawson. Architects A.C. Hutchison and A.D. Steele designed the Museum, which is now known for being the first and oldest building in Canada that was built with the sole purpose of being a museum [2]. Its function as a natural history museum is clearly reflected in the architecture, as Hutchison and Steele specifically designed the second floor to be one large open space, in anticipation of the museum’s intent to display large prehistoric creatures [3]. As a result of the open space concept for the second floor, the third floor is reduced to a mezzanine – a balcony like structure that wraps around the entire museum, and looks out overtop of the second floor (fig. 1) [4].

In addition to function, the style of the Redpath Museum also plays a part in contributing to its purpose as a museum. Hutchinson and Steele combined a variety of architectural styles such as Victorian Classicism, North American Greek Revival, and some ancient European influences in order to reflect the diversity of the museum’s students and faculty [5]. Greek Revival architecture was specifically requested because it emulated the style of the



Figure 1: The second floor atrium and the third floor mezzanine (c. 1910)

great nineteenth century universal survey museums and natural history museums in Europe [6]. It is physically characterized by elements such as columns with Ionic and Corinthian capitals, pediments, and a juxtaposition of straight and curved wall surfaces – all which are particularly prominent in the exterior of the Redpath Museum [7]. The back of the building is rounded, which creates a space to accommodate the auditorium on the interior, but also works in contrast with the rest of straight linearity of the sides and front of the museum (fig. 2). The front of the museum features a grand staircase that leads up to massive heavysset doors, which lies underneath a set of Corinthian columns topped with a pediment, all adding up to create the sense of a singular prescribed entrance (fig. 3). This sense of grandeur is continued as one passes through the front doors and steps inside, where more columns are featured, (fig. 5) followed by a main hallway with particularly high ceilings that feature intricate crown moulding, and a magnificent staircase on the right that leads up to the main gallery space on the second floor. Since the nineteenth century, the original structure of the Redpath Museum has remained unchanged, even though its surroundings have become crowded by other buildings, such as the addition of the Leacock Building directly behind it [8]. However, the Redpath Museum continues to be one of the prominent and identifiable landmark structures on campus today: its variety of architectural styles allows it to stand out amongst its neighbours over time.



Figure 2: The exterior of the Redpath Museum from the back

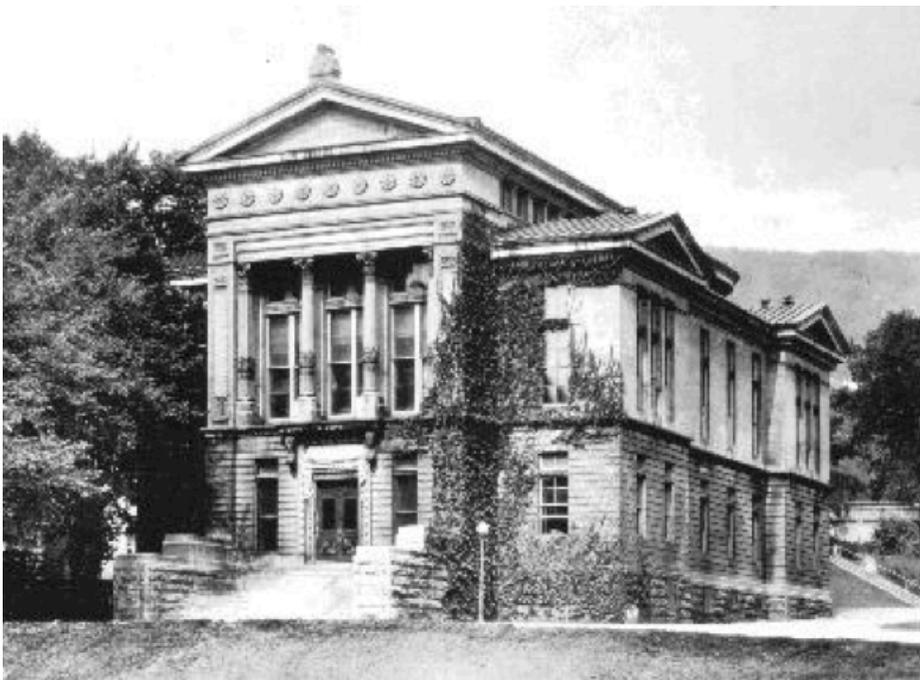


Figure 3: Exterior of the Redpath Museum (c. 1882)

Walter Benjamin's "Aura"

The Redpath Museum has the rare quality that Benjamin calls the "aura," in that its historic architecture is traditional, non reproducible, ritualistic, and it has an ineffable essence. For Benjamin, "that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of a work of art," [9] a notion that is easily realized today, as fewer and fewer buildings that express 'the aura' exist in our technology-based culture. There is a general trend in contemporary museum architecture that consists of clean white walls, glass, and metal, in order to create a factory like setting and mentality that can be easily reproduced in different museum buildings. At McGill, and in Montreal more generally, there is an effort to maintain older and more historic buildings that are traditional, rather than to rebuild [10]. The Redpath Museum is fortunate enough to receive an extreme amount of care and maintenance, and it has undergone some minor internal changes to the architecture, such as changing the linoleum floors to new hardwood ones, or shrinking the main gallery space in order to make

room for offices and laboratories [11]. What is important is that the original authentic structure is maintained. It is this original architectural structure that injects the Redpath Museum with the aura, because it creates a sense of ritual that triggers an ineffable response in the body of the viewer that is beyond intellect.

Historic and traditional forms of architecture, such as those used to create the Redpath Museum, have the aura because they construct a unique space with a sense of ritual. For Benjamin, "it is significant that the existence of the work of art with reference to its aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function...the unique value of the 'authentic'



Figure 4: Main gallery space on the second floor, encircled by the third floor mezzanine (Image by Robert Tea – Published in Technophilic Magazine 2012)

work of art has its basis in ritual” [12]. Like ceremonial architecture, the architecture of the Redpath Museum has a ritual function, because it guides all viewers through the gallery space in the same prescribed way [13]. The architecture of the building creates an architectural script in terms of the layout of the rooms, the floors, the sequence of collections and how the collections are displayed [14]. For example, the third floor of the Redpath Museum is a mezzanine that encircles and overlooks the second floor’s main atrium space (fig. 4). As a result, it forces viewers to walk around the edge of the museum, and only allows them to view the World Cultures Collections in a specific order. Furthermore, these artifacts are set up in a way that resembles how venerated and religious objects are displayed in shrines and temples [15]. All of the artifacts are set up with the purpose to be displayed. Some artifacts, such as the minerals, are even exhibited in the original glass cabinets from when the Redpath Museum was first opened, and therefore maintain ties to the traditional. The dinosaur bones, such as the Triceratops skull and the Gorgosaurus skeleton are also set up like religious statues, as they are propped up in a central location in the main gallery and are brilliantly lit (fig. 5). This kind of architectural structure and display that uses a scripted sequence of artifacts, lighting, and traditional cases becomes ritualistic, because all viewers are exposed to this exact same space, yet each viewer still has their own way of personally experiencing it.



Figure 5: Dramatic lighting under the Gorgosaurus (2012)

Phenomenology and the Redpath Museum

Phenomenology, as defined by Merleau-Ponty, is the idea that the world only exists through our human consciousness, emotions, and perceptions. Tied to this is the notion that the world is never fixed, but always fluid, which causes experiences to become pluralistic. This means, in terms of art and architecture “the meaning of the work, the perceived identities of its maker and depicted subject(s) are all, then, intertwined in the act of interpretation” [18]. The phenomenology of the aura, then, can be applied to specific art objects or artifacts, but it becomes much more powerful through architecture. Instead of looking at an object that has the aura from the outside, architecture creates an environment that the viewer become submerged within, which phenomenologically evokes the aura from the inside. So, through our perceptions, the world and the subject become intertwined [19]. By directly involving the viewer inside the building, the architecture has a powerful phenomenological effect on bodily and intellectual experience.

In relation to the Redpath Museum, this aspect of phenomenology is performed because the historic architecture completely surrounds its viewers in a unique environment,

The Redpath Museum’s architecture has the aura because it evokes a personal and emotional response in viewers’ bodies that cannot be rationalized. Viewers who feel the aura at work in the Redpath Museum cherish the architecture and the structure, without knowing the exact reason why they do so [16]. This is the phenomenology of the aura, that is “somewhere beyond the reach of the intellect, and unmistakably present in some material object (or in the sensation which such an object arouses in us), though we have no idea which one it is,” [17] which suggests that the Redpath Museum can also be understood from a phenomenological standpoint.

and it has the ability to mentally transport the present day viewer to a completely different time period. The contemporary viewer then becomes part of the historic landscape created by the architecture, and as a result, is put in direct contact with the past [20]. The small kinds of architectural detailing, such as the ornate railings on the third floor, the decorative brass grates, the glow of the warm gallery lights, and the original glass and wooden cabinets at the Redpath Museum, all contribute to creating a traditional historic environment in which to place the viewer. It is the historic character of this kind of architecture that invites the viewer, or tourist, from the outside in. Then, through the ritualized process of experiencing the prescribed space and the artifacts, the viewer's status as "outsider" gradually becomes re-defined as a part of this historical architectural landscape [21]. The present day viewer becomes freed from their day-to-day activities, and is free to imagine another time period. This process of phenomenological reciprocity becomes complete when the viewer's own thoughts, emotions – and most importantly memories - become chiasmically intertwined, or put in dialogue with the historic architecture at the Redpath Museum.

Evoking Memory at the Redpath Museum

Memory is not a passive process. It is an active and powerful tool that is significant to the way that historical museums, such as the Redpath Museum, function in a contemporary society. Memory is an abstract concept that has many manifestations. It can take an intellectual or imaginative form in the brain, or a physical form that can be sensed through visual cues and ways of representation [22]. Memory is not static. Instead, it is forever changing, even though it can seem stagnant in historical museums that attempt to solidify the collective memories and meanings of the past [23]. In museums, the personal memories of the viewer collide with the collective and historic memories of the institution, city, and/or country. In these environments, both voluntary and involuntary memories and emotions are evoked, which causes past memories to mesh with those memories that are more current and present on one's mind. Furthermore, memories are even created in museums, as well as reflected upon.

Phenomenology and memory function as a system when personal, contemporary, and involuntary memories intersect with the collective historic memory of the museum [24]. When people enter museums they bring their life experiences, thoughts, and perspectives of the world with them, which congeal to create one's personal memory. So when viewers encounter certain visual cues that are part of the museum's collective memory, these visual cues may involuntarily bring back specific personal memories for the viewer about people, places, or emotions, that might have been forgotten [25]. Baudelaire describes involuntary memory as being associated with the reconstruction of the much more distant past that is triggered by visual cues and everyday objects; in contrast to how he sees voluntary memory, which is associated with social and reflexive reconstruction of the past that has more re-

cently happened [26]. The kind of personal and phenomenological recollection that occurs when one is placed within the architectural structure of the Redpath Museum can be classified as involuntary memory. It brings back memories that are specific to the visual architecture, and otherwise would not have been thought about on a general day-to-day basis. These personal and involuntary memories are often emotionally charged, because visitors are usually taken by surprise about some particular aspect of the object upon encountering it [27]. Furthermore, visitors cannot predict or control this phenomenological experience ahead of time because it is the act of being situated within the environment itself that triggers something unique and surprising [28]. This demonstrates that museums with historic architecture, such as the Redpath Museum, do trigger emotions that are beyond the reach of rational explanation, and therefore connect with the phenomenology of the aura.

The powerful phenomenological response in the viewer allows past historical collective memories to become current through the filter of one's own personal thoughts and memories that are more immediate. It is true that the historic architecture at the Redpath Museum comes from a completely different time period, is grounded in the past, and presents a collective memory. But when viewers from a contemporary society are physically inserted into this architectural space they experience the historic past through their own personal perceptions that are much more contemporary. Their own memories become a filter in which to see the past, in perhaps a new light. As a result, historic architecture from the past becomes associated with present ideas, and so the past becomes present. It is as if the historic architecture has somehow crossed a time barrier and has entered into the present. In other words, it becomes something that physically embodies the past yet somehow simultaneously exists through present perceptions [29]. As such, it is through our own contemporary phenomenological perception that makes historic architecture still relevant in our contemporary society.

These historic architectural spaces recall past thoughts and memories, yet they also play an important part in creating new memories that are wound up with the past [30]. So, again, the memories from the historic past and memories from the more recent present become tangled within each other. As such, museums like Redpath have “the capacity to stimulate our imagination and to help define us, to lift us out of our ordinary lives” [31]. This can be seen at the Redpath Museum as we become transformed by the memory of another time period that is visually represented by historic architecture, which also serves as a stimulating backdrop, or setting, where new memories are created.

A Cabinet of Memories

Ingrid Birker, the Science Outreach Administrator at the Redpath Museum, exemplifies how memories are created by the historic architecture itself. Birker explains that the old iron doorknobs on the front entrance doors have a highly visceral and personal meaning

for her, because they represent her first physical connection to the museum. In the summer of 1981, there was a job opening at the Redpath Museum. After some brief research in preparation for this job, she found out that the Redpath Museum was not only the oldest museum in Canada, but that it also had some of the biggest doors in Canada [32]. Upon arriving, the doorknobs were literally her first physical connection to the museum. Today they possess the memory of when she applied for the job at the Redpath Museum [33]. In addition, Birker recalls that these doorknobs are in fact the originals that were chosen by the architects Hutchinson and Steele back in the 1880s, and they are meant to match the railings on the third floor mezzanine [34]. She explains that because these are extremely old, original, and unique doorknobs, the museum needs to call a specialized locksmith to fix the knobs when they fall off (at least once a year) due to extreme changes in rising or falling temperatures [35]. So, for Birker, these doorknobs have not only created a memory within her mind, but it can be said that the doorknobs themselves also have a mind of their own.

The old cabinet in room 102 also holds highly personal memories for Birker. William Dawson created this cabinet in 1889, specifically for women's classes [36]. During this time, women were segregated, and had to be taught exclusively by Dawson where they had a separate entrance, and a separate cabinet to hang their coats, hats, and note bags [37]. This cabinet was built into the wall, so it could not be removed. Today the original cabinet still stands with its original glass doors, however the wooden shelves have been replaced with new ones [38]. For Birker, this old cabinet holds a personal soft spot for her because her desk was placed next to the cabinet when she first started working at the Redpath Museum as a curatorial administrator [39]. As such, the historic architecture at the Redpath Museum truly becomes a place where new memories are created but also forever preserved.

Concluding Remarks

By using McGill University's Redpath Museum as a case study, this paper has demonstrated that historic forms of architecture still play a significant part in our contemporary culture and society today. The Redpath Museum's historic architectural structure encapsulates Walter Benjamin's concept of the "aura." The building is old, non reproducible, and maintains ties to the traditional because it has been preserved in its original state since its construction in 1880. In addition, the Redpath Museum has a ritualistic quality in the way the architectural structure guides viewers in a prescribed way and also presents artifacts as if they are important religious statues. Both of these qualities of the Redpath Museum's historic architecture generate a unique ineffable response in the viewer, and allows for a phenomenological interpretation of the building. The aura of the historic architecture at the Redpath Museum allows the viewer to become submerged in a textually rich environment of a specific time period. This means that the viewer is directly inserted into the space, so they are phenomenologically experiencing the aura as a part of the architecture itself,

rather than looking at an art object that has the aura from the outside. As a result, the viewer (subject) and the architecture (object) are intertwined through the process of reciprocity, while the viewer simultaneously interprets the Redpath Museum's architectural environment from their own unique perspective, emotions, and memories. This powerful phenomenological response in the viewer pivots on personal memory as a powerful tool. The past and historical memories become transformed through the filter of one's own personal and contemporary memories, which makes the Redpath Museum's historic architecture current. The distant and historical memories of the past further mesh with more recent contemporary memories, since new memories can also be created within the space of the Redpath Museum. So the past is not truly dead; it is alive within the historic architecture of the Redpath Museum, which reveals the points of intersection between the historic past and the viewer's own personal present memories.

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14
REDPPT# MUSEUM.
RANGIFER TARANDUS + CANIS LUPUS
(CARIBOU ET LOUP GRIS).

Suzanne Marinier- *Canis Lupus*



6

IF THESE WALLS COULD TALK: THE ASSORTED HISTORY OF 4465 AND 4467 BLVD. ST LAURENT

By Kathryn Kotar and Meghan Walley

The ability to contextualize archaeological data is essential to the understanding of any site. One of the benefits of historic archaeology is the depth of background knowledge that can be gleaned from a variety of sources. The objective of our research was to construct a reliable chronology of a property built in the urban setting of Montreal for subsequent analysis and discussion. Our research centered on what was formerly the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, located at 4465 and 4467 Blvd. St Laurent. We selected this building for its dynamic appearance. Banners advertising nightclubs were juxtaposed against the build-

ing's elegant 1930s façade while “for rent” signs hung in the dingy windows. The architecture clearly indicated an older establishment, which had been repurposed, perhaps numerous times, and we suspected that such a location would possess a rich history.

Although we consulted a multitude of library resources, including maps and newspaper archives, Lovell's directories of Montreal [1] provided the majority of useful information. We were able to trace the Bank and associated establishments from inception in 1933 to 2000. Unfortunately, the complete collection until present day was not available online, and recent history was (counter intuitively) more difficult to find. We used more modern web and social media resources to determine when each installation opened and closed. In general, these results are more piecemeal than the general overview provided by Lovell.

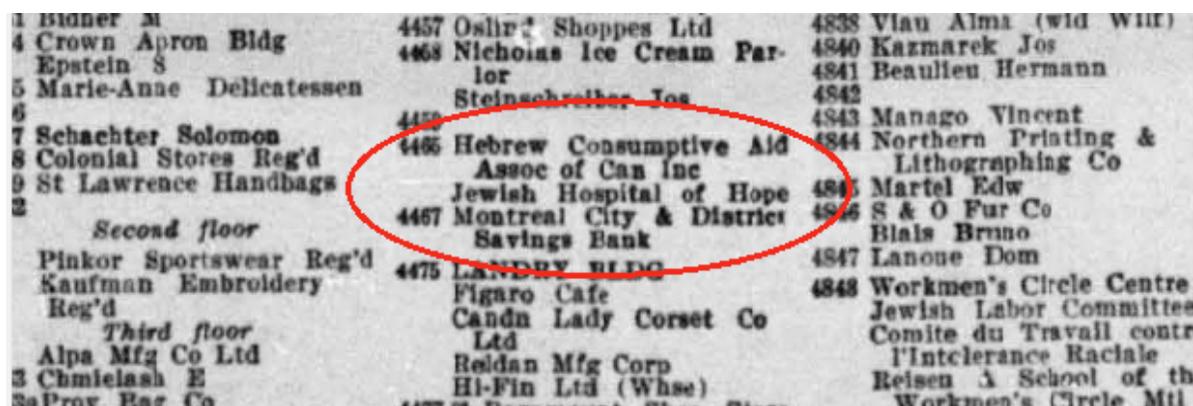


Figure 1: A snapshot of information gathered from the Lovell directories of Montreal. (1842-.)

The building's initial mandate as a bank was readily apparent from bilingual signs above each door. A cursory search revealed the site was built as a branch of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank (Banque d'Épargne de la Cité et du District) in 1933. T. Taggart Smyth [2] described the first hundred years of this institution in a centennial publication. He mentioned an upswing and stabilization of the global economy after the Great Depression around 1933 [3]. While we were initially puzzled by the establishment of a bank amidst fiscal chaos, perhaps the construction was supported by dawning optimism. The architect behind the project, Frederick Dumfries, was responsible for numerous banks and commercial properties around Montreal – including another Savings Bank on St Denis [4]. This location is remarkably similar in appearance to our building. This style was representative of the prevalent architectural trends in the 1930s.

Our initial observations suggested that the Bank included both 4465 and 4467 St Laurent, as its name is inscribed above both doors. Lovell placed the edifice at both addresses from 1934-1935. However, the building was quickly split into two localities between 1935-1936, as the Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association of Canada Inc. entered the picture. We were unable to determine why the distinction of addresses occurred. Nevertheless, the latter organization signaled a long-term trend in the building's tenants. From this point until 1968, 4465 St Laurent was continuously occupied by Jewish health services and sick benefit associations. The emphasis on public aid continued with clinics, rehabilitation centers, and

addiction treatment facilities. A notable progression is the religious shift to secularization of Quebec medical care, and an increasing governmental role framed against the backdrop of the Quiet Revolution. Further discussion and explanation of these directions are continued below. It is important to note that numerous occupations occurred simultaneously at 4465 St Laurent. As many as nine installations were present at one time, mostly during the 1940s to 1950s. We were unable to reliably identify some inhabitants, although the longest and most interesting (in our opinion) inhabitants are elaborated upon in the discussion (Fig. 2).

The Bank was one constant over many years of building occupation. Lovell revealed the institution temporarily moved to 4473 St Laurent for two years between 1960-1962. They quickly returned, and we have been unable to explain the reason for this short relocation. In contrast, the neighboring locality featured a variety of inhabitants for decades. The 1990s introduced a new move towards the growing St Laurent nightlife. The Sporting Club de Montreal began a line of partying hotspots that continued with Club Lambi – which unfortunately closed in 2013. Finally, our long-standing Bank underwent a name change to La Banque Laurentienne in 1987 and was terminated as a branch in 2000. It was replaced by Club L’Orage – whose spotty history will be described below – and Club Blvd 44, both of which have now shut down or moved [5]. Both addresses are now vacant for the first time since 1934.

Occupants of 4465 St. Laurent	Years of Occupation
Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association of Canada Inc.	1935-1968
Council of Orthodox Jews	1936-1938
King George Sick Benefit Association	1938-1956
North End <u>Wilkomirer</u> Sick Benefit Association	1938-1956
Independent Hebrew Sick Benefit Association	1941-1956
Jewish Hospital of Hope	1943-1968
<u>Montefiore</u> Protective and Sick Benefit Association	1946-1952
<u>Mtl</u> Joint Council ILGWU	1946-1950
Maccabees	1946-1948
<u>Modin</u> Hire No.36	1946-1947
<u>Société de service sociale aux familles</u>	1970-1974
Clinique Luso	1980-1982
Entraide <u>Domremy</u>	1985-1990
Association <u>Québécoise</u> personnes ressources en alcoolisme dans l'industrie	1986-1988
<u>Sporting Club de Montreal</u>	1990-2006
Club Lambi	2006-2013

Occupants of 4467 St. Laurent	Years of Occupation
<u>Montreal Savings Bank</u> *	1934-2000**
Club L’Orage	2000-2011
Club <u>Blvd 44</u>	2011-2013

*Note name change to La Banque Laurentienne in 1987.

**Occupation interrupted between 1960-1962 for reasons unknown.

Figure 2: A complete list of inhabitants and their length of occupation

The Plateau neighborhood was home to the Jewish community of Montreal for the first half of the 20th century [6]. Around this time, many sick benefit societies were established as large numbers of Jewish immigrants were arriving in Canada alone and without money. These immigrants were forced to take up “lowly” trades in order to survive [7], but bereft of universal health care, could not afford to pay doctor’s bills if they became ill [8]. Sick benefit societies functioned as insurance companies, paying their members’ medical bills as well as compensating them for their days off work [9]. Moreover, sick benefit societies provided a sense of community to newcomers and allowed immigrants to achieve status in their communities [10]. Through group cohesion, members were able to adjust to life in Canada [11] and find some relief from the devastating anti-Semitism [12] they often experienced. There were also career opportunities for members within the societies, with great potential for upward mobility [13]. In addition, the social connections gained through sick benefit society membership offered outside business opportunities, allowing immigrants to root themselves in the broader Montreal community [14].

Beyond their membership, these organizations sought to enrich Montreal through charitable contributions. The Jewish General Hospital was built largely through contributions made by sick benefit societies [15]. The sick benefit societies occupied 4465 Blvd. St. Laurent from 1941 to 1956 and overlapped with the Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association of Canada, and Hospital of Hope during those years. It is likely that this property functioned as a multi-faceted medical center that filled the needs of the surrounding Jewish community. It is also probable that these sick benefit societies were subsumed under the Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association as the sick societies contributed financially to its growth.

The Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association of Canada was founded in the 1920s as the first English-speaking, non-sectarian hospital for chronic care in Quebec [16]. Their first Hospital of Hope was established in the Papineau neighborhood of the island [17], following the spread of Jewish railroad workers east of the Plateau [18]. It is likely that smaller satellites were established, such as the Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association and Hospital of Hope present at 4465 St. Laurent Blvd. from 1935 to 1968. In 1993, the Jewish Hospital of Hope moved to the borough of Cote-des-Neiges, which is now home to the Jewish General Hospital and an extensive Jewish community. This transition was largely due to the demands of the Jewish population, which no longer occupied the eastern stretches of Montreal [19].

As the Jewish population moved away from Papineau and the Plateau, social service centers such as clinics and rehabilitation centers began to occupy the property. This might be associated with the rise of social programs and universal healthcare in Canada. It is also probably associated with the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, which saw the secularization of society and creation of a welfare state. This type of occupation continued for many years,

suggesting that one of the main functions of this area was to house government-run social programs.

Blvd. St. Laurent has been associated with a vibrant nightlife since the 1920s, when Prohibition brought American tourists north of the border. Around the turn of the 21st century, swingers clubs in Montreal were gaining popularity, and what has been described as a “verifiable sub-culture” [20] was established. Between the 1990s and present day an array of clubs occupied this property. The most notorious occupation of 4465 Blvd. St. Laurent began on January 15th, 1998, when a swingers’ club called Club L’Orage, owned by Jean Paul Libaye, opened for business [21]. In 2000, Club L’Orage’s location on St. Dominique was raided by the police and 42 people were arrested [22]. The police were accused of wasting resources and, in 2003, the Montreal Municipal Court ruled that “contemporary Canadian society tolerates ...sexual exchanges [that] take place in private,” [23] thus allowing Club L’Orage (now at its St. Laurent location) as well as an estimated 15 other swingers’ clubs in Montreal [24] to continue operation. In 2002, Club L’Orage allegedly had 3000 members of varying backgrounds, the majority of whom were financially well-off middle-aged couples [25]. The club remained open until 2011, when it was replaced by Blvd 44.

There were many times throughout this exercise when we felt like detectives more than archaeologists. While examining directories and archives may seem very un-Indiana Jones, we can definitely settle for Sherlock Holmes. Our location was selected almost randomly, so we were constantly surprised by the amount of interesting tenants and their context within contemporary times. Their presence provoked unexpected research and, at times, reflected the broader cultural surroundings of Montreal. One address was able to represent the city’s dynamism and change throughout the decades – this branching-off demonstrates the many facets of archaeological research. Far from digging trenches, our discipline spans various media and methods. 4465 and 4467 St Laurent may currently be vacant, but we have no doubt it will evolve.

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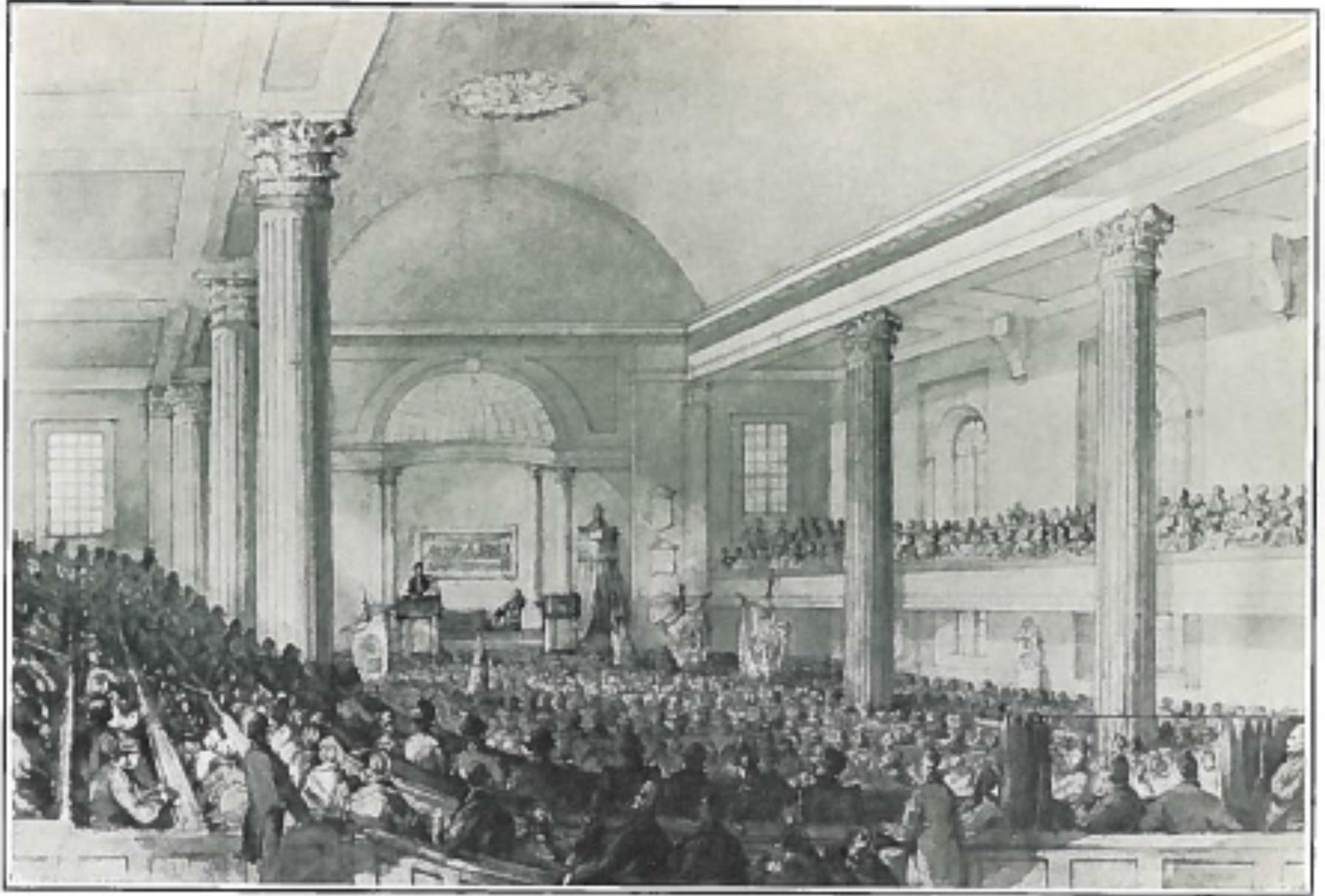
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Marc Holmes- Redpath Animals



THE INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL

(Second Church, Notre Dame Street) as it appeared on Thursday, November 16th, 1852, being the day of the Funeral of His Grace F. M. the Duke of Wellington.) From a sepia drawing by J. Duncan in the McCord Museum of McGill University).

7

HISTORY OF THE CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL IN MONTREAL

By Alex Petit-Thorne & Katrina Hannah

The Anglican Church had humble beginnings in French Montreal. The first Anglican clergymen in Canada came in 1759 [1] and by 1766 Montreal saw an “active and influential minority” of English Protestants [2]. The British Anglicans did not immediately acquire a church, but instead used other churches in off-hours until the government sold them the Jesuit church on Notre-Dame Street—near the site of the modern-day Quebec Court of Appeal—in 1789 after the extinguishment of the Jesuit order in Canada [3]. The Anglicans practiced in the Jesuit church until June 1803, when the church burned down [4]. They then built a sec-

ond church on rue Notre Dame, between what is now rue St. Sulpice and rue St. Laurent, on a site that is currently a parking lot [5]. Notably, James McGill was heavily involved in the establishment and maintenance of the Anglican Church in Montreal. In 1818, the Anglican church, in a small building on Notre Dame, had a small congregation of around 90 people and offered no Sunday school, regular school, social welfare programs or hospitals [6]. This church also burned down, on December 10, 1856, which led the committee for the building of a new church to choose the current location on St. Catherine Street, between University St. and Union St.

The contract for the new church was awarded to Brown and Watson on July 7th, 1856 and the church opened officially on November 27, 1859. The Very Reverend the Dean of Montreal, John Bethune was the first rector of the provincially appointed Anglican Parish and was the leader of the clergy in 1859. Bethune was listed under Protestant Clergy in Lovell's directory in 1859 as the primary contact for the "English Cathedral" and gave his address as being on Sherbrooke, directly opposite the property that is now Burnside Hall and that had once been a potential site for the construction of the Cathedral itself [7]. The church became officially affiliated with McGill in 1880, which has been cited as doing an "incalculable amount of good for the Diocese, which can be seen in the present list of clergy" [8]. The English community in Montreal was also heavily influenced by McGill; McGill, who donated the funds for the creation of an English university, and the Very Rev. Bethune who sat on the university funds board, was the principal and vice-chancellor of McGill University from 1835-1846, and a major leader in the Masonic Lodge of Montreal [9]. The parish is also associated with attracting many industrialists who would go on to build the commercial district of Montreal that now lies on St. Catherine street [10].

The Cathedral, as well as many other English institutions, was constructed away from the French core of the city, now called the "Old Port". The physical separation of both McGill University and the Anglican Church emphasizes the cultural relationships between the English and the French in Montreal at the time. Montreal became a part of British North America in 1763; both the financial and commercial interests of the incoming Anglophone population were allied with Quebec's upper class. This provided English Montreal a chance to grow in the rural, Catholic, and church dominated province. English soon became the language of business in Montreal, much to the frustration of the native French Canadians [11]. Anglophone inhabitation can be accredited to the approximately 1000 male employees who came to Montreal with the North West Trading Company, a venture with which James McGill was personally involved [12]. In an attempt to reach out to the French population of Montreal, and to convert the traditionally Catholic population to Protestants, Rev. Dr. Delisle was the first French Protestant Minister in Montreal. The introduction of French Protestants as representatives of the Church of England aimed to convert French Canadians by means of clergymen who spoke their language, but this endeavour mostly failed.

Structural/Commercial Development

After the destruction of the second Old Montreal Christ Church, a committee to build a new church was formed. The committee looked west, into less developed areas of Montreal, to construct their church [13]. It is likely that the Church's strong connection with James McGill, and through him McGill University, may have influenced this decision. This committee found eleven potential sites and narrowed those down to the three most likely locations. The first option was on grounds owned by McGill University, fronting on the south side of Sherbrooke Street, sided by McGill College and Victoria Avenue and extending back onto some of the Burnside estate. The second site, which was ultimately the selected site, was on St. Catherine Street between Union and University. The third site was on the north-east corner of St. Catherine and Bleury. The selected site, between University and Union, was chosen in part because it was significantly cheaper than the other two locations, costing only £2500 compared to £5000 and £7000 for the other two locations [14]. After this site was selected, the construction contract was awarded to the Brown and Watson architecture firm on July 7, 1856, and the foundation stone was laid on May 21, 1857 by Reverend Francis Fulford.

The construction of the Christ Church Cathedral was plagued with practical challenges. The architect, F. Wills, died before the foundation of the church was completed, and a new architect had to be hired to supervise its development [15]. The foundation of the church was not adequate to hold its weight due to the nature of the soil beneath it. The ground beneath the church was primarily soft clay; to be properly supported, the foundation would have had to be dug down over thirty feet to rest on the limestone bedrock. By October 1858 it was discovered that the Church had already sunk five inches into the ground. The weight of the church itself likely would have been bearable by the soil, however the iconic spire of the church, which was originally made completely of stone, weighed 1,600,000 kg and greatly increased the pressure on the clay beneath the church. Funding for construction was also lacking, and though the church was completed in 1859, it was not consecrated until 1867 due to the significant debt that resulted from construction costs. Financial difficulties were not new to the church and its budget rarely matched its operating costs; in 1830, the church had a budget of £500 and was already over £5000 in debt. In total it is estimated that the construction of the church cost \$204,627.50 (not adjusted for inflation) [16].

The church's financial difficulties appear to have eased over time, likely owing to its growing congregation. Though at the time of the construction of the present church it was in an area with a very small population, by the turn of the century the area would have been very well populated. In 1901, Montreal's population at this time was 300,000 people, compared to 9,000 in the 1850s. This rapid increase in population led to more people for the congregation of the Church, and more people living in the area [17].

In the 1890s, the church was renovated, and in 1902 stained glass windows were put in. Despite its excessive weight, the stone spire of the cathedral was left standing until 1927, when it was finally removed. At this point it was tilting almost four feet towards St. Catherine Street and was considered a safety hazard [18]. Additionally, the church's exterior used detailing of Caen stone imported from France. This porous stone was not suitable for the harsh climate of Montreal and led to significant leakage within the church until it was removed and replaced in the 1930s at a cost of \$50,000. At this time people also began discussing rebuilding the church's spire [19]. To properly support the weight of a stone spire it would be necessary to dig supports for the church right down to the bedrock, which would have been much too expensive. Instead, a combination of steel and aluminum were used to recreate the spire, carefully painted and moulded to recreate the appearance of stone. This project cost \$100,000, but was completely funded by an anonymous donor [20].

During the 1976 Montreal Olympics, the basement of the Christ Church Cathedral was used for charitable activities. Many homeless people were displaced and neglected by the city's attempts at promoting Montreal for the Olympics. These people faced a decreased amount of assistance from the city as money was being poured into sustaining the Olympic Stadium and other related buildings. Christ Church worked to make up for the lost assistance through volunteer work. Volunteers from across the country worked in the Church to make sandwiches to help feed the homeless and provide other assistance to them during the Olympics. Volunteers were provided housing in an orphanage associated with the Church in Notre Dame de Grace area of Montreal [21].

By the 1980s, the land occupied by the Church was prime retail land, and low attendance resulted in severe financial difficulties. Westcliff Group proposed a 12 storey office building that would be built partially on the grounds of the Church and partially on Westcliff-owned land. A shopping centre beneath the church, with an estimated value of \$7.2 million was also proposed at this time. To build the office building, the rectory behind the church was taken apart stone by stone and then reconstructed after construction was complete. The church itself was placed on stilts while the shopping centre beneath it was constructed, and remained open through the entire process [22].

Conclusion

Anglicanism in Montreal has faced many challenges over the past two and a half centuries, with problems ranging from a lack of patrons to attend (and fund) services, frequently having to rebuild their churches from fire, poor construction, deaths, murders [23], and a number of financial crises. However, despite all this the Church has managed to survive both as a physical building and as a location for religious services, with the ground-level Church still hosting regular services that are now namely funded through the leases of shops in the lower levels.

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Image Citation

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Shari Blaukopf- *Triceratops*



8

THE HURTUBISE HOUSE

By Oliver Maurovich & Meghan McNeil

The Hurtubise House is located in the city of Westmount and acts as a cultural and historic pillar of the modern community, however, roughly 275 years ago the quaint farm house that stands on the corner of Victoria and Cote St. Antoine, functioned as the primary edifice of a family business cemented in the region's early history. The house was originally built outside of the city of Montreal on the green slopes and in the adjacent lowland of one of Mount Royal's smaller peaks, now known as Westmount Summit. In the 17th century, Cote St. Antoine Road acted as a pass between the mountain and the St. Lawrence River for Iroquois

groups traveling between their dwellings and the water [1]. In light of possible conflict with indigenous people this area would have been a highly volatile place to live; in fact, it was commonly called “La Haute Folie” or “The Height of Folly”, considering the slope and the precarious relationship with Iroquois groups occupying the region [2]. It was only at the turn of the century in 1700, that the city of Montreal and its inhabitants officially cemented a treaty with Mohawk groups in the region [3]. According to historian Alan Stewart, and corroborated by early maps, the original boundaries of the farm extended from below St. Catherine Street to the reaches of Upper Westmount on Sunnyside Ave [4]. The property would have been shaped somewhat similar to the current elongated, vertical rows of Victorian homes that stand today; a long strip of farmland ascending the hill, nestled between the homes of other emerging elites and overlooking the river.

Original Construction

There was noticeable confusion for some time regarding the exact date of the house’s foundation based on the account that the land was bequeathed to Pierre Hurtubise in 1687, by the Sulpician superior Dollier de Casson, under the condition that a structure would be built within three years [5]. Although the land was initially granted to the Hurtubise family as early as 1687 and perhaps as late as 1699, there was no official mention of any real structure until 1731, when according to the oldest confirmed text, a wooden house, barn and stable had all been erected. The document is only able to legitimize the house’s existence in the 1730s, yet the accuracy of the tradition cannot be denied, especially considering the well documented family heritage and the important link the building and land has with the city’s past. It is very possible that the 1731 report is only the earliest recoverable record of a dwelling, and any other primary evidence has gone with the centuries or otherwise invisible at this time.

The house follows the pattern of most 17th century farmhouses with cut stone and a wooden roof, yet its design sets it apart from a European comparison, taking into account the harsh, cold climate and defensibility [6]. The elongated roof for example, was created in order to adjust to the heavy snow falls of a Canadian winter. The original structure was made up of the basement, surrounded by 19 inches of stone wall and 7 inches of stone floor above, the ground floor, and the upstairs made up of one large room that functioned as a grain loft, until it was partitioned into smaller rooms sometime in the early 19th century. Three thirty-foot cedar beams felled on the land they built over, remain from the original construction and span the entire width acting as the house’s skeleton. There was significant myth surrounding the basement and its design with regard to the threat of attacks from indigenous populations, although these theories have been almost entirely deflated in recent years with further understanding of 17th century farming. It was originally surmised that the basement was constructed with the express purpose of sheltering and defending the

building due to the heavy stone fortifications, the deliberate separation of the space, and openings in the wall for firing. In lieu of an attack, woman and children were said to have descended to the north half of the basement through a trap door, while the men occupied the south face and engaged any oncoming enemies [7]. While quite a romantic notion of Montreal's early settlers, the evidence indicates that the holes were in fact used to aerate the space and prevent any of the goods or produce stored there from spoiling [8]. The windows, some original, are fitted with the typical 24 panes and were protected on the outside by sturdy wooden shutters held open by s-shaped iron ornamentations or hooks. The detail around the windows using flat stones is indicative of skilled masonry and most probably suggests that the Hurtubise family had no lack of funds relative to the other settlers of Ville Marie [9]. The expertise put into the masonry and by extension the wealth the family must have had can be further corroborated by the proximity of the accomplished stone masons, Paul Descarries, and Lambert Leduc, to the Hurtubise property. Judging by the close to two-feet of stone wall held together with a distinct type of stucco technique known as "crépis", the intricacy of the windows and the proximity of the masons, it is likely that the home was built with the ample expertise of one or both of the aforementioned craftsmen [10]. This is important because it illustrates an example of the formation of contractual business relationships at the time, as well as providing a brief look into an aspect of the city's economy. The house also sported two great fireplaces equipped with ratchet wheels for lowering and raising pots, which after renovations done by a later generation, now bear a resemblance to the Georgian-style popular at the time. The wooden floor surrounding the hearth had been eaten away by exposure to fire, and up until the more recent renovations by the company Landmark Trust, was still visible [11].

1875 – 1911: Major Renovation/Additions

The Hurtubise property operated as a farm, until piece by piece, the land - with the exception of the plot at Victoria and Cote St. Antoine - was sold off to promote the urbanization of Westmount and make up for the financial deficit incurred by the ever regressing role of agriculture as a means of income for the family. In 1955, the last remaining Hurtubise, a confirmed bachelor Dr. Leopold Hurtubise, passed away effectively ending the 200 year period in which the house acted as an actual residence. The decline of farm activities, however, probably began just after the turn of the twentieth century, then of course the residential portion of the house's life ended after the death of the last Hurtubise resident. After 1875 many noteworthy additions and improvements were made to the house, for example new plumbing, the replacement of the hollowed-out stone that functioned as a sink, and a sturdier front door and frame [12]. The verandah was first constructed in 1875, and rebuilt in 1911 to accommodate the eastern addition as well as the growing number of inhabitants on the Hurtubise property. Along with the porch, the brick extension on the Eastern face of

the house was raised somewhere at the earlier end of the range of dates, roughly 1870, and it reflects the homes' emergence into the twentieth century while retaining the historic, farmhouse charm that sets it apart in the present day [13]. The nearby carriage shed was built on the Western edge of the property during the same range of time, and fulfilled the task of an early garage; providing storage space for carriages, goods, and later cars [14]. The last Hurtubise tenant, Dr. Leopold Hurtubise, directed the last major renovations that the home underwent while it was still a residential property, culminating in the 1911 alterations and additions.

Conservation, Restoration, and the Modern Day

The famous Hurtubise house became a non-residential, historically appreciated site in 1955. In 1944 Leopold Hurtubise, the last owner-resident of the Hurtubise house, was considering selling to a developer who wanted to turn it into a group of duplexes [15]. Alice Lighthall of the Westmount historic society became aware of the situation and alerted the newspapers and organized a meeting in Victoria Hall to protest the demolition of the house [16].

When Leopold Hurtubise died in 1955, Alice Lighthall campaigned for it to be bought by the city of Westmount for preservation [17]. This campaign fell through but it did spark the interests of Mable Molson, her brother Colin J.G. Molson, and James R. Beattie. They bought the property outright in 1956. This was the first acquisition by what would soon be the "Canadian Heritage of Quebec" foundation, which was officially formed in 1960. "At the time, the Molsons were already aware of heritage buildings and their protection. They examined heritage preservation when they travelled to different parts of the world, especially in England. So they brought this philosophy back from their travels, using it as a guideline to preserving and saving the Hurtubise House," explained Jacques Archambault, director-general of the CHQ [18].

On December 16 2004 the home and the land surrounding it was declared a heritage site by the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications. In 2005 the house was given a grant, mainly funded by Canadian Heritage of Quebec and with additional financial support from the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications and from the City of Montreal, for restoration of the roof, the chimneys, and the second floor. This was done using specific conservation guidelines which included respecting the physical integrity of the house and applying minimal and reversible intervention, while maintaining the importance of protection of interior finishes and building security.

The second phase of the restoration project, which was much better documented than the first, began in August 2011 and was completed in late summer 2012. The project required the services of several professionals specializing in restoration: masons, curators and archaeologists. There was also the utilization of the expertise of an architect of the MCC, as

well as a structural engineer, a mechanical engineer and two conservation experts. On the outside of the house, the workers repaired cracks in the west stone wall. They also restored the front galleries, its support structures and stairs. Archaeological excavations were also necessary, and these happened to lead to the discovery of an old well. The floor structure was solidified through the basement and the former floor openings, which were by urban legend thought to be gun holes, became used for the heating and ventilation system. The ground was covered with plastic sheeting and stone dust, to reduce humidity in the basement. A new heating system (thermo pump) was installed. On the ground floor, interior finishes of the walls, floors, and ceilings were restored, and cracks in the walls were invisibly filled. The curator used only a dry sponge for cleaning. Interestingly, a 100 year old tapestry had been removed, revealing the location of an old armoire inserted in the wall. In the kitchen, different layers of flooring were cleaned. Much of the damaged parts were cut out, revealing a very old carpet. Plexiglas and a carpet now protect parts of these coatings. On the second floor, the kitchen and bathroom have been upgraded. This work is reversible so as to preserve the integrity of the house. The electrical system has also been upgraded and a new lighting system was installed throughout the house [19].

Canadian Heritage of Quebec started when the organization acquired the Hurtubise House, now a heritage property. For the last 50 years the organization has acquired, preserved and restored more than 30 buildings and sites, some of which have been transferred back to the local community. Today, CHQ owns nearly 20 buildings or sites, with many being classified as heritage sites. The organization also has a large collection of objects and artifacts of all kinds and sizes, which have cultural, artistic or heritage value. They rely on funding from supporters, foundations and sometimes government grants. “We are only two part-time preservationists largely responsible for sustaining approximately 20 heritage buildings and natural sites in the province of Quebec, including the Hurtubise House. We need partnerships with different universities, non-profit organizations, volunteers and researchers,” said Archambault. “...The provincial government provides some funding but that usually makes-up for only 30-40% of the total cost needed to go ahead with a particular preservation project. So we have to find this extra funding. This is why it takes so long to get anything done” [20].

The Hurtubise house served as a headquarters for the CHQ until about 1987 when it again stood empty. In 1994 the Landmark Trust put money into a facelift of the property, it was estimated that it would need \$300,000, for their plans to lease it. The idea was that it would generate money from short term rentals of two weeks to a month. This is not unusual for Landmark heritage sites which have more than 30,000 people renting more than 165 properties a year [21]. The Westmount zoning laws do not allow bed and breakfasts, or rooming houses, however so the leasing would have to be for short stays [22]. After its reclassification as a Heritage site, the Hurtubise house is currently a house museum that can

only be accessed by appointment. There are, however, periodic free guided tours that require no appointment. It is struggling to maintain itself financially as well as physically. However, there have been plans in place to make it self-sustaining, or even to bring revenue to the Westmount community.

This site lives on in memory because there are still members of the Hurtubise family alive in Montreal. One woman, Suzanne Masson, the daughter of Claire Hurtubise, the sister of Leopold Hurtubise, has made statements about the house. She made herself and her connection with the house known in a public meeting about the history and potential classification of the house in the Westmount public library in 2003, bringing with her a watercolor her mother made of the well in the back of the property [23]. As well, more recently, Suzanne Hurtubise, the great-grand-niece of Leopold Hurtubise, remembers visiting her mom's great aunts and uncles as a young girl. "We lived three blocks away on Northcliffe and my mom and I would visit our family and the old home almost daily [24].

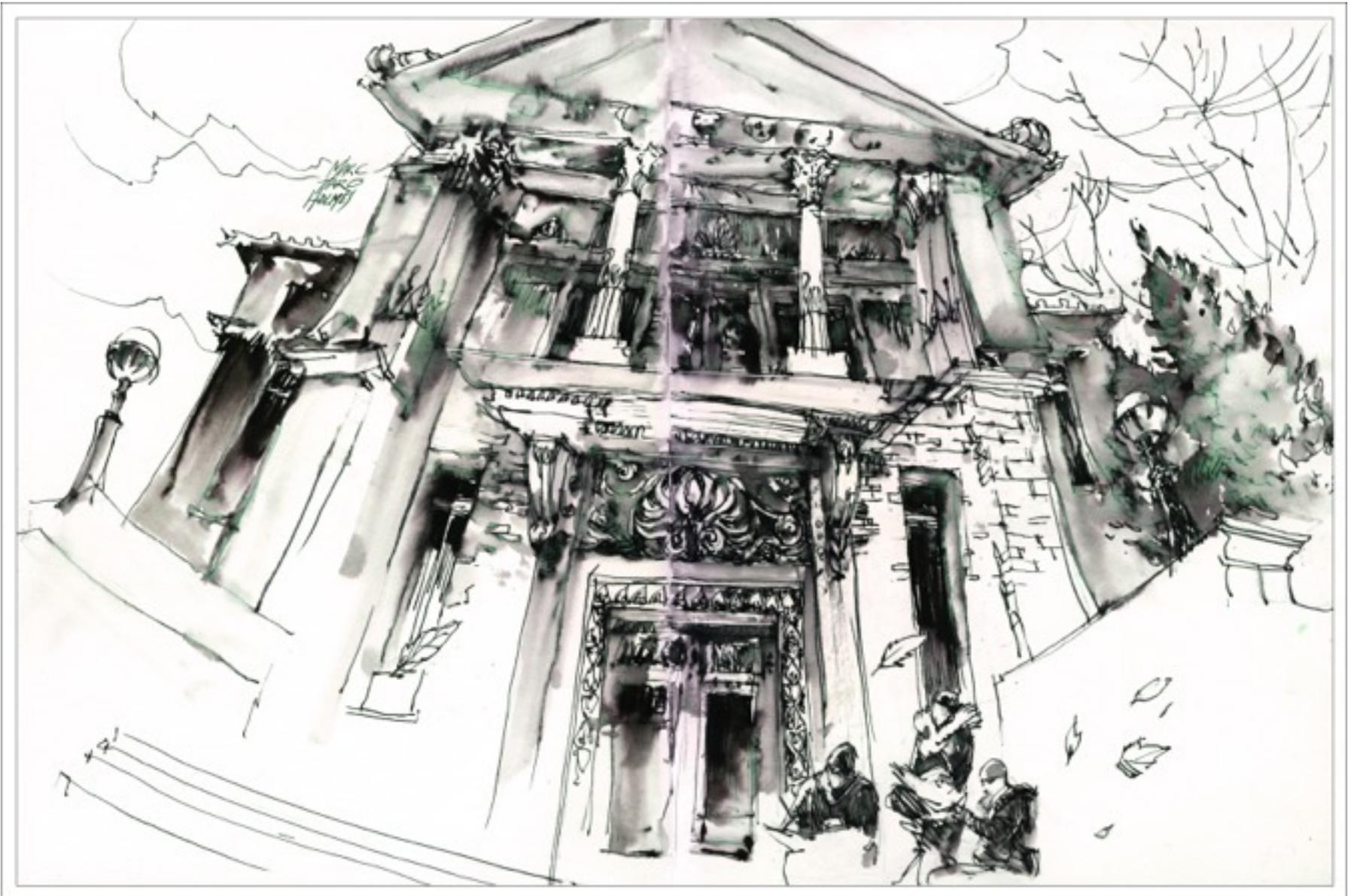
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Marc Holmes- Redpath Museum